

**“‘THIS WRETCHED WORLD’: THE JOURNAL
OF JOHN MICHAEL LINDENMUTH”**

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The names of Sir William Pitt, John Forbes, George Washington, James Grant, and even the Marquis DuQuesne are all echoes of the history of the French and Indian War found throughout Western Pennsylvania. Those of Michael Lindenmuth, Robert Kirk, and Cathrine Winepilt are not. They were part of the mostly nameless army of six thousand under General Forbes. Yet these people are a more reflecting sample of the many who marched hundreds of miles, froze in the snow, went hungry when supplies ran short, and lived in terror of the shrill cry that marked the onset of an Indian attack. Although at the time, the experiences of the men who led them was not much better than their own, their lower rank not only placed them at eye level with the enemy but also with the bloodshed. Leaders knew numbers, counted the living, and forgot the dead, while those like Lindenmuth, Kirk, and Winepilt had no such luxury. They watched as their comrades fell. After the bodies had been cleaned from the blood muddied ground, in their own moments of peace, they felt the loss as well as the reality.

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It had not been their turn—yet. With each passing day they faced and accepted their own fragile mortality having with it also to acknowledge their place in the expedition, regional war, global conflict, and history itself. Their individual contributions, their life, or death would be mixed with others only to be replaced by a collective victory or defeat on the score card of their leaders. As leading historian Fred Anderson rightly claims, ordinary people recognized the overall extraordinary circumstances that war presented and as a means to better understand and capture this, they turned to journal keeping.¹ Expanding on Anderson's idea, both reflexive and prospective wartime journals may have also been kept as a means to endure the lasting scars created by these extraordinary events in combination with the understanding that their social and military rank did not allow for their individualized involvement to be documented in any other fashion. They were the people who fought amongst the musket fire knowing, unlike their superiors, their names would never grace cities, towns, streets, or even the likes of the monuments raised in their honor in memorials such as the tomb of the unknown soldier.

While Lindenmuth, Kirk, Winepilt and many others of the “common sort” made up the majority of Forbes' army, time has silenced most of their voices. Recently, however, some of those voices have been resurrected and their experiences have been brought to light. Robert Kirk of the 77th Highland Regiment had published his experiences of warfare in North America in 1775, hoping to earn an income from British soldiers destined to fight in America during the American Revolution. Out of print for over two centuries and long faded from memory, the lone surviving copy of his book sat largely unnoticed in the British Library until it was recently republished in an annotated edition just as the 250th anniversaries of the French and Indian War dawned on Western Pennsylvania.² While much remains unknown about the common foot soldier of the Forbes campaign, their existence has always been a matter of fact; without these men there was no campaign. The stories of the women with this army are another matter. Their labors as part of the Forbes expedition have been largely overlooked. Their efforts have been brought to light, as the written records and uncovered artifacts at archeological sites have been compiled, to reveal the toils of Cathrine Winepilt and other camp followers who contributed to the success of the campaign.³

Another nearly forgotten voice from the Forbes campaign is that of John Michael Lindenmuth. Lindenmuth was born in Germany in 1737, but

emigrated to Pennsylvania with his parents in 1752, settling in Berks County. Life on their farm was interrupted by the opening of the French and Indian War. Lindenmuth enlisted in the second battalion of the Pennsylvania Regiment in 1758. His service continued beyond the capture of Fort DuQuesne later that year as he escorted supplies to the posts established in Western Pennsylvania. Following the French and Indian War, Lindenmuth returned to his home but would be called to arms again during the American Revolution. He served as a major in the fourth Pennsylvania battalion in 1775–1776 and was promoted to Colonel of the third battalion in 1777, which he held again in 1778.⁴ Little is known of his life following his military service. After defending his nation he returned to his farm where he died in December, 1812.⁵ Lindenmuth, however, was more than a soldier and farmer. He provides a valuable and rare look into the life of a foot soldier during the 1758 campaign to capture Fort DuQuesne. He kept a journal of his services and memories in the French and Indian War and the American Revolution, as well as the births, deaths, and marriages of his family; all of these events made up the meaning of his life, just as similar events make up our own. Through this journal, the hardships and experiences of one more soldier who marched across Pennsylvania in 1758 can be told.⁶

By the time Lindenmuth joined the Forbes campaign much had happened since April 17, 1754 when French troops drove off a handful of Virginians from the Forks of the Ohio. Britain's claim to the Ohio Country was all but destroyed by the defeats of the armies under Colonel George Washington at Fort Necessity in July, 1754, and General Edward Braddock at the Battle of the Monongahela in July, 1755. War was officially declared in 1756 and soon developed into an international struggle. By the end of 1757, after suffering defeats around the globe, Sir William Pitt, the director of the British war effort, decided to change tactics. Pitt utilized the superior power of the British Navy to cripple French efforts to supply its forces and to attack the French weak spot in North America.⁷ A massive multi-pronged assault upon the French holdings in North America was planned for 1758. One prong of this invasion would be an expedition under Brigadier General John Forbes to capture Fort DuQuesne.

The struggle for possession of the Forks of the Ohio had ignited this war. As the struggle turned into an international affair in 1756, war did not leave Pennsylvania. Following Braddock's Defeat, Fort DuQuesne had been the base of operations for French and American Indian war parties that raided the

Pennsylvania frontier. While militias met the initial threats, Pennsylvania began enlisting its first regular troops in November, 1755.⁹ The organization of the troops defending Pennsylvania underwent a series of changes through 1758. In that year, enlisted Pennsylvania troops were organized into three battalions as part of the Pennsylvania Regiment and were to serve under General John Forbes.¹⁰ Joining the Pennsylvania Regiment under General Forbes would be the first battalion of the 60th Royal American Regiment, the 77th Highland Regiment, and provincial troops from Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, and North Carolina to total nearly six thousand troops.

The approach General Forbes used in taking Fort DuQuesne was much different than that used by General Edward Braddock three years earlier. While Braddock forged ahead on his campaign without the necessary support for his army, Forbes methodically planned his campaign, advancing through a series of forts.¹¹ Braddock had scorned the American Indians, while General Forbes embraced them and reached an agreement to largely neutralize their threat against his army.¹² By 1758, the British army had also adapted to fighting in North America. The linear tactics that worked so well in the fields of Europe against European enemies had turned the majority of Braddock's army into tidy lines of corpses in North America against an enemy that went largely unseen. The troops under Forbes were now trained in forest warfare.¹³ As the army under Forbes developed into a successful fighting force, the fortunes of war had turned against their adversary. Sir William Pitt's strategy had begun to pay off. By capturing Fort Frontenac in August 1758, the British army had also sealed the fate of Fort DuQuesne. As the key to support to the Ohio Valley, the French forces now lacked the supplies to continue fighting or to outfit their Indian allies.¹⁴ As Forbes' army descended upon Fort DuQuesne, the French fled without firing a shot. Forbes believed that it was Sir William Pitt's strategy that allowed him to seize Fort DuQuesne. He honored his superior by naming the city that would grow there "Pittsburgh."¹⁵ To honor the officers who assisted him in the campaign, Forbes contemplated a medal commemorating their victory, but he died before it could be struck. Although soldiers like John Michael Lindenmuth and Robert Kirk and camp followers like Cathrine Winepelt were not considered for such a medal, they contributed to make the mottos on the proposed medal come true: *Per Tot Discrimina, Ohio Britannica Consilio Manuque* (Through So Many Difficulties, Ohio British in Thought and Deed.)¹⁶

Family Journal of John Michael Lindenmuth

In the year of our Lord 1737, on the 25th of April, I, John Michael Lindenmuth, was born into this wretched world.

My father was John Michael Lindenmuth, whom next to God, I thank for my being.

My Grandfather was George Lindenmuth, who was born in Boedigheim in the Odenwald, under the dominion of Kurt Von Collenburg, under the Governor of Mains.

My Mother was Maria Margaretha Wolf. Her Father, or my Grandfather, was John Wolf. He was born in the county Hohen Lohe, in the City of Oehringen (State of Baden).

My Grandmother on my Father's side was Anna Katharine Baumaennin.

My Grandmother on my Father's side (her father's side) was Anna Maria Oblinger.

November 6th, 1747, my father sold his estate in Boedigheim, so called, "To the Green Tree," for the sum of 4,000 gulden, because he decided to go to America to improve his condition. We sent our furniture to Eberbach on the Nechar River, where we had to hold it for eighteen weeks because England had declared war on France, which made it dangerous to cross the sea without suffering and loss.

Then my father decided in 1748 to buy another property, which was an oxen farm in the Hussenhardt, for the sum of 3,000 gulden. It was six hours or three German miles from Heidelberg, two hours from Mossbach, two hours from Humpson, four hours from Singheim and one hour from Nechar Muehlbach, under the dominion of Gemmingen under whose protection we lived in peace seven years.

On Palm Sunday 1751 I was confirmed in the Evangelical Luthern Doctrine, and for the first time partook of the Lord's Supper at the banquet table of my Lord, by Reverend Hossoffer Boinge, pastor of the Evangelical Luthern Church at Hussenhardt. May God stablish, ground and keep us in this doctrine to eternal live. *Amen.*

November 20th, 1751, my father decided the second time to go to America and sold his estate for 2,700 gulden.¹⁷ May 5th, 1752, with God's assistance we started on our journey for America, from Muehlbach (Triel) with a ship on the River Nechar to Heidelberg, where we went on board of a ship. The name of the owner was Daniel Seydennabel. After a few days we came to Rotterdam

(Holland) with fourteen ships, where we had to wait several weeks. Finally my father made a contract with Carl Steattman to take us to Philadelphia for seven and one half bistel per ship load. We left Rotterdam for Philadelphia on a big ship (the name of the ship was "Brothers.") The name of the Captain was James Mohr. For eight days we floated around on the sea which was like a mad dog, and another six days we lay at anchor before we could put to sea. At last we reached the sea, and after thirteen weeks of troublesome and dangerous sailing from a rough sea, we came to Philadelphia on St. Matthew's Day, September 21st, 1752, in good health and spirits.

We lived two weeks in Jacob Beyer's house. From there we moved to Windsor Township in Berks County, where we lived in Abraham Berlin's house one winter near the Schuylkill, three miles from the Blue Mountain, one mile from Benjamin Keper's Mill and sixteen miles from the town of Reading.

Finally, my father again decided to buy property. In 1753 he bought a place of one hundred and forty acres from Henrich Adam, which was two miles from Benjamin Kepner's Mill, three miles from Kauffman's Hill, one mile from the Blue Mountains and one mile from the Schuylkill, for the sum of one hundred and forty pounds of Pennsylvania money. We moved on this property in the spring, the beginning of April, and supported ourselves there with trouble and hard work for three years, until in the providence of God the Indian War troubled us.¹⁸ They took Martin Specht and two children from the field. In the fall they also took away two horses. We had to leave our home for a time. Since there was little to do at the frontier, it was decided to recruit out of our province as many thousand men as were willing to fight against the Indians and the French. I enlisted with my father's consent for three years in Captain Morgan's¹⁹ Company, the second battalion under Colonel Bort.²⁰ My father did not know what to do on account of the Indians fighting, so he also enlisted fourteen days after I did, under the same conditions.²¹

My mother, my grandmother and my brothers were with us the first in Fort Lebanon, over the Blue Mountains.²² May 10th, [1758]²³, we were ordered by General Forbes²⁴ to Reading and from there to Pittsburgh.²⁵ May 20th, we marched to Sinking Springs, the 21st, to [possibly Meckville]²⁶ Road in Tulpenhockin²⁷, the 22nd, to Swatara,²⁸ 23rd, to Harris Ferry, (Harrisburg) on the Susquehanna water where we met our battalion which had been in Fort Augusta²⁹ in Shamokin.

May 26th, we marched to Carol Hill (Carlisle) where we met the Kingly Regiment, Royal America³⁰ and the Mountain or Highland Scotch,³¹ and

joined them under General Forbes. We stayed four weeks at Carol Hill and were drilled every day. Meanwhile they had drafted a Corps of fifty men from the Pennsylvania Settlers whom Captain Hambrecht³² had to command. June [4th]³³ the whole Army marched to Shippensburg. [Between June 4 to June 14],³⁴ to Fort Loudon³⁵ where the Soldiers from Maryland and Virginia with sixty Indians from the Cherokee Tribe joined us.³⁶ June [14th],³⁷ we marched to Fort Littleton. June [15th]³⁸, rest day. June [18],³⁹ we marched to Sidling Hill.⁴⁰ [June 21],⁴¹ we marched to Fort Groosen on the Juniata Water, where Captain Morgan and three other Captains with two hundred men were ordered to build a stockade Fort, which was done.⁴² They started it on [June 21]⁴³ and at the end of the month it was completed.

[Possibly June 30],⁴⁴ we continued our march to Raystown⁴⁵ where a Garrison of fifty men were left behind. On the same day we reached the chief army at Raystown. [Possibly July 2-5],⁴⁶ rest days. [July 8],⁴⁷ we marched to Johnny Cabin,⁴⁸ twelve miles. [July 9],⁴⁹ we marched to Allegheny Mountain where we stayed four weeks with six hundred men to dig a road on the mountain, which was done. Here [after August 5],⁵⁰ we met the heavy guns. [July 10],⁵¹ we marched to Stone bridge⁵². [July 10-11],⁵³ to Laurel Hill on the Klair Hill. [July 11],⁵⁴ to Loyalhanna where we built another fort.⁵⁵ Until this time we had not been attacked by the Enemy. Finally on [September 9?],⁵⁶ fourteen men with six Indians were sent out to the French Fort on the Ohio (Duquesne) in order to spy. [September 14],⁵⁷ they luckily returned unharmed with two calves and three horses.⁵⁸ And then the trouble began. [On October 12]⁵⁹ twenty-five Indians and the French attacked our Oxen guard. Killed one Highlander, captured George Meyer and three or four horses, and turned back home again to Ohio.⁶⁰

In the meantime, several skirmishes took place between us and the French and Indians. [September 9],⁶¹ Brigadier General Boget⁶² decided to send several hundred men with their officers and one Engineer⁶³ to search the place under Major Grant,⁶⁴ but Major Grant was an over curious man; with the Engineer and others he ventured too near the Fortress, so that the Enemy found out our strength, and sent an ambuscade on the Monongahela and surrounded us.

The fighting became hot from the front and the rear. Major Grant was captured by the French; the Engineer and one hundred and fifty men lost their lives. Sixteen wounded men with bloody heads came back to Loyalhanna on [September 14].⁶⁵ Adjutant Meten⁶⁶ commanded those which were left and were not scattered. Two days before an attachment of two hundred men under Captain Morgan's command were sent to Endregren⁶⁷ to

support them. They met them fifteen miles this side of Pittsburgh in a pitiful condition.

On the [11th]⁶⁸ of November about eleven hundred⁶⁹ French and Indians came to attack us, but they were discovered about one mile from the Fort. Two thousand⁷⁰ men were sent against them at 7.00 o'clock in the evening to surround them in a valley behind a mountain. Our men left the camp, but in the darkness attacked one another, killing eleven and wounding a number of our men.⁷¹ They came back in several hours in a pitiful condition. The enemy disappeared without doing any harm. The next morning, on the [12th],⁷² we buried our dead with sorrowful hearts. Finally, by and by, it was decided to send the whole army against the enemy, which was done. We began to march November [15th],⁷³ with seven thousand⁷⁴ men altogether, the drivers not included. The weather was very rough and cold. The march went very slow until finally on November [22nd],⁷⁵ we came to General Gogot's Camp by the name of Brust Work.⁷⁶ November [24th],⁷⁷ in the morning there was a deep snow, the whole Army was ordered to march, but halted because one of our officers discovered a corps of Indians, which ran away as fast as they could. Fifty men of the Cavalry were sent under Captain Hambrecht's command. Before the Infantry was ready a shaking was heard like an earthquake. We then made a mad march while the Cavalry was riding very fast. Eight miles out, this side of the Fort, we met a boy about sixteen years of age, who had escaped and said that they were busy burning everything. This stirred Captain Hambrecht so much that he gave orders to go after them quickly. They rode with such swiftness that they found seven barrels of powder, one barrel the bottom was only one inch from the fire, and eight barrels of hog meat, which was put away, because we were afraid it was poisoned. All the buildings were in flames. The Cavalry and Infantry arrived that evening at six o'clock and took charge of the place, and had to camp at night in the open field in very rough and cold weather. It was too cold to remain on the open field and we were ordered into the woods to camp, which was done. The whole army was for several days out of provisions because the roads were so bad that the teams could not move.

The next day when the inspection was made the booty was very scant, everything was burned. The cannons were taken away.⁷⁸ We had the place in our possession, but they left nothing behind for us except a ruined place. For six or seven days we had hardly anything to eat. Since we left Loyalhanna we had to lay under the bare heavens.

General Forbes who was a sickly man did not wait any longer, but gave orders to build barracks.⁷⁹ The most of the sick men were sent to Raystown because the most of the wagons were sent back there. [Prior to December 4],⁸⁰ Captain Morgan got orders to take forty men and march ahead on the [following day],⁸¹ to build for the General a trench and put up his tent on account of the cold weather, wherever it was necessary. [On December 4]⁸² General Forbes started the trip with the Royal Americans. On [January 6th],⁸³ we came to Carol Hill (Carlisle). On [January 7th],⁸⁴ General Forbes came there. We all were quartered in Carol Hill, but General Forbes went to Philadelphia where he died that same winter.⁸⁵

Our command were permitted to go home. We came to Reading, [possibly January]⁸⁶ 31st; we were given leave [possibly February 3rd, 1759].⁸⁷ I arrived at home on the [February] 4th, and found my father and mother, my grandfather and brothers in good health. We heartily and joyfully thanked the dear Lord for His gracious protection and keeping.

I stayed several weeks with them, and then received orders from Captain Morgan to come to Reading. I arrived there on the 19th, on the 20th, I was ordered to recruit as strong as we could which we did, until [sometime before March 8th]⁸⁸ we had twenty-three men for our battalion. Then we received orders from the General to march to Pittsburgh.

We started our march on March [8th],⁸⁹ and came to [Meckville Road]⁹⁰ on the [9th].⁹¹ On the [10th],⁹² to Swatara, where we stayed two days on account of high water. The [13th],⁹³ we marched to Harris Ferry, (Harrisburg) where we stayed three days on account of high water. The [17th],⁹⁴ we marched to Tobias Henrichs.⁹⁵ On the [18th],⁹⁶ we lay quiet. On the [19th],⁹⁷ we came to Carol Hill (Carlisle) and stayed one day. [March 20th],⁹⁸ we marched to Shippensburg where we stayed twelve days on account of heavy rain. On April [1st],⁹⁹ we marched twelve miles. On the [2nd],¹⁰⁰ we came to Fort Louden and stayed there one day. The [3rd],¹⁰¹ to Fort Littleton.¹⁰² The [4th],¹⁰³ to Fort Grossen.¹⁰⁴ The [5th],¹⁰⁵ to Raystown. [6th],¹⁰⁶ rest day. The [7th],¹⁰⁷ we marched to the Allegheny Mountain where an Express came to us with the information that the Indians had killed a Welch and some of his people three miles from Loyalhanna. We camped on the Allegheny Mountain that night. On [April 8],¹⁰⁸ we came to Fort Stony Crik. The [9th],¹⁰⁹ rest day. [April 10],¹¹⁰ we came to Fort Ligonier or Loyalhanna, with forty-five men, where most of our company was sick and had to go to the hospital for treatment, much to our sorrow. [Possibly on April 16th or May 23rd]¹¹¹ there came one corps of Virginians of one hundred and sixty men and four wagons. The Indians attacked them

three miles from Ligonier, or Loyalhanna. The number of the enemy was only sixty, but they made them flee. The drivers left the wagons with all that was in them, unhitching one of their horses and rode away. The next day a command of one hundred and fifteen men were sent out and found all the roads clear. Some things were burnt. Everything was brought to the Garrison. We had no dead to bury, we lay quiet one day. The Indians were continually around us. We had some skirmishes with them. [Around April 17],¹¹² two wagons were made ready to take the sick to Raystown. [Around April 18],¹¹³ sixteen sick men were loaded into two wagons. One Sergeant with six men who were well, were sent along for protection. They came to Laurel Hill where the Indians waylaid them and killed thirteen men. The others fled back to the Fort. The Indians scalped all of the dead and took all of the horses with them. [Around April 20],¹¹⁴ we buried all of our thirteen dead in one grave. When we came back to the Fort we had to march out every day for provisions. Our men were more or less sickly in the Fort, so that not the half of them was able to do duty.

On May 14th, [1759],¹¹⁵ an Ensign of the Mountain or Highland Scotch was sent with fourteen men, seven loaded pack horses and six fat oxen to Pittsburgh. On the 15th, they saw Indians along the way, but did not attack them. They camped for the night in the three Redentens¹¹⁶ until the morning of the 16th, when they marched away very carefully. About three miles from there they were attacked by the Indians and were put to flight. They captured two of our men and the others fled back to the three Redentens. Three of our men lost themselves in the woods and returned to the Command the next day, the 17th, but were right away placed under arrest in Pittsburgh. Several hours later the command also came with provisions. Then one of the deserters, Biesel Hamen,¹¹⁷ was given five hundred strokes on his back. Several days afterward, the other five hundred strokes. The other two men were sent back to Loyalhanna, one was John Clawser. The other was a Mountain or Highland Scotch. The next day each was given five hundred strokes on the back. After five days they were given the other five hundred strokes because they were deserters.

May [19th],¹¹⁸ Captain Morgan with forty-two men and fifty pack horses was sent to Pittsburgh. We began to march. We camped on the Nine Mile Run. May [20th]¹¹⁹ we marched to four miles on this side of Pittsburgh. That night a command came and took us into the Fort, because of the Indians. About one hundred and fifty in number camped not far from us. We stayed in the Fort four days.

On the [May 24],¹²⁰ we started again for Loyalhanna at 5.00 o'clock in the morning, expecting any time to be attacked, which was done. At 12.00 o'clock we halted a mile from Turtle Creek for our meal, but put guards at all ends. Several of us were dipping water and noticed along the water foot prints of the Indians. We also found a new Tomahawk which was an indication to us that there had been a fight. Captain Morgan was very careful and ordered a sergent with seven men to go as an advance party and several for a flank guard. We marched very carefully in Inschenhaeil.¹²¹ By the time we had marched one mile the Indians had attacked the advance party and killed seven men, scalping them all, before we could with the greatest swiftness get there. The Indians, however, with such fury sprang upon us, expecting to put us to flight, but we received them. We had a very hot fight with them for three hours. The enemy was fifty men strong while we had only forty-two. We lost eight men in the first fire. The Indians lost four. At four o'clock in the evening we started again on our march, carrying our dead, seven in number, behind a fallen block. The eighth one was deadly wounded, but lived three days. The [24th],¹²² we came to Loyalhanna in the night. The [25th],¹²³ we took in provisions. The [26th],¹²⁴ we started out again with sixty men and came to a camping place. The [27th],¹²⁵ we buried our dead. The enemy was gone, but we found their entire baggage in one big pile. We marched again to Loyalhanna to the garrison, where we lay very quietly for the summer. In the meantime I fell into a hot fever and lay very sick for five weeks. In the meantime the others came out of their winter quarters and thirteen hundred new men who had been enlisted for six months were attacked at Laurel Hill. Captain Shasslodt and one Indian from the enemy side were killed.¹²⁶ The others with fifty team loads came luckily to Loyalhanna.

July 1st, the most of our men were ordered to Pittsburgh, to again build the Fort.¹²⁷ Our company was very much scattered. We were busy with skirmishes which were too many to tell. December 1st, 1759, we were ordered to go home. I arrived at home December 27th, 1759. March 20th, 1760, we were ordered to Carol Hill to receive our pay because most of us had served our time. We all returned to our homes, but the war was not yet ended. Colonel Boget was promoted to Brigadier General to command the army at Pittsburgh next year.¹²⁸

THE JOURNAL OF JOHN MICHAEL LINDENMUTH"

NOTES

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1. Fred Anderson, *A People's Army: Massachusetts Soldiers and Society in the Seven Years' War* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1984), 66.
2. Ian McCullough and Timothy Todish, eds., *Through So Many Dangers: The Memoirs and Adventures of Robert Kirk, Late of the Royal Highland Regiment* (Fleischmanns, NY: Purple Mountain Press, 2004), 9.
3. Holly A. Mayer, "From Forts to Families: Following the Army into Western Pennsylvania, 1758–1766" *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (PMHB) 130 (2006), 5–44.
4. *Family Journal of John Michael Lindenmuth: Also a Birth Register of his Family and his Generation* (Published by the Lindenmuths, c.1926), 6.
5. Brigitte Burkett, ed., *The Journal of Johann Michael Lindenmuth* (Rockport, ME: Picton Press, 2000), 106.
6. The journal, originally written in German, was passed down through the family. It was translated into English and published for family members around 1926. A copy (presumably photostatic) of most of the original journal was made at this time as well. The original journal was then lost, and its current location is unknown. In 1939, Lewis Walkinshaw reprinted portions of the Lindenmuth journal in his *Annals of Southwestern Pennsylvania* (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., Inc., 1939), 296–304. In 2000, a new translation was completed by Brigitte Burkett and published by Picton Press. The portion of the journal presented here is from the 1926 publication and only includes the journal from the beginning through the French and Indian War period. The journal appears to have been written some time after the French and Indian War, particularly evident in the dates which are substantially incorrect. In her research, Brigitte Burkett concurs, proposing that the journal was written in 1770. The spelling and punctuation of the 1926 edition have been retained. Any changes from the 1926 publication have been placed within brackets with a footnote containing the original information. Burkett, ed., *The Journal of Johann Michael Lindenmuth*, 9–11, 13–14.
7. Fred Anderson, *Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754–1766* (New York: Vintage Books, 2000), 212.
8. Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 233.
9. William A. Hunter, *Forts on the Pennsylvania Frontier, 1753–1758* (Harrisburg, PA: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1960), 194.
10. Samuel J. Newland, *The Pennsylvania Militia: Defending the Commonwealth and the Nation, 1669–1870* (Indiantown Gap, PA: Pennsylvania National Guard Foundation, Inc., 2002), 71–80. See also R.S. Stephenson, "Pennsylvania Provincial Soldiers in the Seven Years' War," *Pennsylvania History* 62 (1995), 196–212.
11. Charles M. Stotz, "Forbes Conquers the Wilderness: A Modern Odyssey," *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* (WPHM) 67 (1984), 314–315.
12. Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 274–280.
13. Daniel P. Marston, "Swift and Bold: The 60th Regiment and Warfare in North America, 1755–1765." Master's Thesis, McGill University (1997), 28–37.
14. Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 257–258.

15. Alfred Proctor James, ed., *Writings of General John Forbes* (Menasha, WI: The Collegiate Press, 1958), 267–269.
16. Donald H. Kent, Louis M. Waddell, and Autumn L. Leonard, eds., *The Papers of Henry Bouquet* (Harrisburg, PA: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1976), 3: 137–138.
17. Large scale German immigration began in the early 1700s increasing until the peak between 1749 and 1754. During this influx of Germans to Pennsylvania an estimated 65,000 came through Philadelphia, over half of which came in the decade preceding the beginning of the French and Indian War. The crossing was long, hard, and the cost high, including the lives of many who had set out to make the voyage. The passage would take anywhere from a month and a half to over three months and regardless of added time the supplies were limited and often began to run out long before the voyage's end. Diseases became such an expected aspect of German migration that by 1750 laws demanded higher standards for ships in an attempt to stifle the rampant spread of illnesses to Philadelphia's established population. Yet even still families like the Lindenmuth's commonly sold off all that they owned in order to make this passage believing that in Pennsylvania they would find a better a life and higher religious toleration than in Germany. Charles H. Glatfelter, *The Pennsylvania Germans: A Brief Account of their Influence on Pennsylvania*, (University Park; PA: Pennsylvania Historical Association, 2002), 4–6.
18. German immigrants, much like their Scots-Irish counterparts, made up the majority of immigrants to Pennsylvania and after their arrival found that Philadelphia did not offer them the types of opportunities that they could easily make use of. Families like the Lindemuth's whose background laid in agriculture continued west to the rural setting of the frontier where land was cheap. Living on the fringe of civilization made these groups vulnerable to the Indian raids that by 1755 terrorized the frontier. Unable to sustain themselves through the unremitting attacks the Germans in particularly armed themselves in defense of their families and homes. These informal bands of frontier defense were too small and limited to local areas and thus had little impact against the Native problem. Glatfelter, *Pennsylvania Germans*, 27.
19. Jacob Morgan served as commander of the Berks County militia but was commissioned as a captain in the Pennsylvania troops on December 5, 1755 and acted as commander of Fort Lebanon. On December 18, 1757 he was commissioned as a captain in the second battalion of the Pennsylvania Regiment. Captain Jacob Morgan's company roster of the second battalion of the Second Pennsylvania Regiment at Fort William (previously Fort Lebanon) on January 29, 1758, includes "Mic. Lindemood Junr" as the 36th man listed. Hunter, *Forces on the Pennsylvania Frontier*, 306; S.K. Stevens, Donald H. Kent, and Autumn L. Leonard, eds., *The Papers of Henry Bouquet* (Harrisburg, PA: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1951), 2:166; Burd-Shippen Papers, Box 6, American Philosophical Society (APS), Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
20. James Burd was commissioned captain in the second battalion of the Pennsylvania Regiment on December 3, 1757. He was promoted to colonel on May 28, 1758. Stevens, et al., eds., *Papers of Henry Bouquet*, 2:5. For more on James Burd see Lily Lee Nixon, "Colonel James Burd in the Forbes Campaign," *PMHB* 35 (1935), 106–133.
21. "Michael Lindemood Senr" is listed as the 48th man on Captain Morgan's roster on January 29, 1758 at Fort William. Burd-Shippen Papers, Box 6, APS. It should be considered that the enlistment of the father as well as the son may indicate the severity and consistency of Indian attacks in

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the region. Militia service, unlike that of the Associaters, forced men to move great distances away from their homes. The more men in a household that joined directly impacted the workforce available at the home, homes and other family members went unprotected, farms untended, land undeveloped. The son being joining first is consistent with tradition, but with his father following just a few days later hints that the struggle against the French and Indians had become a war that had to be won, enough so that at least this family felt it worth dedicating the head of their male work force to the cause at their own personal deficit.

22. Fort Lebanon was probably constructed beginning in November 1755 in the Forks of the Schuylkill River in Berks County, Pennsylvania. It was renamed Fort William in 1757. Hunter, *Forces on the Pennsylvania Frontier*, 305.
23. The 1926 publication of the Lindenmuth journal incorrectly gives the year as 1756.
24. General John Forbes had served in the Scots Greys and was made colonel of the 17th Regiment of Foot in 1747. In December 1757 he was appointed Brigadier General and assigned the task of capturing Fort DuQuesne. James, ed., *Writings of General John Forbes*, x–xi.
25. The city of Pittsburgh had not yet been established. At this point, that location was the site of French-held Fort DuQuesne, which General Forbes and his army were mobilizing to capture. Pittsburgh was formally named on November 27, 1758 when Forbes wrote Sir William Pitt that he “used the freedom of giving your name to Fort DuQuesne.” James, ed., *Writings of General John Forbes*, 267–269.
26. Lindenmuth originally lists “Herkel.” No record of a road by this name could be found in the area.
27. Tulpehocken Township, Berks County, PA.
28. Fort Swatara (near present Lickdale in Lebanon County, PA) was built in 1755 by local militia. Hunter, *Forces on the Pennsylvania Frontier*, 330.
29. Fort Augusta (near modern Sunbury, PA) was built at the junction of the north and west branches of the Susquehanna River in 1755 by Pennsylvania troops under William Clapham and James Burd. Charles M. Stotz, *Outposts of the War for Empire* (Pittsburgh, PA: Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, 1985), 101–105.
30. The 60th Regiment of Foot, known as the Royal American Regiment. This regiment was officially authorized in November 1755, in the wake of General Edward Braddock’s defeat earlier that year. It was composed of four battalions and was mostly recruited in the American colonies. The first battalion was under the command of Colonel Henry Bouquet and was designated to join General Forbes as part of the Fort DuQuesne campaign. Marston, “Swift and Bold,” 23–24, 64–72. See Sir Philip Goodheart, *The Royal Americans* (Windsor, UK: Wilton 65, 2005) and Lt.-Gen. Sir Christopher Wallace, *The King’s Royal Rifle Corps...the 60th Rifles, A Brief History, 1755–1965: From Royal Americans to Royal Green Jackets* (Hampshire, UK: The Royal Green Jackets Museum Trust, 2005).
31. The 77th Regiment of Foot was a Scottish Highland Regiment under the command of Colonel Archibald Montgomery. Another view of a common soldier during the Forbes campaign is that of Robert Kirk of this regiment. See McCullough and Todish, eds., *Through So Many Dangers: The Memoirs and Adventures of Robert Kirk, Late of the Royal Highland Regiment* and Ian McCullough, *Sons of the Mountains: The Highland Regiments in the French and Indian War, 1756–1767* (Fleischmanns, NY: Purple Mountain Press, 2006) 2 vols.

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32. Captain John Hambright was commissioned on December 14, 1757 in the second battalion of the Pennsylvania Regiment and later appointed to command the Light Horse Troop on May 2, 1758. Stevens, et al., eds., *Papers of Henry Bouquet*, 2:52.
33. Lindenmuth lists the incorrect date of June 22. On June 4, Colonel Hugh Mercer, commander of the third battalion of the Pennsylvania Regiment, began work on the road from Fort Littleton to Shippensburg. On June 6, he was joined by Virginians under Colonel Adam Stephen. Stevens, et al., eds., *Papers of Henry Bouquet*, 2: xxxiii, 34.
34. Lindenmuth lists the incorrect dates of June 23rd and 24th. On June 14, the second battalion of the Pennsylvania regiment was on the road from Fort Loudon to Fort Littleton and Juniata Crossings with Colonel Adam Stephen's Virginians. Stevens, et al., eds., *Papers of Henry Bouquet*, 2:16, 22.
35. Fort Loudon (modern Fort Loudon, PA) was constructed by Pennsylvania troops in 1756. It was named for General Lord John Campbell, Earl of Loudon. Stotz, *Outposts of the War for Empire*, 110; Hunter, *Forts on the Pennsylvania Frontier*, 463-473.
36. Colonel Adam Stephen's Virginians had already reached Fort Loudon on June 6. On June 30, Bouquet ordered troops from Maryland and Virginia under the command of Colonel George Washington to improve the road from Fort Frederick to Fort Cumberland and then continue on to Rays Town (Bedford, PA). Washington had reached Rays Town by September 21. Warriors from the Catawba and Cherokee nations were already at Carlisle by June 3. Stevens, et al., eds., *Papers of Henry Bouquet*, 2: 15, 41, 152; George Washington, *Orderly Book*, September 21, 1758-November 24, 1758, *George Washington Papers*, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., 1.
37. Lindenmuth lists the incorrect date of June 25. On June 14, the second battalion of the Pennsylvania regiment was on the road from Fort Loudon to Fort Littleton and Juniata Crossings with Colonel Adam Stephen's Virginians. Stevens, et al., eds., *Papers of Henry Bouquet*, 2:16, 22, 88.
38. Lindenmuth lists the incorrect date of June 26.
39. Lindenmuth lists the incorrect date of June 27. Captain Thomas Bullitt's road clearing party had reached Sideling Hill on June 18. Stevens, et al., eds., *Papers of Henry Bouquet*, 2:105.
40. Sideling Hill, PA.
41. Lindenmuth lists the incorrect date of July 1. Bouquet arrived at Juniata Crossings on June 21. Stevens, et al., eds. *Papers of Henry Bouquet*, 2:120-122.
42. Construction on the fort at Juniata Crossings was begun on June 21 by Captain Harry Gordon. It was usually referred to as "Juniata crossing" or the "crossings" possibly leading to Lindenmuth's corruption of "Groosen." While Colonel Burd was ordered to Rays Town to begin building a fort there, it appears Lindenmuth stayed at Juniata Crossings to help build the fort with Captain Morgan's company, as Morgan was still there until at least July 13. Stevens, et al., eds., *Papers of Henry Bouquet*, 2: 122, 123, 200-201; Stotz, *Outposts of the War for Empire*, 110-112.
43. Lindenmuth lists the incorrect date of "the first of July."
44. Lindenmuth lists the incorrect date of August 1.
45. On June 30 Bouquet arrived at this site (modern Bedford, PA) and began to build a fort. The site was known as Rays Town and was later renamed Fort Bedford in honor of John Russell, Fourth Duke of Bedford. Stevens, et al., eds., *Papers of Henry Bouquet*, 2: 152; Stotz, *Outposts of the War for Empire*, 113-117.
46. Lindenmuth lists the incorrect dates of August 2, 3, 4, and 5.

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47. Lindenmuth lists the incorrect date of August 6. A report on the road construction submitted to Bouquet lists a party of men leaving Rays Town on July 8. Stevens, et al., eds., *Papers of Henry Bouquet*, 2:234.
48. Shawnee Cabins, near present Schellsburg, PA.
49. Lindenmuth lists the incorrect date of August 7. The road building party arrived at Allegheny Mountain on July 9. Ibid.
50. Lindenmuth lists the incorrect date of September 4. The Pennsylvania Artillery did not arrive at Rays Town until August 5. Stevens, et al., eds., *Papers of Henry Bouquet*, 2:297.
51. Lindenmuth lists the incorrect date of September 6. The road report submitted to Bouquet lists that they crossed Stoney Creek on July 10. A small post was created here. Stevens, et al., eds., *Papers of Henry Bouquet*, 2: 234.
52. Stoney Creek, near present Kantner, PA. The translation by Brigitte Burkett lists Stoney Creek. Stotz, *Outposts of the War for Empire*, 113; Burkett, ed., *Journal of Johann Michael Lindenmuth*, 31.
53. Lindenmuth lists the incorrect date of September 7.
54. Lindenmuth lists the incorrect date of September 8. The road report lists the party as reaching Loyal Hannon on July 11. Ibid.
55. The fort constructed was Loyal Hannon (modern Ligonier, PA), later named Fort Ligonier in honor of Sir John Ligonier. See Stotz, *Outposts of the War for Empire*, 118–120, 147–189.
56. Lindenmuth lists the incorrect date of as October 8.
57. Lindenmuth lists the incorrect date of October 16.
58. Lindenmuth had probably confused this incident with the disastrous expedition under Major James Grant, see note 165.
59. Lindenmuth wrote "A few days later."
60. Possibly Lindenmuth is referring to the French attack on Loyal Hannon on October 12. On that date, a force of 600 French soldiers and their Indian allies attacked the post. The post held out but most of their horses were lost as well as twelve men killed, eighteen wounded and thirty-one missing. Fort Ligonier Association, *War for Empire in Western Pennsylvania* (Fort Ligonier Association, 1993), 55.
61. Lindenmuth lists the incorrect date of November 1. Bouquet had allowed Major James Grant of the 77th Highland Regiment to lead a large detachment on a reconnaissance of Fort Duquesne. Stevens, et al., eds., *Papers of Henry Bouquet*, 2:493, 499.
62. Colonel Henry Bouquet was not promoted to Brigadier General until 1765. Louis Waddell, ed., *The Papers of Henry Bouquet* (Harrisburg, PA: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1994), 6:789.
63. Ensign Charles Rhor of the 60th Royal American Regiment. Ensign Rhor was killed during Grant's attack. Stevens, et al., eds., *Papers of Henry Bouquet*, 2: 508, 537,538.
64. Major James Grant was commissioned in the 77th Highland regiment in January 1757. Stevens, et al., eds., *Papers of Henry Bouquet*, 2: 97.
65. Lindenmuth lists the incorrect date of [October] 8th. Major Grant's party had reached the large hill overlooking Fort Duquesne (known later as Grant's Hill) on the night of September 13. His detachment consisted of near 700 men from the 60th and 77th Regiments and provincial troops from Pennsylvania, Virginia, Maryland, Delaware and North Carolina. In the early morning hours

of September 14, Grant's men descended the hill with drums and bagpipes playing. Confusion developed among Grant's troops through the darkness, fog and poor communications. The French and Indians swarmed out from Fort DuQuesne and decimated Grant's troops. Nearly half the troops were killed, wounded or captured, including Major Grant, who was captured in the melee. Stevens, et al., eds., *Papers of Henry Bouquet*, 2:499–505, 508–509, 511–512, 517–522. See also McCullogh and Todish, eds., *Through So Many Dangers*, 38–41; and McCullogh, *Sons of the Mountain*, 120–137.

66. This appears to be a mistake in the transcription. The translation by Brigitte Burkett lists the name as Adjutant Clayton. Captain Ashton Clayton was commissioned in the second battalion of the Pennsylvania Regiment. He survived and returned from Grant's raid. Burkett, ed., *Journal of Johann Michael Lindenmuth*, 33; Stevens, et al., eds., *Papers of Henry Bouquet*, 2:144, 509.
67. This appears to be a mistake in the transcription. Burkett, ed., *Journal of Johann Michael Lindenmuth*, 33–35.
68. Lindenmuth lists the incorrect date of November 16.
69. General Forbes estimated the number of the attackers to be 200. James, ed., *Writings of General Forbes*, 255.
70. General Forbes reported that he sent 500 men to confront the enemy and 500 more to surround them. James, ed., *Writings of General Forbes*.
71. The casualties reported by General Forbes were two officers killed and thirty-eight privates killed or wounded. Colonel George Washington led one of these detachments and as he perceived that it was his own troops that were firing at him, he ran between the lines knocking the guns up with his sword. Following the Revolutionary War, Washington recorded that in this incident he "never was more in imminent danger" and he had put his life "in as much jeopardy as it had ever been before or since." Some positive developments did arise out of this incident, however. A prisoner from the French taken during the engagement revealed that Fort DuQuesne was extremely vulnerable. Upon receiving this intelligence, General Forbes decided to press forward with the campaign, resulting in the capture of the French post. *Ibid*; Fred Anderson, ed., *George Washington Remembers: Reflections on the French and Indian War* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2004), 23, 59.
72. Lindenmuth lists the incorrect date of the 17th.
73. Lindenmuth lists the incorrect date of the 22nd. The army was organized into three columns and ordered to march on November 15. Washington, *Orderly Book*, 65.
74. The entire army stretched along the chain of forts totaled nearly six thousand troops. The size of the force that departed to capture Fort DuQuesne was closer to 2,500. Stevens, et al., eds., *Papers of Henry Bouquet*, 2:610; Stotz, "Forbes Conquers the Wilderness," 319; Niles Anderson, "New Light on the 1758 Forbes Campaign," *WPHM* 50 (1967), 91.
75. Lindenmuth lists the incorrect date of the 28th.
76. This encampment was called "Bouquet's Camp" or "Bouquet's Breastworks." The army occupied this camp from November 22–24. It was located in modern Universal, PA. Harold A. Thomas, "The Last Two Campsites of Forbes' Army," *WPHM* 46 (1963), 49.
77. Lindenmuth lists the incorrect date of the 29th. After hearing the explosion, scouts were sent forward to investigate Fort DuQuesne. They were immediately followed by the cavalry and the rest of the army. Stevens, et al., eds., *Papers of Henry Bouquet*, 2:612.

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78. The departing French troops tried to destroy as much as possible before leaving. They managed to set off an explosion in one powder magazine, but the other did not ignite. They also destroyed or threw into the Allegheny River any arms and equipment they could not carry. The amount of discarded equipment was so immense that several piles came to within a foot of the surface of the Allegheny River which was five to six feet deep. A few cannon were left behind by the French, however. Two cannon from Fort Duquesne remained in use through the British occupation of Fort Pitt as well as the American occupation and were brought to Fort Pitt's successor, Fort Fayette, where they were used to salute General Anthony Wayne in 1792. The French also left a swivel gun after spiking it. It was found by an American soldier in 1781 who un-spiked it and used it to successfully defend Wheeling, WV when it was besieged during the American Revolution. "John Oglethorpe to Samuel Wyley," January 12, 1759, Gage Papers, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan; Alan D. Gaff, *Bayonets in the Wilderness: Anthony Wayne's Legion in the Old Northwest* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004), 56; Jared C. Lobdell, ed., *Indian Warfare in Western Pennsylvania and North West Virginia at the Time of the American Revolution* (Bowie, MD: Heritage Books, Inc., 1992), 117.
79. It is uncertain what exact sickness ailed General Forbes. He complained of sore legs and fingers as well as suffering from dysentery which he called the "flux." General Forbes arrived at the ruins of Fort Duquesne on November 25. Two days later he wrote to Sir William Pitt informing him of their success and that he named the city "Pittsburgh." Before leaving, he ordered the construction of a temporary fort to house a detachment under Colonel Hugh Mercer at Pittsburgh. Stevens, et al., eds., *Papers of Henry Bouquet*, 2:592; James, ed., *Writings of General Forbes*, 37, 40, 49, 166, 262, 267-269; Stotz, *Outposts of the War for Empire*, 121-125.
80. Lindenmuth lists the incorrect date of December 8, 1753.
81. Lindenmuth lists the incorrect date of the 9th.
82. General Forbes departed Pittsburgh on December 4, 1758. Stevens, et al., eds., *Papers of Henry Bouquet*, 2:627.
83. Lindenmuth lists the incorrect date of December 19.
84. Lindenmuth lists the incorrect date of the December 20. Forbes arrived on the evening of January 7, 1759. James, ed., *Writings of General Forbes*, 276.
85. General John Forbes died on March 11, 1759. He was interred in Christ Church. *Ibid.*, xii.
86. Lindenmuth lists the month as December.
87. Lindenmuth lists the incorrect date of January 3rd, 1757.
88. Lindenmuth lists the incorrect date of the March 15th.
89. Lindenmuth lists the incorrect date of the 20th.
90. Lindenmuth lists "Hergel Roth." See note 9.
91. Lindenmuth lists the incorrect date of the 21st.
92. Lindenmuth lists the incorrect date of the 22nd.
93. Lindenmuth lists the incorrect date of the 25th.
94. Lindenmuth lists the incorrect date of the 29th.
95. Tobias Hendrick operated a ferry at the Susquehanna River at the Cumberland-York County line south of modern Harrisburg, PA. Kent, et al., eds., *Papers of Henry Bouquet*, 3:24-25.
96. Lindenmuth lists the incorrect date of the 30th.

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97. Lindenmuth lists the incorrect date of the 31st.
98. Lindenmuth lists the incorrect date of the April 2nd, 1757.
99. Lindenmuth lists the incorrect date of the 14th.
100. Lindenmuth lists the incorrect date of the 15th.
101. Lindenmuth lists the incorrect date of the 16th.
102. Fort Littleton was constructed by order of the Governor of Pennsylvania in January 1756. It was named for the Chancellor of the Exchequer, George Lyttelton. Stotz, *Outposts of the War for Empire*, 110; Hunter, *Forts on the Pennsylvania Frontier*, 191, 365.
103. Lindenmuth lists the incorrect date of the 17th.
104. See note 26.
105. Lindenmuth lists the incorrect date of the 18th.
106. Lindenmuth lists the incorrect date of the 19th.
107. Lindenmuth lists the incorrect date of the 20th.
108. Lindenmuth lists the incorrect date of April 21st.
109. Lindenmuth lists the incorrect date of the 22nd.
110. Lindenmuth lists the incorrect date of the 23rd. Captain Morgan is known to have arrived at Fort Ligonier on April 10, 1759. The dates Lindenmuth gives for the journey up until this point have been adjusted with this thirteen day discrepancy. Kent, et al., eds., *Papers of Henry Bouquet*, 3:248.
111. Lindenmuth lists the incorrect date of the 27th. On April 16, a group escorting cattle from Fort Ligonier was attacked on their way to Pittsburgh. On May 23, Captain Thomas Bullitt and a party of 105 Virginians were attacked three miles from Fort Ligonier. Kent, et al., eds., *Papers of Henry Bouquet*, 3:221, 264.
112. Lindenmuth lists the incorrect date of the May 6th, 1757. On April 18, a group of sick soldiers were attacked on their way to Fort Bedford. Ibid.
113. Lindenmuth lists the incorrect date of the 7th. See note 91.
114. Lindenmuth lists the incorrect date of May 9th.
115. Lindenmuth lists the incorrect year of 1758.
116. The Three Redoubts, also known as the Four Redoubts was occupied on November 18, 1758 by the advance army during the 1758 campaign under General Forbes. It was located near present Hannastown, PA. Thomas, "The Last Two Campsites of Forbes' Army," 49; Niles Anderson, "The General Chooses a Road: The Forbes Campaign of 1758 to Capture Fort DuQuesne," *WPHM* 42 (1959), 394.
117. The translation by Brigitte Burkett lists this as "of the 1st Regiment of Pennsylvanians." Burkett, ed., *The Journal of Johann Michael Lindenmuth*, 47.
118. Lindenmuth lists the incorrect date of the 30th. Using the established date of the attack referred to in note 120, May 19 appears to be the date that Captain Morgan's party departed Fort Ligonier.
119. Lindenmuth lists the incorrect date of the 31st.
120. Lindenmuth lists the incorrect date of June 5, 1758. On May 25, Colonel Thomas Lloyd reported the return of Captain Morgan to Fort Ligonier and the details of the attack at Turtle Creek. Taking Lindenmuth's statement that they arrived at Fort Ligonier that night and Lloyd's claim that they arrived at Fort Ligonier on the morning of May 25, the battle has been placed on May 24. Kent, et al., eds., *Papers of Henry Bouquet*, 3:316.

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121. The translation by Brigitte Burkett lists this as "Indian file." Burkett, ed., *The Journal of Johann Michael Lindenmuth*, 49.
122. Lindenmuth lists the incorrect date of the 6th. See note 120.
123. Lindenmuth lists the incorrect date of the 7th.
124. Lindenmuth lists the incorrect date of the 8th.
125. Lindenmuth lists the incorrect date of the 9th.
126. On August 4, 1759, a detachment was attacked on Laurel Hill. Captain Thomas Jocelyn of the 1st Battalion, 60th Regiment was killed in this attack. Kent, et al., eds., *Papers of Henry Bouquet*, 3: 501; Louis M. Waddell, John L. Tottenham, and Donald H. Kent, eds., *The Papers of Henry Bouquet* (Harrisburg, PA: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1978), 4:402.
127. A temporary fort had been erected at Pittsburgh immediately after the British took possession of the area in November 1758. On September 3, 1759, the permanent fortification, Fort Pitt, was begun. Kent, et al., eds., *Papers of Henry Bouquet*, 29; Stotz, *Outposts of the War for Empire*, 126–140.
128. While Colonel Bouquet did continue to command the region, he was not promoted to Brigadier General until 1765. Waddell, ed., *The Papers of Henry Bouquet*, 6:789.