

George Washington Papers, Series 2, Letterbooks 1754-1799

To SIR JOHN ST. CLAIR

April 27, 1758.

Dr. St. John: The Post calling suddenly upon me, only allows me time to acknowledge the receipt of your obliging letter (by Rinker) and to inform you, that I have received Mr. Presidents Orders, to obey any Command you shall be pleased to honor me with: also, to tell you, that the two Companies from Carolina were at Fredericksburgh, and may be expected here daily.¹¹

I have made known the contents of your letter to Mr. Gist; who thinks himself extremely obliged by the care you have taken of Indian Affairs. We do all we can to keep them in temper, but I have still apprehensions that many of them will return home, if the Troops are long in Assembling; not on account of their treatment, but the nature of these people is such as induces them to retire with their *first* scalps.

It gave me real pleasure to hear you say, that my Company was desired by the General, Sr. John, and Major Halkett: I shall think myself quite happy, if I shall be able to return the good opinion they seem to entertain of me: for I have long despaired of any other reward for my Services, than the satisfaction arising from a consciousness of doing my Duty, and from the Esteem of my Friends. I am, with great regard, etc.

11. These two companies, under the command of Lieut. Col. Adam Stephen, were returning from South Carolina, having been sent down to that colony by Governor Dinwiddie.

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To SIR JOHN ST. CLAIR

May 1, 1758.

Dr. Sir: The enclosed came to my hands, by Express, about five days ago; but as it was addressed to you, at this place, and I had hopes of seeing you here shortly, I shou'd have detained it 'till your arrival, had not Mr. Rutherford told me, you would make some stay at Lancaster, and desired that you might be directed to at that place, if any letters were sent.

Nothing particular hath occured since my last: I shall therefore embrace this opportunity of asking your advice how, and what sort of conveyancies I am to provide for carrying our regimental Stores, and Companys Baggage; and what allowance is made for those purposes? I should not have troubled you on this head, *now*, were I not afraid it may be too late when you arrive; and I should be sorry to be taken unprepared!

We are upon a *queer* establishment; the Country having made no provision for the expences of a march; but expect, and I believe are willing, that we should be governed in such cases by the Rules observed by the Regular Troops.

I am sorry to give you so much trouble at a time when I am sensible you are greatly hurried, and employed in more important affairs. But, the importunate enquiries of my Officers concerning those matters, have induced me to ask this favor. I never received Orders to recruit till the 24th. ultimo; and *then* had no money sent me for that

purpose: However, I have sent down for the *cash*, and shall use my best endeavours to get the Regiment compleated to its establishment.

As our Detachments at the out-posts are to wait till the Militia relieve them I fear it will be some considerable time ere I get the Regiment together. The President gave me a discretionary power, to order out an *equitable* draught of the Militia; but it was so vague an

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one and attended with such delicate and peculiar responsibility, that I do not incline to avail myself of it. 12 I am, etc.

To DAVID FRANKS

May 1, 1758.

Sir: I shall be much obliged, if you would provide for me, and send immediately to this place, by the Bearers waggon, the following articles: vizt.

As much green half-thick's, as will make indian-leggings for 1,000 men: if *green* can not be had, get white; if there is not enough of that, then get any other *colour* .

Two proper English pack-saddles, for carrying field-baggage on; and four wanteys [*sic*] suited to ditto. Three leading-halters. A travelling letter-

12. This determination was based upon the decision of a council of war of April 24.

case, with stands for ink, wafers, &c. A pair of light shoe-boots, round toes, without linings, and jockey-tops made of thin, english calf-skin, by the enclosed measure. A hair-cloth, [trunk] to go under a field-bed. Half a dozen *china* cups and saucers.

Unless those articles come to hand speedily, they will be useless to me. Mr. White, I believe, can furnish the *Leggings* , if you have them not by you; and may be usefully employed in providing the other Things (*Boots* and *china* excepted.) I sent a few weeks ago for 4 Pack-saddles; and the *dutchman* who undertook to procure them, brought common *saddles* , such as indian traders generally use, that were of little service to me.

Please to send your accompt with these things, and the money shall be paid to your order, or lodged with any person in this place, whom you shall think proper to direct.

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I must beg to know how our paper money passes with *you* ; for I suppose I shall be under the necessity of paying in that currency, having little of another kind with us.¹³ I hope you will excuse the liberty I have here taken, without *first* knowing whether it would be agreeable to you. I am Sir, etc.

13. Franks was in Philadelphia, and as each colony had its own currency Washington was asking the rate of exchange between the Virginia and Pennsylvania currency.

In the personal preparation for the campaign, the following entry, dated May 4, 1758, is found in "Ledger A": "By Cash sent Mrs. Fairfax to Pay Miss Dent for making some Shirts for me £3:12."

To SIR JOHN ST. CLAIR

Fort Loudoun, May 4, 1758.

Dear Sir: I have now had an opportunity of examining Ucahula, an Indian Warrior, who brought in the *scalps* mentioned in my last. His account is nearly the following:

That, about the 1st. of last month, Lt. Gist with 6 Soldiers, and 30 Indians, left the South-branch of Potomack-river; and after a tedious march, occasioned by deep snows on the mountains, they got upon the waters of Monongahela, where Mr. Gist, by a fall from a steep Bank, got lamed, and was rendered incapable of marching: That the white men and some Indians

staid with him, and the remainder of the Indians divided into three small parties and proceeded, when he (Ucahula) with two others, went down the Monongahela in a bark-canoe, and landed on the north-side, not far from Ft. du Quesne.

That they lay concealed two days to make discoveries and, if possible to get a prisoner; but no favourable opportunity offering to accomplish the latter, they attacked a canoe in

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which two french-men were fishing; both of whom they killed and scalped, in sight of some other frenchmen, also a fishing.

This indians account of Ft. DuQuesne, corresponds with most others I have heard, vizt. that it is strong on the land-side, but stockaded only, where it faces the Ohio-river. It does not appear, from his information, that there are many men there, or that they have thrown up any *New Works*. He saw a party on the other side of the river, which he supposed to be newly come, because there were several canoes near them, and they seemed to be busy in putting up bark-huts, which however were not many; and only two Tents pitched. When he had got about 15 miles on this side of Fort du Quesne, he came upon a large indian encampment, and tracks, steering towards Virginia, and after the parties had joined and were marching in, Lt. Gist came upon a track of another large party, pursuing the same course. These parties have since fallen upon the back-inhabitants of Augusta-County, and destroyed near 50 persons, besides an Officer and 18 men, belonging

to Captn. Hogg's ranging-company, who we suppose (for I have no advice from *him*) were sent to the country-peoples' assistance. As soon as I obtained notice of this, I ordered a Detachment from the Regiment, and some Indians, that were equipped for War, to march, and endeavour to intercept their retreat, if they are not too numerous. I have also engaged Ucahula, with a small party of brisk men, to go immediately for Ft. du Quesne, and try to get a Prisoner. He seems confident of success, and promises to be back in 20 days at the farthest.

The two Virginia Companies from Carolina, came to this place yesterday. Enclosed is a Return of their strength. I am etc.

To JOHN BLAIR

Fort Loudoun, May 4, 1758.

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Honble. Sir: The enclosed letter from Capt. Waggener, will inform your Honor of a very unfortunate affair.¹⁴ From the best accounts I have been able to get, there are about 60 persons killed and missing. Immediately

14. The Indian raid on Augusta County, Va., backwoods inhabitants. (See Washington's letter to Sir John St. Clair, May 4, *ante*.)

upon receiving this Intelligence, I sent out a Detachment of the Regiment, and some Indians, that were equipped for war, in hopes of their being able to intercept the Enemy in the retreat. I was fearful of this stroke, but not time enough to avert it, as your Honor will find by the following account which came to hand just before Capt. Waggener's letter, by Captn. McKenzie:

“Lieutenant Gist with 6 soldiers and 30 Indians marched the 2d of April from the South Branch; and after a tedious march (occasioned by the deep snows on the mountains) got on the waters of the Monongahela, where Mr. Gist was lamed by a fall from a steep bank, and rendered incapable of marching. The white people and some of the Indians remained with him; and the rest of the Indians divided themselves into three parties and separated. Ucahula and two more went down the Monongahela in a bark canoe and landed near Ft. Duquesne, on the no. side, where they lay concealed for two days. At length an opportunity offered of attacking a canoe, in which were two French men fishing; those they killed and scalped in sight of two other canoes with French men in them, and came off safe.

“When he got about 15 miles on this side Ft. Duquesne, he came upon a large Indian Encampment, from the size of which, and the number of tracks, judged to be at least 100, making directly for the frontiers of Virginia, as they again discovered by crossing their tracks.”

At present I have nothing more to add to your

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Honor, having written several times lately on matters, to which I have received no answer.

I had wrote thus far, and was going to send off an Express with this melancholy account, when I received advice, that the Particulars relative to those murders had been transmitted from Augusta, to your Honor. I thereupon thought it most advisable to postpone sending 'till I should receive answer to my several letters by Jenkins and Mr. Gist; which I was accordingly honored with, the 7th and last night.

May 10th. After due deliberation on your Honor's letter of the 2d by Gist, I am of opinion, that the number of Militia you have ordered for the defence of the Posts, to be evacuated by the regiment, will be sufficient, unless the completing the works at this place should be thought necessary.

As it can not be supposed that the Enemy will attempt any formidable inception after the march of our army; and as to the depredations to be feared from their small scalping-parties, it would be out of the power of thrice the proposed number (or indeed of *any* number) effectually to prevent them. But, as you are pleased to desire my opinion, I beg leave to offer a few, things relative to the *disposition* you propose.

I humbly conceive therefore, that it would be infinitely more for the interest of the service, to order the 100 from Prince William to the South Branch, and continuing Rutherford's company in its present station, making this its headquarters. For, as that company is perfectly acquainted with all that range of mountains, extending from the Potomack to the Augusta Line, and thro' which the Enemy make incursions into this settlement, *they* could with greater facility obstruct their inroads and assist the inhabitants of this valley (of whom they themselves form a very great part) than those who are ignorant of the *ground*. The militia from Prince William, equally know the Branch and this vicinity, and therefore may be supposed to do as much there, as here; whereas moving Rutherford's *there*, would be stripping them of those essential advantages which they may derive from their thorough

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knowledge of these parts, and removing them from defending their immediate rights (the sole motive of the enlisting).

One half of this company, were it continued here, might be constantly ranging, and the other left in this fort, which is central to their present station.

It the works here are to be completed, which from their great importance I should think highly necessary, in that event, an additional number of 60 or 80 good men from the militia, for that particular service, would be wanted; and I do not know any person so capable of directing the works as Major Joseph Stephen, of Caroline County. He formerly had the overlooking of them, and managed with

remarkable industry.

A part of the militia ordered for the Branch should take post at Edwards's (on Cacapehon) and at Pearsalls, for the security of convoys passing from hence to Fort Cumberland.

I really do not know what method can be practised to compel the country people to deliver up the public arms, unless there could be a general search in every county.

Governor Dinwiddie, if I remember right, issued two or three proclamations ordering them in, to no purpose.

With regard to opening the roads, I think it would be most advisable to postpone all attempts, 'till Sir Jno. St. Clair's arrival, as he is expected so soon. For Pearsalls, altho' it is the most convenient road for the Virginia, may not be used by the northern troops; as I understand their rendezvous is ordered at Fort Frederick in Maryland. This may also (altho' I cannot yet absolutely say) render garrisons at Edwards and Pearsalls, useless, unless it be a few to preserve the forts and the families gathered into them.

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As several of our best sergeants were made officers in the Carolina Regiment (besides some other vacancies in that Rank) parting with 10 for the use of the new Regiment will be a very great hardship at this juncture.

We are likewise short of our number of Drummers, and many of those we have are raw and untutored. As the General expects not

regularity from the new levies, well knowing how little any attempts towards it, in a short time, would avail; I can not help being surprized at their requesting your Honor to give direction for doing what would be of no real service to the new Regiment, and would be of vast prejudice to that I have the honor to command.

In consequence of your orders for completing the Regiment (with all possible despatch) by recruiting, I sometime ago sent all the officers I could spare to those parts of the Country where there is the greatest probability of success and furnished them with all the money I had, and directions to draw upon me for whatever sum they might want for that service. I likewise engaged some of the most popular of the country gentlemen to recruit for me, giving them the same liberty to draw upon me. Well knowing the difficulty of getting any tolerable number in a short time, I exerted myself in prosecuting every measure, that afforded a prospect of success, having then not the least reason to doubt of being duly supplied with money: But how great is my surprise at that paragraph of your Honor's letter, that you can not send me *any* for that service. As I had immediate demands upon me, which I put off until Mr. Gist's arrival, I consulted with my officers about applying the £400, sent for contingencies, towards these demands; and enclose you their opinion on that head; and I must earnestly request, that you will be pleased to fall upon some measures of sending me 800 or 1,000 £ more; as your honor, the honor of the Colony, as well as mine, and the officers, together with that of those gentlemen above-mentioned, who I have employed, is so nearly and immediately interested in the completion of *those* engagements, which I have, in consequence of your orders, entered into. Surely it cannot

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be imagined that I can pay the money (if I had it to deposit) out of my own private fortune; nor does the shortness of the time, nor the circumstances I am under, admit of any other alternative.

I will chearfully bespeak, and can easily procure, the Stage Horses you desire; when furnished with money for that purpose.

As Jno. Berry was made a soldier (how legally the Court of Officers &c, that sent him can better declare) I must think it not only repugnant to law, but to the articles of War, and the customs of the army, to allow him to enlist in any other corps; for, by this means, if there were no other bad consequences attending it, he defrauds the Country of double-bounty-money.

I shall make a prudent use of the power you have been pleased to give me, respecting the issuing orders to the parties of militia.

Your favor of the 3d by Mr. French Mason, I have just been presented with; and would gladly have appointed him Ensign in the regiment, had not the vacancies been disposed of, in the following manner, before it came to hand, vizt.:

Capt. Lt. Bullet, to Joshua Lewis's company, Mr. Duncanson, oldest Ensign, to the Lieutenancy

occasioned by this removal: and Mr. Thomas Gist and Mr. Allen, volunteers, and John McCully and John Sallard, worthy Sergeants, (all of whom had served a considerable time with credit and reputation) to be Ensigns. I had likewise before the receipt of yours, promised Major Hire, 15 of this County, a gentleman of good character, the *Colors* that would become vacant; upon the event of Colo. Mercer's Company being filled up; as he in consideration, had engaged to recruit 50 men, for the service which I then thought would be a vast advantage. I am, &c.

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15. Probably John Hite, of Frederick County, Va., referred to as Colonel Hite.

To MAJOR FRANCIS HALKETT

Fort Loudoun, May 11, 1758.

Dear Sir: I am this day favored with yours of the 4th instant, and would have thought myself extremely culpable and deficient in my duty, had I delayed one moment in transmitting to the General any intelligence I could procure; much less such a material one as that he has had information of. I must, therefore, beg that you will, from me, assure the General, the Catawbas have not this year brought in one prisoner or scalp to this place, nor indeed to any other that I ever heard of. There hath been no prisoner taken by any of our friendly Indians this season, and no scalps, except the two taken near Fort Duquesne by Ucahula, of which, and all the intelligence of the enemy in that quarter, which that young warrior was able to give, I, by the last post, sent to the General a full and circumstantial account. Nor would I have failed to have kept

him duly informed of every interesting occurrence, even had it not been recommended to me.

It gave me no small uneasiness when I was informed of there solution which some of the Cherokees had made of wandering towards the Indian settlements in Maryland and Pennsylvania, clearly foreseeing the bad consequences such a peregrination would produce. I therefore represented the matter to Captain Gist in the strongest manner, and must do him the justice to say, that nothing in his power was left unessayed to prevent it. But our efforts proved ineffectual, as those two provinces last year, very impolitically I humbly conceive, made those Indians presents, and encouraged their returning thither this spring. And such is the nature of Indians, that nothing will prevent their going where they have any reason to expect presents, and their cravings are insatiable when there is any farther prospect of getting a benefit.

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I and my officers constantly have, and always will pay, the strictest regard to every circumstance, that may contribute to put and keep the Indians in a good humor. But, as Governor Dinwiddie ordered me not to meddle or interfere with Indian affairs on any pretence whatever, the sole management of them being left to Mr. Atkin and his deputy Mr. Gist, and those orders never having been countermanded, neither I, nor my officers, have adventured to do any thing relative to them, but in a secondary manner through Mr. Gist.

The Raven warrior was on a scout, 16 in which he was unsuccessful. On his return hither, he produced two white men's scalps, which he brought from his own nation, and wanted to pass them for the enemy's, taken in his

16. From Fort Frederick, in Maryland.— *Ford*.

unsuccessful scout. In this villany he was detected by the other warriors, who were highly offended at so base a deceit, and threatened to kill him for it. A consciousness of his guilt, and a dread of being called to a severe account by his own countrymen, were the reasons which many of them assigned for his going away in so abrupt (but by no means dissatisfactory) a manner to the English. As Captain Bosomworth was here transacting Indian affairs, under the immediate orders of the Commander-in-chief, when the Raven warrior returned and was detected, I only wrote in mine to General Forbes superficially on the subject, referring to Captain Bosomworth for particulars imagining it more properly belonged to him to do so.

It gives me infinite pleasure, that the General seems (by the great pains he takes) to be so well satisfied of the importance their services will be of; but cannot help being under some uneasiness that it will be almost impracticable to keep them until they will be wanted. They say that they did not leave home with an intention of staying any considerable time, that they can see no appearance of our being soon able to take the field, that staying any time for our assembling, and afterwards for our slow motions, would detain them too long

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from their own nation; but that they would go home and be back again by the time they are wanted. These and many things to the same purpose are used by must of the parties that come in from war, as reasons for going off; and altho' we have (here) done

every thing in our power to remove these objections and to prevent their going, yet a party of 25 Cherokees went off this morning. But on receipt of your letter I followed them, told them it was from the General, and by its assistance at last prevailed on them to return. Yet I dread that unless they see the troops assemble soon, it will be very difficult if not impossible to retain any number of the Cherokees, altho' nothing in my power will be wanting to prevent their leaving us, which might be of the most fatal consequences to this part of the continent.

Enclosed is my return for April, but you will please to observe that Captn. Woodward's is made out from his last, as his great distance from hence puts it out of his power to send it in due time.

I beg you will inform the General, that I shall, with great alacrity, obey all the orders, with which he may honor me with. In the mean time, I am, with unfeigned regard, dear Halkett, yours, &c.

To SIR JOHN ST. CLAIR

Fort Loudoun, May 11, 1758.

Your favor of the 7th. from York, I had the pleasure of receiving last night.

The Raven Warrior, with 30 others (some of whom afterwards returned) left this place for their nation about the 24th. or 25th. of last month. I took no notice of it in my letters, because Capt. Bosomworth was here, a Superintendant (as he said) of Indian Affairs, when that party came in. He was in consequence made acquainted with the motives of

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their returning home, and set out the next day to report distinctly the situation of Indian Affairs (at this place) to the General; and proposed seeing you in his way.

You yet seem to be unacquainted with the villainy of the Raven warrior and his Party. I shall therefore inform you, that he brought two white mens scalps from his nation, and after making a small excursion from Fort Frederick in Maryland, endeavoured to impose them upon us for the enemy's scalps; but being detected, by the rest of the warriors, in this deception, and fearing the effects of their resentment (as it was a reflection upon their nation) he thought it proper to march off; but not before the Deputy-agent, who wou'd not *seem* to credit the account, gave him some

Presents, to prevent *bad* talks (as they term *evil* reports) among his People.

Every kind of business which I have had with the Indians since June last, has been transacted thro' the Agent or his deputy. Because, first, I thought it might be attended with bad consequences for more than one to confer with them. And next, because I had Governor Didwiddie's express Orders, not to interfere in any shape, with their Affairs: but, upon receiving the General Orders on several matters relative thereto; I sent for Mr. Gist to communicate, them; when I was informed, that another party of 25 had set off homewards: I immediately followed them with the Interpreter; and with great difficulty brought them back. But I am notwithstanding under great apprehension, that no exertions in my power will prevent other parties of the Cherokees from returning home, unless the Troops assemble sooner than there seems to be a possibility of their doing.

I have, for a considerable time past had an Armourer to work repairing our Arms; and those you send will be a great assistance to him. I have engaged Lodgings for you at Mr. P. Buchby's, much the best House in this Town.

The Gentlemen at this Garrison, offer their Compliments and wishes to you. I am, etc.

To MAJOR ANDREW LEWIS

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Fort Loudoun, May 21, 1758.

Sir: Immediately upon receipt of this, you are to put a stop to Recruiting, and to call in all your Officers, who are employed on this Duty. You are not to receive any but good Men; and those to be according to the Instructions I sent to you.

I was in hopes that, by this time, your Companies would have been relieved, and you on your march for this place. I beg that you will not delay one moment after the Militia get to you. In the mean time, if you were to make out a list of such necessaries as (perhaps) may be wanted for your Companies, and send it by Captn. McNeill, or some other Officer to this place, the Things might be providing against your arrival, and prevent further delays when you shall get here.

I am sensible that your own good sense has sufficiently prompted you to study the nature of your Duty; but at the same time permit me (as a duty incumbent on myself) to recommend in the strongest terms to you, the necessity of qualifying yourself (by reading) for discharging the Duty of Major; a post that requires a thorough knowledge of the Service; and on

the due execution of which, your own, as well as the Credit of your Regiment, greatly depends.

If you have any advice, or knowledge of the time you are to be relieved, inform me of it. I offer my Compliments to all the Gentlemen of your Command, and am, etc.

ORDERS FOR LIEUTENANT COLONEL ADAM STEPHEN

Fort Loudoun, May 24, 1758.

Sr. John St. Clair having, by virtue of a Power from the Commander in Chief for the Southern district, put the Troops of this Colony under marching Orders; and at the same

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time thought it necessary, that I should wait upon the President, to settle the Affairs of the two Virginia Regiments. You are therefore if no contradictory Orders come from a Superior Officer, to remain at this place; ready to execute any Instructions that may arrive for me.

For this purpose, you are to open all Letters that may come directed to me, on His Majesty's Service.

I expect you will be very diligent in having the Mens Arms and Clothes put in the best repair: and that every other necessary step, which time and circumstances will admit, be taken to equip them for the Field. As I expect the

Detachment from the Prince William Militia (who were ordered to relieve this Garrison, but *forgot their Arms*) with which they will be furnished in a few days. You are, rather than suffer them to be *idle* , to send them toward Stoney-Creek (or any other distressed Settlement not very far off) until the Troops are ready to march from this place.

The Companies of the 1st. Regiment, as they arrive at this Garrison, are, every morning to be exercised by Battalion, with those now *here* , the remainder of the Day to be employed in mending their own Clothes, &c. if they can not get Taylors to do it for them fast enough. Perhaps a number of Taylors might be hired out of the Second Regiment, to assist in this Work.

You will see by my Orders (a copy of which I shall leave with you) what is expected from me by the General, and will regulate your conduct accordingly.

You are to cause the New Barrack to be covered in, and rough floors laid, as expeditiously as possible, for Lodgments to the Companies expected at this place. And you are to see that the Exercise we now use, be followed strictly.

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I expect Sir Jno. St. Clair will send a parcel of Powder-horns and shot-pouches to this place. Out of these, all the Soldiers of the first Regiment (who are not already supplied) must be furnished, and laid under stoppages to pay for them.

You are to get 40 men from the Second Regiment, to supply the places of the like number to be taken out of the *First*, to assist in forming a Troop of Light Horse: And, to prevent, the evil consequences of forcing men out of one Regiment into the other; you are, with Colo. Mercer (who will assist you in the undertaking) to use your best endeavours to persuade the number of men wanted, to offer themselves voluntarily.

Since writing the above I am informed that there will not be powder-horns &c. enough for the New Regiment.

You are therefore, to take no concern about them.

To MAJOR ANDREW LEWIS

Fort Loudoun, May 24, 1758.

Sir: I can not Order your march to this place in more effectual Words, or in a more effectual manner, than by enclosing you a Copy of my Orders from Sir John St. Clair.

You will see by these, that not a moment shou'd be lost in beginning your march, nor the least delay in prosecuting it to this; you will also see, the necessity of providing for your Companies wants, in time, as there will be so little time allowed you to stay here, before we begin our march to join the Main Body of the Army.

I expect 1,000 pair of Indian Leggings every hour from Philadelphia. I also expect to get Spatterdashes made for the whole Regiment, by the time you join: Those are Articles, therefore which you *need* not provide.

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You will lose no time in sending these Orders to Captn. Woodward; write pressingly to him, to march forthwith to this place.

I have the pleasure to tell you, that I have got Ensigns commissions for Mr. Allen, and Sergt. McCully,¹⁷ but shall keep them until they arrive here. They may, however, in the mean time, act as Officers. I am, etc.

17. Ensigns John Allan and John McCully.

To JOHN BLAIR

Williamsburg, May 28, 1758.

Honble. Sir: I came here at this critical juncture, by the express order of Sir John St. Clair, to represent in the fullest manner the posture of our affairs at Winchester, and to obviate any doubts, that might arise from the best written narrative. I shall make use of the following method, as the most effectual I can at present suggest, to lay sundry matters before you, for your information, approbation, and direction. And I hope, when your Honor considers how we are circumstanced and how absolutely necessary [is] despatch, that you will please to give me explicit and speedy answers, on the several points which are submitted. For without the latter the service will be greatly impeded and wanting the former, my conduct may be liable to error and to censure. To begin:

1st. Sir John St. Clair's letter will, I apprehend, inform your Honor of our principal wants, namely, arms, tents, and other sorts of field-equipage, articles so absolutely and obviously necessary, as to need no argument to prove, that the men will be useless without them, and that the vast sums of money which have been expended in levying and marching them to the place of rendezvous, will be

entirely lost, besides impeding if not defeating the expedition, and losing every Indian now on our frontiers by delay.

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2. The officers will be entirely unprovided with the means of taking the field, till they have an allowance made to them of baggage, forage, and bat-money. Governor Dinwiddie, from what cause I could never yet learn, thought proper to discontinue this allowance to the companies that remained in Virginia, at the same time that he allowed it to those who went to Carolina, although I produced [evidence] under General Stanwix's hand, (the then commanding officer on this quarter) that *all* officers were entitled to it, and that it was indispensably necessary to equip them for, and enable them to take the field. General Forbes has obtained this allowance for the Pennsylvania troops, and desired Sir John St. Clair (who has given me a copy of it signed) to urge it strongly on this government also. See the copy.

3. The different pay of the two Virginia regiments will, I conceive, if a stop is not put to it, be productive of great discontent, and many evils. For the soldiers of the first regiment think their claim upon the country equally good, if not *better* than that of the second, because their services are not limited.¹⁸ They have lacked the great bounty, which the others have received, and have had no clothes for near two years, when in strictness they have an

18. The second regiment was raised for the campaign only, and, by the terms of the act of assembly, it was to be disbanded, and the men discharged on December 1; whereas the soldiers of the first regiment were enlisted to serve during the war.— *Sparks*.

annual call for and an equal right to expect them.

4. As our regimental clothing cannot possibly last the campaign, will it not be advisable to send for a supply against next winter? I have sent to Philadelphia for one thousand pair of Indian stockings, (leggings), the better to equip my men for the woods; and should be glad to know whether I am to pay for them in behalf of the country, or deduct the cost out of their pay. As they have not received the clothing they are entitled to, they may think this latter rather hard.

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5. Should not the pay of the surgeon's mates in the first regiment be equal to that of those in the second? The latter have four and the former only three shillings per day, and should there not be the same number of surgeon's mates allowed to the old as are to the new regiment?

6. It will cause great dissatisfaction in the regiment, if Lieutenant Baker is put over the heads of older officers. It is granted, that Mr. Baker is a very deserving officer, but there are others equally deserving, and have adventured equally to seek glory, and to merit applause. Ensign Chew, for instance, was with him when the scalps were taken; Capt. McKenzie, Lt. Gist, Mr. Woodward and many others have adventured as far into the enemy's country, tho' with less success. I therefore hope (to prevent the disorders consequent upon his advancement) that your Honor will suffer Colo. Mercer's company to be given to Mr.

Stewart, the oldest Lieutenant, as Captn. Lewis' in the like case was to Mr. Bullet.

7. Sir John St. Clair directs in consequence of orders from the General, that the first Virginia regiment shall immediately be completed, and leaves the *mode* of doing it to your Honor. I should be glad of direction in this affair. The season, I fear, is too far advanced to attempt it *now* by recruiting.

8. Lt. Steenberg, having been guilty of several irregular and ungentlemanly practices, and finding his conduct was about to be inquired into, begged leave to resign, which I granted so far as depended upon me; because the crimes he was then accused of, were not sufficient to *break* him, altho' quite sufficient to give the whole corps the most indifferent opinion of his morals. This resignation, and Captn. Lt. Stewart's promotion will cause two vacancies in the regiment; to fill up which, and to make the several promotions hereby occasioned will require five blank commissions.

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9. I should be glad to know if the works at Fort Loudoun are still to go on? In what manner to be forwarded? and under whose direction? Nothing surely will contribute more to the public weal, than this fort when completed; because it will be a valuable repository for our stores, if the event of our enterprise prove successful, and an asylum for

the inhabitants, (and place of retreat for our troops,) in case of a *defeat* .

10. Great advantages must consequently arise, by appointing Lieutenant Smith to that direction, and to the command of Fort Loudoun. First, because he has had the overlooking of the works for nearly two years, is, by that means, become perfectly well acquainted with every thing intended to be done, and is exceedingly industrious. Secondly, because there must necessarily be many sick and lame soldiers left at that garrison, who may require the eye of a diligent officer to keep them together. Thirdly, because all the regimental stores and baggage must be left at that place, and ought to be under the care of an officer, who can be made accountable for his conduct; and not left to the mercy of an ungovernable and refractory militia. And fourthly, it is necessary, if for no other reason than to preserve the materials for finishing the works that are now lying there.

11. I conceive we shall be ordered to take with us the greatest part of the ammunition now at Fort Loudoun. It will be necessary, therefore, to have a supply laid in *there* for the use of the frontier garrisons.

12. I did in a late letter endeavor to point out, in what manner the service would be benefited, by continuing Rutherford's rangers in the parts they now are, and sending the militia of Prince William to the Branch in their stead, and I again recommend it, for the reasons then given, and for many others, which might be given.

I must now conclude, with once more begging, that your Honor would come to some speedy determination on these several matters. From what Sir John St. Clair has wrote, from my orders, and from what I have here set forth, I conceive it must sufficiently appear,

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that the greatest dispatch is absolutely necessary, the success of our expeditions, in a manner, depending upon the *early* commencement of it. Every delay, therefore, may be attended with pernicious consequences.

The Indians, glad of any pretence for returning home, will make use of delays for a handle; and a spirit of discontent and desertion may spring up among the new levies for want of employment.

These are matters obvious to me, and my duty requires, that I represent them in this free and candid manner.¹⁹ I am, etc.

***To SIR JOHN ST. CLAIR**

Fort Loudoun, June 14, 1758.

Dear Sir: I found upon my return to this place, last Night, the Letters Inclos'd.

19. As the government in England had determined to prosecute offensive operations on the southern frontiers, great preparations had been contemplated for a vigorous campaign under General Forbes against Fort Duquesne. William Pitt had, on December 30, written a circular to the Governor of Pennsylvania and the several Colonies at the south, requesting a hearty cooperation from the assemblies in aid of General Forbes's expedition. He stipulated that the colonial troops raised for this purpose should be supplied with arms, ammunition, tents, and provisions, in the same manner as the regular troops, and at the King's expense; so that the only charge to the Colonies would be that of levying, clothing, and paying the men. The governors were also authorized to issue commissions to provincial officers, from colonels downward, and these officers were to hold rank in the united army according to their commissions. Had this liberal and just system been adopted at the outset, it would have put a very different face upon the military affairs of the Colonies. Maj. Gen. James Abercromby, who had succeeded Lord Loudoun to the command in America, assigned 6,000 troops to Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland

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as their quota for the expedition to the Ohio. Of this number the Pennsylvania Assembly resolved to raise 2,700. (See *Votes and Proceedings of the Assembly*, vol. 4, p. 799.) The Maryland Assembly voted 1,000, but their bill was defeated by the usual quarrel with the governor, who refused his assent to their proposed mode of levying the tax to defray the expense. (See *Votes and Proceedings*, March, 1758.) The troops actually employed under General Forbes were 1,200 Highlanders, 350 Royal Americans, about 2,700 provincials from Pennsylvania, 1,600 from Virginia, 200 or 300 from Maryland who had been stationed in garrison at Fort Frederick under Colonel Dagworthy, and also two companies from North Carolina; making in all, including the wagoners, between 6,000 and 7,000 men,— *Sparks*.

I shou'd hardly have opened them, notwithstanding you desir'd it had not Col. Byrd advis'd it as necessary, thinking there might be something contain'd that we might be preparing to execute.

I greatly fear that we shall be in want of Arms. at all events we have but a Scanty allowance; and if those from Williamsburg shou'd be in bad Order, as we have reason to apprehend they are from the Inclos'd Letters; I don't know what we are to do: delay'd we must be at least till they are clean'd, and made fit for Service. There will be a difficiency of Bayonets when the Maryland Arms are returned; and there is not a possibility of *my* supplying Byrds Regiment with Cartooch Boxes, as the Arms which Mr. Henry is repairing are entirely without these Appendiges. My regiment will I expect, be compleat in both these Articles.

Mr. Cunningham²⁰ in a P S to me adds “McSwaine this moment tells me the two Waggoners have escap'd from Colo. Lewis; so that the Blankets will not be up so soon as I wrote Sir John”.

Among the Inclos'd, you will find a Letter from Mr. Strother,²¹ concerning the French Negro I wrote to him for at your desire; this Negro I find to be a shrewd, Sensible Fellow;

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and may be useful if he did not come into the Inhabitants for the purpose of discoveries, rather than

20. Capt. James Cunningham.

21. Anthony Strother.

his escape from our Enemies, he is very well acquainted with the Ohio, and those parts, but has been longer from Fort DuQuense than I at first understood him. He will set out from this to-morrow, with a Waggon I shall send towards Fort Loudoun in Pennsylvania, and I shall desire he may be forwarded to you from thence. I am Dr. Sir, etc.²²

***To CAPTAIN THOMAS WAGGENER**

Fort Loudoun, June 15, 1758.

Sir: As you have been long under Marching Orders, I can't doubt your readiness to depart from your present Station. I shall leave this the 23d. Inst't with three Companies of my Regiment; one of the Second Regimt.; and the Troop of Light Horse; and expect to be at Pearsalls the 25th., if not delay'ed by my Waggons. I also expect that you will join me there at that time with your own, and McKenzie's Companys.

If *possible* , I shall get the Prince William Militia up in time, to relieve your Parties; but if this shou'd

22. This and most of the subsequent letters up to September 12, inclusive, are from what is known as the "Bouquet Expedition Letter Book," a small folio of 80 pages containing 51 letters in Washington's writing. The original covers are missing and one leaf, containing two letters, has been abstracted by an unknown spoilsman. Two or three of the letters are in the hand of John Kirkpatrick, but they are signed, with one exception, by Washington. This record "Letter Book," like the one of the Braddock expedition (1755), was revised by Washington in 1784–85 for his copyist, and, as revised, the letters were entered

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in "Letter Book No. 2" and "Letter Book No. 4," 27 years later. The texts here printed follow the letters as written in 1758 and ignore the later alterations, which are not nearly so numerous as those made in the 1755 letters and are, generally speaking, of little consequence. Ford notes that the original letters of 1758, as sent, are in the British Museum, and he uses the text of William Henry Smith, who printed 26 of these 53 letters in the *Magazine of American History* (February, 1888). In that magazine Smith published a facsimile of Washington's letter of Aug. 7, 1758, to Bouquet, and a comparison of this letter, as sent, with the record copy made by Washington at the time shows minor transposition of words but no alteration of meanings. The editor uses the text of these record copies in Washington's writing rather than the printed text of Smith's publication or the transcriptions of 1784–85. Where Smith's print shows additional matter this is noted. As both Ford and Sparks printed such of these letters as they used in the revised form of 1784–85, the curious, who wish to compare Washington's later idea as to phraseology, can easily do so by consulting the Ford and Sparks editions. It would be difficult to present both versions (1758 and 1784–85) with clearness in type on the same page.

be found impracticable, you are not to delay y'r Marching waiting for them.

Use your best endeavours to procure all the Horns you can for carrying your Powder. You cannot get two many of them, nor of Shott Pouches; as the first, as well as Second Regiment, are in want of them.

You will receive Sundry necessaries from Lt. King for the use of the two Companies on the Branch, you will also receive by him the Country's allowance of Forage and Bat-money for yourself and Ensign; the other Officers of your Company will be paid these Art'ls here.

Have an exact review of the two Companies with you, and let me know by express, the names, and number of Men unfit for Service; and which ought to be discharg'd, also of those who, tho not able to March, may do Garrison duty. I likewise desire that you will

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send me at the same time an exact report of the bad Arms; and of the Arms wanting repair in these Companies. I am Sir, etc.

***To LIEUTENANT JOSEPH McDOWELL²³**

June 17, 1758.

Sir: Captn. Stephen assuring me, that so soon as the Prince William Militia are taken from his House the Families there, and in the Neighbours also will immediately remove; I am oblig'd, having it no otherways in my power to Order a few of your Men to be station'd there in their place: you are not to put so many there, as to distress the other Posts you secure; and if Swearingen²⁴ Division can afford you any for this place, I shall take care to Order some accordingly. I am, etc.

***To FRANCIS FAUQUIER²⁵**

Fort Loudoun, June 17, 1758.

Hon'ble Sir: Although but a poor hand at Complimenting, but permit me, nevertheless to offer your Hon'r my congratulations on your appointment; and safe arrival to a Government which His Majesty has been Graciously pleas'd to entrust to you with the Administration of, and to assure you, that I most sincerely wish your Administration may

23. Of Rutherford's Rangers.

24. Capt. Van(?) Swearingen.

25. Lieutenant Governor of Virginia.

be attended with pleasure to yourself and strength to the People Governed.

I flatter'd myself with the pleasure of seeing your Honour in Williamsburg, when I was down, but the business that carried me there was of too Urgent a Nature to admit of

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delays, when I had once got it accomplish'd. Mr. President Blair has, no doubt, inform'd you of that business and of the State of the Troops here, and situation of other Affairs in this Quarter; I will not therefore, trouble your Hon'r with a repetition of them; but Enclose you a Copy of my last Orders, which I am preparing to execute with the greatest exactness. Sir John St Clair set out from hence for Connegocheague the 11th. Inst't, to which place I accompanied him by Summon's from Colo. Bouquet.²⁶ He proceeded on to Carlyle and I return'd here; where at present I have the Hon'r to Command.

I shall transmit your Honour, so soon as I leave this place (I can't well do it before, as alterations are continually happening while the Troops remain here) an exact return of our Stores, agreeable to the Presidents Orders. Inclos'd is a return of the Strength of the first Regiment; I have directed one to be made out and sent of the 2d. Also.

When I was down, the President was pleas'd to promise me 5 blank Commissions to compleat my Regiment with Officers; by mistake I got one less, and must therefore

26. Col. Henry Bouquet had command of the advance guard of the expedition against Fort Duquesne.

beg the favour of your Honour to send me one now; or, that you wou'd be pleas'd to take the trouble yourself, of appointing Mr. Jno. Lawson (who is the oldest Ensign in my Regiment) to be Lieutenant in Lieut't Colo. Stephen's Company, where there is a Vacancy. This wou'd have been done before, had not the above mistake happen'd.

I enclose your Honour the Pay Rolls of Captn. Rutherford's Company of Rangers, and beg the favour of you to send the money to Mr. Thos. Rutherford of this place, and he will pay them of in behalf of his Brother; who, being in an ill state of health, got leave to visit Doct'r Brown²⁷ of Maryland, to consult him in the case, and is not yet return'd.

When I was in Williamsburg last, I endeavour'd to make Mr. President Blair and the Council, sensible of the great want of Cloaths for the first Regiment; and how necessary it

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is to send to England for a Supply. They declin'd doing any thing in the case at that time, because the Funds granted by the late Act of Assembly were almost exhausted. But I hope it will not escape your Hon'rs notice if an Assembly shou'd be call'd. Field equipage of all kinds will also be wanting and will come better and much cheaper from there. Colo. Byrd is fearful of wanting Cloaths for his Men, if we shou'd be late taking the Field; but his redress

27. Dr. Gustavus Brown, of Port Tobacco, Md. He was one of the attending physicians during Washington's last illness.

must be immediate or else useless, as that Regiment by Law will be discharged the first Day of December next; I have the Hon'r to myself with g't Respect. Y'r H'nrs etc.

***To GENERAL JOHN FORBES**

Fort Loudoun, June 19, 1758.

Sir: Pardon the liberty I am going to take; a liberty, that nothing but the most disinterested regard for the safety and welfare of these Colonies wou'd cause me to take. How far my notions on what I am going to observe is compatable with Reason, and how far they may corrispond with your Sentiments on the matter, I shall candidly submit to your [Excellency's determination].²⁸

The unfortunate arrival of the Cherokees into these Goverments so early in the Spring, and the unavoidable Accidents that have hitherto prevented a junction of the Troops, intended for the Western Expedition, has caus'd the Indians (who naturally are of a discontented Tempers) to be tired of waiting, and *all* , except those who came with Colo. Byrd, and a few others that have promised to

28. The words in brackets were added by Washington in 1784–85. He has erased the 1758 phrase with a knife so thoroughly as to defy deciphering.

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join him, to return home; how long these can be prevail'd upon to remain with us, I won't absolutely affirm; but this I can venture to say not 6 Weeks, if it requires that time to form our Magazines and prepare for our March, as Colo. Bouquet seem'd to think it will. Now, in this event, we are left to perform a March of more than 100 Miles from our most advanc'd Post, before we shall arrive at Fort Duquesne; a great part of which over Mountains and Rocks, and thro' some such defiles as will enable the Enemy, with assistance of *their* Indian's and Irregulars; and their Superior knowledge of the Country, to render our March extremely arduous, perhaps impracticable; and at best very tedious; unless assisted by a considerable Body of Indians, who I conceive to be the only Troops fit to cope with Indians in such Grounds; for, I must beg leave further to add, that I can not look upon strength and Success in the Woods to be the Consequence of Numbers; on the contrary, I conceive the designs of an unwieldy Body of Troops, marching as Convoys, may be frustrated by a few; this I am certain off, they may be greatly harrass'd; and their March much incommoded by the Sculking Enemy we shall have to deal with.

From what has, and might be said on this [occasion it would]²⁹ appear that Indians, to Us, are of the utmost Importance; and as I understand your Excellency proposes to keep open the Communication with the Inhabitants, and secure a retreat by the construction of Posts at advantageous situations, and proper distances, as the Army advances; (a work truly of the greatest Importance, especially as we will too probably begin our March with a handfull of Indians) I think it wou'd be practicable by the prosecution of this plan, to get a Number of the Indians, (by sending a person of abilities and adress *immediately* for them) before we cou'd approach Fort Duquesne; and I *think* it is not likely we shall meet with any formidable attack till we get pretty near that place.

Another great advantage that might be deriv'd from sending such a such a Person instantly to the Cherokee Nation, wou'd be making up ('tis to be hop'd) those differences that lately happen'd between them, and some of the natives of the Southern Frontiers of this Colony; which unhappy broils, if not properly, and timously attended to, may be productive of the

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most destructive consequences to the british Affairs in America, and terminate in the ruin of our Southern Settlements. The Southern Indians, of late, seem to be in a very wavering situation, and have, on several occasions, discover'd an Inclination to break with Us; I think it can admit of no doubt, that, if we shou'd be unsuccessfull in this Quarter, which Heaven

29. The words in brackets were added by Washington in 1784–85. He has erased the 1758 phrase with a knife so thoroughly as to defy deciphering.

avert! that the united Force of several powerfull Nations of these Indians might be employ'd against Us; and, that such acquisition to the Enemy wou'd enable them to exterpate our Southern Colonies, and make themselves Masters of this part of the Continent at least. Wherefore, that nothing shou'd be omitted that might contribute to prevent so dreadfull a Calamity; if a proper Person as I before said was immediately sent to the Cherokee Nation, he might not only accomplish this great work, but get a Body of them to join the Army on their March; and no Person, surely, who has the Interest of our Important Cause at Heart, wou'd hesitate a moment to depart in such a Service, on the event of which, our all in a manner depends.

There is now a large Cargoe of proper Goods for Trading with them just arriv'd from England, in this Colony, necessary supplies might be drawn from thence and laid at proper places for them, which wou'd prevent those delays and disappointments which they have had too much reason to complain off.

It wou'd, I confess, require a considerable time before the Indians that are (yet to be sent for) cou'd join Us; but, as the inevitable obstructions to be met with in forming Magazines, erecting the Posts, and marching on, must re

quire much time, it may be effected, and the farther the Summer is advanced, the Operations of the Campaign for many obvious Reasons, cou'd be executed with the greater security, unless there shou'd, e'er then, happen a decisive action to the No. ward and the Enemy prove successful; in that case they wou'd pour in their Troops upon Us

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to the Southward. At all events they cou'd easily prevail upon many of their Northward Indians, by promises and the views of Plunder, to join their Troops upon the Ohio. Another Misfortune that wou'd arise by a late Campaign is that the limited time for the service of the 2d Virginia Regiment wou'd be near or perhaps quite elapsed before the Campaign cou'd be over.

What time the French may require to Assemble a formidable Body of Indians at Fort Duquesne; how they are provided for victualling such a body there, and how far they *are* able to prevail upon these *Indians* to wait the uncertain March of our Army which they have Assembled them; are matters I profess myself ignorant in. But if we may draw any inferences from our own difficulties in these cases, we may in the first place conclude I think, that our Preperations &ca. have sufficiently alarm'd them, and that they have got together what Indians they can; next, that those Indians will require the same Provisions and humoring that ours do; and lastly, that they may also get dissatisfied

at waiting, and return home like ours have done; thinking our Preparations a feint only to draw of their Attention and from the Northward.

My Sollicitude on account of Indians sufficiently appears throughout all I have said. Your Excellency is the best judge of the Plan you have to execute and the time it will require to bring your operations to bear; you are also a proper judge of the time it will take to accomplish the Scheme I have propos'd of getting Indians to our Assistance, and how far it may corrispond (in point of time) with other measures; and therefore it wou'd be impertinent after I have endeavour'd, tho' a little incoherently, to shew the necessity of Indians, and the advantages and disadvantages of a late Campaigne, to say any thing *more* unless it be to apologize once more for the freedom I have taken of mentioning matters which I suppose you are equally, if not better acquainted with than I am; and to assure your Excellency that I am, with greatest respect, etc.

***To CAPTAIN THOMAS WAGGENER**

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Fort Loudoun, June 19, 1758.

Sir: The bearer Captn. McClanaham comes up to relieve you, you are therefore to give him Orders where to Post his Men; in the manner that will best promote the Interest of the Service, and give the most satisfaction to the generality of the Inhabitants in that Quarter. You are likewise to deliver him a necessary supply of Ammunition; I am Sir, etc.

***To CAPTAIN THOMAS McCLANAHAN³¹**

Fort Loudoun, June 19, 1758.

You are forewith to March with all convenient Expedition to the Fort on the South Branch; at which Captn. Thomas Waggener Commands, to relieve him and follow such Orders as he may judge most conducive to the Interest of the Service with regard to the different Posts in that Quarter, to be defended by your Men; you are likewise to apply to him for a necessary supply of Ammunition of which you are to be particularly careful, and see that none of it be wasted.

You are to keep an exact daily return of your Command, that you may be able (at any time its requir'd of you) to give an

31. Of the Prince William, Va., militia.

Acct. of the Number of your Men you have on Duty, and that pay may be drawn only for your effectives. You are to keep a particular acct. of the Ammunition you may use, and for what Service Expended.

***To FRANCIS FAUQUIER**

Fort Loudoun, June 19, 1758.

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Hon'ble Sir: The Letter herewith Inclos'd, wou'd have been sent according to the date, but I have been waiting till now for Captn. Rutherfords Pay Roll, his Company being much dispers'd in the Ranging Service.

This day the Prince William Militia are to March for the South Branch, to relieve two Companies of my Regiment, agreeably to Orders. Inclos'd is a return of their present strength. I shou'd think myself difficient in my duty were I to pass over in Silence the transactions of and State of this Company from their first coming out, about the 20th. Ulto.

One hundred Militia then, were Order'd from Prince William County (but at what time I can't exactly say by Mr. President Blair) instead of that number, they sent 73 and every one of them unprovided with either Arms or

Ammunition, as the Law directs; by which means they were useless but burthensome to the Country, as they receiv'd true Allowance of Provisions and had their Pay running on. This matter was represented to Colo. Henry Lee, Lieut't of that County, by Sir Jno. St. Clair then Commanding Officer here. The Consequence of this representation was; that about the first of this Inst't, near 100 Arms were sent up by his order out of which number Scarce 5 were Serviceable; and not more than 30 cou'd possibly be made to Fire. This was also represent'd to Colo. Lee who after professing a Concern for it said, they expect'd Arms from England, (I think) every day, and took no further Acct. of the matter that I have yet heard of. I immediately set Smiths to repairing their Arms, and have at last, with the Assistance of 35 old Muskets which I caus'd to be deliver'd out of the Store here, got this Company, which shou'd consist of 100 Men, (tho' there is but 68) at last compleated.

'Till this time, they have been a dead expence to the Publick, and no Service to the Inhabitants. This Sir, are serious Facts, and really merits [reprehension]³⁰ for, if such behaviour is suffer'd to escape unnoticed, the most destructive Consequences may accrue to the Country, as in the present case for Instance, if the Troops had March'd agreeable to

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my first Orders, the Companies on the South Branch wou'd have been drawn off, and the Inhabitants left either destitute of relief, or have come off with them,

30. This word was added in 1784–85. The original word has been erased with a knife and is indecipherable.

which they determin'd to do. This I understand actually happen'd in Augusta County, when Maj'r Lewis came from thence, by the negligence, I suppose, of the County Lieutenants. I am etc.

***To SIR JOHN ST. CLAIR**

Fort Loudoun, June 23, 1758.

Sir: I have receiv'd your favours of the 18th. and 20th. Inst., and beg leave to refer you to Captn. Stewarts Letter, knowing he writes fully, on Matters relative to the light Horse.

I expect to March tomorrow, agreeably to my Orders; Woodward's Company of the first Regiment, cover'd the Artificers of the 2d., and left this the 22d. to open the Road from hence to Pearsalls; which, by information, is almost impassable.

Colo. Byrd will be sadly distress'd for Arms when those from Maryland are deliver'd up. The Arms from Williamsburg came here in such bad Order, that they cannot possibly be repair'd in time; Colo. Byrd writes to you on this

subject himself, it will therefore be needless for me to enlarge upon or repeat His complaints.

I have receiv'd no Hatchets from Connegocheague, the Canteens came up according to Expectation; and I have written to the Commanding Officer there, desiring to know why the former, the following contains his answer; "I have made Inquiry concerning the 200

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Hatchets mention'd in yours, but have got no information concerning them"; sign'd Jno. Kidd, dated 21st. Inst. I am with very great regard, etc.

***To COLONEL WILLIAM BYRD**

Fort Loudoun, June 24, 1758.

Sir: Herewith you will receive a Copy of my last Orders from Sir John St Clair, dated the 13th. Instant; such parts of them as regard yourself, and Regiment, you are desir'd to observe, and act litterally up to them.

I have directed half the Provisions and Ammunition intended for Fort Cumberland to follow me, under your escort. Mr. Walker will take care that the former of these Articles comes, and I hope you will observe that your Quarter Master brings the latter.

You will want Provision's at Edward's and Pearsalls, for that Company of y'r Regiment Order'd to be left at those places; and you will no doubt order them being supplied accordingly.

Take an exact Acct. of the No. of Arms rec'd from Williamsburg, and how they have been dispos'd of: if any remain you may lodge them in the Stores here, and take Lt. Smiths receipt for them.

***To LIEUTENANT CHARLES SMITH**

Fort Loudoun, June 24, 1758.

Sir; You are to take an exact acct. of all the Virginia Stores at this place; for which you are to pass your receipt to Mr. Kennedy, Quarter Master and to deliver none out after my departure but by Letter from me, or Orders from the Governor, or Commander in Chief; except it be Ammunition &ca. for the use of the Garrison; and for supplying the Ranging Companies; in doing which, you are to observe the

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greatest Oeconomy.

You must get an exact Acct. of all the Arms that have been deliver'd out by Mr. Kennedy to the Armourer; endeavour also to get an Acct. of those which Mr. Henry rec'd from Fredericksburg, and see how the whole have been dispos'd of; taking care to receive into the Stores all that are in his hands after the Troops are supplied, and Marched from this place; and to transmit me a return of your proceedings in this matter.

I have directed Captn. Rutherford to detach 20 Men of his Company to strengthen *this Garrison* (which is to be *your* principle concern); you will take care therefore to keep up Discipline at the same time use lenity, to prevent discontent and Desertion. Be vigilant, and keep your Men Sober observe Order and Regularity in the Garrison; which keep clean and wholesome; and as your numbers will be few, keep a regular and strict watch; place two Sentries in opposite Bastions, and one in the Front Porch; and I believe it will be sufficient.

The place now used for an Hospital, you are to give up to the owner, and appoint a Room in some of the Barracks in the Fort, for your Sick.

If any Deserters shou'd be brought to this place by Country People, you are to pass receipts for them, and send them on to their respective Regiments, or Companies if any opportunity Offers; if there shou'd not, you are then to employ them at this

Garrison, or elsewhere, that they can be found useful; in passing y'r receipts you are to specify the Regiment and Company such Deserter belongs to.

Expresse's on the Kings Service, whose Horses may tire, or otherwise be unfit to proceed, you are to get others for; giving receipts in all these Cases mentioning for what they were Press'd, for what particular Service and how long they were employ'd in it; and

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take particular care always to have them deliver'd up to the owners so soon as they are return'd.

***To CAPTAIN ROBERT RUTHERFORD**

Fort Loudoun, June 24, 1758.

Sir: You are to appoint 20 of your worst Rangers, to do Duty at Fort Loudoun, under Lieut Smith; who is charg'd with the Command of this Place. They may be kept constantly there or reliev'd, as you see cause.

The remainder of the Company to be employ'd in the Ranging Service as they now are, or otherwise, as shall be judg'd most conducive to the safety of the People.

If any Inception shou'd be made into the County by the Enemy, or mischief done; it will be your duty to consult with Lieut. Smith on the most effectual means of assisting the Inhabitants, and giving the earliest, and best Intelligence thereof to the Governor.

***To—HENRY, ARMOURER**

Fort Loudoun, June 24, 1758.

Sir: So soon as you have Compleated Colo. Byrd's Regiment, and Captn. Stewarts Troop of Light Horse with Arms, you are to set about cleaning and putting all the Virginia Arms in the best repair you can, till further Orders.

Take care that they are well pack'd up in cases, 25 in each, and deliver'd into the Magazine now under the care of Lieut't Smith. The principal design of this is to keep the Arms from receiving hurt, by lying in Rust. You will therefore direct your managem' of them accordingly.

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Such Pieces as want Locks, or in other respects much repair, let be your last care. and when you may be call'd away you are to deliver in a faithful Acct. of all the Arms

that have pass'd thro your hands, from the first of your coming, to the Store keeper Lt. Smith, and bring, or send, another Copy to me.

***To THE OFFICER COMMANDING A DETACHMENT FROM NORTH CAROLINA**

Fort Loudoun, June 24, 1758.

Sir: Last night the Inclos'd March Rout came under cover to me for you, with this Paragraph from Sir Jno. St. Clair; "I have inclos'd you a March Rout for a hundred of the No. Carolina Provincials, that ought to be at Winchester, they will serve for an Escort for Mr. Walkers second Convoy of Provision's. You'll please tell the Commanding Officer that any Carriages he may want upon his March shall be paid for upon his giving them a Certificate of their Service; the other two hundred of them that arriv'd at Alexandria, are to March up by Fort Frederick".

As your March from hence depends upon the readiness of the Convoy, you are to consult Mr. Commissary Walker on that head. I am Sir, etc.

***To SIR JOHN ST. CLAIR**

[June 26, 1758.]

Sir: I was last night favour'd with yours of the 22d., and have Inclos'd your Orders for Marching to the Commanding Officer of the Carolina Troops and left it with Mr. Walker, who, in consequence of some Letters he receiv'd from Mr. Hoops, does not think of sending a second Convoy of Provisions; but as he writes you fully on that Subject begs leave to refer you to him; he has Provided a Months Provisions which will be escorted up by Colo. Byrd and myself.

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I have inclos'd you a Copy of the Orders I have given Mr. Henry, the Armourer; if you shou'd find any thing amiss, or omitted, be pleas'd to send him others. I am just going to March, and beg leave to subscribe myself, Y'r most Obedt. etc.

To CAPTAIN THOMAS WAGGENER

Camp at North River, June 26, 1758.

Sir: I have just encamped at this place on my march to Ft. Cumberland, with a weak escort to a large convoy of Provisions, &c.

The intent of this, therefore, is to desire, that you will immediately upon receipt of it, detach 100 men, and 3 waggons to our assistance; do not suffer the least delay.

I order the waggons upon a supposition that you have some at Pearsalls in pay; but if I am wrong in this, be pleased to engage any you can, in time for this service, as we are plagued in a most extraordinary manner, with *bad* Teams. I am, etc.

ORDERS FOR SERGEANT JOHN DAVID WILPER

Pearsalls, June 30, 1758.

Mr. Wilper: You are to remain at this place with a Corporal and 12 men for defence of the Post, and such of the People as may resort to it: as also for security of the Stores, &c.

that now are or may be lodged here: taking care to pass your Receipts for them, and to produce proper vouchers for their delivery again.

You are to observe strict discipline; suffer no Soldier to straggle from the Fort, without leave; nor any *liquor* to be sold to your men without your permission. Make regular returns of your command to me while I am at Fort Cumberland, and to Lt. Smith after I shall have

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marched from that place (unless you receive Orders to the contrary) and apply to him for what ammunition you may want.

In every respect you are to conform to the Rules and Discipline of war, in the like cases.

***To COLONEL HENRY BOUQUET³²**

Camp near Fort Cumberland, July 3, 1758.

Sir: Your favours of the 27th. Ult. and first Inst't I have had the honour to receive.

According to Order, I march'd from Winchester the 24th., and arriv'd at this place Yesterday in the Afternoon, with five Companies of the first Virginia Regiment, and a Company of Artificers of the 2d., as you may observe by the Inclos'd return.

My March, by bad Teams and bad Roads (notwithstanding I had sent the Artificers and a Covering Party on three days before)

32. Col. Henry Bouquet served in the Dutch Army as lieutenant colonel of Swiss Guards. Entered the English Army in 1756 and became colonel of the Sixtieth Foot in 1762 and a brigadier general in 1765. In 1758 Bouquet commanded the Royal American Regiment, and was ordered by Secretary William Pitt to move from its station in South Carolina to join General Forbes in Pennsylvania. Bouquet was energetic in pushing the building of a new road from Raystown (now Bedford), Pa., toward Fort Duquesne rather than have the British expedition take the old Braddock route, favored by Washington. He died in Pensacola, Fla., in 1766.

was much delay'd.

I herewith send a return of the Provisions and Forage that came up under my Escort: we lost three Bullocks, and that in driving. I can't absolutely say for what purpose the Forage is intended, or where to be lodg'd. It was engag'd by Mr. Walker at Sir Jno. St.

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Clair's request, and I believe for the light Horse. The Principal part of it met us at Pearsalls on the South Branch; and neither myself, nor any Person else was empower'd, or even desir'd to receive and pay for it. I was at a loss how to act, but thought it most advisable to bring it on; if it is not intended for the light Horse as I apprehen'd I shou'd be glad of your directions concerning it; for Captn. Stewart, who possibly may be Instructed for this purpose, I left equipping his Troop at Winchester, and has not yet join'd me.

As I can't suppose you intended to order any part of my Men upon the Roads till join'd at this place by Colo. Byrd, I shall decline sending any upon that Service till his arrival; which I suppose may be to-morrow, as he was preparing to March the 26th after me.

I enclose you an exact return of the Maryland Troops in Garrison, at this place, also of their Provisions; and of the King's stores,³³ and shou'd be glad to know what strength you wou'd have this Garrison consist of, how many days Provisions left for them, and what quan

33. These returns, dated July 2, 1758, are in the *Washington Papers*.

tity of Ammunition. I brought one half of all that was order'd from Winchester by Sir Jno. St. Clair, and left the other half to follow with Colo. Byrd— Powder excepted, and of that Article there was only 16 Barrels in the Stores there, besides 6 others that were made up into Cartridges, which are also brought up between us.

Mr. Walker, in consequence of Instructions from Mr. Hoops (who I believe purpos'd to supply us from Rays Town) put a stop to a further purchase of Provisions: You will see by the Returns for what number of days I am supplied, and I desir'd Colo. Byrd to bring as much to this place as wou'd serve his Men a fortnight, at least. I am at a loss to know whether Officers' Serv'ts, that are not Soldiers, are allow'd to draw Provisions; and shou'd be thankfull for your directions, as I have had many applications on that head.

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There are few Tools for the Services requir'd; but before a supply cou'd be got to this place from Sir Jno. St. Clair, or Govnr. Sharpe the Work (with what few we have) I hope may be near finish'd. Rum too, I fear will be a scarce Article with Us.

Pray what will be done with that Company of Byrd's Regiment order'd to take Post at Edwards's and Pearsalls? shall they continue there, or join their Regiment? I left in consequence of your Orders an Officer and 30 Men Invalids at Fort Loudoun for safety of the Stores &c., lodg'd there, and also a Sergeant and 12 at

Pearsalls to secure that Post, and keep open the Road for Expresses (for no more can be expected from so small a Command). Byrd I hope will leave 6 or 8 of his Invalids or bad Men at Edwards's for the same purpose.

There came 28 waggon's to this place with me, and I believe if they were wanted, 10 more might be had upon the South Branch, strong and good; but carrying Horses are certainly more eligible for the Service we are destin'd.

I have us'd my best endeavours to get my Men equip'd with Powder Horns and Shott Pouches, and have procur'd 330 of the former, and 339 of the latter; besides the Linnen ones, with which we are compleated.

I have receiv'd a very Scanty allowance of Tents for the 5 Companies with me, vizt., sixty-nine only; out of these most of the Officers must either be supplied, or lye uncover'd; they will readily pay for what they receive, if requir'd. No. Bell Tents were sent to Us.

My Men are very bare of Cloaths (Regimentals I mean), and I have no prospect of a Supply; this want, so far from my regretting during this Campaigne, that were I left to pursue my own Inclinations I wou'd not only order the Men to adopt the Indian dress, but cause the Officers to do it also, and be the first to set the example myself. Nothing but the uncertainty of its taking with the General

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causes me to hesitate a moment at leaving my Regimentals at this place, and proceeding as light as any Indian in the Woods. 'T is an unbecoming dress, I confess, for an officer; but convenience rather than shew, I think shou'd be consulted.³⁴ The reduction of Bat Horses alone, is sufficient to recommend it; for nothing is more certain than that less baggage will be requir'd, and that the Publick will be benifitted in proportion.

I was desirous of being thus full in my Letter to you; how far it may be consistent with good Policy, as there is at least a possibility of its falling into the Enemy's hands, I know not: but I shall be directed in these affairs by you. I am, etc.

***To COLONEL HENRY BOUQUET**

July 3, 1758.

Sir: Since closing mine of this date, a dispute has arisen between Mr. Joseph Gailbraith (an Assistant Victualler of Mr. Hoops') and I concerning Salt. Our Stock of Meat is chiefly fresh, and he refuses to find Salt for it;

34. The frontiersmen, or woodsmen garb, of hunting shirt and leggings, sometimes described as Indian dress. Bouquet wrote (July 14): "I am extremely obliged to you for this extraordinary dispatch [the arrival of Maj. Andrew Lewis's detachment]. Their dress should be our pattern in this expedition."

whether it is his duty to do it or not, I can't say; but unless it is done, the Men will inevitably be visited with fluxes and other Disorders that may render them incapable of immediate Service. There is some Salt at this place belonging to Virginia, which I shall make use of till I receive your Orders on this head.

There is one Jno. McCullough here, who wou'd make an exceeding good Waggon Master, and we shall certainly want one, or two, if all the Waggon's that I have together with those which Colo. Byrd may bring, shou'd be detain'd in the Service.

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I shou'd be glad to know if such Persons are allow'd? and if they are, how many Waggons each takes charge of?, and their Pay pt. Day? I am Sir, etc.

***To COLONEL HENRY BOUQUET**

Camp near Fort Cumberland, July 7, 1758.

Sir: Colo. Byrd with 8 Companies of his Regim't arriv'd here yesterday, he left many sick Men behind him, as may be seen by the Inclos'd report; which, with

the Company he Posted at Edwards's and Pearsalls, reduces our strength Considerably.

I am a good deal at a loss therefore, to know how to Act for the best, since your last Orders for joining you at Rays Town were not positive, and seem'd to be given on a supposition that Mr. Walker either cou'd not, or was not to supply us with Provisions here. Your doubts will in some measure be obviated when you see Mr. Walker's Letter to me on this head; and the returns of our Provisions; which I now send. If this therefore was your motive for desiring a Garrison to be left at this place, and for me to March on to Rays Town with the remainder of the Virginia Troops, you will, I presume, countermand our March to that place, for the following Reasons: first, because 300 Men may, I think, open the Communication to Rays Town with safety, and with much greater case and convenience than if our whole Body Marches on, incumber'd with a number of Waggons. Secondly, it will, if the Army is oblig'd to take this Rout as I am told from all hands it certainly must, prevent the fatigues of a Counter march to Men and Horses, just going upon Service; thirdly, it will afford us an opportunity of lodging our Provisions and Stores here, while the Waggons may return for another Convoy, and save by that means the great expense of transporting them to there and back again, if we shou'd not be able to proceed from thence. And fourthly,

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Colo. Byrd Assures me that the Indians with him absolutely refuse to march any other Road than this they are acquainted with.

I was advis'd to hint these things to you, and wait the result of your answer before I put the whole in Motion. Whatever you direct under the Circumstances I shall execute with the greatest punctuality, and Expedition in my power. I enclose a return of the No. of Waggons now at this place, that you may be judge of the Expencc.

Captn. Dagworthy telling me that Governor Sharpe is to open the Road to the Town Creek (which is within 15 Miles of this place) and as Maryland has near 200 Men here fit for Duty, I hope you will be of opinion that they are sufficiently strong to proceed on the Fort Frederick Road, without needing a reinforcement from us; especially if you will please to consider at the same time, that they are in a manner cover'd by the Troops at this place, and those which may be employ'd on the Road to Rays Town, on which I shall send a detachment to Work tomorrow.

I had wrote thus far when your Letter of yesterday came to hand; as we lye so contiguous, and can hear in so short a time from you, I shall

only be preparing to obey your Orders; but shall not actually March till I hear from you again.

A pretty good stock of Liquor came up with the last convoy. We have no Hay at this place; 'twas Corn I call'd forage. We shall have Tools sufficient for opening the Road to Rays Town among the Artificers of Colo. Byrd's Regiment, and I enclose a list of what is here, belonging to Maryland, that you may be able to judge of their wants.

I am sorry to hear that the Cattawbas have so egregiously misbehav'd. When I write to Govr. Fauquier, which I expect may be in a few days; I shall touch on this subject. I am etc.

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***To COLONEL HENRY BOUQUET**

Camp near Fort Cumberland, July 9, 1758.

Sir: Your favour of yesterday was deliver'd me last Night. I immediately directed all your Orders to be executed. The Waggon (save those attending the Road Cutters) go of to day. Three Companies under

Colo. Mercer proceed on the Rays Town Road, which we began to open Yesterday; they carry 6 days Provisions with them, and Orders to apply to you for more, if that don't suffice. Captn. Dagworthy and the Marylanders begin to open the Road to Morrow toward Fort Frederick; and are furnish'd with 10 days Provisions for that purpose; but an extraordinary Affair has happen'd in regard to *their* Provisions; I mean that having no Flour, notwithstanding 6000 lbs. and better, was included in a return which I sent you Sign'd by their Commissary, I have been oblig'd already to supply them with 2000 w't. of this Article, and shou'd be glad to know if they are entitled to any part of the Provisions laid in here by Mr. Walker for the use of the Virginia Troops; under the Circumstances they were; I was oblig'd to deliver out the above Flour, or see them starve, or desert, the latter they yet seem very Inclenable to do.

Maj. Lewis of the first Regiment attends you with 200 Men with whom I have Order'd Captns. Frazer and Walker to proceed to you. I am Sir with great regard, etc.

***To COLONEL HENRY BOUQUET**

Camp at Fort Loudoun, July 13, 1758.

Sir: Your favour of the 11th., I had the pleasure to receive the same day by Doct'r Johnston,³⁵ nothing extraordinary since my last has occur'd.

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By a party from Colo. Mercer, to this place for Provisions; I find they have open'd the Road 6 Miles only; and that they proceed much slower in this Service than I expected: this possibly may arise from the pains they take to make the Road good, and from the width of it (30 Feet) which I directed, that two Waggons might go a brest conveniently; if you don't open yours in this manner, I shou'd be oblig'd to you to direct Captn. Mercer otherwise, as it will be useless to have one part wide, and the other narrow.

It gives me great pleasure to find you approve of the dress I have put my Men into. It is evident, Sold'rs in that trim are better able to carry their Provisions; are fitted for the active Service we must engage in; less liable to sink under the fatiegues of a36 March; and by this means, get rid of much baggage that wou'd consequently, if carri'd protract our line of March; this, and not whim or caprice, are really my reasons for ordering them into it.

I have heard nothing from Captn. Dagworthy since he March'd; but expect the Waggons are at

35. Dr. John Johnston.

36. The letter as sent, which is printed by Smith in the *Magazine of American History*, reads: "a long March besides the advantages of contracting by this means our line of March which must extend always in proportion as we are incumber'd with carriages or horses." Washington also omitted, in copying his letter into the "Bouquet Expedition Letter Book," "I beg pardon for the liberty I have taken in recommending a letter for Majr. Halket to your care." The letter to Halkett was that of July 16.

Winchester by this time, that I dispatch'd the same day.

With most sincere regard I am. etc.

***To COLONEL HENRY BOUQUET**

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Camp at Fort Cumbd. abt 9 Thursday Night, July 13, 1758.

Sir: About 4 Oclock this Afternoon, after I had clos'd my letter to you, I receiv'd Intelligence that two Men were kill'd and a third taken prisoner on the Road about a Mile from this place. I got the Indians to go, and sent a Command of 50 Men immediately to the spot, where they took the Track of six Indians, and followed them till near dark; when the Indians return'd, as did our Party also.

They discover'd that one of the Men kill'd was a Soldier of the second Regiment; and that the other two were herders going to our Grass Guards³⁷ in the most careless, stragling manner, contrary to repeated Orders and positive orders given, to prevent Soldiers stragling from camp, or small Parties going out.

37. A guard stationed at the grazing grounds to protect the cattle.

The Mischief was done about 8 this Morning. Our discovery of it too late to give us a chance to overtaking the enemy. I thought it advisable nevertheless to give you Information that the Enemy are abt., and that I expect we shall be pester'd w'h them all this Moon; haunting our Camps; and watching our Motions.

I have appriz'd Colo. Mercer, Captn. Dagworthy and all our out Parties of this Murder, that they may be strictly upon their Guard Marching; and vigilant in their Camps.

The Inclos'd I this Inst't receiv'd from Captn. Dagworthy; if it is not in your power to afford him assistance; as it is entirely out of mine to do it. Captn. Bosomworth &c, are safely arriv'd here; he and Colo. Byrd join me in their Complim'ts. I am etc.

***To FRANCIS FAUQUIER**

Camp at Fort Cumberland, July 10, 1758.

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Hon'ble Sir: Your favour of the 25th. past, I had the Honour to receive Yesterday. I am oblig'd to you for the blank Commission you sent me, your honour may depend, I shall have regard to strict justice in disposing

of it.

I March'd from Winchester the 24th. Ultio. according to Orders, and Incamp'd at this place the 2d. Inst., Colo. Byrd follow'd the 26th. and arriv'd here 4 days after me; before I left Winchester I appointed Lieut't Smith of my Regiment and 30 Invalids to remain at Fort Loudoun to take care of our Stores; and I order'd him to continue the minor at Work in the Well, and to proceed in covering the Barracks till your Honour shou'd be pleas'd to direct him further in this matter. The Works wou'd have sustain'd considerable damage if these small but essential parts of it, were neglected. I left Mr. Smith £25 for this purpose, which he is to account for.

Inclos'd is an account of the Stores left at Winchester; the Arms are not Included; because they were then repairing at the Armourers. I have however directed Mr. Smith to transmit your Honour an Acct. of them by this Express. I have also Inclos'd an Account of the Tools deliver'd out of our Stores, to the Artificer's of Colo. Byrds Regiment, by Order of Sir Jno. St. Clair; and have directed Mr. Ramsay (Contractor for supplying the Troops of Virginia with Provisions) to render your Honour an exact account of all the Provisions that has been expended, of his purchasing, since the time of Sir John St. Clairs first arrival at Winchester;

that you may be able to settle that matter on the part of Virginia; it being imagin'd, we are entitled to Provisions from the Crown, since that time.

A letter from Colo. Bouquet of the 6th. which I have just receiv'd Contains this Paragraph.

“The Cuttawba's under the Command of Captn. Johnne are gone to Winchester; they have behav'd in the most shamefull manner, and run away as a parcell of thieves rather

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than Warriors without seeing me; they have never kill'd a deer, and there is the strongest suspicians that the Scalp they pretend to have taken was an old one.

I think it wou'd be very necessary to send a message to their Nation to complain of their Conduct and know at once if they are Friends or Enemies. if you approve of it, I shou'd be oblig'd to you to propose the thing to the Governor of Virginia: I write to General Forbes on the subject."

We have no advice of the General, and there is the greatest uncertainty when we shall move from this place. I am etc.

***To MAJOR FRANCIS HALKETT**

Camp at Fort Cumberland, July 16, 1758.

Dear Halkett: Last night I had the pleasure of receiving yours of the 8th. Inst't from Carlyle, covering general Orders; from the General. I have all along acted agreeable to the greatest part of them; and shall obey with the utmost exactness, so far as I am able, the others; but there are some things contain'd there which the Nature of the disagreeable Establishment I am on, renders impractacable; for how Impossible that Men; who only receive Pay once in two Months; and sometimes not so often, and then have a £5 or 10£ Bill (for we seldom get any small ones) given amongst several of them, can pay ready money for every little necessary they may want; nor can any money procure pricklers and Brushes in this Country, brushes especially.

With regard to a return of those that draw Provisions; the first Regiment is at present so much dispers'd that it is now Impossible for me to send you an exact return but will loose no time in collecting those from the different Detachments, and sending you a general one of the whole by the first oppertunity afterwards.

It gives me a great deal of pleasure to find that

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I have in a great measure, anticipated the Generals Sentiments and Orders, in regard to dress. And reduction of Baggage; I am sensible that I have by this means lessen'd the appearance of the first Virginia Regiment, but I beg the General will think that, I have render'd them more fit for the active Service they are to engage in, by this means; now give me leave to say that I ever must be Yrs. most Affectionately,

***To LIEUTENANT COLONEL ADAM STEPHEN**

Camp at Fort Cumberland, July 16, 1758.

Sir: Your favours of the 13th. and 14th. lye before me to answer, I have Order'd the Paymaster, and Quarter Master, to make use of the Escort that attends Governor Glen,³⁹ and desire you will cause them to return to this place as soon as possible. The Quarter Master brings you all the stuff he has for Breech Clouts: if the quantity falls short you must purchase more, and charge the Publick with the

39. James Glen, former Governor of South Carolina.

cost (if he has not oppertunity of doing it himself while there).

I have directed the adjutant to transmit you a Copy of several Orders that I have Issued at this place for regulating the Mens dress; and beg that you will cause them to be punctually observ'd by that part of the first Regiment under your Command. It gives me great pleasure to find this Dress; or undress as you justly remark; so pleasing to Colo. Bouquet, and that therein I seem to have anticipated the Generals Orders. If my Orders shou'd be a little unintelligable in any Instance you will make the dress of the Officers and Soldiers of Maj. Lewis's Company a guide to come at my meaning; that we may, even in this trim, have some regard to uniformity.

Leaving all our Cloathing at once place is certainly right, and I shou'd be glad if you cou'd contrive yours here least you shou'd take some other Rout.

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You have doubtless heard the Generals Orders of the 5th. publish'd at Rays Town, I expect therefore, that you will pay strict regard to them.

I offer my Compliments to all our Officers with you, and am Sir, etc.

***To COLONEL HENRY BOUQUET**

Camp at Fort Cumberland, July 16, 1758.

Sir: I was favoured with yours of the 14th. Inst't, at 11 O'clock last Night, the Express who brought it, informs me, that he was twice fired at by six Indians, and oblig'd to abandon his Horse

There's three Parties gone from hence towards the Enemy's Country within these few days. The largest of them, (consisting of an Officer and 18 Cherokees,) March'd 3 days ago. I always send out *some* white people with the Indians, and will to day or to morrow, send an Officer and some alert white men, with another Party of Cherokees as you desire it; tho' I must confess, that I think these Scalping Parties of Indians we send out, will more effectually harass the Enemy (by keeping them under continual Alarms) than any Parties of white People can do; because small parties of ours are not equal to the undertaking, (not being so dexterous at skulking as Indians;) and large ones will be discover'd by their spies early enough to give the Enemy time to repel them by a superior Force; and at all events, there is a great probability of loosing many of our best men, and fatiguing

others before the most essential Services are enter'd upon and am afraid not answer the propos'd end.

You are pleas'd to desire my Opinion with regard to making an Irruption into the Enemy's Country with a strong Party. As such an Enterprize, at this juncture, when we may suppose the Enemy have, or are collecting their principal force in that Vicinity, wou'd require a formidable party, the supplying of which with Provisions, &ca, immediately might

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be difficult and the March of such a Body so considerable a distance must be discovered, as they have Parties continually watching our Motions, which wou'd too probably terminate in the miscarriage, of the Enterprize, and perhaps the destruction of our Party. I shou'd think it more eligible therefore to defer it, till the Army reaches pretty near that Country.

I shall direct the Officer that Marches towards the Enemy to be at particular pains in reconnoitring General Braddock's Road; tho I have had repeated accounts of it wanting such small repairs as can with ease be done as fast as the Army can March; it is impossible for me to send out any Men to

repair it, as Colo. Mercer and Captn. Dagworthy got every Tool for that purpose I had. If we had Tools to go upon the Roads, the 2d. Company of Artificers wou'd no doubt be wanted here, but as it is, I imagine they will be better employed with you.

The malbehaviour of the Indians with you, gives me great concern;³⁸ if they were hearty in our Interest their Services wou'd be infinitely valuable, as I cannot conceive *the best* white Men to be equal to them in the Woods; but I fear they are too sensible of their high Importance to us, to render us any very acceptable Service.

As the Par of Exchange between Virginia and Pennsylvania is, by the Laws of the two Provinces, settled at 25 pr. Ct. in favour of the former, I apprehend we can have no right to settle on any other footing; especially as any material deviation therefrom might be productive of very bad consequences.

Since writing the above, the Warrior of the Party of Cherokees insisted on Marching Instantly, and that but one white Man shou'd go, they are gone, and I have given the white Man necessary Orders relative to the Road &c.

Inclos'd is a return of our Provisions; since the making out of which, the Marylanders drew 10 days Prov'n for 200 Men. I am etc.

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38. The Cherokees had gone away with stolen goods. Bouquet wrote (July 14): "It is a great humiliation for us to be obliged to suffer the repeated insolence of such rascals. I think it would be easier to make Indians of our white men, than to cox [coax] that damned tanny race."

***To COLONEL HENRY BOUQUET**

Camp near Fort Cumberland, July 19, 1758.

Sir: Your obliging favour of this date, I just now had the pleasure of receiving. You make me quite happy by your coinciding on opinion with me, relative to the propos'd Expedition.

Captain Dagworthy's Party return'd hither yesterday in consequence of Orders from Sir Jno. St. Clair, forwarded by the Commanding Officer at Fort Frederick. I have directed him to finish a Bridge at this place, which I imagine he will effect by to morrow Night, with his Tools; I will next day send out a Party on General Braddock's Road, which I shall be able to reinforce when Colo. Mercer returns.

I am excessively oblig'd by the very handsome and polite manner by which you are pleas'd to give me leave to attend the Election at Winchester. Tho' my being there on that occasion, wou'd, at any other time, be very agreeable to me, yet at this juncture I can hardly

perswade myself to think of being absent from my more immediate Duty, even for a few days. I will not however come to any absolute determination in this matter till I receive answers to some Letters on that subject (which I expect this Night, or to-morrow)⁴⁰ in the meantime, I beg you will allow me to Subscribe myself with great truth and sincerity, etc.

***To COLONEL HENRY BOUQUET**

Camp near Fort Cumberland, July 21, 1758.

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Sir: I had, before Colo. Stephen came to this place, abandon't all thoughts of attending Personally at the Election in Winchester; choosing rather to leave the management of that matter to the care of my Friends, than be absent from my Regiment when there is a probability of its being call'd upon. I am much pleas'd now that I did do so.

Colo. Byrd has given me your Letter of Yesterday; in consequence, I send you a return of the Forage, and he writes to Mr. Gist for Vermilion for the Indians.

We participate in the joy felt for the success of his Majesty's Arms at Louisburg, &ca.; and sincerely lament the loss of that brave and active Nob'n Lord Howe.⁴²

We have got the bridge finish'd at this

40. Washington had decided to offer himself to the electors of Frederick County, Va., as a candidate for the House of Burgesses. Some opposition was aroused that seemed to his friends to require his presence to allay during the poll, and Colonel Bouquet gave him leave to attend the election, a permission of which he did not avail himself. In his absence, Col. James Wood, the founder of Winchester, represented him, being "carried round the town in the midst of a general applause and huzzaing for Colonel Washington." "We have dull barbacues," wrote his former secretary, John Kirkpatrick, "and yet duller dances. An election causes a hubbub for a week or so, and then we are dead a while." The vote was taken on July 24, and resulted in the election of Washington and Col. Thomas Bryan Martin, the poll standing as follows: Washington, 307; Colonel Martin, 240; Captain Swearingen, 45; and Hugh West, 199. Colonel Martin was a nephew of Lord Fairfax and afterwards agent of the Fairfax estates. A copy of the poll in Washington's writing is in the *Washington Papers*.

Lieut. Charles Smith handled the election expense accounts for Washington. There are five accounts in the *Washington Papers* showing the items of Washington's expenses for entertaining the voters at this election:

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1. To 40 gallons of Rum Punch @ 3 / 6 pr. galn. 7 0 0 15 gallons of Wine @ 10 / 0 pr. galn. 7 10 0 Dinner for your Friends 3 0 0 2. 13½ gallons of Wine @ 10 / 6 15 3½ pts. of Brandy @ # 4 4½ 13 Galls. Bear @ # 16 3 8 qts. Cyder Royl. @ # 0 12 0 Punch 3 9 3. To 30 gallns. of strong beer @ 8d. pr. gall. 1 4. To 1 hhd. & 1 Barrel of Punch, consisting of 26 gals. best Barbadoes rum, 5 / — 6 10 0 12½ lbs S. Refd. Sugar # 18 9 6 galls. best Madeira Wine 10 / 3 5. To 3 galls. and 3 quarts of Beer @ 1 / pr. gall. 3 9 10 Bowls of Punch @ 2 / 6 each 1 5 0 9 half pints of rum @ 7½ d. each 5 7½ 1 pint of wine. 1 6

42. George Augustus, Viscount Howe, brigadier general in America. He was killed near Ticonderoga, N.Y., on July 6 He was well liked throughout the Colonies.

place, and to morrow Maj'r Peachy, with 300 Men, proceed to open Genl. Braddock's Road. I shall direct their going to George's Creek, 10 Miles advanc'd; by that time I may possibly hear from you; if they go further, it may be requisite to reinforce the Party, but this matter I suppose will be Order'd according to the Route determin'd on by the General; for it will be needless to open a road that no use is made of⁴³ afterwards.

Colo. Stephen gives me some room to apprehend that a Body of light Troops may soon move on. I pray your Interest, most Sincerely, with the General, to get my Regiment and myself Included in the Number. If there needs any Arguments to obtain this favour, I hope, without vanity, I may be allow'd to say that from long Intimacy, and frequent Scouting in these Woods, my Men are as well acquainted with all the Passes and difficulties, as any Troops that will be employ'd, and therefore may answer any purpose intended by them, as *well* as any other Body.

The General directs, that the Troops be provided with covers to their Locks. Where to get these I know not; there is but one possible way of succeeding, and that is by taking the neats Hides; and these will fall short. The Commissaries ask 18/. apiece for them. I should be glad of

43. "The general has sent my brother George to Reas' Town, with orders to take with him a hundred men, in order to find out and mark a road from Reas' Town as near to Fort

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Duquesne as he can possibly go, leaving General Braddock's road and the Yohiogaine entirely to the left.”— *Col. John Armstrong to Governor Denny*, July 20, 1758. This letter is in the *Pennsylvania Archives*, vol. 2, p. 483.

your advice in this case, as also what will be done with the Waggon's expected up in our next Convoy. I can't say exactly what Number there may be of them, but suppose the Provisions, Forage, and Stores, can't employ less than 50. I am etc.44

***To MAJOR FRANCIS HALKETT**

Fort Cumberland, July 21, 1758.

Dear Halkett: Inclos'd are two returns, one of the number of Persons we draw Provisions for; the other of the strength of the Regiment, made out from those lately receiv'd from the several Detachments. I hope they will please, but if any other form is required to be kind enough to advertise me of it, and I shall execute the Orders.

It is morally impossible to get at this place, covers for our Gun Locks having nothing but Neats Hydes to make them of; and an insufficiency of those to answer the purpose. The Commissaries ask 18/ a piece for them; pray give me your advice in this case.

I find by the Generals Orders that a Brigade Major is appointed pointed to the Pennsylvania 44. The letter as sent, printed by Smith in the *Magazine of American History*, adds “Please to offer my compliments to Mr. Glen and forward a letter herewith to Majr. Halket.”

Troops, if any is allow'd for Ours, give me leave to sollicit your Interest in favour of Captn. Robt. Stewart (if it shou'd not be found incompatable with his duty as a Horse Officer). His Military knowledge is Second to none in our Service and his assiduity I can greatly confide in. I can't use the freedom of mentioning it to the General, nor shou'd I trouble you with it

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at this time, were I not appris'd that application cation in behalf of others either have been making, or are intended to be made.

farewell my dear Halkett. I heartily wish you every perfect enjoyment your Soul can desire, and am most Affectionately, etc.

***To COLONEL HENRY BOUQUET**

Camp at Fort Cumberland, July 24, 1758.

Sir: The Inclos'd came to my hands a few hours after I dispatch'd my last by Frazier. I did not know but it might enable you to determine what had best be done with the Waggon, and therefore I send it. If we are to lye at this place any time, perhaps you may think it advisable to send

the Waggon down for another Convoy. I shou'd not choose to propose any thing that might seem officious; but wou'd it not facilitate the Operations of the Campaigne if the Virginia Troops were Order'd to proceed as far as the great Crossing and construct, Posts at the most advantagious situations; opening the Road at the same time as they go, if any use is intended to be made of this Road, great advantages will be diriv'd from such a procedure, certainly. In such an event, I shou'd be glad to be joined by that part of my Regiment at Rays Town.

Major Peachy, who Commands the Working Party on Genl. Braddocks Road, writes me, that he finds little repairs wanting; I shall however Order him to Night, to proceed as far as Savage River and then Return, as his Party is rather too Weak to adventure it further.

All the Indian Parties that went out, are now return'd (save one, consisting of three only) without making any discoveries.

I beg leave to assure you that I am most Sincerely, Sir, etc.

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***To COLONEL HENRY BOUQUET**

Camp at Fort Cumberland, July 25, 1758.

Dear Sir: I wrote you by Colo. Stephen, since which I have been favor'd with your kind, and agreeable favour of Yesterday.

We have advice that our Second Convoy of 70 odd Waggons (contents I enclos'd you Yesterday) will be at the South Branch to day, where I expect they will be join'd by some Waggons with forage, the number I can't ascertain, and all proceed to this place immediately, on Friday I shall look for them.

I shall most chearfully proceed on any Road; pursue any Rout; or enter upon any Service; that the General or yourself can think me usefully employ'd in; and shall never have a Will of my own, when a duty is required of me: but since you desire me to speak; permit me to observe this that after having convers'd with all the Guides, and been convinced by them and every other who has knowledge of the Country, that a Road comparable to General Braddocks (or indeed fit for any Service at all even for carrying Horses) cannot be made, I own I say after this, I shou'd sollicit that rout with less Warmth;

not because difficulties appear in it; but because I shou'd much doubt giving satisfaction in the executive part; I don't know what reports you may have got from your reconnoitring Parties but I have been told on all hands that if any thing is expected there must be disappointments; for nothing can be taken that way without destroying our Horses.

I shou'd however be extremely glad of one hours conference with you and that when the General arrives. I cou'd then better [explain myself]⁴⁵ and think I cou'd demonstrate the advantages of pushing out a Body of light Troops on this Quarter; I shou'd make a Trip to Rays Town with great pleasure if my absence here cou'd be dispens'd with a day or two, and that you can best now judge of.

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We shall need no Provisions from you, this Second Convoy added to what we have, will furnish us with a tolerable good stock.

If Maj. Livingston, or any other Officer at this place draws more than one Ration, it is contrary to Orders, and my knowledge; and must be attributed to the Commissary, whose fault chiefly it must be for delivering it.

We have been oblig'd, for the sake of our Cattle, to move our Grass Guard to Cresaps, 15 Miles from [hence],⁴⁶ there the Provisions is slaughter'd and serv'd out to the Guard; and to

45. The words in brackets were added by Washington in 1784–85 after erasing the 1758 words with a knife so thoroughly as to be indecipherable.

46. The word in brackets was added by Washington in 1784–85 after erasing the 1758 word with a knife so thoroughly as to be indecipherable.

the Troop of light Horse also at that place); it is therefore necessary that Mr. Dow, or an attendant of the Commissarys shou'd be present and see to the Issuing of it. There were two Commissaries at this place, besides a numberless train of Butchers, Herders, &ca., so immensely Lazy that I was under a necessity of Ordering some of them to attend the Guard, for the Commissaries looking upon the Cattle to be at the Kings risque, was under no concern what went with them, and gave themselves no trouble on that Score about them.

I send you a return of Colo. Byrds Regiment,⁴⁷ and of the Maryland Troops at this place. I shou'd also have sent you one of the first Regiment, but the Adjutant got leave to accompany Colo. Stephen to Ray's Town on some business of his own, and lock'd up the Returns; I can therefore make out one only for the Companies present and this I send to him to completed for your use.

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Kelly and Stalnaker (two guides) are on the Road with Maj. Peachy; all the rest, at this place, I directed to attend you.

It wou'd be extremely Inconvenient for me, at this time, to Garrison the Block House on Rays Town Road, having such large Commands already out, and the Camp Duty very hard

47. This return, dated July 24, 1758, is in the *Washington Papers*.

upon us. I am with most sincere Regard etc.48

***To COLONEL HENRY BOUQUET**

Camp at Fort Cumberland, July 28, 1758.

Dear Sir: Your favour of yesterday I had the pleasure of receiving last Night. I detain'd the Party till my Adjutant's return from Rays Town (which I hourly Expected) imagining something by him, might arrive that wou'd require answering by it.

I have given Captn. Dagworthy Orders to March to Rays Town so soon as he can draw in his Grass Guard. Inclos'd is a return of the Tents wanting to compleat the first Regiment and I have desir'd Colo. Byrd to send one for the 2d. Regiment also.

I will agreeable to your direction's, send the Waggon's back to Winchester, having receiv'd no Orders to the Contrary from the General or Sir John.

Forty Six of Colo. Byrds Indians have left

48. In reply Colonel Bouquet wrote (July 27): "Nothing can be greater than your generous dispositions for the Service and the candid Exposition of your Sentiments; I See with the utmost Satisfaction, that you are above the Influences of Prejudice, and ready to go heartily where Reason and Judgment Shall direct. I wish, Sincerely, that we may all

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center in one and the Same opinion; therefore I desire to have an Interview with you at the houses built half Way betwixt our Camps. I will communicate all the Intelligence, I was able to collect; and, weighing impartially the advantages and disadvantages of Each Communication We shall I hope be able between you and I, to determine what is most eligible, and Save to the General trouble and loss of time." The interview took place, but Forbes was not convinced by Washington.

this for their Nation; 16 Only remain. I was greatly surpris'd to hear of a Report spread, and believ'd in your Camp, that a Party of Delawares were come into this place; there never has been the least distant cause for such a report.

As I shall have the great pleasure of seeing you to morrow, will till then, defer entering upon the most important parts of your Letter. In the meantime I beg leave to Subscribe myself with great sincerity. Dear Sir, etc.

To COLONEL HENRY BOUQUET

Camp at Fort Cumberland, August 2, 1758.

Sir: Those matters we talk'd of relative to the Roads has since our parting been the object of my closest attention, and so far am I from altering my opinion that the more time and attention I give thereto, the more I am confirm'd in it; as the validity of the reasons for taking the old Road appear in a stronger point of view.

To enumerate the whole of these Reasons wou'd be tedious: and to you who is become so much master of that Subject, unnecessary; therefore I will only briefly mention a few which I conceive so obvious in themselves, as must to any unbiass'd mind effectually remove what is objected to General Braddock's Road, and urg'd in favor of a Road to be open'd from Rays Town.

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Several years ago the Virginians and Pennsylvanians commenc'd a Trade with the Indians settled on the Ohio, and to remove the many Inconveniencies a bad Road subjected them to, they, after reiterated efforts to discover where a good one might be made were found ineffectual, employ'd several of the most intelligent Indians who in the course of many years hunting acquired a perfect knowledge of these Mountains to attempt it, but these Indian's after having taken the greatest pains to gain the Rewards then offer'd for this discovery declared the Path leading from Wills Creek was infinitely preferable to any that cou'd be made at any other place; Time and experience so clearly demonstrated this truth, that the Pennsylvania Traders commonly carried their Goods thither by Will's Creek, therefore the Ohio Company in 1753 at a considerable Expense open'd a Road thither. In 1754 the Troops I had the hon'r to Command greatly repair'd it as far as Gist's Plantation; and in 1755 it was widened and completed by General Braddock

within 6 miles of Fort Duquesne; consequently a Road that has been so long open'd, so well repair'd; and so often, must be much firmer and better than a new one, allowing the Ground to be originally equally as good.

But supposing it was practicable to make a Road from Rays Town quite as good as General Braddock's, I ask if we have time to do it? certainly not, Surmounting the vast difficulties to be encounter'd in making it over such monstrous Mountains, covered with woods and Rocks wou'd require so much time as to blast our otherwise well grounded hopes of striking the long wish'd for and Important Stroke this Season; and deferring it to another year wou'd, I am morally certain, be productive of the most destructive Consequences to the Southern and middle Colonies; for they have to make a noble push towards ending those Calamities under which they so long have groan'd, granted supplies beyond their abilities. These Funds will, in a few months be exhausted; the Troops of course disbanded. Their inability and discouragement from so great a disappointment will prevent their attempting a similar effort against another Season, and experience evinces, that Expence and Numbers must be encreas'd in proportion to our Delays.

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The Southern Indians have from our bad Success, and inactivity, long look'd upon us in a despicable light, have already committed

Hostilities on our Frontiers, and only wait the result of this Campaign to unmask themselves; which wou'd be such an acquisition to the Enemy as might terminate in our Destruction.

The favourable accounts some give, of the Forage on the Rays Town Road being so much better than the other is certainly exaggerated, greatly, as every unprejudiced person who are acquainted with both, agrees that the only difference between the Mountains here and there is, that those are more inaccessible; And it is well known that in both, the rich Valleys, between the Mountains abound with good food, and those that are Stony and Brushy are destitute; Colo. Byrd and the Engineer that accompanied him confirm this truth; And surely the Meadows on this Road wou'd greatly overbalance the advantage of having Grass to the foot of the ridge on this side the Mountain on the Rays Town Road and all agree that a more barren Road is no where to be found than from Rays Town to the Inhabitants which is likewise to be consider'd with the badness of the Road.

And the Principal objection made to Genl. Braddock's Road is that of the waters to pass; but these very rarely swell so much as to obstruct the Passage. The Yaughyaughgane which is the most rapid and soonest filled I with a Body of Troops, have cross'd after 30 odd days almost constant Rain. In fine any difficulties that may arise therefrom are

so trivial that they are really not worth mentioning. The Monongahela the largest of all these Rivers may, if necessary, be easily avoided as Mr. Frazer, (the principal Guide) informs me by passing a Defile which I cannot conceive to be so bad as commonly represented; but even that he tells me, may be shunn'd.

It is said again that there are many Defiles on this Road, I grant there are some, but know of none that cannot be travers'd if found necessary; and I shou'd be glad to know where a

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Road can be had over these Mountains not subject to this Inconvenience; unless they kept the heights always, and that is impracticable.

The shortness of the Road from Rays Town to Fort Duquesne by Loyal hanny,⁵³ is us'd as an argument in disfavor of this Road, and bears some thing in it unaccountable to me, for I must beg leave to ask here, if it requires more time, or is it more difficult and expensive, to go 145 miles in a good Road already made to our hands, or to cut 100 miles in length, great part of which over almost inaccessible Mountains, and, to say, or think, we can do nothing more this Fall than to fortify some Post on the other side of the Mountains and prepare against another Campaign I must pray Heaven, most fervently, to avert! till we find it impracticable at least to prosecute with prudence the Enterprise in hand. We have yet time enough to Transport Provisions to last the Siege and to

53. Loyalhanna, Pa. Fort Ligonier was afterwards built on this spot. In the New York Public Library is a manuscript map, made by Washington, of a section of Bouquet's new road, from the thirty-second to the forty-third mile tree. It includes a road area of approximately 12 miles, but the exact location is difficult to fix.

support the Troops that may Winter there, as I shall endeavor hereafter to shew, at any rate it never can be an argument for opening the other Road at this time, because supposing we are not able to do no more than construct a Post on the other side the Mountains, that Post undoubtedly must be on a Road that has the easiest and nearest Communication with the Settlements where supplies are to be drawn from; for to say nothing of the great advantage of water Carriage this way which certainly is immense (as you will find by Doctr. Ross's Estimation that you shewed me) or of the infinite odds in the goodness of the Roads w'ch is very evident to all who have travelled both, either from the Inhabitants to the advanced Posts or from the advanced Posts to Fort Duquesne, I say to put these reasons aside (altho' they ought to have their due weight) yet this way as being so much nearer the Settlements has much advantage. That it is nearer Winchester in Virginia and Fort Frederick in Maryland by many miles are facts incontestable; and I here

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shew the difference of the two Roads to Carlyle by giving you the distance of the different stages; some of which I have from information only, but believe them to be just.

From Carlyle to Fort Duquesne by Rays Town.

From Carlyle to Shippensburg 21 miles.

From Shippens g to Fort Loudoun 24 “

From Ft. Loudoun to Ft. Littleton 20 “

From Ft. Littleton to Juneatta Crossing 14 “

From Juneatta to Rays Town 14 “

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From Rays Town to Ft. Duquesne 100 193.

From Carlyle to Ft. Duquesne by Ft. Fredk. and Cumberland.

From Carlyle to Shippens g 21 miles.

From Shippens g to Chambers 12 “

From Chambers to Paulins 12 “

From Paulins to Ft. Frederick 12 “

From Ft. Fredk. to Ft. Cumberland 40 “

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From Ft. Cumberland to Ft. Duquesne 115 212.

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By this Computation there appears to be a difference of 19 miles only, were all the Supplies oblig'd to come from Carlyle it is well known that the goodness of this Road is a sufficient compensation for the shortness of the other, as the wreck'd and broken waggons clearly demonstrate.

I shall next give you my reasons against dividing the Army in the manner you propose, and after that endeavour to shew how the Grass on the other road can be made proper use of.

First then by dividing our Army we divide our strength, and by pursuing quite distinct Routs put it entirely out of the power of each Division to succor the other as the propos'd new Road has no Communication with the old.

Secondly to March in this manner will be attended with many Inconveniences; as first if we depart from our advanc'd Posts at the same time and make no Deposits by

the way, those troops who goes from Rays Town as they will be lights having Carrying Horses only, will arrive at Fort Duquesne long before he others, and must if the Enemy are strong there, be expos'd possibly to many Insults in their intrenchments from the Cannon of the Enemy which they may draw out upon them at their pleasure: if they are not strong enough to do this to that Division we have but little to apprehend from them go which way or how we will. Thirdly if that Division that Escorts the Convoy is permitted to march first, we risk our all in a manner, and are ruin'd if any accident happens to the artillery, to the Stores &ca.; and lastly if we advance on both roads by Deposits we must double our number of Troops over the Mountains, and distress ourselves by victualling of them in these Deposites, besides losing the propos'd advantage, that of stealing a march; For we cannot suppose the French who have their Scouts constantly out, can be so deficient in point of Intelligence as to be unacquainted with our motions when we are advancing by slow Degrees towards them.

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Now Sir, the advantage I wou'd propose to make of the Forrage along the other Path is, to support all the Carrying Horses that can possibly be collected, and sent that way after we are fortunate enough to

lie before Fort Duquesne; here not only the carrying Horses that were to be us'd out as such, but officers' horses, and even the waggon Horses also, may be employ'd in this Service, if saddles or packs are provided in the meantime at Rays Town for them to return with.

Great advantages may be Derived from such a measure, because as the food of the old Road wou'd be entirely eaten up going, and the horses get weak, it wou'd be impossible that the waggons cou'd return for another Convoy; tho' the horses might nevertheless be in a condition to come down light along a Road abounding with food, and be able to carry up another Convoy, giving them two or three days rest at the most convenient feeding places; by this means the Waggon horses wou'd be eas'd of the fatigue of bringing down even the empty waggons which is something along a Road strip'd of its food. In the condition the horses by this time may be suppos'd to be they will I conceive carry near or quite as much weight on their backs as they could draw in a Waggon.

From what has been said relative to the two Roads it appears I think very clearly, that the old one is infinit'ly better than the other can be made; and that there is no room to hesitate a moment

which to take, when we consider the advanced Season and little time left to execute our plan. I shall therefore in the last place offer (as desired) my Sentiments on advancing by Deposites; the first of which I should have been for getting at the Little Meadows wou'd time have permitted, but as the case now stands, I suppose at the Great Crossing, or great Meadows our first must be form'd. The great Crossing I esteem the most advantageous Post on several accounts, especially that of water, and Security of the Passage, but then

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it does not abound in food as the Meadows, nor has not so much level land about it fit for Culture.

To this latter place a Body of 1500 Men may March with 300 Waggon or Carrying horses (which wou'd be much better,) equivalent; allowing each Waggon to carry 800 lbs of flour, and 400 of Salt meat you carry 40 days' of the former and 20 of the latter for 6000 men; besides your live Cattle, any number of which might, but ought not to be carried for these two Reasons, first they wou'd destroy your Pasturage, and next, your Men being employed at work, you wou'd have none to attend or Guard them. Your next Convoy which I suppose to consist of 500 Provision waggons and all the Army, will at the above rate carry 66 days Provisions of flour and 33 of Salt Flesh, besides 6 days which the men

may carry on their backs as it is suppos'd the 1500 are to do also, so that you have at the Meadows according to this Calculation 113 days' Flour and 56 Salt meat deducting the daily Consumption; now to accomplish this I allow 26 days, to wit to the great Meadows 8; to unload and return 6, then I allow the army 12 days more to prepare pare and arrive in, by which I apprehend our works may be finish'd and the whole ready to proceed.

Our next Deposite probably will be at Salt Lick about 35 miles from the Meadows, to this place I conceive it necessary to send 2500 men to construct some Post, taking 6 days Provisions only which is sufficient to serve them till the Convoy comes up; against which time, an Entrench'd Camp or some other kind of defensible work may be effected, and from hence I conceive it highly expedient to Detach 3 or 4000 of the best Troops to Invest the place, and prevent if possible an Ingagement in the woods, which of all things ought to be avoided. The Artillery and Stores may be up in 4 days from Salt Lick, and from that time I will allow 18 days more for the Carrying horses to make a Trip to Rays Town for Provisions

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passing along the old Path by Loyal Hanny, In this time they may do it, as the horses will go down light, but what quantity of Provisions they can bring up I cannot say, that depending on the number of horses fitted out with Saddles &ca.

From this State of the matter (which is really a candid one) and from my Calculations, in which large allowances are made for the quantity of Provisions, as well as for the time of Transporting them, it appears that from the time the Front Division begins its March from hence, till the whole army gets before Fort Duquesne is 34 days, at which time there will be 87 days Provisions on hand allowing for the consumption on the March; and that 18 days added to this make 52 in all; which is required for our operations and these ought to be finish'd if possible by the middle of October.

I have offered nothing but what to me appears beyond a Probability: I have nothing to fear but for the General Service, and no hopes but the advantages it will derive from the Success of our operations, therefore cannot be suppos'd to have any private Interest or sinister views by any freedom my regard for the benefit of the Service on this occasion has induced me to use. I am, &c.54

54. This letter is in the "Bouquet Letter Book" in the writing of John Kirkpatrick, with a word here and there in Washington's writing.

***To MAJOR FRANCIS HALKETT**

Camp at Fort Cumberland, August 2, 1758.

My dear Halkett: I am just return'd from a Conference held with Colo. Bouquet. I find him fix'd, I think I may say fix'd, upon leading you a New way to the Ohio; thro a Road, every Inch of it to cut, at this advanced Season, when we have scarce time left to tread the beaten Tract; universally confess'd to be the best Passage through the Mountains.

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If Colo. Bouquet succeeds in this point with the General, all is lost! All is lost by Heavens! Our Enterprise Ruin'd; and we stop'd at the Laurel Hill this Winter; not to gather Laurels, by the by, desirable in their effects. The Southern Indians turn'd against Us, and these Colonies become desolated by such an Acquisition to the Enemy's Strength.

These are the Consequences of a Miscarriage; and a Miscarriage the Consequence of the Attempt;

I have drawn my Reasons out at large and now send them to Colo. Bouquet. He desir'd I wou'd do so, that he might forward them to the General; should this happen, you may judge of their weight.

I am uninfluenced by Prejudice, having no hopes or fears but for the General Good. That be assur'd of, and my Sincere Sentiments are spoke on this occasion. I am, Dear Halkett
Most Affectionately yours,

***To FRANCIS FAUQUIER**

Fort Cumberland Camp, August 5, 1758.

Hon'ble Sir: Your favour of the 20th. Ulto. I was honour'd with the day before yesterday. I am sorry to find Mr. Smith⁵⁵ has not sent you a return of the Arms, nor Mr. Ramsay⁵⁶ one of the Provision's. I will write to both those Gentlemen on this reason. Inclos'd is a return of the first Regiment.

I neglected till now, purposely, (since my last of the 10th. Ulto.) to give your honour any acct. of Our Expedition; hoping at last to be furnish'd with something

55. Lieut. Charles Smith.

56. William Ramsay, a commissary.

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agreeable; being disappointed in this, I am sorry to inform you that we are still Incamp'd here, and have little prospect of de-camping, unless a fatal Resolution take place of opening a New Road from Rays Town to Fort Duquesne, in this event, I have no doubt but we shall be honour'd with a full share of the Labour; as we have already been in opening a Communication from hence to Rays Town; and doing the principal part of the Work at that place.

I am just return'd from a Conference held with Colo. Bouquet on this occasion. The General lyin indispos'd at Carlyle. In this conference I urg'd, in the most persuasive terms I was Master of, the advanc'd Season as an argument against new discoveries I press'd also; the difficulties of cutting a Road over these Mountains; the length of time it must require to do it; the little time left for that Service, the moral certainty of its obstructing Our March; and the Miscarriage of the Expedition from that Cause, and lastly, I endeavour'd to represent the distress'd Condition the Colonies wou'd be reduc'd to, consequent thereupon. In fine, I said, and did every thing

to avert a mischief that seem'd to forebode our manifest Ruin; this is the light it appears to me. I pray Heaven my Fears may prove imaginary only; but the thoughts of opening a Road 100 Miles in length; over Mountains almost inaccessible, at this advanc'd Season, when there is already a good Road made. a Road universally confess'd to be the best that either is, or can be found any where thro these Mountains, prognosticates something; not quite favourable.

I have now drawn up a Representation of real Facts to be presented to the General; in which I think the advantages of going the old Road, and the Moral certainty of failing in the new are so clearly demonstrated, that it must strike every unbiass'd Mind, as the greatest perspicuity, and impartiality runs through the whole account.

The small Pox getting among the Troops, is another unpromising Circumstance attending the Expedition. An Officer and two Men of my Regiment are now down with it at Rays

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Town; from this short narrative of our Affairs your Honour may draw conclusions: you may depend upon the acct. being genuine, free from exaggerations; and flowing from a Mind deeply affected at the prospect before Us. I hope, as I once before said, that I see matters in a false point of view; and, that my Apprehensions for the Consequence

of opening a new Road, are Groundless, my next perhaps may declare. I am with all due Respect, etc.

P.S. I was this moment presented with a Letter from Colo. Bouquet telling me, that the General had directed the other Road to be open'd; I expect therefore to be Order'd that way immediately; Order's are not yet arriv'd.

***To COLONEL HENRY BOUQUET**

Camp at Fort Cumberland, August 6, 1758.

Dear Sir: The Generals Orders, or the Orders of any Superior Officer, will, when once given, be a Law to me. I shall never hesitate in obeying them; but, till this Order came out, I thought it incumbent upon me to say what I cou'd to divert *you*, (the Commanding Officer

present) from a Resolution of opening a new Road, of which I had the most unfavourable reports, and believ'd from the height of the Hills, the steepness of them, the unevenness of the Ground in general, and, what above all principally weigh'd with me the advanc'd Season, that it was impossible to open a Road in time to answer our purpose. I am still of this opinion; partly from my own observations of the Country, and partly from the Information of as good judges as any that will be employ'd.⁵⁷ My duty therefore to His Majesty, and the Colony whose Troops I have the Honour to Command, oblig'd me to declare my Sentiments upon the occasion with that candour and freedom of which you are witness. If I am deceiv'd in my opinion, I shall acknowledge my Error as becomes a Gentleman, led astray from judgment, and not by prejudice, in opposing a measure so conducive to the Publick Weal as you seem to have conceiv'd this to be. If I unfortunately

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am right my conduct must acquit me of having discharg'd my Duty on this Important occasion; on the good Success of which, Our All, in a manner Depends.⁵⁸

57. "The road up the Allegheny Mountains so far as cleared (by information), is steep, stony, and of very difficult access, even alpine difficulties attend the lightest carriages. How the artillery, &c., will be got up this and Laurel Hill, must be left to better judges and time to determine."— *William Ramsay to Washington*, Aug. 17, 1758. This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

58. The question of the road by which the troops were to reach the Ohio occasioned great uneasiness in Washington, and gave rise to a belief on his part that Lord Loudoun had been unduly influenced by Pennsylvania in his decision. In March, 1757, General Forbes had called for a description of the frontiers, and Pennsylvania promptly replied, showing that through the county of Cumberland was "a great and good wagon road thro' this Province to Virginia and Carolina, on which are Harris Ferry, the towns and forts of Carlisle and Shippensburg, the magazine at McDowell's Mill, and Forts Loudoun and Lyttleton; to this fine valley there is an easy access from the Ohio by several good passes in the mountains." Through one of these passes ran a path through Raystown, 65 miles from Shippensburg, and through another a path leading to Frankstown, situated about 30 miles north of Raystown, and affording a bad passage by reason of swamps and broken hills. "A new road was opened and cleared thro' Rays Town over the Allegheny Hills, for the use of General Forbes, and is now a good one." (See *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, vol. 7, p. 445.) In June Sir John St. Clair asserted the necessity of opening one or more roads on the frontiers of Cumberland County, and it was doubtless to his efforts that an attempt to cut a new road was determined upon. This new route instead of passing through Carlisle was to be directed through York, Fort Frederick, and Fort Cumberland, making the distance from Lancaster to Fort Duquesne about 245 miles, or no longer than the existing road, but easier to get over, and allowing some use of the Potomac for transport of goods. Not only would the passage of the troops carry advantage to the colony through which it was made, but the rich lands of the Ohio would attract settlers, and it was the

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wish of Virginia to possess the main road to that region. This was one of the reasons for Washington's insistence, and he was certain of a support from the colony. "The Virginians are making great interest that our Rout may be by Fort Cumberland, but I hope they will not succeed." (See letter of James Young to R. Peters, July 23, 1758.) "The Virginians are much chagrined at the opening of the road through this government, and Colonel Washington has been a good deal sanguine and obstinate upon the occasion." (See letter of Armstrong to Peters, Oct. 3, 1758.) Such was his insistence that General Forbes took offense, and in writing to Bouquet advised him to consult with Washington, "though perhaps not follow his advice, as his behaviour about the roads was no ways like a soldier." General Forbes had good reason for delay, as the Indian allies of the French were in council with the English Colonies, and should they be weaned from their hostility a serious blow would be given to French influence and French power in that quarter, a success far greater than mere force of arms could attain. It was Bouquet's opinion after the fall of Duquesne that had the Braddock road been taken at first, as Washington wished, the expedition would have been doomed. (See letter of Bouquet to Allen, Nov. 25, 1758.) As it was, the treaty of Easton deprived the French of their main strength, and when it was perceived that the season was too advanced to complete the new road, the troops employed upon it were recalled, and an advance ordered by way of Turkey Creek, with ultimate success. (See Parkman's *Montcalm and Wolfe*, vol. 2, n. 133 *et seq.*)— *Ford*.

I have repair'd the Road over the Mountain, at this place as Sir John St. Clair desir'd. I had also sent the Second Company of Artificers to make Bridges on the Rays Town Road according to your Orders, transmitted me thro' by Colo. Stephen; twas yesterday before I cou'd get them in: and to day they March.

Nineteen Waggon's came here Yesterday Loaded with Musket Ball from Fort Frederick; 18 more left their loads at the old Town, and are gone back, the first 19 Waggons, and an Escort are gone to bring up their Loads, and will be here to day. I can't send you a return of the Contents having receiv'd none.

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The Waggoners are constantly applying for Grain to give their Horses. I shou'd be glad if you wou'd direct how I am to act in this Case.

Inclos'd is a Return of Provision's wanting to serve Us till our next Convoy arrives from Winchester, We have not above 5 days Flour upon hand, I shall therefore send the Waggons to Rays Town to Morrow for this Article, &ca., after they return from the old Town.

Twelve Tents was the number I return'd for, and they are safe arriv'd.

If you approve of it, I wou'd send 50 Men the length of the Great Crossing to way lay the Road thereabouts: I conceive to be the most eligible method of taking a Prisoner for Intelligence.

The Enemy about our Garrison's are watchful and near their own are difficult to be brought of with safety, the distance is so great and relief always at hand. I am, etc.

***To COLONEL HENRY BOUQUET**

Camp at Fort Cumberland, August 7, 1758.

Dr. Sir: Captn. Waggoner and 50 Men with 19 Waggons wait upon you for Provision's agreeable to a return sent you yesterday.

A Letter which I have just received from Mr. Walker, tells me, that the Convoy may be expected at Pearsall's the 15th. Inst., and desires that the Escort (already consising of 75 Men) may be augmented, as the Waggons and Cattle will cover a long space of Ground.

Pray what will you have done with these Waggons when they come up ? and those now going to Ray's Town, when they Return with Provision's?

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I was this Inst't favour'd with your's pr. Express; I am not surprized to hear the Enemy are about, but have really been astonished at the calm that has prevail'd so long. I shall this moment send out a Party to way lay the Road; I anticipated this Order, by requesting leave to do it in a Letter I wrote to you yesterday.

Inclos'd is a return of the Shott &ca. that have been brought to this place since my arrival here.

I am Dr. Sir, etc.

***To THOMAS WALKER**

Camp at Fort Cumberland, August 11, 1758.

Dear Sir: I receiv'd a Letter from Colo. Bouquet last Night containing the Paragraph following.

“Please to write to Mr. Walker to send Us as soon as possible a supply of Cattle: The Calculation upon Paper will starve Us.”

I have lost no time in transmitting this to you. I expect Orders every moment for Marching the Virginia Troops to Rays Town, that being the Rout Determin'd on for the Army. They have already work'd on the Road to be open'd from thence to Fort Duquesne and flatter themselves with getting a better than Genl. Braddocks; they may do so, and I shall believe it when I am an eye witness to it.⁵⁹

In my last I gave you my thoughts of the Expedition, they are not alter'd from any thing I have since seen. I wish you were well and among Us. none wou'd be more rejoic'd to see you than Dr. Sir, Y'r etc.

P.S. I shall send a Party to meet the Convoy at Pearsalls the 15th.

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59. In 1784–85 Washington added to this sentence “not before.” The recollection of his struggle over the Raystown road was still vivid that long afterwards.

***To CAPTAIN ROBERT STEWART**

Camp at Fort Cumberland, August 11, 1758.

My dear Stewart: I am sorry to transmit an Order that will give you pain; but must nevertheless tell you, that the following came in a Letter from Colo. Bouquet to me last Night.

“As our Troop of light Horse is too much harrass'd by continual Service; I desire you will send me half of Captn. Stewarts Troop, with one or two of his Officers, as you may think necessary to take care of them.”

As the Colo. gives me a discretionary power to send one or two, one must be his Lot; and that I think shou'd be your Cornet; as Mr. Crawford is appointed to the Troop pro-tempore only, he shou'd be put to little Inconvenience.

It will be scarce worth your while, to confine yourself with the other half of the Troop; I shou'd be glad therefore to have your Company at this place, as I think you may Trust to Mr. Crawfords care; however, in this case, pursue your own Inclinations.

Your Letter to Majr. Halkett got to Rays Town in less than 24 hours after you writ it. I shall appoint no Person to do Brigade Majrs. Duty till I hear more from that Gentleman, as you may be assur'd in this, as in all things else, I have the strongest inclination to serve you; being Dr. Stewart with most unfeigned truth. Y'r Affect'e Friend, etc.

***To SIR JOHN ST. CLAIR**

Camp at Fort Cumberland, August 13, 1758.

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Dr. Sir: Your favour of the 9th. I was honour'd with the 11th.: 39 Waggon's are loaded with Stores according to your Orders. 8 other Waggon's contain 160 Bushels of Indian Corn which with 94 deliver'd to the 47 Waggoners returning to you (two Bushels to each) and 18 more to the Maryland Waggon Master, takes all the Grain we have, save about 60 Bushel reserv'd for the light Horse; Captn. Stewart telling me it was your orders he shou'd have grain.

The Maryland Waggon's under Mr. Long, will go with an Escort (intended to reinforce that with the Convoy from Winchester) to Pearsalls for the Grain at that place: with which they shall proceed to Rays Town when that Convoy does, according to Order.

We have neither Grindstones or Intrenching Tools at this place.

I offer you my sincere congratulation's upon your safe return from Loyalhanning; and upon the discovery of a *good Road* which I hear you have made; I am with very great Regard, Dr. Sir, etc.

***To COLONEL HENRY BOUQUET**

Camp Fort Cumberland, August 13, 1758.

Dear Sir: The Waggon's met with all possible dispatch in loading, but being assur'd that the Horses were not able to return till today, I did not Order them of sooner.

My Soldiers Cloathing, unluckily, are sent to this place. If I march that way I shall take them along, with those of that part of the Regiment now with me. Since we are like to make so late a Campaigne of it.

I sent Orders to Captn. Stewart to detach half his Troop under an Officer to you. They are not yet arriv'd from the Grass Guard 15 Miles of.

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I wish with all my Soul you may continue to find little difficulty in opening your Road. I am certain if you find much, you will not have time for any other Service this Campaigne.

I detach'd Captn. McKenzie with 4 Officers and 75 Rank and file to way-lay the Road at the great Crossing; from him a Sergeant and four active Woodsmen of my Regiment is to proceed to Fort Duquesne so that I am in great hopes we shall be able to get some Intelligence of the strength of the Enemy at that place.

I cou'd wish most sincerely, that our Accounts from the No. Ward were clearer, and more favourable than they appear to be. If you have any Intelligence from Ticonderago, I shou'd be extreme thankful for the acct. We have expected hourly, to hear that Louisburg is in Our hands, pray Heaven we may not be disappointed at last.

I transmitted your request of Cattle to Mr. Walker pr. Express. No Tools are yet arriv'd from Fort Frederick, nor have we any Minors at this place. There were one or two pretty good one's in my own Company, and where that Company is you best can tell. I am Dr. Sir, etc.

***To COLONEL HENRY BOUQUET**

Camp at Fort Cumberland, August 18, 1758.

Dear Sir, I am favour'd with yours of Yesterday, intimating the probability of my proceeding with a body of Troops on G— B— R—d and desiring my retaining for that purpose a Months Provisions at this place, a thing which I shou'd be extreme fond of, but as I cannot possibly know what quantity of Provisions may be necessary for that time, without knowing the Number of Men I may probably March with, and when it is likely I may leave this, I hope you will be pleas'd to give me the necessary Information on this head. As also how this place is to be Garrisoned, and what Provision's and stores shou'd be left in it.

I have talk'd a good deal with Kelly upon the Nature of the Intervening Ground from the New R—d to B—s, and from what he says, I apprehend it impracticable to effect a junction

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with the Troops on the new R—d till we advance near the Salt Lick which is no great distance from F—D—Q

and how far it may be advisable to send a small Body of Troops so near the Enemy, at so great a distance from the Array without any kind of Tools (which is certainly our Case) for repairing the Roads, or throwing up any kind of Defence in case of need, I shall not presume to say, but I cannot help observing, that all the Guides and Indians are to be drawn from hence, and that the greatest part of my Regiment is on the other Road; so that I have but few remaining with me of the first Regiment, and 8 Companies of the Second only; whose Officers and Men can be suppos'd to know little of the Service, and less of the Country, and near, or I believe quite a fifth of them Sick; I thought it incumbent on me to mention these things, that you might know our Condition; at the same time I beg leave to assure you, that nothing will give me greater pleasure than to proceed with any number of Men, that the General or you shall think proper to Order.

With Regard to keeping out a Succession of strong Parties on his R—d from the Troops here,⁶⁰ I must beg leave to remark that we have not so much as one Carrying Horse to take Provision's out upon, being under a necessity t'other day of pressing 5 Horses from some Country-men, (that came

60. "As it is highly necessary to keep the enemy in doubt about our roads, the General desires that you continue sending strong parties along, with orders to reconnoitre where the junction of the two roads could be made. I hear by Kelly, who is gone from Loy: H.— to the Salt Lick, that it is about 16 miles across from that post to the end of Chestnut Ridge, where this path goes; and the woods so open that without cutting, carrying horses may easily go through, all pretty level."— *Bouquet to Washington*, Aug. 17, 1758. This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

to Camp upon Business) before I cou'd equip Captn. McKenzie's Party for a 14 days March. That we have not an Oz. of Salt Provision's of any kind here, and that it is

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impossible to preserve the Fresh (especially as we have no Salt) by any other Means than Barbacuing it in the Ind'n manner; in doing which it looses near a half; so that a Party who receives 10 days Provision's will be obliged to live on little better than 5 days' allowance of meat kind, a thing Impracticable. A great many of Colo. Byrd's Men are, as I before remark'd very sickly, the rest become low spirited and dejected; of Course the greatest share of that Service must fall upon the 4 Comp'ns of the 1st. Regt. This Sickness, and depression of Spirits, cannot arise I conceive from the Situation of Our Camp, which is undoubtedly the most healthy (and best Air'd) of any in this Vicinity; but is caus'd I apprehend by the change in their way of living (most of them till now having lived in ease and Affluence), and by the Limestone Water and Air. The Soldrs. of the 1st. Regt. like those of the 2d; wou'd be sickly, were it not owing to some such Causes as these.

Captn. McKenzies Party is not yet Return'd,⁶¹ I will advertise you of his discoveries if any are made by him.

We have Reason to believe that Parties of the Enemy are likewise at this place, about us, a waggoner being shott at yesterday afternoon,

61. In Smith's publication in the *Magazine of American History* is the following paragraph, which Washington omitted in his "Letter Book" copy: "The convoy from Winchester has been detained much longer than was expected. Mr. Walker desired a party to reinforce the escort at Pearsalls (30 miles distant), the 15th Inst. which was accordingly sent; but I have since been informed that the waggons did not leave Winchester till a few days ago."

and his horse kill'd under him abt. 3 Miles from this place.

We have no Indian Goods of any kind here. It gives me great pleasure to hear that the General is getting better, and expected soon at Rays Town.⁶² Colo. Byrd joins me in his Compliments to you. I am etc.

***To COLONEL HENRY BOUQUET**

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Camp at Fort Cumberland, August 19, 1758.

Dear Sir: This afternoon the Party Commanded by Captn. McKenzie returning without being able to discover any thing of the Enemy's Motion's, they waylaid the Road for several days near the great Crossing and intended to have advanc'd quite to that Post, had not their Provision's entirely spoil'd, notwithstanding every method, and the utmost pains for its preservation was taken.

Some of their advanc'd Sentries had nearly kill'd a small Party of 3 Cherokee Indian's, returning from War.

62. According to Sparks, General Forbes had been detained at Carlisle, Pa., by illness.

This small Party went from hence upwards of Six Weeks ago and this is the 4th. day since they left Fort Duquesne, the Environs of which they long watch'd and at length was oblig'd to Cross the Ohio where they kill'd two Squaws whose Scalps they brought in here.

They say there are a good many Women and Children on that side the River, but very few Men, either French or Indians at the Fort.

Captn. McKenzie says there is no signs of the Enemy's having been in General Braddocks Road, so far as he proceeded on it; Sergeant Scott and 4 privates of his Party went on to Fort Duquesne; so soon as they return will transmit you any Intelligence they may procure.

I shou'd be extremely glad to receive some Bacon or Salt Prov'n of some kind, without which it will be Impossible for any Party I can send out to answer the propos'd end.

The Convoy from Winchester was yesterday at the No. River (five days March for them, from hence) so that we cannot expect them in less than 5 or 6 days, especially as they have lost their Horses.

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This Moment an Officer came in to inform me, that Captn. Beale and a Party of abt. 90 Marylanders were escorting some store Waggons, and wou'd be in immediately, I shall forward them to you to Morrow, agreeable to Sir Jno. St. Clairs Order's. I am Dr. Sir. etc.

***To COLONEL HENRY BOUQUET**

Camp at Fort Cumberland, August 21, 1758.

Dear Sir: Twenty five Cuttawbas came here this Evening; and the Convoy may be expected the day after tomorrow, as it was at Pearsalls last Night.

Governor Sharpe may be expected here in a day or two. I am at a loss to know how he Ranks, and whether He is entitled to the Command. In the Army his Rank is that of Lieut't Colonel only; but what it may be as Governor in his own Provence I really don't know; or whether it is any thing or not. I shou'd therefore be glad of your Advice, being unwilling to dispute the point with him wrong fully, or to give up the Command if I have a right to it; neither of which wou'd I do knowingly.⁶³ I am Dr. Sir, etc.

***To COLONEL HENRY BOUQUET**

Camp at Fort Cumberland, August 24, 1758.

Dear Sir: Your favour of the 21st. Inst't accompanied by the 20 Pack Horses with about 3000 w't of Salt Pork came safe to hand, as likewise did your Letter of the 23d. The General's happy recovery, affords me vast

63. "The Governors in America have no command of the troops even of their own Province as soon as they are joined with any other of his Majesty's forces, unless they have a commission from the Commander-in-chief for that purpose. I have commanded the forces at Philadelphia and at Charles Town, tho' the Governor was Captain General in his Province, and was entirely independent from them. Governor Sharpe will not expect to

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have the command as governor; and as Lieut. Col. he cannot, and would not, I suppose, choose to serve in that rank. Therefore, you are very right in keeping it.”— *Bouquet to Washington*, Aug. 23, 1758. This letter is in the *Washington Papers* and is printed in Hamilton's *Letters to Washington*, vol. 3, p. 46.

satisfaction; and I am glad the New Road turns out so *much to your liking* .

The Convoy from Winchester arriv'd here the 23d. Inst't they set out with 468 Beeves, 9 were kill'd on the Road, and 411 deliver'd here the rest were lost on the Road, but as their Officer sent immediately back after them, we are in hopes your greatest part of them will be found.

As only 26,000 W't of Flour came up; (which is not quite a Month's Provision's for the Troops here) I have according to your Orders detain'd it, and likewise 90 Beeves, the rest sets out early to morrow morning for Rays Town, as does all the Forage except 60 Bushels of Corn.

When the Convoy got within 6 Miles of this garrison 3 Cuttawba men and 2 Squaws (contrary to the advice of the Officers) set on before the Convoy for this Camp, and soon after were fir'd upon by about 10 or 12 of the Enemy; who kill'd Captn. Bullen, and Captn. French, and wounded one of the Squaws; the loss we sustain by the death of these two Indians, is at this juncture very considerable, as they were remarkable for their bravery, and attachment to Our Interest; particularly poor Bullen whom (and the other) we buried with Military Honours. The Rest of the Cuttawbas, and what Nottoways and Tuscarora's that are here set out to morrow with the Waggon's for Rays Town.

As we had Intelligence of several Parties of the Enemy being about, I detach'd Parties different way's in hopes of coming up

with them, or cutting of their Retreat, but without any Effect. at the same time, I reinforced the Convoy w't 50 Men.

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There are several Waggons which came up here with the Flour, that I am at a loss what to do with.

Sergeant Scot (mention'd in a late Letter) return'd this day; he, when within two Miles of Fort Duquesne, unfortunately came upon a few fresh Tracks making Inwards which he follow'd apprehending they were just at hand, till his Provisions were expended, and was thereby oblig'd to Return without making any discoveries worth mentioning. I am glad Mr. Chew and Mr. Allen has been able to give you accts. so agreeable.

Captn. Woodward of the first Regiment 3 Subs and 75 Rank and File Marches tomorrow with 12 days Prov'ns to way lay the Road in the same manner that Captn. McKenzie did.

Inclos'd is an exact Account of Our Strength at this place. I am Dr. Sir, etc.

To COLONEL HENRY BOUQUET

Camp at Fort Cumberland, August 28, 1758.

Dear Sir: Your favour by Mr. Hoops has in some measure reviv'd a hope that was almost extinguish'd, of doing something this Campaign. We must doubtless expect to encounter many difficulties in opening a new Road thro' bad Grounds in a woody Country, of which the Enemy are possed; but, since you hope our point may be carried, I would fain expect the Surmounting these Difficulties;

Tis a melancholy reflection tho' to find there [has] even [been] a doubt [with *you*] of Success when so much is depending; and when, in all human probability we might have been in full possession of the Ohio by now, if rather than running ourselves into the difficulties and expense of cutting an entire new Road the distance we have first and last [done] Braddock's had been adopted.

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Every one knows what could have been done [on] the old road—few can guess what will be [done on] the new there being not only the Difficulties of the Road to encounter, but the chance of a French Reinforcement also; but it is useless to add on this head I should rather apologise for what I have said.

All the waggons at this place fit for service, come to you under the Escort Ordered for Mr. Hoops.

Any Troops not of Virginia, shall be forwarded to you according to Order; and I could wish most sincerely that our Rout was fixt that we might be in motion; for we are all of us most heartily tir'd and sick of Inactivity. Colo. Byrd in particular is really Ill.

A letter which Colo. Byrd recd. from the Genl. of the 19th Inst: gives room to imagine that the Destination of the Virg'a Troops will be fix't on so soon as he arrives at Rays Town, as he there expresses a desire of Colo. Byrd and I there immediately.

Frazer having left this with the Convoy must be with you e'er now. I am very glad to hear that your artillery pass the Allegany with so much ease. I am etc.⁶⁴

***To JOHN ROBINSON**

Camp at Fort Cumberland, September 1, 1758.

My dear Sir: We are still Incamp'd here, very sickly; and quite dispirited at the prospect before Us.⁶⁵ That appearance of Glory once in view, that hope, that laudable Ambition of serving Our Country, and merit

64. This letter is in the writing of John Kirkpatrick in the Washington "Letter Book," but is there signed by Washington. The words in brackets are in Washington's writing. An additional paragraph appears at the end of Smith's print in the *Magazine of American History*. Washington evidently thought it too inconsequential to have copied into his

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records: "Mr. Waller was along time as he enformed me, under doubtful Orders in regard to his purchase of cattle, so that he was oblig'd at last to pick up what he cou'd get at a short warning; which is I believe, the real reason of the cattle not having [been] so good as they other wise might be."

65. On the next day Washington received orders to march by the Braddock road and take position at Salt Lick.— *Ford*.

ing its applause, is now no more! Tis dwindled into ease; Sloth, and fatal inactivity, and in a Word, All is lost, if the ways of Men in power, like the ways of Providence are not Inscrutable; and, why [are] they not? for we who view the Action's of great Men at so vast a distance can only form conjectures agreeable to the small extant of our knowledge and ignorant of the comprehensive Schemes intended; mistake, plagily, in judging by the Lump; this may be, and yet every F—I will have his Notions; prattle and talk away, and pray why may not I?

We seem then, to act under an evil Geni, the conduct of our Leaders (if not actuated by superior Orders) is temper'd with something, I don't care to give a name to, indeed I will go further, and say they are d—ps, or something worse to P—s—v—n Artifice, to whose selfish views I attribute the miscarriage of this Expedition, for nothing now but a Miracle can bring this Campaigne to a happy Issue.

In my last I told you (I think) that I had employ'd my little abilities in opposing the measures then concerting. To do this I not only represented the advanc'd Season, the difficulties of cutting a new Road over these Mountain's; the little time left for that Service, the Moral certainty of its obstructing our March, and the miscarriage of the Expedition consequent thereupon, but endeavour'd to represent also the great struggle

Virginia had made this year in raising a Second Regiment at so short a notice and great expence, and her inability of a future exertion in case of need; I spoke my Fears concerning the Southern Indians in the event of a miscarriage; and in fine spoke all

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unavailingly, for the Road was immediately begun, and since then, from one to two Thousand Men have constantly wrought upon it. By the last Accts. I receiv'd they had cut it to the Foot of Lawrel Hill about 35 Miles and I suppose by now 1500 Men have taken post at Loyal hanning about 10 Miles further, where our next Fort is intended to be constructed.

We have certain Intelligence that the French Strength at Fort Duquesne the 13th. Ult^o. did not exceed 800 Men, Indians Included; of whom there appear'd to be 3 or 400 this Acct. is corroborated on all hands; two Officers of the first Virginia Regiment in different Parties and at different times, having come from thence since that time, after lying a day or two in full view of the Fort Secreted, and observing the motions and strength of the Enemy.

See therefore how our time has been mispent; behold the golden oppertunity lost; and perhaps never regain'd. How is it to be accounted for? can G—I F—s have Orders for this? Impossible: Will then our Injur'd Country pass

by such abuses? I hope not. Rather let a full Representation of the matter go to His Majesty. Let him know how grossly his Hon'r and the Publick money have been prostituted. I wish I was sent immediately home as an Aide to some other on this Errand. I think without vanity I cou'd set the Conduct of this Expedition in its true colours, having taken some pains, perhaps more than any other to dive into the bottom of it. But no more, adieu my dear Sir. It has long been the luckless Fate of Poor Virginia to fall a Victim to the views of her Crafty Neighbours; and yield her honest efforts to promote their common Interest, at the expence of much Blood and Treasure; while her sincerety justified her Measures. We now can only bewail that blindness, and wish for happier times, which seem at so remote a distance, that it is rather to be wish'd than expected.

Colo. Byrd who is really unwell joins me in Compliments to you, the Attorney and the rest of Our Friends, I am with the Utmost Sincerety, etc.

To FRANCIS FAUQUIER

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Camp Fort Cumberland, September 2, 1758.

Hon'ble Sir: Your favour of the 17th. Ulto. I had the hon'r to receive the 30th. following. If you are surpriz'd to find us still Incamp'd at this place I shall only remark that your surprize prize cannot well exceed my own.

In my last I inform'd your Hon. that a Resolution was taken to open a new Road from Rays Town to Fort Duquesne, 'twas instantly begun, and since that time from one to two Thousand Men have wrought on it continually.***66

What time it will require to Build a Fort at Loyall Hanning, and after that is accomplish'd, what further time is necessary to cut the Road thro' very rugged Grounds to Fort Duquesne (Grounds of which the Enemy are actually possessed and know every advantageous Post to harass and dispute with us in) I say what time is required for the completion of all this, I must leave to time that

66. The omitted sentences are the same as those in the letter to Speaker John Robinson, September 1, *ante*.

faithfull expositor of Events to reveal, not caring even to guess at it myself.

The first Division of the Artillery has past the Allegany Hill and I suppose may be now be got up with the advanced Working Party, the 2d. Division I believe may have March'd by this; and they talk of putting all the Troops in motion immediately.

We have not in our Stores at Rays Town two Months Provisions visions for the army; and if the best judges are to be credited, the nipping Frosts will soon destroy the [Herbage]67 on the Mountains, and then, altho' the Communication be not quite stopp'd, the subsistence for horses is render'd very difficult till Snows and hard Frosts prevents all intercourse w'h the Ohio and these sets in early in November.

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The Road from Reas Town to Carlyle whence the Provisions and Stores chiefly come is perhaps worse than [any] other upon the Continent, infinitely worse than any part of the Road from hence to Fort Duquesne along General Braddocks Road, and hath already worn out the greatest part of the horses that have been employ'd in Transporting the Provisions, the Carriage of which only it is said and from good authority, I have it, stands the Crown upwards of 40/ every hundred weight.

We have certain advice's that the French on the 13th. ulto. had rec'd no new Reinforcements at Fort Duquesne from Canada and that their Total strength at that Garrison could not exceed 800 Men, Indians Included.***68

67. This and the words in brackets throughout the letter were added by Washington.

68. The omitted sentences are the same as those in the letter to Speaker John Robinson, September 1, *ante*.

Their accounts exactly agree and have given great satisfaction to the Commanding Officer being corroborated also by Indian Intelligence, a Party of Cherokee's having been out there and some Delawares come in. What a Golden opp'y have we lost! but this is past, irretrievably gone I fear.

A party of our Troops 75 in num. is now 40 miles advanc'd, way laying the Road, from whom I hope a Prisoner if the Enemy [should be] passing or repassing; I sent out also the day before yesterday a Sergeant and 5 Men to Fort Duquesne for Intelligence; they will be back in fourteen days.

I can give your Hon. no satisfactory acct. of the General. He lay ill at Carlyle a long time of a Flux, from thence getting a little strength he mov'd to Shippensbourg where his Disorder return'd and he continues. By a Letter the other day he hopes soon to be at Rays Town

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where he desires to see Colo. Byrd and I, but alas! the Expedition must either stand or fall by

the present Plan.⁶⁹

In the conference I had with Colo. Bouquet and of which I gave your Hon. an acct. in my last I did among other things to avert the resolve of opening a new Road, represent the great Expence the Colony of Virg'a had been at to support the War, the Charge of raising a 2d. Regt. at so short a notice; the time limited for the Service of it; and the Cruelty therefore of risking the success of an Expedition upon such precarious Measures when so much depended on it; and our inability to do more. I then exprest my apprehensions of the Southern Indians Case of a miscarriage, and the encrease of French strength in new Alliances; and after this demonstrated very clearly the time it wou'd take us to proceed on the old Road; and at how much easier expence, even if we were oblig'd to get all our Provisions and Stores from Pennsylvania; and no occasion for this surely. In fine I urg'd every thing then I could do now; and repeated by Letter Copies of which I have now to shew; if required, but urg'd in vain, the Pensylvanians whose Interest present and future it was to conduct the Expedition thro' their Government, and along that way, because it secures their Frontiers at present, and the Trade hereafter, a Chain of Forts being Erected, had prejudic'd the General absolutely against this Road; made him believe we were the partial people

69. General Forbes arrived at Raystown on the 15th, and Colonel Washington was called to that place.— *Ford.*

and determin'd him at all Events to pursue that Rout, so that their Sentiments are already fully known on this matter; and to them as Instigators, may be attributed the great misfortunes of this miscarriage; for I think *now* nothing but a miracle can procure Success.

The Contractor has Orders to lay in at Loyall Hanning for 4000 Men the Winter from whence it is imagin'd that our Expedition for this Campaign will end there: shou'd we serve

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to make up the Number of Troops which Garrison that place our Frontiers is thereby not only expos'd but the Soldiers for want of Cloathing and proper conveniences absolutely perish; few of them having a whole Coat to their backs and many none at all; this is a matter I fully and repeatedly wrote about these 12 Months past: I hope it will now merit the Assembly's notice.

A Major of Brigade to the Virginia Troops is an Officer absolutely necessary, while there is more than one Regt., the General has repeatedly urg'd this matter; and Colo. Byrd who once Recommended another Gentleman that is now found to be too deeply engag'd in Indian Affairs; Joins me in proposing Capt. Robt. Stewart for this office; a Gentlemen whose assiduity and Military Capacity is second to none in our Service; we beg the favour therefore of a Commission for him, and that

your Hon. wou'd be pleas'd to have the Date of it Blank in Order that he may take Rank before some other Majors of Brigade to which his longer Services entitles him.

The First Virg'a Regt. have August's Pay due to them and no money in the Pay Master's hands; this he will inform your Hon. off more particularly, as desired.

Capt. Bullen and Capt. French two Catawbias much esteem'd for their Bravery and steady attachment to our Interest, were kill'd about ten days ago on their way from Winchester to this Camp by the Enemy we got very early notice of it at this place (it happening within 3 Miles) and sent out several Partys to pursue which they did fruitlessly.

I have wrote to Mr. Gist who had the Direction of Indian Affairs to make out such a Return as your Hon. requires and forward it to you; he is now at Rays Town. Inclos'd is a Return of my Regiment I believe it is exact but as six of the Com'pys are upon the new Road I can not absolutely say what alterations have happened there since my last advices.

Thus Sir, I have given your Hon. a full and impartial Acct. of the present posture of our affairs here of which any use may be made you think proper. I may be blam'd possibly for

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expressing my Sentiments so freely; but never can be asham'd of the Truth; and none but obvious Facts are Stat'd here. The General I dare say; from his good

Character; can acct. fully for these Delay's that surprize all that Judge from appearances only, but I really cannot.

Colo. Byrd being very unwell has desired me to offer his Complements to your Hon. and excuse (which is Sickness) for his not writing. I am etc.

P. S. Upon Second thoughts I have transmitted Copies of some of the Letter's I wrote to Colonel Bouquet (who Commands in the Generals absence upon the Posture of our Affairs; particularly my Sentiments of the New Road. It will give your Honour some trouble in reading them; but it will at the same time shew, that nothing in my power has been wanting to bring this Expedition to a speedy, and happy conclusion, as I well foresee that every delay still subjected Us to further difficulties; and the chance of encountering a French Reinforcement; which very clearly appear's they had not receiv'd the Middle of August; long before which, might we have been there had the old Road been timely adopted; as above I am etc.⁷⁰

70. This letter is in the writing of John Kirkpatrick, with the words in brackets and the postscript in that of Washington.

“The Assembly met the 12th of September, and from the long delay of the march of the forces, and the partiality they imagined shewn to Pennsylvania, were not in a very good humor; and not thinking any attempt would be made on Fort Duquesne so late in the year, they passed an act to withdraw the first regiment from the regulars after the first of December, and station them upon the frontiers of this colony for the protection of the inhabitants. But upon some letters that the Governor received about a fortnight after that Assembly broke up, assuring him that an attempt would be made, he thought it proper to call the Assembly again, and they accordingly met on Thursday last, when he laid the letters before them, which they immediately took into consideration, and that no

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blame might be laid to this Colony, for the failure of the expedition which they imagined some people would be glad of having an opportunity of doing, they proceeded with a despatch never before known, and in three days passed an act to empower the Governor to continue the forces in the pay of this Colony on that service till the first of January, if the expedition was not over before that time.”— *Robinson to Washington*, Sept. 13, 1758.

Governor Fauquier hoped that “the ardor this Colony has shewn to support the war will continue for another year, the flame being a little stifled by the inactivity of this campaign.” (See letter of Fauquier to Washington, Sept. 16, 1758.) The speaker's letter gives an impression that he was describing the proceedings of two assemblies, but Ramsay shows it was the same.

“The 1st Virginia Regiment had like to have been broke by a vote of the House, but the old and judicious carried it against the young members by a majority of five. However, they have so far prevailed, that unless the regiment return into this Colony by the 1st of December next and guard our frontiers, they are to be no longer in the pay of this Colony. There is to be no Lieut. Colo., Quarter Master, Adjutant nor Chaplain, and the yearly allowance for your table is voted away.”— *Ramsay to Washington*, Oct. 17, 1758. (The act is printed in Hening's *Statutes at Large*, vol. 7, p. 171.)

“Some other saving schemes were obliged to be complied with, for fear the whole should be given up. By a letter I received from Col. Byrd I find the army will be in the heat of action, and the fate of Du Quesne depending at that time [Decem. 1.] I have therefore summoned an Assembly to meet on Thursday the tenth inst. in order to prolong the time for both the regiments to remain in the field in conjunction with the rest of his Majesty's forces. This is the only step I could take to prevent the ruin of the whole expedition, and save this colony from the censure they would lie under as being the sole cause of the miscarriage of the whole, if the fort should not be reduced by that Day.”— *Fauquier to Washington*, Nov. 4, 1758.

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These letters are in the *Washington Papers* and are printed in Hamilton's *Letters to Washington*, vol. 3, pp. 94, 103, 117, 125.

***To MR. THOMAS WALKER OR PERSON ACTING IN HIS PLACE**

Camp at Fort Cumberland, September 2, 1758.

Sir: Colonel Bouquet desires 100 Waggon's, if possible, may be Engag'd in Virginia; and that as many of them as can, may be sent to this place loaded with Flour, and the remainder with Indian Corn (Oats I suppose will do) where they will receive further Orders.

I beg you will, therefore, use your utmost diligence to Comply with this request; and let me know also, immediately, how far you think you shall be able to comply with it; first in regard to the No. of Waggon's, next the q'ty of Flour and Corn; and lastly, what time you think they may be got to this place. Such Waggon's as cannot get Loads, must come up empty.

You must not expect an Escort from hence; I shall certainly be March'd before you can need one. You must therefore apply to His Lordship [Fairfax] who I flatter myself will Order you one from the Militia, or from Capt'n. Rutherfords Rangers, if they can be spar'd. I am Sir, etc.

To COLONEL HENRY BOUQUET

Camp at Fort Cumberland, September 2, 1758.

Dear Sir: Your letters of the 30th. and 31st. Ulto. I was favour'd with in the Evening yesterday, not time enough tho' to prepare my answer till to day, and for safety I have detain'd the Express for the Cover of night.

I enclose you an exact Return of all the ammunition and Provisions; which we have at this place that you may Judge what supply is necessary to send here. If the Pork is in Keggs of 100 w't and the Flower in Baggs they can easily be carried on horse back; and I shou'd

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for many reasons, prefer back loads infinitely to Waggon. Tools Powder and Lead might also be carried on horseback, which wou'd reduce our number of Waggon and Facilitate our March greatly, indeed this is absolutely [necessary] to be done or else so small a Body as we shall compose [will be] expos'd to many Insults extended in such a manner as a number of Waggon must necessarily occasion in our Line of March.

If it was possible I could March with Carrying horses only, and those good I cou'd be at the place you mention in six days; but if I am incumber'd with Waggon, it will probably be ten days; and if the Teams shou'd be bad there is no guessing at the time.

The Sick most certainly must go to the General Hospital, for we can

neither afford Surgeons nor Medicenes from the Regiments to be left for their benefit and many are not in a Condition to move.

I have wrote to Mr. Walker, or person acting in his place for the Waggon you desire: they cou'd easily have been had on timely notice but now I cannot promise; in case he succeeds I have desir'd him to apply to Lord Fairfax for an Escort of the Militia, but I cannot promise he will get one.

I am extremely sorry to hear of the miscarriage of your Letters; it may be attended with bad consequence. We have rejoc'd here on the happy occasion of Louisburg's Reduction and I most heartily wish the same success may attend His Majesty's arms in other parts.

I shall be very desireous of a Conference with the General before I March, as there may be many things necessary to settle, I shall loose no time in attending him when I have notice of his arrival.

The Officer that Commanded the Escort from Winchester is Detach'd 15 Miles from hence (at our Grass Guard) so that I cannot now get the Certificate you desire. I have no Person

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here who can give me any satisfactory accts. of the way and Distance between the two Roads as you desire.

I have heard nothing yet from Captn. Woodward's Party; on Wednesday last Sergeant Scot with five men went out once more to try their Success at Fort Duquesne. I can answer for his good endeavours, but it is not more tedious than dangerous bringing a Prisoner such a

Distance.

Colo. Byrd is very ill but desires nevertheless that his Complem'ts may be made to you. I am, etc.⁷¹

***To LIEUTENANT COLONEL GEORGE MERCER**

Camp at Fort Cumberland, September 9, 1758.

Sir: I this moment receiv'd notice from the Commissary, that only three day's Flour remain upon hand for the Troops at this Incampment. Mr. Hoops is wrote to on the occasion, and I must beg the favour of you to facilitate any measures he shall propose to supply us in time; by affording an Escort &ca. Not knowing how soon we may be order'd to join you, I can't tell how much Provisions is wanted; possibly, ten days will serve till, the Generals pleasure be known. We have no Waggon's at this place, otherwise I wou'd have given you no trouble in this affair. I am Sir, etc.

71. This letter is in the writing of John Kirkpatrick in the Washington "Letter Book," but is signed by Washington. The words in brackets were added by Washington.

***To GENERAL JOHN FORBES**

Camp at Fort Cumberland, September 12, 1758.

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Sir: In consequence of a Letter from Colo. Bouquet, I wrote to Mr. Walker, or Person acting in his behalf, for all the Waggon's he cou'd readily procure, and desir'd that those Waggon's might be loaded up with Flour or Corn, agreeable to the Colo.'s request. The Inclos'd is an answer to that Letter. Colo. Bouquet being advanc'd I was at a Loss to whom I shou'd communicate the contents, and therefore have taken the liberty of sending it to you, Sir, that you may Issue such Orders as appear necessary on this occasion.

I am extreamely sorry to hear of your Excellency's Indisposition, but hope to have the pleasure shortly of seeing you at Rays Town much amended, if not quite recover'd. I am Yr etc.

To FRANCIS FAUQUIER

Camp at Raystown, September 25, 1758.

Honble. Sir: I think it incumbent upon me to give you the following account; altho' it is with very great concern I am furnished with the *occasion* .

The 12th instant Major Grant, of the Highland-battalion, with a chosen detachment of 800 men marched from our advanced post, at Loyal Hannan, for Fort Duquesne; what to do there (unless to meet the fate he did) I can not certainly inform you. However, to get intelligence and annoy the Enemy, was the ostensible plan.

On the 13th, in the night, they arrived near that place, formed upon the hill in two columns, and sent a party to the fort to make discoveries, which they accomplished accordingly, and burned a log-house not far from the walls without interruption. Stimulated by this success, the major kept his post and disposition until day, then detached Major Lewis and part of his command 2 miles back to their baggage guard and sent an Engineer with a covering party in full view of the fort, to take a plan of the works, at the same time causing the revilé to beat in several different places.

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The enemy hereupon sallied out, and an obstinate Engagement began, for the particulars of which I beg leave to refer your Honor to the enclosed letters and return of the Regiment. Major Lewis it is said met his fate in bravely advancing to sustain Major Grant. Our officers and men have acquired very great applause for their gallant behavior during the action. I had the honor to be publicly complimented yesterday by the General on the occasion. The havock that was made of them is a demonstrable proof of their obstinate defence, having 6 officers killed, and a 7th wounded out of 8. Major Lewis who cheerfully went upon this Enterprise (when he found there was no dissuading Colonel Bouquet from the attempt) frequently there and afterwards upon the march, desired his friends to remember that he had opposed the undertaking to the utmost. He is a great loss to the Regiment, and is universally lamented. Capt. Bullet's behavior is matter of great admiration and Capt. Waiter Stewart, the other surviving officer, distinguished himself greatly while he was able to act. He was left in the field, but made his escape afterwards.⁷⁵

What may be the consequence of this affair, I will not take upon me to decide, but this I may venture to declare, that our affairs in general appear with a greater gloom than ever⁷⁶ ; and I see no probability of opening the road this Campaign: How then can we expect a favorable issue to the Expedition? I have used my best endeavors to supply my men with the necessaries they want.⁷⁷ 70 blankets

⁷⁵. In the *Washington Papers*, in Washington's writing, is a list of officers and soldiers missing, wounded, and returned from the action near Fort Duquesne September 14. Grant was captured and sent as a prisoner to Canada.

⁷⁶. "The Major [Grant] conducted the march so that the surprise was compleat, and the enterprise must have succeeded, but for an absolute disobedience of orders in a provincial officer, the night they reached the Ohio; and by this man's quitting his post next morning, the party was in a manner cut to pieces. Major Grant, as he was unfortunate, may be

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blamed, but from his letter to General Forbes...you will not only see he was not in fault; but from the behaviour of the provincial officer, you will be satisfied that a planter is not to be taken from the plough and made an officer in a day."—Letter from an officer who attended Brigadier General Forbes, printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (1759).

77. Three days later General Forbes threatened to draw off the army into the more populous districts unless provisions were supplied at Raystown. (See *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, vol. 8, p. 167.)

I got from the General upon the promise to return them again. I therefore hope your Honor will direct that number to be sent to Winchester for his use. I must also beg the favor of having blank-commissions sent to me, it will take near a dozen for the promotions and vacancies. I must fill up the vacancies with the volunteers I have, and some of the best Sergeants. I marched to this Camp the 21st instant, by order of the General.

Having little else of *moment* to relate; I beg leave to assure your Honor that I am, &c.

To FRANCIS FAUQUIER

Camp at Raystown, September 28, 1758.

Honble. Sir: I forgot to notice in my last of the 25th instant that a flag of truce was sent to Fort Duquesne by Colo. Bouquet. It is now returned, and we learn with certainty (tho' few things have yet transpired) that Major Grant with two other Highland officers, and Major Lewis, with two officers of the Royal Americans, and one belonging to

Pennsylvania, together with 2 Sergeants and 30 private men, were made prisoners in the late action, and sent immediately to Montreal. From all the accounts I have yet been able to collect, it appears very clear, that this was either a very ill-concerted or very ill-executed plan: perhaps *both* : but it seems to be generally acknowledged that Major Grant exceeded his orders in some particulars; and that no disposition was made for engaging.

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The troops were divided: which caused the front to give way, and put the whole into confusion, except the Virginians, commanded by Captn. Bullet, who were (in the hands of Providence) a means of preventing all of our people from sharing one common fate.⁸¹

This mistake, I fear, may be productive of bad consequences to the common cause!

The promoters of opening a new road, either do believe (or would fain have it thought so,) that there is time enough to accomplish our plan this season: but others who judge freer from prejudice, are of a quite contrary opinion. As the road is not yet opened half-way, and not 20 days' provision for the troops got the length of this place, which cannot be attributed to a juster cause than the badness of the *road*; altho' many other reasons are assigned for it. We find that the frosts have already changed the face of nature among these mountains. We know there is not more than a month left for enterprize, we know also that a number of horses can not subsist after that *time*,

81. Bouquet's letter to Amherst (September 17) states that the loss would have been greater "had not Captain Bullet of the Virginians, with 100 men, sustained the combat with all their power, until, having lost two-thirds of his men, he was driven to the shore of the river."

on a road stripped of its herbage, and very few there are who apprehend that our affairs can be brought to favorable issue by that period, nor do I see how it is possible, if every thing else answered, that men half-naked can live in Tents much longer. I am, &c.

To GENERAL JOHN FORBES

Camp, at Raystown, October 8, 1758.

Sir: In consequence of your request of the Colonels assembled at your Lodgings the 5th Inst. I offer the Plans on the other side to your consideration. They express my thoughts on a Line of March through a country covered with woods, and how that Line of March

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may be formed, in an Instant into an Order of Battle. The Plan of the Line of March, and Order of Battle,⁸² on the other side, is calculated for a Forced March with field pieces only, unincumbered with Waggon. It Represents, first, a Line of March, and secondly, how that line of March may in an

82. See diagram. Sparks printed only the "First Plan" and Ford followed Sparks. The "Second Plan" and explanation were ignored by both. The original is now in the J. P. Morgan Library.

Instant, be thrown into an Order of Battle in the Woods. This Plan supposes 4000 Privates, 1000 of which (pickd Men,) are to March in Front, in three Divisions, each division havg. a field-officer to com'd it, besides the Commander of the whole, and is to be in readiness *a/ways* to oppose the Enemy whose Attack, if the necessary precautions are observed, must always be in front.

The First Division must, as the 2d. and 3d. ought likewise to be, subdivided for the Captains; these subdivisions to be again divided for the Subalterns; and the Subalterns again for the Sergeants and Corporals, by which means every Non Commissioned Officer will have a Party to Command under the Eye of a Subaltern as the Subalterns will have, under the direction of a Captain, &c.

N. B. I shall, tho I believe it is unnecessary, remark here, that the Captain's, when their subdivisions are again divided, are to take commd. of no particular part of it but to attend to the whole subdivision as the Subalterns are to do with theirs; each Captain and Subaltern acting as Commandant of the Division he is appointed to under the field-officer, visiting and encouraging all parts equally alike, and keeping the Soldrs. to their Duty. This being done, the first Division is, so soon as the Van-gd. is attackd (if that gives the first notice of the Enemy's approach), to file of to the Right and left, and take to Trees, gaining the enemy's flanks, and surrounding them as described

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in Plan the 2d.⁸³ The Flank Guards on the Right, which belong to the 2d. Division are immediately to extend to the Right followd by that Division, and to form as described in the aforesaid Plan. The Rear-Guard Division is to follow the left Flankers in the same manner in order if possible to Encompass the Enemy, which being a practice different from any thing they have ever yet experienced from Us, I think may be accomplished. What Indians we have shou'd be order'd to get round, unperceived and fall upon the Enemy's rear at the same time. The Front and Rear being thus Secured, there remains a body of 2500 Men to form two Brigades, on the Flanks of wich 600 Men must March for safety of them, and in such Order as to Form a Rank entire by only Marching the Capts. and Subaltns. Guards into the Intervals between the Sergeants Parties as may be seen by 2d Plan. The main body will now be reduc'd to 1900 Men, which sh'd. be kept a Corps de reserve to support any part that shall be fd. wk. or forc'd.⁸⁴

The whole is Submitted to Correction with the utmost Candour, by Sir, &c.

83. This paper was reproduced in facsimile and published in *Monuments of Washington's Patriotism* (1841).— *Ford*.

Sparks stated that the plan was not preserved. It is here reproduced from a tracing made from the 1841 facsimile. The original finally found its way to the Huntington Library, California, where it now is. Spark prints a diagram which is a curious combination of Washington's two plans and conveys a wrong impression. Ford reproduced Sparks's diagram.

84. On the 14th the army was divided into three bodies, to be commanded by Colonels Bouquet, Montgomery, and Washington, acting as brigadiers. To Washington was assigned the command of the right wing, consisting of the First Virginia Regiment, two companies of artificers, and men from North Carolina, Maryland, and the lower counties. "Our army in its approach, was divided into three brigades, one commanded by Col. Bouquet; another by Col. Montgomery; and the third by Col. Washington. These brigades

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marched in columns to shorten their lines, and enable them to form expeditiously. Flanking parties of the best gunmen marched on the flanks; Indians and light horse reconnoitred the ground as we advanced; and parties had been out the night before all round; a strong guard was advanced before the army, in the rear of which the General was in his litter with an officer's guard, a little advanced before Col. Montgomery, who commanded the center brigade. A strong rear guard was likewise ordered, as also a guard for the artillery."—
Ford.

To FRANCIS FAUQUIER

Camp, at Loyal Hanna,⁸⁵ October 30, 1758.

Honble. Sir: Colo. Byrd promised to apologize to you for my not writing by Jenkins; since which I have been honored with your second favor of the 7th instant, both of which now lie before me for acknowledgement. My sudden march⁸⁶ from Raystown (the intent of which I presume you are already informed of) allowed me no time to furnish Mr. Boyd with proper estimates for drawing the pay of our regiment, and I was the less anxious on that head, as the officers equally with myself considered that our affairs would some how or other come to a conclusion before he could return, and that it might be difficult and very unsafe for him to follow us. I am very much obliged to your Honor for the commissions you were pleased to send. Be assured, Sir, the confidence which you have reposed in me shall never be wilfully abused. I am not less obliged to your Honor for the favor of returning so readily the blankets which I borrowed of the General. I am, however sorry to inform you, that, upon reviewing the six companies of my regiment at this place, (which had been separated from me since my last,) I found them deficient in the necessaries contained in the enclosed return, and consequently I am under an

85. An orderly book of 1758, in the *Washington Papers*, shows the following course of the advance troops, by encampments:

Octo 13. Reas Town.

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Octo. 14 Shawnese Cabins.

Octo. 15 Edmonds Swamp

16 Stoney Creek

17–19 Muddy Run

Octo.20 White Oak Ridge

21. S. E. side Laurel Hill

22 N. W. side Laurel Hill

23 Loyal Harmon

Here they remained until November 15, when they removed to Chestnut Ridge.

Nov. 16 N. Bush Run

17 Bullock Camp

18 New Camp

19 N. Turtle Creek

20 Turtle Creek

21 Washington's Camp.

22 cross Turtle Creek

23 Bouquet's Camp

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86. Colonel Washington had been sent forward, in advance of the main body, to take command of a division employed in opening the road.— *Ford*.

indispensable duty of providing them, or more properly of endeavoring to do so; for I yet doubt very much the possibility of succeeding. Your Honor, therefore, will not, I hope, be surprised, should I draw on you for the amount, in case of success.

Governor Sharpe in person commanded a garrison of militia, (from his province,) at Fort Cumberland, when the magazine was blown up, and had, I believe, his store-keeper included in the blast. I have desired Mr. Smith to furnish any express which he may have occasion to send your Honor, with money to bear their expences. The want of three months, and the unavoidable expence that an officer is continually exposed to, while on duty (rather than a doubt of repayment) was, I apprehend the cause of Davis's distress. Mr. Smith might however have borrowed money on such an extraordinary occasion.

My march to this post gave me an opportunity of forming a judgment of the road; and I can truly say, that it is indescribably bad. Had it not been for an accidental discovery of a new passage over the Laurel Hill, the carriages must inevitably have stopped on the other side. This is a fact nobody here takes upon him to deny! The General and great part of the troops, &c, being yet behind, and the weather growing very inclement, must I apprehend terminate our expedition for this year, at this place. But as our affairs are now drawing to a crisis,

and a good or a bad conclusion of them will shortly ensue, I choose to suspend my judgment, as well as a further account of the matter, to a future day.⁸⁷

To FRANCIS FAUQUIER

Camp Loyal Hannon, November 5, 1758.

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Hon'ble Sir: Being unwilling to omit any opportunity that offers of writing to your Honor, I embrace the present, that serves the General. I have, however, very little to say, as I wrote fully on the 30th. ultimo; and have received no letter from your Honor since the 7th. of the same month. Our affairs, as I observed in my last, are drawing to a crisis. The Genl. being arrived, and most of the artillery and troops, we expect to move on in a very few days; encountering every hardship, that an advanced season, want of clothes, and indeed (no great stock of Provisions) will expose us to. But it is no longer a time for

87. When the general reached Loyal Hanna a council of war was called, and it was determined to be inadvisable to proceed further that season. But the report of three prisoners, who were shortly afterwards brought in, and who communicated the weak state of the garrison at Fort Duquesne, induced a change of opinion, and the enterprise was prosecuted.— *Sparks*.

pointing out difficulties; and I hope my next will run in a more agreeable strain.

In the mean time I beg leave to assure your Honor that, with very great Respect, I am, etc.

To GENERAL JOHN FORBES

Camp, on Chesnut-Ridge, (11 o'clock at night), November 15, 1758.

Sir: An Express from Colo Armstrong,⁸⁸ affords me an opportunity of informing you that we marched hither about 4 o'clock this afternoon, and that I found Mr. Basset⁸⁹ and 30 men here late as it was, Immediately ordered working parties on the road, that no time might be lost in opening *it*, but apprehend I shall not proceed so fast as you could wish, since after all my delays, and waiting for Tools to-day, Capt. Fields⁹⁰ was able to get only 42 falling axes. These however, added to 30 others now here with Mr. Basset shall be employed tomorrow at day-light, to the best advantage. I understand that Captn. Shelby

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was to have accompanied Mr. Gordon to-day, but upon examining the Bearer, I find he did not, and that the road (intended) is but very slightly *blaz'd*. It may be

88. Col. John Armstrong, of the Pennsylvania troops.

89. Lieut. T. Bassett, an engineer.

90. Capt. John Field.

necessary, therefore to send Capt. Shelby, to prevent mistakes. This camp (I ought before to have said) is about 6 miles from Loyalhannon, and where the new road strikes out.

I shall write again in the morning, enclosing Returns of my Brigade; in the mean time permit me to add that I am, etc.

To GENERAL JOHN FORBES

Camp Chesnut-ridge, Thursday, November 16, 1758.

Sir: I was not so explicit last night, on the head of Mr. Basset's Party, as I ought to have been.

I conceived an idea (on what ground founded I really can not say) that Mr. Basset was to have joined Colo. Armstrong with the Party and Tools which I found here. But, upon enquiring into his orders it appears he was only to repair some *bad* places on the Road between this and Loyal-hannon; and was desired afterwards by Mr. Gordon (as he passed by) to remain here till I came up. Now, if Mr. Basset really was intended for Colo. Armstrong the disappointment on the part of the latter, will be very great; as he will have no Tools to throw up any works with. But, as

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Colo. Armstrong does not complain of any want of this kind, it is possible he is otherwise provided: I shall therefore keep the Tools, &c. to assist in opening the Roads, until I join him, or am better informed.

The enclosed is a Return of my Division that marched yesterday. There has been, I am told, a considerable desertion in the lower County troops, so that I can not ascertain the exact number that is left: The other Corps are quite right. Five men of the lower Counties, deserted from Basset's Party so that 25 only are left and they provided only with 3 days provisions. One of these people was hurt this morning by the falling of a Tree; I have sent him under an Escort of 6 Men, who are to rejoin me again.

The keeping Fort du Quesne (if we should be fortunate enough to take it) in its present situation, will be attended with great advantages to the middle Colonies; and I do not know so effectual a way of doing it, as by the communication of Fort Cumberland and Genl. Braddock road; which is in the first place good, and in the next, fresh, affording good food if the weather keeps open, which is more than a road can do as much used as this has been. If, when these supplies of Provisions reach Ft. Cumberland, it should be found impracticable (or unnecessary) for them to proceed farther; by reason of the weather or other causes; the transportation of them to Raystown will be found very easy. Every useful tool is employed in opening the Road, and I hope

we shall proceed to your expectation. I am, etc.

P.S. We have but 4 days of meat; and our 6 Bullocks are not yet come up.

To GENERAL JOHN FORBES

Camp Chestnut-ridge, November 17, 1758.

Sir: After the most constant labour from day-break till night, we were able to open the Road to this place only, about 6 miles from our last Camp. Here it was that Capt. Shelby

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overtook us, and presented me with yours and Colo. Bouquets letters, enclosing *one* to Colo. Armstrong; all of which were forwarded to that Gentleman last night by Shelby, as soon as the last of the enclosed came to my hands.

A junction with Colo. Armstrong this morning would have prevented the good effects of a fortified Camp to night and retarded our operations a day at least: for which reason I desired him to

march forwards this morning, at 2 o'clock to such place as Captn. Shelby should point out (with Capt. Gordons approbation of the Ground) and there secure himself, as you have directed. If he accomplishes that work before night he is, in that event, to begin opening the Road towards me. I shall struggle hard to be up with him to night, being but 2½ miles from his last camp. I received but 36 of the 42 axes sent by Colo. Montgomery, and those in the very worst order, last night was spent in doing the needful repairs to them. We have 4 carriages with us, that follow with great ease.

If Indians ever can be of use to us, it must be now, in the front, for intelligence. I therefore beg you will order their conductors to bring them at all events, and that we may get our Bullocks immediately up; otherwise, as our meat will be out to-morrow, we shall possibly be delayed the next day in serving it out, when we should be marching to the next Post.

There was a Sergeant (Grant)⁹¹ of mine, confined for insolent behavior to an officer of Pennsylvania, and tried at the last General Court martial; but the sentence was not known when I came away, altho' the Court sat 5 days before. I applied (thro' Major Halkett) to get him released, but could not. He is a very fine fellow, and I am as desirous of getting him, as he is to come.

I should be glad, therefore, if the nature

91. William Grant.

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of his offence will admit of it, with propriety, that he was sent on accordingly. I am, Sir, etc.

To GENERAL JOHN FORBES

Camp, (at night), November 17, 1758.

Sir: Colonel Bouquet's letter came to my hands, (just as the bearer was passing by,) from Colonel Armstrong. I shall punctually observe all the directions contained therein, altho' I shall at the same time confess I think it much safer and more eligible to have marched briskly on to our second post, leaving the road for Colonel Montgomery to open. We should by that means have been as good as a covering party to him, while we are fortifying a camp, which may be of great importance to the army. Less time would be lost by this means, and a straggling front, (which will ever happen in expeditious cutting,) would be avoided; besides the advantage of (perhaps) getting into a secure camp before we might be discovered.

I have opened the road between seven and eight miles to day, and am yet three miles short of Colonel Armstrong, who marched at eight o'clock. I understand by Captain Shelby, who is just come from him, that Col. Armstrong is not yet begun entrenching his

camp, which must again retard us tomorrow. Forwarding provisions is highly necessary; hard labor consumes it fast; but all the men are in high spirits, and are anxious to get on.

I shall be much pleased to see the Indians up, and am very glad to hear that Mr. Croghan is so near at hand. The number with him is not mentioned. I wish they were in our front also.

I was extremely sorry to hear of your indisposition to day, being, Sir, yours, &c.

To GENERAL JOHN FORBES

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Armstrong's Camp, November 18, 1758.

Sir: I came to this camp about eleven o'clock to-day, having opened the road before me. I should immediately have proceeded on, but, as the bullocks were to slaughter, and provisions to be dressed, I thought it expedient to halt here till three in the morning, when I shall begin to march on with one thousand men, leaving Colonel Armstrong and five hundred more in this camp, until Colonel Montgomery joins. I took care that the road should not be delayed by this halt, for I ordered out a working party, properly covered, before I came here, to cut *it* forward till night should fall upon them,

and then return back again.

I fear we have been greatly deceived with regard to the distance from hence to Fort Duquesne. Most of the woods-men, that I have conversed with, seem to think that we are still thirty miles from it. I have sent out one party that way to ascertain the distance, and the kind of ground between; and two others to scout on the right and left, for the discovery of tracks; &c. To-morrow, Captn. Shelby and Lt. Gist of my regiment, will go off on the like service that the former of these parties has done this day, under Lt. Ryley.

I found three redoubts erecting for the defence of this camp. Mr. Gordon⁹⁵ thinks, that it will be sufficiently secured by this means; but, for my own part, I do not look upon redoubts alone, in this close country, to be half as good as the slightest breastwork; indeed, I do not believe they are any security at all where there are no other works.

I enclose you a return of the total strength of this place,⁹⁶ and for what time they are served with provisions, by which you will see how much a supply is needed, and I must beg, that commissaries and stillards⁹⁷ may be sent forward, otherwise a continual dissatisfaction will prevail, as well on the part of the contractors, as on that of the soldiers, who think they have

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95. Gordon, of the British Engineers.

96. This return is in the *Washington Papers*, under dates of November 16, 18, 20, and 21.

97. Steelyards.— *Ford*.

injustice done them in their allowance, notwithstanding the fifteen bullocks, which were received as provisions for four days, were issued out for three only, by the judgment of an officer of each corps, as well as my own, for I took pains to examine into it myself.

I had wrote thus far, when your favor of this morning came to hand. I shall set out at three o'clock, as above, leaving the Highlanders to finish the redoubts, according to Mr. Gordon's plan, and to secure the tools, until Colonel Montgomery comes up, leaving it then to Colonel Bouquet's option to bring or leave them.

We shall, I am apprehensive, have a great space between this post and the next, as I have before observed, tho' I shall be a better judge to-morrow night.

The enclosed return shews what provisions each corps ought to have upon hand; but few can make it hold out, so that I must again urge the necessity of a commissary and weights, also of provisions, for were we all completed properly to a certain day, there are yet parties and light-horsemen coming and going, who complain much on this head.

Your chimney at this place is finished. I shall take care to put up one at the next post.⁹⁸

I shall use every necessary precaution to get timely notice of the enemy's approach, so that I flatter myself you need

98. The general had ordered a chimney to be built for his use at each of the entrenched camps.— *Sparks*.

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be under no apprehensions on that head. A scouting party is just returned, and reports, that, five miles advanced of this they discovered the tracks of about forty persons making towards Kiskamanetes.⁹⁹ The tracks appear to have been made to-day, or yesterday. I am, &c.

To FRANCIS FAUQUIER

Camp, at Fort Duquesne, November 28, 1758.

Honble. Sir: I have the pleasure to inform you, that Fort Duquesne, or the ground rather on which it stood, was possessed by his Majesty's troops on the 25th instant. The enemy, after letting us get within a day's march of the place, burned the fort, and ran away (by the light of it,) at night, going down the Ohio by water, to the number of about five hundred men, from our best information. The possession of this fort has been matter of great surprise to the whole army, and we cannot attribute it to more probable causes, than those of weakness, want of provisions, and desertion of their Indians. Of these circumstances we were luckily informed by three prisoners, who providentially fell into our hands at

⁹⁹. The name Kiskaminities was applied to Loyalhanna, Pa. Toner states that it was later restricted to the country at the "forks of the Loyalhannan and Conemaugh Rivers." A stream called the Kiskaminities flowed into the Allegheny.

Loyal Hannan, at a time when we despaired of proceeding, and a council of war had determined, that it was not advisable to advance beyond the place above mentioned this season, but the information above caused us to march on without tents or baggage, and with a light train of artillery only, with which we have happily succeeded. It would be tedious, and I think unnecessary, to relate every trivial circumstance, that has happened since my last. To do this, if needful, shall be the employment of a leisure hour, when I have the pleasure to pay my respects to your Honor.

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The General purposes to wait here a few days to settle matters with the Indians, and then all the troops, (except a sufficient garrison which will I suppose be left here, to secure the possession,) will march to their respective governments. I therefore give your Honor this early notice of it, that your directions relative to those of Virginia may meet me timely on the road. I cannot help premising, in this place, the hardships the troops have undergone, and the naked condition they now are in, in order that you may judge if it is not necessary that they should have some little recess from fatigue, and time to provide themselves with necessaries, for at present they are destitute of every comfort of life. If I do not get your orders to the contrary, I shall march the troops under my command directly to Winchester; from whence they may then be disposed of, as you shall afterwards direct.

General Forbes desires me to inform you, that he is prevented, by a multiplicity of different affairs, from writing to you so fully now, as he would otherwise have done, and from enclosing you a copy of a letter which he has written to the commanding officer stationed on the communication from hence to Winchester, &c. relative to the Little Carpenter's conduct, (a chief of the Cherokees). But that, the purport of that letter was to desire, they would deprive him of the use of arms and ammunition, and escort him from one place to another, to prevent his doing any mischief to the inhabitants, allowing him provisions only. His behavior, the General thought, rendered this measure necessary.

This fortunate, and, indeed, unexpected success of our arms will be attended with happy effects. The Delawares are suing for peace, and I doubt not that other tribes on the Ohio will follow their example. A trade, free, open, and upon equitable terms, is what they seem much to stickle for, and I do not know so effectual a way of riveting them to our interest, as sending out goods immediately to this place for that purpose. It will, at the same time, be a means of supplying the garrison with such necessaries as may be wanted; and, I think, those colonies, which are as greatly interested in the support

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of this place as Virginia is, should neglect no means in their power to establish and support a strong garrison here. Our business, (wanting this) will be but half finished; while, on the other hand, we obtain a firm and lasting peace, if this end is once accomplished.

General Forbes is very assiduous in getting these matters settled upon a solid basis, and has great merit (which I hope will be rewarded) for the happy issue which he has brought our affairs to, infirm and worn down as he is.¹ At present I have nothing further to add, but the strongest assurances of my being your Honor's most obedient and most humble servant.²

1. General Forbes died a few weeks afterwards in Philadelphia.— *Sparks*.

2. The French account of the later events of this campaign may be found in the Papers Relating to the French Occupation in Western Pennsylvania, published in the *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, vol. 6. Extracts from a few of the more important letters are here quoted:

“M. de Ligneris has written me from Fort Duquesne on the 30th of last month; he continues to have parties out, who brought him two prisoners on the 30th, from whom he learned that General Forbes was immediately expected at Royal Amnon; where there were more than 2,000 men, under the command of Colonel Bouquet, with 8 pieces of cannon on field carriages and several mortars; that a fort had been built there of piece upon piece, and one saw mill; as for the rest, they are ignorant whether Fort Duquesne is to be attacked this fall; that the Provincials had orders to go into winter quarters; that they had been since countermanded, but that people still spoke of dismissing them; that there are no more horned cattle at Royal Amnon, but plenty of provisions of flour and salt meats; that the English suppose us to be very numerous at Fort Duquesne. I am not sure, my Lord, whether the enemy will organize any expedition this fall, or wait until spring; the advanced season and the two advantages we have gained in succession over them, would lead me to hope that they will adopt the latter course. 'Tis much to be desired, for 'twould not

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be possible for M. de Ligneris to resist the superiority of the enemy's forces. Meanwhile, he will use all means in his power to annoy them; embarrass their communications and intercept their convoys. It is a great pity that he has been absolutely obliged, by the scarcity of provisions, to reduce his garrison to 200 men; fortunately, the messages he has delivered in my name, to the Delawares and Chawenons of the Beautiful river, have confirmed these nations in their attachment to the French. The Delawares of the mountains have also favorably received the messages sent to them, and are beginning to remove their villages to our territory. I have renewed my orders to all the posts to procure for M. de Ligneris, early in spring, all the assistance in their vicinity. I beg you, my lord, to be pleased fully to assure his Majesty that I will neglect nothing to procure for him the possession of the Beautiful river, and of this colony in general; that it will not be my fault, should our enemies make, eventually, any progress, but in fact and strict truth, the salvation of this colony will depend on the prompt arrival of the succors of every description, which I have had the honor to demand of you.”— *M. de Vandreuil to M. de Massiac*, Nov. 28, 1758.

“We obtain[ed] some new advantages on the Beautiful river, at the close of the month of October. The English repaired in force, on the 23d of November, to within three leagues of Fort Duquesne, which was abandoned after having marched out of, and burned it; the artillery has been sent to the Illinois, by descending the Beautiful river which empties into that of the Onias, the latter flowing into the Mississippi, which is ascended thirty leagues to reach the fort of the Illinois; and the garrison retreated to Fort Machault, where it still remained on the 8th of March, according to intelligence received on the day before yesterday...Scarcity of provisions and the bad position of Fort Duquesne have compelled its abandonment. The consequences may become unfortunate, if the Indians pronounce in favor of the English. Although they hesitate, they appear still attached to us; 'tis to be hoped that they will remain at least neutral. M. de Ligneris, who commands at Fort Machault, writes that the English are constructing forts at Attiqué and Loyal Hannon; that the Indians are become very familiar with them; he flatters himself, however, that he

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will induce them to strike, if he receives reinforcements capable of controlling them; the greatest part of them are on the way.”— *M. Malartie to M. de Cremille*, Apr. 9, 1759.

To FRANCIS FAUQUIER

Winchester, December 9, 1758.

Sir: I arrived at this place last night, and was just setting out (tho' very much indisposed) for my own House, when I was honored with your obliging favour of the 3d. instant. My last letters would fully inform

your Honor of the success of His Majesty's Arms under General Forbes; of the march of the Virginia Troops to Winchester, and the condition (the very *distressed condition*) the 1st. Regiment is in: It is needless therefore, to recapitulate facts, or trouble your Honor further on this head.

Reason, nay, common humanity itself points out that some respite should be granted to Troops returning from every toil and hardship that cold, hunger and fatigue can inflict: and I hope your honors sentiments correspond therein.

If I easily get the better of my present Disorder, I shall hope for the honor of kissing your hand, about the 25th. instant. The want of almost every necessary for the journey; and a still greater inducement if possible, the want of my Papers, requisite to a full and final settlement with the Country oblige me to take my own house in the way down.⁶

Those matters which your honor has glanced at in your letters, have been fully communicated to me. That you had not the least share in causing *it*, I am equally well satisfied of; and shall think myself *honored* with *your* Esteem: Being, with the greatest Respect, etc.

6. Before this date Washington had determined to resign, and his determination was known. On December 31 the officers of the Virginia Regiment signed an address to

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Washington in which occurs these sentiments: “Your steady adherance to impartial Justice, your quick Discernment and invariable Regard to Merit, wisely intended to inculcate those genuine Sentiments of true Honor and Passion for Glory, from which the great military Achievements have been deriv'd, first heighten'd our natural Emulation, and our Desire to excel...Judge then, how sensibly we must be Affected with the loss of such an excellent Commander, such a sincere Friend, and so affable a Companion. How rare is it to find those amable Qualifications blended together in one Man?...Adieu to that Superiority, which the Enemy have granted us over other Troops, and which even the Regulars and Provincials have done us the Honor to publicly acknowledge. Adieu to that strict Discipline and order, which you have always maintained. Adieu to that happy Union and Harmony, which has been our principle Cement!...our unhappy Country will receive a loss, no less irreparable, than ourselves. Where will it meet a Man so experienc'd in military Affairs?...Who has so great knowledge of the Enemy we have to deal with?...Who so much respected by the Soldiery?...” The original of this address is in the *Washington Papers* and is printed in Hamilton's *Letters to Washington*, vol. 3, p. 143.

Washington's accounts with Virginia, balanced to Dec. 30, 1758, bear the attestation of the auditors—William Prentis, James Cooke, and Thomas Everard—as to their correctness.

To GENERAL JOHN FORBES

Williamsburg, December 30, 1758.

Sir: The Governor's writing fully to [you] upon the posture of affairs here, and the present system of management, leaves me no room to add. I was in hope a General Assembly would have been called immediately; but the Council were of opinion, that, as they had met so lately, and were summoned to attend some time in February, it would be inconvenient to convene them sooner; so that no measures for securing the communication between Fort Cumberland and Fort Duquesne, or, in short, any thing else, can be effectuated, or even attempted, until their resolutions are known thereupon.

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Captain McNeill, (who commanded the first Virginia regiment in my absence,) committed an error, I am informed, at Raystown, in confining Mr. Hoops, the commissary. I am not thoroughly acquainted with the particulars of that affair, but believe, from the accounts which I have received, that Mr. Hoops was equally culpable in detaining the provisions from half-starved men. This piece of rashness, I am told, is likely to bring McNeill into trouble. I therefore beg the favor of you, Sir, as I am well convinced McNeill had nothing in view but the welfare of his men, to interpose your kind offices to settle the difference. This will be doing a singular favor to Captain McNeill, as well as to myself.

I should be extremely glad to hear of your safe arrival at head-quarters, after a fatiguing campaign, and that a perfect return of good health has contributed to crown your successes.⁷ I am, etc.

7. Washington was married on Jan. 6, 1759, to Martha Custis, widow of Daniel Parke Custis, and daughter of John Dandridge. Ford states that the ceremony was performed by the Rev. David Mossurn in St. Peters Church, a few miles from the Gustis White House, which was on the Pamunkey River, in New Kent County, Va., but documentary evidence that the ceremony was performed in St. Peters is not available.

Being now a member of the House of Burgesses, he joined that assembly when it was next convened. The house resolved to return their thanks to him, in a public manner, for the services which he had rendered to his country, and this duty devolved on his friend the speaker. Mr. Wirt, in his *Life of Patrick Henry* (p. 45), relates the anecdote in the following words, on the authority of Edmund Randolph: "As soon as Colonel Washington took his seat [in the assembly], Mr. Robinson, in obedience to this order, and following the impulse of his own generous and grateful heart, discharged the duty with great dignity, but with such warmth of coloring, and strength of expression, as entirely to confound the young hero. He rose to express his acknowledgments for the honor; but such was his trepidation and confusion, that he could not give distinct utterance to a syllable. He blushed, stammered, and trembled. for a second; when the Speaker relieved him, by a

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stroke of address, that would have done honor to Louis the Fourteenth, in his proudest and happiest moment. 'Sit down, Mr. Washington,' said he, with a conciliating smile, 'your modesty is equal to your valor, and that surpasses the power of any language that I possess.' "— *Sparks*.