



HENRY BOUQUET

Attributed to John Wollaston, 1758. Courtesy of Mrs. George A. Robbins and the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission.



THE
Pennsylvania
Magazine
OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

*Thomas Barton and the
Forbes Expedition*

BORN IN Ireland in 1730, Thomas Barton came to America in 1753. An Anglican, he visited settlers of that faith west of the Susquehanna and was persuaded to go to England to obtain clerical orders. He returned about April 16, 1755, to Philadelphia, where settlers from Huntington, York County (now Huntington Township, Adams County), brought wagons to transport him and his possessions to his missionary field. There, under supervision of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, he served three congregations: three Sundays of every six at Huntington, two at Carlisle, and one at York.¹

Plans to extend his work by visiting more scattered settlers and by ministering to the few available Indians were disrupted by the consequences of General Braddock's defeat less than three months later, which for the first time exposed Pennsylvania's frontier settlers to hostile attack. "Not a Man in Ten is able to purchase a

¹ A biographical sketch of Thomas Barton appears in John Gibson, ed., *History of York County, Pennsylvania* (Chicago, 1886), 405-406. His arrival in York County is detailed in a letter of Nov. 8, 1756, published in William Stevens Perry, ed., *Historical Collections relating to the American Colonial Church*, Volume II: *Pennsylvania* (1871), 275-281.

Gun," wrote Barton, commenting on their unpreparedness: "Not a House in Twenty has a Door with either Lock or Bolt to it."²

In the first hostile attack, a party of Delaware Indians killed or captured twenty-five settlers near the present Selinsgrove on the Susquehanna. About two weeks later, on November 1, a war party of about one hundred Delawares and Shawnees devastated settlements in the present Fulton and Franklin counties, terrifyingly near the field of Mr. Barton's work.

Pennsylvania had no militia law and no militia. A few settlers had had military experience elsewhere, and others had served, some seven years earlier, in Benjamin Franklin's Association, in which Benjamin Chambers (founder of Chambersburg) had been a colonel. The need was urgent, and the Reverend Mr. Barton, like some other clergymen of the area—Andrew Bay and John Steel, for example—took up arms as leader of an unofficial, informal company of neighbors and parishioners. Writing from York on November 5 on the consequences of the recent Indian attack, George Stevenson reported "that M^r Barton heads a Comp^y, M^r Bay another."³ He was both persevering and effective. On September 16, 1756, the Provincial Secretary, Richard Peters (also an ordained Anglican clergyman), wrote that Barton had marched with his congregations on every alarm.⁴ A year after Barton first took up arms, Dr. William Smith wrote that

M^r Barton is indeed a most worthy & useful Missionary. He is the Darling of his People, & has been obliged for a twelvemonth past sometimes to act as their Captain & sometimes as their minister. He has been the means of keeping them together at the Risk of his Life when they would other wise probably have been dispersed all over the Continent.⁵

When Pennsylvania expanded its forces in 1758 from 1,400 to 2,700 officers and men, in preparation for General Forbes' campaign against Fort Duquesne, it must have seemed appropriate to offer Barton a commission as chaplain to the newly raised 3d Battalion of

² Barton to Richard Peters, Huntington, July 30, 1755, Richard Peters Papers, IV, 36, Historical Society of Pennsylvania (HSP).

³ Stevenson to the Rev. William Smith, *Pennsylvania Archives*, First Series, II, 466.

⁴ Peters to Thomas Penn, Penn Manuscripts, Official Correspondence, VIII, 157, HSP.

⁵ Smith to the Rev. Dr. Bearcroft, Nov. 1, 1756, Perry, II, 564.

the Pennsylvania Regiment. However, before this commission was delivered to him, events had occurred that led him to reconsider accepting it.

On Sunday, July 2, Barton had preached at Carlisle, where he had been interrupted "by having an armed Messenger sent him, while he was performing Divine Service in his own Parish—ordering him to desist & dismiss the People."⁶ And two days later thirty-three officers of the 3d Battalion and the Lower Counties companies, "educated in the Principles of the Church of Scotland," presented a petition requesting a chaplain of their own persuasion and naming the Reverend Andrew Bay as a suitable person.⁷ The full story of these incidents is not readily available. Colonel John Armstrong referred to them in a letter, begun on July 8 and completed four days later, written apparently to Richard Peters, but Armstrong seemed reticent about discussing the first episode, in which he was somehow involved. He conceded, however, that it grew out of a quarrel between himself and Sir John St. Clair, General Forbes' deputy quartermaster general: "a Quarrel ensu'd betwixt us, in the Course of which, Sir John, after appointing parson Barton to preach, he stop'd him again in the time of reading prayers, but soon found his Error, & he and the parson join their Forces to England."⁸

Continuing his letter on July 12, Armstrong alluded again to this episode and then passed on to the matter of Barton's second embarrassment:

I doubt not parson Barton will write you some very high Charge against me like Sacrilege, &c. . . . he won't suffer himself to be Call'd a Chaplain to the Battalion, nor act under the Governor's Commission, but has procur'd a kind of Liberty from the General to go the Expedition a Volunteer. The Officers of the third Battalion has for themselves & Men, Ask'd of the General a Chaplain of the Same Principles & Denomination

⁶ Remonstrance, July 5, 1758, from the officials of Barton's three congregations, Scottish Record Office, Dalhousie Muniments, 2/56.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 2/33/2. In the index to these papers, the unit is incorrectly identified as a Virginia regiment.

⁸ *Pennsylvania Archives*, First Series, III, 446-448. The original is in the Dreer Collection at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Factors to be considered here are Armstrong's ardent Presbyterianism and St. Clair's erratic behavior on this expedition, which repeatedly annoyed and embarrassed his superiors and associates. That St. Clair and Barton were reconciled is confirmed by Barton's letter of July 18, referred to later.

with themselves; the General has Order'd them to pitch on whom they please, and he will appoint him; they ask Bay, & its said he is gone to Maryland upon hearing he would not be appointed.

Barton, still in Carlisle, received his chaplain's commission (arbitrarily dated June 11)⁹ on July 7, as recorded in his journal, and on the following day wrote to General Forbes (who had come to town on July 4), to whom he offered his services as a volunteer: "I am informed that a great number of the Forces under your command are of the Communion of the Church of England, as I hear of no Episcopal clergyman appointed their chaplain, I am prompted by duty, inclination and every good motive to attend them."¹⁰ Barton then went home, presumably to prepare for his new duties. Not until his return to Carlisle on July 12 did he receive Forbes' reply, dated July 9, thanking him and accepting his offered services.¹¹

A few days later, on July 18, Barton wrote to Richard Peters. Contrary to Colonel Armstrong's expectations, he entered no complaint against that officer, nor even mentioned him by name. He acknowledged that "both the Church & I have been insulted," but he asserted that "The old Presbyterian Ministers & Congregations in both Counties [*Cumberland and York*] have highly resented the treatment I have met with, & have drawn up a handsome paper in my favor." He thanked Peters for the commission, "but am sorry that it subjects me to the power of a Man [*Armstrong?*], who has already shewn himself an enemy to that Cause which I am bound by every Tye of Conscience, Duty & Inclination to support."¹²

No more than Armstrong does Barton tell the whole story, however. His letter says nothing of rejecting the provincial commission and, in fact, implies his acceptance of it. Although he reproduces Forbes' letter inviting him to minister to the troops, he does not mention his own letter to which this was a response. He says nothing of going out as a volunteer. Barton did go on the campaign,

⁹ *Pennsylvania Archives*, Fifth Series, I, 132. In the manuscript original of this list, the chaplains' commissions are dated in May, then altered to June.

¹⁰ Copy, enclosed with Barton to the Secretary, Lancaster, Dec. 21, 1759, Perry, II, 283-284.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 284 (accidentally misdated 1759); also in *Pennsylvania Archives*, First Series, III, 451-452, as incorporated into Barton's letter of July 18 to Richard Peters.

¹² *Pennsylvania Archives*, First Series, III, 450-452.

however, joining the army at Raystown on July 24 and continuing in service until September 26, at least.

Adequate accounts of the Forbes campaign and of its place in history are readily available and require no reiteration. On the other hand, a brief description of the composition and the distribution of Forbes' army may give more meaning to Barton's numerous references to officers and to troop detachments.

Nominally, the army comprised 1,700 regular and 5,700 provincial soldiers, but in fact some units were at less than full strength, and because Pennsylvania had no militia some of the colony's "new levies" were diverted to garrison duty east of the Susquehanna River. The regular troops included four companies of the 1st Battalion of the 60th (Royal American) Regiment of Foot, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Henry Bouquet, and the 1st Highland Battalion (identified in 1758 as the 62nd Regiment but subsequently designated the 77th), commanded by Colonel Archibald Montgomery. A British company of foot numbered one hundred men, and a battalion consisted of ten companies. The Highlanders, however, were augmented in 1758 by three newly raised companies. Excepting these "additional companies," the two corps of regulars had been stationed previously in South Carolina.

The Pennsylvania Regiment, expanded from 1,400 to 2,700 men, consisted of three battalions, each comprising sixteen companies of fifty-three men, commanded by Colonels John Armstrong, James Burd, and Hugh Mercer. The 1st and 2d Battalions included twenty-five "old companies" composed of men enlisted for three years; seven companies of these battalions and all of the 3d Battalion, however, were made of "new levies" enlisted for only the duration of the campaign. The Lower Counties (Delaware) raised three companies of one hundred men each under Major Richard Wells. Maryland supplied four companies, also of one hundred men, but since the legislature refused to pay them when not in the colony's own service the expense fell on the Crown. General Forbes placed them under the command of John Dagworthy as lieutenant colonel. Virginia had a regiment of ten companies of one hundred men each commanded by Colonel George Washington, and it raised a 2d Virginia Regiment, of the same size, under Colonel William Byrd, to serve the campaign. North Carolina, finally, sent three companies

commanded by Major Hugh Waddell. Their effective strength was only about half their full quota of one hundred men each.

Under General Forbes' direction, the provincial troops achieved a degree of diversification. Some of the new Virginia troops were raised as artificer companies, and men drawn from companies of the 1st Virginia Regiment served as a troop of light cavalry. Following the Virginia example, Pennsylvania raised a similar troop in each of its two "old battalions," and another draft of the Pennsylvania Regiment was assigned to the artillery.

Battalion (field) officers included a colonel, a lieutenant colonel, and a major (the Highland Battalion had two majors); in regiments consisting of more than one battalion, like the Royal Americans, there was a superior officer identified as colonel in chief. Field officers commonly captained companies in their regiments; this was not the case, however, in the 2d Virginia Regiment and in the 3d Battalion of the Pennsylvania Regiment, whose field officers were drawn from the older battalions, in which they retained their companies. Within the battalion, a company was commanded either by a field officer or by a captain, and its other commissioned officers (subalterns) were usually a lieutenant and an ensign, though this last officer was beginning to be replaced by a second lieutenant. The Lower Counties and Maryland companies had three subalterns, a first lieutenant, second lieutenant, and ensign. In the colonel's own company, the first subaltern was designated captain lieutenant and ranked between the captains and the lieutenants in the regiment. Noncommissioned company officers included sergeants, corporals, and drummers (and, sometimes, fifers). In the Highland Battalion the musicians were pipers, though they were not officially so designated.

When on July 12, 1758, Barton set out on his military duty, Forbes' second in command, Colonel Bouquet, had been stationed at Raystown (now Bedford) since June 24 with the first division of the army, including troops of the 1st and 2d Battalions of the Pennsylvania Regiment and six companies of Virginians. Forbes, who had remained at Philadelphia to forward troops and supplies, had arrived at Carlisle on July 4 to make final disposition of troops and to send up the second division of the army, consisting chiefly of Royal Americans, the Highlanders, and the newly raised Pennsylvania companies. Barton encountered detachments of these troops

as he followed Bouquet (and preceded Forbes) over the road from Carlisle to Raystown. Most of the Virginia troops joined Forbes later. Barton saw them at Fort Cumberland in early September and witnessed their subsequent arrival at Raystown.

His journal of his military service in 1758 is clearly based on careful day-by-day notes. Barton was an intelligent and informed observer, and his narrative provides personal glimpses and factual details of the campaign not to be found elsewhere. The journal, as distinguished from the original notes, appears to have been written somewhat later. This is suggested first by a regularity and uniformity of handwriting not to be expected in a succession of separately written daily entries. Later composition or revision is implied also by such editorial features as the summaries at July 14-15 and September 7-9, and by the alteration at September 25, where a line was written and then erased so that the entry could be reworded and elaborated.

Conscious editing appears also in certain omissions—the embarrassments at Carlisle in July, the names of the officers embroiled in the entry for August 30, and, regrettably, the details of Forbes' dinner conversation on September 25. A lapse of time between the original notes and the final composition may also explain the confusion, on August 15, of Captain Ambust with Teedyuscung's son. Finally, the error in identifying the days of the week in the entries for July 20-24 may more easily have been made and gone undetected if they were introduced at the time of final composition.

The manuscript journal is written on twenty-eight leaves (fifty-four pages, the last one less than one-third filled) of a stitched book. It is unsigned, but the handwriting corresponds with that of Barton's surviving letters, and internal evidence is fully consistent with his authorship. Facing the first page of the journal is the notation, in a twentieth-century handwriting: "Rev. Thomas Barton author of this Journal was the Chaplain to General Forbes [signed:] G. M. Abbot 7/24/24." Admittedly late evidence, this is nonetheless the testimony of Barton's great-grandson. The journal was in fact preserved in his family. It evidently was inherited by his son William Barton, and by his grandson William P. C. Barton (1786-1856). The latter's daughter, Elizabeth Sergeant Barton (1815-1885), passed the journal on to her son George Maurice Abbott, who served as Librarian of the Library Company of Philadelphia. It was found

among the manuscripts of his daughter, Elizabeth Sergeant Abbott, and sold at auction in 1970, when it was purchased by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania with funds provided by The Dietrich Brothers Americana Corporation.¹³

Barton's journal of his military service ends abruptly with the entry for September 26, the grim account of an execution for desertion. The abruptness does not result from any damage to the manuscript; part of the final page is left blank. For some reason, it seems, the Reverend Mr. Barton simply stopped writing. The circumstances must be guessed at but it is possible that the journalist decided soon after the date of this final entry to terminate his military duties, and it is also possible that the execution, in which he was unpleasantly involved, influenced him in that decision. His clerical services, as he records them, had not been very extensive nor, one may believe, very rewarding. He had preached eight sermons, baptized three children, buried one soldier, visited the hospitals at least once, drawn up a will, and, finally, ministered to five condemned prisoners. Of eight Sundays that elapsed after his arrival at Raystown, he preached on six, five times at Raystown, once at Fort Cumberland. Of the other two Sundays, he makes no mention of services on August 6, and he records that the Highlanders' chaplain preached on September 24. If he was distressed by the callous manner in which the Virginia soldier was buried on August 19, he must have been far more troubled by his experience with the prisoners on September 24-26.

Whatever the date or the circumstances, he did return home to his frontier congregations. In the following year, however, he was transferred to Lancaster; and in May, 1760, the Reverend William Thomson replaced him for the congregations west of the Susquehanna. If Barton was at all disillusioned by his military experiences, he remained convinced of the rightness of his action. Writing on December 21, 1759, to the Secretary of the society that sponsored his work, he affirmed that "I went into the army for the reasons which I gave General Forbes in a Letter a Copy of which I enclose you with his answer. . . . I hope the Honble Society will not disapprove of this part of my conduct."¹⁴

¹³ I am indebted to Nicholas B. Wainwright, Director of the Society, for this information.

¹⁴ Perry, II, 282-283.

When the colonies declared their independence some years later, Barton was unwilling to take an oath of allegiance to the new government. With the permission of the Supreme Executive Council, he removed with his family to New York, where he died on May 25, 1780.

*Pennsylvania Historical and
Museum Commission*

WILLIAM A. HUNTER

*Journal of an Expedition to the Ohio, commanded
by His Excellency Brigadier-General Forbes;¹
in the Year of our Lord 1758*

FRIDAY, 7th of July, receiv'd the Governor's² Commission appointing me Chaplain to the 3^d Battalion of the Pennsylvania Regiment, commanded by Colonel Mercer;³ with a Letter from the Secretary⁴ apologizing for my not having the Preference of the other two.⁵

Wednesday, July 12th. Set off from my own House in York County,⁶ & reach'd Carlisle that Night, where I receiv'd the General's

¹ John Forbes, colonel of the 17th Regiment of Foot, had come to America in 1757 with Lord Loudoun, the newly appointed British commander in North America. In December of that year, William Pitt replaced Loudoun with Maj. Gen. James Abercromby, directed Maj. Gen. Jeffery Amherst to lead an attack on Louisbourg, and gave Forbes the southern command, with orders to attack Fort Duquesne. For a biographical sketch, see Alfred P. James, *Writings of General John Forbes* (Menasha, Wis., 1938), ix-xii.

² William Denny, lieutenant governor 1756-1759. His reform of the Pennsylvania troops, about the end of 1757, had merit, but he was in other respects an inept executive.

³ Hugh Mercer had served as major in Col. John Armstrong's 1st Battalion before being promoted to colonel of the new 3d Battalion.

⁴ Richard Peters, Provincial Secretary and secretary of the Provincial Council. See Hubertis Cummings, *Richard Peters: Provincial Secretary and Cleric, 1704-1776* (Philadelphia, 1944).

⁵ For the 1st Battalion, Charles Beatty was commissioned as of June 9; for the 2d, John Steel, as of June 10. Barton's commission was dated June 11, the dates conforming to the order of the battalions.

⁶ In the present Huntington Township, Adams County. As noted in the Introduction, Barton had been in Carlisle on July 7, though this is not indicated in his journal entry for that date.

Letter,⁷ with an Invitation to attend the Troops under his Command; & promising me his Protection & Encouragement.

Thursday, 13th. Waited on the General, & return'd him Thanks for the Honor he did me.

July 14th & 15th. Waited at Carlisle in Expectation of marching with the General.

Sunday July 16th. Preach'd to the Officers & C^a from Eccles: 8-11.⁸

July 17th 18th & 19th. Still waited for the General, who intended every Day to march,⁹ but was detain'd by Expresses coming frequently to him with disagreeable Accounts from General Abercrombie at Ticonderoga.¹⁰

Friday¹¹ July 20th. Being tir'd with waiting at Carlisle, set out for Rays-Town¹² in Company with Major Shippen¹³ escorted by a Detachment of the Virginia Light-Horse.¹⁴ A good Road through shallow barren Land much broken with Stones & little Hills led us to Shippensburg a small poor Town about 20 Miles from Carlisle, where we arriv'd the same Evening. Here we found Captain Hay¹⁵ with the Train of Artillery, & Captain M^cKenzie¹⁶ with 300 High-

⁷ Forbes to Barton, Carlisle, July 9; see the Introduction.

⁸ "Because sentence against an evil work is not executed speedily, therefore the heart of the sons of men is fully set in them to do evil." Perhaps Barton had in mind the French four-year occupation of Fort Duquesne.

⁹ On July 18 Barton wrote Richard Peters that "I intend to set off tomorrow. . . ." *Pennsylvania Archives*, First Series, III, 450-452.

¹⁰ Abercromby, Forbes' superior, attempted an invasion of Canada by way of Lake Champlain, but the campaign bogged down before Fort Ticonderoga.

¹¹ Correctly, Thursday; the error in days persists through July 24.

¹² Now Bedford. The name is deceptive; Forbes wrote, on July 10, that "in Raestown there is not one single house; The place having its name from one Rae, who designed to have made a plantation there several years ago. . . ." James, 140-141. John Ray, an Indian trader, had sold his claim to Gerrard (or Garret) Pendergrass, who settled there but was driven off by the Indians.

¹³ Joseph Shippen, Jr., was the son of Edward Shippen of Lancaster and the brother-in-law of Colonel Burd, under whom he had served at Fort Augusta. Major in Burd's 2d Battalion, he was brevet lieutenant colonel in the regiment. Some of his letters on the 1758 campaign have been published in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (cited hereinafter as *PMHB*), XXXVI (1912), from originals in the Society's possession.

¹⁴ Part of the troop of forty men drawn from the 1st Virginia Regiment and commanded by Robert Stewart, who was captain of a company in that regiment.

¹⁵ Capt. Lt. David Hay of the Royal Regiment of Artillery.

¹⁶ Probably Capt. Hugh McKenzie of the 1st Highland Battalion, which also included Capts. Alexander and Roderick McKenzie.

landers encamp'd on a low Piece of Ground on the East Side of the Town, call'd Dunbar's Encampment.¹⁷ At a little Distance from the Centre of the Town, is Fort-Morris,¹⁸ a trifling Piece of Work with 4 Bastions, & about 120 Feet Square: It does not appear that a Vauban¹⁹ had any Hand in laying it out. Lodg'd at the Sign of the Indian-Queen, kept by M^r Campbel,²⁰ where we met with good Entertainment.

*Saturday*²¹ *July 21st.* Preach'd this Morning at 8 O'Clock A.M. at the Request of the Commanding Officer,²² from 2 Chron: 14.-11.²³ Set off from this Place at 10, & in about 2 Hours reach'd Col: Chamber's,²⁴ where we met with a kind Reception, & a very generous & hospitable Entertainment. This Gentleman's House is surrounded by a Stockade of 300 Feet in Length, & 90 in Width. It has a pleasant Stream of Water runing thro' it, & is full of small Huts built by the Inhabitants, who fled there from the Ravages of the Enemy.²⁵ At a small Distance from the Fort are 2 curious Cataracts, call'd the

¹⁷ Col. Thomas Dunbar, of the 48th Regiment, who succeeded Braddock in command after the latter's defeat and death in July, 1755, led Braddock's troops on their subsequent march to Philadelphia, in the course of which they reached Shippensburg by August 17. Dunbar to Gov. Morris, *Colonial Records* (Harrisburg, 1851-1853), VI, 595.

¹⁸ One of two forts (the other was at Carlisle) ordered built by Gov. Robert Hunter Morris (for whom it was named). On receipt of the news of Braddock's defeat, it was regularly garrisoned by Pennsylvania troops after September, 1756. The site is on present Burd Street, in the northern part of town. William A. Hunter, *Forts on the Pennsylvania Frontier, 1753-1758* (Harrisburg, 1960), 450-463.

¹⁹ Sebastien le Prestre de Vauban (1633-1707), the French military engineer whose writings on fortification were classics.

²⁰ Francis Campbell, of whom Gov. Morris had written Gov. Horatio Sharpe, on Jan. 7 [1755], that George Croghan "informs me that there is one Francis Campbell, a Storekeeper at Shippensburg who was bred for the church as he has heard among the Roman Catholicks, but has the Character of an honest, inoffensive man. . . ." *Pennsylvania Archives*, First Series, II, 114. The letter is misdated 1754.

²¹ Correctly, Friday.

²² Presumably Capt. James Sharp of the 3d Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment. Sharp was ordered on June 18 to take post at Shippensburg, where he remained until July 23, when he joined Col. John Armstrong on his march to Raystown with the last Pennsylvania companies. Sharp was not among the officers who signed the July 4 petition, referred to in the Introduction, for a Presbyterian chaplain.

²³ ". . . help us, O LORD our God; for we rest on thee, and in thy name we go against this multitude. . . ."

²⁴ Benjamin Chambers, at the present Chambersburg, Franklin County. He had been a colonel in Franklin's Association of 1747-1748. *Pennsylvania Archives*, Fifth Series (Harrisburg, 1906), I, 24.

²⁵ Chambers' own account of this "private fort" is quoted in Hunter, 556.

Falling-Springs, which tumble down a Precipice into Canogocheaque. This Water is of such a Quality that Wood, Clay, Straws &C that lie any Time in it, are petrified, & sometimes incrusted with a hard Stone. M^r Chambers informed me that in digging a Pit for a Saw-Mill he found Snail-Shells quite whole above 15 Feet under Ground. This Place is distant from Shippensburg 10 Miles: The Road good, but the Land, thro' which it passes, not extraordinary. Set off from M^r Chambers's about 4 O'Clock, good Road, & some good Land, reach'd Fort Loudon²⁶ at 7. This Place is 14 Miles distant from the last mention'd. The Fort is a poor Piece of Work, irregularly built, & badly situated at the Bottom of a Hill Subject to Damps & noxious Vapours.

It has something like Bastions supported by Props, which if an Enemy should cut away, down tumbles Men & all. At little Distance from the Fort appears Parnel's-Nob, a round Hill of great Height. The Fort is properly a square Ridout of 120 feet. Here I found Captain Harding with 380 Royal Americans.²⁷ camp'd there all Night, & was well treated by the Officers.

*Sunday,*²⁸ *July 22d.* March'd about 8 O'Clock this Morning. Cross'd a Branch of Canogocheague Creek. Came to a Spring, where we sat down & eat some Bread & Cheese. Cut Locust Bushes for the Horses, & after resting about an Hour took Horse, & pursued our Journey to Fort Littleton²⁹ 18 Miles distant from Loudon, Where we arriv'd about 6 that Evening. The Road between these two Places is extremely bad. And Nothing to be seen but Mountains, & Hills, & Wrecks of Waggon, & Flower Casks &C^a. At Littleton we found

²⁶ Built in November, 1756, by Pennsylvania to replace a temporary post at McDowell's Mill (present Markes, Franklin County). Forbes, on July 10, described it and Fort Lyttelton as consisting of "only two or three houses each, inclosed with a Stockade of 100 feet square." James, 141. Named for the Earl of Loudoun, then the British commander in North America, the fort's site was one and a half-miles southeast of the present village of Ft. Loudon. It is now owned by the State and administered by the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. Hunter, 463-473. A drawing of a frontier post with bastions of the kind here described appears in *American Heritage*, XXII, No. 1 (December, 1970), 98.

²⁷ Capt. Ralph Harding was in command at Fort Loudoun about June 16 to July 23. This is the full strength of the four companies, which arrived at Raystown on July 27-28.

²⁸ Correctly, Saturday.

²⁹ Begun in November, 1755, at the present Fort Littleton, Fulton County, as one of four forts designed by Gov. Morris to form a defensive line west of the Susquehanna and named for Sir George Lyttelton, then chancellor of the exchequer. A purported plan published in William H. Egle, *An Illustrated History of the Commonwealth . . .* (Harrisburg, 1876), is an altered plan of Fort Ligonier. See Hunter, 410-424.

Captains McPherson & Hamilton³⁰ encamp'd with 2 Companies of the Pennsylvania New Levies. This Fort is a regular & well-plan'd Square Stockade of 126 Feet. The Situation pleasant & advantageous. Remain'd here all Night, & lay with Major Shippen upon the Ground in a Soldiers-Tent. Great Rains & Thunder before Day—found myself all wet when I awak'd in the Morning.

*Monday*³¹ *July 23d.* Set out at 10 O'Clock. Something like a level Country appears, & good Road to Sidling-hill, to the top of which you ascend after many Windings & Turnings. Sidling-Hill distant from Littleton 9 Miles. The Road now proves bad for 4 or 5 Miles. Now the Road gets better, some good Land. Met a prodigious Number of Waggons conveying Provisions, Amunition & C^a to Rays Town. Halted at a Spring. Made some Punch, eat Bread & Cheese. Set out again & reach'd Juniata Crossing³² that Night, distant from Sidling-Hill 9 Miles. Here we found Captain Morgan³³ encamp'd with some Companies of the Pennsylvania Regiment. A small Fort just erected, & the Ford of Juniata piqueted in, in Order to protect Waggons & C^a in passing. Stay'd at this Place all Night. Lay without a Bed, or any Covering but a Single Blanket.³⁴

Tuesday,³⁵ *July 24th* March'd about 8 O'Clock this Morning. The Road good. Some extraordinary Land & rich Bottoms, with here & there a little Hill. Met with fine Grass about 4 Miles from the Crossing, turn'd out our Horses to feed upon it. After resting 2 Hours, pursu'd our Journey to Snake-Spring,³⁶ where we cut Locust-

³⁰ Capts. Robert McPherson and Thomas Hamilton of the 3d Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment.

³¹ Correctly, Sunday.

³² West of the present Breezewood, Bedford County, north of the point at which the present highway crosses the Raystown Branch of the Juniata. Bouquet had stopped there June 21–24 on his march to Raystown.

³³ Capt. Jacob Morgan of Col. Burd's 2d Battalion had commanded at Fort Lebanon, near the present Auburn, Schuylkill County, 1756–1758. Morgan now commanded at the Crossings, as Barton's journal shows, at least until July 24; he probably was relieved soon afterward.

³⁴ Fort Juniata, the first post constructed by Forbes' troops on their advance toward Fort Duquesne, was laid out on June 21 by engineer Capt. Harry Gordon. A rough plan, apparently representing preliminary plans for the fort, is published in S. K. Stevens, *et al.*, *The Papers of Henry Bouquet* (Harrisburg, 1951–), II, after page 128 (referred to hereinafter as *BP*, II).

³⁵ Correctly, Monday. With "Tuesday July 25th," which follows, Barton resumes the correct dating.

³⁶ Now Snake Spring Valley Run, which enters the Raystown Branch from the north, about one and a half-miles west of Everett, Bedford County.

Bushes for the Horses, & refresh'd ourselves with Punch, Bread, Cheese & Dry Venison. After a Stay of about an Hour, set out again for Rays Town distant from the Crossing 12 Miles, Where we arriv'd in good Health about 4 OClock in the Evening. Waited on the Commanding Officer³⁷ by whom I was receiv'd in a very friendly Manner. All the Officers treated me likewise with much Respect. Here I found about 1,800 Men, a fine Fort,³⁸ & Store-Houses, with two Encampments surrounded by Breast-Works.

Tuesday July 25th. Arriv'd a Number of Pack-Horses with Flower & C, escorted by 30 Highlanders & a Company of Pennsylvania New Levies.

Wednesday, July 26th. Nothing worth Notice happen'd this Day.³⁹

Thursday—July 27th. A Number of Pack Horses arriv'd, escorted by 40 Royal Americans under the Command of a Lieutenant. This Day arriv'd an Express from Carlisle.

Friday 28th July. 4 Companies of Royal Americans arriv'd, which, with the 40 that came Yesterday, make 380.⁴⁰ Arriv'd 2 Companies of the Pennsylvania New Levies. Colonel Burd set out to view the Roads with a Lieut: & 25 of the Light Horse.⁴¹

Saturday 29th July. Arriv'd in Camp Sir John St Clair⁴² as did likewise Colonel Washington⁴³ escorted by Captain Stewart⁴⁴ & Part

³⁷ Col. Henry Bouquet, who had arrived there with some 800 men on June 24.

³⁸ Begun June 28, it was known as Raystown (Reas Town) until Dec. 1, 1758, when Forbes named it in honor of the Duke of Bedford.

³⁹ On July 26 Bouquet wrote Forbes that "I am expecting some pack horses any day. As yet there has come only a brigade of ninety, very poor. . . ." *BP*, II, 278. These presumably are the brigades that arrived on July 25 and 27.

⁴⁰ Apparently the total effective strength of the four companies of Col. Bouquet and Capts. Ralph Harding, Francis Landers, and Thomas Jocelyn. They had left Fort Loudoun on July 23, under Harding's command.

⁴¹ Col. James Burd, 2d Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment. Bouquet had written Forbes on July 26 that "I have asked Colonel Burd to go tomorrow with Rhor to the summit of the mountain (Allegheny) in order to determine the straightest line from here to the foot of the incline. . . ." *BP*, II, 277. For engineer Ensign Charles Rohr's report of the reconnoiter, see *ibid.*, 294.

⁴² Lieutenant colonel in the 60th (Royal American) Regiment, serving as deputy quartermaster general, an appointment (overslaugh) that properly exempted him from exercising command. He had left Carlisle on July 23. *BP*, II, 267.

⁴³ Col. George Washington, commanding the 1st Virginia Regiment. On July 25 he had written Bouquet suggesting a conference at Raystown; Bouquet, replying two days later, had suggested meeting at the blockhouses midway between Raystown and Fort Cumberland. *BP*, II, 274, 281; for the blockhouses, see also Barton's journal entry for September 6.

⁴⁴ Capt. Robert Stewart.

of his Troop of Light-Horse. He was conducted in by Col: Bouquet who went out to meet him with a Party of the Pennsylvania Troop.⁴⁵

Sunday July 30th 1758. Preach'd from 2 Chron: 14-11⁴⁶ to about 3000 Men in the Presence of Col. Bouquet, Governor Glenn,⁴⁷ & all the Officers. This Evening Col: Washington with 2 Companies of the Virginia Regiment set off for Fort Cumberland to provide Regimentals [*uniforms*].

Monday July 31st 1758. About 100 Men being Part of the 2 Companies of North Carolina Troops arriv'd under Command of Major Waddle.⁴⁸ An Alarm at 7 O'clock P.M. When a Soldier belonging to Major Lewis⁴⁹ of Virginia came running into Camp wounded in the Head, Arms, Thighs, Hand, & Leg. He reports that being in Search of Horses about 4 Miles from Camp, 3 Indians appear'd to him who endeavor'd to shoot him; but their Guns Flashing, he shot at the first whom he saw drop. Upon which the 2^d ran up to him with a Sword & Tomahawk & strove to kill him. But he warded off the Blows, & knock'd down his Antagonist, & gave him several Thumps with the Butt of his Gun, which he thinks near finish'd him. Before he had Time to perfect the good Work begun, the 3^d fell upon him with a Sword, Knife, & Tomahawk, & wounded him in the Manner above mention'd. He struggled with & knock'd down this Fellow, but hearing a rustling in the Bushes he was oblig'd to run, & got into Camp in a bloody Condition.

Tuesday August 1st, 1758. A Party who went out this Morning with the above Person say, that they found his Hat cut thro' in many Places. That they discover'd Tracks & Blood, & found Some-

⁴⁵ The 1st and 2d Battalions of the Pennsylvania Regiment each had a troop of light horse, modeled after the Virginia troop. Capt. William Thompson commanded that in the 1st Battalion; Capt. John Hambricht, that in the 2d Battalion.

⁴⁶ Note that this was the same text, if not the same sermon, used at Shippensburg on July 21.

⁴⁷ James Glen, Governor of South Carolina, 1738-1756, was a relative of Forbes. He volunteered his help in dealing with the southern Indians who were in demand as scouts and irregulars. Forbes had sent him from Philadelphia to Fort Cumberland to negotiate with the Cherokee Indians, after which he had come to Raystown on July 13. Forbes' will, dated Feb. 13, 1759, named Glen as executor.

⁴⁸ This day Bouquet wrote Forbes that "Two North Carolina companies are arriving at the camp, reduced to 96 men, including countless invalids; and tomorrow we shall have the third from Cumberland 46 men strong." *BP*, II, 292. Maj. Hugh Waddell's and Capt. John Paine's companies had marched up from Fort Loudout, Pa.

⁴⁹ Maj. Andrew Lewis, of Washington's 1st Virginia Regiment. The episode that follows was reported to Forbes by Bouquet in a letter of this same date. *BP*, II, 293.

thing like the Impression of a Person in Agony. They & the Cherokees who went with them return'd fully convinc'd that the Fellow reported Facts, & behav'd like a Briton. Sir John S^t Clair & Colonel Burd set off this Day with 200 Men to reinforce Major Armstrong⁵⁰ who was sent some Time ago to take Possession of a Post over the Allegeny Mountains, call'd Drowning Creek.⁵¹ A Number of Pack-Horses loaded with Provisions, Tools &C were sent with them. A Party of Maryland Troops consisting of about 190 Men arriv'd in Camp under Command of Capt: Dagworthy.⁵²

Wednesday, August 2d. Five Indians, who set out from hence some Time ago in order to take a View of Fort Du Quesne, return, & report that they lay near that Place a considerable Time in Hopes of taking a Prisoner, but that no Person came out of the Fort. That the Day they came away some Troops march'd in, but can't give any distinct Account of their Numbers.⁵³

This Afternoon a Party consisting of 40 Men arriv'd from Fort-Augusta commanded by Lieut: Broadhead.⁵⁴

Thursday, August 3d. Colonel Burd who had been out viewing the Road-Cutters, return'd with a small Party into Camp, & brought with [him] some large Goose-berries from the Allegeny Mountain, where they grow naturally.⁵⁵

⁵⁰ Maj. George Armstrong of Col. Mercer's 3d Battalion was previously a captain in his brother John Armstrong's battalion. On July 23 Bouquet had sent Maj. Armstrong with one hundred men to reconnoiter the way toward Fort Duquesne and to set up a post between the Allegheny Mountain and Laurel Hill as a base for opening the road. Unwilling to rely on Armstrong's judgment, Bouquet sent the present party (which included engineer Rohr) to review Armstrong's report.

⁵¹ The present Quemahoning Creek. Maj. Armstrong built a breastwork at Kickenapaulin's, near the southern end of the present Quemahoning Reservoir. It was garrisoned until about September 10.

⁵² Capt. John Dagworthy was later designated lieutenant colonel by Forbes to command the Maryland companies. Barton refers to him by his new rank in entries for August 29 and later. See note 120.

⁵³ The report of these (Cherokee) Indians is summarized by Bouquet in a letter of August 3 to Forbes. *BP*, II, 313.

⁵⁴ Charles Brodhead, who had served on the eastern Pennsylvania frontier, was an officer in Col. Armstrong's 1st Battalion. Capt. Levi Trump, of Burd's 2d Battalion, wrote Gov. Denny on July 19 from Fort Augusta that "General Forbes . . . ordered me to Draught forty of the best men belonging to Col. Burds Batallion, and send them to him with Two Officers, (viz.) Lieut Brodhead, & Ensign Holler." *Pennsylvania Archives*, First Series, III, 480.

⁵⁵ Burd had set out August 1, as noted in the entry for that date. His return is reported in Bouquet to Forbes, August 3 (*BP*, II, 311), and Bouquet to Washington, August [3] (*ibid.*, 343, where dated c. August 9).

Arriv'd a Company from N: Carolina by Way of Winchester & Fort Cumberland.⁶⁶

Friday, August 4th. Arriv'd Colonel Armstrong with about 40 Men.⁶⁷

Saturday, August 5th. A Detachment of 523 private Men, 20 Serjeants, 20 Corporals, 3 Drummers march'd out of Camp with 3 Day's Provision, Commanded by L. Colonel Stevens,⁶⁸ Major Lewis, 10 Captains, & 20 Subalterns, with Orders to proceed to the Road Cutters.

This Afternoon arriv'd the Artillery⁶⁹ consisting of 6 Brass-Cannon, 12 Pounders, 4 D° of 6, one 8-Inch Mortar, Two 8-Inch Hoitzers, 2 small D°, and 12 Cohorns; With 138 Waggons, 70 belonging to the Train, 20 to the Hospital, and the Rest Loaded with Provisions &C.

Sunday, August 6th. By an Express from Juniata we have Accounts, that 2 Waggoners on their Return from hence were kill'd & scalp'd by a Party of Indians, between the Crossing of Juniata & Fort Littleton, & 2 made Prisoners.⁶⁰ Whereupon a Party of 30 White Men & 15 Indians were detach'd towards Franks-Town⁶¹ in Order if possible to head the Enemy, & 'tis expected some of them will proceed to the Ohio.

Captain Patterson,⁶² who set out the 27th of last Month with 5 Men, to take a View of Fort Du Quesne, returns this Day, & reports that he lay some Time before that Place, but that the Fogs, which

⁶⁶ This was Capt. Andrew Bailey's company; see note 48.

⁶⁷ Col. John Armstrong, of the 1st Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment, had left Carlisle on July 20, "with the last of the Provincials, being part of the three Companies, Consisting of about thirty-five [men] Each." *Pennsylvania Archives*, First Series, III, 483.

⁶⁸ Lt. Col. Adam Stephen of Washington's 1st Virginia Regiment took post at Edmund's Swamp, northeast of the present Buckstown, Somerset County. See Bouquet Orderly Book, *BP*, II, 671, under date of August 4.

⁶⁹ Bouquet reported its arrival in his letter of August 8 to Forbes. *BP*, II, 333. Col. Armstrong had accompanied it from Shippensburg to Fort Loudoun, arriving there on July 23. *Ibid.*, 272.

⁶⁰ Bouquet gives fuller details in his letter of August 8. *Ibid.*, 332. Three sutlers' wagons, unescorted, were attacked east of Sideling Hill.

⁶¹ A former Indian settlement near the present Hollidaysburg, Blair County. For the detachment's orders, see Bouquet Orderly Book, under date of August 6: "Two Subalterns & two Parties of 15 Volunteers each of the Virginia & Pennsylvania Regiments to go immediately out with the Indians & to carry Provisions for 8 days in Rice & Flour." *Ibid.*, 672.

⁶² Capt. James Patterson of Col. Armstrong's 1st Battalion. For his report on the present mission, see *ibid.*, 327-329.

were very thick during his Stay, prevented his making any valuable Discoveries; That he saw no Person, nor heard no Drums tho' he was within a Quarter of a Mile of the Fort; That a Cannon was fir'd every day about 12 OClock; that he saw no Cows, Horses, or any other Sort of Cattle; nor even the Tracks of any; That he saw a large Number of Battoes on the opposite Side of the River, but as there were great Freshes, he could not get over to make Discoveries there; He adds that the Enemy have cut down large Trees all round the Fort to prevent the Approach of our Troops. And that upon discovering the Tracks of at least 100 Men bending their Course towards the Frontiers, he was oblig'd to retreat sooner than he expected.

Monday, August 7th. Sir John St Clair & Colonel Burd return'd with a small Party from the Allegeny-Mountain.⁶³ Sir John brought from thence a Piece of Stone-Coal, which appears to be as good as any in England. A small Party of Indians with 6 White Men set off this Day towards Du Quesne.⁶⁴ Baptiz'd a Child.

Tuesday, August 8th. Arriv'd an Express with Accounts, that the Indians had attack'd a Party near Fort Littleton, & had wounded 2 Men, but were repuls'd.⁶⁵ About 200 Men return'd from Road-Cutting. 200 of the Virginia Troops arriv'd from Fort-Cumberland with a Number of Waggons for Baggage, Provisions &C^a.

This Morning before Day Light, about 40 Cherokee-Indians who had liv'd here for some Time, & had receiv'd the best of Treatment, besides very valuable Presents, basely deserted us, without acquainting any person with their Design.⁶⁶

The Commanding Officer led out the Troops this Afternoon a Mile into the Woods, & there exercis'd them in Marching, & Counter-marching &C.

Wednesday, August 9th. This Afternoon spent in the Field as Yesterday.

⁶³ Their return is noted in Bouquet's letter of August 8 to Forbes, previously cited.

⁶⁴ It was headed by Ensign Colby Chew of the 1st Virginia Regiment, as appears by the journal entry for August 20.

⁶⁵ A convoy coming to Raystown, escorted by thirteen men, was attacked west of Sideling Hill. Reported in Bouquet's letter of August 8, previously referred to (*BP*, II, 332).

⁶⁶ Bouquet's letter of August 8 sets their number at fifty. For the report of these Indians' arrival at Fort Loudoun, on August 10, see Capt. Lewis Ourry to Bouquet, August 11. *Ibid.*, 358-359.

Thursday, August 10th. The Virginian Troops who lay here some Time, with a Company of the Lower-County-Troops, march'd to join Col: Stevens on the Road.⁶⁷ This Afternoon was spent in exercising the Troops, in running & firing in the Indian Manner.

Friday, August 11th. 240 Pack-Horses set out with Flour for Major Armstrong & his Party at Drowning-Creek.⁶⁸ It appears from the Commissary's Books, that 4030 Persons draw Provisions this Day. The troops are led to the Field as Yesterday, & exercis'd in the same Manner. Arriv'd an Express from the General, with Accounts, that Admiral Hawke had met with the French-Fleet, & taken several Men of War, & dispers'd the Rest.⁶⁹ Heavy Rains this Night.

Saturday, August 12th. Arriv'd this Day 10 Waggon from Fort Frederick in Maryland, with 60 Barrels of Irish-Beef. A Corporal and 3 Light-Horse arriv'd this Evening with Letters to Colonel Bouquet from the General.⁷⁰

Sunday, August 13th. A cold Morning. A large Piece of Ground sow'd with Turnip-Seed, & harrow'd in this Day.⁷¹ At 3 O'Clock, the Troops are led to the Field as usual, & exercis'd in this Manner— Viz.— They are form'd into 4 Columns 2 Men deep, paralel to, and distant from, each other about 50 Yards: After marching some Distance in this Position, they fall into one Rank entire forming a Line of Battle with great Ease & Expedition. The 2 Front-Men of each Column stand fast, & the 2 Next split equally

⁶⁷ On this date Bouquet wrote to Washington that "Cap^t Posey's Company is marched upon the Road, and as the Small Pox broke out some days ago in your Reg^t I have Sent alth Col. Stephens over Allegheny Hill." *BP*, II, 350. Capt. John Posey commanded a company of artificers in the 2d Virginia Regiment. Lt. Col. Stephen was at Edmund's Swamp, where these Virginians joined him on the evening of August 12. *Ibid.*, 363.

⁶⁸ See the journal entry for August 1, with notes 50 and 51.

⁶⁹ On April 3 Vice Admiral Sir Edward Hawke had found a French fleet, loaded with supplies for Louisbourg, near La Rochelle on the west French coast and had inflicted heavy damage on it. References to the encounter appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for July 27 and August 3. Forbes' letter of August 9 to Bouquet (*BP*, II, 344-345), presumably carried by this express, does not mention this news, which may have reached Carlisle too late for inclusion.

⁷⁰ Probably the letters dated August 10 from Francis Halkett and Lewis Ourry published in *BP*, II, 346-347. The former refers to enclosed papers, probably including the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, and the latter reports Admiral Hawke's success.

⁷¹ In the manuscript the words "this Day" are written large, presumably to note the impropriety of doing this work on a Sunday.

to Right & Left, & so continue alternately till the whole Line is form'd. They are then divided into Platoons, each Platoon consisting of 20 Men, & fire 3 Rounds; the right-Hand Man of each Platoon beginning the Fire, & then the left-hand Man; & so on Right & Left alternately till the Fire ends in the Center: Before it reaches this Place, the Right & Left are ready again. And by This Means an incessant Fire kept up. When they fir'd six Rounds in this Manner, they make a sham Pursuit with Shrieks & Halloos in the Indian Way, but falling into much Confusion; they are again drawn up into Line of Battle, & fire 3 Rounds as before; After this each Battalion marches in Order to Camp.

Baptiz'd a little Girl of 10 Years of Age, the Daughter of a Soldier.

Monday, August 14th. This Morning the Tents &C were cover'd with a Hoar-Frost; & some say there was Ice. It is so excessive Cold, that we are oblig'd to make large Fires in & round the Encampments to moderate the Air.

It is reported in Camp that 6 Captains with 70 Men set off from Fort Cumberland the 11th Ins^t to make Discoveries of the Enemy's Proceedings at Du Quesne.⁷²

This evening Sir Allen MacClain with another Captain, 5 Subalterns, & 200 Highlanders & Royal-Americans marchd towards the Allegeny to join Col: Stevens on the Road.⁷³ A Party of Carolinians were order'd to Juniata to relieve Captain M^cKnight.⁷⁴

Tuesday, August 15th. A wet Morning, & continued raining most Part of the Day. Arriv'd this Evening from Fort Augusta M^r Dunlap,⁷⁵ & brought with him Captain Ambust⁷⁶ the Son of

⁷² Washington wrote from Fort Cumberland on August 13 that "I detachd Captⁿ M^cKenzie with 4 Officers & 75 Rank and file. . . ." *BP*, II, 364. The officer named is Capt. Robert McKenzie of the 1st Virginia Regiment.

⁷³ Capt. MacLean commanded one of the three "additional companies" of the Highland Battalion. By August 16 he was at the foot of the Allegheny Mountain. The other captain was perhaps Alexander McKenzie, of the Battalion, but see note 16. *BP*, II, 372-373. Orders of August 14 specified "Two Capt^s 5 Sub^s 6 Serj^s & 200 Rank & File, no Drummer; of the R. Americans & Highlanders to march over the Allegheny [Mountain]. . ." *Ibid.*, 677.

⁷⁴ Orders of August 13: "One Cap^t two Subalterns 2 Serj^s 2 Corp^s & 50 private of the North Carolina Troops are to march To Morrow Morning to Juniata to relieve the Garrison there, which is to march to Rays Town. . ." *BP*, II, 677. The captain was Andrew Bailey.

⁷⁵ James Dunlap. See Forbes to Bouquet, Carlisle, August 9, and Bouquet to Forbes, August 18. *BP*, II, 344, 378.

⁷⁶ Otherwise Hambus or Ambrose. Barton errs in identifying him as a son of Teedyuscung. There were four Indians in the party: Hambus, Teedyuscung's son (probably the one known

Teedyuscung the famous Delaware Chief, accompanied by 2 other Delaware Indians. The Cherokees who were here receiv'd them into Friendship by smoaking a Pipe with them, & giving them Victuals.

Wednesday, August 16th. A Dark cold Morning. Colonel Armstrong with the 1st Battalion of the Pennsylvanian Regiment march'd to reinforce the Troops⁷⁷ at Loyal-Hanning.⁷³

Thursday August 17th. Receiv'd Advice that the General on his March from Carlisle to this Place, was taken ill at Shippensburg, & relaps'd into the Flux, which confines him to his Bed.⁷⁹ The commanding Officer receives the Public Prints⁸⁰ this Day, from whence we learn that the French come to the South Side of Lake George & have form'd a regular Encampment, & had 300 Battoes on the Lake. We also learn that Major Rogers⁸¹ had march'd with 2000 Men to make a Diversion in our Favor. We further learn that a Number of Spaniards with a New Governor & C were arriv'd at Augustine, & were there fortifying themselves contrary to a solemn Treaty.

Friday, August 18th. A fine clear Morning & a Warm Day. At 4 O'clock P.M. Major Armstrong,⁸² Captain Callender,⁸³ & Captain Shelby⁸⁴ a Volunteer from Maryland, with 2 Volunteer Lieutenants

as John Jacob), and two others. For Teedyuscung, see Anthony F. C. Wallace, *King of the Delawares: Teedyuscung* (Philadelphia, 1949). The Delaware and Cherokee tribes were not on friendly terms.

⁷⁷ Orders of August 14: "The 1st Battalion of the Penns^a Regiment to March to Morrow Morning." *BP*, II, 678. This departure evidently was delayed a day.

⁷⁸ The subsequent site of Fort Ligonier, now Ligonier, Westmoreland County. No troops were stationed there at this date, though engineer Ensign Charles Rohr had been sent on August 15 to select a site for a post there. Col. Armstrong's men worked at opening the road between the Allegheny Mountain and Laurel Hill.

⁷⁹ See Forbes to Bouquet, Shippensburg, August 15. *BP*, II, 366-368. He was detained there until September 6.

⁸⁰ The *Pennsylvania Gazette* for August 10 includes the reports that follow, date-lined New York, August 7, and citing as authorities a letter of August 2 from Albany and an express from South Carolina.

⁸¹ Robert Rogers, captain of a company of rangers operating in the vicinity of Lake Champlain.

⁸² Maj. George Armstrong had returned a day or two before from "Drowning Creek," when he delivered a letter of August 15 from Lt. Col. Stephen. *BP*, II, 370.

⁸³ Capt. Robert Callender of Col. Armstrong's 1st Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment.

⁸⁴ First Lt. Evan Shelby in Capt. Alexander Beall's company resigned May 31, 1758, to raise his company of volunteers. Thirty of his men arrived at Fort Loudoun on August 4. *BP*, II, 317-318.

(Kidd & Stoddart)⁸⁵ & 50 Men, 25 of which are Volunteers with Shelby, all set off together to make further Discoveries of the Enemy's Number, Strength, & Operations at Du Quesne: And it is said by some Persons that an attack upon that Place this Season chiefly depends upon the Intelligence they shall bring.⁸⁶

Saturday, August 19th. A Clear, sharp Morning, & a warm Day. Colonel Bouquet accompanied by many Gentlemen, & escorted by a Party of Light-Horse set out to view the new Road over the Allegeny-Mountains. The same Day they return, & report that the Road far exceeded their Expectations, & that some Waggons had already pass'd the Mountain, each carrying 20^c Weight.⁸⁷

Buried a Virginian Soldier this Day. He was launch'd into a little Hole out of a Blanket, & there left naked. And when I remonstrated against the Inhumanity as well as Indecency of it, a Serjeant inform'd me that he had Orders not to return without the Blanket. Upon which I got some small Bushes cut, & thrown over him, till I perform'd the Service.

Near 400 Persons are now in the Hospital, sick of Fluxes, Diarrhoas, Agues, Fevers, Small-Pox &C.

Sunday, August 20th. Preach'd before the Commanding Officer & all the Troops from these Words in Jeremiah 23-10—"Because of Swearing the Land mourneth." After Sermon Baptiz'd the Child of a Soldier.

Arriv'd last Night Ensign Colby Chew of the 1st Virginia Regiment, who set off from hence with a Party of White Men & Indians on the 7th Instant to make Discoveries at Fort Du Quesne, & produces his Journal in the following Words:⁸⁸ "Monday, August 7th Set out from Rays Town by Order of Colonel Bouquet with a Party of Indians & white Men to make Discoveries of the Strength &

⁸⁵ First Lt. Thomas Stoddart resigned May 31 from Capt. Francis Ware's company to hold the same rank under Capt. Shelby; John Kidd, ensign in Capt. John Dagworthy's company, resigned June 29 to become second lieutenant under Shelby.

⁸⁶ Maj. Armstrong's return and his lack of success are recorded in the journal entry for August 30. See also Bouquet to Governor [Denny], August 31, *BP*, II, 450-451.

⁸⁷ For Bouquet's report on his inspection of the road, see Bouquet to Forbes, August 20, *BP*, II, 391, and to Washington, August 21, *ibid.*, 404.

⁸⁸ Another copy of Chew's report, differing in a few words, has been published in *BP*, II, 400-403. The original, in the Library of Congress' George Washington Papers, appears in Stanislaus Murray Hamilton, *Letters to Washington* (Boston, 1899), III, 39-43.

Situation of Fort Du Quesne. Proceeded this Night as far as the Shawanes Cabbins, about 8 Miles, S.80 W.

"Tuesday the 8th continued our Course along the old trading-Path. Cross'd the Alleghany-Ridge, & encamp't at Edmond's Swamp, 12 Miles—N. 70 W.

"Wednesday 9th March'd about 9 Miles N. 60 W. to Quamehony-Creek, at which Place we continued Thursday & Friday the 10th & 11th Proceeded early in the Morning. Cross'd the Laurel Ridge, & arriv'd at an old Encamp^t at the Loyal Hannan Town, 15 Miles N. 55 W.

"Saturday 12th continued our Journey along the old trading-Path for 10 or 12 Miles; or for the most Part along the low Grounds of Loyal Hannan, which sometimes turn'd off the River, & cross'd some Ridges & the Points of Hills. The high Land is well timber'd; the low Grounds on the River, & in general on all the Creeks very thick & bushy. Discover'd this Day some fresh Tracks of Indians, 15 Miles N-60 W.

"Sunday the 13th. March'd very early, & continued till 10 O'Clock, when the Indians discovering fresh Tracks of the Enemy, halted to conjure. The Low Grounds still thick & bushy. Sent out Scouts, who stay'd till Dark; which oblig'd us to encamp there all Night. The Scouts return, & report, that the Enemy had gone on directly towards Du Quesne. About an Hour before Sun-Set, heard the Report of 12 Cannon (as we imagin'd) at the French-Fort, 5 Miles N. 80, W.

"Monday, 14th. Continued our March & sent out Scouts, who return without discovering any Tracts, except those that went along the Path, which cross'd over many Ridges well timber'd. Heard the Firing of several Guns. Our Course 7 Miles, near W^t.

"Tuesday, 15th. March'd very early, & at about 8 Miles from last Encampment, got into a large Path coming from the Nor'ward into the old trading Path, where we discover'd the Tracts of a large Number of Indians going both Ways. Several Horses, some of which were shod, pass'd along this Road Yesterday towards Du Quesne. We are of Opinion that the Guns which we heard Yesterday were fir'd by some of these Parties. The Path is good: The Ridges low & well timber'd; but all the Branches very thick with Crab-Trees & white Thorn; 12 Miles W. The Provisions being near spent, the

Indians held a Council of War, in which it was determin'd that all, except 5 Indians, Serjeant Vaughan & myself, should return.

“Wednesday, 16th. Proceeded on our Way, being now only 7 in Number, & arriv'd at a Place where a larg Party of Indians (I believe about 100 in Number) had been encamp'd about 10 Days before. They clear'd about 5 or 6 Feet Square very clean & left there 5 Pieces of Bark with a Pipe full of Tobacco on each Piece. This Place distant from our last Encampment about 6 Miles: The Path but indifferent, crossing many Ridges: The Course about N.80.W.

“N.B.: The Hills are lost in this Place; And we find a plain level Country from hence to Du Quesne. Here we quit the old trading-Path, & march'd 3 Miles N.W. Then turn'd S.W. Cross'd the Path, & kept a Course S.70 W^t., till we were within 2 Miles of Du Quesne. Turn'd to the N^o. of W., & came to an old Indian Town⁸⁹ on Ohio about 1½ Mile off the Fort, where I had a good Prospect up & down the River. From hence we discover'd some Cattle grazing on an Island down the River, & hid ourselves in a Thicket, till the Indians by Magic & Conjuraton pry'd into our Fate; after which we advanc'd within a ¾ of a Mile of the Fort; Then turn'd S.E. & ascended a Stony Ridge, when the Chief Warrior took his conjuring Implements, & ty'd them about the Neck of 3 Indians, & told them they could not be hurt. Round my Neck he ty'd an Otter's Skin, in which the Conjuring Tools had been kept: And round the Serjeant's Neck he ty'd a Bag of Paint that had been kept with them in the Bagg. He then assur'd us that we were proof against Balls, for that those Things would protect us. He then order'd us to strip off to our Britch Clouts & Moccasons; shook Hands with us, & bid us go on & fight like Men, for Nothing could annoy us. The first View I had of the Fort was from the Banks of the Ohio, but at a great Distance. We saw a Battoe & two Cannoos, in which were Indians fishing. We were at this Time in a Pasture fenced in with Trees cut one on another. We discover'd by the Tracts that this Pasture (the furthest Part of which is not above ¾ of a Mile from the Fort) was much frequented by Indians. Nevertheless I continued in the Pasture, from whence I could make no great Discoveries, except of the Number of Tents, till about Sun-Set; At which Time I inform'd the Indians

⁸⁹ Shannopin's Town was named for a Delaware chief who died before 1751. “Old” in this usage means “former” or “abandoned.”

that I was desirous they would accompany me to the Top of a Ridge that ran directly towards the Fort: But they dislik'd the Proposal, & refus'd my Request; being in great Hopes of getting Scalps; However seeing me determin'd to go, & having proceeded on towards the Place, they follow'd me. From the Top of this Ridge I had an extraordinary good View of the Fort. Scarce $\frac{1}{2}$ a Mile from it 50 or 60 Tents were pitch'd on the River Ohio: And on the Monangahela there were several Houses, about 100 Yards from the Fort. In this River I could discover no Battoes or Cannoes; Nor could I discover any new Works about the Fort. I imagine the Men parade in the Fort as I saw them going in at Retreat-Beating; and am of Opinion the Number of French-Men do not exceed 300. The Indians kept a continual hooping & hallooing; but I could not discern their Camp; unless the Tents mention'd above were for them, which I judg'd were design'd for them from the first; for the People which I saw there appear'd by their Looks, Noise & C^a to be Indians. I could see no Sign of a Camp or any Buildings on the other Side of the Rivers. After Dark the Indians got to Singing & Dancing; & by their Noise, I judge them to be about 50 in Number; all which the Cherokees inform'd me were Shawanese.

“As I have taken a Draught of the Fort & Place, as well as I could upon a separate Paper, I shall make no Mention of it here.⁹⁰ This Day's March, had we kept the Path, would have been about 12 Miles;⁹¹ The course about N. 80 W. The Ohio runs about S-20 W. The Monangahela at the Mouth runs near E. From the Top of this Ridge, I remov'd to another Place nearer the Monangahela, but could make no further Discoveries.

“From this Place we return'd back to the Head-Warrior; & after some Consultation agreed to return Home; Upon which we march'd about a Mile & encamp'd near the Old-trading-Path. We heard the Indians singing & dancing all Night.

“*Thursday the 17th.* At the Dawn of Day we began our March, which we continued very fast till one O'Clock; in which Time we travell'd near 30 Miles, & overtook the Party which we order'd back when our Provisions grew scarce. We then halted to refresh ourselves,

⁹⁰ This map accompanies the manuscript report in the Washington Papers, but has not been published with it.

⁹¹ The copy published in *BP*, II, 403, has, incorrectly, “42 miles.”

after which we continued our March together; & having advanc'd 12 Miles farther, we encamp'd for that Night. Within 2 Miles of Our Encampment we discover'd some fresh Tracks coming from the Westward.

"Friday 18th. Pursued our March, following the Tracks which we discover'd last Night. The low Grounds & Branches, which I made Mention of in the former Part of this Journal, are much deprest, liable to be overflow'd, & consequently very moist & soft; So that I am afraid a Road through them will be but indifferent for Carriages. We follow'd the tracks till Night & encamp'd within 4 Miles of Major Armstrong's Post at Quimahony-Creek.

"Saturday the 19th, March'd early in the Morning, & arriv'd in Camp, where we found it was Ensign Allan's Party that we track'd; And that they had arriv'd in Camp the Night before."⁹²

Monday, August 21st. The Accounts of General Abercrombie's Retreat confirm'd this Day;⁹³ His Character & Behaviour is openly traduc'd, & it is said that he has been dragged thro' the Streets of New York, & burnt in Effigie. As it is yet uncertain in Camp, whether this be owing to some Misrepresentation to the Populace, or bad Conduct in himself, Our Officers seem to mention it with Caution & Prudence. Lieutenant Hodgson⁹⁴ of the Lower Counties on Delaware arrives from Fort Cumberland with 30 Men belonging to that Government.

Tuesday, 22d. Arriv'd from Fort Cumberland the Remainder of the Maryland Troops commanded by Captains Alexander & Joshua Bell, & Captain Ware.⁹⁵ They report that 2 Indians arriv'd at Fort Cumberland a little before they left it with 2 Scalps, which they took near Fort Du Quesne. But their Veracity & Honesty seems to be question'd. Large Parties are still kept busy at Work, in digging

⁹² A copy of Ensign John Allen's report appears in *BP*, II, 324-326. He had set out from Quemahoning Creek on August 8, and returned there on August 18.

⁹³ Abercromby's difficulties following his unsuccessful attack of July 8 on Ticonderoga are referred to in Forbes' letter of August 18 to Bouquet. *BP*, II, 382-384.

⁹⁴ Second Lt. Robert Hodgson of Capt. (later Maj.) Wells's company.

⁹⁵ Washington wrote from Fort Cumberland on August 19 that "A party of abt 90 Marylanders under Captⁿ Beal Escorting a few Store Waggons, is this Mom^t arriv'd. I shall forward them to Rays Town to morrow. . . ." *BP*, II, 389-390. The captains were Alexander and Joshua Beall and Francis Ware.

a Trench round the Fort; covering such Parts of it as are expos'd; & making a Covert-Way to command the Water, which runs in a pleasant Stream under the Fort & C^a.

Wednesday, 23d. The Second Battalion of the Pennsylvania Regiment, commanded by Col: Burd; The Remainder of the Royal Americans commanded by Captain Joceleyn;⁹⁶ & 4 Companies of Highlanders commanded by Major Grant⁹⁷ march this Day with 4 Pieces of Cannon⁹⁸ towards Loyal Hannon.⁹⁹ Sir Allen MacClain returns this Day with a Party of Highlanders & Pennsylvanians from Road Cutting.¹⁰⁰ He informs that the Men are in high Spirits, & that all Things go on well.

The Pennsylvanians who return'd with Sir Allen receive Orders to march back again To-Morrow Morning.¹⁰¹

Thursday August 24th. Nothing extraordinary To-Day. The working Parties are still kept busy; Barracks & Hospitals are erecting. Large Pieces of Ground are plow'd & sow'd with Turnips; and a New Slaughter-House & Ovens are built. Orders are given out that no Man presume to fire a Gun within a Mile of the Camp.¹⁰² A Party arrives this Evening from Fort Cumberland, & brings in with them 308 Head of Beef-Cattle.¹⁰³

A perfect Harmony & Union subsists thro' the whole Camp: And Colonel Bouquet gains more & more upon the Affections of the People.

⁹⁶ Capt. Thomas Jocelyn.

⁹⁷ James Grant, senior of the two majors of this corps.

⁹⁸ Two 12-pounders and two 6-pounders, according to Bouquet, besides 8 cohorns (*BP*, II, 392); compare the total reported by Barton in his entry for August 5.

⁹⁹ This was the detachment that actually took post at Loyalhanna, a move anticipated by Barton on August 16. The orders had been given out on August 21. *BP*, II, 680. Bouquet estimated the total force at 1,500, some of whom would join en route: 300 Royal Americans, 400 each of the Highlanders, the Virginians, and the Pennsylvania 2d Battalion.

¹⁰⁰ A few days before, Bouquet had thanked MacLean and Maj. Lewis for their work on the road over the Allegheny Mountain. *BP*, II, 391.

¹⁰¹ As ordered on this date: "The Detachment of the 2^d Battⁿ Penns^a Reg^t that came to Day, to march To Morrow Morning & join their Corps. . . ." *BP*, II, 681.

¹⁰² This does not appear in the orderly book under this date; however, an order against firing about the camp was reiterated on August 25. *BP*, II, 681-682.

¹⁰³ References to this convoy illustrate some problems of logistics: of 468 beeves that left Winchester, 9 were killed on the way to Fort Cumberland, 48 were lost, and 321 arrived there on August 23; Washington kept 90 and sent off the rest on August 25; 308 reached Raystown. *BP*, II, 416, 425.

Friday, August 25th. Captain Bosomworth,¹⁰⁴ Superintendent of Indian Affairs in the Western District, receives Accounts by Express from Fort Cumberland, That Captain Bullen, the Famous Catawba-Chief, always strictly attach'd to the British Interest, who call'd himself the Irishman, (his Father being of that Nation) was treacherously kill'd & scalp'd within a Mile of the Fort, by 5 Delawares who deceiv'd him by calling out, they were Cherokees & Friends. Another Warrior was shot at the same Time; & a Young Squaw receiv'd a Shot in her Arm.¹⁰⁵

Saturday, August 26th. A Damp foggy Morning. Remov'd our Camp to a pleasant Ridge S. of the Fort about 100 Yards, Fronting the Artillery.¹⁰⁶ The Field Officers in pitching their Tents, contend for Rank with some Warmth; Some claiming it from the Seniority of their Troops; & Others from the Age of the Charters of their respective Provinces. The Disputes however are settled by Col: Bouquet, & Major Waddle of Carolina takes the Right of the Provincials.

Sunday, August 27th. A dark Morning, but a very sultry Day. Preach'd at 11 O'Clock P.M. from the 144th Psalm & 3^d Verse, to all the Troops.¹⁰⁷

Arriv'd this Evening from Fort Cumberland, 60 Waggons, chiefly loaded with Indian Corn,¹⁰⁸ escorted by 40 Soldiers commanded by Ensign Finney¹⁰⁹ of Major Well's Corps.¹¹⁰ Arriv'd at the same Time

¹⁰⁴ Capt. Abraham Bosomworth of the Royal American Regiment. He had helped attract southern Indians to join the expedition and on June 14 had brought twenty-nine Cherokees to Fort Loudoun. From there he went to Fort Cumberland, arriving by July 13, and then on to Raystown a few days later.

¹⁰⁵ See Washington to Bouquet, Fort Cumberland, August 24, in *BP*, II, 416. The second man killed is identified as Capt. French, also a Catawba.

¹⁰⁶ Orders of August 24: "The 2^d Camp is to be removed To Morrow Afternoon between the Artillery & Highland Camp . . ."; on August 25: "The Tents to be struck in the 2^d Camp to Morrow morning, as soon as they are dry, pack'd up and pitched in the new Camp." *BP*, II, 681-682.

¹⁰⁷ "Lord, what is man, that thou takest knowledge of him! or the son of man, that thou makes account of him!" Is this an allusion to the contention of the previous day?

¹⁰⁸ Bouquet had written Washington on August 26 that "I expect to day your Convoy wth the Indians. . . ." *BP*, II, 426.

¹⁰⁹ Second Lt. Archibald Finney of Capt. Benjamin Noxon's company. *Pennsylvania Archives*, Fifth Series, I, 232.

¹¹⁰ Maj. Richard Wells, commanding the Lower Counties troops.

54 Indians of the Catawba, Tuscarora, & Ottawaw Nations.¹¹¹ They greatly lament the Loss of their brave Captain Bullen. As soon as they laid down their Baggage, one of their Chiefs made a Speech in English (which many of them Talk tolerably well) to the following Effect: "This is the 3^d Time we have left our Country to revenge the Death of our Brothers, whose Bones we have seen scatter'd at Monangahela. Our Success has not been equal to our Zeal, & the Reason is, we had too far to travel to the Enemy; And our Provisions being generally spent before we could reach their Borders, we are oblig'd to return before we could kill or scalp. But now we desire to go to Loyal Hannon; from whence we can proceed to Fort Du Quesne, & return the next Day. This, we say, we desire as well to revenge the Death of our Brother the English, as that of our brave lamented Captain Bullen."

Some of them before they arriv'd in Camp painted with Black, & solemnly vow'd to kill Amboust Teedyuscung's Son¹¹² & the other two Delaware Indians who lately arriv'd from Fort Augusta: For, said they, "We believe the White People are mad to entertain & give Presents not only to our Enemies, but their own." But the Wretches had left the Camp a few Days before, & so fortunately sav'd their Lives.¹¹³

A number of Pack Horses set off this Morning, loaded with Provisions for the Troops at Loyal Hannon

Monday, August 28th. A foggy Morning, & a very sultry Day. About 11 O'Clock A.M. One of the 12 Pounders was fir'd to satisfy the Curiosity of the Indians, who were much pleas'd, & express'd great Admiration at it. Arriv'd an Express from the General to Col: Bouquet,¹¹⁴ by whom Captain Young Paymaster to the

¹¹¹ Barton errs in his identification of the third Indian nation. They were not Ottawas, a pro-French people living near the Great Lakes, but the Nottoways, an Iroquoian group from Virginia, related to the Tuscaroras. Washington had written Bouquet on August 24 that "The Rest of the Cuttawbas, & What Nottoway's and Tuscarora's that are here sets out to Morrow with the Waggon's for Rays Town." *BP*, II, 416. Bouquet wrote Burd on August 29 that "We have a Reinforcem^t of 52 Indians." *Ibid.*, 445.

¹¹² Amboust and Teedyuscung's son were different persons.

¹¹³ Bouquet had written Forbes on August 26 that "The Delawares have returned to Shamoken and Wyoming. . . ." *BP*, II, 425.

¹¹⁴ Presumably he carried Maj. Halkett's letter of August 26 to Bouquet, published in *BP*, II, 428-429. Forbes' letter of August 28 (*ibid.*, 439-441) could not have arrived so soon.

Pennsylvania Troops,¹¹⁵ receives a Letter from M^r Secretary Peters, informing him that Louisbourg had actually surrender'd on the 26th of July; that we had taken above 4000 French Prisoners; & that during the Seige we had lost but 300: That the famous Rogers had engag'd the Enemy 600 to 600, & had beat them & brought in 70 Scalps: And, that the Duke of Mal'bro was landed in France, had taken & destroy'd St Maloes, & was carrying Terror & Desolation along the Coast.

The Indians are all drunk this Evening, which makes them very troublesome.

Thursday, August 29th. A clear Morning. Wind at N.W. pretty cold, & like a Fall-Day. 20 Men commanded by Captain Allen¹¹⁶ set off To-Day to escort a Number of Waggon to Carlisle. Ensign Jones¹¹⁷ set off to Juniata with 30 Men to guard the Paymaster¹¹⁸ to his Majesty's Troops.

This Evening arriv'd in Camp Lieutenant James Reily¹¹⁹ of the Maryland Troops, commanded by Lieu^t Colonel Dagworthy;¹²⁰ & gives the following Intelligence.

A postscript to Halkett's letter reports the fall of Louisbourg and Rogers' success. The news contained in Peters' letter appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for August 24, but recorded that Marlborough could not attack St. Malo.

¹¹⁵ James Young, commissary of the musters and paymaster in the Pennsylvania Regiment.

¹¹⁶ Capt. Lt. Samuel Allen of Col. Armstrong's 1st Battalion. Gov. Denny designated himself colonel in chief of the Pennsylvania Regiment and, as such, nominal captain of a company in the 1st Battalion, with Allen as captain lieutenant. *Pennsylvania Archives*, Fifth Series, I, 128-129. Orders of August 28 called for a detachment consisting of "Cap^t Allen, 1 Serg^t & 30 men of the Draughts from the 1st Battⁿ Penn^a R^t to march To Morrow Morning. . . ." *BP*, II, 684.

¹¹⁷ John Jones of Capt. John Singleton's company of new levies assigned to the 2d Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment. Orders of August 28 directed "A Subaltern 1 Serj^t & 30 Rank & file of the Line to march to morrow morning to Juniata who are to escort from thence a Brigade of Waggon to the Camp— & the Pay Master General." *BP*, II, 684.

¹¹⁸ Thomas Barrow. On August 18 Bouquet had complained to Forbes that "We haven't a sou, and if Mr. Barrow does not join us quickly, we shall no longer be able to pay anyone." *BP*, II, 381.

¹¹⁹ First Lt. in Capt. Joshua Beall's company; subsequently wounded September 14 in Grant's defeat; recommended by Bouquet, October 20, for an ensigncy in the Royal American Regiment. *BP*, II, 509, 577. Barton had not named him among the officers sent out on August 18.

¹²⁰ Forbes wrote Bouquet on August 28 that "Govern^r Sharp has just asked a favour of me that I could not well refuse which was to allow him to make Cap^t Dagworthy a Lieu^t

"*Friday August 18th 1758* Set out from Rays Town by Order of the Commanding Officer with 8 Men to make Discoveries of the Strength & Operations of the Enemy at Fort Du Quesne, & if possible to take a Prisoner.

"At Quimahony I join'd Major Armstrong with upwards of 100 Men, with whom I proceeded to within 25 Miles of Du Quesne. Here we held a Consultation & agree'd, that Captain Potter¹²¹ & I should proceed with 6 Men each & make what Discoveries we could; That Major Armstrong with the Remainder should advance slowly after us, & lie in Ambush at a Place call'd the four-Mile Branch within 6 Miles of the French Fort: M^r Potter & I, after making some Discoveries, were to fire upon a Party of the Enemy in Order to draw them into the Ambush where Major Armstrong lay. Big with the Prospect of Success we push'd on piloted by one Ferguson¹²² a Serjeant in the Pennsylvania Service. Cross'd Braddock's Road, steering a Course near S— and ascended a Ridge that ran towards the Monongahela, where the Pilot told us we should have a good View of the Fort. Having gain'd the Top of the Ridge, I soon discover'd his Mistake; and advancing to the Point of it, climb'd up into the top of a Tree, from whence I saw the Hill that overlook'd the Fort, bearing N.W. & Distant by Computation 3 Miles. Unwilling to trust the Issue of so important an Enterprize to a Man who had once led me astray, I requested of Captain Paris¹²³ to lead the way by the Direction & Assistance of a Person known by the Name of French Peter;¹²⁴ which occasion'd some little Disputes between

Colonel of the Maryland troops, and he is accordingly appointed by a Commission I sent him this night." *BP*, II, 440. His new rank was published at Raystown in orders of August 30. *Ibid.*, 685. Since Forbes' letter cannot have been carried from Shippensburg by the 29th, Barton must have written this entry later.

¹²¹ James Potter of the 1st Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment. As subaltern in Col. Armstrong's own company, he normally would have been designated captain lieutenant; but Governor Denny's assumption of a captaincy in this battalion gave that rank to Samuel Allen. Potter's rank of captain was "provisional," as published in orders of June 17. *BP*, II, 656.

¹²² Possibly James or John Ferguson, both sergeants in Capt. James Patterson's company of the 1st Battalion.

¹²³ Capt. Richard Pearis of Maryland had set out from Raystown with a dozen volunteers. He returned to Quemahoning on August 28. *BP*, II, 378, 437.

¹²⁴ Not otherwise identifiable. Indians commonly received such European labels; Capt. Peter, Capt. John Peter, William Peters, and Old Peter are mentioned among Ohio Indians of this period.

Captain Potter & myself. From this Place I advanc'd, by Direction of my New Guides, towards the Hill that overlooks the Fort, & cross'd it about Dusk. It being too dark to make any Discoveries, I descended into a little Valley or Branch, where I found a good Spring, & lay down till 1 O'Clock, at which Time the Moon rose, & awak'd me to Action. I proceeded 2 Miles N. up the River, & came upon a little Branch leading to Shinnopins Town, where I halted till Morning; Then went on to Braddock's Road, where there is a muddy Spring with a small Stream running from it. Here we found a large Encamping-Place, where Peter told us the French often came out as an Advance Guard from the Fort. After having refresh'd ourselves, Captain Potter desir'd the officers, to come to a Counsel of War with him, in which it was resolv'd by the Majority. That it was best to return to the Party left behind in Ambush: And the Argument advanc'd in Favor of it, That as we were so near the Fort our Tracks would soon be discover'd, which must prove fatal to us. In Consequence hereof all return'd except Corporal Madden¹²⁵ & myself. For having an independent Command, & not thinking that the Discoveries we had made were sufficient to recompense the Toils & Fatigues we had undergone; I determin'd to proceed farther, & desir'd Captain Paris to request of Major Armstrong to halt till 12 or 1 O'Clock at which Time I should endeavour to be back. I proceeded on, & got to the Top of a Nob on the Ridge that overlooks the Fort, placing the Corporal as a Centinel, while I was taking a View of the Place. But the Fogs being very thick, I remain'd here near 2 Hours, during which Time I heard now & then the Firing of Platoons; the Barking of Dogs; the Ringing of Horse-Bells; & the incessant Strokes of about 40 or 50 Axes on the opposite Side of the River. As soon as the Fogs clear'd away, the Corporal cry'd out, See! See! Yonder's the Fort! Upon which I saw the Colours flying; & advanc'd to the Point of the Hill, but could have no favorable Prospect: From hence I proceeded S.E. to another Ridge which I expected would bring me nigher the Object I wanted to view. Here I had just a Glimpse of the Fort; but finding myself much expos'd, having Nothing to cover me but low Shrubs which scarcely came Breast-high, I order'd the Corporal to stand Centinel charging him

¹²⁵ Mordecai Madden of Capt. Alexander Beall's Maryland company.

if he discover'd any Body nigh [at] Hand to Acquaint me with it, that we might endeavour to take him; And then advanc'd to the Point of the Ridge, where I had a good Prospect of the Fort. The Pickets are so high that I could not see the Roofs of the Houses that are within. I saw 2 Streets of Tents with 25 or 30 Tents in each Street, pitch'd upon the River Ohio, & several Persons going in & coming out of them. Near to the Fort is a large Pasture, where I discover'd small Companies of Two's & Three's sauntering about, with a great Number of Horses grazing but no Cattle of any other Sort. Upon hearing a Person firing within $\frac{1}{4}$ of a Mile of me, I went back to the Corporal & ask'd him if he would go along with me and endeavour to take him Prisoner, who inform'd me there were Two; But telling him we were a Match for that Number, he very cheerfully & resolutely agree'd to go. When we came to the Place where we thought we heard the Firing, our Disappointment was great in finding they were on the opposite Side of the River. Soon after I heard a Bell which inspir'd me with fresh Hopes that I should not come away Empty-handed, & that some Horses at least would fall a Prey to me. Finding after some Search that all my Schemes were unsuccessful, I resolv'd to return to the Place where I left the Party in Ambush, where I arriv'd about 12 O'Clock agreeable to Appointment. But all were gone! I immiediately strip'd off to my Shirt & Moccassons, lest I might be track'd & pursued. Continued my March at the Rate of 4 Miles an Hour, & overtook the Party above 20 Miles from Du Quesne. Here I found Captains Callender & Haslet¹²⁶ with all the Men except 16, which they inform'd were gone back to make Discoveries, Major Armstrong with 12 to cross the Monongahela & view the S. Side of the Fort; Captain Potter with 4 to go down the River; And that Captain Shelby with 25 Men would endeavour to cross the Ohio. In a little Time after one of Armstrong's Party arriv'd, to acquaint us that the Major was tir'd, & order'd us to halt for him; And immediately he & his Party came in, & reported that they had endeavour'd to cross the River, & had waded Breast-high, but found the Ford too deep. We then proceeded to within 12 Miles of Loyal-Hannon: And next Morning early Captain Potter with his Party arriv'd, & reported that the Fogs prevented their

126 Capt. John Haslet of the 2d Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment.

getting a View of the Fort; and that Captain Shelby finding the Forging at Shinnoppins too high, had gone to the Old Chartiers-Town¹²⁷ in Order to cross there. Pursued our Journey together till we came to Major Lewis's Camp,¹²⁸ where I left all except my own little Party with whom I arriv'd at Rays-Town, August 29th. 1758."

Wednesday August 30th. Major Armstrong & Captain Calender return'd this Day from their unsuccessful Scout, & are coldly receiv'd by the Commanding Officer. The Former is much censur'd & blam'd by everyBody, And the Latter, by being subject to the Command of a superior Officer, stands excus'd.¹²⁹ Orders are issued that no Man presume to sell or bestow Liquor to the Indians.¹³⁰ Ensign Jones returns from Juniata with the Deputy-Paymaster to the Regulars. Arriv'd an Express who confirms the Accounts of the Surrender of Louisbourg to his Britannick Majesty,¹³¹ adding that Brest is block'd up. In Company with Major Waddle Commander of the Carolina Troops, I climb'd to the Top a very high Mountain E.S.E. of the Camp, & distant about 2 Miles.¹³² We reach'd the summit with much Difficulty, clambering from Rock to Rock the whole Way, for near 2 Hours. A very extensive Prospect opens to our View, The Allegeny [Mountain] bearing W.N.W. of us. We fir'd each of us a Gun, & then return'd to Camp greatly fatigued.

It is said that the General unable to ride, and determin'd to proceed at all Events, had order'd a Litter to be made to carry him with the more Ease. This Evening a warm Dispute happen'd between Major ——¹³³ and Captain —— which was happily ended by flinging a few Bottles & Glasses, charg'd with Billingsgate-Ammunition, such as Rascal, Scoundrel &C^a.

¹²⁷ At the present Tarentum, Allegheny County. This settlement was named for Peter Chartier, half-breed son of Martin Chartier and leader of a Shawnee band that removed from the lower Susquehanna to the Ohio after 1730.

¹²⁸ Maj. Lewis took command of the Virginia road builders after Sir John St. Clair placed Lt. Col. Stephen under arrest, following a quarrel. *BP*, II, 430-438. Apparently his camp was near Quemahoning.

¹²⁹ Maj. Armstrong was severely censured by Bouquet in a letter to Gov. Denny. *BP*, II, 450-451.

¹³⁰ This is entered in the orderly book as a repetition of Gen. Forbes' orders. *BP*, II, 684.

¹³¹ Forbes wrote Bouquet on August 28 that "I have heard no more of Louisbourg but as it is most certainly taken, I would make a *feu de joy* to put the whole Army in Spirits." *BP*, II, 441. Louisbourg had fallen to General Amherst on July 26.

¹³² Evitts Mountain.

¹³³ Maj. Armstrong?

Thursday August 31st. A cold, rainy Day. A 6-Pounder was fir'd 8-Times as a Preparative to our Rejoicings for the Reduction of Louisbourg.

An Express arriv'd from Sir John S^t Clair at Loyal Hannon, but the Contents does not transpire.¹³⁴ Old Keeshity an Indian strongly attach'd to the British-Interest came in from Fort Du Quesne, & brings with him 3 Ohio-Indians. He produces a very distinct Draught of the Place; & the whole of his Intelligence seems much in our Favor.¹³⁵

This Evening the Commanding-Officer receiv'd 2 Letters from Frederick Post a Dutchman, now in an Indian-Town upon Ohio, with very favourable Accounts.¹³⁶ Every Thing promises Success; and it is generally believ'd that Du Quesne will fall an easy Conquest.

Friday September 1st. Rain all Last Night, & the greatest Part of this Day. At 5 O'Clock P.M. A grand Feu de Joye for the Success of our brave Men at Louisbourg; When 3 Royal Salutes were fir'd from 3 Twelve-Pounders; and all the Troops being drawn up in a Single Line, which cover'd the greatest Part of the Camp, fir'd 3 Rounds of Small-Arms. The whole ended with 3 Huzzas, & a "God Save the King."¹³⁷

Saturday September 2d. Accounts in Camp that Lieu^t Kidd, a Gentleman in the Maryland-Service who went some Time ago¹³⁸ to

¹³⁴ Presumably in reply to Bouquet's letter of August 28 (*BP*, II, 435-436), but not found among Bouquet's papers. A letter from Sir John to Col. Burd, written the morning of August 29, places him "4 Miles West of Kikeny Pawlings." Shippen Family Papers, Correspondence, III, 221, HSP.

¹³⁵ A pro-British Onondaga Indian who had lived on the Ohio before the war, Kishaty (or Ogaghradirha) had been at Fort Augusta since 1756, and accompanied Col. Burd to Rays-town. He set out from there on August 11 to get information at Fort Duquesne (*BP*, II, 354). On his return he met Burd (advancing to Loyalhanna) at Quemahoning on August 29. Writing to Bouquet the next day, Burd reported that "the Indian Gishaty . . . gave the Major [*James Grant*] & self a draught of F: Du Quesne which he drew with my Pincel before us & I inclose you the same. . . ." *Ibid.*, 448.

¹³⁶ There can be little doubt that one of these letters was that published in *BP*, II, 371 (tentatively dated *c.* August 15), apparently sent from Logstown (the present Ambridge) on August 24. See Post's journal for this date in Reuben Gold Thwaites, *Early Western Travels 1748-1846* (Cleveland, 1904), I, 201. The other letter from Post presumably is the one he wrote for the Indians, alluded to at the end of the letter in *BP*, II, 371.

¹³⁷ See Forbes' letter quoted in note 135. Orders of August 31 directed "All the Troops to be under Arms tomorrow at 3 o'Clock P.M. & to march to the usual Place of Exercise . . . to make a *Feu de Joye* for the Conquest of Louisbourg." *BP*, II, 685.

¹³⁸ On August 18; see Barton's entry for that date.

make Discoveries about Du Quesne & thought to be taken or kill'd, was safe arriv'd at one of our Advanc'd Posts. M^r. Clayton¹³⁹ a discreet young Gentleman, who out of a Spirit of Zeal for his King & Country came upon the Expedition a Volunteer, taking a Ride this Evening with Captain Hambright¹⁴⁰ of the Light-Horse, was unfortunately shot thro' the Os Humeri by M^r Hambright's Gun going off accidentally, which in all Apearance gives him as much Pain as the real Sufferer. The Mornings now are generally very cold & foggy, which bring on Fevers and Agues fast.

Sunday September 3d. Preach'd from these Words in Nehemiah-4-14— "Be ye not afraid of them: Remember the Lord which is great & terrible, & fight for your Brethren, your Sons & your Daughters, your Wives & your Houses," Present the Commanding Officer, Governor Glen, Sir Allen MacClain, & the whole Troops.¹⁴¹ Visited the Hospitals, where I found a great Number in a very low State, & was told that many dye. A Party set off this Morning, to escort a number of Pack-Horses with Flour, & some fat Bullocks to Loyal-Hannan. A Conference is held this Afternoon with the Indians, who give us great Assurances of their Fidelity & Attachment to our Interest.¹⁴²

Monday, September 4th. Lieu^t Colonel Dagworthy with 100 of the Maryland-Troops; Major Waddle with 48 of the Carolina Troops; Captain Gooding¹⁴³ with 60 Men from the Lower-Counties; and Captain Trent¹⁴⁴ with a Number of Indians, of the Catawba, Ottaway,¹⁴⁵ & Tuscarora Nations set off towards Fort Du Quesne, to take Possession of an advantageous Post¹⁴⁶ near that Place, & to make

¹³⁹ Probably David Clayton, who in 1759 was commissioned an ensign in the 2d Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment.

¹⁴⁰ John Hambright served previously at Fort Augusta. He was now captain of a troop of horse in the 2d Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment.

¹⁴¹ Orders of this date: "The Troops to attend Divine Services at 10 o'Clock, A.M." *BP*, II, 686.

¹⁴² With exceptions noted in the following day's entry.

¹⁴³ Jacob Gooding, Jr., replaced Capt. Benjamin Noxon.

¹⁴⁴ William Trent served as a captain of a company raised in Pennsylvania for service in New York during King George's War. *Colonial Records*, V, 177-178. In 1754 he commanded a Virginia militia company sent to the Forks of Ohio, where, on April 18, his ensign was forced to surrender a hastily-built and unnamed fort to a greatly superior French force.

¹⁴⁵ Not Ottawas, but Nottaways.

¹⁴⁶ Known unofficially as "Dagworthy's Camp" or "Grant's Paradise," about nine miles down Loyalhanna Creek from the present Ligonier. This place was temporarily considered as

what Discoveries they can of the Operations of the Enemy. The Cherokees, after receiving all the Presents they expected, refus'd to go, & are for returning to their own Country, which gives us small Hopes of receiving any Advantages from that Nation.

Sir John S^t Clair arriv'd in Camp from Loyal Hannan, & seems much dissatisfied with some Field-Officers there, who contended with him about Rank.¹⁴⁷ Captain M^cPherson with 100 Men set off to shorten the New Road. A 6-Pounder after being mounted on a New Carriage was fir'd 3 Times. The Wadden struck thro' a Sutler's Tent, & made a great Hole.

Thursday September 5th. A Pleasant Day. Drew, & witness'd the Will of a certain Gentleman, going upon the Expedition. Sir John acquaints me this Morning that he "is going into the Inhabitants to look for Waggons, in which if he should not succeed, the Expedition must go to the D—[']" He strongly sollicitd me to accompany him; and at last Desir'd me to write to a Gentleman of my Acquaintance who had a great Influence over the Dutch, & might be of much Service to him in getting Waggons: I wrote to the Gentleman, & am in Hopes Sir John will find him very useful.¹⁴⁸ Governor Glen, Sir John S^t Clair, & Captain Young set off together towards the Inhabitants escorted by 30 Light-Horse. Colonel Bouquet set out for Loyal Hannan guarded by the Remainder of Captain Hambright's Troop; And Colonel Mercer Takes the Command in his Absence.¹⁴⁹ It is said that 500 Waggons at least are now wanted for the Expedition.

Wednesday September 6th. Having a Curiosity to see Fort Cumberland,¹⁵⁰ I set off about 8 O'clock this Morning for that Place

an alternate site for the fort finally built at Ligonier. It was garrisoned briefly but abandoned after Maj. Grant's defeat on September 14 near Fort Duquesne.

¹⁴⁷ The reference probably is to Sir John's quarrel with Lt. Col. Stephen on August 24.

¹⁴⁸ Sir John's errand (and Young's part in it) is discussed in Bouquet to Forbes, September 4. *BP*, II, 468-470. Forbes' sequent letter of September 9 to Governor Denny appears in *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, VIII, 167-169, and *Pennsylvania Archives*, Eighth Series, VI, 4829-4832. The outcome was a piece of legislation, signed on September 20, entitled "A Supplement to the Act, entituled, An Act for regulating the Hire of Carriages to be employed in his Majesty's Service."

¹⁴⁹ In a letter of September 4 to Washington, Bouquet refers to "Colonel Mercer who will have the Command here" (*BP*, II, 476-477); and the orderly book notes, under date of September 5, "Orders given by Col^o Mercer" (*ibid.*, 686).

¹⁵⁰ At the present Cumberland, Md.

in Company with Captain Cameron,¹⁵¹ Doctor MacClain,¹⁵² & some other Gentlemen. The Road is good thro a fine rich Valley hem'd in by a Ridge of high Mountains on each Side.¹⁵³ At the Distance of about 8 Miles from Rays-Town, is a large Bason of Water springing out of the Ground, mostly hid by Sedge, Rushes & C^a. 2 Miles from thence are 3 fine Springs, & on a Pleasant rising-Ground near them, 2 Block-Houses with Bastions, built in such a Manner as to flank each other. They were erected by Major Lewis to defend the Road-Cutters from sculking Parties of the Enemy.¹⁵⁴ Upon our Entrance we found a Shot-Bag, & a Handkerchief full of Limes. At some small Distance upon the Road, one of our Men found a Jacket & Hat; And in one of the Houses where Fires had been made, were many Tracks in the Ashes & Human-Excrement just fresh. Here we refresh'd ourselves, & din'd hearty. Distant from this Place about 12 Miles, are 8 or 10 large-natural Pits, call'd the Sink-Holes, which receive the Rains & Waters from the Tops of the Mountains; & after running a considerable Way under Ground, gush out into Springs & little Rivulets. Reach'd Fort Cumberland about 7 OClock the same Evening. S.S.W. of Rays-Town, & distant 34 Miles. Here we found Colonel Washington encamp'd with 850 of the Virginia Troops; from whom we had a very polite Reception, & generous, hospital Entertainment. Lieu^t Colonel Mercer,¹⁵⁵ who commands the Second Regiment during the Sickness of Col. Byrd,¹⁵⁶ treated us in the same Manner.

I spent Next Day in Viewing the Place: The Situation is pleasant enough, almost quite surrounded with high Mountains. Upon a rising-Ground in the Fork of Potowmack & Wills-Creek stands the Fort, which is a trifling Piece of Work. It was originally a Square-Stockade of 100 Feet with 4 Bastions; but so ill put up, & the Timber

¹⁵¹ Allan Cameron of one of the three "additional companies" of the 1st Highland Battalion.

¹⁵² Lauchlin MacLeane, surgeon with the 1st Highland Battalion, visited Fort Cumberland because of Col. Byrd's proposal that he direct the surgeons mates of the Virginia troops. *BP*, II, 368-369.

¹⁵³ Cumberland Valley is the present Bedford Valley, between Wills Mountain on the west and Evitts Mountain on the east, not to be confused with the Cumberland Valley in the present Cumberland and Franklin counties.

¹⁵⁴ Near the present Centerville, Bedford County, halfway between Raystown and Fort Cumberland.

¹⁵⁵ George Mercer of Col. William Byrd's 2d Virginia Regiment.

¹⁵⁶ Washington had written Bouquet on September 2 that "Col^o Byrd is very Ill." *BP*, II, 466.

so small, that General Braddock declar'd he could make a better with Rotten-Apples. Since his Time some Improvements have been made. On the Outside of the Stockade, a Sort of Battery has lately been added, which covers about 3 Sides of the Fort. It is made of Square Logs, fill'd with Earth, about 20 Feet thick & 12 high, with a dry Ditch not finish'd. There are 10 Embrasures with an Iron-4-Pounder planted in each. It is so irregular that I believe Trigonometry cannot give it a Name. No Part of it will defend the other, & I heard a judicious Gentleman say He "would rather fight with 50 Men out of it, than with 100 in it." If it is design'd as a Defence against Cannon, the Spot where it stands is ill chose; For about 300 Yards N.W. of it is a fine Hill, which entirely commands it; & in my Opinion here should be the Fort.¹⁵⁷ About 400 Yards S.S.W. of it is another Hill on the Virginia Side of Potowmack, from whence it might easily be annoy'd. On the Top of this Hill is a large Store-house built by the Ohio Company,¹⁵⁸ which at present serves as a Hospital, & here a Guard of 30 Men is kept, who pass & repass the Powtomack in a Flat. This River at the Ferry runs N.E. and by E. About 50 Yards lower it bends round a Point of Land, & receives Will's Creek in the Elbow. Potomack runs S. forming an Isthmus, which at the Distance of 5 Miles from the Bent is not above 4 Miles over.

On the Banks of Potowmack about 40 Yards from the Fort are several fine Gardens fenc'd in, which supply the Garrison with all Kinds of Vegetables. The Barracks are mean & ill contriv'd. About 100 Yards S.W. of the Fort, is a large square Post with a Piramidical Top, & a Plate of Lead with the following Inscription nail'd to one side of it—

"To the Memory

Of Serjeant W^m Shaw, Serjeant Tim^y Shaw, Jer^a Poor, & Jam^s Cope
Soldiers Of the 1st Virginia Regiment, this Monument is erected:
To testify the Love & Esteem paid them by their Officers, for their
Courage & Gallant Behaviour.

¹⁵⁷ A plan of Fort Cumberland, sent by Gov. Dinwiddie to the Board of Trade in 1755, has been several times republished and appears in Lawrence Henry Gipson, *The British Empire before the American Revolution*, VI: *The Great War for the Empire* (New York, 1946), facing p. 51.

¹⁵⁸ Completed in 1751 by the Ohio Company of Virginia. The same company built a store-house at the present Brownsville, Fayette County, in 1754 and was the original sponsor of the attempt to build a Virginia fort at the Forks of Ohio in the same year.

Nov: 1756—They went with 11 Catawbas to gain Intelligence, & in the First Encounter with the Enemy met with the success their Courage deserv'd Incited by this Advantage, & fir'd with a Noble Ambition to distinguish Themselves: They engag'd a Party of the Enemy hard by Fort Du Quesne And fell gloriously fighting bravely, being greatly overpower'd by

Superior Numbers.

In Premium Virtutis Erigendum curavit

Adamus Stephen”

Some of these Men afterwards return'd, & are now Officers in the Virginia Service. They are perhaps the first who ever saw their own Monument, & read their own Epitaph.¹⁵⁹

It appears by a Draught of General Braddock's Route which Colonel Washington honor'd me with a Sight of That the Course from Fort Cumberland to Du Quesne is W.N.W. 56 Miles, Then N.N.W. 60 Miles.

Having spent Thursday, Friday, & Saturday very agreeably at this Place, I preach'd at 7 O'Clock on Sunday Morning¹⁶⁰ by Desire of Col Washington from Nehemiah 4-14.¹⁶¹ And About 9 O'Clock set out for Rays Town with my worthy Friend Captain Cameron, where we arriv'd about 7 that Evening.

Here we found the Troops much dejected: An Expedition for this Season seems to be despair'd of. Accounts that the General had relaps'd into his Disorder, & was dangerously ill at Fort Loudoun!¹⁶² Only 20 Day's Provision now in Camp, & a Demand from Fort

¹⁵⁹ A copy of the foregoing inscription was published in April, 1788, in *The Columbian Magazine* as "an extract from the journal of an officer on General Forbes's expedition," and is reprinted in Will H. Lowdermilk, *History of Cumberland . . .* (Washington, 1878), 266-267. The text is introduced with the words, "About one hundred yards from Fort Cumberland, is a large square post with a pyramical top, having a plate of lead, with the following inscription nailed on one side of it, viz"; and it is followed by the observation, "Risum teneatus!—Some of these men, afterwards returned, and are now officers in the Virginia service." The almost unaltered quotations from Barton's journal clearly identify it as the source of the text as published.

¹⁶⁰ September 10.

¹⁶¹ "And I looked, and rose up, and said unto the nobles, and to the rulers, and to the rest of the people, Be not ye afraid of them: remember the Lord, *which is* great and terrible, and fight for your brethren, your sons, and your daughters, your wives, and your houses."

¹⁶² Paymaster James Young returned to Raystown on September 9 with news that Forbes had arrived at Fort Loudoun on the 3d but had suffered a relapse that same night. Young to Bouquet, Raystown, Sept. 10, *BP*, II, 489.

Cumberland for Part of it to be sent thither: The Cattle purchas'd in Virginia are very poor, & their Beef scarcely fit to eat: And no Prospect of getting Waggons, tho' 500 are immediately wanted to forward the King's Service. The Season is far advanc'd. The Leaves begin to fall; the Forage to wither, & cold Nights to approach. All these Circumstances concur to damp our Spirits, & make us uneasy.

Monday September 11th A hoar Frost this Morning. Arriv'd To Day 43 Waggons loaded with Provisions & Forage, & 42 Pack-horses with D^o escorted by a Party under Command of Lieu^t Snider.¹⁶³ 30 Pack-horses went to Fort Cumberland with Flour, guarded by a Party under Ensign Jones.¹⁶⁴ Accounts from Loyal Hannan are that a Serjeant with 6 Men who had been viewing Du Quesne had return'd with 3 Horses which they took out of a Penn near that Place; that soon after 6 Indians came to Loyal Hannan, & retaliated the Affront. They attack'd 4 Men in a Pasture, 2 of which ran away immediately, the other 2 fought bravely, but they kill'd & scalp'd one (a Highlander) & carried off the other (a Virginian) Prisoner.¹⁶⁵ That Colonel Dagworthy had march'd with 300 Men to take Possession of a Post 14 Miles beyond Loyal Hannan.¹⁶⁶ That Major Grant with 750 Men consisting of Highlanders; Royal Americans, & Virginians was gone upon a Secret Expedition towards the Ohio.¹⁶⁷ Sir Allen MacClain inform'd me the Scheme was to draw a Party if possible into an Ambush, & if they succeeded, to march directly to Logs-Town 14 Miles below Du Quesne, where several Families of French and Indians resided, & put all to the Sword;¹⁶⁸ And that a Light-Horse-Man who had been sent Express

¹⁶³ Jacob Snyder of the 1st Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment.

¹⁶⁴ Probably John Jones in Capt. John Singleton's company of "new levies" assigned to the 2d Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment. (There was also an Ensign Samuel Jones in Capt. William Biles' company in the 3d Battalion.) See the Orderly Book for September 10: "Two Sub^s 2 Serj^{ts} 2 Corporals & 30 private to escort Pack Horses to Fort Cumberland tomorrow morning." *BP*, II, 688.

¹⁶⁵ See Bouquet to Forbes, Camp at Loyalhanna, Sept. 11 (*BP*, II, 489-492), where this episode is related.

¹⁶⁶ Actually the "advantagious Post" referred to by Barton on September 4. The distance now given is too great.

¹⁶⁷ This was the undertaking that ended in Grant's complete defeat near Fort Duquesne on September 14.

¹⁶⁸ This objective of the expedition is not mentioned in official explanations of the affair made after the event. See especially, Bouquet to Forbes, Camp at Loyal Hannon, Sept. 17. *BP*, II, 513-514.

by Sir John St Clair from Loyal Hannan, & thought to have deserted, was found in the woods a perfect Skeleton, having lost his Way, & wander'd about the Wilderness several Days without any Food, except what Nature threw in his Way. He is however likely to do well, & brought in all the Papers safe.¹⁶⁹

Tuesday September 12th. A cold foggy Morning. Fires are made Up & down the Camp which become highly necessary not only to moderate the Air, but to dissipate the unwholesome & gross Vapours & Fogs to which this Place is greatly subject. Last Night one of the 3 Ohio-Indians who came in a few Days ago with Keeshity treacherously deserted, & it is thought he will immediately proceed to Fort Du Quesne to give the French Intelligence of our Proceedings.¹⁷⁰ Captains Bosomworth & McKee¹⁷¹ set off To Day for the Advanc'd-Posts, with a Party of the dastardly, ungrateful Cherokees.

Wednesday September 13th. Captain Blackwood¹⁷² with 35 Men arriv'd from Fort Littlton. M^r Bartholemew came from Loyal Hannan with a Brigade of empty Waggons. Lieu^t Quicksell¹⁷³ set off With 20 Men to escort a Number of Pack-Horses loaded with Flour for the Advanc'd Posts. Ensign Jones return'd from Fort Cumberland with his Party, who acquaints us that Governor Sharp¹⁷⁴ was arriv'd at that Place with 200 of the Maryland Militia to garrison the Fort while the Virginia Troops are employ'd upon the Expedition.

¹⁶⁹ Thomas Glen of Capt. William Thompson's troop of light horse disappeared August 29 on his way from Loyalhanna to Raystown, and was assumed to have deserted to the French. He arrived at Raystown on September 9. *BP*, II, 449, 488.

¹⁷⁰ See the journal entry for August 31.

¹⁷¹ Thomas McKee, an Indian trader, was known as Captain McKee from his service in Benjamin Franklin's Association of 1747-1748. *Pennsylvania Archives*, Fifth Series, I, 24. He commanded a garrison at Fort Hunter, north of the present Harrisburg, in the first four months of 1756. On September 10 Captain Bosomworth wrote Bouquet from Raystown that "the Interpreter to the Indians" (probably McKee) had been sick since the 5th, but that he intended "marching to morrow or the next day at farthest with all the Cherokee & Ohio Indians to join the others at the Advanced Post." *BP*, II, 486.

¹⁷² John Blackwood of the 3d Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment. He and most of his company had been at Reading until about May 20, when they left for Raystown.

¹⁷³ Joseph Quicksel of Capt. Jacob Orndt's company of the 2d Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment. Identification as a lieutenant probably results from Orndt's being commissioned, as of June 2, 1758, as major in the 1st Battalion. Orders were given on September 13 that "Ensign Quicksel with 20 Men of the 2^d Battⁿ Penns^a R^t just arrived from Lyttleton is to proceed to Loyal Hannon, as an Escort to Pack Horses." *BP*, II, 689.

¹⁷⁴ Horatio Sharpe, Governor of Mayland 1753-1769.

Thursday September 14th. The State of Provisions is now so low, that Commissary Clark¹⁷⁵ is dispatch'd to the Inhabitants to forward some immediately.

The King's Hospital contains this Day 137 Sick Persons. Many of our Provincial Officers got drunk this Night; broke their Shins in returning Home, & were upon Crutches thro' the Camp next Day.

Friday September 15th 1758. General Forbes arriv'd in Camp this Day,¹⁷⁶ carried in a Sort of a Sedan-Litter between 2 Horses; & guarded by Captain Thompson's Troop of Light Horse, & Colonel Montgomery with 100 Highlanders. He was in a low State, yet a great Satisfaction & Pleasure appear'd in his Countenance upon finding himself at Rays Town with his Troops. The Roads were crowded with People to see him, whom he saluted with a Smile as he pass'd along. And they in their Turn discover'd a secret Joy upon seeing him: He was conducted to the Highland-Camp by a Number of Gentlemen who went 5 or 6 Miles to meet him, where a pretty little Territ with a good Chimney, lin'd within with Boards, & without with Oil-Cloths, was prepar'd for him.¹⁷⁷ The Troops seem to [be] inspir'd with fresh Spirits upon the General's Arrival, & a Cheerfulness appears in every Face.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁵ Daniel Clark. Col. Mercer wrote from Raystown on September 14 that "M^r Clark is gone to the Settlement to hurry up the live Stock & other Provisions there" (*BP*, II, 505); on September 23 Capt. James Sinclair wrote from the same place that "M^r Clark is returned from Carlile, he has brought us a hundred & fifty Bullocks." *Ibid.*, 539.

¹⁷⁶ The date of arrival is confirmed by the Bouquet orderly book, where the final entry of this date is prefaced with the notation, "General Forbes's Orders" (*BP*, II, 689); and letters of Col. Mercer to Washington, September 15 (Hamilton, *Letters to Washington*, III, 102), and of Forbes himself to Bouquet, September 17 (James, 212; *BP*, II, 522) give the same date. However, Forbes to Sharpe, dated September 16 (James, 211) places the General at Juniata the night before. The simplest explanation seems to be that letters drafted or dictated by Forbes in the evening may have been written out and dated the following day with no change in wording. There are other examples of Forbes' letters similarly misdated.

¹⁷⁷ Engineer Harry Gordon had declined, on July 22, to prepare accommodations for Forbes. *BP*, II, 259. In December, when the campaign had ended, Capt. Lewis Ourry took possession of "the Gen^l Hut." *Ibid.*, 631-632.

¹⁷⁸ Forbes' poor health, his long delayed march to Raystown, and consequent anxiety regarding the success of the campaign are the chief defense for Bouquet's authorization of Maj. Grant's unfortunate action against Fort Duquesne, an affair of which Forbes was only imperfectly informed by Bouquet's letter of September 11. *BP*, II, 489-492. Grant was defeated the day before Forbes' arrival at Raystown, but the news was not received there until four days later.

A Party set off in the Morning for Loyal Hannan commanded by Capt. McPherson & Ensign Jones, with 100 Bullocks & 200 Sheep for the Troops there. A Number of Pack Horses return'd from the above Place escorted by Lieu^t Prentice¹⁷⁹ with a Party in Order to carry up Flour. The State of Provisions at that Place is so low, & the Pack Horses so much abus'd that the Artillery-Horses are oblig'd to be loaded with Flour & sent up this Evening.

Saturday September 16th. This Afternoon the 3 additional Companies of Highlanders commanded by Sir Allen MacClane, Captain Cameron, & Captain Robinson march'd to join the Forces at Loyal-Hannan.¹⁸⁰ About the same Time Colonel Washinton arriv'd in Camp from Fort Cumberland escorted by Captain Stewart's Troop of Virginia Light-Horse.

About 7 O'Clock P.M. there was Thunder & Lightning, which is the first that has been seen or heard since we came to Rays-Town, tho' we have had heavy Gusts frequently. After Night there was a heavy Rain, but it did not last long. Very sultry all Night. It is said that the Troops at Loyal Hannan told Colonel Bouquet they would be willing to eat Leaves provided the Expedition would go on. And it is to be hop'd these brave Men will get an Opportunity to display their Courage & Zeal for their King & Country.

Sunday September 17th. By Order of the General preach'd to all the Troops at 11 O'Clock P.M. from St. John's Revelation 2^d Chap & 5th Verse.¹⁸¹ About 1 O'Clock arriv'd an Express from Philad^a with Accounts that Col. Bradstreet had taken & destroy'd Fort Frontenac; burnt all the French Shipping on Lake Ontario; and got Possession of Furs, Skins, &c to the Value of 70,000 £ Sterling. That the Indians were surprizingly alter'd for the better; & that Col. Bradstreet had gone down the River St Lawrence, with a Design, it is thought to attack La Galette.¹⁸²

¹⁷⁹ John Prentice of the 1st Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment.

¹⁸⁰ Capt. James Robertson (not Robinson).

¹⁸¹ "Remember therefore from whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do the first works; or else I will come unto thee quickly, and will remove thy candlestick out of his place, except thou repent." The relevance of the text is not obvious.

¹⁸² A captain in the Royal American Regiment, John Bradstreet was made a lieutenant colonel by William Pitt, who authorized his attack on Fort Frontenac following Abercromby's defeat at Ticonderoga. Frontenac, which controlled the entrance into the St. Lawrence River from Lake Ontario, surrendered on August 27. The news was added as a postscript to Forbes' letter of September 17 to Bouquet. *BP*, II, 524.

Col. Washington return'd to Fort Cumberland with the Escort that came with him.

Late this Evening Lieu^t Evans¹⁸³ of the Royal Americans came from Loyal Hanning with a Party guarding a Number of empty Waggons.

Monday, September 18th. A very cold Morning. At 12 O'Clock P.M, A grand Feu de Joye for the Success of his Majesty's Arms against Fort Frontenac, when 3 Twelve-Pounders were fir'd 7 Rounds each; which was repeatedly answer'd by Vollies of Small Arms from the different Camps.¹⁸⁴ Lieu^t Craighead¹⁸⁵ return'd from the Allegeny, where he was sent to escort Horses loaded with Flour for y^e Advanc'd Posts. In the Evening a Number of Pack Horses were sent to Fort Loudoun to bring up Flour, guarded by a Number of Draughts who are to take Post at Fort-Juniata under the Command of Cap^t Aston & 2 Subalterns.¹⁸⁶

Tuesday September 19th. Went out about 2 Miles into the Woods with 2 Officers to fowl, & Shot some Pidgeons. While we were out we hear'd 24 Cannon fired in Camp, & imagining that an Express had arriv'd with some joyfull Accounts, we return'd & found that the Gunners were only practising. In a few Minutes after arriv'd an Express from Loyal Hannan with the melancholy News that Major Grant, who on the 9th Ins^t set off with 800 Men towards Fort Du Quesne, was defeated near that Place about 5 Days ago.¹⁸⁷ All the Particulars of that unhappy Affair that are yet come to Hand, are as follow, That on the 13th Ins^t at Night 300 Men dress'd in White Shirts, commanded by Captain Mc'Donald¹⁸⁸ went to the Fort;

¹⁸³ John Evans.

¹⁸⁴ Forbes' intention to "fire a *feu de joye* here to morrow" is expressed in his letter of September 17. Official orders for September 15-20 are unavailable; the Bouquet orderly book, published in *BP*, II, 656-690, terminates with the orders of September 14. The manuscript Forbes orderly book in the Toner Manuscript Collection, Library of Congress, begins with orders of September 21.

¹⁸⁵ Patrick Craighead of Capt. Charles McClung's company, 3d Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment.

¹⁸⁶ George Aston (or Ashton) of the 3d Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment.

¹⁸⁷ For accounts of this affair by participants, see Grant to Forbes, n.d. (c. September 22), in *BP*, II, 499-504, and the journal of Thomas Gist (the "Ensign Guest" of *BP*, II, 509), in *PMHB*, LXXX (1956), 289-293. Accounts based on information from participants appear in the correspondence of Washington, Bouquet (*BP*, II, 513-517), Joseph Shippen (*PMHB*, XXXVI [1912], 462-463; *BP*, II, 527-528), and others.

¹⁸⁸ William McDonald of the 1st Highland Battalion, later reported "Killed or missing." *BP*, II, 508.

& that M^r Rohr¹⁸⁹ an Engineer measur'd the Walls & took a Draught of it: That they burnt many Huts about the Fort, & even attempted to force the Pickets, without being challeng'd by a Centinel or any other Person. That the Centinels upon the Walls, at the Time our Men were employ'd in this Manner, cry'd out in English— "Turn out the Relief, All's Well."¹⁹⁰ On the 14th in the Morning Major Grant order'd the Revallee to be beat, & soon after began his March towards the Fort with Drums beating, Pipes playing & C^a, That he stay'd before the Place a considerable Time before he met with any Disturbance; At last the Enemy rush'd out in great Numbers (some say 1000) dress'd in White Shirts in Imitation of our Men the Night before & attack'd the Highlanders and Royal Americans who at this Time were advanc'd within 300 Yards of the Fort under Command of Major Grant. Major Lewis who was left with the Baggage a Mile behind, press'd forward with the Virginians, as soon as he heard the Attack begin, & left Captain Bullet¹⁹¹ to take Care of the Baggage in his Stead. That they fought obstinately & boldly on both Sides for above an Hour; & that the Highlanders gave Way first & could not be rallied again; That the others kept firing & retreating till they reach'd the Place where Captain Bullet was with the Baggage; And that as soon as Major Lewis fell,¹⁹² Bullet fill'd his Place with great Resolution & Bravery, running about, & praying the Men to stand & fight; but having lost at this Time above 250 Men, they could not be prevail'd upon, & immediately retreated as fast as possible; & by the Assistance of some Horses which Cap^t Shelby took from the French-Pastures on the other Side of the River, carried off all the Wounded. In this Action the Royal-Americans lost 4 Officers & 35 Soldiers: The Highlanders 10 Officers & 131 Men: The Virginians 6 Officers & 103 Men: The Carolinians 4 Men & no Officer: The Marylanders 1 Officer & 27 Men: The Lower Counties 2 Men & no

¹⁸⁹ Ensign Charles Rohr of the Royal American Regiment was also "Killed or missing." He was to have made a plan of the fort (see Bouquet to Forbes, September 11, *BP*, II, 490), but it seems unlikely that he actually did so.

¹⁹⁰ Whatever the source of Barton's account of operations on the night of the 13th, it is not supported by other reports and is not very convincing. His narrative of the action on the 14th, however, is in better agreement with other accounts.

¹⁹¹ Thomas Bullitt of the 1st Virginia Regiment.

¹⁹² Reported "Killed or missing," Lewis was taken prisoner with Maj. Grant. *BP*, II, 504.

Officer: And the Pennsylvanians 1 Officer & 18 Men.¹⁹³ Captain Bullet was the last that left the Field, & seeing Major Grant sitting on a Log without a Wound or any Hurt, & ask'd him if he would not come away; but he absolutely refus'd, saying his "Heart was broke." Upon which Captain Bullet left him, & knows not what became of him afterwards.

Captain Armstrong¹⁹⁴ arriv'd this Evening from Loyal Hannan with 100 Men of the first Battalion, guarding 80 Sick to the Hospital, 2 of which dy'd the Night he arriv'd. A General Court Martial sat this Day to try a Number of Men for Desertion.¹⁹⁵

Wednesday September 20th. An Express arriv'd from the Eastward: but Nothing transpires. Lieu^t MacMartin¹⁹⁶ of the Highlanders arriv'd from Fort Cumberland with 40 Men. Lieu^t Evans of the R-Americans set out with a Party to escort 114 Pack-Horses loaded with Provisions for the Advanc'd Posts, & one Waggon with Powder & Ball. Major Campbell¹⁹⁷ arriv'd this Evening from the Crossings of Juniata with a large Party of Highlanders. Orders are issued that no Officer for the future shall appear in a Blanket Coat.¹⁹⁸ The General rid out this Afternoon in his Litter to view the Fort, Camps, Breastworks &C^a.

Thursday September 21st. Colonels Washington & Byrd arriv'd from Fort Cumberland with the Remainder of the 2 Virginia Regiments, consisting of about 1000 Men. Captain Ghist¹⁹⁹ & I rid out

¹⁹³ This is consistent with a list published in *Pennsylvania Archives*, Fifth Series, I, 253-254, except that the Virginians lost 61 men, not 103; the latter is the number who returned not wounded. The less accurate copy in *BP*, II, 508-509, reports 187 Highlanders lost, and no Virginians (instead of 131 and 61), yet it arrives at the same total of 278.

¹⁹⁴ William Armstrong, a brother of Col. Armstrong, served in the 1st Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment. Col. Armstrong wrote Bouquet from Stony Creek, on September 17, that "Cap^t Armstrong proceeds with the Waggons & Sick for Reas' Town. . . ." *BP*, II, 525.

¹⁹⁵ The court, "whereof Col^o Mercer is Presid^t," met again on September 23. It tried ten men, all but one for desertion; two were acquitted, including one of the alleged deserters; of the guilty, three were sentenced to be whipped, five to be shot. Forbes orderly book, September 22-24.

¹⁹⁶ Cosmo McMartin.

¹⁹⁷ Alexander Campbell, second major of the 1st Highland Battalion, was presumably ordered up to replace Maj. Grant, now a prisoner.

¹⁹⁸ Orders for this date are not available.

¹⁹⁹ Christopher Gist, acting as an Indian agent for Virginia, claimed to have secured the services of the Catawba, Tuscarora, and Nottaway Indians mentioned in the entries for August 27 and September 4. *BP*, II, 210-211, 214, 354.

7 Miles to meet them, & finding Colonel Washington Afoot, I dismounted, & walk'd the whole Way with him to Camp. Colonel Byrd who had just arose from a Sick-Bed, & Doctor M^cClain, who had been taken ill at Fort Cumberland, were carried in Litters made in Imitation of the General's:²⁰⁰ Ensign M^cDowel²⁰¹ arriv'd from Fort Littleton with a Party escorting 54 Waggon & 84 Pack Horses loaded with Provisions & Forage. An officer & 30 Men are sent with a Flag of Truce to Fort Du Quesne with private Instructions.²⁰² M^r Basset an Engineer is sent to oversee the Repairing of the Roads between Forts Loudoun and Littleton.²⁰³ The Express receives Orders to carry no private Letters out of Camp.

Friday September 22d. Receiv'd a Letter from Colonel Dagworthy at Loyal Hannan with the Particulars of Major Grant's Expedition.

An Elk is brought into Camp, which weighs near 400^{lb}. The Horns are very large; & the Flesh like that of a Bull. The Officers of the 3^d Battalion practise the manuel Exercise under the Direction of the Serjeant Major. Captains Blackwood & Stone are sent to view the Roads at Dunning's Narrows.²⁰⁴

Colonel Dagworthy is re-call'd from his Post on the Waters of Kiskiminitas²⁰⁵ to join the Forces at Loyal Hannan.

Ensign Finny of the Lower Counties, is promoted to a Lieutenancy in the same Corps; & M^r George Wells Son of Major Wells, a young publick-spirited Volunteer, to an Ensigncy in Captain Gooding's Company.²⁰⁶ Orders issued that a Detachment consisting of 1 Cap^t, 3 Subalterns, 4 Serjeants, & 70 Men be posted upon the different

²⁰⁰ See the entry for September 6.

²⁰¹ William McDowell of Capt. Thomas Hamilton's company of the 3d Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment.

²⁰² The officer was Ensign Archibald Blane, of the Royal Americans. Bouquet's orders to him, dated September 19 at Loyalhanna, were to deliver a letter to the French commander. The orders, a copy of Bouquet's letter, and DeLigneris' reply, dated September 22 at Fort Duquesne, are published in *BP*, II, 525-526, 533.

²⁰³ Lt. Thomas Basset of the Royal American Regiment. His mission, as reported by Forbes to Bouquet, was to repair the road between Fort Loudoun and Fort Juniata. *BP*, II, 537.

²⁰⁴ Capt. Ludwick Stone of the 3d Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment. Dunning's Narrows were east of Raystown, where the Juniata breaches Evitts Mountain, just below the mouth of Dunning's Creek.

²⁰⁵ "Dagworthy's Camp."

²⁰⁶ Wells was promoted from private.

Roads leading to Camp, at about a Mile Distance; to stop all Stragglers, Soldiers & others going to or coming from Camp without proper Passes or Licenses. They are to patrol Day & Night to watch scouting Parties of the Enemy.²⁰⁷

Saturday September 23d. A Party commanded by Cap^t Boyd²⁰⁸ & 2 Subalterns are sent to escort 60 Waggons loaded with Provisions to the Advanc'd Posts. Another Party sent to the same Places commanded by Captain Armstrong & Lieu^t Prentice with 164 Pack Horses loaded with Flour.²⁰⁹ Two Highland Officers who were in the Action with Major Grant arriv'd, & give much the same Accounts we had before. The Guards take Post upon the different Roads, agreeable to Yesterday's Orders. Captain Young with the military Chest goes forward, guarded by 40 Men of the 3^d Battalion of the Pennsylv^a Reg^t. Lieu^t Johnson²¹⁰ arriv'd from Carlisle with Part of Cap^t Blackwood's Company escorting 115 Bullocks, & 39 Sheep. About 2 O'Clock P.M. fell very large Hail Stones. Soon after it lighten'd, thunder'd, & rain'd. In the Night many Flocks of wild-Geese flew over Camp towards the Southward.

Sunday September 24th. M^r Monro²¹¹ Chaplain to the Highland Regiment preach'd to all the Troops from 2 Sam. 10 Chap: & 12 Verse.²¹² Captain Eastburn²¹³ return'd from Loyal Hannan, sick. Receiv'd Orders from Major Halket²¹⁴ to attend John Hannah Soldier in the 1st Virginia Reg^t, Thomas Williams Soldier in the Maryland-Companies, Benjamin Murphy, & Salathiel Mixon of the N. Carolina

²⁰⁷ Orders of this date specify two detachments of this size, one to guard roads to the west, north, and northeast; one to guard those to the east, south, and southwest. Forbes orderly book, September 22.

²⁰⁸ Robert Boyd of the 3d Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment.

²⁰⁹ Orders for September 22 direct "the Detachm^t of y^e 1st Battall^a of Pensylv^a Reg^t to march to morrow as an Escort to provisions for Loyall Hannon." Forbes orderly book. Capt. James Sinclair wrote from Raystown on September 23 that he had sent, under two escorts, 55 wagons and 160 pack horses. *BP*, II, 539.

²¹⁰ William Johnson of Capt. John Blackwood's company of the 3d Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment.

²¹¹ Henry Monro.

²¹² "Be of good courage, and let us play the men for our people, and for the cities of our God: and the LORD do that which seemeth him good."

²¹³ Robert Eastburn of a company of "new levies" assigned to the 2d Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment.

²¹⁴ Francis Halkett, a captain in the 44th Regiment of Foot, served as Gen. Forbes' aide-de-camp.

Companies, & John Doyle of the Pennsylvania Regiment, who are all adjudg'd to suffer Death by the general Court Martial, whereof Col. Mercer was President, & order'd by the General to be shot at 7 O'Clock on Tuesday Morning next.²¹⁵ Captain Steuart of the 1st Virginia Reg^t who was in the Action with Major Grant, reports, that it will be extremely difficult to make a Road from Loyal Hannan to Fort Du Quesne; while Cap^t Callender, & some others report the Contrary, & say that an excellent Road may be made, & that they will undertake with 500 Men to open one in 5 Days fit for any Carriages to pass; such a one as Waggons may easily travel with 20^c each.²¹⁶

Captain McGrew²¹⁷ set off to take Post at Juniata-Fort in Room of Captain Aston,²¹⁸ who is charg'd with Disobedience of Orders, & sent for to make his Defence.

Monday September 25th. At 6 O'Clock this Morning visited & pray'd with the Prisoners, who have not yet receiv'd their Sentence. About 2 O'Clock P.M. arriv'd Cap^t Patterson with 40 Men wounded in the late unhappy Action²¹⁹ some were carried in Litters, & some on Horses. Ensign Kirkpatrick who had been accidentally shot thro' the Knee at Loyal Hannan, Lieu^t Bryan & Lieu^t Lattimore,²²⁰ came in at the same Time in a bad State of Health.²²¹

Receiv'd an Invitation from Major Halket Aid du Camp, to dine this Day with the General, who was very facetious & in high Spirits at Table, tho' extremely weak & in a low State of Health: He enquir'd much into the Moral State of the Army; declar'd he was concern'd at not being able to attend Divine Service; & that he was sorry I

²¹⁵ Results of the court martial of September 19 and 23 were published in orders of September 24, where Mixon appears inaccurately as "Sallateell Nicholson" and Doyle is more precisely identified as of "Cap^t Pattersons Comp^y" (James Patterson). Forbes orderly book.

²¹⁶ The argument of the two captains illustrates the sustained dispute between Virginia and Pennsylvania over the practicality of a direct (Pennsylvania) road from Raystown to the Ohio.

²¹⁷ Archibald McGrew of the 3d Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment.

²¹⁸ See the entry for September 18.

²¹⁹ Grant's defeat on September 14.

²²⁰ Lts. John Bryan and Robert Latimore and Ensign David Kirkpatrick were among the signers of the July 4 petition for a Presbyterian chaplain, mentioned in the Introduction. Bryan and Kirkpatrick were of Captain John McClughan's company from the Lower Counties. Latimore served in the Pennsylvania Regiment. *Pennsylvania Archives*, Fifth Series, I, 267.

²²¹ Following this, a line of the manuscript—apparently "Din'd with the General . . ."—has been erased and written over.

had so disagreeable an Office upon my Hands at present, as that of attending Persons under Sentence of Death. Much was also said about the Expedition, which is not proper to mention. An Express arriv'd from Philad^a with Advices from England. We learn that our Affairs in Germany are in a good State; That the Duke of Malbro is return'd to England, & that the Minister is not pleas'd at his Coming so soon & C^a.²²²

Visited the Prisoners in the Evening, who I found in Tears under terrible Apprehensions of approaching Death. I pray'd with them; & examin'd into the State of their Souls & their Preparations for Eternity; but to my great Mortification found very little Sense of Religion in any of them. Before I left them an Officer came in with the General's Pardon to John Hannah, Thomas Williams, Benjamin Murphy & Salathiel Mixon, who seem'd more affected and more penitent at the Thoughts of Living than the Thoughts of dying; They were immediately discharg'd.²²³

Thomas Keinton²²⁴ came from Loyal Hannan with 70 Horses; About the same Number are discharg'd, being render'd unfit for Service. It is said that some of our Grass-Guards upon hearing the Cackling of Wild-Geese at Night ran into Camp, & declar'd they had heard the Voice of Indians all around them.

Tuesday September 26th. Very early this Morning visited & pray'd with John Doyle, who is to be shot to Death at 7 O'Clock P.M. [*sic, A.M. intended*]. He told me he was brought up a Papist; & as his Conscience never supply'd him with sufficient Reasons to renounce that Profession, he was resolv'd to dye one, yet as he made

²²² This presumably refers to Marlborough's return to England in early July with forces that had operated near St. Malo on the north coast of Brittany but had failed to take that place.

²²³ "John Hannah Soldier belonging to the 1st Virgⁿ Reg^t Thomas Williams of the Maryland Comp^y Benjⁿ Murphy & Salateel Mixon of the N^o Carolina Comp^y ordered by the Sentence of a Gen^l Court Martial to be shot tommorrow morning for desertion But their Officers from some favourable Circumstances and in hopes that the flagrant Example now before them of the Grossness of their Crimes in Cheating & Robing their King & Country will have a proper Influence upon their future Conduct, have Appeal'd to the Gen^l to pardon them; He therefore freely grants their request & orders them To Join their respective Corps to morrow after the Execution in hopes that it may have the desir'd Effect." Forbes orderly book, September 25.

²²⁴ Thomas Kinton or Kenton, a Pennsylvania Indian trader, apparently first licensed in 1748. For references to him in 1759, see James Kenny's journal, *PMHB*, XXXVII (1913), 406-441 *passim*.

no Doubt but the Prayers of good Men would avail much, he beg'd of me to stay with him the few Minutes he had to live, & attend him to the Place of Execution; to which I agreed. In a little Time came in the Provost,²²⁵ & pin'd a Paper to his Breast with these dreadful words— Viz—

“Camp at Rays Town September 26th 1758

“John Doyle, a Soldier in Captain Patterson's Company in the Pennsylvania Reg^t, is to be shot to Death for Desertion.”

I walk'd with him to the Place of Execution, surrounded by a strong Guard. He behav'd with uncommon Resolution; exhorted his Brother-Soldiers to take Example by his Misfortunes; To live sober Lives; to beware of bad Company; to shun pretended Friends, & loose wicked Companions, “who, says, he, will treat you with Civility & great Kindness over a Bottle; but will deceive & ruin you behind your Backs,” But above all he charg'd them never to deser^t. When he saw the Six Men that were to shoot him, he enquir'd if they were good Marks-Men; and immediately strip'd off his Coat, open'd his Breast, kneel'd down, & said “Come Fellow-Soldiers, advance near me, do your Office well, point at my Heart, for God's Sake do not miss me, & take Care not to disfigure me.” He would suffer no Handkerchief to be ty'd over his Face, but look'd at his Executioners to the last, who advanc'd so near him that the Muzzles of their Guns were within a Foot of his Body. Upon a Signal from the Serjeant Major they fir'd, but shot so low that his Bowels fell out, his Shirt & Breeches were all on Fire, & he tumbled upon his Side; rais'd one Arm 2 or 3 Times, & soon expir'd. A shocking Spectacle to all around him; & a striking Example to his Fellow Soldiers²²⁶

EPILOGUE

(Forbes orderly book, September 28, 1758, Toner Manuscript Collection, Library of Congress.)

As the late example of Doyle who was shot to Death for Desertion by Sentence of a Gen^l Court Martial & the Clemency shown the others will it is hoped have a good effect upon the rest of the Army in preventing that Scandalous & infamous crime of Desertion

²²⁵ Of the military police.

²²⁶ Here, abruptly, the journal ends, with almost three quarters of its last page left blank

by which they bring sure Ruin to themselves & shew their endeavours of betraying their Country to their Enemies;

the General therefore flatters himself that their will be no such thing for the Future & that though he is sensible that the Men have gone through a great deal of Fatigue during this Campaign, yet the remainder being so Short & the advance posts of the Army almost at y^e Enemys Nose the Gen^l therefore with great confidence depends upon the Mens Alicrity & Steadiness in Carrying on the rest of the Service that we may shew our Enemys the danger of Rousing Brittons fired & animated with Love of their King & Country.

He therefore entreats & recommends to the whole that Considering the few numbers our Army Army [*sic*] consists of & the many Labourious & fatiguing Steps that are to be executed) everyone in his Station will Contribute all in his power to the forwarding of the Service with Alicrity & pleasure as every one must be Sensible that a good Understanding & a Mutual Cement of Hands & Hearts will most Certainly be the most surest means of a Completion to all our wishes, that is success over our Enemys & the Support & prosperity of these Provinces.

Gen^l Forbes has been pleasd to Release all the prisoners in the Fort & the different Corps are to send for them accordingly.