110. Lorett Treese, *The Storm Gathering: The Penn Family and the American Revolution* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992), 7–8.
111. Hinderaker, *Elusive Empires,* 109–10.
112. Logan to the Penn heirs, November 16, 1729, quoted ibid., 110.
113. Civility to Logan, "late summer" 1727, quoted in Tolles, *Logan,* 160.
114. Merrell, *Woods,* 158–67; Hinderaker, *Elusive Empires,* 124–26.
115. Logan to the Penn heirs, "autumn" 1729, quoted in Tolles, *Logan,* 167.
116. Jennings, *Ambiguous Empire,* 278–81; Tolles, *Logan,* 103–09. The ostensible intention of this division of responsibilities for Indian affairs was to stabilize the frontier by separating the Iroquois from the Cherokees and other southern nations they raided; at least that was how Logan and Keith represented it to Spotswood. It seems clear, however, that Logan also understood it as an opportunity to use the Iroquois to strengthen Pennsylvania's Indian shield to the north.
117. Ibid., 111; Jennings, *Ambiguous Empire,* 281–82; Hinderaker, *Elusive Empires,* 122–23.
118. Tolles, *Logan,* 103–09.
119. Tolles, *Logan,*110–12; Jennings, *Ambiguous Empire,* 289–98; Hinderaker, *Elusive Empires,* 123–24.
120. Hinderaker, *Elusive Empires,* 121; Merrell, *Woods,* 167–68, 204.
121. Hinderaker, *Elusive Empires,* 28–32.
122. An edited version of the Memorial can be found in Joseph E. Johnson, ed., "A Quaker Imperialist's View of the British Colonies in America: 1732," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 60 (1936), 2:97–130; the following summary is based on that edition. See also the summary in Tolles, *Logan,* 164–65.
123. "Imperialist's View," 118.
124. Ibid., 120, 123, 124.
125. Ibid., 125.
126. Ibid., 126.
127. Ibid., 127.
128. Ibid., 130.
129. Tolles, *Logan,* 155–57.
130. Jennings, *Ambiguous Empire,* 314–16.
131. Ibid., 322–24.
132. Ibid., 309–14; Francis Jennings, "Incident at Tulpehocken," *Pennsylvania History* 35 (1968), 4:335–355.
133. Jennings, *Ambiguous Empire,* 320–22.
134. Hinderaker, *Elusive Empires,* 127; Jennings, *Ambiguous Empire,* 330–42, 388–97; Francis Jennings, "The Scandalous Indian Policy of William Penn's Sons: Deeds and Documents of the Walking Purchase," *Pennsylvania History* 37 (1970), 1:19–39.
135. Quoted in Jennings, *Ambiguous Empire,* 344.
136. He was not the last. A young Philadelphia printer with whom Logan dealt in his official capacity as secretary of the province first became a student of empire by conversing with him. Logan found the intellectual ambitions of the printer impressive, even if he did not particularly care for the antiproprietary cast of his political opinions. Logan lent him books and even allowed him to examine his own unpublished writings on various topics, such as the "Memorial" on the state of the empire in 1732 that he sent, fruitlessly, to Sir Robert Walpole. The printer, Benjamin Franklin, thought enough of the analysis in that document to make himself a copy of it; indeed, the only complete version that survives is in Franklin's own precise hand. There can be no question that it formed the point of departure for his own thinking about the character of empire and what is necessary for its success; it contained the seeds that ultimately germinated in the Franklin's draft of the Albany Plan of Union of 1754.

Three: Washington's Apprenticeship

1. John Adams to Abigail Adams, May 26, 1775, in L. H. Butterfield, ed., *The Adams Papers,* Ser. II, *Adams Family Correspondence,* vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963), 206. The First Continental Congress met at Philadelphia from September 5 through October 26, 1774.
2. John Adams to Abigail Adams, May 29, 1775, ibid., 207.
3. Adams did not specify the appearance of the uniform, so it is possible, as Douglas Southall Freeman argued in *George Washington: A Biography,* vol. 3, *Planter and Patriot* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951), 426 n. 40, that Washington was wearing the old blue-and-red uniform from the First Virginia Regiment. Washington, however, had ordered his indentured tailor, Andrew Judge, to make him up "1 Suite Regimentals" in November 1774 at about the time he agreed to act as the field commander of five Virginia Independent Companies of volunteers (those of Fairfax, Prince William, Fauquier, Spotsylvania, and Richmond counties), should those units ever be required to act together. According to W. W. Abbot et al., eds., *The Papers of George Washington, Colonial Series,* vol. 10, *March 1774–June 1775* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1995), 174, this was "almost certainly the uniform GW wore at the Second Continental Congress." Because Charles Willson Peale depicted Washington in the blue-and-buff uniform of the Fairfax Independents in 1776 and because Washington ordered his next known uniform in 1777, it seems at least highly likely that he also wore it at the meetings of Congress in the spring of 1775. (Private electronic communication, Robert Scott Stephenson to Fred Anderson, c. April 15, 2004.)
4. This seems to be a common assumption; see, e.g., John Ferling, *The First of Men: A Life of George Washington* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1988), 113; Paul Longmore, *The Invention of George Washington* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 170.
5. The sash dated from 1709 and originally belonged to Braddock's father; Braddock

gave it to Washington along with a pair of pistols as a memento before his death. The sash is now at Mount Vernon. An image showing the date of manufacture woven into the mesh can be found in Fred Anderson, ed., *George Washington Remembers: Reflections on the French and Indian War* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield, 2004), 55.

6. Freeman, *Washington,* 3:292–93. Given Washington's boredom and irritation at his forced immobility while Peale worked, he may well have intended never to have another made; see Washington to Jonathan Boucher, May 21, 1772, in W. W. Abbot et al., eds, *The Papers of George Washington, Colonial Series,* vol. 9, *January 1772–March 1774* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1994), 49.
7. Agreement of the gentlemen and freeholders of Fairfax County, September 21, 1774, quoted in *Papers of Washington, Col. Ser.,* 10:173–74.
8. Douglas Southall Freeman, *George Washington: A Biography,* vol. 1: *Young Washington* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1948), 31. Then, as now, the size of a successful householder's estate grew as he aged. Optimally, it was at its largest when it was passed along to the heir (or heirs) who would build upon that foundation for the benefit of future generations of heirs. Premature death, particularly if repeated over a series of generations, restrained the intergenerational accumulation of wealth. Its effects in colonial British America have been most systematically studied in a region characterized by partible inheritance practices and a distribution of wealth far less unequal than that of the Chesapeake, but the conclusions of John J. Waters regarding preindustrial inheritance strategies are instructive for understanding even areas (like the Chesapeake) where probate practices strongly favored eldest sons. See his two articles, "Patrimony, Succession, and Social Stability: Guilford, Connecticut in the Eighteenth Century," *Perspectives in American History* 10 (1976), 131–62, and "Family, Inheritance, and Migration in Colonial New England: The Evidence from Guilford, Connecticut," *William and Mary Quarterly,* 3d Ser., 39 (1982), 1:64–86.
9. Ferling, *First of Men,* 8; Freeman, *Washington,* 1:74.
10. Dorothy Twohig, "The Making of George Washington," in Warren Hofstra, ed., *George Washington and the Virginia Backcountry* (Madison, Wisc.: Madison House, 1998), 6–8; Philander D. Chase, "A Stake in the West: George Washington as Backcountry Surveyor and Landholder," ibid., 162–63.
11. On Lawrence Washington's accomplishments and George's admiration, see Freeman, *Washington,* 1:57–58, 70–71, 76–77; Ferling, *First of Men,* 8.
12. A circumferentor was the eighteenth-century ancestor of the modern transit instrument. It consisted of a tripod-mounted compass set within a rotating brass ring to which open sights had been fitted. By sighting on an object, surveyors could measure the bearing in degrees and (approximate) minutes of a line. The two-pole surveyor's chain consisted of fifty iron links that fully extended measured thirty-three feet, or two perches (or rods or poles) in length. Virginia surveyors preferred the two-pole chain, half the length of the standard hundred-link English surveying chain because of its handiness in running lines over rough or wooded ground. See Chase, "A Stake in the West," 163–65. On the most precise application of eighteenth-century surveying techniques and measures, see Edwin Danson, *Drawing the Line: How Mason and Dixon Surveyed the Most Famous Border in America* (New York: John Wiley, 2001), 67–69, 98–99.
13. There were two ways to acquire land from the province. One was to identify a tract, ascertain with the help of a surveyor that it was under no prior claim, then register the official plat with the secretary of the colony at Williamsburg, who in turn issued the patent, or title, to the land. The other approach, favored by the great speculators, was to petition the governor and Council for a grant of a certain size (say fifty thousand or sixty thousand acres) in a specified region. If the Council approved, it would order the county surveyor to lay off the acreage in one or more tracts. Upon the payment of certain fees, these would then be patented to the petitioner, subject to certain conditions; usually the patentee was required to "seat" one settler family for each thousand acres of the grant within a specified period of time (typically two or more years). For the operation of the system, see Turk McCleskey, "Rich Land, Poor Prospects: Real Estate and the Formation of a Social Elite in Augusta County, Virginia, 1738–1770," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 98 (1990), 3:460–62; also Warren R. Hofstra, "'A Parcel of Barbarian's and an Uncooth Set of People': Settlers and the Settlement of the Shenandoah Valley," in Hofstra, ed., *Washington and the Virginia Backcountry,* 93–94.
14. McCleskey, "Rich Land, Poor Prospects," 449–86. The effectiveness of gentry control over frontier counties was probably the largest single factor in explaining the absence in Virginia of "regulator" (vigilante) movements such as those that appeared in backcountry regions of North and South Carolina in the 1760s and 1770s.
15. Chase, "Stake in the West," 160–61.
16. That the Northern Neck was ready for development in the 1740s reflected the growth of British power over the previous century. In 1649 Charles II had granted the Northern Neck to a Fairfax ancestor and six other courtiers. The area remained Indian country until the Susquehannock War of 1675–76. That conflict enabled Colonel John Washington—George's great-grandfather—to join with his fellow militia officers in evicting the Doeg people (who had been Virginia's allies during the war) from the Neck and claim the best of its lands for themselves. In 1735 Gus Washington sited a small house on a bluff bounded by the curving Potomac River and a creek, Dogue Run, whose name was now the sole reminder of the land's previous inhabitants. Eight years later Lawrence Washington replaced the original structure with a larger one. Eventually he named it Mount Vernon. Robert F. Dalzell Jr. and Lee Baldwin Dalzell, *George Washington's Mount Vernon: At Home in Revolutionary America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 20–31. On the Susquehannock War and Colonel John Washington's military activities, which may have included the massacre of several chiefs, see ibid., 22–25; Wilcomb E. Washburn, *The Governor and the Rebel: A History of Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina

Press, 1957), 20–23; and J. Frederick Fausz, "'Engaged in Enterprises Pregnant with Terror': George Washington's Formative Years among the Indians," *Washington and the Virginia Backcountry,* 117–18.

17. On the vague definition and tangled history of the Fairfax grant, see "The Northern Neck Proprietary to 1745," Freeman, *Washington,* 1:447–513. The charter granted the original proprietors the lands between the rivers, from the mouths to their "heads," a term that could be construed in one of two ways. "The heads of navigation" occurred at the first falls, a few miles upstream from their mouths, beyond which seagoing vessels could not pass; that would have limited the grant to the Tidewater. On the other hand, the "head springs" or "headwaters" were located high in the Appalachians, so far to the West that no one knew where they were until well into the eighteenth century. For obvious reasons Lord Fairfax favored the latter definition and successfully argued for it in *Fairfax v. Virginia,* which the Privy Council decided on April 6, 1745, thereby granting him the largest possible amount of territory.
18. Chase, "Stake in the West," 170–77.
19. Twohig, "Making of Washington," 8.
20. Cf. George Meredith, *The Ordeal of Richard Feverel* (1859), ch. 34; in *The Oxford Dictionary of Quotations,* 3rd ed. (Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press, 1994), 338.
21. Twohig, "Making of Washington," 9–11.
22. Washington, "A Journal of my Journey over the Mountains," entry of March 23, 1748, in Donald Jackson, ed., *The Diaries of George Washington,* vol. 1, *1748–65* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1976), 13.
23. Ibid., 18 (entry of April 4, 1748).
24. His reward, he continued, made it worthwhile: "Dubbleloon is my constant gain every day that the Weather will permit my going out and sometime Six Pistoles." Washington to Richard ———, n.d. [fall, 1749 or 1750], in W. W. Abbot, ed., *The Papers of George Washington, Colonial Series,* vol. 1, *1748–August 1755* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1983), 44. A doubloon (*doblon*) was a Spanish gold coin, another name for which was the pistole. It was worth approximately £0.83 (sixteen shillings, seven pence) in 1750, a sum that a laborer would count himself fortunate to earn in a week. A day's earnings of six pistoles (£5) was roughly equivalent to a month's wages for a skilled artisan. John J. McCusker, *Money and Exchange in Europe and America, 1600–1775: A Handbook* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1978), 5–11.
25. See, among many other examples, William Byrd II, *The Secret History of the Dividing Line* (c. 1729; a useful edition is William K. Boyd, ed., *William Byrd's Histories of the Dividing Line betwixt Virginia and North Carolina* [1929]), and the Reverend Charles Woodmason's diary of 1766–68, published as Richard J. Hooker, ed., *The Carolina Backcountry on the Eve of the Revolution: The Journal and Other Writings of Charles Woodmason, Anglican Itinerant* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953). The most comprehensive, elegant statement of the view that backwoods settlers were culturally and physically retrograde can be found in the essay "What is an American," by J. Hector St. John de Crèvecœur; see *Letters from an American Farmer* (1782; rpt. New York: Penguin, 1981), Letter III.

26. Washington, "Journal of my Journey over the Mountains," entry of March 13, 1748, *Diaries of Washington,* 1:7.
27. The following spring, Washington laid out another 760 acres for himself on the same creek as his initial purchase, Bullskin Run. He patented that tract in March 1752 and added another 552 acres by purchase. This gave him at age 20 a total holding in the Shenandoah Valley of over 2,300 acres, some 1,862 forming a single block on the South Fork of the Bullskin. He added more Shenandoah territory to his holdings over the next two decades. Washington began by using his own slaves to work Bullskin Farm before 1755; by the mid-1760s he was leasing it and his other Shenandoah Valley holdings to tenant farmers. Tenant labor added greatly to their value by expanding the amount of "improved" land, but Washington continued to lease them through the 1790s. In 1797 he remarked that he had bought these tracts "at five pounds per hundred acres, and [at] the highest (on account of small improvements) at twenty five pounds per hund[re]d[acres.] I could now sell [them], very readily at five pounds an *acre.*" See Chase, "Stake in the West," 175–77; quotation (Washington to Daniel McCarty, November 3, 1797) at 177.
28. Francis Jennings, *The Ambiguous Iroquois Empire: The Covenant Chain Confederation of Indian Tribes with the English Colonies from Its Beginnings to the Lancaster Treaty of 1744* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1984), 356–60.
29. Freeman, *Washington,* 1:236–37; Kenneth P. Bailey, *The Ohio Company of Virginia and the Westward Movement, 1748–1792: A Chapter in the History of the Colonial Frontier* (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark, 1939), 30–31, 59–60.
30. Washington, Memorandum [1749–1750], *Papers of Washington, Col. Ser.,* 1:45.
31. Fred Anderson, *Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754–1766* (New York: Knopf, 2000), 36–41.
32. "Express Messenger": Commission from Robert Dinwiddie, October 30, 1753, *Papers of Washington, Col. Ser.,* 1:58. Other quotations: Instructions from Robert Dinwiddie, October 30, 1753, ibid., 60–61.
33. Anderson, *Crucible of War,* 44–45.
34. Francis Jennings, *Empire of Fortune: Crowns, Colonies, and Tribes in the Seven Years War in America* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1988), 60–64; Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 237–40; Michael N. McConnell, *A Country Between: The Upper Ohio Valley and Its Peoples, 1724–1774* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), 107–08.
35. Freeman, *Washington,* 1:329–50.
36. In fact there were about five hundred men in the French force; Ensign Edward Ward perhaps overestimated their number because he had so few men—about

forty—to defend the newly named Fort Prince George (named for the sixteen-year-old heir apparent). Washington to James Hamilton, c. April 24, 1754, *Papers of Washington, Col. Ser.*, 1:82–84; Freeman, *Washington,* 1:345–50.

37. McConnell, *A Country Between,* 22–23. To put this number in perspective, it seems that at the time the entire population of the Iroquois League could not have far exceeded 6,000, with approximately 1,100 warriors.
38. McConnell, *A Country Between,* 19.
39. Eric Hinderaker, *Elusive Empires: Constructing Colonialism in the Ohio Valley, 1673–1800* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 40–45; Nicholas B. Wainwright, *George Croghan: Wilderness Diplomat* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1959), 10–14.
40. Hinderaker, *Elusive Empires,* 43.
41. Anderson, *Crucible of War,* 26–32.
42. Ibid., 128–29, 169–72.
43. The Fort William Henry episode was the basis for James Fenimore Cooper's novel *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826). The definitive historical treatment of the incident is Ian K. Steele, *Betrayals: Fort William Henry and the "Massacre"* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990); see also, and generally, his superb synthesis *Warpaths: Invasions of North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).
44. Frank L. Brecher, *Losing a Continent: France's North American Policy, 1753–1763* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1998), 140–42.
45. Washington to Dinwiddie, undated [c. June 10, 1754], *Papers of Washington, Col. Ser.,* 1:129.
46. For an extended narrative of the episode and an examination of the evidence for this interpretation, see Anderson, *Crucible of War,* 5–59.
47. Dinwiddie to Washington, June 4, 1754, *Papers of Washington, Col. Ser.,* 1:126–28; Freeman, *Washington,* 1:339, 381.
48. Speech at Aughwick, quoted in Jennings, *Empire of Fortune,* 67.
49. Anderson, *Crucible of War,* 60–64.
50. Don Higginbotham, *George Washington and the American Military Tradition* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1985), 7–38.
51. See Washington to Loudoun, January 10, 1757, in W. W. Abbot, et al., eds., *The Papers of George Washington, Colonial Series,* vol. 4, *November 1756–October 1757* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1984), 79–93; note esp. the character of his narrative of the war's coming and progress before 1757 and the alterations, additions, and omissions he later made in his letter-book copy.
52. "Chimney Corner Politicians," from his petition to Loudoun, is also quoted in Higginbotham, *Washington and Tradition,* 36; Higginbotham is especially insightful in his analysis of Washington's deference to civilian authority, and the difficulty that Washington initially had in grasping the importance of the principle.
53. Ibid., 27–31.
54. James R. W. Titus, *The Old Dominion at War: Society, Politics, and Warfare in Late Colonial Virginia* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1991), 41–49 and passim.

55. Titus, *Old Dominion,* 67–68, 91–92, 105, 136–40; Higginbotham, *Washington and Tradition,* 14–15; John Morgan Dederer, *War in America to 1775: Before Yankee Doodle* (New York: New York University Press, 1990), 138–40.
56. Washington to Dinwiddie, September 17, 1757, *Papers of Washington, Col. Ser.,* 4:411.
57. Hofstra, "'A Parcel of Barbarian's,'" 104.
58. On Washington's distaste for frontier settlers, frustration with the militia, and concentration on cultivating gentlemanliness in his officers, see Twohig, "Making of Washington," 14–16; Hofstra, "'A Parcel of Barbarian's,'" 88–90, 103–9; John Ferling, "School for Command: Young George Washington and the Virginia Regiment," 211–15; Don Higginbotham, "George Washington and Revolutionary Asceticism: The Localist as Nationalist," 228–30; all in Hofstra, ed., *Washington and the Virginia Backcountry.* See also Titus, *Old Dominion at War,* 137–38, and Higginbotham, *Washington and Tradition,* 16–17.
59. Titus, *Old Dominion at War,* 135–40; Ferling, "School for Command," 213.
60. Address from the officers of the Virginia Regiment, December 31, 1758, in W. W. Abbot et al., eds., *The Papers of George Washington, Colonial Series,* vol. 6, *September 1758–December 1760* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1988), 178–81.
61. Washington to the Officers of the Virginia Regiment, January 10, 1759, *Papers of Washington, Col. Ser.,* 6:186–87.
62. Twohig, "Making of Washington," 15–16; J. Frederick Fausz, "'Engaged in Enterprises Pregnant with Terror," 132–36. Quotation: Washington to Dinwiddie, May 24, 1757, *Papers of Washington, Col. Ser.,* 4:163.
63. Robert D. Mitchell, "'Over the Hills and Far Away': George Washington and the Changing Virginia Backcountry," in Hofstra, ed., *Washington and the Virginia Backcountry,* 74–78; Robert D. Mitchell, *Commercialism and Frontier: Perspectives on the Early Shenandoah Valley* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1977), 93–97, 156–60 and passim.
64. On Washington's lack of churchgoing in the late colonial period, see Paul F. Boller Jr., *George Washington and Religion* (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1963), 28–30; on his fundamentally theistic and providentialist beliefs, ibid., 92–115; on his rare pre-Revolutionary attendance at the Masonic Lodge he joined in 1752 and his increasing frequency of participation while serving as commander in chief of the Continental Army, see Steven C. Bullock, *Revolutionary Brotherhood: Freemasonry and the Transformation of the American Social Order, 1730–1840* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 104, 121–33.
65. James C. Riley, *The Seven Years War and the Old Regime in France: The Economic and Financial Toll* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1986), 3–37, 104–31, 224–26; see esp. Table 4.1 and Chart 4.2, with commentary, 109–11; quotation at 226.

66. Ibid., 184, 190–91.
67. William H. McNeill, *The Pursuit of Power: Technology, Armed Force, and Society since A.D. 1000* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 179.
68. Ibid., 163–64, 166–74; Lee Kennett, *The French Armies in the Seven Years' War: A Study in Military Organization and Administration* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1967), 139–40; Alfred Cobban, *A History of Modern France* (New York: Braziller, 1965), 94.
69. R. R. Palmer, *The Age of Democratic Revolution: A Political History of Europe and America, 1760–1800,* vol. 1, *The Challenge* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1959), 86–99.
70. Quoted in C. B. A. Behrens, *The Ancien Régime* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1967), 158–59.
71. E. N. Williams, *The Ancien Régime in Europe* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), 114–33.
72. Steve J. Stern, *The Secret History of Gender: Women, Men, and Power in Late Colonial Mexico* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995).
73. Mark A. Burkholder and Lyman L. Johnson, *Colonial Latin America,* 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 194–97.
74. D. A. Brading, *Miners and Merchants in Bourbon Mexico, 1763–1810* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1971); Susan Deans-Smith, *Bureaucrats, Planters, and Workers: The Making of the Tobacco Monopoly in Bourbon Mexico* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992).
75. Christon I. Archer, *The Army in Bourbon Mexico, 1760–1810* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1977); Lyle N. McAlister, *The "Fuero Militar" in New Spain, 1764–1800* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1957).
76. The best account of Pontiac's War is Gregory Evans Dowd, *War under Heaven: Pontiac, the Indian Nations, and the British Empire* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002); the previous standard account, Howard H. Peckham, *Pontiac and the Indian Uprising* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1947), still has value. See also White, *Middle Ground,* 269–314; Richter, *Facing East,* 193–201; Steele, *Warpaths,* 234–47; and Anderson, *Crucible of War,* 535–53, 617–37.
77. John Brewer, *The Sinews of Power: War, Money, and the English State, 1688–1783* (New York: Knopf, 1989), xvii–xxi, 140–43, 191–217.
78. In *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), Linda Colley identifies Protestantism as the most important factor in unifying Britain after 1707 but only after admitting that "War played a vital part in the invention of the British nation after 1707" (367). See her general discussion, 364–75. Relevant here, too, are her comments on page 53: "Self-evidently, the Protestant construction of British identity involved the unprivileging of minorities who would not conform: the Catholic community, most Highland Scots before 1745, and the supporters of the exiled Stuart dynasty, those men and women who were not allowed to be British so that others could be. Self-evidently, too, this way of viewing the world fostered and relied on war. There are few more effective ways of bonding together a highly disparate people than by encouraging it to unite against its own and other outsiders."

Our argument about war in North America has been influenced by John Brewer's call, in *The Sinews of Power,* for seeing war in the broadest possible context, especially with regard to ideological and economic change. His strictures on the way we look at the liberal state have been particularly influential: "The liberal focus on the British state has resolutely concentrated its gaze on relations with the domestic polity. I want to draw attention to the state's international role, to its actions as a military and diplomatic power." "The British government was able to act effectively against its international enemies but was weak in dealings with its own subjects." This very "lightness of touch" in governing at home increased its ability to exert force beyond the limits of the realm: "The heavy-handedness of British rule increased the farther it extended beyond the metropolis" (xviii–xix).

Our characterization of Anglicization as war-driven ultimately derives from John Murrin's 1966 Yale Ph.D. thesis, "Anglicizing an American Colony: The Transformation of Provincial Massachusetts"; for a concise statement of the argument, see his article, "The Legal Transformation: The Bench and Bar of Eighteenth-Century Massachusetts," in Stanley N. Katz, ed., *Colonial America: Essays in Politics and Social Development* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1976), 415–49. We draw attention to this quality because some of the current literature on consumption patterns in British America suggests that Anglicization was largely a commercial process. The most powerful recent statement of this position is T. H. Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution: How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004). He moves beyond the concept to discuss the political implications of a growing consumer culture; see esp. chapter 5. See also his essay, "Ideology and Nationalism on the Eve of the American Revolution: Revisions *Once* More in Need of Revising," *Journal of American History* 84 (1997), 1:13–40. We acknowledge that commerce played a central role but believe that it needs to be seen as only one component of a larger set of processes.

79. On tobacco and planter indebtedness, see T. H. Breen, *Tobacco Culture: The Mentality of the Great Tidewater Planters on the Eve of Revolution* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1985), 125–32, 147–50, 208–09, and passim; also Freeman, *Washington,* 3:71–118.
80. Charles Royster, *The Fabulous History of the Dismal Swamp Company: A Story of George Washington's Times* (New York: Knopf, 1999), offers the most complete treatment of Washington's postwar speculative endeavors; see also Anderson, *Crucible of War,* 593–94, 738–41.
81. Daniel M. Friedenberg, *Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Land: The Plunder of Early America* (Buffalo, N.Y.: Prometheus Books, 1992), 173–74; Bernhard Knollenberg, *George Washington: The Virginia Period, 1732–1775* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1964), 90–95.

82. Anderson, *Crucible of War,* 740.
83. Washington to Crawford, September 17, 1767, in W. W. Abbot et al., eds., *The Papers of George Washington, Colonial Series,* vol. 8, *June 1767–December 1771* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993), 26–29 (quotation at 28).
84. Freeman, *Washington,* 3:239–40, 245–48, 252–53.
85. The most convenient source to follow Washington's activities on this trip and his other visits to the West from 1753 through 1784 and his engagements in trans-Appalachian land speculation, is Hugh Cleland, ed., *George Washington in the Ohio Valley* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1955); his diary of the 1770 trip is at 240–69. Cf. the more heavily annotated version in Donald Jackson and Dorothy Twohig, eds., *The Diaries of George Washington,* vol. 2, *1766–70* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1976), 276–328.
86. Washington to Croghan, November 24, 1770, *Papers of Washington, Col. Ser.,* 8:403–4. Croghan evidently offered to sell the land at five shillings per acre, so it seems clear that Washington's far lower offer was based on his estimate of the risks involved in dealing with a flawed title; see Wainwright, *George Croghan,* 276.
87. Washington to Johnson, July 20, 1770, *Papers of Washington, Col. Ser.,* 8:360. Unfortunately, Joel Achenbach's study, *The Grand Idea: George Washington's Potomac and the Race to the West* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2004), came to hand too late to influence our interpretation, which seems to be broadly consistent with his.
88. Longmore, *Invention of Washington,* 91–99.
89. Washington dined with Dunmore on October 31, 1771, and March 3, 1772; spent the evening with him on March 4, 1772; breakfasted, dined, and supped with him on November 3, 1772; dined with him again on March 7, 1773. (Donald Jackson and Dorothy Twohig, eds., *The Diaries of George Washington,* vol. 3, *1771–75, 1780–81* [Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1978], 65, 94–95, 141, 165.)
90. Washington to Dunmore, April 13, 1773, in W. W. Abbot et al., eds., *The Papers of George Washington, Col. Ser.,* vol. 9, *January 1772–March 1774* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1994), 55–57.
91. Washington described her death as "this Sudden, and unexpected blow," which "has almost reduced my poor Wife to the lowest ebb of Misery." (To Burwell Bassett, June 20, 1773, *Papers of Washington, Col. Ser.,* 9:243.) Since marrying Martha in 1759, Washington had acted as guardian to both her children by Daniel Parke Custis, John ("Jack") and Martha ("Patsy"), and as such assumed responsibility for managing their inheritance until they reached legal majority. With Patsy's death, her £16,000 portion passed by halves to her brother and mother. Washington used Martha's £8,000 share to pay off the family's debts to London creditors and thus in 1774 finally achieved the financial independence he had worked toward for the previous fifteen years. See Freeman, *Washington,* 3: 325–6.
92. Washington to Lord Dunmore and the council, c. November 3, 1773, *Papers of Washington, Col. Ser.,* 9:358–66.

93. John Connolly to Washington, June 29, 1773, *Papers of Washington, Col. Ser.,* 9:250–51 and 251 n. 6; Connolly to Washington, September 12, 1773, ibid., 314–15. Connolly was a natural philosopher by inclination as well as a physician by training and a trader/speculator by preference. On more than one occasion he sent Washington descriptions of such Ohio Valley curiosities as mammoth teeth and Indian mounds. He was also—or so Washington believed—a nephew of George Croghan. (Ibid., 9:98 n. 1.)
94. Washington to Crawford, September 25, 1773 (two letters of the same date), *Papers of Washington, Col. Ser.,* 9:328–32. Quotation at 332.
95. George Morgan, quoted in Eric Hinderaker and Peter C. Mancall, *At the Edge of Empire: The Backcountry in British North America* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 155.
96. Dunmore to the Earl of Dartmouth (secretary of state for America), March 18, 1774, in K. G. Davies, ed., *Documents of the American Revolution, 1770–1783 (Colonial Office Series),* vol. 8, *Transcripts, 1774* (Shannon: Irish University Press, 1975), 65.
97. Hinderaker, *Elusive Empires,* 189–90; Wainwright, *Croghan,* 287.
98. Hinderaker, *Elusive Empires,* 190–91; Hinderaker and Mancall, *Edge of Empire,* 157–58.
99. For a fine overview, see P. J. Marshall, "The British in Asia: Trade to Dominion, 1700–1765," in Wm. Roger Louis, gen. ed., *The Oxford History of the British Empire,* vol. 2, *The Eighteenth Century,* ed. P. J. Marshall (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 487–507. On the effects of involvement in Indian governance on the company and on British politics of the period, see esp. H. V. Bowen, "British India, 1765–1813: The Metropolitan Context," ibid., 530–51, and also Bowen's monograph *Revenue and Reform: The Indian Problem in British Politics, 1757–1773* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1991).
100. Washington's moderation was such that he took no apparent note of the Tea Act or the destruction of the tea until after the Coercive Acts were passed. According to Freeman, *Washington* 3:341, Washington learned of the destruction of the tea around the beginning of January 1774, but the first mention of it in his correspondence came on a letter written between June 10 and 15 to George William Fairfax, in which he noted "the oppressive and arbitrary Act of Parliament for stopping up the Port & commerce of Boston." (W. W. Abbot et al., eds., *The Papers of George Washington, Colonial Series,* vol. 10, *March 1774–June 1775* [Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1995], 94–101; quotation at 95.) Interestingly enough, although the Quebec Act had the effect of invalidating all of Virginia's land claims north of the Ohio River, he mentioned it only once in his correspondence, in a brief addendum ("P.S. Pray what do you think of the Canada Bill?") to a letter to Bryan Fairfax on August 24, 1774, in which he expressed outrage at the draconian measures directed against Boston. (Ibid., 154–56; quotation at 156.) While it is impossible to say with certainty, Washington's apparent lack of reaction to the Quebec Act may have stemmed from the

fact that all of his speculative properties in the Ohio country lay on the south side of the river, and hence were unaffected by the new measure.

101. *Diaries of Washington,* 3:251.
102. Resolution of the Convention, May 30, 1774, in Robert L. Scribner, ed., *Revolutionary Virginia: The Road to Independence,* vol. 1, *Forming Thunderclouds and the First Convention, 1763–1774* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1973), 99–100.
103. In lieu of wages, the governor promised the provincials plunder (Hinderaker, *Elusive Empires,* 193). Such a sizable and rapid completion of two regiments despite the lack of pay suggests that enlistment was driven both by fear of Indian attacks on the frontier and by the desire to gain access to western lands; most of the men who enlisted were from frontier districts.
104. Hinderaker, *Elusive Empires,* 194.
105. James Parker to Charles Steuart, January 27, 1775, quoted in Woody Holton, *Forced Founders: Indians, Debtors, Slaves, and the Making of the American Revolution in Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 144.
106. Resolution of March 25, 1775, quoted ibid. Even after the Second Continental Congress had created the Continental Army, in the summer of 1775 the Virginia convention met the demand for defense by issuing £350,000 in paper currency to create Virginia's new regiments *and* to pay the bills still outstanding from Dunmore's War. (Ibid., 176.)
107. Quotation: Washington to Bryan Fairfax, August 24, 1774, *Papers of Washington, Col. Ser.,* 10:155.
108. Washington to Dunmore, April 3, 1775, *Papers of Washington, Col. Ser.,* 10:320–22. Quotation at 320.
109. Dunmore to Washington, April 18, 1775, ibid., 337–38. Dunmore's letter read, in its entirety:

> Sir
>
> I have reveived [*sic*] your letter dated the 3d Instant. The Information you have received that the Patents granted for the Lands under the Proclamation of 1754 would be declared Null and Void, is founded on a report that the Surveyor who Surveyed those Lands did not qualify agreeable to the Act of Assembly directing the duty and qualification of Surveyors, if this is the Case the Patents will of Consequence be declared Null and void. I am Sir Your Most Obedient humble Servant
>
> Dunmore

Washington could hardly have failed to recall that the surveyor who laid out his plots on the Ohio was Captain William Crawford, whom the governor himself recently employed to survey lands near Pittsburgh.

110. Dunmore to the Earl of Dartmouth, May 1, 1775, in K. G. Davies, ed., *Documents of the American Revolution, 1770–1783,* vol. 9, *Transcripts 1775, January to June* (Shannon: Irish University Press, 1975), 107–10.
111. On the fear of a slave uprising, see Holton, *Forced Founders,* 140–43; "would declare freedom" is from the "Deposition of Dr. William Pasteur," quoted ibid., 145.
112. Arrival of news: Freeman, *Washington,* 3:412–13, nn. 84, 85.
113. Longmore, *Invention of Washington,* 146–52.
114. Holton, *Forced Founders,* 146–48; Stuart Leibiger, *Founding Friendship: George Washington, James Madison, and the Creation of the American Republic* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1999), 12–13; Freeman, *Washington,* 3:410–12; *Diaries of Washington,* 3:323, 325. One company did not disband: Patrick Henry, also appointed a delegate to the Continental Congress, led his men from Hanover County toward Williamsburg on May 2. Dunmore reissued his threat in the lightly veiled form of a proclamation reminding Virginians of their "internal weakness" and pledging to use all necessary means of maintaining his authority. With that he armed his own slaves and also the Shawnee chiefs who were staying as guests—and hostages, against fulfillment of the promise to treat for peace—at his mansion. This gesture, unmistakably serious, evidently persuaded Henry to accept a proposal made by two prominent planters acting as emissaries of the governor who intercepted his force on the march and offered to pay for the powder. Thus the episode ended with governor not following through on his threat to summon the slaves to his standard, Henry saving face, and the fifteen half-barrels remaining in the custody of the Royal Navy.
115. Address to the Continental Congress, in W. W. Abbot, et al., eds., *The Papers of George Washington, Revolutionary War Series,* vol. 1, *June–September 1775* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1985), 1.

Four: Washington's Mission

1. Unless otherwise noted, the treatment of New England military culture and institutions in the following paragraphs draws on Fred Anderson, *A People's Army: Massachusetts Soldiers and Society in the Seven Years' War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984), and Anderson, "The Hinge of Revolution: George Washington Confronts a People's Army, July 3, 1775," *Massachusetts Historical Review,* 1 (1999): 21–48. A different, though broadly comparable, perspective on the New England military system and culture can be found in Harold E. Selesky, *War and Society in Colonial Connecticut* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1984).
2. Douglas Southall Freeman, *George Washington: A Biography,* vol. 3, *Planter and Patriot* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951), 477–80.
3. Ibid., 480–83; Anderson, "Hinge of Revolution," 21–31 passim.
4. Washington to Lieutenant Colonel Joseph Reed, February 1, 1776, in W. W.