

THE ORDERLY BOOK OF COLONEL HENRY
BOUQUET'S EXPEDITION AGAINST
THE OHIO INDIANS, 1764

Edited by EDWARD G. WILLIAMS

INTRODUCTION

FRANCIS Parkman, in the preface to his *Montcalm and Wolfe*, sets forth one of the most brilliant approaches to historical investigation ever expounded, in these words: " . . . I visited and examined every spot where events of any importance took place, and have observed with attention such scenes and persons as might help to illustrate those I meant to describe. In short, *the subject has been studied as much in the open air as at the library table.*" The key to a real understanding of historical events is, then, to surround one's self with the actual environment that influenced those events. Often one must visualize hills as covered by primeval forests instead of urban redevelopments, streams as of greater width than today, super highways and bridges as non-existent. Modern transformations are making identification of historic spots ever more difficult.

When the *Orderly Book* of Colonel Henry Bouquet's expedition against the Indians of Ohio (here printed for the first time) turned up after a disappearance of one hundred and ninety-two years,¹ just such an opportunity presented itself for historical study "as much in the open air as at the library table." The *Journal* of the expedition, usually ascribed to Bouquet himself,² was contained in the history of the expedition entitled *An Historical Account* . . . , now quite rare, by "a lover of his country," published first in Philadelphia

Mr. Williams, a member of this Society, a businessman, and a collector of rare books, presents in this article some of the results of his extensive research which he pursues as an avocational interest.—Ed.

1 Bouquet's *Orderly Books* Numbers 1 and 2 probably came from England in 1956 and are now in the William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan, by whose courtesy, through the Director, Mr. Howard H. Peckham, the present transcription is made possible.

2 William Matthews, *American Diaries*, University of California Press, 1945, p. 90.

(1765), then in London (1766),³ and later in Dublin and Amsterdam (in French). A letter by Doctor William Smith, provost of the College of Philadelphia (now the University of Pennsylvania), to Sir William Johnson, found in the Force Collection in the Library of Congress, states his authorship of the book, and his use of Bouquet's papers as source material. Parkman accepted it as "sufficient proof that the credit belongs to him."⁴ Since that time all index catalogues have listed the book under Dr. William Smith's name.

An Historical Account also contained a map of the expedition drawn by Thomas Hutchins, the engineer of the army, that varied in the several editions only in minor details of arrangement. It is the amazing accuracy of this map when harmonized with a modern road map, and with details given in the *Journal* and the *Orderly Book* that is phenomenal when judged by today's standards of engineering. It is evident that the map as printed is a simplification of a detailed draft, since Dr. Smith says that it was "taken from *actual surveys*, of the road and adjacent country,"⁵ yet it contains none of the small windings and jottings that an actual survey would necessarily show. One sector, however, of this original draft by Hutchins turned up, just at this juncture, among the Hutchins Papers,⁶ and a reprint of it is given herewith for the first time. More will be mentioned later concerning this map.

It has been a rare satisfaction to be able here to bring together under the same covers, after a wide separation for nearly two centuries, a journal, an orderly book, and a map so closely related in their origin. All three were compiled simultaneously in the same

3 The title page: *An Historical Account of the Expedition Against the Ohio Indians, in the Year MDCCLXIV*. Under the Command of Henry Bouquet, Esq. Colonel of Foot and now Brigadier General in America. Including his Transactions with the Indians, Relative to the Delivery of their Prisoners, and the Preliminaries of Peace. With an Introductory Account of the Preceding Campaign, and Battle at Bushy Run. To which are annexed Military Papers, Containing Reflections on the Art of War with the Savages; a Method of forming Frontier Settlements; some account of the Indian Country; with a List of the Nations, Fighting Men, Towns, Distances, and different Routs. The whole illustrated with a Map and Copper Plates. Published from authentic Documents, by a Lover of his Country. Philadelphia, Printed: William Bradford MDCCLXV. (1765)

The English edition adds:

London, Reprinted for T. Jefferies, Geographer to his Majesty, at Charing Cross. MDCCLXVI. (1766)

4 See Parkman's Preface to his edition of the *An Historical Account*, Cincinnati, Ohio, Robert Clarke & Co., 1868, xv.

5 Smith, London edition, p. 7; Parkman 1868 edition. p. 40.

6 Thomas Hutchins Papers; Pennsylvania Historical Society, Philadelphia, I, item no. 44. (Map will be printed with second installment.)

tight little army in the depths of the American wilderness in 1764. Together, they constitute the recorded details of Bouquet's expedition (the year following his victory at Bushy Run), to bring the Indians of Ohio and far places to abject submission and to exact from them the release of all their white captives.⁷

Bouquet's expedition against the Ohio Indians has not been accorded the military fame it deserves, because no battles were fought, no dramatic moments occurred when the fate of the army hung suspended in the balance. In the light of facts of which we now are in possession, however, we know that Bouquet's achievement was all the more remarkable because he accomplished his goal against tremendous odds, of which we have little idea today, without having to risk the success of the undertaking upon the precarious issue of battle.

The true genius of Henry Bouquet as a military strategist and tactician is disclosed when we examine the "Reflections on War with the Savages of North America" appended to the *Historical Account*. These, almost certainly, were written by Bouquet himself, since Dr. Smith was in no sense a military man, and his letter to Sir William Johnson says, "... which I drew up from some papers he favored me with."⁸ The references in the "Reflections" to the Romans' methods of combating the barbarians' fluid tactics point out that these have been common to all barbarians as well as to the American Indians.⁹ That Bouquet was master of the proper means to combat them he demonstrated at Bushy Run by inflicting upon them their first great defeat in the West, which drove them in terror to abandon all their towns clear to the Tuscarawas.

Concerning the life of Henry Bouquet prior to his coming to America only the barest facts are known. The French edition of *An Historical Account*, printed at Amsterdam in 1769 by C. G. F. Dumas, contained a biographical sketch of Bouquet, which was translated by Parkman in his edition of 1868, and is the basis of most of our knowledge of his pre-American life. Dr. Egle's *Historical Register, Notes and Queries*, Series 3, II (1896), 80 ff., adds a few details about the Bouquet family gleaned from the archives of

⁷ Dr. William S. Ewing, "Indian Captives Released by Colonel Bouquet," *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, 39, 187 ff., listed 348 prisoners found in the Gage Papers in the William L. Clements Library and in the British Museum Additional MSS, Bouquet Papers 21655, 250; but he has since found a list of 15 additional prisoners, bringing the total now known to 363 persons.

⁸ This is the same letter to which reference is made, note 4, above.

⁹ *An Historical Account* . . . London edition, Appendix, "Reflections on the War with the Savages of North America," p. 45; Parkman's edition, 1868, p. 109.

the Canton of Vaud at Lausanne, Switzerland. A brief resumé of his life is here included for the benefit of our readers who have not had an opportunity to read either Dumas' or Dr. Smith's accounts.

Born in Roll on the shores of Lake Geneva, Switzerland, in 1719, Henry Bouquet entered the service of the Netherlands as a cadet at the age of 17. Having served through the wars of the Continent under the King of Sardinia, he again entered the service of the Prince of Orange as captain commandant in the Swiss Guards with the rank of lieutenant colonel.

Bouquet now entered upon a phase of his career that made him one of the best informed military tacticians and strategists of his day. For a few years he studied at the University of Leyden and there he enjoyed associations with some of the foremost mathematicians and natural scientists of the continent. Because of his knowledge of military science, Lord Middleton invited Bouquet to accompany him on a tour of historic battlefields of France, Germany, Belgium, and Italy. This further study, on the ground, broadened Bouquet's already wide understanding of practical military art.

One other bit of experience in Holland fitted Bouquet for the role he was to play in the American theater. He was sent with two others, both general officers, as one of the Commissioners of Holland, to arrange for the return of prisoners which France agreed to give up as a provision of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. He did not then know that in a few years he was to repeat this performance in the American wilderness far across the Atlantic.

After the disaster that befell General Braddock's army in 1755, the British Parliament hastened to authorize the establishment of a new corps that should be trained for the type of open warfare peculiar to America. They accordingly passed the Act 29 Geo. II, c.V. entitled "An act to enable his Majesty to grant Commissions to a certain number of foreign Protestants."

Sir Frederick York, British Ambassador to the Netherlands, induced a group of experienced officers, such as the Swiss Bouquet and Frederick Haldimand, to enter the British service, and arranged for their transfer, through the Princess of Orange, sister of King George II and of the Duke of Cumberland, Captain-General of all the British armies.

Bouquet's commission as Lieutenant Colonel dated from January 3, 1756, and Haldimand's from January 4th; and they arrived in New York in June.

The new corps was styled "The Royal American Regiment" and was numbered the 62nd Regiment of Foot. More will be told regarding this regiment (see note 4 of the *Orderly Book*) which was to become the very life of Henry Bouquet from his coming to America until his untimely death in 1765.

At first, Bouquet's time in the new country was spent in organizing and training the new corps which was being raised mainly among the German and other foreign settlements of Eastern Pennsylvania and Maryland, although recruiting progressed around Albany in Upper New York and in Virginia. In the autumn of 1756 he went to Philadelphia with his First Battalion, where, after initial difficulty with the citizens over quartering his troops, he won his point with the Assembly and won their esteem as well. In fact, he became a social favorite in Philadelphia and the friend of such learned men as Dr. Smith of the University, and John Bartram, the naturalist.

In May of 1757 a detachment of the Royal Americans was sent to South Carolina, and Bouquet went to command them, returning to Pennsylvania in time to prepare for the expedition assembling at Carlisle to march against Fort Duquesne, in the spring of 1758. As second-in-command to General John Forbes, who was an invalid during nearly all of the campaign, Bouquet was chief executive officer, and great credit is due him for bringing the expedition to a successful conclusion.

For the next two years Bouquet was at different frontier posts, being several times in Pittsburgh, often at Fort Ligonier and Bedford, sometimes at Lancaster, and briefly at Philadelphia. He had time to fall in love with the fair Anne (Nancy) Willing.

When Pontiac's conspiracy (1763) set the frontiers aflame, Bouquet was again at Carlisle with his First Battalion of Royal Americans, part of the Royal Highlanders (Black Watch), part of the Montgomery Highlanders, in all not exceeding 500 men. Detroit and Fort Pitt were the only strongholds that had not fallen, and Fort Pitt had to be relieved with men and supplies before it succumbed to the beleaguering horde of savages. Bouquet proceeded on this desperate undertaking; and en route, near Bushy Run, the little army with its large pack train was attacked and surrounded. The Indians were elated, for they were sure they had already achieved a repetition of Braddock's disaster. In the ensuing two-day battle, August 5th and 6th, 1763, Bouquet was completely victorious.

His tactics there put in practice were in emulation of the Roman

methods so well learned. After a time he gathered his forces upon a rounded elevation in a circular formation with the pack animals and the cattle in the center.¹⁰ He here learned to build redoubts of his supply bundles, barrels, packsaddles, etc., supplemented by fallen tree trunks and rocks, and to fight from behind this protection in true Indian fashion. It was demonstrated that, of two nearly equal forces, that holding the inner circle has the advantage of a more consolidated position, while that on the outer perimeter must spread its strength more sparsely over longer lines. That this tactical procedure became a rule-of-thumb with Bouquet is evident in his selection of almost identical situations for every camping ground thereafter, as we shall notice again and again as the expedition to the Tuscarawas progresses.

It was the summer of 1764 before sufficient forces could be raised to carry out the follow-up thrust that Bouquet knew would be necessary to give his victory permanent results. The savages had abandoned every village in the Ohio valley after their defeat at Bushy Run, and they had not stopped their retreat until they had crossed the Tuscarawas, nearly a hundred miles west of Fort Pitt. There they felt safe in the depths of the forests whither the white scourge could not follow, as they thought.

In August, the army started from Carlisle, and on October 3rd crossed the Ohio (really the Allegheny). On the 14th, they crossed the Tuscarawas (called the Muskingum, Tuscarawas Branch; at present, Bolivar, Ohio). On October 25th they arrived at the Forks of the Muskingum, across from the present Coshocton, about a mile from the confluence, where Bouquet by sheer iron will wrung from the savages, far and near, every surviving white captive in their possession, in addition to solemn promises of lasting peace, with hostages to insure proper performance of these conditions.

General Gage, the new commander-in-chief in America, had planned a two-pronged offensive to put double pressure on the Indians, so that those of the northerly country could not aid the tribes of Ohio. Colonel John Bradstreet, conqueror of Fort Frontenac, commanded the northern expedition, and after crossing Lake Erie, advanced to Sandusky. Near Presque Isle (Erie, Pa.) he met Indian deputies, who made promises of peace and amity which they did not pretend to keep, but continued their murderous attacks upon

¹⁰ *An Historical Account* . . . London edition, Appendix, "Reflections on the War with the Savages of North America," p. 45; Parkman's edition, 1868, p. 109.

the frontiers. Bradstreet, however, sent messages to Bouquet stating that he had taken care of everything and that Bouquet need take no further trouble. Note 5 of the *Orderly Book* gives further details on Bradstreet's relationship to this affair.

Let us turn to a detailed consideration of Bouquet's expedition as shown by the *Orderly Book*, the *Journal*, and the *Hutchins Map*. The key to bringing these three elements together was Hutchins' map, and in order to test its accuracy, it was photographically brought to the same scale as a modern Rand McNally map and Hutchins' line superimposed upon it by map drafting experts. This composite map was then carefully compared with U. S. Topographical Survey maps. Since Dr. Smith had stated positively that the line had been plotted by *actual survey*, and since the *Journal* gives very precise measurements, the scaled distances must check with the U. S. Topographical Survey. In order to give the reader a clearer picture, the *Journal* has been fully quoted, in the footnotes, as it relates to progress from campsite to campsite, omitting details of speeches, etc., at Indian councils.

Some totally unrelated sources came to prove the accuracy of Hutchins' work at different points. Hutchins' manuscript draft taken from survey notes made on the spot proved extremely accurate—in fact, more so than some modern maps of the area today.

Note 36 of the *Orderly Book* gives in detail proofs by various checks at the point of the road's intersection with the present Pennsylvania-Ohio State line, which was run many years later. Check points present themselves at the crossings of the Big Beaver and the Little Beaver. Descriptions of many campsites render them easily recognizable today.

The crossing place of the Tuscarawas is definitely marked on the U. S. Topographical map at the point where the Greenville Treaty Line meets the Tuscarawas. It is also carefully marked on the survey maps of the U. S. Military District of Ohio. Hutchins' engineering skill, therefore, passed a severe test when his line, superimposed on the modern Rand McNally map, crossed the Tuscarawas one-quarter mile above the mouth of Sandy Creek, at exactly which distance (20 chains) it scales on the Military District survey. It is clear that, had Hutchins deviated a small fraction of a degree in his measurement of an angle at any point, the error would have become cumulative and his location of the strategic Tuscarawas crossing would not have so perfectly corresponded with

today's map.

Equipped with a transcript of the *Orderly Book*, a copy of the *Journal*, the composite map (Hutchins-Rand McNally) together with a photostat of the Hutchins MS. map, and the U. S. Topographical maps covering the whole route, plus camera equipment and instruments for measuring, plotting, and scaling angles and lines, the author was able to proceed *on the ground* to an orderly study of the whole road. More than two years of careful study, checking, observation, and measurement have been expended in establishing and recreating what is here presented as the nearest approach to scientific truth that is possible today.

It kindled the imagination to stand in the sunset-lit forest amid the flaming autumn colors and leafy odors, at the border of the rippling brook that watered the herds, in the chill shadows of gathering night, and thus to reminisce: Here near two hundred years ago stood the kilted sentry of Bouquet's outguard, his blood curdling at the howl of the wolves, his senses vibrant to every rustle in the thicket that might forebode the stealthy approach of a lurking savage foe. Here, by the campfire, the long forgotten hand penned the lines we yet scan so clearly.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge gratefully my indebtedness to Mr. Howard H. Peckham, Director of the William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan, who generously has made available the Bouquet *Orderly Book* and has given of his time to review the manuscript; also to Dr. William S. Ewing, Curator of Manuscripts at Clements for helpful suggestions. I am grateful to Dr. Alfred P. James, Emeritus Professor of History at the University of Pittsburgh, for encouragement and his time in reviewing the manuscript; to Dr. Harry William Pedicord, himself an author and editor, for editorial advice. To Miss Prudence B. Trimble, Librarian of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania and Editor of the Society's quarterly, I am particularly indebted for her kindly interest, helpful suggestions, and advice in trimming down an immense amount of material to the length that, it is hoped, may hold the reader's interest. The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, in Philadelphia, kindly supplied the writer with a copy of Hutchins' original draft map, and the staff of the MS room made the Hutchins Papers available for research. I wish to thank Mr. James Affleck of the Gulf Research Center for aid in having the Hutchins survey map scientifically superimposed upon the modern road map, for which Rand McNally &

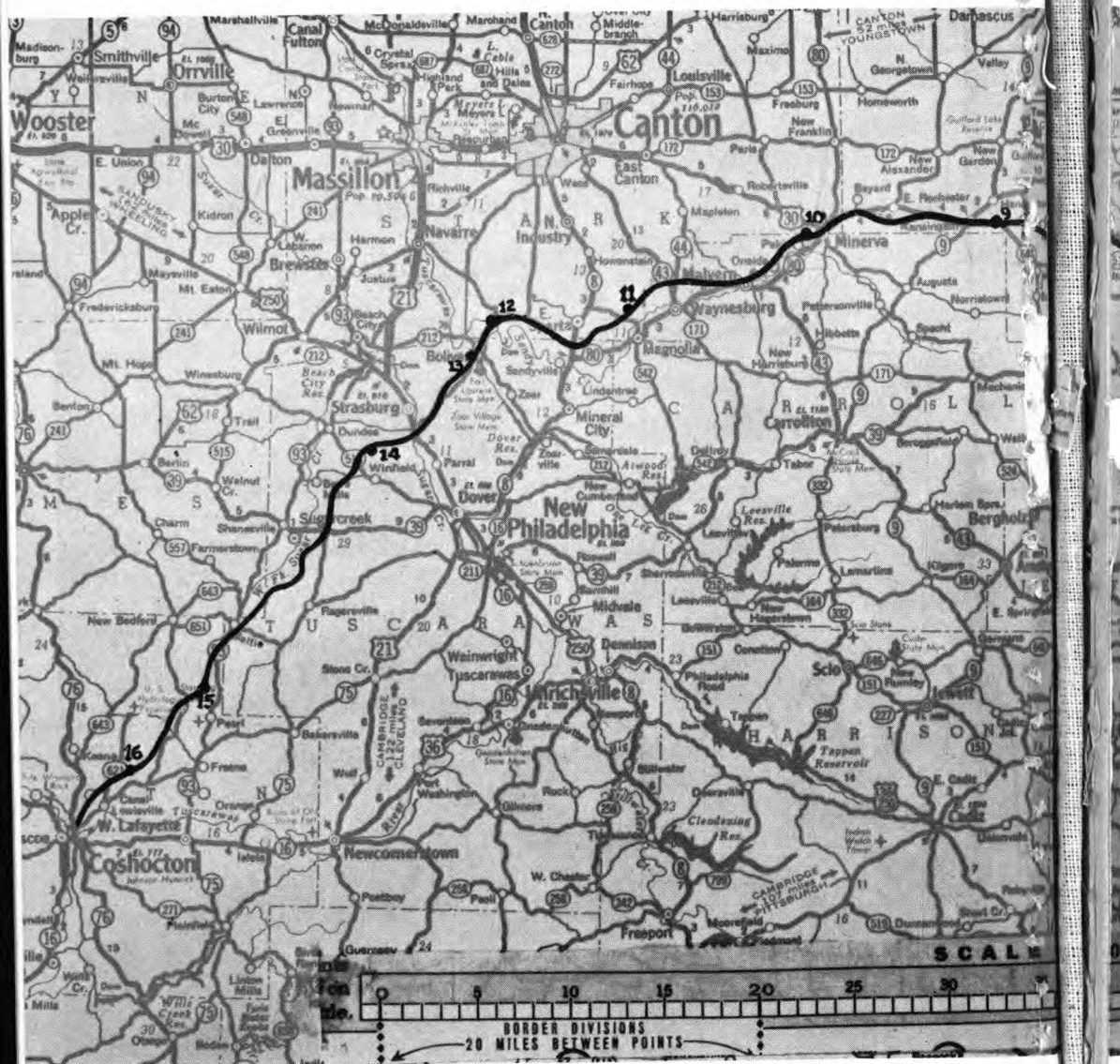
which makes an addition Every seven
Days of a pound of beef & half pound
of flower, This is allowed to the troops
on Account of the fatiguing
Service they are now employed at.

The Army to draw this evening
beef for two days beginning with
Colonel M. Nels Virginia Volunteers
& ending with the second Batt^y of
Pennsylvanians. This Spring
Compleats the whole till the 6th
Inclusive

Head Quarters at the 20 mile
Incampment Friday Oct: 5th 1764

Parole } Beaver Creek
Countersign } Log's Town

Guid Officer for tomorrow
Lt Colonel Clayton Adjutant and



The line of Bouquet's march from Fort Pitt to the mouth of the Ohio River is shown on this map. The information contained in Bouquet's *Journal*, his *Orderly Book*, and his *Diary* was used to trace the route. The engineer of the Expedition. The route was retraced by the



works of the Muskingum, in 1764, was traced from
and from surveys by Thomas Hutchins, the
author.

Company kindly gave their permission. During the investigation Mr. D. C. Meek of Coshocton, Ohio, rendered valuable assistance in studying the environs of the Forks of the Muskingum.

The writer hopes that this presentation of the *Orderly Book* may contribute to placing Colonel Bouquet in the position he merits as one of America's greatest military leaders.

THE ORDERLY BOOK

Orders commencing 2^d Oct^r 1764¹

Mount Gage ———

N^o; 2—

HeadQuarters Camp at *Mont Gage* On the western Bank of y^e Ohio²
Tuesday Oct^r the 2^d 1764.

Parole Muskingum Countersign Scioto ———

Field Officer for tomorrow Major Prevost³ Adj^t and Q^r M^r
60th Regim^t⁴

Col^o Bouquet with Pleasure informs the Army he has the honor to Command that everything is now ready to [start] offensively against the enemy Indians in order to obtain satisfaction for the Murders and depra-dations they have committed against his Majestys Subjects, without the slightest provocation, cause, or pretence ———⁵

The Savages now will find to their Terror, it is not helpless Women and Children they have to encounter, but men fird with resentment at so many Injuries received but not yet revenged ———⁶

The success of the expedition depending now entirely (under God) upon the Bravery of the Troops which Col^o Bouquet has the Highest appreciation of.

He can with Confidence assure y^m that this War will soon be terminated with honor to themselves and future safety to the Country, providing the Men will be strictly obedient to Orders and by an unwearied Vigilance guard against the Surprises and sudden Attacks of a cowardly and treacherous enemy who will never dare to face British Troops openly ———

The Distance to their Towns and the Difficulty of clearing the road, will necessarily require a considerable time; And as the Troops have now no other Supplies to expect but the Ammunition and Provisions they carry with them every one must be sensible, that if through Neglect or any other Cause those valuable Stores should

be lost, the Expedition must unavoidably fail, and the lives of so many brave men, fall a sacrifice through want in a Wilderness which can afford them no relief ———

It becomes therefore incumbent upon every person in the Army not only to preserve with the greatest attention & [care], their own Ammunition and Provisions but also to prevent to the utmost of their Power, any Robberies Embezzlements Waste or loss, whatsoever of any part of the Convoy. ———

And whereas in total contempt of Orders Four Bags of Flour and two Sheep were stolen yesterday which is a Proof that there are some Villains lurking in this Army, it is expected that they will be discovered and expelled before they can renew their infamous Practices, & in order to deter for the future such Atrocious offenders devoid of all sense of Virtue & duty to God and their Country ——— Col^o Bouquet declares to every Individual in, and follower of the Army that any Person or Persons of any Denomination whatever who during the Course of this Expedition, shall be convicted of having stolen or embezled wilfully, or through Neglect to have wasted or lost Provisions, Arms, Ammunition, Horses, Oxen, Sheep or any kind of Public Stores belonging to the Army shall without a tryal be immediately hanged

And any Person or Pers^{ns} who shall have been found to have been aid^g or assisting in committing the said Crimes, and who knowing the offender do not forthwith discover them, all such Persons shall be considered Accomplices and be punished accordingly ———

This Order to be read at roll-calling this evening by the commanding Officer of every Company in the Army to his Men, and to morrow to those who being now on Guard or other Duties shall not be present ———

The Superintendants of Pack horses & Cattle will read them to their Horsemasters & Drivers (so) that no person may pretend to Ignorance,—The Orders of the 28th Sep^{br} 7 forbidding the Troops to fire at any Indians continues in Force for the reasons therein assign'd

The Army marches tomorrow morning, the General^s to beat at daybreak. as soon as the horses are Collected and loaded the assembly will beat; the Guards will Join, and the whole will proceed in the following Order. Viz^t

Lieu^t Col^o McNiel's⁹ Corp of Virginia Volunteers advanced before the whole covering the Axe men; Col^o Mc Niel will detach,

three scouting parties in his Van, one of which will be furnishd with a Guide, who will conduct the Party in a Single file in the route by which the Army is to proceed, the other two Parties will extend themselves in a line a breast on the right and left of the first mention'd party ———

Any Discoveries of the Enemy made by the advanced Parties to be immediately reported ———

The Axe-men (consisting of all the Artificers & two Companies of light Infantry,) in three Divisions, to be directed by the Chief Engineer,¹⁰ will follow & clear under cover of the Virginia Volunteers three different Paths, by which the rest of the Troops and Convoy are to follow.

The front Face of the Square compos^d of the forty second Reg^t¹¹ will march in a Column two deep in the Center Path ——— This Column to be followed by eight light Horse men rang'd equally on each side of the Center Path ———

The right face of the square composd of the remaind^r of the 42^d & 60th Regiment, and the left face compos'd of the 1st Battⁿ Pennsylvanians will follow the light horsemen marching each in a single File the former in the Path on the right & the latter in that on the left of the Center Path in which the Convoy moves between them ———

The Corps de reserve composd of two platoons of Grenadiers or light Infantry, follows the right and left faces of the square

And the 2^d Battalion of pensulvanians forming the rear face of the Square, follows the reserve; Each Equally Divided in a single file on the right and left hand of the paths and covering the Convoy which moves in the centre Path ———

Eight light horsemen marching behind the rear face of the square, and are followed by Maj^r Fields¹² or the 2^d Corp of virginia Volunteers forming the rear Guard and detach^g a Scouting Party to Scout the three Paths and follow at about a miles distance this party also, to report immediately any discoveries they make of the Enemy

The Pensulvania Volunteers will divide themselves equally, in two divisions, each marching in a single file, at a proper distance to flank the right and left Faces of the Square, ———

The Convoy covered as before mentioned will move in the Center Path in the following Order ———

The Ammunition and Tools in the rear of the first Column or

front face of the Square and followed by the Officers Baggage Tents, and hospital Stores ———

The Oxen & Sheep will move behind the Baggage in separate Drovers and properly guarded, The Provisions, will follow the Cattle in four Divisions, each conducted by a Horse Master, and consisting of four Brigades of Pack horses ——— ✓

[In the Orderly Book at this point appear diagrams of the order of march and encampment. See facing page.]

In Order to avoid the incumbrance of a still greater Number of Horses It is found Necessary for a few days in the Beginning of the March to load 80 of the Horses now mounted by Lt Horsemen with Light Bags of Flour of 125 lb. wt. These loads to be first Issued & the Troopers will again Mount their Horses.

The Officers of the Light Horse to be very attentive that the Flower their men are Intrusted w^t is no ways damaged or Embezzeled. ———

The former Order relating to the Mens Canteens being filled every morning before the March w^t fresh Water is again repeated It is expected The Officers will see it strictly complied with ———

The Arms and Ammunition to be minutely Inspected every Morning by an Officer p^r Company, And any defficiency Immediately reported to the Commanding Officer of the Corps.

The Troops to March in profound Silence, The Men at two Yards distance from one another ———

Whenever the Line or any part of it Halts the whole Immediately Face outwards

If the Army is Attackt on the March the whole to halt Immediately and facing outwards to be in readiness to form the Square when ordered,

The Riffelemen¹³ to Join and also wait for Orders ———

The Virginia & Pensylvania Volunteers will be posted at the Angles on the outside of the Square extending diagonally, The Light Horse will March into the Square w^h the Cattle Provisions Ammunition and Baggage and Form as directed in the Orders of the 14th Sep^r¹⁴

The Troops will Encamp in the usual Form and in the same Order as at Mount Gage ———

The first division of Provisions will be unloaded opposite the Angle of the Square and formed into Redoubts¹⁵ which will be

occupied and Guarded by the two Corps of Virginia Volunteers
The other Guards will consist of right Platoons including the Reserve

The out Guards will be advanced from the Square at equal distance with the Redoubts, the Position of each will be marked by a Yellow Camp Collour,¹⁶ They will be placed as follows at a Proportionable distance from each other & from the Redoubts Viz^t Two Guards of a Platoon each before the Right Face—Two before the Left. —————

One in the Front & one before the Rear faces of the Square ———
The Pennsylvania Volunteers Encamp w^t the Platoon on Guard opposite the Front Face of the Square —————

The two Troops of Light Horse will Encamp Immediately behind the Rear Face of the Square where they will take charge of & Guard The Different Drovers of Cattle —————

The Reserve will be placed between the Light Horse and the Center and will Furnish all the Centries within the Square —————

Those at the Angles on y^e outside to come from the advanced Guards, each placing also a Number of Centries in their respective Fronts in proportion to their Numbers,

As soon as the Centries are placed Each out Guard is to open a Communication to the one next to it on the Right which path will serve for the Rounds¹⁷

The field Officer of the Day will make the Grand Rounds and fix the time at which every Officer on guard is to make the Visiting Round —————

The Officers on Guard within the Square to Visit their own Sentries separately, The advanced Sentries will be placed beyond the Path for the Rounds. They are to keep Silent, not to walk, Facing outwards and Covered by Trees —————

All the Guards to be under Arms every Morning from before Day break till after Sunrise during which The Field Officer of the Day will again visit them —————

In Case of an Attack in the Night The whole to form Immediately in perfect Silence in the Front of their Tents, And that the Men may not be unnecessarily exposed the Officers will Order them to lay down w^t their Arms in their Hands and wait for further Orders

[*Rest of Page is diagram—Camp as before described. See page 20.*]

The Ground where every Corps will Encamp will be marked out by Camp Colours fixed for that purpose w^t the Number or Rank of the Respective Reg^t or Corps ———

Head Quarters Camp 3 miles from Fort Pitt

Wednesday Oct^r 3^d 1764

Parole } Onondago¹⁸

Countersign } Ontario

Field Officer for Tomorrow

Lieu^t Co^{ll} Francis¹⁹

Adj^t & Qu^r M^r 1st Battⁿ Pensylvan^a

The General to beat at day break to morrow And the Assembly as soon as the Horses are collected, when the Army and Convoy will proceed in the same Order & manner as this day ———

The Light Horsemen having been ordered to execute the Essential & Necessary service of carrying Flower Baggs till Issued to the Troops by Cheerfully Submitting to this Order they merited Approbation— Colonel Bouquet is Astonished at the Unbecoming behavior of some persons who presumed to treat them with Derision, on this Occasion & he hopes that such an instance of Disrespect to public Orders will for the future never happen in this Army ———

HeadQuarters at the 11 mile Encampment²⁰

Thursday October 4 1764

Parole ———Onida

Countersign—Cadaraqui

Field Officer for tomorrow Major murray²¹ Adjutant & Quarter Master 2^d Bat Pensilvanians

The General to beat at Day break tomorrow the assembly as soon as the horses are Loaded: when the whole will proceed Immediately. ———

Three Divisions from Each Brigade of pack horses are from sun sett to sun rise to watch the flower baggs carried by their respective Brigades, and to be Answerable that none of the flower given to them in Charge, be either Stole, wasted, or Embezzeld.

The Superintendants to Direct their horse masters Each in their turn, to take the Charge of placing & Inspecting these Guards of Drivers

The Rations Issued to the Troops at fort pitt Consisted of 3 bbl of beef & 9 bbl bread per week, this quantity of bread was baked out of 7 bbl and a Quarter of flower. It is now no Longer

practicable to have bread baked therefore Every person in this Army will receive During the Expedition 9 lbs of beef & 7 3/4 lbs of flower pr week which makes an Addition Every seven Days of a pound of beef & half a pound of flower. This is Allowed to the Troops on Account of the fatiguing Service they are now Employed in

The Army to Draw this Evening beef for two Days beginning with Colonel M^c Neals Virginia Volunteers & Ending with the Second Batt^m of Pensilvanians. This Issuing Completes the whole till the 6th Inclusive ———

Head Quarters at the 20 mile
Encampment Friday Oct^r 5th 1764.

Parole Beaver Creek

Countersign Logs Town²²

Field Officer for tomorrow

L^t Colonel Clayton²³ Adjutant And Quarter Master 42^d Regiment

The General to beat at Break of Day tomorrow; when the Assembly beats the horses are to be Immediately Loaded and the whole to proceed as usual ———

The Drovers of Sheep for the future will in the Line of march between the rear Guard & the rear face of the Square, & Drove in the Center path to prevent their being Lost in the high weeds & bushy thicketts ———²⁴

The Ax men to parade when the General beats; the Cap^t Commanding the Reserve, to have the Direction of the Duty within the Square ———

The field Officer of the Day as soon as the Guards are placed, will see that the Communication between the out Guards are Cleared for the Rounds ———

HeadQuarters at the 32 Mile²⁵

Encampment ——— Saturday Oct^r 6th 1764 ———

Parole Sandusky

Countersign Osweegatchy²⁶

Field Officer for tomorrow Major Dehaass Adjutant & Quarter Master the 60th Reg^t ———

The General to beat to morrow morning at Day break the horses to be Loaded when the Assembly beats & the whole to proceed as usual

The Troops to draw their Provisions for the future as follows ———

The first three days of the week every person receives four pounds of Beef and three Pounds three Quarters of Flour for the other four days five Pounds of Beef and four Pounds of Flour.

The Army to draw immediately three days Provisions (beginning with Maj^r Field's and ending with Lieut Col^o m^cNeal's Corp of Virginia Volunteers) which completes the whole till the 9th Inst inclusive. This issuing to be served out of the Bags carried by the light-Horse, an equal proportion from each Troop ——— The Troopers whose horses will hereby be unloaded To reserve the flour Bags till by future issuings there be spare pack horses to carry them ———

The Quarter m^r of the day will attend at head Quarters every morning before the Army marches and receive directions from the A: D. Q^r M^r General,²⁷ to take charge of and regulate the Brigades of Pack horses carrying the Officers Baggage on the March ———

Sunday Oct^r y^e 7th 7oClock in the morning ———

If on the Army's being attack'd or otherwise the Square is ordered to form — on the March the Signal for that Maneuvre will be the Drums beating to Arms,— The front Column will thereupon immediately form the front face of the Square ———

The left and right Faces marching in a Single file and covering the Convoy will continue moving in the same Direction and in open Order till the front of each arrives at the rear of the front face already formed: They will then face to the right and left outwards and move briskly in a line abreast till the left of the right face & the right of the left face reach the right and left extremes of the front Face By which they are Immediately to dress²⁸ and stand fast ——— The Officers taking particular care that the Men of their respective Platoons & divisions do not croud but divide their Ground Equally as already directed at the distance of two paces from each other. ———

The Corps de Reserve marches forward to the place allotted for it within The Square And the Rear Face in two Files in the Right & Left Hand Paths Continues in that Position Covering the Convoy till the whole is Marched within the Square; The Rear face will then Form and close the Square in the Usual Manner also dressing by the Extremeties of the Right & Left faces and dividing the Ground properly

The A : D : Q : M : G : will give directions to the Superintendants of Pack Horses and their Horse masters to range and unload their Different Brigades of Pack Horses carrying the Powder Tools Stores for the General Hospital the Baggage & Tents of the Army and all the Provisions in separate Columns within the Square leaving proper & distinct spaces between each and also between them and the Troops The A:D:Q:M:G: will regulate These so as to leave Sufficient Room for the Light Horse & Cattle. The whole to be arranged in such manner as not to crowd one another nor to obstruct the Quick Conveyance of Orders to the Different parts of the Army. When it will be requisite to bring the two Corps of Virginia Voluntiers within the Square, The Signal for that Manœuvre will be a long Ruffle,²⁹ Upon which the four divisions of these Corps formed Diagonally on the outside of the Different Angles of the Square are Immediately to face Inwards and March in to the Square forming behind the Angles in the same manner as in the outside. —————

[To be continued]

EXPLANATORY NOTES

- 1 The complete *Orderly Book* is contained in two small leather bound books 8 x 4 7/16 inches, hinged at the top of the narrow dimension. The pages are foxed and water stained, but are quite well preserved. The first book covers the route of Bouquet's army from Carlisle to Pittsburgh along the already well established Forbes Road. It is hoped that this book may be published in later issues of the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*. The second is here printed for the first time in order to trace the route cut by Bouquet's army on his expedition against the Ohio Indians which had never been definitely located.

The quaint spelling and abbreviations, with superior letters as well as punctuation, and other original forms have been retained as far as possible. The whole formal plan of the book follows the pattern of other orderly books of the British army. Methods of expressing the daily orders are stereotyped, yet this *Orderly Book* has a character all its own.

The *Orderly Book* and the *Journal*, printed in Dr. Smith's book, agree that the army crossed the Ohio (Allegheny) River on October 3rd.

The *Orderly Book*: Tuesday, October the 2nd 1764

..... The Army marches tomorrow morning. The General to beat at daybreak

The *Journal*: ... the army decamped from Fort-Pitt on Wednesday, October 3rd and marched about one mile and a half over a rich level country, with stately timber, to camp No. 2, a strong piece of ground, pleasantly situated, with plenty of water and food for the cattle.

✓ In the Gage Papers, in the Clements Library, however, there is a letter from Bouquet to Gage which begins as follows:

Camp near Fort Pitt 2nd October 1764

Sir.

I have the honor to inform your Excellency;—that the Army crossed the Ohio yesterday.

This version would make the crossing on the 1st of October. It is highly probable that the first contingent of the army crossed on the 1st to guard

the cattle and horses which had to be started over the river ahead of the main body, probably taking two days to swim them all across. They formed camp No. 1 at a convenient spot on the north side of the river to collect the animals and supplies as they were brought over. It must have been this movement that Bouquet reported to General Gage. On the 3rd the movement of the main body took place, and they marched directly to the place selected for the formation of encampment No. 2, in accordance with the lengthy orders of the 2nd of October, one and a half miles from the crossing.

- 2 It is noteworthy that Bouquet called the promontory above the North Side of Pittsburgh *Mount Gage* in honor of General Thomas Gage, only the year previously made commander-in-chief of all His Majesty's troops in North America. The hills, clothed in their growth of tall, virgin timber, appeared much more mountainous than now. On the Western slope of Mount Gage, between two small streams flowing down to the Ohio, was Camp No. 2, spreading over the triangle formed by California Avenue, Columbus Avenue, and Beaver Avenue in Pittsburgh's North Side.

- 3 Major Augustine Prevost was one of three Swiss brothers and one son who accepted commissions in the Royal American Regiment, regarding which see note 4. His commission bore date of January 9, 1756, and he it was who succeeded Bouquet in command of the First Battalion after that officer's decease. See Justin Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America*, VI, p. 699, quoting *Gentlemen's Magazine* of January 1766.

During the Revolution Prevost, still in the British service, distinguished himself by taking Pensacola, Fla. and Sunbury, Ga.; and for his gallant defense of Savannah, he was promoted Major General as of February 19, 1779. See British Army Lists, 1782, Library of Congress. He died in 1786. His *Journal* is printed in the *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, vol. 37, 259-268.

The General's son, Augustine, also in the Royal Americans, resigned when a major, married a prominent lady of New York, and remained in America. He visited Bedford, Pa., in 1789, three years after his father's death. See *Penna. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, vol. VIII, 305.

- 4 The 60th or "Royal American Regiment," originally the 62nd, was raised chiefly from German and other European settlers in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia by act of Parliament, 29 George II, c.V. (1755). See *Beating Orders* in *Penna. Archives*, ser. 2, vol. II, p. 700. In the reorganization of 1758, the 62nd became the 60th, which explains why the commissions of the early officers of the regiment bear designation of the 62nd. See W. C. Ford's *British Officers Serving in America, 1754-1774*, pp. 4 and 7; also *Hadden's Journal and Orderly Book*, Albany, 1884, lxii, and 555.

Though called a regiment, each battalion was as large as a brigade in the British army, each numbering 1000 enlisted men. There were originally four battalions which were reduced to two in 1763. The 3rd and 4th were again added in 1778 and reduced again at the peace of 1783. During the wars of 1804-15 the number of battalions was increased to ten, later reduced again to two. See *Hadden's Journal*, p. 555. The name was changed to "The Duke of York's Own Rifle Corps" in 1825, and to "The King's Royal Rifle Corps" in 1831. *Ibid.* 555.

That the Royal Americans were not originally riflemen, in spite of so many assertions to the contrary, is attested by Bouquet himself in "General Idea of the Establishment of Light Troops for the Service of the Woods," thus: "Their arms, the best that could be made, should be short fusils and some rifles, with bayonets in the form of a dirk." Bouquet's *Orderly Book* itself bears testimony that the Royal Americans were not riflemen at that time, for many explicit orders were given as to the position of the Royal Americans in the line of march, while the "rifle men" were directed to form on the flanks and to do special duty both marching and encamping. Similarly, General Forbes' "Orderly Book" (1758) takes special note of the riflemen apart from the Royal Americans and the rest of the army. Forbes' "Orderly Book," last page, Library of Congress.

- 5 Col. John Bradstreet, with a force of about 1200 New England men, advanced to Detroit and Michilimackinac for the purpose of cooperating with Bouquet by preventing aid being sent to the Shawanese and Delawares by the Wyandots, Ottawas, and Chippewas. He, however, made ineffectual treaties with them and retreated before Bouquet reached the Tuscarawas, thus nearly dooming the expedition. Accounts of this may be found in Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America*, 6, p. 698; John R. Alden's *General Gage in America*, p. 96; Dr. Smith's *An Historical Account . . .*, London, 1766, pp. 2-6; 19-20.

There is a significant letter in the *Gage Papers* in the Clements Library, vol. 24; Gage to Bouquet dated

New York, Sept. 25, 1764.

" . . . And if they find Colonel Bradstreet is to be thus Amused; They will deceive Him till it is too late to act and then insult Him, and begin their horrid Murders. There is nothing will prevent this, but the fear of Chastisement from you; And I think Myself happy. That you are in a Condition to March against them."

Nothing could express more clearly Gage's confidence in Bouquet.

- 6 Many of the men in the army had lost relatives through Indian attacks and longed for revenge. One such was Thomas Mitchell, Indian Trader, whose son, Thomas Mitchell, Jr., had been murdered in Wakatomica, one of the towns they were marching against. Mitchell was one of the four guides officially commissioned by Bouquet; and these commissions, neatly engrossed, are in the *Gage Papers*, volume 24. Alexander Lowry was Chief Guide; Andrew Boggs, Samuel Brown, and Thomas Mitchell were Guides. All of them had been Indian Traders, and three of them had interesting subsequent careers, especially Lowry who became very wealthy, a Colonel in the Revolution, member of Pennsylvania's Constitutional Assembly and Senator.

Their knowledge of the Ohio country must have been superb, as will appear later.

- 7 The orders for the 28th stated (They appear near the end of the *Orderly Book* No. 1, to be subsequently printed in the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*) as follows:

"Coll Bouquet having received advice that a Party of Mohawks and other friendly Indians are sent by Sir William Johnston to join this Army. This Reinforcement being daily Expected, And to prevent any mistakes happening that might hurt our Friends it is at present expressly forbid to fire upon any Indians whatsoever that may appear on either side the River unless they fire first.

This order however must not abate the Vigilance of the Troops nor prevent the Necessary Precautions being taken to guard against Stratagem or Surprise from the Enemy.—"

- 8 The General was the drum signal to strike the tents and prepare to march. All of the signals and calls of the eighteenth century armies were given by the drum-beat. Bugles were not used until well in the 19th century, and trumpets resembling hunting horns were used only in dragoon or cavalry corps. The regular drum signals were: Reveille, the General, the Assembly, the Troop, the Retreat, the Tattoo. Early military works all support this statement: Bland, Simes, Duane, all of the manuals of arms. Not until the manual of 1836 are bugle calls given, as well as drum calls, in the American army.

- 9 Lieut. Colonel John McNeill was active in the frontier defence of Virginia, accompanied Washington at Fort Necessity, was wounded at Braddock's defeat, was promoted captain-lieutenant to command Washington's own company in the Virginia Regiment, and commanded a company in Forbes' army. A certificate issued by the Lieutenant Governor and Council of Virginia testifies that he had served for many years as a brave, honest and gallant officer. He apparently went to Europe after this expedition with Bouquet. *Virginia Magazine of History and Biog.*, 17, p. 292; D. S. Freeman, *George*

Washington, II, 218, 370; Fitzpatrick, *Writings of George Washington*, I, 406, 441; Ibid. II, 55, 94. Stevens, *Papers of Henry Bouquet*, II, 24.

- 10 Lieutenant Thomas Hutchins, engineer of the expedition with rank in the army as Assistant Engineer, was born in 1730 and was commissioned an ensign in the Second Pennsylvania Regiment Nov. 1, 1756; lieutenant, December 18, 1757. *Penna. Archives*, 5th series, I, 90, 98, 184. He served through 1758-59 as a supply officer with Forbes. *Papers of Henry Bouquet*, 117, 122. He entered regular service as Ensign in the Royal American Regiment, March 2, 1762. In 1766 Hutchins accompanied Capt. Harry Gordon on a trip down the Ohio and Mississippi when he made his notes on *The Courses of the Ohio River*. Promotion to a lieutenancy, August 7, 1771, and to a captaincy in 1776 were well deserved. *Army Lists*, Library of Congress, 1772. He resigned his commission in 1777 rather than oppose his country and went to England where he published his *Topographical Description of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and North Carolina*. Hutchins was imprisoned for six weeks in London on suspicion of holding correspondence with Franklin in France. Upon his release he escaped to France, thence to Charleston, S. C., where he joined the American army under General Greene. According to Heitman *Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army*, he left the army November 3, 1783, and immediately thereafter he became Geographer, later Geographer General of the United States.

To Hutchins goes the credit of having devised the *rectangular system* of surveying the great western lands known to the world as the American Land System.

When Hutchins died in Pittsburgh, in 1789, aged 59, funeral rites were conducted by his old friend of frontier days, Rev. John Heckewelder. His grave may still be seen amid a busy city in Trinity Churchyard. Cf. F. E. Hicks, "Biographical Sketch of Thomas Hutchins" in *Reprint of Topographical Description . . .*, etc., Cleveland, 1904; also "Biography of Thomas Hutchins" by Anna M. Quattrochi (Doctoral Dissertation). Carnegie Library.

- 11 The tradition of the Forty-Second Regiment of Foot dates from 1729. They were designated the Royal Highlanders, thus making them one of the regiments of the Royal Household, and they later became known as the *Black Watch* from the sombreness of their dark tartan in contrast to the brilliant colors of the clan tartans. On active duty in the woods they wore a flat blue bonnet (tam) and laid aside the sporan, with both of which most artistic representations endow them. (Cf. *A Representation of the Clothing of his Majesty's Household, and of all the Forces Upon the Establishment of Great Britain and Ireland*; also James Laver in *British Military Uniforms*, London, 1942. The Black Watch has participated in every campaign in which Great Britain has been engaged since their organization to the present day.
- 12 Major John Field, an officer of the Virginia militia, was born in Culpeper County in 1720, and served on the Virginia frontiers. He served with both Braddock and Forbes, and, in Washington's words, was an "extremely active, brave, and zealous officer." See Fitzpatrick's *Writings of George Washington*, I, 445; Freeman's *George Washington*, II, 201; III, 119. He served with Bouquet as a Major, and was commissioned colonel in 1766. Field commanded the reserve of Gen Andrew Lewis at the Battle of Point Pleasant in 1774, where "every man was a hero," and, with Col. Charles Lewis was killed. Livia Simpson-Poffenbarger, *The Battle of Point Pleasant*, 1909.
- 13 This is a specific case where the "Riflemen" are noticed in the same day's orders quite apart from the 60th Regiment.

Rifles had been in use on both sides earlier than has usually been supposed. In a letter to Governor Robert Hunter Morris, under date of "Lancaster, 24th of April, 1756," Edward Shippen stated: ". . . *The Indians make use of rifled guns for the most part*, and there is such a difference between these sort of Guns and Smooth bored, that if I was in an Engagement with the Savages, that I would rather Stand my chance with one of the former sort." —*Penna. Archives*, II, p. 642.

Among the Cumberland Papers in Windsor Castle is a letter of a British officer reporting on Braddock's battle: "They (the Grenadiers) returned the fire . . . which was return'd tho not in a regular manner, but like Popping shots, with little explosion, only a kind of whizzing noise; which is proof the Enemy's Arms were *rifle barrels* . . ." S. M. Pargellis, *Military Affairs in North America*, 1936, p. 115.

- 14 The orders of the 14th of September, issued at the camp near Fort Ligonier, as recorded in the *Orderly Book No. 1* (which it is hoped will be printed in the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* subsequently). "... the Brigade of horses Carrying the powder in the rear of the Reserve. The Baggage of the army follows the powder. . . sixteen brigades of pack Horses 72 in each Loaded with provisions in four Divisions . . . A Company of Light Infantry followed by an Officer and ten Light horse men will Close the March. . . . The Remainder of the two troops of Light Horse to Guard the Oxen & Sheep." The packhorses for provisions alone thus numbered 1152.
- 15 Bouquet had learned by hard experience the value of improvised breastworks when he had had to use flour bags, packsaddles, and provision bundles as protection atop the hill at Bushy Run, August 5-6, 1763. He never forgot the lesson learned there, and at every encampment thereafter made use of the provisions to construct redoubts. The quantity of packs must have been considerable when we figure that 1152 pack animals each carried approximately 150 pounds, according to Dr. Smith's book, appendix *Reflections on War with the Savages*, London Edition, 1766, p. 53.
- 16 Among the British Royal Warrants of 1768 is found the following: The camp colours to be eighteen inches square and of the colour of the facing of the regiment (i.e. the color of the lapels of the coats) and the number of the regiment upon them. The poles to be seven feet six inches long . . . Lefferts, *Uniforms of the American, British, French and German Armies in the Revolution*, New York Historical Society, p. 183.
- 17 The method of going and receiving the "Grand Rounds," or examination of the pickets and guards, is described in various of the early manuals and regulations. Major Enion Williams gives a graphic picture in his diary, 1775, of the Rounds conducted at Cambridge: "We found the sentries in general alert, but some had not the right countersign, for which the sergeants were severely reprimanded . . . The sentry next the general, on hearing us within 30 yards, hollows out "who goes there," Sergeant answers "Rounds." "What rounds," "The grand rounds." Sergeant "Advance and give the countersign." , , , The sentry then calls the Sergeant of the Guard. The Guard turn out under arms . . ."
- 18 The paroles and countersigns form one of the most interesting features of the *Orderly Book*. They demonstrate an array of Bouquet's geographical knowledge and the many associations that recalled scenes of the homeland or of far flung campaigns familiar to the cosmopolitan group of officers of the Royal Americans and the Royal Highlanders. Many of the paroles refer to now nearly forgotten Indian names:
 Onondago (a), the chief "Council Fire" of the Six Nations, where Syracuse, N. Y., now stands.
 Cataraqui, the Indian settlement and river of the same name that empties into Lake Ontario at Kingston, Ontario, then Fort Frontenac.
 Oswegatchy (-e), the river that joins the St. Lawrence at Ogdensburg, N. Y.
 Cochnauago (Caughnawaga), town of the French Mohawks or "Praying Indians" near Quebec.
 Wackatamacky (Wakatomika), Shawnee town, now Dresden, Ohio.
 Custelogo (Custaloga), Delaware, chief of the Wolf tribe.
 Some of these names commemorate places dear to the Scotch, Swiss, and Irish. Still others are purely geographic: e.g., Hecla, volcanic peak in Iceland; the Hebridean island of St. Kilda; Pondicherry and Ganges, which evince Bouquet's mindfulness of the British quest for empire at that very moment being carried on in far away India.

- 19 Turbutt Francis was one of the most colorful personalities of his day. His father, Tench, Sr., was the recognized leader of the Philadelphia bar and was uncle of Sir Philip Francis, reputed author of the "Letters of Junius." Turbutt was brother-in-law to one (afterwards) Chief Justice of Pennsylvania and uncle to another. A nephew, Tench Tilghman, was the favored aide-de-camp to Washington who was chosen to carry the news of the Yorktown victory to Congress. Cf. Frank M. Eastman, *Courts and Lawyers of Pennsylvania*, 1, 253-254; J. C. Fitzpatrick, *The Spirit of the Revolution*, p. 83.

Turbutt was commissioned ensign in the 44th Regiment, April 20, 1757; lieutenant, July 24, 1758. This he resigned, and he took service to command a battalion in the Pennsylvania Regiment after the retirement of Col. Conrad Weiser. A letter of Joseph Shippen to Col. James Burd among the Shippen Papers in the Clements Library details this move.

An interesting sidelight is presented by the fact that Tench Francis, Jr., brother of Turbutt, a little more than a year prior to this expedition, had married Miss Anne Willing, to whom Col. Bouquet presumably had been engaged. See *Penna. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.* III, 112ff.

Col. Francis became one of the largest land holders in Pennsylvania in consequence of his leadership of an organization of Bouquet's officers, formed on the return march from this very campaign, to petition the Colony Government to buy land from the Indians for these officers. The Purchase of 1768 resulted. Francis obtained 2775 acres on the eastern side of Susquehanna, and, after purchasing adjacent land, he owned 18 miles of river front from Northumberland northward. See Bell's *History of Northumberland County*, p. 83ff.

At the outbreak of the Revolution Col. Francis was an invalid suffering from inflammatory rheumatism. The diary of his nephew, the Tory, James Allen, states that he died in July of 1777.

- 20 The *Journal*, reported by Dr. Smith, states:

Thursday, October 4th, having proceeded about ten miles, they came to the Ohio, at the beginning of the narrows, and from thence followed the course of the river along a flat gravelly beach, about six miles and a quarter; with two islands on their left, the lowermost about six miles long . . . At the lower end of this island, the army left the river, . . . to Camp No. 3; this day's march being nine miles and a quarter.

The 11-Mile Encampment, by scaled distances, was at the present Glen Osborn, just above Sewickley, on the "second bank" at an elevation of about sixty feet above the river.

- 21 Major James Murray was commissioned Captain in the 42nd, Royal Highlanders July 20, 1757. His commission was just a year senior to Capt. William Murray, also of the 42nd. He apparently was made a major just prior to this expedition. See W. C. Ford, *British Officers in America, 1754-1774*, hereafter referred to simply as Ford. Also see Papers of Col. Henry Bouquet, from British Museum MSS, Harrisburg, 1951, hereafter referred to as *Papers of Henry Bouquet*.

- 22 The *Journal* says:

"Friday October 5th. In this day's march the army passed through Loggstown, situated seven miles and a half, fifty-seven perches, by the path from Fort Pitt. This place was noted before the war for the great trade carried on there by the English and French; but its inhabitants, the Shawanese and Delawares, abandoned it in the year 1750."

This is evidently a misreading of Hutchins' MS on the part of Dr. Smith, as it appears in all editions of his *An Historical Account* . . . , and forms the best proof that Smith followed the Hutchins MS. The writer has carefully examined the Hutchins MS and found it to read unmistakably "1758," although rather indistinct. The full sentence in Hutchins' own handwriting reads: "This place was noted before the war of 1758 for the great trade . . . but its inhabitants . . . abandoned it in the year 175(?)" How could it have been "noted" up until 1758, if it had been abandoned in 1750? Hanna, in his *Wilderness Trail*, I, p. 377, says Logstown was occupied as late as August

23, 1758, when Christian Frederick Post stayed there over night. See Post's "Journal," R. G. Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, vol. I, p. 201.

The *Journal* continues:

"Proceeding beyond Loggstown, through a fine country, . . . they came to Camp No. 4; on a level piece of ground, with a thicket in the rear, a small precipice around the front, with a run of water at the foot, and good food for the cattle. This day's march was nine miles, one half, and fifty three perches."

The above exact distance, together with the next day's distances, when measured carefully, places this campsite on the ground now occupied by a drive-in theatre, just beyond the Mount Gallitzen Academy, below Baden, Beaver County. Evidence of the "small precipice around the front" of the campsite can still be seen where the remains of a ravine, small but deep, run from below the highway back toward the hill. This was certainly deeper at that time, having been partly filled by erosion, farming, and highway construction.

- 23 Asher Clayton, of Lancaster County, was commissioned Lieutenant in the Third Pennsylvania Battalion, May 24, 1756; and, according to Joseph Shippen's account book among the Shippen Papers in the Pennsylvania Historical Society, Philadelphia, he was an adjutant at Fort Augusta (Sunbury) that year and the next. As Captain and Quarter-Master of the Second Battalion he marched with the Forbes expedition and was wounded at Grant's defeat, September 14, 1758.

James Kenny, in his *Journal*, mentions Captain Clayton of New Jersey at Mercer's Fort Pitt in 1759. Frank Mousley's *Genealogical Notes* (Microfilm), Pennsylvania Historical Society, show Asher Clayton, born Monmouth County, N. J., c. 1740.

In October, 1763, Clayton, a major since April 12, 1760, was sent with a force of Lancaster County militia to drive out the Connecticut settlers from Wyoming. They found the savages had preceded them and had murdered the inhabitants.

From July 2, 1764, Clayton was Lieutenant Colonel Commandant of the Second Pennsylvania Battalion and marched forthwith in Bouquet's army to Ohio. Cf. *Penna. Archives*, Ser. 5, I, 336. He took an active part in the organization of officers to obtain land of the New Purchase until January, 1769. In 1771 he was living on his farm in the Wyoming Valley when the Connecticut forces attacked, and he was the leader of the Pennamites.

In later life Col. Clayton is said to have suffered from his wound sustained at Grant's defeat, hence took no part in the Revolution. He paid taxes in Turbutt Township, Northumberland County, until 1781.

- 24 The slowness of these herds of cattle and sheep greatly retarded the progress of the army and accounts for marches of only six to nine miles per day. It must be remembered that there were no motorized transports and no refrigeration to prevent provisions from spoiling. Fresh meat supplies had to be transported on the hoof. Bouquet's herds numbered 400 head of cattle (according to Dr. Johnson) and nearly as many sheep, all of which had to be forced to climb steep ascents, roll down precipitous descents, and to swim streams too deep to wade. The sound of their lowing and bleating could be heard for a very long distance through the forest. With the line of march covering well over a mile when in perfect marching order, this train of animals, plus twelve to fourteen hundred packhorses, was certainly a very serious encumbrance.
- 25 This camp was actually 32-1/4 miles and 53 perches (rods) from Fort Pitt, and according to the *Journal* was 7-1/4 miles and 57 perches (rods) west of the Big Beaver. The site of Camp No. 5 lies in the extreme north eastern corner of Ohio Township, Beaver County, Penna., a right angle triangular platform of land thirty feet above the surrounding creek bottom, comprising at least forty acres. It is today part of the beautiful Cook-Anderson dairy and stock farm. "Two miles beyond Beaver creek," says the *Journal*, "by two small springs, was seen the skull of a child, that had been fixed on a pole by the Indians.

The tracks of 15 Indians were this day discovered."

- 26 John Philip de Haas, born in Holland c. 1735, settled in Lancaster County, Penna., c. 1750. He was appointed Ensign in the First Penna. Battalion January 3, 1758, and served with Forbes, with Bouquet at the Battle of Bushy Run in 1763, and as Major in 1764 against the Ohio Indians. See *Penna. Archives*, 2nd Ser., II, 558, 605, 612. He received lands in Buffalo Valley and Bald Eagle Valley to the total amount of 1734 acres.

In the Revolution de Haas was Lieut. Colonel, then Colonel, of the First Penna. Battalion which became the 2nd Penna. Regiment, Continental Line, served through the Canadian campaign and the Battle of Long Island, promoted Brigadier General February 21, 1777. After serving in various capacities, he was afflicted severely with gout, which ended his military career. Died in Philadelphia, Jan. 3, 1786. *Penna. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, vol. II, 345ff; *Penna. Archives*, 2nd Ser., vol. X, 405.

- 27 Assistant Deputy Quarter Master General.

- 28 Dress: to form in line and take proper distances.

- 29 Ruffle (of a drum): a low, vibrating beat, not so loud as a roll. Webster.