INTRODUCTION

From Carlisle the early road ran southward through the Cumberland Valley via Shippensburg to the Conococheague Settlements (Chambersburg), thence crossed the Potomac at the mouth of Conococheague Creek (Williamsport, Maryland) to the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia (present U.S. Route 11). Although only a rough wagon road, it was commonly called the "Great Road to Virginia." This wagon road already had been extended to McDowell's Mill, or Fort McDowell (present Markes, Pennsylvania) upon the West Fork of Conococheague, when, in 1755, Colonel James Burd was sent to cut a road from that point over the mountains to meet General Braddock's road near the Great Crossing of the Youghiogheny.1

Over the Great Road, in 1758, marched Forbes' army from Carlisle to Fort Loudoun, which had recently supplanted Fort McDowell,2 three miles below the present village of Fort Loudon, Franklin County. Thence, the road bent around the promontory of Parnell's Knob (North Mountain), passing in a northerly direction up Path Valley and over Tuscarora Mountain by Cowan Gap. It then slid down the narrow, declining trough between Tuscarora and Cove Mountain to the Little Aughwick Creek at Burnt Cabins.3

It was here that the Pennsylvania Road of later years again

In the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress is the only known copy of the Journal of Samuel Vaughan.

1 Burd's efforts came to naught with Braddock's defeat on July 9, 1755. His road had been cut as far as the top of Allegheny Mountain not far from Roxbury, Somerset County, where he buried his tools, later to be dug up by Forbes' scouts and used by his road builders. See Papers of Colonel Henry Bouquet (Harrisburg, 1951), 235-236.

2 For the construction of Fort Loudoun, see Colonel John Armstrong's letter to Governor William Denny, November 19, 1756, Pennsylvania Archives, 1st ser., III, 58.

came into the Forbes Route. Authorized by Act of Assembly, September 21, 1785, and begun that year, this road was still under construction when Vaughan passed over it in 1787, and during the following year. The new road diverged from the Great Road (Forbes Route) at Shippensburg and ran, by present State Route 533, to Upper Strasburg, thence by a township road across Blue Mountain, Horse Valley, Kittatinny Mountain, Path Valley, and Tuscarora Mountain, to meet the old Forbes Road at Burnt Cabins.

From this point, we shall follow, with our journalist, the combined routes through Fort Littleton, to Bedford and the Forks of the Road, whence the Burd Road took the left-hand fork to the south, which became the Glade Road. At this point the Forbes Road began entirely on its own, and this the Pennsylvania State Road traversed, with variations, to Pittsburgh.

These variations from the Forbes Road form the intriguing, sometimes baffling elements, in the story of retracing our traveler's itinerary. An intimate knowledge of the terrain, mountain roads and bypaths, is necessary for an understanding of all of these several routes; and such understanding is essential for tracing any one of them separately. Once again, in the words of Francis Parkman, is history written "as much in the open air as at the library table."

Some of the problems in identifying at this late day the route of Forbes' army and the many factors related thereto should be here mentioned. The military pioneers had not time to shelve into the sides of mountains for easier side-hill grades. The peacetime roadbuilders who followed effected these refinements. A selection of the actual routes of the army is rendered difficult by the fact that Bouquet, Forbes' advance commander, often led the troops by a direct line of march, while the wagons and artillery followed another for better grades and firmer ground, days later. Complications occur in differentiating the proper course westward from Fort Ligonier, where Forbes divided his army into three brigades, which

4 "Colonel Israel Shreve's Journal," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, LII, 197 (hereinafter noted as PMHB).
5 James T. Mitchell and Henry Flanders, Pennsylvania Statutes at Large, XII (Harrisburg, 1906), 105-107.
6 "Col. Israel Shreve's Journal (1798)," op. cit., 198: "... ascended Sideling Hill up a good new road made by said Skinner ... Skinner's men at work making a new road down."
The map delineates Samuel Vaughan's itinerary from Carlisle to Pittsburgh and from Pittsburgh to Cumberland, in 1787. It is a composite of information from the sources cited in the text and from actual observation on the ground. In a few places the exact location of the roads is variable, but identification of all key points has served to tie both roads to the terrain generally. See map of the Forbes Road given with Niles Anderson's "The General Chooses a Road," Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine, XLII (1959), 116, for strategic points on the Forbes expedition. (Vaughan deviated from the previous route in visiting Ohiopyle Falls and doubling back to meet the road again.)

Samuel Vaughan's route over the Pennsylvania State Road and Braddock Road is shown thus:

Original Forbes and Braddock Roads, where they deviate from Vaughan's route, are shown thus:

Acknowledgment is made to Rand McNally & Co. for permission to superimpose these routes on their map of Pennsylvania.
moved in leapfrog mode till the final thrust to gain Fort Duquesne.

Immediately following conquest of the French fort and elimination of the danger of French and Indian ambuscades, it became possible to use the shorter route through the "defiles of Turtle Creek." At least part of the returning army used that road, and it was used, with little interruption thereafter, to supply the rising Fort Pitt. We shall see that this Turtle Creek Valley route soon became the high road upon which were taken up the first land warrants, a tavern located, and the line of the Pennsylvania Road established.9

After the original Forbes Road had been laid out, several shortcuts were made. The Bushy Run cutoff, which Bouquet was following at the time of his memorable two-day battle in 1763, had been opened in the spring (1759) following Forbes' winter march to Fort Duquesne.10 We have evidence that General Monckton changed the road on the western side of Sideling Hill to improve the grade.11 It will readily be seen that, should scars of all of these roads exist at the present time, a fine sense of discrimination and intimate knowledge of the ground would be necessary to identify each correctly.

Extremely interesting to read are the journals of men who traveled this way, some soon after Forbes' army, others during the years after the Revolution, all of which give a running account of changes and condition of the road over a long period of years in the development of the young nation. Samuel Vaughan's notes are among the most informative. Many other journals will be cited to illuminate Vaughan's journal.

The records of old surveys and deeds have played a great part in the search. The late David W. Rial, a native of the Forbes Road country, worked untiringly upon records and observation of other evidences upon the ground; and he produced a map, faulty in many places, but nonetheless a noble step in progress toward reconstruction of the two-centuries-old struggle to gain a continent. Notable among the more recent contributions have been Mr. Niles Anderson's observations and measurements upon the actual ground and his work, in cooperation with Professor Harold A. Thomas, in scientifically scaling up, interpolating, and superimposing upon modern

9 Washington stopped at the tavern of the Widow Myers on Friday, November 23, 1770. "... after dining at the Widow Mierss. on Turtle Creek reached Mr. John Stephenson." John C. Fitzpatrick, The Diaries of George Washington (New York, 1925), I, 448.
maps the only known map and notes of the road drawn up by a participant in the Forbes campaign. With nearly two dozen journals of travel over all or a large part of the road, letters, deeds and records, orderly books, etc., almost all of the route is now identifiable. There are small portions where, in the writer's opinion, identification never will be definite, due to two routes being equally correct. A first-hand knowledge of these mountain roads for over thirty years has made a vision of the marching, mud-stalled armies very realistic to the present writer. Samuel Vaughan's itinerate notes vitalize the locale of recorded deeds of action into vivid reality.

The Journal continues:
To Shipingsbourgh\textsuperscript{23} 500 houses mostly Logs at the end of which is middle spring on which are 2 mills 14 Mile NE from Carlisle\textsuperscript{24} on W Cockranks farm of 500 Acres is the head of big spring\textsuperscript{25} a solid rock 200 feet over from the base of which the water in many places rushes out with great rapidity, appearing in some parts like boiling water. it is 900 feet to the dam on which is a grist mill & for the most part 140 feet broad, in many places 15 feet deep, great part environ'd with romantick rocks & hills well wooded, to which walked 2 miles out of the road.

From Shipingsbourgh went a new road dug from the side of the hills, which saves a round of 20 Miles\textsuperscript{26}

June 27

To Horse Valley\textsuperscript{27} the first 4 miles level, next two miles easy hills with small stones. (here a cluster of pine trees the first met with) next 4 or 5 miles easy land with small lime stones. Hitherto came over no hills but what was easy for Carriages, crossed herrings branch & another creek on which were mills, the land good. farms at small distances & intermediate wood of hickory walnut & black chesnut. most of the farms seem'd to have been lately settled from the trees standing dead by girting, yet the land plo[u]ghed &

\textsuperscript{12} Nearly fifty years ago Father Felix Fellner, O.S.B., of St. Vincent's College, fitted together original survey plats from Westmoreland County Survey Book No. 1, each showing the course of the Forbes Road across it, from Nine Mile Run to Fourteen Mile Run. John N. Boucher, \textit{Old and New Westmoreland} (New York, 1918), I, 85. In fact Boucher, I, 81-85, gives conclusive proofs of the course of the road from the Westmoreland-Somerset County line to Hannastown.
in grain, which is the general practice, in what is called the back country. several droves of loaded horses from 8 to 20, for the most part a cask on each side, with nails from Va also loaded Waggons & horses, generally 4 or 5 in Company, we passed, bound to Pittsburgh also some light Waggons with families furniture & going to Kentucky ——— Came to the foot of North or blue mountain, 3 miles of easy ascent, on the summit is a spring of good water from whence is an extensive prospect to the Eastward of Farms & woodland; breakfasted at Skinners who made the new road & the best Inn on the Road. [a pistol shot n.° from Skinners, is the remains of Fort Littleton 87 feet square with 4 bastions]  

NB there is a road through the Valley, many settlements & a town at the head of Connagwins Spring [Conodoguinet Creek] which falls into the Susquannah 3 miles westward is Connagae Spring [Conococheague] that falls into the Potomack. a light blue flame is seen in the night, that when followed vanishes, & from instances it is thought there are copper silver & lead mines.

To Fort Littleton & Birds tavern, 2 miles low land, good road & timber. there ascended middle mountain 2-1/2 miles long, of easy ascent, on the top of which is a spring of good water from which there is a view of a fine extensive bottom to the E. [east] with many farms, with surrounding hills enriched with the best build* timber. the descent to the Westward, stoney & steep the west Base appearing to be lower than the Eastern. at the foot of the mountain crossed the head of Cannochiague [Conococheague] spring or Creek on which are mills. then entered a Valley 1-1/2 miles good land & road (the last hill terminated Franklin County) within 1/4 mile of Tescarora mountain high pitch & yellow pines interspersed with ash 3/4 over the mountain, then good timber trees 1-1/2 miles very stoney. the surrounding hills appear rich, with many settlements. from the bottom of the mountain to Fort Littleton & Birds tavern is 5 miles ————

June 28
——— To the foot of sideling hill. the road good, some easy hills. 9 farms on the road. 3 first miles best timber, then tall pines & oaks & stoney the last 3 miles—red soil like that of New Jersey

——— To Junietta River. Sideling hill is exceeding rocky, large stones & steep, a fine clear spring ripling down a considerable way, trees yellow pitch pine, the last 4 miles less stoney & better land.
3 farms also 3 publick houses. At the foot of the mountain crossed Juniatta River 105 yards wide fine clear water. To here is Esq'. Martins tavern

Here was picked up a piece of native lead, one of sulphur & one heavey quality unknown. although the hills passed are not very steep, yet they might be called mountains with equal propriety as those of the Allegany. & the last hill is counted as bad as any to Pitsbourg.

To Bedford town the road very good but the fourth mile stoney. as it is in a few other places, but of no length the hills moderate & the road for the most part clear of stone. the land in general good, but here & there are patches of pine land. say [saw] several beautiful birds on the N.° side of Raisetown [Raystown] branch of Juneata river & on the S.° side of Dunnings creek or Frankstown branch of Juniatta. — 19 farms upon the road. Bedford is a county town situated upon Dunnings Creek, has a Court house, goal, prisbetarian Church & 70 or 80 Stone or Log houses, & pleasantly situated. crossed the creek over the bridge a mile before came to the town, counted very healthy. many sheep feeding upon the common

June 29

To Ryans, the foot of the Allegany Mountains (the old Philad. road) for the most part easy hills some part pine & other trees. 8 farms on the road. NB a new road has been lately opened to the Southward through a glade wherein are many Dutch settlements — Ryans an excellent tavern

To Stotlers publick house, 2 miles easy gentle hills tolerable good land & timber, before we came to what I should call the foot of Allagany mount then crossed a spring & mounted the steepest assent hitherto, but of no great length, then a gradual rising, rocky road, with springs from eachside murmuring down the road over the stones, perfectly clear & truly romantick adorned on each side by good timber trees, in 2-1/2 miles came to a publick house, a little above which there is good level land, then rising ground about a mile; rocky & clear land alternat small trees. some pine, when came to the top of Ball, it with more propriety having been called Bald hill, there being a level tract of poor barren soil. then 2 miles of rich soil, with exceeding large timber trees, as hickery Oak Locust black walnut & two houses on the road, new settlers where slept at Stotlers Log house, poor accomodations
June 29
—— To Stoney Creek, first three miles easy descent, rich black soil. trees remarkable large & lofty, with a very few stones, on which was a farm of fine wheat & another not far distant of a light colourd soil good land. then rose a hill 1/2 mile long, then for 6 miles easy hills, great part thereof stoney united with a good soil. the whole of the west side enriched with towering timber trees, more stately than before had seen & where the land was open on the road. timothy grass & white clover came up spontaneously and luxuriant. at the foot of the mount is Stoney Creek 80 or 90 yards broad —

To Willis's Tavern Quamahoning Creek waving land, easy hills. the first five miles rich land & exceeding high timber trees, very thick. the last 4 miles inferior Land & smaller trees 4 houses on the road — 2H 24M [two hours 24 minutes] ———

Over the last mountain met General Sinclair [St. Clair], president of Congress with his Lady on horse, without a servant, which I take for granted was intended to set a good example to the back settlers & Virginians to drop parade in travelling. he had been up in sear of Iron ore on Laurel hill which if found he had contracted with Congress for a stipulated price for a large run, otherwise the land is little worth. Iron & Salt are the two material things wanting there. the Gen said he expected to be in Philadelphia in five days

June 30

To Fort Ligonier to the foot of Laurel hill 2-1/2 miles, good land & good timber trees. Laurel Mountain Runs a S.E. course from 34 to 41 degrees at this place 4-1/2 miles over. exceeding poor land, very stoney, small trees & swamp lorrål, the west side exceeding large angular Stones & much worse than horseneck in Connetcut, but might be made a good road at a small expence; near the foot of the hill 3/4 of a mile better road, then to a fine road, exceeding lofty trees, mostly black walnut. to Ligonier fort 5 miles the fort is situated in a fine bottom 220 feet by 100 feet with four Bastions. the Stockades still standing, within 5 or 600 yards on a hill are ranges of Store Houses, where was the old fort & many Redoubts, from thence down the hill to Loyal Hannon creek to John Bridges

3.30

Here had been a battle with the french. Gen Forbes commanded. where many were killed Majr Grant & Majr Lewis & others taken
Prisoners⁴³ — a Barn & 100 Acres of Land let for 3 years, for build⁶ a barn worth 50 £ — & on this part of the mount⁸ is where Gen Sinclair & Mr Bird intend to erect Iron furnaces — there were 2 farms before we came to Birds — here passed 6 waggons 5 horses each carrying from 30 to 35 C weight who help each other occasionally had been 3 weeks from Philadelphia — on the lower part of the mountain some mountain Lorrel, the first seen.

——— To 9 mile Run. (a Creek, three rod wide) to the foot of Chesnut hill 4 miles, indiffrent good land, large trees. Chesnut hill 4 miles over first part but indiffrent land. 1 mile exceeding fine land. 7 farms on the road. ———— to Reels⁴⁴

To Hannon’s town fine timber land 17 farms on the road lately made, 3 miles shorter than the old.⁴⁵ it was made a borough town in 1773 & courts kept until 1766 [1776] but now Pittsbourg is soliciting the removal of the Courts there tho the last Sessions it had been transfered to Greensborough. there are 13 miserable log houses in Hannon’s town⁴⁶

Snow sometimes 3 feet deep seldome lays above a week. the Ice continues from 14 to 21 days; there are many springs — Many Sugar Maple trees. they tap them from February to April. dig Ginsang from in July & Aug¹ when seed red. fine potatoes 1/ bu. Turnips 12/ bu — they have here good kennel coal, waving stratas polish’d surface — plenty of Deer — Spring generally in April. Winter latter end of January — detained by rain thunder & lightning two days at freemans tavern.⁴⁷ it being sunday Mr Dodge a prish⁵ parson, going to Illionoise, to report the Country to his congregation in Conneticut, many of whom wished to remove there, or to Kennebeck, having given notice of preaching that day, which he did, both parts of the day, under a beautiful shade of trees 1/2 mile from the town, & gave a good discourses, though the creeks were up that many could not be passed he had upwards of 200 that attended both services

July 3

To Powells run or Creek⁴⁸ the first 7 miles easy hills & waving land good soil. then crossed Turtle Creek which would in Europe be deemed a River, altho it runs in an apparent bottom, yet within one mile crossed it nine times the last had a rising on the west side terminated by a perpendicular rock 10 or 12 feet high with an opening apparently a Cave, & here was the first apparent rising from the
first crossing. dined at Mrs. Miers's near 80 years old [bent] almost double, yet active & furnished a good dinner. 12 miles. at 2 miles distance on the West side of Monongahala River, on the banks thereof, was Braddock's defeat, in a bottom, the French attacked them from a small rising above the bottom. it is now all in corn. 10 farms on the road. — Adam Jacobs was raising a roof on his farm, at which above 40 men were employed & had nearly raised in that day

[To be continued]

EXPLANATORY NOTES

23 Shippensburg was named for Edward Shippen of Lancaster, wealthy merchant and extensive land owner, who established a trading post there about 1730. It is the oldest town west of the Susquehanna River, except York, and was the first county seat of Cumberland County. The courts were moved to Carlisle in 1763. Shippensburg was the concentration point of supplies for Braddock's army and was a brisk trading community in the days of the packhorse and wagon trains. William H. Egle, History of Pennsylvania (Harrisburg, 1876), 631; Sherman Day, Historical Collections of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, 1843), 271.

24 Vaughan certainly meant that Carlisle was northeast of Big Spring, and not vice versa.

25 Colonel Israel Shreve's "Journal from Jersey to the Monongahela, 1788," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, LII, 196 (hereinafter cited as Shreve's Journal, PMHB): "16th of July, Set out and halted at Mr. Crackens Tavern at the head of great Spring and breakfasted." Vaughan writes the name Cockran; Cockran is correct.

26 "...Saves a round of 20 miles..." Burd's road, retraced by Forbes, ran around by Chambersburg, Fort Loudoun, over Tuscarora Mountain by Cowan Gap, and down to Burnt Cabins, about which Bouquet bitterly complained. See Introduction to Part II; also Papers of Henry Bouquet (Harrisburg, 1951), 73; hereinafter noted as Bouquet Papers. Colonel William Eyre's Journal, Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine, XXVII, 41 (hereinafter noted as WPHM); "(March 15, 1762) ... In taking this way I left Loudon to my left a great Way, by which means I cut off nineteen Miles of my journey." Colonel Israel Shreve's Journal, op. cit., 196-197, states: "By advice took the right hand road that leads over the three hills. Lately opened and made by a Mr. Skinner from New Jersey ... This old road is said to be 20 miles farther than the new one but ... shuns two of the three hills just mentioned."


28 See note 26 for reference to Mr. Skinner. See Col. Israel Shreve's Journal, op. cit.: "17th of July ... ascended the first mountain ... much stony going down ... Crossed a creek called Connoquinesis (Conodoguinot). Halted at said Skinners who made the Road ... 18th of July. Set out again and rose the second hill." This definitely places Skinner's house between the first and second mountains, in Horse Valley.

29 Vaughan must have added this line later, since Burd's Tavern was at Fort Littleton, as he states, rightly, later in the same day. Cf. note 31. The dimensions of the fort are interesting, as no other source we have seen gives
the size of the stockade. A plan of Fort Littleton appears in Egle’s *History of Pennsylvania*, op. cit., 765.

30 This was Path Valley. It is not to be confused, as so often has been done, with Tuscarora Valley, which lies on the western side of Tuscarora Mountain. Passage between the two valleys is accomplished through the gap in the mountain near the village of Concord. Tuscarora Creek flows through the Tuscarora Valley northward into the Juniata River. Conococheague Creek flows through Path Valley southward to the Potomac River at Williamsport, Maryland. The Pennsylvania State Road passed through Fannettsburg, in Path Valley, where one may see today the old inns that served the packers and stage patrons.

31 Fort Littleton (properly Lyttleton, in honor of Lord George Lyttleton, Chancellor of the Exchequer) was built in 1755-1756. At different times regular troops were stationed there, especially the 42nd Highlanders (Black Watch). In the Gage papers in the MS. collection of the William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan, are several letters between General Gage and Bouquet on the subject of stationing Highlanders there.

Many references are found in contemporary journals relating to Burd’s tavern at Fort Littleton. See William M. Darlington, ed., *Journal and Letters of Colonel John May of Boston*, 1788 (Cincinnati, 1878), August 13, 1788. “Breakfasted at Fort Littleton at Captain Burd’s, in a really elegant manner, on fine coffee, loaf sugar, venison, shad, and smoked shad.” Also see “Journal of Colonel John May, 1789” *PMHB*, XLV, III, “Saturday, 16th (May) . . . slept at Bird’s Fort Littleton.”

Captain Benjamin Burd was a Revolutionary officer who saw some of the thickest action of the war. Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army* (Washington, D. C., 1914), 133, gives his military record thus:

3rd Lieutenant of Thompson’s Rifle Regiment, June 25, 1775; 2nd Lieutenant, 1st Continental Infantry, January 1, 1776; Captain, 4th Pennsylvania, January 3, 1777; Resigned, November 20, 1778. Died October 5, 1823.

*Pennsylvania Archives*, 2nd ser., X, 500, n., states that he fought in the following engagements and campaigns: Trenton, Princeton, Brandywine, Paoli, Germantown, Monmouth, and was detached to Schoharie, N. Y. After retiring, he moved to Fort Littleton, afterwards to Bedford, where he died in 1823, aged seventy.

Quartermaster John H. Clunn, of the New Jersey troops in the Whisky Insurrection, 1794, in his Journal, *PMHB*, LXXI, 64, n. 104, adds: “Brigade Inspector of Bedford County Militia, and later Major General of the Pennsylvania Militia.” Under date of “the 5th December,” he states, “ . . . break-fasted at Colonel Bird’s who keeps an excellent house, few in our parts to compare with it.”

32 The Forbes Road did not follow the Raystown Trader’s Path, on its detour around through Siding Hill Gap (Waterfall and New Granada), which distance is 18 miles. By the direct road, Vaughan called the distance from Fort Littleton to the foot of Siding Hill, 10 miles. *Captain Jonathan Hart’s Journal* (Albany, 1885), I, 6, calls it 93/4 miles. John Heckewelder, op. cit., 130, makes it 10 miles. Dr. Johann Schoepf’s Journal, *Travels in the Confederation*, 1783-1784, Alfred J. Morrison, ed., I, 224, computed the distance as 93/4 miles.

All of the above contemporary evidence, and much more, which we have not space to quote, points to the conclusion that Forbes’ army marched directly from Fort Littleton through present Houstontown, thence by a dirt township road that parallels and runs north of the Pennsylvania Turnpike, to the foot of Siding Hill. Arrived at the top of the mountain, the tourist finds a fine little plateau where Dr. Schoepf, op. cit., 1, 225, describes the ground atop Siding Hill: “The range is in fact two ranges (running parallel and joined by hills between) called Siding and Rayshill . . . half way over the mountain we came upon one of the encamping-grounds very many of which are seen along lonesome mountain roads . . . the teamsters and pack-
horse men in America . . . make fires and go to bed in the forest.” This coincided with the Potts Marching Map.

An improvement in grade and distance was made by Colonel Robert Monckton, when he commanded in the West in the summer of 1760, by which a road was cut to the right, behind a knoll, meeting present U. S. Route 30 at the beginning of the connecting ridge between the two mountains. Colonel William Eyre, op. cit., 42, outlines this improvement.

33 The several journals kept by travelers on this road over a period of years tell an interesting, connected story.

In the first place, Charles A. Hanna, The Wilderness Trail (New York, 1911), 1, 277, reports that it was James Martin who kept the ferry at Juniata Crossing. This Crossing, by the way, was at least one half to three quarters of a mile north of the present crossing on the Lincoln Highway.

The British army engineer, Colonel William Eyre, in 1762, while traveling to Pittsburgh to inspect, condemn, and recommend the removal of Fort Pitt to McKees Rocks, recorded in his Journal after passing the Juniata: “There is a small Stockaded Fort at this Place (built by Forbes’ army) and a flat to cross the River.” Colonel Eyre’s Journal, op. cit., 43. Martin had not yet come.

In 1783, Dr. Johann Schoepf, recently a surgeon among the Hessian troops, traveled this way to Pittsburgh and wrote: “Beyond the stream there lives a Colonel in a wooden hut.” Schoepf Journal, op. cit., I, 226. Returning a few weeks later, he wrote (ibid., 303), describing in detail the view from atop the high ridge in the narrow peninsula formed by the double loop of the Juniata: “On both sides . . . flows the Juniata and turns about the point (at Colonel Martin’s) in such a way that . . . the river may be seen flowing in both directions.” In 1788, Colonel Israel Shreve “halted on the hill at Colonel Martin’s Tavern.” Shreve’s Journal, op. cit., 198. A year later, Colonel John May, on his way from Boston to Marietta, Ohio, “dined at Martin’s on veal cutlet & trout.” Colonel John May’s Journal, op. cit., 111.

John Heckewelder, op. cit., 130, noted, in 1792, that a German named Thiel was operating the ferry. With the returning army from quelling the Whisky Insurrection, Quartermaster Ciunn, op. cit., 64, said that they crossed the Juniata “in flatboats.”

Finally, Rev. Thaddeus Mason Harris, op. cit., 70, returning from Ohio in 1803, said, “... we arrived at Martin’s by the crossings of Juniata, and put up for the night.”

All of this tells us that the small stockades which General Forbes’ army had erected, in 1758, to protect the crossing were seen intact in 1762; that, later, Colonel James Martin came to operate a ferry and built a small log house (“hut”) atop the hill on the western side of the Crossing and ran a tavern. He must have furnished pretty good fare and seems to have leased the ferry business, about 1792, to a German named Thiel, who used flatboats. Martin was still dispensing hospitality in 1803.

One thing is clear: the road on the western side ran on the top of the ridge that extends through the center of the narrow peninsula. On the eastern side there is very clear evidence that the Forbes Road and the later State Road crossed at the very same place. Scars and other evidence of the old road may be seen atop the rocky ridge running down to the Crossing from the east. This old road ran down a steep descent to join the newer road shelved into the solid rock sidehill. The newer obliterates traces of the older as they approached the Crossing together. Wheel ruts worn deeply into the solid red rock, over a century ago, are very evident to this day. The writer, in company with Messrs. Niles Anderson and H. A. Thomas viewed the ruts and the old Crossing only a few weeks ago. Most interesting are the remnants of the masonry abutments and the approaches to the chain bridge, still very evident at the crossing place. This chain suspension bridge was constructed at the time of the Turnpike road and was in service in 1815, when Dr. John Cotton crossed it. “We crossed the Juniata on foot on a chain bridge, while the stage passed fifty feet beneath through the water. While crossing the

34 Bedford (formerly Raystown from the first trader) took the name of the fort named for the Duke of Bedford. Fort Bedford was the key supply base and guard of communications routes for Forbes' army. The town was laid out on ground purchased by the Penns from George Croghan, Nicholas B. Wainwright, George Croghan, Wilderness Diplomat (Chapel Hill, 1959), 192. The ground had been occupied by Garret Pendergrass, tavern keeper, but, being dispossessed by the above mentioned deal, he was given title to the ground now the North Side of Pittsburgh (Allegenytown). Deed recorded in the Recorder's Office at Bedford, September 19, 1772. Given in full in Egle, op. cit., 366-367. Bedford County was erected and the town made the county seat of all of Pennsylvania west of Ray's Hill, in 1771.

35 This is the earliest reference to Ryan's by travelers. On September 22, 1788, Dr. Cutler wrote: "Breakfast at Ryan's . . . this is a new and good house." Cutler's Journal, op. cit., I, 427. In 1794, Quartermaster John H. Clunn, op. cit., 63, states, Dec. 1, 1794, "Arrived at the foot of the Allegany at Ryan's." John Heckewelder, op. cit., 131, is more specific as to location: "From here (Ryan's) it is 3 miles to the foot of Alleghany, & from there two miles to the top. From the summit to Statler's & from here to Stoystown, a distance of 10 miles, the road is very stony & marshy." Vaughan is more correct in estimating the distance from Ryan's to the foot of the Mountain as two miles. Ryan's Mill, on the old Lincoln Highway, is the location.

36 Caspar Statler (Vaughan spells it Stotler), whose place was on top of the "second rising" of Allegheny Mountain (by scaling the distances mentioned by Heckewelder in note 35), was one of the first settlers on the Forbes Road west of Bedford. He is described as "a thrifty, genial, wholehearted man," who acquired large amounts of land. Waterman and Wilkins, History of Bedford, Somerset and Fulton Counties (Chicago, 1884), 530. William Egle, History of Pennsylvania, op. cit., 1078, makes it appear that Casper Statler, from Franklin County, with a few others settled there as early as 1762. The spelling is variously found as Stotler, Statiller, Stetler.

Statler's was at least a mile north of the present Lincoln Highway, as the Forbes Road topped the mountain a mile from the present highway, and ran in a northwesterly direction across Edmund's Swamp, which is nearly three miles north of Buckstown. There is a large marker with bronze tablet on Township road T-742 near where it crosses T-657, approximately a mile and a half west of Central City.

37 Clunn in his journal stated that the road from the top of the mountain ran nearly straight for four miles, which would take it to the vicinity of Edmund's Swamp. From thence the township road traces nearly the line of the old road to the crossing of Stony Creek, a little north of the village of Kantner.

38 From Stony Creek the original road cut by Forbes' army swung in a wide semi-circle to the north, which crossed where the waters of the Quemahoning Reservoir now cover the deep valley, swinging back again at the foot of Laurel Hill. A better and more direct route was found, a little north of the present highway, which was opened; and the latter half of the army traveled that way. Ever after traffic took that route, and the Pennsylvania Road followed it. It ran probably three quarters of a mile north of Jenners Cross Roads and near a mile north of present Jennerstown.

Scaling the distance of nine miles, Vaughan's figure, from Stony Creek, one arrives at a point about a mile north of Jennerstown. This is nearly two miles beyond Quemahoning Creek, and it is just where John Heckewelder, op. cit., 132, mentions a tavern kept by Squire Wells. Vaughan must have understood Wells' tavern as Willis's. It is apparent that they are the same. The old inn was standing only a few years ago.

39 The last mountain was counted Laurel Hill, as Chestnut Ridge, ahead, did not pose any problem. General "Sinclair," of course, was Arthur St. Clair
(1736-1818), born in Scotland, trained for a physician, former British officer in the French War, married to a cousin of the British General Gage's wife, agent of the Penns, extensive land owner, and distinguished resident of Ligonier. He was one of Washington's Major Generals, President of Congress, and later commander-in-chief of the army, and governor of the North West Territory. In command of an expedition against the Indians, he was defeated with terrible loss, November 4, 1791, on the Wabash. He became financially ruined and lived the remainder of his life atop Chestnut Ridge a short distance from Youngstown, Westmoreland County, on the Forbes Road. His grave is marked in the Greensburg cemetery.

Great and disastrous events prevented him from realizing his plan of erecting an iron furnace till 1802, when he built the furnace near his mansion, the Hermitage, on Mill Creek, where he already had a grist mill (two miles northeast of Ligonier on present Route 711). Another furnace had preceded it in 1792, a few miles distant at Laughlertown. His deal with Mr. Burd did not materialize, for James Hamilton was the manager of Hermitage furnace, which St. Clair lost, with most of his holdings when he became bankrupt in 1810. James M. Swank, Introduction to a History of Ironmaking and Coal Mining in Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, 1878), 61.

40 The history of Fort Ligonier, built in 1758 by Colonel James Burd of Forbes' army, is too well known to repeat here. It was the forward base and springboard of the final drive to wrest Fort Duquesne from the French. The stockade soon fell in ruins from the action of weather and insect enemies of unprotected wood. When the British-inspired terrors of the Revolution broke loose on the frontiers, a new stockade was constructed, in 1779, and named Fort Preservation. The name of Fort Ligonier, however, clung and was almost universally used. Some doubt has remained about the location of the Revolutionary fort, and George D. Albert, in his Frontier Ports of Western Pennsylvania (Volume II of Frontier Forts Report, Harrisburg, 1896), 233, has himself raised the query. The "Journal of Thomas Galbreath" (ibid., 242-243) stated that the trenches were full of water for days and that drainage could not be accomplished. It is apparent that at the location of the old fort on the hill, and sidehill, there could have been no drainage problem. Vaughan's Journal here seems to supply the long-sought evidence that the later stockade stood in the bottom below the old fort. As he uses commas where we use periods, and vice versa, he means that the newer stockade is still standing and that the old fort was on the hill above at the distance of 500 to 600 yards. This would have put Fort Preservation on the south side of the creek, which then flowed close to the steep bank under the fort. This is the first specific statement that has been published on this interesting subject. Dr. Cutler, op. cit., 1, 426, says simply, "Here was Fort Ligonier. Part of the old and of the new fort remains ...," thus confirming that the two fortifications were distinctly different.

41 This reference is to Horseneck (West Greenwich) in Connecticut, where in 1777, the celebrated exploit of General Israel Putnam occurred. To escape from his British dragoon pursuers, the daring General spurred his horse down the precipitous, rocky cliffs whither the enemy dared not follow. Vaughan, traveler that he was, had doubtless visited the spot. B. J. Lossing, Field Book of the Revolution (New York, 1855), I, 411.

42 Bridges' tavern evidently was in present Ligonier Borough near where Route 711 crosses the new U. S. Route 30. Refer to note 44. Dr. Cutler, in his Journal of 1788 (he was traveling east from Hannastown) recorded: "Put up at Bridges'. A good-looking but ill-natured landlady. Just before I came to the house, passed a pretty large stream, called the Loyal Hanna."

43 Here Vaughan has been misinformed as to historical facts. Majors James Grant and Andrew Lewis were captured in the action that took place on Grant's Hill on the site of the Allegheny County Court House in Pittsburgh. He may here be referring to the ground where Colonel George Mercer, engaged by a body of French and Indians in the gathering dusk of November 12, 1758, fired into Washington's troops arriving to aid him. Fourteen were killed and
twenty-six wounded. D. S. Freeman, George Washington (New York, 1948-1957), II, 357-358. Washington himself wrote that he was in as great personal danger as at any other time in his eventful career. See Washington's own statement in Washington MSS. (1786), Library of Congress, MS. Division. He there stated that this affair took place within two miles of the Loyalhanna Camp (Fort Ligonier).

44 Vaughan here was following the Forbes Road. The State Road was just then being built over a different route that missed Ligonier by a mile and a half. Later it was brought down through Laughlinton and Ligonier, when the Turnpike was built, starting in 1807 and completed in 1819.

Nine Mile Run, at the western foot of Chestnut Ridge, is so called because of its crossing the Forbes Road at approximately nine miles from Fort Ligonier, as is also the case with Two Mile Run and Four Mile Run. The Potts map of Forbes' line of march shows it crossing Loyalhanna Creek just below the Fort, where Route 711 (the Donegal Road) crosses the relocated creek and new U. S. Route 30, thence, through the cemetery and around two hills, turned westward, crossed Two and Four Mile Runs, and, by nearly the present road, crossed Chestnut Hill in nearly a direct line to Youngstown. There it crossed Nine Mile Run just above the town. The Potts Marching Map shows it that way, and Boucher, op. cit., describes the same route. There have been intimations, not confirmed by family historians, that Conrad Reel, of Pittsburgh, for a very short time conducted a trading business in this part of Westmoreland County. Vaughan's notation may confirm that tradition. At any rate, just a year later, Dr. Cutler, op. cit. I, 426, records: "... came into the Pittsburgh road and went on to Recard's, a Dutch tavern at Nine Mile Run (so called) eleven miles from Hannastown, a very good house. Dined 2s. 5d. P.M. This is at the foot of Chestnut Ridge."

45 This is very interesting evidence that the new State Road shortened the distance of the Forbes Road by three miles at this stage.

46 Hannastown was the first county seat west of the mountains and the focal point of the factional conflict between partisans of Virginia and Pennsylvania. It was burned by Guyasuta and his Seneca Indians in the summer of 1782, not, however, the Fort, although many captives were taken and several were killed. Vaughan's statement is proof that many of the houses were rebuilt.

47 Our journalist writes as if Freeman's tavern were at Hannastown. Heckewelder, op. cit., stopped for breakfast at Freeman's in Ligonier Valley, seven miles from Wells' tavern. He had just placed Wells as two miles west of Quemahoning Creek. This would have placed Freeman's not far from Willow Grove School, at the western foot of Laurel Hill. The name was found in various places in Westmoreland County, as there was a settlement of Freemans on Loyalhanna Creek, east of Hannastown.

48 William Powell owned a large tract of land on the west side of Thompson Run at its mouth on Turtle Creek. It lay between that of Mrs. Martha Myers and John Fraser (Braddock's Field). Warrantee Atlas of Allegheny County, op. cit., Wilkins Township Plat. The run referred to by Vaughan flowed down from the hollow on Powell's property that now is the west side of Turtle Creek Borough. (The Borough lies on both sides of Thompson Run.) Powell's thus lay at the foot of the long climb up the hill that later became Old Greensburg Pike, and which Vaughan called "Mother Mier's hill."

William Powell was an Indian trader, a relative of George Croghan and of Thomas Smallman, and one of the executors of Croghan's will, proved in 1782 (New York attorney Aaron Burr represented the executors before the New York Land Commission). In 1753, Powell had been captured in Kentucky and carried a prisoner to Montreal. He was one of those traders held in the Lower Shawnee Towns at the outbreak of Pontiac's war and apparently liberated in 1764. See Colonial Records of Pennsylvania, V, 626-627; Penna. Archives, II, 14; Hanna, Wilderness Trail, II, 83-84.

49 Mrs. Miers's (as Vaughan spells the name) was located in what is now Turtle Creek Borough, formerly the southeast corner of Wilkins Township and
adjoining land in Patton Township, Allegheny County. Her land was bounded on the west by Thompson Run, "118 Acres 155 Perches and Allowances" and 335½ acres, the latter named "The Widow's Dower." See Warrantee Atlas of Allegheny County, Pennsylvania Department of Internal Affairs (1914), Patton Township Plat. Mrs. Myers was one of the first settlers on the Forbes Road, the survey date of her land being 1769, which implies even earlier residence. All references are to "the Widow Myers," or as the land patent has it, "Mrs. Meyers, Widow." Vaughan called her "Mother Miers" in his next day's entry in his journal. Washington, in his Journal, Friday, November 23, 1770, records: "I set off on my return home and after dining at the Widow Mierss. on Turtle Creek reached Mr. John Stephenson." John C. Fitzpatrick, The Diaries of George Washington (Boston and New York, 1925), I, 448. Vaughan's mention here of her great age and condition is interesting, especially as Dr. Saugrain in his journal, op. cit., 235, just one year later, wrote: "We passed the night at James Miers 12 miles from Pittsburgh." James, presumably her son, owned the adjoining tract of land in Patton Township. Warrantee Atlas of Allegheny County, op. cit., Patton Township Plat. In the interval of the year, she had evidently given over operation of the tavern or may have died. At least, she was able to serve a good dinner in spite of her age and infirmity. Relative to locating this landmark, it is interesting to note Captain Jonathan Hart's Journal, op. cit., 23, thus: "Quarters Widow Myers, Tuesday, October 11, 1785. The Company marches to-morrow morning at 11 o'clock. Route: Bullock Pens, 6 miles; Fort Pitt, 6 miles. Total 12 miles."

Adam Jacobs purchased that part of the property of James Myers adjoining Mrs. Myers' land. That the transaction was recent is evidenced by the fact that the survey was made in 1785 and "Patented, February 1, 1788 to Adam Jacobs." See Warrantee Atlas of Allegheny County, op cit., Patton Township Plat.