FORBES CONQUERS THE WILDERNESS:
A MODERN ODYSSEY

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Brigadier General John Forbes arrived at Loyalhanna on November 2, 1758, and nine days later called a council of war with his eight colonels. The situation was not favorable. He spoke on the instructions he had been given, on provisions, on the number and condition of the troops, on the probable enemy strength and intentions. He asked the officers to weigh each point, to discuss them all, and to give him their opinion on the best course to follow.


It was late in the season, snow had fallen, and Chestnut Ridge and fifty miles of wilderness lay between Loyalhanna and Fort Duquesne. The men had no clothing suitable for marching, fighting, and cutting a road during a cold Pennsylvania winter. Provisions were running low and there was no chance of replenishing them because incessant rainfall had washed out parts of the road built between Bedford and Loyalhanna at such great cost in time and labor. Frost had blackened the grass on which the horses and cattle had to feed. Half of the army of nearly seven thousand was still at Bedford. Forbes had no knowledge at all of French strength, though it was known that they had more than three thousand men at mid summer.

Only one argument was adduced for continuing the advance: “The hope of justifying the expenses of the expedition and the hopes of our Colonies who, ignorant of the difficulties the enterprise in-
volves, regard the Fort as a very easy objective for the body of troops undertaking this expedition.”

Gloom, discontent, and friction pervaded Loyalhanna. The Virginians had bitterly opposed Forbes’s decision to cut a new road two hundred miles across the western half of Pennsylvania instead of using Braddock’s road, “the beaten path . . . universally confessed to be the best passage through the mountains.” Washington had come close to insubordination when he declared that Pennsylvanians had forced the decision because they foresaw the trade and political advantages of a clear road to the Ohio. “If Colonel Bouquet succeeds in this point with the General,” he wrote to a friend (who gave the letter to the general), “all is lost! All is lost, by Heavens! Our enterprise [will be] ruined, and we stopped at the Laurel Hill this winter.”

Now, with the army halted just beyond Laurel Hill, Washington’s prediction, to the discomfiture of Forbes and Bouquet, seemed to be borne out.

There was more. Bouquet, inexplicably, had permitted Major James Grant in September to lead 750 Highlanders, Royal Americans, and provincials on a reconnaissance-in-strength to Fort Duquesne. There he was to estimate French strength, capture prisoners, and perhaps rescue some British troops being held captive. Grant was deceived by the absence of Indians sleeping around the fort (they were in their camp across the Allegheny) and, apparently inspired by dreams of glory, made an impetuous attack. Some 270 of his men were killed or captured, and he was taken prisoner. Forbes blamed Bouquet for violating his orders.

A month later, a large French and Indian force — lacking artillery — attacked the fort at Loyalhanna, killed and wounded sixty of the defenders, and made off with many horses. Forbes and Bouquet, angry that the French had not been pursued and captured, blamed Colonel Burd, who felt he had won a notable victory in repulsing the attack.

There was animosity among the Highlanders, the Royal Americans, and the provincials. It had been heightened when Colonel St. Clair arrested and demanded a court-martial of Colonel Adam Bouquet.


Stephen, a Virginian, for disobeying his orders. (Forbes and Bou-quet were united in their detestation, with good cause, of St. Clair, quartermaster general, whom Forbes called "a very odd Man . . . no ways like a Soldier.") Dissension among the forces was heightened further when Major Grant, in a letter sent back from captivity at Fort Duquesne, blamed his defeat on Major Andrew Lewis, another Virginian and a fellow prisoner.

There had been a substantial contingent of southern Indians with Forbes, thus satisfying his wish that "we may have at least the appearance of a few Indians amongst us," but most of these, unwilling to sit idle all summer while a new road was being cut, had returned home, taking their presents with them. Those who remained appeared to Forbes and Bouquet so spoiled by presents and so insolent in their "sordid and avaricious demands" that these officers wished them gone.

Under the cumulative weight of these unhappy conditions, the eight colonels at the council of war on November 11 declared, "The risks being so obviously greater than the advantages, there is no doubt as to the sole course that prudence dictates." Forbes agreed. He decided to break off the campaign and resume it in the spring. He would leave small garrisons in the advance posts and withdraw the main body of his army to winter quarters in the east.

Forbes was a very sick man, ill for two years with a serious intestinal disorder he called "a Cursed flux." As a former medical student in Edinburgh, he must have known that he would never lead an army to the Fork of the Ohio in the spring. Perhaps it was for this reason that he named Loyalhanna "Pittsburgh" in honor of William Pitt, Britain’s first minister.

Bouquet, in a letter written to Forbes from Bedford on September 4, had stressed the relationship of their mission to Forbes’s reputation as a commander. "England and America," he said, writing in French, "have eyes fixed on you." Of the three British expeditions being carried out simultaneously, he wrote, the attack on Ticonderoga had disastrously failed, and another, the attack on Louisbourg, in Nova Scotia, had succeeded. "But all have acted, and we are remaining inactive. It is annoying to be reduced to self-

4 Forbes to Bouquet, Aug. 15, 1758, ibid., 2: 367.
5 Bouquet: Council of War, Nov. 11, 1758, ibid., 601.
6 Forbes to Bouquet, July 23, 1758, ibid., 266.
justification, and when one has to deal with the public, all the reasons in the world do not satisfy them, when their expectations are disappointed."  

With their army stalled fifty miles from Fort Duquesne and their mission a failure, both men must have winced when they thought of that letter. Both, it is clear, foresaw harm to their reputations and ruin of their careers. "Natural obstacles," Bouquet wrote to Forbes, "are not the only ones you will find on your road. The prevailing spirit in the army forecasts other storms. I have seen them gathering for a long time, they are beginning to break, and as they do not yet dare go up to you, they are making trials on me." He named Colonel W............ and Colonel A............ (Washington and Armstrong) as his persecutors. "I am at ease about this," he continued, obviously not at all at ease, "as I have the satisfaction of having nothing with which to reproach myself, and no purpose other than the public good. The only thing which affects me is the ingratitude of men I have never disobliged, but singled out on every occasion, and sought to do them service. As soon as they think they can strengthen their parties, they forget all decency, and put themselves at the head of every one who offers to hit at me. . . . Meanwhile, the service is suffering."  

Forbes began to prepare a defense of the actions he had taken. He wrote, "It must be a comfort both to you and I still that we proceeded with Caution in the choice of this road and in the opinion of every Disinterested man, it had every advantage over the other And I am not sure but it has so still." He advised Bouquet, "without taking notice to any body to make yourself master of the arguments for and the objections against the two roads, so that upon comparison one may Judge how far we have been in the right in our Choice." He added later, "nor do I think that in the Critical way things stand, one is anyways flattered to run the risque of ruin, in a rash pursuit of a military glory. But more of this betwixt you and I When wee meet."  

Henry Bouquet and John Forbes, two of the men destined to turn the tide of the war against the French after four years of costly and humiliating reverses, had met for the first time in Philadelphia in

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7 Bouquet to Forbes, Sept. 4, 1758, *ibid.*, 471-72. The low spirits of Forbes and Bouquet in the autumn of 1758, and the measures they took to save their reputations and defend themselves against charges that they had obstinately and unwisely chosen the road across Pennsylvania instead of the road leading out of Fort Cumberland have not been stressed by those writing about the Forbes campaign.


early May 1758. They were under the king’s orders to assemble and lead the army against Fort Duquesne.

The two officers seemed to have been made for each other and for this perilous and difficult mission. Both were professional soldiers. Though they were of different nationalities, they had the French language in common. Each had great respect for the other’s competence. Forbes was known as a staff officer experienced in supply and logistics, Bouquet as a leader in field command, which is to say that one man was a planner and the other was an executor.

Brigadier General Forbes (his rank would have been a grade or two higher in a comparable command in the European theater) was forty-six years old, a Scot of good family who had given up the study of medicine to purchase at the late age of twenty-five a cornetcy in a regiment of North British Dragoons. He rose to become deputy quartermaster general, was commissioned a colonel in 1757, and was sent to North America with Lord Loudoun, the commander in chief, whose adjutant general he became. In the shakeup of command effected by William Pitt in December 1757, he was made brigadier general and put in charge of the expedition against Fort Duquesne. He arrived in Philadelphia without troops, but within weeks he was joined by 1,300 Highlanders (the Seventy-seventh Regiment of Foot) under Colonel Archibald Montgomery.

Lieutenant Colonel Bouquet, nine years younger than Forbes, was a Huguenot Swiss from the Lake Geneva region who had begun a military career at age seventeen by enlisting in the Dutch army. He served as an ensign in the Sardinian army, and after eight years of service in the War of the Austrian Succession, he ended up again in the Dutch army, but as a lieutenant colonel of the Swiss guards. When King George II began to recruit professional officers on the continent (provided they were Protestants) to serve the British cause in North America, Bouquet signed on. Because of his proficiency in German, he spent some months recruiting Germans in New York and Pennsylvania for the Royal American Regiment. He took that regiment to meet a fancied border crisis in North Carolina (where he became so interested in land speculation that he narrowly escaped a reprimand) and then early in 1758 took his regiment by sea to New York and thence to Philadelphia to meet Forbes.

Bouquet’s tact and patience have been exaggerated by historians impressed by his success as a commanding officer and by his role as

the hero of Bushy Run in 1763 and of the march to the Muskingum in 1764. In fact, his opinions on the characters of American civil 

magistrates, soldiers, merchants, farmers, and Indians were so hot 

that they fairly singe the pages of some of his letters. His prejudices, 

moreover, seem to reflect those of a born aristocrat, which he was 

not. To Richard Peters, secretary of the Province of Pennsylvania, 

he wrote on September 12, 1759, of “the injustice of your People . . . 

I confess that my Patience is at an End, having had particular and 

personal Proofs that no Gentleman can dream of living in your 

Province, while the Power is lodged in hands Still full of the dirt of 

their former Mechanical & base Trades.” To Anne Willing of 

Philadelphia, whom he had been courting and to whom he confided 

his intention to “quit the service as soon as I can decently,” he wrote 

from Bedford on September 17, 1759:

You would perhaps judge it cruel and inhuman to reckon among the advan-
tages to be derived from War, the destruction of beings [frontier settlers] 

who, by their vices or circumstances, would be a nuisance to Society; I sup-
pose that it was upon that principle that the most shocking scenes of barbarity, 

including the scalping of your inhabitants, were not much lamented by some of your own people who are charged to have said, that it was no great matter 

if a parcel of such wretches were swept away. It is true enough that numbers 
of the inhabitants of the frontiers are a worthless breed, and that the public 
did not suffer a great loss in getting rid of that vermin, which in time would 
have perverted the few good ones among them. To judge by what remains, 

they were no better than the savages, and their children brought up in the 

Woods like Brutes, without any notion of Religion, Government, Justice, or 

Honesty would have improved the Breed.11

For the most part, however, Bouquet seems to have restrained 
his feelings in his personal associations. He was well regarded in 
polite and intellectual Philadelphia society. His flavor is indicated in 
the delightful plea he made for the freeing of an army doctor who 
seems to have been confined for kissing another man’s wife. “The Crime 
was great, but the Devil is So strong, the Women So pretty, 
and we are So Weak, that it is not quite So easy to be always honest, 
as good old Women will think.” (The culprit paid a fine of £24 5s.)12

Forbes was an apostle of military strategy as expounded by 
Launcelot, comte Turpin de Crissé, whose book Principe sur lequel 
on peut établir un projet de campagne (Principles on which one can 
organize a plan for a campaign) he carried with him.13 Crissé called 
for a slow, methodical advance through enemy country, consolidating

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11 Louis M. Waddell, John L. Tottenham, Donald H. Kent, eds., The 
12 Bouquet to Allen, May 20, 1758, ibid., 1: 343.
13 Lawrence Henry Gipson, The British Empire Before the American 
each advance by building a fort and supply depot at suitable intervals. Forbes decided that these should be built about forty miles apart in this kind of terrain. In this way he would take a firm grip on the land he passed through, he would have support for the columns ahead, and he would have refuge in the event of a setback. In this respect he followed a course totally different from that of General Braddock, who, to his sorrow, drove ahead at maximum speed and on July 9, 1755, had no support base closer than Fort Cumberland, one hundred miles from Fort Duquesne.

Forbes intended to march his army halfway across Pennsylvania, taking advantage of the resources in food, horses, and wagons in the relatively rich farming country between Lancaster and Carlisle. He would then strike south to Conococheague and west to Fort Cumberland, Maryland, where he would assemble his whole army. From there he would follow Braddock's road to the Fork of the Ohio. His army, as finally organized, was composed of 6,790 men: 1,300 in the Seventy-seventh Regiment of Foot, called the First Highland Battalion (commanded by Colonel Montgomery and Major Grant); 350 in the Sixtieth Regiment of Foot, the Royal Americans (led by Colonel Bouquet); 2,700 in the Pennsylvania Regiment (three battalions commanded by Colonels John Armstrong, James Burd, and Hugh Mercer); 1,600 in two Virginia regiments (under Colonels Washington and William Byrd III); 800 in three detachments from Maryland, North Carolina, and Delaware, and 40 in the Royal Artillery.

Bouquet was Forbes's second in command. Arriving at Carlisle on May 24, with Forbes remaining in Philadelphia, he attacked the staggering problems of obtaining supplies, provisions, and munitions from farmers, merchants, and public officials who were by tradition and practice opposed to war. For two weeks he dealt with frustrating delays in buying forage, buying or renting horses and wagons, and hiring drivers. He arranged for convoying and storing supplies, organizing and equipping the soldiers, keeping accounts, and scheduling the forward movement of the units. He hired agents by contract to supply the troops en route and at the various posts through which they passed. Cattle, sheep, and hogs were driven along the forest trail. By Bouquet's calculation, 1,500 cattle, slaughtered, smoked, and salted at one of the main forts, would supply 4,000 men with beef for four months.14

Bouquet described the mission. They would have to surmount

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immense obstacles: cross two hundred miles of wilderness; open a road through woods, mountains, and swamps; build forts along their line of march for the security of their convoys; and "with infinite trouble . . . transport provisions, artillery, and munitions." They would have before them an active and enterprising enemy, "elated by his previous successes, and superior in this type of war." More than three-quarters of the British army was "composed of new recruits and provincials, most of them engaged in the month of June for the campaign, and a great number of whom had never seen a musket."  

On May 7 Forbes changed his projected route; he decided to cut a road west out of Carlisle to Raystown (Bedford) and thence march southwest to the main base at Cumberland. Accordingly, Bouquet was charged with cutting the eighty-mile road over the mountains to Raystown. The intermediate forts-and-depots were Fort Loudoun, Fort Littleton, Juniata Crossing, and Stoney Creek. Bouquet spent June 8 to June 11 moving his headquarters to Fort Loudoun. There he described his problems in a letter to Forbes:

By mistake, the 200 tents which were to go to Carlisle took the Winchester road through York from Lancaster. So the Virginians actually received 14 tents more than the 300 intended for them, and I could not replace those needed by Armstrong and Burd’s battalions. . . . You cannot help seeing how far we are from being ready. No plans can be made, nor any day set with such troops. It is almost impossible to move them. The new recruits will make you a thousand troubles; they need blankets, clothing, and so on — endlessly. Their officers haven’t an idea of the service, and one cannot depend on them to carry out an order. . . . no one in this country can be relied on. At all times, private interests outweigh the general welfare. . . . The farther I go away from the settlements, the more I see that this expedition, which is believed so easy, is full of almost insurmountable difficulties.  

Forbes now made still another change in his route, to the consternation and anger of the Virginians. On the advice of some of his engineers and officers, he decided to proceed due west across Pennsylvania to Fort Duquesne instead of concentrating his forces at Fort Cumberland. This route would save some forty miles, it would avoid river crossings, and it would provide forage, but it meant cutting a completely new road one hundred miles long over three mountains: Allegheny Mountain, Laurel Ridge, and Chestnut Ridge. Bouquet now had to direct the movement of troops from Fort Cumberland to what had become the principal base at Raystown. To mislead the French, he ordered several companies to continue work on the Braddock Road.

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15 Bouquet to the duke of Portland, Dec. 3, 1758, ibid., 620.
16 Bouquet to Forbes, June 11, 1758, ibid., 72-74.
17 Forbes to Bouquet, Aug. 15, 1758, ibid., 367.
As the regiments and detachments assembled at Raystown, Bouquet and his colonels had problems of discipline, especially with the new recruits and provincials. Daily drills were held in a field south of the fort to weld the units into a mobile fighting force that would obey orders. Desertion and insubordination were common, and Bouquet requested Forbes to send him warrants for general courts-martial. ("We have a man here, who has offered his services to do the hanging.”) 18

Bouquet's orderly book gives a picture of everyday life at the encampment. All soldiers had to be in their beds at nine. After ten no smoking was permitted and no candles were to be lighted. To protect the drinking water, no one was permitted to wash meat or linen in the springs about the camp, and all clothes had to be washed in the river. Privies (called "necessary houses" or "houses of office") were placed well away from camp, and earth was thrown in the pits every other day. At regular intervals the privies were relocated, the pits filled, and new ones dug. To leave "dirt or dung" in the camp was a court-martial offense.

No soldier could buy rum from sutlers without a written order from his commanding officer, and then he could buy no more than one gill. "Gaming for money" was not permitted, as it was "always attended with the worst Consequences for the Service." Minor entries in the orderly book cast light on other activities in the camp. Volunteers familiar with building bake ovens "Directly of green wood" were needed. All deerskins brought to the camp were to be delivered to the artillery stores as soon as they had been dried and stretched; they would be used to make mocassins. All fires had to be made one hundred yards from the tents. Hatchet men were assigned to "plant forks for the arms with a roof of bark to cover them."

Each day a new parole or password, such as Kensington, The March, Franks Town, Boston, Dublin, Jamaica, Dover, Chichester, Bouquet, or Aberdeen, was issued. Each day the companies and regiments designated men to go to the store at daybreak to receive instructions on daily provisions. Tents were struck periodically, dried out, and pitched in new locations. The men were ordered "to Attend divine Service every Morning at Revalee Beating." (Signals were given not by bugle call but by drumbeat.) When General Forbes was expected to arrive at Loyalhanna, the order was given: "The men are to turn out of their tents and range themselves when the General goes

18 Bouquet to Forbes, July 11, 1758, ibid., 182.
by, the centries are to call — Turn out the Line.” Many orders concerned the pasturing of horses by the grass guards and the precautions to be taken to prevent horses from running loose in camp. From time to time work stopped while the troops listened to — or at least were present at — the reading of all or parts of the Articles of War, with heavy emphasis on the crime of desertion.19

One camp order read, “No more than three women to one hundred men are to Receive Provisions.” Women were assigned to the hospital “to attend the Sick to be relieved Weekly, they will receive Provisions & 6d. sterling per day.” One woman from each regiment was usually selected. The Papers of Henry Bouquet, unfortunately, does not give the number of women who accompanied Forbes’s army.20

In the meantime, the road was being cut over the mountains to the next fort-and-depot, which was situated on Loyalhanna Creek on the west or French side of Laurel Ridge. At one time 1,200 men, including the troops that protected them, were assigned to road work. Three months later the road had been completed as far as Loyalhanna, later to be named (briefly) “Pittsborough” and then Fort Ligonier. Half the army was there, but the weather had turned bad, morale was low, animosities were festering, and the situation was judged not favorable for a continued advance to the Fork of the Ohio. On November 11 General Forbes convened a council of war and asked his officers to recommend a course of action.

The day after Forbes decided to abandon the march on Fort Duquesne and go into winter quarters, a French raiding party attacked British horses grazing three miles from the Loyalhanna encampment. Forbes sent Colonel Washington with 500 men to pursue the enemy. Washington did so and captured three prisoners: a white man named Johnson, an Indian warrior, and an Indian woman.

On being interrogated at headquarters, Johnson claimed to be a native of Lancaster who had been carried off by the Indians. He was threatened with summary execution for taking up arms against the king but was told that he could save himself by giving a full and accurate account of conditions at the French fort and that he would be rewarded if his information turned out to be correct. Johnson attested that the Canadian troops had returned home, that the Indians had also departed, and that there were no more than two hundred

20 Ibid., 674, 680.
effective French soldiers at Fort Duquesne. The Indian warrior gave information that supported Johnson's account.

The camp was galvanized. Forbes ordered Bouquet and 2,500 Virginians and Pennsylvanians under Washington and Armstrong to start at once for the Fork of the Ohio, blazing a path as they went but not taking time to cut a road. They crossed Chestnut Ridge and on November 23 reached Turtle Creek, twelve miles from the fort. There they made a temporary fortified position, which they named Bouquet's Camp.

Forbes, unable to ride and too sore to lie on the boards of a wagon, had been traveling in a litter slung between two horses. He arrived in that fashion the next day with the main body of his troops. That night, the twenty-fourth, they heard the sound of a great explosion from the direction of Fort Duquesne. Forbes dispatched a troop of light horse to find out what had happened.

Governor Vaudreuil described the events in a letter written in January 1759 to his minister in Paris:

"M. de Ligneris immediately assembled the officers of his garrison to deliberate on the measures he should take under the circumstances to which he was reduced. He had less than 300 men, a third of whom at the most were capable of taking the field. All these gentlemen were of the opinion that they should prepare to evacuate the place. Accordingly, they began, from this day [November 19, 1758], to cut down the stakes around the new fort, in the part where there were no houses and where fire would not spread." (This was the outer work or "second fort." A French scout sent out on November 23 reported that the English were five or six leagues from the fort and that he had observed cutters making the road.)

"M. de Ligneris saw that there was no longer reason to flatter himself. He immediately ordered 8 days' provisions to be taken for the regulars and militia, who were intended to retreat with him to the Machault post." The French packed up the small amount of goods remaining and sent them to the Indians in Ohio as insurance of future relations. "He had the cannon and munitions of war put in bateaux which he sent to the Illinois." With the supplies went the prisoners. This operation was accomplished in less than three hours.

"When everyone had embarked," Vaudreuil continued, "when the scouts had returned, and when all the bateaux had left, except one which he had kept, he had the fort set on fire. After this, he
embarked to join his force of 192 men, who had orders to wait for him about a league above the fort. To blow up the fort, 50 or 60 barrels of spoiled powder were left in the powder magazine. As soon as M. de Ligneris heard the roar of this mine, he sent three men by land to see what damage it had done. They reported that the fort was entirely reduced to ashes and that the enemy would fall heir to nothing but the ironwork of the community buildings."

21 The body of Forbes's advance army arrived at the Point late the next afternoon. As the soldiers emerged from the forest in the freezing cold of Saturday, November 25, they viewed the same majestic panorama of rivers and wooded ridges that we know today, the hills at the distant turn of the Ohio a hazy blue before the evening sun. But in the triangle of low ground immediately before the soldiers lay a prospect of complete desolation. In the foreground and extending up the rivers on either side stretched the fenced grazing lands, cornfields, and gardens, in sere autumn colors. To the left, along the Monongahela, the stone chimneys of the few more pretentious cabins rose among the charred remains of the haphazard settlement of huts and improvised shelters. On the right, near the Allegheny, shallow trenches and stumps of ruined palisades defined the border of the long rectangle of the "second fort." Within this enclosure lay the remains of the outlying barracks. And at the very tip of the Point stood the dark mass of Fort Duquesne, which had been systematically destroyed by demolition, fire, and explosion. The shape could be distinguished by the ditches around it and by the horizontal logs that made up the curtain wall and two bastions of the fort, which, because of their earth filling, had not been wholly consumed by fire.

It must have been an anticlimax thus to grasp this dearly bought prize without the satisfaction and glory of meeting the enemy face to face and inflicting on him a crushing defeat through armed assault. For four years the words spoken in this place had been in the dialects of the Indians, in those of the Canadian habitant provincials, the coureurs des bois, in the language of the army, and in the gracious speech of the French court. No longer would the Allegheny and the Ohio be known as La Belle Riviere or the Monongahela as the Mal engueulée (the French attempt to spell the Indian word for "falling-

21 Vaudreuil to the Minister, Jan. 20, 1759, S. K. Stevens and Donald H. Kent, eds., Wilderness Chronicles of Northwestern Pennsylvania (Harrisburg, 1941), 127-29.
The brief civilization of New France at the Fork of the Ohio was now as dead as the smoking ruins of its tiny community.

The British mounted a guard at the ruined fort and put out all fires. Two days later Bouquet cautioned the soldiers not to destroy any of the "square logs in or about the camp" and ordered a brigade to sort out the ironwork in the fort and another to "bury the bones upon the field where General Braddock had his engagement." A hundred men who had been in "Major Grant's Affair" were detailed to "search for and bury the dead." On the twenty-fifth the order had been given that "All the Troops are to attend Divine Service to-morrow forenoon to return Thanks to Almighty God for the remarkable Superiority of His Majesty's Arms over his Enemies." 22

Forbes gave the name "Pittsburgh" to the place at the Fork of the Ohio. (Loyalhanna was renamed Fort Ligonier for Lord John Ligonier, field marshal of the British army.) He spent hours writing reports on his victory to General Amherst, Governor Denny, and William Pitt. He put Pittsburgh under the command of Colonel Hugh Mercer with 200 Pennsylvanians. The remainder of the army marched out for Ligonier and the eastern posts. Most of the men retired to their homes. Colonel Washington married a wealthy widow and retired from military life for the next seventeen years.

General Forbes began the agonizing three-hundred-mile journey east on December 4, carried on his litter from post to post — Bouquet's Camp, Loyalhanna, Stoney Creek, Raystown, Juniata Crossing, Fort Loudoun, Shippensburg, Carlisle, Lancaster — arriving in Philadelphia in the extremity of his illness forty-three days later. He died there on March 11.

Seven weeks before his death, General Forbes addressed a memorial to the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury, in which he asked for an indulgence. In the course of his successful nine-month expedition he had incurred extraordinary expenses of £2,000, which he was obliged to pay out of "Publick Money." That amount was now being charged against him personally. He requested that the charge be dropped, "as your Memorialist is a Soldier of Fortune and had no Money of his own." The Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners rejected his petition. 23

To General Amherst Henry Bouquet wrote: "It is with the ut-


23 Alfred P. James, ed., Writings of General John Forbes Relating to His Service in North America (Menasha, Wisc., 1938), 280-81.
most grief I am to inform your Excellency that Br Genl Forbes died this morning. Tho' in the cruel situation he was reduced, his death only could put an End to his miseries. The Shock is not less sensible to me. He had honoured me with his Confidence as my General, and with a tender affection as a friend." 24

24 Bouquet to Amherst, Mar. 11, 1759, Papers of Henry Bouquet, 3: 186.