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## Adams County History 2002

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# Adams County History 2002

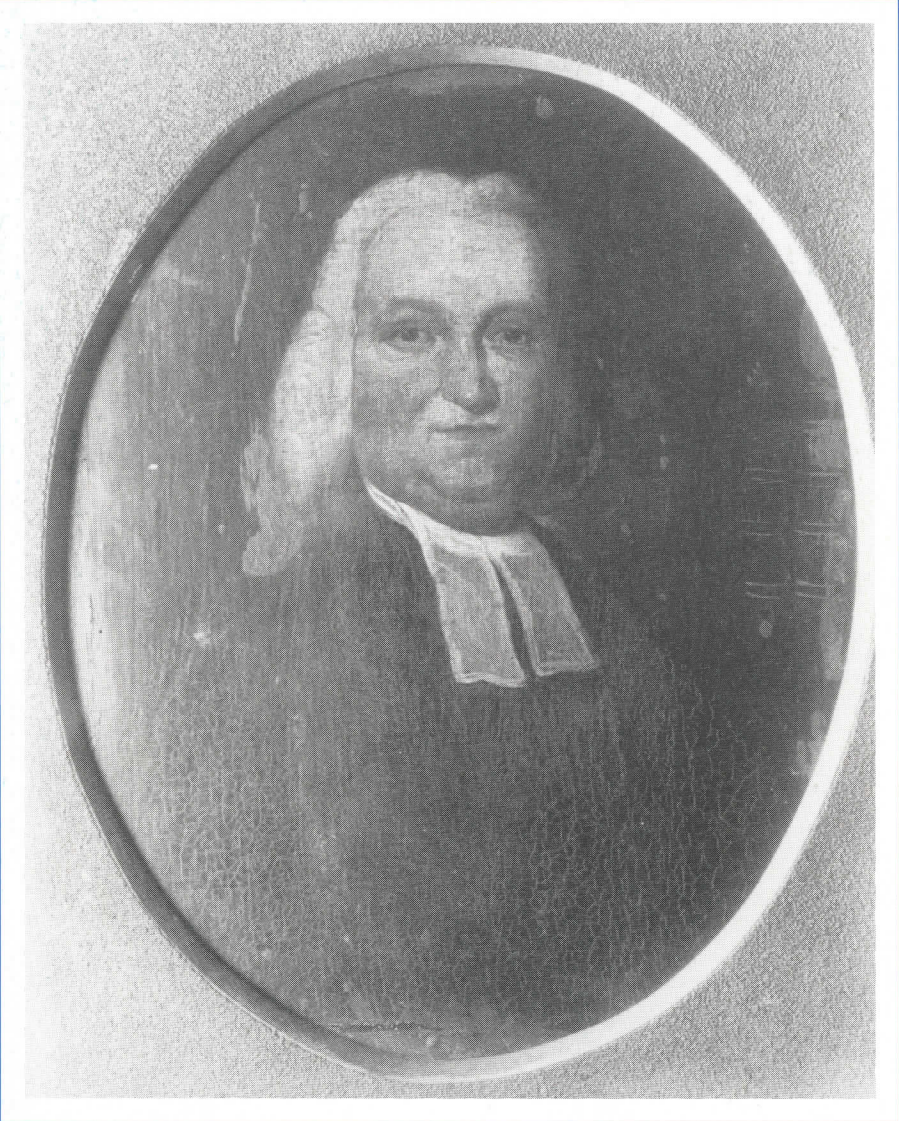
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# ADAMS COUNTY HISTORY



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**Cover Illustration.** *The Reverend Thomas Barton (c. 1730-1780), from a photograph of a anonymous and now-lost portrait (by permission of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania).*

# ADAMS COUNTY HISTORY



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## Editorial Board

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## **Statement of Purpose**

The Adams County Historical Society is committed to the presentation of the social, political, and religious history of the county and to the promotion of the study of that history. Expressing its commitment, the society maintains museum displays and a valuable library of publications and manuscript material which includes estate papers, deed books, land surveys, and newspapers. In addition, it publishes important historical studies and reprints of earlier studies on Adams county history, a monthly newsletter, and a journal.

The editorial board of *Adams County History* encourages and invites the submission of essays and notices reflecting the rich history of Adams county. Submissions should be typed double spaced. Generally, style should conform to that of either the *Modern Language Style Sheet* or the *University of Chicago Manual of Style*. Contributors should retain copies of the typescript submitted. If return is desired, a self-addressed envelope with postage should be included.

Submissions and inquiries should be addressed to:

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**Editor's Note**

This volume of *Adams County History* focuses principally on the beginnings of what we now know as Adams county. In the curious figure of the Reverend Thomas Barton, we have in this early settler also one of the only persons to have left a written legacy of life on the French-and-Indian-War frontier that was his circuit as a Church of England missionary. Out of his voluminous correspondence, I have reprinted his important letter of 8 November 1756 and from his other writings the journal he maintained during his service as chaplain on the expedition of Brigadier-General John Forbes against Fort DuQuesne in 1758. Imperfectly transcribed once before (in 1971), this last is an invaluable personal record of one of the most important events to take place during the French and Indian War, and in the estimation of some historians during the whole of eighteenth-century colonial history.

Even before Thomas Barton joined his parish in 1755, Quaker Moses Harlan had moved from his home in Chester county to settle about 1737 on the banks of Conewago and 'Possum Creeks in the area of today's Stone Jug Road. One of several fast-moving runs in the area, the Conewago became site for a great many mills, one of which was built on land once owned by Harlan. Although the actual date of the earliest mill is unknown, authors Barbara and John Senier document Benjamin Loan as owner of a mill and mill-site that evolved through many incarnations until 1901, when then owner Christian Deardorff ceased operations. The Seniers' article on the Benjamin Loan mill is but one of a more comprehensive survey they are authoring on the history of Adams county's mills and is sure to whet appetites for their larger work once completed.

We at ACHS hope this year's volume pleases its readers. Although work is already underway on the next year's volume, we encourage interested individuals to submit proposals for articles they feel might be appropriate to *Adams County History*.

## **The Reverend Thomas Barton's Letter of 8 November 1756 and Forbes Expedition Journal of 1758**

**by James P. Myers, Jr.**

### **Introduction**

When western York county became Adams county in the year 1800, the area already possessed something of a recorded history reaching back into the late 1730s. Principally in the form of documents relating to administrative, legal, and land-claim issues, these official papers provide us today with valuable evidence of the county's early settlers—who came, when they arrived, where they settled, and occasionally how they got along, or did not get along, with one another and with the colonial Penn government, and later with that of the new state erected during the Revolution. In its earliest period, these documents offer insight into an ethnically and religiously diverse people, largely Scots-Irish, with lesser components of Anglo-Irish, English, and, later, Germans and Swiss. These settlers struggled to subdue a natural world they perceived as barbaric and even hostile.

The territory newly opened in the late 1730s was situated between the west bank of the Susquehanna and the eastern edge of a wild, daunting system of mountains that towered like a series of parallel Chinese Walls westward to the Ohio River Valley. The settlers were also confronted with the ambiguous boundaries of a foreign power, that of the French North American Empire, New France. Further complicating this scenario of struggle, as we all know, were the efforts of various indigenous peoples—"Native Americans" or "Indians"—to survive both their own intertribal power struggles and the invasion of their territories by British and French traders, trappers, and land-hungry farmers.

Apart from the small number of official reports and other documents exchanged between local provincial administrators and their superiors in Philadelphia, little in the way of personal accounts of life during those earliest days of settlement has survived. Indeed, the harried people of the frontier rarely enjoyed the leisure, energy, or motivation to set down such accounts. Notwithstanding, minutes and transcripts of various religious groups, notably the



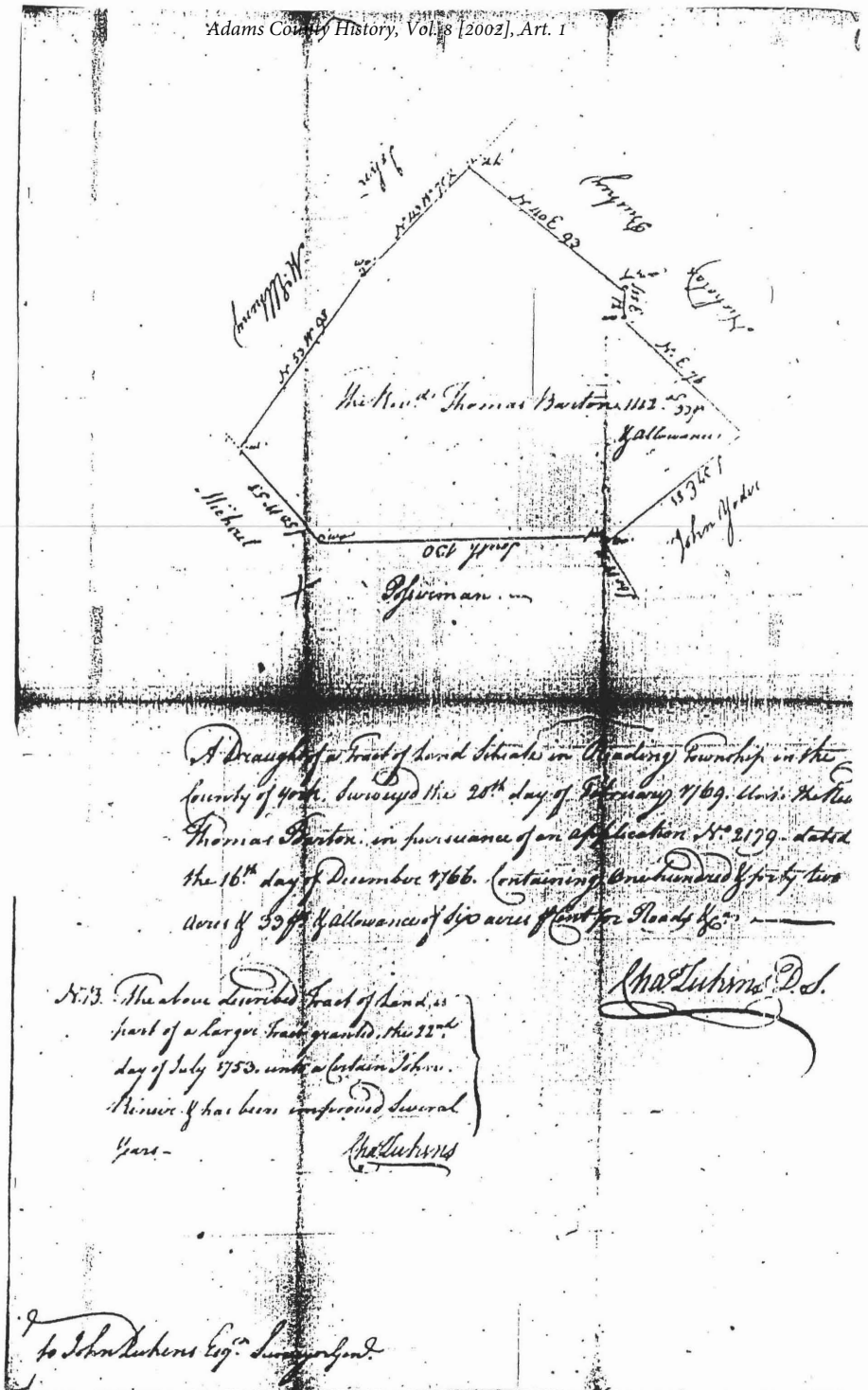
Presbyterians and Society of Friends (Quakers), supplement the official record, as does an occasional personal diary, like that of weaver John McCullough, who both recorded business transactions and listed those unfortunate individuals who had been abducted or killed by French-and-Indian raiding parties.<sup>1</sup> Another notable exception to the dearth of personal testimony may be found in the letters, books, and journal of a man who lived for four years (1755-9) within the bounds of today's Adams county along the banks of Mud Run in Reading township near what became Lake Mead

(refer to figure 1 for a survey of Barton's plantation.)

A missionary of the Church of England's Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG), the Reverend Thomas Barton was required to submit annual reports of his activities to his superiors in London. Beyond this, however—and fortunately for us—he was also something of a compulsive letter writer who not only regaled his colleagues and friends with insights into life in Pennsylvania's backcountry, but also, at one important juncture of his life, maintained a journal of one of the most momentous military events to occur in pre-Revolutionary Pennsylvania, the 1758 expedition of Brigadier-General John Forbes to seize from the French their principal staging point for attacks on the Virginia-Maryland-Pennsylvania frontier, Fort Duquesne.

Anglo-Irishman Thomas Barton arrived in the trans-Susquehanna backcountry at an unfortunate moment in history.<sup>2</sup> Within months of his taking up residence “over Susquehanna” and assuming ministerial duties, an army commanded by Major-General Edward Braddock, marching north along the Monogahela River to seize Fort Duquesne, was ambushed and routed by a combined force of French and Indians. The defeat of Braddock's force left the frontier at the mercy of the French and their Indian allies. From July 1755 until the Forbes campaign three years later, the Pennsylvania backcountry was ravaged by raiding parties which effectively destroyed all but the most fortified and heavily populated centers of British settlement, rolling the frontier virtually back to the county seats of York-town and Carlisle. Because of this upheaval, instead of performing his missionary work among the Indians and attending to the religious needs of his three congregations at St. John's Church in Carlisle, Christ Church in Huntington township, and St. John's in York, the optimistically eager young Anglican minister soon found himself helping erect fortifications in Carlisle, stiffening the resolve of his fearful congregations, even leading armed patrols against rumored raiding parties, for, like several of his Presbyterian colleagues, Barton assumed the rank of captain in the Associated Militia raised to defend the settlements.

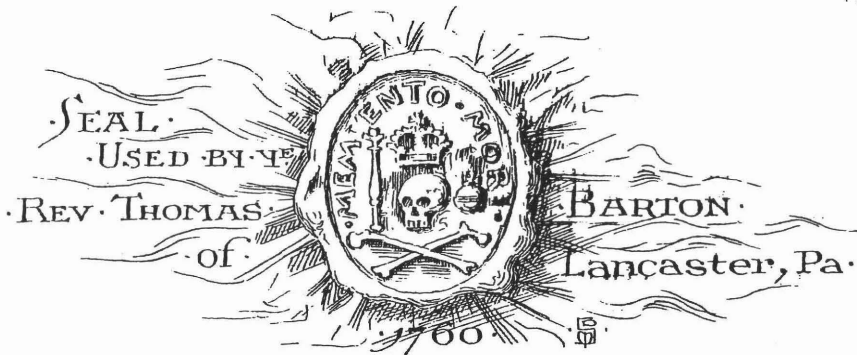
Barton's long letter to the secretary of the SPG in London details his early vocational aspirations, the frustration of those hopes, and the stop-gap defensive measures he participated in during his first year of residence (May 1755-November 1756) in what was then termed the Bermudian or Conewago Creek settlement. As a record of life during that anxious time in this area, his 8 Novem-



**Figure 1.** Surveyor's draft of Thomas Barton's "plantation" of 142 acres in Reading township, south of Mud Run.



ber 1756 letter has no parallel among the surviving documents of either Cumberland or York counties, and its full reprinting here for the first time appropriately helps commemorate Adams county as it enters into its third century: if nothing else, it reminds us that the history we take for granted might well have pursued a different, more disastrous course and that the bucolic landscape we also take for granted was once the stage where our predecessors enacted their most harrowing and purgatorial nightmares. It was a time when the bloodied tomahawk reigned and imminent death haunted the dark line of trees edging one's little fields of flax and wheat. *Memento mori*, "remember that you must die"—this was the maxim that preachers exhorted their congregations to meditate upon daily and that Thomas Barton incorporated into his own personal seal.



**Figure 2.** Thomas Barton's seal, with its emphasis on death. The traditional Latin motto *memento mori* may be translated as "remember death" or more loosely as "remember that you must die."

If Barton's 8 November letter to the SPG provides us with an unique witness to life in Adams county during the year following Braddock's defeat, his 1758 journal of the Forbes expedition also has no parallel. Indeed, one can read the collected letters of General John Forbes, Colonel Henry Bouquet, and Colonel George Washington, and one can examine as well the Forbes campaign documents and correspondence scattered throughout the Pennsylvania archives and elsewhere,<sup>3</sup> but none will give as connected and revealing and succinct a narrative, even in its present incomplete form, as that preserved in the day-to-day account Reading township resident Thomas Barton recorded in his journal of that campaign, one of the principal events which helped turn the course of the French and Indian War around in Britain's favor.

The term *the French and Indian War* denotes the conflict that took place in North America between Great Britain and France during the years 1754-63.<sup>4</sup> The war also involved substantial numbers of indigenous peoples or Native Americans. The French and Indian War was actually part of a far vaster, world-wide conflict known as the Seven Years' War (1756-63), a confrontation between Britain and France for imperial control in North America, India, Africa, the West Indies, and Europe itself. Its conclusion in 1763 left Great Britain the master of the North American continent. The victory, however, did not come easily.

From 1754 on, France, supported by several powerful Native American nations, scored a number of significant victories over the British regular and colonial forces, so that by 1758 the situation for the latter looked bleak, especially from the perspective of the settlers along the western and northern frontiers. In the Allegheny region of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania (Cumberland and York counties), as well as in many of the latter province's northern counties, thousands of settlers were driven from their homes, killed, or taken captive. The audacious raids in April of 1758 into the Carroll Tract and Buchanan Valley, which resulted in several killings and the capture of Richard Baird and Mary Jamison, disclose how closely to home the French and their Delaware (Lenape) and Shawnee allies were able to carry the war.

In 1758 the British made a concerted effort to destroy the formidable staging points that had helped France achieve its great military advantage—Louisbourg in Nova Scotia, Fort Ticonderoga in the Adirondacks, Fort Frontenac on Lake Ontario, and Fort Duquesne on the Forks of the Ohio (site of today's Pittsburgh). In his journal, Barton duly noted General James Abercromby's disastrous failure at Ticonderoga, and the other resounding British triumphs at Louisbourg and Frontenac. The taking of Fort Duquesne was the business of Brigadier-General John Forbes's expedition, an undertaking that was in many ways one of the most arduous and heroic military actions of colonial history. Thomas Barton's journal preserves for us a vivid, though incomplete, record of that march through virgin forests and laurel jungles, and over the daunting Alleghenies by an army numbering some 6,000, not a few of whom, like Barton himself, had made their homes along Bermudian, Conewago, 'Possum, and Marsh Creeks.

Barton's journal also provides a running commentary on General Forbes's poor health, which further added to the expedition's difficulties. Throughout the campaign, Forbes was bed-ridden with several debilitating and ultimately mortal afflictions that often required his remaining far behind the main army and leaving his command in the capable hands of the Swiss-born Lieutenant-Colonel Henri Bouquet. Even when he felt well enough to move forward, Forbes had to be carried in a litter hung between two horses. In this way, the expedition's commander heroically inspired his troops on to ultimate victory. Forbes died 11 March 1759, three months after the fall of Fort Duquesne and was buried in Philadelphia's Christ Church.

Although he had enjoyed the rank of captain in the Associated Militia of York county, Barton accompanied the Forbes expedition in the office of chaplain. Typically, chaplains were attached to battalions, which were generally raised and organized locally. (The Third Battalion of the Pennsylvania Regiment, for example, was composed largely of men from York and Cumberland counties.) Thus, chaplains usually already knew the men in the unit to which they were assigned. When the Third Battalion was being enlarged, Barton had, at his request, been appointed chaplain to that unit. The largely Presbyterian enlistment in the Third Battalion, however, petitioned for a minister of their own denomination, and accordingly Andrew Bay of the Marsh Creek settlement was appointed to the position.<sup>5</sup> Determined to accompany the expedition, Barton finally obtained a commission from General Forbes himself as a kind of Anglican chaplain-at-large to the entire army, the overall Church of England representation in Forbes's otherwise largely Presbyterian army being relatively small. As his journal suggests, even with responsibility for the welfare of the Anglican troops, Barton was relatively unencumbered with religious duties. This left him free to pursue other interests.

Like many learned men of the eighteenth century, Thomas Barton was something of a polymath. His eldest son, William, wrote that his father was a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, which would have guaranteed his obtaining a strong education in the classics.<sup>6</sup> Before he took holy vows, he had tutored David Rittenhouse, who later became his brother-in-law and one of America's outstanding mathematicians and astronomers. Barton's correspondence also reveals his fascination with geography, mineralogy, astronomy, and new methods of manufacturing. It should come as no surprise, then, that he availed himself of numerous opportunities to investigate the frontier and speculate about and record in his journal particulars of those explorations—for example, the calcifying properties of Falling Springs at Chambersburg, coal deposits on the Allegheny Ridge, evidence that the Alleghenies had once been under sea, the extraordinary widespread defoliation south of Fort Bedford.

We find also in the journal, as we would expect, details of the campaign itself: movements of troops (including a few details of the activities of officers from Barton's area—Robert McPherson, Thomas Hamilton, Robert Latimore—and even occasionally members of his own congregations, namely, Archibald McGrew and Robert Callender, an important figure in Carlisle); encounters with hostile Indians, graphic descriptions and assessments of the various forts and depots supporting the expedition (including the only extant measurements of Benjamin Chambers's fortification at the settlement still bearing his name, Chambersburg); comments on morale; and bits of gossip relating to the varied personalities of the officers commanding the troops and their continuous conflict with one another. For some reason, he also occasionally incorporated into his diary smaller journals set down by those who had reconnoitered the territory through which the army had to move.

Barton's journal, a personal record of a participant in the Forbes expedition, is clearly beyond value, a unique witness to one of the most important events to occur within pre-Revolutionary Pennsylvania. It is therefore frustrating to the modern reader that, in its present form, the journal is unfinished, breaking off two months before the army, demoralized and marching at the edge of despair, garnered the unexpected news that the French, in even worse straits than itself, had blown up Fort Duquesne and retreated down the Ohio. William Hunter, the first to edit Barton's journal, convincingly argued that the only known extant manuscript of Barton's journal, now in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, bears evidence of being a later, revised draft of earlier notes.<sup>7</sup> Why Barton never completed revising and transcribing we cannot determine. It may, however, be significant, that the journal ends neatly at the conclusion of a narrative Barton clearly found disturbing.

The digression upon which Barton expends an inordinate amount of space and effort details the execution of a deserter. Particulars in his account intimate that the deserter was singled out and brutally shot in such a way so as to intensify and prolong his death agonies because he was Roman Catholic: other, presumably non-Catholic, deserters tried and sentenced with John Doyle, were pardoned; the fully repentant Doyle begged his executioners to dispatch him in mercifully short order; they, however, deliberately shot him at close range in the abdomen, guarantee of a slow, painful death. In other writings, Barton is eloquent and fervent in his attacks on Catholics, but in the journal we cannot miss the great compassion he feels for John Doyle and his equally great disgust for the purposeful cruelty of the firing squad, "who advanc'd so near him that the Muzzels of their Guns were within a Foot of his Body. Upon a Signal from the Serjeant Major they fir'd, but shot so low that his Bowels fell out, his Shirt & Breeches were all on Fire, & he tumbled upon his Side, rais'd one Arm 2 or 3 Times, & soon expired. A shocking Spectacle to all around him; & a striking Example to his Fellow Soldiers." Indeed, and as I have argued elsewhere,<sup>8</sup> the episode of John Doyle's execution appears to climax suggestions in the journal of Barton's evolving disillusionment with the un-Christian cruelty of Forbes's troops, regular and colonial alike.

At least one letter to proprietor Thomas Penn reveals that Barton continued on to the investing of Fort Duquesne.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, another unsigned letter, written in a style unmistakably Barton's, celebrates the taking of Duquesne and Forbes's great victory.<sup>10</sup> With the abrupt breaking off of the journal, though, we hear nothing from Barton until months later when he has taken up a new post as incumbent of St. James's church in Lancaster.<sup>11</sup> He probably completed the original diary, but, when revising it at some later time, appears, for any number of possible reasons, to have abandoned the effort altogether.

Over two hundred and fifty years after the founding of Adams county, we are fortunate to have Thomas Barton's 8 November 1756 letter and his Forbes expedition journal. We are fortunate not only because they open for us windows

into the quality and details of frontier life in this county during the 1750s, but also because they preserve for us in vividly personal ways how a man fairly typical of his neighbors--that is, of people who for the most part had migrated here from the north of Ireland--felt about and perceived life in the Pennsylvania backcountry. The two documents presented here thus set before us images both of the expectancy and hope and of the violence, fear, anxiety, and conflict that in effect describe the lives of the people who laid the foundations for what became Adams county.

## Textual Note

William A. Hunter notes that Barton's manuscript journal, preserved by descendants from his first son, William, was purchased by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania at an auction in 1970. Hunter transcribed and annotated the manuscript for publication in *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (4 [1971], 431-83). With permission of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, I have used Hunter's reprint for my copy text, comparing it closely with the original manuscript at HSP.

Silently, Hunter modernized the original's punctuation, substituting periods for Barton's dashes or simply deleting them altogether. As Barton's numerous manuscript letters demonstrate, he consistently employed the dash or the period with the dash to end a sentence; he also frequently used dashes where we normally employ commas to set off clauses and phrases. Barton's practice is not unique in eighteenth-century writing: Laurence Sterne, for example, similarly employs the dash throughout his novels *Tristram Shandy* and *A Sentimental Journey*, as well as in his personal correspondence. Used consistently throughout a long piece of writing, the dash suggests spontaneity, abruptness in transition, even perhaps haste, although the present manuscript, as Hunter has convincingly argued, represents a draft written somewhat later and more carefully than the presumed original which was set down during the expedition. To reproduce Barton's style accurately, I have restored Barton's original punctuation and capitalization to Hunter's reprint, which I used as copy-text, again with kind permission of *PMHB*.

Hunter's reprint contains several misreadings of the manuscript text. In a few other instances, Hunter inadvertently dropped words and lines. Without comment on Hunter's omissions and errors, I have silently supplied the correct readings.

Hunter's notes are plentiful and thorough. They offer the reader informative explanation and clearly identify Barton's numerous allusions and references to soldiers involved in the expedition. With permission of *PMHB*, I have retained Hunter's footnotes in their entirety. Only occasionally do I correct an error or oversight (for example, note 6 identified Barton's residence as Huntington township, site of Christ Church's glebe-land. As Barton makes clear

in various letters, however, he resided in Reading township, a fact confirmed by the survey in the Adams County Historical Society archives and by William Barton in his biography of his uncle, David Rittenhouse).<sup>12</sup>

## Notes

1. A copy of John McCullough's diary is in the collections of the Adams County Historical Society (ACHS).

2. For early background on Thomas Barton, see William Barton, *Memoirs of the Life of David Rittenhouse* (Philadelphia, 1813), *passim*; William A. Hunter, "Thomas Barton and the Forbes Expedition," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 95 (1971), 431-39; James P. Myers, Jr., "The Reverend Thomas Barton's Conflict with Colonel John Armstrong, ca. 1758," *Cumberland County History*, 10 (1993), 3-14, and "Preparations for the Forbes Expedition, 1758, in Adams County, with Particular Focus on the Reverend Thomas Barton," *Adams County History*, 1 (1995), 4-26; and A. H. Young, "Thomas Barton: a Pennsylvania Loyalist" *Papers and Records* [Ontario Historical Society], 30 (1943), 33-42.

3. For three principal primary sources relating to the Forbes expedition, see Henry Bouquet, *The Papers of Henry Bouquet, 2: The Forbes Expedition*, ed. S. K. Stevens, Donald H. Kent, and Autumn L. Leonard (Harrisburg, 1951); John Forbes, *The Writings of General John Forbes, Relating to His Service in North America* (Menasha, Wisconsin, 1938); and George Washington, *The Papers of George Washington, Colonial Series*, vol. 6 (Charlottesville, Va., 1988).

4. Seymour Schwartz, *The French and Indian War, 1754-1763: the Imperial Struggle for North America* (New York, 1994) offers a brief, recent, well-presented account of the conflict.

5. For an account of the controversy concerning the chaplaincy of the Third Battalion, see Myers, "Barton's Conflict with Armstrong," pp. 6-9.

6. William Barton, *Memoirs of the Life of David Rittenhouse* (Philadelphia, 1813), p. 102.

7. Hunter, p. 437.

8. See Myers, "Barton's Conflict with Armstrong," pp. 11-12.

9. For a discussion of the evidence for Barton's remaining with the Forbes expedition, see Myers, "Preparations for the Forbes Expedition," pp. 20-1.

10. Reprinted in Myers, "Preparations for the Forbes Expedition," pp. 21-3.

11. William Frederick Worner, "Thomas Barton's Family Prayer Book," *Papers Read to the Lancaster Historical Society*, 35 (1931), n. 6, p. 269: "on the cover of an old book, now in possession of Mr. George Reynolds, is the following, written by Mr. [Thomas] Barton: 'Arriv'd & settled at Lancaster May 15<sup>th</sup>, 1759, but first preach'd there as Minister of the Place, on Easter-Day, the 15<sup>th</sup> of April 1759.'"

12. William Barton, *Rittenhouse*, p. 111.

**Thomas Barton's  
8 November 1756 Report to  
the Society for the Propagation of the  
Gospel in Foreign Parts**

Rev<sup>d</sup>. Sir,<sup>1</sup>

It gives me a real Concern that I have never been able to send you any Account since I enter'd upon my Mission till now. Our Distresses Here have been such, that in short, I knew not what to write or what to do: These Considerations will I hope still support me in your Esteem, & incline the Hon<sup>ble</sup>. Society to Pardon me.— As I intend to be the more particular now, to atone for my past Silence; I foresee a long Letter, & must therefore bespeak your Indulgence.—

After a short & very agreeable Passage, I arriv'd at Philadelphia about the 16<sup>th</sup>. of April 1755; And immediately wrote to the People of Huntington,<sup>2</sup> who came generously with their Waggons, & brought away my Effects.— As soon as I settled my Affairs & visited my Friends, I set out for this Place about the latter End of May; where I was receiv'd with a hearty Welcome; and was much pleas'd to find the poor People fill'd with Gratitude, under a due Sense of the weighty Obligations they were under to the Hon<sup>ble</sup>. Society for the Favours confer'd upon them.— And what pleas'd me still more, was, to hear that they had struggled hard to keep alive some Sense of Religion among their Children, by meeting every Sunday & getting one of the Members to read Prayers to them.—

<sup>1</sup>Philip Bearcroft, secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG).

<sup>2</sup>Huntington township, site of Christ Church.



My first Business was to visit & make myself acquainted with the State & Numbers of the three Congregations at York, Huntington, & Carlisle. And having settled Wardens & Vestry-Men in each, they all met & according to their Numbers agreed mutually that I should officiate three Sundays in Six at Huntington, two at Carlisle, & one at York.— Upon hearing that within the Limits of my Mission, there were large Numbers of the Communion of the Church of England, in the Settlements of Canogochieg, Shippensburg, Sheerman's-Valley, West-Penn's-Borough, & Marsh Creek; —I determin'd to visit each of these Places four Times a year to prepare them for the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, & to baptize their Children.—

I had the Pleasure to see my Hearers encrease daily; which amounted to such a Number in a few Weeks at Huntington, that I have been sometimes oblig'd to preach to them under the Covert of the Trees .— And when it was my Turn at Carlisle, I am told that People came 40, 50, & some 60 Miles.— The Dissenters also (who are very numerous in these Parts) attended constantly; & seem'd well dispos'd; always behaving themselves decently & devoutly.— The more rational Part of them appear well reconcil'd with our Church; & some of the Principal of them offer'd generously to subscribe to me.—

I now Began to consider myself (as the Rev<sup>d</sup>. M<sup>r</sup>. Provost Smith<sup>3</sup> expresses it in a Letter to me) "As One who had advanc'd to the very Frontiers of the Messiah's Kingdom, & among the first who had unfolded his everlasting Banners in the remotest Parts of the West."<sup>4</sup>

From the Advantage of my Situation bordering upon Nations of Savages, I entertain'd strong Hopes that it might please the Lord to make me a happy Instrument to subject some of these poor ignorant Creatures to the Kingdom of God, & of Jesus Christ. And hearing that a Number of them were come down from the Ohio to Carlisle, to dispose of their Furr & Deer-Skins, I made it my Business to go among them, & endeavour as much as possible to ingratiate myself into their good Opinion. Next Morning I invited them to Church; & such of them as understood any English came, & seem'd very attentive the whole Time.— When I came to visit them in the Afternoon, those that had been at Church, brought all their Brethren to shake Hands with me;— And pointing often upwards discours'd with one another some Time in their own Language. I imagine they were telling them what they had heard; & indeed I observ'd them to be pleas'd with the Relation.—

This gave me Reason to think that the Indians were willing to be instructed, & were susceptible of good Impressions: And if they found Missionaries divested of sinister & selfish Motives, they could easily be prevail'd upon to exchange their Savage Barbarity for the pure & peaceable Religion of Jesus. Just when I was big with the Hopes of being able to do Service among

<sup>3</sup>The Reverend William Smith, provost of the Philadelphia Academy, later the College of Philadelphia.

<sup>4</sup>Barton published William Smith's letter in full in his *Unanimity and Public Spirit: a Sermon Preached at Carlisle and Some Other Episcopal Churches in the Counties of York and Cumberland soon after General Braddock's Defeat* (Philadelphia, 1755). The passage quoted may be found on p. xvi.

Jesus. Just when I was big with the Hopes of being able to do Service among these tawny People,—we receiv'd the melancholy News, that our Forces under the Command of General Braddock, were defeated on the 9<sup>th</sup>. of July, as they were marching to take Duquesne, a French Fort upon the Ohio.— This was soon succeeded by an Alienation of the Indians in our Interest:—And from that Day to this, poor Pennsylvania has felt incessantly the sad Effects of Popish Tyranny, & Savage Cruelty!— A great Part of five of her Counties have been depopulated & laid waste; & some Hundreds of her sturdiest Sons either murder'd, or carried into barbarous Captivity!—

At a Time of such publick Calamity & Distress, you may easily conceive, Rev<sup>d</sup>. Sir, what must be my Situation, whose Fortune it was, to have my Residence in a Place, when these Grievances were felt most.— I repine not however at my Lot in being plac'd here; but rather esteem it a Happiness, since I hope I may say, God has enabled me to do some Service to our pure Protestant Religion, in Spite of its most inveterate Enemies.—

Tho' my Churches, are Churches militant indeed, subject to Dangers & Trials of the most alarming Kind; yet I have the Pleasure every Sunday (even at the worst of Times) to see my People coming crowding with their Muskets on their Shoulders; declaring that they will dye Protestants & Freemen, sooner than live Idolaters & Slaves.— The French King has rather serv'd than injur'd the Protestant Cause in these Parts: for the People have seen so much of the cruel Barbarities of those, who call themselves the Subjects & Allies of his Most Christian Majesty, that they detest the very Name of Popery.—

Among a People thus dispos'd, I should think myself extremely happy, were they barely able to keep me above Want; which at present indeed they are not.— It is but a little Time since these Counties were erected. They were chiefly settled by poor People who not being able to purchase Lands in the interior Parts of the Country, came back where they were cheap.— Many of them were so low at first, that two Families were generally oblig'd to join in fitting out one Plough; And before they could raise a Subsistence, were necessitated to run in Debt for a Stock, & for what maintain'd them in the Interim.— As soon as they became industrious, the fertile Soil gave them an Hundred-fold, & in a little Time rais'd them to Affluence & Plenty.— When they were just beginning to feel the Comforts, & taste the Fruits of their Industry, a barbarous & cruel Enemy came, & ruin'd them!— The County of Cumberland has suffer'd particularly, & the Condition of its remaining shatter'd Inhabitants is truly deplorable!— Many of them are reduc'd to real Poverty & Distress;—groaning under a Burden of Calamities; some having lost their Husbands; some their Wives, some their Children,—And all the Labour of many Years! In this Condition (my Heart bleeds in relating what I am an Eye Witness to) they now wander about, without Bread of their own to eat, or a House to shelter themselves in from the Inclemency of the approaching Winter!— They have left many thousand Bushels of Wheat & other Grain behind them in their Barns & Store-houses; which must become a Spoil to the Enemy, while the just Owners of it must either beg or starve! Since I sat down to write this Letter, I have receiv'd Accounts, that a poor Family had fled for Refuge into this County above six Months ago, where they

have remain'd ever since; but finding they could not subsist,—chose a few days ago to run the Risque of returning Home to enjoy the Fruits of their Labour, where they had not Time to unlode their Cart, before they were seiz'd by Indians, & murder'd!—

Carlisle is the only Remains of that once populous County;— They have a Garrison of about 100 Men; but how long they will be able to defend themselves is very uncertain, as the Enemy have threaten'd that Place in particular.— They still have their Share of my Ministrations, & seem extremely thankful to the Hon<sup>ble</sup>. Society upon whose Bounty I am chiefly supported.

By the Reduction of Cumberland, the County of York is become the Frontier:—And should the Enemy carry their Ravages this far, I shall be a considerable Sufferer; for upon my Arrival at Huntington, I found the Glebe still under its Native woods, & the People not able to make any Improvement upon it.— This put me under a Necessity of purchasing a small Plantation, & building on it at my own Expense<sup>5</sup>; by which Means I embarrass'd myself in Debt, in Hopes the People would assist me in paying for it, which indeed they promis'd to do: But this dismal Turn in our Affairs renders it impracticable.— From York I have still less to expect, as the Town is chiefly inhabited by Dutch, & not many of our Communion among them.— Upon the whole, I believe the People will be able to do very little for me, till we have some favourable Change.— I do not design, Rev<sup>d</sup>. Sir; by any Thing I have said, to derogate from the Merit of my good Parishoners;— That would be ungrateful, as I have Reason to think that they are a worthy, well-dispos'd, & kind Sort of People, who profess the greatest Friendship & Esteem for me, & am persuaded would willingly do any thing in their Power to afford me an easy Support & Maintenance.—

This Mission in a few Years would have vyed with the ablest in this Province, As it was in a flourishing State, and could not contain less [than] 2,000 Persons, Members of the Church of England. But so melancholy is the Transition, that it cannot afford to build one Church; So that I officiate sometimes in a Barn, sometimes in a Wastehouse; or wherever else Convenience offers.—

I have baptized since my Arrival 160 Infants, 10 Adults, & an Indian Girl who has been brought up in a Christian Family since her Infancy; after due Examination & Instruction. The Number of my Communicants is 58, which I have but little Expectation of encreasing, till this Storm is blown over.— But I assure you, Rev<sup>d</sup>. Sir, no Endeavours of mine shall be wanting to bring many to Righteousness.— Whatever Hardships or Discouragements may attend my Ministry, I hope I shall ever keep in View the Importance of my Undertaking; and always strive to answer the pious & laudable Designs of the Hon<sup>ble</sup>. Society in appointing me their Missionary; by doing all in my Power to promote the Glory of Almighty God, & the Salvation of Mankind.— I receiv'd lately from the Hands of D<sup>r</sup>. Jenney<sup>6</sup> the Society's Instructions to their Missionaries in North America, which are very seasonable & justly adapted by our present

<sup>5</sup> In Reading township, near Mud Run.

<sup>6</sup> The Reverend Doctor Robert Jenny was rector of Christ Church, Philadelphia.

Circumstances; &, if duly observ'd, & properly enforc'd, may do infinite Service to our bleeding Country.—

I have often observ'd, & indeed regreted it as a Misfortune, that our Missionaries in this Part of the World are so little acquainted with one another:— And though in the 12<sup>th</sup>. Instruction of the Society's Collection of Papers, it is recommended to them to "keep up a Brotherly Correspondence, by meeting together at certain Times, as shall be most convenient for mutual Advice & Assistance"; yet no such Thing is observ'd, & I dare affirm that many of them have never had an Opportunity of conversing with four of their Brethren since they left England.— How many Advantages we shall lose by such a Neglect at this Time of publick & eminent Danger, I shall submit to the Judgment of the Hon<sup>ble</sup>. Society.—

M<sup>r</sup>. Provost Smith has been lately up here to settle Free-Schools<sup>7</sup>, who is the only Episcopal Clergyman, beside M<sup>r</sup>. Secretary Peters,<sup>8</sup> that I have had the Happiness of seeing in these Counties since I came into them.— M<sup>r</sup>. Smith has been pleas'd to communicate to me the Hon<sup>ble</sup>. Society's Designs to extend their Care to the Instruction of Indian Children at the Academy in Philad<sup>a</sup>.—<sup>9</sup> Which good Scheme I believe M<sup>r</sup>. Smith will heartily endeavour to put into Execution, & do every Thing in his Power to make it answer the glorious Ends propos'd by it. If I can assist him in any Part of it, he shall always find me ready & willing to do it.— Happy had it been for us had this Scheme been resolv'd upon many Years ago: For it is probably from the Neglect of this necessary Duty of instructing the Indians, that these Colonies derive the greater Part of the Miseries they now sadly groan under.—

While the French were industrious in sending Priests & Jesuits among them, to convert them to Popery, we did nothing but send a Set of abandon'd profligate Men to trade with them, who defrauded & cheated them; And practic'd every Vice among them that can be nam'd, which set the English & the Protestant Religion in such a disadvantageous Light, that we have Reason to fear they detest the Name of both.—

It is said by some of our Brethren who have lately escap'd from Captivity, that they heard the Indians say, they thought it no Sin to murder the English, but rather a meritorious Act; And if it was a Sin, the French had old Men among them who could forgive all Sins.— Others observe that they cross'd themselves every Night & Morning, & went to Prayers regularly:— That they often murmur'd & said, the English it was true had often made them trifling Presents, but that they took Care they should never carry them many Miles before the Traders came after them to cheat them, giving them only a little Rum in Return.— Whereas the French always paid them well for their Skins &C<sup>a</sup>., built Houses for them, instructed their Children, & took Care of their Wives when they went to War.

<sup>7</sup> That is, missionary schools to serve Native American children.

<sup>8</sup> The Reverend Richard Peters, Pennsylvania provincial secretary.

<sup>9</sup> That is, the Philadelphia Academy.

By such Neglect & such Treatment have we forfeited an Alliance that would, in all Probability, have secur'd to us a quiet Enjoyment of our Possessions, & prevented the dreadful Consequences of a Savage War.—

Several Sachims or Indian Kings, in their Treaties formerly with this Government, earnestly solicited that no Europeans should be permitted to carry Rum to their Towns;— Upon which an Act was pass'd by the Governor & Assembly of this Province, prohibiting any Person under a Penalty of Ten Pounds, to sell, barter, or give in Exchange, any Rum or other Spirits, to or with any Indian within the Province:— But the Difficulty of producing Proof against Offenders, as they were chiefly far back in the woods, where they could deal clandestinely, out of the View of any but themselves;— made this Act not answer for the good Intentions of the Legislature.— So that the Traders still continued to sell strong Liquors to the Indians, whereby they were often cheated & debauch'd, to the great Dishonour of Almighty God, Scandal of the Christian Faith, & Hindrance of propagating true Religion among them.— Yet I don't despair but some Methods may be fallen upon to reclaim them;—And make them sensible that their Attachment to the English will be their truest Interest & greatest Happiness.

And indeed (in my humble Opinion) Nothing can promise fairer to produce these happy Effects, than this Scheme propos'd by the Hon<sup>ble</sup>. Society.— In the Conversion of Indians, many Difficulties & Impediments will occur, which European Missionaries will never be able to remove. Their Customs & Manner of Living are so opposite to the Genius & Constitution of our People that they could never become familiar to them.— Few of the Indians have any settled Place of Habitation, but wander about, where they can meet with most Success in Hunting:—And whatever Beasts or Reptiles they chance to take, are Food to them.— Bears, Foxes, Wolves, Raccoons, Pole-Cats, & even Snakes, they can eat with as much Cheerfulness as Englishmen to their best Beef & Mutton.— But such Hardships are easily surmounted, & such an austere Life made agreeable, by such as from their Infancy have been accustom'd to them.— So that Indian Boys educated at the Academy under the care of able Masters,— Where they can be visited by their Relations, & taught every Thing necessary for them to learn, at an easier Expence than in any of the Universities in Europe, will be the fittest to be employ'd in this grand & glorious Work, & the most likely to succeed in it.—

However defective these Thoughts may be, I have ventur'd, Rev<sup>d</sup>. Sir, to communicate them freely; And if I have luckily dropt any Hint that can be improv'd to the Advantage of this important Scheme, I shall esteem it a Happiness; As I shall always think it my Duty to pay the highest Regards to the Hon<sup>ble</sup>. Society's Directions.

I might justly incur the Censure of Ingratitude, did I conclude this Letter without presenting my most hearty Thanks, which I sincerely do, to that Hon<sup>ble</sup>. Body for appointing me their Missionary.— And I shall ever retain a grateful Sense of the many Friendships & Favours wherewith I was honour'd when in London, by particular Members of it.— I am, Rev<sup>d</sup>. Sir, with all possible Duty & Esteem,

Your most oblig'd &  
affectionate Brother,  
Friend & Serv<sup>t</sup>

Tho Barton

Huntington in Pennsylv<sup>a</sup>.  
November 8<sup>th</sup>. 1756

The Rev.<sup>d</sup> D.<sup>r</sup> Bearcroft

*Journal of an Expedition to the Ohio, commanded  
by His Excellency Brigadier-General Forbes;<sup>1</sup>  
in the Year of our Lord 1758*

FRIDAY, 7<sup>th</sup> of July, receiv'd the Governor's<sup>2</sup> Commission appointing me Chaplain to the 3<sup>d</sup> Battalion of the Pennsylvania Regiment, commanded by Colonel Mercer;<sup>3</sup> with a Letter from the Secretary<sup>4</sup> apologizing for my not having the Preference of the other two.—<sup>5</sup>

*Wednesday, July 12<sup>th</sup>.* Set off from my own House in York County,<sup>6</sup> & reach'd Carlisle that Night, where I receiv'd the General's Letter,<sup>7</sup> with an invitation to attend the Troops under his Command; & promising me his Protection & Encouragement.—

<sup>1</sup> John Forbes, colonel of the 17th Regiment of Foot, had come to America in 1757 with Lord Loudoun, the newly appointed British commander in North America. In December of that year, William Pitt replaced Loudoun with Maj. Gen. James Abercromby, directed Maj. Gen. Jeffery Amherst to lead an attack on Louisbourg, and gave Forbes the southern command, with orders to attack Fort Duquesne. For a biographical sketch, see Alfred P. James, *Writings of General John Forbes* (Menasha, Wis., 1938), ix-xii.

<sup>2</sup> William Denny, lieutenant governor 1756-1759. His reform of the Pennsylvania troops, about the end of 1757, had merit, but he was in other respects an inept executive.

<sup>3</sup> Hugh Mercer had served as major in Col. John Armstrong's 1st Battalion before being promoted to colonel of the new 3d Battalion.

<sup>4</sup> Richard Peters, Provincial Secretary and secretary of the Provincial Council. See Hubertis Cummings, *Richard Peters: Provincial Secretary and Cleric, 1704-1776* (Philadelphia, 1944).

<sup>5</sup> For the 1st Battalion, Charles Beatty was commissioned as of June 9; for the 2d, John Steel, as of June 10. Barton's commission was dated June 11, the dates conforming to the order of the battalions.

<sup>6</sup> In the present [Reading] township, Adams county. Barton had been in Carlisle on July 7, though this is not indicated in his journal entry for that date.

<sup>7</sup> Forbes to Barton, Carlisle, July 9; see the Introduction.

Thursday, 13<sup>th</sup>. *Adams County History, Vol. 81 [2002], Art. 1* Waited on the General, & return'd him Thanks for the Honor he did me.—

July 14<sup>th</sup> & 15<sup>th</sup>. Waited at Carlisle in Expectation of marching with the General.—

Sunday July 16<sup>th</sup>. Preach'd to the Officers & C<sup>a</sup> from Eccles: 8-11.—<sup>8</sup>

July 17<sup>th</sup> 18<sup>th</sup> & 19<sup>th</sup>. Still waited for the General, who intended every Day to march,<sup>9</sup> but was detain'd by Expresses coming frequently to him with disagreeable Accounts from General Abercrombie at Ticonderoga.—<sup>10</sup>

Friday<sup>11</sup> July 20<sup>th</sup>. Being tir'd with waiting at Carlisle, set out for Rays-Town<sup>12</sup> in Company with Major Shippen<sup>13</sup> escorted by a Detachment of the Virginia Light-Horse.—<sup>14</sup> A good Road through shallow barren Land much broken with Stones & little Hills led us to Shippensburg a small poor Town about 20 Miles from Carlisle, where we arriv'd the same Evening.— Here we found Captain Hay<sup>15</sup> with the Train of Artillery, & Captain McKenzie<sup>16</sup> with 300 Highlanders encamped on a low Piece of Ground on the East Side of the Town,—call'd Dunbar's Encampment.<sup>17</sup> At a little Distance

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<sup>8</sup> "Because sentence against an evil work is not executed speedily, therefore the heart of the sons of men is fully set in them to do evil." Perhaps Barton had in mind the French four-year occupation of Fort Duquesne

<sup>9</sup> On July 18 Barton wrote Richard Peters that "I intend to set off tomorrow. . . ." *Pennsylvania Archives* (cited hereafter as *PA*), First Series, 3:450-452.

<sup>10</sup> Abercromby, Forbes' superior, attempted an invasion of Canada by way of Lake Champlain, but the campaign bogged down before Fort Ticonderoga.

<sup>11</sup> Correctly, Thursday; the error in days persists through July 24.

<sup>12</sup> Now Bedford. The name is deceptive; Forbes wrote, on July 10, that "in Raestown there is not one single house; The place having its name from one Rae, who designed to have made a plantation there several years ago. . . ." (James, 140-141). John Ray, an Indian trader, had sold his claim to Gerrard (or Garret) Pendergrass, who settled there but was driven off by the Indians.

<sup>13</sup> Joseph Shippen, Jr., was the son of Edward Shippen of Lancaster and the brother-in-law of Colonel Burd, under whom he had served at Fort Augusta. Major in Burd's 2d Battalion. He was brevet lieutenant-colonel in the regiment. Some of his letters on the 1758 campaign, have been published in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (cited hereinafter as *PMHB*), 36 (1912), from originals in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania's possession.

<sup>14</sup> Part of the troop of forty men drawn from the 1<sup>st</sup> Virginia Regiment and commanded by Robert Stewart, who was captain of a company in that regiment.

<sup>15</sup> Capt. Lt. David Hay of the Royal Regiment of Artillery.

<sup>16</sup> Probably Capt. Hugh McKenzie of the 1st Highland Battalion, which also included Capts. Alexander and Roderick McKenzie.

<sup>17</sup> Col. Thomas Dunbar, of the 48th Regiment, who succeeded Braddock in command after the latter's defeat and death in July, 1755, led Braddock's troops on their subsequent march to Philadelphia, in the course of which they reached Shippensburg by August 17 (Dunbar to Gov. Morris, *Colonial Records* [cited hereinafter as *CR*], 6:595.



from the Centre of the Town, is Fort-Morris, a trifling Piece of Work with 4 Bastions, & about 120 Feet Square:— It does not appear that a Vauban<sup>19</sup> had any Hand in laying it out.— Lodg'd at the Sign of the Indian-Queen, kept by M<sup>r</sup> Campbell,<sup>20</sup> where we met with good Entertainment.—

*Saturday<sup>21</sup> July 21<sup>st</sup>.* Preach'd this Morning at 8 O'Clock A.M. at the Request of the Commanding Officer,<sup>22</sup> from 2 Chron: 14.—11.—<sup>23</sup> Set off from this Place at 10, & in about 2 Hours reach'd Col: Chamber's,<sup>24</sup> where we met with a kind Reception, & a very generous & hospitable Entertainment.—This Gentleman's House is surrounded by a Stockade of 300 Feet in Length, & 90 in Width. It has a pleasant Stream of Water runing thro' it, & is full of small Huts built by the Inhabitants, who fled there from the Ravages of the Enemy.—<sup>25</sup> At a small Distance from the Fort are 2 Cataracts, call'd the Falling Springs, which tumble down a Precipice into Canogochaque.— This Water is of such a Quality that Wood, Clay, Straws &C that lie any Time in it, are petrified, & sometimes incrusted with a hard Stone.— M<sup>r</sup>. Chambers informed me that in digging a Pit for a Saw-Mill he found Snail-Shells quite whole above 15 Feet under Ground.— This Place is distant from Shippensburg 10 Miles: The Road good, but the Land, thro' which it passes, not extraordinary.— Set off from M<sup>r</sup>. Chambers's about 4 Oclock,—good

<sup>18</sup>One of two forts (the other was at Carlisle) ordered built by Gov. Robert Hunter Morris (for whom it was named). On receipt of the news of Braddock's defeat, it was regularly garrisoned by Pennsylvania troops after September, 1756. The site is on present Burd Street, in the northern part of town (William A. Hunter, *Forts on the Pennsylvania Frontier, 1753-1758* (Harrisburg, 1960), 450-463)

<sup>19</sup>Sebastien le Prestre de Vauban (1633-1707), the French military engineer whose writings on fortification were classics.

<sup>20</sup>Francis Campbell, of whom Gov. Morris had written Gov. Horatio Sharpe, on Jan. 7 [1755], that George Croghan "informs me that there is one Francis Campbell, a Storekeeper at Shippensburg who was bred for the church as he has heard among the Roman Catholicks, but has the Character of an honest, inoffensive man. . . ." (PA, First Series, 2:114. The letter is misdated 1754).

<sup>21</sup>Correctly, Friday.

<sup>22</sup>Presumably Capt. James Sharp of the 3d Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment. Sharp was ordered on June 18 to take post at Shippensburg, where he remained until July 23, when he joined Col. John Armstrong on his march to Raystown with the last Pennsylvania companies. Sharp was not among the officers who signed the July 4 petition, referred to in the Introduction, for a Presbyterian chaplain.

<sup>23</sup>" . . . help us, O LORD our God; for we rest on thee, and in thy name we go against this multitude . . . "

<sup>24</sup>Benjamin Chambers, at the present Chambersburg, Franklin county. He had been a colonel in Franklin's Association of 1747-1748 (PA, Fifth Series, 1:24.

<sup>25</sup>Chambers' own account of this "private fort" is quoted in Hunter, 556.

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Road, & some good Land, reach'd Fort Loudon<sup>26</sup> at 7<sup>1</sup>— This Place is 14 Miles distant from the last mention'd.— The Fort is a poor Piece of Work, irregularly built, & badly situated at the Bottom of a Hill Subject to Damps & noxious Vapours.—

It has something like Bastions supported by Props, which if an Enemy should cut away, down tumbles Men & all. At little Distance from the Fort appears Parnel's-Nob, a round Hill of great Height.— The Fort is properly a square Ridout of 120 feet.— Here I found Captain Harding with 380 Royal Americans.—<sup>27</sup> camp'd there all Night, & was well treated by the Officers.—

Sunday,<sup>28</sup> July 22<sup>d</sup>.— March'd about 8 O'Clock this Morning.— Cross'd a Branch of Canogochague Creek— Came to a Spring, where we sat down & eat some Bread & Cheese— Cut Locust Bushes for the Horses, & after resting about an Hour took Horse, & pursued our Journey to Fort Littleton<sup>29</sup> 18 Miles distant from Loudon— Where we arriv'd about 6 that Evening—The Road between these two Places is extremely bad— And Nothing to be seen but Mountains, & Hills, & Wrecks of Waggons, & Flower Casks & C<sup>a</sup>.— At Littleton we found Captains M<sup>c</sup>.Pherson & Hamilton<sup>30</sup> encamp'd with 2 Companies of the Pennsylvania New Levies— This Fort is a regular & well-plan'd Square Stockade of 126 Feet—The Situation pleasant & advantageous—Remain'd here all Night, & lay with Major Shippen upon the Ground in a Soldiers-Tent— Great Rains & Thunder before Day—found myself all wet when I awak'd in the Morning.—

Monday<sup>31</sup> July 23<sup>d</sup>.— Set out at 10 O'Clock— Something like a level Country appears—& good Road to Sidling-hill, to the top of which you as-

<sup>26</sup> Built in November, 1756, by Pennsylvania to replace a temporary post at McDowell's Mill (present Markes, Franklin county). Forbes, on July 10, described it and Fort Lyttelton as consisting of "only two or three houses each, inclosed with a Stockade of 100 feet square" (James, 141). Named for the Earl of Loudoun, then the British commander in North America, the fort's site was one and a half-miles southeast, of the present village of Ft. Loudon. It is now owned by the state and administered by the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission (Hunter, 463-473). A drawing of a frontier post with bastions of the kind here described appears in *American Heritage*, 22, no. 1 (December, 1970), 98.

<sup>27</sup> Capt. Ralph Harding was in command at Fort Loudoun about June 16 to July 23. This is the full strength of the four companies, which arrived at Raystown on July 27-28.

<sup>28</sup> Correctly, Saturday.

<sup>29</sup> Begun in November, 1755, at the present Fort Littleton, Fulton county, as one of four forts designed by Gov. Morris to form a defensive line west of the Susquehanna and named for Sir George Lyttelton, then chancellor of the exchequer. A purported plan published in William H. Egle, *An Illustrated History of the Commonwealth ...* (Harrisburg, 1876), is an altered plan of Fort Ligonier (see Hunter, 410-424).

<sup>30</sup> Capts. Robert McPherson and Thomas Hamilton of the 3d Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment.

<sup>31</sup> Correctly, Sunday.

cend after many Windings & Turnings— Sidling-Hill distant from Littleton 9 Miles— The Road now proves bad for 4 or 5 Miles— Now the Road gets better—some good Land— Met a prodigious Number of Waggon conveying Provisions, Amunition &C<sup>a</sup> to Rays Town.— Halted at a Spring. Made some Punch, eat Bread & Cheese— Set out again & reach'd Juniata Crossing<sup>32</sup> that Night—distant from Sidling-Hill 9 Miles.— Here we found Captain Morgan<sup>33</sup> encamp'd with some Companies of the Pennsylvania Regiment.— A small Fort just erected, & the Ford of Juniata piqueted in, in Order to protect Waggon &C<sup>a</sup> in passing— Stay'd at this Place all Night. Lay without a Bed, or any Covering but a Single Blanket.—<sup>34</sup>

*Tuesday,*<sup>35</sup> *July 24<sup>th</sup>* March'd about 8 OClock this Morning—The Road good— Some extraordinary Land & rich Bottoms, with here & there a little Hill.— Met with fine Grass about 4 Miles from the Crossing—turn'd out our Horses to feed upon it— After resting 2 Hours, pursu'd our Journey to Snake-Spring,<sup>36</sup> where we cut Locust-Bushes for the Horses, & refresh'd ourselves with Punch, Bread, Cheese & dry Venison

— After a Stay of about an Hour, set out again for Rays Town distant from the Crossing 12 Miles— Where we arriv'd in good Health about 4 OClock in the Evening— Waited on the Commanding Office<sup>37</sup> by whom I was receiv'd in a very friendly Manner— All the other Officers treated me likewise with much Respect.— Here I found about 1,800 Men—a fine Fort,<sup>38</sup> & Store-Houses—with two Encampments surrounded by Breast-Works.—

<sup>31</sup> Correctly, Sunday.

<sup>32</sup> West of the present Breezewood, Bedford county, north of the point at which the present highway crosses the Raystown Branch of the Juniata. Bouquet had stopped there June 21--24 on his march to Raystown.

<sup>33</sup> Capt. Jacob Morgan of Col. Burd's 2d Battalion had commanded at Fort Lebanon, near the present Auburn, Schuylkill county, 1756-1758. Morgan now commanded at the Crossings, as Barton's journal shows, at least until July 24; he probably was relieved soon afterward.

<sup>34</sup> Fort Juniata, the first post constructed by Forbes's troops on their advance toward Fort Duquesne, was laid out on June 21 by engineer Capt. Harry Gordon. A rough plan, apparently representing preliminary plans for the fort, is published in S. K. Stevens, *et al*, *The Papers of Henry Bouquet* (Harrisburg, 1951- , 2: after page 128 (referred to hereinafter as *BP*, 2).

<sup>35</sup> Correctly, Monday. With "Tuesday July 25<sup>th</sup>," which follows, Barton resumes the correct dating.

<sup>36</sup> Now Snake Spring Valley Run, which enters the Raystown Branch from the north, about one and a half-miles west of Everett, Bedford county.

<sup>37</sup> Col. Henry Bouquet, who had arrived there with some 800 men on June 24.

<sup>38</sup> Begun June 28, it was known as Raystown (Reas Town) until Dec. 1, 1758, when Forbes named it in honor of the Duke of Bedford.

*Tuesday July 25<sup>th</sup>.* Arriv'd a Number of Pack-Horses with Flower &C, escorted by 30 Highlanders & a Company of Pennsylvania New Levies—

*Wednesday, July 26<sup>th</sup>.* Nothing worth Notice happen'd this Day.—<sup>39</sup>

*Thursday-July 27<sup>th</sup>.* A Number of Pack Horses arriv'd, escorted by 40 Royal Americans under the Command of a Lieutenant.— This Day arriv'd an Express from Carlisle—

*Friday 28<sup>th</sup> July*— 4 Companies of Royal Americans arriv'd, which, with the 40 that came Yesterday, make 380.—<sup>40</sup> Arriv'd 2 Companies of the Pennsylvania New Levies.— Colonel Burd set out to view the Roads with a Lieut: & 25 of the Light Horse.—<sup>41</sup>

*Saturday 29<sup>th</sup> July*— Arriv'd in Camp Sir John St Clair—<sup>42</sup> as did likewise Colonel Washington<sup>43</sup> escorted by Captain Stewart<sup>44</sup> & Part of his Troop of Light-Horse.— He was conducted in by Col: Bouquet who went out to meet him with a Party of the Pennsylvania Troop.—<sup>45</sup>

*Sunday July 30<sup>th</sup> 1758*— Preach'd from 2 Chron: 14-11<sup>46</sup> to about 3000

<sup>39</sup> On July 26 Bouquet wrote Forbes that "I am expecting some pack horses any day. As yet there has come only a brigade of ninety, very poor...." (BP, 2: 278). These presumably are the brigades that arrived on July 25 and 27.

<sup>40</sup> Apparently the total effective strength of the four companies of Col. Bouquet and Capts. Ralph Harding, Francis Landers, and Thomas Jocelyn. They had left Fort Loudoun on July 23, under Harding's command.

<sup>41</sup> Col. James Burd, 2d Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment. Bouquet had written Forbes on July 26 that "I have asked Colonel Burd to go tomorrow with Rhor to the summit of the mountain (Allegheny) in order to determine the straightest line from here to the foot of the incline...." (BP, 2: 277). For engineer Ensign Charles Rohr's report of the reconnoiter, see *ibid.*, 294.

<sup>42</sup> Lieutenant colonel in the 60th (Royal American) Regiment, serving as deputy quarter-master general, an appointment (overslaugh) that properly exempted him from exercising command. He had left Carlisle on July 21 (BP, 2:267).

<sup>43</sup> Col. George Washington, commanding the 1st Virginia Regiment. On July 25 he had written Bouquet suggesting a conference at Raystown; Bouquet, replying two days later, had suggested meeting at the blockhouses midway between Raystown and Fort Cumberland (BP 2: 274, 281); for the blockhouses, see also Barton's journal entry for September 6.

<sup>44</sup> Capt. Robert Stewart.

<sup>45</sup> The 1st and 2d Battalions of the Pennsylvania Regiment each had a troop of light horse, modeled after the Virginia troop. Capt. William Thompson commanded that in the 1st Battalion; Capt. John Hambright, that in the 2d Battalion.

<sup>46</sup> Note that this was the same text, if not the same sermon, used at Shippensburg on July 21.

et al.: Adams County History 2002  
Men--in the Presence of Col. Bouquet—Governor Glenn,<sup>47</sup> & all the Officers.—  
This Evening Col: Washington with 2 Companies of the Virginia Regiment set  
off for Fort Cumberland to provide Regimentals [uniforms].—

*Monday July 31<sup>st</sup> 1758*— About 100 Men being Part of the 2 Companies  
of North Carolina Troops arriv'd under Command of Major Waddle.—<sup>48</sup> An  
Alarm at 7 OClock P.M. When a Soldier belonging to Major Lewis<sup>49</sup> of  
Virginia came running into Camp wounded in the Head, Arms, Thighs,  
Hand, & Leg— He reports that being in Search of Horses about 4 Miles from  
Camp— 3 Indians appear'd to him who endeavor'd to take him Prisoner, but  
finding him resolute; 2 of them endeavor'd to shoot him; but their Guns  
Flashing, he shot at the first whom he saw drop— Upon which the 2<sup>d</sup> ran up  
to him with a Sword & Tomahawk & strove to kill him— But he warded off  
the Blows, & knock'd down his Antagonist, & gave him several Thumps with  
the Butt of his Gun, which he thinks near finish'd him— Before he had Time  
to perfect the good Work begun, the 3<sup>d</sup> fell upon him with a Sword, Knife, &  
Tomahawk, & wounded him in the Manner above mention'd— He struggled  
with & knock'd down this Fellow—but hearing a rustling in the Bushes he  
was oblig'd to run— & got into Camp in a bloody Condition.—

*Tuesday August 1<sup>st</sup>—1758*— A Party who went out this Morning with the  
above Person say, that they found his Hat cut thro' in many Places—That  
they discovered Tracks & Blood, & found Something like the Impression of  
a Person in Agony— They & the Cherokees who went with them return'd  
fully convinc'd that the Fellow reported Facts, & behav'd like a Briton.— Sir  
John S<sup>t</sup> Clair & Colonel Burd set off this Day with 200 Men to reinforce Major  
Armstrong<sup>50</sup> who was sent some Time ago to take possession of a Post over  
the Allegeny Mountains, call'd Drowning Creek--<sup>51</sup> A number of Pack-Horses

<sup>47</sup> James Glen, Governor of South Carolina, 1738-1756, was a relative of Forbes. He volunteered his help in dealing with the southern Indians who were in demand as scouts and irregulars. Forbes had sent him from Philadelphia to Fort Cumberland to negotiate with the Cherokee Indians, after which he had come to Raystown on July 13. Forbes' will, dated Feb. 13, 1759, named Glen as executor.

<sup>48</sup> This day Bouquet wrote Forbes that "Two North Carolina companies are arriving at the camp, reduced to 96 men, including countless invalids; and tomorrow we shall have the third from Cumberland 46 men strong" *BP*, (2: 292). Maj. Hugh Waddell's and Capt. John Paine's companies had marched up from Fort Loudoun, Pa.

<sup>49</sup> Maj. Andrew Lewis, of Washington's 1st Virginia Regiment. The episode that follows was reported to Forbes by Bouquet in a letter of this same date (*BP*, 2: 293).

<sup>50</sup> Maj. George Armstrong of Col. Mercer's 3d Battalion was previously a taptain in his brother John Armstrong's battalion. On July 23 Bouquet had sent Maj. Armstrong with one hundred men to reconnoiter

Pack-Horses loaded with Provisions, Tools &c were sent with them.— A Party of Maryland Troops consisting of about 190 Men arriv'd in Camp under Command of Capt: Dagworthy.<sup>52</sup>

*Wednesday, August 2<sup>d</sup>.*— Five Indians, who set out from hence some Time ago in order to take a View of Fort Du Quesne, return, & report that they lay near that Place a considerable Time in Hopes of taking a Prisoner, but that no Person came out of the Fort.—That the Day they came away some Troops march'd in, but can't give any distinct Account of their Numbers.—<sup>53</sup>

This Afternoon a Party consisting of 40 Men arriv'd from Fort-Augusta commanded by Lieut: Broadhead.—<sup>54</sup>

*Thursday, August 3<sup>d</sup>.* Colonel Burd who had been out viewing the Road-Cutters, return'd with a small Party into Camp & brought with [him] some large Goose-berries from the Allegeny Mountain, where they grow naturally.—<sup>55</sup>

Arriv'd a Company from N: Carolina by Way of Winchester & Fort Cumberland.—<sup>56</sup>

*Friday, August 4<sup>th</sup>.*— Arriv'd Colonel Armstrong with about 40 Men.—<sup>57</sup>

the way toward Fort Duquesne and to set up a post between the Allegheny Mountain and Laurel Hill as a base for opening the road. Unwilling to rely on Armstrong's judgment, Bouquet sent the present party (which included engineer Rohr) to review Armstrong's report.

<sup>51</sup> The present Quemahoning Creek. Maj. Armstrong built a breastwork at Kickenapaulin's, near the southern end of the present Quemahoning Reservoir. It was garrisoned until about September 10.

<sup>52</sup> Capt. John Dagworthy was later designated lieutenant colonel by Forbes to command the Maryland companies. Barton refers to him by his new rank in entries for August 29 and later. See note 120.

<sup>53</sup> The report of these (Cherokee) Indians is summarized by Bouquet in a letter of August 3 to Forbes (*BP*, 2:313).

<sup>54</sup> Charles Brodhead, who had served on the eastern Pennsylvania frontier, was an officer in Col. Armstrong's 1st Battalion. Capt. Levi Trump, of Burd's 2d Battalion, wrote Gov. Denny on July 19 from Fort Augusta that "General Forbes ... ordered me to Draught forty of the best men belonging to Col. Burds Bataltion, and send them to him with Two Officers, (viz.) Lieut Brodhead, & Ensign Holler" (*PA*, First Series, 3: 480).

<sup>55</sup> Burd had set out August 1, as noted in the entry for that date. His return is reported in Bouquet to Forbes, August 3 (*BP*, 2: 311), and Bouquet to Washington, August [3] (*ibid.*, 343, where dated c. August 9).

<sup>56</sup> This was Capt. Andrew Bailey's company; see note 48.

<sup>57</sup> Col. John Armstrong, of the 1st Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment, had left Carlisle on July 20, "with the last of the Provincials, being part of the three Companies, Consisting of about thirty-five [men] Each" (*PA*, First Series, 3: 483).

*Saturday, August 5<sup>th</sup>.* A Detachment of 523 private Men, 20 Serjeants, 20 Corporals, 3 Drummers march'd out of Camp with 3 Day's Provision, Commanded by L. Colonel Stevens,<sup>58</sup> Major Lewis, 10 Captains, & 20 Subalterns, with Orders to proceed to the Road Cutters.—

This Afternoon arriv'd the Artillery<sup>59</sup> consisting of 6 Brass-Cannon—12 Pounders—4 D<sup>o</sup> of 6 [pounders]—one 8-Inch Mortar—Two 8-Inch Hoitzers [Howitzers]—a small D<sup>o</sup>—and 12 Cohorns;—With 138 Waggon—70 belonging to the Train—20 to the Hospital,—and the Rest Loaded with Provisions &C.—

*Sunday, August 6<sup>th</sup>.* By an Express from Juniata we have Accounts, that 2 Waggoners on their Return from hence were kill'd & scalp'd by a Party of Indians, between the Crossing of Juniata & Fort Littleton, & 2 made Prisoners.—<sup>60</sup> Whereupon a Party of 30 White Men & 15 Indians were detach'd towards Franks-Town<sup>61</sup> in Order if possible to head the Enemy, & 'tis expected some of them will proceed to the Ohio.

Captain Patterson,<sup>62</sup> who set out the 27<sup>th</sup> of last Month with 5 Men, to take a View of Fort Du Quesne, returns this Day, & reports that he lay some Time before that Place, but that the Fogs, which were very thick during his Stay, prevented his making any valuable Discoveries;—That he saw no Person, nor heard no Drums tho' he was within a Quarter of a Mile of the Fort;—That a Cannon was fir'd every day about 12 OClock; that he saw no Cows, Horses, or any other Sort of Cattle; nor even the Tracks of any;—That he saw a larg[e] Number of Battoes on the opposite Side of the River, but as there were great Freshes, he could not get over to make Discoveries there;— He adds that the Enemy have cut down large Trees all round the Fort to prevent the Approach

<sup>58</sup>Lt. Col. Adam Stephen of Washington's 1st Virginia Regiment took post at Edmund's Swamp, northeast of the present Buckstown, Somerset county. See Bouquet Orderly Book, *BP*, 2: 671, under date of August 4.

<sup>59</sup>Bouquet reported its arrival in his letter of August 8 to Forbes (*BP*, 2: 333). Col. Armstrong had accompanied it from Shippensburg to Fort Loudoun, arriving there on July 23 (*ibid.*, 272).

<sup>60</sup>Bouquet gives fuller details in his letter of August 8 (*ibid.*, 332). Three sutlers' wagons, unescorted, were attacked east of Sideling Hill.

<sup>61</sup>A former Indian settlement near the present Hollidaysburg, Blair county. For the detachment's orders, see Bouquet Orderly Book, under date of August 6: "Two Subalterns & two Parties of 15 Volunteers each of the Virginia & Pennsylvania Regiments to go immediately out with the Indians & to carry Provisions for 8 days in Rice & Flour" (*ibid.*, 672).

<sup>62</sup>Capt. James Patterson of Col. Armstrong's 1st Battalion. For his report on the present mission, see *ibid.*, 327-329.

of Our Troops— And that upon discovering the Tracks of at least 100 Men bending their Course towards the Frontiers, he was oblig'd to retreat sooner than he expected.—

*Monday, August 7<sup>th</sup>.* Sir John S<sup>t</sup> Clair & Colonel Burd return'd with a small Party from the Allegeny-Mountain.—<sup>63</sup> Sir John brought from thence a Piece of Stone-Coal, which appears to be as good as any in England.— A small Party of Indians with 6 White Men set off this Day towards Du Quesne.—<sup>64</sup> Baptiz'd a Child.—

*Tuesday, August 8<sup>th</sup>.* Arriv'd an Express with Accounts, that the Indians had attack'd a Party near Fort Littleton, & had wounded 2 Men, but were repuls'd.—<sup>65</sup> About 200 Men return'd from Road-Cutting.— 200 of the Virginia Troops arriv'd from Fort-Cumberland with a Number of Waggon's for Baggage, Provisions &C.—

This Morning before Day Light, about 40 Cherokee-Indians who had liv'd here for some Time, & had receiv'd the best of Treatment, besides very valuable Presents—basely deserted us, without acquainting any person with their Design.—<sup>66</sup>

The Commanding Officer led out the Troops this Afternoon a Mile into the Woods, & there exercis'd them in Marching, & Countermarching &C.

*Wednesday, August 9<sup>th</sup>.*— This Afternoon spent in the Field as Yesterday.—

*Thursday, August 10<sup>th</sup>.* The Virginian Troops who lay here some Time, with a Company of the Lower-County-Troops, march'd to join Col: Stevens on the Road.—<sup>67</sup> This Afternoon was spent in exercising the Troops, in running & firing in the Indian Manner.—

*Friday, August 11<sup>th</sup>.*— 240 Pack-Horses set out with Flour for Major

<sup>63</sup> Their return is noted in Bouquet's letter of August 8 to Forbes, previously cited.

<sup>64</sup> It was headed by Ensign Colby Chew of the 1st Virginia Regiment, as appears by the journal entry for August 20.

<sup>65</sup> A convoy coming to Raystown, escorted by thirteen men, was attacked west of Sideling Hill. Reported in Bouquet's letter of August 8, previously referred to (*BP*, 2: 332).

<sup>66</sup> Bouquet's letter of August 8 sets their number at fifty. For the report of these Indians' arrival at Fort Loudoun, on August 10, see Capt. Lewis Ourry to Bouquet, August 11 (*ibid.*, 358-359).

<sup>67</sup> On this date Bouquet wrote to Washington that "Cap<sup>t</sup> Posey's Company is marched upon the Road, and as the Small Pox broke out some days ago in your Reg<sup>t</sup> I have Sent all w<sup>th</sup> Col. Stephens over Allegheny Hill" (*BP*, 2: 350). Capt. John Posey commanded a company of artificers in the 2d Virginia Regiment. Lt. Col. Stephen was at Edmund's Swamp, where these Virginians joined him on the evening of August 12 (*ibid.*, 363).



Armstrong & his Party<sup>et al.: Adams County History 2002</sup> at Drowning-Creek.—<sup>68</sup> It appears from the Commissary's Books, that 4030 Persons draw Provisions this Day.— The troops are led to the Field as Yesterday, & exercis'd in the same Manner.— Arriv'd an Express from the General, with Accounts, that Admiral Hawke had met with the French-Fleet, & taken several Men of War, & dispers'd the Rest.—<sup>69</sup> Heavy Rains this Night.—

*Saturday, August 12<sup>th</sup>.* Arriv'd this Day 10 Waggons from Fort Frederick in Maryland, with 60 Barrels of Irish-Beef.— A Corporal and 3 Light-Horse arriv'd this Evening with Letters to Colonel Bouquet from the General.—<sup>70</sup>

*Sunday, August 13<sup>th</sup>.*— A cold Morning.— A large Piece of Ground sow'd with Turnip'-Seed, & harrow'd in this Day.—<sup>71</sup> At 3 O'Clock, the Troops are led to the Field as usual, & exercis'd in this Manner— Viz.—They are form'd into 4 Columns 2 Men deep, paralel to, and distant from, each other about 50 Yards:— After marching some Distance in this Position, they fall into one Rank entire forming a Line of Battle with great Ease & Expedition.— The 2 Front-Men of each Column stand fast, & the 2 Next split equally to Right & Left, & so continue alternately till the whole Line is form'd.— They are then divided into Platoons, each Platoon consisting of 20 Men, & fire 3 Rounds; the right-Hand Man of each Platoon beginning the Fire, & then the left-hand Man; & so on Right & Left alternately till the Fire ends in the Center:— Before it reaches this Place, the Right & Left are ready again.— And by This Means an incessant Fire kept up.— When they fir'd six Rounds in this Manner, they make a sham Pursuit with Shrieks & Halloos in the Indian Way, but falling into much Confusion; they are again drawn up into Line of Battle, & fire 3 Rounds as before; After this each Battalion marches in Order to Camp.—

Baptiz'd a little Girl of 10 Years of Age, the Daughter of a Soldier.—

*Monday, August 14<sup>th</sup>.*— This Morning the Tents &C were cover'd with a

<sup>68</sup> See the journal entry for August 1, with notes 50 and 51.

<sup>69</sup> On April 3 Vice Admiral Sir Edward Hawke had found a French fleet, loaded with supplies for Louisbourg, near La Rochelle on the west French coast and had inflicted heavy damage on it. References to the encounter appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for July 27 and August 3. Forbes' letter of August 9 to Bouquet (BP, 2: 344-345), presumably carried by this express, does not mention this news, which may have reached Carlisle too late for inclusion.

<sup>70</sup> Probably the letters dated August 10 from Francis Halkett and Lewis Ourry published in BP, 2:346-347. The former refers to enclosed papers, probably including the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, and the latter reports Admiral Hawke's success.

<sup>71</sup> In the manuscript the words "this Day" are written large, presumably to note the impropriety of doing this work on a Sunday.

Hoar-Frost; & some say there was Ice.— It is so excessive Cold, that we are oblig'd to make large Fires in & round the Encampments to moderate the Air.—

It is reported in Camp that 6 Captains with 70 Men set off from Fort Cumberland the 11<sup>th</sup> Ins<sup>t</sup> to make Discoveries of the Enemy's Proceedings at Du Quesne.—<sup>72</sup>

This evening Sir Allen MacClain with another Captain, 5 Subalterns, & 200 Highlanders & Royal-Americans marchd towards the Allegeny to join Col: Stevens on the Road.—<sup>73</sup> A Party of Carolinans were order'd to Juniata to relieve Captain M<sup>c</sup> Knight.—<sup>74</sup>

*Tuesday, August 15<sup>th</sup>.* A wet Morning, & continued raining most Part of the Day.— Arriv'd this Evening from Fort Augusta—M<sup>r</sup>. Dunlap,<sup>75</sup> & brought with him Captain Ambust<sup>76</sup> the Son of Teedyuscung the famous Delaware Chief, accompanied by 2 other Delaware Indians. The Cherokees who were here receiv'd them into Friendship by smoaking a Pipe with them, & giving them Victuals.—

*Wednesday, August 16<sup>th</sup>.* A Dark cold Morning.— Colonel Armstrong with the 1<sup>st</sup>. Battalion of the Pennsylvanian Regiment march'd to reinforce the Troops<sup>77</sup> at Loyal-Hanning.—<sup>78</sup>

<sup>72</sup> Washington wrote from Fort Cumberland on August 13 that "I detachd Capt<sup>n</sup> McKenzie with 4 Officers & 75 Rank and file. . . ." (BP, 2: 364). The officer named is Capt. Robert McKenzie of the 1st Virginia Regiment.

<sup>73</sup> Capt. Maclean commanded one of the three "additional companies" of the Highland Battalion. By August 16 he was at the foot of the Allegheny Mountain. The other captain was perhaps Alexander McKenzie, of the Battalion, but see note 16, BP, 2: 372-373). Orders of August 14 specified "Two Cap<sup>t</sup> 5 Sub<sup>s</sup> 6 Serj<sup>is</sup> & 200 Rank & File, no Drummer; of the R. Americans & Highlanders to march over the Allegheney [Mountain]. . ." (ibid., 677).

<sup>74</sup> Orders of August 13: "One Cap<sup>t</sup> two Subalterns 2 Serj<sup>is</sup> 2 Corp<sup>s</sup> & 50 private[s] of the North Carolina Troops are to march To Morrow Morning to Juniata to relieve the Garrison there, which is to march to Rays Town. . . ." (BP, 2: 677). The captain was Andrew Bailey.

<sup>75</sup> James Dunlap. See Forbes to Bouquet, Carlisle, August 9, and Bouquet to Forbes, August 18 (BP, 2: 344, 378).

<sup>76</sup> Otherwise Hambus or Ambrose. Barton errs in identifying him as a son of Teedyuscung. There were four Indians in the party: Hambus, Teedyuscung's son (probably the one known as John Jacob), and two others. For Teedyuscung, see Anthony F. C. Wallace, *King of the Delawares: Teedyuscung* (Philadelphia, 1949). The Delaware and Cherokee tribes were not on friendly terms.

<sup>77</sup> Orders of August 14: "The 1<sup>st</sup> Battalion of the Penns<sup>a</sup> Regiment to March to Morrow Morning" (BP, 2: 678). This departure evidently was delayed a day.

<sup>78</sup> The subsequent site of Fort Ligonier, now Ligonier, Westmoreland county. No troops were stationed there at this date, though engineer Ensign Charles Rohr had been sent on August 15 to select a site for a post there. Col. Armstrong's men worked at opening the road between the Allegheny Mountain and Laurel Hill.

*Thursday August 17<sup>th</sup>.* Receiv'd Advice that the General on his March from Carlisle to this Place, was taken ill at Shippensburg, & relaps'd into the Flux, which confines him to his Bed.—<sup>79</sup> The commanding Officer receives the Public Prints<sup>80</sup> this Day, from whence we learn that the French come to the South Side of Lake George & have form'd a regular Encampment, & had 300 Battoes on the Lake.— We also learn that Major Rogers<sup>81</sup> had march'd with 2000 Men to make a Diversion in our Favor.— We further learn that a Number of Spaniards with a New Governor & C were arriv'd at Augustine, & were there fortifying themselves contrary to a solemn Treaty.—

*Friday, August 18<sup>th</sup>.* A fine clear Morning & a Warm Day.— At 4 OClock P.M. Major Armstrong,<sup>82</sup> Captain Callender,<sup>83</sup> & Captain Shelby<sup>84</sup> a Volunteer from Maryland, with 2 Volunteer Lieutenants (Kidd & Stoddart)<sup>85</sup> & 50 Men, 25 of which are Volunteers with Shelby, all set off together to make further Discoveries of the Enemy's Number, Strength, & Operations at Du Quesne:— And it is said by some Persons that an attack upon that Place this Season chiefly depends upon the Intelligence they shall bring.—<sup>86</sup>

*Saturday, August 19<sup>th</sup>.* A Clear, sharp Morning, & a warm Day.— Colonel Bouquet accompanied by many Gentlemen, & escorted by a Party of Light-Horse set out to view the new Road over the Allegeny-Mountains.— The same Day they return, & report that the Road far exceeded their Expectations, & that some Waggon's had already pass'd the Mountain, each carrying 20<sup>c</sup>

<sup>79</sup> See Forbes to Bouquet, Shippensburg, August 15, *BP*, 2: 366-368. He was detained there until September 6.

<sup>80</sup> The *Pennsylvania Gazette* for August 10 includes the reports that follow, date-lined New York, August 7, and citing as authorities a letter of August 2 from Albany and an express from South Carolina.

<sup>81</sup> Robert Rogers, captain of a company of rangers operating in the vicinity of Lake Champlain..

<sup>82</sup> Maj. George Armstrong had returned a day or two before from "Drowning Creek," when he delivered a letter of August 15 from Lt. Col. Stephen (*BP*, 2: 370).

<sup>83</sup> Capt. Robert Callender of Col. Armstrong's 1st Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment.

<sup>84</sup> First Lt. Evan Shelby in Capt. Alexander Beall's company resigned May 31, 1758, to raise his company of volunteers. Thirty of his men arrived at Fort Loudoun on August 4 (*BP*, 2: 317-318).

<sup>85</sup> First Lt. Thomas Stoddart resigned May 31 from Capt. Francis Ware's company to hold the same rank under Capt. Shelby; John Kidd, ensign in Capt. John Dagworthy's company, resigned June 29 to become second lieutenant under Shelby.

<sup>86</sup> Maj. Armstrong's return and his lack of success are recorded in the journal entry for August 30. See also Bouquet to Governor [Denny], August 31, *BP*, 2: 450-451

Weight.—<sup>87</sup> Burried a Virginian Soldier this Day.— He was launch'd into a little Hole out of a Blanket, & there left naked.— And when I remonstrated against the Inhumanity as well as Indecency of it, a Serjeant inform'd me that he had Orders not to return without the Blanket.— Upon which I got some small Bushes cut, & thrown over him, till I perform'd the Service.—

Near 400 Persons are now in the Hospital, sick of Fluxes, Diarrhoas, Agues, Fevers, Small-Pox &C.—

*Sunday, August 20<sup>th</sup>.* Preach'd before the Commanding Officer & all the Troops from these Words in Jeremiah 23-10—"Because of Swearing the Land mourneth."— After Sermon—Baptiz'd the Child of a Soldier.—

Arriv'd last Night Ensign Colby Chew of the 1<sup>st</sup> Virginia Regiment, who set off from hence with a Party of White Men & Indians on the 7<sup>th</sup> Instant to make Discoveries at Fort Du Quesne,—& produces his Journal in the following Words:—<sup>88</sup> "Monday, August 7<sup>th</sup> Set out from Rays Town by Order of Colonel Bouquet with a Party of Indians & white Men to make Discoveries of the Strength & Situation of Fort Du Quesne.— Proceeded this Night as far as the Shawanes Cabbins, about 8 Miles, S.80 W—

*"Tuesday the 8<sup>th</sup>* continued our Course along the old trading-Path.— Cross'd the Alleghany-Ridge, & encamp't at Edmond's Swamp, 12 Miles— N. 70 W.—

*"Wednesday 9<sup>th</sup>* March'd about 9 Miles N. 60 W. to Quamehony-Creek, at which Place we continued Thursday & Friday the 10<sup>th</sup> & 11<sup>th</sup> Proceeded early in the Morning.— Cross'd the Laurel Ridge, & arriv'd at an old Encamp't at the Loyal Hannan Town, 15 Miles N. 55 W.

*"Saturday 12<sup>th</sup>* continued our Journey along the old trading-Path for 10 or 12 Miles; or for the most Part along the low Grounds of Loyal Hannan, which sometimes turn'd off the River, & cross'd some Ridges & the Points of Hills.— The high Land is well timber'd; the low Grounds on the River, & in general on all the Creeks very thick & bushy.— Discover'd this Day some fresh Tracks of Indians, 15 Miles N—60 W.—

*"Sunday the 13<sup>th</sup>.* March'd very early, & continued till 10 O'Clock, when the Indians discovering fresh Tracks of the Enemy, halted to conjure.— The Low Grounds still thick & bushy.— Sent out Scouts, who stay'd till Dark; which oblig'd us to encamp there all Night.— The Scouts return, & report, that the Enemy had gone on directly towards Du Quesne. About an Hour before Sun-Set, heard the Report of 12 Cannon (as we imagin'd) at the French-Fort, 5 Miles N. 80, W.—

<sup>87</sup> For Bouquet's report on his inspection of the road, see Bouquet to Forbes, August 20, *BP*, 2: 391, and to Washington, August 21, *ibid.*, 404.

<sup>88</sup> Another copy of Chew's report, differing in a few words, has been published in *BP*, 2: 400-403. The original, in the Library of Congress' George Washington Papers, appears in Stanislaus Murray Hamilton, *Letters to Washington* (Boston, 1899), 3:39-43.

*"Monday, 14<sup>th</sup>.* Continued our March & sent out Scouts, who return without discovering any Tracts, except those that went along the Path, which cross'd over many Ridges well timber'd.— Heard the Firing of several Guns.— Our Course 7 Miles, near W<sup>t</sup>.—

*"Tuesday, 15<sup>th</sup>.* March'd very early, & at about 8 Miles from last Encampment, got into a large Path coming from the Nor'ward into the old trading Path, where we discover'd the Tracts of a large Number of Indians going both Ways.— Several Horses, some of which were shod, pass'd along this Road Yesterday towards Du Quesne.— We are of Opinion that the Guns which we heard Yesterday were fir'd by some of these Parties.— The Path is good:— The Ridges low & well timber'd; but all the Branches very thick with Crab-Trees & white Thorn; 12. Miles W.— The Provisions being near spent, the Indians held a Council of War, in which it was determin'd that all, except 5 Indians, Serjeant Vaughan & myself, should return.—

*"Wednesday, 16<sup>th</sup>.* Proceeded on our Way, being now only 7 in Number, & arriv'd at a Place where a larg[e] Party of Indians (I believe about 100 in Number) had been encamp'd about 10 Days before.— They clear'd about 5 or 6 Feet Square very clean, & left there 5 Pieces of Bark with a Pipe full of Tobacco on each Piece.— This Place distant from our last Encampment about 6 Miles:— The Path but indifferent, crossing many Ridges:— The Course about N.80.W.—

*"N.B.:* The Hills are lost in this Place; And we find a plain level Country from hence to Du Quesne.— Here we quit the old trading-Path, & march'd 3 Miles N.W.—Then turn'd S.W. Cross'd the Path, & kept a Course S.70 W<sup>t</sup>., till we were within 2 Miles of Du Quesne.— Turn'd to the N<sup>o</sup>. of W., & came to an old Indian. Town<sup>89</sup> on Ohio about 1 ½ Mile off the Fort, where I had a good Prospect up & down the River.— From hence we discover'd some Cattle grazing on an Island down the River, & hid ourselves in a Thicket, till the Indians by Magic & Conjunction pry'd into our Fate; after which we advanc'd within a ¾ of a Mile of the Fort; Then turn'd S.E. & ascended a Stony Ridge, when the Chief Warrior took his conjuring Implements, & ty'd them about the Neck of 3 Indians, & told them they could not be hurt.— Round my Neck he ty'd an Otter's Skin, in which the Conjuring Tools had been kept: And round the Serjeant's Neck he ty'd a Bag of Paint that had been kept with them in the Bagg.— He then assur'd us that we were proof against Balls, for that those Things would protect us.— He then order'd us to strip off to our Britch Clouts & Moccasons; shook Hands with us, & bid us go on & fight like Men, for Nothing could annoy us.— The first View I had of the Fort was from the Banks of the Ohio, but at a great Distance.— We saw a Battoe & two Cannoos, in which were Indians fishing.— We were at this Time in a Pasture fenced in with

Trees cut down one on another. We discovered by the Tracts that this Pasture (the furthest Part of which is not above  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a Mile from the Fort) was much frequented by Indians.— Nevertheless I continued in the Pasture, from whence I could make no great Discoveries, except of the Number of Tents, till about Sun-Set; At which Time I inform'd the Indians that I was desirous they would accompany me to the Top of a Ridge that ran directly towards the Fort:— But they dislik'd the Proposal, & refus'd my Request; being in great Hopes of getting Scalps; However seeing me determin'd to go, & having proceeded on towards the Place, they follow'd me.— From the Top of this Ridge I had an extraordinary good View of the Fort.— Scarce  $1\frac{1}{2}$  a Mile from it 50 or 60 Tents were pitch'd on the River Ohio:— And on the Monangahela there were several Houses, about 100 Yards from the Fort.— In this River I could discover no Battoes or Cannoes; Nor could I discover any new Works about the Fort.— I imagine the Men parade in the Fort as I saw them going in at Retreat-Beating; and am of Opinion the Number of French-Men do not exceed 300.— The Indians kept a continual hooping & hallooing; but I could not discern their Camp;—unless the Tents mention'd above were for them, which I judg'd were design'd for them from the first; for the People which I saw there appear'd by their Looks, Noise & C<sup>a</sup> to be Indians.— I could see no Sign of a Camp or any Buildings on the other Side of the Rivers.— After Dark the Indians got to Singing & Dancing; & by their Noise, I judge them to be about 50 in Number; all which the Cherokees inform'd me were Shawanese.—

“As I have taken a Draught of the Fort & Place, as well as I could upon a separate Paper, I shall make no Mention of it here.—<sup>90</sup> This Day's March, had we kept the Path, would have been about 12 Miles;<sup>91</sup> The course about N. 80 W.— The Ohio runs about S—20 W.— The Monangahela at the Mouth runs near E.— From the Top of this Ridge, I remov'd to another Place nearer the Monangahela, but could make no further Discoveries.—

“From this Place we return'd back to the Head-Warrior; & after some Consultation agreed to return Home;—Upon which we march'd about a Mile & encamp'd near the Old-trading-Path.— We heard the Indians singing & dancing all Night.—

<sup>89</sup> Shannopin's Town was named for a Delaware chief who died before 1751. “Old” in this usage means “former” or “abandoned.”

<sup>90</sup> This map accompanies the manuscript report in the Washington Papers, but has not been published with it.

<sup>91</sup> The copy published in *BP*, 2: 403, has, incorrectly, “42 miles.”

*"Thursday the 17<sup>th</sup>.* At the Dawn of Day we began our March, which we continued very fast till one O'Clock; in which Time we travell'd near 30 Miles, & overtook the Party which we order'd back when our Provisions grew scarce.— We then halted to refresh ourselves, after which we continued our March together; & having advanc'd 12 Miles farther, we encamp'd for that Night.— Within 2 Miles of Our Encampment we discovered some fresh Tracks coming from the Westward.—

*"Friday 18<sup>th</sup>.* Pursued our March, following the Tracks which we discovered last Night.— The low Grounds & Branches, which I made Mention of in the former Part of this Journal, are much deprest, liable to be overflow'd, & consequently very moist & soft: — So that I am afraid a Road through them will be but indifferent for Carriages.— We follow'd the Tracks till Night, & encamp'd within 4 Miles of Major Armstrong's Post at Quimahony-Creek.—

*"Saturday the 19<sup>th</sup>,* March'd early in the Morning, & arriv'd in Camp, where we found it was Ensign Allan's Party that we track'd; And that they had arriv'd in Camp the Night before."<sup>92</sup>

*Monday, August 21<sup>st</sup>.* The Accounts of General Abercrombie's Retreat confirm'd this Day;—<sup>93</sup> His Character & Behaviour is openly traduc'd, & it is said that he has been dragged thro' the Streets of New York, & burnt in Effigie.— As it is yet uncertain in Camp, whether this be owing to some Misrepresentation to the Populace, or bad Conduct in himself, Our Officers seem to mention it with Caution & Prudence.— Lieutenant Hodgson<sup>94</sup> of the Lower Counties on Delaware arrives from Fort Cumberland with 30 Men belonging to that Government.

*Tuesday, 22<sup>d</sup>.* Arriv'd from Fort Cumberland the Remainder of the Maryland Troops commanded by Captains Alexander & Joshua Bell, & Captain Ware.—<sup>95</sup> They report that 2 Indians arriv'd at Fort Cumberland a little before they left it with 2 Scalps, which they took near Fort Du Quesne.— But their Veracity & Honesty seems to be question'd.— Large Parties are still kept busy at Work, in digging a Trench round the Fort; covering such Parts of it

<sup>92</sup> A copy of Ensign John Allen's report appears in *BP*, 2: 324-326. He had set out from Quemahoning Creek on August 8, and returned there on August 18.

<sup>93</sup> Abercrombie's difficulties following his unsuccessful attack of July 8 on Ticonderoga are referred to in Forbes' letter of August 18 to Bouquet (*BP*, 2: 382-384).

<sup>94</sup> Second Lt. Robert Hodgson of Capt. (later Maj.) Wells's company.

<sup>95</sup> Washington wrote from Fort Cumberland on August 19 that "A party of ab' 90 Marylanders under Capt<sup>l</sup> Beal Escorting a few Store Waggons, is this Mom', arriv'd. I shall forward them to Rays Town to morrow . . ." (*BP*, 2: 389-390). The captains were Alexander and Joshua Beall and Francis Ware.

as are expos'd; & making a Covert-Way to command the Water, which runs in a pleasant Stream under the Fort & C<sup>a</sup>.—

*Wednesday, 23<sup>d</sup>.* The Second Battalion of the Pennsylvania Regiment, commanded by Col: Burd;— The Remainder of the Royal Americans commanded by Captain Joceelyn;<sup>96</sup> & 4 Companies of Highlanders commanded by Major Grant<sup>97</sup> march this Day with 4 Pieces of Cannon<sup>98</sup> towards Loyal-Hannon.—<sup>99</sup> Sir Allen MacClain returns this Day with a Party of Highlanders & Pennsylvanians from Road Cutting.—<sup>100</sup> He informs that the Men are in high Spirits, & that all Things go on well.—

The Pennsylvanians who return'd with Sir Allen receive Orders to march back again To-Morrow Morning.<sup>101</sup>

*Thursday August 24<sup>th</sup>.* Nothing extraordinary To-Day.— The working Parties are still kept busy;— Barracks & Hospitals are erecting— Large Pieces of Ground are plow'd & sow'd with Turnips; and a New Slaughter-House & Ovens are built.— Orders are given out that no Man presume to fire a Gun within a Mile of the Camp.<sup>102</sup> A Party arrives this Evening from Fort Cumberland, & brings in with them 308 Head of Beef-Cattle.—<sup>103</sup>

A perfect Harmony & Union subsists thro' the whole Camp: And Colonel Bouquet gains more & more upon the Affections of the People.—

<sup>96</sup> Capt. Thomas Jocelyn.

<sup>97</sup> James Grant, senior of the two majors of this corps.

<sup>98</sup> Two 12-pounders and two 6-pounders, according to Bouquet, besides 8 cohorns (*BP*, 2: 392); compare the total reported by Barton in his entry for August 5.

<sup>99</sup> This was the detachment that actually took post at Loyalhanna, a move anticipated by Barton on August 16. The orders had been given out on August 21 (*BP*, 2:680). Bouquet estimated the total force at 1,500, some of whom would join en route: 300 Royal Americans, 400 each of the Highlanders, the Virginians, and the Pennsylvania 2d Battalion.

<sup>100</sup> A few days before, Bouquet had thanked MacLean and Maj. Lewis for their work on the road over the Allegheny Mountain (*BP*, 2: 391).

<sup>101</sup> As ordered on this date: "The Detachment of the 2<sup>d</sup> Batt<sup>n</sup> Penns<sup>a</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> that came to Day, to march To Morrow Morning & join their Corp. . . ." (*BP*, 2: 681).

<sup>102</sup> This does not appear in the orderly book under this date; however, an order against firing about the camp was reiterated on August 25 (*BP*, 2: 681-682).

<sup>103</sup> References to this convoy illustrate some problems of logistics: of 468 beeves that left Winchester, 9 were killed on the way to Fort Cumberland, 48 were lost, and 321 arrived there on August 23; Washington kept 90 and sent off the rest on August 25; 308 reached Raystown (*BP*, 2: 416, 425).



*Friday, August 25<sup>th</sup>.* Captain Bosomworth,<sup>104</sup> Superintendent of Indian Affairs in the Western District, receives Accounts by Express from Fort Cumberland, That Captain Bullen, the Famous Catawba-Chief, always strictly attach'd to the British Interest, who call'd himself the Irishman, (his Father being of that Nation) was treacherously kill'd & scalp'd within a Mile of the Fort, by 5 Delawares who deceiv'd him by calling out, they were Cherokees & Friends.— Another Warrior was shot at the same Time; & a Young Squaw receiv'd a Shot in her Arm.—<sup>105</sup>

*Saturday, August, 26<sup>th</sup>.* A Damp foggy Morning.— Remov'd our Camp to a pleasant Ridge S. of the Fort about 100 Yards, fronting the Artillery.—<sup>106</sup> The Field Officers in pitching their Tents, contend for Rank with some Warmth;—Some claiming it from the Seniority of their Troops; & Others from the Age of the Charters of their respective Provinces.— The Disputes however are settled by Col: Bouquet, & Major Waddle of Carolina takes the Right of the Provincials.—

*Sunday, August 27<sup>th</sup>.* A dark Morning, but a very sultry Day.— Preach'd at 11 O'Clock P.M. from the 144<sup>th</sup> Psalm & 3<sup>d</sup> Verse, to all the Troops.—<sup>107</sup>

Arriv'd this Evening from Fort Cumberland, 60 Waggon, chiefly loaded with Indian Corn,<sup>108</sup> escorted by 40 Soldiers commanded by Ensign Finney<sup>109</sup> of Major Well's Corps.—<sup>110</sup> Arriv'd at the same Time 54 Indians of the Catawba, Tuscarora, & Ottawaw Nations.—<sup>111</sup> They greatly lament the Loss of their brave Captain Bullen.— As soon as they laid down their baggage, one

<sup>104</sup> Capt. Abraham Bosomworth of the Royal American Regiment. He had helped attract southern Indians to join the expedition and on June 14 had brought twenty-nine Cherokees to Fort Loudoun. From there he went to Fort Cumberland, arriving by July 13, and then on to Raystown a few days later.

<sup>105</sup> See Washington to Bouquet, Fort Cumberland, August 24, in *BP*, 2: 416. The second man killed is identified as Capt. French, also a Catawba.

<sup>106</sup> Orders of August 24: "The 2d Camp is to be removed To Morrow Afternoon between the Artillery & Highland Camp.. ."; on August 25: "The Tents to be struck in 2d Camp to Morrow morning, as soon as they are dry, pack'd up and pitched in the new Camp" (*BP*, 2: 681-682).

<sup>107</sup> "Lord, what is man, that thou takest knowledge of him! or the son of man, that thou makes account of him!" Is this an allusion to the contention of the previous day?

<sup>108</sup> Bouquet had written Washington on August 26 that "I expect to day your Convoy w<sup>th</sup> the Indians. . . ." (*BP*, 2: 426).

<sup>109</sup> Second Lt. Archibald Finney of Capt. Benjamin Noxon's company (*PA*, Fifth Series, 1: 232).

<sup>110</sup> Maj. Richard Wells, commanding the Lower Counties troops.

<sup>111</sup> Barton errs in his identification of the third Indian nation. They were not Ottawas, a pro-French people living near the Great Lakes, but the Nottoways, an Iroquoian group from Virginia, related to the Tuscaroras. Washington had written Bouquet on August 24 that "The Rest of the Cuttawbas, & What Nottoway's and Tuscarora's that are here sets [sic] out to Mor-

of their Chiefs made a Speech in English (which many of them Talk tolerably well) to the following Effect:— "This is the 3<sup>d</sup> time we have left our Country to revenge the Death of our Brothers, whose Bones we have seen scatter'd at Monangahela.— Our Success has not been equal to our Zeal, & the Reason is, we had too far to travel to the Enemy; And our Provisions being generally spent before we could reach their Borders, we were oblig'd to return before we could kill or scalp.— But now we desire to go to Loyal Hannon; from whence we can proceed to Fort Du Quesne, & return the next Day.— This, we say, we desire as well to revenge the Death of our Brothers the English, as that of our brave lamented Captain Bullen.—"

Some of them before they arriv'd in Camp painted with Black, & solemnly vow'd to kill Amboust Teedyuscung's Son<sup>112</sup> & the other two Delaware Indians who lately arriv'd from Fort Augusta:— For, said they, "We believe the White People are mad to entertain & give Presents not only to our Enemies, but their own."— But the Wretches had left the Camp a few Days before, & so fortunately sav'd their Lives.—<sup>113</sup>

A number of Pack Horses set off this Morning, loaded with Provisions for the Troops at Loyal Hannan—

*Monday, August 28<sup>th</sup>.*— A foggy Morning, & a very sultry Day.— About 11 O'Clock A.M. One of the 12 Pounders was fir'd to satisfy the Curiosity of the Indians, who were much pleas'd, & express'd great Admiration at it.— Arriv'd an Express from the General to Col: Bouquet,<sup>114</sup> by whom Captain Young Paymaster to the Pennsylvania Troops,<sup>115</sup> receives a Letter from M<sup>r</sup> Secretary Peters—informing him that Louisbourg had actually surrendered on the 26<sup>th</sup> of July;—that we had taken above 4000 French Prisoners; & that during the Seige we had lost but 300:—That the famous Rogers had engag'd the Enemy 600 to 600, & had beat them & brought in 70 Scalps:— And, that the Duke of

row with the Waggon's for Rays Town" (*BP*, 2: 416). Bouquet wrote Burd on August 29 that "We have a Reinforcem<sup>t</sup> of 52 Indians" (*ibid.*, 445).

<sup>112</sup> Amboust and Teedyuscung's son were different persons.

<sup>113</sup> Bouquet had written Forbes on August 26 that "The Delawares have returned to Shamoken and Wyoming. . . ." (*BP*, 2: 425).

<sup>114</sup> Presumably he carried Maj. Halkett's letter of August 26 to Bouquet, published in *BP*, 2: 428-429. Forbes' letter of August 28 (*ibid.*, 439-441) could not have arrived so soon.

A postscript to Halkett's letter reports the fall of Louisbourg and Rogers' s'uccess. The news contained in Peters' letter appeared in the *Pennrylvania Gavile* for August 24, but recorded that Marlborough could not attack St. Malo.

<sup>115</sup> Capt. James Young, commissary of the musters and paymaster in the Pennsylvania Regiment.

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Mal'bro was landed in France,—had taken & destroy'd St. Maloes, & was carrying Terror & Desolation along the Coast.—

The Indians are all drunk this Evening, which makes them very troublesome.—

*Thursday, August 29<sup>th</sup>.* A clear Morning.— Wind at N.W. pretty cold, & like a Fall-Day.— 20 Men commanded by Captain Allen<sup>116</sup> set off To-Day to escort a Number of Waggon to Carlisle.— Ensign Jones<sup>117</sup> set off to Juniata with 30 Men to guard the Paymaster<sup>118</sup> to his Majesty's Troops.—

This Evening arriv'd in Camp Lieutenant James Reily<sup>119</sup> of the Maryland Troops, commanded by Lieu<sup>t</sup>. Colonel Dagworthy;<sup>120</sup> & gives the following Intelligence.—

*"Friday August 18<sup>th</sup>. [sic] 1758* Set out from Rays Town by Order of the Commanding Officer with 8 Men to make Discoveries of the Strength & Operations of the Enemy at Fort Du Quesne, & if possible to take a Prisoner.

*"At Quimahony I join'd Major Armstrong with upwards of 100 Men, with whom I proceeded to within 25 Miles of Du Quesne.— Here we held a Consultation & agree'd, that Captain Potter<sup>121</sup> & I should proceed with 6 Men each, & make what Discoveries we could;—That Major Armstrong with the*

<sup>116</sup> Capt. Lt. Samuel Allen of Col. Armstrong's 1st Battalion. Gov. Denny designated himself colonel in chief of the Pennsylvania Regiment and, as such, nominal captain of a company in the 1st Battalion, with Allen as captain lieutenant (*PA*, Fifth Series, 1: 128-129). Orders of August 28 called for a detachment consisting of "Cap<sup>t</sup> Allen, 1 Serg<sup>t</sup> & 30 men of the Draughts from the 1st, Batt<sup>n</sup> Penn<sup>a</sup> R<sup>i</sup> to march To Morrow Morning. . . ." (*BP*, 2: 684).

<sup>117</sup> John Jones of Capt. John Singleton's company of new levies assigned to the 2d Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment. Orders of August 28 directed "A Subaltern 1 Serg<sup>t</sup> & 30 Rank & file of the line to march to morrow morning to Juniata who are to escort from thence a Brigade of Waggon to the Camp—& the Pay Master General" (*BP*, 2: 684).

<sup>118</sup> Thomas Barrow. On August 18 Bouquet had complained to Forbes that "We haven't a sou, and if Mr. Barrow does not join us quicklv, we shall no longer be able to pay anyone" (*BP*, 2: 381).

<sup>119</sup> First Lt. in Capt. Joshua Beall's company; subsequently wounded September 14 in Grant's defeat; recommended by Bouquet, October 20, for an ensigncy in the Royal American Regiment (*BP*, 2: 509, 577). Barton had not named him among the officers sent out on August 18.

<sup>120</sup> Forbes wrote Bouquet on August 28 that "Govern<sup>r</sup> Sharp has just asked a favour of me that I could not well refuse which was to allow him to make Cap<sup>t</sup> Dagworthy a Lieu<sup>t</sup> Colonel of the Maryland troops, and he is accordingly appointed by a Commission I sent him this night" (*BP*, 2: 440). His new rank was published at Raystown in orders of August 30 (*ibid.*, 685). Since Forbes' letter cannot have been carried from Shippensburg by the 29<sup>th</sup>, Barton must have written this entry later.

<sup>121</sup> James Potter of the 1st Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment. As subaltern in Col. Armstrong's own company, he normally would have been designated captain lieutenant; but Governor Denny's assumption of a captaincy in this battalion gave that rank to Samuel Allen. Potter's rank of captain was "provisional," as published in orders of June 17 (*BP*, 2: 656).

Remainder should advance slowly after us, & lie in Ambush at a Place call'd the four-Mile Branch within 6 Miles of the French Fort:— M<sup>r</sup>. Potter & I, after making some Discoveries, were to fire upon a Party of the Enemy in Order to draw them into the Ambush where Major Armstrong lay.— Big with the Prospect of Success we push'd on piloted by one Ferguson<sup>122</sup> a Serjeant in the Pennsylvania Service. Cross'd Braddock's Road, steering a Course near S— and ascended a Ridge that ran towards the Monongahela, where the Pilot told us we should have a good View of the Fort. Having gain'd the Top of the Ridge, I soon discover'd his Mistake; and advancing to the Point of it, climb'd up into the Top of a Tree, from whence I saw the Hill that overlooked the Fort, bearing N.W. & Distant by Computation 3 Miles.— Unwilling to trust the Issue of so important an Enterprize to a Man who had once led me astray, I requested of Captain Paris<sup>123</sup> to lead the way by the Direction & Assistance of a Person known by the Name of French Peter;<sup>124</sup> which occasion'd some little Disputes between Captain Potter & myself.— From this Place I advanc'd, by Direction of my New Guides, towards the Hill that overlooks the Fort, & cross'd it about Dusk.— It being too dark to make any Discoveries, I descended into a little Valley or Branch, where I found a good Spring, & lay down till 1 O'Clock, at which Time the Moon rose, & awak'd me to Action.— I proceeded 2 Miles N. up the River, & came upon a little Branch leading to Shinnopin's Town, where I halted till Morning; Then went on to Braddock's Road, where there is a muddy Spring with a small Stream running from it.— Here we found a large Encamping-Place, where Peter told us the French often came out as an Advance Guard from the Fort.— After having refresh'd ourselves, Captain Potter desir'd the Officers, to come to a Counsel of War with him, in which it was resolv'd by the Majority—That it was best to return to the Party left behind in Ambush:— And this Argument advanc'd in Favor of it—That as we were so near the Fort our Tracks would soon be discovered, which must prove fatal to us.— In Consequence hereof all return'd except Corporal Madden<sup>125</sup> & myself— For having an independent Command, & not thinking that the Discoveries we had made were sufficient to recompense the Toils & Fatigues we had undergone; I determined to proceed farther, & desir'd Captain Paris to request of Major Armstrong to halt till 12 or 1 O'Clock, at which Time I should endeavour to be back.— I proceeded on, & got to the Top of a Nob on the Ridge that overlooks

<sup>122</sup> Possibly James or John Ferguson, both sergeants in Capt. James Patterson's company of the 1st Battalion.

<sup>123</sup> Capt. Richard Pearis of Maryland had set out from Raystown with a dozen volunteers. He returned to Quemahoning on August 28 (*BP*, 2: 378, 437).

<sup>124</sup> Not otherwise identifiable. Indians commonly received such European labels; Capt. Peter, Capt. John Peter, William Peters, and Old Peter are mentioned among Ohio Indians of this period.

<sup>125</sup> Mordecai Madden of Capt. Alexander Beall's Maryland company.

the Fort, placing the Corporal as a Centinel, while I was taking a View of the Place. But the Fogs being very thick, I remain'd here near 2 Hours, during which Time I heard now & then the Firing of Platoons; the Barking of Dogs; the Ringing of Horse-Bells; & the incessant Strokes of about 40 or 50 Axes on the opposite Side of the River.— As soon as the Fogs clear'd away, the Corporal cry'd out, See! See! Yonder's the Fort!— Upon which I saw the Colours flying, & advanc'd to the Point of the Hill, but could have no favourable Prospect: From hence I proceeded S.E. to another Ridge which I expected would bring me nigher the Object I wanted to view.— Here I had just a Glimpse of the Fort; but finding myself much expos'd, having Nothing to cover me but low Shrubs which scarcely came Breast-high, I order'd the Corporal to stand Centinel, charging him if he discover'd any Body nigh [at] Hand to Acquaint me with it, that we might endeavour to take him; And then advanc'd to the Point of the Ridge, where I had a good Prospect of the Fort.— The Pickets are so so [sic] high that I could not see the Roofs of the Houses that are within.— I saw 2 Streets of Tents with 25 or 30 Tents in each Street, pitch'd upon the River Ohio, & several Persons going in & coming out of them. Near to the Fort is a large Pasture, where I discover'd small Companies of Two's & Three's sauntering about, with a great Number of Horses grazing but no Cattle of any other Sort.— Upon hearing a Person firing within  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a Mile of me, I went back to the Corporal & ask'd him if he would go along with me and endeavour to take him Prisoner, who inform'd me there were Two; But telling him we were a Match for that Number, he very chearfully & resolutely agree'd to go.— When we came to the Place where we thought we heard the Firing, our Disappointment was great in finding they were on the opposite Side of the River.— Soon after I heard a Bell which inspir'd me with fresh Hopes that I should not come away Empty-handed, & that some Horses at least would fall a Prey to me.— Finding after some Search that all my Schemes were unsuccessful, I resolv'd to return to the Place where I left the Party in Ambush, where I arriv'd about 12 OClock agreeable to Appointment— But all were gone!— I immediately strip'd off to my Shirt & Moccassons, lest I might be track'd & pursued.— Continued my March at the Rate of 4 Miles an Hour, & overtook the Party above 20 Miles from Du Quesne.— Here I found Captains Callender & Haslet<sup>126</sup> with all the Men except 16, which they inform'd were gone back to make Discoveries—Major

<sup>126</sup>Capt. John Haslet of the 2d Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment.

Major Armstrong with 12 to cross the Monongahela & view the S. Side of the Fort;— Captain Potter with 4 to go down the River;— And that Captain Shelby with 25 Men would endeavour to cross the Ohio.— In a little Time after one of Armstrong's Party arriv'd, to acquaint us that the Major was tir'd, & order'd us to halt for him; And immediately he & his Party came in, & reported that they had endeavour'd to cross the River, & had waded Breast-high, but found the Ford too deep.— We then proceeded to within 12 Miles of Loyal-Hannan: And next Morning early Captain Potter with his Party arriv'd, & reported that the Fogs prevented their getting a View of the Fort; and that Captain Shelby finding the Fording at Shinnoppins too high, had gone to the Old Chartiers-Town<sup>127</sup> in Order to cross there.— Pursued our Journey together till we came to Major Lewis's Camp,<sup>128</sup> where I left all except my own little Party with whom I arriv'd at Rays-Town, August 29<sup>th</sup>. 1758."

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*Wednesday August 30<sup>th</sup>.* Major Armstrong & Captain Callender return'd this Day from their unsuccessful Scout, & are coldly receiv'd by the Commanding Officer.— The Former is much censur'd & blam'd by every Body— And the Latter, by being subject to the Command of a superior Officer, stands excus'd.—<sup>129</sup> Orders are issued that no Man presume to sell or bestow Liquor to the Indians.—<sup>130</sup> Ensign Jones returns from Juniata with the Deputy-Paymaster to the Regulars.— Arriv'd an Express who confirms the Accounts of the Surrender of Louisbourg to his Britannick Majesty—<sup>131</sup> adding that Brest is block'd up.— In Company with Major Waddle Commander of the Carolina Troops, I climb'd to the Top a very high Mountain E.S.E. of the Camp, & distant about 2 Miles.—<sup>132</sup> We reach'd the Summit with much Difficulty, clambering from Rock to Rock the whole Way, for nearly 2 Hours.— A very extensive Prospect opens to our View— The Allegeny [Mountain] bearing W.N.W. of us— We fir'd each of us a Gun, & then return'd to Camp greatly fatigued.—

<sup>127</sup> At the present Tarentum, Allegheny county. This settlement was named for Peter Chartier, half-breed son of Martin Chartier and leader of a Shawnee band that removed from the lower Susquehanna to the Ohio after 1730.

<sup>128</sup> Maj. Lewis took command of the Virginia road builders after Sir John St. Clair placed Lt. Col. Stephen under arrest, following a quarrel (BP, 2: 430-438). Apparently his camp was near Quemahoning.

<sup>129</sup> Maj. Armstrong was severely censured by Bouquet in a letter to Gov. Denny (BP, 2: 450-451).

<sup>130</sup> This is entered in the orderly book as a repetition of Gen. Forbes' orders (BP, 2: 684).

<sup>131</sup> Forbes wrote Bouquet on August 28 that "I have heard no more of Louisbourg but as it is most certainly taken, I would make a *feu de joy* to put the Whole Army in Spirits" (BP, 2: 441). Louisbourg had fallen to General Amherst on July 26.

<sup>132</sup> Evitts Mountain.

It is said that the General unable to ride, and determin'd to proceed at all Events, had order'd a Litter to be made to carry him with the more Ease.— This Evening a warm Dispute happen'd between Major \_\_\_\_\_<sup>133</sup> and Captain \_\_\_\_\_ which was happily ended by flinging a few Bottles & Glasses, charg'd with Billingsgate-Ammunition, such as Rascal, Scoundrel & C<sup>a</sup>.

*Thursday August 31<sup>st</sup>.* A cold, rainy Day.— A 6-Pounder was fir'd 8 Times—as a Preparative to our Rejoicings for the Reduction of Louisbourg.—

An Express arriv'd from Sir John S<sup>t</sup>. Clair at Loyal Hannan, but the Contents does not transpire.—<sup>134</sup> Old Keeshity an Indian strongly attach'd to the British-Interest came in from Fort Du Quesne, & brings with him 3 Ohio-Indians.— He produces a very distinct Draught of the Place; & the whole of his Intelligence seems much in our Favor.—<sup>135</sup>

This Evening the Commanding-Officer receiv'd 2 Letters from Frederick Post a Dutchman—now in an Indian-Town upon Ohio—with very favourable Accounts.—<sup>136</sup> Every Thing promises Success; and it is generally believ'd that Du Quesne will fall an easy Conquest.—

*Friday September 1<sup>st</sup>.* Rain all Last Night, & the greatest Part of this Day.— At 5 O'Clock P.M. A grand Feu de Joye for the Success of our brave Men at Louisbourg; When 3 Royal Salutes were fir'd from 3 Twelve-Pounders; And all the Troops being drawn up in a Single Line, which cover'd the greatest Part of the Camp, fir'd 3 Rounds of small-Arms—The whole ended with 3 Huzzas, &

<sup>133</sup> Maj. Armstrong?

<sup>134</sup> Presumably in reply to Bouquet's letter of August 28 (*BP*, 2: 435-436), but not found among Bouquet's papers. A letter from Sir John to Col. Burd., written the morning of August 29, places him "4 Miles West of Kikeny Pawlings" (Shippen Family Papers, Correspondence, 3: 221, HSP).

<sup>135</sup> A pro-British Onondaga Indian who had lived on the Ohio before the war, Kishaty (or Ogaghradirha) had been at Fort Augusta since 1756, and accompanied Col. Burd to Raystown. He set out from there on August 11 to get information at Fort Duquesne (*BP*, 2: 354). On his return he met Burd (advancing to Loyalhanna) at Quemahoning on August 29. Writing to Bouquet the next day, Burd reported that "the Indian Gishaty . . . gave the Major [*James Grant*] & self a draught of F: Du Quesne which he drew with my Pincel before us & I inclose you the same. . . ." (*ibid.*, 448).

<sup>136</sup> There can be little doubt that one of these letters was that published in *BP*, 2: 371 (tentatively dated c. August 15), apparently sent from Logstown (the present Ambridge) on August 24. See Post's journal for this date in Reuben Gold Thwaites, *Early Western Travel 1748-1846* (Cleveland, 1904), 1: 201. The other letter from Post presumably is the one he wrote for the Indians, alluded to at the end of the letter in *BP*, 2: 371.

a "God Save the King."

*Saturday September 2<sup>d</sup>.* Accounts in Camp that Lieu<sup>t</sup>. Kidd, a Gentleman in the Maryland-Service, who went some Time ago<sup>138</sup> to make Discoveries about Du Quesne, & thought to be taken or kill'd, was safe arriv'd at one of our Advanc'd Posts.— M<sup>r</sup>. Clayton<sup>139</sup> a discreet young Gentleman, who out of a Spirit of Zeal for his King & Country came upon the Expedition a Volunteer, taking a Ride this Evening with Captain Hambright<sup>140</sup> of the Light-Horse, was unfortunately shot thro' the Os Humeri by M<sup>r</sup>. Hambright's Gun going off accidentally, which in all Appearance gives him as much Pain as the real Sufferer— The Mornings now are generally very cold & foggy,— which bring on Fevers and Agues fast.—

*Sunday September 3<sup>d</sup>.* Preach'd from these Words in Nehemiah—4—14—"Be ye not afraid of them: Remember the Lord which is great & terrible, & fight for your Brethren, your Sons & your Daughters, your Wives & your Houses,"— Present the Commanding Officer, Governor Glen, Sir Allen MacClain, & the whole Troops.<sup>141</sup> Visited the Hospitals, where I found a great Number in a very low State, & was told that many dye.— A Party set off this Morning, to escort a number of Pack-Horses with Flour, & some fat Bullocks to Loyal-Hannan.— A Conference is held this Afternoon with the Indians, who give us great Assurances of their Fidelity & Attachment to our Interest.—<sup>142</sup>

*Monday, September 4<sup>th</sup>.* Lieu<sup>t</sup>. Colonel Dagworthy with 100 of the Maryland-Troops; Major Waddle with 48 of the Carolina troops; Captain Gooding<sup>143</sup> with 60 Men from the Lower-Counties; and Captain Trent<sup>144</sup> with a

<sup>137</sup> See Forbes' letter quoted in note 135. Orders of August 31 directed "All the Troop's to be under Arms tomorrow at 3 o'Clock P.M. & to march to the usual Place of Exercise . . . to make a *Feu de Joye* for the Conquest of Louisbourg" (BP, 2: 685).

<sup>138</sup> On August 8; see Barton's entry for that date.

<sup>139</sup> Probably David Clayton, who in 1759 was commissioned an ensign in the 2d Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment.

<sup>140</sup> John Hambright served previously at Fort Augusta. He was now captain of a troop of horse in the 2d Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment.

<sup>141</sup> Orders of this date: "The Troops to attend Divine Services at 10 o'Clock, A.M" (BP, 2: 686).

<sup>142</sup> With exceptions noted in the following day's entry.

<sup>143</sup> Jacob Gooding, Jr., replaced Capt. Benjamin Noxon.

<sup>144</sup> William Trent served as a captain of a company raised in Pennsylvania for service in New York during King George's War (CR, 5: 177-178). In 1754 he commanded a Virginia militia company sent to the Forks of Ohio, where, on April 18, his ensign was forced to surrender a hastily-built and unnamed fort to a greatly superior French force.



Number of Indians, of the ~~Catawba~~ <sup>Catawba, Ottawa, & Tuscarora Nations</sup> set off towards Fort Du Quesne, to take Possession of an advantagious Post<sup>146</sup> near that Place, & to make what Discoveries they can of the Operations of the Enemy.— The Cherokees, after receiving all the Presents they expected, refus'd to go, & are for returning to their own Country, which gives us small Hopes of receiving any Advantages from that Nation.

Sir John S<sup>t</sup>. Clair arriv'd in Camp from Loyal Hannan, & seems much dissatisfied with some Field-Officers there, who contended with him about Rank—<sup>147</sup> Captain M<sup>c</sup>Pherson with 100 Men set off to shorten the New Road.— A 6-Pounder after being mounted on a New Carriage—was fir'd 3 Times. The Wadden struck thro' a Sutler's Tent, & made a great Hole.—

*Thursday September 5<sup>th</sup>.* A Pleasant Day. Drew, & witness'd the Will of a certain Gentleman, going upon the Expedition.— Sir John acquaints me this Morning that he "is going into the Inhabitants to look for Waggons, in which if he should not succeed, the Expedition must go to the D\_\_\_\_["] He strongly solicited me to accompany him; and at last Desir'd me to write to a Gentleman of my Acquaintance who had a great Influence over the Dutch, & might be of much Service to him in getting Waggons:— I wrote to the Gentleman, & am in Hopes Sir John will find him very useful.—<sup>148</sup> Governor Glen, Sir John S<sup>t</sup>. Clair, & Captain Young set off together towards the Inhabitants escorted by 30 Light-Horse.— Colonel Bouquet set out for Loyal Hannan guarded by the Remainder of Captain Hambright's Troop;— And Colonel Mercer takes the Command in his Absence.—<sup>149</sup> It is said that 500 Waggons at least are now wanted for the Expedition.—

<sup>145</sup> Not Ottawas, but Nottaways.

<sup>146</sup> Known unofficially as "Dagworthy's Camp" or "Grant's Paradise," about nine miles down Loyalhanna Creek from the present Ligonier. This place was temporarily considered as an alternate site for the fort finally built at Ligonier. It was garrisoned briefly but abandoned after Maj. Grant's defeat on September 14 near Fort Duquesne.

<sup>147</sup> The reference probably is to Sir John's quarrel with Lt. Col. Stephen on August 24.

<sup>148</sup> Sir John's errand (and Young's part in it) is discussed in Bouquet to Forbes, September 4 (*BP*, 2: 468-470). Forbes' sequent letter of September 9 to Governor Denny appears in *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, 8: 167-169, and *PA*, Eighth Series, 6: 4829-4832. The outcome was a piece of legislation, signed on September 20, entitled "A Supplement to the Act, entitled, An Act for regulating the Hire of Carriages to be employed in his Majesty's Service."

<sup>149</sup> In a letter of September 4 to Washington, Bouquet refers to "Colonel Mercer who will have the Command here" (*BP*, 2: 476-477); and the orderly book notes, under date of September 5, "Orders given by Col<sup>o</sup> Mercer" (*ibid.*, 686).

Wednesday September 6<sup>th</sup>. <sup>Adams County History, Vol. 8 [1902], Art. 150</sup> Having a Curiosity to see Fort Cumberland—<sup>150</sup>  
 I set off about 8 OClock this Morning for that Place in Company with Captain  
 Cameron,<sup>151</sup> Doctor MacClain,<sup>152</sup> & some other Gentlemen.— The Road is good  
 thro a fine rich Valley hem'd in by a Ridge of high Mountains on each Side.—<sup>153</sup>  
 At the Distance of about 8 Miles from Rays-Town, is a large Bason of Water  
 springing out of the Ground, mostly hid by Sedge, Rushes & C<sup>a</sup>.— 2 Miles  
 farther are many Acres of dead Trees, said to be kill'd by Caterpillers:— 4 Miles  
 from thence are 3 fine Springs, & on a Pleasant rising-Ground near them, 2  
 Block-Houses with Bastions, built in such a Manner as to flank each other.—  
 They were erected by Major Lewis to defend the Road-Cutters from sculking  
 Parties of the Enemy.—<sup>154</sup> Upon our Entrance we found a Shot-Bag, & a  
 Handkerchief full of Limes.— At some small Distance upon the Road, one of  
 our Men found a Jacket & Hat;— And in one of the Houses where Fires had  
 been made, were many Tracks in the Ashes—& Human-Excrement just fresh.  
 Here we refresh'd ourselves, & din'd hearty.— Distant from this Place about 12  
 Miles, are 8 or 10 large-natural Pits, call'd the Sink-Holes, which receive the  
 Rains & Waters from the Tops of the Mountains; & after running a considerable  
 Way under Ground, gush out into Springs & little Rivulets. Reach'd Fort  
 Cumberland about 7 OClock the same Evening.— S.S.W. of Rays-Town, &  
 distant 34 Miles.— Here we found Colonel Washington encamp'd with 850 of  
 the Virginia Troops; from whom we had a very polite Reception, & generous,  
 hospital Entertainment.— Lieu<sup>t</sup>. Colonel Mercer,<sup>155</sup> who commands the Second  
 Regiment during the Sickness of Col. Byrd,—<sup>156</sup> treated us in the same Manner.

I spent Next Day in Viewing the Place: The Situation is pleasant enough,  
 almost quite surrounded with high Mountains. Upon a rising-Ground in the  
 Fork of Potowmack & Wills-Creek stands the Fort, which is a trifling Piece of  
 Work.— It was originally a Square-Stockade of 100 Feet with 4 Bastions;— but  
 so ill put up, & the Timber so small, that General Braddock declar'd he could

<sup>150</sup> At the present Cumberland, Md.

<sup>151</sup> Allan Cameron of one of the three "additional companies" of the 1st Highland Battalion.

<sup>152</sup> Lauchlin MacLeane, surgeon with the 1st Highland Battalion, visited Fort Cumberland because of Col. Byrd's proposal that he direct the surgeons mates of the Virginia troops (*BP*, 2:368-369.)

<sup>153</sup> Cumberland Valley is the present Bedford Valley, between Wills Mountain on the west and Evitts Mountain on the east, not to be confused with the Cumberland Valley in the present Cumberland and Franklin counties.

<sup>154</sup> Near the present Centerville, Bedford county, halfway between Raystown and Fort Cumberland.

<sup>155</sup> George Mercer of Col. William Byrd's 2d Virginia Regiment.

<sup>156</sup> Washington had written Bouquet on September 2 that "Col<sup>o</sup> Byrd is very Ill" (*BP*, 2: 466).

make a better with Rotten-Apples.— Since his Time some Improvements have been made— On the Outside of the Stockade, a Sort of Battery has lately been added, which covers about 3 Sides of the Fort— It is made of Square Logs—fill'd with Earth—about 20 Feet thick & 12 high—with a dry Ditch not finish'd.— There are 10 Embrasures with an Iron-4-Pounder planted in each— It is so irregular that I believe Trigonometry cannot give it a Name.— No Part of it will defend the other, & I heard a judicious Gentleman say— He "would rather fight with 50 Men out of it, than with 100 in it."— If it is design'd as a Defence against Cannon, the Spot where it stands is ill chose; For about 300 Yards N.W. of it is a fine Hill, which entirely commands it; & in my Opinion here should be the Fort.—<sup>157</sup> About 400 Yards S.S.W. of it is another Hill on the Virginia Side of Potowmack, from whence it might easily be annoy'd.— On the Top of this Hill is a large Store-house built by the Ohio Company,—<sup>158</sup> which at present serves as a Hospital, & here a Guard of 30 Men is kept, who pass & repass the Powtomack in a Flat— This River at the Ferry runs N.E and by E— About 50 Yards lower it bends round a Point of Land, & receives Will's Creek in the Elbow.— Wills' Creek at the mouth runs S.S.W. After the Junction of Wills' Creek, Potomack runs S.—forming an Isthmus, which at the Distance of 5 Miles from the Bent is not above 4 Miles Over.—

On the Banks of Potowmack about 40 Yards from the Fort are several fine Gardens fenc'd in, which supply the Garrison with all Kinds of Vegetables.— The Barracks are mean, & ill contriv'd.— About 100 Yards S.W. of the Fort, is a large Square Post with a Piramidical Top, & a Plate of Lead with the following Inscription nail'd to one Side of it—

"To the Memory

Of Serjeant W<sup>m</sup>. Shaw, Serjeant Tim<sup>y</sup>. Shaw, Jer<sup>a</sup>. Poor, & Jam<sup>s</sup>. Cope Soldiers Of the 1<sup>st</sup> Virginia Regiment, this Monument is erected: To testify the Love & Esteem paid them by their Officers, for their

Courage & gallant Behaviour.—

Nov: 1756—They went with 11 Catawbias to gain Intelligence, & in the First Encounter with the Enemy met with the success their Courage deserv'd Incited

<sup>157</sup> A plan of Fort Cumberland, sent by Gov. Dinwiddie to the Board of Trade in 1755, has been several times republished and appears in Lawrence Henry Gipson, *The British Empire before the American Revolution*, 6: *The Great War for the Empire* (New York, 1946), facing P. 51.

<sup>158</sup> Completed in 1751 by the Ohio Company of Virginia. The same company built a store-house at the present Brownsville, Fayette County, in 1754 and was the original sponsor of the attempt to build a Virginia fort at the Forks of Ohio in the same year.

By this Advantage, & fir'd with a Noble Ambition to distinguish Themselves:  
They engag'd a Party of the Enemy hard by Fort Du Quesne And fell gloriously  
fighting bravely, being greatly overpowered by  
Superior Numbers.

In Premium Virtutis Erigendum curavit

Adamus Stephen"

Some of these Men afterwards return'd, & are now Officers in the Virginia Service.— They are perhaps the first who ever saw their own Monument, & read their own Epitaph—<sup>159</sup> It appears by a Draught of General Braddock's Route, which Colonel Washington honor'd me with a Sight of—That the Course from Fort Cumberland to Du Quesne is W.N.W. 56 Miles—Then N.N.W. 60 Miles—

Having spent Thursday, Friday, & Saturday very agreeably at this Place— I preach'd at 7 O'Clock on Sunday Morning<sup>160</sup> by Desire of Col. Washington from Nehemiah 4—14.<sup>161</sup> And About 9 O'Clock set out for Rays Town with my worthy Friend Captain Cameron—where we arriv'd about 7 that Evening.—

Here we found the Troops much dejected:— An Expedition for this Season seems to be despair'd of:— Accounts that the General had relaps'd into his Disorder, & was dangerously ill at Fort Loudoun:—<sup>162</sup> Only 20 Day's Provision now in Camp, & a Demand from Fort Cumberland for Part of it to be sent thither:— The Cattle purchas'd in Virginia are very poor, & their Beef scarcely fit to eat:— And no Prospect of getting Waggon, tho' 500 are immediately wanted to forward the King's Service— The Season is far advanc'd—The Leaves

<sup>159</sup> A copy of the foregoing inscription was published in April, 1788, in *The Columbian Magazine* as "an extract from the journal of an officer on General Forbes's expedition," and is reprinted in Will H. Lowdermilk, *History of Cumberland* . . . (Washington, 1878), 266-267. The text is introduced with the words, "About one hundred yards from Fort Cumberland, is a large square post with a pyramidical top, having a plate of lead, with the following inscription nailed on one side of it, viz"; and it is followed by the observation, "Risum teneatus!—Some of these men, afterwards returned, and are now officers in the Virginia service." The almost unaltered quotations from Barton's journal clearly identify it as the source of the text as published.

<sup>160</sup> September 10.

<sup>161</sup> "And I looked, and rose up, and said unto the nobles, and to the rulers, and to the rest of the people, Be not ye afraid of them: remember the Lord, *which is* great and terrible, and fight for your brethren, your sons, and your daughters, your wives, and your houses."

<sup>162</sup> Paymaster James Young returned to Raystown on September 9 with news that Forbes had arrived at Fort Loudoun on the 3d but had suffered a relapse that same night (Young to Bouquet, Raystown, Sept. 10, *BP*, 2: 489).

begin to fall; the Forage to wither—& cold Nights to approach.— All these Circumstances concur to damp our Spirits, & make us uneasy.

*Monday September 11<sup>th</sup>* A hoar Frost this Morning.— Arriv'd To Day 43 Waggons loaded with Provisions & Forage, & 42 Pack-horses with D<sup>o</sup> escorted by a Party under Command of Lieu<sup>t</sup>. Snider.—<sup>163</sup> 30 Pack-horses went to Fort Cumberland with Flour, guarded by a Party under Ensign Jones.—<sup>164</sup> Accounts from Loyal Hannan are, that a Serjeant with 6 Men who had been viewing Du Quesne had return'd with 3 Horses which they took out of a Penn near that Place; that soon after 6 Indians came to Loyal Hannan, & retaliated the Affront— They attack'd 4 Men in a Pasture, 2 of which ran away immediately—the other 2 fought bravely—but they kill'd & scalp'd one (a Highlander) & carried off the other (a Virginian) Prisoner.—<sup>165</sup> That Colonel Dagworthy had march'd with 300 Men to take Possession of a Post 14 Miles beyond Loyal Hannan.—<sup>166</sup> That Major Grant with 750 Men consisting of Highlanders; Royal Americans, & Virginians was gone upon a Secret Expedition towards the Ohio—<sup>167</sup> Sir Allen MacClain inform'd me the Scheme was to draw a Party if possible into an Ambush, & if they succeeded, to march directly to Logs-Town 14 Miles below Du Quesne, where several Families of French and Indians resided, & put all to the Sword;—<sup>168</sup> And that a Light-Horse-Man who had been sent Express by Sir John S<sup>t</sup>. Clair from Loyal Hannan, & thought to have deserted—was found in the woods a perfect Skeleton, having lost his Way, & wander'd about the Wilderness several Days without any Food, except what Nature threw in his Way— He is however likely to do well, & brought in all the Papers safe.—<sup>169</sup>

<sup>163</sup> Jacob Snyder of the 1st Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment.

<sup>164</sup> Probably John Jones in Capt. John Singleton's company of "new levies" assigned to the 2d Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment. (There was also an Ensign Samuel Jones in Capt. William Biles' company in the 3d Battalion.) See the Orderly Book for September 10: "Two Sub<sup>s</sup> 2 Serj<sup>s</sup> 2 Corporals & 30 private to escort Pack Horses to Fort Cumberland tomorrow morning" (BP, 2: 688.)

<sup>165</sup> See Bouquet to Forbes, Camp at Loyalhanna, Sept. 11 (BP, 2: 489-492), where this episode is related.

<sup>166</sup> Actually the "advantageous Post" referred to by Barton on September 4. The distance now given is too great.

<sup>167</sup> This was the undertaking that ended in Grant's complete defeat near Fort Duquesne on September 14.

<sup>168</sup> This objective of the expedition is not mentioned in official explanations of the affair made after the event. See especially, Bouquet to Forbes, Camp at Loyal Hannan, Sept. 17 (BP, 2: 513-514).

<sup>169</sup> Thomas Glen of Capt. William Thompson's troop of light horse disappeared August 29 on his way from Loyalhanna to Raystown, and was assumed to have deserted to the French. He arrived at Raystown on September 9 (BP, 2: 449, 488).

*Tuesday September 12<sup>th</sup>* Williams County, North Carolina, Vol. 1, 1789, p. 44. Fires are made Up & down the Camp which become highly necessary not only to moderate the Air, but to dissipate the unwholesome & gross Vapours & Fogs to which this Place is greatly subject.— Last Night one of the 3 Ohio-Indians who came in a few Days ago with Keeshity—treacherously deserted, & it is thought he will immediately proceed to Fort Du Quesne to give the French Intelligence of our Proceedings.—<sup>170</sup> Captains Bosomworth & McKee<sup>171</sup> set off To Day for the Advanc'd-Posts, with a Party of the dastardly, ungrateful Cherokees.—

*Wednesday September 13<sup>th</sup>*. Captain Blackwood<sup>172</sup> with 35 Men arriv'd from Fort Littleton.— M<sup>r</sup> Bartholemew came from Loyal Hannan with a Brigade of empty Waggons.— Lieu<sup>t</sup>. Quicksell<sup>173</sup> set off With 20 Men to escort a Number of Pack-Horses loaded with Flour for the Advanc'd Posts.— Ensign Jones return'd from Fort Cumberland with his Party, who acquaints us that Governor Sharp<sup>174</sup> was arriv'd at that Place with 200 of the Maryland Militia to garrison the Fort while the Virginia Troops are employ'd upon the Expedition.—

*Thursday September 14<sup>th</sup>*. The State of Provisions is now so low, that Commissary Clark<sup>175</sup> is dispatched to the Inhabitants to forward some immediately.—

<sup>170</sup> See the journal entry for August 31.

<sup>171</sup> Thomas McKee, an Indian trader, was known as Captain McKee from his service in Benjamin Franklin's Association of 1747-1748 (*PA*, Fifth Series, 1: 24). He commanded a garrison at Fort Hunter, north of the present Harrisburg, in the first four months of 1756. On September 10 Captain Bosomworth wrote Bouquet from Raystown that "the Interpreter to the Indians" (probably McKee) had been sick since the 5th, but that he intended "marching to morrow or the next day at farthest with all the Cherokee & Ohio Indians to join the others at the Advanced Post" (*BP*, 2: 486).

<sup>172</sup> John Blackwood of the 3d Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment. He and most of his company had been at Reading until about May 20, when they left for Raystown.

<sup>173</sup> Joseph Quicksel of Capt. Jacob Orndt's company of the 2d Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment. Identification as a lieutenant probably results from Orndt's being commissioned, as of June 2, 1758, as major in the 1st Battalion. Orders were given on September 13 that "Ensign Quicksel with 20 Men of the 2<sup>d</sup> Batt<sup>n</sup> Penns<sup>a</sup> R<sup>t</sup> just arrived from Lyttleton is to proceed to Loyal Hannon, as an Escort to Pack Horses." (*BP*, 2: 689).

<sup>174</sup> Horatio Sharpe, Governor of Maryland 1753-1769.

<sup>175</sup> Daniel Clark. Col. Mercer wrote from Raystown on September 14 that "M<sup>r</sup> Clark is gone to the Settlement to hurry up the live Stock & other Provisions there" (*BP*, 2: 505); on September 23

The King's Hospital contains this Day 157 Sick Persons.— Many of our Provincial Officers got drunk this Night; broke their Shins in returning Home, & were upon Crutches thro' the Camp next Day.—

Friday September 15<sup>th</sup> 1758— General Forbes arriv'd in Camp this Day,<sup>176</sup> carried in a Sort of a Sedan-Litter between 2 Horses;— & guarded by Captain Thompson's Troop of Light Horse, & Colonel Montgomery with 100 Highlanders.— He was in a low State, yet a great Satisfaction & Pleasure appear'd in his Countenance upon finding himself at Rays Town with his Troops.— The Roads were crowded with People to see him, whom he saluted with a Smile as he pass'd along— And they in their Turn discover'd a secret Joy upon seeing him:— He was conducted to the Highland-Camp by a Number of Gentlemen who went 5 or 6 Miles to meet him, where a pretty little Territ with a good Chimney, lin'd within with Boards, & without with Oil-Cloths, was prepar'd for him.—<sup>177</sup> The Troops seem to [be] inspir'd with fresh Spirits upon the General's Arrival, & a Chearfulness appears in every Face.—<sup>178</sup>

A Party set off in the Morning for Loyal Hannan commanded by Capt. McPherson & Ensign Jones, with 100 Bullocks & 200 Sheep for the Troops there.— A Number of Pack Horses return'd from the above Place escorted by Lieu<sup>t</sup>. Prentice<sup>179</sup> with a Party in Order to carry up Flour.— The State of Provi-

Capt. James Sinclair wrote from the same place that "Mr Clark is returned from Carlile, he has brought us a hundred & fifty Bullocks" (ibid., 539).

<sup>176</sup>The date of arrival is confirmed by the Bouquet orderly book, where the final entry of this date is prefaced with the notation, "General Forbes's Orders" (BP, 2: 689); and letters of Col. Mercer to Washington, September 15 (Hamilton, *Letters to Washington*, 3: 102), and of Forbes himself to Bouquet, September 17 (James, 212; BP, 2: 522) give the same date. However, Forbes to Sharpe, dated September 16 (James, 211) places the General at Juniata the night before. The simplest explanation seems to be that letters drafted or dictated by Forbes in the evening may have been written out and dated the following day with no change in wording. There are other examples of Forbes' letters similarly misdated.

<sup>177</sup>Engineer Harry Gordon had declined, on July 22, to prepare accommodations for Forbes (BP, 2: 259). In December, when the campaign had ended, Capt. Lewis Ourry took possession of "the Gen<sup>l</sup>s Hut" (ibid., 631-632).

<sup>178</sup>Forbes' poor health, his long delayed march to Raystown, and consequent anxiety regarding the success of the campaign are the chief defense for Bouquet's authorization of Maj. Grant's unfortunate action against Fort Duquesne, an affair of which Forbes was only imperfectly informed by Bouquet's letter of September 11 (BP, 2: 489-492). Grant was defeated the day before Forbes' arrival at Raystown, but the news was not received there until four days later.

<sup>179</sup>John Prentice of the 1st Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment.

sions at that Place is so low, & the Pack Horses so much abus'd that the Artillery-Horses are oblig'd to be loaded with Flour & sent up this Evening.—

*Saturday September 16<sup>th</sup>.* This Afternoon the 3 additional Companies of Highlanders commanded by Sir Allen MacClane, Captain Cameron, & Captain Robinson march'd to join the Forces at Loyal-Hannan.—<sup>180</sup> About the same Time Colonel Washinton arriv'd in Camp from Fort Cumberland escorted by Captain Stewart's Troop of Virginia Light-Horse.—

About 7 OClock P.M. there was Thunder & Lightning, which is the first that has been seen or heard since we came to Rays-Town, tho' we have had heavy Gusts frequently— After Night there was a heavy Rain, but it did not last long.— Very sultry all Night.— It is said that the Troops at Loyal Hannan told Colonel Bouquet they would be willing to eat Leaves provided the Expedition would go on.— And it is to be hop'd these brave Men will get an Opportunity to display their Courage & Zeal for their King & Country.—

*Sunday September 17<sup>th</sup>.* By Order of the General preach'd to all the Troops at 11 O'Clock P.M.— from S<sup>t</sup>. John's Revelation 2<sup>d</sup>. Chap & 5<sup>th</sup>. Verse.—<sup>181</sup> About 1 OClock arriv'd an Express from Philad<sup>a</sup>. with Accounts that Col. Bradstreet had taken & destroy'd Fort Frontenac;— burnt all the French Shipping on Lake Ontario; and got Possession of Furs, Skins, &C to the Value of 70,000 £ Sterling— That the Indians were surprisingly alter'd for the better; & that Col. Bradstreet had gone down the River S<sup>t</sup>. Lawrence, with a Design, it is thought to attack La Galette.<sup>182</sup>

Col. Washington return'd to Fort Cumberland with the Escort that came with him.—

Late this Evening Lieu<sup>t</sup>. Evans<sup>183</sup> of the Royal Americans came from Loyal Hanning with a Party guarding a Number of empty Waggons.—

<sup>180</sup> Capt. James Robertson (not Robinson).

<sup>181</sup> "Remember therefore from whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do the first works; or else I will come unto thee quickly, and will remove thy candlestick out of his place, except thou repent." The relevance of the text is not obvious.

<sup>182</sup> A captain in the Royal American Regiment, John Bradstreet was made a lieutenant colonel by William Pitt, who authorized his attack on Fort Frontenac following Abercromby's defeat at Ticonderoga. Frontenac, which controlled the entrance into the St. Lawrence River from Lake Ontario, surrendered on August 27. The news was added as a postscript to Forbes' letter of September 17 to Bouquet (BP, 2: 524).

<sup>183</sup> John Evans.



*Monday, September 18<sup>th</sup>.* A very cold Morning— At 12 O’Clock P.M.—A grand Feu de Joye for the Success of his Majesty’s Arms against Fort Frontenac, when 3 Twelve-Pounders were fir’d 7 Rounds each; which was repeatedly answer’d by Vollies of Small Arms from the different Camps.—<sup>184</sup> Lieu<sup>t</sup>. Craighead<sup>185</sup> return’d from the Allegeny, where he was sent to escort Horses loaded with Flour for y<sup>e</sup> Advanc’d Posts.— In the Evening a Number of Pack Horses were sent to Fort Loudoun to bring up Flour, guarded by a Number of Draughts who are to take Post at Fort-Juniata under the Command of Cap<sup>t</sup>. Aston & 2 Subalterns.—<sup>186</sup>

*Tuesday September 19<sup>th</sup>—* Went out about 2 Miles into the Woods with 2 Officers to fowl, & Shot some Pidgeons.— While we were out we hear’d 24 Cannon fired in Camp, & imagining that an Express had arriv’d with some joyfull Accounts— we return’d & found that the Gunners were only practising.— In a few Minutes after arriv’d an Express from Loyal Hannan with the melancholy News that Major Grant, who on the 9<sup>th</sup>. Ins<sup>t</sup>. set off with 800 Men towards Fort Du Quesne, was defeated near that Place about 5 Days ago.—<sup>187</sup> All the Particulars of that unhappy Affair that are yet come to Hand, are as follow— That on the 13<sup>th</sup>. Ins<sup>t</sup>. at Night 300 Men dress’d in White Shirts, commanded by Captain M<sup>c</sup>Donald<sup>188</sup> went to the Fort; & that M<sup>r</sup>. Rohr<sup>189</sup> an Engineer measur’d the Walls & took a Draught of it:— That they burnt many Huts about the Fort, & even attempted to force the Pickets, without being challeng’d by a Centinel

<sup>184</sup> Forbes’ intention to “fire a feu de joye here to morrow” is expressed in his letter of September 17. Official orders for September 15-20 are unavailable; the Bouquet orderly book, published in *BP*, 2: 656-690, terminates with the orders of September 14. The manuscript Forbes orderly book in the Toner Manuscript Collection, Library of Congress, begins with orders of September 21.

<sup>185</sup> Patrick Craighead of Capt. Charles McClung’s company, 3d Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment.

<sup>186</sup> George Aston (or Ashton) of the 3d Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment.

<sup>187</sup> For accounts of this affair by participants, see Grant to Forbes, n.d. (c. September 22), in *BP*, 2: 499-504, and the journal of Thomas Gist (the “Ensign Guest” of *BP*, 2: 509), in *PMHB*, 80 (1956), 289-293. Accounts based on information from participants appear in the correspondence of Washington, Bouquet (*BP*, 2: 513-517), Joseph Shippen (*PMHB*, 36 [1912], 462-463; *BP*, 2: 527-528), and others.

<sup>188</sup> William McDonald of the 1st Highland Battalion, later reported “Killed or missing” (*BP*, 2: 508).

<sup>189</sup> Ensign Charles Rohr of the Royal American Regiment was also “Killed or missing.” He was to have made a plan of the fort (see Bouquet to Forbes, September 11, *BP*, 2: 490), but it seems unlikely that he actually did so.

or any other Person— That the Centinels upon the Walls, at the Time our Men were employ'd in this Manner, cry'd out in English— "Turn out the Relief, All's Well."—<sup>190</sup> On the 14<sup>th</sup>. in the Morning Major Grant order'd the Revallee to be beat, & soon after began his March towards the Fort with Drums beating, Pipes playing & C<sup>a</sup>.— That he stay'd before the Place a considerable Time before he met with any Disturbance; At last the Enemy rush'd out in great Numbers (some say 1000) dress'd in White Shirts in Imitation of our Men the Night before, & attack'd the Highlanders and Royal Americans who at this Time were advanc'd within 300 Yards of the Fort under Command of Major Grant. Major Lewis who was left with the Baggage a Mile behind, press'd forward with the Virginians, as soon as he heard the Attack begin, & left Captain Bullet<sup>191</sup> to take Care of the Baggage in his Stead.— That they fought obstinately & boldly on both Sides for above an Hour; & that the Highlanders gave Way first & could not be rallied again; That the others kept firing & retreating till they reach'd the Place where Captain Bullet was with the Baggage; And that as soon as Major Lewis fell,<sup>192</sup> Bullet fill'd his Place with great Resolution & Bravery, running about, & praying the Men to stand & fight; but having lost at this Time above 250 Men, they could not be prevail'd upon, & immediately retreated as fast as possible; & by the Assistance of some Horses which Cap<sup>t</sup>. Shelby took from the French-Pastures on the other Side of the River, carried off all the Wounded.— In this Action the Royal-Americans lost 4 Officers & 35 Soldiers:— The Highlanders 10 Officers & 131 Men:— The Virginians 6 Officers & 103 Men:— The Carolinians 4 Men & no Officer:— The Marylanders 1 Officer & 27 Men:— The Lower Counties 2 Men & no Officer:— And the Pennsylvanians 1 Officer & 18 Men.—<sup>193</sup> Captain Bullet was the last that left the Field, & seeing Major Grant sitting on a Log without a Wound or any Hurt, & ask'd him if he Could not come away; but he absolutely

<sup>190</sup> Whatever the source of Barton's account of operations on the night of the 13th, it is not supported by other reports and is not very convincing. His narrative of the action on the 14th, however, is in better agreement with other accounts.

<sup>191</sup> Thomas Bullitt of the 1st Virginia Regiment.

<sup>192</sup> Reported "Killed or missing," Lewis was taken prisoner with Maj. Grant (*BP*, 2: 504).

<sup>193</sup> This is consistent with a list published in *PA*, Fifth Series, 1: 253-254, except that the Virginians lost 61 men, not 103; the latter is the number who returned not wounded. The less accurate copy in *BP*, 2: 508-509, reports 187 Highlanders lost, and no Virginians (instead of 131 and 61), yet it arrives at the same total of 278.

refus'd, saying his "Heart was broke."— Upon which Captain Bullet left him, & knows not what became of him afterwards.—

Captain Armstrong<sup>194</sup> arriv'd this Evening from Loyal Hannan with 100 Men of the first Battalion, guarding 80 Sick to the Hospital, 2 of which dy'd the Night he arriv'd.— A General Court Martial sat this Day to try a Number of Men for Desertion.—<sup>195</sup>

*Wednesday September 20<sup>th</sup>.* An Express arriv'd from the East-ward: but Nothing transpires. Lieu<sup>t</sup>. MacMartin<sup>196</sup> of the Highlanders arriv'd from Fort Cumberland with 40 Men.— Lieu<sup>t</sup>. Evans of the R-Americans set out with a Party to escort 114 Pack-Horses loaded with Provisions for the Advanc'd Posts, & one Waggon with Powder & Ball.— Major Campbell<sup>197</sup> arriv'd this Evening from the Crossings of Juniata with a large Party of Highlanders.— Orders are issued that no Officer for the future shall appear in a Blanket Coat.—<sup>198</sup> The General rid out this Afternoon in his Litter to view the Fort, Camps, Breastworks & C<sup>a</sup>.—

*Thursday September 21<sup>st</sup>.* Colonels Washington & Byrd arriv'd from Fort Cumberland with the Remainder of the 2 Virginia Regiments, consisting of about 1000 Men.— Captain Ghist<sup>199</sup> & I rid out 7 Miles to meet them, & finding Colonel Washington Afoot, I dismounted, & walk'd the whole Way with him to Camp.— Colonel Byrd who had just arose from a Sick-Bed, & Doctor M<sup>c</sup>Clain, who had been taken ill at Fort Cumberland, were carried in Litters made in Imitation of the General's.—<sup>200</sup> Ensign M<sup>c</sup>.Dowel<sup>201</sup> arriv'd from Fort Littleton with a Party

<sup>194</sup> William Armstrong, a brother of Col. Armstrong, served in the 1st Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment. Col. Armstrong wrote Bouquet from Stony Creek, on September 17, that "Capt Armstrong proceeds with the Waggons & Sick for Reas' Town. . . ." (BP, 2: 525).

<sup>195</sup> The court, "whereof Col<sup>o</sup> Mercer is Presid<sup>t</sup>," met again on September 23. It tried ten men, all but one for desertion; two were acquitted, including one of the alleged deserters; of the guilty, three were sentenced to be whipped, five to be shot (Forbes orderly book, September 22-24).

<sup>196</sup> Cosmo McMartin.

<sup>197</sup> Alexander Campbell, second major of the 1st Highland Battalion, was presumably ordered up to replace Maj. Grant, now a prisoner.

<sup>198</sup> Orders for this date are not available.

<sup>199</sup> Christopher Gist, acting as an Indian agent for Virginia, claimed to have secured the services of the Catawba, Tuscarora, and Nottaway Indians mentioned in the entries for August 27 and September 4 (BP, 2: 210-211, 214, 354).

<sup>200</sup> See the entry for September 6.

<sup>201</sup> William McDowell of Capt. Thomas Hamilton's company of the 3d Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment.

Party escorting 54 Waggon<sup>s</sup> & 84 Pack Horses loaded with Provisions & Forage.— An Officer & 30 Men are sent with a Flag of Truce to Fort Du Quesne with private Instructions.—<sup>202</sup> Mr Basset an Engineer is sent to oversee the Repairing of the Roads between Forts Loudoun and Littleton.—<sup>203</sup> The Express receives Orders to carry no private Letters out of Camp.—

*Friday September 22<sup>d</sup>.* Receiv'd a Letter from Colonel Dagworthy at Loyal Hannan with the Particulars of Major Grant's Expedition.—

An Elk is brought into Camp, which weighs near 400<sup>lb</sup>.— The Horns are very large; & the Flesh like that of a Bull.— The Officers of the 3<sup>d</sup>. Battalion practise the manuel Exercise under the Direction of the Serjeant Major.— Captains Blackwood & Stone are sent to view the Roads at Dunning's Narrows.—<sup>204</sup>

Colonel Dagworthy is re-call'd from his Post on the Waters of Kiskiminitas<sup>205</sup> to join the Forces at Loyal Hannan.—

Ensign Finny of the Lower Counties, is promoted to a Lieutenancy in the same Corps & M<sup>r</sup>. George Wells Son of Major Wells, a young publick-spirited Volunteer, to an Ensigncy in Captain Gooding's Company.—<sup>206</sup> Orders issued that a Detachment consisting of 1 Cap<sup>t</sup>., 3 Subalterns, 4 Serjeants, & 70 Men be posted upon the different Roads leading to Camp, at about a Mile Distance; to stop all Straglers, Soldiers & others going to, or coming from Camp without proper Passes or Licenses— They are to patrol Day & Night to watch scouting

<sup>202</sup> The officer was Ensign Archibald Blane, of the Royal Americans. Bouquet's orders to him, dated September 19 at Loyalhanna, were to deliver a letter to the French commander. The orders, a copy of Bouquet's letter, and DeLigneris' reply, dated September 22 at Fort Duquesne, are published in *BP*, 2:525-526, 533.

<sup>203</sup> Lt. Thomas Basset of the Royal American Regiment. His mission, as reported by Forbes to Bouquet, was to repair the road between Fort Loudoun and Fort Juniata (*BP*, 2:537).

<sup>204</sup> Capt. Ludwick Stone of the 3d Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment. Dunning's Narrows were east of Raystown, where the Juniata breaches Evitts Mountain, just below the mouth of Dunning's Creek.

<sup>205</sup> "Dagworthy's Camp."

<sup>206</sup> Wells was promoted from private.

Parties of the Enemy.—<sup>207</sup>

*Saturday September 23<sup>d</sup>.*— A Party commanded by Cap<sup>t</sup>. Boyd<sup>208</sup> & 2 Subalterns are sent to escort 60 Waggons loaded with Provisions to the Advanc'd Posts.— Another Party sent to the same Places commanded by Captain Armstrong & Lieu<sup>t</sup>. Prentice, with 164 Pack Horses loaded with Flour.—<sup>209</sup> Two Highland Officers who were in the Action with Major Grant arriv'd, & give much the same Accounts we had before.— The Guards take Post upon the different Roads, agreeable to Yesterday's Orders.— Captain Young with the military Chest goes forward, guarded by 40 Men of the 3<sup>d</sup>. Battalion of the Pennsylv<sup>a</sup>. Reg<sup>t</sup>.— Lieu<sup>t</sup>. Johnson<sup>210</sup> arriv'd from Carlisle with Part of Cap<sup>t</sup>. Blackwood's Company escorting 115 Bullocks, & 39 Sheep.— About 2 OClock P.M. fell very large Hail Stones— Soon after it lighten'd, thunder'd, & rain'd— In the Night many Flocks of wild-Geese flew over Camp towards the Southward.—

*Sunday September 24<sup>th</sup>.* M<sup>r</sup>. Monro<sup>211</sup> Chaplain to the Highland Regiment preach'd to all the Troops from Sam. 10 Chap: & 12 Verse.—<sup>212</sup> Captain Eastburn<sup>213</sup> return'd from Loyal Hannan, sick.— Receiv'd Orders from Major Halket<sup>214</sup> to attend John Hannah Soldier in the 1<sup>st</sup>. Virginia Reg<sup>t</sup>., Thomas Williams Soldier in the Maryland-Companies, Benjamin Murphy, & Salathiel Mixon of the N. Carolina Companies, & John Doyle of the Pennsylvania Regiment, who are all adjudg'd to suffer Death by the general Court Martial, whereof Col. Mercer was President, & orderd by the General to be shot at 7

<sup>207</sup> Orders of this date specify two detachments of this size, one to guard roads to the west, north, and northeast; one to guard those to the east, south, and southwest ( Forbes orderly book, September 22).

<sup>208</sup> Robert Boyd of the 3d Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment.

<sup>209</sup> Orders for September 22 direct "the Detachm<sup>t</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> Battall<sup>n</sup> of Pensyl<sup>a</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> to march to morrow as an Escort to provisions for Loyall Hannon" (Forbes orderly book). Capt. James Sinclair wrote from Raystown on September 23 that he had sent, under two escorts, 55 wagons and 160 pack horses (BP, 2: 539).

<sup>210</sup> William Johnson of Capt. John Blackwood's company of the 3d Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment.

<sup>211</sup> Henry Monro.

<sup>212</sup> "Be of good courage, and let us play the men for our people, and for the cities of our God: and the LORD do that which seemeth him good."

<sup>213</sup> Robert Eastburn of a company of "new levies" assigned to the 2d Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment.

<sup>214</sup> Francis Halkett, a captain in the 44th Regiment of Foot, served as Gen. Forbes' aide-de-camp.

O'Clock on Tuesday Morning next.—<sup>215</sup> Captain Steuart of the 1<sup>st</sup>. Virginia Reg<sup>t</sup>. who was in the Action with Major Grant, reports, that it will be extremely difficult to make a Road from Loyal Hannan to Fort Du Quesne; while Cap<sup>t</sup>. Callender, & some others report the Contrary, & say, that an excellent Road may be made, & that they will undertake with 500 Men to open one in 5 Days fit for any Carriages to pass; such a one as Waggon's may easily travel with 20<sup>c</sup> each.—<sup>216</sup>

Captain McGrew<sup>217</sup> set off to take Post at Juniata-Fort in Room of Captain Aston,<sup>218</sup> who is charg'd with Disobedience of Orders, & sent for to make his Defence.—

*Monday September 25<sup>th</sup>.* At 6 O'Clock this Morning visited & pray'd with the Prisoners, who have not yet receiv'd their Sentence.— About 2 O'Clock P.M. arriv'd Cap<sup>t</sup>. Patterson with 40 Men wounded in the late unhappy Action<sup>219</sup> some were carried in Litters, & some on Horses.—Ensign Kirkpatrick who had been accidentally shot thro' the Knee at Loyal Hannan, Lieu<sup>t</sup>. Bryan & Lieu<sup>t</sup>. Lattimore,<sup>220</sup> came in at the same Time in a bad State of Health.—<sup>221</sup>

Receiv'd an Invitation from Major Halket Aid du Camp, to dine this Day with the General, who was very facetious & in high Spirits at Table, tho' extremely weak & in a low State of Health:— He enquir'd much into the Moral State of the Army; declar'd he was concern'd at not being able to attend Divine Service; & that he was sorry I had so disagreeable an Office upon my Hands at present, as that of attending Persons under Sentence of Death.— Much was also said about

<sup>215</sup> Results of the court martial of September 19 and 23 were published in orders of September 24, where Mixon appears inaccurately as "Sallateell Nicholson" and Doyle is more precisely identified as of "Cap<sup>t</sup> Pattersons Comp<sup>y</sup>" (James Patterson; Forbes orderly book).

<sup>216</sup> The argument of the two captains illustrates the sustained dispute between Virginia and Pennsylvania over the practicality of a direct (Pennsylvania) road from Raystown to the Ohio.

<sup>217</sup> Archibald McGrew of the 3d Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment.

<sup>218</sup> See the entry for September 18.

<sup>219</sup> Grant's defeat on September 14.

<sup>220</sup> Lts. John Bryan and Robert Latimore and Ensign David Kirkpatrick were among the signers of the July 4 petition for a Presbyterian chaplain, mentioned in the Introduction [see, Hunter, *PMHB*, 95 (1971), 433]. Bryan and Kirkpatrick were of Captain John McClughan's company from the Lower Counties. Latimore served in the Pennsylvania Regiment (*PA*, Fifth Series, 1: 267).

<sup>221</sup> Following this, a line of the manuscript—apparently "Din'd with the General . . ."—has been erased and written over.

the Expedition, which is not proper to mention.— An Express arriv'd from Philad<sup>a</sup>. with Advices from England— We learn that our Affairs in Germany are in a good State;— That the Duke of Malbro is return'd to England, & that the Minister is not pleas'd at his Coming so soon & C<sup>a</sup>.—<sup>222</sup>

Visited the Prisoners in the Evening, who I found in Tears under terrible Apprehensions of approaching Death.— I pray'd with them; & examin'd into the State of their Souls, & their Preparations for Eternity;— but to my great Mortification found very little Sense of Religion in any of them. Before I left them an Officer came in with the General's Pardon to John Hannah, Thomas Williams, Benjamin Murphy & Salathiel Mixon, who seem'd more affected and more penitent at the Thoughts of Living than the Thoughts of dying; They were immediately discharg'd.—<sup>223</sup>

Thomas Keinton<sup>224</sup> came from Loyal Hannan with 70 Horses;— About the same Number are discharg'd, being render'd unfit for Service.— It is said that some of our Grass-Guards upon hearing the Cackling of Wild-Geese at Night, ran into Camp, & declar'd they had heard the Voice of Indians all around them.—

*Tuesday September 26<sup>th</sup>.* Very early this Morning visited & pray'd with John Doyle, who is to be shot to Death at 7 O'Clock P.M. [sic, A.M. intended].— He told me he was brought up a Papist; & as his Conscience never supply'd him with sufficient Reasons to renounce that Profession, he was resolv'd to dye one—yet as he made no Doubt but the Prayers of good Men would avail much, he beg'd of me to stay with him the few Minutes he had to live, & attend him to the Place of Execution; to which I agreed.— In a little Time came in the Provost,<sup>225</sup> & pin'd a Paper to his Breast with these dreadful words—Viz—

<sup>222</sup>This presumably refers to Marlborough's return to England in early July with forces that had operated near St. Maio on the north coast of Brittany but had failed to take that place.

<sup>223</sup>"John Hannah Soldier belonging to the 1<sup>st</sup> Virg<sup>n</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> Thomas Williams of the Maryland Comp<sup>ys</sup> Benj<sup>n</sup> Murphy & Salateel Mixon of the N<sup>o</sup> Carolina Comp<sup>ys</sup> ordered by the Sentence of a Gen<sup>l</sup> Court Martial to be shot tomorrow morning for desertion But their Officers from some favorable Circumstances and in hopes that the flagrant Example now before them of the Grossness of their Crimes in Cheating & Robing their King & Country will have a proper Influence upon their future Conduct, have Appeald to the Gen<sup>l</sup> to pardon them; He therefore freely grants their request & orders them To Join their respective Corps to morrow after the Execution in hopes that it may have the desir'd Effect" (Forbes orderly book, September 25).

<sup>224</sup>Thomas Kinton or Kenton, a Pennsylvania Indian trader, apparently first licensed in 1748. For references to him in 1759, see James Kenny's journal, *PMHB*, 37 (1913), 406-441 passim.

"Camp at Rays Town September 26<sup>th</sup>. 1758

"John Doyle, a Soldier in Captain Patterson's Company in the Pennsylvania Reg<sup>t</sup>., is to be shot to Death for Desertion.—"

I walk'd with him to the Place of Execution, surrounded by a strong Guard.— He behav'd with uncommon Resolution;— exhorted his Brother-Soldiers to take Example by his Misfortunes;— To live sober Lives;— to beware of bad Company;— to shun pretended Friends, & loose wicked Companions, "who, says, he, will treat you with Civility & great Kindness over a Bottle; but will deceive & ruin you behind your Backs:"— But above all he charg'd them never to deser<sup>t</sup>.— When he saw the Six Men that were to shoot him, he enquir'd if they were good Marks-Men; and immediately strip'd off his Coat, open'd his Breast, kneel'd down, & said— "Come Fellow-Soldiers, advance near me—do your Office well, point at my Heart,— for God's Sake do not miss me, & take Care not to disfigure me."— He would suffer no Handkerchief to be ty'd over his Face, but look'd at his Executioners to the last, who advanc'd so near him that the Muzzles of their Guns were within a Foot of his Body.— Upon a Signal from the Serjeant Major they fir'd, but shot so low that his Bowels fell out—his Shirt & Breeches were all on Fire, & he tumbled upon his Side;— rais'd one Arm 2 or 3 Times, & soon expir'd. A shocking Spectacle to all around him; & a striking Example to his Fellow Soldiers.—<sup>226</sup>

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[William Hunter added the following as the conclusion to his 1971 reprint of Barton's journal:

## EPILOGUE

(Forbes orderly book, September 28, 1758, Toner Manuscript Collection, Library of Congress.)

As the late example of Doyle who was shot to Death for Desertion by Sentence of a Gen<sup>l</sup> Court Martial & the Clemency shown the others will it is hoped have a good effect upon the rest of the Army in preventing that Scandalous & infamous crime of Desertion by which they bring sure Ruin to themselves & shew their endeavours of betraying their Country to their Enemies;

the General therefore flatters himself that their will be no such thing for the Future & that though he is sensible that the Men have gone through a great deal of Fatigue during this Campaign, yet the remainder being so Short & the advance posts of the Army almost at y<sup>e</sup> Enemyes Nose the Gen<sup>l</sup> therefore with great con-

<sup>225</sup>Of the military police.

<sup>226</sup>Here, abruptly, the journal ends, with almost three quarters of its last page left blank.



fidence depends upon the Mens Alicrity & Steadiness in Carrying on the rest of the Service that we may shew our Enemys the danger of Rousing Brittons fired & animated with Love of their King & Country.

He therefore entreats & recommends to the whole that Considering the few numbers our Army Army [sic] consists of & the many Labourious & fatigueing Steps that are to be executed) everyone in his Station will Contribute all in his power to the forwarding of the Service with Alicrity & pleasure as every one must be Sensible that a good Understanding & a Mutual Cement of Hands & Hearts will most Certainly be the most surest means of a Completion to all our wishes, that is success over our Enemys & the Support & prosperity of these Provinces.

Gen<sup>l</sup> Forbes has been pleasd to Release all the prisoners in the Fort & the different Corps are to send for them accordingly.]

## **The Benjamin Loan Mills** **by** **Barbara and John Senier**

### **Summary of Mill Owners:**

Benjamin Loan	Pre-1770 <sup>R</sup>
Thomas Blackburn	1773 <sup>D</sup>
William Nelson	1790 <sup>D</sup>
Henry Smyser	1794 <sup>D</sup>
Samuel Gilliland	1809 <sup>T</sup>
Heirs of Samuel Gilliland	1812 <sup>E</sup>
Joseph Latshaw	1827 <sup>E</sup>
Peter Latshaw	1838 <sup>T</sup>
Abraham Fisher, Sr.	1842 <sup>T</sup>
Isaac & Abraham Fisher, Jr.	1850 <sup>T</sup>
Abraham Fisher, Jr.	1853 <sup>T</sup>
George W. Erb & Lebright E. Hartzell	1857 <sup>E</sup>
George W. Erb	1861 <sup>E</sup>
Charles A. Hartzell	1862 <sup>T</sup>
Israel Bricker	1866 <sup>T</sup>
George Nickey & Jacob S. Baker	1870 <sup>D</sup>
Samuel Stough	1874 <sup>T</sup>
William Jacobs	1877 <sup>T</sup>
Christian Deardorff	1884 <sup>T</sup>

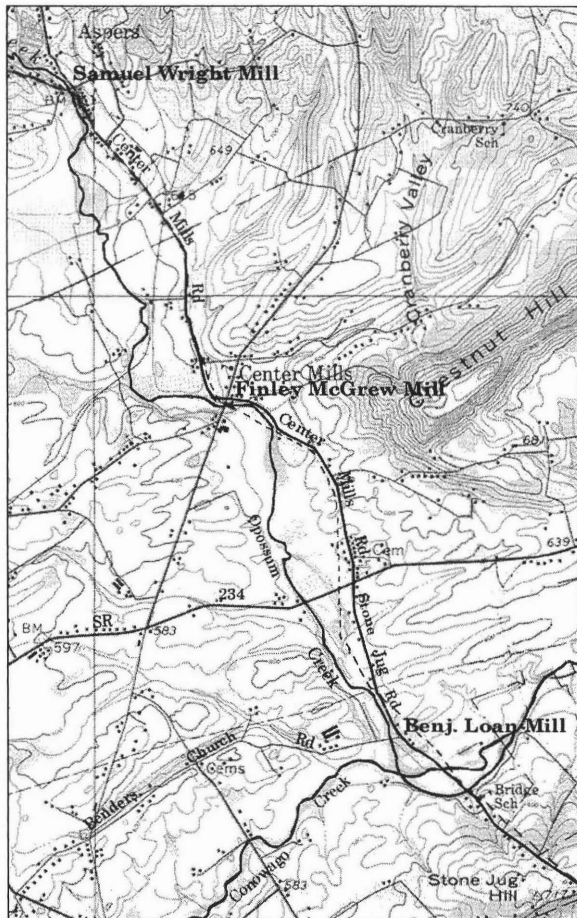
(Source of First-Year Ownership: D - Deed E - Estate Papers R - Road Petition T - Tax Records)

Although there was a time when the Benjamin Loan Mills were alive with activity, those days are now gone. They ended a century ago when the gristmill and the sawmill closed in 1901 after yet another fire. When the smoke cleared, Christian Deardorff, the mills' last owner, may have sighed with relief, for he had been trying sporadically to sell the mills for thirteen years, ever since he had

rebuilt them after an earlier fire. In 1901, when again faced with fire-damaged mills, Deardorff decided not to rebuild them. In doing so, he also closed the last chapter in the history of these mills.

That history was similar to the history of many gristmills in Adams county. The exact date of the mills' beginning is lost, but surviving records show that they existed by 1770. The first mill on the site was probably a water-powered sawmill. The lumber from the sawmill not only gave the owner an early return on his investment, but also produced some of the raw materials needed to build the gristmill. The first gristmill on the site was most likely made of logs and was later replaced by a more permanent stone building. Still later, the building was remodeled by replacing the stone walls of its upper stories with a frame structure. The remodeling was done to accommodate technological advances in the flour industry such as grain elevators that freed the miller from carrying grist from one floor to another and roller grinders that pulverized grain more finely than millstones ever could. The Benjamin Loan Mills were located in present-day Butler township on land that was patented in 1745 to Moses Harlan by the provincial proprietaries, John, Thomas and Richard Penn. In his 1747 will, Harlan bequeathed part of his land to his grandson, Jacob Cox. Cox sold the tract to Benjamin Loan in 1769.<sup>1</sup> It is with Benjamin Loan that the mills' history begins.<sup>2</sup>

The earliest known documentation of the gristmill occurs in the records of the York County *Quarter Sessions Docket* for 1770. The records in question relate to a new public road that began at the York- (now Adams-) Cumberland county line and then traveled south for about 14 miles until it connected with an east-west road running from



Black's Gap to York (today's Rt. 234). The records give a precise description of the road's course and name landmarks along its way. Three of these landmarks are the Samuel Wright Mill, the Finley McGrew Mill and the Benjamin Loan Mill.<sup>3</sup> When the road's course is plotted and then superimposed on a modern map, the result is as shown by the broken line on the U. S. topographic map on page 65. In 1773 Loan sold the mill property to Thomas Blackburn,<sup>4</sup> who kept it for seventeen years, selling in 1790 to William Nelson.<sup>5</sup> Nelson was first taxed for the mill property in 1788, two years before it was deeded to him. At this time, he was also taxed for a mulatto valued at 30 pounds. In 1790 the man bought his freedom from Nelson for 15 pounds. From the record of his release, it is known that the man's name was William Barnhill and that Nelson bought him as a minor from James Finley of Maryland.<sup>6</sup>

In 1794 Nelson sold the mill property to Henry Smyser.<sup>7</sup> The deed for this transaction, which conveyed two tracts of land to Smyser, uses the terms "Grist Mills" and "Mill Races, Ponds and Dams." This plural language indicates that there were two gristmills. Although the second gristmill is a mystery, there exists some evidence that James Moore once owned a mill near this site. The 1783 tax records show that James Moore was taxed for a mill and 97 acres of land. The 1792 Reading Howell map of York county shows a "Moors" gristmill located downstream and on the opposite side of the Opossum from the first. Nothing else is known about Moore's mill, and the question remains unanswered as to whether it or another mill was the second gristmill mentioned in Smyser's deed.

Henry Smyser apparently built a new stone gristmill to replace an earlier one made of logs. This is based on two pieces of information. First, an 1886 newspaper article on the history of the mill states that Smyser had a stone gristmill and, more importantly for this discussion, the author of the article indicated that the gristmill had a date stone inscribed with the name Henry Smyser and the year 1798.<sup>8</sup> Second, the 1798 *Federal Direct Tax* record also states that Smyser had a stone gristmill.<sup>9</sup> If the newspaper article is correct about the date, then the stone mill must have replaced an earlier one that was probably of log construction.

By 1809, tax records show that Samuel Gilliland had acquired the mill property.<sup>10</sup> He still owned it when he died in 1812.<sup>11</sup> In his will he left the following instructions:

I will and direct that my family now living with me . . . [should] remain so together, and that my sons John and Samuel . . . [should] have and enjoy the whole use and benefit of my mills and plantation for the term of five years, they keeping the same in repair paying the taxes & supporting my said family for the above term, and after the deduction of all taxes and repairs and family expenditures, the clear yearly income to be divided into three equal shares, each of my said sons Samuel and John to take one share each, the other and remaining third to be paid over to my executors and to be considered part of my estate . . .

But if my said family should not think proper to live together on my said farm then I allow my said executor [sic] to sell the same at any time after two years after my decease . . .<sup>12</sup>

Gilliland's family must have decided that they preferred living apart, for in 1814 the executors<sup>13</sup> advertised the property for sale:

FOR SALE,  
A VALUABLE MILL, AND PLANTATION  
Containing *Two Hundred Acres*,

Situate in Menallen township, Adams county, with a proportionate quantity of Meadow already made, and more may be made -- about fifty acres well covered with timber, and an orchard, containing six acres, and choice fruit trees. The improvements are a two-story stone house, and back building; a large bank barn with convenient stabling -- The Mill house is a large and commodious stone building, with two over-shot waterwheels and four pair of stones, a hopper-boy, & plaister [sic] screw -- all partly new and in good repair, with a saw mill attached to the same . . .<sup>14</sup>

Although willing to sell in 1814, Gilliland's heirs were destined to keep the property for another 13 years. They eventually sold it in 1827 to Joseph Latshaw,<sup>15</sup> who bought it through a sales agreement in which he gave a down payment, to be followed by eight annual payments from 1828 to 1835.<sup>16</sup>

Within a year after he bought the mills, Latshaw expanded the operation by adding a specialized mill that winnowed seeds from clover. He advertised the addition in a newspaper in 1828.

CLOVER MILL

The Subscriber respectfully informs the Public, that he has erected a CLOVER MILL, at his place of residence, in Menallen township, on Opossum creek . . . [formerly known] by the name of "Gilliland's Mill" -- and it being now in complete operation, he will be able to attend to all who may favor him with their custom.

JOSEPH LATSHAW<sup>17</sup>

The clover mill proved to be short-lived, for it was permanently closed in 1837.<sup>18</sup>

The history of the mill's ownership for the next 45 years is marked by rapid turnover as shown above in the Summary of Mill Owners. Only four of the ownerships will be discussed here, those of Isaac and Abraham Fisher, George W. Erb and Lebright E. Hartzell, Israel Bricker and William Jacobs.

From 1850 through 1852 Isaac and Abraham Fisher, Jr., were taxed for the mill property. Then, from 1853 through 1856 only Abraham, Jr., was taxed for

it. It is not known whether they or their father, Abraham Fisher, Sr., owned the property during this time. An 1886 newspaper article on the history of the mill states that Abraham, Sr., was the only Fisher who owned the property.<sup>19</sup> This is probably correct, but it could not be verified since no deeds were found that mentioned the Fisher ownership.

The joint ownership by George W. Erb and Lebright E. Hartzell ended abruptly when Hartzell died intestate in 1860. However, in 1858 they had already decided that the partnership would end. They had agreed that Erb would buy Hartzell's half by reimbursing him for his share of their down payment and then assuming sole responsibility for the balance of the purchase price. Acting on their agreement, Erb had taken physical possession of the property and was residing there when Hartzell died. Two months before Hartzell's death Erb reimbursed Hartzell for his share of the down payment. Seven months after Hartzell's death Erb petitioned the Adams County Orphans' Court to have the agreement upheld and to be given title to the mill property. Since Hartzell's heirs readily concurred with the facts in Erb's petition, the Court decreed that Erb should receive a good title to the property.<sup>20</sup>

While Israel Bricker owned the mills, he fell into financial difficulty. Consequently, the sheriff seized Bricker's estate for payment of his debts. In 1870 the property was sold at a sheriff's sale to George Nickey and Jacob S. Baker.<sup>21</sup> The advertisement for the sale gives the following information about the property:

#### SHERIFF'S SALE

A Tract of Land and Mill Property, . . . containing 15 Acres, more or less, and improved with a two-story BRICK DWELLING HOUSE, with Back-building attached, and a well of water near the door, a FRAME BARN, also a Stone TENANT HOUSE and Stable, with a good Orchard, a large three-story STONE GRIST MILL, with four pair of Burrs and one pair of Choppers, all running with over-shot wheel 14 feet high, a new SAW MILL, water power equal, if not superior, to any in the county, no trouble with back water to the Mills . . . .<sup>22</sup>

When William Jacobs became liable for taxes on the property in 1877, the sawmill disappeared from the tax records and never reappeared. Yet, newspaper items in 1888 and 1901 show that the sawmill was still in operation.<sup>23</sup> This situation implies that the sawmill's assessed value was included in the value of the gristmill.

By 1884 Christian Deardorff, who now owned the property,<sup>24</sup> soon began upgrading the gristmill. In 1886 a newspaper item announced that he was "putting roller machinery into his mill."<sup>25</sup> In fact, he did much more than install rollers: he completely remodeled the gristmill by changing the construction of its upper stories from stone to frame. The remodeling was described in a newspaper article on the mill:

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Several years ago it was bought by the present owner, Mr. Christian Deardorff, for \$8,600. The machinery of the mill being worn out, Mr. D. has had the mill entirely remodeled -- everything being entirely new except portions of the stone work. The interior has been fitted up with the latest improved roller machinery, containing 6 sets of rollers, and he has named it the "Banner Roller Mill."<sup>26</sup>

In 1888, just two years after the remodeling, the mill was damaged by fire. Deardorff repaired the damage, then ran a newspaper advertisement to inform the public that "The Banner Roller Mill . . . has been rebuilt since the fire, and is now running with the finest machinery to be procured anywhere -- pronounced the most complete Roller Mill in the county . . ."<sup>27</sup>

Soon after Deardorff rebuilt the mill the second time, he decided to sell it, advertising the following:

The undersigned offers at Private Sale his valuable New Banner Roller Mill, at the mouth of the Opossum creek, Butler township, one of the best built mills and strongest water powers in the county. The mill is new, having been started the last of May, works most successfully in every particular, and has a large custom. With the mill will be sold about 15 ACRES OF GOOD LAND, an excellent Two-story BRICK HOUSE and a One-and-a-half-story STONE HOUSE, a sizable Barn with floor, and other improvements; also the Lumber for a new Saw Mill . . . So fine and perfect a property is rarely put in the market.<sup>28</sup>

A year later, in 1899, he again advertised it for sale:

#### MILL FOR SALE OR EXCHANGE

-----  
The undersigned offers for sale or for exchange the Banner Roller Mill, together with 15 acres of good land. Complete outfit and a first-class business stand. If not sold would exchange on a good farm or a house in Gettysburg.

C. DEARDORFF<sup>29</sup>

Despite his continuing willingness to sell, Deardorff kept the mill for another 13 years. Then, in 1901, the history of the mill ended. Tax records for 1901 value it at \$2,500, but those for 1902 assess it at only \$200. Beside the 1902 entry, there is an assessor's note that probably explains the mill's sudden devaluation. However, the note is indecipherable. Obviously, something momentous happened. A brief newspaper notice gives the explanation:

Early yesterday morning the large frame roller grist mill, of Christian Deardorff, Butler township, was destroyed by

fire. We understand the sawmill Deardorff was also destroyed. Insured in the Mummasburg and Liberty and Independent companies.<sup>30</sup>

Deardorff was last taxed for the mill property in 1905, having sold it to Eliza Warren.<sup>31</sup> The assessed value of the mill in post-1901 tax records implies that the gristmill was never reopened after the fire.

Today there is little physical evidence of the mills. Part of the mile-long raceway is still intact, but the gristmill and its attached sawmill were razed long ago. All that remains of them is a slight depression in the ground where they once stood.



<sup>1</sup> *York County Deed Book D*, p. 60 (microfilm available at the Adams County Historical Society, hereafter cited as ACHS).

<sup>2</sup> It is not known whether Loan or someone else started the mills.

<sup>3</sup> Charles H. Glatfelter, *Extracts From the Quarter Sessions Docket, York County, Pennsylvania*, p. 109 (ACHS).

<sup>4</sup> *York County Deed Book 2I*, p. 483 (ACHS).

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 485 (ACHS).

<sup>6</sup> *York County Deed Book 2H*, p. 65 (ACHS). The map inset on p. 2 is the Biglerville Quadrangle, Pennsylvania, Adams Co., the U.S. Geological Survey, 1991 (some details were deleted and others added to highlight information).

<sup>7</sup> *York County Deed Book 2K*, p. 191 (microfilm available at ACHS).

<sup>8</sup> "History of Mills," *Gettysburg Compiler*, July 20, 1886.

<sup>9</sup> Specifically, that record shows that Smyser owned an "Old Sawmill," a stone gristmill (48' x 40'), a bank barn (66' x 30'), a stone smokehouse (12' x 9') and a hatter shop (20' x 18'). The record also shows that he owned two houses. One was a two-story stone-and-log house (40' x 21'). The other was a two-story log house (25' x 20') that was occupied by John Loughead. Smyser enlarged one of the houses in 1805 when he built a two-story stone addition against the original log house. This house, still standing today, has a date stone that reads, "G CROWELL Mason Built This Hous [sic] For Henry Smyser 1805." This date stone is similar to one found on a gristmill on Bermudian Creek, that reads, "G E CROWELL BUILT THIS HOUSE FOR GEORGE SMITH IN THE YEAR 1805."

<sup>10</sup> The 1808 entry for Smyser has an assessor's note saying that the property was transferred to Gilliland.

<sup>11</sup> *Estate Papers* for Samuel Gilliland, File No. 482 (ACHS).

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> The executors were Gilliland's son John and his brother William (*ibid.*).

<sup>14</sup> *The Adams Sentinel*, Oct. 26, 1814. The same advertisement was repeated two years later on Oct. 29, 1817.

<sup>15</sup> *Estate Papers* for Samuel Gilliland, File Nos. 792 and 851 (ACHS). The property was actually sold as part of the estate of one of Gilliland's sons who was also named Samuel. Samuel the younger was a physician in Gettysburg. He died in 1817 while still owning the mill property as one of his father's heirs.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> *The Adams Sentinel*, Nov. 12, 1828.

<sup>18</sup> In the 1838 tax record the assessor crossed out the entry for the clover mill. None of the later records for this property shows a clover mill.

<sup>19</sup> "History of Mills," *Gettysburg Compiler*, July 20, 1886.

<sup>20</sup> *Estate Papers* for Lebright E. Hartzell, File No. 3648 (ACHS).

<sup>21</sup> *Sheriff's Deeds, Insolvent Debtors, Naturalization Docket*, Vol. 4, 1851 – 1871, p. 545 (Adams County Court House, Office of the Prothonotary).

<sup>22</sup> *The Star and Sentinel*, Sept. 30, 1870.

<sup>23</sup> "Valuable New Roller Mill," *Gettysburg Compiler*, Nov. 2, 1888, and "In the County," *The Star and Sentinel*, June 12, 1901.

<sup>24</sup> Township tax records (ACHS).

<sup>25</sup> "Improvements," *Gettysburg Compiler*, May 18, 1886.

<sup>26</sup> "History of Mills," *Gettysburg Compiler*, July 20, 1886.

<sup>27</sup> *Gettysburg Compiler*, Nov. 6, 1888.

<sup>28</sup> "Valuable New Roller Mill," *Gettysburg Compiler*, Nov. 2, 1888.

<sup>29</sup> *The Gettysburg Star and Sentinel*, Oct. 24, 1899, Art. 1.

<sup>30</sup> "In the County," *The Star and Sentinel*, June 12, 1901.

<sup>31</sup> The 1905 tax entry for Deardorff has an assessor's note that the property was transferred to Eliza Warren.

## Contributors

**JAMES P. MYERS, JR.**, teaches English and Irish literatures at Gettysburg College and edits this annual collection of essays. He has published several articles relating to the French and Indian War and the Forbes expedition against Fort Duquesne in 1758, in addition to essays on the mapping of Pennsylvania's eighteenth-century frontier areas. Currently, he is editing and helping author a book-length study tracing the mapping of Pennsylvania from the seventeenth century down to about 1900.

**BARBARA AND JOHN SENIER**, who live near York Springs, are studying the history of water-powered mills in Adams County. They hope to publish their findings. The site of the Benjamin Loan Mills is but one of six such sites on Opossum Creek. But, as you can see from this article, much information has been lost. It is their hope that readers of the article who have information such as unregistered deeds or photographs of one of mills in the county will contact them through the Adams County Historical Society.

