BRIGADIER General John Forbes ordered a gold medal to be struck off and worn about the neck with a dark blue ribbon by all officers who had participated in the campaign which resulted in the expulsion of the French from the Ohio Valley in 1758. One side of the medal showed a road cut through vast forests and the rocky steepness of impassable mountains. The Latin inscription, Per-Tot Discrimina, tersely called attention to the many difficulties the British had encountered before they came to blows with the French and Indians at the Ohio.¹ The other side of the medal showed a flaming fort at the junction of the two rivers toward which a well organized army advanced, led by a general carried on a litter. The caption, Ohio Britannica Consilio Manuque, boasted that the Ohio Valley was now British through superior wisdom and skill.

Many provincial as well as British officers were entitled to wear this medal, which probably never got beyond the conception stage. More than a medal was needed to aid the men to hold the area won.

¹ Grant to Bouquet, Feb. 20, 1759, The Papers of Col. Henry Bouquet, issued under the sponsorship of the Pennsylvania Historical Commission (Harrisburg, 1940-1943), Ser. 21644, Part I, 46. These papers will hereafter be designated as the Bouquet Papers, P.H.C. For an artist’s conception of the Forbes medal see front and back covers of Drums in the Forest, published by the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania in 1958.

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through so many difficulties. General Forbes formally took over
the charred ruins of Fort Duquesne and then hurried the army off
to winter quarters as soon as possible, leaving a detachment of only
two hundred to keep the strategic land at the forks of the Ohio. 2
Forbes was forced to leave such an important task to a token force
because of the imminence of a severe winter, the difficulties of getting
provisions through to this outpost and because the destruction of the
French fort left the British without shelter for a larger detachment.
Colonel Hugh Mercer, colonel of the Third Battalion of the Penn-
sylvania Regiment, was left in charge of the tiny force. To him fell
the task of fortifying the area, keeping a watchful eye on the
French and their satellite Indians, and feeding and clothing his little
band of men so far from the source of supplies. In solving the
problem of maintaining himself and his men he had the able aid
of Lieutenant Thomas Hutchins who was provincial quartermaster
of the Third Battalion. 3

Little is known about the early life of Thomas Hutchins. Con-
temporary accounts agree on Monmouth County, New Jersey, as
the place of his birth and establish 1730 as the approximate date.
He was left an orphan while still very young, but preferred to look
after himself rather than to be dependent on his relatives who were
respectable citizens of New York. Even at such an early age he
showed his lifelong preference for the frontier and the outdoor life it
necessitated. Before he was sixteen he went to the “Western Country.”
What formal training or education he received is unknown, but his
well written letters indicate a considerable degree of proficiency,
and his later positions as engineer, surveyor, and mapmaker all show
mathematical and scientific prowess. No known portrait or descrip-
tion of Hutchins is in existence today, and a chance remark by
Hutchins furnishes the only indication of his slender physique.
Hutchins wrote of an infection which caused his leg to swell to the

2 Extract of a letter from Ft. Duquesne, Nov. 25, 1758, Pennsylvania Journal
and Weekly Advertiser, Dec. 14, 1758.

3 The Pennsylvania Archives (9 series; Harrisburg, 1852-1914), 5th Series, I,
132. In the above Hutchins is listed as being promoted to Quartermaster of
the Third Battalion on June 7, 1758. However, in the Thomas Hutchins
Papers (3 Vols., Pennsylvania Historical Association Library), there is a
commission from Gov. Denny to Hutchins. This is dated March 24, 1759,
and in it Hutchins was appointed Quartermaster of the First Battalion of
the Pennsylvania Regiment of Foot.
size of his waist, which, he jocularly added, "though not very big you'll say was still enormous for my spindle shank." 4

The first known official record of Thomas Hutchins occurs on November 1, 1756, on which date he received his commission as ensign in the Second Battalion of the Second Pennsylvania Regiment. The very next year he received his commission as Lieutenant on December 18, when he is noted as being stationed west of the Susquehanna.5 Within six months he became quartermaster of the Third Battalion, and it was in this capacity that he served in the Forbes expedition and in the first English garrison to be stationed in the Ohio Valley.

The task of supplying a remote outpost westward of the Alleghanies in a period when Pennsylvania was merely garrisoning a frontier "westward of the Susquehanna" was a tremendous one. Practically all of the supplies had to come over the mountains to Fort Bedford and Fort Ligonier, and after surviving the hazards of swollen streams and broken axles, still had to escape marauding Indians along the communication to Fort Pitt. The great quantities of supplies needed for such a small garrison were out of all proportion to the number of white men stationed there, but scarcely adequate for the large number of Indians who visited the fort and required gifts with which to cement their friendship. It required real ingenuity to stretch the supplies from convoy to convoy.

Lieutenant Hutchins had charge of all these supplies, receiving them, dispensing them, and performing all the clerical work entailed by them. So well did he perform these duties that Colonel Mercer recommended him to Colonel Henry Bouquet, who promptly sent a certificate for Hutchins so that he might be paid for his extra service out of the contingency fund.6 The task was an enormous one and the opportunities for error in checking and recording the supplies were many. Hutchins, in spite of Mercer's fine recommendations, did not escape the pitfall of miscalculations. A number of letters in the correspondence of Hutchins, Mercer, and Bouquet deprecate the discrepancies between paper account and actual amount of flour, beef, and pork in stock at Fort Pitt. Hutchins frankly confessed his


5 Pennsylvania Archives, 5th Series, 1, 63, 90, 98.

“gross mistake” and offered ten thousand pardons. It is refreshing to find that none of the usual methods of covering up the shortages and shifting the blame was resorted to by this provincial officer.

In spite of the difficulties of getting supplies and keeping them accounted for, the garrison at the forks of the Ohio never suffered from lack of food. Even when supplies failed to get through, the well stocked rivers and the abundance of deer staved off the pangs of hunger, although they imposed the monotony of sameness. A welcome relief was furnished by the greens in the King’s garden. The garden with its fresh vegetables proved to be a lifesaver, for scurvy had begun to play havoc with the men who had spent a winter in the wilderness without fresh fruits or vegetables. The measles had also visited the garrison, spreading rapidly among the men, putting them out of commission, but rarely proving fatal. Thomas Hutchins was one of the few who were very ill from the disease.\footnote{Mercer to Bouquet, Mar. 18, 1759, \textit{ibid.}, Ser. 21644, Pt. I, 89.} Survival in the wilderness demanded that every soldier fit for duty take his turn at serving in the garden, at the fortification, and on guard duty.

The English post at the Ohio could never really be secure until the French had been expelled from the entire valley. The garrison at Fort Pitt had to be constantly on the alert for surprise attacks from the northern French posts at Venango, Le Boeuf and Presque Isle. But eventually, British success against the French at Fort Niagara made the rest of their posts in the Ohio Valley untenable, so the French demolished these forts and withdrew. The expulsion of the French from the Ohio Valley marked the dawn of a British day in America and the sunset of French aspirations.

With the cessation of fighting for the Ohio Valley came the struggle to occupy and assimilate it. Thomas Hutchins, the Pennsylvania provincial from New Jersey, furnished one of the strong links in the chain of human activity which made the western country British. Colonel Bouquet felt that before any attempt was made to take over the abandoned French forts, British officials should be sent to inspect the ruins at Venango, Le Boeuf, and Presque Isle and to make an inventory of the iron and equipment that might have been left there.\footnote{Bouquet to Gordon, Aug. 22, 1759, \textit{ibid.}, Pt. II, 50.} One of the men sent was Thomas Hutchins, who delegating his duties of handling the supplies at Fort Pitt, visited the three forts between Lake Erie and the Ohio River, took plans of the ruined
forts and made a sketch of the country round about for 150 miles. While neither the sketches nor the plan made by Hutchins are now known or so identified, the account of the journey is still extant.

On October 4, 1759, just the day before Lieutenant Hutchins and Captain William Patterson were to set out for Presque Isle, a party under the command of Captain Charles Lee arrived at Fort Pitt. Lee had been sent from Fort Niagara after its capture by the British to find out what had become of the French who had escaped capture. He kept an account of his trip which is probably the earliest description of this country after the English took it over. This antedated by almost a year Hutchins' journal of July 1760 for which Justin Winsor made the same claim. Lee's journal of his trip from Niagara to Pittsburgh, begun on September 19, shows that his party stopped at Presque Isle, Le Boeuf, and Venango — the very places Hutchins and Patterson were sent to investigate. Nevertheless, the proposed trip went ahead as planned, either because it was too late to cancel the arrangements or because Lee's account failed to note the information that was to be obtained by Hutchins. The latter is probably the case since Lee himself said they paid little attention to Venango as they imagined that someone had already been there to "take draught of it." It is also possible that the proposed trip was necessary to get further information about the terrain to Presque Isle, since Lee's trip had been entirely by water with the exception of the short march from Presque Isle to Le Boeuf.

According to their own account, Hutchins and Patterson set out from Pittsburgh on Friday, October 5, 1759. Although the two men made the trip, there can be little doubt that Hutchins kept the journal. The style and kind of information are typical of his other writings, while Patterson has no writings with which to make com-

10 "Capt. Patterson and Lieut. Hutchins their Journal from Pittsburgh to Presque Isle" in Bouquet Papers, P.H.C., Ser. 21644, Pt. II, 166-169. All references to the Hutchins trip of 1759 were taken from the above account.
11 Ibid., 134-139. Two of Lee's accounts are found in the Bouquet Papers, P.H.C. The one on pages 134-136 seems to be the official one and is endorsed in Col. Bouquet's handwriting with a computation of the distance from Niagara to Pittsburgh. The second copy on pages 137-139 seems to be a personal one with fuller descriptions, although the facts given do not differ materially from those in the first.
12 Justin Winsor, Narrative and Critical History of America (Houghton, 1884-1889), V, 608; Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, II, 147 ff.
parisons. Much of the account is devoted to the steepness of the hills climbed, the number and width of the streams crossed, and the quality of the land traversed. An average day’s march ranged from 10 to 15 miles. Within five days they had arrived at the ruins of Venango where they found a quantity of broken guns, old iron, and about 42 houses. Another day’s travel brought them to Custaloga’s Town where they were detained three days by rainy weather. In this Delaware Indian town they found 40 fighting men, 50 women and children, and 50 white prisoners. After traveling for three more days and losing their way only once, they arrived at Le Boeuf where they found the remains of the fort and 27 charred bateaux. The final day’s travel over swamps and a road bridged with logs, brought them to Presque Isle where the demolished fort, a few gun barrels and scalping knives, together with seven canoes with holes cut in them gave evidence of the thoroughness with which the French had accomplished their evacuation. Having obtained the necessary information, the British officers started back to Pittsburgh the very next day and, with the exception of one day’s stop-over at Custaloga’s Town, traveled steadily, arriving at Fort Pitt on October 26. The trip to Presque Isle had taken ten days of travel, while they accomplished the return trip in only seven days.

Hutchins’ return to Fort Pitt after obtaining the information required was a bit like Cinderella’s return from the ball. From the exhilaration of being trusted messenger with the attendant responsibilities, dangers, and adventures, he returned to checking vouchers and handling supplies when he resumed his duties as quartermaster. On December 17 of the same year, he handed in an account of provisions which showed the purchase of more than 14,000 pounds of venison and certified to the quantity of provisions served to the troops at Pittsburgh. The taste of adventure had spoiled Hutchins for the steady routine of checking and balancing accounts, and he resigned from his position as quartermaster. General Stanwix appointed John Clark to act as “forage master, store keeper for rum and King’s stores in the barracks in the room of Lieutenant Thomas Hutchins.” 13 On March 3, 1760, Mr. Clark took over the position which Hutchins had held at five shillings a day.

A list of officers who served in the Third Battalion of the Pennsylvania Regiment in 1758 and 1759 shows that Lieutenant

13 Bouquet Papers, P.H.C., Ser. 21654, 102.
Thomas Hutchins was promoted to the "Regular Service" in 1760. However, the records show that Hutchins did not receive a commission in the British Army until March 2, 1762, when he became an ensign in the Sixtieth or Royal American Regiment. During the two year interim between his commission as a provincial officer and his ensigncy in the British Army, Thomas Hutchins became assistant to George Croghan, the deputy Indian agent for the British. No doubt the prospect of a hardy out-of-door life in the wilderness appealed to Hutchins, but there was greater appeal in becoming a "self made man," a term which eventually became synonymous with America itself. With the expulsion of the French from the Ohio Valley, Hutchins felt that the opportunities for military advancement in the service of Pennsylvania were meager indeed. While he waited for his commission in the British Army to come through, Hutchins thought he saw a golden opportunity for himself in the Indian service since the British still had a lively Indian problem on their hands. His hopes of advancement in the Indian service were doomed to disappointment when the British policy of retrenchment reduced that department to a minimum.

In his new capacity as assistant to George Croghan, Hutchins again made the trip to Presque Isle, this time accompanied by a party of Indians. General Robert Monckton, who had succeeded to the command of the Southern Department under General Amherst, wished to know whether the British troops expected at Presque Isle had arrived from Niagara according to plan. A detachment from Fort Pitt was to march north to relieve the garrison at Niagara, and this plan could be successfully carried out only if the boats were waiting at Presque Isle to transport the troops across Lake Erie. Hutchins arrived at Presque Isle on July 5, 1760, just after the troops from Niagara had arrived with their bateaux. He hastened back in record time, arriving at Fort Pitt on the tenth with the news that all was well. This marked the completion of his second successful mission to Presque Isle.

General Monckton entrusted to Colonel Bouquet the responsi-

14 Pennsylvania Archives, 5th Ser., I, 266.
bility of transferring 400 Royal Americans and 100 of the Virginia Regiment from Fort Pitt to Niagara and planned to reinforce him with a Pennsylvania detachment under Colonel Mercer. The need for haste was so great that Bouquet set out from Fort Pitt on July 7, 1760, three days before Hutchins could return with news of the presence of the Niagara detachment with the boats. Fortunately, when Hutchins was on his way back from the northern posts he met Bouquet’s party encamped at the second crossing of Beaver Creek.

Bouquet was relieved to hear that the northern part of the march was arranged for, but he had begun to have his doubts that the expedition would successfully get that far. Although George Croghan was with the group, Bouquet complained bitterly that no one knew anything about the country or distances except the Indians, who could tell little because of their drunken condition.

George Croghan did not let Bouquet’s displeasure annoy him. He had been sent to inform the Indians that the British had come to befriend them and not to molest their homes or their lands. He was also to distribute some presents and invite them to a conference at Fort Pitt with General Monckton. Croghan could better carry out this program unencumbered with Bouquet’s party; so he was glad to see his assistant, Hutchins, who could travel with Bouquet without friction. He ordered Hutchins to join Bouquet’s expedition as soon as possible.

Mr. Hutchins, for he had exchanged his military title for the civilian one with his new position, was likely to develop into the British version of the Greek Phidippides. On July 10, the very day he reached Fort Pitt with the report, Hutchins set out for his third trip to Presque Isle and caught up with the slower moving British forces at Venango on the thirteenth. To reach them he traveled on horseback through the wilderness for 26 hours, riding at a speed of approximately three miles an hour. While Bouquet was delighted to see him and to receive the messages Hutchins bore, he chided Hutchins for understating the distance from Fort Pitt to Venango in his first report. Bouquet found the distance to be at least 80 miles and Hutchins agreed with him. He had committed his error through

18 Monckton to Bouquet, July 6, 1760, Wilderness Chronicles of Northwestern Pennsylvania (Pennsylvania Historical Commission, Harrisburg, 1941), 173 f.
20 Croghan to Gates, July 10, 1760, ibid., 266.
following the computations of Lewis Evans, the cartographer.²¹

Hutchins' arrival permitted Croghan to set out before the rest of the troops for Custaloga's Town to collect the neighboring Indians for a conference. When the troops marched by the next day, Croghan accompanied them for several miles and returned to the Indian town secure in the knowledge that Hutchins was now with the party.²² Bouquet voiced his disapproval of Croghan's disappearance from the party and of his negligence in supplying expresses for messages to Fort Pitt. He gave credit where credit was due in writing that "It was happy for us to have Hutchins, or we would have been in danger of loosing our way with these drunken guides."²³ Because of the services Hutchins rendered on the march, Bouquet recommended him to Monckton for a proper reward. The fact that Croghan arrived at Presque Isle the very day after he himself had arrived and assured him that there was no danger from the Indians failed to mollify Bouquet.

The British forces under Bouquet arrived at Presque Isle on the morning of July 17, and early the next day Bouquet had personally seen all of the Royal Americans embark on the whale boats for Fort Niagara. The little band of 100 Virginians which he retained at Presque Isle was in a perilous position in the event of an attack until it was reinforced by Colonel Mercer and 150 Pennsylvania troops on the evening of the 18th. He brought with him enough supplies to maintain 400 men for five or six weeks.²⁴ Thus an English post was established at Presque Isle and was followed in short order by a fortification. Before 1760 came to a close, the English had re-established the three French posts on the upper Ohio and had made British troops as comfortable as possible in those isolated positions.

Toward the end of July, George Croghan returned to Fort Pitt from the northern posts for a conference with the Indians which was called for August 12, and it is likely that his assistant Hutchins returned with him.²⁵ These men in the Indian Department undertook under protest the hopeless task of weaning the Indians from their French loyalties with little or no expense to the Crown. Not only

²¹ Bouquet to Monckton, July 13, 1760, Wilderness Chronicles, 180.
²³ Bouquet to Monckton, July 18, 1760, Wilderness Chronicles, 184.
²⁴ Ibid.
did the British officials sanction gifts for the Indians grudgingly, but they even tried to keep the personnel in the Indian Department below the number that efficient service required. Croghan's list of assistants was always closely scrutinized and approved only with bad grace. On January 12, 1761, Thomas Hutchins was reported as an assistant in the "Department of Indian Affairs to the Westward" together with Edward Ward, and Thomas and Alexander McKee. These men each received twelve shillings, sixpence a day and were doing duty at Venango, Le Boeuf, and Presque Isle.

Hutchins who was to represent the Indian Department at the northern posts for several years, returned to Venango soon after the close of the August Indian conference. He was kept busy trying to maintain friendly relations with the Indians north of Fort Pitt in order to keep the British posts in that region free from attack. In addition, it was his duty to encourage the Indians to keep the posts supplied with fresh meat and the necessary grain. Since many of the supplies for the forts at Le Boeuf and Presque Isle had to be transported by way of Venango, it was necessary to seek help from the Indians to keep the supplies moving. When the water navigation was open, the British could manage alone; but since floods, ice, and low water prevented year-round water transportation, it was necessary to keep packhorses plodding overland from fort to fort. None of the posts could supply either the horses or the escort needed, so Hutchins spent much time among the Indians encouraging them to hire out their horses, their time, or both.

Numerous letters testify to the disinclination of the Indians to aid the British for the meager presents and rewards that the post commanders and the Indian agent were authorized to offer. The hunting season, too, gave the Indians a legitimate excuse for refusing their own services and those of their horses. When in desperation Hutchins offered the indifferent Indians high rewards and they still showed no willingness to cooperate with the British, the officers talked seriously of reducing the garrisons to a number that they themselves could provision easily.

The duties of assistant agent of Indian affairs kept Hutchins so busy that he was able to do little else. When Bouquet passed through

27 Ibid., 300.
Venango on his return to Fort Pitt from Presque Isle, Hutchins promised to furnish him a plan of Fort Venango with a survey of the land around it, as well as with a sketch of the road from Pittsburgh to Presque Isle. A month later he was still promising to send the plans as soon as they were completed.29 A great deal of strenuous activity was to be expected at a supply center like Venango and everyone's endurance was pushed to the limit. When Lieutenant Francis Gordon was in command, he complained that he had only five or six men fit for bateau service; the rest were too small and had not the "strength of a cat."30 He felt that the problem of the bateaux and the trouble with the Indians made his post the "hardest duty on this communication."

The question of money was another problem that made frontier service so difficult for British officials. Supplies had to be bought, and traders and Indians alike had to be paid for them, but the ready cash was seldom on hand. Vouchers or receipts which were issued for goods were more readily accepted at the larger posts like Fort Pitt than they were in the more isolated posts. When Hutchins paid the Indians who brought meat to Venango with receipts, the Indians promptly gave them to the traders in exchange for goods. When the number of receipts became too numerous, the traders refused to accept them unless Hutchins personally acted as security that they would be paid at Pittsburgh on sight. Hutchins was loath to do this as the total sum was considerable, and his own personal credit would be jeopardized.31 Bouquet sent 100 pounds sterling to Venango to help relieve the situation, but the relief was slight indeed. The bulk of the money was kept by the commander for contingent expenses and only 42 pounds were given to Hutchins for the Indian service. He was forced to ask that more cash be sent up as soon as possible since more than 100 pounds were still owed to the traders who were becoming uneasy about their money.32

To the difficulties that Thomas Hutchins had over public finances, must be added his anxiety over his own personal finances. Promises of extra remuneration for his trouble in going twice to Presque Isle and back again had failed to materialize. Monckton, who had been so appreciative of Hutchins' services as to make the promise, had

29 Hutchins to Bouquet, Nov. 23 and Dec. 22, 1760, ibid., 195, 238.
30 Letter to Bouquet, Aug. 18, 1762, Wilderness Chronicles, 240.
31 Buckner to Bouquet, Jan. 3, 1761, Bouquet Papers, P.H.C., Ser. 21646, 3.
32 Hutchins to Bouquet, Feb. 14, 1761, ibid., 38.
left Fort Pitt while Hutchins was away, and Hutchins felt sure that the general had forgotten his promise. It was not seemly for Hutchins himself to remind the general of the services he had rendered and the dangers he had faced in those special trips; so the aid of Major Horatio Gates was invoked. Hutchins had no way of knowing that after more than 15 years had elapsed, he would still be trying to collect on the forgotten promise of remuneration.

With the exception of a short trip to Fort Pitt in May 1761 to look after some private business, Hutchins remained at Venango for more than a year, alternately cajoling and scolding the Indians into cooperation with the British. When too many Indians came to the post, it was his duty to get rid of them without offense, since the provisions they ate and the presents they required put the British Crown to more expense than it was willing to allow. When the Indians failed to put in an appearance for any length of time, then Hutchins traveled to Custaloga's Town to find out if any mischief was brewing against the British.

Many small, routine, and seemingly unimportant duties filled the days of Thomas Hutchins as Indian agent. But the sum total of these very duties made it possible for the British to continue to hold their gains in the wilderness. On one occasion he was occupied in tracing a packet of letters lost en route from Niagara to Fort Pitt. Then again, he would describe a deserter to the Indians and ask them to bring him in if the deserter were found. The attempt to keep the British safe and satisfied and the Indians friendly and cooperative kept Hutchins constantly on the trail between the British posts and the Indian villages. On these trips he developed a technique for surviving the hardships of wilderness travel and acquired the keen observation which enabled him to appraise land quickly and accurately and to map it scientifically.

In the autumn of 1761, Hutchins was recalled to Fort Pitt for service there, and Bouquet was further impressed by the Indian agent's ability to break the trail and map the route. Hutchins with his boundless energy and desire for rapid personal advancement had seen the need for an easy communication from the line of settlement to the Ohio River. He proposed to Bouquet that he could reconnoiter such a route at small expense with the help of one Indian, two white men, and a canoe. The route would probably lead from the west

33 Hutchins to Gates, March 27, 1761, ibid., 80.
34 Cochrane to Bouquet, July 27, 1761; Aug. 30, 1761, ibid., Ser. 21647, 35, 89.
branch of the Susquehanna through a short portage to two different creeks which joined the Ohio near Venango and were navigable in the spring and fall.\textsuperscript{35} Bouquet thought enough of the proposal to ask permission to send Hutchins on this project, expressing faith in the need for such a route and in Hutchins' ability to give a satisfactory account of the practicability of it.

Bouquet also thought enough of Hutchins personally to recommend him to General Amherst as an "intelligent, active young man" who would make an excellent ensign. After a lengthy and long continued correspondence, Amherst on May 2, 1762, sent a commission dated March 2 making Hutchins an ensign in the Sixtieth or Royal American Regiment.\textsuperscript{36} By the time the commission came through, Hutchins was away on a mission to Detroit and the Great Lakes. It was at Detroit that he received the good news of the commission and that it had been granted to him without a fee.

During the time Hutchins hopefully waited for an ensigncy in the British army, he continued to perform his increasingly responsible tasks in the Indian Department. At one time when George Croghan anticipated an extended absence from Fort Pitt he placed Thomas Hutchins in charge of Indian affairs at the fort and gave him detailed instructions to guide him in the complex Indian relations.\textsuperscript{37} Hutchins was to transact all business with the Indians that came to the fort, according to Croghan's instructions. All goods for the Indians were to be requisitioned from the commanding officer, and Hutchins was cautioned to be as frugal as possible, sending the Indians away speedily to save the expense of provisions for them. Extreme care must also be taken to see that no liquor was sold to the Indians by traders whether they were licensed or not. The only time this rule could be relaxed was when the Indians brought in British prisoners whom they had taken in war. In that case, they might be given from one to three gallons of liquor or its equivalent in goods. Hutchins was instructed to break up the custom which the Indians pursued of seeing the commanding officer personally every time they came to the fort. Only when the commanding officer desired it, was Hutchins to permit the Indians to see the commandant. All presents

\textsuperscript{35} Bouquet to Monckton, Sept. 19, 1761, \textit{Wilderness Chronicles}, 224 f.
\textsuperscript{36} Bouquet to Amherst, Dec. 2, 1761; Amherst to Bouquet, Dec. 31, 1761, and May 2, 1762, \textit{Bouquet Papers, P.H.C.}, Ser. 21634, 47, 53 f., 88 f.; Bouquet to Campbell, May 25, 1762, \textit{ibid.}, Ser. 21653, 136.
\textsuperscript{37} "Instructions for Thomas Hutchins Esquire, Assistant Agent for Indian Affairs in the Western Division at Fort Pitt," Oct. 25, 1761, \textit{ibid.}, Ser. 21655, 165 f.
were strictly forbidden except a little twist of tobacco when the Indians arrived, since this was a custom of long standing. The instructions ended with a wish for Hutchins' success in the task facing him.

Thomas Hutchins was in charge of Indian affairs at Fort Pitt for a period of four months, and, fortunately, we have a detailed record of what occurred during that period. When William Trent who was also employed in the Indian Department left Fort Pitt for Philadelphia on November 15, 1761, Hutchins continued the journal of Indian affairs where Trent left off. 38

On the first day that Hutchins was in charge, 15 Indians came in to exchange pelts for goods. This was not a new experience for Hutchins who handled the deal easily and was able to report nothing of importance in the journal until November 24. On that date, Abraham McCoy, a soldier in the Pennsylvania Troops, told the Indians that the British were going to destroy all of the Indian towns. At a period when the English were not free from the danger of Indian attacks and were trying to pacify the Indians, this was little short of treason and caused consternation among those at the post. At a court martial, McCoy was ordered to receive 300 lashes in the presence of Indians.

A number of incidents occurred which almost exhausted the patience of the Indian agent, but the most difficult cases to handle were the requests made by the Indians for gifts. On January 16, forty Seneca Indians came to the fort asking for clothes and ammunition that they might go on the warpath against the Cherokees. Hutchins had to explain that the recent flood had destroyed all of their powder and that the supply of Indian clothing had been given out long ago. 39 The only aid the British could give was to mend their guns and tomahawks and to give them a little lead and some provisions. When the Senecas left on the twenty-third they carried with them their mended weapons, 40 pounds of lead, and provisions enough for three days. On the way out they killed the cow of one of the inhabitants and when Hutchins sent a string of wampum after them desiring to speak to the chief, the ungrateful Indian "took care not to come."

39 Bouquet to Walters, Apr. 10, 1762, Bouquet Papers, P.H.C., Ser. 21648, Pt. 1, 70 f.
On the fifth of February, the Shawnee Indians complained that several houses had been built on the Monongahela River contrary to the promises made by the white men. Indians could never be either friends or allies of the British if they drove away the game and spoiled the hunting which was the redman's chief livelihood. When the news was reported to the commandant, he ordered the houses to be burned immediately, since they had been built without his knowledge or permission. To show his good faith to the Indians the commandant ordered all white men hunting west of the Alleghenies without a license to be punished, and the Indians who brought them in could have all of their effects. The immediate duty of burning out the settlers in the Indian country was entrusted to Hutchins who accomplished this disagreeable task quickly and effectively.

In accordance with his instructions to see strict justice done to the Indians, Hutchins found it necessary to bring charges of stealing meat from an Indian against a soldier at a court martial. The soldier was ordered to pay the cost. When Hutchins was not meting out justice to the Indians, he was dispensing such hospitality to them as the penurious British government allowed. Scarcely a day went by without the entertainment of some group of Indians or other. Hutchins had begun to be fearful of a reprimand because of the expense to the Crown, when George Croghan returned and relieved him of the responsibility of the Indian Department at Fort Pitt. In his climb up the social ladder, Hutchins left behind him his service as a provincial soldier and as an Indian agent and assumed his new duties as an ensign in His Majesty's Army.

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40 Bouquet to Fauquier, Feb. 8, 1762, ibid., 20 f. Bouquet explained that by the Treaty of Easton in 1758, white men were forbidden to hunt or settle west of the Allegheny Mts. He assured Gov. Fauquier that Virginia need not be uneasy about this ruling since he would give both protection and assistance as soon as it was possible to permit settlements.