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March into Oblivion

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March into Oblivion

Abstract

The Whiskey Rebellion often is assigned, even by historians, to an obscurity which belies its significance. Its importance was major not only to the people most affected by its cause and those most intimately involved in the playing out of the events, but also to the young federal government, which had to demonstrate its authority yet not trample its own citizens. The situation held a very real potential for tearing apart the fragile nation. President George Washington felt strongly enough about it to involve himself personally in the beginnings of the military action. In the last few years of the century, rapid improvement in economics, safety, and foreign relations, surely spurred in part by the government's reactions to the insurrection, underscored the importance to the nation as a whole. [*excerpt*]

Keywords

Adams County Historical Society, ACHS, Adams County, Pennsylvania History, Whiskey Rebellion

MARCH INTO OBLIVION

By Larry C. Bolin

Preface

The year 2005 saw a vast reorganization of files at the Adams County Historical Society, which brought to light numerous documents and compilations which may not have been seen for years, or even for decades. Among them was a small (3½" by 6¼") booklet with a soft marbled cover in gray, white, black, and red, which consists of only ten pages (twenty sides), each separated from the next by a blotting page. A decision to transcribe its contents, thus making available a usable copy yet permitting the booklet itself to be protected from possibly damaging handling, brought it into the open.

A brief glance at the text in that pocket-sized pad prompted the thought that it might have historical value. The folder in which it was held led to the same thought—it was labeled, in a previous filing system, "190: Militia March Into Western Pennsylvania, 1794." Some serious investigation and, as well, more than merely a transcription of its substance seemed warranted. How long had that record lain hidden, by now almost, if not completely, unknown, its potential value underappreciated?

The minutes of the March 6, 1951, meeting of the Adams County Historical Society include, in a statement of recent acquisitions:

5. Mr. George Baker gave a package of old papers received from Paul Chronister of Hampton, who had asked that a member of our Society come to get the papers. Mr[.] Baker had listed the collection of papers, which included old recipes and medical remedies—and an old diary dated 1774 [sic], written by some one who might have been with the army that helped to quell the Whiskey Rebellion—

There was also a photograph of the Democratic Club of Hampton in 1888.

In accessioning the gift in 1952, Dr. Robert Fortenbaugh described "a diary, author unknown, Oct. 11, 1794, to Nov. 30, 1794." His added note at the time, "Was it to the Whiskey Rebellion?" shows his probable recognition of, and concern about, not only its possible value to local residents, but also its worth to people with a much broader interest. Apparently no one since has tried to learn more about the contents of that booklet or their author. Even Dr. Fortenbaugh himself made no mention of a second journal it contains. That additional diary, of another trip west, might aid in understanding the first and might even hint at the identity of the diarist.

Other brief writings, including names, extraneous to either journal also appear in the pocket tablet; they might help to date it correctly. Without doubt, though, the first diary directly relates to the Whiskey Rebellion. Both diaries, even if not the original record but rather rewritten into the booklet, were at least copied from original sources and show two treks to western Pennsylvania as recorded by the person who made them.

Jan 22nd 1800 Set to the
Westward three qrs after two
o'clock lodged at George Cochs
22nd paid six pence paid thro
Shipingsburgh at twelve o'clock
lodged in Fennettsburgh town
this day 20 Miles Cold black
clouds small snow showers
23rd paid sideling hill 2
o'clock paid this day five shill
ings and four pence lodged at
bloody run marcht 37 miles
24th Clear and pleasant paid
5/5 marcht to the top of allegany
31 Miles and 1/2 25th stormy cold
heavy showers of snow pass burn
crest one o'clock paid 6 shillings
cloudy excessive cold lodged

Pross & Son
At Widow Logwoods this day
Marcht 25 miles - Sunday 26th
Clear and pleasant Marcht 24
miles paid this day 5/5 - 27th Cloudy
Changed boots gave 2 a dollar paid
2/5 marcht 12 miles came to Simon
McGraws and lodged - 28th Clear vi-
sited friends went to James McGraw
Seniors - to Arch McGraw James Jun^r
to Joe Boyas Wm Boyas and lodged
at James Seniors - 29th Clear &
frothy came to Simons and - more
ad for York County marcht 16 mile
to Lovingers - 30th Clear and bright
we cold paid one shilling and six
pence 1/2 marcht 37 miles lodged
at Simons - 31st March 1
marcht 37 miles lodged

A portion of the original diary in the collection of the Adams County Historical Society.

Introduction

The Whiskey Rebellion often is assigned, even by historians, to an obscurity which belies its significance. Its importance was major not only to the people most affected by its cause and those most intimately involved in the playing out of the events, but also to the young federal government, which had to demonstrate its authority yet not trample its own citizens. The situation held a very real potential for tearing apart the fragile nation. President George Washington felt strongly enough about it to involve himself personally in the beginnings of the military action. In the last few years of the century, rapid improvement in economics, safety, and foreign relations, surely spurred in part by the government's reactions to the insurrection, underscored the importance to the nation as a whole.

People west of the Appalachians generally lived in relatively low circumstances, with a near inability to sustain, much less improve, their everyday lives. Theirs was a perilous situation: a scarcity of money and markets, the ever-present fear of Indian raids, the feeling that their own government essentially had abandoned them. When magnified by a hated excise the declining situation threatened their very existence and they rose almost as one in protest.

The government, functioning in and necessarily responsive to a larger theater, had to consider more than resentment of, vocal opposition to, and sometimes extreme refusal to obey the law. It had to try to prevent an escalation of violent behavior on a scale that could grow into organized armed conflict, a civil war. And it had to prevent any prevalent perception in the rest of the country and among the European powers that the government was weak and unwilling, or unable, to protect its own laws, people, and interests. Not responding to widespread violent resistance to the law could threaten the existence of the still young nation.

It is not the intention here to tell the story of the Whiskey Rebellion. A selected bibliography at the end of this work, however, will give interested readers several options. Included are well-documented books which cover the time, people, and events in great detail and which tell the story from various viewpoints, or from one; summarizations of the main events; portions of books that place the insurrection within other contexts; excerpts from writings in which the uprising is only incidental.

Nevertheless, it is considered prudent to place whatever pertinent message the booklet holds into a broader context. Therefore, the general summary which follows attempts to do just that without delving in great detail into eighteenth-century history.

The Setting

The isolation of Pennsylvanians living west of the mountains after independence was more than just geographical. It carried with it a feeling of being thought of by easterners as second-class citizens.¹ Its effect on westerners was severe. Capable of producing large crops of grain but limited by economic realities and policies beyond their control and, so it seemed to them, their political influence, most of the region's overwhelmingly agricultural residents were small landholders and landless tenants. They harbored a deep resentment at the ease with which absentee speculators could claim huge tracts of land the local people thought should rightly be theirs. Throughout the west, commerce was small-scale and industry was practically non-existent. Viable markets were few and small and there was very little currency. The balance was so precarious that even a seemingly small setback could be devastating.

The yield of the land could not easily be shipped down the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers since Spain controlled New Orleans and the lower Mississippi, which allowed Spanish authorities effectively to block at will a sea path to markets. Attempting to reach established markets to the east meant sooner or later crossing the Appalachians and, in addition, risked encountering not only the English who remained west of the mountains but also the Indians who moved freely about the Northwest Territories and often parts of Pennsylvania. As it was, seemingly continual Indian raids, or the constant threat of them, were an ever-present menace. Government troops' incursions to stop or prevent such raids seldom relieved the strain since usually they were ineffectual and sometimes were disastrous. The combination of a scattered rural population, insecurity, and economic methods did not permit markets of appreciable value to develop west of the mountains.

But the only apparent option was to the east, across the Appalachians. Nevertheless, the difficulty of that journey made it impractical to many—the expanse and steepness of the mountains coupled with often barely passable roads made them a formidable barrier at any time of the year. Westerners had long concentrated on converting their excess grain to whiskey, which could be transported over the mountains with hope of, even with expectation of, some monetary gain. But all markets considered reachable remained risks because of the difficulty, distance, and time involved in getting to them, so much of the west's production of whiskey was consumed in the west. More of their whiskey became the medium of exchange, the currency, in a developing barter system throughout the region.

Western Pennsylvania was by no means alone in its isolation. For decades already, settlers west of the total length of the Appalachians had felt a similar separateness. Attempts by farmers to gain some autonomy, some free choice of economic options, some reasonable chance to improve their lot were thwarted at every turn. But only in Pennsylvania did the unrest boil over to an extent deemed by the federal government as requiring forceful intervention.

The Revolution had been costly and individual states, including Pennsylvania, found themselves hard-pressed to find effective means to raise enough capital to pay

their creditors and to make up for the money still owed to the veterans of the struggle for independence. Pennsylvania had imposed an excise on whiskey which, however, was universally opposed in the west and practically ignored, since the state had neither the means nor the will to make a concerted effort to collect the tax. Then in 1791, the United States Congress passed an excise on whiskey. In the west, from Pennsylvania to Georgia, vocal opposition was immediate and strong.

In the westernmost counties of Pennsylvania, meetings of those protesting the tax and seeking its repeal began to attract large numbers of people. So-called democratic societies sprang up, aiming to coordinate and direct resistance to the excise. The area's civic and political leaders were drawn to attend; some even led meetings. Most of the foremost people advised moderation, suggesting remonstrances, petitions, and appeals that clearly stated their situation. But, radical people also attended meetings, advocating demands and, if need be, forceful resistance. And there was no shortage of people, many of them perhaps misunderstanding the implications of their actions and thus easily led, willing to follow the more severe course. Liberty poles went up, carrying banners demanding liberty and repeal of the excise. Many threats were voiced and some violence occurred, the latter scattered and mostly unorganized, although in total significant. The resistance became personified as "Tom the Tinker." Then, gradually, outward signs of unrest and protest faded as cooler heads prevailed.

The law then in force required that cases involving excise infractions be heard in federal courts; in Pennsylvania's case, that often meant in Philadelphia. In the spring of 1794, writs under that law were issued against a number of western Pennsylvanians. By the time the writs were served, however, a new law, which permitted state courts to try cases more than fifty miles away from a federal court, was in place. Nevertheless, those persons served writs were commanded to appear in Philadelphia. Dissent boiled to the surface again, growing harsher than before and extending farther, throughout the western counties. Violence erupted again, in some instances organized and armed. Private property was destroyed and some deaths ensued. Incidents showing support of the resisters began to occur outside the region, including at several points in Pennsylvania east of the mountains and in neighboring states. What previously might have fallen under the term strong opposition or civil disobedience was becoming intolerable armed rebellion, insurrection. Any government worthy of the name would, must, in such a case take action to forestall further insubordination.

President George Washington demanded that the whiskey rebels desist or face certain punishment. Representatives of both the state and federal governments held meetings with western agents in an attempt to iron out differences. Even though again tempers had cooled and violence had ceased, the federal commissioners, after their meetings with western Pennsylvania leaders, reported that the excise could not be enforced by local civic authorities and that they could not be sure that violence would not break out once more. The President felt he had to order a show of overwhelming force to convince the insurrectionists, the country, and the world that no one could break the law with no punishment, that the government could receive the support of its citizens when federal law was challenged, and that the government could and would meet its obligations in a manner and to the extent which was required.

Prologue to the March

On August 7, 1794, in preparation for a possible need to move on short notice, the President ordered the raising of militia in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, and Virginia, the total to be 12,950. Pennsylvania's quota was 5200, to be composed of 4500 infantry, 500 cavalry, and 200 artillery. On September 9, he ordered the individual state militias to mobilize. On September 24, he received the commissioners' report and ordered the march.²

Governor Henry Lee of Virginia was named commander-in-chief and Governor Thomas Mifflin of Pennsylvania was appointed to lead his state's troops.³ York County's numbers were to be "twenty-two cavalry and 550 infantry, rank and file." The York County contingent belonged to the Third Brigade, Fourth Division, Pennsylvania Militia, composed of troops from York, Cumberland, Lancaster, and Franklin Counties and led by Brigadier-General James Chambers.⁴ The combined Pennsylvania and New Jersey troops were to rendezvous at Carlisle, where the President himself arrived on October 4.⁵ When all preliminary planning and movements were accomplished, those combined troops, who made up the right wing of the army, would march west from Carlisle by "the State and the Glade roads." Meanwhile, the left wing, the Maryland and Virginia militiamen, would march west from Cumberland, Maryland, on the "Braddock Road." The two wings would join west of the mountains near the center of the insurgency.⁶

By October 10, the situation at Carlisle was well enough in hand and enough soldiers were encamped there that the President ordered the first of the militia to be dispatched toward Bedford, where a second rendezvous would take place. On the 11th, most of the troops still at Carlisle headed west. The next day, after leaving instructions for the organization of and the orders to be given to any detachments which had not yet reached Carlisle, George Washington himself left the town, heading for Shippensburg and Chambersburg, and ultimately Cumberland and Bedford.⁷

Washington recorded in his diary on October 13 that he had left Carlisle by "the left road" to avoid the marching army.⁸ His daily record of travel and activities and observations continued until he reached Bedford on the 19th. The next day he met with staff and determined that the militia could begin the push into rebel-supported territory by the 23rd, then ordered that the procedures for achieving that timetable be set in motion. With that, he ended his direct involvement in the march and prepared to leave for Philadelphia, in order to be there before the second session of Congress opened in the first week of November.⁹

The march from Carlisle to near Pittsburgh would prove to be anticlimactic. Perhaps recognizing at last that they might have to answer for their flouting of the law, many of the insurgency's ringleaders had fled the area; others had simply faded into more remote parts of Pennsylvania. Although a considerable number of persons were apprehended and several were tried, only a very few were imprisoned, and those only briefly. The rebellion had lost its impetus and the rebels were in retreat even as the army prepared to march. Nevertheless, unhindered by rebels, the march proceeded, a show of determination and power which solidified the government's hold on its citizenry and the nation's standing in the international community.



Illustration of a Liberty Pole drawn by Larry C. Bolin.

The Booklet

Several soldiers' personal journals concerning the militia trek to quell the western Pennsylvania insurrection have survived the passing years.¹⁰ At least one was kept by a York (now Adams) County resident. It could add to what other militiamen's accounts might tell about the expedition that escaped official reports and records. What follows below is a verbatim transcription of that 1794 diary, using also the diarist's punctuation, succeeded by an analysis of its entries. At that point, the Whiskey Rebellion becomes secondary to the little book's further message, although the connection remains. A literal copy of another diary, kept during a similar, although solitary, journey in 1800 by the same person, and likewise an analysis of it, then follow. The transcription of the booklet ends with the several other entries scattered among its pages, which on the surface appear to be unrelated to the diaries, along with an analysis of those entries' possible ties to the trips west and to the diarist.

The March, 1794

The diary begins on the inside of the front cover.

- Marchd from Carlisle Octo^b On saturday 11th 1794
Page 1: Marchd from Mountrock Sunday 12th Marchd from Shipinsburg Monday 13 Lay tuesday 14th Marchd from Strawsburg Wednesday 15th Marchd from Littleton 16th Marchd from the top of Sidelinghill 17th Marchd from the Crossens 18th Lay in Bedford sunday 19th And Monday 20th And tuesday 21st And Wednesday 22^d Marchd thursday 23rd to the East end of the dry ridge Marchd Friday 24th to huses encampment, and there it began to rain Saturday 25 Marchd to Barlin in the glades, Sunday 26th Lay in the house of Jacob Kable, Monday 27th Marchd
Page 2: tuesday 28th to Jone's Mill at the East side of Lauralhill Wednesday 29th Marchd to hovers thursday 30 Lay I went to hunt kild a turky, Friday 31st Marchd to Cheryes mill in Legonar Valy about nine Oclock at night On a turn-out of Volunterns waded Jacobs Creek and Brought Ralph Cherry Into camp, November 1st Lay Sunday 2^d Lay in Camp, Monday 3rd Lay in Camp, Tuesday 4 Marchd Within five miles of Buddsferry on Yough river, Wednesday 5th Marchd to Karnahans on Swekley Thursday 6th Lay in Camp on the 5th I went Out And Lodg'd at Simeon M^{cc}Grews

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Page 3: thursday the 6th spent with my friends and Lodg'd with James M^{cc}Grew, Friday 7th Camp Lay and I returnd, Saturday 8th Lay, Sunday 9th Lay in Camp Monday 10th Marc'd to James Cavets, Tuesday 11th Marchd to Helmans, Wednesday 12th Marchd to Mackaneers, Thursday 13th March^d Within 4 Miles of Pitt, Friday 14th Lay in Camp It snowd, Saturday 15th Camp lay I went to hunt and mistfire at a deer it snowd Sunday 16th Camp lay & it snowd wery fast Monday 17th Camp lay tuesday 18th Wednesday 19 Camp lay I went to John Cavets thursday 20 I kild a a turkey & And the troops retreated on their way Friday 21st with my freinds and saturday 22^d and sunday 23rd and monday 24th tuesday 25th Bought a bay mare Saddle and bridle for thirty one pounds

Page 4: Ten shillings, wedensday 26th set Out for york County rode to foot of Lawral hill on the West side, thursday 27th rode to the East end of the dry Ridge seven miles from Bedford, Friday 28th Came six miles to my Friend David Potts and rested Saturday 29th Set out and came to my dwelling a Sunday evening 30th 1794

Analysis

Even though at times differences are present, there is a congruence of the diarist's account of the expedition's route and timing to official reports that suggests the journal is authentic. Discrepancies might creep into official records and histories as readily as into the personal records of individuals who supposedly are untrained in the need for accuracy.¹¹

The first several days' marches are simple to follow: Carlisle to Mountrock to Shippensburg, 21 miles, with Mountrock about a third of the way.¹² The army then entered Franklin County and camped at "Strawsburg," which evidently is now Upper Strasburg, an 11-mile march from Shippensburg. The troops remained encamped there the following day, October 14.¹³ The next site, Littleton (Ft. Lyttleton), 17 miles distant in present Fulton County, was reached on the 15th.¹⁴ Then came, on the two following days, "the top of Sidelinghill" and "the Crossens," those legs of the march about 12 and 20 miles.¹⁵ The next day, the 18th, the unit the diarist was with arrived at Bedford, after a 14-mile trek.¹⁶

Bedford was the staging point for the push over a series of extremely difficult ridges. There was some concern about what reaction the passage of the militia might generate beyond Bedford. That combination perhaps dictated a closer concentration of forces and supplies on the open road, and again the troops paused, permitting the trailers

to come to them and President Washington to arrive from Cumberland—Washington got there the following day. West of Bedford was the territory of the insurrectionists. There had been relatively little active opposition this far east, but from here on the militia should have expected to encounter people who almost without exception insistently wanted the excise on whiskey removed. At Bedford, too, expeditions to apprehend known or suspected insurgents began, a prelude of what was to occur frequently after the Appalachians were behind them, that being part of the militia's assigned service.¹⁷

On October 23, westward movement en masse commenced; that day's march, almost certainly less than 10 miles, reached the "dry ridge." It was the first of many campsites the diarist identified with vague, now often hard to place names.¹⁸ The next day's trek was to "huses encampment," which with little doubt is where a stream then called Hughs Camp Run crossed the Glade Road. It was an 11-mile day.¹⁹ The diarist's notation that at "huses" it began to rain is not merely an observation on the weather; he was commenting on the difficulties the rain brought with it. The effects are clearly shown in corroborative reports of rain at the time.²⁰ The next day, October 25, ostensibly despite continuing rainfall, the militia reached Berlin, having entered present Somerset County shortly after beginning the day's march and advancing on the day 12 miles.²¹

It appears that at Berlin the militia remained encamped an extra day, for on the 26th the journal keeper noted "lay in the house of Jacob Kable."²² He must have meant that he himself spent the day (and night?) at a tavern or a private residence. That marks him as an officer.²³ That October 26 entry suggests that the diarist had spent the previous night in the militia camp at Berlin, since he did not mention Kable on the 25th. That, however, does not negate the possibility that Jacob Kable lived in or very near Berlin. The two following journal entries do little to clarify the situation, offering only enough information to permit alternative readings. They are: "27th Marcd" and "28th to Jone's Mill at the East side of Lauralhill." Does the former, with no destination given, suggest that the diarist simply returned from Kable's to the camp at Berlin? And does the latter then tell that on the day after, the militia broke camp at Berlin and traveled as far as Jones's Mill, 15 miles to the northwest? Or, did the diarist combine two separate marches into a seemingly unique two-day entry? That suggests two very short marches, likely of seven and eight miles, with Somerset as the intermediate campsite.²⁴ Such slow progress might be attributed to still-falling rain, difficult terrain, or an ongoing search for insurgents.

On October 29, the militia arrived at "hovers," perhaps eight miles on the day by this reading, followed by another layover, during which the diarist went hunting.²⁵ Apparently, he was hunting for his own benefit only, unless he was not a very dedicated hunter or a good marksman, or unless pickings were slim—one turkey would not have provided meat for many. Nonetheless, a hunting excursion, arguably alone, again gives the appearance of a privileged person on the march.

The militia marched to Cherry's Mill on October 31, perhaps another eight-mile extension. The diarist wrote: "On a turn-out of Volunteers waded Jacobs Creek and Brought Ralph Cherry Into camp."²⁶ Suggested is that the writer was one of those who volunteered for the mission and that Cherry was one of the insurrectionists.²⁷

There exists a possibility in that telling that the diarist miswrote what happened during those last few days of October, for different accounts suddenly begin to diverge widely from this one. More likely, though, the understanding of his words as interpreted above is faulty. A re-reading is called for. The advance troops reached Hover's by October 29, remained in camp on the 30th, then marched to Cherry's Mill the next night. What do other sources say?

One account tells very little of the site-by-site marching. It skips any narrative of the daily activity during the end of October, picking it up again only on November 2, when Commander Henry Lee ordered the right wing, under Governor Thomas Mifflin, to resume its march on the 4th, move toward Budd's Ferry via Lodge's, find a convenient campsite and there await further orders.²⁸ Another account of the march, even though very brief, describes the route beyond then Bedford County as "along the road skirting the northeastern part of Fayette, to what is now Mount Pleasant, in Westmoreland, at which place the advance brigade arrived and encamped on the 29th."²⁹ There is the answer which brings the diarist's journal into agreement with other accounts.

The march on the 29th, to Hover's in one version, to Mt. Pleasant in another, does not mean to two sites—they are the same, clearly identified by the latter name. The intermediate stops described above and in notes 25 and 26 did not occur. The error was in anticipating that each movement was an advancement westward. Instead, the march from Jones's Mill to Hover's (Mt. Pleasant) on the 29th was one of perhaps 20 miles and the one on the 31st then in fact was a nighttime backtracking maneuver to Cherry's, only 3 or 4 miles. Cherry was taken to the camp at Mt. Pleasant.

A clearer discrepancy appears in recorded accounts of the subsequent, more northerly, continuation of the march. According to one description, "the army moved on to the vicinity of the Monongahela and Youghiogheny rivers and went into camp at a point between Parkison's [sic] and Budd's Ferries, after which the main body moved toward Pittsburgh."³⁰ By that version, the army was encamped between the rivers. The diarist disputes that as the position of the troops he was with. On the 4th, he wrote, they marched to within five miles of Budd's.³¹ The following day, November 5, they moved on, to "Karnahans on Swekley."³² Both sites unquestionably were east of the Youghiogheny. The militia remained in camp at Karnahans four days and five nights, until the 10th.

Once again, the diarist exhibited and recorded the freedom only special standing could permit. On November 5, he went to, and lodged with, Simeon McGrew. The next day he spent with friends, staying that night with James McGrew.³³ He returned to camp on the 7th.

The march resumed on November 10 and that day the troops arrived at "James Cavets." On each of the next three days they moved on, successively to "Helmans," "Mackaneers," and "to within 4 miles of Pitt."³⁴ With the last advance, they reached their farthest campsite. The army remained near Pittsburgh from the 13th until the 20th of the month.

Yet again the diarist did not tarry. Perhaps his hunting excursion on the 15th was encouraged, although once more his proficiency can be questioned since he

returned with no game. Apparently, his lone opportunity resulted in having “mistfire” at a deer.³⁵ Then on the 19th, he went to “John Cavets.”³⁶ The next day, he had better luck hunting, bagging a turkey. On that day, too, the militia began their return home.³⁷ But the diarist did not accompany the army, showing instead, for a final time, his perhaps unique status, which on this occasion allowed him to completely abandon the march.

For four more days he visited with friends.³⁸ Then on November 25, he bought a horse and riding gear, which enabled him to make a lightning-quick trip home.³⁹ On the 26th, he began his return.⁴⁰

On the first day on horseback, he made it as far as the west side of Laurel Hill.⁴¹ The next day’s leg took him to the same “east end of the dry ridge” he had recorded on the march west, a ride of some 39-44 miles, depending on the route taken—the longer southern way seems more likely, which then also indicates that probably he began that day at, or near, present Jones Mill.⁴²

Therefore, on November 27 the diarist, in just two travel days, had come to within seven miles of Bedford. By that date the militia, if on their ordered schedule, had reached The Crossings, 21 miles farther east. The army had been on the road nine days, averaging nearly 14 miles per day and accumulating in all 124 miles. Perhaps the nearness of the troops influenced the writer’s next day, especially if he was not quite sure just how far ahead they were. On the 28th, he rode only six miles, and so was still west of Bedford, then stopped at the place of a friend, David Potts, and, as he wrote, “rested.” Since the militia on that same day, if maintaining their schedule, marched 20 miles, putting them at day’s end 35 miles to the east of the diarist and past the turn-off to Chambersburg, from that time he could feel sure that he would not likely encounter even stragglers if he had any qualms about meeting the troops on the road.

But if the army had actually begun the march home on November 20, as the diarist recorded, then by the time he reached the dry ridge, the troops were at Bedford, only seven miles ahead. His decision to rest might thus be seen with greater clarity. Still, his six miles on the 28th and the army’s 14 would then have left him at day’s end 15 miles behind and still safely able to avoid catching up to the militia if he chose and yet able to travel swiftly and steadily.

The journal ends abruptly. The diarist left his friend’s place on the 29th and made it all the way home on the 30th! He must have ridden nearly, if not more than, 90 miles in the final two days.⁴³ Essentially, he had returned home, probably at least 160 miles, in four days.

What did the diarist think afterward of the whole exercise? What did he say to family and friends? In some quarters and for some time, even if only briefly, there must have been a feeling of futility concerning the necessity of the expedition since the militia had met absolutely no opposition, so was the diarist, and as well the government, subjected to some derision? How could he show the value of the march?

Perhaps the fact that the country’s experiment in representative democracy was still in its formative stages meant that the diarist did not have to reach for explanations. Perhaps he and others generally were naturally more attuned than many are today to political, economic, and societal situations and could see more clearly

their cause-and-effect relationships. In a short time people might have begun to view the decision to march as a key component in rapidly improving conditions on many fronts, local, national, and international. The diarist might well have been a highly regarded person locally because he had gone on that march.

His experience certainly must have influenced him in positive ways. Not much more than five years later, he undertook a second march, retracing much of the first, but this time alone and surely not expecting to meet vengeful people.

A Second March, 1800

The diary begins on the inside of the back cover.

Jan^y 21st 1800 Set to the Westward three qrs
after two O Clock lodg'd at George Cochs
22^d paid six pence pass'd thro Shepings burgh
at twelve Olock lodgd in Fennets burgh trav
this day 28 Miles Cold black Clouds small
snow showers 23^d passd Sideling hill a 2
Olock paid this day five shillings and four
pence lodg at bloody run marcht 37 miles
24th Clear and pleasent paid 5/⁵ marcht to the
top of aligany 31 Miles and ½—25th stormy
cold heavy showers of snow pass Sumerset
one o Clock paid 6 Shillings Clowdy
Excessive Cold lodged

Page 1: at Widow logwoods this day Marcht 25½
miles—Sundy 26th Clear and pleasent Marcht
24 miles paid this day 5/5^d—27 Clowdy
Changd boots gave ½ a doller paid 2/⁵
march'd 12 miles Came to Simion M^cGrews
and loded—28th Clear viseted friends Went to
James M^cGrews Senior—to Arch M^cGrews
James Jun^r to Jn^o Boyds Wm Boyds and
lodg'd at James Seniors—29th Clear & frosty
Came to Simeons and—moved for york
County marcht 15 mile to Lovingeres—30th
Clear and Excessive Cold paid one shilling
and six pence ½ march'd 37 miles lodged at
Cimbles—

Page 2: 31st snow paid 2/⁸ marcht 17 Miles at 12
Olock and 30 minets fresh snow then midlig
deep marcht 7 miles lodgd at m^r Kynton
snow'd on unt. in the night full nee deep in y^e

mornig—February 1st high wind snow drifting
wind ceased sunshine Warm Marcht at 12
O Clock pass'd Bed ford 2 O Clock paid 8
pence came 2 Miles on this side the crossings
march't 24 miles Sunday 2^d Clear and
pleasent paid 4 shillings and 8 pence march't
34 miles lodg'd one mile below strawsburgh—
3rd sharp frost paid 2^{1/2} snow and storm at 2 or
three OClock Exceeding Cold marcht this day
30 miles with M^r Edward Weakley Changed
to rain at night 4th warm foggy paid 3^{1/9}

Analysis

The diarist set out to the west at 2:45 on the day before Adams officially became a county. His starting point is not given, nor is his distance traveled. When he began his return trip on January 29, however, he wrote that his destination was York County. Without doubt, he then was going home.⁴⁴ Almost surely he did not travel far the first day, for he had probably only three hours or so of daylight. Maybe, though, he knew the road well and felt secure in going on in the dark, or maybe he wanted to go as far as George Coch's that day for a specific reason. His next day's journal entry might hint at the first day's length.⁴⁵

The diarist apparently got a late start on January 22 after paying just a small sum, which presumably was for his previous night's lodging.⁴⁶ He wrote that he went through Shippensburg at noon, then stopped at Fannettsburg, having traveled that day, by his own reckoning, 28 miles.⁴⁷ Also, on the second day he began to note the weather conditions.

The next leg of the journey was a long one, 37 miles, to Bloody Run, and it entailed crossing Sideling Hill, which was no easy task.⁴⁸ That distance, the first of several of more than 30 miles in usually rough terrain and in often bad weather, brings the thought that perhaps the diarist, for most of the trip, was on horseback, even though he consistently wrote that he was on foot.⁴⁹ It is accepted here that he was a hardy individual and indeed did walk.

The following day brought another long hike, 31½ miles, to the top of the Allegheny ridge.⁵⁰ The 25th was cold and windy, with snow. Despite the weather, the diarist, passing Somerset in the early afternoon, walked in all that day 25½ miles before stopping for the night at Widow Logwood's.⁵¹ Then on January 26 he added 24 miles to the growing total, but he failed to record a lodging place. On the day after, though, he wrote that he came to Simeon McGrew's, just 12 miles beyond his previous stopping point. McGrew was someone he had visited during the 1794 militia march.⁵² The diarist must have been able to spend a good portion of January 27 with Simeon McGrew.

January 28 was a whirl of visiting "friends," three named McGrew and two

Boyd. Evidently, they all lived in a tightly concentrated area, somewhat dependent of course on whether meeting with five individuals also meant visiting five homes. That night was spent at the house of an elder James McGrew.⁵³ The noted return of the diarist to Simeon McGrew's the next day likely holds some significance, but that return was brief at best.⁵⁴ Obviously, he spent little time there on the 29th, for he had time enough to travel 15 miles toward home before ending the day at "Lovingeres."⁵⁵

On January 30, the diarist walked 37 miles, to "Cimbles."⁵⁶ On the last day of the month, he encountered snow, nevertheless progressing 17 miles by 12:30, when snow began to fall again. He wrote that the snow was then "midlig" deep. As it is deciphered here, the word represents "middling," that is, medium, which to the diarist likely meant to just below the calf.⁵⁷ Despite such unfavorable conditions, he trudged on for an additional seven miles, in ostensibly constant snowfall, before ending that day at Mr. Kynton's.⁵⁸ The snow stopped falling during the night, but was "full nee deep" the next morning.

February began very windy with drifting snow, but by midday the wind died and the sun shone. The diarist noted that at noon he set out again, passed Bedford two hours later, and progressed to "2 Miles on this side the crossings" before stopping, having tramped 24 miles.⁵⁹ He also noted paying 8 pence after he passed Bedford, which probably was for food.

The 2nd was a pleasant day and he walked 34 miles, ending, as he recorded it, "one mile below strawsburgh."⁶⁰ The next day was cold and by mid-afternoon stormy, with snow. The nasty conditions surely were ameliorated by the presence of a co-traveler for company, so the 30-mile trek that day must have been less wearisome.⁶¹ Besides, he was nearing his home.

Apparently, the diarist's journey ended on February 4, for he recorded only his lodging fee and the weather conditions for that day (or more realistically, for that morning). It is assumed that he arrived home, but felt no obligation to bring his journal to a logical close by recording his travels' end. It is a somewhat unsatisfactory ending, an unfinished finality. Who, for example, was he? Where was his home? What was his motivation for not just one, but two laborious trips? There are hints within the diaries and further clues in the other, miscellaneous, writings in the booklet, but they are limited. Therefore, conclusions derived must also be limited and, in addition, speculative.

Extraneous Entries

Here again the booklet shall be divided into front and back halves in order to allow an understanding of the extra writings' appearance. Each half consists of ten pages, or sides.

The first four pages of the front half hold nothing but the 1794 diary. Pages 5 and 7-10 are blank. There is, however, a lone entry, in pencil:

Page 6: W R Sadler⁶²

The back half begins with the equivalent of three pages of the entries which

constitute the 1800 diary. The inside of the cover, however, acts as the first page, so the diary appears on only two actual sides. Pages 3-9 are blank. But, one side on which the diary is written also contains two extra entries, the first in pencil, the second in ink:

Page 1, top: Jiossih Kerr⁶³

Page 1, bottom, inverted: Recivd for Ludwick Waltemire 9 Crowns
3/^{3d}—⁶⁴

The last full entry is in pencil, shown here in lines as in the booklet:

Page 10: Oats 60 Bush 29^{cts}

Do 30

Blish x Linch

120 Bush More

or less at 29^{cts} ⁶⁵

The back half of the booklet holds one more clearly written item, ostensibly a single upper-case character, its meaning unknown but presumed to have no connection to the other contents:

Page 2 blotter: S (or L)

Analysis

The given name of Kerr used here is a guess. In fact, the name as it is written may include a middle initial or some other character. Calling the individual Josiah might be far from what was written or intended. Kerr's name appears in a very important position and it is underlined, perhaps a further hint of its fundamental significance.

The division of the booklet into halves as they now are recognized is based on the two diaries and on the historical society's modern accessioning. The part now seen as the back half, however, possibly was considered originally the front. If so, Josiah Kerr might have made the very first entry, his name, at a prominent place, the top of the first page, and underlined it to emphasize that the pad was his and to separate his name from anticipated subsequent entries. Based on the handwriting, though, Kerr appears not to have entered anything else into the booklet.

The 1800 diary is continued right below Kerr's name. At the bottom of the page, the diary pauses just above the Waltemire entry.

The placement and inverted position of the Waltemire line perhaps also reveal a special significance, although no reasonable rationale can be offered for its upside-down orientation. Who was entrusted, and when, to receive for Waltemire and deliver to him nearly £2½? His residence, whether in Adams or Cumberland County, might have been near the diarist's or on his 1800 route, so at least hypothetically the latter may have been the collector/deliverer of the money. Like Kerr, Waltemire appears not to have authored the diaries.

Since both the Kerr and the Waltemire entries are on a page of the 1800 diary, yet neither seems to relate to it directly nor to interfere with it, the probable explanation

is that both were already there when the journal was recorded. And since individuals of proper name and age did live in the area before 1800, their prior entry into the booklet may be coincidental only; after all, unknown also are the age of the booklet and who all of its possessors were. In any event, no tie of Kerr or Waltemire to the diarist is evident.

That is manifestly not the case with Sadler and Blish, since they married sisters named McGrew, the surname that recurs time and again in relationship to the diarist. Even though no familial tie of either Sadler or Blish to Linch has emerged, nevertheless evidently Blish and Linch were connected in some manner, perhaps in a business, instead of a family, relationship.

The Blish entry contains several elements which might be hard to comprehend. In total, it appears to be an itemization of some sort, perhaps pertinent to an inventory, bill, or receipt. It is understood to list 60, 30, and 120 bushels of oats valued at 29 cents per bushel. The "Do" in line 2 is "ditto" abbreviated, that is, a repeat of "Oats" in line 1. The "x" between the names "Blish" and "Linch" is taken to represent an ampersand, thus their perceived connection.

Only if written in his youth might Sadler's name have appeared in the booklet before the late 1820s. Certainly, Blish's and Linch's names might have been entered earlier, but not coupled before about 1818. That then invokes suspicion that both diaries were also written into the booklet long after the incidents and dates they record. Nonetheless, the very accuracy of those journals surely denotes that, even if not the original book of record, the booklet tells in the words of the person who first wrote them down his own experiences in 1794 and 1800.

The capital letter on the back page 2 blotter in reality might not be the only thing written there. Other images, very faint, are perhaps there, seemingly in rather even lines—that is not proposed with any sense of confidence, however. Far surer, though, is that if not imagined the markings do not mirror the words on page 2 and therefore are not simply blots of excessive ink. Perhaps better eyes or modern technology can determine whether anything of substance is there and, if so, exactly what it is.

Final Observations

The diaries exhibit the same handwriting, perhaps not well-schooled, but perhaps consistent with the very inconsistent spellings in common use at the time. Those journals indicate by their handwriting that they were entered into the booklet at, or nearly at, the same time. That is no guarantee, however, that they were written in 1794 and 1800 by the man who experienced the trips. It is perfectly possible that they were copied in one sitting, albeit from original sources, perhaps many years after the events they chronicle. It is possible, too, although unlikely, that the extraneous entries are of the same hand, noticeable differences maybe the result of the passage of more substantial time.

Together, the two journals clearly show an affinity of the author to people

named McGrew or closely related to the McGrew family of Westmoreland County. Moreover, those western McGrews were themselves descendants of the McGrews of what is now Adams County. Additionally, several of the seemingly miscellaneous entries in the booklet record names which, with very little investigation, prove to have McGrew connections, although of a later generation. A total of probably twenty-six people are named in the booklet. In all likelihood, however, some of the names, perhaps at least eleven, identify sites, not individuals, in the context of the diarist's experience. Therefore, the number of people with possible family ties to the McGrews is at most fifteen. Of those fifteen (even though not all have been investigated), eight: Simeon, two Jameses, and Arch McGrew, John and William Boyd, William Sadler, and Charles Blish, have demonstrably clear ties to the McGrews by birth or marriage. A ninth, Edward Weakley, was the uncle of a girl who married a William McGrew of the Adams County family. Plus, three more McGrews of Westmoreland County: Alexander, William, and Simon (the last actually might be the above Simeon), possibly could be added to the grouping of related McGrews named in the booklet (see note 26). The obvious, frequent, widespread tie to one family leads inescapably to the conclusion that the diarist probably also was a McGrew by name or relationship.

John McGrew, who was the father-in-law of William Sadler and Charles Blish and who died in 1826, was also the son of Archibald and Martha (Bracken) McGrew (see note 53). He therefore is an obvious connector of the two clear McGrew generations in the booklet. His tie to so many McGrews named cannot be denied. Further, his connection spans more years and individuals, and in more places, than anyone else who might appear as possible diarist. Thus, he appears to be a likely nominee as author of the diaries, even to a degree of believability to call him probable author.⁶⁶

Apparently by his own calculations in 1800, the diarist logged 158 miles from somewhere south and east of Shippensburg to the (presumed) residence of Simeon McGrew in North Huntingdon Township, Westmoreland County, the base for his further travels in his brief western stay. To that must be added the unsure distance he walked on the first day of his journey, an estimated 12 miles, making his total from home to Simeon's some 170 miles. Even though arguably he returned by the same route and even though again he logged his daily distances, he counted 164 miles from McGrew's to just one mile east of Shippensburg, to which must be added 20 more to fit the guessed distance from Shippensburg to his home. His eastbound trip thus came to 184 miles, exceeding the westward one by 14! The discrepancy is not convincingly explained easily.

A 14-mile difference would mean an average of about two miles per travel day, which might fall within reasonable bounds, considering the iffy capability of closely measuring time and distance in the diarist's situation. That average, however, would require a consistently overlong estimation almost daily. Possibly the distances traveled on just a few occasions, most likely on the days of 30 or more miles, were overstated by a more significant number. But he logged extreme mileage in both directions and it must be conceded that at times the recorded higher numbers appear to be very accurate. Possible too, and certainly plausible, is that his route and lodging

sites have been misread here. His easterly walk, at least to Bedford, might not have tracked his footsteps west from that place, for example.

There are clearer, but not necessarily surer, checks on the diarist's distance, and using Shippensburg and Mt. Pleasant as more easily measured, and grasped, terminals might ease comparisons. It requires accepting, nevertheless, that Lovingere's as well as Hover's name the same site as Mt. Pleasant. As measured here, the 1794 militia march totaled 139 miles between the selected terminals, while the diarist's 1800 journal logged 134 on his westward journey, but accumulated 148 on his return. Two computer mapping programs agree almost to the mile to the diarist's 1800 westerly figure, MapQuest counting 133 miles and Yahoo 131.7! Those latter differences are inconsequential. So, the diarist's recorded mileage westward is taken to be more accurate.

Only two explanations for the additional 14 miles in the 1800 homeward walk are evident. Either the diarist followed a different path from Simeon McGrew's to Bedford than the one he had used just a few days before in going the other direction, which seems to be a more likely reason, or he was less careful in calculating or recording his daily mileage on the homebound trek.⁶⁷

The 1800 walk was probably motivated by a desire to visit family, although some sort of business transaction cannot be discounted as a co-reason for the trip. The 1794 march with the militia obviously was reason enough, although even then the diarist did take advantage of his opportunities to visit his relatives—those occasions surely were with the good graces of, and just as surely with the prior consent of, the officer corps.

Nonetheless, doubt remains that the diarist himself was a militia officer, despite the evidence of his finding, as officers were permitted to do, better quarters than the camps provided. Field officers were needed to, and required to, lead and keep order in the army on the march home. The diarist's abandonment of the militia just as it started for Carlisle is not a sign of a conscientious military man, and it would not likely have been allowed. That is sufficient reason to disqualify him as an officer.

The diarist was not one of the regular, drafted militia either. Too many incidents of their misdeeds and unmilitarylike acts are on record to believe that one of them could repeatedly receive permission to leave camp, or could go without permission and not undergo some punishment such as strict confinement while encamped.

Therefore, he held some special position. He could leave and return as he saw fit. With one possible exception at Berlin, he did not miss any marching time or campsites, however, apparently instead taking leave only when no forward movement or raid against insurgents was imminent. He seems to have met all his duty requirements on the march west, then was released from further duty and, perhaps not merely coincidentally, from further strain on militia supplies and finances. A suspicion is raised that others of a perhaps similar standing and with means to fend for themselves may have had experiences during the expedition much like the diarist's. And means he had, as his purchase of a horse attests. Such a thing doubtless would have been beyond the monetary capacity of the average militiaman on the march. Further, his keeping a journal of personal as well as militia events shows that he was comfortable with his

position—he had no fear of official reprisal if his extra-militia activities were found out.

Evidence might indicate that he was part of an advance unit, a scouting or other outfit somehow separated in duty and privilege from the mass of militiamen. More obvious is a clear indication that he did possess something of value which might have afforded him special status. He already knew people in the area, with whom he was almost certainly on good terms, and that could have held utmost potential both militarily and diplomatically. Also, he might have had far more familiarity with western geography as well as western people than is immediately evident. The 1794 march might not have been his first contact with western Pennsylvania. His knowledge and associations in themselves might have constituted an invaluable service, accounting for his standing. The diarist performed in good conscience in 1794 what he saw as his proper duty. His primary motivation does not appear to have been to punish or degrade fellow Pennsylvanians. Rather, he took seriously the armed threat to law and order and sought to help to prevent a widening, intensifying conflict. Surely by the end of the century, many western Pennsylvanians would agree that the insurrection had been legally insupportable and thus futile. It was the diarist's choice to return then to the area he had tramped just over five years previously. Yet he showed no sign that he expected or feared antagonism from anyone in the west.

President Washington's show of impressive force halted the insurgency. There was no overt resistance to the militia nor later attempt to revive the uprising, even if resentment of and hostility toward the excise remained strong. As the eighteenth century wore down, western Pennsylvanians experienced rapid improvement in security as well as in economic choices, although the area would continue to lag behind transmontane regions.

By all appearances, the diarist was able to find some enjoyable aspect of the 1794 march, despite the undeniable gravity of the situation, and then in essence repeat that trip in a more congenial setting. Now, more than two centuries later, he is able to relay something of his experiences. No matter how limited their importance in the big picture, his words can have value to those who might claim closeness to him or who have a special interest in the post-revolutionary era.

Endnotes

¹ This section represents a general understanding of the situation in western Pennsylvania after the Revolution, which culminated in rebellion in 1794. Intended only as an adjunct to the work, it is purposely without annotation. Nevertheless, its main sources are *Pennsylvania Archives, second series, volume IV; The Whiskey Rebellion: Frontier Epilogue to the American Revolution*; and *Whiskey Rebels: The Story of a Frontier Uprising*. Those works are identified at greater length in the selected bibliography appended to this report.

² John B. Linn and William H. Egle, eds., *Pennsylvania Archives, 2nd ser., vol. IV* (Harrisburg, PA, 1896), 11; James Thomas Flexner, *George Washington, vol. IV: Anguish and Farewell (1793-1799)*, (Boston, 1976), 169. George P. Donehoo, ed.-in-chief, *Pennsylvania, A History, vol. II* (New York, 1926), 1009, and George R. Prowell, *History of York County, Pennsylvania*, vol. I (Chicago, 1907), 341, say that the total of all militiamen was 15,000.

³ Linn and Egle *PA*, 2nd, IV, 13; Donehoo, *Pennsylvania*, 1009.

⁴ Prowell, *York History*, I, 341.

James Chambers, 1743-1805, was a son of Benjamin Chambers, founder of Chambersburg, Franklin County. James served with distinction during the Revolution, then became a county commissioner and an associate judge of Franklin County. His command in the Whiskey Rebellion comprised 1762 men—his troops were called by one writer of a brief history of that insurrection “the best equipped and best disciplined brigade in the expedition.” George O. Seilhamer, *Biographical Annals of Franklin County, Pennsylvania*, (n. p., 1905), reproduction (Evansville, IN, 1978), 4-6.

⁵ Donald Jackson and Dorothy Twohig, eds., *The Diaries of George Washington*, vol. I: January 1790-December 1799 (Charlottesville, VA, 1979), 181.

⁶ Donehoo, *Pennsylvania*, 1009; Leland D. Baldwin, *Whiskey Rebels: The Story of a Frontier Uprising* (Pittsburgh, 1939), 225. Baldwin, however, omits the Glade Road.

The State Road was an approximation of the earlier Forbes Road, which had undergone many improvements to shorten and ease its course, although it remained long and arduous. In modern terms, in 1794 the State Road westward from Carlisle nearly tracked US 11 southwest to Shippensburg, bore nearly directly west by several routes to an intersection with US 522 at Burnt Cabin, then headed west-southwest more or less along the Pennsylvania Turnpike to its junction with US 30 at Breezewood, and finally drove west on 30 through Bedford and northwest on that road to Pittsburgh.

The Glade Road was, and is, basically SR 31 from just west of Bedford southwest then northwest through Somerset and Mt. Pleasant to SR 136 east of West Newton on the Youghiogheny River. Near Mt. Pleasant it met the old Braddock Road.

Braddock Road west from Cumberland was approximately US 40, which enters Pennsylvania in Somerset County heading northwest through Uniontown and on across the Monongahela River. East of Uniontown, Braddock Road turned sharply north, hitting US 119 and following that general course to beyond Mt. Pleasant, then traced a tortuous path toward Pittsburgh. Louis M. Waddell and Bruce D. Bomberger,

The French and Indian War in Pennsylvania 1753-1763 (Harrisburg, PA, 1996), 10-13 and 38-49; Reading Howell, map of Pennsylvania (1792); R. L. Barnes, publ., map of Pennsylvania (1848); ADC of Alexandria, Inc., publ., *Road Atlas of Pennsylvania* (Alexandria, VA, 1992).

For details of the daily marching and other militia activity, for the ordered route and schedule back to Carlisle, for details of conduct and discipline on the return, see Linn and Egle, *PA*, 2nd, IV, 239-40, 346-53, and 360-65; 380; and 382-84 respectively.

⁷ Jackson and Twohig, *Washington Diaries*, I, 186-90.

Most sources consulted contend that Washington left Carlisle on the 11th. The President's own words must be considered authoritative, however. See Linn and Egle, *PA*, 2nd, IV, 14; Prowell, *York History*, I, 341; Baldwin, *Whiskey Rebels*, 229; William Henry Egle, *Notes and Queries, Historical and Genealogical, Chiefly Relating to Interior Pennsylvania*, vol. I, reprint (Baltimore, 1970), 225; Thomas P. Slaughter, *The Whiskey Rebellion: Frontier Epilogue to the American Revolution* (New York, 1986), 216.

⁸ Jackson and Twohig, *Washington Diaries*, I, 191.

The right road was old Forbes Road/older Virginia Road, ostensibly nearly the same as present US 11. The left road likely was the 1794 version of modern Walnut Bottom Road. Waddell and Bomberger, *French and Indian War*, 38; ADC road atlas (1992).

⁹ Jackson and Twohig *Washington Diaries*, I, 193 and 195.

The President's return from Bedford began on October 21 and may have followed, for the most part, what is now US 30 via Chambersburg, York, and Lancaster back to Philadelphia. He wrote letters from Hartley's (four miles east of Bedford) on the 21st and from Wright's Ferry (Columbia, Lancaster County) on the 26th which suggest and permit that as his probable route. His letter on the 26th does mention passing "Skinners," a site in Horse Valley, Franklin County, which indicates that he might have been heading for Shippensburg. However, just east of Skinner's a road led south-southeast directly to Chambersburg. Jackson and Twohig, *Washington Diaries*, I, 197; Howell map (1792).

Once he reached Chambersburg, Washington could have traveled east on US 30 to its intersection with then Black's Gap Road, then followed that roadway on now Hilltown, Goldenville, Hunterstown, and Swift Run Roads, all in present Adams County, until again meeting 30 a few miles west of New Oxford. He then would have been in position on the 23rd or, perhaps more likely, the 24th to pass the tavern of Joshua Russell, where, it has long been believed by many local people, he stopped. Heard also, although less frequently, is that the President stopped in Hunterstown that day. The route does conform to a certain logic, but no contemporary documentation places the President with certainty in now Adams County on that trip.

Besides, there is at least one claim which disputes that as Washington's route. By the alternative account, the President spent the night of October 24 in Shippensburg and the next on the eastern edge of Cumberland County, at the Susquehanna River, which implies that, once he reached Carlisle, he returned to Philadelphia by the same path he had left it a month before. Doubtless, though, that would have prevented his

passage through York on the 25th, which he himself recorded. Egle, *Notes and Queries*, 225-26; Jackson and Twohig, *Washington Diaries*, I, 197.

That need not be the final word, however. If Washington indeed continued east past Skinner's instead of turning shortly toward Chambersburg, likely he traveled directly to Shippensburg. A road southeast from that town went to Baltimore, a major market for much of what was produced in the region through which it ran. Its course was, and is, right through the heart of Adams County. It is now the "over the mountain" path many countians use to reach Shippensburg: the Mummasburg Road from Gettysburg to Arendtsville, SR 234 "through the narrows," then onto Shippensburg Road and across Big Flat into Cumberland County, where the pathway becomes Baltimore Road right to Shippensburg. If the President rode east to Shippensburg and turned south, 20 miles farther on he would have reached present Goldenville Road, along which, just a short distance to the east, sat Russell Tavern, and just a few miles beyond that was Hunterstown. Thus, a compatibility of routes separately claimed is attained, which in theory permits both Shippensburg and Adams County to have hosted the President on that trip. Perhaps that very possibility accounts for the enduring, even though unconfirmed, story. Howell map (1792); ADC road atlas (1992).

¹⁰ Slaughter, *Whiskey Rebellion*, 217.

¹¹ Compare, for example, the diarist's dates and places with Linn and Egle, *PA*, 2nd, IV, 360-64; Jackson and Twohig, *Washington Diaries*, I, 181-95; Egle, *Notes and Queries*, 224-26; Waterman-Watkins and Co., publ., *History of Bedford, Somerset and Fulton Counties, Pennsylvania* (Chicago, 1884), 110-13.

¹² Linn and Egle, *PA*, 2nd, IV, 380; Jackson and Twohig, *Washington Diaries*, I, 190; Barnes map (1848).

¹³ Linn and Egle, *PA*, 2nd, IV, 380; ADC road atlas (1992).

It is possible that already the line of march was becoming strung out too far for easy contact and communication, so the vanguard was required to pause, thereby allowing trailing troops and supplies to catch up.

¹⁴ Linn and Egle, *PA*, 2nd, IV, 380.

¹⁵ Linn and Egle, *PA*, 2nd, IV, 380; ADC road atlas (1992).

The map identifies Sideling Hill, but it is not clear that that shows the ridge as encountered in 1794. The road at the time might have crossed the ridge at a different location.

"The Crossens" (or Crossings) names the place where the Raystown Branch of the Juniata River was crossed, probably by fording. Likely, the site is now Juniata Crossing, a mile or so west of Breezewood and just a short distance into Bedford County.

¹⁶ Linn and Egle, *PA*, 2nd, IV, 380; ADC road atlas (1992).

¹⁷ Linn and Egle, *PA*, 2nd, IV, 346-65.

¹⁸ Linn and Egle, *PA*, 2nd, IV, 380; Barnes map (1848).

From this point, daily distances traveled are recorded here usually in terms of modern roadways, since frequently it is neither clear how 1794 roads ran nor exactly where each campsite was located. Nor is there any known contemporary list of distances between campsites on the Glade Road route.

West of Bedford, US 30, which only very generally tracks Forbes Road, looped north, then south, then, after an overall westerly course for several miles, bore more or less northwest to Pittsburgh. SR 31, the Glade Road, continued south briefly on the western leg of the US 30 loop, crossing the Raystown Branch, which approximately parallels the north side of the dry ridge. At the base of the east end of the ridge, Buffalo Run flows north into the Raystown Branch. The campsite may have been along the run, at or near a place identified in 1792 as Wert's, which arguably is Mann's Choice today. Possible, nevertheless, is that the encampment was near the tavern of Jean Bonnet, at the junction of US 30 and SR 31—strictly speaking, however, Bonnet's is not at the east end of the dry ridge. Howell map (1792); Barnes map (1848); ADC road atlas (1992).

The term "dry ridge" perhaps denotes that no stream descended its slopes. The ridge has another peculiarity. Rarely, indeed if anywhere else in this region of Pennsylvania's mountains, can another like it be seen, so far out of the topographic norm. Its orientation is nearly directly east-west, opposed to its neighbors' commonly northeast-southwest, or in some cases almost perfectly north-south, configuration.

¹⁹ Howell map (1792); ADC road atlas (1992).

Hughs Camp Run today is Little Wills Creek. Where the stream crosses SR 31, a small community called West End stands. That designation might identify the site as at either the western extremity of the dry ridge or the western boundary of present Bedford County.

A glade is defined as a naturally open space surrounded by woodland. An extensive area of present Somerset County has long been called "the glades" because of the numerous openings in the forest there. Additionally, at least two small streams and a town in the vicinity of Berlin carry the name Glade today. ADC road atlas (1992).

²⁰ Linn and Egle, *PA*, 2nd, IV, 364; Baldwin, *Whiskey Rebels*, 231.

²¹ At about the midpoint of that day's trek, the militia route left SR 31 at Deeter's Gap to reach Berlin. The next leg of the march picked up 31 again at today's Somerset, some seven miles beyond Berlin. ADC road atlas (1992).

²² Jacob Kable's identification is uncertain, as is his residence. A Jacob Cebler lived in 1790 Bedford County, but in which part of the county has not been learned. By 1800, however, a Jacob Cable, Sr., lived in Brothers Valley Township, Somerset (taken out of Bedford in 1795) County. One, or both, might be the person named in the diary. In addition, a site about five miles southwest of Berlin, on Blue Lick Creek in Brothers Valley Township, was at one time called Cable's. That place might be Berkleys Mill today and might have been the diarist's brief refuge in 1794. Howell map (1792); ADC road atlas (1992); United States Federal Census, Pennsylvania: Bedford County, 1790, and Somerset County, 1800.

²³ Officers were permitted to board at inns or private homes. Whether the diarist really was an officer is problematical, however. There were volunteers in the militia units, too, some of whom were well-to-do individuals who expected privileges not afforded to those drafted. Conceivably, as one of the privileged even if not an officer, the diarist was allowed to find better lodging where and when he could. Also possibly, although unlikely, discipline was so lax that such liberties could not be controlled effectively. Baldwin, *Whiskey Rebels*, 232-34; Slaughter, *Whiskey Rebellion*, 213-18.

²⁴ Somerset is shown in 1792 as Anchony's. That spelling apparently is a variant or a misguided form of Ankeny, for Peter Ankeny, who owned land which became the southern part of the town. Also shown, just north of Anchony's, is Husband's, for Harmon (or Herman) Husband, who owned what became the northern part of Somerset. Evidently, that Husband was also the man believed to have been one of the chief insurrectionists, being imprisoned in Philadelphia for a time because of his alleged activities. Waterman-Watkins, *Bedford History*, 444-46; Howell map (1792); Slaughter, *Whiskey Rebellion*, 276.

Jone's (Jones's) Mill was on the North Branch of Laurel Hill Creek or on a small tributary which descended the eastern slope of Laurel Hill. Likely, today it is the site of Bakersville. The ridge of that mountain marked the western boundary of Bedford (by the next year Somerset) County. Howell map (1792); ADC road atlas (1992).

²⁵ Hover's is only shakily identified. Presuming that the militia would almost necessarily camp near a sufficient supply of fresh water, it appears that Hover's may have been on Indian Creek, either in Salt Lick Township, Fayette County, or in Donegal Township, Westmoreland County. One of several modern sites, perhaps Champion or Jones Mill, may be, or may be near, Hover's. Howell map (1792); ADC road atlas (1992).

Jones Mill mentioned just above is not the "Jone's Mill" reached on October 28. The latter, identified as probably Bakersville in note 24, is east of Laurel Hill and is seen only on the 1792 map. The former is west of Laurel Hill and is found only on more recent maps.

²⁶ Cherry's Mill is shown as on Jacobs Creek and as on or near the border of Westmoreland and Fayette Counties. Very likely, it was, or was near, present Laurelville, which lies in Mt. Pleasant Township, Westmoreland County. Laurelville is tucked into a corner south of Jacobs Creek and north of the county line, and for that reason it is assumed that the man apprehended lived in Westmoreland County. Maps.yahoo.com.

In 1790, a man named Ralph Cherry resided in each of the adjacent counties, although the Mt. Pleasant Township person's given name was recorded as Relph. The other lived in Bullskin Township, Fayette County. By 1800, only one is seen, living in Smiths Township, Washington County. Census: Fayette and Westmoreland Counties, 1790, and Washington County, 1800.

A Ralph Cherry with a possible tie to the diarist emerged in an entirely different context ten years earlier. In 1784, Aaron and Ralph Cherry sold to William McGrue land in Westmoreland County which adjoined land of Alexander and Simon McGrue. McGrue (or McGrew) is a name of major importance to the diarist, as will become evident. In 1794, however, the McGrew families of known consequence to this work lived in North Huntingdon Township (later Sewickley Township for some of them), a considerable distance from the home area of Cherry at the time. *Westmoreland County Deeds*, vol. A-B, 541, in a typescript in the McGrew Family file, Adams County Historical Society, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania.

The sale of 300 acres of land surely places that Cherry outside the category of the very poor, landless people who were most imperiled by the whiskey excise. The

ownership or management of a mill known by his name also removes the man of the diary as a likely candidate to join or foment rebellion. Those are not certain bars to participation, however, since many motivating factors toward insurgency may have existed.

²⁷ It is possible that Ralph Cherry filled another niche; he might have been, for example, an informant. If an insurrectionist, however, evidently he was one who fell under the blanket pardon offered, under authority of President Washington, by Commander-in-Chief of the expedition Henry Lee. Cherry's name does not appear on a list of perpetrators of serious federal offenses who were not eligible for pardon. Linn and Egle, *PA*, 2nd, IV, 402-03; Waterman-Watkins, *Bedford History*, 112-13.

²⁸ Linn and Egle, *PA*, 2nd, IV, 369.

²⁹ Waterman-Watkins, *Bedford History*, 110.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 111.

³¹ Whichever side of the Youghiogheny was Budd's ferry base, undoubtedly the diarist's militia unit remained east of the river. His notation of the next day's march to a site on Sewickley Creek means that if they crossed the river on the 4th, they would have had to recross it on the 5th. That lacks credibility and it is clear that they never crossed the Youghiogheny. Therefore, the campsite on the 4th was in Westmoreland County. The site of Lodge's might have been on SR 31—to get from there to within five miles of Budd's Ferry probably places the camp southwest of New Stanton. Howell map (1792); Barnes map (1848); ADC road atlas (1992). For corroboration of the diarist's account, see Baldwin, *Whiskey Rebels*, 235.

³² The site called Karnahans (probably Carnahan's) is not known. Just as the move from Hover's to within five miles of Budd's necessarily was a short one, however, so must have been the march to Karnahans. Surely, "Swekley" equals "Sewickley," and Sewickley Creek flows in Westmoreland County, therefore east of the Youghiogheny. It is joined by Little Sewickley Creek north of West Newton and shortly beyond that confluence empties into the Youghiogheny. If on the main branch of the creek, Karnahans might have been at today's New Stanton or the small town of Hunker which is appended to the southern edge of the larger community. If on the tributary, it might have been near modern Herminie. ADC road atlas (1992); Waddell and Bomberger, *French and Indian War*, 13.

³³ There is no reason to doubt that Simeon and James McGrew were closely related. A McGrew genealogy includes as children of James McGrew, ca.1707-1793, who lived in what is now Adams County, sons Simeon (or Simon), born ca. 1745, and James, 1750-1818, both of whom moved to now Sewickley Township, Westmoreland County. In both 1790 and 1800, each ostensibly lived in that county, in North Huntingdon Township, which then included what later became Sewickley Township.

But, since Simeon's brother James reportedly moved into North Huntingdon Township after 1794, the James recorded in this entry likely was Simeon's cousin, 1744-1805, who probably was situated in North Huntingdon by 1790. Mrs. Oliver Delong, comp., *McGrew* (Ft. Morgan, CO, pre-1965); census: Westmoreland, 1790 and 1800. See also note 53.

³⁴ All those sites' identifications are based on flimsy evidence. Nonetheless, they may

show a generally north and west movement that matches the militia's. All descriptions which follow refer to places east of the Youghiogheny and the Monongahela.

A James Cavet lived in 1790 in Hempfield Township, Westmoreland County. Seemingly the same man resided in 1800 in the same county, but in Franklin Township. Census: Westmoreland, 1790 and 1800.

A Mikel Helman was a resident of Versailles Township, Allegheny County, in 1790. Probably the same man was also there in 1795, his name then spelled Michael Hellman. Census: Allegheny, 1790; Thomas Cushing, ed., *History of Allegheny County, Pennsylvania*, vol. II (Chicago, 1889), 110.

A Hodew (Haden?) Mcannear [*sic*] lived in Pitt Township, Allegheny County, in 1790. He has not been found in 1800. Census: Allegheny, 1790.

The encampment near Pitt was on the Allegheny River. Baldwin, *Whiskey Rebels*, 235. Possibly, "Pitt" could refer to Ft. Pitt or even Pitt Township, although probably the town of Pittsburgh was meant. Confirmation might be seen in the diarist's use of "Yough," unquestionably to mean "Youghiogheny" (diary: November 4).

The extended stays at Hover's, Karnahans, and finally Pitt might be taken as evidence that they were bases for rounding up insurrectionists.

³⁵ Obviously, "mistfire" is "misfired," that is, the powder charge failed to ignite properly, if at all, and so resulted in no propulsive effect to the shot. Maybe it was a "flash in the pan," a literally exact term then, although now used in any situation of great promise but with little or no ensuing benefit.

³⁶ A John Cavet was one of the original lot-owners of McKeesport, Allegheny County. Cushing, *Allegheny History*, I, 729.

A John Cavet lived in Franklin Township, Westmoreland County, in 1790. By 1800, three individuals of that name were in that township, one of them, however, too young to have been named ten years earlier. Apparently then, one of the other two in 1800 was also named in 1790. If so, in 1800 he was likely the one designated "Senr." Whether any of the three in 1800, however, was also at some point a resident of McKeesport is not evident, but the likelihood is good. Census: Westmoreland, 1790 and 1800.

Whether James (see diary: November 10, and note 34) and John Cavet were related to each other or to the diarist has not been learned, but some good chance is present. Meeting two, if indeed the diarist met both, individuals with the same not very common surname in just nine days seems more than coincidental, especially since apparently he went to the second Cavet at his own instigation. Perhaps lessening the chances of a family connection to the diarist, however, is that no Cavet in Adams County has been identified.

³⁷ Linn and Egle, *PA*, 2nd, IV, 380 and 382-83; Waterman-Watkins, *Bedford History*, 112; Baldwin, *Whiskey Rebels*, 253; Slaughter, *Whiskey Rebellion*, 219. Accounts differ with the diarist, however, Linn and Egle twice reporting, for example, that the return march was to begin on the 19th.

³⁸ This time the friends remain unnamed. Nevertheless, because of the frequency and length of his visits, more likely the "friends" actually were relatives of the diarist. A logical assumption, too, is that, as he went from friend to friend, he was moving toward home in small increments of distance.

³⁹ Having with him, or having access to, sufficient money to purchase a horse, saddle, and bridle further identifies him as not of the drafted militia and possibly also as having close relatives, a plausible source of money, in that vicinity.

⁴⁰ The diarist wrote that York, not Cumberland (in which Carlisle lies), County was his destination. Since Carlisle was the mustering out point for the militia, he thus was unintentionally hinting that his militia service had indeed already ended and, moreover, that he was going home. Later events and people's names recorded in the booklet which contains his diaries verify that he lived in York (by 1800 Adams) County.

⁴¹ His route home is unclear. He might have followed old Forbes Road, which by 1794 had been altered and was known as the Old Pennsylvania Road or the State Road. Linn and Egle, *PA*, 2nd, IV, 382; Waterman-Watkins, *Bedford History*, 112; Donehoo, *Pennsylvania*, 1009. Alternatively, he might have retraced, at least generally, his journey west, perhaps even seeing the McGrews again before heading east. But since he began a week after the militia left the area, eventually he would have had to pass them unless he reached Bedford by the southern route (Glade Road) before they arrived—they marched via the northern route. Apparently, the diarist did not get to Bedford first, yet his journal contains no further mention of the militia. There is a suggestion, however, in the diarist's own words that he did wish to avoid encountering his former comrades on the open road. His actions for a couple of days reveal either an aversion to having to pass thousands of men plus the supply train, which surely would impede his own progress, or perhaps a dread of enduring some outward sign of militiamen's resentment of his freedom from the march.

Reaching Laurel Hill on the first day necessitated a trip of probably over, perhaps well over, 30 miles—his starting point for that initial leg is not known. He might have stopped southeast of Ligonier if he took the State Road, or near Jones Mill if he used the Glade Road. Both sites are west of the ridge of Laurel Hill, on SR 381 at its intersection with US 30 and SR 31 respectively. ADC road atlas (1992).

⁴² Mann's Choice is seven miles west of Bedford and likely was the stopping place. ADC road atlas (1992). See also note 18.

⁴³ From his starting point just west of Bedford it is 58 miles to Chambersburg via US 30. Continuing east to Cashtown, then turning to Arendtsville adds another 21 miles. East from Arendtsville on SR 234, then north to the area where the extreme northern parts of Menallen, Tyrone, and Huntington Townships are in close proximity, the suspected home territory of the diarist, adds perhaps 10 more miles. It has not been substantiated, however, that the traveler could then ride the entire route on established roadways. Maps. yahoo; www.mapquest.com. For reasoning concerning the diarist's home area, see note 45.

Perhaps he did stay on the State Road through Bedford to Shippensburg, that stretch covering 68 miles. He then could have continued east on Walnut Bottom Road to Lees Cross Roads, then turned southeast to Pine Grove Furnace and on into today's Adams County very near his home, the total distance from Shippensburg some 20-plus miles. That nearly equals the distance by the US 30 route, but would have required his meeting up with the militia. Maps.yahoo; MapQuest; Howell map (1792).

⁴⁴ Calling York County home perhaps was just an unthinking slip; after all, when

he started this journey, that was correct. It must be taken into consideration, though, that maybe he had no inkling that, after many years of effort, local people finally saw their work to be permitted their own county succeed. By today's standards, news then could spread very slowly. Even word of the likelihood that Adams's establishment was imminent, had it been heard in Gettysburg some time prior to his leaving home, might not have reached his ears. Evidently then, even eight days later he still had not heard of it.

⁴⁵ If he walked only, or mostly, in daylight, he probably proceeded no more than 10 or 12 miles the first day. By whatever measure, he was then still some miles short of Shippensburg. See note 47.

See notes 33 and 53 for the tie of the McGrew families of Westmoreland and Adams Counties, the latter of whom lived in the vicinity speculated as the diarist's home—the upper reaches of Opossum and Bermudian Creeks flow through that part of Adams. See also note 61 for a miller with a McGrew tie.

Although George Coch (probably Koch or Cook) has not been found there in the 1800 federal census, almost certainly he lived in Cumberland County. A George Cook did reside then in Adams County, but in Mt. Pleasant Township and so too far from Shippensburg in the context of the diary. Census: Adams, 1800.

⁴⁶ Six pence is the smallest amount the diarist paid for lodging on this trip. He paid twelve times as much on another occasion and over ten times as much on three others. He paid only eight pence once, apparently in early- or mid-afternoon and plausibly for food. He recorded making such payments on twelve of his fifteen days on the road, totaling in all just over £2 and averaging about 40½ pence, or 3¼½d, per day. See also note 52 for a different type of payment.

⁴⁷ Maps.yahoo; MapQuest.

The recorded distance evidently agrees very closely with Linn and Egle, *PA*, 2nd, IV, 380, which shows Shippensburg and Ft. Lyttleton as 28 miles apart. Since Fannettsburg is 19 miles from Shippensburg, he began the day some nine miles short of Shippensburg, therefore somewhere nearly midway between Pine Grove Furnace and Lees Cross Roads and credibly no more than 12 miles from home. Thus, likely he had no need to walk in the dark the first day. Evidently too, he began the second day's walk in mid-morning if he did not pass Shippensburg until noon.

⁴⁸ The diarist's recorded mileage often is surprisingly accurate. How he calculated time and distance is not clear. Perhaps an uncanny sense of time and pace is as believable an explanation as any of his ability to arrive at nearly correct distances so frequently. Having with him an accurate timepiece seems unlikely because of its presumed cost. It is probable that signposts existed, but how common would they have been and how many would have shown tiny communities or individual residences or lodging sites? Possibly though, distances to sites within 20 or 30 miles were commonly known throughout the region, and therefore a traveler might have needed only to inquire about, at each place he stopped, the walking time and/or distance to one or two lodging places ahead on his intended route.

His 37 miles from Fannettsburg to Bloody Run (today called Everett) is by modern roadways about 39 miles, which arguably is an unrealistic day's walk in the

rugged mountains in that part of the state. That appears to make Ft. Lyttleton, eight miles nearer Everett, a better option as the true starting point that day and more in line with the usual distances he walked in a day. But that alternative then would have necessitated a 36-mile leg the previous day, which began likely several hours after sunrise and so would have required an all-but-impossible pace. In addition, denying his 37 miles in a full day, no matter how difficult the terrain, also denies for two consecutive days his otherwise accurate gauging of distance. See also note 56.

⁴⁹ Probably it can be assumed, of course, that any horseman would walk at times, leading his horse in difficult areas and in situations of dangerous or unsure footing. The diarist himself perhaps settles the question: in 1794, after he acquired a horse, he wrote that he rode, not marched (1794 diary entries: November 25-27).

⁵⁰ Following the route of the 1794 march would have taken the diarist past Bedford and then down present SR 31. That is presumed to have been his 1800 course, by which he would have reached a site now called Dividing Ridge, about 31 miles from Everett. The name and distance are nearly perfectly matched to the diarist's record and are a startling testimony to his accuracy.

⁵¹ Arguably, this leg did not extend across Laurel Hill. It is now about 21 miles from Dividing Ridge to Bakersville at the eastern base of Laurel Hill and 29 to Jones Mill on the western side. ADC road atlas (1992).

Although the site of Widow Logwood's lodging house has not been identified, a Hanah [*sic*] Logwood was head of house in 1800 in Somerset Township, Somerset County, which does place her somewhere east of the ridge of Laurel Hill. Census: Somerset, 1800.

⁵² At this point it is even more evident that the militia path in 1794 was also followed in 1800. Therefore, the trek on the 26th might have reached New Stanton or Hunker, perhaps the same site identified in 1794 as Karnahans. If so, then advancing 12 miles beyond that would easily place the traveler in North Huntingdon Township, Westmoreland County, where Simeon McGrew lived. Also, it is 12 miles from Hunker to some parts of present Sewickley Township, which may more closely define Simeon's residence. See 1794 diary: November 4-6, and notes 32 and 33.

Also on the 27th, the diarist "Changd boots gave ½ a doller paid 2⁵." In those few words he noted paying for food and lodging with money of one medium of exchange and buying boots, or trading for a pair which were at least dry, with money of another currency. Fifty cents to seal either a purchase or a swap appears to be a more-than-fair deal for the diarist. The use of dollar-based money only this one time is not understood, however, even if multiple currencies were still commonly used.

The payment for lodging for the night of January 26-27 was the last recorded until after he began the homebound trip. That is viewed as another sign that the friends he visited were in reality his relatives. See notes 38 and 53.

⁵³ James McGrew, Sr., may have been the son, 1744-1805, of Finley McGrew, who lived in what became Adams County. James lived in North Huntingdon Township in both 1790 and 1800. DeLong, *McGrew*; census: Westmoreland, 1790 and 1800.

James McGrew, Jr., likely was the son, 1750-1818, of Finley McGrew's brother James, who also had resided in the future Adams County. James, Jr., is

recorded as having moved to the area of Redstone, on the Monongahela River in Fayette County, in 1794. That fits his first census appearance in the west in 1800, even though by then he lived in North Huntingdon Township, Westmoreland County. Delong, *McGrew*; census: Westmoreland, 1800.

Thus, the Jameses identified as senior and junior were cousins. Simeon McGrew was the brother of James, Jr., and therefore also a cousin of James, Sr. Simeon had lived in the west since sometime before 1790. Delong, *McGrew*; census: Westmoreland, 1790 and 1800.

Brothers Finley and James McGrew had a brother William who also had a son named James, but a third James in Westmoreland County has not been found. Finley and William, plus a fourth brother, John, also had sons named Archibald. John's Archibald married Martha Bracken and died about 1805 in Adams County. Which possible Archibald was visited by the diarist is not clear. Delong, *McGrew*; estate files, Adams County Historical Society.

John McGrew also had a daughter Catharine, 1724-1828 (those dates are as recorded), who therefore was also a cousin of Simeon and the Jameses Sr. and Jr. Catharine married William Boyd, ca. 1726-1785, in now Adams County—William died there. He had acquired, however, land in North Huntingdon Township, Westmoreland County, which passed to his son John. After her husband's death, Catharine and at least some of her children moved to Westmoreland County; sons William, ca. 1751-1846, and John, 1761-1815, resided there, in North Huntingdon Township, in 1800. Additionally, John Boyd married Ruth McGrew, daughter of Archibald and Martha (Bracken) McGrew, so John and Ruth were also cousins of each other. Those Boyd brothers, William and John, are probably the Boyd "friends" visited by the diarist. Delong, *McGrew*; Scott Lee Boyd, comp. and publ., *The Boyd Family* (Santa Barbara, CA, 1935); census: Westmoreland, 1790 and 1800.

⁵⁴ Perhaps, while on his clearly short excursions from friend to friend, he had left much of his travel gear at Simeon's. Perhaps, in order to travel more quickly and easily to each visiting place, he had borrowed or rented a horse.

⁵⁵ Lovingere's identification is very unsure. Even though no stop on his return is clear until he reached Bedford, likely the diarist again used the route which by then was becoming familiar. Thus, if he had stopped at Hunker the night before he got to Simeon McGrew's, seemingly a very real possibility, then his 15-mile walk, the first homeward leg after leaving Simeon's, probably brought him near Mt. Pleasant. That further suggests that Hover's in 1794 and Lovingere's in 1800 identify the same site, or sites closely placed. ADC road atlas (1992); 1794 diary: analysis and notes of October 29 plus corrected text in the analysis paragraphs which follow immediately.

Possible corroboration of the placement of Lovingere's at Mt. Pleasant might be seen in census details. In both 1790 and 1800 John and Christopher Lobengire (also spelled Lobinguire and Lovinguire) lived in Mt. Pleasant Township, Westmoreland County; in the latter year a Widow Lobinguire also resided there. Census: Westmoreland, 1790 and 1800.

⁵⁶ This day of 37 miles is the second of that distance recorded. On this occasion it included traversing Chestnut Ridge and Laurel Hill, which probably was not as

wearing a walk as his crossing of Sideling Hill on the westward trip a week earlier, although on a very cold day. Even at a four-miles-per-hour pace, which surely would have been difficult to maintain in any mountainous terrain, he would have been on the road for over nine hours. With about ten hours of sunlight available at that time of year, and with another hour or so of twilight, he appears to have walked literally “from dawn to dusk,” if not longer.

“Cimbles” is an uncertain reading, as is interpreting it to represent Kimble’s or Kimball’s. Berlin, or perhaps Macdonaldton a few miles to the east, might have been the quitting point on the 30th, making the day’s walk approximately 31 miles by one measurement, but almost 40 by another which, however, follows a not very direct course. ADC road atlas (1992); maps, yahoo.

The division into townships to separate the residents of Bedford County was not used by census personnel in 1790. That year, five apparently possible Cimbles lived in the county, the surname of each spelled Kimel: John, David, George, Jacob, and Philip. Four of them are found within two pages of each other in the census, but no placement within the county has been attempted. Their residence in 1800 Somerset County also has not been ascertained, even though all the above-named except Philip, their surname this time spelled Kimmel, lived there. David, George, and Jacob were in Stonycreek Township, while John was in Berlin (Brothers Valley?) Township. Seemingly, any one of the four might have hosted the diarist, although John is perhaps most likely. Census: Bedford, 1790, and Somerset, 1800.

⁵⁷ The word written is possibly “midleg,” which in this context likely would mean essentially the same as “middling.” Because of the diarist’s spelling, however, “midleg” is considered less likely—later in the same entry he wrote “morning” as “mornig,” which shows the same spelling tendency as does “midlig” to mean “middling.”

⁵⁸ The 24 miles in fresh and falling snow may have been as amazing a total as the 37 of the previous day. The diarist was still west of Bedford, as the entry of the next leg reveals. It is certainly feasible, perhaps likely, that he tramped from Berlin to Mann’s Choice, about 23 miles by modern reckoning. ADC road atlas (1992).

Mr. Kynton may have been the John Cinten living in Bedford County in 1790 and the John Kinton recorded in 1800 as residing in the same county, either in St. Clair or Bedford Township. Census: Bedford, 1790 and 1800.

⁵⁹ The day’s trek surely began before noon—the 24 miles recorded is excessive for half a day, even if he trudged on in the dark in order to reach a specific (or indeed any) lodging place.

There is uncertainty too in where “this side the crossings” was intended to designate. The diarist might have written from the perspective of the direction he was heading, meaning therefore west of the crossing of the Raystown Branch, or he might have been thinking in relationship to his home, indicating thus the eastern side. Actually, the latter appears to be more likely, for it is about 24½ miles from Mann’s Choice to Breezewood. MapQuest.

⁶⁰ “Below strawsburgh” is understood to mean, for the same reasoning given in note 59 (that is, the diarist was thinking from the perspective of his home), to the west of the community.

A monumental problem is present, nonetheless, in the stated distance between the last two stops, 34 miles. In 1794, an official record showed the distance from Strasburg to The Crossings to be 49 miles! Walking such a distance in one day on level ground and in comfortable weather is hardly doable; without question, in the diarist's situation it would have been impossible. His record was never so far from actual mileage. The only ostensibly justifiable conclusion is that, for some inexplicable reason, he wrote the wrong name as the site of that day's terminus. So, since by the mileage recorded officially in 1794 The Crossings is 32 miles from Ft. Lyttleton, that latter place, not Strasburg, appears to be and is taken to be the site that should have been named. Linn and Egle, *PA*, 2nd, IV, 380; ADC road atlas (1992).

⁶¹ The 30 miles (from near Ft. Lyttleton) would have brought the traveling companions at least as far as Shippensburg, and plausibly somewhat farther, maybe in reality as far as present Lees Cross Roads. Linn and Egle, *PA*, 2nd, IV, 380; ADC road atlas (1992).

Co-traveler Edward Weakley was referred to only this day and it is assumed that the next day he continued east toward his own home. Likely, this was someone known by the diarist. A man of that name, 1743-1817 (if the same, clearly a very hardy individual, walking 30 miles on a cold snowy day at age 56 or 57), was a resident of Dickinson Township, Cumberland County, where he operated a grist mill. His brother William Weakley had a daughter, Esther, who married William McGrew, son of Archibald and Martha (Bracken) McGrew (see note 53). Census: Cumberland, 1800; McGrew and Weakley Family files, Adams County Historical Society.

⁶² William R. Sadler, 1809-1853, was a son of Richard and Agnes (Lewis) Sadler. A resident of Huntington Township, Adams County, he first appeared on tax rolls in 1835 with 123 acres of land "of John McGrew." He married Agnes, daughter of John and Patience McGrew—in the 1839 will of Patience, of which he was executor, Sadler was recorded as husband of Agnes. In 1847, he was elected state senator from the district comprised of Adams and Franklin Counties. He was buried in the Hampton cemetery. Card, tax, and estate files, Adams County Historical Society; Warner, Beers & Co., publ., *History of Cumberland and Adams Counties* (Chicago, 1886), second reprint of part by The Bookmark as *1886 History of Adams County, Pennsylvania* (McKnightstown, IN, 1980), 88.

⁶³ More than one Josiah Kerr lived in Adams County at the time of interest, each in Mt. Pleasant Township. The eldest, 1715-1784, married a Mary who died in 1804. He was buried in The Pines cemetery, near New Chester. It is unlikely that he is the person referred to in the booklet.

Perhaps two or more other Josiah Kerrs also resided in Mt. Pleasant Township. Information here has not been assigned to any particular Josiah, however.

A Josiah was taxed in 1778 with 200 acres. Apparently two of the name were taxed in 1779 or 1780, one of them unmarried. One was taxed in 1783 with 350 acres. The next tax listing for a Josiah is for 1807, again of a single man, who perhaps married about 1818 and acquired 113 acres by the next year; that land evidently was sold about 1828. A Josiah married Sarah Reynolds in 1780. One sold Mt. Pleasant Township property in 1825. One married a Mary who died in 1836. One apparently moved to Darke County, Ohio. Card and tax files, Adams County Historical Society.

⁶⁴ Ludwig Waltemire, who died in 1838, lived in, or at times only held land in, Huntington Township, Adams County. Around 1800, tax information reveals that he then was a resident of Cumberland County. He appeared in York/Adams County tax lists for a half-century, with 30 acres as early as 1783. Over the next two decades he appeared on county tax rolls about half the time, usually with land and called once a weaver. In 1807, his land holdings began to increase in acreage, reaching as high as 306 acres in 1814 before beginning a period of frequent falls and rises. Card and tax files, Adams County Historical Society.

The money sum in the Waltemire entry, with the crown as its base, is not often seen in that form. A crown is a former British coin, usually of silver, equal in value to five shillings. Translating the given amount to the commonly encountered pound base shows £2-8-3, a significant sum of money in the county at the time.

⁶⁵ The only possible person in Adams County named Blish at the probable time of the entry was Dr. Charles Blish, 1792-1861, who was born in Massachusetts and who moved into the county in 1817, settling in Hampton, Reading Township. In 1822 he married Rebecca, daughter of John and Patience McGrew and sister of Agnes Sadler (see note 62). He was named as son-in-law of John McGrew in, and was executor of, McGrew's 1826 will. In 1835 he was selected first postmaster of the Hampton post office. Card, tax, and estate files, Adams County Historical Society; Warner-Beers, *Adams History*, 118.

The line in the entry transcribed as "Blish x Linch" is understood likely to indicate a partnership or some other close affiliation. Although no connection has been uncovered, a Linch of the same vicinity, speculated to be the right man, has been found.

John Lynch, ca. 1792-1869, whose surname is sometimes seen as Linch, was first taxed as a single man in Reading Township in 1822. Subsequently, he married Mary Slagle and was taxed only for his occupation—like Ludwig Waltemire, he was called then a weaver. By 1833, he lived, and apparently farmed, in Hamilton Township, having acquired 87 acres there. In 1860, he first appeared in Straban Township with a lot (and presumably a house). He was buried in New Chester, only three miles from Hampton. Card and tax files, Adams County Historical Society.

⁶⁶ Delong, *McGrew*; estate and land draft files, Adams County Historical Society; J. William Long, "Notes used in preparation of story for Newsletter, December 1981," a collection in the Idaville file, Adams County Historical Society.

Although evidence is compelling that this John was indeed a son of Archibald and Martha (Bracken) McGrew, Delong suggests that he was a son of John, father of the same Archibald (see note 53). The younger John and Archibald were postulated to have had different mothers and thereby were half-brothers. It is a position difficult to support.

John McGrew was taxed for 200 acres in Huntington Township, Adams County, possibly even before 1780, which hints at his birth in the 1750s, if not earlier. His grandfather, also named John, had died in 1775, so it does appear that the younger man was the one taxed. That, however, is supposition only, for in 1786 grandson John had that property surveyed, its true acreage measured as slightly over 273. The survey

could imply that the grandfather's name had remained on tax rolls, even after his death, until the land was sold or until one of his heirs acquired final, legal rights to it. In that may be a further hint that grandson John was born in the 1760s. By 1793, the grandson's acreage was recorded as 275, and later as 280.

In 1808 the adjoining 300-acre tract of his father, Archibald, was added to John's tax burden, indication of his acquisition of that land. Gradually, he disposed of much of the total property, which lay about a mile east of present Idaville, and which stretched from a bit south of the road linking Petersburg (now York Springs) and Pine Grove Furnace northward nearly to the Cumberland County line. That, with no question, placed him in the area proposed as the likely home of the diarist, although perhaps a couple of miles must be added to the estimated 21 from his home to Shippensburg (see notes 45 and 47). Tax and land draft files, Adams County Historical Society; Adams County plat book, 1977, Adams County Historical Society.

By 1818, John had moved into a house in Middleton, also in Huntington Township. That village was on the Petersburg-Pine Grove Furnace Road and was just five miles from the latter site. There he operated a tavern, evidently for the rest of his life—he received tavern license renewals through 1826. Over the years, Middleton's name was changed more than once, called at times Whitestown, Smyerstown, and its modern name, Idaville. It had another name, too, one of special notice here: McGrewsburg! Long, "Notes on Idaville."

⁶⁷ The distance is subject to, and dependent on, interpretation. If "below strawsburgh" recorded on February 2 accurately names his stopping place that day, he was some 16 miles nearer Shippensburg. By that reading, his total return mileage from Lovingere's (Mt. Pleasant) to Shippensburg was 131, very near his logged total west!

But that then creates two seemingly insupportable legs of his eastward journey. First, no rational explanation for an actual 49-mile day on the 2nd appears possible, nor does one for a one-time-only wild deviation from reality in his calling that distance 34 miles. Second, the 30-mile walk on the 3rd, if from "strawsburgh," might very well have taken him home, keeping in mind that his calculations, no matter how frequently accurate, surely were estimates and that the courses of his roadways might often have varied from present ones. Even if he was an hour, or even more, from home as darkness fell on the 3rd, likely he would have continued walking until he was home. An explanation is needed also, in that scenario, for the reason Edward Weakley received no more mention if indeed he accompanied the diarist to Adams County. Finally, if the diarist was home, or nearly home, by the 3rd, it seems extremely odd that he would choose to, and take time to, record in his journal on the 4th an apparent fee for the previous night's lodging, plus the weather conditions that morning, but nothing of his safe arrival home.

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