

# The Life Adventures of Lieutenant-Colonel John Connolly: *The Story of a Tory*

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When the author first began to collect material for this monograph, he had in mind to treat only that part played by Lt.-Col. John Connolly in the history of Western Pennsylvania. But, as he pored over the archives and records, he was so surprised and intrigued by the amount of evidence that was available, that he decided to gather it all, if possible, and put it in narrative form. It has proved to be instructive and interesting for himself, even though it should not be so for his readers.

It is not often that one finds the career of so completely obscure a personage so fully documented. All have read the stories of Daniel Boone and his grapevine, and of Putnam in the wolves' den. The reliability of these stories is doubtful. It was such legends that possibly led Napoleon to aver that history was "fables agreed upon." In this work no event or incident is related as true unless the author felt that his researches merited such a conclusion.

But the writer did not expend time and thought *simply* for the purpose of trying to write an entertaining and truthful story. Incidents and negotiations are recounted which, it is hoped, will throw further light upon the dispute between Virginia and Pennsylvania over the western boundary of the latter state. The accounts of the transactions with the Indians in 1774 and 1775 may be worth while. The possible effects of Connolly's meditated invasion to separate the northern and southern groups of colonies during the Revolutionary War ought to stimulate thought. The activities of Tories during the course of the war, and the methods employed by the patriots to suppress them, are interesting. And Connolly's attempt to seduce Kentucky is worthy of consideration. However, it must be borne in mind that these subjects are treated only so far as

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they appear in connection with the life and adventures of Connolly which are the subject of our narrative.

It should, perhaps, be called to the reader's attention that the story of Connolly's treatment as a prisoner—especially as he himself gives it—must not be taken as characteristic of the treatment accorded the prisoners of the Americans. In truth, the enemy soldiers captured by the Colonial forces were handled in accordance with the accepted practices of warfare that were common in those times, so far as the author has been able to judge. As for the treatment of Connolly, in particular, it seems to have been fully justified in view of his intents and purposes, which, though disavowed time after time, did yet constitute his interest and objective as soon as he was fully liberated in 1781.

The sources used in the compilation of this monograph are reliable. However, most of those which have been preserved are those of Connolly's opponents and enemies. This can partly be accounted for by the fact that the latter were worsted in most of their tilts with the belligerent Doctor, and, therefore, had the most to complain about. Another fact, which accounts for the scarcity of evidence supporting Connolly, is that the majority of his followers were, as a rule, of an irresponsible type little given to recording their escapades or attempting to justify their deeds on paper. This fact, in itself, counts strongly against the man.

Connolly's own *Narrative*, often used as a reference throughout the story, was written with an end in view—that of persuading the English government that he had been so misused in their service as to deserve compensation. It is, therefore, undoubtedly somewhat distorted and exaggerated. Hence, citations to his work are corroborated whenever possible. Nevertheless, since it is the only source available for certain periods and incidents, it has been used; but such references are always accompanied with due notifications of their source.

Some slight differences may be observed in Connolly's letters and documents as quoted from Peter Force's *American Archives* and those from the *Colonial Records of Pennsylvania* or the *Pennsylvania Archives*. Usually the editors of the two latter works have kept more strictly to Connolly's true form, whereas Force has often corrected

the capitalization, written out the sign "&", and made other inconsequential changes. However, the wording, spelling, and sense have not been altered.

The collecting of the material for the story has been a work of some labor; no less has been the compiling of the findings into readable form. But, if the reader, in pursuing the narrative, gets even a small amount of the instruction and pleasure which the author obtained in his investigation and writing, his labor will be well compensated.

## CHAPTER I

### Youth and Early Manhood

Concerning the early years of the subject of our narrative there is much obscurity, as few documents or traces can be found. Even the exact date of his birth is unknown. We do know, however, that he must have been born either in the year 1743 (1) or 1744 (2) at Wright's Ferry, in York County, Pennsylvania. (3) His mother, whose maiden name was Susanna Howard, was married to James Patterson in Ireland in the year 1708. (4) They later came to America and settled at the above mentioned place in Pennsylvania, where Mr. Patterson purchased a farm and engaged in trade with the Indians. (5) Mr. Patterson died in 1735 (6) and his widow married Captain Thomas Ewing, a doctor at Lancaster, (7) a year later. Two sons were born to this union: James, who will appear later in our story as a General in the Revolutionary army; and John, who became a minor officer in the same war. In 1741 Mrs. Ewing was bereft of her second husband, but did not bewail her lot long, for, in 1742, she married John Connolly, Sr. This gentleman, of Irish birth, had been an officer in the British service, serving as a surgeon. (8) It is rumored that this union was not a happy one since Mr. Connolly was a staunch Roman Catholic and his wife a Quaker. Be that as it may, one son was born to them, John Connolly, Jr., the subject of our story. (9) It is interesting to observe, at this point, that the son later became a member of the Church of England. (10) But again Mrs. Connolly's family was broken up, this time by the death of her third husband, in 1747. Not long after, she moved to Lancaster, where she resided until her death in 1755. (11)

Proper care was taken of her youngest son, for he was turned over to the care of a James Wright, of Columbia, who was appointed guardian. This gentleman saw to it that the lad received all the benefits in the way of education which could be procured at that time in Lancaster. (12) Connolly himself, writing in England many years later, attests that he "received as perfect an education as that country could afford." (13) The documents, writings and letters left by him seem to prove his assertions, for they show that he had a fund of knowledge that could not have been acquired during his later years of tempestuous and adventurous life. Letters written to George Washington, describing his trips down the Ohio in 1772 and 1773, are particularly suggestive. For instance, in describing his visit to see the huge bones found at the Salt Licks along the Ohio, he cites the lectures of Doctor Hunter, of the Royal Society, on some of these same bones which the Society had acquired. His own observations are interesting, for, after noting that similar bones had been found eight hundred miles up the Missouri River, he wonders how such huge animals could have crossed the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers, since "we find that Hannibal in his expedition against the Romans was particularly delayed in conveying them"—(elephants)—"over the Rhone on his march to Italy." (14)

In a later letter to Washington he describes the falls of the Ohio and some "Old Indian Forts" along its course. This document is peculiarly illuminating, showing him to have had, for that day and place at least, a well-stored, ruminative mind and an exceptional vocabulary, undoubtedly the result of early training. In picturing one of these places on the east side of the Scioto River, he says that it "is not the irregular & fortuitous effects of nature, but the consequence of a laborious & even an indefatigable Body of Men." From a similar work in another place he had taken "a Cruse the handle of which had been broken off, the One side bearing the appearance of a Man's Face, with an opening at the Top & another at the Eye for the receipt & discharge of any Liquid." Such evidence had induced him "to believe that this country hath been formerly inhabited by a politic & numerous People; & that those appearance under the general denomination of In-

dian Forts, have been places rather of Religious worship than Fortification." He suggests that a "warlike Sett of People from the North or North west part of this continent have overan & defaced a cultivated and polite country" burying the advancement made. In support of this theory he cites the fact that "all Europe underwent a similar change"; that "the Antient Inhabitants of South America were by no means destitute of civil policy & order; the Arts and Sciences flourished amongst them in no contemptible degree, if we credit the Reports of the first European Invaders"; that "antient" Italy and other large areas in Europe appear to have been covered with forests and marshes of vast extent in the Eighth Century, and to have had few inhabitants; that "in many Charters given from Charlemagne, & his successors Lands have been granted to Private Persons; because by them they had been taken from the Desert improved, & inhabited." (15) Such knowledge of history may warrant us in concluding that his teachers had given him an excellent grounding in that subject at least.

While his education was proceeding it was decided by his guardian that he should study medicine, and thus follow the profession of his father. Consequently, as was the custom of that day, he was apprenticed to Dr. Cadwalader Evans of Philadelphia, (16) or as he himself says, "In the early part of life I was bred to physic." (17) But the prospect of such a life was not at all alluring to him, for he had other ambitions. So, contrary to the wishes of his friends, he persuaded his guardian to buy out the unexpired term of his apprenticeship for the sum of one hundred pounds. (18)

Being thus freed from a distasteful occupation, he was permitted to pursue his own desire, which was—to be a soldier. In spite of his youth, he lost no time in realizing his wish, and soon volunteered for service in the British Army and was sent with an expedition to Martinique. (19) His experiences in this enterprise we have no record, except his own statement that "I endeavored to distinguish myself as far as inexperience and an unimportant station would admit." (20) Nevertheless, the lure of the soldier's life always appealed to him, and he took great pride in his later promotions to higher rank, for in writing his

*Narrative* he laments that Congress, when referring to him, continually spoke of him as "plain John Connolly" or "affected to call me Doctor," instead of using his military title of Lieutenant-Colonel. (21)

Whatever his experiences in Martinique, they did not dampen his ardor for a soldier's career. On his return from that expedition he again joined the British Army as a volunteer and served, at his own expense, during the years 1762-1764, on the frontier, in two campaigns against the Indians. Concerning these campaigns and his adventures therein, we have no knowledge, but he tells us that during them he studied the difference between Indian war and European war and learned the necessity of a good soldier being master of both. (22)

It is probable that, when the above expeditions were concluded, he settled with his uncle (23), George Croghan, an Indian trader, who lived not far from Pittsburgh. (24) Being not so far from the village, and with considerable leisure he no doubt visited it frequently. Moreover, the fact that Samuel Semple, an inn-keeper who kept "a very good house of public entertainment," (25) had a marriageable daughter, Susanna, made Mr. Semple's inn an especially attractive place for Connolly. The frontier maiden's heart was finally captured by the dashing young soldier and they were married, (26) but not to "live happily ever after." However, Connolly did not allow his marriage to interfere with his ambition to become a great frontier soldier. So earnest was he in carrying out his desire that he left Pittsburgh in the spring of 1766 or 1767 (probably the latter date), to seek his fortunes in the Illinois country, and, it is interesting to observe, left at least one debt unpaid. (27) It is possible that he went with a detachment of British troops as a surgeon, (28) but it is more than likely that he accompanied his uncle, George Croghan, an Indian trader, on one of the latter's many trips to the western posts. (29) In support of the latter supposition it can be shown that in the summer of 1769 he drew on the account of his uncle for more than two hundred pounds. (30) Of course this may have been a loan, instead of pay, but it is hardly probable. In any case we know that he had been in and around Kaskaskia for some time before February, 1768, (31) for at that date he was considering a return trip to

Fort Pitt, though for some reason the journey was postponed.

Perhaps it was just as well that he did change his plans, since his wife arrived from Fort Pitt a few weeks later. (32) If he had set out, they might have passed on the road. Until the early part of December the reunited couple probably relied upon the hospitality of friends, for it is not until the 8th and 9th of that month that they made purchases at the Kaskaskia store preparatory to setting up housekeeping for themselves. On those days Connolly purchased loaf-sugar, Bohea tea, tallow candles, knives and forks, spoons, table-cloth, tea-kettle, etc., and a pint of rum. Connolly himself continued to do the household shopping and among the other articles bought were large quantities of rum. (33) On August 1, 1769, however, Mrs. Connolly's name appears for the first time upon the books of the store, so we may infer that her husband had been called away from the post upon some business or other. (34)

During his stay at this settlement, he doubtless had many experiences with the Indians. The following anecdote, as recorded by George Morgan, representative in Kaskaskia of Baynton and Wharton, a trading company, may be taken as typical of some of them. It seems that Doctor Connolly and a companion had set out for Port Vincent (Fort Vincennes) on a Saturday evening in the early part of April, 1768. On Sunday evening they were encamped eight or ten leagues from Kaskaskia, when two Frenchmen, who had been hunting in the prairies, came to the camp and informed Connolly and his friend that they had been fired upon by a large party of Indians, presumably Cherokees. As they were on horseback they had escaped and they begged Connolly to proceed no further but to return to Kaskaskia. Connolly was somewhat worried by this report but determined to remain where he was and continue on his journey in the morning, nevertheless. This decision having been made, the two Frenchmen, also, agreed to spend the night at the camp. About an hour later, which, as Morgan tells the story, "was near Nine O'clock a third French Man came to their Fire with his Hair on End & ready to faint—He said he was from Post Vincent, which Place he left in Co with three others of his Country Men

with 8 Horses loaded with Peltry—That about an Hour before Sun Set that Day they were all surrounded by a large Party of Indians whom he took to be Cherokees & Who had made Prisoners of his Companions he having escaped by the Goodness of his Horse tho he was chased & fired at several Times. At this Relation they thought it high Time to decamp & make a forced March back to this Place & arrived here this Morning about ten O'clock. They are now reposing themselves after their Fatigue.” (35)

However much Connolly may have preferred such adventures to the practising of medicine, he could not escape from resuming, at times, his earlier profession. In the autumn of 1768 the little post suffered a serious attack of some epidemic, due, as Connolly thought, to the “stagnated waters on the flat & low lands of that country.” (36) Soon “every officer & almost every private Man”, was “most Violently attacked with a Feaver”. But let Morgan picture the situation. It started about the—

..... 20th of September, when they were Attack'd by twentys in a day & so severely that in the course of about a Week there was but Nineteen Men capable of Duty at Fort Charters & every Officer was ill at the same Time. These Gates were lock'd Day & Night & not a Person could be seen living except the necessary Centenels & guards. The Groans & cries of the Sick was the only Noise to be heard within the Fort. The Surgeon of the Regiment held it out longest, but was during the Height of their Illness, confin'd to his Chamber & Bed. Doctor Connolly was then called in & has been of great Service & has Shewn great Attention & Skill. He still continues (October 30, 1768) at the Fort, as the Surgeon is not yet perfectly recover'd & the men yet want His Assistance. At present there are about fifty Men Capable of Duty & the Violence of the Disorder is gratly abated.

In spite of the heroic efforts of the two doctors, three officers, about thirty other men and a number of women died. (37) Let us remember this generous service of Connolly when we come to consider his later deeds.

Haphazard occupations, such as he had been following, could not have been very profitable, so Connolly decided to try his hand at business. On the 11th day of February, 1769, he formed a partnership with a Joseph Hollingshead, formerly of Burlington, New Jersey. These two purchased, at the Kaskaskia store, goods to the amount of four thousand, nine hundred and sixty-nine pounds, twelve shillings, and sixpence; also boats and bateaux to the amount of one thousand pounds. Other larger pur-



chases followed. (38) It is evident, however, that Connolly was not a business man—nor his partner either, for that matter—since he suddenly left the neighborhood some time in the early part of 1770, greatly in debt, and returned to his former residence at Fort Pitt. (39)

But his sojourn on the frontier had not been wholly wasted. In his dealings with the Indians he had learned to speak fluently the language of several tribes. (40) Moreover, he had explored much of the newly acquired territory, visited many of the various tribes and studied their manners and customs, and learned how to endure hardship and provide for himself when on long marches through uninhabited country. (41) Knowledge of this nature was invaluable to a man who had future plans such as Connolly cherished.

On his return to Fort Pitt he resumed the practice of medicine and was soon regarded as a man of some local importance. (42) At this time he must have been a rather striking figure, if we may judge from a portrait made of him at a later period. Still young, for he was not more than twenty-eight years of age; slender, erect in carriage; a well-set head graced with heavy hair; a high forehead overshadowing deep-set eyes; and with a large but well-shaped nose, purposeful mouth, and a tenacious, determined chin, he presented a commanding appearance. (43) He tells us that he made his residence in this region because he was delighted with the soil and climate. (44)

Regardless of this assertion it seems that other motives can be found for his decision. Not wishing to depend entirely upon his profession for his livelihood, he made strenuous endeavors to better his fortune by speculation in western lands. (45) To this end he was very earnest in encouraging settlers to come westward and was himself anxious to head a settlement in the new lands. In carrying out the project he deemed he would not only be serving his own interests but those of his King and country, for it would help to prevent a possible later seizure of the lands by the French. (46) As a beginning to these ventures he secured three hundred acres on Charles Creek, in Augusta County, Virginia (in what was then the disputed district between Virginia and Pennsylvania) (47), and also forty acres near Fort Pitt. (48)

Enthused with his idea himself, he was not averse to inveigling other people of means in his schemes. An exceptional opportunity to exercise his persuasive powers upon an influential gentleman much addicted to such speculation, presented itself when Washington, making his visit to the Ohio territory in the autumn of 1770, stopped in Fort Pitt, at Semple's Inn, for a brief rest. On the evening of November 22, Washington invited several officers and other gentlemen to dine with him. Among those present was Dr. Connolly who put forth his very best efforts to impress his host. In this he succeeded, for Washington describes him as "a very sensible, intelligent man."

Both being interested in the lands of the West, their conversation eventually centered upon that subject. Here Connolly could speak with the authority of intimate knowledge and so he did. Though enthusiastic, his descriptions were accurate, for his shrewd listener checked the report with that of his own representative whom he had sent to prospect the very country under discussion. Perceiving the impression he was making, Connolly waxed ardent and expressed his desire to lead and settle (49) "100 or more families on the Swanee River to form a new government, to be bounded by the Ohio River on the north and west, the ridge that divided the Tennessee or Cherokee River south and west and a line to be run from the falls of the Ohio or above, so as to cross the Swanee River above the fork of it." (50) Evidently, the meeting did not end in any sort of working agreement, but it opened the way for future correspondence on the subject, and Connolly did not hesitate to avail himself of this opportunity.

The year 1771 must have been spent in and around Fort Pitt, but in the spring of 1772 favorable circumstances induced Connolly to revisit the western country. (51) On this journey he accompanied a Major Hamilton, of the British Army. With a little fleet of eight boats they set out in the early part of March. (52) Whatever their business in the west it was quickly dispatched, for they were back in Fort Pitt about the middle of August, (53) taking time on their return to visit the Salt Licks, located on the east side of the Ohio, about four miles from that river and about twenty-five miles below the great Miami, where the "Elephant Bones" were to be seen. (54) Though Connolly had

visited the place the year before, (55) he would not refrain from accompanying Major Hamilton and the other gentlemen. (56)

This trip to the West served to stimulate the already lively interest which he had in western settlement, so, soon after his return to Fort Pitt, he wrote a long letter to Washington in an effort to interest the latter in his plans. In the first part of his epistle, he endeavors to intrigue Washington by a description of the Licks and the bones found there and theorize upon how they came to be in such a place. (57) To substantiate his story he sent with his letter a tooth found at the Licks and supposed to have belonged to the huge animals whose bones had been discovered there. But he could not close without broaching his major theme and setting forth the enticing prospects of the new lands. He was astonished that Washington and others had—

..... so long neglected an Acquaintance with the true value of the Western Country. I am sensible that the cultivation of Tobacco could be no where more advantageously carried on, than in different parts of the West Florida Government; & I am at this present time acquainted with large Bodies of Land unappropriate, & excellently adapted to that purpose, open to a market by a very good, at least tolerable Navigation for Boats of any Burden. Any Association amongst a Number of Your Friends to send down Negroes with proper Managers by the Ohio, would not only laudably promote and encourage the Settlement, but it must also tend to your very great emolument—I must ask your pardon for thus communicating my unsolicited Opinion, & can only apologize by assuring you, that it proceeds from the great passion I have for facilitating a Settlement in that quarter; which must rise with so many grand Advantages.—The Natchez is now flourishing fast, & as I plainly see what may be effected, I sigh to find matters out of my power, & the few Abilities I am possessed of, obscured, by irresistible Necessity urging me to Pursuits of a different Nature. (58)

This letter did not fail to arouse Washington to renewed action, for he dispatched another representative to the West. (59) But, during the ensuing winter and spring Connolly's attention was demanded by other matters.

It appears that during the winter of 1772-1773 or the early spring of 1773, "his Majesty's business" and his "own private affairs", compelled him to make another hurried trip to the Illinois posts. (60) If so, he had returned to Fort Pitt prior to June 1, for at this time he renewed an acquaintance with the Rev. David McClure, then visiting and preaching in and about the Fort, whom he had met

when that zealous minister had visited the post the autumn before. The acquaintance developed to a comparative intimacy, for the worthy gentleman evidently attempted to save Connolly's soul. It proved to be an impossible task, for the Doctor asserted "some deistical tenets"; said that he did not believe the whole of the Bible; felt that "religion was all a piece of policy"; believed that "Joshua was a grand villain"; and held that "men were from the creation, the same, as to moral powers & propensities, that they are at present". Rev. McClure was sufficiently shocked by such views, but he entirely despaired of Connolly's salvation when the latter stated that, though he wished to, he could not believe in the word of God nor rely on the mediation of Christ. Still, the reverend man could not wholly conceal his liking for the soldier, and while regretting that the latter had "lived a dissipated life", he yet describes him as "a man of bright parts, and an amiable disposition". (61)

It can well be doubted whether Connolly was much disturbed about the future of his soul, while his mind was so preoccupied with his schemes for procuring land along the Ohio. His recent journey had once more whetted his appetite, and two letters from Washington relative to their plans, and informing him that a man had been sent to select sections suitable for investment (62), had led him to believe that he might secure the aid of his powerful friend in procuring some lands for himself. Moreover, according to the King's late proclamation permitting ex-soldiers to secure grants of land, he knew he had a good claim, and felt confident that, being a Staff-Officer, he ought to be able to secure quite a large section. (63) He, therefore, wrote Washington another long letter.

Anxious to please, he thanked Washington for the two letters he had received, commended his friend's western representative as a very worthy man, and excelled himself in a description of and a discussion on the "Indian Forts" (64) which he had visited on his last trip on the Ohio. Eventually he arrived at the purpose of his letter, and wrote: "I would be much obliged to you, Sir, to acquaint me what expectation I might have in procuring a Right to two thousand Acres of Land from the Government of Virginia." (65) So confident was he of having his request

granted that he had already given Capt. Bullitt, a surveyor, a location to be laid out. (66)

As it turned out, Connolly was to secure his land without the aid of Washington. For some years there had been a dispute between Virginia and Pennsylvania concerning the western boundary of the latter state, and in the years following 1768, it assumed serious proportions. (67) During the summer of 1773, Lord Dunmore, Governor of Virginia, made a journey through the western provinces under dispute, sounding the sentiment of both whites and Indians. (68) In the course of his progress he stopped at Fort Pitt, and there met Dr. Connolly for the first time. Doubtless, the latter saw the opportunity of furthering his own interests and made the most of it, for before leaving Dunmore had promised him a tract of 2000 acres at the falls of the Ohio, and another tract of 2000 acres in the same place to Mr. John Campbell, a friend of Connolly. (69) What Connolly had to undertake in return for this promise is not definitely known, but, from later developments, we can safely infer that he agreed to further the claims of Virginia in the boundary dispute.

However much Connolly impressed Dunmore, Dunmore certainly made a great impression upon Connolly, for the latter, in writing to Washington, a few weeks after the visit, described the Governor of Virginia as "a gentleman of benevolence and universal charity, & not unacquainted with either Man or the World." (70) So sure was he that Lord Dunmore would keep his promise, that he discharged Capt. Bullitt, who had already laid out a town for him on the tract, and selected another man to survey and lay out the proposed lands. (71) This news caused the cautious Washington to notify Capt. Bullitt, who had been surveying lands for him as well, to use care not to involve him in any land disputes with other claimants. (72)

Connolly's confidence in Lord Dunmore was not misplaced, for when he made his trip to Williamsburgh, in December, the promised deed was given on the 10th of that month. (73) The patent states that the land was given because it had been "sufficiently proven to our Lieutenant and Governor General of our Colony and Dominion of Virginia that John Connolly, late a surgeon's mate in the General Hospital of our forces in America, is entitled to two

thousand acres of land under our royal proclamation," and it locates the tract as "being in the County of Fincastle, on the south side of the Ohio River, opposite to the falls thereof." (74) To all appearances the transaction was perfectly legal and above-board, yet a Col. Preston, in charge of the granting of land, was heard to complain that the transfer was illegal, "as the works did not regularly proceed from his office." (75) Be that as it may, Connolly entered into full possession. He and Campbell proceeded to subdivide their grants and advertise the lots for sale, as will be later related. No doubt the enterprise would have continued to be their chief interest, had not the boundary dispute at this time have assumed an alarming aspect. In consequence Connolly, having been commissioned, a Captain-Commandant in the Virginia Militia (76) felt called upon to devote most of his attention to protecting the claims of Virginia and carrying out the wishes of Lord Dunmore.

#### FOOTNOTES OF CHAPTER I

- 1 Diffenderfer, "Col. John Connolly, Loyalist," *Hist. Papers and Addresses of Lancaster Hist. Soc.*, VII, 109.
- 2 Ellis and Evans, *Hist. of Lancaster Co., Pa.*, p. 953.
- 3 Burton, "John Connolly, a Tory of the Revolution," *Proc. of the Am. Antiq. Soc.* (New Series), XX, 70.
- 4 Diffenderfer, *op. cit.*, p. 109.
- 5 Ellis and Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 953.
- 6 Diffenderfer, *op. cit.*, p. 109.
- 7 Hanna, *The Wilderness Trail*, II, 84.
- 8 Diffenderfer, *op. cit.*, pp. 109ff.
- 9 Account of John Ormsby, *Olden Time*, II, 93.
- 10 Hassler, *Old Westmoreland*, p. 13.
- 11 Ellis and Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 954.
- 12 Diffenderfer, *op. cit.*, p. 110.
- 13 Connolly, "A Narrative of the Transactions, Imprisonment, and Sufferings of John Connolly, an American Loyalist and Lieutenant-Colonel in His Majesty's Service," *The Pa. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, XII, 310. This narrative was first published in London in 1783, and was reprinted by C. L. Woodward in New York in 1889—see Carter, C. E., *Gt. Brit. and the Ill. Country*, p. 192. Hereafter, in footnotes, this narrative will be referred to as "Connolly's Narrative."
- 14 *Letters to Washington*, IV, 153ff.
- 15 *Ibid.*, pp. 308ff.
- 16 Burton, *op. cit.*, p. 70; also Diffenderfer, *op. cit.*, pp. 110f.
- 17 "Connolly's Narrative," *Pa. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, XII, 310.
- 18 Diffenderfer, *op. cit.*, pp. 110ff.
- 19 "Connolly's Narrative," *Pa. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, XII, 310.
- 20 *Ibid.*
- 21 *Ibid.*, XIII, 61.
- 22 *Ibid.*, XII, 310f.

- 23 Volwiler, *George Croghan and the Westward Movement*, p. 25. Croghan evidently refers to Connolly as his nephew in his will, for Dr. Volwiler speaks of Connolly as such and gives as his authority, "Croghan's Will, Register of Wills, Philadelphia." Hanna, *op. cit.*, II, 85, agrees in this, and says, "It is unlikely, though not impossible, that Croghan and John Connolly, Sr., were also half-brothers."
- 24 Burton, *op. cit.*, p. 70.
- 25 "Journal of Washington's Tour to the Ohio in 1770," *Old South Leaflets*, II, no. 41, p. 1.
- 26 Hanna, *op. cit.*, II, 84. R. G. Thwaites, co-editor of *Documentary History of Dunmore's War*, in a footnote, p. 442, says that Connolly "married a daughter of Samuel Semple, a noted Pittsburgh lawyer"—Mr. Thwaites is no doubt mistaken in saying Semple was a lawyer, for Washington knew the latter as an inn-keeper (see footnote 25).
- 27 *Collections of the Illinois State Hist. Library*, XVI, 520. Commissary Reed, of Fort Pitt, writes to Commissary Mcmillen, of Fort Chartres, on April 16, 1769, asking the latter to inquire of Dr. Connolly if he, Dr. Connolly, had sent money in the sum of 12 pounds, 10 shillings, to meet a debt owed to the writer. In the course of the letter Reed notes that Connolly left Fort Pitt in the spring before McMillen arrived there. That being the case, McMillen presumably left Fort Pitt in the spring of 1768, and thus Connolly's departure can be placed in the spring of 1767 or possibly 1766.
- 28 Ellis and Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 954.
- 29 *Coll. of the Ill. State Hist. Lib.*, XI, 23ff.
- 30 *Ibid.*, XVI, 335.
- 31 "Letters of George Morgan to Baynton & Wharton," *Coll. of the Ill. State Hist. Lib.*, XIX, 163. Morgan says he may send a letter "by Doctor Connolly who ascends the Ohio in One of our Boats."
- 32 *Ibid.* Morgan, writing from Kaskaskia, April 18, 1768, says: "By Indians just come up the Mississippi, we are informed that there are Boats in the River from Fort Pitt, & that there is a Woman on board One of them. I conclude that it must be Mr. W's Boat, with Doctor Connolly's Wife on Board."
- 33 Ellis and Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 954.
- 34 *Ibid.*
- 35 "Letters of George Morgan to Baynton & Wharton," *Coll. of the Ill. State Hist. Lib.* XIX, 240f.
- 36 *Diary of David McClure*, p. 47.
- 37 "Letters of George Morgan to Baynton & Wharton," *Coll. of the Ill. State Lib.* XIX, 439f.
- 38 Ellis and Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 954.
- 39 *Ibid.*, also Burton, *op. cit.*, p. 71. Connolly dined with Washington there in the autumn of 1770, so he must have returned some time before.
- 40 Ellis and Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 954.
- 41 "Connolly's Narrative," *Pa. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, XII, 311.
- 42 Burton, *op. cit.*, p. 71.
- 43 This description is taken from a picture in the *Coll. of the Ill. State Lib.*, VII, 385. This picture was made from crayon portrait in the collection of Colonel R. T. Durrett of Louisville, Ky.
- 44 "Connolly's Narrative," *Pa. Mag. of Hist and Biog.*, XII, 311.

- 45 See pages 10ff.
- 46 "Connolly's Narrative," Pa. Mag. of Hist. and Biog., XII, 311.
- 47 Buron, *op. cit.*, p. 72.
- 48 *Ibid.*, p. 95.
- 49 "Journal of Washington's Tour to the Ohio in 1770," quoted in *Olden Time*, I, 432.
- 50 From "Journal of Washington's Tour to the Ohio in 1770," quoted in Burton, *op. cit.*, p. 71.
- 51 *Letters to Washington*, IV, 152.
- 52 *Ibid.*, p. 211.
- 53 *Diary of David McClure*, p. 47. Rev. McClure, under date of Aug. 28, records: "In the evening arrived Dr. John Connolly, voluntier in the British service. He had lately come from Fort Chartres."
- 54 *Letters to Washington*, IV, 152ff.
- 55 *Diary of David McClure*, p. 97.
- 56 *Letters to Washington*, IV, 152.
- 57 See page 2.
- 58 *Letters to Washington*, IV, 155f. Written Sept. 18, 1772.
- 59 *Ibid.*, p. 208.
- 60 *Ibid.* In this letter, written June 29, 1773, Connolly describes the "Indian Forts" along the Ohio. If he had studied them on the trip of 1772 it is altogether probable that he would have mentioned them in his letter of Sept. 18, 1772, along with the "Elephants' Bones." Consequently, it is safe to conclude that he did journey to the Illinois country between the dates of the two letters.
- 61 *Diary of David McClure*, pp. 122f.
- 62 *Letters to Washington*, IV, 208.
- 63 *Ibid.*, p. 216.
- 64 See pages 2f.
- 65 *Letters to Washington*, IV, 208ff. Letter of June 29, 1773.
- 66 *Ibid.*, p. 216.
- 67 Hanna, *op. cit.*, II, 66.
- 68 Accounts of John Ormsby, *Olden Time*, II, 93.
- 69 *Ibid.*, also *Letters to Washington*, IV, 253.
- 70 *Letters to Washington*, IV, 253.
- 71 *Ibid.*, p. 254; also Durrett, *The Centenary of Louisville*, p. 27.
- 72 *The Washington-Crawford Letters*, p. 30.
- 73 Col. John Armstrong to Washington, *Letters to Washington*, IV, 292; also Durrett, *op. cit.*, p. 27.
- 74 Durrett, *op. cit.*, pp. 131f. The entire patent, copied from an old manuscript, is here printed.
- 75 Deposition of Arthur Campbell at Williamsburgh, Oct. 21, 1778, *Calendar of Va. State Papers*, I, 304.
- 76 Dec. 16, 1773. Burton, *op. cit.*, p. 72.



## CHAPTER II

## As Dunmore's Representative At Fort Pitt

The dispute between Virginia and Pennsylvania concerning the western boundary of the latter state made its appearance not long after the close of the French and Indian War, and centered on the control of the Forks of the Ohio and Fort Pitt. Even Dunmore admitted the justice of Pennsylvania's claim to both the Forks and Fort Pitt prior to that war, but he held that the territory was lost to her when it was captured by the French. As it was retaken by the British troops, he asserted that the title was again vested in the Crown, and that, as Virginia was a Crown colony, the title passed to that colony rather than to Pennsylvania, which was a proprietary government. Pennsylvania retorted by maintaining that if the land had once belonged to her, it could not have been lost to her in the French and Indian War, for Great Britain had not made war on her but upon the French. (1)

The quarrel became acute after 1770, for more settlers were pouring into the country and, since the price of lands under the Virginia laws was considerably less than under the Pennsylvania laws, the most of them sided with Virginia. (2) They were the more prone to do this as the greater part of them had come from that state. (3) Moreover, Colonel George Croghan, Connolly's uncle, was especially active, at first, in supporting Virginia, for according to the terms of a deed for some land purchased from the Indians, it was to his advantage to have the western line of Penn's grant limited to a point east of Fort Pitt, else his own grant would be void. (4) In fact, some of the Pennsylvanians in the territory believed that Colonel Croghan's intrigues were back of the whole affair. (5) But the Pennsylvanians themselves were not wholly blameless for the alarming situation, as some credence must be given to Dunmore's charges against them when justifying his later actions to the Earl of Dartmouth. At that time he stated that the Pennsylvania traders, being envious of the Virginia traders, tried to discredit the latter with the Indians and even stooped to buy plunder, especially skins and horses, which the Indians had taken from Virginians. (6)

To gain a first hand knowledge of this distressing situation and to lay plans to assert Virginia's jurisdiction over the region, were the chief reasons for Dunmore's mission to Fort Pitt in the summer of 1773. Connolly would have us believe that Dunmore persevered in his decision because the inhabitants themselves applied to him for relief from the oppressive control of Pennsylvania. (7) At any rate, soon after his visit, Dunmore made several civil appointments at Fort Pitt, including that post in the County of Augusta, Virginia. But these appointees could not well carry out their duties until a county seat was decided upon, more convenient than Staunton, the seat of Augusta County. (8)

For this difficulty Connolly himself had a solution which he would have liked to carry out, though he could never have done so with the permission of the Pennsylvanians. Being convinced that Pittsburgh, Redstone, and all the other western settlements could not properly be within the limits of Pennsylvania (9), he would have fixed the western boundary of that state by carving out a new county for Virginia. This new county would have included "Pittsburgh, & at least two miles to the East, & up the Monongahela to the entrance of Buffaloe Creek, perhaps Grave Creek, below Wheaton," and at least two thousand subjects, whom he averred would thus be freed from "the oppressive Tyranny" which was then exercised over them. (10). Not being permitted to attempt this impossible solution, he blundered along under Dunmore's orders, contesting the authority and actions of the Pennsylvania magistrates on the disputed ground. In his *Narrative* he justifies his actions by claiming that he only sought to prevent the illegal usurpation of authority by these magistrates until the King had made known his royal pleasure concerning the boundary, and asserts that "it was my endeavour, throughout this transaction, to conduct myself with a dispassionate and candid regard to justice only." (11) But a dispassionate perusal of the records of the affair may lead us to a different conclusion. Furthermore, one cannot help feeling that the fact that he owned three hundred acres of land, under the Virginia laws, in the disputed district (12), had something to do with his attitude.

Having thus definitely decided to throw in his lot with Dunmore and the Virginians, Connolly lost little time, after his appointment as a Captain in the Virginia militia, in attempting to take charge of the military and civil affairs in Fort Pitt. His first act was to take over the old fort itself. At the time the British troops had evacuated the place in 1772, the buildings and material of the fortifications had been sold. These could not have been too extensive, for the entire property had been appraised at about fifteen hundred pounds. (13) Regardless of this act, a Major Edward Ward had been authorized to take possession of the defenses. This officer continued in charge until Connolly and the Virginia militia relieved him about the first of January, 1774. (14)

The fort having been taken over, Connolly proceeded to let the inhabitants of the county know that he was henceforth to be regarded as their official protector and benefactor. To this end he posted the following proclamation in different parts of the village and sent other copies to the surrounding country. (15) The notice reads:

Whereas, his Excellency, John, Earl of Dunmore, Governor-in-chief and Captain of the Colony and Dominion of Virginia, and Vice Admiral of the same, has been pleased to nominate and appoint me Captain, Commandant of the Militia of Pittsburgh and its Dependencies, with Instructions to assure His Majesty's Subjects settled on the Western Waters, that having the greatest regard to their Prosperity and Interest, and convinced from their Memorials of the Grievances of which they complain, that he purposes moving to the House of Burgesses the Necessity of erecting a new County, to include Pittsburgh, for the redress of your complaints, and to take every other step that may tend to afford you that Justice for which you Solicit. In order to facilitate this desirable Circumstance, I hereby require and command all Persons in the Dependency of Pittsburgh, to assemble themselves there as a Militia on the 25th Instant, at which Time I shall communicate other Matters for the promotion of public Utility. Given under my Hand, this 1st day of January, 1774.

John Connolly (16)

These notices, being put up in Fort Pitt on January 6th, caused considerable resentment among the adherents of Pennsylvania, and they began to harbor thoughts of resisting Connolly's authority. (17)

But the Captain did not allow any grass to grow under his feet nor did he intend to permit his opponents to gain any advantage over him if he could help it. When the

rumor was borne to him that the Pennsylvanians intended to hold the next court for Westmoreland County at Fort Pitt, it is reported that he flew into a rage and vowed: "Damn me, if I will not oppose it." (18) To prevent such a contingency he marshalled his six or seven magistrates with Virginia appointments about him and informed the recalcitrant ones that Lord Dunmore had sent to Detroit for a Sergeant and twelve men to support his (Connolly's) authority. (19) Such forceful measures were further sources of irritation and surprise to the Pennsylvanians and their Governor. (20)

The leader of the Pennsylvanians, and Dr. Connolly's chief antagonist throughout this quarrel, was Capt. Arthur St. Clair, prothonotary of Westmoreland County, which included Pittsburgh within its bounds. He made his home at Ligonier but managed to keep in close touch with the proceedings at Pittsburgh. Rev. David McClure, who dined with him at his home in the spring of 1773, describes him as one who "appears to love his ease, & good cheer, & is, at times, afflicted with the gout." (21) However, his love of ease and good cheer did not prevent his strenuous and energetic opposition to Connolly's and Dunmore's plans.

St. Clair learned, on January 11th, about Connolly's proclamation of the 6th. Foreseeing the many dangers that might result from this assembling of the border militia, he wanted to take some preventive measures, but did not care to go very far on his own authority unless it became necessary. Realizing that he had scarcely two weeks before the muster to send his report to, and receive his orders from, Philadelphia, he made all the haste possible. He, therefore, hurried off his own clerk with his dispatches on January 12th. In this report he was careful to inform Governor Penn of the line of action he intended to follow in case the messenger did not return by the 25th:

Should it so happen that Mr. Hoofnagle cannot return in Time, but which he will do if it be possible, what occurs to me is previous to the Day appointed for the Assembly to demand such Security of Mr. Connolly for his good Behaviour as he will not be able to procure, and in Consequence to have him committed; to direct the Sheriff to have a sufficient Number of such as can be depended upon, to protect the Gaol, should a rescue be attempted, which perhaps may be the case, and to write the Magistrates, some to attend the Gaol, and some at Pittsburgh. (22)

He went on to say, though, that, if other effective means could be found, he would not resort to the plan he had set forth. The messenger arrived in Philadelphia on the evening of the 18th and the report was read before the Board on the 19th. (23)

Governor Penn's reply to St. Clair's letter is worth noting inasmuch as he later tempered his advice and actions, thus leaving his magistrates to bear the brunt of the responsibility for proceedings to which he now gave his approval. In spite of the documents and information before him he could not bring himself to believe that Dunmore had authorized Connolly's acts. Hence he intended to send a messenger to the Governor of Virginia to find out about "this very strange affair." "In the mean Time," so he writes, "I would, by all means, have you and the other Magistrates of your County assert the Right of Pennsylvania, and protect the People in every Part within its known Limits, as Fort Pitt most certainly is." He further assures St. Clair that "the Meeting of a number of People under Arms, in Consequence of Mr. Connolly's Summons, will undoubtedly be an Act of a criminal Nature, for which they may be indicted and punished, and comes properly under the Idea of an unlawful Assembly, with an intention to disturb the public Peace." Moreover, he approves St. Clair's plan in saying: "You will, therefore, do right in apprehending him and some of his principal Partizans, after such a meeting, and holding them to reasonable Security for their appearance at the next sessions, to answer for their Conduct." (24) Finally, and here we find the key to further trouble between the two groups:

I expect the magistrates on this occasion, will do their Duty with Spirit, in which they shall be supported by the government; and if any of Connolly's pretended Magistrates shall presume to proceed judicially within the known limits of the Province of Pennsylvania, I desire that proper Actions may be commenced by the Party aggrieved, not only against the Officer who executes the Process, but the Magistrate also under whose Authority he shall act; and you may be assured that such actions shall be prosecuted and supported at the Expence of this Government. (25)

The Governor surely did not realize the seriousness of the situation in the West, else he would have been more cautious in his advice, and, furthermore, he would have immediately dispatched his messenger to Lord Dunmore instead of waiting eleven days, until January 31st. (26)

But Penn's letter did not reach St. Clair until the 28th. Consequently, the prothonotary had already carried out his premeditated course of action. On the 24th (27), the day before the muster, Dr. Connolly was arrested according to St. Clair's orders, "on his owning himself the author of the Advertisements requiring the People to meet as a Militia," and was committed to the Westmoreland County jail on refusing to find sureties for his good behavior until the next court was held. (28)

This incarceration was to last but a short while, for Connolly soon found means to gain the good will of his jailer, Sheriff Proctor. (29) In fact rumor was rife concerning the remissness of this official's conduct. (30) But, however he managed it, Connolly was allowed, simply on the strength of his word to surrender himself whenever the Sheriff demanded him, to leave the jail, on February 2nd (31), in order to visit his friends in Pittsburgh. (32)

St. Clair hoped that Connolly's release would put an end to the matter, but he was disappointed, for the Doctor's followers seized the occasion for a celebration. About eighty of them, chiefly from Mr. Croghan's neighborhood and the country west of and below the Monongahela, assembled under arms. A parade being in order, they marched with much noise and horse-play through the town to the fort, where a cask of rum was produced on the drill ground and the head knocked out. As such revelry was liable to end in drunkenness and rioting, St. Clair called the Pennsylvania magistrates together to determine what action, if any, might be taken. It was agreed that a paper, appealing to all citizens to maintain peace and quiet, should be read. (33)

This paper was undoubtedly a fair and high-minded appeal to the roisterers to behave themselves and to submit to Pennsylvania's authority until the King had decided upon the boundary line. It called their attention to the fact that, if they did not do so, "A State of Anarchy and confusion, and total subversion of Property, must inevitably ensue," and concluded, "As his Majesty's Justices and Protectors of the public Peace of Pennsylvania, it is our duty to tell you, Your Meeting is an unlawful one, and that it tends to disquiet the minds of his Majesty's liege Subjects. We do, in his Majesty's Name, require you to

disperse, and retire yourselves peaceably to your respective Habitations." It was signed by eight of the Pennsylvania magistrates, and the name of Alexander McKee, a Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs and a good friend of Dr. Connolly, headed the list. (34). At the conclusion of the reading the disturbers agreed to go peacefully to their homes, so St. Clair and his followers left. And it was well he did, for towards night their mood became more belligerent and St. Clair would no doubt have suffered at their hands had he not kept himself out of their way. (35)

As noted before, Connolly had promised to return to jail at the sheriff's request. Instead of remaining at Pittsburgh, as he had implied he would, he spent but a few days in the town and then went up to Redstone. (36) At this place his followers had held, or were planning to hold, several musters, and had created much disturbance. In fact, Mr. Swearingen, one of the signers of the paper read before the mob in Pittsburgh on the 2nd, had been warned "to Act no longer there as a Pennsylvania Magistrate at his Peril." (37) Hence, Connolly was sure of his welcome at this settlement. He did not remain there long, for with the assistance of his friends, he soon assembled about twenty armed men whom he took with him as a bodyguard as far as the frontiers of Virginia on his way to Staunton. (38)

This trip to the seat of Augusta County, Virginia, was taken with the express purpose of securing more power with which to combat the authority of the Pennsylvania officials. In accordance with this purpose he had himself created a Justice of the Peace for Augusta County, planning to exercise this authority in Pittsburgh, having always held that that town was included in the aforesaid county. Moreover, to strengthen his forces he secured several blank commissions of a similar nature, to bestow upon henchmen of his in the disputed district. It may be interesting to note, in passing, that he later had some difficulty in getting his followers to accept these commissions, for doubtless few of the responsible ones wished, as yet, to take such an out-and-out stand. (39) Having accomplished his purpose in Staunton and having held communication with Lord Dunmore, he returned to Pittsburgh, arriving there on the 28th of March. (40)

His arrival was the signal for much exultation and some license on the part of the Virginians. On the 30th Connolly assembled his followers to give them a report of his mission. Hearing of this circumstance, Sheriff Proctor and the Pennsylvania Justices, Devereux Smith, Andrew McFarlane, and Aeneas MacKay, repaired to the fort to discover the Doctor's intentions; and, if they found his supporters inclined to be disorderly, "to Read them the Riot Act." On their arrival they found about twenty-odd men, some with and some without arms, and the Doctor himself before them with two letters in his hand, both of which he said he had just received from Lord Dunmore with orders to make the militia acquainted with their contents. Though he perceived the presence of the Pennsylvanians, he went ahead and read the first of the letters. In this Dunmore approved Connolly's conduct in not giving bail when taken by the Westmoreland sheriff; and commanded him to persevere in his plans for maintaining possession of Fort Pitt and also for putting the militia and other Virginia laws in force. It concluded with a promise of the powerful support of his Lordship. After a brief remark concerning the contents of the second letter, he turned to the Pennsylvanians and invited them to step into a barrack room near by. Here he told them that, though he had assembled the men outside to hear the contents of the letters in obedience to Dunmore's orders, he had no intention of taking any step contrary to the established rules of law until after the holding of the court, which was to meet in a few days. When it did meet he was determined to deliver himself up and abide by its judgment. He requested that they should observe similar pacific measures in the meantime. The Pennsylvanians answered that they were averse to violent proceedings, unless forced to them in their own defense; and hoped that he did not mean by his request that they were to refrain from performing the duties of their office as conservators of the peace. Connolly replied that he did not expect them to thus neglect their duties. In this he deceived them, for on the very next morning, after Sheriff Proctor had served a writ upon one of the militia lieutenants, the Sheriff himself was seized on a King's warrant issued by Connolly, and was held in custody for some little time. (41)

Such conduct was the cause of disquieting rumors being circulated about the post. One of these tales had it that,



when the Westmoreland County Court met, the militia officers would lead their companies thereto, and subject the Pennsylvania officials to abuse. (42) In this the conjectures were not far from wrong.

The court met at Hannastown on April 6, 1774, as scheduled, and Connolly made his appearance there according to promise. But that appearance was enough to cause no little trepidation among the Justices there assembled, for he came at the head of one hundred and eighty or two hundred followers, most of them with firearms and some with drawn swords. At the time of the arrival of this little army, the court was adjourned for dinner. Connolly, therefore, marched his force straight to the courthouse, stationed the men around it and placed sentinels at the door. This he did to prevent the afternoon session of the court. As soon as the magistrates appeared, he informed them that he had a message to deliver. They accordingly designated a meeting place, where Connolly waited upon them and delivered himself of the following notification: (43)

Gentlemen:—

I am come here to be the Occasion of no Disturbances, but to prevent them. As I am countenanced by Government, whatever you may say or conceive, some of the Justices of this Bench are the cause of this Appearance, and not me. I have done this to prevent myself from being illegally taken to Philadelphia. My orders from the Government of Virginia not being explicit, but claiming the country about Pittsburgh, I have raised the Militia to support the Civil Authority of that Colony vested in me.

I am come here to free myself from a Promise made to Captain Proctor, but have not conceived myself amenable to this Court by any authority from Pennsylvania, upon which Account I cannot apprehend that you have any Right to remain here as Justices of the Peace constituting a Court under that Province; but in order to prevent Confusion, agree that you may continue to act in that capacity, in all such Matters as may be submitted to your determination by the acquiescence of the People, until I may have Instructions to the Contrary from Virginia or until His Majesty's Pleasure shall be further known on this subject. (44)

In addition to the above Connolly also read a copy of a letter which Lord Dunmore had sent to Governor Penn, and which the former had transmitted to him. (45) Having delivered these messages, he demanded that his auditors should answer him in writing. This they agreed to do and Connolly left them.

As soon as their reply was drafted the Doctor was sent for. But their messenger returned from the proud man with

the information that, inasmuch as he had waited upon them with his message, he now expected them to wait upon him with theirs. Wisely humbling themselves the Justices proceeded to where he was resting. Not deeming them sufficiently humbled, the Doctor permitted them to "cool their heels" for a time before his door, ere he condescended to hear them. When his gracious permission was finally granted, they appeared before him and read their answer (46), of which the following is the significant part:

The Jurisdiction of the Court and officers of the County of Westmoreland rests on the legislative Authority of the Province of Pennsylvania, confirmed by His Majesty in Council. That Jurisdiction has been regularly exercised, and the Court and Officers will continue to exercise it in the same regular manner. It is far from their Intention to occasion or foment Disturbances, and they apprehend that no such intentions can with Propriety be inferred from any part of their conduct, on the Contrary, they wish and will do all in their Power to preserve the public Tranquility. In order to contribute to this very salutary Purpose, they give Information that every step will be taken on the part of the Province of Pennsylvania to accommodate any Differences that have arisen between it and the Colony of Virginia, by fixing a temporary Line betwixt them. (47)

Having done what had been required of them the Pennsylvanians presented the Captain with a copy of their declaration and departed. (48) Soon afterwards Connolly and his troops took their leave. (49) But, however, pacific the Captain's intentions may have been, he could not wholly control his soldiers who were recruited from all the riffraff of the border (50), for, when passing through Bullock Pens on their way home, they created further disturbances to arouse the fear and antagonism of the people. (51)

But Connolly doubtless felt himself strong enough now to openly defy the opposition of the Pennsylvanians. Behind him he had all the encouragement and promises of support from Lord Dunmore that he could wish for. He was invested with the civil authority to oppose that of the Pennsylvania Justices. It was whispered about that the militia of Augusta County was under orders to march to Pittsburgh on the shortest notice, and it was certain that he had twelve commissions for militia officers which he was empowered to fill out at his own discretion. (52) With these powers at this command it is not to be wondered at that he dared, in a vengeful spirit, to summon a deputy sheriff from Augusta County with writs to serve upon Capt. St. Clair and Sheriff

Proctor, for his own arrest and confinement in January. (53) Learning of such ominous preparations, the adherents of Pennsylvania had good cause to view the future with disquietude. (54)

Their fears were soon proved to have been sufficiently justified, for Connolly promptly began to push his retaliatory measures with vigor. As soon as the Westmoreland Court adjourned, Justices Aeneas MacKay, Andrew McFarlane and Devereux Smith made their way home to Pittsburgh. On the evening of their arrival they received word that Connolly had issued warrants for their arrest. The information proved to be too true, for at nine-thirty the next morning, April 9th, all three were apprehended by Connolly's sheriff. The only crime charged against them was the answer they had given in writing, with the concurrence of the entire court, to Connolly on April 6th at Hannastown. Their captor offered to enlarge them if they would give bail and agree to stand trial before the Virginia court in Staunton. On their refusal to give the required security, he ordered that they should be sent to Staunton that very afternoon, there to await in prison the day of their trial. This prospect was not in the least appealing to the Pennsylvanians, for, during the time of their imprisonment, which might last all summer, their respective businesses would suffer and their families would be exposed to the persecution of the Virginians. They nevertheless stood firm, but each of them found time, before he was hurried away, to write a statement of his precarious predicament for the edification of Governor Penn, whose instructions were partly responsible for their distressing situations. (55) Inasmuch as they understood themselves to be carrying out their Governor's wishes, it was only just for them to expect to be reimbursed for, at least, the expenses of their course of action. (56) After writing these letters they had not long to wait, for Connolly proceeded to carry out his threat, and sent them on their way under the guard of five or six armed men. (57)

The letters portraying the unfortunate plight of his representatives were taken under consideration by Penn and his Board on April 21st. This council decided that the most advisable step was to send commissioners to Williamsburgh to represent to Dunmore the ill consequence that might happen to the people and property around Pittsburgh unless

an immediate stop was put to the disorderly proceedings being carried on by his agent in that district. Moreover, the commissioners were to endeavor to agree upon a temporary line of jurisdiction and also to try to get Dunmore to join in an application to the King asking the latter to appoint the proper men to run true boundary lines between Pennsylvania and Virginia. The Board also recommended that letters be sent to the three men in jail at Staunton, commending their spirited conduct, and advising them that their expenses would be met by the government. This letter the Governor took it upon himself to write. Besides recounting the recommendations of the Board, he advised them to procure their liberty on bail, if at all possible, in order that their personal businesses might not suffer; and informed them that a friend of theirs was on the way to Staunton to aid them in obtaining any security or credit that they might deem necessary. (58)

While the above events were transpiring in Philadelphia, Aeneas MacKay was working in his own way to free himself and his companions. After they had been one day upon their journey toward Staunton, he found means to procure permission from the guards to go on to Williamsburgh, there to lay the case of himself and his friends before Lord Dunmore, and to recount to the latter the misdemeanors of Connolly. After six days' riding he arrived at that town and was admitted to the presence of the Governor. The Lord heard the story through to the end and then told MacKay that Connolly was acting under full authority from himself and that, as far as the taking of prisoners was concerned, Connolly was only imitating the action of the Pennsylvania officers when they had imprisoned him. This ended the first interview and Dunmore continued to put off from day to day another appointment with the impatient emissary. At the end of three days, however, MacKay was presented with a letter to the sheriff at Staunton, to whose custody he and his fellow Justices had been assigned, ordering that officer to set at liberty the Pennsylvania magistrates. MacKay lost little time in reaching Staunton and, by May 5th, all three were on their way home. But their homeward journey was not as pleasant as one might think, for they were not at all sure of their reception, nor were they at all certain as to what line of action they should follow.

(59) MacKay, especially, by bearing tales of Connolly's conduct to Dunmore, had made for himself an implacable enemy of the former, and was to suffer much persecution as a result.

Well might MacKay and all the Pennsylvanians dread the rule of Connolly and his militia. To be sure he had with him some responsible though fickle men. As subalterns he had John Stephenson, brother of William Crawford, at that time the senior Pennsylvania magistrate but who was later to transfer his support to Virginia; William Harrison, a son-in-law of the same Crawford; Dorsey Penticost, lately a Pennsylvania magistrate; Alexander McKee, Indian Agent for the Crown, not openly with the Virginians at first; John Campbell and John Gibson, traders. (60) On the other hand, another of his officers was Simon Girty, a notorious renegade of the border. (61) Such were a few of the officers, but the rank and file were of a different class entirely, consisting mostly of frontier ruffians of one kind or another. One could hardly expect little else, if credit may be given to contemporary descriptions of the frontier population. Rev. McClure, writing in Pittsburgh in 1773, says: "The inhabitants of this place are very dissipated. They seem to feel themselves beyond the arm of government, & freed from the restraining influence of religion. It is the resort of Indian traders, & many here have escaped from Justice and from Creditors, in the old settlements." (62) At the very beginning of the controversy it had been feared that the latter class would flock to Connolly's standard, (63) and so it turned out, for William Crawford himself describes the militia as "composed of men without character and without fortune, and who would be equally averse to the regular administration of justice under the colony of Virginia as they are to that under the province of Pennsylvania." (64) Another witness testifies concerning the body of men who accompanied Connolly to the Westmoreland Court on April 6th, that he was "well assured that amongst all those who assembled there was not one single man of any property: on the contrary, the greatest part of them were such as are obliged to hide themselves from their creditors or such as under the necessity of taking shelter in this part of the country to escape the punishment due their crimes," and he notes one Teagarden especially, "an old fellow who has

several times been *committed* for Felony" but whom the writer does not know to have ever been convicted "because he has always broken Gaol." (65) Nor was Connolly averse to using any type of person, for he resorted to every artifice to seduce the people, offering to some civil or military appointments, and promising to others grants of land on easy terms. By such means he even won over some of the Pennsylvanians. (66)

Dr. Connolly became particularly zealous in recruiting his followers soon after his arrest in January and after his return from Staunton near the end of March. Such an unruly band he could not wholly control and it may be that he did not wish to, for he no doubt harbored thoughts of revenge for the humiliation of his short imprisonment, and probably found, in their abuse of the adherents of Pennsylvania, a secret satisfaction. At any rate, his men, finding their misdeeds uncensured, grew more and more violent. (67) Frequent musters were held and these were attended with much confusion and disorder. (68) In order to secure food the militia did not hesitate to seize from the farmers about Pittsburgh whatever they could lay their hands on. Cattle, sheep and hogs were shot down without permission being asked of the owners. When the farmers demanded payment the stock was appraised and he was given a bill on Lord Dunmore for its value. This proved to be downright mockery. (69) Even horses were impressed and no satisfaction rendered. (70)

The Pennsylvania magistrates, in particular, suffered severely from the malicious misdeeds of these frontier recruits. Especially did Devereux Smith and Aeneas MacKay feel the force of their displeasure. About the 5th of May, while Mr. Smith was still at Staunton, a body of armed men appeared at his house and attempted to take away a quantity of blankets and bags. As Mr. Smith tells the story, this theft was prevented by a friend of his, Mr. William Butler, who happened to be at the house at the time. The plunderers being thwarted, they complained to Connolly who immediately dispatched a body of twelve men, whom he soon followed, to carry out the nefarious scheme. But the intruders found the door locked against them and, not wishing to resort to violence, Connolly had to content himself by cursing both Mr. Smith and Mr. Butler, and by threatening

to send the latter to Virginia in irons after stripping him of every farthing's worth of property. (71) Whether or not Mr. Smith's version of the incident is wholly true is immaterial, for the actual occurrence is well attested. It is no wonder, therefore, that the unfortunate official found his family in "the greatest confusion," when he arrived home on the 11th day of May. (72)

But Aeneas MacKay seems to have suffered the worst persecution, perhaps because Connolly supposed him to be his most persistent and aggressive opponent. (73) During the early part of April this Pennsylvania Justice had been subjected to gross mistreatment. It seems that MacKay, at that time, had confined one Riely, lately a constable for Westmoreland County but more recently a turncoat to Connolly, for personal abuse. The culprit's comrades, hearing of his confinement, hastened to the rescue. Breaking down the back yard gates, they rushed the house. Five of them covered Mr. MacKay and Mr. Devereux, who was visiting his friend at the time, with their rifles. One even struck at MacKay with his gun only to have it broken when his intended victim dodged. Another thrust the muzzle of his gun through the parlor window and threatened to shoot Mrs. MacKay unless she immediately opened the door. Too frightened to heed his words, she turned to flee but was quickly brought to a stand by a Captain Aston, one of Connolly's officers, who slashed her across the arm with his cutlass. Mr. Joseph Spear, another Pennsylvanian, who sought to aid his friends, was also assaulted by Aston. By such measures the party succeeded in rescuing their friend Riely. (74)

A few days after the foregoing incident MacKay, Devereux Smith and McFarlane were arrested and sent to Staunton, as has been related. (75) MacKay, by going on to Williamsburgh and reporting to Dunmore concerning Connolly's "Tryannical behaviour," had marked himself out as an especial object of the Doctor's wrath, and consequently was subjected to further abuse soon after his return to Pittsburgh. (76) On May 27th, while MacKay was absent, a party of militia under Capt. Aston appeared at his house. Mrs. MacKay refused to allow them to enter, and managed to obtain permission to go to see Capt. Connolly. While on this errand she contrived to send word to her husband.

During her absence, and that of Aston who had followed her to Connolly, the rowdies proceeded to tear down a sheep shed and a stable that were on the place. Upon this scene of destruction MacKay descended, and it looked for a time as if there would be bloodshed. But bystanders prevailed upon the wrathful victim to take his complaint to Connolly. On the way he encountered his wife and Aston who were returning with Connolly to the scene. Aston immediately covered the already angered magistrate with his rifle. This was too much. Throwing caution to the winds, MacKay jumped for Aston, despite the fellow's levelled gun, but was brought to the ground by a blow on the head, delivered by another soldier. Aston, safe from the infuriated man's attack, launched a blow at Mrs. MacKay, but it was warded off by Simon Girty. This ended the fracas and MacKay was carried to the fort. When he had recovered sufficiently to return home, Connolly accompanied him. There the Doctor was upbraided by Mrs. MacKay for permitting such misconduct. Angered by her expostulation, Connolly replied, "—damn me, Madam, I will pull down the very house you live in if I have occasion for it." (77) Even this assault did not end MacKay's persecution.

On June 7th he received newspapers saying that Dunmore had dissolved the House of Burgesses. This news he related to a neighbor. By evening a garbled version—so it was alleged, at least—of the report, stating that the House of Burgesses had dissolved without making any provision for the payment of troops under Connolly's command, was being nosed around. Connolly, on hearing this gossip, soon betook himself with one of his officers to the home of MacKay. There he roundly abused his opponent in a "Blasphemous and outrageous" manner, and accused him of trying to foment a mutiny among his men. He concluded the tirade by threatening to send the unlucky Justice to Virginia the next day, in irons. (78) This threat, however, was not carried out. Besides having to submit to such mistreatment, MacKay, in common with others near the town, had his sheep stolen (79) and his horses impressed (80) without restitution.

Other Pennsylvanians were also made to feel the effects of Connolly's displeasure. On April 7th, at the head of a party of mounted and armed men, he had ridden into Pitts-



burgh and alighted before the stores of John Armsby and Joseph Spear. Ignoring the presence of Spear's clerk and another man who were tying up skins near by, he stalked into the store. Reappearing after an interval, he ordered one of his men to seize the clerk, William Amberton, without offering any explanation. Knowing it useless to resist, Amberton acquiesced and stepped forward to lock the store, whereupon Connolly himself seized him by the breast and told him to let the skins and the store go to the devil, for, if Spear himself had been there, he, Spear, would have been treated in the same manner. Thereupon both Amberton and his fellow-workman were led off to the fort and later imprisoned under guard in the home of one of Connolly's henchman. (81) Spear was further despoiled when one of his carriers was robbed of a horse-load of gunpowder, which was being sent by the owner to the inhabitants of Pittsburgh for their use, if necessity required. The incident took place only six miles from the town, and was carried out by a party under the leadership of the cruel Capt. Aston who beat and abused the carrier when the latter demanded a receipt for his goods. (82)

The Butler brothers, William and Richard, traders, the latter of whom will be remembered as the valiant defender of Devereux Smith's home when it was attacked by the rabble on May 5th during owner's absence, (83) also came in for their share of punishment. Richard, so the story goes, after having thrashed a thief who had stolen his horse, resisted a Sergeant of Connolly's sent to arrest him. Thereupon recourse was had to the redoubtable Capt. Aston, who succeeded in persuading the recalcitrant trader to submit to arrest and to give bail for his appearance at the Augusta Court. (84) William had first gained Connolly's ill will when he refused to bear arms at the Commandant's militia muster. (85) Some time later, after having engaged in a brawl with a "worthless, drunken fellow" who had insulted him, his arrest was ordered. But the warrant could not be served, for William fled to the home of Devereux Smith, where he remained in spite of a posse sent to seize him and which remained on the premises until 9 o'clock in the evening: (86) A few weeks later one of the brothers (it is not stated which) endeavored, in company with Mr. Spear, to evade Connolly's trading restrictions. (87) In consequence

Butler and three of his helpers were confined in the guard-house; and the woman who kept house for him was drummed all around the town for going to see him in his distress. (88)

Having to undergo such oppression, it is not strange that the Pennsylvanians bombarded Governor Penn and his Board was deposition after deposition relating the misdeeds of their oppressor. Nor is it surprising that, lacking sufficient support, the Westmoreland magistrates considered it both fruitless and dangerous for them to proceed in the execution of their duties. (89) In desperation they gathered and drafted a symposium of their wrongs and forwarded it to their Governor hoping that such a report might spur him to aid them in some active manner. (90)

But they could not hold Governor Penn wholly responsible for their predicament, inasmuch as he had written them on April 22nd, cautioning them against too violent opposition to Connolly. In that letter he had said:

The present alarming situation of our Affairs in Westmoreland county, occasioned by the very unaccountable Conduct of the Government of Virginia, required the utmost attention of this Government, and therefore I intend, with all possible Expedition, to send Commissioners to expostulate with my Lord Dunmore upon the Behaviour of those he has thought proper to invest with such power as hath greatly disturbed the peace of that Country. As the Government of Virginia hath the Power of raising a Militia, and there is not any such in this Province, it will be vain to contend with them in the way of Force; the Magistrates, therefore, at the same time that they continue with steadiness to exercise the Jurisdiction of Pennsylvania with respect to the distributions of Justice and punishment of Vice, must be cautious of entering into any such contests with the Officers of my Lord Dunmore, as may tend to widen the present unhappy Breach, and therefore, as Things are at present circumstanced, I would not advise the Magistracy of Westmoreland County to proceed by way of criminal prosecution against them for exercising the Government of Virginia (91)

But Penn ought to have realized that he was advising prudence after the "fat was in the fire," for he already knew of Connolly's imprisonment by the Pennsylvanians and the subsequent arrest of MacKay, Smith and McFarlane by Connolly. In a sense, therefore, his magistrates had a right to feel that he was somewhat inclined to dodge responsibility.

Virtually left to their own resources, the western Pennsylvanians made their own plans for forceful resistance, even in defiance of Penn's wishes. St. Clair, Smith, Groghan and one of the Butler brothers agreed to raise,

victual and pay one hundred rangers for a month. Moreover, they proposed to erect several forts and to build a stockade around Fort Pitt. If they could do this, they believed they would be able to recover control of the country in case Governor Penn's negotiations with Lord Dunmore should miscarry. (92) They felt that they would be able to carry out this program without opposition from Connolly, whom they planned to hood-wink by informing him that the preparations were being made to protect the people and keep them from fleeing from the country (many families having already gone), as there was much reason to fear a dreadful Indian war at the time. (93)

However, the wily Doctor was not wholly deceived, for he sent his friend John Campbell to importune his uncle, Col. Croghan, and learn the real significance of the Pennsylvanians' actions. Croghan managed to put Campbell off with the explanation agreed upon, but was somewhat worried by the emissary's reception of the information. He, therefore, made haste to communicate an account of the interview to St. Clair. In this letter he states that both Connolly and Campbell realized that they should have taken similar measures and they now feared they would be roundly condemned for not having done so. To protect themselves from this censure they were trying to make it appear that the warlike preparations of the Pennsylvanians were made "to invade ye Rights of Virginia," thus hitting upon the hidden motive. In this procedure, Croghan saw another attempt to create fresh difference between the Virginians and Pennsylvanians, so that Connolly might still have some occasion for being retained in command at that post, the Indian troubles having somewhat subsided. (94)

Evidently Connolly and his uncle were not on very good terms at this period, for Croghan also told St. Clair that he intended to go to Williamsburgh in a few days and "represent the State of the Country" to Dunmore. (95) Opinion differed as to the honesty and sincerity of Croghan's intentions at this juncture. MacKay believed him "earnest and sincere." (96) but St. Clair still alarmed at the Indian situation, felt that "the Circumstances of his going to Williamsburg, whatever design he may avow, is to be out of the way of Danger, for he dare not neither trust the White People nor the Indians." (97) And his nephew,

Connolly, charged "that His business there is not for the publick good, but to answer private & ungenerous designs," namely, in order to make sure that his Indian grant would be secure under the laws of Virginia after the boundary dispute had been settled. (98) In any case, his letter to St. Clair, and his visit to Dunmore did little to alter the situation, though the former gives us a fair conception of the trend of affairs at that time.

Governor Penn, on learning of the military arrangements of St. Clair and his other magistrates, made somewhat in defiance of his instructions, wrote a gracious letter to his prothonotary, in which he said in part:

In this unhappy Situation, I am satisfied you and the other Magistrates will act a Prudent Part. It is impossible in such a Case to give particular Directions. With respect to the keeping up the Rangers you have raised for the Security of the Inhabitants, I shall recommend it to the Assembly to defray the Expence that shall accrue in that necessary Measure; and I cannot have the least doubt that they will approve of what has been done on this Occasion, as also the continuance of the same Forces, until their Sentiments can be known." (99)

As a means of lessening the danger of a collision between the two groups it had, early in the struggle, been suggested that a temporary line of jurisdiction be settled upon. (100) The Pennsylvanians had been especially active in pushing this solution. Governor Penn had even sent commissioners to Williamsburgh to cooperate in running the line. (101) But Dunmore refused to have anything to do with them, claiming that their demands were entirely too extravagant. However, he did empower Connolly to act with the Westmoreland magistrates in determining a temporary boundary, providing it was placed at least ten or twelve miles east of Pittsburgh. But this proposition, too, came to nothing, for the Pennsylvania Justices refused to lend their assistance because they had no instructions for so doing from the government of the province. (102)

Affairs continued, therefore, to remain in a state of smoldering hostility, almost blown into a flame at times by Connolly's irritating restrictions and oppression. Early in June he had seen fit to change the name of the post to Fort Dunmore (103), thus currying favor with his commander. Then, to embarrass the Pennsylvania traders, he endeavored to put a stop to their Indian trade, after having secured

for himself, John Campbell and a Joseph Simon, an exclusive monopoly for carrying on that business on the frontiers of Virginia. (104) Moreover, as a further hindrance he issued an order forbidding any skins to be removed from Pittsburgh until a duty of four pence each had been paid upon them, as in Virginia. (105) The authority for levying this tax he probably found in Dunmore's proclamation to the people of the disputed district, in which it was ordered that they should "pay His Majesty's quitrents and all public dues." (106) Naturally, the Commandant's application of this order was the signal for resistance on the part of the Pennsylvania traders, and Connolly found some difficulty in enforcing it. At one time he had all roads watched, and seized, and held for payment of duties, several horse-loads of skins that were enroute from the post. (107) At another time he threatened to try "for their lives" the assistants of Mr. Spear, who had sent them with some goods to one of the towns of the Delaware Indians. (108) In desperation his competitors started another trading post at Kittanning, but this move, too proved ineffective because of the forceful opposition of Connolly. (109)

The use of Dunmore's proclamation to cover his own questionable schemes may have led others of even more elastic conscience, later in the year, to palm themselves off upon the inhabitants as tax collectors for Virginia. In this fraudulent fashion they obtained money from the people and kept it for their own uses. Their deeds became so flagrant that Connolly felt called upon to issue a notice stating that, "there can be no Authority legally invested in any Persons for such Acts at this Juncture, that such Attempts to abuse public Liberty are unwarrantable, and that all Persons have an undoubted natural, as well as lawful Right, to repel such Violence, and all His Majesty's Subjects are hereby required to apprehend any Person, whatever, who may attempt a seizure of their Effects in consequence of such imaginary Authority, to be dealt with as the Law directs." (110) This announcement may have stopped the depredations, for no more is heard of them.

In the foregoing pages the attempt has been made to tell the story of the struggles, during the first half of the year 1774, between the Pennsylvanians and the Virginians for the Forks of the Ohio, Pittsburgh and the surrounding

district. The issue was still undecided, but Connolly with the strong support of Dunmore had thus far succeeded in besting the Pennsylvanians who had had no active aid from Governor Penn. It is altogether probable that there might have been actual hostilities between the two factions in the bitter dispute had not a common fear withheld them, in no small degree, from such a foolhardy course. This enforced truce was due to the very real danger of an Indian War, with the horrors of which both parties were well acquainted. The story of this war is almost inextricably mixed with that of the boundary dispute, but the effort has been made to isolate the former in the following chapter.

## FOOTNOTES OF CHAPTER II

- 1 Burton, "John Connolly, a Tory of the Revolution," *Proc. of the Amer. Antiq. Soc.* (New Series) XX, 74f; also Hanna, *The Wilderness Trail*, II, 66.
- 2 White, "The Judiciary of Allegheny Co.," *Pa. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, VII, 151.
- 3 *Pa. Archives*, 1st series, IV, 481.
- 4 Hanna, *op. cit.*, II, 66.
- 5 *Colonial Records*, X, 141.
- 6 *Documentary History of Dunmore's War*, p. 391.
- 7 *Letters to Washington*, IV, 319.
- 8 *Ibid.*, p. 289.
- 9 *Ibid.*, p. 319.
- 10 *Ibid.*, p. 289.
- 11 *Pa. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, XII 312.
- 12 Burton, *op. cit.*, p. 72.
- 13 *Pa. Archives*, 4th series, IV, 88. The purchasers were Alexander Ross and William Thompson. The actual appraisal was .1482, 17s, 2d.
- 14 Deposition of Major Edward Ward, Mar. 10, 1777. *Cal. of Va. State Papers*, I, 278.
- 15 *Colonial Records*, X, 140.
- 16 *Ibid.*, p. 141.
- 17 *Ibid.*
- 18 *Ibid.*
- 19 Three of these magistrates were: Major Smallman, John Campbell, and John Gibson. *Colonial Records*, X, 141.
- 20 *Ibid.*, p. 145.
- 21 *Diary of David McClure*, p. 119.
- 22 *Colonial Records*, X, 140.
- 23 *Ibid.*
- 24 The fact that Penn knew that St. Clair could not receive his message until *after* the 25th, the date of the muster—it being on the 20th that he wrote—probably accounts for the use of this preposition. St. Clair, it will be remembered, planned to make his arrests *before* the muster.
- 25 *Colonial Records*, X, 145.
- 26 *Ibid.*, p. 149.
- 27 *Pa. Archives*, 1st series, IV, 484.

- 28 *Ibid.*, pp. 476f.
- 29 *Ibid.*, p. 484.
- 30 *Ibid.*, p. 489.
- 31 *Letters to Washington*, IV, 322.
- 32 *Pa. Archives*, 1st series, IV, 484. Thomas Wharton, closely associated with Gov. Penn, in writing to his friend, Thomas Walpole—see “Letters of Thomas Wharton,” *Pa. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, XXXIII, 333—says that Connolly was released on Gov. Penn’s orders. This cannot be true, for the news of Connolly’s arrest could not have gone to Philadelphia, and the order for his release returned, between January 24 and February 2.
- 33 *Pa. Archives*, 1st series, IV, 477.
- 34 *Ibid.*, pp. 478f. The names of the other magistrates were William Lochry, James Pollock, James Cavet, Aeneas MacKay, Van Swearingen, William Bracken, and Arthur St. Clair.
- 35 *Ibid.*, p. 477.
- 36 *Ibid.*, p. 484.
- 37 *Ibid.*, p. 481.
- 38 *Ibid.*, p. 484.
- 39 *Ibid.*, p. 619; also *Colonial Records*, X, 165.
- 40 *Pa. Archives*, 1st series, IV, 484.
- 41 *Ibid.*, pp. 484f; also *Colonial Records*, X, 166.
- 42 *Colonial Records*, X, 166; also *Pa. Archives*, 1st series, IV, 486.
- 43 *Colonial Records*, X, 186; also *Pa. Archives*, 1st series, IV, 492f. This latter reference is to a deposition made by George Wilson, one of the magistrates, before Mayor Fisher of Philadelphia, on April 25, 1774.
- 44 *Colonial Records*, X, 167.
- 45 *Ibid.*, p. 166.
- 46 *Pa. Archives*, 1st series, IV, 493.
- 47 *Colonial Records*, X, 167.
- 48 *Pa. Archives*, 1st series, IV, 493.
- 49 *Colonial Records*, X, 166.
- 50 *Pa. Archives*, 1st series, IV, 619.
- 51 *Colonial Records*, X, 166.
- 52 *Pa. Archives*, 1st series, IV, 485f
- 53 *Colonial Records*, X, 166.
- 54 *Pa. Archives*, 1st series, IV, 485
- 55 *Colonial Records*, X, 169f. For Penn’s instructions see pp. 24f. of this narrative.
- 56 *Pa. Archives*, 1st series, IV, 583.
- 57 *Ibid.*, pp. 491f.
- 58 *Ibid.*, 4th series, III, 472f.; also *Colonial Records*, X, 170f.
- 59 *Pa. Archives*, 1st series, IV, 493ff.
- 60 *Ibid.*, p. 477. Only part of the names are given in this reference, but the other men will be shown to be supporters of Connolly in the course of this narrative
- 61 *Ibid.*, pp. 565f.
- 62 *Diary of David McClure*, p. 53.
- 63 *Colonial Records*, X, 141.
- 64 *The Washington-Crawford Letters*, p. 43.
- 65 *Pa. Archives*, 1st series, IV, 619.
- 66 *Ibid.*, p. 485.
- 67 *Ibid.*, p. 481.
- 68 *Colonial Records*, X, 165. Dunmore had issued a handbill on April 25, 1774, ordering: the people of Pittsburgh and vicinity to submit to the rule of Virginia; the militia officers to recruit men to repel any insult; and the people thereabouts

- to pay His Majesty's quitrents and all public dues—see *Pa. Archives, 1st series, IV, 490f.*
- 69 *Pa. Archives, 1st series, IV, 503, 567, 630.*
- 70 *Ibid., pp. 529, 564.*
- 71 *Ibid., pp. 630, 529.*
- 72 *Ibid., p. 511.*
- 73 *Ibid., p. 517.*
- 74 *Ibid., p. 528; also Colonial Records, X, 166; also The Washington-Crawford Letters, pp. 43f.*
- 75 See pp. 32ff.
- 76 *Pa. Archives, 1st series, IV, 527.*
- 77 *Ibid., pp. 517, 529, 565, 568, 630.* The accounts of this incident differ in detail but are alike in substance. The above account is taken chiefly from the deposition of Samuel Sinclair, made before Capt. St. Clair on August 22, 1774, p. 565 of the reference quoted. There may be some question as to the accuracy of every detail but it is worth recounting nevertheless.
- 78 *Pa. Archives, 1st series, IV, 529, 564f, 631.*
- 79 *Ibid., p. 567.*
- 80 *Ibid., p. 564.*
- 81 *Colonial Records, X, 166, 168.* This latter reference is to a deposition of a Henry Read, who witnessed the affair, and after seeing the conclusion, hurried away to the meeting of the Westmoreland Court to inform Spear, and there, on the same day, made his deposition before William Crawford and Van Swearingen. Another, but abbreviated account of the affair may be found in *Pa. Archives, 1st series, IV, 567.*
- 82 *Pa. Archives, 1st series, IV, 529.*
- 83 See pp. 37f.
- 84 *Pa. Archives, 1st series, IV, 540f.*
- 85 *Ibid., p. 527.*
- 86 *Ibid., p. 541.*
- 87 See pp. 45f.
- 88 *Pa. Archives, 1st series, IV, 575.*
- 89 *Colonial Records, X, 166.*
- 90 *Pa. Archives, 1st series, IV, 526ff.*
- 91 *Colonial Records, X, 171f.; also Pa. Archives, 4th series, III, 473f.*
- 92 *Pa. Archives, 1st series, IV, 503, 506.*
- 93 *Ibid., pp. 507, 510.*
- 95 *Ibid.*
- 96 *Ibid., p. 517.*
- 97 *Ibid., p. 510.*
- 98 *Letters to Washington, V, 8.*
- 99 *Colonial Records, X, 194f.*
- 100 April, 1774, and even before. *Colonial Records, X, 166.*
- 101 See p. 33.
- 102 *Pa. Archives, 1st series, IV, 514, 525, 631.*
- 103 *Ibid., p. 519.*
- 104 *Ibid., p. 557.*
- 105 *Ibid., pp. 539, 541.*
- 106 *Ibid., pp. 490f.*
- 107 *Ibid., p. 541.*
- 108 *Ibid., p. 557.*
- 109 *Ibid., pp. 571f.*
- 110 Dec. 30, 1774. *Colonial Records, X, 228.*  
(To be continued)