A NOTE ON FORT PITT AND THE REVOLUTION ON THE WESTERN FRONTIER
Edward G. Williams

Publication in the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* of the role fulfilled by Fort Pitt and its defenders during the American Revolution told a story of dramatic action along a wide frontier that extended from Upper New York, through Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Virginia to the borders of Kentucky, North Carolina, and Tennessee. This description involved Fort Pitt's people in a conspiracy hatched in Vermont and encompassing plots at Detroit and Upper Sandusky, in the Ohio country, included as a key link in the British Headquarters Command's secret plans, and a vital part in General Washington's counterespionage operatives.¹

A detail of the cast of characters who moved across the stage of this broad arena would have introduced a distracting element in such a drama of movement. As an addendum, however, a presentation of characters, both major and minor, may prove interesting and informative.

Before concerning ourselves with personalities, however, attention must first be given to mention of an omission of great importance to our understanding of the course followed by the Brodhead Road. After it had bypassed the four-lane highway, Route 51, and had met the route again below the Hartenbach place and the Penn State University campus,² the Brodhead Road there crossed the narrow valley, bearing left, to climb the opposite hill to the present Sylvan Crest residential plan. (It is necessary to travel up the main highway .2 mile in order to turn back to the hill road, since it is not immediately accessible to the highway.) Meeting Shirley Road, which circles around Sylvan Crest, one is able to look down a deep, descending hollow to the river below. Formerly, the old road crossed the top of the ridge at a much lower elevation than presently, having traversed a

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A noted scholar on the colonial and Revolutionary period in Western Pennsylvania, Mr. Williams published a series of articles in the magazine last year on Fort Pitt and the Revolution.—Editor

² *Ibid.*, 391. Here the road description ended. The omission was unintentional, and the description that follows is from observation and from long familiarity with the place. Some changes appear to have been made in the filling of the notch at the top of the ridge within the last thirty or forty years.
deep notch in the ridge which has been filled to a twenty-five-foot depth to allow Wagner Road to pass along the ridge. Wagner Road had been an extension of Stone Quarry Road, which in turn led to the old Jacob Wagner stone quarry in the ascending ravine. The old Stone Quarry Road has since been terminated by the superhighway and its extension renamed. The track of the old road still can be retraced through the extent of the narrow valley running down the last quarter mile to the river. That meticulously accurate veteran deputy surveyor, Alexander McClean, on his draft of his survey of the Reserve Tract at Fort McIntosh, noted that the Ohio River was “from 80 to 100 perches [rods] wide” at that point and time. Of course, the river was variable in depth as well as in width, being fordable in dry seasons and requiring ferry service in spring and fall. Today, the Montgomery Dam in the Ohio maintains a level of water that fills its banks, whereas the water’s surface was at least ten to fifteen feet lower in that day. A wicket opened in the river side of the fort’s curtain wall and stockade pickets protected steps cut into the bank descending to the water. Fort McIntosh indeed overlooked and guarded the river crossing of the Brodhead Road with artillery pieces (presumably six-pounders) mounted in each of the two river bastions. The roadbed from the crest of the ridge, near the Sylvan Crest neighborhood, to the river’s edge may now be traced down the wooded slope by the crown and side ditches washed by two centuries’ erosion. This well-preserved trace is exactly like the remaining tracks of the Forbes Road and of the Braddock Road over the mountains to the east.

Interesting, also, are the artifact finds numbering many hundreds, the remains of the fire-reddened hearthstones of the soldiers’ barrack rooms and mess halls, and the outlines of the log walls of the buildings, all of which are being laboriously unearthed and evaluated by dedicated archeological workers. Photos of the archeological work in progress are herewith reproduced through the courtesy of Frank F. Carver, who has been the inspiration and motivating force behind this project. The archeological work has been coordinated and guided

3 Walton, Center, 57.
4 Draft of Survey indorsed: 112 Reserved Tract at Fort Mackintosh 3265 a & all [allowance]
Description:
Surveyes on the Ohio River on both sides of the Mouth of Great Beaver and Surveyed in the Month of May 1785. Pursuant to Instructions from John Lukens Esqr
Surveyor General
{signed} Alexander McClean DS.
Bird's-eye views on this and the next page of archaeological excavation work in progress at Fort McIntosh site (Beaver, Pennsylvania) show grid squares carefully staked and lined. Every spadeful of earth and sand is thoroughly sifted. Thousands of finds have been charted and identified (see text, pages 266-67).

This view shows (at left) the footer stones that supported the longest (south or river) wall of the fort. Directly right of the footer were found fire-reddened hearthstones of double fireplaces of the log barracks.
This picture shows (left center) the hearthstones of a double fireplace serving a divided cabin; (at right of tree) the southwest bastion footer.
by the Anthropology and Archeology Division of Carnegie Museum of Natural History, through the supervision of Dr. Donald Dragoo and field archeologist Gerald Lang. The Fort McIntosh site, as stated in our former publication of "A Revolutionary Journal and Orderly Book of General Lachlan McIntosh's Expedition, 1778," in the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, lies at the foot of Market Street, in Beaver, Pennsylvania, on the high bank of the Ohio.

It is possible that the stirring events at Fort Pitt, heretofore narrated, would seem more meaningful if we understood something of the men who came to Fort Pitt to participate in the campaigns of McIntosh and Brodhead. One of these was Major Richard Taylor, son of Zachary Taylor of "Meadow Farm" in Orange County, Virginia. Richard studied and graduated at William and Mary College, and, in 1769, he was in Pittsburgh where he and his brother, Hancock, embarked on a voyage down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers to the mouth of the Yazoo (later Vicksburg). From this point, which was as far as they could have gone without being taken by the Spanish authorities, they trekked overland to Georgia and to Virginia. Mann Butler has stated that this was the first navigation of the rivers that far south by any English adventurers. At the outset of the Revolution, Richard Taylor was commissioned a first lieutenant in the First Virginia Regiment on September 6, 1775, captain March 5, 1776, and major in the Thirteenth Virginia Regiment on February 4, 1778. On September 14, 1778, he was transferred to Colonel John Gibson's Ninth Virginia Regiment with McIntosh's command at Fort Pitt. Because of his frontier and river experience, Taylor was given command of a detachment of a perilous expedition to go by boats and canoes down the Ohio and up the Muskingum River to attempt to supply Fort Laurens on the Tuscarawas. This failed because the Muskingum was clogged by fallen trees.

After the Revolution, Taylor married and, in 1785, removed to

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5 Photographs showing the actual progress of archeological work upon the site of Fort McIntosh are shown herewith, demonstrating scientifically correct archeological methods, the outlines of the foundations of structures, hearthstones of fireplaces in the barracks and kitchens, and the outlines of the outer walls and bastions. Photos courtesy of Frank F. Carver; assisting in the work have been Robert Bonnage, Robert Lackner, and many members of the Beaver Valley Archeological Society.


8 Heitman, *Historical Register of the Revolution*, 534.

9 Kellogg, *Frontier Advance*, 221, 303.
a plantation on the Muddy Fork of Beargrass Creek in Jefferson County, Kentucky. He later became a magistrate and judge, collector of the port of Louisville under appointment by Washington, a member of the state legislature, and delegate to the Constitutional Convention. He was the father of a son, born in Virginia the year before his move to Kentucky, who became General Zachary Taylor, hero of the Mexican War and twelfth president of the United States.10

As unwittingly as the other, at Fort Pitt in 1778, was the progenitor of another president of the United States, who shared the hardships of the frontier campaign. This was Captain Abraham Lincoln of the Rockingham, Virginia, militia. In the orderly book kept by the Scotsman, Adjutant Robert McCready, formerly published in the Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine,11 the name is spelled Linkhorn, which has caused concern to a few historical writers. The other orderly book, published by the Wisconsin Historical Society,12 carries the name Lincoln. W. E. Barton, the exhaustive genealogical researcher of the Lincoln family, has found many examples of the spelling Linkhorn as having been used by untutored clerks.13 An example of the same sort is found by this writer in the Papers of Captain Rufus Lincoln of Wareham, Mass., where the father of the captain signed his will and each of several codicils Nathaniel Linkon, and another of the family Thomas Linkon.14 The most professional research and genealogical report upon the Lincoln family was performed by John H. Harrison, Settlers by the Long Grey Trail, in which he has compiled tables of the family, with dates, tracing its members from England to, successively, Salem and Hingham, Massachusetts, Monmouth County, New Jersey, Berks County, Pennsylvania, to near Uniontown (then Westmoreland, now Fayette County), and to Rockingham County, Virginia.

A third-generation scion of the Lincolns in America, Mordecai, moved from New Jersey to Berks County, Pennsylvania, about 1730. John, the eldest son, born in New Jersey, moved his family to Virginia, tarrying briefly near Uniontown, (now) Fayette County, Pennsylvania. There he bought 600 acres of land, in 1768, on Linville

10 DAB, 9 (part 2) : 349.
12 Kellogg, Frontier Advance, 448.
Creek near Harrisonburg, Rockingham County (until 1778 Augusta County), Virginia. In 1773, John deeded 210 acres to his son, Abraham. This was the Captain Abraham Lincoln who led a company of Rockingham militia to join General McIntosh in the late summer of 1778. A son, Thomas, was born that year, and about 1780 or 1781, having sold his land for £5,000 by deed dated February 12, 1780, Captain Lincoln purchased 1,200 acres by deed dated March 4, 1780, in Kentucky. There he was killed by Indians while working in his fields in 1785 or 1786. Abraham, the son of Thomas, born in 1809 and named for his Revolutionary War grandfather, moved to Indiana in 1816, and later to Illinois. He became a member of Congress from that state and was destined to be the sixteenth president of the United States.

A young officer in the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment, mentioned previously, attracted much attention on account of spectacular exploits which were of such a character that Brodhead mentioned him in two dispatches to Washington. This man was Captain Samuel Brady, one of the six sons of Captain John Brady, who was ambushed and killed by Indians in 1779 at Wolf Run, near Muncy Creek and Fort Muncy in present Lycoming County, Pennsylvania. John Brady had been a veteran of the Forbes and Bouquet campaigns, had commanded a company under General Sullivan in the Battle of Brandywine, where he and his son John, Jr., had both been wounded. Washington had given him a special assignment to recuperate and to aid the defense of the Pennsylvania frontiers. His loss was a severe blow to the frontiersmen of the West Branch Valley of the Susquehanna.

Captain Samuel Brady, serving with Brodhead's Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment under General McIntosh at Fort Pitt, Fort McIntosh, in Ohio, and in the march against the upper Allegheny Indian towns in 1779, was stunned by the news of his father's untimely death. Also his much-admired brother, James, had met a cruel death when he was scalped alive by savages. Thereafter, Samuel swore vengeance upon all Indians, and great were the numbers of them that fell before his good rifle. His skill in tracking Indians in the forests, his sanguinary encounters, and his miraculous escapes are legends. Brady's rescues

15 Barton, Paternity of Lincoln, 257; John H. Harrison, Settlers by the Long Grey Trail (Dayton, Va., 1935), 136, 283-84.
16 Ibid., 285-86.
17 Barton, Paternity of Lincoln, 257-59.
of frontier families and their children were many, particularly that of Mrs. James (Jenny) Stoops, related in the account of "Fort Pitt and the Revolution on the Western Frontier" printed in the October 1976 issue of this magazine.

In General Anthony Wayne's expedition of 1794, Brady was given command of the scouts and rangers who carried the attack to the Indian towns, keeping the enemy on the defensive during the army's advance. Not one raid or killing were the Indians able to make. Of course, there was an attack upon Wayne's baggage train before the Battle of Fallen Timbers, but Brady had kept the Indians well occupied by surprise attacks on their towns in western Ohio and eastern Indiana. It will be remembered that Wayne's Legion of the United States assembled at Fort Fayette, in Pittsburgh, and trained intensively at camp in Legionville, between present Economy (Ambridge) and Baden. The troops marched and ranged over all of the surrounding Ohio Valley with the scouts and rangers, under Brady, scouring the woods in advance.

In the latter part of his life, Samuel Brady lived in Virginia (now the West Virginia Panhandle) about two miles west of West Liberty with his two sons and his wife, Drucilla, daughter of another celebrated Revolutionary hero, Van Swearingen. Brady died, in 1795, at the age of only thirty-nine.

Van Swearingen (no other given name appears), known on the frontier as "Indian Van" and a son of John Swearingen, was born in 1742 in Berkeley County, Virginia (now West Virginia). He moved to the banks of the Monongahela in Westmoreland County (now Fayette County), opposite present California (formerly Greenfield), in 1774. He raised an independent company for the defense of the frontiers and was commissioned its captain on February 3, 1776. The unit was later incorporated in Colonel Aeneas Mackay's Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment, with Swearingen commissioned a captain in that regiment on August 6, 1776. That winter, the regiment marched to Washington's aid in New Jersey. Many men, including Colonel Mackay and Lieutenant Colonel George Wilson, died from exposure, and thereafter Colonel Daniel Brodhead assumed command.

In August 1777, 500 riflemen under Colonel Daniel Morgan

19 Linn, *Annals of Buffalo Valley*, 168, 225. This contains an account of the Brady family by General Hugh Brady, fifth son of Captain John Brady and brother of Captain Samuel Brady. This is a printing of the full account.
20 Ibid., 230.
21 Ibid., 230-31.
were sent from Washington's army to the northern army opposing General Burgoyne at Old Saratoga on the upper Hudson, and Captain Swearingen went with them. He was wounded at the Battle of Stillwater and was captured by Indians, but a British officer rescued him and took him before General Frazer to undergo interrogation. Swearingen steadfastly refused to give information, even when threatened with execution by hanging; the American declared, "You may kill me, if you wish," but he still refused information to the enemy. General Simon Frazer was himself soon after shot by an American rifleman. Swearingen recovered from his wound, was exchanged, and returned to his regiment at Fort Pitt under General McIntosh's command and participated in the Tuscarawas expedition. He resigned from the army in August 1779. In 1781, Swearingen was elected the first sheriff of the new Washington County, and four years later he moved to Cox's Fort, Wellsburg, Virginia (now West Virginia), where he died in 1793.

Special notice must also be taken of Colonel Richard Campbell, the officer to whom General McIntosh entrusted the command of Fort McIntosh, its completion, and the forwarding of supplies during his own absence upon the march of his army to the Tuscarawas and the building of Fort Laurens in the fall of 1778. Campbell was a fine officer, very efficient in executing orders. A native of Frederick County, Virginia, he was commissioned in the Eighth Virginia Regiment on February 19, 1776, promoted to major on August 10, 1777, and ultimately lieutenant colonel in the Thirteenth Virginia, thus serving under Colonel John Gibson. Campbell took command of Fort Laurens, relieving Major Vernon in June 1779, and was ordered to evacuate the fort in August. In 1781, Campbell went south to serve under General Nathanael Greene and fought at Guilford Courthouse, Hobkirk's Hill, and Ninety-Six. He was wounded at Camden and was killed while leading a heroic charge at Eutaw Springs on September 8, 1781. Another hero of the Revolution, Major William

26 Kellogg, *Frontier Advance*, 360-61; transcribed from Franklin Ellis, *History of Fayette County, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1882), 77. Heitman, *Historical Register of the Revolution* (p. 529) must be in error when he states that this man died at St. Clair's defeat, leading Kentucky militia, two years before his actual death; he must have referred to another officer.
Washington, was also there wounded and captured.\textsuperscript{29}

Major Frederick Vernon deserves attention because of his special patriotism. His father, sheriff of Chester County, Pennsylvania, and his brother were notorious and active loyalists, the brother joining the British army. Frederick served in Colonel Anthony Wayne's Fourth Pennsylvania Battalion as captain, commissioned January 5, 1776. His brother led a detachment of British troops to capture him. Vernon later was promoted major in the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment on June 7, 1777, served to the end of the war, and was breveted lieutenant colonel, September 30, 1783.\textsuperscript{30} According to Louise Kellogg in \textit{Frontier Advance}, Frederick Vernon engaged in the marine trade with the West Indies and died at sea about 1795.\textsuperscript{31} \textit{Pennsylvania Archives} record his death in 1807.\textsuperscript{32}

Another personality, Colonel William Crawford, represents one of the most tragic cases in American history. Born in Frederick County, Virginia (the part that later became Berkeley), he and his brother Valentine and their five Stephenson half brothers comprised the seven stalwart sons of the same mother, Honora Grimes Crawford Stephenson.\textsuperscript{33} Colonel John Stephenson, who commanded one of the Virginia regiments in McIntosh's army, was one of these. Franklin Ellis has stated that the young Washington stayed at the Stephenson house while surveying part of the Fairfax lands and taught William Crawford surveying, which he afterwards put to use in surveying frontier lands for George, Samuel, John Augustine, and Lund Washington.\textsuperscript{34} The first record of Crawford's military service is Washington's order issued at Winchester December 28, 1755: "Nathaniel Gist is appointed Lieutenant, and William Crawford Ensign, in a Company of Scouts Commanded by Christopher Gist." \textsuperscript{35} If, as is often stated, he took part in Braddock's campaign, he may have been an uncommissioned scout. He later bore a lieutenant's commission in Washington's Virginia regiment, dated June 1757,

\textsuperscript{29} Lossing, \textit{Field Book of the Revolution}, 2: 296; Lyman C. Draper, \textit{King's Mountain and its Heroes} (Cincinnati, 1881), 410, has a long note commemorating Richard Campbell's valued services to his country.

\textsuperscript{30} W. H. Siebert, \textit{The Loyalists of Pennsylvania} (Columbus, Ohio, 1905), 44, 57, 59, 80; Lorenzo Sabin, \textit{The American Loyalists}, 1st ed. (Boston, 1847), 607; Heitman, \textit{Historical Register of the Revolution}, 560, contains Vernon's service record.

\textsuperscript{31} Kellogg, \textit{Frontier Advance}, 139-40.

\textsuperscript{32} Pa. Archives, 5th ser., 2: 699.

\textsuperscript{33} Ellis, \textit{Fayette County}, 522 ff.

\textsuperscript{34} Fitzpatrick, \textit{Writings of Washington}, 1: 261.

\textsuperscript{35} S. K. Stevens, Donald Kent, Autumn Leonard, eds., \textit{The Papers of Colonel Henry Bouquet}, 19 vols. (Harrisburg, 1940-1943), 2: 143-44.
and engaged in the Forbes expedition of 1758 to capture Fort Duquesne.\textsuperscript{36}

In 1765, Crawford acquired and settled land at Stewart's Crossing of the Youghiogheny River (along Braddock's Road) at New Haven, opposite present Connellsville, and brought his family there the next year. He entered upon the surveying business for all the Washingtons and others, especially scouting and locating select lands on the Ohio and Kanawha rivers (now in West Virginia) for veterans of the French and Indian War. Washington stayed at Crawford's home in 1770 and accompanied him that same year on a trip down these rivers.\textsuperscript{37}

In the Pennsylvania-Virginia controversy for control of the lands in what is now Western Pennsylvania, Crawford was at first president judge of Westmoreland County but switched allegiance to the Virginia party. In Dunmore's War, he was a major in the Virginia forces and led a detachment which destroyed the Salt Lick Town and other Indian villages on the Scioto, which marked him ever after as a foe of the Indians.\textsuperscript{38} At the Revolutionary meeting held at Fort Pitt to draw up the May 16, 1775, resolutions, Crawford was a leader, and his name appears upon the resolves.

Commissioned lieutenant colonel of the Fifth Virginia Regiment on February 13, 1776, and colonel of the Seventh Virginia, August 14, 1776, he served through the Battle of Long Island, the retreat of Washington's army across New Jersey, and, after the battles of Trenton and Princeton, resigned Continental command on March 22, 1777. Crawford nevertheless was put in command of Virginia militia for light infantry duty in harassing the British in the Brandywine and Germantown campaigns in the fall of 1777. Continental Congress resolved to send him to Hand at Fort Pitt to command the Continental and Virginia forces there, and he arrived there by December 24.\textsuperscript{39} He took much of the winter to settle the estate of his deceased brother Valentine. Washington urgently recommended Crawford to command Virginia troops in General McIntosh's 1778

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\textsuperscript{38} \textit{Ibid.} (Apr. 1976): 133.

campaign from Fort McIntosh into Ohio, and the general appointed him to command a Virginia brigade.\textsuperscript{40} At the behest of General William Irvine, commanding Fort Pitt in 1782, Crawford undertook an expedition against the Indians at Upper Sandusky, which resulted in his defeat, wounding, and capture. He was terribly tortured and burned at the stake, along with his son-in-law, Major William Harrison, and others.\textsuperscript{41}

Having previously reviewed the lives and accomplishments of the former Revolutionary commandants at Fort Pitt, it remains to examine Colonel Daniel Brodhead in more detail. He was born in 1736. His birthplace has been variously given, but either Ulster County or Albany, New York, have the preference. When yet very young he was taken with his father’s family to (now) East Stroudsburg, in Bucks (present Monroe) County, Pennsylvania. In 1755, the Indians launched a violent attack upon the Brodhead home, which was successfully defended by the inhabitants of the neighborhood.\textsuperscript{42} About 1771, Daniel removed to Reading and, in 1773, was appointed a deputy surveyor general under John Lukens, surveyor general until 1789. In 1775, Brodhead was a delegate from Berks County to the provincial convention at Philadelphia that issued the call for a Continental Congress.

Early in 1776, he raised an independent company that operated on the lower Delaware to prevent British war vessels from sailing up to Philadelphia, then was ordered to Washington’s army at New York. As lieutenant colonel in the rifle regiment of Colonel Samuel Miles, Brodhead succeeded to the command after Miles was captured in the Battle of Long Island. He was transferred briefly to the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment, then on March 12, 1777 (antedated to rank from September 29, 1776),\textsuperscript{43} he succeeded Colonel Aeneas Mackay, of Pittsburgh, deceased, to the command of the Eighth Pennsylvania then at Valley Forge. His long march to north central Pennsylvania and to Fort Pitt in the summer of 1778 has been quite fully described and narrated.\textsuperscript{44} There he served as second in command to General McIntosh in the western department until April

\textsuperscript{40} Fitzpatrick, \textit{Writings of Washington}, 11: 440.
\textsuperscript{41} C. W. Butterfield, \textit{An Historical Account of the Expedition Against Sandusky Under Colonel William Crawford, 1782} (Cincinnati, 1873), 81-108.
\textsuperscript{44} Williams, “Fort Pitt and the Revolution,” \textit{WPHM} 59 (July 1976): 174-79.
1779, when he succeeded the general. He then conducted his own invasion and destruction of the Muncy and Seneca Indian towns of the upper Allegheny, in the fall of 1778. Experiencing trouble with his second in command, Colonel John Gibson — on the same score as he had had with McIntosh, and opposed by the populace of Pittsburgh — Brodhead was recalled by Washington. He was transferred to the First Pennsylvania on January 17, 1781, and brevetted brigadier general, September 30, 1783. He returned to his home in Pike County, served a term in the Pennsylvania legislature, and after the death of John Lukens, was appointed surveyor general, in which capacity he served eleven years. He married — his second marriage — the widow of Governor Mifflin and died at Milford, Pike County, on the Delaware, in 1809.

There are many other interesting men worthy of mention and well worth remembering, who marched with these armies into the wilderness during those stirring times, fraught with perils and violence, and who later contributed significantly to the growth of the burgeoning United States. Many went home to render civil service to their home states, counties, or local communities, many to swell the tide that flowed toward the heart of the continent — the westward movement of civilization. One such man was Captain Joseph L. Finley, who became a college president in Kentucky — the “dark and bloody ground” of only a decade before that already, by the beginning of the new century, was aspiring to learning and culture.

There was Alexander McClean, perhaps the outstanding surveyor in Pennsylvania, who was one of seven brothers, six of them surveyors, four of them, including Alexander, serving with Mason and Dixon in the running of that most celebrated line in America. He became a member of the Pennsylvania Assembly in 1776 and was a justice of the peace. As quartermaster in McIntosh’s campaign, McClean shared with the soldiers “the fatigues of the most difficult campaign . . . and was a witness to both their sufferings and fortitude.” He was appointed one of the surveyors of the temporary Virginia-Pennsylvania line, in 1781, and of the final one, in 1784. He was again in the assembly in 1783 and was appointed president judge of common pleas and orphans’ court in the new Fayette County. He was also prothonotary and recorder (of deeds and wills) from 1783 until 1834. This astonishing man held more offices than any other we have

47 Kellogg, Frontier Retreat, 109n.
found. After the opening of the land office, in 1784, McClean was appointed deputy surveyor general for all of Fayette, and large parts of Somerset, Westmoreland, Allegheny, Washington, and Greene counties. He was surveyor of the First District of the Depreciation Tract for Revolutionary veterans. His district lay next to the western boundary of the state, for which line — the Pennsylvania-Ohio (then Virginia) boundary — he served as one of the commissioners, with General Andrew Porter, David Rittenhouse of the University of Pennsylvania, and others. He found time to serve on the board of trustees of Dickinson College from 1783 to 1834, when his busy life ended. One wonders whether he could have been sure of which hat he was wearing at a particular time. He was a truly remarkable man and public servant.

And there were many that we have not space to mention, who suffered privations, extremes of hunger and exposure, upon these western expeditions, to whom a nation grateful for two centuries of progress and prosperity owes a debt of gratitude.

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