NEW LIGHT ON BOUQUET'S OHIO EXPEDITION:
NINE DAYS OF THOMAS HUTCHINS'S JOURNAL,
OCTOBER 3-OCTOBER 11, 1764

Edited by
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Through the perceptiveness of Stanley Brosky, an executive assistant of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, a hitherto unnoticed historical document was brought to my attention. It is the first nine days of a journal that Ensign Thomas Hutchins of the Royal American Regiment kept during the 1764 military expedition from Fort Pitt into the central Ohio Indian country. The operation was under the command of Colonel Henry Bouquet. His force left camp on October 3 and returned to Fort Pitt on November 28. The rest of the journal has not been located. This fragment makes it clear that the printed version,¹ which first appeared in 1765 and has always been assumed to have been constructed or edited for publication by Provost William Smith — not a member of the expedition — was based on Hutchins's journal. Bouquet's orderly books for the campaign, which Edward G. Williams has edited for this magazine, are evidently in an adjutant's handwriting, not Hutchins's. The orderly

¹ An Historical Account of the Expedition Against the Ohio Indians, in the Year 1764 . . . (Philadelphia, 1765). The work was anonymous, the title page stating that it was "by a lover of his country." The full title page is printed in Edward G. Williams, ed., "The Orderly Book of Colonel Henry Bouquet's Expedition Against the Ohio Indians, 1764," Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine 42 (Mar. 1959): 10n (hereafter cited as WPHM). A London printing of 1766 was followed by a French edition published in Amsterdam in 1769, translated by C. G. F. Dumas. Citations here are to the 1765 edition.

books were written at the beginning of each day and stated the parole, countersign, duty officer rotations, formations, orders for repelling surprise attacks, and disciplinary matters. In contrast, the journal emphasized the route of march and descriptions of the camping areas. It was written as if it had been composed at the end of each day.

The nine days' journal fragment is retained at the Fort Pitt Museum as part of the General Richard King Mellon gift. It is on twenty-eight pages of a lined, stitched notebook approximately six by four and one-half inches in size. It is unquestionably in Hutchins's handwriting. The ink was either originally light in tone or has faded, in contrast with the dark ink of some partially undecipherable writing done by some other person on the pages at the other end of the notebook. The twenty-eight journal pages seem to have been copied by Hutchins at one time. Thus, he may have edited earlier notes or relied on his memory. It does not appear to have been the penmanship of someone working at the end of each weary day of marching, although that is not entirely impossible as Hutchins was an especially good scribe. However, the assumption that he copied it at a later sitting would account for some glaring gaps in the prose and lapses in continuity. Bored with the details, Hutchins's mind may have wandered as he moved his pen.

Comparing the manuscript fragment with the printed version, it is clear that someone, presumably Smith, eliminated details of the march, especially distances between points and topographic features. The editor always retained the total distance covered each day, so there is hardly any distortion in that regard. But the subdivisions of the daily marches were greatly reduced for publication. Also, the compass readings were eliminated.

In addition to fixing the precise location of the route, the journal is important in revealing some of Hutchins's thoughts. This geographer-engineer-cartographer referred repeatedly to good, rich, and well timbered land, and tended to classify ridged, thicketed, and swampy land as poor. From the context of his statements it is clear that he was classifying good and bad agricultural land, rather than describing the relative desirability of the land for military operations. Although the expedition included horses, cattle, and sheep which had to have water and forage, those needs were not the basis for his lengthy comments. Hutchins envisioned the use of the land by civilian pioneer settlers.

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3 Since these writings contain references to William Tryon, Frederick Haldimand, and Ethan Allen, they are probably from the Revolutionary period. They clearly have no relation to the Ohio expedition.
There are many subtle but important distinctions between the printed and manuscript versions. The reference on October 5 to the abandoning of Logstown in 1758, which is historically correct, contrasts with the incorrect date of 1750 found in the printed version, suggesting, as Edward G. Williams has pointed out, a misreading by Smith.4 On October 6 a human skull was encountered on the path. According to Smith this was a child's skull which the Indians had placed on a pole.5 But the manuscript refers to the head of "a person" and makes an ambiguous statement as to whether the Indians or the soldiers placed it on the pole. The abandoned town that the expedition passed by on October 6 was also ambiguously presented in the manuscript. The passage may be interpreted as meaning that some of the houses and their Indian inhabitants still remained, whereas Smith inserted the idea that all had been deserted and destroyed after the Battle of Bushy Run, enhancing the importance of Bouquet's victory.6 An old Indian encampment site which the manuscript mentions on October 11 does not appear in the printed version.7 There are also distinctions between descriptions of Bouquet's camps. Camp Number 3 is described in the October 4 entry of the manuscript, but not in Smith's version.8 Smith described Camp Number 6 as lying within a "rich valley,"9 whereas the manuscript version (entry of October 7) states that camp was made after the force had "proceeded along" the valley a certain distance. The distinction is important because the camps were chosen for various features, among which were ease of defense and the availability of water and fodder.

The following transcription of the nine days' journal is printed in literal style, eliminating only the catchwords and the dots that were often placed beneath superiored letters but added nothing to the meaning.

Journal Commenc'd at Camp No. 1 on the North West side of Allegheny River. October the 3d 1764. ———

Wednesday.

Decamped at 3 oClock in the Afternoon, with the Army under the Command of Col° Bouquet; and march'd over level rich

4 WPHM 42 (Mar. 1959) : 31-32n.
5 An Historical Account of the Expedition Against the Ohio Indians, 11.
6 Ibid., 10-11.
7 Ibid., 12.
8 Ibid., 10.
9 Ibid., 11.
Timber'd land, free from underwood one mile & a half & twenty three perches, to Camp No. 2 a Strong piece of Ground, pleasantly situated; with plenty of Water, Wood & food for Cattle. Course to this Camp N63W. The Weather, fair and mild.

Thursday 4th

Decamped half an hour past 9 O'Clock, & after marching two miles and Sixty Perches, over rich bottom land parallell to a Ridge about half a mile to the right, we reach'd the Ohio River, at the beginning of the narrows which we entered; & proceeded along a flat Gravelly Beech following the Course of the River Six miles, one quarter & forty perches: During this distance, had a high Steep ridge, close on the right, and to the Left saw two Islands; the lowermost of which is near Six miles in length, with arising piece of Ground running through the Center of it, Gradually descending on both sides to its banks; whb are very high & upright. Opposite the lower end of this Island. Left the river and Crossed good land / broken with small hollows in several places / for half a mile, and Sixty three perches to Camp No. 3 —— apiece of Ground well situated, with plenty of Water, Wood, & Food for Cattle. This day's Course N.53W. nine miles; one quarter, & three perches. The Weather fair and pleasant

Friday 5th

Decamped at eight oClock & marched over level, rich land well timber'd, two Miles, one half, & sixty eight perches to a run, at the head of Sewickly bottom, where the Traders often Encamped formerly, on account of good Food for their Horses, One mile & one Hundred & fifty six perches further; came to a run, Called two miles from Loggstown; then proceeded two Miles & one perch, part over level rich land, and part thro.' very rich low bottom; to the Ohio River again. We had then Sixty Six perches to the Logstown; about three Quarters of a Mile from this Town, Crossed a very miry run —— The Logstown before the last War, was Noted for the great Trade carried on there by the English, & French Traders, but after the Commencement of the War; its Inhabitants y's Delawares & Shawanese, abandoned it in the Year 1758. Part of this Town was Situated on the bank of the Ohio, in a level rich bottom, extending ab1 40 Perches back to the Fort of a low steep ridge on the sumitt, & near the declivity of which; stood the remainder part of the Town; which overlooked the lower, & affords an agreeable prospect quite across
the river, whose easy current, & pleasant Stream adds much to the beauty of the place. From Fort Pitt to this place, is 17 Miles, a half and 57 Perches — Marched from the Logstown thro' rich bottom to the River, 3/4 of a Mile & 14 Perches; to a river with very steep banks then left the river & ascended a steep Hill, & Marched over level rich land, well Timber'd; Cross'd several small runs with steep banks and came to Camp No. 4. a level piece of Ground with a Thicket, on the left of our rear, & a small Precipice round the Front, at the foot of which is a run with plenty of Wood & food for Cattle — General Course of this day's March N.21.W. 9 Miles, a half, & 50 Perches, The weather mild
Saturday 6th
Decamped early in the Morning, & after march'd 2 Miles, one quarter & 14 perches, & Crossing several small runs: We came to one at the beginning of a Steep Ascent, which we went up, & proceeded three Quarter's of a Mile & 8 perches thro' good Land, with a ridge on our right most part of the way to the Ohio river again, which we went Parallell with for half a Mile, & 38 Perches, & had a ridge, a little distance to the right, half a Mile and 4 Perches farther, we left the bottom Land, & proceeded thro' level good upland, 126 Perches, to a very high steep ascent, to which we went down, and after crossing a rich bottom 52 Perches wide, came to big Beaver Creek, four Miles a half and 77 Perches from last nights Camp. The Course about N.35.W ——— This Creek is 20 Perches wide, y'c current pretty Strong, Confin'd by high Banks, the Ford Stony, & part of the way somewhat deep, there is on each side of the Creek, rich narrow bottoms bounded by good upland, free from underwood, with plenty of tall small Timber, mostly white Oaks; about a Mile below, the Confluence of this Creek with the Ohio, on the west side, was alarge Town Situated on a very high, steep bank, built by the French, with square Logs & Stone Chimneys; for some of the Shawanese, Delaware & Mingo tribes; which they abandoned in the Year 1758 about the time the French deserted Fort Duquesne — The Indians had several Houses near the Fording of the Creek, supposed to be destroy'd by themselves as they have abandoned all the Country hereabout. Two Miles before we came to Beaver Creek, a prisoner, who had made his escape from the Indians came to us; and inform'd us that he was taken near Bedford about a Week since, by Six Delaware Indians, that they fell in
with us Yesterday, several times near the road, but avoided being seen; they counted our Numbers, & as the prisoner reports, were much surprised at them — after Crossing of Beaver Creek, We marched through a small piece of very rich bottom Land entirely clear of Timber; and ascended a small rise to level upland, which we continued on for one Mile, a half and 6 perches, to a very steep & difficult hill; at ye' foot of which is a Run — during which course we had a small Ridge at a little distance to our Right; but on our left, the land very level, Timbered with small white Oaks, free from underwood, & strong only in some places, near the end of this Course, the Ohio River is only half a Mile to the left — Continued our March up the aforesaid Hill, and proceeded along the Top, which is very level, Rich, & well Timbered, with Hickery and white Oak for One Mile, a Quarter & 28 Perches, to a Barren ridge from whence the Country appear'd level for a great way to the right, Continued on this ridge for a quarter of a Mile & 60 Perches, where the riges grew flat & level, which we marched along for a Quarter of a Mile & 38 perches, we then proceeded sometimes on a Ridge, and at other times, when the land spread and appeared wider, for 2 miles a half, and 38 perches, to a Descent, at two small springs close to our left, where we saw the Head of a person whom the Indians had killed sometime ago, and placed it upon a pole in the Road; we then went up a small rise 26 perches, and gained the top of a Ridge of level good land at the end of half a Mile, & forty two perches farther, tho' the same kind of land, had a very easy descent to a Miry run, which is in a dry season free from Water, then over level land with a rising Ground on our left a Quarter of a Mile and 36 Perches to the Center of Camp No. 5. wh^b has a rising piece of Ground on the left, & an easy descent on the right to a Thicketty bottom of poor Swampy Land with a Small brook running thro' it. General course from big run Creek to this Camp, is S86W: Seven Miles, one Qr & 56 Perches — the Weather Cloudy with some Rain. An officer of the Virginians, reported to Col^b Bouquet, that he tracked 15 Indians, as he was in Search of Horses. ———

Sunday 7th

Decamped at 11 Oclock, & marched half a Mile and 20 Perches to a small run, at the foot of an easy Ascent, part of this course had a ridge on our left, & small bottoms to our right. two Miles, one Quarter & 36 Perches further, came to a ridge, & went up
a gradual Ascent to the Top where we continued along level, rich land, well Timbered & free from underwood, for two Miles, three Quarters & 16 Perches to the end of y° Ridge; a few perches before we came to the Ascent of this Ridge crossed a Run, as we marched along the Ridge, had a fine prospect of a very extensive Country to the Right that generally appeared level with abundance of tall Timber — from the end of the aforesaid Ridge; went down a very high & steep descent into a rich Valley: and proceeded along it, 153 Perches to Camp N° 6, on a very fine strong ground, there being three sides of the Camp — surrounded by a Hollow & on the other a small Hill, which was occupied by a Guard. Course N.64 W. Six Miles & 65 Perches. The weather fair and mild ——

Monday 8th

Marched at 9 o'clock over level land 62 Perches to a hill, which we ascended, and went along for half a Mile & 18 Perches, to two very steep descents which we went down 58 Perches: proceeded 34 Perches further on the side of a steep Ridge and still continued along the Ridge, for 30 Perches to the bottom, near which we crossed a run & proceeded 34 Perches further: 26 of which; after over level poor stony ground, brought us to the bank of little Beaver Creek 8 perches wide, with a good Ford — Crossed the Creek & march'd 70 Perches over level bottom land; to a very steep Hill, wh' we went up 86 Perches to the top: & Continued along it for half a Mile & 2 Perches, to a small ridge, which we ascended, & march'd on half a mile, & 70 Perches to the end — paralell with this ridge had level bottom land on our right. We left the ridge & after Marching 122 perches, the first part of the way over level land, the other part along a ridge, to an old Indian Encampment on the right and a Spring to the left, we had an easy descent of 20 Perches to a run, 240 Perches further over level land, well Timbered, brought us to a Valley, which we continued in for 196 Perches, near the end crossed a run, & a Spring, a little distance from each other, we then March'd One Mile, & 62 Perches mostly over small broken ridges free from underwood, (& crossed one or two small runs) to a descent which we went down and at 38 Perches crossed a run, ascended a Steep Hill, and proceeded 82 Perches along the Top of it, had good land on each hand; then descended into a low bottom, & Immediately went up a ridge, and continued on it, 118 perches; Twenty two Perches further down a very steep descent;
brought us to a Miry run. We had then 60 Perches over low ground, to another branch of Beaver Creek, wh. we cross'd, and march'd 42 Perches further tho' a Bottom to a Hill, where we had a steep and difficult ascent for 28 Perches to the top — then 3 Miles & 21 Perches, part over level land, and part across a small narrow ridge of good land well Timbered, with plenty of food for Cattle — 134 Perches before we reached the end of this Course Crossed a run: & a small distance further, went up a steep & difficult Hill — then after Marching over broken land 34 Perches, we came to level upland & continued along it, & went over rich bottom 312 perches to a small run at Camp No. 7. This Camp is Situated on the side of a Hill, and Extended to y* Top, so as to Command the Ground about it. This day marched S81W. Eleven Miles one Quarter and forty Nine Perches. ———

Tuesday 9th
Decamped & march'd over the ridge we Encamped on the preceding Night, and had level land for half a Mile & 24 Perches, to low Marshy ground full of Thickets where was a run at a little Dist: to the left, the Thickets continued 12 perches farther to a gradual rise; which we ascended, & gain'd the Top of a small ridge & went along it, three Hund: and Eighteen perches — the Country on each side of us appeared much broken, with small ridges. 30 Perches further crossed a run & ascended the side of a Steep brushy Hill 32 Perches to the Top, then we had 34 Perches of this poor brushy land, to the end of the ridge, after Marching half a mile and 40 Perches further we came to an old Indian Encampment, mostly over good level land, where the path Forks, and leads South westerly, to the Towns low down on the Muskingum river At this Encampment, were several trees painted by the Indians, the number of times they have been at War, with the particulars of their Success, in prisoners & Scalp — left this Encampment & had a gradual slope for 50 Perches, to a small run at the foot of a low ridge; which we ascended, & march'd over several little ridges of good land for three Quarters of a Mile & 541 Perches: to low rich land very Thicketty, during this Course crossed 3 runs, then 38 Perches to a run that Empties into Yellow Creek about 2 Perches to the left — We then march'd over level bottom land very thicketty; and to the left Swampy, for 2 Miles, & 70 Perches to a run, at Camp No. 8, a level spot of Ground, with Yellow Creek close on the left & rising Ground on the rear of the right face, the
Brook that we crossed at the Camp, Surrounds the rear of it, with alternately Crossing little ridges, Small Valleys, & level pieces of land 'till we ascend a low ridge, at the end of which we Encamped, 3 Miles, a half, and 32 Perches from the Miry Swamp; during this Course crossed severl small runs — this Camp N° 9. is Situated on a piece of Ground that has a gradual descent to the left from a Small Hill to our right — Water at some distance to the left. This day March'd N.79W: 7 Miles and Sixty Perches ——

Thursday 11th

Marched at the usual Hour along low ridges of good land free from underwood, one Mile, one quarter & 57 perches; to an old Indian Encampment, with a Spring about 30 Perches to y' right; We still proceeded mostly along ridges for one mile one Quarter & 6 Perches to the beginning of a ridge, with abundance of fallen Timber on it: a Spring at the end of this Course about 10 Perches to y' right Marched along this ridge which is very brushy for most part of the way; one Mile, a half and 4 Perches, & came to a hollow during this Course Marched over a good deal of free Stone & for a good distance to our right hand, and left, the Country appeared much broken with low ridges — after Crossing the hollow we ascended a Hill, and marched over several Hills & hollows, for 2 miles one Quarter & 36 Perches; which brought us down a descent to a Spring, at the beginning of a hollow The Country on each hand much broken with ridges — then along the hollow, between two pretty high ridges of good land half a Mile & 36 Perches, to another Spring close to the left. — We then proceeded still along a hollow for 66 perches; to a Spring on

[With no explanation, the journal fragment ends here.]