

By ELMO SCOTT WATSON

Map by John C. Fitzpatrick, author of "George Washington, Colonial Traveler," courtesy the Bobbs-Merrill company, publishers.

HEN you saw the title of this article did you find yourself saying: "George Washington a Westerner? Why, I thought he was born in Virginia, lived most of his life there and died there. And Virginia certainly is an Eastern You're quite right, for he was and it is!

But the point is—and it's one which few Americans, perhaps, realize—that some of the most

important events in Washington's career took place in the West, that he was one of the most "Western-minded" men of his day and that he retained his interest in the West to the end of

Washington's first experience in "the West" came when he was sixteen years old. In 1748 Lord Fairfax engaged the young Virginian to aid George W. Fairfax, his agent, in making surveys in the Shenandoah Valley beyond the Blue Ridge mountains. This trip lasted a month and brought him for the first time into contact with the red men who were to resist so savagely the westward push of the white men.

Five years later Washington set out upon another journey farther west which was more fraught with danger and much more important historically. The Ohio company, formed in 1748 by a London merchant and several prominent men in Virginia, had obtained a grant of 200,000 acres on the Ohlo river. But when the company attempted to make good its claim to these lands, the French, who were determined to dominate the interior of North America, broke up their trading posts and carried their traders away to Canada as prisoners. Moreover, Marquis Duquesne, the new governor-general of Canada, ordered forts built in the Ohio country to hold it for the French. By 1753 they had established posts at Presque Isle (the present Erie, Pa.) and Le Boeuf (near Waterford, Pa.) and an outpost at Venango (at the junction of French creek and the Allegheny).

Late in the year Governor Dinwiddle of Virginia sent Washington to warn the French off of the lands claimed by the English, Washington engaged Christopher Gist, who had surveyed the Ohio company's lands in 1750, as his guide and four others as "servitors." Later they were joined by a party of friendly Indians who accompanied them to Venango. The expedition, made in the dead of winter

was a perilous as well as a futile one. Both the French commanders at Venango and Le Boeuf were firm in their refusal to quit their posts until ordered to do so by the governor of Canada. So Washington started back to report to

During this trip Washington visited for the first time "the Forks of the Ohio" and recorded in his journal: "I spent some time in view-ing the Rivers, and the Land in the Fork; which I think extremely well situated for a Fort."

Washington could not have realized at the

time how important to his future career this apot was to be. For within a year Captain Trent with a party of backwoodsmen was building a fort at this "extremely well situated" place and Washington, as a lieutenant-colonel of Virginia militia, was marching with a small force of raw troops, under orders from Governor Dinwiddle, to garrison it. When he reached Wills Creek (now Cumberland, Md.) he learned that the French had swooped down, driven Trent's men away and were themselves building

Fort Duquesne there.

Washington pushed on and a party of French under Jumouville came out from Duquesne "to repel force with force." Os Mar 28, 1754, in

what is now Fayette county, Pennsylvania, "the two tiny forces met; the volleys they exchanged opened the war that was to be waged until 1763, on the battle fields of Europe, the plains of India, and around the islands of the sea, as well as in the woods of the New World."

Washington Raising the British Flag, Fort Duquesne (1758) FROM A PRINTING BY AR COMPANY

Thus George Washington's first fight on the, frontier made him an international figure. For Jumonville was killed in the encounter ("assassinated," the French declared), and after that the great conflict was inevitable. Washington fell back to the Great Meadows where he built a crude breastwork which he named Fort Necessity. There he was attacked by Coulon de Villiers, Jumonville's brother, and all day long his troops "weary, half-starved, soaked to the skin by the constant rain, and depleted by the musketry fire from the heights which commanded them, fought off their assallants." That night Washington was forced to capitulate.

A year later Washington again rode West, this time as an aide to Gen. Edward Braddock's fine British army which was certain to capture Fort Duquesne from the French. Then came the fatal July 9 on the Monongahela and a few days later Washington was writing to his brother, Augustine: "By the all powerful dispensations of Providence, I have been protected beyond human probability and expectation; for I had four bullets through my coat, and two horses shot under me, yet escaped unhurt, although death was leveling my companions on every

The next two years found Washington, now a colonel and commander-in-chief of all the milltias in Virginia, guarding her frontier against the Indians who, encouraged by Braddock's de-feat, repeatedly attacked the outlying settle-



Washington's Mission to the Ohio

ments. Most of this time was spent at Fort Cumberland and Fort Loudoun (Winchester) with occasional trips to Williamsburg, to Alexandria and to Mount Vernon and longer journeys to Philadelphia, New York and Boston.

But at last in the fall of 1758 he set out for the West again. This time he was in command of Virginia troops accompanying the expedition of Gen. John Forbes against Fort Duquesne and on November 28 he wrote to Governor Fauguler:

"Fort Duquesne, or the ground rather which it stood, was possessed by his majesty's troops on the 26th instant."

Victory, at last! So the career of George Washington as a frontier fighter ended. In January, 1769, he married the Widow Custis and prepared to settle down at Mount Vernon as a Virginia gentleman farmer. But his experience during the French and Indian war had given him an intimate knowledge of the land across the mountains and he realized fully its future importance and the opportunities which it would afford for a land speculator.

In 1754, when Governor Dinwiddle issued a proclamation giving 200,000 acres of western land to men who had served in the war, Washington, as a major, received 15,000 acres on the Ohlo although he did not succeed in having it surveyed and patented until seven years later. By the Royal Proclamation of 1763, at the close of the French and Indian war, he received 5,000

In 1770, acting as agent and attorney to locate the western lands granted to officers of the First Virginia regiment by Governor Dinwiddle, Washington, himself, journeyed to Fort Pitt (the former Fort Duquesne). There he held con-ferences with George Croghan, Indian agent, and with the chiefs of the Six Nations and then, accompanied by Doctor Craik, his physician-friend, and three servants, started down the Ohio by boat. This expedition, which took him down to the mouth of the Kanawha river and up that stream for a considerable distance, was for pleasure as well as business and his diary is full of references to the hunting which he enjoyed

purchased 2,500 acres more.

In addition to looking after the land interests of his brother officers he was also inspecting the lands which William Crawford had marked out for him, for Lund Washington and for his own brothers, Samuel and John Crawford, Washing-ton was especially concerned with establishing his title to these lands.

One of the results of this journey is seen in an advertisement, signed by Washington, which appeared in the Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser for August 22, 1773, and which offered for sale 20,000 acres of land on the Great Kanawha and the Ohio rivers. In this advertisement Washington states that "if the scheme for establishing a new government on the Ohlo, in the manner talked of should ever be effected, these must be among the most val-uable lands."

Eventually a new government was established there-but not the one, perhaps, which Washington had in mind. Soon after the struggle for liberty began, Washington's mind was occupled with a greater problem than that of his western lands and it kept his mind occupied for the next seven or eight years.

At the close of the Revolution Washington owned land in what is now New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, Ohio and Kentucky, even as far west as Louisville, Besides owning all this land, Washington was also interested in developing routes of communication and travel between the East and the be developed rapidly without them.

In 1784 he set out on another journey to the West "to obtain information of the nearest and best communication between the Eastern and Western waters." This information he secured by traveling on horseback across ten mountain ranges and covering a distance of 684 miles in 34 days. Upon his return he wrote: "I am well pleased with my journey, as it has been the means of my obtaining a knowledge of facts coming at the temper and disposition of the Western inhabitants, and making reflections thereon which otherwise must have been as wild, incoherent, or perhaps as foreign from the truth as the inconsistency of the reports which I had received even from those to whom most credit seemed due, generally were."

One result of his journey was the founding of the Potomac company, incorporated in 1785 by the legislatures of both Maryland and Virginia for constructing a canal to connect the James and Potomac rivers with the Ohio. A part of the canal was dug but it was never carried to completion. Washington was given 50 shares in the Potomac company and he left these in his will to the founding of a university to be established in the District of Columbia.

When Washington died he owned more than 50,000 acres of land, valued at nearly half a million dollars. The greater part of this was in the West, or, at least, what was regarded as "the West" at that time. They included 27,486 acres in Virginia, 23,341 on the Great Kanawha river, 9,744 on the Ohio river, 5,000 on Rough creek in Kentucky, 3,051 on the Little Miami river in Ohlo, 1,119 in Maryland, 1,000 on the Mohawk river in New York, and last, but not least, 234 in Pennsylvania. Not least, because these 234 acres included the Great Meadows, where a young frontier fighter had built Fort Necessity and embarked upon the military career (even though it was with a defeat) that made the name of George Washington forever famous!

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at war when money dominated the situa-Dominates tion at Washington, it assuredly is now. One can go where he chooses about

the government departments, to the White House or to Capitol Hill and the subject under discussion is or soon will be money.

A year or so ago, we heard a great deal about money. We heard of it in connection with an appropriation of \$4,880,000,000 — the greatest aingle peace-time voting of money in our his-tory. And, likewise, we heard money discussed when the President used his power to devaluate the dollar in its relation to gold.

Now, however, the subject of money is discussed in a slightly different vein. The question that is paramount is how can the government get the money it needs. In other words, we are now getting around to the question of taxation, and it is a question that neither the President nor his lieutenants in congress like to face. It is an election year and a tax increase in election year is not what the politicians would call smoothing the highway of a campaign.

Passage of the legislation providing immediate payment of the veterans' bonus brought conditions to a head.
The President vetoed the bonus bill and congress promptly overrode that veto. So the President promptly told congress that something had to be done about it; that the only funds the treasury could muster would be by borrow ing and that since congress had yielded to the vocal minority represented by the greatest lobby ever to populate the Capitol, it thereby captured for itself a problem of raising the money.

Of course, the President must assome responsibility even though he vetoed the bonus for the reason that some of the funds which must be raised will go to pay the crop control benefits or bonus resulting from invalidation of the processing taxes and the Agricultural Adjustment act. The President, as well as the political leaders in congress, want to continue that payment and they also want to pay farmers on commitments previously made because they regard them as moral obligation under the AAA contracts, Yet the country is likely to think in terms of the bonus for the war veterans and pay little attention to the smaller amount scheduled to go to the farmers and, indeed, the veterans' bonus is almost six times that which the administration desires to pay to the farmers.

There was in this situation a development to which I believe attention

should be called. "It's Up Through many years congress has been to Henry" an easy spender. Through the same years it has avoided at every turn laying taxes to offset the money it voted out of the treasury. Under the Roosevelt administration the peak of easy spending has been reached and congress has gone along with a vociferous "aye" on every spending proposal sent to the Capitol from the White House. The congressional atti-tude to which I have referred came up in bulk at the time of the bonus vote. Every time a bonus opponent inquired where the government would get the money to pay the two and onehalf billion to the veterans, the answer

fect, "It's up to Henry." I can recall a familiar slogan, current when I was a boy, that was used always when some one desired to shift responsbility—to pass the buck. It was "let George do it." In the b controversy, Senator Bankhead, Democrat of Alabama, was the first member of congress whom I heard say "it's up to Henry." He meant that the job of raising the money belonged to Henry Morgenthau, secretary of the treasury, but Senator Bankhead spoke more than his own feelings when he made the He put into words a thought which permeated the minds of a vast majority of unthinking representatives and senators.

Perhaps I should not say unthinking because those men were, in truth, thinking very deeply. Their thoughts, instead of turning to song in the spring, were turning to votes in No-vember. That was the reason for passage of the bonus. Senators and rep-resentatives seeking re-election were afraid to go into the battle for nomination and re-election this summe and have war veterans drag out the skeleton of a vote in opposition to immediate payment of the bonus.

It will be a long time before those who voted for the bonus can live it down. A keen political maneuver has something in it that calls for admiration but an obvious political maneuver such as was the passage of the bonus did not give any reason for commendation except, perhaps, the justifi-cation that if the Roosevelt adminis-tration was committed to passing out hundreds of millions of dollars on boondoggling and other more or less useless projects, then the war veterans were entitled to be paid now the sums which congress promised them would be paid in 1047. That really is a powerful argument but if Roosevelt supporters make that argument they are at the

Washington.—If ever there were a same time damning the New Deatime other than when the nation was spending policies, so I fancy that such spending policies, so I fancy that such an argument will be rarely advanced.

> It is entirely probable that there will be no tax bill this year unless the President's letter to May Be No Speaker Byrns point-

Tax Bill ing out the necessity for raising revenue causes an unheard of number of senators and representatives to do a flip-No imagination is required to see that a representative or senator is in a tough spot when he goes back home asking the suffrage of his con-stituents and must tell them at the same time that he added to the tax burden which they must pay.

Well, if that be true, how is "Henry" going to get the money? It will have to be borrowed and it will have to be borrowed on government bonds which add up into an increasing government deficit. It means that instead of a deficit of around three billions in the next fiscal year, the freasury will be con-fronted with a deficit of more than five billions and the public debt, in the meantime, will have been correspondingly increased. It means, in addition, that the banks of the country will have to pile more government bonds on top of the government bonds they have thus far absorbed in financing a policy of spending our way out of the depres-

The tragedy of the situation in congress that brought about Senator Bankhead's remark of "it's up to Henry" is that it indicates that congress has been looking upon the treasury as a source of revenue. It is not and it never has been. Government is nonproductive. It can get funds only by taxation, by taking them away from the people—or by borrowing and if it borrows it has to pay back. In either event, new taxation must come and if congress doesn't have the nerve to pass tax legislation in this session, it must lay taxes in the next session.

The newspapers throughout the country have been full of reports concern ing the early start of Campaign the political Starts Early paign. The Al Smith speech, coming from the man who made it, brought about a sudden expansion in the political fire. It really opened up the fight and henceforth we are due to be surfeited with this claim or that, this charge and that denial or counter-charge, as the various leaders marshal

their forces. Thus far, in addition to President Roosevelt's Jackson day speech to the \$50-a-plate diners and Mr. Smith's Liberty league dinner outburst, we have had active campalgning by former President Hoover, by Governor Talmadge of Georgia, by Senator Borah, the Idaho Republican; by Governor Landon, the Kansas Republican, and by Senator Robinson of Arkansas, the Democratic leader in the senate, who spoke in reply to Mr. Smith. Others are in the offing for the Republican and Democratic national committees are engaging radio times in a big way.

As speeches and statements increase in number, and as fanfare grows louder, I find myself getting a bit callous to them all. I have been wondering whether the American people have lost their sense of humor completely, because the situation really has a humorous side. Unless the people's sense of humor has been dreadfully seared, it seems to me they ought to be highly amused over ridiculous statements now being made on one side of the fence or on the other. Take, for insevells bonus veto message. It presented something a bit unusual because in my time in Washington it had hoppened only once before that a President vetoed a bill with a handwritten message to congress. Of course, it was intended to be dramatic-and it was. But the point is this: A year ago when congress passed the bonns the President made a personal appearance in the halls of congress and read his own veto message. He made his vigorous fight and he raliled his supporters in line to sustain his veto. There has been so much talk around Washington since the handwritten message went to congress that the President really was not vigorously opposing passage of the bill over his veto that I am coming to believe that was true. In other words, he thought that immediate payment of the bonus was wrong but he had a weather eye out for the forthcoming campaign and the voices the bonus might bring.

Then consider the activity of Senator Borah. I believe the Idaho sena-tor is too smart to feel that he can be the Republican nominee against Mr. Roosevelt, but he is going through all manner of gyrations just the same. He has purposes and objectives in mind, obviously, but they are not the Republican Presidential nomination as he leads his various audiences to Infer, It is to be recalled that Senator Borah has not at any time actually said he was a candidate. We have also the circumstance of Senator Robinson replying to Al Smith over the same radio and through substantially the same number of broadcasting stations.

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