



FORT NECESSITY NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD

Pennsylvania

Historic Resource Study

September 1996

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FORT NECESSITY

National Battlefield • Pennsylvania

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FOREWORD

This historic resource study (HRS) has been prepared to provide the management and staff of Fort Necessity National Battlefield with an overview of the park's historical significance and an inventory of its significant cultural resources. The historical narrative sets the events that occurred at Fort Necessity in a regional, national, and international context, in order to explain fully the far-reaching impact of the park's extraordinary history. It also illustrates the site's impact on the life and career of George Washington, from his first ventures as diplomat and soldier in the Ohio country to his later undertakings as a land speculator and developer in the rapidly growing Trans-Appalachian West. This historic resource study provides the only comprehensive account of the park's history, from the beginning of the French and Indian War to its establishment as a unit of the National Park system.

The research for the document has focused on secondary sources, although some primary sources were essential, including the diaries and other writings of George Washington. The planning team has also drawn on information compiled in a number of other documents, including the draft Historic Structure Report for the Mount Washington Tavern, archeological reports produced for the Applied Archeology Center, the List of Classified Structures compiled by the Chesapeake/Allegheny System Support Office, and previous planning and resource documentation prepared for the park. The HRS is intended to be the most inclusive volume on the park's significance and resource base; its effectiveness will be enhanced when used in conjunction with the park's other resource and planning documents.

The HRS provides resource management information to Fort Necessity's managers, planners, and cultural resource specialists. It may also be used in the preparation of revised interpretive plans for the park.

CHAPTER 1: OPENING SALVOS IN A WAR FOR EMPIRE

The volley fired by a young Virginian
in the backwoods of America
set the world on fire.

— Horace Walpole

In the spring of 1754 a small force of Virginia militia under the command of George Washington surprised a French force in a remote glen in what became western Pennsylvania. Washington's troops, with the assistance of a small band of Mingos led by the Iroquois viceroy, Tanacharison, destroyed the French force and killed its commander, Ensign Joseph Coulon de Villiers de Jumonville. This seemingly insignificant engagement represented the initial bloodletting in the French and Indian War, a decade-long conflict that spanned four continents and ultimately embroiled most of the great powers of Europe.

Great Britain's victory in the war fundamentally altered the political face of North America. France was effectively eliminated as a major political force on the continent. The relationships among Europeans, European-Americans, and Native Americans along the Alleghenies, the Great Lakes, and in the Ohio country changed as the British replaced the French as the colonial power in the lands north and west of the Appalachians. The Ohio tribes, already on the defensive, attempted to adjust to this new political reality by seeking a middle ground on which to communicate with this foreign power. Most important, the prosecution and outcome of the war initiated a profound alteration in the relationship between Great Britain and the 13 colonies of the Atlantic seaboard.

The enormous energies expended in the conflict against the French generated new frictions or exacerbated old ones between the colonies and the crown. The conduct of the war itself brought both colonial troops and civilians into more immediate contact with British military authority. This experience contrasted sharply with the freedom they had known under their provincial governments. For more than a half century, both the crown and the Parliament had largely neglected American affairs. After the war, however, British subjects in the colonies found themselves subject to more rigorously enforced imperial power.

For many colonists, the regular British regiments that remained in the colonies after the end of hostilities raised the specter of a coercive force that could deny them their rights. The crown imposed new taxes on the colonies to support these troops and retire the war debt. Taxation prompted increasingly bitter debates over the colonists' status as English citizens and Parliament's authority over the colonies. To forestall continued conflict with the Indians of the Ohio Valley, British authorities banned further white emigration across the Allegheny Ridge. This move eroded the Crown's relations with both the wealthy speculators who sought to develop western lands and the common folk who wished to occupy the valleys of the Ohio country. These conflicts and others that

had been deprived of lands in the Susquehanna Valley through the combined efforts of Pennsylvania colonial officials and the sachems of the Iroquois Six Nations.¹ Many Shawnees who had migrated east to the Susquehanna in the late 1600s also were evicted by the Iroquois in the early decades of the 18th century.² The Delaware and Shawnee retreated to the valleys of the lower Allegheny and upper Ohio Rivers. Here they slowly increased their numbers as they gained practical autonomy from the Six Nations.

Throughout the first five decades of the 18th century, significant numbers of western Iroquois, predominantly Senecas³, moved south and west to take up residence along the Ohio and its tributaries. Many of these Senecas were in reality former captives or descendants of captives that were taken by the Iroquois during the Beaver Wars.⁴ As many of these former captives had been taken from enemy tribes who once had occupied the Ohio country, the Seneca immigrants put forward claims of ownership of the upper Ohio valley. But this mixed heritage also accelerated the process of estrangement of these migrants from the heart of Iroquois authority at Onondaga, in New York. The growing rift between the western Senecas and Iroquois further muddied the political waters in the regions west of the Alleghenies.

With the conclusion of the War of the Austrian Succession⁵ in 1748, French and British diplomatic relations briefly returned to normal. But European competition for dominance of the North American continent quickly increased in intensity. Growing numbers of traders from Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia aggressively penetrated the lands west of the Alleghenies to compete with the French for trade among the Algonquin tribes and republics.

The creation of the Ohio Company in 1747 posed a potentially far greater threat to French interests in the Valley. Unlike traders, who were relatively few in number and only occasionally established a permanent presence in the Ohio country, the Ohio Company's speculative investors sought to appropriate huge tracts of land and create permanent settlements on what were Native American

1. After 1720 the Five Nations of the Iroquois Confederacy became the Six Nations with the additions of the Tuscaroras. This tribe fled the Carolinas and migrated to Iroquoia after their defeat at the hands of the Cherokees. The term "sachem" could apply to headmen in either Iroquois or Algonquin society. In this context, it refers to the governing body of the Iroquois League.

2. Michael N. McConnell. *A Country Between. The Upper Ohio Valley and Its Peoples, 1724–1774*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1992, p. 15.

3. The Senecas were the westernmost of the Iroquois nations and, in Iroquois tradition, the "keepers of the western door." Thus they would have had a particular interest in and responsibility for the Ohio River and its tributaries.

4. The term "Beaver Wars" refers to a series of conflicts fought throughout much of the 17th century. The wars pitted the Iroquois against several Algonquin tribes and their French allies. In part, the wars resulted from the pressures brought by European trade goods and diseases, and the struggle to control trade. By custom, captives were adopted into the tribes to replace their war casualties.

5. The conflict was known in the colonies as King George's War, named for King George II of Great Britain.

wherever they might occur. France's presence in the Ohio country was interpreted as a clear challenge to the resolve of the British crown.

For their part, the French saw British activity in the Ohio Valley as a concerted effort to supplant them in the west. Ironically, the French interpreted British and colonial intentions for the Ohio Valley as far more organized than they were in reality. British interests were split among the Crown, several different colonies, including New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, (and, to a lesser degree, Maryland), the Ohio Company, and numerous independent traders who sought to undermine the French in the west.

Virginia's leaders, including the colony's lieutenant governor, Robert Dinwiddie, reacted vigorously to the French fortifications along the Allegheny. He was motivated in part by the fact that the French forts would block the Ohio Company's land speculation in Trans-Appalachia. This fear, combined with anxieties over the potential loss of trade and genuine concerns for imperial foreign policy, led Dinwiddie to press strongly for the introduction of British forces in the Ohio country. Dinwiddie's warnings dovetailed with the increasingly assertive inclinations of the British cabinet. The Crown authorized the lieutenant governor to "repell any attempt by force of arms; and . . . defend to the utmost of your power, all his possessions within your government, against any invader."⁸

The Crown's official directive carried a disclaimer that muddled the lieutenant governor's course of action. He was informed that "at the same time, as it is the king's resolution, not to be the aggressor, I am, in his majesty's name, most strictly to enjoin you, not to make use of the force under your command, excepting within the undoubted limits of his majesty's province."⁹ Since the "undoubted limits" of his majesty's province beyond the Alleghenies were in fact unknown or at least open to question, any action that Dinwiddie took to oppose the French was potentially fraught with peril.

Dinwiddie first sent an emissary to the French in the fall of 1753 to inform the French of the King's wishes that they withdraw from the Ohio Valley. He chose for the mission George Washington, a young, ambitious social climber of the second tier of Virginia's land holding society. In some ways, Washington was an odd choice for such a mission. He spoke no French, had no diplomatic experience, and was only 21 years old. However, Washington had experience in traveling and living in the wilderness. Moreover, as a shareholder in the Ohio Company, he had a vested interest in the outcome of the struggle for the Ohio Valley. His youth, stamina, and ambition were important qualities that could help see him through what would almost certainly be an arduous journey.

8. Lord Holderness, British Southern Secretary, to lieutenant governor Robert Dinwiddie. August 28, 1753. Quoted in Fred Anderson, *War and Revolution in the Making of the American Republic*. Volume I, *Death and Taxes, 1750–1755*. p. 36. Book manuscript in progress. With the author's permission.

9. Ibid.

British showing than had heretofore been made, the Half-King had to be prepared both to run with the English hares and hunt with the French hounds. Tanacharison was heartened, however, by the small force that Dinwiddie sent to the Forks to construct a fort. He laid the first log of the fortification in place, but this small gesture was the extent of Native American aid that the British party received. The Delawares, the resident tribe in the vicinity of the Forks of the Ohio, would not supply the group with food for any rate of pay.

While construction of the fort proceeded, Washington's small force was making its way toward the Forks of the Ohio. But he and his troops had not advanced to the crest of the Alleghenies when they received news on April 20 that the fort-building party had vacated the site. A large, heavily armed and well-equipped French force had arrived at the Forks three days earlier. The French commander bluntly ordered the British force to surrender or face immediate assault. The British commander prudently accepted generous terms from his counterpart and decamped the next day.¹¹ The French quickly razed the British works and constructed a much larger fortification, which they christened Fort Duquesne, in honor of the governor of French Canada.

This disheartening news compounded Washington's own woes. His troops were undertrained, poorly equipped, and ill-supplied. With the French now in possession of the Forks, Washington's mission seemed less tenable than ever. He continued his march, however, and on May 24, 1754, he and his force arrived at the Great Meadows, on the western side of Laurel Mountain.

Washington had first encountered the Great Meadows in the previous year on his journey to Fort Le Boeuf. The meadows were conspicuous as the only large clearing within the heavily forested area between the Laurel and Chestnut ridges. The traders who passed through the area knew it as a grazing place for pack animals. The low-lying area was poorly drained, and its frequently swampy character helped prevent any appreciable tree growth. The vegetation in the meadows was predominantly clumps of elders and briars. Washington's men cleared the ground between the fort and the tree line and used natural features in the meadows as entrenchments, behind which he placed his wagons.¹²

Ironically, Washington's victory over Jumonville's small force on May 28 further complicated his situation. The Half-King and his warriors executed the wounded French troops, including Jumonville, on the field. Tanacharison himself leapt upon the wounded Jumonville and, in the ritual language of the Indian-French alliance, informed him that "you are not yet dead, my father." The

11. The French generously prepared a nice farewell meal for the departing British force. The British party had been on short rations for some time and gratefully accepted this gracious gesture.

12. Washington wrote to Dinwiddie that "We have, with Nature's assistance, made a good Intrenchment, and by clearing the Bushes out of these meadows, prepar'd a charming field for an encounter." quoted in National Park Service, *Ground Cover Study, Fort Necessity National Battlefield, Pennsylvania*, by Ricardo Torres-Reyes, Division of History, Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation. National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1970.

earlier described the Great Meadows as "a charming field for an encounter," formed his troops into a line of battle appropriate for a European style engagement. Villiers' force promptly opened fire from the line of trees in that part of the meadow, inflicting casualties and driving the colonials back to their fortifications.¹⁶ An all-day firefight commenced, one in which every advantage rested with the attacking French and Native American force.

Washington's fort, such as it was, could hold only about 50 men. The rest of his troops were situated in the shallow trenches that formed a ring around the palisade. Faulty planning had located the stockade and trenches within musket range of the woods. The French and Native Americans could fire with impunity from the cover of the dense woods fringing the meadow. This they did throughout the day, inflicting over 100 casualties.

As the day wore on, a steady rain began to fall. The woods sheltered the attackers, enabling them to keep their powder and muskets dry. The arms and ammunition of the exposed defenders, on the other hand, gradually became soaked and useless. Their shallow trenches quickly filled with water, and by the end of the day the troops had been reduced to serving as helpless targets for their besiegers.

In the face of an increasingly desperate situation, a number of Washington's troops broke into the rum stores. Assuming that they sooner or later would be massacred by the Native American allies of the French, they quickly drank themselves into an incoherent state. By nightfall, over a quarter of Washington's troops had been killed or wounded. Effectively disarmed, their morale shattered, their fortifications a quagmire, the British and colonials could only wait through a miserable night for a dawn that almost certainly would bring annihilation.

Around eight o'clock, Villiers, the French commander, hailed the British lines, asking for a parley. To their astonishment, Washington and his officers realized that they were being offered a possible way to avert a complete catastrophe.¹⁷ Washington dispatched two officers, the Dutchman Jacob Van Braam, and William Peyronie to negotiate with the French. After the parley, Washington and the other officers huddled over an almost indecipherable document that laid out the terms of capitulation.

16. National Park Service Director Roger Kennedy reports in his current book, *Hidden Cities*, that Washington and his troops took refuge "behind the earthen walls of an ancient Indian ceremonial enclosure with his tattered force, calling the place 'Fort Necessity.'" Kennedy's claim is interesting, but no contemporary accounts of the Great Meadows mention such structures. Roger Kennedy, *Hidden Cities: The Discovery and Loss of Ancient North American Civilizations*. New York: The Free Press, 1994.

17. As bad as the colonial position was, Villiers was not totally comfortable with his own situation. His men also had endured a difficult day, and his Indian allies had made clear their intentions to depart the next day. Villiers had reason to fear the possibility of British reinforcements reaching the scene before he could secure a victory, and perhaps most important, he was unsure of the legality of completely destroying the colonial force in the absence of a declaration of war. It was to his advantage, therefore, to seek a quick resolution to the conflict.

was left of the Virginians' stores. They then dismantled and burned the circle of logs that had been Fort Necessity.

The presence of the Shawnee, Delawares, and western Iroquois among the French forces signaled the creation of a new order along the headwaters of the Ohio. The unmistakable demonstrations of British weakness in the face of French aggression and resolve forced the Ohio tribes to align themselves with France. For the near future, any British adventures in the Ohio Country would be taken without the assistance of either the Delaware or the Shawnee. The British would have to look elsewhere for allies in the coming wilderness conflict.

The news of Washington's crushing defeat at the Great Meadows electrified lieutenant governor Dinwiddie of Virginia. While the young Colonel's long-suffering troops either deserted their base at Wills Creek or languished without proper food or clothing, Dinwiddie labored mightily to organize a new expedition. But the lieutenant governor found little support in the House of Burgesses, many of whose members resisted Dinwiddie's high-handed use of power and were reluctant to fund any operations that seemed intended primarily to safeguard the speculative fortunes of the Ohio Company. While the lieutenant governor and the burgesses sparred, the colony's military fortunes on the frontier declined precipitously.

The House of Burgesses reacted warily to the news of the debacle at Fort Necessity. But an alarmed British government responded quickly and energetically to the French threat on the Ohio. Within a week of the receipt of Dinwiddie's official dispatches, the British Northern Secretary, the Duke of Newcastle, and the Duke of Cumberland,²¹ had secured the king's approval to send two regiments to America under the command of Major General Edward Braddock.

Braddock's initial orders instructed him to undertake a three-stage offensive against the French. First, he would move against their strongholds in the Ohio country. Next, his force would move north to attack Fort Frederic, the French fortifications at Crown Point on Lake Champlain. Finally, he would secure control of the narrow isthmus connecting Nova Scotia with the mainland of Canada.

This ambitious plan was soon abandoned in favor of one that made it look moderate, by comparison. More aggressive elements within the British cabinet, including the Duke of Cumberland, Newcastle's erstwhile political ally, pushed through an expanded offensive that called for four simultaneous advances. In addition to the three named in the original strategic plan, an attack would also be launched against Fort Niagara.

Braddock's role grew from that of commander of two regiments to essentially supreme commander for all British forces in America. The colonies would contribute to a general defense fund to support this greatly expanded military operation. Braddock himself would act as the sole administrator of the

21. The duke was the favorite son of King George II and also Captain-General of the British Army.

CHAPTER 2: THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR

Edward Braddock arrived in Virginia in February 1755. Although his two Irish regiments²² would not arrive for another month, the General quickly set about to mobilize the colonies and organize a concerted war effort. Many of Braddock's actions seemed to be based on the assumption that the colonies could be mustered and controlled like any military organization. His attitude revealed a gross ignorance of the realities of colonial politics and society. His tactics of intimidation succeeded for the most part in alienating a number of colonial governors. He, in turn, formed a low opinion of the diligence and patriotism of Americans in general.

However, through the offices of Benjamin Franklin, he did succeed in gaining much-needed assistance from Pennsylvania. Franklin's empty threat that Braddock would use military force to requisition wagons and draft animals for the expedition to Fort Duquesne produced 150 wagons and teams and 500 draft animals in a remarkably short time. As an added bonus, the Pennsylvania Assembly threw in a train of 20 packhorses loaded with an assortment of luxury items as gifts for the junior officers of the two regiments that would make the march to the Forks of the Ohio.

The provision of wagons and draft animals and the timely offering to the regiments' officers (also the work of Franklin) did much to improve Braddock's disposition toward Pennsylvania, if not toward the colonies in general.²³ It may also have enabled the colony to avoid providing a troop levy for the expedition. Hundreds of militia from Virginia, Maryland, and North Carolina, joined Braddock's two regular regiments at the Wills Creek base camp. Before long, Pennsylvanians would have good cause to rejoice that their men had not accompanied Braddock on his march to the Forks of the Ohio.

One of the qualities that led to Braddock's appointment as the commander of the expeditionary force was his rigid adherence to orders. Braddock disregarded arguments that he should focus his energies on cutting Fort Duquesne's supply line rather than attacking the fort itself. The General would proceed with the offensive as planned, taking each step in its original sequence. He ignored recommendations that his expedition follow a much shorter route through Pennsylvania that would have avoided crossing both the Youghiougheny and Monongahela Rivers. Braddock held firm to his

22. Braddock's two regiments were the 44th and 48th Regiments of Foot. These two regiments had been stationed in Ireland after the end of King George's War (the War of the Austrian Succession) and were under strength when called up for service in America. Although colonial levies could provide the regiments' numerical strength, they would be less than fully effective without the lengthy training required for the proper function of an infantry regiment.

23. Braddock wrote "I agreed with Mr. Benjamin Franklin, postmaster in Pennsylvania, who has great credit in that province, to hire one hundred and fifty wagons and the necessary number of horses. This he accomplished with promptitude and fidelity; and it is almost the only instance of address and integrity which I have seen in all these provinces." Franklin Ellis, editor, *History of Fayette County, Pennsylvania, with Biographical Sketches of Many of Its Pioneers and Prominent Men*, Philadelphia: L.H. Everts & Co., 1882.

Contemporary accounts describe it as a forest so clear of underbrush "that Carriages Could have been drove through any part."

What they had found was either a climax forest with a canopy so dense that it prevented undergrowth or a Native American hunting ground. Indians customarily managed forests with controlled burns to clear underbrush and smaller trees. This facilitated movement for hunters and provided for the growth of fodder for game while also reducing their cover. This landscape shortly would serve as a Native American hunting ground again, with Redcoats and colonial militia transformed into helpless prey for the Indians of the west and their French allies.

The British approach put Contrecoeur, the commander of Fort Duquesne, in a difficult position. The imposing size of Braddock's column daunted his own troops, but he could not withdraw inside his fortifications without alienating his Native American allies. He knew that the Indians, particularly the Hurons, Ottawas, and others who had traveled from the west, would never fight merely to defend a fort. He decided to launch a preemptive strike, in the desperate hope that his soldiers and allies could blunt the British offensive. Only in the most optimistic flight of imagination could he have anticipated the final success of his plan.

Contrecoeur split his available forces and dispatched 250 French troops and 650 Indians to ambush the British. Warriors from over half a dozen tribes made up this force, including Great Britain's estranged allies, the Delawares, Shawnees, and Mingos. As this mixed force moved forward, they unexpectedly collided with the advance guard of British regulars.²⁷ The British troops quickly opened fire, killing Captain Daniel de Beaujeu, the French field commander.²⁸ Beaujeu's death threw the French Canadian contingent of his force into disarray, but his Indian allies quickly counterattacked. Utilizing the cover of the woods and the surrounding terrain, they moved swiftly along the flanks of the enemy and began to pour a withering fire into the British advance guard. These troops attempted to return the fire of their concealed foe, then beat a disorganized retreat.

Braddock ordered reinforcements from the main column to move forward in support of the advance guard. The General's long-standing assumption that Native American warriors would never stand up to the concentrated fire of regular British soldiers undoubtedly played a part in his decision to close quickly with the enemy.²⁹ As more troops moved up they tried, as one would expect, to form ranks

27. This force was commanded by a young lieutenant colonel, Thomas Gage, who in later years served as the governor of Massachusetts on the eve of the American Revolution. Gage issued the orders to seize colonial arms caches at Concord, and then commanded the British force that made the costly assault on American positions on Bunker Hill, outside Boston. George Brown Tindall, *America: A Narrative History*, second edition. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1988.

28. Robert C. Alberts. *A Charming Field for an Encounter: The Story of George Washington's Fort Necessity*. Division of Publications: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, Washington, 1975.

29. It is also logical that he would send support to troops already under fire. Braddock has been alternately criticized for a foolish reliance on European battle tactics and for ignoring the precepts of these same tactics. In my opinion, there is an element of truth in both criticisms. It seems indisputable that his faith in the invincibility of regular troops rivaled a true

on the march to Fort Duquesne, two-thirds, almost 1,000 regular and colonial troops, were killed or wounded.

Washington rode ahead of the retreat to seek assistance from Colonel Dunbar's force. Two days after the battle, the first survivors met with their comrades in Dunbar's column. These terrified, exhausted and thoroughly demoralized men undoubtedly conveyed a sense of panic to the rest of the British force. Dunbar's troops hastily destroyed supplies and baggage, dumped ammunition and spiked their heavy guns. They then loaded the wounded who had not been abandoned on the retreat from the Monongahela into their empty wagons and continued their flight to Fort Cumberland, 75 miles away.

Braddock, mortally wounded, did not make it to the Fort. He died five days after the battle and was buried in the road, at a spot only about a mile from the Great Meadows and the remains of Fort Necessity. Washington wrote that "to guard against a savage triumph, if the place should be discovered, they (Braddock's remains) were deposited in the Road over which the Army, Waggon, &ca. passed to hide every trace by which the entombment could be discovered."³³

These safeguards were taken against a nonexistent pursuit. The warriors of the west and the Ohio Valley pursued the retreating British only a short distance before returning to the field. Here they plundered the supply wagons, collected scalps and trophies from the dead and wounded, and took prisoners of those fit enough to last in captivity. Finally, they toasted their victory with 200 gallons of captured rum, the unintended compliments of a shattered British army.

Dunbar took stock of his situation upon arrival at Fort Cumberland. He commanded almost 2,000 men, of whom more than 1,350 were fit for duty. On paper, he still had at his disposal the largest and best-equipped military force in North America. In theory, he could turn his force around and renew the offensive against Fort Duquesne. Ironically, the French position now was weaker than it had been before the battle. Contrecoeur's Native American allies considered their work completed by their crushing defeat of Braddock's column. After burning alive a few of their prisoners outside the walls of Fort Duquesne,³⁴ most of them quickly departed with their prizes of war for their homes in the north and west.

However, the defeat along the Monongahela and the ignominious retreat to Wills Creek had eradicated the army's morale. The totality of their loss to what in European minds seemed a bizarre and inhuman enemy had a devastating psychological effect on the remnants of Braddock's force. The participants' accounts of the battle testify to the terrifying, frustrating experience of wilderness warfare against a confident and agile foe. Colonel Dunbar reported that "the Soldiers dont seem to

33. Hugh Cleland, *George Washington in the Ohio Valley*, p. 147.

34. Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991, p. 243.

Others among the Delawares and Shawnees, however, had ample motive to go to war against the British and their colonies. Both tribes, through the complicity of the Six Nations, had lost territory in the Susquehanna Valley to the Colony of Pennsylvania. British diplomatic failures also alienated any potential allies among the Ohio tribes. Braddock's affronts to the Delawares were compounded by reports that the British had hanged Shawnee and Delaware emissaries. They now retaliated, "and slaughter reigned on the British frontiers."⁴⁰

The ensuing war shredded most of the scattered settlements in the valleys and forests of the Alleghenies. Panic-stricken backcountry settlers fled to the east as Native American warriors swept virtually unchecked through western and central Pennsylvania. Occasional war parties even forayed far to the east of the Susquehanna River. The colonies proved incapable of mounting an effective resistance, and the British army soon found itself fighting on several fronts, not just the Allegheny frontier. Defense of the western territories fell in the main to undertrained, inadequately supplied Virginia troops, led once again by George Washington. For three harrowing years, Washington fought a frustrating, reactive campaign against highly skilled, mobile enemies who took the offensive at times and places of their own choice. Too often, all the Virginia troops could do was bear witness to the destruction and count up the losses.

Although the tribes of the Ohio fought alongside the French, their relationship more closely resembled a marriage of convenience than a true alliance. Many of the tribes viewed the French only a little less dubiously than they did the British. The Shawnees, Delawares, and Mingos saw the British as the greater threat, but viewed both European powers as thieves fighting over Indian property. They apparently recognized that they required French aid to cope with Great Britain's far greater resources and manpower. Once having blunted British incursions into their territory, however, the Ohio Indians expressed confidence that "we can drive away the French when we please."⁴¹ The relationship between the French and the Ohio Indians was tenuous, but for the time being it produced an unbroken string of victories against a seemingly hapless British empire.⁴²

Despite the crisis faced in Pennsylvania, regular British troops would not appear in force on the frontier for another three years. By 1756 the war against France had expanded from a relatively

40. Richard White, *The Middle Ground*, p. 243.

41. Ackowanothic, a speaker for the Ohio Delawares, 1756. Quoted in Richard White, *The Middle Ground*, p. 245. Ackowanothic had elaborated on this perspective earlier when he said that, with the British vanquished "we may do afterwards what we please with the French, for we have [them] as it were in A Sheep Den and may cut them any time . . ."

42. Captain Jean-Daniel Dumas, one of the heroes of the Battle of the Monongahela, later took command of Fort Duquesne. He estimated that the Indian war on the frontier had claimed 2,500 British lives. He expressed no confidence that the Indians would cease making war even if the French established peace with Britain and her colonies. The captain himself claimed that he had "succeeded in ruining the three adjacent provinces, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, driving off the inhabitants and totally destroying their settlements . . ." Richard White, *The Middle Ground*, p. 244, and The Fort Ligonier Association, *War for Empire in Western Pennsylvania*, p. 38. Produced in collaboration with Bushy Run Battlefield, Fort Necessity National Battlefield, and the Fort Pitt Museum, 1993.

known to the British as Ticonderoga. This army, the largest British force ever assembled in North America, was routed by a force one-fourth its size after a disastrous attack on the French position.

Despite this dispiriting series of events, Great Britain's fortunes brightened considerably by 1758. William Pitt rose to become Prime Minister in 1757 and gave the war effort some badly needed direction. Pitt settled on a strategy that at last clearly committed the empire's military forces to victory in North America. He spent enormous sums of money to maintain the subsidies to Prussia and keep Frederick in the field. Pitt removed Lord Loudon, the British commander in North America who had shown a remarkable facility for offending virtually every colonist, regardless of rank, with whom he came in contact.

Pitt then named several ambitious, energetic officers to command British and provincial troops. He struck down the regulation that made all colonial officers subordinate to any British officer, regardless of rank. Pitt ordered, (through the king) that henceforth colonial officers would be subordinate only to British officers of equal or greater rank. He also promised to reimburse the colonies in gold or silver for their contributions to the war effort. This was particularly appealing to the chronically cash starved colonies. The Minister's decisive actions triggered an energetic response among the colonies, who quickly levied thousands of troops, teamsters, batteauxmen, and sailors for the 1758 offensive.

Pitt's plans for the coming summer in fact differed little from those of Lord Loudon. Pitt laid out campaigns against four French positions; Fort Duquesne, Fort Carillon, Fort Frontenac at the east end of Lake Ontario, and Louisbourg, in Nova Scotia. Each controlled a vital point. Duquesne controlled the Forks of the Ohio. Fort Carillon guarded the approaches to Lake Champlain. Fort Frontenac provided the communication link between Quebec and the interior. The massive fortification at Louisbourg controlled navigation on the St. Lawrence River. Success in all four campaigns would effectively dismember French North America.

These plans gave Washington the military action that he had identified as imperative for the survival of the western frontier; an attack on Fort Duquesne. However, the actual conduct of the offensive would prove both shocking and disappointing to the long-suffering Virginia colonel.

For command of the Ohio campaign, Pitt chose acting Brigadier John Forbes, a capable career officer. Forbes began his preparations for the advance to the Forks in the spring of 1758. His force consisted of the 1,300-man First Highland Battalion; a number of companies of the Sixtieth Regiment of Foot (the Royal Americans);⁴⁵ provincial regiments from Virginia and Pennsylvania; some units

45. The Royal Americans were a relatively new regiment in the British Army, raised specifically for service in the French and Indian War. Virtually all of the troops that served in the regiment were drawn from the colonies. The Royal Americans saw action in a number of campaigns, including Fort Duquesne, Quebec, and the 1763 forced march to relieve Fort Pitt during the so-called Pontiac's Rebellion.

line, his doubts about the reliability of provincial troops,⁴⁷ all added to his anxieties about the future of the expedition. He had little spare time to mollify his Virginia officers and no patience at all for those who would put provincial squabbling above the interests of the crown.⁴⁸

Forbes also faced a difficult diplomatic situation. He, more than perhaps any other British commander in America, understood the value of Native American allies in backcountry warfare. The loss of his southern Indian allies had reduced the chance of success for his campaign. Now, more than ever, he needed to undermine the French association with the Ohio Indians. With the permission of the British commander in chief, he took the extraordinary step of sending an emissary to the western Delawares. This violation of established British protocol for Indian diplomacy allowed Forbes to explore the possibility of a peace accord with the tribes of the upper Ohio.⁴⁹

The Delawares and Shawnees had their own compelling reasons for seeking a peace. They had suffered significant losses in the war, more than could be made up through the adoption of captives. Their tenuous association with the French became more troubled as the war dragged on. New France's poor harvests in 1756 and 1757 made it all but impossible for the colony to supply its troops and Indian allies. The British blockades exacerbated the problem, for few supplies from France now reached Canada. The gifts for the tribes of the west and the Ohio country subsequently declined in both quality and quantity. Many of the tribes began to conclude that their French fathers⁵⁰ were ignoring their responsibilities to the alliances. French colonial poverty translated as a lack of respect for the warriors who had fought and won so many battles.

In the early summer of 1758, Forbes asked Governor Denny of Pennsylvania to open negotiations with the western tribes. Denny used the eastern Delawares as intermediaries, and they in turn persuaded two leading western Delawares to accept the British entreaty. One of these was Pisquetomen, the elder brother of Shingas, the tribe's now legendary war chief. In response to the western Delawares' willingness to talk, Denny dispatched a Prussian-born Moravian, Christian

47. The General seemed to harbor a poor opinion of a good portion of the inhabitants of North America. "I vainly . . . flattered myself that some very good service might be drawn from the Virginia, & Pennsylvania Forces, but am sorry find that a few of their principle (sic) Officers excepted, all the rest are an extream bad collection of broken Innkeepers, Horse Jockeys, & Indian traders, and that the Men under them, are a direct copy of their Officers . . . as they are a gathering from the scum of the worst of people, in every Country, who have wrought themselves up, into a panick at the very name of Indians who at the same time are more infamous cowards, than any other race of mankind." Forbes to William Pitt, September 6, 1758. Hugh Cleland, *George Washington in the Ohio Valley*, p. 199.

48. Forbes had based his decision to advance through Pennsylvania on a number of sound strategic principles, some of which are cited above (see page 19). The influence of the Philadelphia mercantile community may have played a role, but in all probability it was not decisive.

49. Fred Anderson, *War and Revolution*, VII, 62.

50. The term "father" was used by both Native Americans and Europeans in their diplomatic relations, but it did not imply a filial bond between the two. It more accurately reflects the obligation the French had to provide material goods for their Indian allies. Only by meeting this responsibility could the French continue to exert any influence over the tribes within their sphere.

excursion ran completely contrary to the strategic foundation of Bouquet's methodical, secured offensive.

Their rashness resulted in a bloody fiasco. In what must have seemed a horrible *deja vu* to the survivors of Braddock's defeat, a mixed force of French and Indians surrounded and attacked Grant's force as it approached Fort Duquesne. One-third of Grant's troops were killed, wounded, or captured. Grant himself, Forbes' second most experienced field officer, was taken prisoner and shipped off to Canada. The rest of the force made its way back to Loyalhanna as best it could. Some of the soldiers conducted a controlled retreat and fought off their pursuers. Others simply dumped their equipment and fled in terror.⁵³

This debacle compounded the anxieties that were steadily exhausting a man who was already close to death. His column's slow progress was worse than he had anticipated. Grant's defeat demonstrated that the French were still in strength at the Forks and could call on significant numbers of Indian allies. Despite his angry dismissal of the Virginians' resistance to the route to the Forks, he secretly began to fear that Washington and Byrd were correct. If they were, winter would set in before he could complete the march to Fort Duquesne. And he still had not struck an accord with the tribes of the upper Ohio.

Forbes could not know that his French opponents at Fort Duquesne were in similarly difficult straits. The fort dangled at the end of an extremely long supply line that was jeopardized by British offensives in Canada and on the Great Lakes. The Ohio tribes grew increasingly restive with each mile traveled by the Forbes expedition. Duquesne's commandant, Captain Francois-Marie Le Marchand de Lignery, a shrewd veteran of wilderness warfare, launched ceaseless raids against the British column in order to force a delay until winter.

Ironically, the very success of the raiding parties further weakened his position. With each victory, additional numbers of western warriors returned to the "pays d'en haut"⁵⁴ with their spoils. So many "far Indians" decamped after humiliating Grant's force that Lignery was left with only the disaffected Shawnees, Delawares, and Mingos. His limited supplies forced him to cut his regular and colonial forces to a minimum. Under these circumstances, nothing but the onset of winter could prevent Forbes from taking the Forks.

53. George Washington used this catastrophe to denigrate his Pennsylvania rivals while extolling the Virginians who accompanied Grant. "... hence ensued an obstinate Engagement and the running away of the Pennsylvanians, who were just behind, and ought to have Sustained the Highlanders." This performance contrasted sharply with the Virginia troops. "It is with infinite pleasure I till (sic) you that the Virginians, Officers and Men, distinguish themselves in the most eminent manner, and the General has Complimented me publicly on their good behavior, and that every Mouth resounds their Praises." Washington to George William Fairfax, September 25, 1758. *The Papers of George Washington*, Colonial series 6, September 1758–December 1760. Washington's provincialism makes it difficult to believe that the formation of the United States followed the Forbes campaign by less than 20 years.

54. "The upper country" was the term that the French applied to the region bounded roughly by the Allegheny Front, the Ohio River, the Mississippi River, and the Great Lakes.

However, within a year, artisans and workers under the direction of British army engineer Harry Gordon had begun construction of Fort Pitt, one of the most massive fortifications in British North America. The fort, and the waves of settlers that poured across the Alleghenies, indicated to the disillusioned Ohio tribes that British intentions for the Ohio country continued to evolve.

The Pennsylvania theater of the French and Indian War, and particularly the Forbes campaign, revealed much about the peculiar quality of the relationship between Great Britain and her North American colonies. The Forbes campaign was conducted at a high point in Anglo-American relations, yet the General saw many of the Americans with whom he had contact as "the scum of the earth." The British found the colonials' inclination to put provincial interests ahead of the crown's incomprehensible. The ongoing wrangle between Pennsylvania and Virginia over the army's route seemed to fall only little short of treason.

Equally baffling was Americans' relentless adherence to contractual arrangements, even in instances where it appeared to run contrary to a colony's well-being. In the absence of a contractual agreement, Americans bitterly resisted provisioning or quartering the very troops sent to protect them. British officials, and military officers in particular, could not grasp the keenly honed sense of individual rights that a century of representative government had engendered in Americans.

American behavior on the campaign, on the other hand, also revealed much of the colonials' character. The relationships between Virginians and Pennsylvania reveal how little sense of unity or commonality of purpose existed among the American colonies. Pennsylvania and Virginia behaved more like rival nations than two colonies fighting under one flag against a common enemy. Within days of the fall of Fort Duquesne, George Washington was urging the Governor of Virginia that

steps should immediately be taken for securing the communication from *Virginia*, (emphasis added) by constructing a post at Red-stone Creek, which would greatly facilitate the supplying of our troops on the Ohio, where a formidable Garrison should be sent as soon as the season will admit of it. That a trade with the Indians should be upon such terms, and transacted by men of such Principles as would at the same time turn out to the reciprocal advantage of the Colony and the Indians. . . . and give us such an early opportunity of establishing an Interest with them as would be productive of the most beneficial consequences . . . a large share of the Fur-trade, not only of the Ohio indians, but, in time, of the numerous nations possessing the backs (sic) countries westward of it.⁵⁵

For some, the interests of the individual colony often seemed a greater priority than the empire's larger objectives. George Washington disdained militia, but his behavior following the Forbes campaign more closely resembled that of a short-term militia officer than that of an ambitious young man who once had aspired to a royal commission. Once the Ohio base of French and Indian raids had been eliminated, Washington almost immediately resigned his commission and returned to

55. Washington to Francis Fauquier. December 2, 1758. Since Pennsylvania troops already were in garrison at the Forks, "our troops" clearly meant Virginia troops. Throughout this passage, Washington is writing as a Virginian, not an American. *The Papers of George Washington*. Colonial Series 6, September 1758–December 1760, p. 162.

This triumph did not come cheaply. In the process of becoming the New Rome, Great Britain had emptied its treasury. The British saw the war as an enormous sacrifice conducted largely for the benefit of their North American colonies. To ensure the security of those colonies in the postwar years, the crown maintained large numbers of troops in North America. The crown would bring increasing pressure to bear on the colonies to pay the support of these troops, as well as helping to recover the tremendous cost of the war itself. In the troubled decade ahead, the crown's ministers would attempt to exert greater authority over colonies that had grown accustomed to overseeing their own affairs.

American colonists perceived their wartime relationship with Great Britain quite differently. They saw their participation as essential to the empire's victory. Contrary to what many British officials thought, the colonies had contributed greatly in both manpower and capital to the war effort. Although friction hampered Anglo-American relations in the war's early years, the period 1758–1760 witnessed a persistent spirit of goodwill and cooperation between the imperial government and the colonies. As this period coincided with the turn of the war's tide, Americans may have exaggerated the importance of their role.

In any case, many Americans believed that they would assume a new, higher status within the empire and enjoy those rights that other English citizens took for granted. Indeed, American colonists of British descent had never thought of themselves as anything but English. To their dismay, they soon discovered that in the eyes of the empire, they were colonists and second-class citizens at best. This revelation triggered increasing resentment and anger among many North Americans, who eventually began to see themselves as Americans, not English.

Of almost equal importance was the effect that the war had on George Washington himself. The callow, ambitious 21-year-old amateur diplomat of 1753 had, by the end of 1758, matured into a competent, self-confident military commander.⁵⁶ While Washington displayed no evidence of military genius during his apprenticeship, he did exhibit an admirable work ethic. Washington applied himself diligently to learning the art and science of war under the most trying circumstances. He took to heart the brutal lessons that five years of backcountry war had taught and resolved not to repeat the mistakes that had led to disaster in the war's early years. He also had acquired the moral courage to act upon his lessons and challenge the ideas of far more seasoned officers when those ideas ran contrary to the lessons he had absorbed.

In November 1758 Colonel Henry Bouquet recommended launching an unsupported assault force against Fort Duquesne. Washington argued against such a move, realizing that even if it succeeded, the effort could fatally delay or even destroy any chance of capturing Fort Duquesne, the primary goal of the expedition. "[T]o risk an Engagement when so much depends upon it, without having the

56. The following analysis of Washington's evolution as a military leader draws heavily on Anderson's *War and Revolution in the Making of the American Republic*.

CHAPTER 3: GEORGE WASHINGTON AND THE OHIO VALLEY

George Washington's return to the agricultural gentry of eastern Virginia brought him the life of privilege and social status to which he had eagerly aspired when he first embarked for the Ohio frontier. On January 6, 1759, Washington married Martha Dandridge Custis, a widow and one of the richest women in the Potomac Valley. This union made Washington the guardian of the estates of his wife and her children and gave him access to a significant amount of cash with which to resurrect the failing fortunes of his own estate at Mount Vernon. Soon after his marriage, he won election to the House of Burgesses as the representative from Frederick County. Washington at last was poised to enter the ranks of Virginia's first families.

Washington soon discovered that the life as a demi-aristocrat meant assuming responsibilities that were as taxing in their own way as those of a colonial officer fighting on the frontier. First, the war years had not been kind to Mount Vernon. Washington's brother Jack had attempted to manage the plantation on a part-time basis, and Mount Vernon showed it. Washington took his seat in the House of Burgesses in February of 1759. Only two months later he requested a leave from his duties to attend to spring planting. He soon discovered that his estate was a money pit that sucked up an alarming amount of his wife's liquid capital. Washington poured his energies into making Mount Vernon profitable. He concerned himself with putting in a tobacco crop, buying livestock, and then improving the plantation's infrastructure.

Washington was dedicated to making Mount Vernon a first-class tobacco plantation, but he gradually discovered that some problems were insoluble, regardless of how much money one threw at them. In addition to a disheartening round of bad harvests, depressed tobacco prices, and losses of overseas shipments to French privateers, one overarching, dismal fact confronted Washington: Mount Vernon tobacco at its best would never be better than second rate.⁶⁰ He had to find another crop better suited to the plantation's conditions.

Washington's status as a planter and civic leader also created problems. It became a man of means to display conspicuously his station in life through the purchase of carriages, horses, fine clothing, fine wines, and slaves. Friends and associates frequently approached Washington for loans, often of significant sums. As a gentleman, one made such loans casually, with no formal agreements concerning interest, security, or repayment.⁶¹ This outwardly graceful detachment from financial matters reflected a man's gentle breeding and refined manners and belied the often desperate straits of his personal fortunes.

60. Richard Harwell, *Washington*. An Abridgement in one volume of the seven-volume *George Washington*, by Douglas Southall Freeman. New York: Collier Books, MacMillan Publishing Co., 1968.

61. Hugh Cleland, *George Washington in the Ohio Country*, p. 236.

especially when those Indians are consenting to our occupying their lands. Any person therefore who neglects marking and distinguishing them for their own . . . will never regain it.⁶⁵

Washington also remained interested in the lands of the upper Ohio Valley where he had fought his first campaigns, an area claimed both by Virginia and Pennsylvania. He reacquainted himself with William Crawford, a veteran of the Forbes campaign, who had taken up residence in the valley of the Youghiogheny River, a tributary of the Monongahela. In anticipation of the Proclamation's repeal or modification, Washington entered into a partnership with Crawford. Washington would provide the funding for land acquisition, while Crawford would devote his energies to locating promising tracts of land.

On November 5, 1768, the British government signed a treaty with the Iroquois at Fort Stanwix, New York. Through this treaty, the Six Nations ceded their claims on territory from Fort Stanwix to Fort Pitt and from Fort Pitt along the eastern bank of the Ohio River to the mouth of the Tennessee River. This agreement followed by less than a month the Treaty of Hard Labour, in which the Cherokees yielded control over thousands of square miles of territory in what became western Virginia. In both cases, the ceded lands lay west of the Proclamation line. Washington now had the opportunity to act on his speculative interests in the Trans-Appalachian west.

Washington traveled west in the fall of 1770, when the lack of foliage would allow the greatest visibility for examining prospective lands. Growing tension and violence prompted by continued white incursions into the Ohio country made western travel a somewhat risky proposition.⁶⁶ Despite this, Washington made the trip accompanied only by his friend Dr. James Craik, and their three servants. The journey would allow Washington to examine lands that Crawford had selected in the Alleghenies as well as tracts that could be claimed as bounties for the Virginia volunteers of 1754.

Washington and his party departed on October 5, 1770, and followed much of the route of the military expeditions of 1754 and 1755. On October 13 his party "breakfasted at the Great Meadows"⁶⁷ before pushing on to Crawford's house in what is now Connellsville, Pennsylvania. It is curious that the stop in the Great Meadows elicits no more than the barest mention in Washington's journal. It seems inconceivable that the site did not evoke some profound memory in Washington. His journal makes it appear, however, that the Great Meadows were nothing more than one of many sites that Washington visited and assessed in his travels through the Ohio country.

Washington spent nine weeks in the Ohio Valley before returning to Virginia in December 1770. In that time, he looked over tens of thousands of acres of land that had any potential for successful development. He obtained patents for thousands of acres on behalf of veterans of the 1754 campaign,

65. George Washington to Captain William Crawford. Quoted in Richard Harwell, *Washington*, p. 169.

66. Richard White, *The Middle Ground*, pp. 317–320 and elsewhere.

67. George Washington, *The Journal of 1770*. Reprinted in Hugh Cleland, *George Washington in the Ohio Valley*, p. 242.

along the Great Lakes. Throughout the war, and long after the decisive American victory at Yorktown, the Ohio backcountry served as a bloody stage where Native Americans, British, and American fighters inflicted atrocities upon one another in a relentless series of merciless raids and counterraid.

The final American victory in the war was a major step toward the resolution of the decades-long struggles over control of the land at the Ohio River headwaters. The British retained forts and posts on the Great Lakes, as well as their alliances with many of the Ohio Valley tribes. However, the creation of the United States lent additional political weight to Americans' already aggressive inclinations toward western expansion. Freed from British imperial constraints, Americans by the tens of thousands poured into the west between the end of the war and the turn of the 19th century.

To a remarkable degree, the events of the Revolutionary period and its aftermath trace their roots to the dynamic forces unleashed in 1754 at Jumonville Glen and the Great Meadows. Ironically, throughout the Revolutionary period, these sites do not appear in the historical record.

The Revolutionary War's impact on George Washington is almost impossible to exaggerate. Certainly, his perception of what comprised a nation, his view of the world, and the newly created United States' place in the world underwent a profound transformation. This contrasts sharply with the effects of the French and Indian War on his view of the world. As we have seen, that war also had a profound impact on his personal and military development, but many of the larger national and international implications of the French and Indian War seemed lost on the man.

Washington's reaction to news of the Treaty of Paris reflected little awareness of the war's far-reaching implications. He wrote in the spring of 1763 that "We are much rejoiced at the prospect of peace which 'tis hoped will be of long continuance and introductory of mutual benefits to the merchant and planter, as the trade to this Colony will flow in a more easy and regular channel than it has done for a considerable time past."⁷² Here Washington's vision does not extend beyond the interests of Virginia, which in his mind was his country. Not only does he focus on Virginia, he doesn't even consider the impact on the other colonies. His thinking and perceptions at this time apparently are entirely parochial.

His attitudes stand in marked contrast to the breadth of his vision in 1784. His leadership of the Continental Army during the revolution had shaped and matured Washington's understanding of national identity. His country was now the United States, not just Virginia.⁷³ As the scope of his

72. Douglas Southall Freeman, *Washington*, p. 150.

73. Almost certainly, Virginia still was first and foremost in Washington's thoughts. For several decades after the country's founding, the term "United States" was widely understood as plural, a collection of states that retained at least some degree of autonomy, e.g. "These United States are . . ." Only after the Civil War did Americans begin to share a more binding sense of national unity, when "The United States is . . ." entered the lexicon as a more appropriate expression of national character.

ington, the parts of Allegheny and Beaver counties south of the Ohio River, about two-thirds of the county of Indiana and one-third of the county of Armstrong, the total area being about 4,700 square miles.⁷⁵

Even in the pre-Revolutionary period, small settlements sprang up along the rudimentary transportation routes opened by the military expeditionary forces launched against Fort Duquesne. On occasion, the commandant of Fort Pitt granted permission to tavern keepers to open establishments that offered food and shelter to those who traveled between east and west on the King's business.⁷⁶ Generally speaking, Virginia travelers used the Braddock Road, while Pennsylvanians took the Forbes Road.

After the war, the area's development progressed far more rapidly. Thanks to its strategic siting at the Forks of the Ohio, Pittsburgh's population increased tenfold between 1790 and 1810, from 376 to 4,786. Westmoreland County quickly was subdivided into smaller, more manageable, counties to accommodate the region's population increase. By 1796 there were nine towns in Fayette County and eight in Washington County.⁷⁷

The region's rapid growth was precisely what Washington had hoped for in order to realize a profit on his extensive western holdings. As he made his way to the Ohio in September of 1784, Washington saw first hand the changes that had occurred in the Alleghenies. On September 12 he visited again at the Great Meadows, "and viewed a tenement I have there."⁷⁸ He expressed concern that so little had been done to improve a property that offered so much potential, not only for agriculture but also as "a very good stand for a Publick."⁷⁹

Washington never realized the returns that he had hoped for from his speculative western interests, including the Great Meadows tracts. He did have a tenant on the property, but he also faced the vexing problem of squatters who occupied the land but offered no return to the owner. The issue of squatters who with impunity appropriated unoccupied land, regardless of ownership, reflected the tumultuous and unregulated behavior of many of the inhabitants of western Pennsylvania. Living far from the older, more established areas along the Atlantic seaboard, many backcountry settlers assumed the right to act solely on their personal inclinations, whether on issues of land and resource

75. Edgar W. Hassler, *Old Westmoreland: A History of Westmoreland, Pennsylvania During the Revolution*, p. 6 (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1900). During this period, Virginia and Pennsylvania hotly disputed possession of the southwestern corner of what is now Pennsylvania. Virginia actually occupied and attempted to govern a large portion of the contested area, including Fort Pitt. Under these circumstances, any political divisions were of dubious merit.

76. Hassler, *Old Westmoreland: A History of Western Pennsylvania During the Revolution*, p. 6.

77. R. Eugene Harper, *The Transformation of Western Pennsylvania, 1770-1800* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1991), 83.

78. *The Diaries of George Washington*, volume 4, 1784-June 1786, p. 18.

79. *Ibid.*

perceived this power to tax in the broadest terms. Hamilton's support for the passage of a controversial excise tax in 1791 sprang from two motivations. First was his practical desire to raise revenue for the federal government, which was nearly bankrupt. Secondly, this committed centralist wanted to make a clear demonstration of the power of federal authority. A popular outbreak against such a tax would provide the opportunity for the federal government to make an unmistakable demonstration of its authority.

The 1791 revenue bill levied an annual tax of 54 cents per gallon of capacity on stills of 400-gallon capacity or less. Still operators had the option of paying at this rate, paying a 7 cent tax on every gallon produced, or paying 10 cents per gallon of capacity every month the still was in operation.⁸³ Westerners argued that the excise placed an unduly harsh burden on small farmers and the poor, particularly those in the remote western areas of the country. Here, whiskey was not a luxury, but a necessity, as far as many westerners were concerned. It often served as the only medium of exchange in chronically cash-short regions. Also, distilling whiskey for trade was the only practical method of transporting grain when transportation technology was still limited largely to pack trains.

Participation in western Pennsylvania's tax revolt was not limited to disgruntled distillers and small farmers. Some of the region's most prominent citizens, including Albert Gallatin, a leading anti-Federalist, lent their support to the protesters. Gallatin stood as a voice of moderation as tension escalated, but David Bradford, a wealthy lawyer from Washington County, took a harder, uncompromising line. Those who stood to lose most from the tax, the common citizens of the west, made up the rank and file of the resistance, and they took their cue from Bradford.

The dispute quickly hardened into impasse, and protesters turned to violence to intimidate tax collectors and other federal authorities. Neighbors who supported the tax, or whose loyalty to the revolt seemed only lukewarm, risked nocturnal visits from the "Whiskey Boys." These masked terrorists destroyed property and inflicted brutal punishments like tarring and feathering on federal officials and, occasionally, locals who failed to show the proper rebellious spirit.

The situation in western Pennsylvania deteriorated throughout 1792 and 1793. In the spring of 1794, Congress agreed to allow excise hearings in Pittsburgh, rather than in Philadelphia.⁸⁴ This might have done much to defuse tensions in the region. However, when a federal marshal issued scores of writs ordering tax protesters to Philadelphia, western Pennsylvania exploded in open rebellion against federal authority.

The tax revolt called George Washington's attention once again to the Ohio country. The uprising forced Washington, the first President under the Constitution, to formulate some response to the

83. Philip S. Klein and Ari Hoogenboom, *A History of Pennsylvania*, University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1980, p. 116.

84. Tax protesters had argued that holding federal court in Philadelphia effectively denied westerners their right to due process.

and the army, "objects of their (westerners) laughter, not of their fear," according to Thomas Jefferson, spent weeks marching throughout the region in frustrating searches for rebels.

Finally, the federal forces succeeded in rounding up twenty suspected leaders of the uprising. In a miserable winter march, the army herded them in chains to Philadelphia, where they stood trial for treason. Most of the accused were found not guilty. President Washington pardoned the two who were convicted and sentenced to death. David Bradford, the most intransigent of the whiskey rebels, never was granted amnesty. He fled down the Ohio and took refuge in Spanish Louisiana.

So ended the Whiskey Boys' rebellion against the power and majesty of the newly constituted federal government. But the repercussions of the western uprising reverberated long after the army's return to Philadelphia. The anti-Federalists, like Jefferson, Gallatin, and James Madison, found that the controversy over the excise tax stimulated renewed political opposition to the Washington administration. Western Pennsylvanians sent a friendly voice to Congress when they elected Albert Gallatin to the U.S. Senate, and other disaffected Pennsylvanians joined the republican ranks. This resistance eventually coalesced into a coherent political movement. The movement quickly evolved into a true political party and helped shape the country's dominant two-party system.'

The conclusion of the rebellion did not begin to solve any of the problems endemic to the Allegheny backcountry. What had eluded many Federalists was the fact that western Pennsylvanians had some legitimate grievances. Because of the great distances and almost nonexistent transportation facilities between the Ohio country and the Atlantic seaboard, westerners derived very little real benefit from the federal government that they were asked to support with their taxes. As the events of the revolt illustrated, the people of the Alleghenies had no recourse to the federal courts or any other type of mediation on their grievances.

The Federalist administration seemed to have no understanding or sympathy for the significant, though unhealthy, role that whiskey played in backwoods culture. In addition to serving as currency, it was one of the few practical commodities produced in a virtual subsistence economy. It also was the accepted compensation for attracting and keeping hired help, a serious issue in a region chronically short of labor. Regardless of its political or social persuasions, the federal government would have to address the peculiar conditions of the trans-Appalachian west and find some solutions to the problems of transportation, communication, and representation.

Ironically, the army's arrival in the backcountry proved to be a bonus to some factions on both sides of the excise tax controversy. The army, through the purchase of supplies and services from the locals, transfused much-needed cash into the local economy. While the army undeniably was responsible for numerous abuses during its short occupation, its spending also helped alleviate the currency crisis that indirectly fueled the rebellion.

CHAPTER 4: THE UNITED STATES IN THE TRANS-APPALACHIAN WEST

George Washington served out his second term as President and then retired to Mount Vernon, where he died on December 14, 1799. After the one-term presidency of John Adams, the Federalists lost control of the White House to Thomas Jefferson and the Democratic Republicans. Jefferson and his adherents had opposed the excise tax, in addition to other Federalist measures. The scarcely veiled aristocratic notions of Alexander Hamilton faded from the federal government in favor of a political climate that was somewhat more egalitarian.

Jefferson named Gallatin to his cabinet as the Secretary of the Treasury, and now westerners had a sympathetic ear in the innermost circles of federal power. Gallatin's influential presence in the Jefferson administration would enormously benefit westerners in their efforts to solve one of their most intractable problems.

Gallatin, like Washington and a host of other prominent Americans, avidly pursued land speculation in the Trans-Appalachian west. Gallatin arrived in the United States from Switzerland on July 14, 1780, and after a few desultory years spent as a trader and then as a French teacher, Gallatin began to acquire tracts of western lands.⁸⁸ Gallatin took a long view of development in the Ohio country and saw his speculative ventures as only the first step in establishing communities that would command transportation routes between the Potomac and Ohio River drainage. Very early on, Gallatin recognized the importance of creating viable transportation networks between east and west.⁸⁹

Gallatin began to press for transportation improvements early in Jefferson's first term. In 1802 he revised a law on land sales in the Northwest Territories to provide for the construction of a road between the Atlantic seaboard and the trans-Appalachian west.⁹⁰ When Ohio was admitted as a state in 1803, Congress mandated that five percent of the proceeds of land sales should be set aside for the construction of new roads, both intrastate and interstate. In 1806 the House passed into law a bill for the creation of a road "from Cumberland, in the state of Maryland, to the State of Ohio."

88. National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, *Historic Resource Study: Friendship Hill National Historic Site, Pennsylvania*. Prepared by Mid-Atlantic North Atlantic Team, Branch of Historic Preservation, Denver Service Center, Denver, September, 1981, p. 43.

89. A legend has grown up around the alleged meeting between Albert Gallatin and George Washington in the fall of 1784, when Washington made his last survey of his western holdings. In one account, Washington was conducting a meeting with a group of local men on the subject of the best portage over the Appalachian watershed. After young Gallatin boldly pointed out to Washington the best route, the great man considered for a moment and then decided, "Sir, you are right." This propitious chance encounter in a frontier log cabin makes for a great story, but it sounds just a little too convenient. If these two advocates of transportation improvement did meet in 1784, Washington did not find it memorable enough to record in his diary. See Norris Schneider, *The National Road*.

90. Louis Torres, *Special History Report: Albert Gallatin: Statesman, Diplomat, Humanitarian, Scientist*. Friendship Hill National Historic Site, Pennsylvania, United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, January 1991, p. 11.

transportation and communication. "Let us then, bind the republic together with a perfect system of roads and canals. Let us conquer space."⁹²

Construction of the first leg of the National Road had begun in 1811, but the outbreak of war the following year slowed progress. With the end of the war, work continued on the road. The first segment, from Cumberland to Wheeling, Virginia, was completed in 1818, connecting rivers on the east and west sides of the Appalachian watershed. Almost immediately, passenger and commercial traffic in great numbers began crossing the Alleghenies.

Improvements to roadways, in and of themselves, were old news, particularly in Pennsylvania. Beginning with the end of the Revolution, the state had committed hundreds of thousands of dollars to the construction of new roads throughout the state. In 1811 alone, Pennsylvania allocated \$825,000 for the construction of roadways. A significant portion of this funding was directed toward improvements in the west. Subsequent appropriations also were earmarked for western roads. In 1816–1817 the state provided \$200,000 to build roads in western Pennsylvania. This money would provide both for regional routes and for roads that would link the west with Philadelphia and other cities in the east.⁹³

The new National Road was not the first route to open access to the trans-Appalachian west. Before the turn of the 19th century, Pennsylvania had completed the Pennsylvania Road, the first turnpike to connect Philadelphia and Pittsburgh.⁹⁴ This road, following the road cut by General Forbes during the 1758 campaign against Fort Duquesne, immediately became the premier route between the east coast and the Ohio country. Before the completion of the Erie Canal, the Pennsylvania Road was reported to carry 90% of all traffic across the Appalachians.

The Pennsylvania Road and the National Road shared another quality, besides providing access over the Alleghenies. Unlike most roads built in this period, both of these routes were technically sophisticated, capital-intensive ventures. Construction costs for the National Road through the mountains of southwestern Pennsylvania often exceeded \$13,000 per mile. Such an effort required the support of the State, either on the commonwealth or the federal level. But the greater costs paid off for the thousands of travelers who used these routes. The hard stone and packed gravel surfaces were passable in all but the worst weather and therefore offered an enormous advantage to the rutted dirt roads that preceded them.

92. Calhoun, quoted in Schneider, *The National Road: Main Street of America*, p. 9.

93. Tom Thomas, *Special History Study: The Evolution of Transportation in Western Pennsylvania*. National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior. Denver Service Center, May 1994. 29.

94. Solon Buck and Elizabeth Hawthorn Buck, *The Planting of Civilization in Western Pennsylvania*, p. 233.

the Ohio Company, and Uniontown, which became the county seat. Both Uniontown and Brownsville prospered from the trade and travel on the National Road, Brownsville particularly so as it was also a port on the Monongahela River.

A portion of the National Road followed an earlier military road, as did the Pennsylvania Road, the route it surpassed. The National Road's predecessor was the Braddock Road, which had continued to serve as one of the few routes to Pittsburgh and the Ohio River. Scattered inns and taverns were established to serve the travelers who braved the miserable and still dangerous journey over the Alleghenies. A few of these, like the Inks Tavern and the Rue England Tavern, operated very close to George Washington's former property at the Great Meadows.

Braddock's Road, however, had improved little, if any, from the simple wagon road that the British troops had carved out on their way to disaster at the forks of the Ohio in 1755. The United States' rapid expansion across the Ohio, and western Pennsylvania's growth in response to this movement, demanded a true road that could accommodate increasingly heavy volumes of traffic. Part of the Braddock trace served as the right-of-way for the new federal road. But the National Road continued northwest to Wheeling, Virginia, whereas the Braddock Road turned almost due north soon after passing the Great Meadows. This section of the Braddock route was soon all but abandoned.

The National Road proved to be a victim of its own success. The immense amount of traffic, erosion, and heaving from water that settled in the roadbed, and inconsistencies in the quality of construction, all combined to break down the integrity of the road and the experience of traveling on it. In 1822 the postmaster general reported to Congress that

The western . . . part of the road is in a ruinous state, and becoming rapidly impaired. In some places the bed of the road is cut through by wheels, making cavities which continually increase and retain water, which, by softening the rock, contribute to the enlargement of the cavities. In others, the road is much impaired . . . by the falling off of parts of the road down steep and precipitous declivities of several hundred feet; so much abridging the width of the road that two carriages cannot pass each other. Obstacles do really exist to the safe and speedy transportation of the United States' mail upon that road.⁹⁷

The ongoing wrangling over differing interpretations of the federal government's powers produced the curious conclusion that while the government had the Constitutional authority to fund construction of a road, it had no authority to fund its maintenance. In 1822 Congress managed to pass a bill authorizing raising tolls on the road to fund repairs, but President James Monroe vetoed it as unconstitutional. Two years later, however, Monroe signed a bill that not only authorized repairs, but provided funds for pushing the road west of the Ohio River. Finally, the westerners who had agitated for a link to the east would get their wish.

97. R. J. Meigs Jr., 1822, in Ierley, *Traveling the National Road*, p. 63.

Furthermore, it was cost prohibitive to ship farm produce overland on the National Road. Virtually all commodities produced in western Pennsylvania could be shipped to Philadelphia more cheaply by going downriver to New Orleans, then by ship to Atlantic port cities than overland the 350 miles to Philadelphia.

Entrepreneurs in Fayette County turned from the land to the region's other natural resources and laid the early foundations of southwestern Pennsylvania's industrial legacy. Pennsylvania had been producing iron since before the Revolution, and iron masters had moved west on the heels of the western migrants and built furnaces on both sides of the Alleghenies. A Fayette County furnace, the Alliance Iron Works, produced the first iron west of the Alleghenies in 1790.⁹⁹ In 1817 the Isaac Meason works constructed the first rolling mill in the United States on Redstone Creek. This mill, the Plumstock Rolling Mill, capped the career of Meason, who by the time of his death in 1818 "owned more than twenty thousand acres of the best coal and iron land in western Pennsylvania."¹⁰⁰

Isaac Meason was only the foremost of a number of entrepreneurs who exploited Fayette County's rich iron and coal reserves and established industrial enterprises in Fayette County. The area's iron production flourished until the 1830s when it quickly began to lose ground to Pittsburgh. Again, the county's relatively limited transportation facilities put it at a disadvantage vis-a-vis Pittsburgh. By this time, Pittsburgh's location at the headwaters of the Ohio and its position as the western terminus of the Pennsylvania Main Line of Public Works¹⁰¹ combined to make it the preeminent transportation hub in western Pennsylvania and one of the most important in the Trans-Appalachian west.

Despite the limitations of the National Road, therefore, it brought undeniable and relatively consistent benefits to a region that was vulnerable to significant economic fluctuations. In addition to the hundreds that found employment during the road's construction, hundreds more derived a livelihood from the road as inn and tavern keepers, blacksmiths, coach and wagon wrights, teamsters, horse breeders, and hostlers.

Although the cost of overland transportation limited the road's impact on the region's transportation needs, it still represented a significant improvement over the previous transportation network, and it

99. Janet K. Kemp, "Report to the Eastern Park and Monument Association on the Mount Washington Tavern, 1815–1855," p.11. October 1, 1981.

100. National Register of Historic Places Registration Form. Mount Vernon Furnace. Bullsken Township, Fayette County, PA. Section 8, p. 1. "Mount Braddock." Isaac Meason's house near Uniontown. still stands and is a National Historic Landmark.

101. The Main Line of Public Works was a state-financed, state-owned transportation system built to carry passengers and freight between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh in order to allow Pennsylvania to compete in the trans-Appalachian trade dominated by the Erie Canal. The Main Line consisted of the Eastern Division, an 82-mile rail line between Philadelphia and Columbia; the Juniata Division, a 43-mile canal; the Allegheny Portage Railroad, which traversed the 36-mile mountain route between Hollidaysburg and Johnstown; and the Western Division, a 103-mile canal between Johnstown and Pittsburgh. National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, *The Pennsylvania Main Line Canal: Juniata and Western Divisions*. Special Study by David A. Fritz and A. Berle Clemenson. (Denver Service Center 1993).

Trans-Appalachian west, however, a social hierarchy began to evolve. Curiously, the evolution of inns along the National Road reflected both of these contrary social patterns.

The Road itself provided a common meeting ground for peoples of different social strata, but the inns and taverns along the Road generally developed as at least variations of four distinct types; the drover's inn or tavern; the tavern, or wagon stand; the stage stop; and the inn or tavern. Stage stops or inns catered to more affluent personages of higher social status, while wagon inns or taverns accommodated common folk of more modest means, including cattle drovers and teamsters.

Life within the inns reflected some degree of social leveling. Accommodations were so modest at even some of the best establishments that strangers often shared beds. Dining in all but a few taverns more closely resembled a shark feeding frenzy, with customers from a variety of backgrounds engaging in an edacious free-for-all. European travelers often expressed shock and amazement over the natives' energetic table customs. One observer recorded that "one must get to the table at the first stroke of the bell. At that signal a legion of boarders rushes the door. It will be hard for you to imagine the voracity with which people who are, after all, decent and well-dressed, can throw themselves on the food. In spite of its volume, it has soon disappeared. Americans think it an honor to be the first to leave the table."¹⁰³

The Mount Washington Tavern served as a stage stop, linked through some arrangement with the Good Intent Stagecoach Line.¹⁰⁴ Although the tavern appears only briefly in the most comprehensive history of the National Road,¹⁰⁵ this lone account indicates that the tavern was a prosperous and apparently well-regarded establishment. The author notes that "The first year after Mr. Sampey's death the management of the tavern and farm was placed in charge of Robert Hogsett, who turned over to the representative of the estate the sum of four thousand dollars, as the profits of one year . . . as showing the extent of the business of the house, Mr. Hogsett mentions that on one morning seventy-two stage passengers took breakfast there."¹⁰⁶

Virtually no evidence exists to shed light on daily life at Mount Washington or the operations of the tavern. The tavern building is the only structure remaining at this site from the National Road period, but it is known that a number of other buildings once occupied the site. The exact number and function of those buildings is not clear, although it seems certain that fairly sizable stables adjoined the tavern. The stables were essential to servicing the coaches that stopped at Mount

103. Edouard de Montule, *Travels in America*. Quoted in Katherine Spitulnik, "The Inn Crowd: The American Inn, 1730-1830." p. 37.

104. The Good Intent Line operated canal boats on the Pennsylvania Mainline of Public Works and Packet Steamboat service on the Ohio River, as well. Thomas, *The Evolution of Transportation in Western Pennsylvania*, p. 67.

105. Thomas B. Searight, *The Old Pike: A History of the National Road With Incidents, Accidents, and Anecdotes Thereon*. Uniontown, PA: Published by the author, 1894.

106. *Ibid.*, pp. 228-229.

Pennsylvania. The iron, steel, and railroad industries combined to fundamentally reshape the American economy. Western Pennsylvania already had a long-standing industrial heritage. Its rich resource base, its rivers and well-developed river and rail transportation base left the region superbly positioned to play a leading role in the nation's rapid industrialization.

Pennsylvania contained some of the richest and most extensive coal fields in the country, and Fayette County was home to some the richest fields in Pennsylvania. "The Pittsburgh coal seam in Fayette county produced the region's highest quality coal."¹⁰⁹ The coal from this seam produced an excellent grade of coke, the essential fuel for iron and steel production. The seemingly inexhaustible supply of coking coal and cheap water transport to the booming steel mills of Pittsburgh served to make the Connellsville region of Fayette County the nation's leader in the production of coke.

By 1880 Pennsylvania produced 84% of the nation's coke, much of it in Fayette County. By the end of the 19th century, although coking operations had spread to other parts of the country, Pennsylvania still produced 65% of the coke in the United States. Most of this coke emerged from the more than 20,000 coke ovens in the Connellsville region. The county's rapid industrialization spurred the development of an integrated rail network to serve the coalfields and coke ovens and carry coke to river ports for shipment to Pittsburgh.

The rise of industrial capitalism that was reshaping western Pennsylvania also was profoundly changing the character of American society and culture. The enormous productive capacity of the nation's industries stimulated growth of a new urban middle class in the United States. The families within this middle class, unlike rural or working class families, were consuming, not producing, units that utilized their larger incomes and greater leisure time to purchase consumer goods and pursue recreational activities. Professional baseball, theater, and sporting activities like golf, croquet, and bicycling provided entertainment for the men and women who had the time and money to indulge themselves in physical exertion for its own sake.

Bicycling held a particular fascination for well-to-do ladies and gentlemen. Aside from being a social fad, the bicycle's greatest appeal may have been that it provided personal mobility to an urban population that was otherwise totally dependent on public transportation. As early as the 1870s the sport was sufficiently established that cyclists organized themselves into a national association, the League of American Wheelmen. In 1879 the league was powerful enough to persuade the Pennsylvania legislature to create a system of bicycle and pedestrian trails that paralleled the state's highways.¹¹⁰

109. National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, *Coal and Coke Resource Analysis: Western Pennsylvania and Northern West Virginia: America's Industrial Heritage Project*, p. 12. Prepared by the Denver Service Center, November 1992.

110. William H. Shank, *Indian Trails to Superhighways*, p. 50. York, PA: American Canal and Transportation Center.

creation of the National Old Trails Road restored some of the bygone glory of the National Road heyday, and once again great numbers of travelers passed through western Pennsylvania.

The passage of the Federal Highway Act of 1921 laid the groundwork for a new grid system of numbered highways built or improved with federal assistance. What was once the National Road became part of U.S. Highway 40, perhaps the most efficient transcontinental route in the federal system. The new highway invigorated towns that had languished since the passing of the National Road's heyday and stimulated the development of car camps, motor courts, hotels, and diners.

The resumption of traffic along the National Road corridor may have spurred the first efforts to commemorate the momentous events that once had occurred in Fayette County, including the quiet lands where Fort Necessity had stood. In 1909 concerned citizens of the county formed the Braddock Park Association to organize efforts to memorialize Maj. Gen. Edward Braddock.¹¹⁴ The association acquired 23 acres around Braddock's grave and raised funds for the erection of a memorial, which was dedicated on October 15, 1913.

The erection of this very attractive monument marked a significant rehabilitation of Braddock's reputation. For decades after the battle, the general had been "one of the most vilified men in American popular memory."¹¹⁵ Certainly, the passage of time had done much to dull persistent prejudices against the man. And, after all, Americans, and western Pennsylvanians in particular ultimately had emerged as the big winners in the conflicts over the Ohio country, so it would hardly have been sporting to continue carrying a grudge. With the development of the National Old Trails Road and the Braddock Memorial, the sites and resources associated with the story of Fort Necessity returned to the mainstream of American society. Ironically, these sites, which had once been the scenes of diehard competition and violence, were now tourist attractions in the country's rapidly evolving automobile culture.

By the end of the 1920s automobile travel was clearly entrenched as the transportation technology of choice for virtually all Americans who could afford it and many who could not. The car particularly gave rural dwellers a greatly liberating mobility, and many farmers willingly sacrificed other luxuries to buy an automobile. When asked why her family had purchased an automobile instead of installing indoor plumbing, one Kansas woman replied, "You can't go to town in a bathtub." By the end of the decade, however, most American farmers had little money for cars, bathtubs, or anything else, for that matter. The stock market crash of 1929 and the Great Depression that followed it severely affected Americans of virtually all social and economic levels, but none were worse hit than the nation's farmers. Unlike most Americans, farmers had been feeling the effects of a sluggish economy since the end of World War I.

114. A century before, workers on the Braddock Road had uncovered human remains that were assumed to be those of the ill-fated British commander. The remains were moved and reburied 100 yards from the roadbed.

115. Anderson, *War and Revolution*, p. V-34.

The Great Depression began in October 1929 with the crash of the stock market. The United States long ago had moved from a local to a national economic system, and shock waves from the crash reverberated throughout the nation.¹¹⁹ By the beginning of 1933, 12 million people were out of work. Unemployment remained above 20 percent through 1935, and those still working received one-third less wages.¹²⁰

The gap between incomes was wide. The 27,500 wealthiest families in America had as much money as the 12 million poorest families. The nation's top and bottom were worlds apart. While miners and lumbermen earned about \$10 per week, Andrew Mellon was paying an income tax of \$1,883,000; Henry Ford, \$2,600,000; and John D. Rockefeller, Jr., \$6,278,000.¹²¹

While Pennsylvania managed to "hold its own" during the 1920s, the state did not fully participate in the prosperity of that decade. It did, however, fully share in the poverty of the 1930s. In 1932 industrial production levels plummeted to less than half of the 1929 levels. Unemployment reached over 37 percent early in 1933; only 5 percent of the people held one-third of the personal income; and wages were slashed so severely that even those still employed found themselves nearly destitute.¹²²

Greater and greater demands were placed on the local systems of public and private relief and brought them to a state of collapse. Pennsylvania relief rolls in 1932 contained twenty times more people than 1928 relief rolls. Relief payments dropped 20 percent of what they had been 10 years previously. Some hospitals reported "definite cases of starvation" and the state Department of Health recounted an increase in cases of malnutrition, communicable diseases and death related to poverty.¹²³

In addition to affecting individuals, the Depression generated changes in politics and government. In 1932 Franklin D. Roosevelt accepted the democratic nomination for president and promised "a new deal for the American people." The New Deal responded to the economic panic that overwhelmed the country in 1932 and led to Roosevelt's decisive electoral victory in 1936. Politically, it resulted in a coalition that kept Democrats in power as the majority party for more than a generation after the New Deal's demise.

119. *Ibid.*, 438.

120. Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward, quoted in Ann Thedford Lanier, "The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933–1942: Organizational Structure and Social Effects." (M.A. thesis, Department of Sociology, University of Colorado, 1983), 113.

121. Milton Meltzer, quoted in Lanier, 63.

122. Klein and Hoogenboom, 450.

123. *Ibid.*

CHAPTER 5: THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND FORT NECESSITY

The New Deal incorporated many different new policies and programs to deal with the desperate economic situation posed by the Great Depression. Implementation of these policies and programs needed to be carried out under a centralized authority. For these reasons, newly created institutions greatly expanded the role the federal government played in American life.¹²⁴ Laissez-faire beliefs and small government attitudes were disparaged by the general public. Big national government was here to stay and committed to doing many things that previously had not been federal responsibilities.¹²⁵

The country suffered previous depressions, "but the depression that began in 1929 was different. It came on harder and faster. It engulfed a larger part of the population, it lasted much longer, and it did far more and far worse damage than any before it."¹²⁶ Unable to help themselves, families, schools, churches, and the normal social processes of everyday life failed the youth of the nation.

Many boys and girls who failed to find jobs near home or felt they were a burden to their parents simply took to the road. A sight new to the 1930s was the army of young transients. The Children's Bureau estimated that by late 1932 a quarter of a million under the age of twenty-one were roaming the country. They hopped freights, bummed their food, and lived along the tracks with the hardened hoboes in squatters' camps, called jungles.¹²⁷

The first program created to assist in revitalizing the economy was the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC). The agency, which was established in March 1933, is acknowledged to be one of the most successful of Roosevelt's New Deal programs.¹²⁸ Rather than a direct relief program of cash payments to recipients, the Corps operated as the only work relief program until the Works Progress Administration began in 1935. It was created to alleviate youth unemployment and to carry out environmental conservation work.¹²⁹

124. Eric Foner and John Garraty, editors, *The Reader's Companion to American History* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1991), 783–784. In 1933 Roosevelt's administration moved decisively to end the economic panic that overwhelmed the nation the previous year. New programs enacted include the Securities and Exchange Commission, a federal agency to oversee the stock market; the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, which reformed the banking system and includes a system of insurance for deposits; the Tennessee Valley Authority, which deals with flood control, public power, and regional planning; and the National Industrial Recovery Act, which guarantees workers the right of collective bargaining. In 1935 and 1936 the administration began a series of social reforms which historians have labeled the "second New Deal." The Social Security Act was enacted during this period. The act instituted a system of old-age pensions, unemployment benefits, and welfare benefits for groups such as dependent children and the handicapped.

125. *Ibid.*, 786. Through the institutions created by the New Deal, the federal government now regulated the stock market and stabilized banking, subsidized agriculture, protected labor, and gave aid to the poor and unemployed, et al.

126. Milton Meltzer, quoted in Lanier, *The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933-1942: Organizational Structure and Social Effects*, p. 54.

127. *Ibid.*, 30.

128. Kenneth E. Hendrickson Jr., "The Civilian Conservation Corps in Pennsylvania: A Case Study of a New Deal Relief Agency in Operation," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, (January 1976), 66.

129. Lanier, 113.

By 1940, in Pennsylvania alone the CCC had planted 50 million trees; built approximately 3,000 miles of forest roads, 6,600 miles of forest trails, and 100 small dams; and maintained 17,200 miles of roadway and 2,170 miles of telephone lines. Other projects included disease control, erosion control, and flood relief activities; fighting fires; improving public campgrounds; and building fire towers, fire cabins, bridges, and fish dams.¹³⁶

During its nine-year existence, approximately 3 million enrollees passed through 4,500 camps throughout the country (Uniontown *Herald-Standard*, August 1, 1983). Most stayed for six months to a year, and enrollment peaked in 1935 with over 500,000 CCC members.¹³⁷ Initially, enrollees were between the ages of 18 and 25; but after 1937, 17-year-olds were admitted. The Corps allowed a few older local experienced men (LEMs) to join. These men possessed expertise needed at the camps and assisted with orienting and training the younger men for their new life.¹³⁸

In addition to age requirements, young men had to be U.S. citizens, unmarried, and come from families on relief. They would be paid \$30.00 a month, and they must be willing to send a \$25 allotment to a dependent. In 1938, the mandatory allocation was reduced to \$22.¹³⁹ In the early years of the Corps, per capita income was about \$400.00 per year; therefore, the amount sent home was not insignificant to dependents. The money apparently was enough to motivate most enrollees to endure hard work, homesickness, lack of conveniences, and at times even danger.¹⁴⁰ In a letter to CCC national director, Robert Fechner, one enrollee wrote: "My first view of the campsite caused me to become disgusted with the place. I thought I would never stay in that hole more than six months. . . . Then I thought of home and decided I had better stick as I was the only bread winner."¹⁴¹

All of the camps west of the Susquehanna River in Pennsylvania originally were included in District No. 2 of the Third Corps Area. Organization of the District began in April 1933, and by the end of the first year 80 camps were in operation.¹⁴² The early Pennsylvania camps were among the first to begin operating in the nation. The CCC planned to establish most of the camps in Pennsylvania on

136. Pennsylvania Historical Commission and the University of Pennsylvania, *Pennsylvania, A Guide to the Keystone State*, Compiled by workers of the Writer's Program of the Work Projects Administration in the State of Pennsylvania (New York: Oxford University Press, 1940), 17; Jim McKay, "CCC reunion, New Deal plan remembered", [Uniontown, PA] *Herald-Standard* (September 9, 1983), 4.

137. Arthur M. Schlesinger, quoted in Lanier, 7.

138. Hendrickson, 70.

139. *Ibid.*, 70, 76.

140. Lanier, 35.

141. Allen Tainierry, quoted in Hendrickson, 73.

142. Civilian Conservation Corps, *Official Annual: 1936*, 15.

In 1931 Congress enacted legislation designating 2 acres around the fort site as Fort Necessity National Battlefield Site. Gettysburg National Military Park administered the site under jurisdiction of the War Department. The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania owned 313 acres of the Great Meadows around the fort and designated the area Fort Necessity Park. Dedication of the reconstructed fort occurred on July 4, 1932, in commemoration of the bicentennial of George Washington's birth.¹⁴⁹

The reconstructed fort was only one element planned at Fort Necessity to commemorate the Washington bicentennial. The Fort Necessity Memorial Committee, with the cooperation of the War Department, the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and the National Society of the Sons of the American Revolution planned to develop and landscape the battlefield site on an enormous scale. The plan for the "Fort Necessity Memorial Park" included an enormous monument to the great man's memory, a museum, a memorial drive, an Indian memorial, and, of course, the reconstructed fort.

Archeological excavations were undertaken in November 1931 to determine the size and configuration of the original stockade. The fort's shape and dimensions had been a subject of ongoing debate since the first part of the 19th century.¹⁵⁰ This investigation erroneously interpreted the remains of the trenches as the outlines of the stockade.¹⁵¹ Following this conclusion, the reconstructed stockade was, by comparison with the original fort, a grand structure, measuring approximately 95 feet on its shortest side and approximately 115 feet on its longest. The faulty conclusions that researchers drew from the archeological data may have been fueled by the enthusiasm that surrounded preparations for the bicentennial. Also, since the beginning of the 19th century various commentators had overestimated the size of the fortification. Planners as well as previous historians may have assumed that Washington would have had a fort to match his national stature. If so, they missed the obvious conclusion that, had Washington had a fort as nice as the reconstruction, he might just have won the battle.

Judge Michael Musmanno, a powerful Pittsburgh Democrat, strongly recommended the site as a CCC camp location. Judge Musmanno believed Fort Necessity to be historically significant as a battlefield and proposed that historical places in America should be glorified. As a result of this recommendation, Camp SP-12 at Fort Necessity, Farmington, Pennsylvania, opened in June 1935 and operated until December 1937. The camp received the designation number SP-12 indicating its state park location.¹⁵²

149. Melissa K. Friend, quoted in Larry N. Sypolt, "Fort Necessity, Civilian Conservation Corps, Camp SP-12, 1935-1937." (Morgantown, WV: unpublished manuscript, 1988), 10.

150. J. C. Harrington. *New Light on Washington's Fort Necessity: A Report on the Archeological Explorations at Fort Necessity National Battlefield Site*. p. 8. Richmond, VA: Eastern National Park and Monument Association, 1957.

151. *Ibid.*, p. 22.

152. *Ibid.*

stream in the Great Meadow. To provide bathing facilities, they dammed the water farther downstream and used canvas walls for privacy.¹⁵⁹

WORK PROJECTS

The first order of business for these men was to construct the camp roads and permanent camp facilities. The permanent camp contained several structures of standard design and measurement: seven barracks buildings, a mess hall, Army officers' and civilian supervisors' quarters, a food storage building, a blacksmith shop, a pumphouse, and a possible garage.¹⁶⁰

Once settled in camp, the enrollees led a fairly structured life. An editorial in the January 1935 [sic] issue of the camp newspaper, *Camp Necessity*, presents a daily schedule:

- 6:00 The barrack fire man is up firing the stove for the boys to wake up in a warm room.
- 6:15 First bugle call. Boys are up and "dress in haste."
- 6:30 Revielle or roll call. Boys return to barracks, make up bunks, sweep the floor, wash for breakfast.
- 7:00 Chow call is blown and boys march to the mess hall to indulge in a delicious breakfast. After chow, boys put finishing touches to barracks.
- 7:15 Barracks inspection by Officer of the Day.
- 8:00 The whistle is blown for work call and the boys line up. Leaders are assigned to work crews engaged in transplanting trees, building roads, and beautifying the park area.
- 12:00 Dinner call and again the boys are in for a hearty dinner.
- 12:45 Line up for mail call. "The work details go back to their work and healthful occupations."
- 3:30 Boys return to camp and police the entire camp for one-half hour. . . . When this work is done the boys rush to the wash house for a shower. Then they dress for retreat.
- 5:00 The company stands in formation before the flag and the Leaders salute the colors and they are lowered.
- 5:05 Supper is underway. This is the best meal of the day. Everyone eats to his full capacity. After supper the boys are free to do as they please. On Tuesday and Saturday evenings trucks take the boys to town.
- 9:45 Call to quarters is blown and the boys prepare to go to bed.

159. Sypolt, 13.

160. Ibid, 14

library and the organization of clubs such as the Junior Audubon Club under the auspices of the National Association of Audubon Societies.¹⁶⁷

We would have liberty [in the evenings]. Sometimes our liberties was restricted, but we could go off the camp. Sometimes there was trucks that would take us into Uniontown to see a movie or go to a restaurant to eat. Sometimes we went out to the Braddock Inn for a little social life.¹⁶⁸

Recreational pursuits were important morale boosters for the enrollees and provided them with a sense of community within the camp. In addition, the activities initiated interaction with the local community and proved to be good public relations tools.¹⁶⁹

On weekends the men were transported to nearby towns for recreation, or the camp sponsored dances in Uniontown and at the fort using Works Progress Administration bands. Local girls received advance notification of the event, and trucks transported participants to and from the appointed site. These events evidently were well received in the community for the February 1936 edition of the camp newspaper professed in its "Views" column that "Fort Necessity CCC camp is becoming noted for the successful dances it stages."¹⁷⁰

Various groups from the community presented entertainment programs at the camp, sometimes with members of the camp joining in. In one instance, students from the local South Union High School provided a musical evening with the school orchestra, singers, and dancers performing renditions of "Old Paint," "Hot Time in the Old Town Tonight," and various ragtime tunes.¹⁷¹

Early in the history of the camp, administrators and enrollees organized a basketball team that enjoyed only mixed success in the beginning of the 1936 season. The team played against other CCC camp teams, nearby high schools, and local independently organized teams.¹⁷² In 1937, however, the Fort Necessity CCC basketball team from Company 5462 won the championship of the 2nd District, Third Corps Area with 38 wins and 7 losses. Other sporting events included boxing matches, ping-pong tournaments, and track and field meets.¹⁷³

167. Civilian Conservation Corps, "Society Formed for the Protection of Wild Birds and Animals," *Camp Necessity*, (Farmington, PA, vol.1, edition 3, February 1936).

168. David Maskulka interview with Sypolt, Part II:2.

169. Lanier, 111.

170. Civilian Conservation Corps, *Camp Necessity*, February 1936.

171. Ibid.

172. Ibid; Civilian Conservation Corps, "Sports", *Camp Necessity*, vol.1, edition 2, January 1935 [sic].

173. Civilian Conservation Corps. "Sports." *The Southern Echo*, (Farmington, PA: May 1937), n.p.; "Sports," *The Fort*, (Farmington, PA: Vol.1, No. 4, November 1937).

Another medium of the CCC education program gave enrollees the opportunity to practice journalism by working on camp newspapers during their free time. The newspapers facilitated the development of esprit de corps among camp members and communicated camp operations and events to the outside community.

CCC guidelines directed that at least one or two articles should be education-oriented and that controversial material or political remarks should be avoided. The educational program publication, *The Advisor*, offered suggestions for suitable items of discussion including camp social life, changes in personnel, relations with the public, regulations, and achievements and honors.¹⁷⁸

Each of the three companies stationed at Fort Necessity published their own newspapers: Company 2326 distributed *Camp Necessity*, Company 5462 published *The Southern Echo*, and the final Company, 1329, issued *The Fort*. A sampling of writings from the papers reflects the CCC's guidelines and suggestions and includes articles on the benefits of education, how to gain self-confidence, an educational column on canvasback ducks, reports on camp basketball games, community group visits to the camp, and general interest announcements such as winners of the cleanest barracks competition.

Camp newspapers also assisted in the enrollees' education in a more personal way. Articles extolled the virtues of taking proper care of camp property and personal possessions and offered advice on personal appearance and hygiene. To aid this education, time was allotted in the daily schedule for the men to clean the barracks and camp and to shower and change into clean clothes. Instructors conducted classes on personal hygiene in camp. For many men, this may have been the first time in their lives that they followed a daily grooming routine.

If you were on a small farm, you're so tired or you're so do-less that nobody has ever told you — clean up before the meal; go to bed; take off your clothes. In Kentucky, and those cities in the backwoods, people never undress or take their shoes off. For the first time, hundreds of thousands of young people were learning a better way, an easier way, a nicer way of living. This they wanted to do. Not one of those guys wanted to be known as a slob.¹⁷⁹

Finally, the men in the CCC received an education by informal means — simply by living in close quarters with others. The CCC mixed together men who came from a variety of backgrounds and experience. Some were isolated from families, drifting, looking for work. Some were directly out of high school or college. Some were illiterate. Some came from inner city slums; others from remote mountain areas. Each one brought knowledge, special talents, and cultural distinctions that could be shared with other enrollees. Those who were better-educated inspired others to higher learning merely by example. Those with special talents taught them to others:

178. Civilian Conservation Corps, *The Advisor*, (July, 1937), 9–10.

179. Don Maust (FONE camp educational advisor) interview with Sypolt, part II:13–14.

Desertion from the camps became a noticeable factor of declining enrollment in 1935. Since the Army was responsible for administering the camps, it had to shoulder the blame once again. Bad food was the most common complaint, while, conversely, it also was considered one of the most positive aspects of camp life. Other complaints included unclean quarters, theft of personal items, boredom, or hazing by older enrollees or camp officers. Enrollees sometimes left camp without permission in protest of these problems. Even though these complaints originated in areas of the Army's responsibility, the Army itself conducted investigations of the grievances. Almost always the Army concluded that the complaints were due to enrollee homesickness, laziness, or inability to adapt to a new environment. However, J. Fred Kurtz, assistant director of the State Emergency Relief Board, concluded the Army was covering up and its investigations were not as impartial as the Army claimed. Inquiries by Kurtz eventually resulted in some improvement of camp conditions.¹⁸⁵

Life in the Corps also could be relatively dangerous for enrollees. By 1935 the national rate of injury was 17 per 1,000 per month with at least one death a month. In Pennsylvania most injuries occurred as a result of truck accidents or forest fires. Investigations determined many of these injuries could be attributed to lack of training, poor equipment, and inadequate supervision. By the end of 1938 the accident rate declined to eight per 1,000 per month, the result of a concerted effort by camp commanders to emphasize safety.¹⁸⁶

Racial issues were a concern in the CCC. States were given a quota in recruitment of minorities, but many more African Americans applied for admission than the quotas would allow. Blacks were at the bottom of the socioeconomic scale and needed more assistance than any other group. Although Pennsylvania relief administrators repeatedly asked for an increase, it was not until 1941 that the number was augmented by 150 enrollees.

In addition to setting quotas, the CCC also practiced segregation. African Americans fortunate enough to be selected were enrolled in all-black camps. The Army established a policy of setting up black camps only after gaining permission from nearby communities. Once the few original black camps were established, such as the two at Gettysburg National Military Park, the Army resisted pressure to set up additional ones. Even at the height of CCC operations in Pennsylvania, the state contained only 12 black camps.¹⁸⁷

Although politics did not play a *major* role in the CCC, there was a problem with congressional patronage. Most appointive positions, such as project superintendents and foremen, were filled by Democratic supporters. It appeared that a candidate's political viewpoint overrode his technical qualifications. On the surface, operating agency officials did not consider patronage a serious

185. Ibid, 78–80.

186. Ibid, 80–81.

187. Ibid, 83–85.

country looking for work. These were overwhelming events in a young man's life and gave some a bitter, cynical, rebellious attitude.

The Corps helped undo some of the damage the men had suffered because of the depression.

The boys were poor boys, mostly from the hard coal region of Pennsylvania. They would come there skinny and emaciated; and in a few weeks on the Army food, when they left camp, you would hardly recognize them. They would gain weight. The morale was excellent. (Interview with Richard Price, one of the officers at Fort Necessity 1935–1936.)¹⁹²

Three wholesome meals a day, proper medical care, and hard work enabled them to leave the Corps fit and healthy. The opportunity for an education and having a regular job restored their self-esteem and confidence. They learned job skills and work habits and felt a worthwhile sense of accomplishment. Living in groups of 200 made them feel part of a "community" where they interacted and developed social abilities. The camaraderie shared by camp members supplied some of the emotional needs usually provided by families.¹⁹³

Serving in the Corps had a profound, long lasting effect on enrollees. Their experiences instilled in them a sense of pride lasting throughout their lives.¹⁹⁴ In addition, the public service spirit of the Corps motivated some enrollees to choose careers such as social service and welfare workers.

Those who joined the military believed the CCC had helped prepare them for action in World War II. The discipline and training in first aid, demolition, road and bridge construction, radio operation, and signal communication enabled former enrollees to make valued contributions to the war effort.

Benefits of the CCC program extended far beyond the enrollees. Wages sent to dependents of the young men aided as many as 10 to 12 million relatives directly. Their buying power generated greater economic opportunities for merchants throughout the country. An estimated one-eighth of the total population received financial benefits from the Corps program.¹⁹⁵

During the Corps' nine-year existence, camps moved frequently and economically stimulated local business in each nearby community. Camp construction provided work for local unemployed labor, and approximately \$5,000 of camp money was spent in local businesses each month.¹⁹⁶

192. Sypolt, Part II:47.

193. Hendrickson, 74–75.

194. Lanier, 7.

195. Ibid, 36.

196. Lacy, quoted in Lanier, 46–47.

earn extra money. Other families gave the officers' wives a place to stay while their husbands were stationed at the Fort.²⁰³ In addition, enrollees were invited to special community events in Farmington and Uniontown, where they were "well-received" by "enthusiastic" townspeople.²⁰⁴

THE CLOSING OF THE CAMPS

Enrollment in the CCC reached its peak and began declining in 1935. The Depression was easing, and it was becoming difficult to find recruits to fill the camps. The unemployed had other, more attractive options from which to choose with the establishment of the Works Progress Administration (WPA) and the National Youth Administration (NYA). Working in the WPA not only paid more money but allowed men to live at home.

Two other factors made the CCC less attractive. Negative rumors circulating about camp conditions had just enough truth to them to make prospective recruits hesitant to join. Because the camps were administered by the Army, the specter of the military was always present in the CCC. It became more prominent in latter years of the organization and deterred some potential recruits from enrolling.²⁰⁵

The November 1937 edition of the Fort Necessity camp newspaper announced:

On December 15th, 1937, the curtain will be rung down on the activities and life of Camp SP-12, located at Fort Necessity. Orders recently received closes all projects on December 15th. The CCC Co. 1329 will prepare to be moved between that date and December 20th, destination not designated at the time of this writing. The Technical Personnel will be disbanded. The educational instructors, except the Advisor, will return to other duties on their WPA program.²⁰⁶

During the two and a half years of its existence, approximately 850 men passed through the camp. Company 2326, the first company stationed at Fort Necessity, consisted of 70 men from Uniontown. In May 1936, 145 men comprising Company 5462 from southern Mississippi arrived. A total of 98 replacements arrived in October 1936 from Alabama. In 1937 Company 5462 transferred to Somerset, and Company 1329 from Somerset arrived at Fort Necessity to become the last company stationed there. Upon the camp's closing, enrollees were reassigned to Somerset and other camps.²⁰⁷

Closing the camp at Fort Necessity may have been accomplished without much advance notice, as evidenced by the statement on the last page of *The Fort*, camp newspaper for Company 1329:

203. Sypolt, 27.

204. James DeCarlucci interview with Sypolt, Part II: 27.

205. Hendrickson, 83.

206. Civilian Conservation Corps, *The Fort*. (November, 1937).

207. Sypolt, 26.

indicated to the American public that this new administration intended to act decisively and set priorities. Those priorities put unemployed young men to work and conserved natural resources.²¹³

The Civilian Conservation Corps was a human organization rather than a bureaucratic arrangement. Instead of concentrating on self-perpetuation and control of its own destiny, it was flexible and responsive, expanding its roles as needed to leave a positive and generous legacy of service to American society.²¹⁴

With the beginning of World War II, the National Park Service quickly lost much of the ground it had gained during the flush times of the first two Roosevelt administrations. The Civilian Conservation Corps quickly evaporated as the last vestiges of the New Deal agencies were disbanded to streamline the government for the war effort. By 1943 the number of Park Service employees had dropped below 2,000, and the agency's headquarters were moved from Washington, D.C., to Chicago to make room for workers who were more essential to the war effort.²¹⁵ This severe reversal of fortunes sent the national park system and its supporting bureaucracy into a steep decline from which it did not fully recover for almost a quarter-century.

Even the end of the war brought no relief for the beleaguered agency. The automobile culture that was temporarily slowed by the Depression and the war exploded in the wave of prosperity that washed over the United States in the postwar era. Americans now were more mobile than ever. By 1956 domestic automobile purchases totaled 8 million. The United States, with 6 percent of the world's population, owned 50 percent of the world's automobiles.²¹⁶ For the overwhelmingly majority of Americans, the car had evolved from a luxury and toy to an absolute necessity. Americans drove their cars to work, to school, to church, and, more than ever before, on vacation. The postwar economic boom brought an increase in leisure time and the extra money to enjoy it. The enormous jump in automobile ownership in the 1940s and 1950s put millions more vacationing Americans on the road, great numbers of whom landed in the nation's national parks.

Despite significant increases in visitation, budgets and staffing for units in the national park system did not increase enough to keep pace with this additional pressure. The outbreak of the Korean War in June 1950 eliminated any chance that the National Park Service would see any relief from wartime funding shortfalls and in fact brought new budget cuts.²¹⁷ The parks' infrastructures eroded and their resources suffered serious degradation that park staffs were powerless to arrest.

213. Lanier, 146.

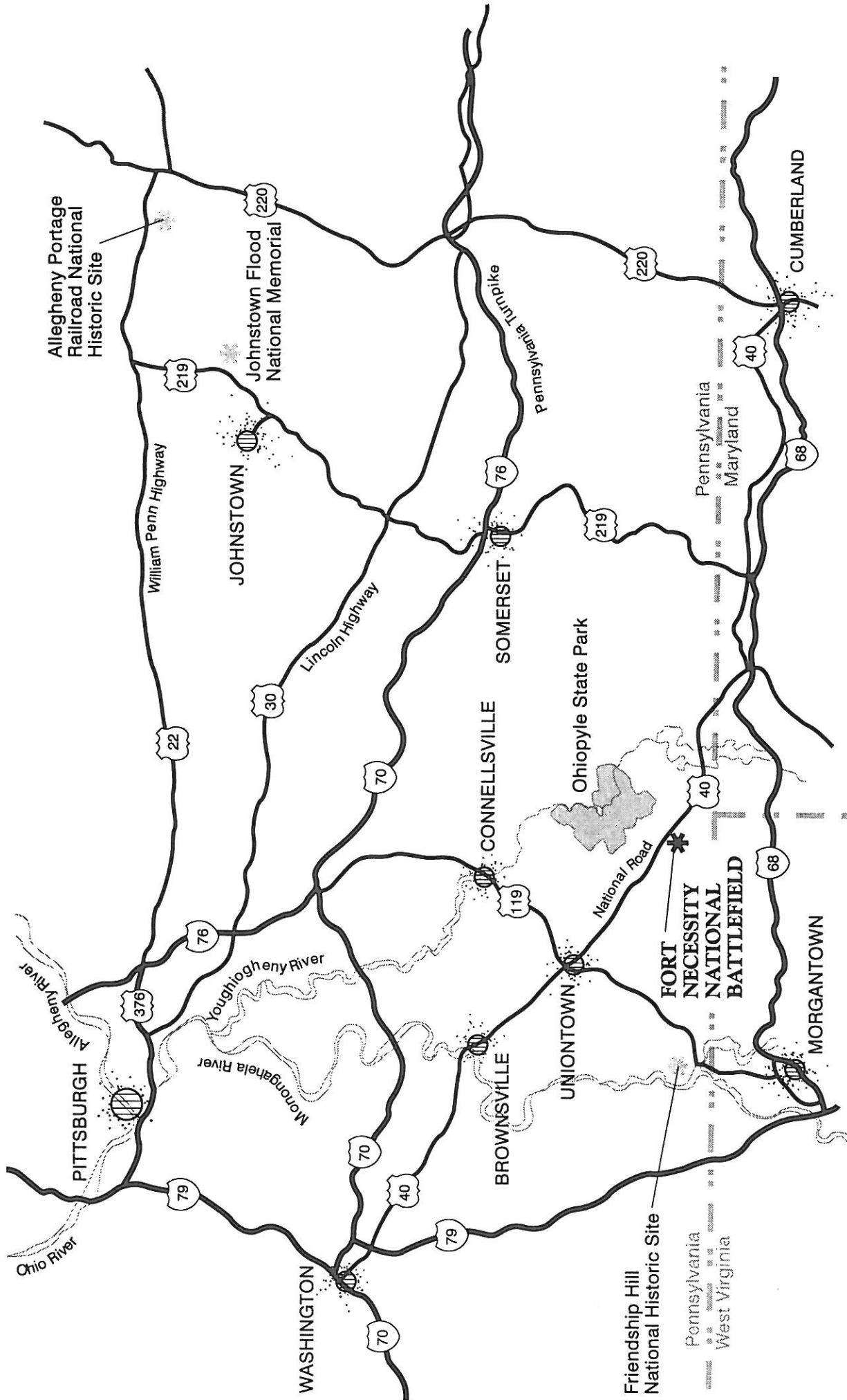
214. *Ibid.*, 228.

215. William C. Everhart, *The National Park Service*, p. 34. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1972.

216. Davidson, et al. *Nation of Nations: A Narrative History of the American Republic*, pp. 1120–1121.

217. Everhart. *The National Park Service*, p. 34.

In 1974 Congress passed Public Law 93-477, which increased the park's acreage to a maximum of 911 acres. This legislation authorized the acquisition of 25 acres in the Jumonville Glen, which further enhanced the park's interpretive capability. This act brought the park up to its current size of 902.8 acres. Fort Necessity National Battlefield now consists of three separate units; the main unit, which includes the reconstructed fort and the Great Meadows; the Braddock Grave Site and Braddock Memorial; and the Jumonville Glen. Park interpretation currently focuses on the causes and implications of the French and Indian War, the early career of George Washington, and the development of the National Road and its impact on American history. Fort Necessity is the only unit in the national park system dedicated to either the French and Indian War or the National Road.



VICINITY

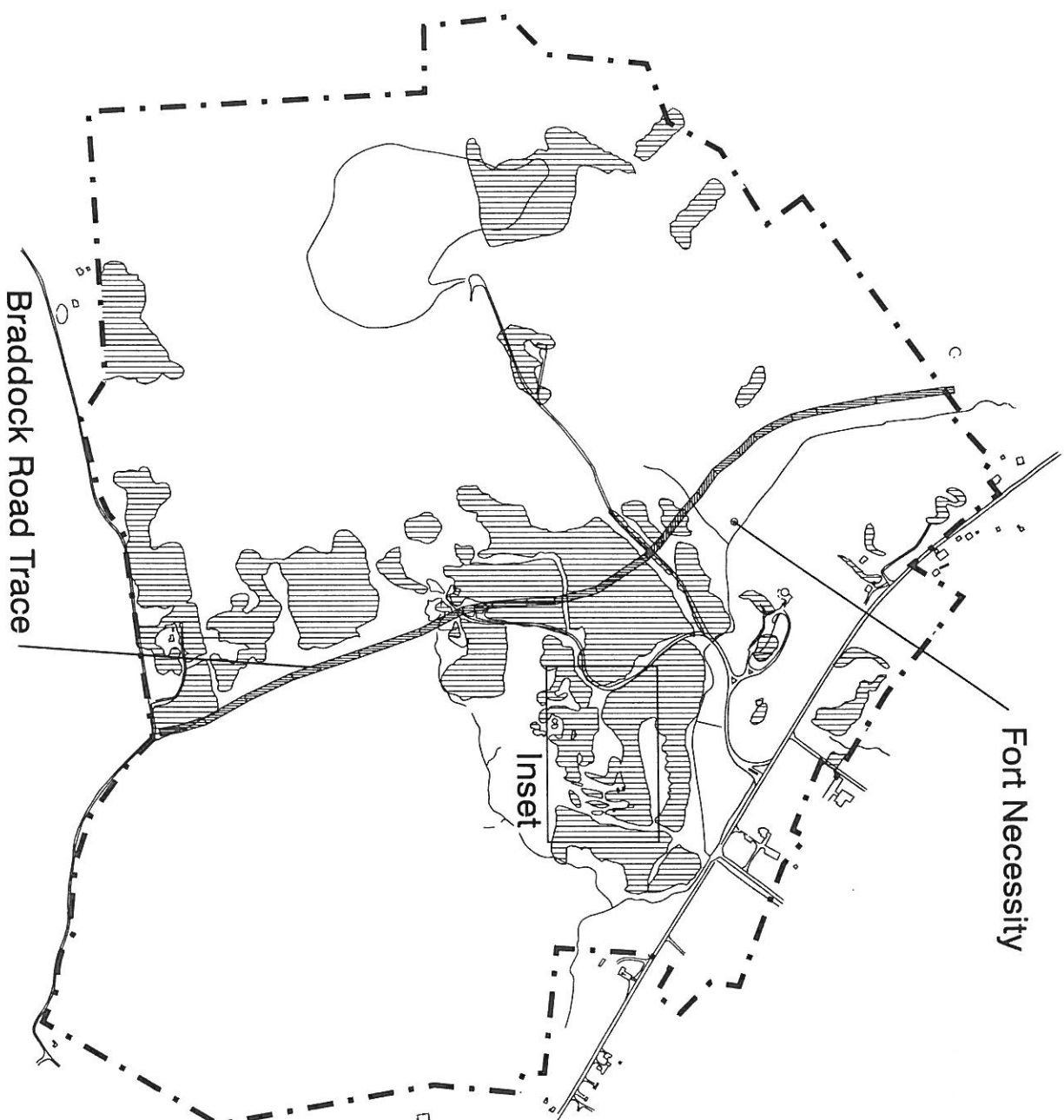
FORT NECESSITY NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
 NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
 DSC • 336 • 20030B • Sept 96



NORTH

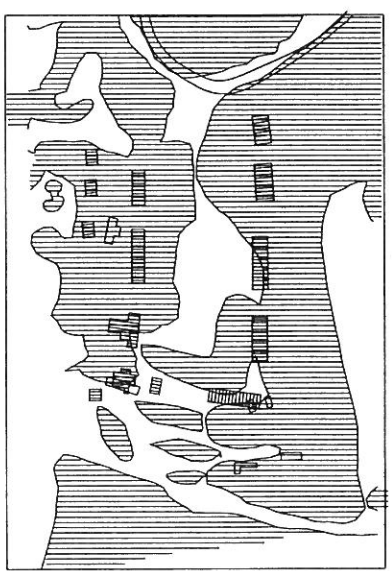






Fort Necessity

Inset

Braddock Road Trace

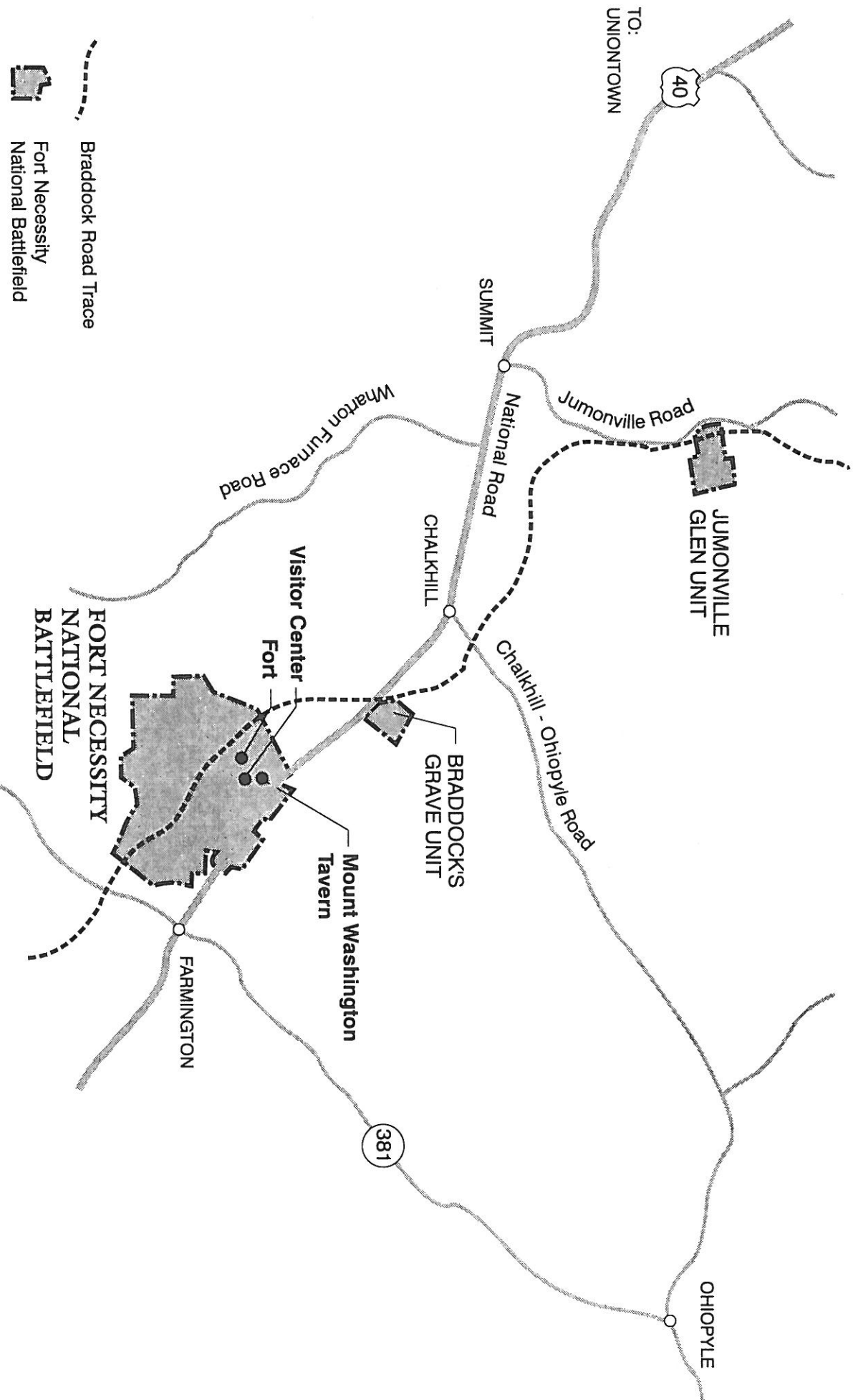


Inset - CCC Building Locations

-  Historic Planting
-  Buildings

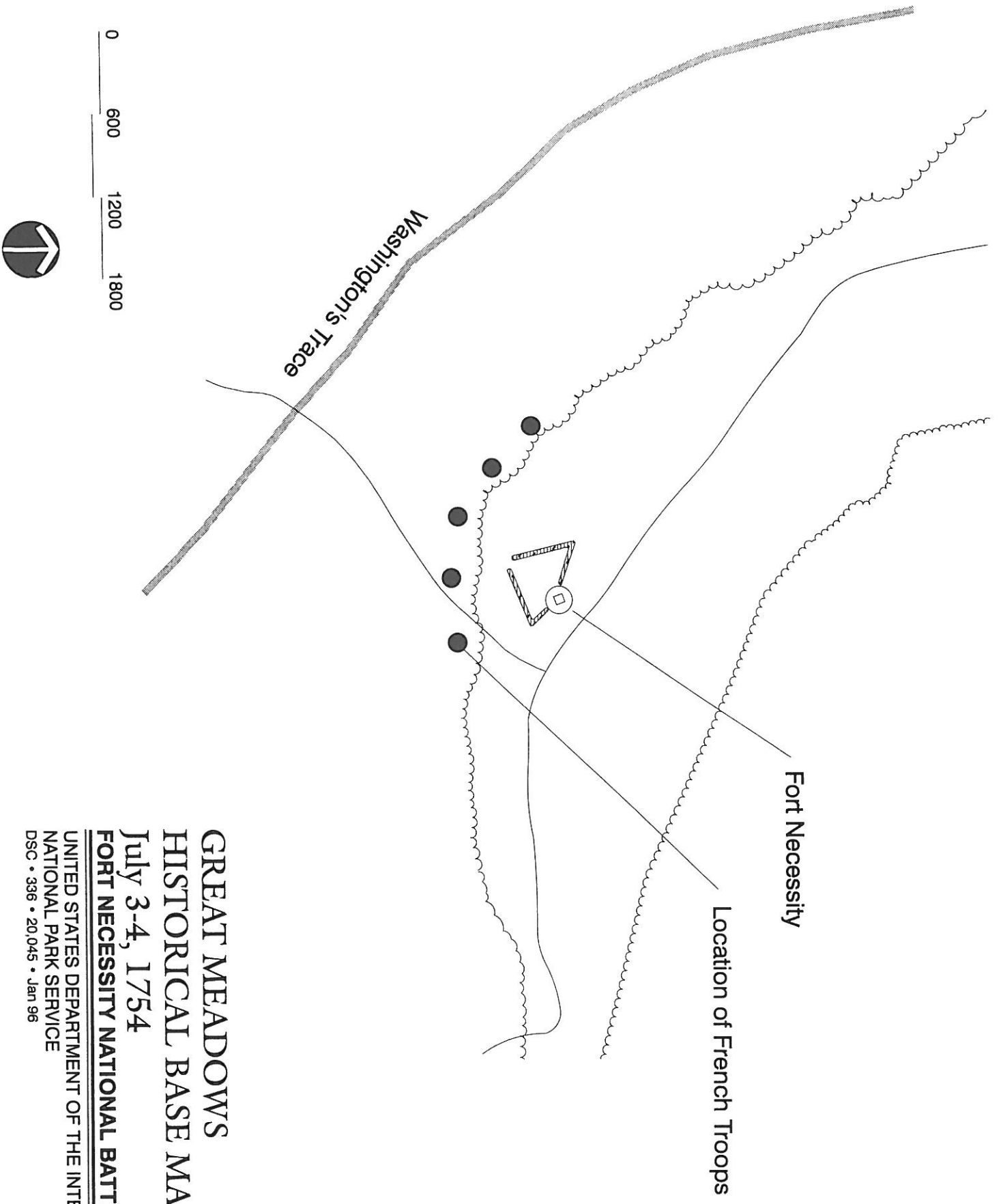
**CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS ERA
HISTORICAL BASE MAP 1935-37
FORT NECESSITY NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD**

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
DSC • 336 • 20,047 • Jan 96



BRADDOCK ROAD CORRIDOR
FORT NECESSITY NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD

U.S. Department of the Interior / National Park Service
 DSC • 336 • 20039B • Mar 96



**GREAT MEADOWS
HISTORICAL BASE MAP**

July 3-4, 1754

FORT NECESSITY NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
DSC • 336 • 20,045 • Jan 96

1953 that additional archaeological investigation ascertained the fort was circular, and it was accurately reconstructed.

In 1935-37, a Civilian Conservation Corps camp was located at Fort Necessity. The Corps constructed barracks and other support buildings at the site of the present day administration and maintenance facilities. The Fort Necessity Memorial Association had hoped the CCC would repair and restore the tavern, but very little, if any, of this work was actually done by the Corps. The Corps planted trees, constructed small dams, built bridges, culverts, picnic areas and roadways. The buildings were razed, but many of the other structures remain today including two picnic shelters with fireplaces, and roadways with culverts and bridges.

In 1961, Congress authorized the acquisition of Fort Necessity State Park from the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. The state donated the parcel of land with the tavern conveyed by the Fazenbakers in 1932 and the parcel of land surrounding Braddock's Grave. Since 1962 the tavern has been restored and utilized to interpret the National Road and life along the road in the early nineteenth century. In 1974, Congress authorized the acquisition of the 25 acres in Jumonville Glen.

Today, the meadow consists of a swampy tract of land some 200 to 300 yards wide. Vegetation is typical marshy growth consisting mostly of grass in addition to alders and small bushes along the banks of a small meandering run that traverses the site. The grass around the fort is regularly maintained. A visitor center constructed in the 1960s is within the viewshed of the fort to the north. Other park development includes roadways, a parking lot northeast of the fort, and trails between the tavern, visitor center, and fort. New park headquarters and maintenance buildings southeast of the fort are concealed by woods.

Jumonville Glen was clear cut, but second and third growth has restored some of the wilderness ambience of the historic scene. A significant change to the landscape inside the glen is the stone stairway set into a cleft of the cliff. Originally wood, the steps were probably built by the Sons of the American Revolution in the 1930s as part of the bicentennial celebration of George Washington's birth. A change to the landscape outside of the glen is the visitor parking lot and trail from the parking lot to the bottom of the rock outcropping.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESOURCES

Several archaeological investigations have been conducted within the boundaries of Fort Necessity National Battlefield. These investigations have focused primarily in the area of the 1754 battle in the Great Meadows and around Mount Washington Tavern.

A 1953 survey in the Great Meadows settled the question of size and shape of the fort. The investigation established the fort's circular shape and location at the north end of two opposing ditch/earthwork features and adjacent to the streambed of Great Meadow Run. The 1953 survey also

provided the French with a feeling of safety. The brief skirmish resulted in the death or capture of all except one of the French forces. The dead included Joseph Coulon De Villiers, Sieur de Jumonville.

After Washington's defeat at Fort Necessity on July 4, 1754, Major General Edward Braddock commanded British regiments in America with orders to take offensive action against the French. In 1755, Braddock followed Washington's Road and improved and widened it for the passage of his heavy wagons and artillery to within six miles of Fort Duquesne. Braddock's attempted assault on Fort Duquesne failed and he was mortally wounded. He was buried in the middle of the road on the east side of Braddock Run about a mile from Great Meadows. The road became known as Braddock's Road and was one of the main thoroughfares into Ohio in the latter portion of the eighteenth century. Much of Braddock Road passing through the park southwest of the fort was probably a farm road into the twentieth century. In 1804, workmen repairing the road removed Braddock's remains and reburied them at the present gravesite at the foot of a large tree. For a number of years, the grave was enclosed by a board fence within which several pine trees grew. Twenty-three acres of land around the gravesite were purchased by the General Braddock Memorial Park Association. A 25-ton granite monument was erected and dedicated October 15, 1913.

After the French and Indian War, the Great Meadows slowly reverted to wilderness. As early as 1767, Washington acquired a tract of 234 acres that included the fort site. He described the land as situated halfway between Cumberland and Pittsburgh, noted that Braddock Road passes through it, and declared the site "an excellent stand for a Publican." Washington's writings twice refer to a house or "little improved" tenement on the land for which he never received any rent.

The National Road (originally Cumberland Road) was conceived by George Washington in 1784 as a communication link to maintain unity between East and West in a rapidly growing nation. An act of Congress established the road in 1806 and maintained it until 1837. At some locations the road was built on the roadbed of Braddock's Road just as the latter had followed Washington's Road which succeeded the paths of early Native Americans. East of Fort Necessity the National Road generally follows the Braddock Road alignment.

Travel along the National Road declined in the 1850s with the establishment of the railroad, but in its day, the National Road was the most widely-known, widely-traveled road in the United States. It also was famous for its taverns which were found nearly every mile along the mountain division. The Mount Washington tavern was constructed in the 1830s alongside the National Road on acreage once owned by Washington. The road was thriving with activity by this time, and this masonry building constructed by Nathaniel Ewing may have been preceded by a small log house. Other structures would have existed to support the operations of the tavern such as stables, smokehouse, summer kitchen, spring house, wash house, and privies. In addition, county records for Mount Washington mention a "meeting house." Late nineteenth century photographs show a wagon shed/carrriage house from the National Road heyday ca. 1830-1850. A spring and watering trough were across the present-day U.S. 40 from the carriage house. However, none of these structures are in existence today. Oral

The natural environment influences not only the character and composition of the land but also the ways in which people use the land. Topographic variations, the abundance or scarcity of natural resources, in addition to the potential for transportation are some of the factors that influence the

CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

The National Road was the only internal improvement project financed and constructed by the federal government in the antebellum era. The road was to provide reliable transportation and communication between the Atlantic seaboard and the rapidly developing trans-Appalachian west. Approximately 90 miles of this first federal interstate highway passed through southwestern Pennsylvania. Part of the eastern segment in Pennsylvania follows the corridor of the Braddock Road. Portions of U.S. 40 overlay the original right-of-way of the National Road, and a short section of the National Road right-of-way falls within the boundaries of Fort Necessity National Battlefield.

THE NATIONAL ROAD

Several sections of the Braddock Road still remain within the park boundaries. These traces often appear as depressed trenches on the landscape. Other traces of the road are less discernible. Approximately 0.5 mile of visible remains of the roadway run through the park. Earlier trace cut by George Washington's troops the previous year.

The Braddock Road was built in 1755 by the forces of Maj. Gen. Edward Braddock in his abortive campaign against the French Fort Duquesne at the Forks of the Ohio River. The road followed the

THE BRADDOCK ROAD

A 1930s development by the Pennsylvania Department of Forests and Waters, Bureau of Parks, the Orchard Spring structure was constructed over a spring used by travelers along the historic Braddock Road/National Road. The CCC may have been involved in the construction of this stone structure near Braddock's Grave. The stones are rough-cut, squared, and randomly-laid with raised mortar joints and rounded corners curving to 90 degree walls.

ORCHARD SPRING

In 1909 the Braddock Road Association was formed to preserve the site and raise funds to erect a memorial to the General. The monument was dedicated in 1913. The site includes the grave site with marker, surrounding fence, the Braddock monument, a trace of the Braddock Road, and a monument commemorating the Braddock Road.

north of the Great Meadows, where he died on July 14. Here his men buried him in the roadway named for him. His remains were discovered 50 years later by a road-building crew and reburied about 100 yards away.

Jumonville Glen is the site of the first skirmish between French troops and Virginia militia under the command of George Washington. This fight helped trigger the French and Indian War, known in Europe as the Seven Years' War. The site includes the rock formation under which the troops of the Sieur de Jumonville were camped when they were attacked by Washington's detachment.

JUMONVILLE GLEN

In the period 1920-1930 the Wharton Township Monument was erected to honor "Sons and Daughters of Wharton Township who participated in the wars fought for the establishment and preservation of liberty at home and overseas." The monument is a rough-cut sandstone/brownstone monolith, measuring 7 1/2 feet by 7 1/2 feet, with a carved eagle on top. The structure is established on a concrete base. A bronze plaque with raised lettering is mounted on the monolith. A low wall, 3 feet, 3 inches high, in the form of a cut stone bench flanks each side of the structure.

WHARTON TOWNSHIP MONUMENT

Adjacent to the tavern is the Fort Necessity Monument, erected by the Pennsylvania Historical Commission and the Citizens of Fayette County. This marker represents one of the earliest efforts to commemorate the events that took place at Fort Necessity.

In 1932 the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania bought the tavern building and converted it into a museum for the Fort Necessity National Battlefield site. The National Park Service accepted title of the tavern in 1962 and incorporated it as an element of Fort Necessity National Battlefield. Since that time the tavern has been used to interpret the history of the National Road and tavern life along the road in the first half of the 19th century.

The Mount Washington Tavern was probably constructed sometime in the 1830s. The structure served as an inn and tavern throughout the remainder of the so-called heyday of the National Road. After 1854 it was used as a private residence for the Fazzenbaker family, who farmed the land around the tavern for three generations.

MOUNT WASHINGTON TAVERN

After the battle of Jumonville, Washington's men constructed a defensive line of earthenworks around Fort Necessity to provide some protection for troops outside of the fort's log walls. The diamond-shaped reconstruction of 1954 measures 363 feet in length and is two feet above grade with trenching on the inside. The works are in good condition.

FORT NECESSITY EARTHWORKS

provided evidence for the partial burning of the stockade by French troops, as evidenced by charcoal, burned earth, and water-preserved charred post ends.

The present reconstructed stockade is about 1 foot above the original features. The entrenchments are close to their original shape and in the original location. The storehouse most likely rested directly on the ground. No archeological evidence was found that would make it possible to determine the exact size and location of the structure.²²⁰

Surveys have identified the historic streambed in two locations north of the present-day Great Meadow Run and at the north end of the stockade. A 1931 investigation suggested the historic channel probably measured 3–10 feet wide and was up to 3 feet deep. Recent excavations also revealed the location of about 2 feet of fill in Great Meadows. This fill probably was deposited in the 1930s during the first reconstruction of the fort and development of the park. A portion of one abutment for a stone-arch bridge from the 1930s was identified along the current stream.²²¹

Some of the artifacts recovered in the Great Meadows excavations were musket balls, fragments of clay tobacco pipe stems, gun flints, brass buttons, a brass fastener, bottle glass fragments, a teapot lid, an Indian arrowhead, and the brass tip of a sword scabbard. No remnants of small arms, gear for horses, or construction tools were recovered.²²²

A 1988 remote sensing survey in Great Meadows north of the fort and Great Meadow Run identified a possible remnant of a 19th century farm road (Fazenbacker Lane), a potential fortification ditch, firepits, and earth features. These features could be associated with cultivation, early 20th century park development, or possibly an encampment. A 1990 testing program in this area recovered few artifacts (cinders and architectural debris), most of which date from the late 19th century to the early 20th century.²²³

Investigations at Mount Washington Tavern have involved gathering information about the structure's architectural history. Findings included the potential discovery of porch footings, the determination of the location and function of outbuildings, and the location of artifact deposits. Discoveries also included an intact dressed stone foundation wall of a late 19th century frame addition (which was demolished in 1931) and a possible root cellar or half-cellar under the addition.

220. Harrington, 63, 112.

221. Resnick, 16, 70.

222. *Ibid.*, 92–103.

223. Resnick, 19.

David Bradford House National Historic Landmark

This house, built in 1788, was the home of David Bradford, the inflammatory leader of the Whiskey Rebellion. Bradford holds the dubious distinction of being the only leading figure among the Whiskey Rebels who was never pardoned. The house is maintained by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and is open to the public.

Bushy Run National Historic Landmark

On August 5–6, 1763, a force of British regulars under the command of Colonel Henry Bouquet clashed with Delaware and Shawnee warriors at Bushy Run, about 35 miles east of the Forks of the Ohio. In this bloody battle, Bouquet drove off the attacking Native American forces and continued his march to relieve the siege of Fort Pitt. This decisive battle marked a turning point in the series of conflicts known as Pontiac's Rebellion.

The 162-acre Bushy Run Battlefield State Park includes a portion of the battle site, a memorial stone with bronze plaque that marks the site of the flour bag fort built by British troops, and a marker on the site of the 50 soldiers killed in the fight.

Casselman's Bridge National Historic Landmark

Casselman's bridge, at Grantsville, Maryland, was built to carry traffic on the National Road over the Casselman River. At the time of its construction in 1813–1814, it was the largest single-arch stone bridge in America. The bridge lies within a 1-acre state park operated by the Maryland Forest, Park, and Wildlife Service.

Dunlap's Creek Bridge

Dunlap's Creek Bridge in Brownsville, Pennsylvania is listed on the National Register of Historic Places. It is the first cast-iron bridge built in America. The bridge still carries automobile traffic.

Espy House National Historic Landmark

The Espy House in Bedford, Pennsylvania served briefly as President George Washington's headquarters during the Whiskey Rebellion in 1794. Earlier, it served as the residence and office of Arthur St. Clair, future Major General in the Continental Army, President of the U.S. in Congress Assembled (1787), and first Governor of the Northwest Territory. The exterior of the house remains virtually unchanged from its condition 200 years ago.

Searights Tollhouse National Historic Landmark

The second of the remaining tollhouses in Pennsylvania is owned by the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission and managed by the Fayette County Historical Society. The tollhouse is immediately adjacent to U.S. 40 and is open to visitors from Memorial Day to Labor Day.

Wheeling Suspension Bridge National Historic Landmark

The Wheeling Suspension Bridge was built across the Ohio River at Wheeling in 1849 for traffic traveling on the National Road. It was the first bridge to span the Ohio River and at one time was the longest suspension bridge in the world. The original bridge collapsed in a windstorm in 1854 and was rebuilt in 1860. The bridge still functions today.

PHOTOGRAPHS OF HISTORIC RESOURCES



Photo 1: Jumonville Glen - looking north from top of cliffs



Photo 2: Jumonville Glen - looking north from SAR stairs



Photo 5: Braddock's Grave Site - looking west at Braddock Road Trace



Photo 6: Steps from Braddock Road Trace to monument, looking south



Photo 9: Front facade of Mt. Washington Tavern



Photo 10: Rear of Mt. Washington Tavern, looking north



Photo 13: The Great Meadows and Ft. Necessity reconstruction

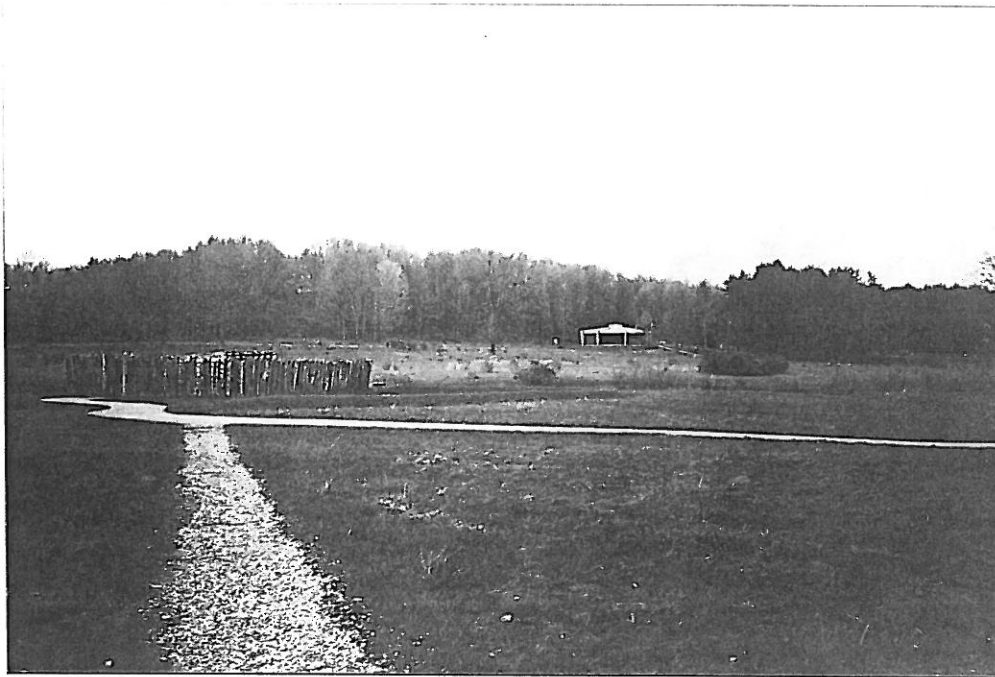


Photo 14: Ft. Necessity - looking north to old visitor center



Photo 17: East swivel gun and wall of palisade - looking west



Photo 18: Ft Necessity entrenchments and swivel gun - looking southeast

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As the nation's principal conservation agency, the Department of the Interior has responsibility for most of our nationally owned public lands and natural resources. This includes fostering sound use of our land and water resources; protecting our fish, wildlife, and biological diversity; preserving the environmental and cultural values of our national parks and historical places; and providing for the enjoyment of life through outdoor recreation. The department assesses our energy and mineral resources and works to ensure that their development is in the best interests of all our people by encouraging stewardship and citizen participation in their care. The department also has a major responsibility for American Indian reservation communities and for people who live in island territories under U.S. administration.