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Journal of an Expedition to the Ohio, Commanded by His Excellency Brigadier-General Forbes in the Year of our Lord 1758

Abstract
This is a transcript of the daily journal of the expedition, as written by John Forbes in 1758.

"Friday, 7th of July, receiv’d the Governor’s Commission appointing me Chaplain to the 3d Battalion of the Pennsylvania Regiment, commanded by Colonel Mercer; with a Letter from the Secretary apologizing for my not having the Preference of the other two.-

Wednesday, July 12th. Set off from my own House in York County, & reach’d Carlisle that Night, where I receiv’d the General’s Letter, with an invitation to attend the Troops under his Command; & promising me his Protection & Encouragement." [excerpt]

Keywords
Adams County Historical Society, ACHS, Adams County, Pennsylvania History, Thomas Barton, Forbes Expedition

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

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

1 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.

2 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.

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


5 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.

6 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.

7 Forbes to Barton, Carlisle, July 9; see the Introduction.
Thursday, 13th. Waited on the General, & return’d him Thanks for the Honor he did me.— July 14th & 15th. Waited at Carlisle in Expectation of marching with the General.—

Sunday July 16th. Preach’d to the Officers &c. from Eccles: 8-11.—

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

Friday July 20th. Being tir’d with waiting at Carlisle, set out for Rays-Town12 in Company with Major Shippen13 escorted by a Detachment of the Virginia Light-Horse.—14 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 Hay15 with the Train of Artillery, & Captain McKenzie16 with 300 Highlanders encamped on a low Piece of Ground on the East Side of the Town,—call’d Dunbar’s Encampment.17 At a little Distance

8 “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

9 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.

10 Abercromby, Forbes’ superior, attempted an invasion of Canada by way of Lake Champlain, but the campaign bogged down before Fort Ticonderoga.

11 Correctly, Thursday; the error in days persists through July 24.

12 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.

13 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.

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

15 Capt. Lt. David Hay of the Royal Regiment of Artillery.

16 Probably Capt. Hugh McKenzie of the 1st Highland Battalion, which also included Capt. Alexander and Roderick McKenzie.

17 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 had any Hand in laying it out.— Lodg’d at the Sign of the Indian-Queen, kept by M’ Campbel, where we met with good Entertainment.—

Saturday July 21
d. Preach’d this Morning at 8 O’Clock A.M. at the Request of the Commanding Officer, from 2 Chron: 14.—I 1.— Set off from this Place at 10, & in about 2 Hours reach’d Col: Chamber’s, 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.— At a small Distance from the Fort are 2 Cataracts, call’d the Falling Springs, which tumble down a Precipice into Canogocheaque.— 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’. 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’. Chambers’s about 4 Oclock,—good

18 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
19 Sebastien le Prestre de Vauban (1633-1707), the French military engineer whose writings on fortification were classics.
20 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).
21 Correctly, Friday.
22 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.
23 “. . . help us, 0 LORD our God; for we rest on thee, and in thy name we go against this multitude . . . .”
24 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.
25 Chambers’ own account of this “private fort” is quoted in Hunter, 556.
Road, & some good Land,— reach’d Fort Loudon at 7— 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.— 27 camp’d there all Night, & was well treated by the Officers.—

Sunday, 28 July 22d.— March’d about 8 O’Clock this Morning.— Cross’d a Branch of Canogocheague 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 29 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 &Ca. — At Littleton we found Captains McPherson & Hamilton 30 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 & advantagious— 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 31 July 23d.— Set out at 10 O’Clock— Something like a level Country appears— & good Road to Sidling-hill, to the top of which you as-

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26 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.

27 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.

28 Correctly, Saturday.

29 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).


31 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 Waggons convoying Provisions, Ammunition &Ca to Rays Town.—Halted at a Spring. Made some Punch, eat Bread & Cheese—Set out again & reach’d Juniata Crossing that Night—distant from Sidling-Hill 9 Miles.—Here we found Captain Morgan encamp’d with some Companies of the Pennsylvania Regiment.—A small Fort just erected, & the Ford of Juniata piqueted in, in Order to protect Waggons &Ca in passing—Stay’d at this Place all Night. Lay without a Bed, or any Covering but a Single Blanket.—

Tuesday, July 24th 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, 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 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, & Store-Houses—with two Encampments surrounded by Breast-Works.—

31 Correctly, Sunday.
32 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.
33 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.
34 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).
35 Correctly, Monday. With “Tuesday July 25th,” which follows, Barton resumes the correct dating.
36 Now Snake Spring Valley Run, which enters the Raystown Branch from the north, about one and a half-miles west of Everett, Bedford county.
37 Col. Henry Bouquet, who had arrived there with some 800 men on June 24.
38 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 25th. Arriv’d a Number of Pack-Horses with Flower &C, escorted by 30 Highlanders & a Company of Pennsylvania New Levies—

Wednesday, July 26th. Nothing worth Notice happen’d this Day.—

Thursday-July 27th. 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 28th July— 4 Companies of Royal Americans arriv’d, which, with the 40 that came Yesterday, make 380.— 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.—

Saturday 29th July— Arriv’d in Camp Sir John S‘ Clair— as did likewise Colonel Washington° escorted by Captain Stewart° & 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.—

Sunday July 30th 1758— Preach’d from 2 Chron: 14-11

°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.

°°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.

°°°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.

°°°°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).

°°°°°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.

°°°°°°Capt. Robert Stewart.

°°°°°°°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.

°°°°°°°°Note that this was the same text, if not the same sermon, used at Shippensburg on July 21.
Men—in the Presence of Col. Bouquet—Governor Glenn, & 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 31st 1758—About 100 Men being Part of the 2 Companies of North Carolina Troops arriv’d under Command of Major Waddle.—An Alarm at 7 OClock P.M. When a Soldier belonging to Major Lewis 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 2d 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 3d 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 1st 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’ Clair & Colonel Burd set off this Day with 200 Men to reinforce Major Armstrong who was sent some Time ago to take possession of a Post over the Allegheny Mountains, call’d Drowning Creek.—A number of Pack-Horses

47 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.

48 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.

49 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).

50 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. 52

Wednesday, August 2d. — 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. — 53

This Afternoon a Party consisting of 40 Men arriv’d from Fort-Augusta commanded by Lieut: Broadhead. 54

Thursday, August 3d. — 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. — 55

Arriv’d a Company from N: Carolina by Way of Winchester & Fort Cumberland. — 56

Friday, August 4th. — Arriv’d Colonel Armstrong with about 40 Men. — 57

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.

51 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.

52 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.

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

54 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. Burd’s Battalion, and send them to him with Two Officers, (viz.) Lieut Brodhead, & Ensign Holler” (PA, First Series, 3: 480).

55 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).

56 This was Capt. Andrew Bailey’s company; see note 48.

57 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 5th. 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, Major Lewis, 10 Captains, & 20 Subalterns, with Orders to proceed to the Road Cutters.—

This Afternoon arriv’d the Artillery consisting of 6 Brass-Cannon—12 Pounders—4 D° of 6 [pounders]—one 8-Inch Mortar—Two 8-Inch Hoitzers [Howitzers]—a small D°—and 12 Cohorns—With 138 Waggons—70 belonging to the Train—20 to the Hospital,—and the Rest Loaded with Provisions &C.—

Sunday, August 6th. 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.—

60 Whereupon a Party of 30 White Men & 15 Indians were detach’d towards Franks-Town in Order if possible to head the Enemy, & ‘tis expected some of them will proceed to the Ohio.

Captain Patterson, who set out the 27th 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


59 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).

60 Bouquet gives fuller details in his letter of August 8 (ibid., 332). Three sutlers’ wagons, unescorted, were attacked east of Sideling Hill.

61 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).

62 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 7th. Sir John S' Clair & Colonel Burd return'd with a small Party from the Allegheny-Mountain.—63 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.—64 Baptiz'd a Child.—

Tuesday, August 8th. 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.—65 About 200 Men return'd from Road-Cutting.—200 of the Virginia Troops arriv'd from Fort-Cumberland with a Number of Waggons 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.—66

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

Wednesday, August 9th.—This Afternoon spent in the Field as Yesterday.—

Thursday, August 10th. 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.—67 This Afternoon was spent in exercising the Troops, in running & firing in the Indian Manner.—

Friday, August 11th.—240 Pack-Horses set out with Flour for Major

63 Their return is noted in Bouquet's letter of August 8 to Forbes, previously cited.
64 It was headed by Ensign Colby Chew of the 1st Virginia Regiment, as appears by the journal entry for August 20.
65 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).
66 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).
67 On this date Bouquet wrote to Washington that "Capt Posey's Company is marched upon the Road, and as the Small Pox broke out some days ago in your Reg' I have Sent all wth 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 at Drowning-Creek.— 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.— 69 Heavy Rains this Night.—

Saturday, August 12th. 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.— 70

Sunday, August 13th.— A cold Morning.— A large Piece of Ground sow’d with Turnip’-Seed, & harrow’d in this Day.— 71 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, parallel 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 14th.— This Morning the Tents &C were cover’d with a
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 11th Ins' to make Discoveries of the Enemy’s Proceedings at Du Quesne.—

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.— A Party of Carolinans were order’d to Juniata to relieve Captain M'.Knight.—

**Tuesday, August 15th.** A wet Morning, & continued raining most Part of the Day.— Arriv’d this Evening from Fort Augusta—M'. Dunlap, & brought with him Captain Ambust 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 16th.** A Dark cold Morning.— Colonel Armstrong with the 1st. Battalion of the Pennsylvania Regiment march’d to reinforce the Troops at Loyal-Hanning.—

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

73 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 Capt' 5 Sub' 6 Ser' & 200 Rank & File, no Drummer; of the R. Americans & Highlanders to march over the Allegheney [Mountain]. . ." (ibid., 677).

74 Orders of August 13: "One Cap' two Subalterns 2 Ser' 2 Corp' & 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.

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

76 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.

77 Orders of August 14: "The 1st Battalion of the Penn's Regiment to March to Morrow Morning" (BP, 2: 678). This departure evidently was delayed a day.

78 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 17th. 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.—79 The commanding Officer receives the Public Prints80 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 Rogers81 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 18th. A fine clear Morning & a Warm Day.— At 4 OClock P.M. Major Armstrong,82 Captain Callender,83 & Captain Shelby84 a Volunteer from Maryland, with 2 Volunteer Lieutenants (Kidd & Stoddart)85 & 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.—86

Saturday, August 19th. 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 Allegheny-Mountains.— The same Day they return, & report that the Road far exceeded their Expectations, & that some Wagons had already pass’d the Mountain, each carrying 20¢

79 See Forbes to Bouquet, Shippensburg, August 15, BP, 2: 366-368. He was detained there until September 6.
80 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.
81 Robert Rogers, captain of a company of rangers operating in the vicinity of Lake Champlain.
82 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).
84 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).
85 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.
86 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.—Buried 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 20th. 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 1st Virginia Regiment, who set off from hence with a Party of White Men & Indians on the 7th Instant to make Discoveries at Fort Du Quesne,—& produces his Journal in the following Words:—Monday, August 7th 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 8th continued our Course along the old trading-Path.—Cross’d the Alleghany-Ridge, & encampt at Edmond’s Swamp, 12 Miles—N. 70 W.—

"Wednesday 9th March’d about 9 Miles N. 60 W. to Quamehony-Creek, at which Place we continued Thursday & Friday the 10th & 11th 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 12th 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—60W.—

"Sunday the 13th. 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.—

87 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.

"Monday, 14th." 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’.

"Tuesday, 15th." 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, 16th." 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’, till we were within 2 Miles of Du Quesne.— Turn’d to the N°. of W., & came to an old Indian. Town 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 & Conjuration 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 Cannos, 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 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 1/2 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 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.— This Day’s March, had we kept the Path, would have been about 12 Miles; 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.—

89 Shannopin’s Town was named for a Delaware chief who died before 1751. “Old” in this usage means “former” or “abandoned.”  
90 This map accompanies the manuscript report in the Washington Papers, but has not been published with it.  
91 The copy published in BP, 2: 403, has, incorrectly, “42 miles.”
Thursday the 17th. 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 18th. 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 19th, 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.”

Monday, August 21st. The Accounts of General Abercrombie’s Retreat confirm’d this Day;— 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 Hodgson94 of the Lower Counties on Delaware arrives from Fort Cumberland with 30 Men belonging to that Government.

Tuesday, 22d. Arriv’d from Fort Cumberland the Remainder of the Maryland Troops commanded by Captains Alexander & Joshua Bell, & Captain Ware.— 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

92 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.
93 Abercromby’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).
94 Second Lt. Robert Hodgson of Capt. (later Maj.) Wells’s company.
95 Washington wrote from Fort Cumberland on August 19 that “A party of ab’ 90 Marylanders under Capt’ 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.*—

Wednesday, 23d. The Second Battalion of the Pennsylvania Regiment,
commanded by Col: Burd;— The Remainder of the Royal Americans
commanded by Captain Joceleyn;*6 & 4 Companies of Highlanders
commanded by Major Grant*7 march this Day with 4 Pieces of Cannon*8
towards Loyal-Hannon.—*9 Sir Allen MacClain returns this Day with a Party
of Highlanders & Pennsylvanians from Road Cutting.—*100 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.*101

Thursday August 24th: 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.*102 A Party arrives this Evening from Fort
Cumberland, & brings in with them 308 Head of Beef-Cattle.—*103

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

*6 Capt. Thomas Jocelyn.
*7 James Grant, senior of the two majors of this corps.
*8 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.
*9 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.
*100 A few days before, Bouquet had thanked MacLean and Maj. Lewis for their work on the road over the Allegheny Mountain (BP, 2: 391).
*101 As ordered on this date: "The Detachment of the 2d Batt Penns' Reg that came to Day, to
march To Morrow Morning & join their Corp..." (BP, 2: 681).
*102 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).
*103 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 25th. Captain Bosomworth,104 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.—105

Saturday, August, 26th. A Damp foggy Morning.—Remov’d our Camp to a pleasant Ridge S. of the Fort about 100 Yards, fronting the Artillery.—106 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 27th. A dark Morning, but a very sultry Day.— Preach’d at 11 O’Clock P.M. from the 144th Psalm & 3d Verse, to all the Troops.—107

Arriv’d this Evening from Fort Cumberland, 60 Waggons, chiefly loaded with Indian Com,108 escorted by 40 Soldiers commanded by Ensign Finney109 of Major Well’s Corps.—110 Arriv’d at the same Time 54 Indians of the Catawba, Tuscarora, & Ottawaw Nations.— They greatly lament the Loss of their brave Captain Bullen.— As soon as they laid down their baggage, one

104 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.

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

106 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).

107 “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?

108 Bouquet had written Washington on August 26 that “I expect to day your Convoy wth the Indians. . . .” (BP, 2: 426).


110 Maj. Richard Wells, commanding the Lower Counties troops.

111 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 3d 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\(^{112}\) & 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.\(^{113}\)

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

**Monday, August 28**— 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,\(^{114}\) by whom Captain Young Paymaster to the Pennsylvania Troops,\(^{115}\) receives a Letter from M’ Secretary Peters—informing him that Louisbourg had actually surrendered on the 26\(^{th}\) 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

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112 Amboust and Teedyuscung’s son were different persons.

113 Bouquet had written Forbes on August 26 that “The Delawares have returned to Shamoken and Wyoming . . . .” (BP, 2: 425).

114 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’success. The news contained in Peters’ letter appeared in the Pennslyvania Gavile for August 24, but recorded that Marlborough could not attack St. Malo.

115 Capt. James Young, commissary of the musters and paymaster in the Pennsylvania Regiment.
Mal'bro was landed in France,—had taken & destroy'd S. Maloes, & was carrying Terror & Desolation along the Coast.—

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

Thursday, August 29th. A clear Morning.—Wind at N.W. pretty cold, & like a Fall-Day.—20 Men commanded by Captain Allen set off To-Day to escort a Number of Waggons to Carlisle.—Ensign Jones set off to Juniata with 30 Men to guard the Paymaster to his Majesty’s Troops.—This Evening arriv’d in Camp Lieutenant James Reily of the Maryland Troops, commanded by Lieut. Colonel Dagworthy; & gives the following Intelligence.—

"Friday August 18th. [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 & I should proceed with 6 Men each, & make what Discoveries we could;—That Major Armstrong with the


117 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 Serf & 30 Rank & file of the line to march to morrow morning to Juniata who are to escort from thence a Brigade of Waggons to the Camp—& the Pay Master General” (BP, 2: 684).

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

119 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.

120 Forbes wrote Bouquet on August 28 that "Govern' Sharp has just asked a favour of me that I could not well refuse which was to allow him to make Cap' Dagworthy a Lieu’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 29th, Barton must have written this entry later.

121 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’r. 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 122 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 123 to lead the way by the Direction & Assistance of a Person known by the Name of French Peter; 124 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 125 & 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

122 Possibly James or John Ferguson, both sergeants in Capt. James Patterson’s company of the 1st Battalion.

123 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).

124 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.

125 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 ¼ 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 cheerfully & 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 & Haslet126 with all the Men except 16, which they inform’d were gone back to make Discoveries—Major

126Capt. 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 in Order to cross there.— Pursued our Journey together till we came to Major Lewis’s Camp, where I left all except my own little Party with whom I arriv’d at Rays-Town, August 29th. 1758.”

Wednesday August 30th. 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.— Orders are issued that no Man presume to sell or bestow Liquor to the Indians.— 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— 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.— 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.—

127 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.
128 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.
129 Maj. Armstrong was severely censured by Bouquet in a letter to Gov. Denny (BP, 2: 450-451).
130 This is entered in the orderly book as a repetition of Gen. Forbes’ orders (BP, 2: 684).
131 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.
132 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 ______ 133 and Captain _______ which was happily ended by flinging a few Bottles & Glasses, charg'd with Billingsgate-Ammunition, such as Rascal, Scoundrel & C.

**Thursday August 31st.** 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. Clair at Loyal Hannan, but the Contents does not transpire.— 134 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.— 135

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.— 136 Every Thing promises Success; and it is generally believ'd that Du Quesne will fall an easy Conquest.—

**Friday September 1st.** 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, &

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133 Maj. Armstrong?
134 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 Kiken Pawlings" (Shippen Family Papers, Correspondence, 3: 221, HSP).
135 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).
136 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 2d. Accounts in Camp that Lieut. Kidd, a Gentleman in the Maryland-Service, who went some Time ago 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'. Clayton 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 of the Light-Horse, was unfortunately shot thro' the Os Humeri by M'. Hambright's Gun going off accidentally, which in all Apearance 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 3d. 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.Visited the Hospitals, where I found a great Number in a very low Stm~-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.—

Monday, September 4th. Lieut. Colonel Dagworthy with 100 of the Maryland-Troops; Major Waddle with 48 of the Carolina troops; Captain Gooding with 60 Men from the Lower-Counties; and Captain Trent with a

137 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).

138 On August 8; see Barton's entry for that date.

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

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

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

142 With exceptions noted in the following day's entry.

143 Jacob Gooding, Jr., replaced Capt. Benjamin Noxon.

144 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, Ottaway, & Tuscarora Nations set off towards Fort Du Quesne, to take Possession of an advantagious Post 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 St. Clair arriv’d in Camp from Loyal Hannan, & seems much dissatisfied with some Field-Officers there, who contended with him about Rank—Captain McPherson 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 5th. 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 solicitted 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.—Governor Glen, Sir John St. 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.—It is said that 500 Waggons at least are now wanted for the Expedition.—

145 Not Ottawas, but Nottaways.

146 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.

147 The reference probably is to Sir John’s quarrel with Lt. Col. Stephen on August 24.

148 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.”

149 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’ Mercer” (ibid., 686).
Wednesday September 6

Having a Curiosity to see Fort Cumberland—

I set off about 8 OClock this Morning for that Place in Company with Captain Cameron, Doctor MacClain, & some other Gentlemen.— The Road is good thro a fine rich Valley hem’d in by a Ridge of high Mountains on each Side.

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‘. — 2 Miles farther are many Acres of dead Trees, said to be kill’d by Caterpillars:— 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.— 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.— Lieut. Colonel Mercer, who commands the Second Regiment during the Sickness of Col. Byrd,— 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

150 At the present Cumberland, Md.
151 Allan Cameron of one of the three “additional companies” of the 1st Highland Battalion.
152 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.)
153 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.
154 Near the present Centerville, Bedford county, halfway between Raystown and Fort Cumberland.
156 Washington had written Bouquet on September 2 that “Col° 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.— 157 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,— 158 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 Wm. Shaw, Serjeant Tim. Shaw, Jer. Poor, & Jamt. Cope Soldiers Of the 1st 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 Catawbas to gain Intelligence, & in the First Encounter with the Enemy met with the success their Courage deserv’d Incited

157 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.
158 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—\(^{159}\) 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\(^{160}\) by Desire of Col. Washington from Nehemiah 4—14.\(^{161}\) 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:—\(^{162}\) 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 Waggons, tho' 500 are immediately wanted to forward the King's Service— The Season is far advanc' d— The Leaves

\(^{159}\) 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 pyramidal 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.

\(^{160}\) September 10.

\(^{161}\) "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."

\(^{162}\) 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—and cold Nights to approach.— All these Circumstances concur to damp our Spirits, & make us uneasy.

Monday September 11th A hoar Frost this Morning.— Arriv’d To Day 43 Waggons loaded with Provisions & Forage, & 42 Pack-horses with D® escorted by a Party under Command of Lieut. Snider.— 163 30 Pack-horses went to Fort Cumberland with Flour, guarded by a Party under Ensign Jones.— 164 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.— 165 That Colonel Dagworthy had march’d with 300 Men to take Possession of a Post 14 Miles beyond Loyal Hannan.— 166 That Major Grant with 750 Men consisting of Highlanders; Royal Americans, & Virginians was gone upon a Secret Expedition towards the Ohio— 167 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;— 168 And that a Light-Horse-Man who had been sent Express by Sir John S®. 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.— 169

163 Jacob Snyder of the 1st Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment.
164 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• 2 Serj® 2 Corporals & 30 private to escort Pack Horses to Fort Cumberland tomorrow morning” (BP, 2: 688.)
165 See Bouquet to Forbes, Camp at Loyalhanna, Sept. 11 (BP, 2: 489-492), where this episode is related.
166 Actually the “advantageous Post” referred to by Barton on September 4. The distance now given is too great.
167 This was the undertaking that ended in Grant’s complete defeat near Fort Duquesne on September 14.
168 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 Hannon, Sept. 17 (BP, 2: 513-514).
169 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 12th. A cold foggy Morning— 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.— Captains Bosomworth & McKee set off To Day for the Advanc’d-Posts, with a Party of the dastardly, ungrateful Cherokees.—

Wednesday September 13th. Captain Blackwood with 35 Men arriv’d from Fort Littleton.— Mr Bartholemew came from Loyal Hannan with a Brigade of empty Waggons.— Lieut’. Quicksell 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 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 14th. The State of Provisions is now so low, that Commissary Clark is dispatched to the Inhabitants to forward some immediately.—

170 See the journal entry for August 31.
171 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).
172 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.
173 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 2d Batt” Penns R just arrived from Lyttleton is to proceed to Loyal Hannon, as an Escort to Pack Horses.” (BP, 2: 689).
174 Horatio Sharpe, Governor of Maryland 1753-1769.
175 Daniel Clark. Col. Mercer wrote from Raystown on September 14 that “M’ 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 137 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 15th 1758— General Forbes arriv'd in Camp this Day, 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.— The Troops seem to [be] inspir'd with fresh Spirits upon the General's Arrival, & a Cheerfulness appears in every Face.—

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 escort'd by Lieu'. Prentice179 with a Party in Order to carry up Flour.— The State of Provi-
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 16th. 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.— 180 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 17th. By Order of the General preach’ d to all the Troops at 11 O’Clock P.M.— from St. John’s Revelation 2d. Chap & 5th. Verse.— 181 About 1 OClock arriv’ d an Express from Philad’s. 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’. Lawrence, with a Design, it is thought to attack La Galette. 182

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

Late this Evening Lieut. Evans 183 of the Royal Americans came from Loyal Hanning with a Party guarding a Number of empty Waggons.—

180 Capt. James Robertson (not Robinson).
181 “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.
182 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).
183 John Evans.
Monday, September 18th. 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.—Lieu. Craighead return’d from the Allegeny, where he was sent to escort Horses loaded with Flour for ye 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’t. Aston & 2 Subalterns.—

Tuesday September 19th.—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 9th. Ins’t. set off with 800 Men towards Fort Du Quesne, was defeated near that Place about 5 Days ago.—All the Particulars of that unhappy Affair that are yet come to Hand, are as follow—That on the 13th. Ins’t. at Night 300 Men dress’d in White Shirts, commanded by Captain McDonald went to the Fort; & that Mr. Rohr 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.

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

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

187 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.

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

189 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."— On the 14th. 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,— 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 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, 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’t 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.— 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

190 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.

191 Thomas Bullitt of the 1st Virginia Regiment.

192 Reported “Killed or missing,” Lewis was taken prisoner with Maj. Grant (BP, 2: 504).

193 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 Armstrong¹⁹⁴ 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.—¹⁹⁵

Wednesday September 20th. An Express arriv'd from the East-ward: but Nothing transpires. Lieut. MacMartin¹⁹⁶ of the Highlanders arriv'd from Fort Cumberland with 40 Men.— Lieut. 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 Campbell¹⁹⁷ 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.—¹⁹⁸ The General rid out this Afternoon in his Litter to view the Fort, Camps, Breastworks &C.

Thursday September 21st. Colonels Washington & Byrd arriv'd from Fort Cumberland with the Remainder of the 2 Virginia Regiments, consisting of about 1000 Men.— Captain Ghist¹⁹⁹ & 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'Clain, who had been taken ill at Fort Cumberland, were carried in Litters made in Imitation of the General's.—²⁰⁰ Ensign Mc.Dowel²⁰¹ arriv'd from Fort Littleton with a Party


¹⁹⁵ The court, "whereof Col' Mercer is Presid'" 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).

¹⁹⁶ Cosmo McMartin.

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

¹⁹⁸ Orders for this date are not available.

¹⁹⁹ 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).

²⁰⁰ See the entry for September 6.

²⁰¹ William McDowell of Capt. Thomas Hamilton’s company of the 3d Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment.
Party escorting 54 Wagons & 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. — Mr Basset an Engineer is sent to oversee the Repairing of the Roads between Forts Loudoun and Littleton. — The Express receives Orders to carry no private Letters out of Camp. —

Friday September 22d. 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 lb. — The Horns are very large; & the Flesh like that of a Bull. — The Officers of the 3d. Battalion practise the manual Exercise under the Direction of the Serjeant Major. — Captains Blackwood & Stone are sent to view the Roads at Dunning's Narrows. —

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

Ensign Finny of the Lower Counties, is promoted to a Lieutenancy in the same Corps & M'. George Wells Son of Major Wells, a young publick-spirited Volunteer, to an Ensigncy in Captain Gooding's Company. — Orders issued that a Detachment consisting of 1 Cap., 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 patrole Day & Night to watch scouting

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.

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).

Capt. Ludwick Stone of the 3d Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment. Dunnings Narrows were east of Raystown, where the Juniata breaches Evitts Mountain, just below the mouth of Dunnings Creek.

"Dagworthy's Camp."

Wells was promoted from private.
Parties of the Enemy.—

**Saturday September 23rd.**— A Party commanded by Capt. Boyd & 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 & Lieut. Prentice, with 164 Pack Horses loaded with Flour.— 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 3d. Battalion of the Pennsyl’a. Reg’t.— Lieut. Johnson arriv’d from Carlisle with Part of Capt.’ 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 24th.**— M’. Monro Chaplain to the Highland Regiment preach’d to all the Troops from Sam. 10 Chap: & 12 Verse.— Captain Eastburn return’d from Loyal Hannan, sick.— Receiv’d Orders from Major Halket to attend John Hannah Soldier in the 1st. Virginia Reg’t., 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, & order’d by the General to be shot at 7 OClock P.M.

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207 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 cast, south, and southwest (Forbes orderly book, September 22).

208 Robert Boyd of the 3d Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment.

209 Orders for September 22 direct “the Detachm’d 1st Battall’ of Pensyl’a Reg’t 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).


211 Henry Monro.

212 “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.”

213 Robert Eastburn of a company of “new levies” assigned to the 2d Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment.

214 Francis Halkett, a captain in the 44th Regiment of Foot, served as Gen. Forbes’ aide-de-camp.
O’Clock on Tuesday Morning next.—215 Captain Steuart of the 1st. Virginia Regt. 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 Capt. 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 Waggons may easily travel with 20¢ each.—216

Captain McGrew217 set off to take Post at Juniata-Fort in Room of Captain Aston,218 who is charg’d with Disobedience of Orders, & sent for to make his Defence.—

Monday September 25th. At 6 O’Clock this Morning visited & pray’d with the Prisoners, who have not yet receiv’d their Sentence.— About 2 OClock P.M. arriv’d Cap. Patterson with 40 Men wounded in the late unhappy Action219 some were carried in Litters, & some on Horses.—Ensign Kirkpatrick who had been accidentally shot thro’ the Knee at Loyal Hannan, Lieu. Bryan & Lieu. Lattimore,220 came in at the same Time in a bad State of Health.—221

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

215 Results of the court martial of September 19 and 23 were published in orders of September 24, where Mixon appears inaccurately as “Sallateel Nicholson” and Doyle is more precisely identified as of “Cap’ Pattersons Comp’y” (James Patterson; Forbes orderly book).
216 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.
217 Archibald McGrew of the 3d Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment.
218 See the entry for September 18.
219 Grant’s defeat an September 14.
220 Lts. John Bryan and Robert Lattimore 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).
221 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., 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. —

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.—

Thomas Keinton 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 26th. 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, & pin’d a Paper to his Breast with these dreadful words—Viz—

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222 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.

223 “John Hannah Soldier belonging to the 1st Virg. Reg. Thomas Williams of the Maryland Comp. Benj. Murphy & Salateel Mixon of the N. Carolina Comp ordered by the Sentence of a Gen’l 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 Appeal’d to the Gen’l 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).

224 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 26th. 1758

“John Doyle, a Soldier in Captain Patterson’s Company in the Pennsylvania Regt., 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'.— 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 to all 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.——

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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’l 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" Enemyes Nose the Gen’l therefore with great con-

225 Of the military police.
226 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 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.

Genl Forbes has been pleas'd to Release all the prisoners in the Fort & the
different Corps are to send for them accordingly.]