SAMUEL VAUGHAN'S JOURNAL
or "Minutes Made by S.V., from Stage to Stage, on a Tour to Fort Pitt"
Edited by EDWARD G. WILLIAMS

PART III FROM PITTSBURGH TO FORT CUMBERLAND THENCE TO MOUNT VERNON

INTRODUCTION

In pursuance of the travelogue of the interesting 18th century cosmopolite, Samuel Vaughan, we now see him arrived at the very door of the infant Pittsburgh. The time, July 1, 1787, is only eighteen months after Arthur Lee, of Virginia, declared authoritatively that "Pittsburgh is inhabited almost entirely by Scots and Irish, who live in paltry log-houses, and are as dirty as the north of Ireland, or even Scotland. . . . . The place, I believe, will never be very considerable." 2

Improvements had surely taken place in that brief period of a year and a half, as this journal amply portrays.

Thus far Vaughan's course had led at times over Burd's old road, at times over Forbes' military road, briefly over a shorter route, and for long stretches over a road that combined all three. He was traversing the very new Pennsylvania State Road. Many other travelers went the same way, but Vaughan passed by just in the interval between the primitive bridle path, when even pack horse trains were infrequent, and the later period when inns flourished and stone-arch bridges spanned the mountain torrents. Log inns were just making their appearance here and there. After all, it was only four years following the end of Revolutionary hostilities. The first wheeled vehicles had just jogged over the road in that first year of peace, to the great dismay of the back-country inhabitants. But vehicular travel was not to be practical for several years to come. 3

Even Forbes' army wagons had barely reached Fort Ligonier and had finished the march with pack train.

1 Nowhere did Vaughan mention his traveling companion, Michael Morgan O'Brien. Our notes have referred to Vaughan alone, in conformity with his own practice. From Pittsburgh onward he proceeded alone.
3 Dr. Johann Schoepf, Travels in the Confederation, A. J. Morrison, editor (Philadelphia, 1911), I, 242: "Not we but our vehicle had the honor of being the
Thenceforward, the notes of our journalist will be even more opportune, in that there are very few others who have left to posterity eyewitness accounts of Braddock's road, Vaughan's return route to the East. Practically none of the log taverns of Braddock's road has been recorded in personal narratives, and none of them has survived the ravages of time. With the construction of the fine, piked National Road, starting in 1811, new, larger, and finer inns, many of them of stone or brick, were erected; and it is the survival of a few of these that conveys to us the romantic picture of the early American stagecoach inns.

The map accompanying Part II of this article seeks to pin down the points pertinent to Vaughan's itinerary and to relate the latter to the established historic roads. The solid black line retraces the footsteps of our journalist of 174 years ago. The broken lines indicate the sections of Forbes' and Braddock's roads not traversed by Vaughan. The very abrupt ending of Braddock's road points to the tragic fate of Braddock's army. Our map picks up Vaughan's itinerary at Carlisle and carries it to Pittsburgh and thence as far as Cumberland, Maryland, for the reason that it is presumed that this part of the trip holds more interest for Western Pennsylvania readers.

In plotting the line of Braddock's road, the painstaking work of Doctor John Kennedy Lacock, of Harvard, has been followed. In 1908, when scars and other evidences of Braddock's road were yet very clear, Doctor Lacock and others retraced the entire route from Cumberland, Maryland, to North Braddock, Pennsylvania, and accurately mapped the road in minutest detail.4

Every foot of the ground was examined for all sorts of checkpoints, and documentary evidence gathered, as well. His description is convincing and leaves no doubt as to its accuracy.

The transcription of the journal itself has been abridged, after leaving the sphere of Western Pennsylvania, for reasons identical

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with curtailment of the map, with the additional explanation that, beyond Cumberland, interest lags with repetitious notations of observations on soil, trees, rocks, and streams. We do pick up the trail again where it leads to a second focal point, Mount Vernon.

This review of Vaughan’s descriptive notes of his tour focuses attention upon the age-old contention between the two great avenues of travel for the credit of feeding the never-ending stream of humanity to the West that was the greatest migratory movement in the world’s history. The Pennsylvania State Road was the earliest trans-Allegheny highway built by any government and had a start of twenty years over the U.S. Government-built Cumberland Road. Within a few years after the passing of Braddock, his road had become nearly impassable from fallen trees and undergrowth. When, after the Revolution, it was opened to travel and taverns began to spring up along its course, the shadow of Braddock’s disaster continued to brood over the road, and the foreboding of the “Shades of Death” continued to cloud the imaginations of travelers. One of the most discerning students of early highways and transportation, Doctor Archer B. Hulbert, made the observation that “... such was the nature of its course (the Cumberland Road’s), that it does not seem to have been the popular route from Washington to Pittsburgh ... Explain it as you will, nine tenths of the published accounts of the travelers of the old journey ... into the Ohio Valley describe this Pennsylvania route.”

Within less than four months after the last entry in this diary, when he crossed Middle Ferry into Philadelphia, Samuel Vaughan set sail for Jamaica to set his affairs in order there. He returned to Philadelphia briefly, in 1790, when he was honored by the host of prominent friends who were the leaders of society and culture in the United States. Doctor Benjamin Rush was most voluble in

5 Colonel William Eyer’s Journal (1762), WPHM, XXVII, 47, states: “The Road (Braddock’s) all the Way very bad both wet and rocky, and very much out of repair, particularly the Bridges, and Numbers of fallen Trees across the Road.”

6 There were apparently two spots known as the “Shades of Death,” the “Little” and the “Big Shades of Death.” William Brown’s Journal (1790), Archer B. Hulbert, Historic Highways of America, IV, 195, where it is recorded that the one was two and the other three miles from the Little Meadows. Ibid., 198, gives this description: “Just before you get to the Little Shades of Death there is a tract of the tallest pines I ever saw. The Shades of Death are dreary looking valleys growing up with tall cypress and other trees and has a dark gloomy appearance.” The Diary of Doctor Robert Wellford (1794), William and Mary College Quarterly, XI, 10, similarly describes them. See note 82.

7 Hulbert, op. cit., V, 195-196.
expressing the sentiments of the friends of the Vaughan family at their departure. Mrs. Vaughan and one daughter had returned to England in 1786, due to failing health of both of them. With the exception of a brief sojourn in France, where he enthusiastically supported the revolution, Vaughan spent his declining years in England and died in 1802. Washington was his great idol to the end.8

The Journal continues:

To Pittsbourgh, mounted Mother Miers's hill, then for 4 miles easy ascent, then level.41 in 7 miles came to Turtle Creek, the same as crossed last stage. came to the side of a hill having stratas of Slate & freestone laying horizontal, as are all on the other side of the Allagany mountains. whereas on the otherside quite down to the Sea they are most generally if not totally found in all directions but that of horizontal & frequently perpendicular which gives reason to suppose the interior land remains in its primitive state & that next the Ocean hath been convulsed by earth=quakes & violent eruptions. about a mile or two on this side Pittsburgh came to the banks & rode alongside the Allagany River,52 which runs rapid & 3 or 400 yards over, hills on each side with skirtings of low land next the River

Pittsburgh is situated on the bank of Monogahany [Monongahela] River 540 yards broad, which has a placid gentle Current. Fort Pitt a few hundred yards to the Southward, near the Bank of Allagany River 320 yards wide. which runs rapidly & almost at right Angles into Monogahany River, which when united, forms the head of the Ohio River. The town consists of about 150 houses mostly log or framed, some good stone a presbyterian meeting, near 400 Men. there is a fine prospect of the town & Rivers from Grants hill, or from coal hill the otherside Monogahany river. Steers of 400/*: or Cow & calf sell for 5£ Beef 3 or 3-1/2 Veal & Mutten [ditto] grown fowls & pork 22/6 the 100 — excellent flour not the first 10 to 12/ the 100, Venison 1 p lb the carcass 5 to 7/6, fish cheap & plenty, pike of 33 lb salmon [illegible] Bass [illegible] Stergeon [illegible] wood near the town from 5 to 20 £ The Spring generally in March, the middle of Novem. Snow seldom lies on ground above 5 or 6 days, nor is the River frozen above 3 or 4

days, temperate climate, tho had 2 severe [?] days after Rain. A —— fog over the River in the Morning dispelled about 7 oClock —— 343

The above fort is fifteen feet thick of stone faced with brick. the ditch about the same breadth, between that & Monogahany river are
two small Redoubts 1-1/2 brick thick, which as usual was made a
Job of & cost Governm't 100,000 £ Sterling— Near the fort is
a distillery well constructed, with a still of 1500 Gallons. a late work
by Maj. Craig but much too large to answer — Breed of horses
not much attended to from 20 to 30 £

July 5
——— Crossed the Monogahany [Monongahela] river & mounted
Coal hill opposite the town, in which they have a coal, inclining to
that of Kennel but not so hard or good. there is much coal in the
neighbourhood at the summit are several farms good land, great
variety of trees, & plants — also prickly goosberries, some cur-
cents, black berries hops ginsang plums, asparagus, Sarsaparella,
with ginger, different kinds of grapes, Sassafrax & saw one plant
with a rose equal to those cultivated in Gardens —— they cultivate
wheat Rye Barley Indian Corn Oats buckwheat with all kinds
of roots, greens & pulse. NB below

From Pittsburg Gazette of the 17 June 1787 —— "Since
the 10 of October 1786 to 12 May 1787, there has passed down
the Ohio River to Kentucke 177 boats —— 2689 people 1333
horses 766 Cattle 102 Waggons & 1 phaeton. from a Journal by
the Adjutant at fort Harmar or Muskinghum a number passed in
the night unobserved."

besides the above Many go in boats from Fayette town, as
also from Virginia & Maryland by land.

Kentucke is 600 miles down the Ohio. the boats that go down
are 35 to 60 feet long 10 to 14 wide with a roof of slight oak
shingles or clap boards 3 feet long laid horizontally over each other,
like to Noahs ark. & steared with an Oar, their fare Man & horse
35/ goods 2/6 pC [per hundredweight], a single person found in
bread bacon & water for 15/ they are from 6 to 10 days going
down. sell their boat for the value of the boards, the bottom & sides
being flat & the hands 3 weeks coming up by land.

NB The 4 July celledated the American independence with 28
Gentlemen. had 13 toasts & fired a howitzer near 100 times having
no cannon.

In the afternoon crossed the Allagany river 3 acres are laid
out at the point for a town; on this side is the Indian country not
yet purchased & is abundantly richer than on pittsburgh side. went
up the River 7 or 8 mile to Mr. Burtons farm, on the way came to
Wigwams, from whence the Indians often come to Pittsbourgh with peltry to trade. 3 miles further came to other Wigwams where were 16 Indians Men Women & Children cooking victuals. an Island in the River cultivated.

July 6
Went down the Ohio in a Durham boat 50 by 9 feet broad. rowed down with the Current & poled up against it — in 1/4 mile passed Smoak Island of 400 Acres.61 in 3/4 mile Elliots Island62 a mile long 150 Acres — on Washington side 2 miles further is Shertees Creek 100 yards wide, at the mouth of which is a remarkable high Rock,63 on which is a noted spring of excellent water, 2 miles lower is Cow Island 40 Acres64 then came to Monteers, now General Irvins Island65 5-1/4 miles long 940 Acres of exceeding rich valuable land, landed 3 or 4 miles down & went to the farms on the heights, now Let, where was exceeding fine corn &c. there is on the Island Wild deer & turkeys, Turtle, wild Asparagus grass plums cherries hickory timber trees 3 Islands to the Eastward will now join the Generals —— there & back———

8
Being sunday went to Church & heard Mr Barr66 who gave a good Discourse to 120 persons, — several who had taken ambrage [umbrage] for his dispute with Mr Brackenridge on politics & did not attend

9
Crossed Monogahany River to General Nevils,67 crossed a creek on the way on which was a Saw Mill. the General has 5000 Acres of fine land 600 of which is cultivation 50 Acres in wheat 60 Acres in Indian corn, near his house is the remains of an Indian Semicircular fort, its diameter 150 yards which had a parapet & ditch its diameter 150 yards & dug perpendicular 30 feet; within the fort is a large heap of human bones covered with sods alternately also a large heap or mount of mussel shells68 —— here is a large bottom on which many Sugar Maples of which the Gen made Sug. during the war ———

To Col Cannons69 Washington County fine land & good road & easy hills. 15 farms & an excellent Grist & saw mill ———
To Washington town, lately made a Borough in the County of Washington.70 it has a Court house Goal 70 good log houses mostly of 2 Story & built within 2 years 21 farms on the
road. within 10 miles round the town there is not 200 Acres together without a family. the County returns near 500 taxable men.

July 10
To Col Bells. easy hills & excellent land. 22 farms on the road which is good. the Col has 200 Acres open, let to Tennants. 70 Acres he cultivates himself with 2 sons (one but 12 years old) & a Negro has excellent Wheat Indian corn flax &c —— plenty of wild turkeys, yellow gray red & black Squerrels

To Fayette town in Fayette County, formerly called Red Stone fort, fine land & good road most part level 26 farms on the road to Monogahany river, going a road newly made & no person or boat being in sight or within call concluded it was fordable when got 1/3 over, was obliged to swim the horses upwards of 200 yards the River being 400 yards wide. rising the hill came to the Town —— consisting of 20 odd Log houses, built within 2 years

July 10
—— To Union town, lately called Beaston. Borough town to Fayette county. has a Court house Goal a Prisbetarian & Methodist Church & 120 houses mostly Log & built within 2 years. the land easy hills with some stone, soil good, having Red Stone Creek running through the town on which are grist mills. here Lived Col Mc. Clean who gave me the plan & measurements of Youghiogany falls

11
—— To Inks's publick house —— the first 2 miles good land 3 farms on the road, when came again to Laurell hill, 3 miles up the hill poor land is Fossicts publick house, poor fair [fare], a little above the house is the summit of the hill, on which hill several tracts of land, some of them for miles. the woods have taken fire from fires left by Wagoners or drivers of horses that encamp thereon to graze or encamp in the night which hath killed all the trees far as the conflagration went & which afforded an extensive view of Fayette County in Virginia & Of Washington County in Pensylvania those Counties being on the line or River that divides the two states. altho the Counties have many hills it appears through a good accromatick [achromatic] glass, like a plain, with little spots every here & there appear like portions of plowed land arrising from the
stems & branches of trees (of that colour) that had been girded & there lay killed when they plough & sow the land; leaving the trees standing to rot & fall, by which cattle & men are subject to accident. yet this is the custom on the otherside of the Susquhannah to save trouble it is said one or more of these fires happen every spring & continue burning until put out by rain —— the road to Fossicts very stoney & rocky, from Fossicts to Ink's much better road, but poor land. Laurel hill ends half a mile before you come to Ink's. (here left the main road with Mr Inks as a guide to the Youghagany falls —— To youghagany falls77. the first 2 miles over bad rocky road & soil. then came to a glade or great meadow narrow but of a great length, which having crossed, then mounted a stony or rather a rocky hill bad soil & 6 miles further came to John Askreens farm, to whom I had a letter from Col McLean, who as being the best guide, desired he would go with me. I however took them both, as it was through high hills & rocky presipices. (leaving my coat neck cloth & incumberances) at 2 miles distance; we however climbing over rocks trees Logs & hills, Lost our way, altho he had been there two years before: we at length after three hours fatigue arrived at some distance below the falls, but in full sight, when it appeared to me through a good glass as on the opposite side. The great falls of 49-1/2 feet, came down from level rocks, falling perpendicular, in one intire sheet, with such violence as raised a mist of great heigth, like a thick fog or vapour & with a noise heard long before the mountain can be seen, dashing & foaming against innumerable large rocks that are chiefly on the west side of the River. on the East side there is little or no obstruction. judge the River to be near 150 yards wide —— when dried my linnen to Mr Arskeens78 & from there through an obscure path to the Red Lyon, Salters79 tavern, a mile beyond the big meadow. —— 21

NB Bradock after being wounded was brought 108 miles near Inks's & was buried 2-1/2 miles beyond Inks's in the middle of the road to be concealed from the Indians

July 12

——— To Halls80 farm, easy hills & strong good level & meadow land. Mr Hall is a Young Man with a wife & Children. during the War, he bought 600 Acres of land for which he gave 300 £ paper money worth at that time about 50 £ Cash. he has only himself a Son of 12 years & a Servant that work, is his own Carpenter,
Smith, & has 21 head of Cattle, 17 sheep, 8 horses & Mares, 37 hogs & pigs, spins linnen & wollen for his family, in want of Iron & salt only. This small farm of grain pasture, barn & Log home in good order. from Laurel hill common [came on] to Allagany Mountains  

NB So cold that for the first time wore a great coat since left Philadelphia

To Simkins's\textsuperscript{81} tavern or liberty tree. four miles to Youghagani River crossed the river 140 yards over, then rose Allagany Mountain steep & long hill, good land tho part stoney. then waving stoney land, large timber trees, then level strong land, small trees. 4 farms hitherto. 4 or 5 mile further, rose Winding hill (from the traverse of the Road) which is high & steep & the summit of the Allagany Mountains, then 2 miles waving land, some part stoney some part level alternately, when came to Simpkins's. here it is too cold for Indian corn  

In the last stage my horse startled at a Rattle Snake that lay in the path coiled up as usual — thus the body very thick, the neck very slender & with a small head, it kept continually rattling, by pelting it with stones, disabled it from striking when by stones & sticks soon killed it. A man had lately been bit above the knee his leg & thigh swelled almost as thick as his body & in 24 hours of the very same colour as the Snake & spotted. cured by an old Indian.

To Little Meadows, or Tomlinsons\textsuperscript{82} farm & Tavern. (In three miles crossed a Creek) five miles good level land — a small part stoney. several runs of meadow land in sight. then descended a steep stony hill 1/2 a mile. the stones blue & hard, bedded in a light freestone sand, the lower part of the hill with a few small stones. at the foot of the hill a farm. at 6 miles mounted a high hill good land. the road a traverse at the foot of the hill by a spring met three Light Wagons, with Families &c from the Jersies going to Kentucke taking a repast. ascended a small stony hill, then waving & level land at 9 miles distance a spring & small farm. soon crossed the small branch of little Youghagane River 68 yards over, then ascended a small stony hill, then for 2 miles fine level or waving land, here & there a few stones. lay at Tomlinsons. his farm is too cold for Indian corn or tobacco.
July 13

——— To Tickles farm & tavern. after a descent of a mile & a half good land but stony. came to a Creek —— a small rising. longer descent when came to waving good land at 5-1/2 miles near a spring is the half way house & here begins Savage Mountain. ——— a small gradual rising & descent then a spring from whence a rising for a mile — all good land 1/4 of a mile hilly & very stony. then a gradual descent when came into a fine bottom where is a small farm. here ends savage mountain the residue in hard stones in white freestone sand & then in Brick mould, in a Bottom where is Tickles & another farm. the farmer raises Tobacco & Indian corn has 25 head Cattle & wheat weighs 67 lb the bushel — on each side of Tickles are many farms & 500 families.

The Methodists preach every day in different places, Men Women & Children going 7 or 8 miles on week days, neglecting their Families & farms & which is the only religious sect in the back country through which I passed.

——— To Gwins farm & tavern. crossed a spring or Creek then 3-miles waving land, some part stony, some a red soil like New Jersey, generally descend then 2-1/2 miles stony still descending some part clear of stone, crossed Braddocks Run, a River 60 yards over when came to Gwins in a bottom

Off Braddocks Run is a rocky hill 60 or 70 feet high, a kind of Slate the highest rock hitherto seen here were to be seen several large tracts of land, on which the trees had been burned, by accidental fires as before related.

——— To Fort Cumberland. one mile level 1/2 mile Stony having passed Braddocks run twice, ascended a steep hill, stony, then a white gritt or sand (the Western hills poor pine land.) then a red soil. here picked up Iron ore, one mile good land. when came to Fort Cumberland where are 13 or 14 good framed houses & thought will rapidly encrease as being at the head of the North branch of the Patomack 100 or 120 yards over

The remains of the Earth fort is upon the hill commanding the turn of the River & the Creek which is formed thus here ends the Allagany Mountain

[From Fort Cumberland Vaughan's itinerary proceeded east and southeast toward Virginia. As he passed along he continued
to note the topography, soil, trees, vegetation, farms, crops, and various phenomena of nature. His course led to Old Town, Maryland, and Berkeley Springs, where he went into a lengthy description of the street plan of the town, public buildings, homes, and especially of the improvements in progress at the great watering place and resort. He took time to describe the daily meetings held by the young and growing religious denomination, the Methodists.

Martinsburg and Winchester received a passing mention. Thence, he passed on to cross the picturesque "Shannando" and over the Blue Ridge at Ashby's Gap to Fauquier Courthouse (Warrenton). On he rode to busy Falmouth with its warehouses, iron forges, arms makers, and Government-owned tobacco inspection warehouses. Across the Rappahannock in Fredericksburg, Vaughan found an active social life and met a future President of the United States, Colonel Monroe, during an hour spent at the town tavern.

To Bowling Green, Hanover Courthouse, and to Richmond he rode. Here our traveler found a fast growing little city lately made the capital of Virginia (moved thither in 1779), with fine residences atop the hill, where also was the new brick statehouse, destined at a later day to be the Capitol of the Confederacy. The business district along the James River was just rebuilding after the burning of the tobacco warehouses, stores, factories, and business houses by the barbarous Benedict Arnold, become a British general during the late Revolution.

Via Bottom Bridge, West Point, Byrd's Tavern, all scenes of violent action during the recent war of the Revolution, rode Vaughan to the quaint, but declining, Williamsburg. Thence to Yorktown passed the observer, to view the scenes of the late siege that bagged the wily Cornwallis and clinched Washington's claim to fame. Vaughan's historical knowledge was slightly inaccurate, but he was too close to the events to see them clearly in perspective.

Crossing York River to Gloucester Point, Vaughan traveled up to Port Royal "in Carol Line County," and thence again to Fredericksburg. By Falmouth, Stafford Courthouse, Dumfries, Colchester, he arrived at the grand object of his journey, the home of Washington. One can only imagine Samuel Vaughan's emotions as he approached, through the vista cut from the forest, the Mount Vernon estate at the height of its beauty and fertility under the hand of the master.

Samuel Vaughan himself tells in his characteristic way the narrative of his visit to Mount Vernon.]
[This page taken from Samuel Vaughan's journal is the original from which he made the drawing hanging at Mount Vernon.]
The Journal continues:

To General Washingtons or Mount Vernon — first 4 mile a little hilly & except 4 small settlements, in wood land in the original State; the next 9 mile more level, through wood as before, soil a white clay & fine sand, rather stiff

The Generals house is 96 feet by 32 upon an emminence with a piazza next the Patomack of like length 42 feet wide & 18 feet high. Between the house & the River is a Lawn about 100 yards broad; from thence declining to the River about 400 Yards on which is a hanging wood, but not seen from the house, from which the River appears to be very near, 7/8 of a mile over, but higher & lower much wider, & meanders in different directions. Maryland on the opposite side of the River, is variegated & in high cultivation. On each end of the house there are sections of semicircular collonades to outhouses, from whence a street is formed on each side at right angles above 200 feet long in which are sundry houses for domesticks Tradesmen Workshops & c. Before the front of the house (which has a Cupola in the center) there are lawns, surrounded with gravel walks 19 feet wide, with trees on each side the larger, for shade. outside the walks trees & shruberies. Parralel to each exterior side a Kitchen Gardens. with a stately hot house on one side. the exteriour side of the garden inclosed with a brick wall. vide a sketch. — The General has near 12,000 Acres surrounding this delightful Mansion whereon are several Farms. five of which are kept under cultivation. under separate Negro overseers, who every saturday night give an exact account of the Stock the increase, decrease, condition, work done &c. &c. the General breakfasts at 7 then mounts his horse & canters 6 days in the week to every one, a circuit of about 20 miles, inspecting & giving directions for management [of] each & returns at two oClock. In good years he raises 10,000 bushels of wheat a like quantity of corn besides Oats barley rye buckwheat peas potatoes & breads horses Cattle mules & has 700 sheep, plants no tobacco. has an excellent grist mill on a creek supplied by various spring collected in a run of two miles, flower &c shiped on craft in the creek very near the River, has a fishery & a ferry. The General has 200 mouths to feed. makes most part of the cloathing & a considerable quantity of linnen made at home — the General seldom goes out but on public busi-
ness, always making experiments. The farms neat, kept perfectly clean & in prime order. keeps an excellent table, & is indisputably the best if not the only good farmer in the State.

[Concluded]

EXPLANATORY NOTES

51 Vaughan was undoubtedly traveling the Old Greensburg Pike route, which was a natural thoroughfare in the early days and still is a beautiful highway. Greensburg Pike climbs the hill on the west side of Turtle Creek (which Vaughan calls "Mother Miers's hill") and runs on a very narrow hilltop in an approximately straight course for nearly four miles, to the ridge of "Wilkinsburg Hill," lately Route 22. In present Wilkinsburg, the road crossed Nine Mile Run, which flows through Frick Park to the Monongahela. Vaughan seems to have taken this stream for a branch of Turtle Creek, not knowing that it flowed directly into the river. Any other route used at that time either would have run a much longer distance or would not have fulfilled the conditions of Vaughan's description. This is the only logical explanation, since he says he covered the distance from Turtle Creek to Pittsburgh in twelve miles.

André Michaux, traveling the same road in 1796, describes in his journal this steep hill to be climbed. See R. G. Thwaites, Early Western Travels, III, 49. Captain Jonathan Heart, Journal of Capt. Jonathan Heart, C. W. Butterfield, editor (Albany, N.Y., 1885), 23 (October 11, 1785), marched his company from Myers', in Turtle Creek, to the Bullock Pans, 6 miles; from the Bullock Pans to Fort Pitt, 6 miles; total 12 miles.

52 The early road to Fort Pitt, which was originally the Forbes Road, combined with the Turtle Creek route somewhere just west of the Wilkinsburg-Pittsburgh City line. Potts' Marching Map, previously referred to, shows the Forbes army road running along the watershed that is the Old Frankstown Road (roughly). The Turtle Creek route became used for all general travel east, and for that reason, it is shown on all original surveys, through what is now Wilkinsburg, as "The Great Road to Fort Pitt." These original survey plats may be seen in the Warrantee Atlas of Allegheny County, Pa. Dept. of Internal Affairs (Harrisburg 1914). Plats for Pittsburgh City, Wilkinsburg, and Wilkins Township, Nos. 9 and 10.

That this Great Road was practically identical with present Penn Avenue in its course through Wilkinsburg, through East Liberty, to the descent of the hill to Butler Street, is proved by scaling and plotting this road upon a modern city map (also by bringing both maps to the same scale photographically). The line may swing a very short distance right or left of modern Penn Avenue, but one can consider them as practically identical. That it ran down the hill to follow the Allegheny River to the Point is attested by every journal. F. Cuming's "Tour to the West," in Thwaites, Early Western Travels, IV, 75, calls attention to the three mile view from the hill looking down along the fertile land sloping to the river, extending to Fort Pitt the last two miles along the river. Arthur Lee's Journal, op. cit., 380, says, "About a mile from the fort you fall in with the Allegheny River . . ."

53 This surprising representation of Fort Pitt as having only four bastions is easily explained by reference to Charles M. Stotz, "Defense in the Wilderness," Drums in the Forest (Pittsburgh, 1958), 164-165. As there stated, the Ohio bastion, that nearest the confluence of the rivers, was almost completely carried away in the flood of 1765, and was never replaced thereafter. It had a much lower wall and stood on lower ground than the rest of the works, so that it never was a full-fledged bastion. Ibid., 159. During the siege of the fort, in the summer of 1763, a temporary wall was built across the angle on higher land, which was later completely closed off and the bastion abandoned.
We are of opinion that the renovation of the fortification during the Revolution may have effected greater changes and simplification of the works, so that there would have been but four bastions with but four curtain walls. Mr. Stotz's drawing, shown, *ibid.*, 171, exhibits this same effect. Vaughan, not being a military man, portrayed the four bastion plan, but erred in drawing the fort square in form.

James Kenny, in his journal, under date of November 11, 1761, stated, "... (Fort Pitt) its four Squair." He fell into the same error as Vaughan, through non-technical knowledge of the art of fortification.

As to cost of construction, Neville B. Craig, in his *History of Pittsburgh* (Pittsburgh, 1851), 86, and in *The Olden Time*, I, 197, both quoting H. H. Brackenridge in the first number of *The Pittsburgh Gazette*, July 29, 1786, stated that the cost to the British crown was $60,000. Arthur Lee, indeed, *op. cit.*, 385, stated $600; but this, as Craig agrees, must be a typographical error. Mr. Stotz, *op. cit.*, 178, has made an interesting observation in figuring the cost in terms of present day construction costs, and estimates it at $358,000 (1938 values). The truth is that no separate account was kept, each officer and engineer settling his own accounts with the War Department. *Ibid.*, 178-179.

Vaughan has reported this statement correctly, as reference to the original publication of the *Pittsburgh Gazette*, in the Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh, shows; but he was incorrect as to date. It was taken from the issue of June 2, 1787. There was none dated June 17th.

Refer to note 72.

"Found," meaning supplied with food and clothing, or either separately, is an expression not heard frequently today. In the rural areas a few years ago it was said that a worker was to receive a certain amount of wages per day "and found," i.e., "fed."

A howitzer is a short, light cannon used to throw shells with a curved trajectory, not, however, with the high trajectory of mortar fire. The *Pittsburgh Gazette* for July 14, 1787, carried the following news item: The 4th instant, being the anniversary of American Independence, was announced by the salute of 13 cannon. A number of gentlemen of this town, joined by some accidental travellers, met at the house of Messrs. Tannehills, where an elegant entertainment was prepared. After the cloth was removed, the following Toasts were drunk, accompanied with a discharge of cannon to each, viz. (Follows a list of toasts.)

It is plain, from the context, that Vaughan refers to a point after crossing to the north side of the Allegheny River. The traveler, F. Cuming, passing down the river, in 1807, wrote: "Leaving the glass house on the left, we passed on the same hand Saw-mill run ... we passed Robinson's point on the right with a fine level bottom. ..." R. G. Thwaites, *Early Western Travels* (Cleveland, 1904), IV, 92. Being, thus, opposite the mouth of Saw Mill Run, the location would have been above the present West End bridge. This was within the Reserve Tract of 3000 acres set aside by Act of Assembly, March 12, 1783. Smith, *Laws of Pennsylvania*, II, 63. Vaughan here found three acres laid out for building prior to the Act of September 11, 1787, ordering a survey to lay out this tract in lots. *Ibid.*, II, 414.

He was wrong, however, about the land's not yet having been purchased. The Treaty of Fort Stanwix, in 1784, and the Treaty of Fort McIntosh, in 1785, had purchased all of the remaining land in Pennsylvania and the southern half of Ohio. It was not safe for settlement until after Wayne's victory, in 1794.

There was a Barton who had a farm on the Allegheny River and had an island, later called Sweeny's Island. Evidently Barton did not stay long, for, in 1793, application was made for the island in Sweeny's name stating that he had lived there some years. No Burton has been located. *Penn'a Archives*, 3rd Ser., III, 469; L. H. Evarts, *History of Allegheny County*, 171.

Smoke Island was notorious as the place where the Indians tortured the prisoners taken at Braddock's battle, the place where the Indians always encamped when coming to a parley or treaty at Fort Pitt. It lay on the north side of
the Allegheny at its junction with the Ohio. It was separated from the mainland by a narrow neck of water, merely a marsh at low water, and later filled in to form part of the railroad yards. In 1806, Henry Killbuck, the friendly Delaware chief, made application for and obtained Smoke Island upon which he was then living, "containing about 20 acres, opposite the town of Pittsburgh." *Pennsylvania Archives*, 3rd ser., III, 472. Vaughan guessed wrongly as to acreage.

62 Elliot's Island later became Brunot's Island. In the Book of Sales of Depreciation Lands, page 42, is this entry under date of March 12, 1790: Robert Elliott & Eli Williams, Assignees of John Hamilton, apply for an Island in the river Ohio called "Chartiers Island" (commonly called Hamilton's Island) containing 136 acres and 21 perches. Pr resolve dated 17th Nov., 1788, & 18th Feb'y 1790. Patent was granted March 30, 1790. Patent Book 17, page 137, named "Chartiers or Hamilton."

In 1797, a French physician, Felix Brunot, who had practiced in Philadelphia and Annapolis, Maryland, came to Pittsburgh after having served in the Revolution as a surgeon and on the staff of his foster brother, the Marquis de Lafayette. He was a distinguished physician and savant of the medical profession, and purchased the island that still bears his name from the original patentees. Here he built a charming mansion where he and his family dispensed gracious hospitality. Annie Clark Miller has given us a beautiful description of the farm, in *WPHM*, IX, 131. This was largely taken from F. Cuming's "Sketch of a Tour to the Western Country," printed in R. G. Thwaites, Early Western Travels, IV, 93. C. L. Slattery, *Life of Felix Brunot*, 3-4; 6-7. The island was still called by Elliot's name when Vaughan passed.

63 Chartier's Creek is meant. Nearly all contemporary writers spelled the name in this way, since it more nearly approximated the French pronunciation, in which *Ch* is pronounced Sh. Washington spelled it "Shirlee's" and "Shurtee's." J. C. Fitzpatrick, *The Diaries of George Washington*, I, 413; II, 293. All of the country on the west side of the Ohio River to the state line was, after 1781, in Washington County. Allegheny County was erected, in 1788, only to the river, but the next year it was given that part west of the river which it now has.

McKees Rocks, a famous landmark, need little description, although they have been largely quarried away. Huge oil storage tanks nestle close under the remnants of the towering rocks today. The overhanging "Rocks" terminated the hill on which it was originally intended to build the fort of the Ohio Company, taken by the French. To this hill, Colonel William Eyre recommended removal of Fort Pitt, *WPHM*, XXVII, 45.

64 Cow Island is called Davis Island today. Several applications were made for this island about 1795 and 1797, all of which state, as does Vaughan, that it is estimated to contain about 40 acres. A warrant to survey was obtained by William Brown on December 12, 1810, on which a survey was run in April, 1815, thereby finding it to contain 23 acres and 149 perches. This was probably all of the tillable land. A patent was issued to Brown on March 4, 1815, found in Book H, 14, page 53.

65 This is the present Neville Island (Neville Township, Allegheny County). General William Irvine, commandant at Fort Pitt from October or November, 1781, to October, 1783, was rewarded, by the Act of Assembly, September 24, 1783, giving right of preemption to Montour's Island in the Ohio River. Andrew Montour's title to the island is doubtful, as the certificate in the Land Office, in Harrisburg, April, 1769, granted a tract of 300 acres "opposite to the Long Island." However, he lived there and almost certainly died there prior to 1775. C. A. Hanna, *The Wilderness Trail* (New York, 1911), I, 245-246. The grant to General Irvine was contested by Col. Charles Simms, of Virginia, assignee of a Major William Douglass, bearing a King's Commission in Colonel Peter Schuyler's Regiment of Foot, raised in New Jersey, in 1759; he was formerly a resident of Staten Island. This grant was held under the royal proclamation of 1763. Simms, the assignee, claimed title under the com-
pact, ratified 1780, between Virginia and Pennsylvania, guaranteeing property held under Virginia law in the territory conceded to belong to Pennsylvania. The U. S. Circuit Court held for Simms, and the case, being carried before the U. S. Supreme Court, it was held (1799) that "... rights which have been previously acquired under Virginia, in the territory relinquished to Pennsylvania, must, from the nature of the transaction, be expounded favorably for these rights, and so that titles, substantially good, should not, after a change of jurisdiction, be defeated or questioned for formal defects." Reported in A. J. Dallas, Reports (New York, 1895), III, 424-456.

It is interesting to note that General Irvine was granted 2000 acres of land at the mouth of Harbor Creek, on Lake Erie, by special Act of Assembly, March 28, 1799, in place of the Ohio River land of which he had been divested. General John Neville purchased the land after his Bower Hill house had been burned during the Whiskey Rebellion and after a brief residence in Pittsburgh. There he died July 29, 1803. See note 67.

66 Vaughan attended the very new First Presbyterian Church of Pittsburgh, not yet incorporated until, by Act of Assembly of September 29, 1787, nearly three months after his visit. Rev. Samuel Barr had come from the Presbytery of Newcastle, Delaware, to become pastor jointly of the Presbyterian congregation of Pittsburgh and of the "Bullock Pens" congregation, now Beulah Presbyterian Church. (It was called after the Bullock Pens on William Elliot's property, more than two miles away, since the whole neighborhood was so designated. See Capt. Heart's Journal, op. cit., 24; Arthur Lee's Journal, op. cit., 380; Patent Book 8, 380; Warrantee Atlas of Allegheny County, op. cit., Plat Nos. 9 and 10.)

Rev. Mr. Barr's "dispute with Mr. Brackenridge on politics" arose from Mr. Brackenridge's views that the community was too small to support more than one church; that therefore, purely Presbyterian dogmas, beliefs, and designations should be kept out of requirements for membership and public religious discussions; that ministers of all denominations be allowed to preach there, if approved by the elders. In other words, Brackenridge wished a community church. This led to charges and countercharges, which were reported in the Pittsburgh Gazette for March 17, June 16, and June 30, 1787; hence, the dispute was still (July 8) very heated and continuing in the minds of everyone in the little community. The political angle, here referred to, arose from the active opposition of Mr. Brackenridge to the Bill of Incorporation pending in the Assembly, for incorporation of the church by the Assembly, in the form in which it was later passed. The final result was the vindication of Rev. Mr. Barr by the Synod of the Presbyterian Church. The best exposé of the whole matter and litigation is found in Dr. William Wilson McKinny's Early Pittsburgh Presbyterianism (Pittsburgh, 1938), 70-75. Another, though not so enlightening explanation, is in The Presbyterian Valley, edited by Doctor McKinny (Pittsburgh, 1960), chapter on "Upholding Moral Standards," by Daniel J. Yolton, 82-83, citing Minutes of Redstone Presbytery; Minutes of Dunlap's Creek Church Session; Rev. Joseph Smith's Old Redstone; and Minutes of the Synod of Virginia in Winchester, for September 30, 1790.

67 John Neville was descended from a landed Virginia family, his father having acquired large holdings and his mother being Ann Boroughs, a cousin of Lord Fairfax. John Neville settled on large farms near Winchester and was elected sheriff of Frederick County. Later he preempted large tracts of land on Charders Creek, now Washington County, Pennsylvania, then supposed to lie within Virginia. As a Virginia officer in Lord Dunmore's War, he was allotted more land. He was in Braddock's army at the famous battle and defeat. At the outset of the Revolution, Captain Neville was sent to command Fort Pitt and to put it in a state of defense against all enemies of American freedom. In November, 1776 he was promoted Lieutenant Colonel and ordered to take command of the 12th Virginia Regiment in New Jersey with Washington's army. He participated in some of the most hard-fought battles of the war: Trenton, Princeton, Brandywine, Germantown, was present at Valley Forge,
and served in the East during the remainder of the war. Thwaites and Kellogg, *Revolution on the Upper Ohio* (Madison, 1908), 22. Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army* (Washington, 1914), 412, sets forth his military record thus:

(John Neville entered the Continental army as Lieutenant Colonel.)

Lieutenant Colonel, 12th Virginia, 12th November, 1776; Colonel, 8th Virginia, 11th December, 1777; transferred to 4th Virginia, 14th September, 1778; served to close of war; Brevetted Brigadier General, 30th September, 1783.

After the war, Neville settled his family (he had married Winifred Oldham, of Virginia) on his extensive domains on Chartiers Creek and built Bower Hill, the house that was burned during the attack upon his property at the outset of the Whiskey Insurrection in 1794. He had been appointed Inspector of Revenue, which brought the entire populace upon him. The course of the Whiskey Insurrection need not be retraced, but General Neville resided at Ferry and Water Street after that till the building of the mansion on the island that bears his name to this day. (Refer to note 65.) Annie Clark Miller (WPHM, IX, 132-133) has given a beautiful description of the gracious hospitality held forth at the old mansion in true English manor-house style. He died there in 1803 respected as the most prominent man of Pittsburgh and surrounding country. He served as a member of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania. Facts concerning this truly patriotic man may be found by reference to the *Dictionary of American Biography*, XIII, 437; Neville B. Craig's *History of Pittsburgh*, op. cit., 228-231.

68 This notice by Vaughan of prehistoric earthworks at this location in Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, is extremely interesting and unique, since it is the only mention of them found in any literature of the times. General John Neville's Bower Hill mansion and contiguous part of his estate is presently occupied by the John J. Kane Hospital.

We are indebted to the staff of the Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh for a complete search of archeological material relating to Western Pennsylvania, also to Doctor James Swauger and Doctor Donald Dragoo of the Carnegie Museum for professional opinions relating to the above.

It is difficult to understand why other contemporary persons should not have taken notice of remains of the huge dimensions that Vaughan has recorded. When we consider Vaughan's attainments and position as Vice-President of the American Philosophical Society, his high standing in the estimation of Doctor Franklin, of Doctor Rush, and of Doctor Priestly, one cannot doubt his veracity.

Indian artifacts of the later period have been found at Woodville, then Colonel Presley Neville's estate, and on Gould's Hill, near Bridgeville.

69 Colonel John Canon's origin and life prior to his coming to what is now Washington County are obscure. He settled on Chartiers Creek lands as early as 1773; and in 1774, was appointed one of the road reviewers of Augusta County, Virginia. He also was commissioned one of the Justices of the Peace of Augusta and Yohogania Counties. See "Minutes of the Court at Fort Dunmore" and "Minutes of the Court of Yohogania County," Index, where are cited dozens of items relating to times John Canon served on the bench of the various courts. During the Revolution he was appointed Sub-Lieutenant of the County Militia. This carried with it the title of Colonel by which he was known thereafter. Boyd Crumrine, *History of Washington County* (Philadelphia, 1882), 226, 601.

After the formation of Washington County, Canon was appointed Justice of the Peace of that county, in 1784. In the meantime, he had acquired three tracts of land patented as "Abington," "Mount Airy," and "Cannon Hill," nearly 1200 acres in all. On parts of the two former he laid out, in 1787, the town of Canonsburg. In September, 1784, Washington wrote in his diary, "... lodged at Colo. Cannons on the Waters of Shurtees Creek—a kind hospitable Man; and sensible." He then appointed Canon to collect the

Colonel Canon participated in the Whiskey Insurrection, being elected chairman of the Pittsburgh Meeting, and signing the resolutions and the call for the Braddock's Field Meeting. He was also one of those present at the opening of the U. S. Mail, in the "Black Horse Tavern." Crumrine, *op. cit.*, 228. He made his peace with the Government and turned to matters of a higher nature in uniting with a group of men at Canonsburg to organize an academy, in 1794, for which Canon gave the ground and advanced the money to construct the first building. The academy was an outgrowth of the Latin school which had been started by Reverend John McMillan about 1780, and in which James Ross taught. The institution was granted a charter by Act of Assembly on January 15, 1802, as Jefferson College, which continued until 1865, when it was merged with Washington College to form Washington and Jefferson College of today. John Canon died in 1798, his will made April 4, probated November 13, Washington County Will Book, No. 1, 367. It is a sad commentary upon the inconstancy of human nature that the body of so valuable a citizen has lain in an unmarked grave, which has been lost beyond identification. Blaine Ewing (Curator of Archives, W. and J. College), *Canonsburg Centennial Book* (Canonsburg, 1902).

Whether John Canon's origin was in Virginia or Pennsylvania is a moot question. A note, presumably Dr. Blaine Ewing's, in Washington and Jefferson College Collections, Archives No. 7 V 1, states: "William Findley, in his *History of the Western Insurrection*, gives Canon's birthplace as Chester County, Pennsylvania. It is to be remembered that Findley was a contemporary of Canon." Many attempts have been made to show his origin in various counties of Virginia, but no citations are without discrepancies.

70 The locality of the present county seat of Washington County was, in early times, Catfish's Camp, from an Indian chief of that name who resided there. David Hoge, sheriff of Cumberland County, purchased three tracts of land from a Hunter family, in 1769, here. When Hoge's two sons laid out a town on the site, in 1782, they called it Bassettown. The name was changed, in 1784, to Washington; and, in 1810, it was incorporated as a borough. The town's situation at the intersection of the National Road, the Glade Road, and the Pittsburgh-Washington Road made it a thriving travel center. Sherman Day, *Historical Collections of Pennsylvania*, 664-668; William H. Egle, *History of Pennsylvania*, 1142-1144.

71 Zephaniah Beall moved his family from Virginia to land on Fishpot and Plum Runs (now in Pike Run Township, Washington County) in 1774. He bought the interest of Robert Thornton, whatever title he may have had. This is at variance with Boyd Crumrine's published account, *History of Washington County* (Philadelphia, 1882), 993, but the differences will be harmonized as we progress. A warrant for survey of this tract of 349½ acres was issued May 14, 1783, survey return dated May 30, 1783, and patent issued May 19, 1789, to the warrantee under the name of "Clear Drinking." Warrant was issued for survey of another adjacent, or nearby, tract of 335½ acres, March 20, 1786. The 1785 date of warrant, in the absence of other information, prompted Crumrine's surmise that Beall came there about 1785. The information of the 1774 date is on the authority of the son of Zephaniah Beall, Jt., who stated that his father was one year old at the time of settlement and that they came from Virginia. See *Pennsylvania Archives*, 3rd ser., XXVI, 526, 527; also Patent Book 13, Page 41. Letter of J. O. Beall, May 21, 1903, to Boyd Crumrine, in Washington and Jefferson College Collections, Archives No. XV c 94. The grandson states that Zephaniah, Senior, married a Pritchard in 1768, before they came from Virginia, while Crumrine (*op. cit.*, 768) states that the first wife was a daughter of James Crawford, of Fayette County. He had
two marriages, so it is obvious that the marriage with Crawford's daughter must have been the second. One son, Reasin Beall, became a general in the War of 1812 and served on General Harrison's staff.

Crumrine's statement (ibid., 933), copied by other writers, that Zephaniah Beall, Senior, collaborated with Zephaniah, Junior, and two or three others in laying out the town of Beallsville, in 1819, is obviously impossible, because his will, made February 9, 1801, is recorded in Washington County Will Book No. 1, 431-432. This will was probated August 3, 1801, as recorded in Executors' Account File Book No. 24, page 1804. Hence, he could not have been one of the founders of Beallsville, having died between the dates of making his will and the probating of it.

The uncertainty of his death and burial seems to have been put at rest by his grandson's statement that "my Grand Father was Murdered on the lower Mississippi and the Cargo taken and also crew never heard of, cargo or crew, about 1795." This date is obviously incorrect, and assuming that he was murdered, it must have occurred between February 9, and August 3, 1801.

Judge Crumrine's account, though containing some errors of fact, was published in 1882, and represents the best of available information at that date. The letter of J. O. Beall, found among the papers of Judge Crumrine in the Washington and Jefferson College Archives, was written in 1903, so that the historian came into possession of these facts twenty-one years after publication of his work.

Where Zephaniah Beall attained the title of Colonel is a mystery, since the pension and Revolutionary records in the National Archives in Washington, D.C., have been thoroughly searched, and a written statement to the effect that no record was found is in possession of the author of this note. Also the Virginia records have yielded no information.

This note by Vaughan is the only documentary evidence that for a brief time someone may have called the present Brownsville by the name of Fayette Town. His reference to "rising the hill came to the town" describes the location of Brownsville, which has always stood upon an elevated plain, laid out upon the land of the Browns, Thomas and Bazil, sons of Wendell Brown and brothers of Maunus and Adam. They were probably the earliest settlers of Fayette County, even preceding the Gists by several months. They had packed supplies to Washington's little army at Fort Necessity. See James Veech, The Monongahela of Old (Pittsburgh, 1892–1910 edition), 79, 109-111.

Day Historical Collections, op. cit., 341 ff. (See illustration, 341, of Brownsville in 1843, with Bridgeport near the river, only Dunlap's Creek separating the two villages.) Franklin Ellis, History of Fayette County, 421 ff. Colonel James Burd was sent, in 1759, to cut a road from Braddock's road to the Monongahela. This he did and built Fort Burd on the precipitous hill overlooking the river just below the mouth of Dunlap's Creek, not at the mouth of Redstone Creek, as many writers have stated, without a first-hand knowledge of the ground. Captain Harry Gordon, British army engineer, had blazed trees on this hill to mark the best situation for a fort. Lily Lee Nixon, James Burd, 72, 79. In his journal, Burd stated: "[September 22]. This morning I went to the river Monongahela, reconnoitred Redstone, & c., and concluded upon the place for the post, being a hill in the fork of the river Monongahela and Nemocalling's cr. [Dunlap's Creek], the best situation I could find."

Redstone Creek is at least a mile and a half below the site on the hill described. It is true that there were remains of prehistoric Indian fortifications upon the ridge of the hill, which the white men called "Redstone Old Fort," and which lent its name to Burd's fort, so that few called it Fort Burd. The true location of Burd's fort was the point of the ridge upon which are today the junior high school building of Brownsville, "Bowman's Castle," and a mortuery. The original survey plats of Brownsville show Fort Burd just below the mouth of Dunlap's Creek, although they do not indicate the elevation of the spot. See Warrantee maps, State Land Office, Harrisburg. The course of Dunlap's Creek was changed in the early part of the present century by filling
the bottom land to make way for the Snowden Plan in Brownsville's business district.

73 Present Uniontown, formerly Beesontown, was named for Henry Beeson, a Quaker from Berkeley County, Virginia, who, about 1770, bought the rights (probably tomahawk rights) of an early settler, Thomas Douthet, who had come there three years previously. About 1774, Beeson built a mill and started to lay out a town on the tract named on the original survey plat "Mill Seat." Alexander McClean, the distinguished surveyor (see note 74), laid out the lots for the county town when Fayette should be set up, taken from Westmoreland, in 1783. The name was in the process of change when Vaughan passed through. Franklin Ellis, History of Fayette County, op. cit., 279-280; Sherman Day, Historical Collections, op. cit., 339-340; William H. Egle, History of Pennsylvania, op. cit., 729.

74 Alexander McClean, born in York County, Pennsylvania, c. 1742, was the youngest of seven brothers, all but one of whom (James) were surveyors. Archibald was the most noted brother. Samuel, Archibald, Moses and Alexander all were with Mason and Dixon when they ran their celebrated line, 1763-1767. During the next ten years Alexander surveyed all over the western country, becoming a Deputy Surveyor himself in 1772. He was a member of the Pennsylvania Assembly in 1776 and was also a justice of the peace. In 1775 he was married near present Stoyestown and moved to the vicinity of Uniontown, which plot of Henry Beeson's land he laid out for the future county town; and, in 1779, he moved to Uniontown adjacent to the courthouse.

As quartermaster, McClean accompanied McIntosh's expedition with Colonel Beeler's Virginia militia regiment. "McIntosh Orderly Book," WPHM, XLIII, 167. He afterwards referred to "the fatigues of the most difficult campaign...and was a witness to both their sufferings and fortitudes." Veech, Monongahela of Old, 132-133. In 1781, he was appointed one of the surveyors of the temporary Virginia-Pennsylvania line and, in 1784, of the final line. Penna. Colonial Records, XIII, 252, 335, 510, 519; Penna. Archives, 1st ser., IX, 353, 402, 563, 566, 585, 588, 722; also see Dr. John Ewing's Journal in Penna. Archives, 6th ser., XIV, 11, 12, 13. In 1783, McClean was a representative to the Assembly that formed Fayette County and was appointed, by the Supreme Executive Council, President Judge of Common Pleas and Orphans' Court. He also became Prothonotary and Register and Recorder, which office he held from 1783 until 1834. In fact, this astonishing man held more offices than any other Western Pennsylvanian. After the opening of the land office, in 1784, McClean was appointed Deputy Surveyor General for all of Fayette County, and parts of Somerset, Westmoreland, Allegheny, Washington and Greene Counties. He held that office for Fayette until 1825.

One of McClean's greatest services was performed as surveyor of the first district of the Pennsylvania Depreciation Lands for Revolutionary veterans, completed by 1785. His district lay nearest the western boundary of the State, for which line he was appointed as one of the commissioners, with Colonel Andrew Porter, to run the survey in the summer of 1786. He had been appointed, in 1783, to the Board of Trustees of Dickinson College in Carlisle, Pa. Colonel McClean's busy life came to an end in 1834. See James Veech, Monongahela of Old, 131, 137; Ellis, History of Fayette County, 365.

75 Thomas Inks built a log tavern on Braddock's road about 1780. It was near Dead Man's Run, so called from a fatal quarrel between two brothers-in-law near the tavern. As Vaughan states it was about 2½ miles west of Braddock's grave, it was located northwest of Chalk Hill, Thomas Inks, Jr., was born here in 1784, and lived in the same place many years, reaching the age of 92 years. Another son of Thomas, George Inks, kept a tavern on the National Road, which he built in 1820, which eventually was called "the old Inks' tavern"—not to be confused with the original. See Franklin Ellis, History of Fayette County, 831, 833, 835.

76 Thomas Fossit is the name as usually spelled. One writer used Faussett, but it
evidently sounded like Fossict to Vaughan, so that is the way he spelled it. This is Tom Fossit, who was supposed to have shot General Braddock. This was on his own word, but many people believed him. The story may be read in John S. Ritenour's Old Tom Fossit (Pittsburgh, 1926), and James Hadden's Sketch of Thomas Fausett (Uniontown, 1905). According to Ellis, op. cit., 831, Fossit was living, in 1783 on the old road at the junction of Dunlap's Road (Bur-d's Road) and Braddock's Road. This was at Washington's Springs, one mile and a quarter north of the Summit. There he kept a tavern, but sold his holdings, in 1788, to one Isaac Phillips, who soon sold to John Slack, who held tavern until the road was closed. The name under which the tract was patented was "Washington's Springs," "one hundred acres, more or less." He was said to have been 106 years of age when he died, in 1816. Ellis, op. cit., 834; James Veech, The Monongahela of Old (Pittsburgh, 1892-1910 edition), 72; James Hadden, Sketch of Thomas Fausett, op. cit., 24-26.

77 The falls of the Youghiogheny (Ohio pyle Falls) form one of the most picturesque sights in the mountains of Pennsylvania. Washington, while reconnoitering the river for possible water transportation for his provisions and baggage during his Fort Necessity expedition found the falls completely blocking navigation. "... at length, we came to a fall he reported, which continued rough, rocky, and scarcely passable, for two miles, and then fell, within the space of fifty yards, nearly forty feet perpendicular." John C. Fitzpatrick, Writings of George Washington, I, 52. Few white men had visited the falls prior to Vaughan's visit, due to their extreme inaccessibility before the time of good roads and improved means of travel.

In recent times, great interest in this romantic spot has been aroused by the Western Pennsylvania Conservancy's efforts to preserve this, among other areas of natural beauty and wild life. Funds, provided by the late Edgar J. Kaufmann and the A. W. Mellon Educational and Charitable Trust, plus a gift of a half mile of waterfront lands by the West Penn Power Company have saved from destruction the Ferncliff peninsula and the hillsides forming the gorge. More recently the efforts of Mrs. Albert Fraser Keister to buy the interests of a large number of Keister heirs, and to present to the Conservancy the land forming the western shore of the river, have assured the complete preservation of this place of historic interest as well as of great natural beauty.

78 John Askren paid taxes in Wharton Township, Fayette County, in 1786, but is not on the tax return for 1785; hence, it may be presumed that he came here between those years. Vaughan's statement, however, that Askren was the best guide implies longer familiarity with the vicinity than Mr. Inks, who was probably there by 1780.

79 An extensive search of all extant records has failed to find any reference to Salter's Tavern or, indeed, a Salter family on Braddock's road.

80 Moses Hall seems to have been one of the most enterprising men with whom we have become acquainted through Vaughan. Franklin Ellis, op. cit., 607, says that Hall is supposed to have come to Wharton Township (this part Henry Clay Township, after 1824) about 1785. He occasionally preached to his neighbors, although not a regular minister; and he kept a tavern which his son, Ephriam, continued after him, and grandson, Squire, also kept till the closing of the road. Moses Hall first appears on the Tax Returns of Wharton Township in 1785. Pennsylvania Archives, 3rd ser., XXII, 587, 659. The location of this tavern was ten miles from the Great Meadows, by Vaughan's computation via a crooked and hilly road, thus just north of Markleysburg (9 miles from the last stop, Salter's, which was one mile from the Great Meadows). In fact the run that crosses the old road just at this point is named Hall's Run for this family. The tavern, a large log structure, was torn down in 1865. Ellis, op. cit., 609.

81 John Simkins of Allegany County, Maryland, was active in civic affairs in the county, as road committees, etc. Thomas Scharf, History of Western Maryland (Philadelphia, 1882), II, 1345. By the journal-letter of Samuel Allen, of New
London, Connecticut, printed in Hulbert's *Historic Highways of America*, XII, 70 and note 29, it is plain that Simkins' tavern was at, or near, Braddock's Bear Camp (Camp No. 6). It is situated a half mile southeast of the point where the road crosses the Pennsylvania-Maryland State line. The child of Allen had died at Simkins' place (see note 82); and after the burial, Allen wrote: "When we returned to the house I asked Mr. Simkins to give me his name & the name of the place he asked me the name of the child I told him he took his pen & ink & rite the following lines Alligany County Merriland July the 14th 1796 died John P. Allen at the house of John Simkins at other ways bear camplain broadaggs old road [otherwise Bear Camp in Braddock's old road] half way between fort Cumberland & Uniontown.

Dr. William Wellford, of Fredericksburg, Virginia, with the army marching to suppress the Whiskey Insurrection, in 1794, places Simkins' 18 miles west of Tomlinson's at the Little Meadows (see note 82, following). This is just on the location of Bear Camp by the old road. *William and Mary College Quarterly*, XI, 11.

82 Jesse Tomlinson, often called Tumblestone (Washington called him Tumberson), seems to have been one of the three fortunate tavern owners on Braddock's road, since it was located where it could also serve the new National Highway. The report, to Congress, of the commissioners who laid out the Cumberland Road, December 30, 1806, specified that the road should run past Tomlinson's. Refer to note 84, below.


Tomlinson was evidently of a cruel and callous nature, as attest the feelings of the father of a very ill child at his tavern: "Mr. Tumblestone spoke in a very lite manner and says with a smile it will save you the trouble of carrying it any further if it does die." (The child did die. See note 81, above.) Letter of Samuel Allen, Hulbert's *Historic Highways*, op. cit., II, 68.

Tomlinson did a prosperous business and replaced his log tavern with a spacious stone inn, which served the turnpike as long as it was traveled by wagons and stages.

The journal of Uriah Brown (1796), *Maryland Historical Magazine*, X, 277, presents the following choice observation: "... thence 16 miles on this Grand Western Turnpike road on the Alleghany mountain to Tomlinson's fed & dined $ 0.68-3/4 ... The goodness of God must have been in Congress unknownst to them; when the[y] fell about to & Erected a Lane for the making of this great Turnpike road."

"A Diary Kept by Dr. William Wellford, ... During the March to Fort Pitt ... to Suppress the Whiskey Insurrection in 1794," *William and Mary College Quarterly*, XI, 10, contains the following: "Thursday, 23rd of Octr. ... The army proceeded this day to Tomlinson's at the little Meadows, ... the course of this day's march led the Army over a thousand times ten thousand rocks, thro' a dark, dreary part of the Mountains called the 'Shades of Death,' & by an almost continuous ascent to that rugged and elevated part of the Alleghany Mountains known by the epithet of the 'back bone of America.'"

It is worthy of note that Nicholas Cresswell, that rakish English loyalist Indian trader, under date of Wednesday, October 11, 1775, "lodged at Tumblestones on top of the Alleghany Mountain," thus establishing that Tomlinson was there before the Revolution. A. G. Bradley, ed., *The Journal of Nicholas Cresswell* (New York, 1928), 124.

83 Tickles was the same that Nicholas Cresswell, *Journal, op. cit.*, 124, called "Tittle's Tavern." From the distance given by Vaughan, it must have been near where the Braddock Road passed Georges Creek, about a mile and a half south of U. S. Route 40 in Frostburg, Maryland. *Ibid.*, 62.

84 Evan Gwinn's, or Gwynn's, was a well known early tavern that served both Braddock's road and the Cumberland Road. It stood in the forks of the
roads, one leading in a southerly direction to Thomas Cresap's and Winchester, the other over Wills Mountain, by Sandy Gap, to Fort Cumberland. The latter was the route of the main part of Braddock's army and the Cumberland Road. "Captain Orme's Journal," in Winthrop Sargent, History of Braddock's Expedition (Philadelphia, 1856), 323-324; John K. Lacock, Braddock's Road, op. cit., 7-8. The report of the Commissioners to lay out the Cumberland Road, Executive Document, 9th Congress, 2nd Session (1807), quoted in Thomas J. Scharf, History of Maryland, II, 1328, and in Thomas B. Seairight, The Old Pike (Uniontown, 1894), 31. Washington, Diaries, op. cit., II, 287, recorded under date of September 10, 1784: "...dined at a Mr. Gwins at the Fork of the Roads leading to the old 'Town.'" The Commissioners' report calls it Gwynn's Six Mile House.

The tavern continued to serve travelers on the road till the National Pike was relocated to pass through the Wills Creek Narrows. Seairight, op. cit., 30-31; Lacock, op. cit., 10-12.

85 At the mouth of Wills Creek on the North Branch of the Potomac, the Ohio Company built a storehouse, in 1750. From there, Colonel Thomas Cresap and the Indian, Nemacolin, marked a path to the Forks of the Ohio, the following year, W. H. Lowerdarmilk, History of Cumberland (Washington, 1873), 29. After the defeat of Washington's troops at the Great Meadows, in 1754, the site at Wills Creek was fixed upon for the location of a fort to stop the advance of the French as well as incursions of the Indians. Colonel James Innes of South Carolina, with two companies of New York independent troops, later joined by an independent company of South Carolina under Captain Aeneas Mackay, marched to fortify this strategic spot. This first work was called Fort Pleasant. Maryland's Governor, Horatio Sharpe, visiting the place in December, ordered a larger fort to be built higher on the same hill, overlooking the position already fortified, which was done in the winter of 1754-1755, and named Fort Cumberland, in honor of the Duke of Cumberland, Captain-General of all of the British armies. This large fort covered the site now occupied by two fine churches and the Allegany County Courthouse above them. Ibid., 82-89.

In the spring of 1762, Colonel William Eyre, British army engineer, reported to General Amherst that he found Fort Cumberland in ruins, one magazine having accidentally blown up, demolishing two curtain walls. WPHM, XXVII, 48.

The land in "Walnut Bottom" near the fort was surveyed, in 1745, by Thomas Cresap for Governor Thomas Bladen, who sold it to George Mason, of Virginia, in 1756. In 1783, Mason sold the land to Thomas Beall, of Samuel, who laid it out in lots under the name of Washington Town. On petition of the inhabitants, the Act of Incorporation, in 1787, gave the town the name of the fort, and it since has been known as Cumberland. Ibid., 258; Scharf, History of Maryland, op. cit., 1572.

86 Samuel Vaughan's visit to Mount Vernon was fortunately timed so that it nearly coincided (1787) with the completion of the new, elaborate Banquet Room which had been commenced as early as 1776, while the Commander-in-Chief was with the army at Cambridge. The magnificent Italian Marble mantel, which Vaughan had sent two years before, adorned (as it still does) the one wall of the architecturally distinguished room. D. S. Freeman, George Washington, VI, 5 n 22. Writing of its elegance, a connoisseur of historical architecture has called the Mount Vernon Banquet Room "one of the handsomest rooms of the period. The Banquet Hall has a projecting chimney breast on the south wall flanked by two doorways, and on the north wall on axis with the fireplace is the great Palladian window. The mantel is a magnificent marble piece with free-standing Ionic columns supporting a frieze enriched with bas reliefs. It was the gift of Samuel Vaughan of London, and is the most elaborate of its period in the country. It is unique in having an inlaid marble mantel [hearth?]." Thomas T. Waterman, The Mansions of Virginia (Chapel Hill, 1946), 294. Fine engravings of the fireplace are found, ibid.,
A detailed description is given by Benson J. Lossing in *Mount Vernon and Its Associations* (Cincinnati, 1883), 185-188.

Accompanying the chimney piece were three very handsomely decorated blue and gold porcelain vases from India. In the fall of 1785, Vaughan also had Samuel Vaughan, Jr., send a puncheon of rum from his Jamaican plantation. For all of these gifts Washington was grateful but embarrassed as his letter of November 30, 1785, expressed. Fitzpatrick, *Writings of Washington*, XXIX, 6-7; Lossing, *Mount Vernon and Its Associations*, op. cit., 188-189.

Since part of Vaughan's itinerary has been omitted, it will be interesting to note his accumulated mileages. In reaching Mount Vernon by the round-about route he traveled, he had covered 1070 miles of difficult roads. By the time he arrived at Philadelphia, he had accumulated 1437 miles.