

ORDERLY BOOK I  
OF COLONEL HENRY BOUQUET'S EXPEDITION  
AGAINST THE OHIO INDIANS, 1764  
(CARLISLE TO FORT PITT)

Edited by EDWARD G. WILLIAMS

PART THREE

*Introduction*

AT the conclusion of the second part of this historical series scenario-izing the march of Colonel Henry Bouquet's little army from Carlisle to Pittsburgh, the troops had just arrived, at 7:30 in the evening of Saturday, September 1, 1764, at Fort Bedford near Raystown. The annals of Bedford County, Pennsylvania, furnish frequent glimpses of an almost mythical character in the person of John Ray (Wray), the Indian trader, whose memory has clung to the locale of his cabin and the naming of a succession of natural features of the primordial landscape — Raystown, Raystown Branch of the Juniata, Raystown Path, Rays Hill, and Rays Cove. The cabin was situated on the north side of the river, between the ford of the Raystown Branch and that of Dunning Creek. The site later chosen for the fort was on the right (southern) bank of the Juniata, on the rising ground now the business district of the thriving little city of Bedford, including the present Fort Bedford Museum.

The building of Fort Bedford, named for John Russell, Duke of Bedford, the secretary of state for the Southern Department, has often been recounted. Its importance as the chief depot of supplies and provisions on the Forbes Road derived from its situation in the widening valley, a welcome respite from the fatigues of climbing the first high mountains of the march and the hazardous crossing of the Juniata, preliminary to assailing the fearsome Allegheny Mountain. It lay equidistant between the main branches of the Great Warriors' Path (north-south), also at the junction of the Raystown Path (east-west) with the Conemaugh Path leading to Frankstown and the Allegheny Path. Militarily, it became the junction of the Forbes Road with Washington's road from the Potomac at Fort Cumberland.<sup>113</sup>

<sup>113</sup> Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, 1: 280, re John Ray; Alfred P. James, comp. and ed., *Writings of General John Forbes relating to his service in North America* (Menasha, Wisc., 1938), 214 (hereafter cited as James, *Forbes*

*Essay on the Road*

The itinerary description continues, still bearing in mind that Bouquet was following the road he had cut for the army of General Forbes, six years prior to this 1764 march to Fort Pitt and continuing into Ohio. It was inevitable that he should have made some modifications in the route, which are explained.

The fifty-mile sector of the Forbes Road from Bedford to Fort Ligonier contains most of the now existing scars and visible remains of the entire road, including the original roadbed of the ascent of Rhor's Gap and much of the way over Allegheny Mountain, also the four-mile stretch over Laurel Hill. This is not to say that the rest of the itinerary is not as interesting, because many of the original scars have disappeared; the other sectors have intriguing identification problems of their own.

The route ran from Fort Bedford, much as does the modern Pitt Street and the old Lincoln Highway, to the last crossing of the Raystown Branch at Wolfsburg, where Captain Lewis Ourry built his "hobbyhorse" bridge, the object of his short-lived pride in his construction engineering skill. It had been destroyed by floods in the winter of 1762.<sup>114</sup> Ourry's approach to the bridge, shelved into the rocky hillside, is still discernible. It is difficult to envision this rippling rivulet, after the winter's melting snows, become a raging mountain torrent carrying all before it. Often has this writer witnessed festoons of flood-borne debris hanging from the crossarms of telephone poles in this placid valley. There being no record of replacement of the bridge, it is likely that Bouquet's troops waded the stream at the old ford, which Ourry wrote was sixty to eighty yards below the lamented bridge site — possibly about the location of the present U.S. 30 bridge.<sup>115</sup> A mile

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*Writings*); Douglas S. Freeman, 7 vols., *George Washington* (New York, 1948-57), 2: 333-34, re supplies and orders for Virginia troops to join from Fort Cumberland (hereafter cited as Freeman, *Washington*); Wallace, *Indian Paths*, 181-84, re Great Warriors' Path and Washington's route.

114 Donald Cornu, "Captain Lewis Ourry," *Pennsylvania History* 19 (July 1952): 258; Library of Congress Mss. Div., Bouquet Papers (photostated), from B.M., Add. Mss. 21642, Jan. 11, 1762. This series has never been published, except for excerpts; copies of the entire series in possession of the author.

115 *Ibid.*, 257, B.M., Add. Mss. 21642, Jan. 2, 1760. "... good Bridge . . . about 60 or 80 Yards above the Ford, & cut a Road in the side of a Rocky Hill to the old Road." The site of the bridge and ford over the Raystown Branch was at Wolfsburg, 2½ miles west of Fort Bedford, where the old road and bridge led to the single village street (the settlement about thirty years later). Eighty yards below the bridge would have placed the ford about the location of the present U.S. 30 highway bridge.

and a half further, Burd's road parted permanently from that of Forbes, the former taking a more southerly course and the latter progressing westerly. In later times, Burd's road, extended, became the Glade Road.

If we believe Potts (author of the map which he titled the "Marching Journal"), the Forbes Road, in less than a mile from the forks, deviated to the left, leaving the line of present U.S. 30 on the right. (We shall return to this point later.) By scaling up the Potts draft map to the scale of the U.S. topographical map (Bedford Quadrangle, 15 minute) and overlaying it on the topographical map, we arrive at some interesting results. For a mile and a half this track traversed a now abandoned township road (not appearing on the Bedford County highway map, but shown on the U.S. 15-minute topographical map). Touching momentarily T453 at its acute angle turn, it crossed LR 05097 (the Tull's Hill-Manns Choice road) just  $\frac{3}{4}$  mile south of U.S. 30.

In two miles further it crossed two wooded hills and descended to the site of the dam that retains Shawnee Lake. Bearing right at a small distance from Shawnee Creek, surprisingly we find that the three-scalloped pattern of Potts coincides with a single contour line that skirts around the ends of three hills, where it also coincides with the North Beach line of Shawnee Lake and describes the high-water mark of the lake. The topographical map referred to distinctly denotes in capitals, FORD, at the precise location of the present bridge to the small island containing the buildings of the district office of the Pennsylvania Department of Forests and Waters, formerly the beautiful country home of the late Dr. John G. Bowman, chancellor of the University of Pittsburgh. Potts plotted his line across Shawnee Creek here and above the rising ground on which the Shawnee Cabins were said to have been located. He shows the camp ("4 days March") south of the road, between the forks of the creek. The camp may have covered as much as fifty acres. The surveyed distance by this road, from Bedford to the Shawnee Cabins, was 8 miles 3,700 feet, almost exactly 8.7 miles.<sup>116</sup>

At the same time, the topographical map lays down (in dotted lines) an old road, nearly half a mile long, on the south shore of the

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<sup>116</sup> Concerning the area of a camp for approximately 1,500 troops, packtrain, and outguards, see Bouquet's plan sketch printed in Williams, "Orderly Book," *WPHM* 42: 20; from scaling and calculation, nearly 58 acres were required, *ibid.*, 196 n 42. Bouquet's notes from Lt. Bassett's measured distances are printed in *Bouquet Papers*, 2: 650-51.

lake, thus south of Keg (Kegg) Run, which the park authorities have preserved and marked as an original section of the Forbes Road. This bit of road location is also corroborated by the notebook of the late William J. Laughner, indefatigable research worker in the land records and on the ground, retracing the Forbes Road in the 1920s and 1930s.<sup>117</sup> One of the interesting problems of the outdoors historiographer is here exemplified. A solution, assuming the continuing credibility of Potts, may be suggested that the marching battalions of the army which he accompanied followed the line he depicted, camping on the higher, drier ground. The low land on both sides of Keg Run would have tended to be marshy, producing luxuriant grass for the animals, so that the wagons, packtrain, and cattle went that way. They would have encamped on the south side of the run, on the higher ground above the grassy bottoms, where we see the road today, having crossed Shawnee Creek at a lower ford than the others. This existing piece of road aligns perfectly with the road by which the army marched out from camp and up Keg Run, via T 439.

The road traversed a beautiful valley for three miles, finally contracting into the narrows of Negro Hollow Run. No road could have existed there without sinking into swampland or making cuts into the hillsides on the north side of the run, as does today's road. Potts again offers a clue where the run describes a  $1\frac{1}{2}$  mile arc curving to the northward. He depicts the road as forming a chord across the arc of the creek. Rising steeply from the creek, within this curve, is a 100-foot high, dry ridge, whose relatively level and narrow top accommodated the road. With Mr. Niles Anderson and others, this writer has traveled this ridgetop. A single-track, grass-grown ancient road exists there, just as Potts recorded it. Descending from the ridge and recrossing the run, the road began to climb Allegheny Mountain.

At first the inclined valley led up between the mountain proper and an ascending ridge, or spur, that carries today's Lincoln Highway (U.S. 30) up to the heights. As the valley narrowed, the grade became steeper so that the road began to weave a wavering course in its nearly two-mile climb. The few local inhabitants affirm that the existing track, still in use, is the original road. By the time it reached the "shot factory," famous old, stone landmark structure in the acute bend of the Lincoln Highway, half a mile by road and only 300 feet in elevation

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117 *Shawnee State Park* (folder), Penna. Dept. of Forests and Waters, center-spread map of park and lake. For reference concerning William J. Laughner's notebook, see note 128 following.

below Grand View Point, the road had risen 700 feet above the run crossing in the valley below. A natural platform existed in the side of the mountain at the "shot factory" (the tradition has been lost as to why so named). It was a break in the grade, a watering place, and a respite for the panting teams that hauled the army wagons and the freighters that followed, under the lashes and the imprecations of the shouting teamsters. A monument was erected here by the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission; regrettably the bronze plaque bearing the inscription has been removed.

We shall leave briefly the toiling army at the "shot factory" to return to the place,  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a mile west of the forks of the Burd and the Forbes roads, where we noted the Potts line turning toward the Shawnee Cabins. Here another forks situation was created (not so well publicized as the former one) because the Glade and the Pennsylvania roads which separated there later became great thoroughfares of immigrant and commercial travel. As we have seen, the first divisions of the Forbes army had passed over the Shawnee Cabins route when, on August 23, 1758, Lieutenant Colonel Sir John St. Clair, deputy quartermaster general in charge of the road builders, suggested to Colonel Bouquet that the Shawnee Cabins route might be wet in the approaching autumn and that another should be opened "over the two Risings."<sup>118</sup> This referred to the route over Tull's Hill and Chestnut Ridge, the eminence immediately west of Schellsburg and Quaker Valley and essentially the course of U.S. 30 today. Sir John thought this road could be constructed in time for the advantage of the returning wagons sent to Fort Ligonier and that it would be shorter. It certainly was drier and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles shorter.

Almost immediately this road was used by travelers from 1762 onward with no mention of the Shawnee Cabins but their journals recording stops at Hays's, Graham's, Anderson's, all at Schellsburg, at successive times. The next stop was at Ryan's (sometimes called Lyon's) near the foot of Allegheny.<sup>119</sup> The distances were recorded by

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118 *Bouquet Papers*, 2: 412. Sir John St. Clair to Bouquet, Aug. 23, 1758: ". . . the Road from Rays town to the Shanoë Cabins will be wet in the autumn, it would be well to open the Road over the two Risings, and it would be shorter for our Returned Waggoners."

119 Paul A. W. Wallace, ed., *Thirty Thousand Miles with John Heckewelder* (Pittsburgh, 1958), 239-40 (hereafter cited as Wallace, *Heckewelder*). Anderson's at 9 miles from Bedford (4 from Bedford to Bonnet's, 5 miles from Bonnet's to Anderson's). Heckewelder further stated that Anderson's was 11 miles from Stotler's, on top of Allegheny Mountain. This distance would only have been possible by traveling the new road (see note 118).

these travelers before the improvement effected by the Pennsylvania Road, which was approved in 1790.<sup>120</sup> In time, the inhabitants on this highway, especially the owners of former taverns, recited claims to properties on the Forbes Road, and rightly. The case of the admirably preserved log tavern two miles east of Schellsburg, nearly opposite to the entrance road to Shawnee State Park, which pridefully exhibits its warrantee survey plat and patent, is an example. Two parallel sections of road that served the army of Forbes did exist, and contingents of his troops used both of them at their proper times. Bouquet, however, marched by the Shawnee Cabins route in 1764, as recorded in the orders of September 9.

Some doubt has been prevalent among students of the road regarding the means of its gaining elevation in order to join the other road, which has been left at the "shot factory." Ryan's tavern has been placed upon this newer road, on the Burns Creek branch of Shawnee Creek, 12 miles from Bedford (actually  $12\frac{1}{4}$  miles as measured on the topographical map). From here the road followed the crests of a succession of ridges leading to the long rising spur of the mountain by which it climbed, as U.S. 30 still does, to arrive at the "shot factory" and junction with the other branch of the road. Thence, a not too difficult mile's exertion brought the tired troops to the top. The narrowing ravine, with its complained-of spring across the way of the rutted road, is much as it was two centuries ago. The stated distance of Stotler's tavern atop the mountain, soon to be mentioned, was 11 miles from Anderson's at Schellsburg, which could only have been possible by measuring the latter described road.<sup>121</sup>

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Dr. Manasseh Cutler stated that Ryan's was 12 miles from Bedford. W. P. and J. P. Cutler, eds., *Life, Journals and Correspondence of Manasseh Cutler* (Cincinnati, 1888), 1: 427 (hereafter cited as *Cutler, Cutler Journal*). Heckewelder, in 1792, stated that Ryan's was on the line of the old Pennsylvania Road. John W. Jordan, ed., "Heckewelder's Journal," *PMHB* 10 (1886): 131. See also note 121 below.

120 *Pa. Col. Recs.*, 16: 466-77, report of commissioners, dated May 26, 1790, approved by resolution of the Supreme Executive Council, Sept. 28, 1790; final action for payment for reviewing the road, Dec. 7, 1790, *ibid.*, 531. Construction had not yet started and would not be completed for more than two years.

121 Wallace, *Heckewelder*, 240. Heckewelder was taking a back sight from Stotler's tavern atop Allegheny Mountain (refer to note 125), and the distance of 11 miles could have been accomplished only by the new road (note 118), via Rhor's Gap, the "shot factory," and the course later followed by both the Pennsylvania Road and the Lincoln Highway. The position of Anderson's at Schellsburg is confirmed by Waterman, Watkins & Co., *History of Bedford and Somerset Counties, Pennsylvania* (New York, 1884), 278, that John Anderson's was probably one of the

The name of Rhor's Gap has clung to the narrow ravine from its discoverer, Ensign Charles Rhor (actually de Rhoir, pronounced de Rwehr), a young, former French sergeant, whom Forbes wrote — "Mr. Rhor the Engineer . . . was of more service . . . than all the rest of that Class put together." He died at Grant's defeat in present downtown Pittsburgh.<sup>122</sup> It was many years before, by cutting into the mountainside, laborious earth-moving operations could lead the Philadelphia-Pittsburgh Turnpike road around by Grand View Point. The urgency of time and expediency forced the army under Forbes to find a practicable passage with the least work and time required. Rhor certainly found the only break in the solid wall of the Allegheny for very many miles in all directions.

Having arrived at the top of the gap, the road turned sharply 130° to the left (from nearly north to south southwest) and, in half a mile, two-foot-high mounds appear that are the remains of Fort Dewart, one of the redoubts built on the Forbes Road to protect a depot of supplies and the line of communications. Sixty feet square, with acute angles at the corners that served as bastions and surrounded by a nearly filled ditch, it is the only surviving remains of these military structures on the Forbes Road. The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission has placed a large stone monument with a bronze tablet in the center of the enclosure.<sup>123</sup> Half a mile to the southwest, at the head of Coal Run of Dark Shade Creek, was Colonel John Armstrong's camp, which Potts labels No. 5. The road swung a wide arc to avoid the eminence called the "second rising" of Allegheny Moun-

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oldest log houses within the limits of Schellsburg. The original patent was issued on June 15, 1776, on a much earlier warrant, and it was resurveyed on a warrant of Jan. 16, 1789, to James Anderson (possibly a son of John) from whom John Schell bought the "Ninemile tract" in 1801. See F. Howard Blackburn and William H. Welfley, *History of Bedford and Somerset Counties, Pennsylvania* (New York, 1906), 1: 251.

See note 119 above for more details on the location of Ryan's tavern, which Dr. Cutler said was a new place in 1788. Derry Ryan took title to the tract on both a warrant and survey in July 1793, although he had been living there at least five years before; that is, before the improvement or relocation work of the Pennsylvania Road. The log house and mill are still standing.

122 Charles Rhor had been brought over by Col. James Prevost to be an adjutant, which Lord Loudoun said he refused, remaining a volunteer until July 24, 1757, when he was appointed to an ensigncy. Pargellis, *Military Affairs*, 357, 365; *British Army Lists*, 1758; James, *Forbes Writings*, 217, 220, 225.

123 *Bouquet Papers*, 2: 400, 487. Capt. Harry Gordon, engineer, had a low opinion as to the location of Fort Dewart for effectively commanding the gap.

tain<sup>124</sup> and reached the site of Major John Field's encampment at Stephen's Spring (named for Lieutenant Colonel Adam Stephen of Virginia).

This was also the later site of Casper Stotler's (Statler's) log tavern, which tract he named "the Fields," half a mile in direct line north of the Lincoln Highway. Coal-stripping operations have demolished Stotler's tavern, draining the great spring and obliterating all traces of the road. The area north of Stotler's, on both sides of the road, was notoriously known as the "Shades of Death."<sup>125</sup> The road then passes about  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a mile east of Shade Church. Dodging around a 300-foot pyramidal eminence, in three miles the road came to Edmund's Swamp crossed by a "corduroy" causeway of logs laid crossways of the road — in the language of the time, "bridging" the swamp. Miller's Run flows through the swamp; and on the west side, two years prior to this campaign (1762), the Reverend John Heckewelder found John ("Saucy Jack") Miller and his sons keeping a tavern. The army built a redoubt here also.<sup>126</sup> The Pennsylvania Historical and

124 The reason for the wide circling of the road is set forth in St. Clair to Bouquet, Aug. 20, 1758. *Bouquet Papers*, 2: 400. If any doubt has existed that Field's encampment and Stephen's Spring were the same, it should be dispelled by St. Clair to Bouquet, Aug. 16, 20, 1758, also Stephen to Bouquet, Aug. 12, 1758. *Ibid.*, 373, 400, 361. Col. Armstrong's camp is pointed out in *ibid.*, 359 and 373.

125 The "Shades of Death" was an especially dismal area of deep shade caused by heavy growth of hemlock and pines, also tangled laurel thickets. There were many such places so designated, e.g., the Shades of Death on Braddock's Road east of the Little Meadows. Winthrop Sargent, *The History of an Expedition Against Fort Duquesne, in 1755* (Philadelphia, 1856), 201, 335; Le Roy Baldwin, *Two Hundred Years in Shade Township, Somerset County, Pennsylvania* (Central City, 1964), 36. Col. Adam Stephen, the Virginia doctor, likened his experience here to the mythical "Aeneas's entering the Infernal Regions," *Bouquet Papers*, 2: 341.

The description of the broad top of Allegheny Mountain presented here is from personal observation upon the ground, much of it during the 1930s when the writer was engaged in commercial pursuits that included this region. The entire road pattern has changed and coal-stripping operations have wiped out many old roads and most of the scars of the Forbes Road that could then be observed. In reconstructing the path of the Forbes Road in relation to modern landmarks, I would not want to omit mentioning the many field trips in company with Messrs. Niles Anderson and Richard G. Naugle, particularly over this mountaintop and Laurel Ridge. Their free exchange of information and knowledge has greatly enhanced this account.

126 *Bouquet Papers*, 2: 341, re "bridging the Swamp." "Saucy Jack" Miller's tavern, Wallace, *Heckewelder*, 39. Miller's on west side of Edmund's Swamp, Butterfield, *Heart Journal*, 19. Sir John St. Clair built a redoubt there in 1758. *Bouquet Papers*, 2: 373. The gyrations of the road around a rocky eminence just before arriving at the swamp is depicted by Potts. See small vignette (enlarged) showing this section of the road.



Museum Commission has placed a monument with a bronze tablet on T 742,  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a mile south of its intersection with T 657, a mile and a half west of Central City and three miles north of Buckstown.

Leaving Edmund's Swamp, Potts shows the road climbing the 400-foot hill in a northwesterly direction, then a gradual decline over a mile and a half of coal-stripped remains and farmland to meet LR 55152. This it follows for two miles down the valley of Oven Run to the site of Fort Belle Air (Major Jameson's Redoubt), about 200 yards east of the intersection with T 706, near which the remains of the army ovens were found. Thence,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles brings us to the Stony Creek crossing, opposite the Forbes Road School, at Kantner, where the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission has placed a monument.

At Kantner, the road divided again. Bouquet's orders issued at Edmund's Swamp at 7 A.M. on the morning of September 10, 1764, directed that the army be divided during that day and so continue the next day. Major George Armstrong wrote, at the end of July 1758, that he had found a shorter and better way from Stony Creek to the Clear Fields, and by August 18, Colonel Stephen was at work. By the middle of October, weather permitting, the second division of the artillery could pass over it. Colonel John Armstrong's troops escorted the artillery. A day later Washington's battalion of Virginians followed, arriving at Fort Ligonier the day following the others, October 23.<sup>127</sup> Whether Potts accompanied one of these contingents or came after with Forbes and the Highland battalion of Colonel Archibald Montgomery or whether he attended the road builders, he did not record; but the "new road" is the one he mapped. We shall return to the Stony Creek parting of the ways after a brief description of the "old road."

From the fording place at present Kantner, this branch of the road ran up the grade back of the Forbes Road School, approximately by T 670 and T 661, turning right on FAS (Federal Aid Secondary

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<sup>127</sup> George Armstrong to Bouquet, July 30, 1758, *Bouquet Papers*, 2: 286. Adam Stephen to Bouquet, Aug. 18, that he was starting work on what could have only been the "new" as troops were marching over the "old" road. *Ibid.*, 386; Bouquet to Forbes, Aug. 20, 1758. *Ibid.*, 396. It apparently was the second division of the artillery escorted by Col. John Armstrong's troops who marched first over this road, followed by Washington with his battalion of Virginians who arrived at Stony Creek on Oct. 16, 1758, and at Fort Ligonier on Oct. 23, where the artillery preceded them one day. *Ibid.*, 566. Washington's itinerary marching schedule is printed in John C. Fitzpatrick, *The Writings of George Washington* (Washington, 1931), 2: 299n (hereafter cited as Fitzpatrick, *Washington Writings*); *Bouquet Papers*, 2: 286, 551, 561, 578, 583.

road) 849 to follow a ridge-top course for approximately  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles. A quarter mile before FAS 849 makes its 90-degree left turn, a lane leads to the left upgrade and (parallel to the narrow valley course of FAS 849, restricted and commanded by high hills) keeps to a high hill track by a well-preserved trace for nearly a mile through a wooded area, then dips steeply to the creek bottom, now inundated by the waters of Quemahoning Reservoir, nearly a half mile wide at this point. A total of  $5\frac{3}{4}$  miles would lead the road from the crossing at Kantner via this route to the old creek bed in the middle of the lake.

At the large bend in the creek, that is likewise in evidence midway in the lake, lay the tract of 340 acres patented to John McSweny on survey dated May 3, 1770, in pursuance of order No. 1091, April 3, 1769, named "Kickenypawling's Old Town," and described as "situate on Quemahoning Creek where the old road from Bedford to Fort Pitt crosses Said Creek."<sup>128</sup> It is not certain how the road ran over the high hills to Pilltown where it crossed Roaring Run and, parallel to it on the higher ground south of it for the space of two miles, crossed Pa. 601 and U.S. 219 ( $1\frac{3}{4}$  miles north of Jennerstown) and joined T 739. With the latter route, the road ran  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles, where the site of Fort Dudgeon (on the elevation to the right) has been obliterated by coal stripping. The extensive bottom lands a mile from the foot of the mountain and surrounding the confluence of Beaverdam Creek and Pickings Run comprised the grassy "Clear Fields."<sup>129</sup> The first road opened for the ascent of Laurel Hill had employed a circuitous route by a

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128 The route of the older branch of the road from Stony Creek to Quemahoning is largely circumstantial, but there is only one ridge route that is feasible in this locality, and little deviation from the present road would have been practical. I have before me the late William J. Laughner's notebook. I also have a photocopy of the warrantee survey plat drawn by the then deputy surveyor, Thomas Smith (later to be a justice of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court), from the Bureau of Land Records, Harrisburg. Mr. Laughner, however, in his notebook sketch has drawn the outline of the high hill on the western side of Quemahoning Creek and has indicated, in red ink, the crossing place at the large bend. It would appear that the road would have bent to the left to avoid the highest hill and climbed to the gently rolling high land that led to the village of Pilltown, where was said to be located the spring opened by Maj. George Armstrong and the crossing of Roaring Run. *Bouquet Papers*, 2: 320; L. C. Walkinshaw, "As Forbes Trailed Through," *WPHM* 19 (1936): 140 (hereafter cited as Walkinshaw, "Forbes," *WPHM*). This crossing was  $5\frac{1}{2}$  miles from Kantner measured by the route indicated.

129 Having studied this ground many times, both alone and in company, I feel certain that the proximity of the old road to the modern roads, mentioned in the text, make it apparent that, being upon the driest land in the neighborhood, they were nearly the same. The late James Stoughton, owner of much land hereabouts, was certain of the identity of the scars still evident a mile and a half north of Jennerstown.

shoulder of the mountain far north of Beaverdam Creek. Bouquet pronounced it "absolutely impracticable" and "opened in such great haste," but it had to be used for the advanced units of Forbes's army and to supply Fort Ligonier until late in October, when the new road could be opened to traffic.<sup>130</sup>

The new road from Stony Creek to the top of Laurel Hill, which Bouquet wrote "... is 4 miles shorter and 8 miles better," is the route which Potts drafted. Colonel John Armstrong, with the second division of the artillery first passed over, with Washington's Virginians following, arriving at Fort Ligonier on October 22 and 23, 1758, respectively. General Forbes followed within a few days, bringing Colonel Montgomery's Highland Battalion, the third division of the artillery, and the rest of the supply train. Potts must have accompanied one of these contingents. This road ran up from Stony Creek with the old Lincoln Highway through Stoystown, joining the new U.S. 30 at the top of the hill, and, veering a little left and right of the latter highway, circled the eminence of Walnut Hill, describing the same pattern as the old highway except for a wider loop and at a lower level.

It crossed Quemahoning Creek about a quarter of a mile north of Jenners Crossroads and took a straight line for the dam at the eastern end of Stoughton Lake. Potts shows the road passing through the defile between the hills, now occupied by the lake, but not crossing Beaverdam Creek until it crosses at the bend of the creek occurring a mile and a quarter west of the bridge on U.S. 219, and nearby was the camp in the Clear Fields which Potts labels "7 days March." As noted above, the old road was brought over to join the new road, and the unified military thoroughfare progressed up the mountainside. The two roads from Stony Creek to the Clear Fields continued in service and became public roads, one or the other being preferred depending upon the weather, the season of the year, or the caprice of the traveler. Bouquet, in 1764, used both.

The new road ascending Laurel Hill paralleled Pickings Run on the north side. Just a quarter mile up the slope from Kline's Mill (a nineteenth-century gristmill, still existing though out of service) is a small plateau of perhaps three acres where, undoubtedly, was "the Chimney at the S<sup>o</sup> E[ast] foot of Laurell hill," also called "Tamhack [Tomahawk] Camp."<sup>131</sup> Topographical engineers carefully depicted

<sup>130</sup> *Bouquet Papers*, 2: 494, 555.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, 551, "... 4 miles shorter and 8 miles better"; *ibid.*, 650-51. The distance from "the Run at the N.W. foot of laurell Hill" to "the Chimney at the So.E. Foot," measured by Lt. Thomas Bassett, engineer, was 4 miles

the Forbes Road by a dotted line all of the way over the mountain, and Bouquet called it the "finest road of the Communication."<sup>132</sup> Potts depicted a few lateral deviations on the descending side which, on the ground appear like turnouts; and, indeed, they may have received such use after the road became straightened through usage. On the western slope, the remaining roadway appears more spectacular than anywhere on the entire itinerary; the erosion of two centuries having washed the ditches ever deeper while preserving the crown until it has the appearance of an excavated thoroughfare, in many places four to six feet below the natural surrounding surface of the land. Trees have fallen across the roadway, but few have grown in the right-of-way.

Immediately at the western foot of Laurel Hill is found the swift and turbulent McMullen Run, beyond which the road ran up the long slope past the old Penrod family's cemetery. The track then traversed nearly half a mile of woods and emerged on a still used stretch of the Forbes Road, so marked by posted signs, and identified on the highway maps as LR 64066. After two miles, Thomas Crossroads is reached — really a "T" situation, with LR 64066 turning sharply right, T 613 to the left, and at a little interval LR 64064 leading down the deep valley toward Ligonier. Directly opposite the road we are traveling (that is, straight ahead) the road ran downgrade where a deep scar may yet be seen descending towards the "Two Mile Spring" on the old Singer farm.<sup>133</sup>

The Forbes Road kept on top of the ridges for most of the last two miles down to Fort Ligonier. With great satisfaction we note that the residents of Ligonier Borough have preserved a three-block-long section of the Forbes Road exhibiting the crown, side ditches, and two-centuries-old wheel ruts — from Harguett, to Washington, to Summit streets, between Market and Laurel — aimed directly at the east gate of Fort Ligonier.

The crossing of Loyalhanna Creek, then where the westbound lane of U.S. 30 now is located — by scaling the plan of Fort Ligonier by Lieutenant Robert Dudgeon from the Royal Library of Windsor Castle (printed in Charles M. Stotz, *The Story of Fort Ligonier*, 16-17) and applying the distance to the plan of the borough — the indication is that it was at the foot of Cecil Alley. Dudgeon labeled it

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4380 feet (4.8 miles). Scaled on the U.S. topographical survey map, Somerset Quadrangle, it is the small flat area described in the text. *Ibid.*, 647.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, 573.

<sup>133</sup> Walkinshaw, "Forbes," *WPHM* 19: 141.

"Road to Pittsburgh." Others have deduced that the road swung up through the Valley Cemetery, then turned northwest for a mile, and circled to the right around the conical hill, before descending to Two-mile Run. Potts mapped it that way and continues his line across that run and bottom land to pass Fisher's Blockhouse, the well-preserved log structure at the intersection of LR 64071 and T 609.

It continues up the long hill with T 609, looping to the right around the pyramidal eminence, then descending steeply to the Four-mile Run crossing with FAS 64060. In half a mile the latter meets LR 64254 at the foot of Chestnut Ridge, which it immediately commences to ascend. The relatively even top of the ridge offers all the advantages of a high, dry road with no obstructions. A bronze plaque upon a stone monument, midway of the ridge, marks the final abode of General Arthur St. Clair.<sup>134</sup>

A number of very pronounced scars of the old road are to be seen — on the ascent to the left, on top of the ridge, and descending mostly on the right. At the south end of the small town of Youngstown, at the foot of Chestnut Ridge and at the confluence of Ninemile Run and Sawmill Run, the road crossed the former run and ran over the saddle of a low hill with T 950, a surviving segment of the old Pittsburgh-Philadelphia Pike. Bending to the northwest to cross diagonally the Latrobe Airport, it met the new divided highway, U.S. 30. It is necessary to cross to westbound U.S. 30 and to proceed to the next right-hand road, T 64149, then immediately left on T 898. (The old road evidently pursued a straighter line.) This complexity of roads is confusing; the more so, since Westmoreland County does not mark its roads with the small route numbers found elsewhere.

Since the railroad underpass at Beatty Station has been closed

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134 The Walkinshaw account in "As Forbes Trailed Through" (*WPHM* 19: 135-42, 221-28), although unsequential and very rambling, nevertheless furnishes clues to prominent points along the Forbes Road. The route is defined largely in relation to property owners, most of whom are hard to locate today. The present exposition seeks to identify the course of the Forbes Road with reference to modern national and state highways, county, and township routes, many of which follow the original track for short intervals, or parallel, or cross it. Also, existing landmarks and monuments help to define its path. Publication of the Bouquet papers relating to the Forbes campaign, during the intervening years, has rendered all-important service to historiographers. It is noticeable that, although Mr. Walkinshaw and Dr. David Rial traveled the road together, the Rial map and Walkinshaw's notes do not agree on all points. William Laughner, previously mentioned, kept a notebook of warrantee survey plats which he annotated with reference to physical features, which has proven a valuable aid.

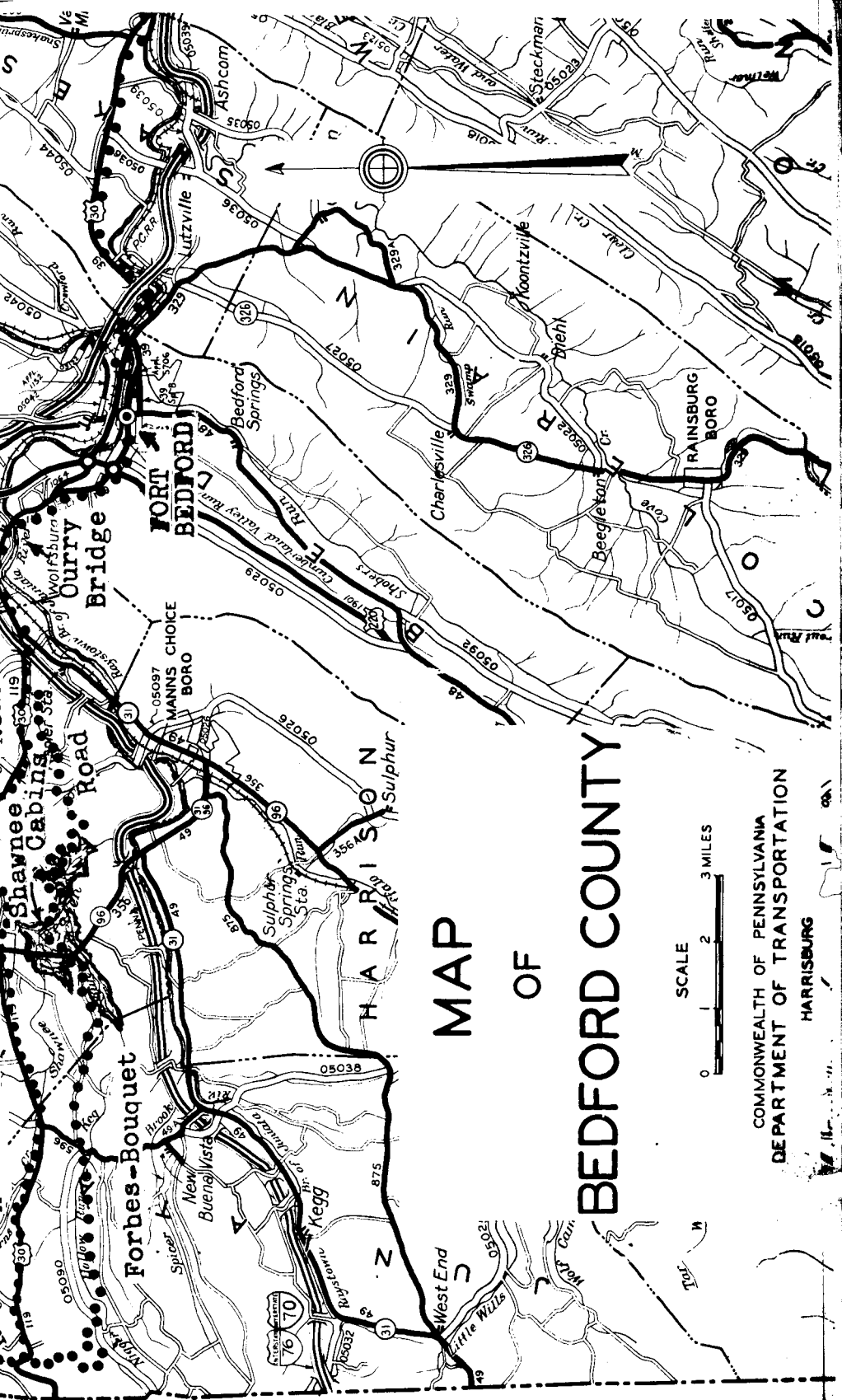
and boarded up, it is necessary to detour through the grounds of St. Vincent College, find the underpass at Dorothy, double back to meet T 898 near Unity Church and cemetery, where T 898 runs beside the beautiful old cemetery wall. The Forbes Road ran for two miles, nearly as does T 898 which becomes LR 64147 and, in  $\frac{3}{4}$  mile, is intersected by LR 64142. The low, relatively flat land thereabouts is the Crabtree Bottoms of those remote days of Forbes Road lore. At a point probably 150 yards beyond the intersection, Potts indicates the road turning obliquely left, climbing a sloping grade to find a sort of natural shelf in the side of a high hill, following a level contour line to meet, in just one mile, LR 64038, and turning left (west). It deviates to the south and back to cross Little Crabtree Creek and describes two loops to the north of LR 64038, then meets and follows U.S. 119 just half a mile and again follows LR 64038 for only 500 yards to the Old Hannastown (or Hanna's Town) restoration site. (The first county seat west of the mountains, burned by Indians and British, in 1782.) Passing up the hill, the road followed the ridgetop and in  $\frac{3}{4}$  mile made, as now, an acute angle turn to the right around a 300-foot-deep depression that is a feature of all maps, antique and modern, of the area, including the Potts draft.

Another scant half mile brings the site of the "4 Redoubts — 10 Camp" depicted by Potts (Washington and Bouquet, both, call the place "the Three Redoubts"), overlooking U.S. 819.<sup>135</sup> This it crosses and, in  $2\frac{3}{4}$  miles, meets old Pa. 66. Turning north on Pa. 66, in half a mile (just beyond the old Alwine School, now a community center but still majestically supporting aloft its bell and belfry) Bouquet's road left the Forbes Road, turning west to cross new Pa. 66 and to join Pa. 993. This new road followed a fork of an old Indian trail very much shorter than the long ridge route of the Forbes Road. We shall return to this parting place and to Bouquet's new road after briefly tracing the marching route of Forbes and his army.

In just a mile beyond the forks, the Forbes Road bent northwest across the new Pa. 66 and followed the line between Penn and Salem townships for three miles, then a little south of west, followed the winding series of hillcrests that took it past Chief Cockeye's cabin and

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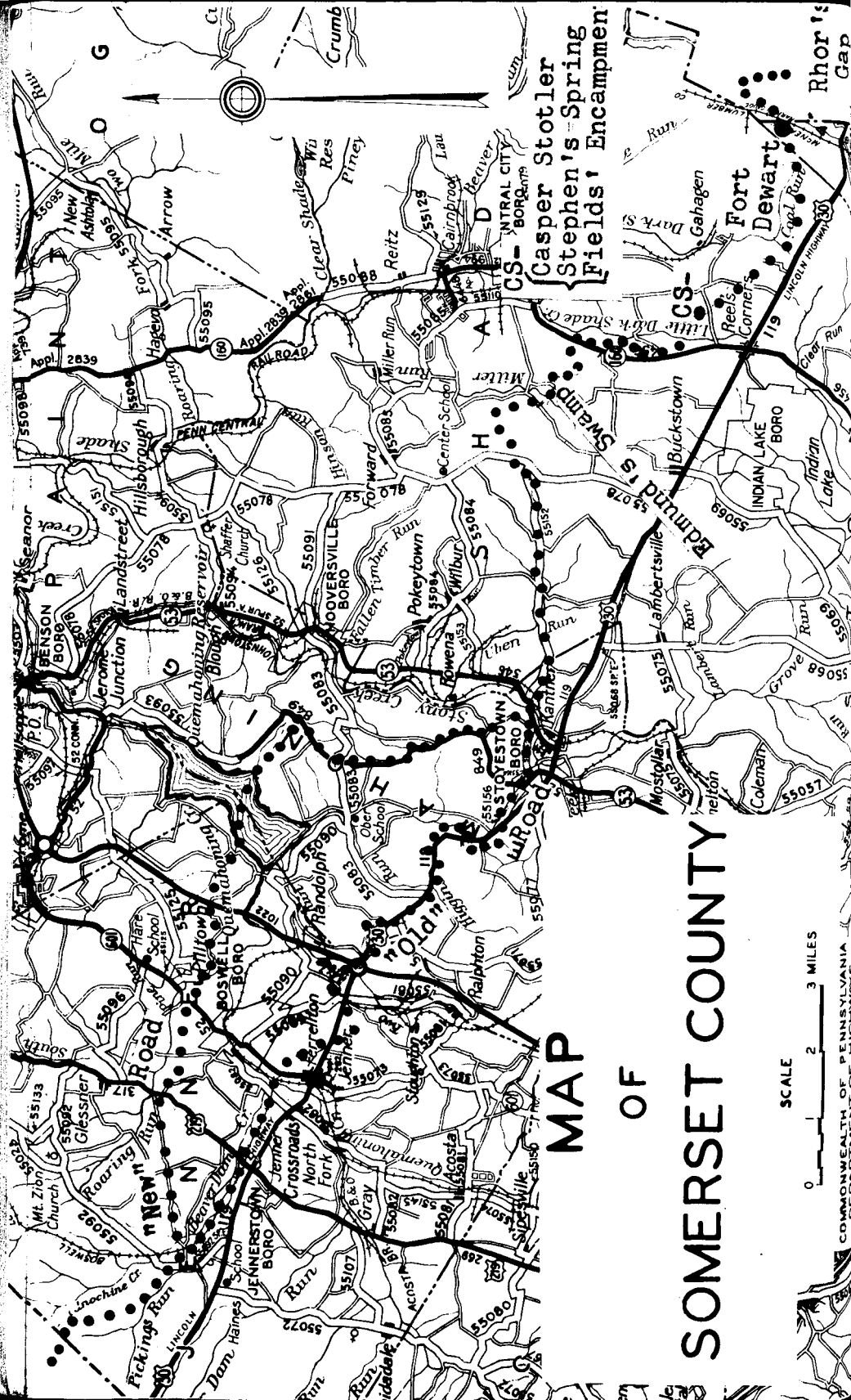
135 It is interesting that Potts calls the place "4 Redoubts Camp" which all other sources call "Three Redoubts." Potts also depicts four angular *flèches* (a salient defense work having two faces) with the camp indicated in the center. Washington (Fitzpatrick, *Washington Writings*, 2: 306) referred to "three redoubts." Bouquet alluded to "3 Redoubts." B.M., Add. Mss. 21652, f. 191 (p. 271).



# MAP OF BEDFORD COUNTY

COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA  
DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION  
HARRISBURG





Casper Stotler  
Stephen's Spring  
Fields' Encampment

MAP

SOMERSET COUNTY

SCALE 0 1 2 3 MILES

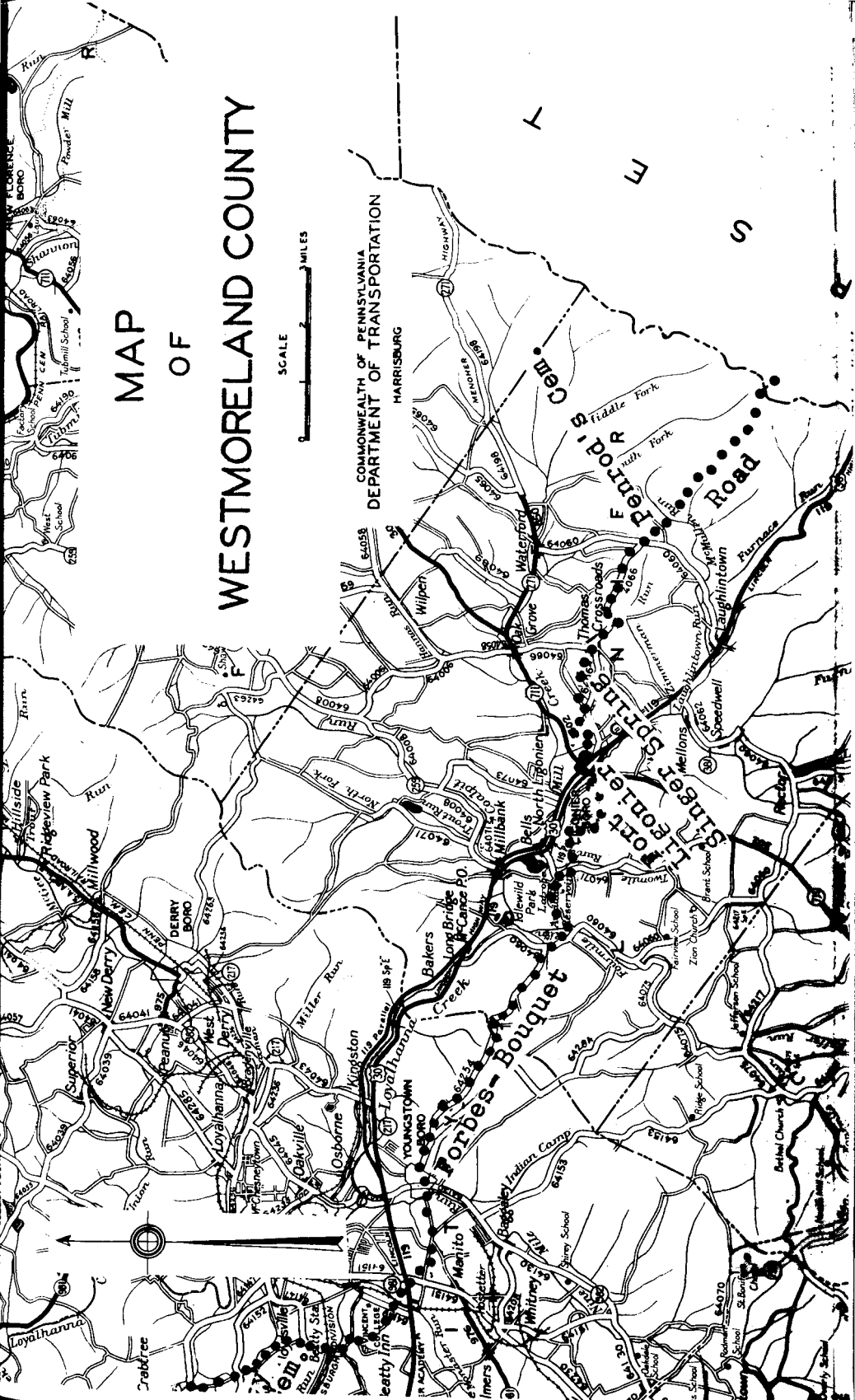
COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA

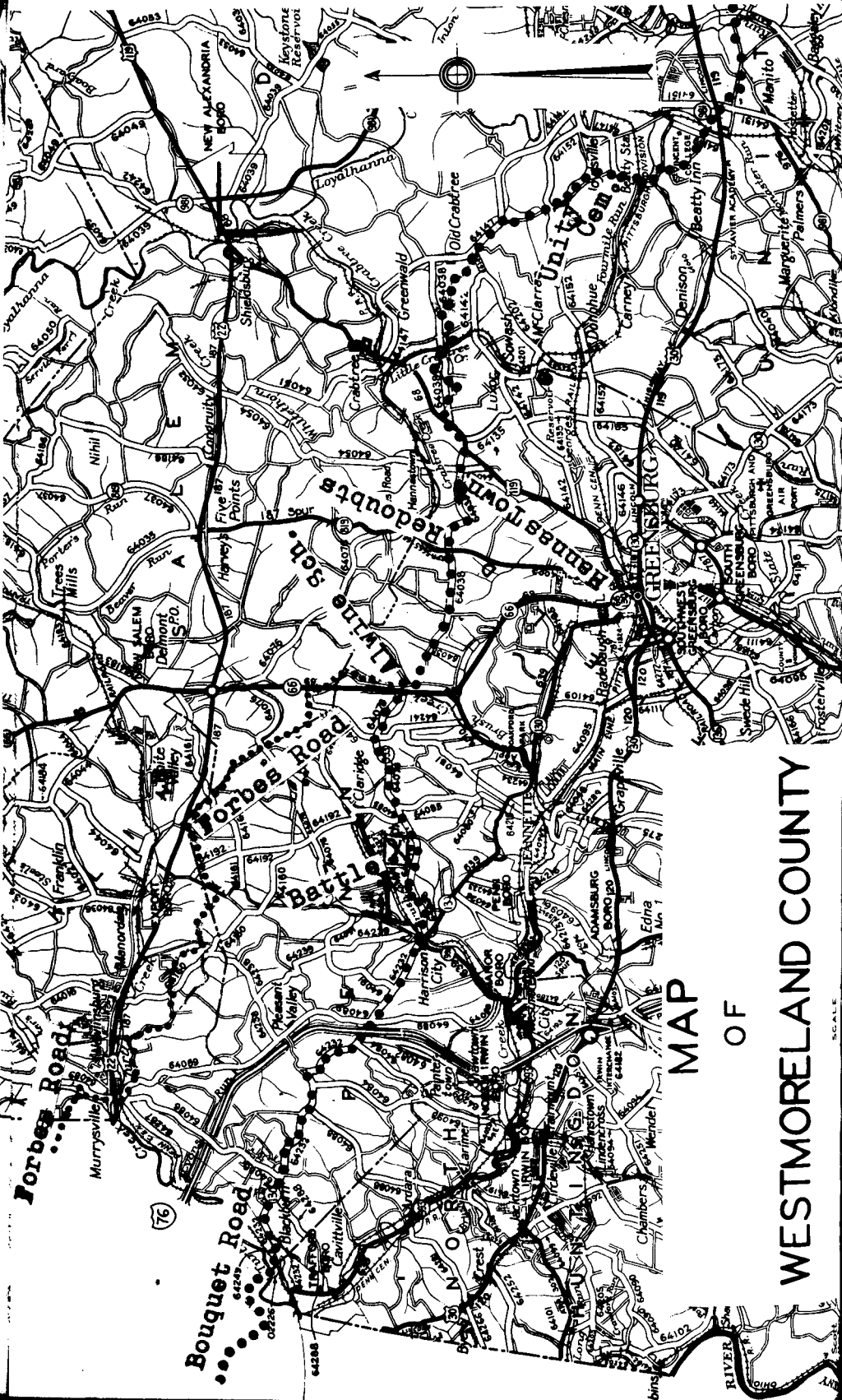


# MAP OF WESTMORELAND COUNTY

SCALE  
0 1 2 MILES

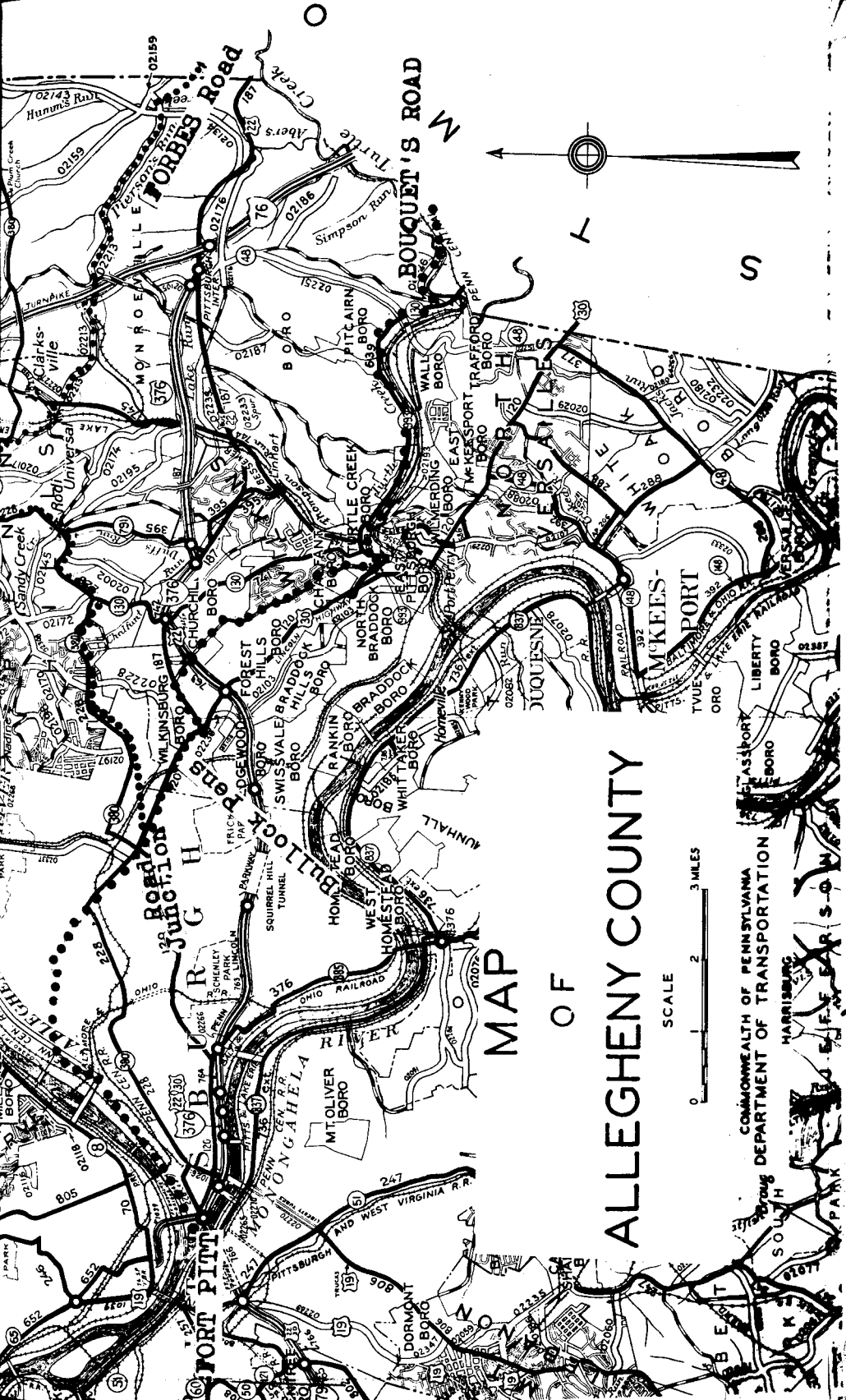
COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA  
DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION  
HARRISBURG





MAP  
OF  
WESTMORELAND COUNTY

SCALE



# MAP

OF

# ALLEGHENY COUNTY

SCALE



COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA  
DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION

HARRISBURG

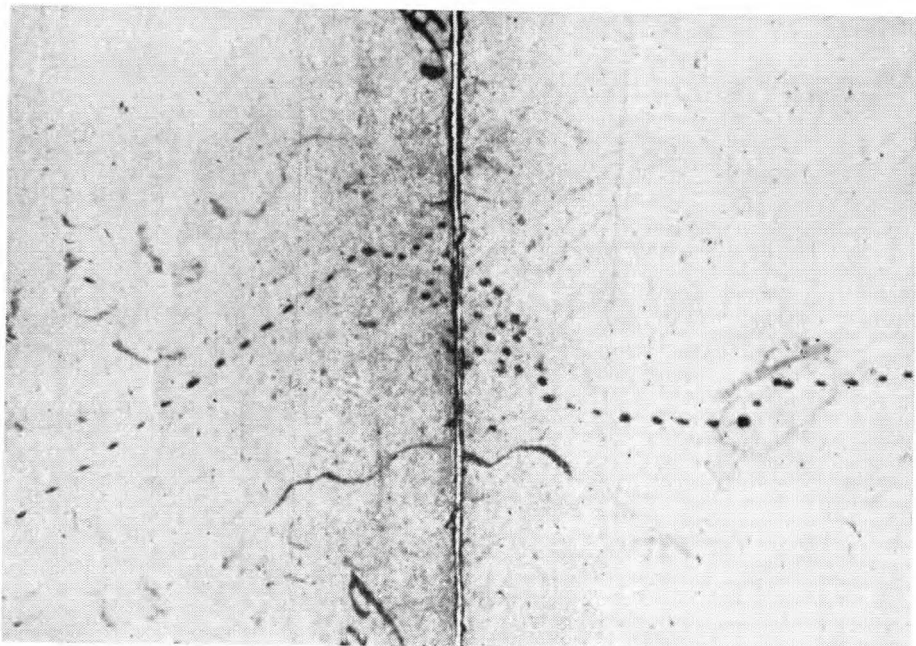


Photo by Lois Weissflog

Enlargement of the Potts map of the Forbes Road switchback rising Sideling Hill mountain.

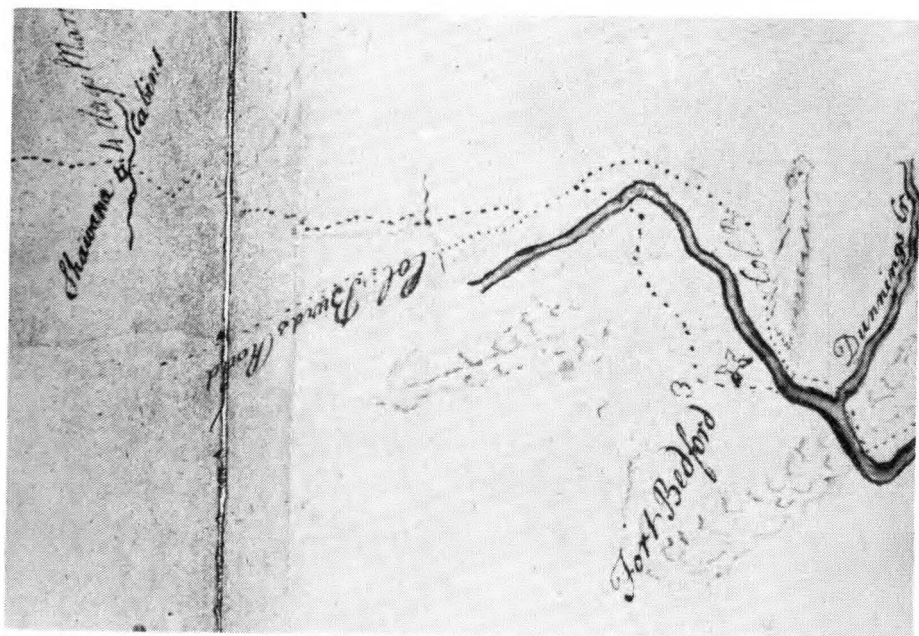


Photo by Lois Weissflog

Enlargement of the Potts map of the Forbes Road from Fort Bedford to the Shawnee Cabins.

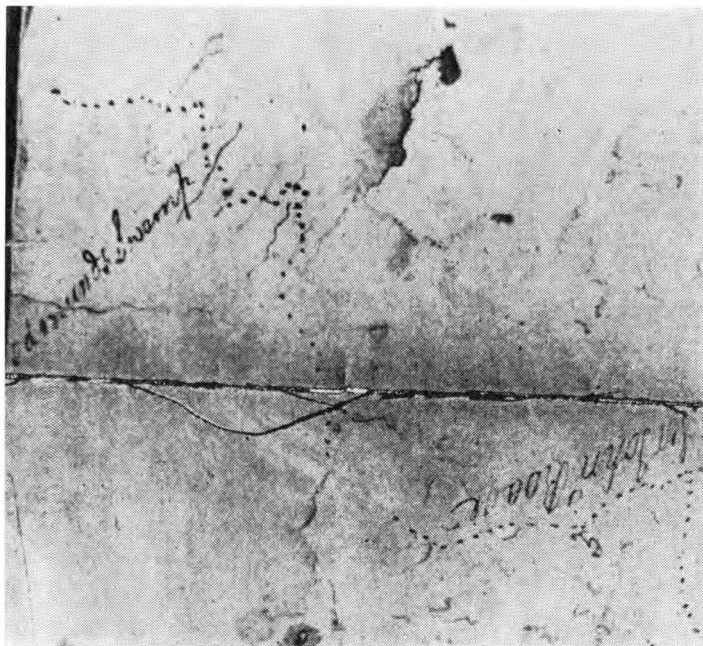


Photo by Lois Weissflog

Enlargement of the Potts map of the Forbes Road from Rhor's Gap to Edmund's Swamp.

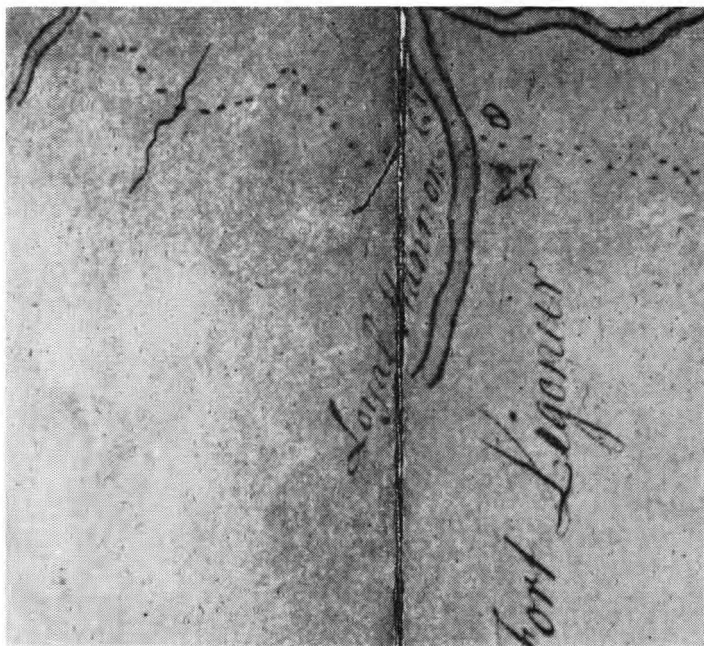


Photo by Jay-Bee Photographic Studio

Detail of the Potts map of the Forbes Road leaving Fort Ligonier westward, circumventing two round hills and crossing Twomile and Fourmile runs.



By *William Wallers Esq.* His Commanding the  
First Battalion of His Majesty's Royal American  
Regiment,

**W**HEREAS the Bearer hereof *Henry*  
in the aforesaid Re-  
giment, and in  
Company, hath served for the Space of *ten*  
*years, honestly and faithfully, it being the Term*  
*for which he was enlisted and being expired, He*  
is hereby discharged from any farther Service in  
the said Regiment or Company.

GIVEN under my *Hand*  
this *Twenty first* Day of *May* 1761  
To all, whom it  
may concern.)

*Wm Wallers Major*  
*R. A. R.*

**I** *Henry* do acknowledge  
that I have been truly & justly paid all my Sub-  
sistence and Arrears, from the Time of my Enlis-  
ting to the Day of this my Discharge; I do hereby  
acquit my Colonel, Captain, and every other Of-  
ficer, from any Dues, Debts, or Demands what so-  
ever, as Witness my Hand this Day of *May* 1761

Witness,

*George Pringle*  
*Thos. Miers*  
*John B. B. B.*

*Henry*

the site of Washington's camp, finally joining LR 64160 and T 909 to descend to the crossing of Turtle Creek at Murrysville. It ran across new and old U.S. 22 (old Northern Pike) and up Sardis Road. Half a mile from the Northern Pike the track crossed Haymaker's Run, where there is a well-preserved scar; climbed the ridge to the west, the top of which it probably followed until it ran down to cross Thompson Run and joined old Frankstown Road; thence to join Lott Road (LR 02213). A short detour by Trestle Road here intervenes to cross the Pennsylvania Turnpike, then the track runs by Lott Road to Universal, by Hershey Road, meets Frankstown Road, circles Alcoma Golf Club, passes East Hills Shopping Center, and on towards East Liberty. This is the dividing ridge between the waters of Turtle Creek of the Monongahela and the runs that fall into the Allegheny River. By Frankstown Avenue, briefly on Bennett Street, the track cut cross-lots to the Point Breeze section of Penn Avenue at, or near, its intersection with North Dallas Avenue. Between the latter and North Linden Avenue, one discovers a unique sort of monument — a bronze replica of the stump of a large tree that stood by the side of the Forbes Road in days of yore.

Returning to the parting point of the Forbes Road and Bouquet's short road (historians of the western trails would have termed it a "cutoff" <sup>136</sup>), it is only three miles by Pa. 993 to the battlefield of Bouquet's Bushy Run victory of 1763, and 1½ miles further to Harrison City. The high road just traversed would not have permitted any appreciable deviation from the present Claridge Road, as is also true of the forward route, Pa. 130, without its having gotten into trouble. Through rugged terrain, in seven miles, the road arrives at Trafford. The road skirted the present town proper and is marked "Forbes Road," which correctly should read "Bouquet's Road," for Forbes never saw this road, which was opened many months after Forbes had died in Philadelphia.<sup>137</sup>

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136 For interesting accounts of "cutoffs" in relation to western exploration and immigrant travel, see Dale L. Morgan, ed., *The Rocky Mountain Journals of William M. Anderson* (Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif., 1967), 159n, 268; W. J. Ghent, *The Road to Oregon* (New York, 1934), 140, re Greenwood's and Sublette's cutoff, 142 re Hastings's cutoff; Todd Webb, *The Gold Rush Trail and the Road to Oregon* (Garden City, N. Y., 1963), 128-53.

137 This short route was opened by Bouquet's direction and active participation by a company of Marylanders under Capt. Evan Shelby (the future general of the Revolution, a hero of the battle of Point Pleasant and brigadier general of Virginia forces, father of Isaac Shelby, governor of Kentucky, hero of the battle of King's Mountain in the Revolution, and

After passing the neighborhood of Blackburn, the road turned right, leaving Pa. 130 and making a circuit to northward around the town of Trafford to follow routes LR 64232, 64249, and 62226, crossing Turtle Creek enroute and joining Pa. 130 again. Here the road slipped into the narrow valley walled by almost perpendicular hills long known as the "defiles of Turtle Creek," a trap to be avoided in war times and a water hazard in times of floods and freshets. Bouquet's army marched through the fertile land in the point between Turtle Creek and Thompson Run, where within five or six years would arise the "Widow Meirs" tavern admitted to fame by more noted travelers, including Washington himself. After crossing Thompson Run, the laborious hill climb, that was often complained of by weary travelers, led the marchers to the long, dry ridgetop that became the Greensburg Pike. This led to the top of Wilkinsburg Hill and the prolonged downgrade to Ninemile Run (now piped underground) where the grassy lands extending a mile were fenced by the cattle guard of Forbes and the succeeding garrisons of Fort Pitt for grazing their herds and were known far and near as the Bullock Pens.

The land through present Wilkinsburg, starting about 350 yards from Ninemile Run and extending for  $1\frac{3}{4}$  miles to near the intersection of Fifth and Penn avenues, was under the ownership of the brothers, William and Daniel Elliot. Daniel's patent, lying in Wilkinsburg, was titled "Bull Pens," which abutted the 330-acre tract of his brother William. The latter, by his own sworn statement, owned "a plantation about seven miles from Fort Pitt on the public road at a place called 'the Bullock Pens.'" This referred to the fenced and guarded grazing fields originally for the cattle belonging to General Forbes's army. Since the bronze tree-stump replica, already mentioned, must have been beyond (west of) the junction of the Forbes Road and the Bouquet cutoff, Elliot's tavern might have been in the near vicinity of North Dallas and Penn Avenue, which measures just 6 miles from the gate of Fort Pitt, the distance mentioned in all journals. This section to Fifth and Penn avenues is known as Point Breeze. From here the track of the old road led through present East Liberty where Penn Avenue follows the divide between the drains of Negley Run and others into the Allegheny River, on the north, and those of Twomile Run on the south, for  $2\frac{1}{4}$  miles. The intersection of Friend-

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the victor of the battle of the Thames in the War of 1812). See B.M., Add. Mss. 21644, f. 395 (p. 104); 21652, f. 191 (p. 270-71); James, *Forbes Writings*, 254n, 298; Heitman, *Register*, 492.



ship and Penn avenues is the high point of a long, rising elevation dropping off rather sharply to the right, toward the river. Ahead, and a little to the left, was a mile-long heavily wooded ridge, gradually sloping toward Liberty Avenue. True to the army engineers' practice, the road sought the crest of this ridge (present Mintwood Street, a block south of and parallel to Penn Avenue). At the end of Mintwood, Denny Street leads obliquely left to Liberty Avenue at Thirty-fourth Street. Twomile Run emerges from its long, deep hollow on the left to cross Liberty Avenue at Thirty-third Street, of which topographical feature the main line of the Pennsylvania (now Penn Central) Railroad took advantage. Twomile Run was sewered to the river many years ago.

We have excellent and specific testimony that the Forbes Road crossed Twomile Run between Thirty-third and Thirty-fourth streets, just below the brewery buildings. In a written statement, Mr. Morrison Foster (b.1823), elder brother and biographer of Stephen Foster, the famed songwriter, declared that he had seen and remembered the old Forbes Road "crossing Twomile Run where Vilsack's brewery is [presently the Pittsburgh Brewing Company]." The same statement related that a path ran up the hill from Shannopin's Town, thus establishing the fact that the Indian town lay below the road. The statement further testifies that, on the same day that his brother was born (July 4, 1826), a Fourth of July celebration "was held in my father's woods back of his house on General Forbes' Road." The foundation of the Foster house still exists, on which the present building rests, and is located on the south side of Penn Avenue between Denny and Ligonier streets.

A fine map depicting the topography of Pittsburgh and environs is included, without credit, in the journal of the travels of the Duke of Saxe-Weimar Eisenach, which prominently points to "William B. Foster's Spring" at the above location. This spring was an important landmark on the Philadelphia Pike (Penn Avenue) in the early nineteenth century and is vividly described by Evelyn Foster Morneweck in her *Chronicles of Stephen Foster's Family*.

From the Twomile Run crossing, the road swung back toward the river, and many diarists have specifically testified to the aspect of the approach to Fort Pitt. The Reverend Abraham Steiner, in 1789, discerned ". . . the quiet Allegheny on our right hand and Pittsburgh ahead of us. The view is charming." Dr. Johann Schoepf, in 1783, crossed the "Two-Mile Branch. . . . From the last, the road lay along

the Allegheny River." Samuel Vaughan, in 1787, was prompted to write, "About a mile or two this side Pittsburgh came to the banks & rode alongside the Allegany River." And so, the marchers entered the gate of Fort Pitt.

By documentation of the writings of contemporary eyewitnesses of the march of Forbes and Bouquet and testimony of others who saw the scars of the road while they yet existed, we are hopeful of having preserved some evidence of the identity of the Forbes (and Bouquet) Road.<sup>138</sup>

## ORDERLY BOOK

Head Quarters Camp at  
Bedford Sunday Sep<sup>r</sup> 2<sup>d</sup> 1764

### Morning Orders

The Escort w<sup>t</sup> the Cattle will be directed on their Arrival to a place where they are to be pastured and remain till further Orders ———  
There will be a Guard appointed to protect and Assist the Drivers

The Escort Orderd w<sup>t</sup> the Cattle from Fort Loudon to Join their Companies ——— and that from Cap<sup>t</sup> Williams's Detachment to remain till relieved. ———

The Escorts w<sup>t</sup> the several Brigades of Bat and Pack Horses will proceed to a place appointed for unloading them beyond the Fort where they will be directed to pile the Loads properly that they may not be damaged. ——— Each Brigade Separately ——— A Proportionable Number of Centries to be furnished who are to Guard the whole.

138 W. P. Palmer, ed., 11 vols. *Calander of Virginia State Papers* (Richmond, 1875-93), 1: 280, re William Elliot's deposition; letter from Morrison Foster to Stephen Quinon, quoted in his "An Old Indian Burying Ground," *WPHM* 3 (1920): 204, re the path from Shannopin's Town, also the road's crossing of Twomile Run and the celebration immediately behind the Foster house, on the Forbes Road; H. H. Karl Bernhard, Duke of Saxe-Weimar Eisenach, *Travels in North America, in 1825-26*. The map, reprinted without credit, was from a "Plan of Pittsburgh," surveyed by W. Darby, in 1815, and published by R. Patterson and W. Darby in Pittsburgh(h) and Philadelphia. Morrison Foster, *Biography, Songs and Musical Compositions of My Brother, Stephen* (Pittsburgh, 1896), 22, where all the statements re the Forbes Road are corroborated; Evelyn F. Morneweck, *Chronicles of Stephen Foster's Family*, 2 vols. (Pittsburgh, 1944), 1: 12, where agreement is expressed and a minute description of the old Foster springhouse is given.

A few of the many travelers' accounts are noted: Paul A. W. Wallace, ed., "Abraham Steiner's Account," in *Thirty Thousand Miles with John Heckewelder* (Pittsburgh, 1958), 242; A. J. Morrison, ed., *Travels in the Confederation, in 1783-84*, by Johann Schoepf (Philadelphia, 1911), 1: 241; E. G. Williams, ed., "Samuel Vaughan's Journal," *WPHM* 44 (1961): 264.

The Horse masters will be directed where their Drivers will find pasturage for their Horses ——— They must attend at Head Quarters daily at Orderly time. ———

Head Quarters Camp at Fort  
Bedford Sunday Sep<sup>r</sup> 2<sup>d</sup> 1764

Parole Boston

Counter sign Corsica

Field Officer for tomorrow Lieu<sup>t</sup> Coll Clayton

Adj<sup>t</sup> & Q<sup>r</sup> Master from y<sup>e</sup> 60<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup>.

The Troops will Encamp upon the Ground (for that purpose) marked

The Park of Artillery will be placed in the Center of the Square.— Necessary Houses to be made Immed<sup>y</sup> at proper distances from the diff<sup>t</sup> faces of the Encampment. ———

And a Shade built for a Camp Guard. ———

Monday Sep<sup>r</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> 1764

Morning Orders

A Serg<sup>t</sup> and twelve Men of y<sup>e</sup> Pensylvanians to parade Immediately and to return in quest of Strayed Cattle as far as Fort Loudon. This Party to draw two Days Meat & Four days Flower The Sergeant will receive his Instructions at Head Quarters. ———

Head Quarters Camp at Fort Bed-  
ford Monday September 3<sup>d</sup> 1764

Parole Middlesex

CS Orkney

Field Officer for tomorrow Major Prevost. ———

Adj<sup>t</sup> & Qu<sup>r</sup> Master 1<sup>st</sup> Batt<sup>n</sup> Pensylvanians. ———

Co<sup>ll</sup> Bouquet Orders his Thanks to be given to Cap<sup>t</sup>. Williams Chief Engineer and to the Officers & Soldiers under his direction for their Great Assiduity & dilligence in Compleating so speedily and Effectually the New Road at the Sidling Hill. ——— And That the Country may know who performed that useful & publick service That part of the Road shall for the future be called Cap<sup>t</sup> Williams's Gapp.<sup>139</sup> ———

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<sup>139</sup> It was a signal honor for an officer to be thus mentioned in general orders. Col. Bouquet's enthusiastic admiration for Capt. Williams's engineering acumen far exceeded his usual expression of approbation. The point of remark is that the engineer's judgment has been so notably emulated (albeit unwittingly) by highway designers and builders of one of the great roads of America, two centuries later. See Williams, "Orderly Book," *WPHM*, 56, Pt. 2, p. 386, n 76. Bouquet also praised Williams

There being a Quantity of dammaged provisions in the Store at this place ——— It is to be Inspected this after noon at Four by L<sup>t</sup> Co<sup>ll</sup> Clayton Major Prevost & Three Captains of the Pensylvania Reg<sup>t</sup>. ———

A Warrant will be delivered to Co<sup>ll</sup> Clayton for that purpose. ———

Head Quarters Camp near Fort  
Bedford Tuesday Sep<sup>r</sup> 4 1764

Parole Smyrna

Countersign Harlem

Field Officer for tomorrow Lieu<sup>t</sup> Coll Francis

Adj<sup>t</sup> & Q<sup>r</sup> Master 2<sup>d</sup> Batt<sup>n</sup> Pennsylvan[ians]

The Troops arrived from fort Pitt<sup>140</sup> to Encamp on the Ground marked out for that purpose. ———

The Men draughted to compleat the Companys that Marched w<sup>t</sup> Co<sup>ll</sup> Reid from Fort Loudon will now return to The Companys they were then draughted from. ——— The Light Horse are not to do duty in the line. They will be Employed on separate service. A Corporal & Four Men of that Corps to attend daily at Head Quarters bringing a proper proportion of grass for their Horses.

This party will be furnished alternately from Each Troop. ——— The Captains of Light Horse on applying to M<sup>r</sup> Callender will be Informed by him where there Horses are to be pastured A Guard of a Serg<sup>t</sup> & ten Troopers from the whole to remain constantly with them. ———

The Corps Encampt to Inspect their Arms and Accoutrements And All defficiencies to be repaired as soon as possible. ———

The Army will draw tomorrow two days provisions, The whole will be then victualed to the 6<sup>th</sup> Ins<sup>t</sup> Inclusive. ——— The Issuing commences at six oClock A : M : ———

The Royal Artillery will be served first and be followed by the other Corps according to Seniority Each in their turn In future Issuings will begin the Draught

The Horse masters, Cattle drivers and Pack horsemen are also to be Victualed tomorrow. They will be directed by the A:D:Q:M:G: [Assistant Deputy Quarter Master General] for the future to receive their Provisions regularly w<sup>t</sup> the Troops. ———

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highly in his message to the Pennsylvania government. *Pa. Col. Recs.*, 9: 214.

140 These returning troops had formed the detachment of 450 men under Colonel John Reid as escort for the "convoy" (probably packtrain) of provisions for Fort Pitt on August 15. See Pt. 2, p. 314, n 71.

Monthly returns for the 24<sup>th</sup> of August to be given in to the Major of Brigade as soon as possible All casualties to be exactly inserted. ——— The two Batt<sup>ns</sup> of Pennsylvanians to Account for all their Men agreeable to the Returns given in by these Corps on the 9<sup>th</sup> Ult<sup>o</sup> [ultimo] at Carlisle. ———

There have been some abuses detected in the provision Returns. Co<sup>ll</sup> Bouquet expects the Commanding Officers of Corps to be very Careful to prevent any further mistakes of the kind The value of the Rations overdrawn must be refunded. ———

Wednesday Sep<sup>r</sup> 5th 9 oClock AM

### Morning Orders

A Light Infantry Company from each Battalion Pennsylvanians to parade as soon as they have drawn provisions. ——— They will then March to relieve Cap<sup>ts</sup> Proctor & Richtsaup's [Ritzhaupt's]<sup>141</sup> detachments, The Former now Guarding the Pack Horses and the latter the Cattle. ——— These Guards to continue 48 hours And to be then relieved by the next Light Infantry Companies for duty.

Head Quarters Camp near

Fort Bedford Wednesday Sep<sup>r</sup> 5th 1764

Parole ——— Gibraltar

Countersign ——— Spain

Field Officer for tomorrow Major Prevost

Adj<sup>t</sup> & Qu<sup>r</sup> Master from the 42<sup>d</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup>

The Arms that are now loaded to have their shot drawn this Afternoon. The Ammunition to be saved An Officer per Company

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<sup>141</sup> Capt. John Ritzhaupt seems to have been a sort of maverick among the Pennsylvania officers, not having been listed among the officers of any of the frontier posts nor on the roster of officers of the Pennsylvania Regiment in 1764. There was a Lt. John Ritzbaugh in Capt. Jacob Kern's company, who may have been the same man. *Pa. Archives*, 5th ser., 1: 335. There is no record of when he may have been promoted, but he may have succeeded to the command of the company, when Capt. Kern was transferred to one of the troops of light horse, in spite of the fact that there were several lieutenants in the battalion senior to him. The orders of Sept. 23, following, directed him to command an escort from Fort Pitt of returning wagons to Fort Bedford, where he was to take command, by Bouquet's own account, from Sept. 11-Dec. 24, although another officer is designated in command from Dec. 5-24. B.M., Add. Mss. 21651, f. 109 (p. 89). There was some difficulty about ownership of a horse, which he sold, and presumed other public property. *Ibid.*, f. 102 (p. 84). Nothing further is recorded of him either militarily or in the tax or land records of the colony.

to be present who will examine the Rifles & such Arms as cannot be drawn<sup>142</sup>

These are to be collected & fired off by Platoons. — The Guards are not included in this order. —

After the Arms have been drawn & fired off they must be washed clean and remain unloaded till further Orders. —

A Serg<sup>t</sup> & twelve Batt<sup>n</sup> Men of the 42<sup>d</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> to be detach'd from that Corps to attend Cap<sup>t</sup> Williams they are to remain with him & receive his directions till further Orders. —

The Adjutants who have Joined from Fort Pitt to Insert in their Orderly Books the standing Orders given out at Head Quarters during their absence. —

Head Quarters Camp at Fort  
Bedford Thursday Sep<sup>r</sup>. 6<sup>th</sup>

Parole Fort Royal

Counter sign Jamaica

Field Officer for tomorrow Lieu<sup>t</sup> Col<sup>l</sup> Clayton

Adju<sup>t</sup>. & Qu<sup>r</sup> Master 60<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup>

The Troops to draw two days provisions tomorrow morning w<sup>c</sup> Victuals them till 8<sup>th</sup> Ins<sup>t</sup> Inclusive The Issuing commencing with the 42<sup>d</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> at 6 oClock and End<sup>s</sup> w<sup>t</sup> the Royal Artillery

The Troops from Fort Loudon to be compleated to 24 Rounds of Ammunition being the Quantity already delivered to the detachment that Escorted the first Convoy to Fort Pitt

The Commanding Officers of Corps will Sign Exact Returns of the Quantity they are to draw as also Receipts for Ammunition when Issued from the Ordonnance Store. —

A Captain two Subalterns two Serg<sup>ts</sup> & 40 Rank & File from the 42<sup>d</sup> & 60<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>ts</sup> and one compleat Company of Pensylv<sup>a</sup> Light Infantry to parade at Six tomorrow morning & march Immediately to

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142 Muzzle-loading muskets and rifles, when once loaded and wadded, could not easily be unloaded; and they had to be carefully and periodically cleaned, so that the charge would not become dampened and ineffective. A "worm," which resembled a spiral spring on the end of a ramrod, was inserted into the barrel to grapple with the charge and, if possible, to draw it out. If this operation were unsuccessful, firing the piece was the only way to clear the barrel. It was only good military and safety procedure to fire all such muskets at a designated place simultaneously.

relieve the Companies now on duty at the Shawani Cabbins.<sup>143</sup>

A Batt<sup>n</sup> Comp<sup>y</sup> of the Pensylvanians to parade at the same time and relieve the Cattle Guard at the Snake Spring.<sup>144</sup> They are to receive ther provisions this Evening of which the Quarter Master of the Day will give timely Notice to the Commissary. —————

A Corporal & five Batt<sup>n</sup> Men of the Pensylvanians to parade Immediately, This party will Escort a Convoy to Fort Cumberland<sup>145</sup> and return with the unloaded Pack Horses to this post where they will remain as part of the Garrison

After Orders 4 P: M:

The Commissaries will be directed for the future to Issue a proportion of Salt to the Troops when they are Victualed w<sup>t</sup>. fresh meat. ————

A list of the Invalids of each Corps to be given in immediately that they may be inspected by the director of the Hospital who will after examining them report such as are absolutely unable to march from this place

Head Quarters Camp at Fort Bedford

Friday Sep<sup>r</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> 1764. —————

Parole            Petersburg

Countersign    Siberia

Field Officer for tomorrow Major Murray

Adjutant & Qu<sup>r</sup> Master from 1<sup>st</sup> B P R [Battalion Pennsylvania Regiment]

143 All the histories of Bedford County area agree that no memory of the actual Shawnee Cabins exists. Hanna (*Wilderness Trail*, 1: 274, 275, 281) gives the impression that they dated before 1754. The Forbes scouts estimated the distance west of Fort Bedford at 8 to 9½ miles by the Indian trails. *Bouquet Papers*, 2: 234-46; *Pa. Archives*, 1st ser., 2: 135. The actual measurement of the road cut by Forbes taken by Engineer Lt. Thomas Bassett was 8 miles, 3700 feet, almost exactly 8.7 miles. *Bouquet Papers*, 2: 650-51. The tract named "Shawonese Cabbins on the Great Road about eight miles Westward of Bedford" on a warrant for survey dated July 1, 1762, was owned by Joseph Nelson and conveyed to his son Thomas. Warrant No. 16, Cumberland County, 1762, Bureau of Land Records, Harrisburg.

144 The cattle had been left under guard to graze more than 6 miles in the rear of the army which was then at Bedford. Snake Spring Valley Creek flows into the Raystown Branch of the Juniata a mile and a half west of present Everett, close under the western side of Tussey Mountain. Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, 1: 277.

145 Fort Cumberland, at present Cumberland, Maryland, was named for William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, second son of King George II and captain general of all the British armies. It had been the concentration point for all the divisions of Braddock's army in 1755. It was, in 1764, serving the same purpose for concentrating the battalions of Colonels Washington and Byrd as well as their supplies.

The Troops to be under Arms tomorrow morning at Eight. ———  
 Each Corps in the Front of their Encampment. ——— The Troop-  
 ers w<sup>t</sup>. their Horses The Officers to Examine their mens Arms to  
 see that they are Clean & well Flinted<sup>146</sup> ——— And to be answer-  
 able that none are Loaded. ———

The Numbers under Arms will receive each six Rounds of Powder  
 only which will be Issued to the Different Corps this Evening. ———  
 In order to specify the exact Quantity wanted for this purpose ———  
 The Adjutants will previously give in to the Major of Brigade Field  
 Returns of the Numbers to be paraded

After Orders 5 in the Evening Sep<sup>r</sup> 7

A return to be given in tomorrow at Orderly time of the Artif-  
 ficers in Every Corps — distinguishing the Comp<sup>ys</sup> they belong to and  
 the Different Handicrafts they possess as follows Viz<sup>t</sup>  
 Masons — Bricklayers, Sawyers Carpenters Wheelers Joiners,  
 Blacksmiths, Sadlers, Gunsmiths ———

Head Quarters Camp near Fort  
 Bedford Saturday Sep<sup>r</sup> 8<sup>th</sup> 1764

Parole S<sup>t</sup> Helens

Counter sign Portsmouth

Field Officer for tomorrow Major deHaas. ———

Adj<sup>t</sup>. & Qu<sup>r</sup> M<sup>r</sup> for the 2<sup>d</sup> Batt<sup>n</sup> Pen<sup>ns</sup>

The Troops to be in readiness to March tomorrow morning. —  
 The Ammunition compleated as has already been directed. The Offi-  
 cers commanding Corps will sign and deliver Vouchers that all their  
 Men have received twenty four rounds each. ——— Whatever is  
 found hereafter defficient of that Quantity (unless expended on real  
 Service or by Express Orders) must be paid for by the Corps where  
 the defficiency is found. ———

The Nine Invalids of the 42<sup>d</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> and fourteen of the Pennsylv<sup>a</sup> that  
 have been reported by the Director of the Hospital unfitt for the Active  
 Service of the Campaign are Immediately to be delivered over to Lieu<sup>t</sup>.  
 Hunter of the 1<sup>st</sup> Batt<sup>n</sup>. Pensylva<sup>s</sup> and w<sup>t</sup> him form Part of the Garri-  
 son of this Post. ———

Lieu<sup>t</sup> Hunter will attend at Head Quarters at four this afternoon  
 He will then receive further Orders and his Instructions. ———  
 A Subaltern, Sergeant & thirty Rank and file to be detached from

146 See Pt. 2, p. 400, n 87.



the 42<sup>d</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> to Join the R Artillery That party will be under the direction of Cap<sup>t</sup> Hay and remain w<sup>t</sup> him till further Orders. ———  
 The Troops will this Evening receive three days Meat and Early tomorrow three days Bread w<sup>c</sup> compleats them to the 11<sup>th</sup> Inclusive —  
 The Issuing Commencing w<sup>t</sup>. the 60<sup>th</sup> & ending w<sup>t</sup> the 42<sup>d</sup>  
 The Ration Amounting to Eight pounds of Meat & Nine of Bread p<sup>r</sup> week will be drawn for the Future in the following Manner, to avoid the Delays Occasioned in the Issuings by Calculating the Fractions Viz<sup>t</sup>

For three Days four Pounds beef & four Pounds Bread. ———  
 For the other four days of the week five Pounds of bread & four of Beef. ——— The Batt & Baggage Horses for the different Corps will be furnished by the A : D : Q : M : G : as usual. ———  
 The Light Horse & Light Infantry will be compleated each w<sup>t</sup> a Hatchet from the Kings Store. ———

The Commanding Officers of Corps will give receipts to Cap<sup>t</sup>. Williams for the Numbers they receive and such of the Men who have lost those formerly delivered to them will be made to pay for them. —  
 Co<sup>ll</sup> Bouquet recommends to the Offic<sup>rs</sup> to be particularly carefull that their Men do not negligently lose or abuse their Hatchets as they are the only weapons they can depend on in Attacking the Enemy after they have discharged their Fire Arms.<sup>147</sup> ———

#### General After Orders

Head Quarters Camp at Fort Bedford

Saturday Sept<sup>r</sup> 8<sup>th</sup> 1764 5 oClock P M

Co<sup>ll</sup> Francis's Cap<sup>t</sup> Webb's and Cap<sup>t</sup> Richtsaup's Battalion Companys of Pensylvanians will remain under Cap<sup>t</sup> Webb's Command to Escort the Waggon's to Fort Pitt. ——— They will receive their Orders from Cap<sup>t</sup> Hay who Commands that Convoy. ———

Co<sup>ll</sup> Clayton's Cap<sup>t</sup> Lindsey's and Cap<sup>t</sup> Finley's Battalion Companys of Pensylvanians will also remain under Cap<sup>t</sup> Green's Command to Escort a Convoy of Pack Horses of which M<sup>r</sup> Pretor<sup>148</sup> is Super In-

147 This is evidence of Bouquet's admirable flexibility in adapting American fighting methods and weapons to maximum effectiveness. All European armies equipped the private soldiers with short swords as side arms for use at close quarters after having discharged the muskets, and in case bayonets failed or there was not sufficient room for their use. See Smith, *An Historical Account* (London ed., 1766), 48.

148 Henry Prather is clearly meant ("Pretor" is a phonetic spelling by a German sergeant major who probably wrote the orders). Henry Prather received a warrant appointing him superintendent of horsemasters, dated July 19, 1763. B.M., Add. Mss. 21653, f. 192 (p. 201), when he served heroically with Bouquet at Bushy Run. He again offered his services for the

tendant. This detachment will receive Orders from Cap<sup>t</sup> Ourry  
The Brigade of Pack Horses w<sup>t</sup> the Powder Caggs [kegs] will proceed w<sup>t</sup> the Convoy — And their Horsemaster Bertley will receive from the Pensyl<sup>a</sup> Troops 45 Tents to Cover the Loads during the March for which he will be answerable and will carefully return them every Evening when the Troops arrive at their Encamping Ground —

The General will beat tomorrow morning as soon as the Pack Horses arrive. The Tents of the Line will then be struck. ———

When the Assembly beats the Troops that are to March will form in the Fronts of their respective Encampments. ——— The Command out Guards Join, and a Guard to take Charge of the Prisoners in Custody of the Prevost Mareshal [provost martial] will March as a Reserve in the Center of the Convoy This Guard to consist of a Sub[altern] Serg<sup>t</sup> and 20 Rank and File It will be furnished by the 42<sup>d</sup> & 60<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>ts</sup> ———

Live Cattle are left at this Post in Charge of the Dep[uty] Commissary for the Use of the Garrison and two detachments mentioned above.

Cap<sup>t</sup> Kern's Troop of Light Horse will receive the Cattle that proceed w<sup>t</sup> the Convoy tomorrow morning from Cap<sup>t</sup> Webb.

In the Order of March the 42<sup>d</sup> & 60<sup>th</sup> forming the Front and Rear Faces of the Square will March two deep in the Road the Convoy moving between. ———

The Pennsylvanians forming the Right and left faces of the Square will March in a Single File on both Sides of the Road & Convoy and will detach from each Company three Flankers who will be relieved every Hour. ———

The Troops of the Light Horse will alternately take, one the Cattle & the oy<sup>r</sup> [other] the Front & Rear Guards. ———

Cap<sup>t</sup> Ethringtons detachment and Cap<sup>t</sup> Lems's Comp<sup>y</sup> of Light Infantry will remain in their present Station at the Shawanese Cabins till the Army Joins them. ———

#### Morning Orders

Bedford Sunday Sep<sup>r</sup> 9 8 oClock A: M:

A Court Martial of the Line to sitt Imediately in Camp. ———

Cap<sup>t</sup> Hunter of the 1<sup>st</sup> B: P<sup>ns</sup> President

The 42<sup>d</sup> & 60<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>ts</sup> the 1<sup>st</sup> & 2<sup>d</sup> Batt<sup>n</sup> Pensyl<sup>a</sup> give each a Subaltern to sitt as Members of this Court who will try the Prisoner who's

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Muskingum expedition and performed diligent service. Ibid., 21650, Pt. 2, f. 257 (p. 177); 21650, Pt. 2, f. 461 (p. 108).

Name and Crime has been Given to the President Evidences are ordered to Attend.

Eleven oClock A M

The Sentence past by the Court Martial of the Line of which Cap<sup>t</sup> Hunter was President is approved of and Ordered to be put in Execution Immediately on the Gen<sup>l</sup> parade before the Troops March. ———

Head Quarters Camp at the

Shawanese Cabbins Sunday Sept<sup>r</sup> 9<sup>th</sup> 1764

Parole Hampton Court

C Sign Thames

Field Officer for tomorrow Lieu<sup>t</sup> Co<sup>l</sup> Francis. ——— Adj<sup>t</sup>. & Quarter Master from y<sup>e</sup> 42<sup>d</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup>

The General to beat at day break tomorrow and as soon as the Horses are collected Loaded, & the Convoy ready to move The Assembly<sup>149</sup> will beat & the Troops March Immediately. The Convoy to proceed in the manner already ordered

#### Morning Orders

Monday Sep<sup>r</sup> 10<sup>th</sup> 6 oClock

The reserve to be augmented w<sup>t</sup> a Cprp<sup>l</sup> & ten private[s], All the Sentries within the Camp to be furnished from this Guard. ———

The Drum beating the General will for the future be the signal for all daily Guards parading ——— And dur<sup>g</sup> the Interval between the General and Assembly beating The Guards are to be relieved. Two Pennsylv<sup>a</sup> Light Infantry Comp<sup>ys</sup> to parade Immediately they will proceed w<sup>t</sup> the Chief Engineer and Obey the Directions they receive from him. These Comp<sup>ys</sup> Join the Army this Evening at Edmonds Swamp

Head Quarters Camp at Edmonds<sup>150</sup>

Swamp Monday Sep<sup>r</sup> 10<sup>th</sup> 1764

Parole Havannah

Counter Sign Cuba

Adj<sup>t</sup> & Q<sup>r</sup> Master from the 60<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup>

The General will beat tomorrow morning at Six And the Assembly as soon as the Convoy is ready to proceed

149 "The Assembly is the drum signal to repair to the colors." "Chap. XXV, Of the Different Beats of the Drums." *Regulations for the Order and Discipline of the Troops* (Philadelphia, 1779) (hereafter cited as *Regulations*).

150 Edmund's Swamp is described in the "Essay on the Road," above, p. 58 and note 126.

Tuesday 7 oClock A M.

Morning Orders at Edmund's Swamp

A light Infantry Comp<sup>y</sup> from each of the Pensylv<sup>a</sup> Batt<sup>ns</sup> to parade Immediately They will proceed With Cap<sup>t</sup> Williams and receive directions from him. —————

The Convoy will be divided during this day and tomorrow's March. The Field Officer of the Day will take the Command of that part which proceeds by the Old Road.<sup>151</sup> —————

The Escort for this separate Convoy to be composed of all the Officers and Men of the 60<sup>th</sup> under the Immediate Comm<sup>d</sup> of Major Prevost.— Cap<sup>t</sup> Kern's & part of Cap<sup>t</sup> Piper's Troops of Light Horse — Two Comp<sup>ys</sup> of Light Infantry and two Batt<sup>n</sup> Pensylv<sup>as</sup> under the Command of Maj<sup>r</sup> Dehaas. —————

The Commissary to reserve y<sup>e</sup> proportion of Cattle necessary to be Slaughtered for the ensuing Draught of Provis<sup>ns</sup> for the Troops that March by the new road.<sup>152</sup> The whole (except this proportion) of the Cattle & Sheep w<sup>t</sup> 10 Brigades of Pack Horses and the Officers Baggage belonging to that Escort will proceed by the Old Road. The Light Horse have already their directions regarding the Cattle. —————

Major Prevost will make a disposition of the Troops under his Command (in the Manner directed for the Grand Convoy) proportionably to the Numbers they consist of. —————

A Deputy Commissary and a Guide are Ordered to Attend Major Prevost The former will [give] directions for Victualing the detachment. ————— A surgeon's Mate from the Pensylva<sup>ns</sup> to attend the Surgeon of the 60<sup>th</sup> The remaining Brigades of the Pack horses w<sup>t</sup> the Provisions Powder & Baggage to proceed Immediately w<sup>t</sup> the Troops that March by the New Road L<sup>t</sup> Co<sup>ll</sup> Clayton and the Adj<sup>t</sup>. & Q M<sup>r</sup> of the 1<sup>st</sup> B<sup>n</sup> Pen<sup>ns</sup> take the Duty of y<sup>e</sup> Day place of Maj<sup>r</sup> Prevost & Adj<sup>t</sup> & Q M<sup>r</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> 60<sup>th</sup>

Head Quarters Camp at Kuymony [Quemahoning]<sup>153</sup>

Bridge Tuesday Sep<sup>r</sup> 11<sup>th</sup> 1764

151 Bouquet's division of the army into two parts marching by separate roads here is interesting. It could not have been undertaken if the enemy had been present. The "old road" is described in the "Essay on the Road," p. 58-61 above, also in notes 128 and 129.

152 The "new road" is described in the "Essay on the Road," p. 61, also in note 127.

153 This campsite in the creek bottom of Quemahoning Creek is now under the placid waters of Quemahoning Reservoir. The location of the crossing place and the warrantee survey and patent of "Kickenypawling's [sic] Old Town" tract are discussed in the "Essay on the Road" above and note 128.

Parole            Munster  
Countersign    Lawrell Hill

Field Officer for tomorrow Major Prevost  
Adj<sup>t</sup>. & Q M<sup>r</sup> from y<sup>e</sup> 2<sup>d</sup> Batt<sup>n</sup> Pensylv<sup>ns</sup>

The Troops to draw this Evening two pounds of beef & two of bread for every Man in the Encampment. The Issu<sup>s</sup> for the four last days of this Week will be Accounted for and compleat<sup>d</sup> at Ligonier. ———

The General to beat tomorrow morning at Six and the Assembly as soon as the horse[s] are Collected and the Convoy ready to proceed.

Guards to be posted Immediately in the Redoubts opposite each Face of the Square. ———

Two Companies of Pennsylv<sup>a</sup> Light Infantry to parade at day break tomorrow They will receive Orders from the Chief Engineer as usual ———

Head Quarters Camp near  
Fort Ligonier<sup>154</sup> Wednesday Sep<sup>r</sup> 12<sup>th</sup> 1764

Parole            Penrith  
Counter sign    The Cape

Field Officer for tomorrow Major Dehaas  
Adj<sup>t</sup> & Qu<sup>r</sup> Master 42<sup>d</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup>

The Army will Halt tomorrow at this Encampment, The Corps to examine their Arms & Accoutrements to have them cleaned & put in proper Order. The Shot to be drawn the Ammunition saved and such as the Officers find cannot be must be fired off together at ten tomorrow morning at a proper distance from Camp. ———

The Commanding Officers of Corps will be particularly attentive that no Rails or Fences be burnt, That no damage be done to the plantations or any other Article of Property belonging to the Inhabitants.<sup>155</sup>

Camp at Ligonier Thursday 13<sup>th</sup>  
Morning Orders

The Troops to be Completed Immediately w<sup>t</sup> Provisions to the 15<sup>th</sup> inclusive They now received what rem<sup>d</sup> due of the 4 days Rations

154 Fort Ligonier, named in honor of Lord John Ligonier, marshal and commander in chief of the armies of Great Britain, was built, under Bouquet's direction, by Col. James Burd with the help of engineers Rhor, Dudgeon, and Bassett during the Forbes campaign of 1758.

155 This is concrete evidence that there was a number of settlers about the Ligonier Valley at this early time.

they began to draw at Kuymony and Kinopalin [Keckenapaulin]<sup>156</sup>  
This Issuing commences w<sup>t</sup> the 1<sup>st</sup> Batt<sup>n</sup> Pensyl<sup>ans</sup> and Ends w<sup>t</sup> 60<sup>th</sup>

#### Head Quarters Camp near

Fort Ligonier Thursday Aug<sup>t</sup>. 1864 [Sep<sup>r</sup> 13<sup>th</sup> 1764]

Parole Amboy

C Sign New England

Field Officer for tomorrow Lieu<sup>t</sup>. Co<sup>ll</sup> Francis

Adj<sup>t</sup> and Qu<sup>r</sup> M<sup>r</sup> from the 60<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup>.

The Army remains Encamped till further Orders. The Corps to prepare their Provision Returns for three Days bread and two Days Meat which they are to draw tomorrow Evening Beginning w<sup>t</sup> the second and Ending w<sup>t</sup> the 1<sup>st</sup> Batt<sup>n</sup> Pensyl<sup>ns</sup> —————

No person belonging to the Army is to go a Hunting without express leave for so doing. —————

The detachments of the 42<sup>d</sup> & 60<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>ts</sup> at this Post will be relieved tomorrow afternoon at two by a Subaltern two Sergeants 1 Drum and 22 Rank and File from the Batt<sup>n</sup> Companies now here of the Pensyl<sup>a</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> ————— The present Garrison on being relieved will Join & encamp w<sup>t</sup> their respective Corps in the Line.<sup>157</sup> —————

#### Morning Orders

Camp near Fort Ligonier Friday 14<sup>th</sup> 10 A M

As soon as the Garrison of Ligonier is relieved & has Joined the Line The Adj<sup>ts</sup> will give in an exact States of the present strength in Camp of their respective Corps. —————

The Adj<sup>ts</sup> of the Pensylvanians to give in at the same time a List of the Garrison at this Post Specifying the Batt<sup>n</sup> & Companys the Officer & Men respectively belong to.

A Return to be given in as soon as possible of the Number of Riffle Men in each of the Pensylv<sup>a</sup> Battalions A Surgeons Mate of the Pensylv<sup>a</sup> Troops to be left at this post, He will receive Instructions from the Director of the Hospital who will also Order the Necessary

156 It now begins to be clear that a distinction was made between the crossing of Quemahoning Creek at Keckenapaulin's (the "old road"), now inundated by the reservoir, and the crossing at Quemahoning Bridge (the "new road"), a quarter of a mile north of Jenners Crossroads. The former was 5½ miles from Stony Creek crossing (note 128 above); the latter 7 miles, 3280 feet from the same crossing (*Bouquet Papers*, 2: 650-51).

157 Bouquet's "Return of Officers Who Commanded at Fort Ligonier" (B.M., Add. Mss. 21651, f. 114 [p. 89]) records: "Capt. Timothy Green of the Pennsylvania Regt. from the 15 of Sepr. 1764 to 1st of Decr. 1764 being 78 days both days inclusive."

## Proportion of Medicines for the Use of the Garrison

Head Quarters Camp near Fort  
Ligonier Friday Sep<sup>r</sup> 14<sup>th</sup> 1764

Parole Bergenopzoom

Countersign Zeeland

Field Officer for Tomorrow Major Prevost — Adj<sup>t</sup> & Q Mr 1<sup>st</sup> B.P.R.

The Army & Convoy proceeds tomorrow for Fort Pitt. ———

The General to beat at day break and the Assembly as soon as the Convoy is ready to move. ———

The Super Intendants of the Batt & pack Horses and of the Cattle to be acquainted It is expected they will have them timously collected that no delay of theirs may Impede the March of the Troops, On the Assembly's beat<sup>s</sup> the Out Guards will Join ——— The Officers of the Different Corps to see that their men fill their Canteens w<sup>t</sup>. fresh water every morning before they march. they will thereby avoid the Inconveniency of Stopping and the Danger that may arise from their drinking too much Cold water during the Heat of the Day. ———

The Army will march from hence to fort pitt in the following order. The pensylvania Volunteers will reconnitre in the front of y<sup>e</sup> whole. They Receive their orders from Lieutenant M: Culloch of the 42<sup>d</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup>. A Company of Light Infantry with a proportion of Axes for Clearing the Road & repairing the bridges. Four Light horse men Rideing in a Single file in the Middle of the Rode, at Several Yards Distance from one Another, the Last always Keeping Sight of the Cattle Guard in their *Rear*. Two Light Horse men besides the four Above Mentioned on Each Side of the Road Riding a breast in the woods, in the Same Direction with the foremost of those in the Road Keeping Sight of them & of one another These Eight Troopers to Ride Alternately on the flank & in the Road. ——— Changing Every hour During the March. The Oxen & Sheep with a Guard of Light horse Men within Sight of the front Collum. ———

The front face of the Square Composed of the 42<sup>d</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> form the front Column of the Army, Marching two Deep in the Road. ——— The Reserve follows Immediately the front Column. The first Batt. of Pensylvanians on the right forming the Right face of the Square & the Second on the Left of the Road forming the Left face of the Square, March after the Reserve, Each in a Single file, Covering the Convoy which Marches between them, the horses two Deep in the following Order.

The Brigade of horses Carrying the powder in the rear of the Reserve The baggage of the Army follows the powder<sup>158</sup> — sixteen brigades of pack Horses (72 in each) Loaded with provisions in four Divisions. Each Conducted by a horse Master. The first Division to be Loaded with Cags & to be UnLoaded at Every Encamping ground at a proper Distance from Each face of the Square Opposite the Center, And these formed into Redouts in Which the advanced Guard are to be plac'd. The 2<sup>d</sup> - 3<sup>d</sup> & 4<sup>th</sup> Divisions Unload at the Encampments within the Square in a Compact Regular form on the Ground Laid out for the purpose. — The Rear face of the Square Composed of the 42<sup>d</sup> & 60<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>ts</sup> forms the Rear Column which Marches two Deep following the Pensylvanians. — A Company of Light Infantry followed by an Officer of ten Light horse men will Close the March. Two Light horse men & a Sergeant from each Corps to attend Colonel Bouquet. — The Remainder of the two troops of Light Horse to Guard the Oxen & Sheep (as allready directed). The Columns & faces in Marching to have three flankers on Each side of the Road & those to be Relieved Every hour —

Order of March as before described

[Nearly three pages of diagrams of marching order follow.]

In Case the Troops should be Attackt on the March, The whole will Immediately Halt and form the Square. — The soldiers at least a Yard distant from each other. —

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158 Some idea appears of the transport necessary for even this small army of less than 1,500. By calculation, 16 brigades of 72 horses each for provisions, plus another brigade for the powder, equals 1,168 horses, plus two companies of light horse, 53 each (see note 167 following), produces 1,274 horses without including the officers' riding horses and bathorses, probably 200 more. The baggage and tents apparently went in wagons. Col. William Eyre, traveling the road in 1762, wrote in his journal, "By what I can learn very few, if any Wheel Carriages attempted this Mountain except the Artillery, and the Ordnance Stores. Provisions of all Kinds are carried across upon Pack Horses . . . , "Col. Eyre's Journal," *WPHM* 27 (1944) : 44.

Marching the horses in double file and allowing only 9 feet per horse, we arrive at the figure of 5733 feet, or much over a mile, for the length of the packtrain. We can only imagine the amount of work and bustle occurring every morning and night to load and unload the packs, the pains taken to tie each cinch strap so that the load would not shift during the exertions of the day. Besides all the horses, let us remember that there were 400 head of cattle driven along from Pittsburgh to the Muskingum, and double that number must have been driven from Carlisle to Pittsburgh, for the army had to consume nearly as much beef on the march to Fort Pitt as beyond. See "An Estimate of 400 Head of Cattle, that went with the Troops . . ." B.M., Add. Mss. 21654, f. 210 (p. 237).



The Light Horse guarding the Cattle to drive them in towards the Center of the Square. ———

The Powder in the Center of the whole

The 4 divisions of Pack Horses unloading behind each Face of the Square and ranging their Horses close behind their Loads. ———

These arrangements must be executed expeditiously though without Hurry or Noise to prevent Confusion. ———

The Soldiers with their Right Knees and the Butts of their Firelocks on the Ground And not to Fire without Orders.<sup>159</sup> ———

[Diagram of the square]

And that the Army may March Earlier than Usual: The A:D:Q:M:G: will Order the Horses & Cattle to be Collected by sun Rise. ——— The Assembly will beat as soon as the Convoy is Ready. ———

The Guards will then join, and the Whole proceed Immediately—

No part of the Baggage or provisions to move till Directed to fall into its proper Station ——— The Soldiers Allowed to Attend the Officers Baggage, to march to morrow with their Corps; The Drivers to be Answerable for the loads of their Horses ———

Camp at nine mile Run<sup>160</sup>

Teusday 18<sup>th</sup> 5 oClock A: M

Morning Orders ———

The Troops of Light Horse to be Reliev'd from the Cattle Guard by two Batt<sup>n</sup> Companies of Pensulvanians [*sic*] — And Join the Army on the march ———

The men to carry tent Poles that they may be ready to pitch the moment they arrive on their Encamping Ground at Fort pit.

Head Quarters Camp near

Fort pit Teusday Septem<sup>r</sup>. 18<sup>th</sup> 1764.<sup>161</sup>

<sup>159</sup> This order is remarkable for the obvious reason that there was no standing in ranks to fire as the regulations required and as Braddock's troops had done. Bouquet's tactics were completely flexible.

<sup>160</sup> There were no orders from the time of marching from Fort Ligonier, issued on the evening of Sept. 14, until the morning of Sept. 18 at the Bullock Pens.

There were two streams named Ninemile Run, the one at the foot of Chestnut Ridge and the other (this one) at the foot of Wilkinsburg Hill, at the beginning of the Bullock Pens grazing lands.

<sup>161</sup> The army, having only nine miles to march, would have arrived on the ground adjacent to Fort Pitt before noon. This is the first mention in the orderly book of flocks of sheep having been driven along, which certainly retarded the progress of the march, especially at the stream crossings. The army would remain at Fort Pitt for 24 days.

Parole                      Vienna

Counter sign    Austria

Field Officer for tomorrow Lieu<sup>t</sup> Colo<sup>l</sup>. Francis

Adjutant & Quartermaster 1<sup>st</sup> Batt<sup>n</sup> of Pensulvanians ———

The light Horse to take Charge of feeding & Guarding the Cattle till further Orders ———

Cap<sup>t</sup> Proctor will leave a Sufficient Guard for the Drovers of sheep. And the Remainder of the two Batt<sup>n</sup> Compan<sup>ys</sup> of Pensulvanians he will join his Corps

The Prisoners in the Provost Marshalls Custody now in Camp, to be sent in, & Deliver'd Over to the Officer Commanding the main Guard in the Fortress, who has Directions to Receive them. ———

The Army to Draw to morrow four Days provisions: Beginning with the Royal Artillery & Ending with the Volunteers, This Issuing Victuals the troops to the 22<sup>d</sup> Inclusive ———

The Guards and Centinels to be extremely alert and attentive that the Gardens and Corn Fields are not in any manner damaged or robbed and that none of the rails or Fences that inclose them be broke down or burnt ———

Col<sup>o</sup>. Bouquet desires all the men in the Different Corps of the Army may be acquainted it is his Positive Orders that no person whatsoever presume to Cross the Allegany or Ohio River without express Permission from him for so doing ———

Wednesday 19<sup>th</sup> 6 in the Morning

A Captain    two Subs:    two Serj<sup>ts</sup>. and 50 men to parade at seven this morning for work. This party will receive directions from the Assistant Deputy Qua<sup>r</sup>. M<sup>r</sup>. General

Head Quarters Camp near

Fort pit    Wednesday Septem<sup>r</sup>. 19<sup>th</sup> 1764

Parole                      Rothimarchus

Counter sign    Strathspey

Field Officer for to morrow    Major Prevost    Adjutant & Quar-  
ter master from the 2<sup>d</sup> Batt<sup>n</sup>. pensylvanians,

Cap<sup>t</sup>. Ethrington with the Detachment of the 60<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> now Encamp'd will this day join the troops in the Fortress and do Garrison Duty till further Orders, their tents Remain Pitch'd.

All Reports from the Guards and Officers in the Garrison, to be made to Col<sup>o</sup>. Reid. ———

The Riffle men Return'd in the Pennsylvania troops to parade to

morrow morning at nine, with a proportion of Officers from their Respective Corps. ——— They will Each fire Six Charges at mark ———

A separate Target for this purpose, to be provide'd by Each placed at proper Distance from One Another, one the front of Grants Hill, Next the Allegheny River<sup>162</sup> ———

the Field Officer of the Day will be present And Give Directions that the Riffle men fire 100 Yards from the mark,<sup>163</sup> And be Carefull to prevent accidents happening. ——— He is to Select from the whole fifty of the best marksmen, And Give a Report of their names in writing ———

Return to be Given Immediately of the Number of Officers messes in every Corps, specifying [whom] Each mess Consists of.

The Super intendent of the Kings Garden<sup>164</sup> will be Directed to

162 Only six years before, the hill that existed where the present Allegheny County Courthouse now stands, was the scene of Maj. James Grant's terrible defeat by the French and Indians. Grant's Hill originally extended further toward the Allegheny River, its toe reaching beyond Smithfield Street and nearly to Liberty Avenue. It also extended further east toward Seventh Avenue. It was many feet higher than at present and appeared even higher because of the depth of the then existing depressions around deep water holes, as Hogg Pond (surrounding the place where now stand Kaufmann's Department Store and other large buildings). The overall lowering was stated as 33.3 feet, but in at least one place a 60-foot cut was made. Three successive mammoth earth-moving projects were carried out between 1836 and 1913, involving the transfer of hundreds of thousands of tons of earth from the hill to fill in hollows, grading streets, and changing the entire topography of downtown Pittsburgh.

In visualizing the scene as the army encamped outside of the walls of Fort Pitt, one must see a succession of deep pools, or ponds, on the Monongahela side with a background of steep-sided hills, and on the Allegheny side the King's Garden, pasture field for officers' and mounted couriers' horses, and beef cattle for immediate supply of meat, also a series of small individual gardens. In the center would have been the camping ground, much lower than the city today. The most comprehensive account of the successive operations of cutting "the hump" is found in *Pittsburgh and Environs* (New York, 1922), 3: 696-97; a concise statement is found in L. D. Baldwin, *Pittsburgh: the Story of a City* (Pittsburgh, 1937), 232.

163 One hundred yards was the standard distance for shooting matches with flintlock rifles. Compare all of the target records pictured in Dillin, *Kentucky Rifle*, 68-81.

164 The King's Garden appears on most of the plan drawings of Fort Pitt as a very large enclosure within fences containing as much as ten acres, besides other plots, such as the Artillery Garden. At one time, 20,000 cabbage plants were growing, in addition to large quantities of other vegetables. Besides furnishing the means of supplementing the soldiers' diet of salt pork during the winter months, the gardening kept a part of the men occupied in times of boring garrison duty. Orchards of fine fruit trees extended along the Allegheny River banks. The best account of the King's Garden is in A. P. James and Charles M. Stotz, *Drums in the Forest* (Pittsburgh, 1958), 179-85.

furnish these messes with a proportion of Vegetables. ———

Two Companies of Pensylvania light Infantry to parade Early to morrow morning ——— they will Receive Axes from & will be Directed by Cap<sup>t</sup> Williams — to Clear the Road — and Repair the Bridges from hence to nine mile Run.<sup>165</sup> ———

The Oxen brought up by both the Convoys to be Devided into two Equal Droves — And a master Driver to Superintend the whole ———

A Subaltern's Detachment of a Serj<sup>t</sup>. & Eighteen Rank [and] file of the Horse to march this Evening to Bradocks field,<sup>166</sup> as a Guard to protect the Pack horse men & their Horses, sent thither to pasture. This party will be Conducted by M<sup>r</sup>. Blane Superintendant of the Pack horses ——— The Pack horse & Cattle Drivers will have also a proportion of Arms & Amunition Allowed them. ———

A Troop of light Horse to take Charge of Each of the Droyes of Oxen ——— Directions will be given Concerning their Pasturage.

Wednesday septem<sup>r</sup>. 19<sup>th</sup>

9 at night

After Orders ———

The 42<sup>d</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup>. with two companies of pensylvania light Infantry & the Regmts of the line & Garrison — To march Immediately Under the Command of the Field Officer of the Day — who will Receive his Orders from Colo<sup>l</sup>. Bouquet. ———

165 Twomile Run would have been the largest stream to have required bridging between the Point and Ninemile Run. The Forbes Road headed Negley Run, rather than crossing it. A few marshy places may have occurred on the way through East Liberty, requiring cross timbers to have been laid, which was termed "bridging a swamp." A western branch of Ninemile Run, in earlier times, crossed the line of the road in the neighborhood of the Columbia Hospital, at West Street. The main stem of Ninemile Run flowed down present Montier Street, crossing Penn Avenue (the line of the road) between Coal Street and Swissvale Avenue. I am indebted to Mr. John Curry, of the Department of Public Works of Wilkinsburg Borough, for details of the course of Ninemile Run and its branches.

166 The field where Gen. Braddock's army met its disastrous defeat on July 9, 1755, was still profusely strewn with the bones and skulls of the slain in 1776, when Pennsylvania jurist Jasper Yeates visited the place. *Pa. Archives*, 2nd ser., 2: 741. In 1788, when Maj. Ebenezer Denny and Gen. Josiah Harmar viewed the site, heaps of bones were still visible, although part of the field was then cultivated and in spite of the fact that Forbes had sent a detachment which buried remains of the 400 bodies in a common grave. The "Military Journal of Major Ebenezer Denny," in *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, 7: 321-22 (hereafter cited as *Pa. Hist. Soc.*); *Bouquet Papers*, 2: 614. The scars and debris of battle must certainly have been more evident in 1764 than they were twelve to twenty-four years later, yet here was another army complacent-ly using the somber place as a pasture for their cattle.

Head Quarters Camp  
near Fort pit Thursday Septem<sup>r</sup>. 20<sup>th</sup> 1764

Parole ————— Tokay

Countersign ————— Hungary

Field Officer for to morrow Lieu<sup>t</sup>. Colo<sup>l</sup>. Clayton.

Adjutant & Quartermas<sup>r</sup>. 42<sup>d</sup> Regiment

A party of a sub: serj<sup>t</sup>. & 20 Rank & file from the line, will join at one Clock the working party Sent from the Garrison, to unload provisions brought by the 8 Brigades of Pack horses arriv'd this day. The troops that Escorted this last Convoy will join their Corps in the line, and be Completed Immediately with provisions to the 22 Inclusive Agreeable to the Orders of the 18<sup>th</sup>

The Surgeon of the 1<sup>st</sup> Pensylvania Batt<sup>n</sup> having been left on Service at Fort Loudon — The mate of that Batt<sup>n</sup>. — Who for the future will furnish medicines and attend the sick of both —————

The Pensylvania Riffle men to be under arms on the General parade to morrow morning as soon as the Guards march off ————— They will again shoot at mark in the manner Directed in yesterdays Orders —————

The Commanding Officer of Each Batt<sup>n</sup>. will sign a Return of the Quantity of amunition Necessary to replace what was Expended this Day by their Riffle men. —————

And for six Rounds more to be fire'd off to morrow ————— Fine powder will be Deliver'd for this purpose —————

Whoever makes the best Shot Among the Riffle men of both Battalions will Receive a premium of three Dollars ————— The Next best in the other Battalion will Receive two Dollars ————— And the two next best in both Batt<sup>ns</sup> will Receive a Dollar Each —————

Head Quarters Camp at Fort pit  
Friday Septem<sup>r</sup>. 21<sup>st</sup> 1764

Parole ————— Britannia

Countersign ————— London

Field Officer for to morrow major murray aju<sup>t</sup>. & Quartermaster 1<sup>st</sup> Batt<sup>n</sup>. of Pensylvanians —————

The 42<sup>d</sup> & 60<sup>th</sup> Regiments are to take the field Except such men as will be found Entirely unfit for the Active Service of the Campaign, a list of whose names & their Disorders to be given to morrow morning to the Director of the Hospital, by the Surgeons of their Respective Corps. Those Invalids to be paraded at five to morrow after noon on

the Esplanade — where they will be Inspected, And those unable to take the field to be Reported ———

The 42<sup>d</sup> & 60<sup>th</sup> Regiments to be Completed Immediately with Camp Equipage, Canteens & Tomhawks — The Latter to be Carried in Leather Straps properly fix'd for that purpose ——— Every man to have a plaid or Blanket, a pair of Leggons [leggings], two pairs of Good shoes & three shirts ———

The Pensylvania Troops to be also furnish'd with the same Necessaries ———

The troops of light horse to be Immediately Completed, Each to fifty three Officers Included.<sup>167</sup> The Captains of these Troops are allow'd to pitch on such men as are fittest for that Service out of their respective Battalions Exchanging those they have found unfitt. The Buckets & Hatchets w<sup>t</sup> long handles wanting to compleat the Light Horse to be Immediately paraded ——— A Return to be given in to morrow at Orderly time of all the Carpenters & Joiners in every Corps of the Army specifying their Names Comp<sup>y</sup> & Battalions ———

The Troops arrived this Day in the Convoy under Cap<sup>t</sup>. Hay's Command to Join their Corps in the Line and be Completed w<sup>t</sup>. Provisions till tomorrow Inclusive ———

Head Quarters Camp near  
Fort Pitt Saturday Sep<sup>r</sup> 22<sup>d</sup> 1764

Parole            Hibernia

C Sign          Dublin

Field Officer for tomorrow Major Dehaas

Adj<sup>t</sup> & Qu Master 2<sup>d</sup> Batt<sup>n</sup> Pennsylv<sup>s</sup>

The Army to receive three Days Provisions tomorrow Commencing w<sup>t</sup> the 42<sup>d</sup> and Ending w<sup>t</sup> the Royal Artillery This Issuing Victuals y<sup>e</sup> Troops to the 25<sup>th</sup> Inclusive. ———

A Return to be given in Immediately of all the Tents belonging to the Different Corps of the Army Including those w<sup>t</sup>. the Roy<sup>l</sup> Artillery.

The Light Infantry Comp<sup>ys</sup> of the 42<sup>d</sup> & 60<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>ts</sup> to be formed each into two equal Platoons & each Platoon to be commanded by a Subaltern Officer — These Platoons will lead in the Different At-

<sup>167</sup> This order is informative relative to the strength of the two companies of mounted troops commanded by Captains Kern and Piper. The long-handled axes are reminiscent of the armament of ancient Numidian horsemen, who wielded large battle-axes in the charge. Bouquet is known to have been a close student of ancient warfare; and, not having sabres, he found axes an available expedient.

tacks from the Square and when Ordered to Act unitedly, there will be an Officer appointed to Command the whole.

A General Court Martial to sitt tomorrow morning at nine in y<sup>e</sup> Fortress.<sup>168</sup> ———

L<sup>t</sup> Co<sup>l</sup> Francis president

L<sup>t</sup> Co<sup>l</sup> Clayon 2<sup>d</sup> B P R

Maj<sup>r</sup> Prevost

Major Murray 42<sup>d</sup> R

Cap<sup>t</sup> Schlosser 60<sup>th</sup>

Cap<sup>t</sup> Stuart D<sup>o</sup>

Cap<sup>t</sup> Ethrington

Cap<sup>t</sup> Hay R: Artill<sup>y</sup>

Cap<sup>t</sup> Brady 2<sup>d</sup> B P R

Cap<sup>t</sup> Lindsay 2<sup>d</sup> B P R

Cap<sup>t</sup> Sam<sup>l</sup> Hunter

Cap<sup>t</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> Webb 1<sup>st</sup> B P R

Cap<sup>t</sup> Housecker 1<sup>st</sup> B PR

Lieu<sup>t</sup>. Alexander Frazer Dep<sup>y</sup> Judge Advocate. ———

All Prisoners bro<sup>t</sup> before this Court are to be tryed, of which they are Immediately to be acquainted that they may prepare for their defence.

The Names & Ranks of the members togethether [*sic*] w<sup>t</sup> the Names & Crimes of the Prisoners will be delivered this Evening to the Deputy Judge Advocate Evidences will be ordered to Attend. ———

After Orders Sunday 9 A M Sep<sup>r</sup> 23.

One Woman belonging to Each Corps & two Nurses for the Gen<sup>l</sup> Hospital will be pitched upon the Commanding Offic<sup>rs</sup> of Corps to proceed w<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Army.<sup>169</sup> ———

No Exception will be made to This Order It will be therefore in vain for any other woman to attempt<sup>t</sup> following the Troops, Nor will any be Suffered to remain here. ———

All the Women now in Camp and Those unnecessary in Garrison are to be sent down the Country. — They will be permitted to go w<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Waggon<sup>s</sup> w<sup>c</sup> are to sett out from hence this day. ———

Head Quarters Camp near Fort Pitt

Sunday Sep<sup>r</sup> 23<sup>d</sup> 1764. ———

Parole Helvetia

Countersign Bern

Major Dehaas to continue Field Officer on duty until y<sup>e</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> Court Martial is dissolved. ———

Adj<sup>t</sup>. Qu<sup>r</sup> Master for tomorrow 42<sup>d</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup>.

<sup>168</sup> It was rare for Fort Pitt to be referred to as a "fortress."

<sup>169</sup> This order clarifies the later one, in Orderly Book II, when the army had arrived at the Muskingum (October 25) that a matron was to supervise the women and children returned captives in cabins built for their reception. No other mention of women with the expedition appears until then. See Smith, *An Historical Account* (1766 ed.), 18; *ibid.* (Parkman ed.), 60.

The first Batt<sup>n</sup> Pensylv<sup>s</sup> have received from y<sup>e</sup> R: Artillery 85 and the 2<sup>d</sup> 62 Tents for w<sup>ch</sup> they have given Receipts 167 Tents<sup>170</sup> are therefor to be accounted for by these Corps

The Garrisons on the Communication of this department are established for this Campaign as follows viz<sup>t171</sup>

170 These figures are correctly transcribed as written, so it must be assumed that an error occurred in transcribing the orders by an adjutant or orderly sergeant.

171 The officers left to command the several posts on the communication during Bouquet's march, until his return to each in turn were:

At Fort Pitt, Capt. David Hay of the Royal Artillery, Sept. 25 to Nov. 29, both days inclusive.

At Fort Ligonier, Capt. Timothy Green of the 2nd Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment, Sept. 15 to Dec. 1, both days inclusive.

At Fort Bedford, Capt. John Ritzhaupt of the Pennsylvania Regiment, Sept. 11 to Dec. 24, both days inclusive. See B.M., Add. Mss. 21651, ff. 107, 109, 114 (pp. 88, 89).

At Fort Loudoun, Capt. Thomas Barnsley, Deputy Quartermaster General and Commandant at Fort Loudoun. Ibid., ff. 48, 50 (pp. 47, 49).

Concerning the other officers mentioned in the tabulation of the personnel of the garrisons, we note the following:

(a) Lt. James McCallister (carried on the rolls of the regiment as McAllister) was commissioned in Capt. Joseph Armstrong's company, 2nd Pennsylvania Battalion, July 17, 1763. *Pa. Archives*, 5th ser., 1: 336. He received land allotments No. 21 in Bald Eagle Valley and No. 24 in Buffalo Valley, both of which he sold to Samuel McClay, the surveyor, later a senator. He, or his father, built a mill on Conodoguinet Creek at Roxbury, Cumberland County (McAllister's Gap). See James McCallister to Bouquet, May 15, 1764, re a road from his mill to Fort Lyttelton. B.M., Add. Mss. 21650, Pt. 1, f. 197 (p. 136); also Wallace, *Indian Paths*, 50.

(b) James Murray was commissioned ensign, July 19, 1763, in Capt. William Piper's company, 2nd Battalion, raised in Cumberland County. *Pa. Archives*, 5th ser., 1: 337. During the Revolution, he served as lieutenant colonel commanding a regiment of Pennsylvania militia around Philadelphia and in New Jersey, later on the frontier of Northumberland County. Ibid., 4: 548, 549, 552, 553.

(c) Thomas Wiggins was one of the early American heroic figures who have received slight notice, probably due to the fact that he resided in that part of Lancaster County which, in 1785, became Dauphin County. Dr. Wiggins was surgeon in Col. James Burd's regiment at Fort Augusta with commission dated Dec. 20, 1763. *Pa. Archives*, 5th, ser., 1: 326. He ranked as lieutenant and surgeon accompanying Bouquet's 1764 expedition, after which he practiced medicine in Lower Paxton (Paxton Township), northeast of present Harrisburg. In the officers' allotment, he received 339 2/7 acres of choice land in Buffalo Valley, now Union County, and 301 acres on Bald Eagle Creek. See *Pa. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, 1: 98, 107, 109. His Buffalo Valley land he willed to his brother John, who willed it to his son John, and John to his sons John W. and James W., thence to Judge John Wiggins Simonton. J. B. Linn, *Annals of Buffalo Valley* (Harrisburg, 1877), 31. In 1776, Dr. Wiggins was surgeon in a Pennsylvania regiment in Washington's Flying Camp in New Jersey, and in 1779 Dr. Wiggins was surgeon in Col. Adam Hubley's 11th Pennsylvania Regiment of the Continental Line in Gen. Sullivan's notable cam-



## Fort Loudon Consists of

	Cap <sup>ts</sup>	Sub <sup>s</sup>	Surge <sup>n</sup>	Serg <sup>t</sup>	R & file
Now there	1 60 R	2	1	1	25
To be reinforc'd w <sup>t</sup>	2 <sup>d</sup> BPR			1	13
<hr/>					
	1	2	1	2	38
<hr/>					
Total					44

The Officers stationed at the above Post are L<sup>t</sup> M<sup>c</sup>Callister  
& Ens Murray of the 2<sup>d</sup> Batt<sup>n</sup> Pennsylv<sup>ls</sup>

L<sup>t</sup> & Surgeon Wiggins of the 1<sup>st</sup> D<sup>o</sup>

The whole under the Command of Cap<sup>t</sup> Barnsley. —————

Fort Bedford to consist of

paign against the Six Nations Indians in western New York. See Col. Hubley's journal and notebook in *Pa. Archives*, 2nd ser., 11: 11-44, 52; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 590. Dr. Wiggins died in Lower Paxton Township, Dauphin County, in 1798.

(d) Capt. Timothy Green was noticed in Pt. 2, p. 396, n 81h.

(e) John Falmer (Folmer on the rolls, Follmer correct) was commissioned ensign in Capt. John Brady's company, no date given. *Pa. Archives*, 5th ser., 1: 335.

(f) Mr. Nickall, probably a civilian, belongs to that group of public-spirited individuals who shared the perils and hardships of the army, but, not exercising command, received no mention in the official records.

(g) David Hay has been noticed, Pt. 2, p. 426, n 109.

(h) Lieutenants Mitchelson and Roseridge of the Royal Artillery probably stayed at Fort Pitt with Capt. Hay while the rest of the army marched to the Muskingum and would have returned to England at the beginning of 1765.

(i) Surgeon Mate Lister, Capt. Webb, Capt. Proctor, and Lt. Hunsicker, have all been noticed. Ens. McMeen was commissioned in Capt. Nicholas Houssegger's company in the 1st Pennsylvania Battalion, Dec. 10, 1763. In the allotment of land to officers, he received 246 3/5 acres in Buffalo Valley, which he immediately sold, and 216 acres on Bald Eagle Creek. He drew first choice in the latter allotment and chose a strip with a narrow Susquehanna River frontage, on part of which the town of Lock Haven is situated today. He performed no further military service.

(j) Joseph Irvine (Erwin, as it appears from his signature to the agreement of officers) was ensign in Capt. John Proctor's company, no date of commission given. *Pa. Archives*, 5th ser., 1: 335.

Neither Ens. Lindsay nor Ens. Piper appears on the rolls of the 2nd Pennsylvania Battalion, but Ens. William Piper participated in the agreement of officers to petition the Pennsylvania government for the new purchase of land on behalf of the officers of the expedition. He received 217 acres and 246 acres of land, respectively, in Bald Eagle and Buffalo Valleys. *Pa. Hist. Soc.*, 1: 95, 109. William was son of Capt. James Piper (see Pt. 2, p. 394, n 81 [c]). He lived in Shippensburg. J. W. Jordan, *Colonial and Revolutionary Families of Pennsylvania* (New York, 1911), 2: 970.

	Corps	Cap <sup>ts</sup>	Sub <sup>s</sup>	Serg <sup>ts</sup>	R&f	Total
Now there	42 <sup>d</sup>				9	9
	60 <sup>th</sup>				1	1
	1 <sup>st</sup> BPR		1	2	12	15
	2 <sup>d</sup> D <sup>o</sup>				18	18
To be reinforced with	1 <sup>st</sup> BPR	1		1	10	12
Total		1	1	3	50	55

The Officers are Cap<sup>t</sup> Green 2<sup>d</sup> Batt<sup>n</sup> Pensy<sup>ns</sup> Commandant  
Ens<sup>n</sup>. Falmer of the 1<sup>st</sup> and Surgeons mate M<sup>r</sup> Nickall 2<sup>d</sup> Batt<sup>n</sup> D<sup>o</sup>

#### Fort Pitt

The Present Garrison to be relieved tomorrow afternoon at 5 by

Corps	Cap <sup>ts</sup>	Sub <sup>s</sup>	Mates	Serg <sup>ts</sup>	B <sup>nt</sup>	D <sup>r</sup>	Fife	R	Tot[al]
R Art <sup>y</sup>	1	2		1	1	1	1	18	25
42 <sup>d</sup>				1				11	12
60 <sup>th</sup>				1				17	18
1 <sup>st</sup> BP	2	3		3				48	56
2 <sup>d</sup> D <sup>o</sup>		2		3				22	27
G <sup>nl</sup> . Hospital			1						1
Total	3	7	1	9	1	1	1	116	139

#### The Officers are

Cap<sup>t</sup> Hay of the R: Artillery Comm<sup>d</sup><sup>t</sup> Lieu<sup>ts</sup> Mitchelson & Rose-ridge, with all the Civil Branch of the Corps. ————

M<sup>r</sup> Lister Mate of the Gen<sup>l</sup> Hospital, Cap<sup>ts</sup> Webb & Proctor  
Lieu<sup>t</sup> Hunzigar Ensigns M<sup>c</sup> Meine & Irvine of the 1<sup>st</sup> & Ensigns  
Lindsay & Piper of the 2<sup>d</sup> Batt<sup>ns</sup> of Pensyl<sup>s</sup>

A Return of the Deputy Commissaries & their Assistants the  
Bullock drivers, Butchers, Store keepers, & c<sup>a</sup> [etcetera] w<sup>th</sup> Returns  
of the Stores & Provisions to be left at this Fortress will be given as  
soon as possible to Cap<sup>t</sup> Hay. ————

The Present Garrison will when relieved Join & Encamp w<sup>t</sup> their  
Respective Corps in the Line. ————

Cap<sup>t</sup> Richtsaup<sup>t</sup> w<sup>t</sup> the Reinforcements for Bedford & Loudon will  
march this Afternoon to Escort the Return Waggon<sup>s</sup>. ————

He is Immediately to attend at Head Quarters for Orders. ————

All the Tents to be reserved for the Troops that proceed on the  
expedition. ————

Monday Sep<sup>r</sup> 24 1764

Morning Orders

A party of 2 Sub 3 Sergeants & 70 Rank & file from the Line to parade at ten O Clock for work. —————

Head Quarters Camp

near fort pitt Monday Sep<sup>r</sup>. 24

Parole Scotia

Counter<sup>n</sup>: Edinburgh

Adjutant & Quarter Master for to morrow 60<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> —————

Monthly Returns dated this day to be transmitted to the Commander in Chief before the Army Marches from hence

Tomorrow Morning at Six 100 Men from the 42<sup>d</sup> & 60<sup>th</sup> (with Officers in proportion) together with two Companies of Light Infantry from Each of the Pensilvania Battalions will parade with their Arms & march under the Command of the Field Officer of the day, who will Receive Orders at Head Quarters. —————

Will<sup>m</sup> Anderson Soldier in his Majestys 42 or the R H. Reg<sup>t</sup> [Royal Highland Regiment] of foot & Francis Steedwell Soldier in 1<sup>st</sup> Battalion of his Majestys 60<sup>th</sup> or R<sup>l</sup> A<sup>n</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> [Royal American Regiment] of foot having been tryed by a General Court Martial held at Fort Loudon the 14 August last were found Guilty of Desertion & Sentenced to Suffer Death —————

His Excellency the Honour<sup>ble</sup> major General Gage Commander in Chief of all his Majestys forces in N America has been pleased to Approve of the Sentence<sup>172</sup> passed Against the Said W<sup>m</sup> Anderson And Francis Steedwell & has ordered the Same to [be] putt in Execution —————

They are therefore to be conducted on Wednesday next at Eight oClock in the morning (being the 26 day of Sep<sup>r</sup>) from the provost Guard to the North Side of Grants Hill at which place they are to be Shot to Death. in pursuance of their Sentences, by a party of the 42<sup>d</sup> & 60<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>ts</sup> of which they are to be Immediately Acquainted And to

172 The extreme penalty of death for desertion was applied to the regular soldiery in order to exhibit examples to the rest of the army, while provincials received punishment by numbers of lashes varying with the degree of guilt deemed justified by the court-martial of officers. This was never more evident than is demonstrated by the court-martial verdicts recorded in this very Orderly Book. See also Pargellis, *Lord Loudoun*, 96. This military execution and burial probably furnish the explanation to the exhumation of the two unknown graves at the toe of Grant's Hill many years later when Fort Fayette was under construction.

prepare themselves for death. All the Corps in the Line & a picket from y<sup>e</sup> Garrison, w<sup>t</sup> 10 Men of each Troop of Light Horse to be under Arms at half an hour past Seven on the 26<sup>th</sup> and march under the Command of Lieu<sup>t</sup> Coll Ried to the place of Execution where they are to Form Three sides of the Square leaving the side towards the Hill open, the Graves for the Interment of the above mention'd prisoners to be dug this day

Head Quarters Camp near  
Fort Pitt Tuesday Sep<sup>r</sup> 25 1764

Parole Boston

Counter Sign Conecticut

Adjutant & Quarter Master for tomorrow 1<sup>st</sup> Battalion of  
Pensylvanians

The Army to receive four Days Provisions tomorrow Beginning w<sup>t</sup> the 60<sup>th</sup> and Ending w<sup>t</sup> the 42<sup>d</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> This Issuing Victuals the Troops to the 29<sup>th</sup> Inclusive. —————

The Men remaining of the Pennsylvania Battalion Comp<sup>ys</sup> after Compleating the Light Horse and Reinforcing the Garrisons According to the Orders of the 21<sup>st</sup> & 23<sup>d</sup> Ins<sup>t</sup>. are to be Immediately Draughted to the Light Infantry Compani<sup>es</sup> of their respective Battalions. The Commanding Officers first Exchanging such Men, now, in the Light Infantry Companies as are deemed & reported to them by the Regimental Surgeons unable to undergo the Fatigue of Marching and the Active Service of the Campaign, With an equal Number of the Men of their Battalions now in the Garrison of the Fortress that are Judged fittest to replace the Invalids of the Light Infantry Companies, which are then to be Levelled to equal Numbers in Proportion to the Effectives in Each Battalion that are to March from hence. —————

After the Eight Companies of Light Infantry are Levelled, Each Captain is to pitch on five Rifle Men in his Company who are to be preffered Impartially according to the Degrees they appeared to Excell in Firing at Mark, Their Names (being in all Forty from both Battalions) are to be given in as soon as possible to Cap<sup>t</sup> Brady of the 2<sup>d</sup> Battalion, Who with L<sup>t</sup> Lochray<sup>173</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> first Are appointed to

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173 Lt. Jeremiah Lochray's name is thus spelled in the Orderly Book, but he signed his name "Lochery" to the petition of officers for land grant, Sept. 8, 1764. The rolls of the 1st Battalion (*Pa. Archives*, 5th ser., 1: 335) carry his name Loughery as commissioned lieutenant in Capt. John Proctor's company, no date given, on the 1764 expedition. In the Revolution, he was commissioned captain in the 6th Pennsylvania Regiment commanded by Col. Henry Bicker (later by Josiah Harmar). Some diffi-

Command the Riffle Men in *Action*. —————

As soon as their Names are given to Cap<sup>t</sup> Brady he will Order them to be paraded and Acquaint them that upon any Attack from the Enemy they are Instantly to Join, If in *Camp*, at Head Quarters. If on the March They are Immediately to repair to that part of the Line which is Attack'd

At all other times the Riffle Men will March and Encamp w<sup>t</sup> their respective Companies

After Orders 4 oClock P: M

The Corps of Virginia Voluntiers Arrived this day under the Command of Major Field<sup>174</sup> to Draw Immediately two Days Provisions for the 24<sup>th</sup> & 25<sup>th</sup> and tomorrow they will receive Four Days more which puts them on the same Footing w<sup>t</sup> the Rest of the Army They will Encamp on the Ground Marked out for that purpose

Head Quarters Camp near

Fort Pitt Wednesday Sep<sup>r</sup> 26<sup>th</sup> 1764

Parole Williamsburgh

Countersign Virginia

The General Court Martial of which L<sup>t</sup> Co<sup>l</sup> Francis was President

culty arose from Lochery's not having produced any recruits in return for over \$1,000 advanced him, and he was placed on arrest. He left the regiment in October of 1777. Heitman, *Historical Register*, 355; *Pa. Archives*, 5th ser., 3: 104. In 1780, he commanded a company in defense of the frontiers of Westmoreland County and was severely wounded in the shoulder for which he later was granted a pension. "Notes and Queries," *PMHB*, 26: 150; *Pa. Archives*, 5th ser., 4: 591. He lived in Franklin County after the war. See Warner, Beers, *Franklin County*, 585, Tax Lists.

174 Maj. John Field was a native of Culpeper County, Va., born in 1720, and served in the Forbes campaign of 1758 in a very useful capacity. R. G. Thwaites and L. P. Kellogg, *Documentary History of Dunmore's War* (Madison, 1905), 113 (hereafter cited as Thwaites, Kellogg, *Dunmore's War*); *Bouquet Papers*, 2: 316, 414. After Braddock's disaster, Field acted under Washington at the frontier posts of Virginia, where men were willing and eager to serve under him. Fitzpatrick, *Washington Writings*, 1: 445.

Washington described him as "an extremely active, brave and zealous officer." Freeman, *Washington*, 3: 119. For his service in the campaign of 1764, Bouquet commended Field in highest terms to Gov. Fauquier. B.M., Add. Mss. 21651, f. 53 (p. 51). In 1765, Field served in the House of Burgesses and the next year was commissioned a colonel of Virginia Militia. In Dunmore's War, in 1774, he commanded the reserve of Col. Andrew Lewis's forces at the battle of Point Pleasant, where "every man was a hero," and was killed along with Col. Lewis's brother, Charles. See Thwaites, Kellogg, *Dunmore's War*, 265, 294.

being dissolved he will tomorrow take the duty of Field Officer for the day

Adju<sup>t</sup>. & Qu<sup>r</sup> Master for to morrow 2<sup>d</sup> B: Pen<sup>s</sup>

The General Court Martial tryed the following Prisoners viz<sup>t</sup>

Richard Rowland Miner in Cap<sup>t</sup> Hays Company of the Royal Reg<sup>t</sup> of Artillery Confined on Suspicion of Murdering James Clements late a Miner in said Comp<sup>y</sup> —————

The Court has acquitted the prisoner Rowland of the Crime laid to his Charge. —————

Hugh M<sup>c</sup>Clean Soldier in the 42<sup>d</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> tryed for Mutiny is by the Court found Guilty of that Crime & Sentenced to receive 1,000 Lashes. —————

John Massey Soldier in the 60<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> tryed for Desertion is found Guilty & Sentenced to receive 1,000 Lashes. —————

Tarrance Robinson Soldier in the 2<sup>d</sup> Batt<sup>n</sup> Pennsylv<sup>s</sup> tryed for Desertion is found Guilty and Sentenced to receive 1,000 Lashes.

Co<sup>ll</sup> Bouquet has been pleased to approve of the above Sentences of the Gen<sup>l</sup> Court Martial he Orders Richard Rowland to be Released from his Confinement, and that y<sup>e</sup> Corporal Punishments expressed in the Sentences passed upon Hugh M<sup>c</sup>Clean, John Massey and Torrence Robinson be Inflicted on these Prisoners at such time and in such manner as the Commanding Officer of their respective Corps shall direct.

The Sentences past upon Joseph Thomas soldier in the first Battalion Pen<sup>ns</sup> tryed by the General Court Martial for Desertion And Gersham Hicks<sup>175</sup> tryed on Suspicion of being a Spy from the Enemy Indians are Referred to the Commander in Chief. ————— These last mentioned Prisoners remain therefor in Confinement. —————

It is hoped that the Execution of the Deserters who have suffered death This Morning will make a Deep & lasting impression on Minds of the Troops And that this shall be the last Example Necessary to Suppress Entirely The Heinous Crime of Desertion still aggravated at

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175 In April of 1764, an individual said by some to be an Indian, by others an Englishman, but apparently notorious among all the officers at Fort Pitt as a renegade, came to the fort purporting to have been a captured trader's employee now escaping from the Indians. Suspecting that he was a spy, Capt. William Grant, in command, subjected Hicks to a thorough examination under threats of death if he told other than truth. In fact, a firing squad was called out and Hicks conducted to a place of execution, whereupon he recanted and offered another deposition five days later. B.M., Add. Mss. 21650, f. 140 (p. 100-3) ; 21651, f. 121 (p. 7-10). Also, letter, Capt. Edward Ward to Sir William Johnson, Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, 2: 29 (original letter owned by Hanna).

This time when their Service is so much wanted to Chastise an Insolent Savage & Barbarous Enemy who have so often and so Mercilessly Embrued their hands in the Blood of their fellow Subjects not even sparing the Helpless Women and Children. —————

The Army to be in readiness to Cross the Ohio. Each Musqueteer to carry 24 Rounds of Ammunition. —————

The Commanding Officers of Corps will order The Arms and Ammunition to be strictly Examined, And will before the Army Marches make Reports in writing that the latter is Compleat & the former in Good Repair The Riffle men in the different Corps will receive Lead to cast Balls in their particular Moulds<sup>176</sup> to compleat them to 35 p<sup>r</sup> Man.

A Party from the Different Corps in the Line to parade tomorrow morning at Six to consist of the same Numbers & Conducted in the same Manner as directed in the Orders of the 24<sup>th</sup>. —————

#### Head Quarters Camp

near Fort Pitt Thursday Sep<sup>r</sup> 27<sup>th</sup> 1764

Parole Illinois

Countersign Michigan

Field Officer for tomorrow Maj<sup>r</sup> Prevost

Adj<sup>t</sup> Qu<sup>r</sup> Master 42<sup>d</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup>.

Capt<sup>r</sup> Finley of the 2<sup>d</sup> Batt<sup>n</sup> Pennsylv<sup>a</sup> and Ens<sup>n</sup> Hutchins<sup>177</sup> of the 60<sup>th</sup>

176 An individual bullet mould accompanied each handmade American rifle, since there were minute variations and no standard bores. Rifles commonly averaged from 60 to 85 balls to the pound. See Dillin, *Kentucky Rifle*, 43. Compare the "Brown Bess" muskets of "the king's pattern" which fired balls of 14½ to the pound. Pargellis, *Lord Loudoun*, 323; Curtis, *British Army Organization*, 16.

177 (a) Capt. Samuel Finley has been noticed in Pt. 2, p. 397, n 82a. Engineer Capt. John Williams, being in extremely poor physical condition and Capt. Finley having had long surveying experience, he, along with Ens. Hutchins, was chosen to assist the chief engineer. Although a captain in the provincial service, Finley was outranked by Ens. Hutchins who held a regular commission in the British army. Finley performed the duties of surveyor well, but Hutchins had the advantage of wide exploring experience, writing ability which produced the journal of the expedition published in England and America, and drafting ability, plus the art of a cartographer.

(b) The most remarkable man on this expedition, other than Bouquet himself, was Thomas Hutchins. Born in New Jersey in 1730, he early in life removed to Lancaster County, Pennsylvania — the part which later became Dauphin County. It remains a mystery concerning where he obtained instruction in the fine points of mathematics, surveying, drafting, and cartography, so that he emerged as an accomplished practitioner of

Regt are appointed to Act as Assistants to the Chief Engineer During the Campaign. They are Therefore Excused from the Duty of the Line. —————

All the Officers on half pay who serve in this Army w<sup>t</sup> the approbation of the Commander in Chief are to be obeyed in their several Stations

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all these arts, even excelling many trained British army engineers. He was commissioned an ensign in the 2nd Pennsylvania Battalion, Nov. 1, 1756, and lieutenant and quartermaster in the 3rd Battalion, Dec. 18, 1757. In the Forbes campaign, he served as staff supply officer and stayed on at Fort Pitt with Col. Hugh Mercer, rendering invaluable aid to Capt. Harry Gordon, the chief engineer in the construction of the greater Fort Pitt. Refer to the microfilm of the genealogy of the Hutchins family, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia; commissions, *Pa. Archives*, 5th ser., 1: 90, 98, 184, 266; *Bouquet Papers*, 2: 122, 124, 636, 644.

The next year (1759) Hutchins and Capt. Patterson (possibly William) were sent to reconnoiter the abandoned French forts at Venango, le Boeuf, and Presqu' Isle, and the next year he accompanied Bouquet's army to rebuild them. His journals of both itineraries and maps have been published. See B.M., Add. Mss. 21644, f. 451 (p. 166-68); S. K. Stevens and D. H. Kent, *Wilderness Chronicles of North-western Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg, 1941), 175-79; "Hutchins Journal," *PMHB* 2 (1878): 149-53; Niles Anderson and Edward G. Williams, "The Venango Path as Thomas Hutchins Knew It," *WPHM* 49 (1966): 1-18 (especially note 17), 141-54. In 1762, he made a tour of the Indian tribes north of the Ohio River and mapped the itinerary, including the Tuscarawas Trail and especially the first accurate map of the Michigan peninsula and Green Bay until well into the nineteenth century. See map of *A Tour from Fort Cumberland Northwestward . . .* (1762). It was then that he wrote the detailed road descriptions that two years later were the basis, almost literally, of the journal of Bouquet's expedition, 1764, two years prior to the expedition. The map is H.M. 642 in the Mss. Division of the Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif. That same year he entered the regular British service as an ensign in the 60th Royal American Regiment, with commission predated to Mar. 2, 1762.

Hutchins's service on Bouquet's Muskingum expedition has been noticed, and his map has been, probably, the most frequently reprinted map by historians of the century. For the next few years, in the South with his battalion of the 60th, he continued mapping the Mississippi River, the Gulf Coast, the Floridas, etc. He went to England and published his *Topographical Description of Pennsylvania, Virginia, Maryland and North Carolina* (London, 1778), with a large map that included half of the Michigan peninsula, the "Chikago Indian Village," south to the 35th parallel, and west to the Mississippi River. He refused to fight his fellow Americans and was thrown into prison in London. After his release, he escaped to France, where Benjamin Franklin aided him in going to America and in securing appointment as geographer to General Green's southern army.

In 1781, Hutchins was appointed Geographer to the United States, and here began the busiest time of his career, supervising the survey of state lines, public lands, and especially the survey of the Geographer's Line as the base line for laying out the original Seven Ranges of townships in Ohio. This was the institution of the rectangular system of surveys of all of the western states. His busy life ended in Pittsburgh in 1789.



And to take Rank in the Line Aggreable to the Dates of their respective Commissions. —————

A List of the Women's Names who have been pitched upon by the Commanding Officers of Corps and by the Director of the Hospital to proceed w<sup>t</sup> the Army, to be given in tomorrow at Orderly time.<sup>178</sup> ———

When the Troops March these will be allowed Provisions If any other Women presume to cross the River they will be punished in the Severest Manner and sent back unprotected from the Enemy and unprovided w<sup>t</sup> Food

It is Expected the Commanding Officers of Corps will give particular Attention to this Order's being strictly Obeyed

#### Morning Orders Sept 28<sup>th</sup>

All the Armourers & Coopers belonging to every Corps in the Line to be sent Immediately to assist the Artificers of the R: Artillery in Repairing Arms & fitting up Cattridge [cartridge] Casks.<sup>179</sup> —————

Major Commandant Field w<sup>t</sup> two Companies of his Corps of Virginia Volunteers, And Lt. Frazer's Platoon of Light Infantry of the 42<sup>d</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> will Immediately to the Parade in the Fortress, This Detachment is to Escort the Chief Engineer to the other side the Allegany. —————

Major Field will receive directions from Co<sup>l</sup> Bouquet. —————

#### Head Quarters

#### Camp near Fort Pitt Friday Sept. 28<sup>th</sup>

178 Regarding women accompanying the army, see n 169 above; also Smith, *An Historical Account* (all editions), under date of Oct. 25, 1764.

See Williams, "Orderly Book," *WPHM* 42: p. 296, n 58. For reference to "Orderly time," see Pt. 1, 282; also *Regulations*, "Instructions for Adjutants," 134; "Adjutants' Call," under "The Signals," *ibid.*, 92.

179 Cartridges were "fixed" ammunition for use in muskets. It diminished greatly the time and work of priming and loading with powder, ball, and wadding separately by having a measured amount of powder rolled into a paper cylinder, with a lead ball in the opposite end, and the ends twisted or tied. The soldier bit off the end of the paper cartridge containing the powder, poured a little powder into the priming pan, poured the rest of the powder down the bore of the musket, then rammed down the ball, wrapped in the cartridge paper to form a wad on top of the powder. This type of paper cartridge was in use as long as muzzle-loading muskets remained the standard infantry weapon, which was through the period of the American Civil War. A soldier's face was blackened by the black powder after biting a few cartridges to the extent (the writer has personally heard veterans declare) that brother could not recognize brother after an action. The smoke from the flash in the pan also helped blacken faces. In *The Manual Exercise as Ordered by His Majesty in the Year 1764* (a copy owned by the writer), p. 10, the explanation is given: "Prime and Load! 15 Motions."

Parole                                      Rappahanock  
 Countersign                      Norfolk

Field Officer for tomorrow Maj<sup>r</sup> Murray Adj<sup>t</sup> & Qu<sup>r</sup> M<sup>r</sup> 60<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup>  
 The Grenadiers<sup>180</sup> & Light Infantry of the Army w<sup>t</sup> the Virginia and  
 Pensylvania Volunteers to be under Arms tomorrow morning at  
 Eight. —————

These Troops will cross the Ohio under the Command of L<sup>t</sup> Co<sup>ll</sup>  
 Francis w<sup>t</sup> their Tents and Baggage & Encam[p] on the Ground w<sup>c</sup>  
 Cap<sup>t</sup> Williams will this day Mark out for that purpose. —————

The Officers Tents to be Pitched in the same Line w<sup>t</sup> those of the  
 Men Each on the Right of his Platoon or division. —————  
 The Field Officers at a Proportionable distance in the Rear of their  
 Respective Corps. Lieu<sup>t</sup> Co<sup>ll</sup> Francis will receive Orders at Head  
 Quarters. —————

Co<sup>ll</sup> Bouquet having received Advice that a Party of Mohawks  
 and other friendly Ind<sup>s</sup> are sent by Sir William Jonston<sup>181</sup> to Join this

180 Under the British army organization, which followed the German system, there were two "flank companies" in each battalion of ten companies, the other eight being designated "battalion companies." The grenadiers and light-infantry companies were used for special purposes, even detached duty. The grenadiers were traditionally the tallest men in the battalion. They were originally grenade throwers, having to carry great extra weight, and to throw the missiles. By 1764, grenades were dispensed with, but the grenadiers and light infantry were used for especially arduous and dangerous tasks, such as leading assaults. See Curtis, *British Army Organization*, 4; Allen French, *The Day of Concord and Lexington* (Boston, 1925), 68-69.

181 Sir William Johnson is too well known to historical readers to require more than a few pertinent facts to be mentioned here. Of Irish birth, he settled and traded among the Six Nations Indians of New York province, along the Mohawk River, in 1738. Appointed superintendent of the Six Nations affairs by New York, in 1749, he was designated superintendent of all Indian affairs in the northern department by Gen. Braddock, commander in chief in America, in 1755, which was confirmed by a commission from the crown in 1756. He also was appointed a major general, received credit for the victory at Lake George, Nov. 1755, and was rewarded with a baronetcy (hereditary) by King George II and a stipend of £5,000. He became very wealthy and politically powerful, both in America and in England. See James Sullivan, A. C. Flick, M. W. Hamilton, A. B. Corey, eds., *The Papers of Sir William Johnson*, 14 vols. (Albany, 1921-65); O'Callaghan, *Doc. Hist. of N.Y.*, 2: 648-54, 671, 704, 710; Burke's *Peerage*, 1363; Wainwright, *George Croghan*, 112.

He lived in truly baronial style on his 26,000-acre estate and the town he built, Johnstown, where he settled 120 Scotch Highland families (prior to 1763, he lived at Fort Johnson, near Amsterdam). W. Max Reid, *The Story of Old Fort Johnson* (New York, 1906), 14, 17-18, 48. He administered Indian trade and political relations in Pennsylvania and the western country clear to the Mississippi through his deputy Indian agent and superintendent, George Croghan, headquartered at Pittsburgh. Bouquet, after he had subdued the Indians of Ohio, sent their chiefs to

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 Strategem or Surprise from the Enemy. —————

#### After Orders 2 P M

The Corps of Virginia Volunteers Arrived this day under Command of L<sup>t</sup> Co<sup>l</sup> McNeill<sup>182</sup> to Encamp on the Ground adjoining to Major Field's Corps, and to draw tomorrow one day's Provisions w<sup>c</sup> will Victual them to the 29<sup>th</sup> Inclusive

They will Commence to draw w<sup>t</sup> the Army at the Gen<sup>l</sup> Issuing on the 30<sup>th</sup>

Head Quarters Camp near  
Fort Pitt Sep<sup>r</sup> 29<sup>th</sup> 1764

Parole Pottomack

Countersign Fort Cumberland

Field Officer for tomorrow On the Encampment on this side the Ohio  
Major Prevost.

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Sir William to conclude peace, after receiving the white captives and Indian hostages to insure strict performance of the peace terms. Johnson died in 1774. Ibid., 50-51; Smith, *An Historical Account*, 22, 26; Wainwright, *George Croghan*, 212, 219, 292. Johnson's beautiful Johnson Hall is preserved as a historical site by the state of New York.

- 182 John McNeill's first commission as lieutenant was dated Dec. 4, 1754, and he was engaged with Braddock's troops in the fateful battle of July 9, 1755. Fitzpatrick, *Washington Writings*, 2: 55-56; Winthrop Sargent, *History of an Expedition Against Fort Duquesne* (Philadelphia, 1856), 363 (this could have only been this man, as the other suggested was an ensign and not listed among the Virginia officers). In Jan. 1756, he was appointed to a light-horse company and on Aug. 8 captain lieutenant in command of Washington's own company. In Oct. of that year he accompanied Washington on a tour of the frontier forts. Fitzpatrick, *Washington Writings*, 1: 285, 441-42, 477, 479. In Sept. of 1757, he was promoted captain, and in 1758 he served in Washington's battalion under Forbes. *Bouquet Papers*, 2: 24, 62, 284. He received promotion to lieutenant colonel and brought a battalion of Virginia volunteers to aid Bouquet's expedition in 1764, arriving at Fort Pitt so seriously ill that his life was despaired of. His Virginians, however, performed valued service for Bouquet, who praised them highly. McNeill was still in a very bad state of health in Feb. following. The governor and council of Virginia were pleased to issue him a certificate testifying that he had served as a brave, honest, and gallant officer. McNeill sailed for Europe and never returned. *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 17: 392.

On the Other side L<sup>t</sup> Co<sup>l</sup> Clayton Adj<sup>t</sup> & Qu<sup>r</sup> M<sup>r</sup> this side 42<sup>d</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup>  
 On the Other side 1<sup>st</sup> Batt<sup>n</sup> Pennsylv<sup>s</sup>. The whole Army to draw three  
 Days Provisions tomorrow Beginning w<sup>t</sup> the 1<sup>st</sup> B<sup>n</sup> Pennsylv<sup>s</sup> and End-  
 ing w<sup>t</sup> the 60<sup>th</sup>.

The Commissary will send a Sufficient Quantity to Victual the Troops  
 on the other side. A Guard will be ready to take Charge of it till  
 delivered to the respective Corps, This Issuing compleats to the 2<sup>d</sup>  
 Oc<sup>br</sup> Inclusive Co<sup>l</sup> Bouquet contrary to his Expectations is sorry to  
 find that the repeated Orders against Firing in or near the Encamp-  
 ment have had so little Effect. —————

He is therefore obliged to forbid on Pain of Death any Person  
 belonging to this Army to shoot withoot withoot [*sic*] Orders.<sup>183</sup>

This Order Immediately to be read to y<sup>e</sup> men by an Officer p<sup>r</sup>  
 Comp<sup>y</sup> That none may pretend Ignorance thereof, as the success of the  
 Expedition absolutely depends on the Preservation of the Ammunition  
 which cannot any more be replaced. —————

#### Head Quarters Camp

near Fort Pitt Sunday Sep<sup>r</sup> 30<sup>th</sup> 1764

Field Officer for tomorrow on this side the River Major Murray  
 On the oy<sup>r</sup> side Major Dehaas Adj<sup>ts</sup> & Qu<sup>r</sup> Masters on this side  
 60<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> on the other side 2<sup>d</sup> B Pens<sup>ns</sup>

Parole Pennsylvania

Countersign Delaware

All men off duty to be employed today in transporting the Provisions  
 in Batteaus Across the River.

The Troops Encampt on this side to be in readiness to march  
 tomorrow afternoon to the Camp laid out for them on the other side

A Return to be given this Evening to the A : D : Q : M : G from  
 every Corps specifying the Number of Batt & Baggage Horses they  
 require to be furnished with Including those wanted for their Staff, the  
 Tents and Medicines.

The Officers who have had their Horses apprized [appraised] &

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183 This entry in the orders, betokening a fine sense of humor, cannot go un-  
 noticed. It may be remembered that Capt. John Small, the brigade major,  
 was a Scotchman whose duty it was to read the orders to the adjutants.  
 Evidently he hesitated and repeated the Scotticism, "withoot," and the  
 adjutant could not resist the temptation to mimic him. This incident is  
 reminiscent of an analogous occurrence in McIntosh's (1778) campaign  
 when, after oft-repeated orders and threats of punishments for indiscrimi-  
 nate firing, the orderly inserted several musical notes to allegorize the  
 "old song." Williams, "The Revolutionary Journal and Orderly Book of  
 General Lachlin McIntosh's Expedition, 1778," *WPHM* 43 (1960) : 159.

entered into pay may still retain them but these must be accounted for and deducted from the Numbers specified in the Returns demanded as above. ——— The Pennsylvania Troops by the several Partys being detached from them have a Number of Super numerary Tents w<sup>c</sup> are to be accounted for and Immediately Returned to the Ordnance Store, Receipts will be Given to the Qu<sup>r</sup> Masters for those they deliver. —

The five following Men of y<sup>e</sup> 2<sup>d</sup> B P<sup>s</sup> are *to attend* Cap<sup>t</sup> Finley Ass<sup>t</sup> Engineer

Mens Names	Companys
Tho <sup>s</sup> Gourdy }	Cap <sup>t</sup> Lems's
John Dreman }	
Abel Lewis	Cap <sup>t</sup> W <sup>m</sup> Piper's
Joseph Scott }	Cap <sup>t</sup> Bradys
Robert Loac }	

All Artificers & servants to be Included in the Returns for Provisions in the Corps they respectively belong to. ———

All Men off duty in the Line and Garrison to parade at Eight tomorrow morning in order to transport the remainder of the Provisions Ammunition and Tools to the Opposite side of the Ohio. ———

#### Head Quarters Camp

near Fort Pitt Monday Oc<sup>br</sup>. 1<sup>st</sup> :64

Parole Niagara

Countersign Lake Erie

Field Officer for tomorrow Co<sup>ll</sup> Reid

Adj<sup>t</sup> & Qu<sup>r</sup> Master 42<sup>d</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup>

All the Troops proceeding on the Expedition Encamp tomorrow on the other side of the Ohio<sup>184</sup> The Corps on this Side to parade at Eight in the morning. ———

Batteaux will then be ready at the Beach to transport them to the Opposite Landing place.

184 The last entry in the Orderly Book No. 1 was made at headquarters at Fort Pitt. The first orders entered in Orderly Book No. 2 were issued from "Head Quarters Camp at Mont Gage On the western Bank of y<sup>e</sup> Ohio Tuesday Oct<sup>r</sup> the 2<sup>d</sup> 1764." The orders from Sept. 29 through Oct. 1 detail the movement of provisions and supplies, camp equipment, livestock herds, horses, and troops in various contingents across the Allegheny River. The camp was finally organized in regular order and all the troops camped on the north ("western") side on the night of Oct. 2. Apparently the main body of troops was gotten across by Oct. 1, for Bouquet reported to Gen. Gage on Oct. 2, 1764, that "I have the honor to inform your Excellency; — that the army crossed the Ohio yesterday." Letter in Gage Papers, Clements Library, under the above date.

By Henry Bouquet Esq. Colonel of Foot  
 Commanding all His Majesty's Troops in the Southern District  
 of North America.

To Alexander Lowry

You are hereby appointed Chief guide to the Troops going under my  
 Command to the Indian Country, you are therefore to be always in waiting  
 with a good Horse which you are to provide and maintain at your own  
 Expence, to conduct any Party or Person whatever through the Woods  
 to such Place as you shall be directed, either by me, or other Officers  
 under whose immediate Command you may be ordered.

And for the diligent performance of said service, and maintenance  
 of your Horse you shall be allowed Ten Shillings Pennsylvania Cur-  
 =rency per day from the date hereof until you are discharged the Service.

Given under my hand and Seal this 15. day of August 1764. At  
 Fort Mifflin Henry Bouquet

This commission made to Alexander Lowry (he signed his name to  
 pay voucher, Alex<sup>dr</sup> Lowrey) as chief guide is the same as those to  
 the other three guides, Andrew Boggs, Thomas Mitchell (Sr.), and  
 Samuel Brown, except that the others received pay of seven shillings  
 per day.

The whole Army to draw four days bread to[morrow] morning at Eight oClock Commencing w<sup>t</sup> the 2<sup>d</sup> and Ending w<sup>t</sup> the 1<sup>st</sup> Batt<sup>n</sup> Pennsylv<sup>s</sup>. —————

There will at the same time be Issued Beef for two Days, The whole will then be compleated w<sup>t</sup> bread till the 6<sup>th</sup> and w<sup>t</sup> Beef till the 4<sup>th</sup> Inclusive. —————

The Eight Companies of Pensylvania Light Infantry to send to-morrow each one man to reinforce the Garrison of Fort Pitt. —————

Major Field's Corps of Virginia Volunteers w<sup>t</sup> the Light Infantry of the 42<sup>d</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> and one Comp<sup>y</sup> of Pennsylvanians to parade w<sup>t</sup> their Arms tomorrow morning at Eight And March under the Command of the Field Officer of the Day as a Covering Party to 60 Ax Men They are to begin to clear the Road under the direction of the Chief Engineer who is to be attended by M<sup>r</sup> Lowrie Cap<sup>t</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> Guides

The Succeeding orders  
Inserted in a book mark'd  
N<sup>o</sup> 2 Commen<sup>cg</sup> 8<sup>ber</sup> 2<sup>d</sup> 1764

### *Epilogue*

After Bouquet's little army had crossed the Allegheny River it was in hostile country. Henceforward, it was, perforce, totally self-sufficient — unsupported and beyond the hope of reinforcement or supply. In modern parlance, such a tightly organized body of troops would be termed a "task force"; and that it truly was.

The expedition got under way in due marching form on October 3, and so well disposed and alerted were all its elements at all times, that not a single opportunity was presented for enemy attack. On October 13, it crossed the Tuscarawas branch of the Muskingum at the mouth of Sandy Creek and two miles further and two days later encamped on the site of future Fort Laurens. A conference was held with the Indians, and Bouquet demanded and received hostages to ensure safety and good faith as the army advanced. On October 25, the army arrived at the Forks of the Muskingum (the confluence with White Woman's Creek), where an entrenched and fortified camp was set up, near which a final conference was held with the chiefs of the Delawares, Shawnees, and Senecas (Mingoes), and captives were brought in and released.

On November 18, Bouquet marched the army back to Pittsburgh, arriving on November 28, 1764. The Indian deputies were sent to Sir William Johnson to conclude the final peace arrangements, the hostages still being held to ensure complete performance. As before stated, 363 captives were eventually released. The proud Indians were humbled and chastened perhaps as effectively as a bloody defeat would have done, which would also have entailed losses and suffering to the victors.

This series of articles has been undertaken by this author as part of a continuing program for the purpose of bringing to Western Pennsylvania documentary history relating to our area that is found in repositories far from our locale and firesides. Too long have these evidential sources of history lain in snug athenaeums when they might have been illuminating the personalities and paths of the pioneers of civilization's westward movement.