The world has never known a braver man than Edward Ward. He was one of the first white men to blaze a trail through Southwestern Pennsylvania's forests, across its mountains and into its valleys during its most dangerous and desperate years.

He was a versatile man. He fought the Indians in battle when that was necessary, and he fought the French. He was adept at getting the Indians to accept the recommendations of the English. He was a justice of the peace of two Virginia courts that were established in the part of Pennsylvania claimed by Virginia. He also functioned as a Virginia sheriff for awhile. He acquired vast amounts of choice acreage in Pennsylvania, Kentucky and elsewhere.

On February 17, 1754, he was one of about forty men who made the very “first settlement at Pittsburgh.” The settlement was at ‘the Point’ at the forks of Pittsburgh’s three famous rivers. He was an ensign then in the pay of Virginia. Eight of the men were not soldiers. All of the men intended to live and labor in that settlement. They began immediately to erect what Ward

Mrs. Bothwell is a native Pittsburgher with a long-standing interest in local history. She has contributed articles on “Devereux Smith,” “Precious Court Records” and “Founders of the Second Presbyterian Congregation of Pittsburgh,” which appeared in this Magazine in 1957, 1958 and 1959.—Ed.

termed a "stockade fort." Fate placed him in charge of the men and the work almost as soon as the construction of the fort was begun. The fact that they were routed from the settlement about two months after they established it, does not rob them of the right to be known as the men who made the first settlement at Pittsburgh.

Ward was as rugged a person as ever breathed. He had to be to survive in the wilderness that was Southwestern Pennsylvania when he knew it, a wilderness infested with wild beasts, reptiles and Indians. The hard earth was frequently his only bed and the pillow for his head.

George Croghan, his half-brother, the famous Indian trader and conciliator, traveled the wilderness that became Pittsburgh for some years before George Washington, Christopher Gist, Colonel Henry Bouquet and General John Forbes became acquainted with it. Croghan, who was much older than Edward, probably took Edward with him on some of his earliest expeditions into and beyond the land at the forks of the rivers before Edward entered his teens.

A study of George Croghan's life acquaints one, to a degree, with Ward, for they were closely associated for many years.

Nicholas B. Wainwright, in his highly valuable book *George Croghan: Wilderness Diplomat*, gives the following vivid thumbnail description of Croghan: "The foremost of Pennsylvania's Indian traders . . . Croghan was recognized as the leading negotiator with the western tribes during the colonial period. No man led a more adventurous life in colonial America . . . It was he who pacified Pontiac . . . He was tomahawked, shipwrecked, alternately rich and poor, despised and praised, rejected and sought after. He forcibly expressed the democratic spirit which was to be America . . . His native background stood out like a beacon . . . His easy good nature made him an idol on the frontier."

Croghan, canny and courageous, had a great influence upon Edward. Edward probably marveled, as others did, at Croghan’s ability to control the Indians when no one else could. Croghan proved his faith in Edward’s ability to deal wisely with the Indians by leaving him at times in charge of Indian affairs. Ward was

proud of Croghan's ability to obtain from the Indians, adroitly and legally, many thousands of acres of land. Ward, in his hunger for land, was much like Croghan. Those brothers were two of the most interesting mortals ever to walk the earth.

The maiden name of their mother may come to light sometime. She must have been worth knowing, for she gave to America two of its brightest and bravest men. She is said to be buried in Bedford, Pennsylvania.

George Croghan was a mature man when he came to America from Dublin, Ireland, in 1741.4 Nicholas B. Wainwright wrote5 that George Croghan and Edward Ward, his "trusted half-brother," and perhaps their mother, and possibly Edward's father (whose given name he believed was 'Thomas')6, together with a cousin, Thomas Smallman, and Roger Walton, "Croghan's Irish clerk," lived together for a few years, up to 1751, in "the community which Croghan had created beside the Conedogwinet creek" in Pennsylvania township, Cumberland County.

It was while Croghan maintained his residence at Conedogwinet creek that "Johonorissa, Scarayadia and Coswantinicia, chiefs or sachems of the six united nations of Indians" conveyed to him, by deed dated August 2, 1749,7 one hundred thousand acres of Pennsylvania land in the area later to be known as Pittsburgh and vicinity. The deed was ratified by the Six Nations in George Croghan's favor on November 4, 1768.8 Croghan and Ward must have talked about that land many, many times and the wealth that they believed Croghan would derive from it.

4 Albert T. Volwiler. George Croghan and the Westward Movement. It was stated therein: "The date 1741 is instantly established by an affidavit which Croghan made before the Board of Trade in London on July 27, 1764, to aid the Penns in their case against Connecticut's claims," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, 46, p. 278, fn. 12.
5 Nicholas B. Wainwright, George Croghan: Wilderness Diplomat, p. 12.
6 This conjecture seems very well founded. A "Thomas Ward," an Indian trader, was, on occasion, present with George Croghan when treaty negotiations were being carried on with the Six Nation Indians and other Indians. One of the instances in which he was mentioned as being present is in Colonial Records, 5, p. 532.
7 The quoted recitation was in a deed, dated Feb. 20, 1776, by which George Croghan conveyed 6,424 acres of land "lying and being on the eastern side of Raccoon creek" to William Croghan. "Raccoon Creek, rises in . . . Washington County, and flows through Hopewell and Moon t-ships, Beaver co., into the r. Ohio," according to Thomas F. Gordon's Gazetteer of the State of Pennsylvania, pub'd in 1832.
George Croghan's deed to William Croghan, just mentioned, is recorded in D.B. 1-A, p. 3, Washington County, Pa., records.
8 From the deed described in fn. 7 above.
Croghan had built, prior to 1750, a trading post near “the Monongahela and Allegheny rivers . . . future site of Pittsburgh.”

Edward Ward was listed as a freeman in 1750 which indicates that he was unmarried then. His marriage to Samuel Sample’s sister Hannah brought him considerable grief that was not of their making. It came about when Dr. John Connolly (Lieutenant Colonel John Connolly), who had married Hannah’s sister Susannah, was arrested as a traitor to America. Some persons, of official and unofficial status, viewed with suspicion everyone who had had contact with Connolly and voiced their suspicions to the detriment of those who were related to Connolly by blood or marriage. Ward was, undoubtedly, the victim of malicious tongues and this may explain, in part, why Pittsburgh failed to honor him as it should have done for his many services to it. The suspicions and insinuations, insofar as Ward was concerned, were unfounded, but the damage to his reputation had been done.

Ward, early in 1754, was commissioned “Ensign of a Company of Militia under the command of Captain William Trent in the pay of the Government of Virginia.” Trent, just prior to that time, while he was at Redstone creek “erecting a Store House for the Ohio Company,” received orders from the Governor of Virginia to “raise a Company,” and he “inlisted a number of men not exceeding thirty-three.”

“Half King and Monacatoochas,” learning of the orders to Trent, sent him “a Message to come immediately and build a Fort at the Forks of the Monongahela and Ohio and that they would assist him as soon as they could gather the People . . . . Trent got Rafts made and everything necessary for his march and . . . did march with what few men he had then raised . . . to the mouth of the Monongahela where a number of Indians of different nations met him.”

13 Edward Ward’s Deposition of June 30, 1756. (See footnote 11)
Ward heard Trent's speech to the Indians, saw him give them "a present from the Governor of Virginia," and then, as Ward stated later, "After the Treaty was finished Captain Trent laid out the Fort and cleared the Ground and got some logs squared, upon which the Chiefs of the Six Nations went with us to the ground and laid the first log and said, that Fort belonged to the English and them and whoever offered to prevent the building of it they the Indians would make war against." 14

It must have been a thrilling scene that day at "the Point" when the white men and Indians, some standing and some squatting, watched the Indian chiefs in their colorful regalia lay the first log for the first fort at "the Point." Ward did not know it then, but the foundation was being laid for his surrender to the French.

Before the fort was completed, Captain Trent left it to round up sorely needed provisions. The French were preparing to attack the fort. Ward stated later "that four days before the French came he had an Account of their coming, and saw a Letter that John Davison wrote to Robert Calender, an Indian Trader to confirm the truth that they were to be down by that time." 15

Ward, thereupon, "went directly to his lieutenant who lived ... at a place called Turtle Creek." 16 It "was late at night when he got there, Accompanied by Robert Roberts, Thomas Davison, Samuel Asdill, an Indian." 17 The lieutenant he had gone to see was John Frazer, who refused to return to the Fort. When Frazer refused to return, Ward told him that "he would go immediately himself and have the Stockade Fort Built, And that he would hold out to the last Extremity before it should be said that the English retreated like Cowards before the French forces Appeared." 18 Ward added that he knew if he left the fort "as the rest had done" it "would give the Indians a very indifferent opinion of the English ever after." 19

Ward later stated that "he had no Orders from either his Captain or Lieutenant how to proceed, and had the last Gate of the Stockade Fort erected before the French appeared." 20

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14 Ibid.
15 Edward Ward's Deposition before the Governor and Council of Virginia on May 7, 1754 (referred to in footnote 2), p. 275, et seq.
16 Ibid.
17 Ibid.
18 Ibid.
19 Ibid.
20 Ibid.
It was also learned from Ward that "Mr. Gist sent word that Major Washington with a Detachment of the Virginia Regiment were on the march to join" them and would be with them "in a few days." 21

Ward must have watched apprehensively for the approach of the French, and hopefully for Washington and his men.

Ward averred, in his deposition22 of May 7, 1754, "That the French first appeared to him at Shannopins Town about Two miles distant from the Fort" on April seventeenth; that they then "moved within a small distance from the Fort, Then landed their canoes and marched their men in a regular manner a little better than Gun shot from the Fort."

The French gave Ward a half hour to surrender the fort. He pleaded in vain that he was not "invested with powers to answer their Demands" that he surrender. Ward then went to the French camp "Accompanied with the Half King, Rob1 Roberts, a private Soldier and John Davidson, as an Indian interpreter." 23 Ward talked with Contrecoeur, the French Commander, and requested him to await the arrival of the principal commander of the fort. Contrecoeur told him that he would not wait for an answer "from any other person."

Ward averred further, in his said deposition of May 7, 1754, That he then observeing the number of the French, which he judg'd to be about a Thousand and considering his own weakness being but Forty one in all, whereof only thirty-three were Soldiers Surrendered the Fort with Liberty obtained to march off with everything belonging thereto by Twelve o'Clock the next Day. He says that night he was Oblieg'd to encamp within three hundred yards of the Fort with a party of the Six Nations who were in Company with him, That the French Commander sent for him to Supper and asked many Questions concerning the English government, which he told him he could give no Answer to, being unacquainted with such affairs, That the French Commander desired some of the Carpenters Tools, offering any money for them, to which he answer'd he loved his King and Country too well to part with any of them. And then retired. That next morning he received the speech of the Half King to the Governor, And proceed'd with all his men towards Redstone creek where he arrived in two Days, and from thence marched to Wills Creek, where he met with Coll' Washington and informed him of every particular had happened. . . . 24

Washington, promptly after Ward's arrival at Wills Creek, sent

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21 Edward Ward's Deposition of June 30, 1756. (See footnote 11)
22 Edward Ward's Deposition of May 7, 1754. (See footnote 2)
23 Ibid.
24 Ibid.
a letter to Governor Hamilton of Pennsylvania informing him of
the surrender in detail, and explaining that Ward had "no Cannon
to make a proper defence." Washington imparted substantially the
same information to Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia in a letter
dated "Wills Creek, 25th April, 1754."
Ward's conduct, when he surrendered, sheds revealing light
upon his character. If he had been lacking in diplomacy and had
been arrogant, the French Commander would not have shown him
any consideration.
Ward was supposed to have been twenty-four years old then.
If he was that age, he was two years older than George Washington.
George Washington, George Croghan and Edward Ward were
well acquainted in those very perilous years, and all three were
shaping the destiny, not only of Pennsylvania and Virginia but of
the nation.
Washington, on July 4, 1754, also tasted the bitterness of the
cup of defeat when he had to surrender to the French at Fort
Necessity. Ward, who had joined him in April, was surely with
him then, and George Croghan was there. Ward stated, concerning
that defeat, that George Washington "would not have had ammu-
nition to make the least defence that day" if Captain Trent and
George Croghan had not provided it.
The next year, Ward was in the pay of the Province of
Pennsylvania as a Captain of the Second Battalion under the com-
mand of Colonel John Armstrong and saw action with that battalion.
General Edward Braddock, when he was making preparations
to march to Fort Duquesne, insisted that George Croghan accompany
him and Croghan was with him on that march. Croghan so stated
in his letter to Governor Morris of May 20, 1755, and after making
that statement, he wrote: "so that it is out of my Power to Provide
for those [Indian] Women and children that will remain at my
House . . . I left no family behind me but my Brother [Edward
Ward] and a few Negroes, so that if your Honour appoints any
Person to take care of the Indians he may live in my House with
my Brother who will assist him as much as in his Power . . . "

the 3rd May, 1754." Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania
Colonial Records, 6, pp. 28-29.
26 Edward Ward's Deposition of June 30, 1756. (See footnote 11)
27 George Croghan's letter to Gov. Morris, dated "Fort Cumberland May 20th
Therefore, Ward was not with Braddock when he was defeated in July, 1755, in his attempt to seize Fort Duquesne.

Ward was in command on July 22, 1756, at Fort Granville when some Frenchmen and Indians under Neyon de Villiers “challenged the garrison to combat.” 28 Ward, knowing the weakness of his force, declined the challenge. He must have convinced de Villiers that he would be defeated if he attacked the fort. Whatever were the facts, the fort was not attacked while he was there.

Eight days after the challenge, Ward, knowing how desperately food was needed and that ripened grain in Shearman’s Valley had to be harvested to provide it, and knowing that the reapers would not work if they were not afforded protection, marched from the fort with some of his men to guard the reapers. He left twenty-four men at the fort under the command of Lieutenant Edward Armstrong. Ward’s departure became known to the enemy, and soon afterwards the fort was “attacked by about one hundred Indians and French” 29 who “killed the Lieutenant and a private.” The enemy then offering “quarter to the besieged if they would surrender,” Turner, the second-in-command, “opened the gate to them.” 30 Twenty-two soldiers, three women and seven children were taken prisoners. When the Indians reached Kittanning, they mercilessly tortured Turner and put him to death.

Ward and his men, when they left the fort to guard the reapers, had every reason to believe that they were facing graver danger than the men in the fort were facing.

A criticism of Ward that seems wholly unwarranted was made by Captain Joseph Shippen in a letter, dated September 3, 1756, to his father, wherein he stated: “I agree with you that it was a scandalous thing to leave the Gulley near Fort Granville just as nature left it, for if Cap‘ Ward had made the right improvement of the Bank it would have been of great Service to the Garrison rather than to the contrary, he had time enough since March (when Mr‘ Burd left that fort) to have sloped it away in the form of a Glacis so that their Arms from the fort might have had command of the

30 Ibid.
Gulley & swept away all that attempted to come up the Bank. Mr. Burd was not long enough there to finish the Fort & do the necessary work at the Bank too . . . " Burd was related by marriage to the Shippens, and they, by blaming Ward, may have been throwing up a smoke screen to protect Burd from criticism. One thing that the Shippens either did not take into account or did not know was that Ward was evidently under orders to go to Cumberland County to make the deposition that he made there on June 30, 1756, and which is referred to herein. Furthermore, no one could have sloped away the earth in the winter months or in the rainy month of April.

Two months after the attack on Fort Granville, and in retaliation for the resultant barbarities, Colonel John Armstrong with three hundred men and four captains, and Edward Ward was one of the captains, made an attack "on the Indian town of Kittanning" and destroyed it.

Ward was, perhaps, one of the officers with Major James Grant when he tried unsuccessfully in 1758 to capture Fort Duquesne.

Ward was with the army of General John Forbes when he was en route to Fort Duquesne on November 24, 1758. The French saved their men and his from a gory battle by evacuating the fort and setting it on fire before Forbes appeared. Ward must have been the happiest man in the Forbes camp when word was brought that the French had retreated even as he had done.

Ward was one of the military men present at a conference with the Indians at Fort Pitt on January 3, 1759. A little later, he conducted "four Indian Depetys" to Philadelphia from Pittsburgh. He was back at Fort Pitt in July.

Colonel Henry Bouquet, who was well acquainted with Ward and had great confidence in him, wrote to Richard Peters from Fort Bedford on September 12, 1759,—"Major Ward has no Commission, Please to Send me one for him." Evidently, the commission had been long delayed in reaching Ward, for official records show that

he was major of the Third Battalion of the Pennsylvania Regiment on April 26, 1759 (Pa. Archives, Sec. Series, 2, p. 583).

It was two hundred years ago that “Major Ward opened the first coal pit west of the Allegheny Mountains” 35 near the summit of Coal Hill, one end of which was later named “Mount Washington” and the other “Duquesne Heights.” This coal was a boon to the garrison and to the residents of the town. “The coal was sent down a shoot into flats, and thus conveyed to the fort. This pit was known as Ward’s pit . . . I.C.” 36 Tradition has it that Ward’s pit was in the Duquesne Heights end of Coal Hill. Ward risked his life every time he climbed the four hundred feet from the base of that hill to the top.

He can properly be regarded as the father of Pittsburgh’s industrial might. It was coal from his pits that fed its first glass works and its other industries of those departed years of long ago. An address in the 1920’s by J. H. Hillman, Jr., 37 “Coal—Basis of Pittsburgh’s Industrial Supremacy,” adds weight to the statement just made.

If Ward had done no more for Pittsburgh than discover the coal on Coal Hill and open the pit there, his memory should be commemorated.

Twenty-four years after he opened his pit on Coal Hill, a warrant was issued to him for two hundred eighty acres on that hill, 38 but the patent for that acreage was subsequently granted to John Purdon. 39

Edward Ward, in 1786, acquired title to lots 22 and 23 on Coal Hill, 40 and his son John became the owner then of lots 25

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36 Ibid.
40 A separate deed was executed for each lot by John Penn, Junior, and John Penn to Edward Ward. Both deeds were dated Oct. 2, 1786. D.B. 1-C-3, p. 185, et seq., Washington County, Pa., records.
and 26 on that hill.\textsuperscript{41} Title passed out of them a few years later.\textsuperscript{42}

Returning to the year 1760, Captain Charles Edmonstone "Commanding his Majisties Forces on the Communication to Fort Pitt" granted "Pormission"\textsuperscript{43} to Alexander Ross, and later to certain other persons to occupy, under the terms set out in the permissions, land as described therein in the immediate vicinity of Fort Pitt. Certain of these permissions were later assigned to Alexander Ross, and he, in turn, assigned them, together with a permission granted to him, to Edward Ward in 1774. It may have been these assignments\textsuperscript{44} that formed the basis for Ward's claim, years later, to "what was formerly called the King's Orchard" and to the house that he [Ward] occupied, "which was formerly a re-

\textsuperscript{41} A separate deed was executed for each lot by John Penn, Junior, and John Penn to John Ward. Both deeds were dated Oct. 2, 1786. D.B. 1-C-3, Washington County, Pa., records.

\textsuperscript{42} John Ward, Edward's son, and Mary, John's wife (on August 4, 1797), sold lots 22 and 23 on Coal Hill to James O'Hara and Isaac Craig. (D.B. 17, p. 294, Allegheny County records). Sometime prior to John's conveyance of those lots to O'Hara and Craig, they had been taken "in execution as the property of Edward Ward" and sold to Abraham Kirkpatrick, but Kirkpatrick, for some reason, executed a deed, in which his wife joined, in John's favor, in 1794, for those lots.

John Ward and his wife conveyed to Jacob Bausman on Sept. 15, 1787, lots 25 and 26 on Coal Hill which he, John, had bought from the Penns a year earlier. Two separate deeds were made to Bausman. Both deeds are recorded in D.B. 1-D, p. 195, Washington Co., Pa., records.

\textsuperscript{43} The "Pormission", i.e., Permission, as recorded, was dated "Seventh day of September, 1760." (D.B. A-1, p. 372, Westmoreland Co., Pa., records) In another instrument in which the Edmonstone grant to Alexander Ross is referred to, the date of the permission was given as "September 19, 1768."

\textsuperscript{44} Assignment by Alexander Ross to Edward Ward, dated Dec. 15, 1774, of permit issued by Charles Edmonstone to Alexander Ross. Ward, in a deed dated Jan. 17, 1784, to "David Duncan and Majyor John Findley" (D.B. A-1, p. 372, Westmoreland Co., Pa., records) gave the date of the permit as "the Nineteenth of September one Thousand seven hundred and sixty Eight." (See fn. 43)


a. On Dec. 15, 1774, Alexander Ross assigned to Edward Ward the rights which Ross had obtained from Mrs. Susannah Edmonstone under her assignment to him of Nov. 3, 1772. The rights she assigned to Ross had been granted to her by Capt. Charles Edmonstone in an instrument dated "Fort Pitt, Oct. 25, 1767." Ross made formal acknowledgment on May 20, 1775, of said assignment by him to Ward.

b. On Dec. 15, 1774, Alexander Ross assigned to Edward Ward all of his, Ross', "right, title . . . in the annexed permit granted by Charles Edmonstone to Edmund Prideux, by him assigned to John Campbell and by him to me to Majr. Edward Ward his heirs and assigns forever."

c. On Dec. 15, 1774, Alexander Ross assigned to Edward Ward "Thompson and Ross' title . . . to the estate mentioned in the within permit granted to Wm. Thompson and Alexander Ross unto Major Ward his heirs and assigns forever." Ross warranted the title against claims by "William Thompson or any other person claiming under him or me . . . ."
doubt” which had “been carried from the place it formerly stood on, and was built house fashion.”

Horse-stealing by the Indians was occupying some of Colonel Bouquet’s attention in the year 1761, and Ward, at the Colonel’s request, assembled the Indians at Fort Pitt. He heard the Colonel tell them “that if they did not prevent their Young People from Stealing our Horses in the future, that the killing of a Man or Two would not be the end of it.”

George Croghan left Pittsburgh in May, 1762, to meet some Delaware Indians at Easton, Pennsylvania, “to hold a Treaty” and “left Mr Ward to Take Care of Ye Indian Department” at Fort Pitt until his return. It was in that year that Croghan built his home, Croghan Hall, near Fort Pitt, and Ward wrote from “Bellfield” to Colonel Bouquet about “provisioning the Indians.”

The next year George Croghan wrote to Colonel Bouquet, “As to ye other affair, my Brother [Edward Ward] is now on ye spot with ye Indian, digging [for ore] ye produce of which I will send you on my arrival at Bedford, where I expect to be ye first of April.” Ward must never have had any leisure time. In that same year, Croghan, before sailing for England, “authorized Edward Ward to purchase a copper mine in New Jersey.”

Ward was a very distressed man when he learned that his cousin, Major Thomas Smallman, had been taken prisoner by the Indians, as is evident from a letter he wrote to Sir William Johnson from Carlisle on May 2, 1764, in which he stated: “... My cousin, Major Thomas Smallman, is prisoner with the Shanneys, at a place called the Muggguck ... I would begg, as the greatest favor ever

45 This description is in a letter from Gen. Wm. Irvine to the “Hon. Maj. Gen. Lincoln, Secretary of War,” The History of Pittsburgh by Neville B. Craig (New Edition) published in 1917 by J. R. Weldin Co., p. 163. Mr. Craig stated (p. 161) “On the 2d of May, 1782, Gen. Irvine wrote the following letter to General Lincoln ...” The date given on p. 161 is the correct date, but the printed letter (pp. 162-64) carried the date “Fort Pitt, May 2d, 1781.” The year 1781 was incorrect. The letter was written in 1782. Irvine was not appointed Commandant at Fort Pitt until mid-October of 1781.


48 The Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine, 42, p. 93.


51 George Croghan: Wilderness Diplomat, p. 204.
done my Brother or me, that you would please to send some of the Five Nations to make enquirery for my poor Cousin, and, if possible, have them to bring Him to you, or to some post where he may be safe out of their reach. Ward and Smallman probably had a joyful reunion after "Smallman was surrendered by the Shawnees to Bouquet at Muskingum November 9, 1764."

The next year Edward Ward most certainly attended the marriage of his fifteen year old niece, Susannah Croghan, George's daughter, to twenty-one year old Lieutenant Augustine Prevost.

Just when Edward Ward married is not known.

George Croghan's claims to land in Pittsburgh and nearby places undoubtedly assumed greater importance after the ratification by the Six Nations on November 4, 1768, of their deed to him of August 2, 1749, for one hundred thousand acres of Pennsylvania land. A map of interest regarding his claim to certain acreage is one of 1769 which has on it "Mr. Croghan's Claim" and "Sam Sample." The land represented by that map consisted of "five thousand seven hundred & sixty six acres & the allowance of six p. cent for roads and highways." The map legend, by 'Wm. Thompson, Dy Surv.', began as follows: "A Draught of a Tract of land situate on both sides of the Monongahela River and on the South east side of the Alligeney River, in the County of Cumberland, including Fort Pitt and the town of Pittsburg."

The "Sam Sample" whose name was on that map was Ward's brother-in-law, at whose tavern George Washington was a guest when he was in Pittsburgh in 1770. Washington wrote in his journal that he had met there "one Doctr. Connelly... a very

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52 _The Wilderness Trail_, op. cit., 2, p. 29.
53 _Ibid._, p. 29, fn. 2.
54 A living descendant of Edward Ward's, Frank Joseph Forsyth, when he made application to the S.A.R. to be enrolled in it, was unable to give the date of birth or of marriage or of death of Edward Ward, and he made the same error as to the name of Edward's wife that some other of Edward's descendants had made when they applied for membership in the D.A.R. The error was this: they stated that Mary Archer was the wife of Edward Ward and the mother of Edward's son John. As this article discloses, the name of Edward's wife was Hannah Sample.
55 George Croghan's claim continued to be the subject of controversy for many years and was even debated in Congress. However, nearly half a century after his death, _The Pittsburgh Gazette_ of Tuesday morning, Sept. 1, 1818, reported that "... it appears that the claim for land in the southwest part of Allegheny County, commonly known by the name 'Croghan's Claim,' no longer exists; that the heirs of Col. Croghan have given up all pretensions to this property, and that they have been induced to adopt this measure by the advice of Mr. Baldwin..." Croghan died on Aug. 31, 1782.
sensible Intelligent man.” This proves that Washington was as easily charmed and deceived by John Connolly as were Connolly’s in-laws and certain other persons.

Some writers have mistakenly asserted (and it is so easy to make a mistake) that it was Samuel Sample’s daughter Juliet who was Connolly’s wife, but that is not so, for Juliet was the second wife of Steele Semple, a well known lawyer of Southwestern Pennsylavnia. It was Samuel’s sister Susannah, as mentioned earlier, who married Connolly.

After the British, who had been at Fort Pitt from November 25, 1758, “til the year 1772,” 58 vacated the fort, Ward took possession of it and occupied it until it was “taken possession of by Major John Connolly in 1774, with the Virginia Militia.” 59 Connolly held a commission from Lord Dunmore of Virginia to govern “Pittsburgh and its dependencies.” 60

Not long after Ward took possession of the fort an indictment was returned against him, and it, perhaps, had something to do with his occupancy of the fort. The matter was serious enough that Croghan communicated with Thomas Wharton, Governor of Pennsylvania, regarding it, and Wharton, in a letter from Philadelphia, dated December 29, 1773, after addressing Croghan as “Respected friend,” stated: “I wrote thee by Campbell on the 25th and 26th inst., who then returned with the writ to remove the action against Major Ward into the Supreme Court . . .” 61 Samuel Sample had entered bond at the October Term, 1773, of the Quarter Sessions.

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57 Steele Semple’s first wife was Kitty Fowler, daughter of George Fowler. Semple and Kitty were married in 1793. The Pittsburgh Gazette of March 8, 1800, reported that she died on March 1, 1800. The marriage of Steele Semple to Miss Juliet Sample was reported under “Marriages, 1801-1802” in Cramer’s Pittsburgh Almanack.

Further proof of the marriage of Steele Semple and Juliet Sample is contained in the last will and testament of Samuel Sample (W.B. 1, p. 263, Allegheny County records) and the resultant litigation. Samuel Sample had bequeathed all of his real and personal property to his “beloved son-in-law,” Steele Semple. Both Steele Semple and his wife Juliet were dead when the suit was filed. It was stated, in the decision of the court, as to Samuel Sample, that “here is a testator with an only child (a daughter).” The daughter was Juliet. The decision is reported in Pennsylvania Reports, Binney 6, p. 94, under the date line “Pittsburg Monday, September 13, 1813.”
58 Edward Ward’s Deposition of March 10, 1777. (See fn. 12)
59 Ibid.
61 Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, 33, p. 322.
Court, in the sum of £200 conditioned that the Major would answer to an indictment against him in the Supreme Court.” 62 Efforts to ascertain the nature of that litigation and the outcome of it have been fruitless. 63

John Connolly created a real problem for Ward when he appeared in Pittsburgh in January, 1774. Ward, as stated above, had occupied Fort Pitt from the time the British vacated it until Connolly took possession of it in 1774 with the Virginia militia. It would be interesting to know just what conversations took place between Ward and his wife regarding her brother-in-law, Connolly, and his invasion, you might say, of Pittsburgh. Fate and Connolly had placed Ward in a very difficult situation.

Connolly immediately began to make life miserable in many ways for the people of Westmoreland County, and particularly for those who favored Pennsylvania rule.

It was in that year of 1774 that three thousand acres of land in Kentucky were surveyed for Edward Ward. 64 Perhaps he considered moving to Kentucky to escape from the trying situation in which he found himself. Edward Ward’s and George Croghan’s reaction, in mid-summer of 1774, to Connolly’s high-handed actions against Pennsylvania adherents is apparent from a letter written by Arthur St. Clair to Governor Penn, in which he stated in part: “Day before yesterday I had a visit from Major [Edward] Ward. He informs me Mr. Croghan set out for Williamsburg the day before, to represent the Distresses he says of the people of this country.” 65

The struggle continued between Virginia and Pennsylvania for the right to rule the section of Pennsylvania which was a bone of contention between them.

Edward Ward, on May 16, 1775, evidenced that he was willing to be counted in the Virginia lineup, for he was sworn in on that

63 Charles H. McKibben, Prothonotary of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, Eastern District, very kindly endeavored to locate this case. In answer to a letter of Jan. 3, 1960, he wrote (Jan. 25, 1960) that he had “examined the dockets in this office covering the period stated” and “was unable to find the case in question.”
date as one of the justices of the County Court of Augusta Town,\textsuperscript{66} which had been adjourned from the town of Staunton to Fort Dunmore (Pittsburgh) the preceding December. Ward had been named one of the justices in Lord Dunmore’s Dedimus of December 6, 1774, but, for some reason, he did not take the oath at that time when George Croghan, John Campbell, Thomas Smallman and the other appointees took the oath of office.

However, by the time Ward had made that choice, most of the adherents of Pennsylvania and of Virginia in the Pittsburgh area had been brought together by their common indignation against the British. The Revolutionary War was in its infancy when he was sworn in as a justice of the peace of the court at Fort Dunmore.

Ward was a mortified man when, in the latter part of November, 1775, his brother-in-law, Lieutenant Colonel John Connolly, was “apprehended in Frederick County in Maryland” while “clandestinely making his way to Detroit, in order to join, give intelligence to, and otherwise aid” the British “garrison at that place.”\textsuperscript{67}

The blow dealt both the Sample family and the Wards by Connolly’s treachery must have stunned them.

Samuel Sample, in 1776, felt constrained to visit John Connolly in jail in Philadelphia and, by so doing, had a web of suspicion woven around him.\textsuperscript{68} His sister, Susannah, Connolly’s wife, probably had pleaded with him to make the visit and to pave the way for her to visit her husband.\textsuperscript{69} Any compassionate brother would have done the same thing.

Susannah visited her husband in jail in July, and her plea to Congress in that month told of the plight in which she found herself. Her petition\textsuperscript{70} to Congress was dated July 8, 1776. She signed it ‘Susanna Connolly.’ Part of her petition follows: “I must say I think it very cruel if I must be detained here from an only

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\textsuperscript{67} \textit{Journals of Congress}, 3, p. 121. Minutes of Thurs., Nov. 12, 1778.

\textsuperscript{68} \textit{Pa. Archives} (First Series), IV, pp. 728-29.

\textit{Colonial Records}, X, p. 533. This relates to the action taken by the “Committee of Safety Philada 2nd April 1776” as a result of Samuel Sample’s visit to Connolly.

\textsuperscript{69} \textit{Journals of Congress — Minutes of Monday, May 13, 1776.} It was “Resolved, That Mrs. Connolly, wife of John Connolly, have leave to visit her husband in gaol.”

\textsuperscript{70} \textit{Pa. Archives}, IV, pp. 782-83.
Child; and without any allowance for my subsistence, which is not deny'd even to those that have acted quite different from me who, from the natural ties of Affection came to see a Husband in Confinement, dangerously ill. If you imagine, Gentlemen, it is in my power to prejudice you in the Country, I am willing to be confined to Pittsburgh where my child is." She also pointed out that such a course would save the "unnecessary Expence" of supporting her in Philadelphia and would afford her the "Satisfaction of seeing" her child. The clouds of disgrace were darkening over the Ward and Sample families.

Susannah's letter was referred to the Committee of Safety with the request that it "make proper provision for her till further order of Congress." 71

It was in that year of 1776, by deed dated February twentieth, that "George Croghan of Pittsburgh" conveyed to "William Croghan of the same place" over six thousand acres of land in the Pittsburgh area. 72

In December of that year, Edward Ward was sworn in as a justice of the peace of the Court of Yohogania County at its first session. 73 The office of sheriff had also been tendered him, but he refused it at that time because of the boundary dispute between Pennsylvania and Virginia, and he proposed "praying the General Assembly to have a Temporary line fixed between them." 74 Ward and many other residents of Pittsburgh were victims of the controversy between the two states. There was no middle ground for those caught in the web of politics. They had to make a choice and they were probably aware that, whichever side they chose, they were apt to be on the losing team. The last session of the Court

71 Ibid.
72 D.B. 1-A, Washington County, Pa., records. The consideration recited in the deed was "seven hundred and two pounds twelve shillings lawful money of great britain." This was the William Croghan who had been brought to America about 1768 by George Croghan. In Conquest of the Country Northwest of the River Ohio — 1778-1783 — and Life of Gen. George Rogers Clark, by William Hayden English, President of the Indiana Historical Society, pub'd in 1896 by the Bowen-Merrill Co., it was stated, on p. 1003, that William Croghan "was the nephew of the celebrated George Croghan, who was long in the employ of the British as Indian Agent under Sir William Johnson."
74 Ibid., pp. 79-80.
of Yohogania County was held on August 28, 1780, and Ward signed the minutes of that last session.\textsuperscript{75}

Connolly was still in the public eye and in jail in April, 1777, for at that time Brigadier General James Ewing signed a bond\textsuperscript{76} to secure his release. Connolly was his half-brother. Ewing was another of the patriots who suffered humiliation by reason of Connolly’s conduct. Connolly was not long at liberty.

More than two years passed, and then the War Office “Resolved, That the commissary general of prisoners be authorized to exchange Lieutenant Colonel J. Connolly for any lieutenant colonel in the Army of the United States, who is now a prisoner of the enemy.”\textsuperscript{77}

Ward, in the preceding month, had felt the necessity of getting a certificate from the Court of Yohogania County as to the first period of his military service.

Colonel Daniel Brodhead was exerting himself at that time to harass Ward. Reading between the lines, one can sense that Ward was anticipating Brodhead’s next moves and needed the certificate either to fortify his legal position or his position in the community or both.

The minutes of the Court of Yohogania County of October 26, 1779, show that Benjamin Kuykendall swore “that in the Spring of the year, 1754, he saw Major Edward Ward on his march to Virginia from what is now Fort Pitt. that the sd. Maj. Ward had command of the party with him & that he understood that he was the commanding officer of the Post at the aforesd. place as an officer in the Virginia line & surrendered to the French.”\textsuperscript{78} A certificate as to Major Thomas Smallman’s military service was issued by the court at the same time.\textsuperscript{79}

The very next month, that is, in November, 1779, Colonel Brodhead ordered that “Edward Ward and Thomas Smallman” be required to move from their home on four days’ notice. His orders to that effect were given to David Duncan, who, at the foot of “a True Coppy” of Brodhead’s order, had written before he handed the order to Ward and Smallman:

\textsuperscript{75} \textit{Ibid.}, Minutes of “Augs. 28, 1780,” p. 427.
\textsuperscript{76} \textit{Pa. Archives} (First Series), 5, p. 298.
\textsuperscript{77} \textit{Journals of Congress}, 15, p. 1231.
\textsuperscript{78} Minutes of the Court of Yohogania County of October 26, 1779, \textit{Annals of Carnegie Museum}, 2, pp. 392-393.
\textsuperscript{79} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 391.
"Gentlemen—Agreeable to the Above Instructions you will Please to remove Nov. 22, 1779."  

The order made no mention of the family of Edward Ward. Anyone reading it then, or more than two centuries later, would think that two men, Ward and Smallman, lived alone in the house, but such was not the case. Living in the house with Ward and Smallman when that despicable order was delivered to them, was Hannah, Ward's wife, who "was in an ill State of Health; his son, Lieut. John Ward of the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment lying with a Broken Leg (which accident happened to him on an Expedition under the command of Col. Brodhead up the Allegenany River) and a Bound Girl dangerously Ill of a Fever."  

Ward's anger must have mounted to the boiling point when he received Brodhead's order to vacate his home in the latter part of the raw month of November on four days' notice and to remove from it the ill persons. Ward had probably resided in Pittsburgh for more years than any other man then living there, and to be subjected to such vile treatment must have been almost unbearable.  

The exact moves in the eviction were these: David Duncan, acting under Colonel Brodhead's orders, appeared at the home of Ward and Smallman between "the Twentieth and Twenty-Second Day" of November, 1779, and told them, "after making some Apologies," that they "must provide" (and he meant 'obtain') "other Lodgings as the Commandant [Brodhead] said he must Throw Troops into their House to protect that Garrison of Fort Pitt."  

Ward and Smallman asked Duncan if he had written orders. He said he did not have, but he left and returned with the signed order. Ward and Smallman asked him "to inform Col' Brodhead that they would take Twenty Soldiers into their House, and that they would have Two Rooms in their House for the Use of the Officers, that all their Doors should be thrown open on an Approach of an enemy to receive any Number of Troops that Colonel Brodhead thought proper to order into their House," and "Urged to Mr. Duncan how cruel it was to be obliged to leave their House at that severe…"
Season of the year,” particularly as Mrs. Ward “was in an ill State of Health” and Lt. John Ward was “lying with a Broken Leg,” which he had suffered in an expedition under Col. Brodhead. The illness of the “Bound Girl” was also mentioned.

David Duncan reported back to Brodhead, but Brodhead refused to countermand his order.

Ward and Smallman, still hopeful of being permitted to remain in their home and of not having to remove the sick persons from it, offered to “Build an Addition” to one of the “Ends of the House for the Soldiers” at their own expense if it became necessary to quarter more troops there. They requested Brodhead to come down to their place, which he did, and Ward “showed him at which End he would Build for the Reception of the Soldiers,” i.e., the additional ones that might be sent there as time went on.

Ward also “urged to the Commandant [Brodhead] that the House could not defend the Garrison”; that he “was sure that One of the Cannon would Level the House,” and that he was also “sure that if any Enemy had possession of the Cannon playing on the House, the Materials of which the House was built would destroy all Lodged in it.” Ward was a seasoned military man who had seen much warfare, and his statements as to the vulnerability of the house to attack were unquestionably true.

Brodhead was obdurate. He answered that “he would Suffer no Houses or Buildings to be Erected,” and that they must give up possession as ordered. Edward Ward then cannily asked Brodhead “to be candid and tell him . . . as the House was a little Elegant if he, Colonel Brodhead, did not want the house for himself.” Brodhead replied “that it would be convenient for him as it was so near the Garrison.” Ward then told Brodhead, and fury was probably in his tones, that he “would never leave it until forced out of it.”

Later, Ward and Smallman went to Brodhead and offered to have the house removed. Brodhead rejected that offer, saying “he could not think of having so much property destroyed.”

Ward and Smallman then “offered to give up the House upon the Quarter Master’s giving a Certificate to return it in as good repair as it then was, which Colonel Brodhead rejected, and Damned

83 Ibid.
84 Ibid.
85 Ibid.
86 Ibid.
himself if he cared what became of it when he was done with it." 87 Brodhead’s arrogance must have been insufferable to Ward and Smallman.

They still harbored the hope that they would be allowed to remain in their house, together with the other members of the household, “as they thought that no such daring invasion of property would be made,” but they were sadly mistaken.

The next move was this: “Capt. Thomas Beal who commanded the Maryland Corps” appeared and “informed them how disagreeable it was to him to comply with the Orders” to evict them. The manner in which the eviction was carried out was told in the following words in a deposition 88 of May 10, 1781, made by Ward and Smallman:

The force was committed on the Twenty-Sixth Day of November late in the Evening the Soldiers Marching with fixed Bayonets, Drums beating and Fifes playing exhibiting all the Pomp of Martial Order to Dispossess the Deponents of their Property, And in making their forcible Entry had not been for the gentlemanly conduct of Captain Tannehill the Deponents are sure that some of them or theirs must have suffered, as several of the Troops appeared to be intoxicated with Liquor, the Deponent [Edward Ward] adrest himself to the Officers and Soldiers and told them he was sorry to see them made so Bad a use of, that Troops raised and Maintained were for other purposes, that is, for Defending Citizens in their Lives, Liberties and properties and were never intended to be made Invaders of the Citizens Lives Liberties or Property—The afforesaid Deponent warned them not to make the Force, but it was made with Fixt Bayonets and the Deponents were Obliged to leave their House, Exposed to suffer in their Person, their families and their stock.

It is unlikely that anyone else in Pittsburgh, before or since that time, was ever evicted by “Soldiers Marching with fixed Bayonets, Drums beating and Fifes playing.” Brodhead’s infamous treatment of Ward, one of Pittsburgh’s bravest men and one who had served it well, was inexcusable.

Various protests were made to Pennsylvania authorities against Brodhead’s misuse of power. A memorial, which was signed by John Ormsby, James Robinson, Edward Ward, Thomas Smallman, Devereux Smith, John Irwin, Geo. Wallace, A. Fowler, Wm. Reddick, and some other very worthy citizens of that day, expressed alarm because “Colº Brodhead, Commanding Officer at the Garrison of Fort Pitt” was exercising martial power “over this Town.” They stated that they were aware “that the laws and constitution

87 Ibid.
88 Ibid.
of our country have fixed a precise boundary to the Military power.”
Among their other assertions were the following:

Some of us who make the representations have been Inhabitants of the Town of Pittsburgh many years, have enjoyed the liberties and immunities of Citizens, have suffered in our persons and fortunes for the Jurisdiction of Pennsylvania, and all of us contended for the cause of America, and are willing to lay down our lives in the field, but not to have our liberty, our property and our lives suspended on the Will of a Commanding Officer and a Court Martial.

Some of us have left our habitations to avoid the Scalping knife, and Tomahawk of the merciless Savage, and have gained a Temporary residence in this town, we feel it peculiarly hard that we are supposed to have lost our rights to the laws of our Country, at the same time with our possessions, and in removing to a different part of the County of Westmoreland, to hold our lives at the discretion of military power.89

The memorial ended with a very earnest plea for the removal of Colonel Brodhead from Fort Pitt.

Another order of Colonel Brodhead was issued on March 6, 1780.90 Edward Ward’s deposition relating to this and other matters sheds considerable light upon Brodhead’s character and the unfair treatment to which Ward was subjected. This deposition was dated May 10, 1781.91

It was inevitable that Colonel Brodhead, who had inflicted military rule upon the spirited inhabitants of Westmoreland County, should be recalled. Congress appointed Brigadier General William Irvine “Commander at Fort Pitt, 11 Oct. 1781.” 92

Before Colonel Brodhead’s recall, Edward Ward’s troubles were multiplied when his son, Lieutenant John Ward, was tried at a general court martial held at Fort Pitt on June 29, 1781.93 The

89 Undated memorial “To his Excellency the President and Supreme Executive Council of the State of Pennsylvania, signed by Edwd Ward, John Ormsby, James Robinson, Devereux Smith, Geo. Wallace, Wm. Reddick and many other influential citizens of that time. The petition asked that the matter be brought to the attention of Congress and that Congress be induced to direct his Excellency General Washington to remove Col Broadhead from this Command and give such orders to the succeeding officer at this post, whoever he may be, as will restrain him from such invasion of the rights of the Citizens.” This is Document 3089 in Pennsylvania Miscellany, MS. Div. (of Ref. Dept.), Library of Congress.
91 Deposition of May 10, 1781, of Edward Ward and Thomas Smallman. (See fn. 81)
92 Pa. Archives (First Series), 9, p. 419.
record shows that the charges were of a trivial nature. They were preferred by Colonel Stephen Bayard. John Ward was acquitted. His stirring testimony would gladden the hearts of everyone who believes in the rights of American citizens. Leaving that aspect of his testimony aside, the testimony clearly indicated that, playing a part in the incidents immediately preceding his arrest, were aspersions that were cast upon his father. Some of his testimony bearing upon that aspect follows: "I have an Effectionate Father Gentlemen that merits no such appellation. He is a citizen, and has associated with his fellow citizens to obtain a redress of grievances which they have an undisputed right to do and which is fully shown by the Sixteenth article of the constitution . . . To hear my Father called a Scoundrel without rousing resentment and indignation would have argued that I was destitute of Filiel affection, and that I had neither the feelings of a son, nor the spirit of a man . . ." 94 Edward Ward, if he heard his son's testimony, and he probably did, may have furtively wiped away a tear.

Time passed. George Croghan died the next year and Edward Ward and many others mourned his passing. The following year, John Ward had the honor of being enrolled as an "Original Member" of the Society of the Cincinnati. John, meanwhile, had married Mary Boyd.

Edward Ward, in 1783, presented a petition95 for compensation for the use of his house at Pittsburgh by Colonel Brodhead and the troops under his command. Resentment must have rankled deeply within him every time he thought of his eviction from that house.

Several years passed and, in 1787, Edward Ward's lots Nos. 146 and 147, and his house which had been built on one or on part of both lots, were sold at sheriff's sale96 to James O'Hara, and became, together with a part of lot No. 145, his homestead on Water Street, the historic street that now bears the name Fort Pitt Boulevard.

John Ward left Pittsburgh shortly after the sheriff's sale to

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94 Ibid.
95 Journals of Congress, XXIV, p. 451, fn. 1. The petition was dated "Princeton, July 26, 1783."
96 D.B. 2, p. 188, Allegheny County, Pa., records. See also Pittsburgh Gazette of Sept. 1, 1787, re John Ward's protest and his assertion of part ownership of the property. Also see D.B. 2, p. 255, Allegheny County records, for John Ward's Quit Claim deed to James O'Hara, dated April 3, 1788.
live in Hannah's Town in Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania. A little later, perhaps wanting to break all bonds with Pennsylvania, he entered into a Letter Agreement with George Morgan to go to New Madrid. John was then the father of at least one child, Boyd Ward.

In 1793, a Fourth of July celebration was held by "a large company of Citizens from Pittsburgh at the tavern of Mrs. Ward on the southwestern bank of the Monongahela River." That tavern was probably operated by Mrs. Edward Ward.

Sometime between that Fourth of July celebration and September twenty-first of that year, Edward Ward crossed from the valley of life into the valley of death. The sorrows he had known died with him. How he departed this life, and the exact date of his death has not been learned. It is known, beyond a doubt, that he was dead by that date for, in The Pittsburgh Gazette of Saturday, September 21, 1793, was the following advertisement:

PUBLIC SALE

To be sold at public sale, on Saturday, the 28th instant, at the dwelling house of Edward Ward, deceased, at the lower Ferry, on the Monongahela, opposite Pittsburgh, sundry household furniture &c. Three Months' credit will be allowed the purchasers on giving security. Sale to begin at two o'clock in the afternoon.

Edward Ward, before death ended his tragic life, must have wondered why he had risked his life so often to help make Southwestern Pennsylvania a safe place in which to live. He must have wondered, too, why he had spent so much of life's precious time and energy in acquiring vast amounts of acreage only to lose most of the land. Something within him drove him ever on and on until

97 D.B. I, pp. 79-80, Allegheny County Records. The instrument was dated Dec. 11, 1788. It was addressed by Geo. Morgan "To John Ward Esqr" and it set forth the understanding between them.
98 Boyd Ward was born July 4, 1787. He died on Dec. 21, 1848. This data was taken from the tombstone at his grave in Long Run Presbyterian Graveyard in Irwin, Pa. Juliet Ward was born in 1793.
100 This is, seemingly, the first and only reference to Edward Ward's death in the issues of the Pittsburgh Gazette available in Pittsburgh. Carnegie Library in Oakland, the Darlington Memorial Library of the University of Pittsburgh and The Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania have some but not all of the issues for the year 1793.
finally death stopped the motor of his fine mind and his stout heart.

Some of the more interesting conveyances of land to or from Edward Ward are listed in the Appendix. He sold lots in downtown Pittsburgh in 1779, which was five years before the sale of the numbered lots. Ward's deeds that are of particular interest are the ones conveying land at the Point. He mentions in some deeds a "Well street" and an "Alegania street" in downtown Pittsburgh. Both those names were obviously consigned to oblivion when the so-called "Original Plan of Pittsburgh" (identified by the date May 31, 1784, and known as Colonel Wood's Plan) was drawn. Incidentally, Colonel John Campbell's plan of Pittsburgh had been drawn about two decades earlier. The thought occurs that the "Well street" mentioned by Ward may have been a street where there was a community well from which the townsfolk drew the water they needed.

A vast store of knowledge of Pittsburgh's history died with Edward Ward. His wife outlived him by many years. The Pittsburgh Gazette of November 8, 1814, reported her death as follows:

"Died—On Tuesday, the first inst., Mrs. Hannah Ward, relict of Major Edward Ward."

In her last will and testament,101 she made a bequest to her "Sister Susannah Connelly," and while the name is spelled "Connelly" and not "Connolly" in the will, it is this will that helps to establish that it was her sister Susannah who married the notorious John Connolly, a traitor to America.

Hannah also made a bequest to Edward Sample and Sarah Sample, "children of Steele Sample and Julia, his wife, deceased." Here again it is her last will and testament that proves that Julia (who was also known as Juliet) was the wife of Steele Semple Sample and not of John Connolly. Hannah's only bequest to her "Son John Ward" was "one dollar." While her will indicates that he was still living, he may not have been. When and where he died is not known.102 He was, apparently, still alive in 1807.103

101 Hannah Ward's last will and testament is dated Dec. 3, 1813. It was recorded on Nov. 4, 1814, in W.B. 2, p. 54, Allegheny County records.
102 Frank Joseph Forsyth, a descendant of John Ward, in his application referred to in fn. 54 for enrollment in the S.A.R., was unable to give the date of John's birth or of his marriage and, as to his death, he stated that he died after 1797. Mr. Forsyth is a member of the S.A.R.—No. 1053 of The Pennsylvania Society; and National Number 29624.
103 It is assumed that John Ward was still alive in 1807, because of a deed dated Dec. 17, 1807, from "Anthony Beelen of the Borough of Pittsburgh and
Where Edward Ward's mortal remains were buried, and where his son John was interred, is unknown, it seems, but in Long Run Presbyterian Graveyard in Irwin, Pennsylvania, are the graves of some of their descendants.104

Trails yet to be explored regarding Edward Ward's last years may show in what manner they were spent. The facts unearthed regarding him show that his life became more and more tragic as the years wore on.

He served Pittsburgh well from the time when he was one of the men who made the first settlement in it. Even when he served as a Virginia magistrate he was still serving Pittsburgh and Pittsburghers. He helped it to become a great city.

Pittsburgh, which was dear to his heart for many years of his life, may have broken his heart!

APPENDIX

A LIST OF SOME OF THE MORE INTERESTING REAL ESTATE CONVEYANCES IN WHICH EDWARD WARD WAS EITHER GRANTOR OR GRANTEE

1 Deed dated Sept. 8, 1779, from "Edward Ward of the Town of Pittsburgh, County of Yohogania and Commonwealth of Virginia" to "William Freeman and John Fuisset of the town county and commonwealth aforesaid." The consideration paid was "nine hundred pounds current and lawful money of the U.S.A." The land conveyed was "Three certain tracts of land situate on the Eastern bank of the Allegania River in what is commonly called the Orchard to extend on the front of Well street to Allegania street and on the Allegania street and thence to the said bank of the river and thence to the place of beginning on the North side of Well street to con-

Elizabeth, his wife" to "John Ward of the same Borough." The property conveyed was part of Lot No. 322 in Pittsburgh. It was to be held "to the said John Ward, his heirs and assigns from the date hereof for and during the Existance of this World."

104 Among the descendants buried there are Boyd Ward, a son of John Ward (see fn 98); Juliet Ward, a daughter of John Ward, whose tombstone has inscribed on it "In Memory of Juliet, Consort of John Forsyth, who departed this life August 16, 1834, in the 41st year of her age"; and buried there, too, is his grandson and namesake, Edward, who "Died April 10, 1819, in the 22nd year of his age." Buried there are the remains of the lady who was certainly John Ward's wife. Her tombstone bears this inscription: "In Memory of Mrs. Mary Ward, who departed this life April 15, 1828, in the 62nd year of her age."
tain the full quantity of Three Acres of land and (thats) each Lott to contain One Acre of land . . .” D.B. 1-C, p. 277, Washington County, Pa. records.

2 Deed dated Sept. 4, 1779, from “Edward Ward of the Town of Pittsburgh, County of Yohogania and Commonwealth of Virginia” to “Jacob Haymaker of the town county and Commonwealth aforesaid.” The land conveyed consisted of “two certain Lotts of land situate on the Eastern side of the Allegania river bounding thereon in what is commonly called the Orchard joining said Ward’s lower pasture or inclosure and to extend to a street called Allegania street containing full quantity of two acres (thats) each Lott to contain one acre.” D.B. 1-C, pp. 281-2, Washington Co., Pa., Records.

3 Deed dated Sept. 13, 1779, from Edward Ward to Henry Heth. The land conveyed was “situate, lying and being in that part of the aforesaid Edward Ward’s Enclosures and Improvements called the Brick Ponds beginning partly at the lower end of said Ponds at the lower end of Charles Richard’s garden thence twelve perch in a direction with said Edward Ward’s fence on the northern side of the main street leading from the Town of Pittsburgh to the Fort (in frunt) . . . .” D.B. 1-C, p. 280, Washington Co., Pa., records.

4 Deed dated Sept. 15, 1779, from Edward Ward to James McGoldrick. The land conveyed consisted of “Four Certain Lotts of land situate in what is commonly called the Orchard beginning and joining a Lott claimed by John Irwin thence joining a Lott claimed by the heirs of Col. MayKay thence in a straight line to Well street thence down on the Southern side of Well street to Allegania street thence on the eastern side of Allegania street to said Irwin’s Lott or the place of beginning Containing the full quantity of Four Acres (thats) each Lott to contain one acre.” D.B. 1-C, p. 279, Washington Co., Pa., records.

5 Deed dated Jan. 17, 1784, from Edward Ward “of the Town of Pittsburgh in the County of Westmoreland in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania” to “David Duncan and Mayjor John Findley of the same place . . . as Tennants in Common and not as Joint Tennants . . . all that Certain peice or parcel of Land Situate on the South Eastern Bank of the River Allegania joining the King’s field a Lott of Ground Claimed by William Evins and a peace of Ground
and Improvements made by Mr. Joseph Spear Deceased to Include all that piece of Ground Cleared inclosed and improved by Alexander Ross and known by the name of Ross's field Computed to be Twenty Acres be the same more or less it being the same piece of Ground which was Granted by permission of Charles Edmestone Commanding officer at Pittsburgh by his permit dated the Nineteenth of September one Thousand seven hundred and Sixty Eight to Alexander Ross" and assigned by said Ross to said Ward.

6 Deed dated May 14, 1785, from Edward Ward and John Purdon to Frederic Eugene Francis Baron de Beelen Bertholff and John Morgan. The land conveyed was in Washington County and the deed recited that the land contained "in the whole four thousand three hundred acres with the usual allowance of six acres Percent for roads," and so forth. D.B. A-1, p. 372, Westmoreland Co., Pa., records.

7 Deed dated Nov. 18, 1773, from "George Croghan of Fort Pitt Esquire" to "Edward Ward of the same place Gent.," conveying a tract of land "lying and being in the Branches of Montures or the half moon Run" and "Containing three thousand two hundred and thirty-four acres," et cetera. (From Crumrine's "Record of Deeds for the District of West Augusta," Vol. III, No. 2 of Annals of Carnegie Museum, p. 270.)

8 Deed dated May 2, 1785, from John Penn, Junior, and John Penn to Edward Ward. Lots conveyed were Nos. 106 and 107 in Col. Wood's General Plan of Pittsburgh. Consideration paid: Twenty-two pounds, ten shillings, lawful Silver money of Pa. D.B. 'B', pp. 107-08, Westmoreland County, Pa., records.

9 Deed dated May 2, 1786, from John Penn, Junior, and John Penn to Edward Ward "of the town of Pittsburgh." The lots conveyed were Nos. 18 and 19 in Col. Wood's Plan. D.B. 'B', pp. 65-66, Westmoreland Co., Pa., records.

Two days later, Ward conveyed those lots, by deed dated May 4, 1786, to Andrew Mitchell. Ward had paid "thirty-three pounds 15 shillings lawfull Silver money of Pa." for them. He sold them to Mitchell for "one hundred pounds:" D.B. 'B', p. 66, Westmoreland Co., Pa., records.
Eleven years later those same two lots were sold at sheriff's sale, after being taken into execution as the property of Edward Ward, to Hugh Henry Brackenridge. The deed was dated June 15, 1797, and was recorded on Feb. 22, 1798, in D.B. 7, pp. 514-15-16, Allegheny Co., Pa., records.

10 Deed dated Sept. 13, 1779, from James McGoldrick to Edward Ward conveyed "All that tract of land Plantation and Improvement known by the name of McGoldrick's Improvements opposite to Fort Pitt on the Southern branch of the Rivers Ohio and Monongalia and all his said James McGoldrick's improvement on the lower end of Cole Hill the first boundary of said land and improvement beginning at the mouth of Saw Mill Run joining Eliott's improvement on the said run . . . with all the aforesaid improvements and Claims to be three hundred acres of land more or less, together with all and singular the . . . buildings, improvements . . . "

The consideration paid was three hundred pounds. D.B. 1-C, p. 283, Washington Co., Pa., records.