Prominent among Margaret Scully’s ancestors were the Townsends, through her maternal grandmother, Margaret Jackson Townsend Scully. The Townsends were of the Society of Friends in or near Cirencester, in Gloucestershire, England. Both Richard Townsends, father and son, were recorded as having been imprisoned at various times from 1660 through 1680 for conscientious scruples and for refusal to bear arms, “their goods distrained . . .”

In 1682, Richard Townsend, Jr., was a passenger on William Penn’s Welcome, living near Germantown. Later, returning to England for a preaching tour among Quaker churches, he persuaded his nephew Joseph to come to America. Joseph arrived in Philadelphia in 1712, with his wife, Martha Wooderson, and his sister, Jean Townsend. They settled in Bradford Town, Chester County, with eight hundred acres of land in the present borough of West Chester. Here the Joseph Townsends ultimately celebrated their Golden Wedding anniversary. He died in 1766, Martha, eleven months later. From his father, their third child, Joseph, received land on which he erected a home and a sawmill. Benjamin, the second son, joined his oldest brother, Francis, in a move to Western Pennsylvania near Brownsville.

Robert Townsend

The Pittsburgh branch of the Townsend family was founded by Robert Townsend, son of Benjamin and of his third wife, Jemima Booth, when Robert moved to Pittsburgh in 1810 to engage in the iron business, specializing in the manufacture of wire. In 1828, he established a plant in Fallston, Beaver County, still an important industry in that section. An undated Pittsburgh Press story wrote about the Townsend Company: “The plant has seen four generations of Townsends. Today the Fallston plant on Beaver Creek near New Brighton, Pennsylvania, is the oldest wire mill in the United States . . . Its current specialty is rivets.” Once the company produced large

79 Townsend family genealogy and history, both English and American, in DA7.
quantities of telegraph wire, and stocked them in a yard adjoining the
works, known for years afterward as the "Telegraph Yard." 80

JESSE AND REES TOWNSEND

Margaret Scully's maternal great-grandfather was Jesse Town-
send, born in 1766, the son of Benjamin Townsend and his first wife,
Edith Evans. Jesse Townsend, who became head of the committee of
discussion at the Redstone Meeting in Brownsville, married Edith
Cadwalader, a descendant of John C. Cadwalader, a minister of the

80 Sesquicentennial Brochure of the Townsend Company, kindly furnished by
H. C. Korman, president. To show the growth of the Townsend Co.: The
original Townsend Co. made rivets, nails, wires for baby carriages,
parts for coffee grinders, farm equipment, corn shellers; parts for street-
cars, centrifugal corn shellers, apple parers, Conestoga wagons, etc.
The first three-strand, twisted wire used by the O' Rielly Telegraph Co.
for the first telegraph lines over the Allegheny Mountains came from
the Townsend Co.

The appointment of H. C. Weidner as president of the Townsend
Co. in 1926 ended four generations of Townsends heading the company.
The family retained controlling stock until the company management and
family representatives agreed to sell the company to Textron, Inc., of
Providence, in 1959.

"From Studebaker wagons . . . to special parts for rockets and
missiles." The company began in Pittsburgh the same year as the city.
Over the years, the company grew to be an important supplier to the
world's aircraft, automotive, railroad, construction and other basic
industries, as well as to the military.

By 1926 Townsend Co. had the distinction of being the only rivet
plant in the world to make every size of rivet from a tiny steel pinion
weighing 1/250th of an ounce, to fastenings 1 1/4 inches in diameter and
16 inches long, weighing over nine pounds each. By 1928, the company
acquired a Chicago plant, and by 1947, Townsend Co. was the world's
largest manufacturer of rivets, in two plants at New Brighton and
Chicago.

In 1947, the management was on a renewed diversification and growth
program that changed the entire organization by placing greater emphasis
on product research and development. The company acquired seven new
divisions, made international manufacturing and marketing arrangements.
All divisions of the company are specialists in the design and manufacture
of standard and non-standard industrial fasteners and parts.

The company's output, naming a few specialties to give some idea
of the scope of manufacture, now includes engineered fasteners; patented
components, chiefly for the aircraft industry, including a special
fastener developed to fill the need for a rivet that would permit one man
to install it from one side of the work; precision cold-formed safety parts
for the automotive industry; Identi-Kits for the visual identification of
criminals; fabricated products for fastening roofing and siding by means
of a sealing washer; special fasteners for aircraft, missile and aerospace
industries; rivet-setting machines, and tubular rivets.

In 1959, Townsend Co. became affiliated with Textron, Inc., one of the
nation's largest totally diversified corporations. As a Textron com-
pany, Townsend Co. operates as a largely autonomous organization, but
has access to the substantial financing and counsel of Textron management.
Society of Friends, who came from Wales to Pennsylvania about 1697. One of Jesse's large family, Rees Cadwalader Townsend, became a member of his Uncle Robert's wire company, R. Townsend & Co., Fallston, after studying the wire-making process in Baltimore. Rees Townsend was head of the Pittsburgh office until his death in 1851.

R. Townsend & Co. furnished wire cable for the first inclines over the Allegheny Mountains at Johnstown and Huntingdon, Pennsylvania, and for the aqueduct which terminated at Eleventh and Liberty Streets, Pittsburgh, leading over the Allegheny River into the Portage Canal on the North Side.

Rees Cadwalader Townsend and the Robert Townsend Co. had an interesting association with John Augustus Roebling; they made and advanced on credit wire cable for the suspension bridge which Roebling designed and built at Smithfield Street in Pittsburgh in 1845, the first cable bridge in the world, antedating the Brooklyn Bridge. The agreement was that Roebling would pay for the seven-ply cable only if the bridge were successful.

Rees Townsend took a personal interest in the German-born Roebling, encouraging him to perfect his English, lending him books. The son, Washington Roebling, spent much time after his mother's death in Mrs. Townsend's care; she taught him his three "R's." The Townsend family always recalled Washington "stretched out on the hearth rug, savouring every book he could lay his fingers on."

One of the exciting episodes of Rees Townsend's life occurred when he, with other Pittsburgh men, was invited to ride on the first passenger train leaving Pittsburgh over the Fort Wayne Railroad, then westbound only. His family was gathered on the station platform on New Brighton to watch him speed by!

Family tradition, Margaret Scully noted, was that Rees Townsend travelled daily to the Fallston Works by boat to Rochester, then drove or rode horseback to New Brighton.

His outside activities included being a director of the Merchants and Manufacturers Bank, serving two terms on the Common Council, working on the local Sanitary Committee during the Civil War, and being a director in the Monongahela Navigating Committee.

81 The third member of the Townsend Co., in Margaret Scully's notes, was "a Mr. Baird who married a Patterson." The sesquicentennial brochure identifies him as John D. Baird.

82 The Great Fire of 1845 had destroyed the old covered bridge across the Monongahela, and Roebling had conceived the idea for replacing it with a suspension bridge constructed of wire cable.
MARY JACKSON TOWNSEND

Rees Townsend's wife, born Mary Jackson in Roscrea, Port Arlington, Tipperary County, Ireland, came to Pittsburgh with her family in 1806. On November 9, 1826, she was married by the Rev. John "Pappy" Taylor, to Quaker Rees Townsend in Trinity P. E. Church.83

Margaret Townsend Scully rates Mary Jackson Townsend as the most interesting of the Jackson women. For one thing, she was a good swimmer and enjoyed the sea. Her scrapbook, preserved in Box DA8, is filled with newspaper clippings on the treatment of disease.84 And interesting and historically useful are the obituaries and descriptions of Pittsburgh weddings pasted in her book, since the obituaries of the time contain many personal details, and the newspaper accounts of weddings are social vignettes of the period. She was "very fond of reading while she quilted or sewed."

Since she felt that "Episcopal ministers were not intellectually keen or otherwise fitted to be the head of a church," Mary Jackson Townsend became a member of the Third Presbyterian Church.

Her sister, Mrs. Laetitia Jackson Gazzam, and Mary Jackson Townsend were members of the original Pittsburgh committee for the purchase and preservation of Mt. Vernon as a national shrine.

MRS. LAETITIA JACKSON GAZZAM

Aunt Laetitia, Mrs. Joseph Gazzam, is described in her obituary:

She was eighty-two years old, a woman of marvelous energy, unselfish, broad-minded, and devoted to good works. Her short married life was spent in Mobile, Alabama, where the institution of slavery became so repugnant to her that she made the cause of the slaves her own, and devoted herself to a mitigation of the severities of their lot. For many years she lived in Sewickley and had a large circle of friends there . . . . She opened a select school at Sewickley, and the best families sent their children to her. She was a member of St. Andrew's Episcopal Church, Sewickley.

GEORGE JACKSON TOWNSEND

George Jackson Townsend, eldest son of Rees Townsend and

83 DA7. Then the "Round Church" on the corner of Liberty, Sixth and Wood Streets.

84 Remedies from the medical scrapbook: Biliousness — go without food and drink freely of lemonade. Wake up rested and feeling as though the blood had been literally washed, cleansed, cooled by the lemonade and the fast. Epilepsy and yellow fever — watermelons. Kidney affections — celery, Erysipelas — pounded cranberries. Hydrophobia — onions. Cancer — Chloride of chromium in stromonium ointment; converts it [cancer] into a perfect carbon, which crumbles away. Inflammatory rheumatism — poultice of stewed pumpkin.
Mary Jackson Townsend, was a student at old Jefferson College, and one of the organizers of a Library and Reading Room for Boys, Pittsburgh. The design for the entrance to the Allegheny Cemetery on Butler Street was his. He was a member of Trinity Episcopal Church, and was associated in business with the George W. Jackson Co. He was in the Pennsylvania Home Guards at the time that they were called by Governor Andrew Curtin to go east, arriving at Antietam on the day after the battle, and “camping at Craig Street in Mr. Charlie Clark's woods.”

Margaret Jackson Townsend

Margaret Jackson Townsend, born in 1828, was a daughter of the Rees Townsends; she went to Miss Robert's Private School on Robinson Street in Allegheny, and then for one year to Dr. Beatty's Seminary in Steubenville, Ohio. Since she was unhappy in the strict atmosphere of the school, she persuaded her parents to let her come home after the first year. In 1851, she was married to James O'Hara Scully by the Rev. Dr. William Passavant. She died in New Brighton on May 12, 1861.

Sabina McDonnell Townsend

Vivid Sabina McDonnell Townsend, youngest daughter of the Rees Townsends, born in 1837, went with her sister Margaret to Miss Robert's Private School mentioned previously. The girls had been warned by their father not to linger on the bridge when a fire engine was crossing; but one day after school, the Allegheny fire engine overtook them on the bridge, and to their surprise they found fire within half a block of their home at First Street, part of the Great Fire of Pittsburgh, April 10, 1845. Fortunately, their home was safe from the flames, but their father's warehouse, part of R. Townsend and Co. on the west side of Market Street, was completely destroyed. Volunteer firemen received food from the Townsends.

When a child, Sabina enjoyed her visit to her father's sister, Ruth Townsend Dugdale, and her husband Joseph, on a farm near Cincinnati, Ohio. Especially did she love the Quaker "thee" and "thou." When she left them at the end of the visit, she solemnly thanked them for her good time, saying, "Goodbye now, I may not see thee again, but I will hope to meet thee both in the world to come."

Later Sabina was taken to visit the well-known Quaker, Lucretia Mott, in Philadelphia, who impressed the child so much that, at the age of ninety, she still could describe her visit in all detail.
When Sabina was sixteen, she went by boat to Steubenville to attend the Steubenville Female Seminary, headed by Dr. Beatty.

Once her father and she took the Plains trip, by water on the steamer Montgomery. Since her father was a director of the company, the captain naturally was very attentive, but his patience must have been tried when she endlessly kept asking for the name of the boat.

Another reference to Sabina, or "Biny," in a letter written by Margaret Jackson Townsend, now Mrs. James O'Hara Scully, "I was indeed rejoiced to see Biny return safely the next evening; she had to cross the river in a skiff, the ice running thick, the heaviest of the season, the boatman said." 85

During the Civil War, Sabina was active on the Pittsburgh Subsistence Committee, 86 organized in August 1861, and disbanded in January 1866; it was sustained by volunteer contributions from Pittsburgh citizens. According to a pamphlet, the Committee fed and entertained and provided for 409,745 soldiers and 79,460 sick and wounded at the Soldiers' Home. On the cover of the pamphlet is a photograph of the Subsistence Committee in the Old City Hall. For her work Sabina received a miniature gold pail, a replica of the coffee pails used in feeding soldiers at the Pennsylvania Railroad Station.

Sabina loved to attend parties given by Mr. and Mrs. David Holmes, who lived on suburban Butler Street. Their daughter Jane — called "Pittsburgh Jane" to distinguish her from her cousin "Baltimore Jane" Holmes — inherited the property on Butler Street and

85 In Mrs. James Scully's letter (undated) is a reference to President Lincoln: "Mrs. Baelz had a letter from the Dr. written yesterday. He said Lincoln was not expected in the City until six p.m. & the streets were fast filling with people. George says he is making himself very popular on his journey by his short speeches, which I presume are to the point & the people think he is just the man for the times — he would need almost the wisdom of Solomon to direct him."
86 Standard History of Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, Erasmus Wilson, 598: The Subsistence Committee commenced operations on Sunday morning, July 25, 1861, with the Ladies Committee furnishing the 24th Ohio Regiment with coffee and ham sandwiches handed to the soldiers as they stood in the street. . . . The next week the old Leech warehouse was secured and used until October 1861, then Old City Hall. The Committee also sent supplies to field hospitals. In 1862, the group opened a depot for the reception of such supplies, and did so until April 1863, when the United States Christian Commission, Pittsburgh Branch, took over supplies.

Early in the war, in 1861, a soldiers' home was opened near the Union Station, Pittsburgh, by the Subsistence Committee, to care for the many sick and wounded soldiers on their way home. Dr. Alexander Fleming was at this home, on train arrivals, every noon and midnight, dressing wounds and prescribing medicine for the sick, ranging from twenty-five to one hundred each noon and midnight. During the four years of the war, he rarely failed to make his daily visits.
left it as a Home for Protestant Incurables.87

On September 29, 1868, Sabina was married in the Third Presbyterian Church by the Rev. Dr. Daniel Noble to Alfred J. Rankin, who came from an old Carlisle, Pennsylvania, family.

She was a charter member of the Twentieth Century Club, and the oldest living member of the Third Presbyterian Church at her death in 1915. She died at ninety-eight, and had loved every minute of her years.

THE FIRST SABINA TOWNSEND

The first Sabina, a Quaker and sister of Rees Cadwalader Townsend, married a McDonnell from Armagh, Ireland. She worked ceaselessly against slavery, giving money and clothes and receiving donations. Her home was part of the Underground Railway. She often drove the runaways long distances to safety in her carriage.

PART IV: MARGARET SCULLY’S NOVEL

SECTION I: YOUNG O’HARA

For twenty years Margaret Scully had carefully collected biographical material for her novel on James O’Hara, planning to divide it in two parts: “Young O’Hara” and “O’Hara in America.” But she left only portions of it even in rough draft. She had a vital story that, once set in motion, should almost have written itself: a handsome, red-haired Irish hero of gentle birth, educated in Paris, a commissioned officer for three years in England’s elite Coldstream Guards,88 who resigned his commission to come to the New World. Here he engaged in Indian trade until the beginning of the American Revolution, when he became a private for a brief time before receiving a commission. Her hero had served directly under General Nathaniel Greene and

87 Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, April 18, 1967, a feature story on the Protestant Home for Incurables, by Marion Leslie, stated that the Protestant Home for Incurables in 1967 housed sixty-seven men and women suffering from incurable illnesses, ranging in age from fifty to ninety-seven. The original Holmes family summer home was destroyed by fire within two years, but was rebuilt to continue the work. The home still operates strictly on its own, with no support from Federal or local agencies; and what would run the Holmes House for a year in 1883, ran it for one day in 1967.

General Anthony Wayne, and knew General Washington. O'Hara, she stated, was present at Yorktown. She had romance in her story through his marriage after the war to pretty Polly Carson of Philadelphia, and their coming to the frontier town of Pittsburgh. Moreover, O'Hara as Presidential elector cast his vote for General George Washington, became the first Quartermaster-General of the United States, founded many business enterprises in Pittsburgh, became one of the largest American landholders of the period, and died, full of years, in Pittsburgh, surrounded by his family. But the trunk contains only three chapters completed and ready for final revision, and those chapters belonging to Part I, "Young O'Hara"; there are tantalizing bits and episodes here and there among piles of notes, many of them about Polly, or Mary Carson O'Hara, and Pittsburgh.

Ideally, Margaret Scully should have blocked out her entire novel, and then have begun working at it chapter by chapter, rewriting and polishing. Instead, in her search for perfection, she became endlessly involved with redrafting her first three chapters for Part I, and therefore reached an impasse in her work. She loved the Irish chapters, deriving much of her background material during her visit to the land of the O'Haras and Scullys in 1938. She was fond of the young James O'Hara, with a rare sympathy and understanding of his needs; and probably because she had grown up with three brothers whom she loved very much, she was able to create young O'Hara in their image. She showed toward the boy about to leave for an alien country the same tenderness that appeared in poems about children in her book of poems, White Rose of Essex, or in the care taken to preserve little thank-you notes, cards, newspaper clippings, and wedding invitations of the young in her family.

A portion of the best drafts of the first three chapters of "Young O'Hara" have been chosen to show Margaret Scully's development of her novel, because the action moved smoothly, the chapters had little burden of genealogy and ancient Irish history and were less given over to lyrical descriptions of the Irish countryside, than the remaining drafts. Such an overlay of information as was evidenced in her earliest drafts would have been a burden even to Charles Dickens, about to send a young hero into the world.

89 The drafts used, in DA3, are in the "Maclean, McCarroll, Murtland, O'Hara Miscellany." Unfortunately, not one of the drafts is dated.
90 What a fine piece of writing, for example, is Chapter I of Charles Dickens' Great Expectations, which sets the mood, sketches young Pip's family background, and briefly introduces three of the pivotal characters. But then, Charles Dickens, now having a one-hundredth anniversary, is still
Book I, Chapter I

Book I, Chapter I, begins:

When he felt a gentle touch on his shoulder, and dimly recognized the familiar voice, it seemed but the middle of the night to young James O'Hara, suddenly roused from the sound sleep of childhood.

"'Tis time we waken up, heart's dearest!" his mother was saying, "Do you not remember what day it is?"

... Of course he remembered! It was the day he was to leave for school in France! The most important day in his life...

Irene O'Hara had set a coal of fire to a candle by the bedside, and was now going about, lighting others in the room.

"We shall not skimp on anything today, James," she said, "We'll have everything as cheerful as possible. There's no brightness in our hearts."

He saw that she had carefully laid out the clothes he was to wear on the little chair at the foot of the bed, where he said his prayers. The rest of his belongings had been packed for days, put carefully by his mother's loving hands into valises and small saddle-trunks, that would go on the horses as far as Sligo, then be sent by coach to his ship. Securely locked, there was now an aspect of finality about waiting for the stable boys to come and carry them downstairs...

It was still very early on this mild September morning in the year 1763. So early was it in fact, that dawn had not yet come into the lower glens where Major John O'Hara's house stood... A flood of candlelight throughout the house made great saffron-colored plaques of the windows set deep in the wide walls... Only the faintest breeze stirred the tree tops...

Next is a description of the house and the surrounding country:

Standing in a wide park-like glade the old house now looked strangely eerie and ghostlike in this enveloping mist, but it was substantial enough in reality. Built of the customary smooth-dressed stone, its square walls and austere appearance more nearly suggested a fortress, or an old Irish bawn, than a family residence in the manner of the better houses of the day. Time had, however, considerably softened its outlines by a growth of lush green ivy clambering to the very eaves...

The structure itself was old even at that time. At least three generations of O'Haras had first seen the light of day within its somber walls. Dermod, son of the Jacobite Charles who fell at the battle of the Boyne, Felix, Dermod's son, and now young James, grandson of Felix...

The next scene is the tense, sad family at breakfast, no one with much appetite..."

Finally James could stand it no longer and begged for a last dash to the stables. One more goodbye to the older colts especially to his own chestnut mare, that he had been riding for months now, and loved with all the ardor of his fervent young heart.

Then a description of the beautiful morning, ending:

Another good sign, the tall pale green columns that curled steadily upward from a chimney or two leaving the pleasant odor of peat smoke about the place.
Outside the house, waiting, were the sad, dun-colored mastiffs; the crowd of wellwishers of kinsmen and servants; the shower of beautiful blessings upon his head.

The final leave-taking is effective:

With baggage well secured to the saddle of the lead-horse, James had knelt for the priest's last blessing, and the two stable boys who were to bring the horses back from Donegal, stood holding their own animals and a mount each for James and Major O'Hara. All seemed ready. Acting on sudden impulse Ilene quickly held little Catherine out to James. His arms closed around her in a frantic embrace. While he was still holding her close, the eyes of mother and son met and held in a long look. Ilene gazed at her boy as if she would search his very soul. He returned the look with equal steadiness and intensity. What they saw seemed to satisfy them both, and the mother knew she need have no further concern for the lasting integrity of her boy.

Suddenly it all became very dear to James, his mother, his father, little Catherine, Philip, the house, the place, everything. A great lump came into his throat so that he could not speak. He was enveloped in a great wave of feeling, a passion of love for them all. . . . All he wanted was to throw himself into his mother's arms and stay within their sheltering embrace forever.

His father with great gentleness touched him on the shoulder.

"Up, James," he heard him say and he found himself in the saddle.

**Book I, Chapter II**

Chapter II opens with Ilene watching her husband and son until they disappear from sight. Then in a flashback, she explains that British restrictions made it impossible for a Catholic boy to obtain a decent education unless his family sent him to Spain, Italy, or France; that the majority of Irish, "rather than submit to the teachings of so-called heretics, chose to remain entirely illiterate out of loyalty to their own faith. . . . Catholic children therefore were either taught at home if taught at all or sent abroad perforce, . . . for any academic instruction they might desire." The flashback, unfortunately, contains at least seven hundred words.

As James and his father rode along, the father told him stories of Queen Maeve, and of the flight of Diarmuid and the beautiful Graine from Finn the King of Ulster. There are many such stories as they rode along.

Scarcely ever does young James speak. Margaret Scully as omniscient author tells that he was seeing for the first time swarthy foreign sailors with rings in their ears. He talked with a Donegal seafaring man who knew more of Calcutta and Bombay than he did about the country on the other side of his own mountains. Most of the time, she speaks for James.
Arriving in Paris, James entered the College of St. Sulpice. Margaret Scully wrote:

The following day Jamie donned the black apron of the French school and there began for him a course of unmitigated lessons. The French system of education seemed to be to transfer as much knowledge as possible from book to brain. The development of the body was left entirely to nature and time. The boys' only exercise was walking. In a long line headed and ended by a blackrobed ecclesiastic, the younger lads tramped the Paris streets within a prescribed course, like a line of youthful criminals with their guards, Jamie always thought.

Her description of the homesick boy's dream is good:

He would remember being wakened by the baying of the hounds when they had treed a fox on the quarry hill, or his father teasing him and saying he had his mother's hair, and he indignantly crying he had his own. Even teasing would be welcome now, instead of a phalanx of stony new faces and the hard ways of boys and men. Or he was down a green lane at evening when a bird sang its heart out in a snowy cloud of hawthorn bloom.

Later when the dark fell, his father twirling a stout thorn stick, he would walk closer to him for protection but did not insult him by taking his hand. Now the bracken crushed down under their feet and the perfume of it rose up towards the bright friendly stars. He saw the glow of his mother's red curls in the firelight.

Grandfather Major Felix O'Hara is pictured as:

... receiving a wretched little pension from the French government. Fortunately both Mme. O'Hara and he had some money of their own as well. While serving with the Irish Brigade in the late war with England, he had suffered a severe leg wound, and for the intervening fifteen years had been practically incapacitated. He had a pleasant little place at St. Cloud on the outskirts of Paris.

James' holidays at St. Cloud with his grandparents were the bright spots of his life.

Margaret Scully describes the charming walled garden and grape arbor, and the espaliered apple trees:

James loved the grape arbor, like a summer house. Over the entrance hung a bell with a long rope which he loved to pull, to summon Mimi or Jean. It always sent him into gales of laughter when the bell rang and Coco the parrot would scream peremptorily, "Jean! Ici toutesuite! Toutesuite!" and old Jean whose hearing was a little dull would come running from the kitchen.

Grandmère appears as uncommonly goodlooking, trim, erect, and never speaking English. Grandfather is described as less bitter about England than his wife; perhaps in actually fighting England, he somehow had successfully worked off the ancient grudge. He had the

91 DA2, Notes on O'Hara. The College of St. Sulpice was opposite the church in Place St. Sulpice, Left Bank, Paris. It was in existence until 1900. For explanation of DA, see p. 152 in April WPHM.
Irishman's genial disposition and the Irishman's openhandedness.

Grandfather Felix related the family history to the boy in minute detail, that the O'Haras were ancient chiefs of the Kianachta clan and maintained an independent existence, that it paid tribute to the king only, not to a local overlord as well, until the English invasion of Ireland under Strongbow. O'Haras were chiefs and lords of Coolavin, and were lords of Lieney from the tenth to the seventeenth centuries. The O'Haras were also barons of Burren and Killoran and Kilmaine.92

Grandfather Felix concluded his family history with:

All these vast holdings of the O'Haras were forfeited to Oliver Cromwell in 1650, when he went up and down Ireland killing Irish Catholics and burning and pillaging on every hand. Part of these lands . . . . they were graciously permitted by the Protector to buy back on good English terms.

. . . the O'Haras were wiser in their day and generation than others of the old Irish aristocracy in that they were able to overlook former wrongs and ill treatment, and cooperated with England in at least a friendly fashion outwardly.

For his services in foreign wars Queen Anne rewarded General, Sir Charles O'Hara, with a baronetcy in 1706, when he became Lord Tyrawley. In 1721 King George I made him Baron Kilmaine, also, — he taking the name of the title from his own holdings of Kilmaine in County Sligo.93

The emphasis of the notes in most of the eight boxes of the Margaret Townsend Scully Collection, however, is upon James O'Hara.

In 1769, at the age of seventeen, he was ready to leave the college at St. Sulpice. What to do? His mother wanted him to enter the priesthood, his father favored a military career, but James himself wanted to see America, the New World. The final choice was the

92 DA2. James O'Hara's forebears had lived in Connaught, northwestern Ireland, since 125 A.D. Also from DA2: According to Margaret Scully's typed notes from Mary Carson Darlington's Fort Pitt and Letters from the Frontier (James Weldon and Company, Pittsburgh, 1892), "James O'Hara in Pittsburgh always had hanging in the hall of his house the coat-of-arms of the barony of Tyrawley, in recognition of descent from O'Hara ancestors of the County Mayo branch: Vert on a radiant Or., a lion rampant sable."

93 DA3, O'Hara Miscellany, White folder, "Young O'Hara Narrative Ireland": Grandfather's son James also served in the Irish Brigade, Lord Dillon's Regiment; however, as soon as he was relieved of military duty, he set out for the parental home in County Mayo. "Having been born in France," Margaret Scully wrote, "and the son of a French mother, the government could not lay hands upon him when he reached Ireland. But it could and did strictly forbid the use of his army title . . . . The services of the Irish Brigade had warmed the hearts of the Irish too much . . . . and he was invariably addressed as major . . . . James soon married and here in the old homestead his first son James was born in 1752 . . . . almost at the exact moment of the adoption of the Gregorian calendar by England . . . ."
Coldstream Guards (probably because Lord James O'Hara was then in command), and James served in the Guards for almost three years, commissioned as ensign or second lieutenant. At the end of this period, he resigned, apparently rejecting the prospect of a professional career in the British Army and not realizing how valuable this training would be to him in the New World.

Margaret Scully reconstructs this period of O'Hara's life.

Many a night, after working late in the musty office, copying interminably the letters that were to go out to all parts of the world, his eyes burning from fatigue and the pipe smoke from the neighboring desk, he would throw on his great coat, and saunter down to the wharves where there was always entertainment for a venturesome spirit like his own. Now and then he came upon a French ship, and the sailors responded in voluble delight when he hailed them in their own tongue. Tales of bold adventure he heard from seafarers of every clime, rough tales stripped of all refinement, frankly boastful, incidents which served to bolster up the scant self-esteem that was left to this human flotsam and jetsam, these roustabouts of the sea . . . .

Lord James O'Hara again interested himself on James' behalf and secured a position for him with a ship broker's counting room in Liverpool.

He spent long hours on a high stool in the Company's office, determined to prepare himself in a business way for a venture to America. His thoughts turned homeward, but travel is arduous and expensive, and he saved every penny for America.

There were intervals when for days at a time, the very thought of the filth and viciousness of the seaport town actually sickened him. The number of women on the streets, from the brothels and drinking dens, appalled him. More than one pair of eyes followed him down the street, wondering at the courtesy of his refusal . . . . He discovered several times his pockets had been picked . . . . Somewhat to his own surprise he was only once seriously molested. It was an intensely foggy night. He was hurrying home for an hour's reading in his room at the boarding house before bedtime. Rounding a corner he was suddenly conscious that a form was hurtling towards him, out of the shadow, and a great weight bore down upon him. In the surprise of the attack . . . . they struggled on the slippery cobbled stones for a moment before he could make another assault. It was obvious that the man had liquor in him . . . . Although not over average height, O'Hara was powerfully built, and he now put to use every ounce of strength his military training had given . . . . After what seemed an eternity he felt the man weaken and lie back inert. With disgust, he recognized the rascal as one he had befriended . . . . only a few hours before. Furiously disillusioned, he cursed him with the peculiar energy of an Irishman roused to righteous wrath.

"Get ye out of here," he stormed, "and if I ever catch sight of your dirty,

94 DA3. O'Hara had become an expert horseman and swordsman. (Another draft)
95 Margaret Scully wrote that at first the romance and glamor of the soldier's life had a certain attraction for him, but not many months passed until disillusionment set in.
96 DA3, O'Hara Biography Working Draft, source for the following paragraph.
97 DA2.
98 DA3.
lying countenance again, I'll pull your right arm out of its socket and lambaste ye over the head with it . . . !"

When the incident got round, every one from the head of the firm down had a friendly word for him. The fame of his prowess soon spread outside the countinghouse, and presently he had a summons to Sunday dinner from Mrs. W., the mother of a young and beautiful daughter.

This was the beginning of a series of similar invitations, but whether the efforts to snare him into the family circle on the part of the mother of the marriageable daughter were too apparent and he was scared off, or he himself was not interested, history does not divulge and we hear no more of this beautiful maiden, or any other as a matter of fact for a long time to come.

After a year and a half in the Liverpool office, a few months before his twenty-first birthday, he set sail for Philadelphia and the New World on an autumn packet.

So ended the three rough-drafted chapters, with James O'Hara setting off for America. The homesick boy is only sketched in, however, for Margaret Scully is weak in creating dialogue; she is like a mother who speaks on all occasions for her son, never letting him open his mouth. And what about the boys at St. Sulpice? Did James have any friends? What about the lessons and the teachers? Did he have language difficulties? And did Grandmère and he never exchange a word? What questions does he ask Grandfather Felix? The reader would like to learn more about O'Hara's military life and his learning business management in Liverpool. Margaret Scully leaves much unanswered. She has, however, established mood and details of setting, but she should have eliminated much of the history of ancient Milesian kings, a subject which filled many of her notebooks and many of the redrafts of the first three chapters. All in all, the chapters get off to a promising start, but Margaret Scully never returned to them.

Since she apparently wished to concentrate on the American O'Hara, the emphasis in editing her notes, sketches, and completed incidents will be upon James and Mary Carson O'Hara and some of their children, with events presented chronologically.

**SECTION II: O'HARA IN AMERICA**

Margaret Scully wrote a dedication for Part II of her novel:

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Dedicated
To My Grandfather
James O'Hara Scully
Namesake and Kinsman
of General James O'Hara
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99 DA3.
100 DA3.
But at Margaret Scully's death, Part II remained unfinished in the trunk presented in 1951 by her heirs to The Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania. Her notes from primary sources show familiarity with letters written by or pertaining to General O'Hara; with Colonial Records (Pennsylvania) and with Pennsylvania Archives; with the Anthony Wayne Correspondence of the Pennsylvania Historical Society in Philadelphia; with newspaper clippings about O'Hara's Pittsburgh. Among her secondary sources are the Allegheny County histories of 1876 and 1889; Mary Carson Darlington's Fort Pitt and Neville B. Craig's History of Pittsburgh; Sarah H. Killikelly's History of Pittsburgh; Leland D. Baldwin's Pittsburgh: The Story of a City and Dr. Clarence E. Macartney's Right Here in Pittsburgh.101

Although her source material is good, it is insufficient to sustain a historical novel of any length. Her background notes lack knowledge of the details of pioneer home life, livelihood, churchgoing, transportation, children, to name a few items. As for the War of the Revolution, she knows campaigns, but little about rifles, cannons, ammunition, uniforms, food or its lack, military and civilian gripes, care of the wounded, songs, battles, leadership, Indians, Tories, spies, sanitation.

Margaret Scully's main concern was James O'Hara, and with him her research is good. No hero, however, lives in a vacuum; he is very much a part of the world about him. What about Devereux Smith and Ephraim Douglass, early business associates; the Indians with whom he traded and travelled; his wife's family, the Carsons of Philadelphia; General Edward Hand and General Arthur St. Clair; Colonel Daniel Brodhead; Isaac Craig, his right-hand man in the quartermaster days and partner in the glass venture; General Anthony Wayne, whose Legion he provisioned in the Western campaigns against the Indians; Major Ebenezer Denny and Brigadier General George Rogers Clark — for that matter, what about General George Washington?

In her preparation for the novel, Margaret Scully should have studied portraits and miniatures of these men, read their letters or journals, and their biographies. The very background of her book, colonial Philadelphia, Virginia, the Carolinas, the dark forests of Pennsylvania, early Pittsburgh, Kentucky, the Northwest Territory, Lake Erie, upper New York State and the Onondaga salt works, posed

101 DA3. Margaret Scully's bibliography lists eighty-eight major primary and secondary sources.
difficult research problems. James O'Hara covered his country in seven-league boots.

"O'Hara in America" will be presented in chronological condensation, as within a framework of historical fact, Margaret Scully shaped the life of her fictional hero, sometimes "bending" history a little for the sake of her narrative, as a historical novelist sometimes does for plot and suspense. The chronological condensation will become detailed only where she herself has stopped to comment, or has fully completed an incident. Footnotes will include mainly her sources, and anything that has been added for clarification and that was not part of the contents of the trunk.

Resume of O'Hara in America

1772—James O'Hara reached Philadelphia, liked it, and decided to settle there.

1773—But for almost a year, he acted as agent for Simon & Campbell in the Indian trade in western Virginia.

In Virginia, he met Colonel George Washington, who was prospecting for land. It was the beginning of a lifelong friendship. Washington suggested to O'Hara that Fort Pitt might afford opportunities; and O'Hara left the firm of Simon & Campbell for the Forks of the Ohio, arriving at Fort Pitt in October via the Ohio River from western Virginia. He was taken on by Devereux Smith and Ephraim Douglass of Fort Pitt and Philadelphia, who were also in the Indian trade, but of an entirely different type from his first employers.

Soon after his arrival, O'Hara received a legacy from Lady Mary O'Hara, widow of Lord James O'Hara. With this windfall, he became a partner with Smith and Douglass, maintaining business relations with the firm for about thirty years.

1774—From December 1773 to March 1774, O'Hara, in the service

102 "O'Hara in America" is based upon chronological outlines, synopses, completed sketches and working drafts, mainly in Boxes DA2 and DA3.

103 Margaret Scully's source, the Gratz Collection of Letters and Business Correspondence, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, in Philadelphia. Gratz and Ashton were the Philadelphia Associates of Smith and Douglass. From the Dictionary of American Biography, Vol. 7 (Scribners, Copyright 1931 by the American Council of Learned Societies), 504-505: The brothers Barnard and Michael Gratz, Philadelphia, became "merchant venturers" who opened up to settlement and trade that territory which became Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, and Illinois. They were Patriots. They adventured in the coast trade between New York and Quebec and in the country west of Lancaster. As staunch patriots, they were very helpful in securing needed supplies for the colonies, notably Virginia, by running the British Blockade.
of Devereux Smith and Ephraim Douglass, was an Indian trader at Kuskusky, an Indian town near the junction of the Mahoning and Shenango rivers, in present Lawrence County, Pennsylvania. Accounts were kept in buck, doe, and fawn skins:

Captain Pipe's account, Pea-meet-chease, lives over the creek; Captain Pipe promises to pay this account if the other would not. Deer skins received of his wife, 10s; 1 buck skin, paid Joseph Is. Deer skins got of Mamalteas, 6s 1d. Account with the white woman who lives in the smith's shop, Dr. Captain Pipe's brother-in-law, the little Muncy man who bo't the gun at the Muncy town, 1 pt. powder.104

All Western Pennsylvanians were swirled into Virginia's boundary dispute with Pennsylvania, when Virginia's Governor Dunmore claimed most of this western land with its special prize, Fort Pitt, and authorized Dr. John Connolly's seizure of the fort. Fort Pitt became Fort Dunmore, and on June 14, 1774, the badgered townspeople, many still considering themselves Pennsylvanians, sent Governor John Penn a petition for immediate help. O'Hara was a signer of this petition.

1775—Western Pennsylvania was troubled by the unsettled boundary dispute, by Indian attacks, and by the prospect of war with the Mother Country.105

The government tried to maintain friendly relations with still loyal Indians, but trading decreased. Since gunpowder and supplies of all kinds were deplorably short, John Campbell on behalf of the government sent O'Hara to Sandusky to try to buy gunpowder from the Indians. But "inimical Indians" robbed O'Hara and his men of horses and all stores. Fortunately, he was able to bring back some powder from Sandusky to Fort Pitt about the middle of June 1776.106

1776—At Fort Pitt, O'Hara reported to Captain John Neville, commanding, on conditions encountered on his trip. Captain Neville re-

104 Fort Pitt, Letters from the Frontier, Mary Darlington (Pittsburgh, J. R. Weldin & Co., 1892), 201.
105 Ibid., 209: "Despite peace with Great Britain, the Indians continued depredations on settlements on the Ohio. From 1783-1790, 1500 men, women and children were slain or taken captive by Indians."
106 DA2. O'Hara was reimbursed for his loss on the trip for powder, according to the Journal of the House of Delegates of the Commonwealth of Virginia, May 15, 1777: "Resolved: As the opinion of the Committee of Public Claims is that the said petition is reasonable and that the following sums ought to be paid the petitioner to wit: The sum of 69 pounds 4s., the value of goods lost; the further sum of 3 pounds 6s., to reimburse him so much paid an Indian for redeeming his saddle etc. and the further sum of 23 pounds 2s. for James O'Hara, his men and four horses, thirty-one days traveling to and returning from Sandusky."
layed the report to the Virginia Committee of Safety, writing on June 13, 1776: "Mr. James O'Hara (a Gentleman whose veracity may be depended upon, who was employed by Mr. John Campbell, to purchase powder at Sanduski, agreeable to Mr. Campbell's Instructions from the Committee of Safety) having just returned brings the following Intelligence." 107

Christmas 1776 was not a happy one for people at Fort Pitt. It was good news, however, to hear that the Virginia Council of War was increasing the inadequate garrison at Fort Pitt by one hundred men or more.108

Early in 1776, O'Hara resigned as an Indian agent, and enlisted as a private in the 9th Virginia Line, Pittsburgh still being under the military control of Virginia. But he was soon appointed Ensign (2nd Lieutenant)109 of Battalion. By a resolution of Congress, the Board of Safety on January 8, 1776, "proceeded to the choice of a number of gentlemen to be appointed as second lieutenants and ensigns to the four battalions now to be raised."

Ensign James O'Hara organized and equipped at his own expense, a company of sixty-five men, specifically for the defense of Fort Randolph; he was made a captain. "The equipment of soldiers at that time was their usual dress, hunting shirt, buckskin breeches and the rifle which always hung on the wall ready for use. The equipment supplied them would be little more than ammunition; but in this case boats were supplied, which carried besides the company of volunteers such articles as were of use in trade with the Indians." 110

Independent companies were organized solely for defense, and enlistment was for the duration of the war. The men were to "receive the same bounty, and men and officers the same pay and allowance as for other regulars, and subject to like regulations and restrictions." 111

1777—Although Captain O'Hara's company was specifically organized for the defense of Fort Randolph at the mouth of the little Kanawha, it was stationed at Fort Pitt from October 1 to December 27, 1777, under General Edward Hand. Captain O'Hara collected provisions and acted as fort commissary.

1778—Captain O'Hara, with about twenty men, was ordered to the

107 DA2; in Margaret Scully's notes, from the Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, XVI, 53, in Virginia State Archives.
108 DA3.
109 DA2; also Colonial Records (Pennsylvania), X, 450; and "James O'Hara Ensign," Pennsylvania Archives, 5th Series, II, 52.
110 Darlington, 201.
111 DA3; American Archives, 4th Series, VI.
Arkansas as a convoy for a detachment conveying provisions for Captain James Willing of Philadelphia, who had been raiding British vessels at New Orleans and British settlements along the Mississippi. Captain O'Hara’s detachment joined with Colonel George Rogers Clark’s contingent for Kaskaskia and Vincennes at the Kanawha River, and the two expeditions were on their way. Clark and O'Hara became fast friends on the trip. Years later, O'Hara’s daughter, Mary, would become the wife of Clark’s nephew, Major William Croghan, Jr., of Kentucky . . . . With his fluent French and knowledge of Indian dialects, O’Hara was a help to Clark. 112

Captain O'Hara found it hard to convince the hard-pressed men in Fort Randolph’s stockade that the two contingents were not reinforcements. The men, attacked the day before by a large body of Indians, could not believe that he had orders to proceed to the Ozark country; Captain O’Hara, too, must have found it hard, for he had organized this company for defense of this very place.

In the middle of June, when they reached Fort Massac in the “Spanish Arkansas,” the two groups separated, Colonel Clark going to Kaskaskia, Captain O'Hara to St. Etienne, the official name of the post known as “Aux Arcs” — Ozark to the Americans. Here Captain O'Hara, realizing that his limited force could not possibly cope with the surprise attack, decided to leave Willing’s provisions and return to Fort Pitt “to represent the matter to General Hand.” Since boats returning a long distance upstream needed cargoes, Captain O’Hara left one boat at Kanawha and later drew on Oliver Pollock113 for “2

112 DA2; notes from Darlington, 202.
113 Dictionary of American Biography, VII, 50. Oliver Pollock was an American trader, planter, financier, who had been granted freedom of trade in 1769 by Don Alexander O'Reilly, second in command in the Spanish Army in Cuba. Pollock tendered his “hearty services” to the Virginia Council of Safety and the Continental Congress; and by his advice, Galvez, governor of Louisiana by the end of 1777, had sent to the upper Mississippi posts and to the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia war material and provisions worth $70,000.

After the capture of Kaskaskia, Pollock furnished Colonel George Rogers Clark with desperately needed supplies. Pollock paid in silver Clark’s bills of credit drawn on Virginia. “The invoice Mr. Pollock rendered upon all occasions in paying these bills, I considered at the time and now to be one of the happy circumstances that enabled me to keep possession of that country,” Clark wrote in 1783. By 1782 Pollock's own affairs were in desperate straits because he had advanced $139,739 for the cause. Finally he was arrested and held in custody in Havana eighteen months for debts; but through Galvez he was released, returned to Philadelphia to petition Congress and Virginia for relief. Sums of money were advanced at different times to Pollock, but the debt was not completely paid off for quite a while. Ultimately, through his business acumen, he was able to recoup his fortune.
thousand 559 dollars” in behalf of the United States “on account of merchandise purchased on the advice of the General [Hand].”

Captain O’Hara had orders “that there be advanced to Captain James O’Hara the sum of two thousand dollars, agreeable to the request of the Board of War, for the purchase of shoes, hats and blankets for the use of the independent companies at Fort Pitt, and under command of General Hand, which sum is to be charged to the General.”

1778-1779—On the evening of June 28, 1778, O’Hara’s notebook stated that he had left the Arkansas with his second boat filled with the articles purchased for the troops at Fort Pitt: “Shirts, both ruffled and checked, blankets, hats, thread, and several kinds of cloth, linen, cottons and cottonette.”

When O’Hara arrived at Pittsburgh late in September 1778, he found that Brigadier General Hand had been succeeded at Fort Pitt by Brigadier General Lachlan McIntosh. Hand, a former surgeon in the British Army, had retired, “agreeable to his own request,” because of ill health, to become the medical officer of the garrison.

Almost immediately, Brigadier General Lachlan McIntosh sent Captain O’Hara to Fort Randolph on the Kanawha, with sixty-five men and some from the 12th Virginia. They spent a year of terrible hardship at this little Virginian outpost. Since the little fort had been the scene on November 10, 1777, of the murder of the friendly Indian Cornstalk, the danger from Indians was constant. Soldiers hunting for fresh meat were killed or made prisoners; and since sniping and surprise attacks by 1779 had reduced the Kanawha force to less than half, Colonel Daniel Brodhead, now commandant at Fort Pitt, ordered Fort Randolph evacuated. Captain O’Hara with twenty-nine men, the remaining stores, about fifty head of cattle and four horses, safely reached Pittsburgh about June 1, 1779.114

114 Pennsylvania Archives, XII, 126, Appendix, 1790: A letter to General Washington from Colonel Daniel Brodhead, Pittsburgh, June 5, 1779: “The Fort at Canhawa I have been told, was erected by the State of Virginia, and for some time garrisoned by the Militia, until last fall, when the remaining part of Capt. O’Harra’s Company, which was originally raised for the defence of that Post, was ordered there by Gen. McIntosh; before that period Captain O’Harra’s Company had been chiefly employed in trading voyages down the Mississippi River, for whose benefit, I know not, that a great number had been killed in hunting about Canhawa, and it was next to an impossibility to support them at 200 miles distance...they could no longer answer their first design, ... to cover the inhabitants...in the vicinity of that post. ...I have evacuated the post at Canhawa, and I have the pleasure to inform you that the Garrison and stores, with about fifty head of cattle,
The Kanawha survivors remained at Fort Pitt until November 30, when O'Hara's few men were attached to the 9th Virginia Line with Carolina Regulars under Colonel Daniel Brodhead, on December 13, 1779. This transfer occurred despite the wishes of Lieutenant Governor John Page of Virginia,115 who had directed Colonel Brodhead to join the remainder of Captain O'Hara's company to that of Captain Heath.116 Brodhead, however, felt no obligation to obey military orders from Page. In reply to Colonel Brodhead's letter advising him of the transfer, General Washington wrote: "If the incorporation proposed by the Lieutenant Governor will be for the good of the service, I think it had better be adopted."

Shortly after the transfer of troops, Colonel Brodhead entrusted Captain O'Hara with dispatches to General Washington's headquarters at West Point. One of the letters stated that the transfer of Captain O'Hara's company was already an accomplished fact.117

and four horses belonging to the States, are now safely arrived at this post."

115 Ibid., 167 (in Daniel Brodhead's Letter Book, No. 68, 115), to the Honorable John Page Esquire, October 10, 1779: ", . . . Previous to the receipt of your letter I had annexed the late Capt. O'Hara's Company to the 9th Virginia Regiment. And Capt. Heth was much averse to their being joined to his company. Captain O'Harra's Company never was half filled, nor did it ever answer the purpose for which it was raised at first, but was employed in trading down the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, at the expence of the United States. Capt. Heth's Company is by no means disciplined, and if it is to remain . . . at Fort Pitt . . . I apprehend it will never be of much service . . . expensive . . . if, as I expect, I shall be at liberty to make another excursion into the Indian Country or . . . against Detroit, . . . no occasion for Troops . . . at Fort Pitt, & consequently Capt. Heth's company will either be annexed to one of the larger Corps . . . or Discharged. I know not how far your Honor may be authorized to give directions respecting the Continental Troops in this Department, but you may rely that I shall, as I conceive my duty, employ them in the best manner for the protection of Western frontier, of which I have the Vanity to believe at this time a tolerable good Judge."

116 History of Pittsburgh, Sarah H. Killikelly (B. C. & Gordon Montgomery Co., Pittsburgh, Pa., 1906), 71: "William Heath, probably William Heth, afterwards lieutenant Colonel of the Third Virginia Regiment, during the Revolutionary War. The name was quite commonly written Heath."

117 Pennsylvania Archives, XII, 198, Appendix, 1790, dated December 13 1779 (in Daniel Brodhead's Letter Book, 183). In another testy letter to General Washington, 1779, 165 (in Letter Book, 110), Brodhead repeats that Capt. Heath's company was useless and expensive; that he was under no obligation to receive instructions from Lt. Gov. Page; that he "had annexed the few men of Capt. O'Harra's Company to the 9th Virginia Reg't, and those of Capt. Morehead's to the 8th Pa. Reg't where they wish to be, and will prove useful until your pleasure is known."

Killikelly, 57-58: "Colonel Brodhead, through his effort to care for his garrison, and perhaps through a tactless way of accomplishing it, brought on himself the enmity of the citizens of Pittsburgh, and a dis-
CAPTAIN O’HARA’S TWO NEGRO SERVANTS

In Philadelphia, in 1780, James O’Hara bought a Negro boy named Charles McGrady. He was so amused to “find a black man with an Irish name” that he forever after referred to the boy as “McGrady.” McGrady became so attached to O’Hara that he refused to leave him at the end of his six-year period of indenture and remained with the family, the most faithful of servants, until his death. Here is a copy of his indenture: 118

This Indenture witnesseth that Charles McGrady with his own free will and consent hath put himself a servant to James O’Hara in consideration of his master learning him to read and cypher as also for other good causes the said Charles McGrady, hath bound and put himself servant to the said James O’Hara to serve him his executors and assigns from the Day of the date hereof for and during the full term of three years from thence next ensuing, during all which term the said servant shall serve his said Master Executors or Assigns faithfully, honestly and obediently in all things, as a good and dutiful servant ought to do. And the said James O’Hara or Executors and Assigns during the said Term shall find and provide for the said Servant sufficient meat, Drink, & apparel, washing & Lodging during the term of three years; and at the expiration of his term is to have two suits of clothing one of which is to be new.

And for the true Performance hereof both the said parties bind themselves firmly unto each other by these Presents. In Witness Whereof they have hereunto, interchangeably put their Hands and Seals. Dated the third Day of August Anno Domini 1780

Signed Charles McGrady
Sealed and delivered in the Presence of us
Philadelphia. Bound before ..................Howell one of the Justices for the City & County

Later, returning to Pittsburgh on a business trip, Captain O’Hara acquired a body-servant, a young indentured Negro, Charles: The contract: 119

Know all men by these presents that we, Thomas Parker and Lydia Parker
affection also arose in the garrison, in which Captain Gibson took a prominent part. The trouble assumed such proportions that the citizens sent a petition ‘to His Excellency, the President and Supreme Executive Council of the state of Pennsylvania.’”

Dictionary of American Biography, III (Scribners, New York, 1929), 63: ... Brodhead made a treaty of alliance with the Delawares, which temporarily kept the frontier from invasion. Then they finally went on the warpath, and Brodhead in 1781 raided their territory. “This expedition was thought to have been undertaken to avoid cooperation with General George Rogers Clark, who was planning an expedition against Detroit.” Brodhead also had a serious dispute with Colonel John Gibson, and a number of army officers and inhabitants of Pittsburgh asked for his removal. In a court-martial, Brodhead was acquitted, but George Washington felt obligated to remove him ... “He had military ability but was a martinet in discipline; he was inordinately ambitious and jealous of other officers; and did not forget to further his own private interests even while commandant.”

118 DA3, Copy of Deed which, at the time Margaret Scully collected her material, was in the possession of the Hon. Harmar E. H. Brereton, Drummond Point, Lake George, N. Y.

119 DA3.
in the County of Allegheny and the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania for and in consideration of the sum of Twenty pounds lawful money of the said Commonwealth, to us in hand paid by James O'Hara of the county aforesaid, merchant, the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged, have granted bargained and sold and by these Presents grant bargain and sell to the said James O'Hara a certain Negro Boy named Charles born the 29th day of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy seven and recorded in the Office of the Clerk of the [illegible] of the said county the twenty-fourth day of March in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy nine, and to have and to hold the said Negro Boy to the said James O'Hara as a slave agreeable to the laws of the said Commonwealth, until he attain the age of twenty eight years.

Given under our hand and seals at Pittsburgh the twelfth day of March in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one.

(Signed)
Thom. Parker
Lydia Parker

Signed and sealed in presence of
James Brison
Robert Galbraith
12th March, 1791

The second Charles also stayed on with James O'Hara after his indenture had expired.

1780—The firm of Smith and Douglass with which O'Hara had identified himself in 1774 was now doing business under the name of Campbell and O'Hara. Robert Campbell was the active partner during O'Hara's long absence in the military service.120

In January 1780, James O'Hara was appointed commissary of the large government hospital at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and was stationed here for one year.121

For men in open encampments, the severe winter at Carlisle and Valley Forge was almost unbearable. Supplies were scarce, transportation was almost non-existent. Derangement of currency left Congress almost without power to assist the Commissary Department. Soldiers had money neither for themselves nor for their families at home.122

1781—On January 1, O'Hara became Assistant Quartermaster in the Army of the United States, a high honor and heavy responsibility for a man of twenty-nine.123 He was ordered immediately to the Carolinas to serve on the staff of General Nathaniel Greene during the entire campaign in the Carolinas. Ably assisted by Colonel Robert Elliott, O'Hara provided for the war-weary and previously ill-fed troops, renting warehouses in Philadelphia and Baltimore for the storing of provisions, clothes, and equipment, and acted as paymaster.

120 AA Box No. 9, Denny-O'Hara papers.
121 DA2.
122 DA2.
123 DA3.
He found it difficult to secure provisions under war conditions, with the country one day in the hands of the Americans, the next, British.

In his Journal, he described being present when General Daniel Morgan defeated General Tarleton at Cowpens in January 1781; the repulse at Guilford Courthouse on March 15; the terrible losses of the 2nd Pennsylvania Regiment under General Anthony Wayne in the defense of General Greene at Camden; the decisive engagement of Eutaw Springs in September, and the final victory at Yorktown on October 19, 1781.

1783—Even after the Treaty of Paris was signed in June 1783, James O'Hara remained for a time in active service on the staff of General Anthony Wayne to supply the sick and wounded and prisoners of war. But after the last British prisoners of war had sailed for home, and the last Colonials had been mustered out, O'Hara accompanied General Wayne to Philadelphia in July 1783. Here, after eight years of military service, 1776-1783, O'Hara was mustered out.

"The Other O'Hara"

Before leaving O'Hara's military career, however, one must mention "the other O'Hara," 124 a brilliant young officer on Cornwallis's staff and the natural son of Viscount James Tyrawley, Commander of the Coldstream Guards. Viscount Tyrawley was the same Lord James for whom American James O'Hara was probably named, and from whom he received a legacy through Lady Mary, upon coming of age in 1773.

In May 1778, Colonel Charles O'Hara, with a Colonel Stevens and a Captain Kirkpatrick, were commissioners in charge of the exchange of prisoners of war, meeting with American representatives Elias Boudinot and others in a neutral zone near present Germantown.

Charles O'Hara had been a lieutenant and captain in the Coldstream Guards in 1756, a lieutenant-colonel in 1762, and was a colonel in the 2nd Foot Guards, in August 1777, in command of whom he had come to America in 1780. Dangerously wounded at Guilford Courthouse, he was highly commended by Cornwallis, thanked by Clinton, and arrived for duty at Yorktown in 1781. Charles O'Hara's final American military action was at Yorktown, and when Lord Cornwallis surrendered his force, it was Charles O'Hara who substi-

124 DA2, a manila envelope, marked "Charles O'Hara.” Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh, an exact reprint of six rare pamphlets relating to the controversy between Cornwallis and Clinton regulating the conduct of the Virginia campaign in 1791. (Margaret Scully's notation)
tuted for him at the formal ceremony. Ebenezer Denny stated in his *Military Journal*, page 40: "Lord Cornwallis excused himself from marching out with the troops; they were conducted by General O'Hara."

After the American Revolution, Charles O'Hara was wounded and taken prisoner at Toulon in November 1785. Ultimately he became a brigadier-general and then a general. After acting as governor for several colonies, he became lieutenant-governor of Gibraltar from 1787 to 1790, and again from 1792 to 1795, when he was made governor. He held that office until his death on February 21, 1802.

What an episode for Margaret Scully's historical novel! An O'Hara in each army, and both present at Yorktown, plus Ebenezer Denny, whose son Harmar would marry James O'Hara's daughter Elizabeth.

Also perfect material for her novel was the story of an affront offered to Ebenezer Denny by Baron Steuben. Denny, in advance in the storming of the last British fortification at Yorktown, was appointed to plant the first American flag upon the British parapet. In his *Military Journal*, he passed it over with the laconic notation that "on entering the fort, Baron Steuben, who accompanied us, took the standard from me and planted it himself."

But the account written years later in Pittsburgh by Denny's son William reviewed the incident as explosive.

He wrote: "The young officer mounted the parapets, in presence of three armies, and was in the act of planting the flag-staff, when Baron Steuben rode out of the lines, dismounted, took the flag, and planted it himself. The disappointed and mortified subaltern had nothing to do but submit. But not his colonel, Richard Butler, later General Butler. He, that night, sent Baron Steuben a message, as everyone expected, and it took all the influence of Rochambeau and Washington to prevent a hostile meeting."

As mentioned previously, James O'Hara was mustered out in Philadelphia, and it was here that his happy marriage to Mary Carson took place. Their life in Pittsburgh will appear in a special section, separate from his post-war services as quartermaster-general in cam-

125 *Military Journal, Ebenezer Denny* (Memoirs section) (J. B. Lippincott and Co., for Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1859), 5: "When a boy, Ebenezer Denny delivered dispatches at Fort Pitt. One who saw him at Turtle Creek described him as 'a slender, fair, blue-eyed, red-haired boy.'"

126 DAI, Denny Folder, Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, October 23, 1931, feature story on "Ebenezer Denny, First Mayor of Pittsburgh."

paigns against the Indians in the Northwest, and from his many business enterprises.

**Trouble in the Northwest Territory**

A year after the signing of the Treaty of Peace with England, British officers from their posts in the north and west were still urging the Indians to resist the Americans. It was a hopeless situation. While the Federal authorities tried to come to terms with a few tribes, many others stepped up their attacks. At the time, General Josiah Harmar commanded Federal troops stationed north of the Ohio River.

State Commissioner Arthur Lee and General Richard Butler urged Robert Morris, Superintendent of Finance, to name James O'Hara as contractor for provisions for the Western Army, stating that “the articles which we have noted necessary should be purchased by Mr. O'Hara in whom we can confide.”

Francis Johnston and Samuel Atlee wrote to O'Hara, urging him to be responsible for their supplies. O'Hara signed the government contract. Provisioning an army in the wilderness required courage, energy, and ingenuity. Bad weather could ruin the best of plans.

O'Hara's troubles increased as time went on. Important subcontractors were unreliable and dishonest, every man for himself. Business methods were often crude and a bit unscrupulous.

But despite men and weather, O'Hara managed to keep the Army in provisions and a supply of Indian goods. Sometimes he served as paymaster. He also had the contract for supplying the “table and support of the Commissioners” during the negotiation of several Indian treaties.

As money for fulfilling contracts was frequently slow in coming from the Treasury Board, O'Hara sometimes had to issue supplies for six months without payment. Fortunate it was for the cause, Margaret Scully commented, that the Army Contractor happened to have personal resources of his own, and did not hesitate to use them.

Sometimes commissioners were impatient when O'Hara failed to deliver something. Once, in the dead of winter, 1784, O'Hara was delivering supplies for an Indian parley from Fort Pitt to Fort McIntosh (Beaver, Pennsylvania). Ebenezer Denny, who accompanied him, related in his *Journal* that the large boat, loaded with flour, rum, soap, candles, etc., for the troops was driven on to a fish dam by the ice, and forced to remain there until the craft's broadside was

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128 DA3, O'Hara Miscellany for Book II.
beaten in. Since there was no prospect of relief, and two men were almost frozen to death, O'Hara ordered cast overboard 12,000 wt. of flour, 500 wt. of bread and biscuit, and a considerable supply of vegetables. The crew was not able to get ashore until the next day.

Commissioner Arthur Lee became very angry about the incident. But O'Hara without delay wrote to Adjutant General Harmar, who at once certified that the "above statement of facts relating to the loss of the contractor's boat and cargo is just and true, agreeable to the best information that can be obtained." 129

During these years of O'Hara's services as army contractor, Indian attacks grew bolder. By the summer of 1790 the national government decided to send an expedition into the Western country. The army, mainly under Adjutant General Harmar, was to march from Fort Washington (Cincinnati) to the Scioto River. The army destroyed several towns, then met with defeat, and returned to Fort Washington. Now the Indians became a threat to Pittsburgh. 130

Next to try an expedition was General Arthur St. Clair's small and unsupported force. On November 4, 1791, St. Clair was even more disastrously defeated than Harmar, and St. Clair became everybody's whipping boy. He never outlived the tragedy. 131

Allegheny County sent petitions for help to Governor Thomas Mifflin, who then forwarded them to General Washington. On December 16, 1791, General Knox wrote to Major Isaac Craig in Pittsburgh: "I request you immediately to procure materials for a block house and picketed fort to be erected in such a part of Pittsburgh as shall be the best position to cover the town as well as the public stores which shall be forwarded from time to time." 132

Fort Fayette was built between 8th and 10th streets beyond Penn Avenue . . . . It actually consisted of a stockade, enclosing about an acre or so with four bastions containing blockhouses, a brick arsenal and a barracks of thirty rooms, manned by a Light Infantry Company of the 4th Battalion of the Allegheny County Militia, with James O'Hara as Captain, John Finley, Lieutenant, and Oliver Ormsby, Ensign. 133

129 Darlington, 211. The Denny story of loss of supplies for Ft. McIntosh is also found in a letter to Adjutant General Josiah Harmar from General O'Hara from Fort McIntosh, February 15, 1785, asking Harmar to furnish a certificate, 210.
130 DA3, and in History of Pittsburgh, Neville Craig (Pittsburgh, J. R. Weldin Company, 1917), 194-5.
131 DA3, O'Hara Miscellany for Book II, blue folder.
132 Craig, 198.
133 Killikelly, 59: "... it is said the Penns desired Fort Fayette to be located
Major Craig described in a letter the arrival of the new commander, General Anthony Wayne, on June 15, 1792: "This morning a detachment of troops and artificers, with necessary tools for building, set off for winter ground below Logstown on the Ohio; in a few days the whole army will follow." \(^{134}\)

They followed, were drilled and disciplined by General Wayne before they marched against the Indians.

On April 19, 1792, O'Hara once more became part of the military, with his appointment by General Washington as Quartermaster General of the Army of the United States.\(^{135}\) The duties included "provisioning and clothing the army then in the field, and supplying the forts . . . ." \(^{116}\)

Margaret Scully's collected transcriptions of portions of the Wayne-O'Hara correspondence\(^{137}\) is one of her most interesting pieces of research. General O'Hara's letters are always written in a graphic, simple style.

General O'Hara, in a letter from Pittsburgh, December 8, 1792,\(^{138}\) wrote to General Wayne about friendly Indians being given extra-special treatment on their way to Philadelphia: "... to prepare dinner for our Brothers, they are very comfortably fixed at McMaster's tavern, and shall set out on Monday or Tuesday next for beyond the town limits, believing the value of their property would be enhanced by the absence of a military post at the point; particularly, if they could advertise in the eastern papers that there was so little danger from the Indians that there was no longer a garrison in Pittsburgh."

\(^{134}\) Craig, 202.

\(^{135}\) DA\(^3\), O'Hara Biography; also a letter to Margaret Scully from Major General Edward F. Witsell, Acting the Adjutant General, dated 7 August 1945, in DA\(^5\): "The records show that James O'Hara was appointed Quartermaster general 19 April 1792. His name appears as signature to a report of Quartermaster Stores delivered and returned by the Mounted Volunteers under the command of Major General Charles Scott during the campaign of 1794, which report is dated Greenville, 27 January 1795. No record has been found of the date of his resignation." However, Heitman's \textit{Historical Register}, an unofficial publication entitled to credit shows the following: "O'Hara, James (Pa) Brigadier General Pennsylvania Militia 1781-1782; Quartermaster General U. S. Army, 19th April 1792, resigned 1 May 1796. (Died 21st December 1819)."

\(^{136}\) These two advertisements appeared in the Pittsburgh \textit{Gazette} from James O'Hara, Quartermaster General: (1) dated June 10, 1792, issue, "Blacksmiths, Carpenters and Wheelwrights, willing to serve as artificers, etc. in the Army of the United States for two years, will meet with encouragement by applying to the subscriber." (2) dated January 19, 1793, "... a quantity of Oats, for which the highest prices will be given in specie . . . ."

\(^{137}\) DA\(^2\), transcribed letters from the O'Hara-Wayne Correspondence are in manila envelope entitled "O'Hara Biography Notebooks."

\(^{138}\) XXIII, 74, to General Wayne.
Philadelphia agreeable to your orders. All are on Horseback and well equipped. I have employed Mr. Salander a French Gentleman that lived with Colonel Neville to conduct them. His appointment will give you pleasure as the Interpreters are French and speak very bad English. Colonel Nevill escorts them to Greensburgh . . . ."

In a letter from Pittsburgh on December 10, 1792, General O'Hara gave instructions to the French interpreter, C. W. Salander, concerning these Indians “on their way from the Wabash to Philadelphia on public service”; Salander was “to proceed the Indians daily on the March, and prepare for them every necessary support that the different Stages on the Road can furnish.” He was to be “very particular in having sufficient, good, and wholesome provisions prepared for them, often as they may require, and by all means, cause their horses to be properly attended with twelve Quarts of oats each, and all the hay they can use every twenty-four hours.” The interpreters were warned that if they continued very extravagant in entertaining with wine, the charges would not be admitted on Salander’s accounts.

General O'Hara complained about interpreters currently in town, in a letter to Major General Wayne from Pittsburgh, December 12, 1792: “The Chiefs behave extremely well, but the Interpreters are the greatest Ruffians I ever knew. These vagabonds have kept up a constant frolick since they arrived at McMasters, and I am very sorry to find that Captain Pryor conceives himself bound to indulge them in all their extravagances.”

General O'Hara also had to provide for the Major General's personal needs. This extract from a letter from Pittsburgh, January 29, 1793, is amusing: “Conrad waits you with three kegs Madeira (one not full). I am certain it will be safe with him. Enquiry shall be made respecting the waste of the last . . . .”

On October 17, 1793, General O'Hara informed General Wayne that the supplies for daily issues and deposits required for Forts Washington, Hamilton, and St. Clair were already at these Posts. And “To furnish daily issues of 3000 rations for 60 days and 270,000 in advance on the 1st of December at the Miami Villages will require the hiring of 234 men in addition to 300 horses of the Contractor’s now on hand.”

There was a constant flow of supplies from Pittsburgh to the

139 XXIII, 95, to C. W. Salander, a French Interpreter.
140 DA2, XXIII, to General Wayne.
141 XXIV, 110, to General Wayne.
142 DA2, XXX, to General Wayne.
Legion and to the forts in the Northwest Territory, with Isaac Craig as General O'Hara's efficient assistant in Pittsburgh.

General O'Hara had a bifocal view of his work, both for minute detail and for the over-all picture. On November 11, 1793, he wrote to General Wayne, submitting the "following mode for cantooning and subsisting the Cavalry of the Legion during the ensuing Winter or until further orders." It was to be "conveniently H utted and covered in on some eligible spot of Woodland within five or six miles of Lexington, being the most plentiful Settlement in the State of Kentucke." In this letter, O'Hara planned ahead for spring forage, for materials and tools for the repairing and "re-improving the furniture and equipment of the House"; since no mention was made "of Kentucke in the present contract for supplying Troops with Provisions, the Dragoons must be furnished with certainty and on reasonable terms by the same company or by special contract . . . ."

General O'Hara travelled from fort to fort, months on end away from Pittsburgh. From Fort Washington (Cincinnati) on November 26, 1793, he wrote to General Wayne that he had seen "the detachment under General Wilkinson take their line of March, and would follow the Dragoons to George's Town, to have them cantooned and supplied; and from thence Intend going directly to Pittsburgh by way of Tyger's [Tygart's] Valley." He enclosed a schedule of articles sent for General Wayne's use, and of the Indian goods delivered to Lieutenant Clarke for the Chicakawas; stated that clothing for Forts Knox and Steuben had been ordered and that Mr. Clarke was preparing to descend the river; that Nathaniel Shaw had been employed as Commissary of Forage with the Cavalry, and "the contracts for the provisions would be found on his arrival at Lexington."

General O'Hara never seemed rushed. In this letter to General Wayne from Fort Washington, July 1, 1794, he stated that the "magazines of forage at this place were very full, upward of thirteen thousand Bushels on hand and daily increasing from above, having a remarkably fine freshet in the Ohio which continued rising fifteen days." The navigation of the Miami is also very favorable, "by which

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143 DA2, XXX, to General Wayne.
144 Canton, verb. To quarter soldiers. Cantonment, noun, also cantoonment (especially British), 1756. The place of lodging assigned to a section of a force when cantoned out; also a place or places of more permanent encampment for troops, e.g., while in winter quarters. Oxford Universal Dictionary, Third Edition.
145 XXXI, 24, to General Wayne.
146 XXXVI, 54, to General Wayne.
with the assistance of the hired teams the whole will be at Fort Hamilton in a short time."

General Wayne's victory which came on August 20, 1794, over the combined forces of Indians, led to the Treaty of Greenville, by which Indian title to the eastern portion of the state of Ohio was ceded to the United States. Western Pennsylvania was safe.

WILLIAM MORROW'S LETTER

Margaret Scully's trunk contained a touching and interesting postscript to the efforts of Wayne's Legion, a letter to the "Honorable Harmar Denny Esquire, Representative in Congress, Washington City," from a Legion veteran, William Morrow, 147 "Allegeny Borough 27 Feby 1834":

My Sincere friend

It give me, sincere pleasure to see this day in the Gazette, your profound and Highly Honorable Address, to the House of Representatives on the Bill to extend the petition, to the Indian Warriors, It will become me to give you a narative of my early Life in 1790, I was a soldier for Rangers on the Ohio River, under Capt Saml Brady; we ran from Fort Stewbennivill, to the Mouth of Muskingden Weekly that Summer; Alas to reflect on the number of Boats Taken, and dead Boddys found, and Buryed from old to Infancy, give me pain to this day

In 1791, I was much inclined to go with Capt Sparks in the Levies, however being a minor, my Father forbid and I only served ninety days as a Ranger on the Ohio this was not so desperate a Summer General St Clears arival on the frontier, gave them some Check—

But Alas Alas his defeat, gave them a plunder two large to mention, and it gave Governor Simco with all his emisaries about Sanduskey new figour One thousand stand of Arms, a Train of Artillery and Immensity of Ammunition, with Money and every munition of War In this Situation I found the frontier of my native Country the Spring of 1792,—the 2nd March his Excellency Major General Anty Wayne was Apointed to the Command of [Legion]. Many Doubted his Rashness. But, It became so necessary, to find a man of full, energy and Experience to meet such a foe, I enlisted with Capt Sparks and was Transferred to Capt John Cook 4th Sub Legion We entered the Wilderness Built the Cantonement of LegionVille, Wintered there, Descended the Ohio May 1793, Landed in Little Miami—

Fell down to Hobsens Choice proceeded to Open a Road to Fort Hamilton, to Fort St Clear and to Fort Jefferson—In that Neighbourhood we Built the Cantonement of Green Ville and Well Fortified the place In the spring 1794 every exertion was used to guard the frontere

Spies and Rangers on daily duty, from the Wabash to Scioto—Untill July 1794 when the Campaign opened. Roads, Breastworks, and Forts was the Order of the day, Until the Decisive Stroke on the Memorable 20th of August 1794, that Victory under Diesive [sic] Stroke gave peace—

It would be wise to remark in 1793 But one Shingled House in Cincinnatti, and the Territory a howling wilderness, Now, in the third State in the Union—Lands sold, and Money paid to two hundred Million, But not one Cent or One inch of land to the war worn Veteran who was the Pionier, I am now 62 years old, I have faithfully fought through two Wars in every rank, from a private

147 DA1, Denny Folder. Spelling and punctuation have been unchanged.
Soldier to a Captain in the Regular Army, 22nd Regt. US Infantry—

It may be some information to you, to inform you of what materiels the Legion was made of or from States they came—The First SubLegion was from the Eastern States, Commanded by Coin. Hamtramck. The Second SubLegion mostly from Jersey and East of the Delaware Commanded by Coin Strong—

The Third SubLegion was principally from Maryland and Virginia, commanded by Coin Gaber (Rowdeys Indeed)—The Fourth SubLegion were principally Pennsylvanians—and in the first & second year of the War Commanded by Coin Clark, after his Resignation, Commanded by Coin Thos Butler—

It would be idle, to enumerate all or any of the separate Occurrences of this Campaign; It is fully Sufficient to Say when we found the enemy below Roush DeBo [Roche de Bout, at the foot of the Rapids of the Miami of the Lake], in One Hour and Forty five Minutes—Our return was glorious to Green Ville with Hostages, plenty, to secure a peace Outward and Inwardly—And the Treaty of 1795 was Assuredly the Close of the Revolutionary War.

That Treaty being on Record, you can find It and Reference will Show, the abundance means we acquired to Indemnify Government, and remunerate the Veterans in Land or Money— I well Remember the General Order of his Excellency Genl Wayne, 20th August 1795 a few days before he left us for the Seat of General Government, with his Treaty—In these Words—By his Excellency Anthony Wayne Esqr Major General & Commander in Chief of the Legion of the U.S. In the name of my Government and Confident Assurances, from the Head of Department, I do promise a Donation of Land, within this Territory to every Valiant Soldier of the Legion Obtaining an honorable Discharge—His early death, General Washingtons retirement might in a great measure account for failure— I well remember Coin Thos Lewis of Virginia moved the Question in Congress, but shortly before his death, and there it remains— It may only be necessary to observe, on my return from Detroite in 1796, I found the Roads Crowded from every Quarter to the West, I frequently observed, I hope a little will be left for me where I bled freely, although with five Scars, not a bone broken—Sufficient to give pention Clame,148 unless, old age, length of Service or Gratitude might inve— It is true we almost gone. I know of but few, not more than twenty

In goodness to me please to ask Judge Wilkins if he received my Communication, and be so good as write me— I have large appologies for the Judge—It would appear he has been overhead in business—It would be well if your wisdom as a body would provide an adhesive plaster to Close up the wound or Amputate the Member.

I absolutely am Sick and tired of Newspaper abuse— It is going two far, even to Illwill among neighbors—PLAY Indian once, Bury the Hatchet.

In the meantime except my appology for so long a letter and believe me with every mark of esteem your [Humble] Servt,—

Wm. Morrow

(To be continued)

148 Inquiries made to the National Archives, Washington, D. C., have produced no further information on William Morrow.