

George Washington Papers, Series 2, Letterbooks 1754-1799

MORNING ORDERS

Winchester, September 22, 1756.

Parole Cork.

The Court-house to be cleared out immediately, the waggons unloaded, and the ammunition lodged above stairs; Sentries to be posted over it; and the Quarter-master to see the windows secured with green hides.

Winchester, September 23, 1756.

Parole Dublin.

Ensign Price to march the men under his command to-morrow morning, to their respective cantonments. The Quartermaster to

provide a lock and key for the Town-house, and secure all the windows above and below with hides; and to employ the Drummers, and those of the Sentry now on guard, are likewise to assist to clean out the house.

Winchester, September 24, 1756.

Parole Exeter.

A Sergeant and twelve men, volunteers, to parade immediately, and go 5 or 6 miles up the new road, and return by the old road.

To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

Mount Vernon, September 23, 1756.

Honble. Sir: Under your kind indulgence I came to this place a few days ago, expecting to meet the executors of my deceased brother, in order to make a final settlement of his affairs. I was disappointed tho' in this design, by the Assembly having called away the principal persons concerned, which I was unacquainted with until Jenkins' return, near about the same time that I got down. I shall remark, in obedience to your Honor's request, such things relating to the Virginia regiment as occur to me *now*, requiring the Assembly's attention;¹¹ and if any thing further presents itself, I shall communicate it from Winchester, for which place I shall set out this afternoon. I have often urged, for *one* thing, the necessity of enforcing the articles of war in all its parts, where it is not incompatible with the nature of this service. I have been surprised, as often as I have reflected, and really cannot devise any reason, why the Assembly should be so much averse to established rules for the regulation of their forces, which long experience in established armies fully evinces the necessity of.

11. This letter, through the delay of the messenger, did not reach Dinwiddie until the assembly had been prorogued.— *Ford*.

And my surprise is yet increased, when I consider how cautiously worded the act of Parliament is, to preserve the rights and liberties of the people against the arbitrary proceedings of the military officers.

We are under a kind of regulation at present that renders command extremely difficult and precarious, as no crimes, I believe, are particularly notified but mutiny and desertion in the act of Assembly, notwithstanding there are many others equally punishable by act of Parliament.

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One thing more, which particularly requires attention, is the billeting, quartering, and dieting of soldiers upon the inhabitants, which in many cases cannot be avoided.

I have, in several letters to your Honor, expressed my opinion with candor and freedom, about the situation, works, and garrison at Fort Cumberland. I shall, nevertheless (as you command me to lay before your Honor such things as require the Assembly's notice,) repeat on this occasion my apprehensive fears once more for that place, to avoid, if any accident should happen to it, the malicious reflections, which inseparably attend misfortunes of the kind. I have upon all occasions said, that Fort Cumberland is a place of no strength, and never can be tenable from the badness of the ground. It is far remote from any of our inhabitants, exposed to the insults of the enemy, renders the communication between that and the inhabitants difficult, and it is not the more convenient for annoying the enemy; contains all our valuable stores (save what I have removed to Winchester),

and a garrison of one hundred and seventy, which are too many a number to be spared from other places, just to defend the stores at this, and not enough to afford detachments to waylay and surprise the enemy. I shall, therefore, beg leave to observe, in regard to Fort Cumberland, that if it is continued, we confined to act defensively, and keep our forces dispersed as they now are. The place must be fortified with strong works, or else inevitably fall, garrison and stores, into the enemy's hands. How fatal a stroke! and what noise this will make, the censure of mankind will speedily declare.

I enclose your Honor Colonel Stephen's letter on this head, in answer to one I wrote to him on the subject.

I did, from the beginning, express my sentiments against having small garrisons in a chain of forts along our frontiers; garrisons not sufficient to defend the walls (how then the inhabitants when the enemy are about?) and shall now give a few reasons upon which this opinion was grounded. We have a frontier of such immense extent, that to build forts at

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convenient distances would employ such numbers of men or divide our troops into such trifling [numbers] that no one part could defend itself, much less the inhabitants, were the country invaded.

The most effectual way that I can see, though none can answer while we act defensively, is to have no more than three or four large, strong forts, built at convenient distances, upon our frontiers; in which

strong garrisons must be contained, that parties able to cope with when they hear of or do meet the enemy may be sent out, and these parties in constant succession to be ranging and securing the country. Here a difficulty will arise, as others will in every defensive plan that can be offered. How are these ranging parties, sent out in this manner, and probably remaining on the scout from ten to fourteen days, to be supplied with provisions, the inhabitants being so thinly settled, and the forts so far extended? The difficulty is great, yet not sufficient to render this plan inferior to the former. For in the other case, when the enemy is heard of, the garrison can only send out parties, more fit to reconnoiter than oppose. These parties, if they prove too small (which in all probability they may), are certain of falling a prey to the enemy, whose numbers cannot be known until thus proved. I could urge many things more on this head, but believe it useless. What I have already said, I hope, is sufficient to give your Honor a hint of the matter, and that is all I aimed at. We may form many schemes to defend ourselves, but experience will shew, that none but removing the cause will prove effectual. Unless the Assembly concert some measures to augment their force, the country, I fear, must inevitably fall. The frontiers, since this time a twelve month, are totally deserted for fifty miles and upwards quite from north to south, and all below that greatly thinned by the removal of numbers; occasioned in some measure by Maryland and Pennsylvania giving ground so much faster than we do, which exposes a very fine country of ours on that side, as low as Monocacy in Maryland, several miles on this side the Blue Ridge.

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I believe I might also add, that no person, who regards his character, will undertake a command without the means of preserving it; since his conduct is culpable for all misfortunes, and never right but when successful.

I cannot think any number under two thousand men sufficient to cover our extensive frontiers, and with *them* it is impossible to prevent misfortunes, however easy the world may think it. What means can be used to raise these men, I know not, unless the listing servants is thought expedient; and that (alone) will prove ineffectual. Some resolve should be come to about the ranging companies. Under what regulations those are in Augusta, and what service they have done the country, I know not. Those on this quarter have done little service, and amount (both companies) to about thirty men only at this time. I apprehend it will be thought advisable to keep a garrison always at Fort Loudoun; for which reason I would beg leave to represent the great nuisance the number of tippling-houses in Winchester are of to the soldiers, who, by this means, in despite of the utmost care and vigilance, are, so long as their pay holds good, incessantly drunk, and unfit for service.

The rates of their liquor are immoderately high, and the publicans throughout the country charge one shilling per meal, currency, for soldier's diet; and the country only allows the recruiting officer eight pence per day for the maintenance of a soldier, by which means he loses in proportion as he gets men, which is much

complained of, and is in reality a discouraging circumstance meriting redress. The want of a chaplain does, I humbly conceive, reflect dishonor upon the regiment, as all other officers are allowed. The gentlemen of the corps are sensible of this, and did propose to support one at their private expense. But I think it would have a more graceful appearance were he appointed as others are. I could wish some method were practised to bring the commonalty acquainted with the laws against entertaining of deserters, and to enforce

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those laws more effectually than they ever have been. The number of cattle that has been drove, and now is continually driving to Pennsylvania, may be thought worth noticing.

I informed your Honor immediately after my accompts were cursorily examined in April last, that the Committee objected to the money advanced Jenkins; and you ordered me to pay him as the money became due, which you would see me paid. In August last, when my accompts were again examined, and the same charge still remaining, the Committee resolved that I should get it back from Jenkins; which cannot be done, unless your Honor will please to do it. As they have absolutely refused to allow this charge, I should be glad to receive directions how to act with Jenkins; and to know whether you would have him continued any longer as a rider.

There is an officer of the American Regiment recruiting at Alexandria, and purposes to go thro' the country, and pass into Carolina. He has enlisted some servants, and purposes to take all he can meet with. This, I

believe, may evince the necessity of our following his example, otherwise we suffer our country to be weakened by those and receive no immediate advantage from it; tho' I imagine the expense will be near the same to the country, their being in the King's or country's service.¹²

AFTER ORDERS

The eldest Subaltern and 25 men volunteers to march out to-morrow morning at revile' beating, up the new road to Hog-Creek, and to call at Paris's Fort for a Guide to shew the tracts and bushes which were seen and cut down this evening by report, and to proceed down the Creek. If he makes no material discoveries on the new road. To be very circumspect in his march, searching after the enemy; and then return with the party which marched out this evening to reinforce the Guard. The whole to be very alert, and alarm the Town upon the least noise.

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12. For some time complaints were freely made of the misbehavior of the officers in the Virginia Regiment. In May both the governor and the speaker had written to Washington of the reported immoralities and drunkenness among his force, and the gross neglect of duty that prevailed, but his friends were agreed that no charge had been made against him personally. In the fall the attacks came to a head and a series of crimes and misdeeds of which the Virginia Regiment had been guilty was published in the *Virginia Gazette*, the official paper of the colony, over the signature "Centinel X." This scurrilous writing angered Washington, and in spite of the advice of his brother, of the speaker, and other intimate friends to take no notice of it, he determined to resign or to obtain such a vindication as would prove the falsity of the charges. The principal officers under his command threatened to throw up their commissions, and appealed to the governor and the assembly for redress, and satisfaction equivalent to the injury; that is, a public declaration of confidence in them. In his cash book is an entry of 105. sent to Augustine Washington, for "publishing an answer to the 10th centinel," but no such answer appeared in print— *Ford*. Augustine Washington's letter to George (October 16) gives his reason for delaying the publication that Washington desired.

Winchester, September 25, 1756.

Parole Falkirk.

The men are to parade at beating the long roll to-morrow morning at 10 o'clock; and be marched as usual to the Fort, to attend Divine Service. The Officers to be present at calling the roll, and see that the men do appear in the most decent manner they can.

To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

Winchester, September 28, 1756.

Honble. Sir: I arrived here last night, and find things in the peaceable state I left them on this Quarter; and therefore set out to-morrow for Augusta. As Mr. Walker has declined,

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it is absolutely necessary to have a Commissary immediately appointed, who should have express orders where, and for what number of men to lay in Provisions; and should be furnished with cash before he sets out, as every thing will be got with less trouble & cheaper by that means. The time for

buying provisions will soon be elapsed. I have ordered the Assistant Commissary here, that time may not be lost, to lay in twelve months provision for a thousand men. To have at each fort as much provision as will maintain the Garrison until the 1st May; and the rest to be lodged at this place of safety; so that in case an Expedition should be determined upon in the Spring, it may be in readiness, and the several Garrisons rendezvous'd, without the incumbrances of transporting stores and Provisions. These orders I have given, not knowing what else would be satisfactory; being ignorant of the plans, &c concerted, and acting entirely like a Wanderer in unknown paths I If it should not corroborate with your Honor's sentiments and with those of the Assembly, it is not too late to alter the directions, and give any others. It is for this purpose I mention it now that your Honor may, as Assembly are sitting, appoint the Commissary, and give me directions what quantity of provision to provide and in what magazines to lodge them; and then I will take the blame if it is not done, late as the season is.

The number of little paultry forts along the frontiers, render the forces very difficult and expensive to be supplied with provision. If the Assembly should continue determined to act defensively and should come into a Resolve of building a

few Forts instead of the many intended, I would recommend only one at the most convenient place in each frontier county, vizt., Hampshire, Augusta, and Bedford, and that the one in Hampshire be built on a line betwixt this and Fort Du Quesne, and made cannon-proof; as it lies most exposed and has a free communication for carriages from the Enemy. As to the others, there being no possibility, without first opening the roads, to approach them with Artillery I conceive if they are built large, regular and defensible against musketry it is sufficient, for others will be very expensive.

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I desired to know in my last what should be done with the Ranging Companies, since that, I am told they have all deserted to a few. Their posts must be filled with a Company of the Regiment from the Branch; which will occasion fresh uneasiness to the Inhabitants, as they are continually pestered by the enemy; a party of whom was defeated the other day by Ensign Smith and 12 men of the Regiment, who killed one man, took a number of — moccasins, scalping knives, and 4 neat french Fuzees.

As Captain Mercer is summoned and must appear against Napp (as *I* do not) at the 6th day of the court, I expect he will get a supply of cash from the Treasurer, the *last* being *all* gone.

Blankets, Shirts & Cartridge-paper are much wanted for immediate use; and must if possible be soon provided, as we cannot do without them. They have had information on the Branch, that the Dunkers who are all Doctors) entertain the Indians who are wounded here, and that there were several then with them. Captain

Spotswood marched out with 80 men to their Houses, to bring in all he finds there.

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL ADAM STEPHEN

Winchester, September 28, 1756.

Sir' I arrived here last night, and observe your several letters concerning your present situation; and must acknowledge I have the greatest apprehensions of your danger: but as I have frequently expressed them to the Governor, and he has returned me no satisfactory answer, and know the determination of the Assembly and Committee is against improving that Fort: I can not give any orders as to your erecting new, or strengthening the old works. I have (enclosing one of your letters on the subject) wrote in most express terms now: and as the Assembly are sitting, it will be laid before them by the Governor; I expect his answer, which I shall immediately acquaint you with.

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The waggon you mention was proved here to be the property of a poor man, who was obliged to quit it near Cox's Fort, being pursued by the Indians, and it was delivered to him, but I never concerned with the Horses; I understand they were claimed here by people who have left their Settlements. You have more

waggons and many strays. Upon a representation of the affair you are to be allowed two pistoles for the Rangers or Drafts you enlist; of which you may acquaint the Officers. I shall very shortly send up ten or twelve waggons, which you must load with what you think least necessary to you, and most so to the Enemy, should they fall into their hands. The powder and grape we shall want. There was no accompt. of the Stores sent down. This makes me at a loss what to order, so leave it to you. I set out for Augusta to-morrow, to settle affairs on that Quarter. I am &c.

To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

Halifax, October 10, 1756.

Sir: This day within five miles of the Carolina line, as I was proceeding to the southernmost fort in Halifax, I met Major Lewis on his return from the Cherokees, with seven men and three women only of that nation. The causes of this unhappy disappointment I have desired him to communicate, that your Honor may take measures accordingly.¹⁴ This account is sent by express, to give the earnest notice while the Assembly is sitting. I shall defer giving a particular detail of my remarks and observations on the situation of our frontiers, until I return to Winchester, as I expect by that time to be more intimately acquainted with the unhappy circumstances of the people. Yet I shall not omit mentioning some occurrences, which have happened in my tour to this place. I wrote your Honor from Winchester, that I should set out the next day for Augusta. I accordingly did, with Captain McNeill; and hearing at the Court-House, that the Indians still continue their depredations, although not so openly as at first, I applied to Colonel Stewart, then present, to raise a

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party of the militia, and said I would head them, and march to Jackson's River, to try to scour the woods, and, if possible, fall in with the

14. There had been sanguine expectations that 400 Cherokee Indians would join the Virginia forces, and it was supposed that Major Lewis would return with that number.—
Ford.

enemy. He gave me very little encouragement to expect any men, yet desired I would wait four days, until Monday, and he would use his endeavours to collect a body. Until Tuesday I waited, and only five men appeared. This being too inconsiderable a number to expose to a triumphant enemy, I was advised to apply to Colonel Buchanan for men, between whom and Colonel Stewart there was contention about command. As Colonel Buchanan lived at Luney's Ferry, on James River, sixty miles along the road to Vass's, on the Roanoke, where Captain Hogg was building a fort, to which place I did intend if I could have got men to range along the frontiers with me. I set out immediately for his house, attended by Captain Preston, who was kind enough to conduct me along, and acquainted the Colonel with the motives that brought me thither. He told me with very great concern, it was not in his power to raise men; for that, three days before, some of the militia in a fort, about fifteen miles above his house, at the head of Catawba Creek, commanded by one Colonel Hash, was attacked by the Indians, which occasioned all that settlement to break up totally, even to the ferry at Luney's; that he had ordered three companies to repair thither, to march against the enemy, and not one man came, except a captain, lieutenant, &c, and seven or eight men from Bedford. Finding then that it was impossible to get a party to range and scour the frontiers, it remained only to proceed

without men to see the situation of the forts, or to return back again. The latter I was loath to do, as I had got thus far, and was anxious to see what posture of defence they were in. I therefore determined to come forward, at least to Vass's, and accordingly set out in company with Colonel Buchanan, who, being desirous that I might see and relate their unhappy circumstances, undertook to accompany me. We got safely to Vass's, where

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Captain Hogg, with only eighteen of his company, was building a fort, which must employ him till Christmas without more assistance. One Captain Hunt from Lunenburg, was there with thirty men; but none of them would strike a stroke, unless I would engage to see them paid forty pounds of tobacco per day, which is provided by act of Assembly for militia carpenters. This I certainly could not do, as your Honor, (who I thought had ordered them purposely out for this duty,) had given no directions in the affair. Whatever expectations your Honor may have had from the militia assistance, I am told they never lent a hand, save a few, that first came out with Captain Hogg, whom he has paid after the same rates with our men, at sixpence per diem. Vass's place is a pass of very great importance, being a very great inroad of the enemy, and secure, if it was strongly garrisoned, all Bedford and the greatest part of this county, notwithstanding they have built three forts here, and *one* of them, if no more, erected in my opinion in a very out-of-the-way place. This they call Fort Trial.

From Vass's I came off with a servant and a guide, to visit the

range of forts in this county; and in less than two hours after, two men were killed along the same road, as will appear by Captain McNeill's letter, which I have just received, and herewith send, to let your Honor see, by the account of Captain Hunt's behaviour, what dependence may be put in the militia. The inhabitants are so sensible of their danger, if left to the protection of these people, that not a man will stay at his place. This I have from their own mouths, and the principal persons of Augusta county. The militia are under such bad order and discipline, that they will go and come when and where they please, without regarding time, their officers, or the safety of the inhabitants, but consulting solely their own inclinations. There should be, according to your Honor's orders, one third, of the militia of these parts now on duty at once; instead of that, I believe scarce one-thirteenth is out. They are to be relived every month; they are more than that time marching to and from their stations, and will not wait one day longer than the limited time, whether they are relieved or not, let the necessity for it be ever so urgent. An instant of this happened in my presence about four days ago, in the case of Captain Daniel from Albemarle, who

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was intreated by Colonel Buchanan to stay, at the time he was gathering or attempting to gather men, upon that alarm of the Catawba settlement before mentioned. But his month was out, and go he must

and did. Nay, I believe I may venture to say, that, whether his month had been out or not, this would have induced him to go; for this gentleman went away fore Vass's, because he thought it a dangerous post, giving that for his reason, and left Captain Hogg with eighteen men, exposed to the insults of the enemy.

Perhaps it may be thought I am partial in my relation, and reflect unjustly. I really do not, Sir. I scorn to make unjust remarks on the behaviour of the militia, as much as I despise and contemn the persons, who detract from mine and the character of the regiment. Were it not, that I consulted the good of the public, and thought these garrisons merited redress, I should not think it worth my mention. I only want to make the country sensible, how ardently I have studied to promote her cause, and wish very sincerely, my successor may fill my place more to their satisfaction in every respect, than I have been able to do. I mentioned in my last to your Honor, that I did not think a less number than two thousand men would be sufficient to defend our extensive and much exposed frontiers from the ravages of the enemy. I have not had one reason yet to alter my opinion, but many to strengthen and confirm it. And I flatter myself, the country will, when they know my determinations, be convinced that I have no sinister views, no vain motives of commanding a number of men, that urge me to recommend this number to your Honor, but that it proceeds from the knowledge I have acquired of the country, people, &c, to be defended.

Your Honor, I hope, will give directions about laying in provisions on our southern frontiers. It is not in my power to do it, as I know not what troops can or will be put there; for the regiment is at present too weak to allow any men to march from the quarter in which they are now stationed. I set out this day on my return to the fort, at the head of Catawba, where Colonel Buchanan promised to meet me with a party to conduct me along our

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frontiers, up Jackson's River to Fort Dinwiddie, and higher if needful. If he does not meet me, I shall immediately proceed to Winchester, as it will be impossible to do any thing without men.

If your Honor thinks proper to advance the pay of the militia, in order to engage them to work, please to acquaint Captain Hogg therewith, and send him money for that purpose, and were there more men ordered to cover his party, and assist in the work, it would be highly advisable, for he lies greatly exposed. Major Lewis is extremely unwell. This express is referred to your Honor for pay. I have not money to do it. I am hurried a good deal, but have given a plain account of all those several matters mentioned in the foregoing sheet. I am, &c.

To MAJOR DAVID LEWIS¹⁵

Fort Dinwiddie, October 18, 1756.

Sir: Lieutenant Bullet, who commands at this place, in the absence of Captain Hogg, tells me that he applied to you for a few men to join such parties as this Garrison can afford, to range the woods, and assist the inhabitants in securing their Grain, gathering their Corn, &c, and that you have refused to aid him. I conceive if you did so, it must have proceeded from a misapprehension of his meaning. Therefore I apply to you myself on this head; and desire your compliance, or reasons for refusing.

I presume, Sir, it will be needless to acquaint you; your own good sense will doubtless evince it, that the intent of sending men hither was to protect the frontier inhabitants, and offer them comfort by relieving their distresses, and wants; which not in any wise be accomplished, while you remain in a body at a certain place, fortified in, as if to defend yourselves were the sole end of your coming.

You will I hope excuse the liberty I have taken in mentioning this affair, when I tell you I am in a great measure authorized by the Governor to direct in these matters.

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15. Of the Albemarle militia, at Millers Fort.

ORDERS

Winchester, October 23, 1756.

Parole Dinwiddie.

It is Colonel Washington's positive orders to the Officers of the Day, to Captain Stone, and all Overseers of the public works, not to suffer any man to straggle from his work, on any pretence whatever, as they are constantly running about the Streets, when they shou'd be employed. Therefore no man is to be seen in town without a ticket in writing from his Overseer, setting forth the reasons of his being absent. It is likewise expected the Overseers will be more circumspect in staying with the men, and not leave their stations, until the hours allotted for their refreshment, as they shall answer for the same.

The men are to be acquainted, that if any is found acting contrary to these orders, he will immediately be sent up to the Fort, and punished. It is likewise recommended to all Officers on duty, to examine every straggling Soldier they see in town without proper permits; that they do directly put the above Orders into execution.

The Drummers to take the Guard to-morrow as usual; and no man to be excused from work on any pretence, except by the Doctor. And those who stay not in the Hospital, are to be brought before the Doctor at Breakfast time, by a Sergeant or Corporal of each company, that he may pass his opinion of their capacity to work. Any Sergeant or Corporal, found screening any person on any pretence, and acting contrary to the above Orders, will not only be reduced, but also punished.

The Colonel having indulged them hitherto,

is resolved not to forgive such evil practices for the future.

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL ADAM STEPHEN

Winchester, October 23, 1756.

Sir: Last night I returned from a very long and troublesome jaunt on the Frontiers, as far as Mayo; where affairs seem to be in a dangerous situation: and to add to our misfortunes, I find our neighbourhood here on the wing, you and your Garrison in great distress and danger; the Enemy ravaging the country about Conogochieg, Stony-Run, and South Branch; loud and general complaints for protection; few or no men to send abroad for any Service. In short, so melancholy a scene, without the power of changing it to our satisfaction and interest, fills me with the greatest anxiety and uneasiness. I shall recite you all the Governor's last letter to me relative to Fort Cumberland as I had written for his positive directions, vizt.:

You have frequently complained to me of the situation, &c, of Fort Cumberland, and I have wrote you how disagreeable it was to me to give up any place of strength, as it wou'd raise the spirits of the enemy, at the same time suspect us to be in fear of them; and therefore if that place could be sustained with safety, till Lord Loudoun gives orders thereon, I should be glad. But as you are upon the spot, and think it very prejudicial to the Service to keep that Fortress; I desire you may call a council

of officers and consult, whether the most advisable to keep it or demolish it, if the last, you must take care to have all the ammunition, &c. brought to Winchester; and detroy every thing which you conceive may be of any service to the enemy. This affair is now left to the determination of a Council of Officers; and I desire you to be very explicit in your arguments on the head, as they must be laid before Lord Loudoun. I was always averse to small garrisons on our frontiers, as they in course divide our men into small parties, but you know that the Assembly were so fond of them, that they passed a Law for that purport—and I cannot at present alter that determination.16

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Thus far his Honor. As it appears to be an affair of much importance, I cannot pretend to offer my advice, but would desire you and the officers there to deliberate seriously in Council, what you think most proper, to be done; and send me immediate notice that I may come up with a sufficient number of waggons, (if to be abandoned) to remove the Stores, and likewise to hold a General Court Martial on the matter, to avoid future reflection. I have frequently mentioned my dislike to the place, for these Reasons: First, Its insufficiency for any tolerable defence, Secondly, its distance from the inhabitants, difficulty of communication, and answering no other purpose than burying the service of 170 Men, in guarding the

16. The original, dated September 30, is in the *Washington Papers*, and is printed in Hamilton's *Letters to Washington*, vol. 1, p. 372.

Stores, which might be more conveniently clone in other forts. Indeed, had we men enough to afford constant scouting parties from that place and cou'd defend the country hereabouts, I shou'd approve its being supported and improved in strength on account of the advantages we might expect from it, but as this is not the case, I look upon it as rather prejudicial to the country. The additional works you mention as necessary to strengthen the fort, I cannot consent to without positive orders from the Governor; as I shou'd become answerable from my own Estate for such expenses; unless commanded by the Governor or Assembly. The Assembly is prorogu'd to the second Thursday of next month, when we may depend upon some alterations in our present constitution: and if you think, after the removal of part of the Stores, it can be maintained, till we have their determination, probably may be more advisable, as His Excellency Lord Loudoun is then expected. But upon the whole, as you must be a better judge of your own situation and danger, and the Governor leaving the affair to a council of Officers, I refer the case entirely to your discretion; hoping you will observe the greatest circumspection and prudence in all your measures; so that we may be liable to no blame for any future consequences. Enclosed is a scheme I intend to offer the Assembly, if they cannot be persuaded off their *defensive*

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notions, although I am determined to urge my utmost to evince the advantages and necessity of an offensive campaign; as you and every body else must allow

that carrying the war into the enemy's country is the surest method of peace at home and success abroad. And until an attempt is formed against Duquesne, so as to remove the fountain of all our disturbance and trouble, we never may expect a peaceable day. The policy of the French is so subtle that not a friendly Indian will we have on the continent, if we do not soon dislodge them from the Ohio.

I shall exert every power to make this plan go down with the Assembly, and press them to vigorous measures for the safety and interest of the Country, preferably to the Defensive, and demonstrate fully to them every thing I think demands their concern, as to the Frontiers. I also would have you collect whatever comes under your own observation in these respects, that we may omit nothing requisite for the Assembly's regard. As the fund for support of the Rangers is long since exhausted, the Governor orders them to be discharged. You will therefore acquaint the officers and men of these Companies, that they are discharged accordingly, &c, &c.

ORDERS

Winchester, October 28, 1756.

Parole Blakeney.

As Colonel Washington is to hold conference with the Catawba Indians, betwixt eleven and twelve o'clock. He desires all the Officers in town to attend at that time. And during the time of conference, he orders a Sergeant and Drummer to beat through the Town, ordering all Soldiers and Towns people to use the Indians civilly and kindly; to avoid giving them liquor, and to be cautious what they speak before them: as all of them understand english, and ought not to be affronted.

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ORDERS

Winchester, November 9, 1756.

Parole Georgia.

To-morrow being the Anniversary of His Majesty's Birthday, the men to be drawn up at 12 o'clock, and Marched to the Fort, there to fire three vollies, which is to be taken from the cannon; Officers to appear in their Regimentals; and the Soldiers to dress as clean as possible.

The Colonel recomends it to the Officers to be very circumspect (during his absence to Fort Cumberland) in their several duties; especially those who oversee the works.

To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

Winchester, November 9, 1756.

Honble. Sir: In mine from Halifax I promised your Honor a particular detail of my remarks and observations upon the situation of our frontiers, when I arrived at this place. Although I was pretty explicit in my former, I cannot avoid recapitulating part of the subject *now*, as my duty, and its importance for redress are strong motives.

From Fort Trial on Smith's River, I returned to Fort William on the Catawba, where I met Colonel Buchanan with about thirty men, (chiefly officers,) to conduct me up Jackson's River, along the range of forts. With this small company of irregulars, with whom order, regularity, circumspection, and vigilance were matters of derision and contempt, we set out, and, by the protection of Providence, reached Augusta CourtHouse in seven days, without meeting the enemy; otherwise we must have fallen a sacrifice, through the indiscretion of these whooping, hallooing *gentlemen* soldiers!

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This jaunt afforded me an opportunity of seeing the bad regulation of the militia, the disorderly proceedings of the garrisons, and the unhappy circumstances of the inhabitants.

First, of the militia. The difficulty of collecting them upon any emergency whatever, I have often spoken of as greivous; and I appeal to sad experience, both in this and other countries, how great a disadvantage it is; the enemy having every opportunity to

plunder, kill, and escape, before they can afford any assistance. And not to mention the expensiveness of their service in general, I can instance several cases, where a captain, lieutenant, and, I may add, an ensign, with two or three sergeants, and six or eight men, will go upon duty at a time. The proportion of expense in this case is so unjust and obvious, your Honor wants not to be proved.

Then these men, when raised, are to be continued only one month on duty, half of which time is lost in their marching out and home, (especially those from the adjacent counties,) who must be on duty some time before they reach their stations; by which means double sets of men are in pay at the same time, and for the same service. Again, the waste of provision they make is unaccountable; no method or order in being served or purchasing at the best rates, but quite the reverse. Allowance for each man, as other soldiers do, they look upon as the highest indignity, and would *sooner* starve, than carry a few days' provision on their backs for conveniency. But upon their march, when breakfast is wanted, knock down the first beef, &c, they meet with, and, after regaling themselves, march on until dinner, when they take the same method, and so for supper likewise, to the great oppression of the people. Or, if they chance to impress cattle for provision, the valuation is left to ignorant and indifferent neighbours, who have suffered by those practices, and, despairing of their pay, exact high prices, and thus the public is imposed on at all events.

I might add, I believe, that, for the want of proper laws to govern the militia by (for I cannot ascribe it to any other cause), they are obstinate, self-willed, perverse, of little or no service to the people, and very burthensome to the country. Every *mean* individual has his

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own crude notions of things, and must undertake to direct. If his advice is neglected, he thinks him self slighted, abased, and injured; and, to redress his wrongs, will depart for his home. These, Sir, are literally matters of fact, partly from persons of undoubted veracity, but chiefly from my own observations.

Secondly, concerning the garrisons. I found them very weak for want of men; but more so by indolence and irregularity. None I saw in a posture of defence, and few that might not be surprised with the greatest ease. An instance of this appeared at Dickinson's Fort, where the Indians ran down, caught several children playing under the walls, and had got to the gate before they were discovered. Was not Vass's Fort surprised, and a good many souls lost, in the same manner? They keep no guard, but just when the enemy is about; and are under fearful apprehensions of them; nor ever stir out of the forts, from the time they reach them, till relieved on their month being expired; at which time they march off, be the event what it will. So that the neighbourhood may be ravaged by the enemy, and they not the wiser. Of the ammunition they are as careless as of the provisions, firing it away frequently at targets for wagers. On our journey, as we approached one of their forts,

we heard a quick fire for several minutes, and concluded for certain that they were attacked; so we marched in the best manner to their relief; but when we came up, we found they were diverting at marks. These men afford no assistance to the unhappy settlers, who are drove from their plantations, either in securing their harvests, or gathering in their corn. Lieutenant Bullet, commanding at Fort Dinwiddie, sent to Major Lewis of Albemarle, who commanded a party of sixty militia at Miller's, about fifteen miles above him, where were also thirty men of Augusta, for some men to join his small parties to gather the corn. Major Lewis refused assistance, and would not divide his men. I wrote to him, but got no answer. Mr. Bullet has done what he could with his few; not quite thirty. Of the many forts, which I passed by, I saw but one or two that had their captains present, they being absent chiefly on their own business, and had given leave to several of the men

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to do the same. Yet these persons, I will venture to say, will charge the country their full month's pay.

Thirdly, the wretched and unhappy situation of the inhabitants needs few words, after a slight reflection on the preceding circumstances, which must certainly draw after them very melancholy consequences without speedy redress. They are truly sensible of their misery; they feel their insecurity from militia preservation, who are slow in coming to their

assistance, indifferent about their preservation, unwilling to continue, and regardless of every thing but their own ease. In short, they are so affected with approaching ruin, that the whole back country is in a general motion towards the southern colonies; and I expect that scarce a family will inhabit Frederick, Hampshire, or Augusta, in a little time. They petitioned me in the most earnest manner for companies of the regiment. But alas! it is not in my power to assist them with any, except I leave this dangerous quarter more exposed than they are. I promised, at their particular request, to address your Honor and the Assembly in their behalf, and that a regular force may be established in lieu of the militia and ranging companies, which are of much less service, and infinitely more cost to the country. Were this done, the whole would be under one direction, and any misbehaviour could never pass with impunity. Whereas the others are soldiers at will, and in fact will go and come when and where they please, without regarding the orders or directions of any. And, indeed, the manner in which some of the ranging captains have obtained their commissions, if I am rightly informed, is by imposture and artifice. They produce a list, I am told, to your Honor, of sundry persons, who are willing to serve under them. One part, it is said, are of fictitious names; another, the names of persons who never saw the list; and the remainder are persons drawn into it by fallacious promises, that cannot be complied with without detriment to the service. But were it otherwise, surely any person, who considers the pay

of the soldiers and that of the militia, will find a considerable difference, tho' both under the best regulations.

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As defensive measures are evidently insufficient for the security and safety of the country, I hope no arguments are requisite to convince of the necessity of altering them to a vigorous offensive war, in order to remove the cause. But, should the Assembly still indulge that favorite scheme of protecting the inhabitants by forts along the frontiers, in which many of them too put their dependence, and as the building of these forts has been encouraged and confirmed by an act of the Assembly, I take the liberty to present your Honor with a plan of the number of forts, and strength necessary to each, reaching entirely across our frontiers from north to south. This plan is calculated upon the most moderate and easy terms for sparing the country's expense, and, I believe, with tolerable propriety to answer the wished-for design of protecting the settlers. Besides, most of the forts are already built by the country-people or soldiers, and require but little improvement, save one or two, as Dickinson's and Cox's. Your Honor will see Fort Cumberland excluded in this list.

The advantage of having the militia in Augusta, &c, under one command, I have already hinted; and I think Major Lewis should have your Honor's orders to take that duty in hand, with directions and orders to secure those important passes

of Dickinson's and Vass's, by building a fort in the neighbourhood of Dickinson's, or by other means. And were it practicable to get the people to assemble in little towns contiguous to these forts, it would contribute much to their mutual peace and safety, during the continuance of the Indian war. The Augusta people complain greatly for want of money.

The other day eleven Indians of the Catawba tribe came here, and we undoubtedly might have had more of them, had the proper means been used to send trusty guides to invite and conduct them to us; but this is neglected. One Matthew Tool makes his boast of stopping *them* until he shall be handsomely rewarded for bringing them; and Major Lewis can inform your Honor of one Bemer, who uses every method to hinder the Cherokees from coming to our assistance. Complaint should be made to Governor Littleton of these

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persons. Indian goods are much wanted to reward the Catawbias, and encourage them to engage in our service. In what manner are they to be paid for scalps? Are our soldiers entitled to the reward like indifferent people? It is a tedious and expensive way to defer payment until proved and sent to your Honor.

Your Honor and the Assembly should determine these points and many others very essential, vizt., a proper method of paying rewards for taking up deserters, the present being very discouraging, in delaying payment until Courts of Claims, &c.; means to replace the drafts, that must be discharged in December; ascertaining the pay of workmen employed on all public works, or

empowering the commanding officer to agree on the cheapest terms with them; how the servants enlisted for the Virginia regiment are to be paid for. We have already recruited fifty odd and are daily dunned for payment by the masters. A report prevails, to my great surprise, tho' disbelief, that your Honor had told some persons, who applied to you for satisfaction for their servants, that I had no orders to enlist any. This false rumor occasions very strange reflections, and must make me appear in a very unjust light to the world. I have, therefore, desisted from recruiting until your Honor directs me in what manner those already obtained are to be satisfied; and I beg your Honor will give me immediate advice on the affair, as the people are impatient, and threaten us with prosecutions from all quarters.

Your Honor has herewith a copy of the council of war, held in behalf of Fort Cumberland, in which the arguments are justly and fully laid down, both with regard to Virginia in particular, and in general, as to the three colonies whose mutual interest highly concerns, and should be by them equitably supported. On the back of the copy are my sentiments on the matter candidly offered your Honor,²¹ and to your Honor I leave the determination of this important

21. See Remarks on the Council of War, November 5, *ante*.

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affair, with the officers of the council. I have frequently wrote your Honor, desiring you would appoint a commissary in lieu of Mr. Walker, who has declined acting, and been absent for many months; but as I never had your Honor's answer, I have in consequence of your first and since repeated instructions made choice of a person, who I believe will do that duty with every necessary diligence and care; and hope your Honor will approve my proceeding. The £100 paid Colo. Stephen of the Ranger's money (by Colonel Fairfax) have already been accounted for to the Committee. I have since received from Colo. Fairfax £68.13.9 on the country's credit, and to be settled with my other accompts.

As touching a chaplain, if the government will grant a subsistence, we can readily get a person of merit to accept of the place, without giving the commissary any trouble on that point, as it is highly necessary we should be reformed from those crimes and enormities we are so universally accused of.²²

Your Honor has had advice of two spies, that were taken at Fort Cumberland; one of whom they quickly hung up as his just reward, being a deserter; the other was sent to Governor Sharpe, to give information of the infernal practices followed by some of the priests of that province, in holding correspondence with our enemy.²³ I am just setting out for Fort Cumberland. I am, &c.

22. In reply to a request for the appointment of a chaplain to the regiment, Governor Dinwiddie wrote (November 16): "In regard to a Chaplain, you should know that it's necessary his qualifications and the Bishop's Letter of License should be produced to the Commissary and Self, but this Person is also nameless."

23. A priest by the name of Neal had employed a William Johnston or Johnson as a messenger two years before. Governor Sharpe obtained considerable information from the latter. (See Correspondence of Sharpe, *Maryland Archives*, vol. 6, pp. 501–504.)

LOCATION OF THE FORTS

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[November 9, 1756.]

A Plan of the Number of Forts, and strength necessary to each extending entirely across our Frontiers, from South to North.

Names of the forts or persons commandg, in 'em On what waters placed. Distance from each other in miles. No. of men Garrisoning each. Capt. Harris Mayo 20 Galloway Smith's river 15 20 Terry Black water 26 20 Hogg Roanoke 26 150 Not built Do at Bryants 18 50 Fort William Catawba Bra. of Jas. river 18 75 Not built Craik's Creek, Bra. of Jas. river 15 40 Dickersons¹⁹ Jackson's river 18 250 Brakenridge Do 16 40 Fort Dinwiddie Do 14 100 Christy Do 14 40 Between this & Trout Rock—not yet built 18 50 Trout Rock, not bu So. Branch 15 75 Upper Settlement Do 20 60 Fort Defiance Do 20 60 Fort Pleasant Do 20 60 Fort at Cokes's Patterson's Creek 20 500 Fort at Ashby's Do 12 60 Fort at Parkers So. Branch 10 30 Enochs, not built Cacapehon 15 75 Maidstone Potomack 30 125 Winchester — 100 Total 2,000

This plan is calculated upon the most moderate and easy terms for sparing the

19. Spelled indifferently Dickinson's, Dickersons, or Dickenson's.

country expences, and I believe with tolerable justness may answer the design of protecting the inhabitants. It may be objected, that the distance between some of the forts is too small; in answer to which I must observe they are generally fixed upon the heads of creeks, &c, extending towards the Alleghany mountains with almost inaccessible mountains between them, and are placed in the most commodious manner for securing the inhabitants of such waters. Some Garrisons are larger than others, according as they cover a thick or thin settlement. The fort at Vass's (which Capt. Hogg is now building) is in a much exposed gap; subject to the inroads of the Southern Indians, and in a manner covers the greatest part of Bedford and Halifax.

Dickersons is situated for the defence of a once numerous and fertile settlement, on the Bull Cow and Calf pastures; and lies directly in the Shawnese path to Ohio, and must

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be a place of rendezvous, if an Expedition is conducted against the Ohio Indians below Duquesne.

The Garrisons on the Potomack waters, are yet larger than any; because an invasion is most to be dreaded on this Quarter.

It will be seen Fort Cumberland is not mentioned in this plan. If we act only on the defensive (a system on which this plan is founded) I think it employs a large garrison to very little advantage to Virginia. If we act offensively, it may be of infinite use, if properly fortified; and the Garrison at Cokes's will then only consist of about 50 or 60, as the rest may be removed to Fort Cumberland.²⁰

20. "As to the affair of Fort Cumberland, I own it gives me great uneasiness; and I am of the same opinion with you, that it was very material to have supported that fort this winter, and after that we could easily have made it a better post than ever it has been, from what I hear of it. I can't agree with Co. Washington in not drawing into him the posts from the stockade forts in order to defend the advanced one; and I should imagine much more of the frontier will be exposed by retiring their advanced post near Winchester, where I understand he is retired; for, from your letter, I take it for granted he has before this executed his plan without waiting for any advice. If he leaves any of the great quantity of stores behind, it will be very unfortunate, and he ought to consider it must lie at his own door. This proceeding, I am afraid, will have a bad effect as to the Dominion, and will not have a good appearance at home."— *Loudoun to Dinwiddie*, November or December, 1756.

To JOHN ROBINSON

Winchester, November 9, 1756.

Dear Sir: I am just returned from a tedious and troublesome tour around our frontiers which has afforded me many displeasing views of the melancholy condition of our

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Countrymen: arising chiefly from the indolence and irregularity of the Militia, posted in different places for their protection.

I have always made it a principle of duty to promote the interest and Service of my Country by every endeavour, in contempt of all the calumny and censure that malice and illnature may suggest. And as many matters require speedy redress; I shall hint such as I think claim the serious regard of the approaching Assembly; which I hope will be received as the sincere dictates of a dispassionate mind, void of every view but the public good!

1st. The bad order of the Militia, and the insufficiency of defending the Inhabitants by them, are absolute certainties I have long been convinced of: But in Augusta and other frontier counties, they prove it by sad experience; which I have often regretted. The difficulty of collecting them in time of danger is so prejudicial, that the Enemy have every opportunity to plunder, kill, scalp, and escape before they appear. The want of order, regulation and obedience, prevent any good effects, their assistance and force

might have. For every petty person must assume command, direct and advise: otherwise he takes huff, thinks his wisdom and merit affronted, and so marches off in high contempt of every social Law. Then the expensiveness of supporting them, is in general very burthensome but where instances are of a Capt. Lieut. and Ensign, with two or three Sergeants, and six or eight men, going upon duty at a time; The disproportion of men and Officers is so remarkable as to need no further proof of the injustice done the country. Again, the waste of provision is unaccountable; they follow no method in serving a certain quota to each man. This wou'd be the highest indignity and they would sooner starve than carry a few days provision on their backs, for conveniency, as other Soldiers do. But regardless and prodigal of every thing; upon their marches they kill the first cattle they meet with, when Breakfast is wanted; and after this repast, march on 'till Dinner calls, then take the same method and so also for Supper; leaving the remainder after eating, for Wolves and buzzards. If by chance they impress provisions; the valuation is left to ignorant and indifferent people, who have themselves suffered by those practices;

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and who, despairing of pay, exact high prices. Lastly these Militia being raised only for a month, lose half the time in marching out and home (especially those who come from the adjacent counties) who must be on duty sometime before they reach their Station; by which means double sets of men are in pay at the same time, and for the same Service.

2ly. The Garrison I found weak for want of men; but more so thro' indolence and want of order. None I saw were in a posture of defence; and few that might not be surprized with the greatest ease. An instance whereof happened at Dickerson's fort; when the Indians ran down, caught several children playing under the Walls, and had got to the Fort gate before they were discovered. Thus Vass's fort was surprized and lost with the Garrison. They keep no Guards, but just when the enemy is about, or under fearful apprehensions of them: nor ever stir out of the forts from the time they reach them, until relieved, when their month is out: and then they march off, whatever be the event. Their diligence and resolution in pursuing the enemy are exemplified in Capt. Hunt, of Lunenburgh; who was persuaded by Capt. McNeil, on seeing a poor man inhumanly massacred on the road close by where I came, to go in search of the Savages. They followed the tracks, and came to a run, thro' which they had just passed, it being muddy, and the stones yet wet; the number of the enemy was supposed to be about 20, by all the signs that appeared. Here the Captain stopped, and finding he came fast up with them thought proper to desist his pursuit; and after some consultation with his men, contrary to the advice and entreaties of Capt. McNeil, &c. &c. did retreat; as appears by the depositions of Capt. McNeil and Colo. Buchanan on this occasion; nor is this the on

ly instance. Some Militia of this county under Capt. Riddle, upon a late alarm, refused to proceed; on coming to fires from which Indians had just fled. All this owing to want of due command and obedience. The Militia are likewise negligent of their ammunition, and waste it in as great profusion as they do their provision; hunting with it, and firing it away at marks for wagers, &c. as I found in my last Journey. Of the many Forts I passed by, I saw but few

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that had the Captain present: most of them absent on their own business, and had given leave for many of the men to do the same.

From these and other circumstances too tedious to mention, it must appear a very natural conclusion, that the situation of the Frontiers is much to be pitied. And indeed they have a thorough sense of their danger, while dependant on the protection of the Militia: To avoid which they in general declare they must move off to the southward, without some favourable alteration in a little time. They petitioned me with the greatest earnestness for some Companies of the Regiment: But alas! it is out of my power to assist them with any. Unless I shou'd leave this dangerous quarter more exposed than they are. I promised to remonstrate in their behalf to the Assembly and Governor, that a Regular Force might be established in lieu of the Militia and Ranging Companies; which are of much less service, and of infinitely more cost, to the Country. Were this done, the whole wou'd be under one Direction; and no misbehaviour pass unpunished.

Whereas the others are Soldiers at will, and in fact will go and come when and where they please, without regarding the Orders or direction of any person. I have likewise been informed, several of the Ranging Captains have obtained their Commissions by a subtle fraud imposed on the Governor. The certainty of advantage by an offensive scheme of action, is beyond any doubt much preferable to our defensive measures, and requires no arguments with you, Sir, I presume, for proof. Our scattered force avails little to stop the secret incursions of the Savages; so separated and dispersed into weak parties: and can only perhaps put them to flight, or 'fright them to another part of the Country; which answers not the end proposed. Whereas, had we strength enough to invade their lands, and assault their Towns, we shou'd then restrain them from coming abroad, and leave their families exposed. We should then remove the principal cause, and have stronger probability of success. We shou'd then be free from the many alarms, mischiefs and murders that now attend us. We shou'd then inspirit up the hearts of our few Indian friends, and gain more esteem with them. In short cou'd Pennsylvania and Maryland be induced

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to join us in an expedition of this nature; and to petition His Excellency Lord Loudon, for a small train of Ar

tillery, with some Engineers. We shou'd then be able in all human probability to subdue the terror of Fort DuQuesne; retrieve our character with the Indians, and restore peace to our unhappy Frontiers.

I wish sincerely the three Colonies cou'd be brought to act in conjunction as our frontiers are so contiguous, and our mutual interest so closely connected. But, shou'd our Assembly still pursue the defensive, by confiding in the security of Forts; a system of much uncertainty and danger, where the frontiers is so very extensive, and next to an impossibility of being defended; after all shou'd they yet encourage this method allow me, Sir, to offer a plan of the strength necessary to support these Forts, and the number of Forts that is requisite, most of which are already built by the Militia and Soldiers and want little improvement; save those of Dickenson and Cocks's.

This plan is calculated upon the most moderate terms; and employs as few men as possibly can be proposed for the Service. And indeed the most probable method to render this plan efficacious wou'd be to induce the inhabitants to assemble in Townships, contiguous to these Forts; as many of them seem agreeable to the proposal, and would be more encouraged by the sanction of the Assembly. Then they cou'd cultivate their lands, preserve their Stocks, and contribute to their mutual security.

Thus did the New Englanders settle when infested as we are now. And answers well in either case, defensive or offensive. The number of men I have computed also, to serve in both cases, fewer cou'd not do, to afford a number sufficient to join in an expedition, and leave enough to preserve the Forts. And, shou'd they only act

as Scouts, in defending the country; a less number could not afford constant Ranging parties, and cover the scattered inhabitants: besides the expence of 2000 Regulars, would not surpass the present charge of the Militia, Rangers, &c. now employed. And to raise

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this number of men, I know of no other method than to enlist Servants, even Convicts not excepted; the difficulty will be so great. We have already recruited 50 Servants or more, in consequence of the Governors Orders; but no provision being yet made for satisfying their masters by act of Assembly, I shou'd be glad to know what must be done in this case, as I am constantly importuned for their value. In case the Assembly shou'd come to the resolution of raising this number of men; I wou'd recommend the plan of Regulation I formerly offered in a letter to you of the 16th. April, when the Assembly were sitting.

As the Act for punishing Munity and desertion, is now expired; I wou'd press the Assemblys' regard to enforce the articles of war in general: at least so many of them as are not incompatible with the nature of the Service and establish certain rules for the regulation of your Troops. Also, some other method of paying rewards for taking up Deserters; as it is but small encouragement to be refered to a court of claims, then to the Assembly, and lie some years out of the money; whereas, had they immediate satisfaction, it wou'd be a great inducement to the people to be active in

apprehending them. And cou'd the common people be brought better acquainted with the Laws against Desertion, and the rewards offered for discouraging it, we would perhaps lose fewer men. The Billeting Soldiers on the inhabitants. And the rates of Soldiers diet. It will never answer to pay 1/ for a meal, when 8d. are only allowed for a days maintenance. The wages or rates of workmen employed on public works should be ascertained, or left to the commanding Officer to agree in the cheapest way. The premium for Scalps', how to be paid the Indians? and whether our people are entitled to the reward as indifferent people? The way of proving and sending down to the Governor for payment, is both expensive and tedious; and will not suit with the suspicious temper of an Indian, who may think it an evasion of their promises. A Chaplain for the Regiment ought to be provided; that we may at least have the show, if we are said to want the substance of Godliness! As Fort Loudon must be supported; I would represent the prejudice we suffer by the number of Tippling-houses kept in this Town; by which our men are debauched, and rendered unfit for duty, while their pay lasts. Neither do the Court take any notice of them, tho' often

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complained of. The ruinous state of the frontiers, and the vast extent of land we have lost since this time twelvemonth, must appear incredible to those who are not eyewitnesses of the desolation. Upwards of fifty miles of a rich and (once) thick-settled country is now quite deserted and abandoned, from the Maryland to the Carolina lines: Great numbers below that,

removed thro' fear, and apprehensions of danger; and the whole Settlement deliberating whether to go or stay. The cause of such desertion I believe is in great measure owing to Maryland and Pennsylvania giving ground so much faster than we do: whereby we are left exposed in a very fine tract of land as low as, Monocasy, on the Maryland side.

As the affair of Fort Cumberland will come under your cognizance; I have here with sent you a copy of a Council of War held there to enquire, whether it was advisable to continue or demolish it. The reasons for and against it, are very just; and as it respects Virginia in particular, answers no other end than guarding Potomack, securing the only road fit for wheel-carriages to Ohio, and employing 170 men, who might be of other service elsewhere. Indeed, to view it in the general regard to Pennsylvania, Maryland, and our Colony; it is of the first importance, and might answer great purposes, were it on a good spot of ground made cannon-proof, and well garrisoned; which might easily be done, if the three Colonies wou'd consent to support and strengthen it. Give me leave to refer you for many things I wanted to have observed and resolved in a long letter wrote you last August, when I sent down to settle my accompts. There you will find matters that require the attention of the Assembly &c. Ensign Fleming complains of

the short allowance made him by the Committee for his trouble and attendance upon the Sick. And indeed as he acted as Surgeon to the whole party, upon the expedition against the Shawnese, as Major Lewis certifies; it was rather little, and more especially as he has had the care of Capt. Hogs company for this twelve-month past. He now declines acting as Surgeon longer, without assurance of recompence. And as that Company is out of the reach of our Surgeon, should be glad you would take it into consideration. Also, that

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affair of Capt. Peachy being robb'd of £50; as mentioned in the aforesaid letter. Last week eleven of the Catawba Indians came to us; and say we might have had more of them, had we sent proper Guides to conduct them. These essential matters we are very negligent about. As we must reward those few in an extraordinary way, to encourage the others to come to our assistance; I am at a loss how to do it, having no Indian Goods, and know not how to be supplied. You have heard no doubt of their having taken two Spies at Fort Cumberland: one of whom informs us, of very unnatural and pernicious correspondence held with the French, by some Priests, &c. of Maryland. We have sent him to Governor Sharpe, to make the proper use of him. the other being a Deserter of ours, was justly hanged up, in reward for his villanous disloyalty. I am Sir, &c.

To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

Alexandria, November 24, 1756.

Honble. Sir: At this place, on my way to Williamsburg, I received your Honor's letter of the 18th instant,²⁴ and shall take care to pay the strictest obedience to your orders, and the opinion, so far as I can. The detachment ordered from Winchester exceeds, I believe, the number of enlisted we have there; and the drafts, which made our strength at that place to consist of about one hundred and sixty men, will leave us in seven days. I have no hope of enlisting any, nor prolonging their stay, as we have heretofore engaged those, who were willing to serve. However my true endeavors shall be strictly aiding for this (more than ever) necessary purpose.

I am very sorry any expression in my letter should be deemed unmannerly. I never intended insults to any; on the contrary, have endeavoured to demean myself in that proper respect due to superiors. In the instance mentioned, I can truly say, so far from intending a charge or affront of any kind, it was distant from my thoughts; and I meant no more than to shew what strange, what unaccountable infatuation prevailed among the magistrates, &c., of the back parts

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24. Dinwiddie had written (November 16): "The abuses mentioned in yours I have been made acquainted with from several hands; but I expected you would have been more particular in regard to the officers neglecting their duty, and the different forts not being properly garrisoned with men,—nay, without their officers. This vague report makes it impossible for me to call on the delinquents...I am of opinion the string of forts proposed is only weakening our strength, and will be a poor defence to our frontiers. I hope you will keep the Indians properly employed. Major Lewis has orders to send up the Cherokees. You seem to attribute neglect in me, not having proper conductors. The charge is unmannerly, as I did what I thought proper, though disappointed by the villanous traders... If you had sent down the amount of the money due for the servants enlisted, I would have given a warrant for the money. It's probable I might have refused payment to the masters of some of the servants enlisted, for want of certificate, but never said you did not act properly in enlisting them...I received the opinion of the council of war in regard to Fort Cumberland; as it was an affair of great consequence, I called the council for their advice and enclose you my and their opinion thereon. In consequence thereof, I hereby order you immediately to march one hundred men to Fort Cumberland from the forces you have at Winchester, which, Captain Mercer says, are 160 enlisted men. You are to remain at Fort Cumberland, and make the place as strong as you can, in case of an attack...You are to order one of your subaltern officers, (in whom you can confide,) to command at Winchester, and to oversee the finishing of the fort building at that place. These orders I expect you will give due obedience to, and I am with respect."

of Carolina; who were so regardless of the common cause, as to allow fifty Catawbas to return, when they had proceeded near seventy miles on their march, for want of provisions and a conductor to entice them along. This was a fact I did not suppose your Honor was uninformed of, knowing Colonel Cobb²⁵ had wrote you on the subject. I therefore thought I might be less explicit, and not have incurred this censure by that means.

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I seem also to be reprimanded for giving a vague account of my tour to the southward. I was rather fearful of blame for prolixity and impertinence, in meddling with matters I had no immediate concern with; and related them rather as hints, to set you upon inquiring, than as a circumstantial account of the facts. And this I chose more especially to do, as Colonels Lewis and Buchanan, from whom, being heads of the militia, these representations, fully authenticated, more properly came. And they were represented, at least by the latter, then on his road to do so; and had as he told me, taken the testimony and depositions of several persons for this purpose, in order to demonstrate the thing more clearly and to shew who had and who had not done their duty. When I went to Augusta, it was with a good design, to relieve, if possible, a much distressed settlement; but, finding this impracticable

25. Samuel Cobbs, of York, and afterwards of Amelia County. Hamilton notes that Cobbs married Edith Marot, daughter of the Huguenot emigrant, Jean Marot.

without men, and hearing some complaints of Captain Hogg, and at the same time being desirous of seeing in what manner he proceeded, I continued on in no small danger; yet pleased with reflecting on this extraordinary duty, and of bringing myself more intimately acquainted with the situation of our frontiers, which, Sir, I related as well as I was capable, with a design, from which I have never intentionally swerved, to serve my country. And am sorry to find, that this, and my best endeavours of late, meet with unfavorable constructions. What it proceeds from, I know not. If my open and disinterested way of writing and speaking has the *air* of pertness and freedom, I shall redress my error by acting reservedly, and shall take care to obey my orders without offering at more. I should not have presumed to have appointed a commissary, had not your first instructions been plain and explicit on this point, and reiterated letters since that invested me with power. The omission of the name was a neglect indeed accidental, not designed. The gentleman intended was Mr. Ramsay of this place, well-known, well-esteemed, and of unblemished good character, practised in business and comes now properly recommended. I should not

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have appointed this gentleman or any other to serve as commissary, had not Mr. Walker in repeated letters desired it, and his absence from and neglect of duty rendered another highly necessary. This, I presume, you were unacquainted with, when you desired his continuance. Nor may you know that Mr. Walker intends to reside at home and act by a deputy, which, if I may be allowed to say, is equally inconsistent, as if I were to do it. This it is that encourages Mr. Ramsay to wait upon

your Honor to be thoroughly informed. As the duty now will become more divided between Fort Cumberland and the lower forts, it may not be thought amiss if Mr. Ramsay²⁶ is appointed to join a second in the commission. The business by this means must be conducted infinitely better, and in that case I would beg leave to mention Mr. Carlyle,²⁷ who is willing to act, and whose knowledge and experience in this business are so well known, and need no recapitulating. They are both agreed to hold it in conjunction upon the same terms that Mr. Walker now has it.

When I spoke of a chaplain, it was in answer to yours. I had no person in view, tho' many have offered; and only said, if the country would provide a subsistence, we could procure a chaplain, without thinking there was offence in the expression.

Because I was told the commissary had endeavored, but could get no one to accept of it. When I spoke about scalps, I had the Indians chiefly, indeed *solely*, in my view, knowing their jealous, suspicious natures are apt to entertain doubts of the least delay and a suspension of rewards causes a dissatisfaction and murmuring among them, which might be productive of bad events at this critical juncture.²⁸ So soon as I march from Winchester, which will immediately happen, as I am setting out thence, and sent orders by Jenkins to have the troops paid and in readiness to march, I shall write your Honor a more distinct account of the situation of that place, which will be left

26. William Ramsay, Alexandria merchant.

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27. John Carlyle.

28. Atkin disapproved of offering high rewards to Indians for scalps, as it encouraged “private scalping, whereby the most innocent and helpless persons, even women and children,” were murdered for their scalps. He instanced also some cases where the Indians picked quarrels among themselves that the scalps of the killed might be sold. Further, the high rewards sharpened the ingenuity of the Indians “for the Cherokees in particular have got the art of making four scalps out of one man killed.” Atkin asserted that he was “well assured Lord Loudoun detests that practice [of purchasing scalps], and that the French general Montcalm in Canada does the same. Sir Win. Johnson gives no reward at all in particular for scalps by name.”— *Ford*. (See *Pennsylvania Archives*, vol. 3, p. 199.)

entirely destitute of all protection, notwithstanding it now contains all the public stores of any importance, as they were removed from Fort Cumberland, and in the most dangerous part of our frontiers, at least in a part that has suffered this summer more than any (which has been so well secured) by the ravages of the enemy. The works, which have been constructed and conducted with infinite pains and labor, will be unfinished and exposed; and the materials for completing the building, which have been collected with unspeakable difficulty and expense, left to be pillaged and destroyed by the inhabitants of the town; because, as I before observed, one hundred men will exceed the number, I am pretty confident, we have there, when the drafts go off. So, to comply with my orders, (which I shall literally do, if I can,) not a man will be left there to secure the works, or defend the King's stores, which are almost wholly removed to that place.

To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

Fort Loudoun, December 2, 1756.

Honble. Sir: When I wrote your Honor from Alexandria, I expected to have been at or near Fort Cumberland by this; but, upon coming here, and expecting wagons and provisions in

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readiness to go up with this escort, I received the enclosed from the commissary, which I send to evince that no delays or protracting of orders proceeds from me. The return of our strength, which I called in so soon as I arrived, is herewith sent, signed by the adjutant, amounting, exclusive of the drafts, to eighty-one effectives, including the sick, and young drummers, who were sent here to learn.

When Captain Mercer went down, our strength consisted of about twenty-five more, including drafts, which have been sent ever since the middle of October, to Conogochieg, Swearingen's Ferry, &c, to encourage that body of inhabitants to stay at their places, who otherwise were determined to forsake them. Your Honor's late and unexpected order has caused the utmost terror and consternation in the people, and will, I fear, be productive of numberless evils, not only to this place, and the public works erecting here, but to the country in general, who seem to be in the greatest dread for the consequences. The stores of every kind have all been brought from Fort Cumberland, save those indispensably necessary there, at a very great expense, and lie in the court-house and other public buildings, to the no small inconvenience and detriment of the county. I have frequently been importuned by the members of the court, and other public officers, to remove them, and have as often by gentle persuasives protracted the time; which was the more cheerfully granted, as it was evident that there were no other places to receive them, and that I strove with the utmost diligence to prepare the proper receptacles. What course to take with them now, I know not, and hope you will direct.

I am convinced, were your Honor informed how much this place (which is in every degree our outmost and most exposed frontier, there being no inhabitants between this and the Branch, and none there but what are fortified in,) I say, I am convinced, if your Honor were truly informed of the situation of this place, of its importance and danger, you would not think it prudent to leave such a quantity of valuable stores exposed to the insults of a few; for a very few indeed might reduce them and the town too, to ashes. In the next place, as I

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observed in my last letter, the works, which have been begun and continued with labor and hardship, which lie open, untenable, and

exposed to the weather, to say no more; and the materials, which have been collected with cost and infinite difficulty, to the mercy of every pillager; our timber and scantling for building used and burnt by the town's people; our plank, which has been brought from far, stolen and destroyed; and the lime, if not stolen, left to be wasted, &c., &c. And this is not the worst. A building, which in time might and would have been very strong and defensible, and an asylum in the greatest danger, in a manner totally abandoned. As the case now stands, we have no place tenable, no place of safety; but all is exposed and open to attacks; and by not having a garrison kept at this place, no convoys can get up to us, and the communication with the inhabitants entirely cut off, so that soldiers and inhabitants cannot be assisting each other.

In regard to myself residing at Fort Cumberland, I shall lay before your Honor such inconveniences as must unavoidably arise, while we pursue these defensive measures; in doing which, I think I only do my duty. First, Fort Cumberland lying more advanced, and wide of all other forts, will prevent me from having the immediate direction of any but that. Secondly, the stores being at this place, and I at that, will render it impossible to deliver them regularly. I either must trust to a subaltern officer to order them discretionally, or else an express

must be first sent to me, and then I must send to the storekeeper to deliver the necessaries wanting to each garrison. How inconsistent this is for many reasons, your Honor may judge; but more especially, when it is known that there is no travelling to Fort Cumberland but endangering of life, without a pretty strong escort. Thirdly, by being at Fort Cumberland a total stagnation of business must ensue, because money is lodged with me for discharging all contingent expenses arising in the service, and no persons will, or can, come to me there. In course they will be slack in furnishing us with wagons and necessaries of every kind, which *now* by due payment may be had

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at call. And lastly, Winchester is in the center, as it were, of all the forts, is convenient for receiving intelligence and distributing orders; and notwithstanding any thing to the contrary, lies in a vale of land, that has suffered more than any other from the incursions of the enemy. I hope, after receiving a peremptory order, the mentioning of these things will not appear presuming or odd. I do not hesitate a moment to obey; on the contrary, shall comply the minute I can. I mean nothing more than to point out the consequences, that must necessarily attend, as I apprehend your Honor was not thoroughly apprised of our situation. Some, Sir, who are inclined to put an unfavorable construction upon this generous recital, may say, that I am loath to leave this. I declare, upon my honor, I am not, but had rather be at Fort

Cumberland, (if I could do the duty there,) a thousand times over: for I am tired of the place, the inhabitants, and the life I lead here; and if, after what I have said, your Honor should think it necessary that I reside at that place, I shall acquiesce with pleasure and cheerfulness, and be freed from much anxiety, plague, and business. To be at Fort Cumberland *sometimes*, I thing highly expedient, and have hitherto done it. Three weeks ago I came from that place. I have used every endeavour to detain the Drafts, but all in vain. They are home-sick and tired of work. They all declare if an expedition is conducted in the spring, they will serve two, three, or four months; these tho' are words of course. The Catawbas' are out on the scout with an officer and some men of ours. They proposed, when I was at Fort Cumberland, to stay only one moon, and then to set out for their nation, with a report of the country and its convenience to the enemy, (but rather with a report of our usage, I believe.) It therefore behoves us to reward them well, and keep them in temper. They applied to me for several necessaries, such as each a suit of clothes, wampum, pipe, tomhawks, silver trinkets for the wrists and arms, &c. The wampum and tomhawks I have purchased; the want of the others may occasion some murmuring, and there are very few things suitable at Fort Cumberland.

They seemed very desirous, that an officer shou'd return with them, and gave strong assurances of his bringing in a number. If your Honor approves it, I shall endeavour to fix

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upon some officer, that falls most in with their customs, and send him upon this duty. The Indians expect to be sent back upon horses. Does your Honor approve that they should? I will not take upon me to buy horses without your orders. The Cherokees are not yet arrived, nor the arms from Augusta. I am, &c.

To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

Fort Loudoun, December 4, 1756.

Honble. Sir: Since writing to your Honor yesterday, a very base and villainous scheme has been discovered; which has been I believe, the sole cause of 18 Soldiers deserting from us last night. The Gentleman concerned is our (late Ensign) Denis McCarty; of whose Character and practises, the

enclosed Depositions will afford your Honor a Specimen, and with whom all his ties of honor and morality are of no force. By virtue of your Honor's Commission to recruit for the Royal American Regiment, and under the specious pretence of immunity, offered in a late proclamation, he boasts the power & authority of enlisting Deserters and Delinquents of any kind whatever. With these pretences and his ungenerous principles, he scandalously and underhandedly seduced these, and I am afraid many more to abandon their duty and desert the Service. The Behavior of Mr. McCarty while in our Regiment was not so becoming and genteel as it ought: and had he not apprehended the danger of a Court Martial with disgrace, he would not have resigned to your Honor with so much privacy. I hope this flagrant instance of his unnatural, unjust and dishonorable proceedings will prompt your Honor to punish such pernicious practises so destructive in their consequences, and so fatal in their effects. I have despatched a party of 25 men under Capt. Mercer with orders that every endeavour and all possible diligence be made use of to apprehend those Deserters, who I imagine are gone to McCarty and should be glad your Honor wou'd direct what punishment shou'd be inflicted; as the act for that

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purpose is sometime ago expired. The loss of the Drafts and those desertions, render us unable to manage such

heavy timber as is required about the Fort; or even sufficient to do other necessary work there. These misfortunes and the want of flour with the Commissary, conspire to retard my march longer than I had expected.

To CAPTAIN JOHN McNEILL

Fort Loudon, December 7, 1756.

Sir: Yours by Mr. Jones, was delivered to me this Evening. I know of no better expedient to relieve your distress than directing you to send the valuation of the Servants to the Governor representing the case at the same time as it really stands. I wrote you before in what manner I was instructed to proceed; and can not swerve from my orders, and advance you money, without positive direction.

His Honor, the Governor, in a letter to me, says "You shou'd send the amount of money due for Servants, and my warrant shall issue for payment". Now as you have not transmitted me the certificates on any account of the sum, it is not in my power to do this (unless I first send to you, which is protracting the conclusion of this affair) at a time when yours and the Service of the Recruits, is exceedingly wanted. And was

the reason for ordering you in here. I therefore desire you will make off from the Majistrates certificates an exact list of the sums due each respective Owner for his Servant; taking care to specify the name of the Master and man, and to affix the sum. Have this certified by two Majistrates, to make it authentic and indisputable, and send it to His Honor the Governor, by a person in whom you can confide to receive the money: I shall in the meantime advise of this step, and the cause why this accompt, is not signed by me. As I mean nothing but what is fair and honest with the people (in respect of their Servants) I wou'd have you do nothing but what is strictly so. Yet as the Troops now here

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are to abandon this place and the Stores. It is indispensably necessary, to prevent not only the Inhabitants of the Town, but all between it and Potomack, from forsaking their dwellings, that a party shou'd be thrown in immediately, as Militia can not be raised: I wou'd I say for these reasons, be extremely fond of having your Recruits sent up, if it can be done without incensing the mob or fomenting disturbances. But this, at all events, avoid; as malice and envy are ever on the wing to misrepresent actions, and pervert our intentions, tho' never so laudably meant. I am &c.

To CAPTAIN ABRAHAM BOSOMWORTH²⁹

Fort Loudon, December 8, 1756.

Sir: I am informed you have enlisted one Patrick Murphy a Deserter from my Regiment who was confined in the Goal at York, tho' you had previous knowledge of his being so. You must be sensible such proceedings are repugnant to the public interest, and contrary to established articles of war; to say nothing of the ill effects that follow precedents of this nature. The suspicion of a Soldiers disloyalty, I shou'd have thought sufficient to suspend your desire of recruiting him, until confirmed of the truth: And as you then refused to give him up to a Sergeant sent on purpose to receive him: and now assured of his belonging to my Regiment, I hope you will take the first opportunity of returning him to his company at Maidstone (under command of Capt. Robert Stewart). It being impracticable to send so far as Philadelphia for him.

Your compliance will oblige Sir yours &c.

29. Of the Royal American Regiment, at York.

To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

Fort Loudoun, December 10, 1756.

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Honble, Sir: Capt. Mercer returned the 7th with sixteen of the Deserters; the other two escaped his diligence. They confirm the suspicion of Mr. McCarty's villany, by confessing he had inveigled them with promises of protection, rewards, and good usage! and a deep-laid plan was concerted for accomplishing his base designs, binding each individual with an oath to follow him; to stand true to each other in case of being pursued; to kill the officer who attempted the command; and in case of a separation, private instructions to repair to McCarty, or some of his friends who were to receive

and entertain them. These proceedings and the within depositions must convince your Honor, how dangerous a person of Mr. McCarty's principles must be to the peace and quiet of Society.

The Soldiers surrendered to Capt. Mercer upon promise of pardon; and as they seem sorry for their Behaviour, assuring all duty and obedience for the future, I thought it most expedient to forgive them knowing we have no law at present to punish them, and believing the poor ignorant fellows less culpable than their Seducer.

I hope your Honor will therefore approve of my measures in this matter.

Before this reaches your Honor I imagine you will have received Capt. John McNeill's relative to the Servants recruited in Augusta. I desired him to transmit the valuation of them, according to your Honor's directions fully authenticated, in order to receive the money. Capt. McNeill's distance from me deprived me of the opportunity of certifying the accompts; and to prevent loss of time, expence and trouble, I ordered him to take this method, which I hope will not be disagreeable to your Honor.

Upon receiving your Honor's and the Council's resolve to make Fort Cumberland tenable, I wrote to Lt. Colonel Stephen to set immediately about it, but the want of tools for three parts of the men there will prevent its progress.

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At Alexandria I gave orders to purchase

a quantity; and Colonel Carlyle had gone to Annapolis for that purpose; so I look daily for the tools. The demand upon us at this time for money is very great, buying provisions, &c. We have almost exhausted the last sum received, and must be under the necessity of applying to your Honor for another supply in a little time. We long much for the arrival of the soldiers Clothing. The weather very severe, the Service hard, and men naked, are motives too strong for their accepting the specious promises of McCarty and others.

To THE COMMANDING OFFICER ON THE SOUTH BRANCH

Fort Loudon, December 13, 1756.

Sir: I was not a little surprized to find what a quantity of provision had been consumed by your Command, in the short space they

have been stationed on the Branch: There certainly must have been great waste and neglect. To prevent which for the future, it is my Orders; That you direct each of the Commanding Officers where the troops are stationed on the Branch to appoint a Sergeant of his command (the most trusty one) to be exempt from all other duty; to receive and issue the provisions which are brought to that Garrison. Let the Officer certify the quantity he receives from each person; and let regular returns be made each drawing day, signed by the Officer commanding each Detachment; and he must issue provisions agreeable thereto, and deliver none without a written Order from the Officer which will be his vouchers for the consumption of what he receives.

As some of the Officers have only small commands, and can not spare a Sergeant for this Duty. You must direct to take one of the best of the men, or make him do the Sergeants duty, which ever is most convenient. Let all the Officers know I expect they will

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account for the Shoes, &c. received from the Store, which they stand charged with on the Quartermasters Book. I am &c.

To CAPTAIN WILLIAM BRONAUGH

Fort Loudon, December 17, 1756.

Sir: You are strictly required, immediately upon receipt of this, to transport your provisions and Stores to Capt. Waggeners Fort, and there leave them: Then march your Company to Pearsals, in order to escort a quantity of Flour to Fort Cumberland; where you and your whole Company are to remain, to strengthen that Garrison. I expect you will pay due regard to this Order, and put it in execution with the utmost alacrity, as it is in consequence of express directions from the Governor and Council. I heartily commiserate the fate of the poor unhappy Inhabitants, left by this means exposed to every incursion of a merciless Enemy: And wish it was in my power to offer them better support, than good wishes (merely) will afford. You may assure the Settlement, that this unexpected, and if I may be allowed to say, unavoidable step, was taken without my concurrence and knowledge. That it is an express Order from the Governor; and can neither be evaded nor delayed: Therefore, any representations to me of their danger, and the necessity of continuing Troops among them, will be fruitless: For, as I before observed, I have inclination and no power left to serve them. It is also the Governors Orders that the Forts be left standing, for the Inhabitants to possess if they think proper. I am Sir, &c.

N.B. A Copy of the above Orders was sent to Captains Cocke and Lewis on the Branch. Wrote Capt. Vanmeter to procure waggons, &c. and to assist in the removal of the provision and Stores; and to take due care of them. Wrote Lt. Walter Stewart, to receive those Stores and Provisions, and take care of them.

To CAPTAIN ROBERT STEWART

Fort Loudon, December 17, 1756.

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Sir: Ensign Crawford has

referred a dispute to me concerning his rank in the Army. I must determine in his favour: and allow their Officers to rank by the dates and dignity of their Commissions. For these reasons; vizt. That Companies, tho' esteemed and called Scouts, are raised and supported upon the same funds as those of the Regiment; have the same pay, entitled to the same privileges and immunities; and are subject to the same laws and punishments: therefore ought, in justice, to have the same rank. The only distinction between them and the Companies of the Regiment lies in this. Were we upon a march, they must, from the nature of their Establishment, encounter more hardship danger and fatigue; which in my opinion, shou'd rather encrease than diminish their claim to Honor!

It is a mistaken notion, in some, that they are Rangers, and shou'd rank as such. The Rangers had a particular sum levied for their support, and laws made to govern them by; distinct from those we have the honor to act under. To put an end to all future disputes, let the Officers be made acquainted with the contents of this letter. I am Sir, Yours &c.

To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

Fort Loudoun, December 19, 1756.

Honble. Sir: Your letter of the 10th came to hand the 15th; in consequence whereof I despatched orders immediately to all the garrisons on the Branch to evacuate their forts, and repair to Pearsall's, where they would meet the flour, &c. from this place, and to escort it to Fort Cumberland. I expect the provisions purchased for the support of these forts, and now lying in bulk, will be wasted and destroyed, notwithstanding I have given directions to the assistant commissary on the Branch, and to Waggener's company, to use their utmost diligence in collecting the whole, and securing it where his company is posted. An escort, with all the flour we have been able to procure (which amounts to an insufficient quantity for want of water), sets out from this on Tuesday next. I expect to depart sooner myself,

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after leaving directions with Captain Mercer, whom I have appointed to command here, and shall repair as expeditiously as possible to Fort Cumberland.

I am a little at loss to understand the meaning of your Honor's orders, and the opinion of the Council, when I am directed to evacuate all the stockade forts, and at the same time to march only one hundred men to Fort Cumberland, and to continue the like number here to garrison Fort Loudoun. If the stockade forts are all abandoned, there will be more men than are required for these two purposes, and the communication between them, of near eighty miles, will be left without a settler, unguarded and exposed. But I mean nothing more by asking this question, than to

know your Honor's intentions, which I would willingly pay strict obedience to.

Mr. Walker has been here, settled his accompts, and gone home again, fully resolved no longer to continue commissary. I acquainted him with the contents of your Honor's letters of November, and he has wrote you (he tells me) his reasons for resigning. What Indian goods were left by Colo. Innes I know not; no return was ever given to me, nor to the commanding officer, when he went away, if I am rightly informed.

I shall when I arrive at Fort Cumberland get a return of them, and transmit to your Honor.

A return of the stores at this place is enclosed. I should have sent it before, but waited to add those at Fort Cumberland, of which there are none yet come down.

If Captain McNeill goes to the Cherokee nation, it would be well for him to conduct the Catawbas home. But when I recommended an officer's going with them, it was with a view of engaging a body of their men to come to our assistance in the spring, and to march in with their warriors, not choosing to trust altogether to their unmeaning promises and capricious humors. But your Honor will be pleased to direct as you see proper in this affair. I have advanced very little money hitherto to the masters of servants, because I waited

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your directions on this head. I received forty-one last night from Captain McNeill, who desires leave to continue recruiting. I do not consent to it, until I know whether it is agreeable to your Honor, and whether I may send out as many other officers as can be spared for the same service. If this is approved of I should be glad that your Honor would send me general instructions, that I may know how to give mine, and to act consistently with the rules for recruiting servants for his Majesty's regiments. I should have been exceedingly glad, if your Honor and the Council had directed in what manner Fort Cumberland is to be strengthened; *i.e.* , whether it is to be made cannon-proof or not; and that you would fix the sum beyond which we shall not go, for I must look to you for the expense, knowing that the country has already rejected some articles of this. Immediately upon receiving your Honor's letter to McCarty, I enclosed it to Colonel Fairfax (as directed), and desired him to do what is needful in regard to the commission, as it was not in my power to deal with him as he deserved: first, because he has left *this* service; and next, because if he was still in it, we have no martial law to punish him, the mutiny and desertion act having expired in October last. The same with respect to the soldiers, but their penitent behavior induced me to pass by their faults. I have read over that paragraph in Lord Loudoun's letter, (which your Honor was pleased to send me,) over and over

again, but am unable to comprehend the meaning of it. What scheme it is, I was carrying into execution without awaiting advice, I am at a loss to know, unless it was building the chain of forts along our frontiers, which I not only undertook conformably to an act of Assembly, and by your own orders, but, with respect to the places, in pursuance of a council of war. If, under these circumstances, my "conduct is responsible for the fate of Fort Cumberland," it must be confessed, that I stand upon a tottering foundation indeed. I cannot charge my memory with either proposing, or intending, to draw the forts nearer to Winchester. The garrison of Fort Cumberland, it is true, I did wish to have removed to Cox's, which is nearer to Winchester by twenty-five miles; but not further from the enemy than where it now is, if a road from thence to the Little Meadows, which is about twenty miles distant, and the same from that place (*i.e.* . Fort Cumberland,) and more in the

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warriors' path, was opened. However, I see with much regret, that His Excellency Lord Loudoun seems to have prejudged my proceedings, without being thoroughly informed what were the springs and motives, that have actuated my conduct. How far I have mistaken the means to recommend

my services, I know not, but I am certain of this, that no man ever intended better, or studied the interest of his country with more affectionate zeal, than I have done; and nothing gives me greater uneasiness and concern, than that his Lordship should have imbibed prejudices so unfavorable to my character, as to excite his belief that I was capable of doing any thing, "that will have a bad effect as to the Dominion, and no good appearance at home."

As I had your Honor's permission to be down when his Lordship shall favor us with a visit, I desired Colonel Carlyle to inform me when he should pass thro' Alexandria, and I will set out accordingly. I hope nothing has intervned to alter this indulgence. It is a favor I should not have thought of asking, had I believed the service would suffer in my absence; but I am convinced it will not. And I cannot help saying, I believe we are the only troops upon the continent, that are kept summer and winter to the severest duty, with the least respite or indulgence.

Captn. Pearis came to town the other day with six Cherokees and two squaws. He brought no orders from your Honor, and applies to me for direction of his services. I have desired him to carry the Indians to Fort Cumberland, as we can make nothing of them without an interpreter; and there wait the return of your Honor's instructions. Lt. Baker has leave of absence upon very urgent business, relative to an estate left him. He applied to your Honor

and, having received no answer, I made free to grant this indulgence in so material a point. Lt. Lowry has applied for permission to quit the service; I referred him to your Honor, and he now waits your answer in a state of much anxiety and sickness. His resignation I

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apprehend will occasion no void or any loss to the service. I have therefore allowed him to go down, in order to support his spirits and comply with your Honor's pleasure, whatever that be. While Lt. Baker is absent, I would offer it to your Honor as expedient, he should make interest among the Tusks and Nottoways. His intimacy with these nations may be of service in engaging some assistance from them, and I think him very capable of the undertaking. He might also recruit, if your Honor approves of the proposal I have already offered.

The delay of the soldiers' clothes occasions unaccountable murmurs and complaints, and I am very much afraid we shall have few men left, if they arrive not in a week or two. Your Honor would be astonished to see the naked condition of the poor wretches. And how they possibly can subsist, much less work, in such severe weather. Had we but blankets to give them, or any thing to defend them from the cold, they might perhaps be easy.

I have formerly hinted to your Honor our necessity for a speedy supply of cash, and have advised with the Speaker likewise, that he might not be unprepared. I purpose to send down by the 10th of next month or sooner if I could be served. The men are quite impatient, and the want of small bills is very prejudicial to their peace. I should be glad your Honor would advise per return of Jenkins how soon I may send down. I cannot supply your Honor with a return of our strength as yet, because our scattered disposition hinders a regular discharge of the adjutant's duty. I am, &c.

To JOHN ROBINSON

Winchester, December 19, 1756.

Sir: You are no stranger, I presume, to the late resolutions of the Governor and Council, the consequence of which I meditate with great concern. We are ordered to reinforce Fort Cumberland with one hundred men, and, to enable me to carry that number thither, all the stockade forts on the Branch are to be evacuated, and in course all the settlements abandoned, except what lie under the immediate protection of Captain Waggener's fort,

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the only place exempted in their resolve. Surely his Honor and the Council are not fully acquainted with the situation and circumstances of the unhappy frontiers, thus to expose so valuable a tract as the Branch, in order to support a fortification, in itself (considering our present feebleness) of very little importance to the inhabitants or

the colony. The former order of Council would have endangered not only the loss of Fort Loudoun, the stores, and Winchester, but a general removal of the settlers of this vale, even to the Blue Ridge. This last hath the same object in view, vizt., Fort Cumberland, and, to maintain it, the best lands in Virginia are laid open to the mercy of a cruel and inhuman enemy. These people have long struggled with the dangers of savage incursions, daily soliciting defence, and willing to keep their ground. To encourage them, all my little help has been administered, and they seemed satisfied with my intentions, resolving to continue while any probability of support remained. The disposition I had made of our small regiment gave general satisfaction to the settlements, and content began to appear everywhere. The necessary measures for provision and stores were agreeably concerted, and every regulation established for the season. But the late command reverses, confuses, and incommodes every thing; to say nothing of the extraordinary expense of carriage, disappointments, losses, and alterations, which must fall heavy on the country. Whence it arises, or why, I am truly ignorant; but my strongest representations of matters relative to the peace of the frontiers are disregarded as idle and frivolous; my propositi

ons and measures, as partial and selfish; and all my sincerest endeavours for the service of my country perverted to the worst purposes. My orders are dark, doubtful, and uncertain; *to-day approved, to-morrow condemned* . Left to act and proceed at hazard, accountable for the consequence, and blamed without the benefit of defence! If you can think my situation capable to excite the smallest degree of envy, or afford the least satisfaction, the truth is yet hid from you, and you entertain notions very different from the *reality* of the case. However, I am determined to bear up under all the embarrassments

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some time longer, in hope of better regulation on the arrival of Lord Loudoun, to whom I look for the future fate of Virginia.

His Lordship, I think, has received impressions tending to prejudice, by false representations of facts, if I may judge from a paragraph of one of his letters to the Governor, and on which is founded the resolve to support Fort Cumberland at all events. The severity of the season, and nakedness of the soldiers, are matters of much compassion, and give rise to infinite complaints. Nor is it possible to obviate them, unless their clothing come in immediately. You would be surprised how the poor creatures live, much more how they can do duty. Had we but blankets, they might be appeased for a little time; and as we have not, I doubtful many will desert.

I advised you formerly of our necessity for cash, and would earnestly desire it soon. I think of sending down by the 10th of next month, or sooner if agreeable. Please to inform me, by Jenkins, what

I may depend upon on that head, as our men are impatient, and with some reason, when without both money and clothes. I need not urge the comparative advantage of small bills; as you are truly sensible how disadvantageous large ones are in paying individuals and occasioning many other inconveniences. We shall have occasion for at least six thousand pounds to clear us to the 1st of January. The commissary wants above half that sum to furnish his stocks of provisions, &c; the other will be exhausted in paying the troops. We ought always to have money in hand, as we are often reduced to many inconveniences on account of waiting for it, not to mention the expenses and trouble.³⁰

Mr. Kirkpatrick will have my accompts to lay before the Committee, and will shew how the money has been applied.

30. In reply to this letter, Speaker John Robinson wrote (December 31): "I am truly concerned at the uneasiness you are under in your present situation, and the more so, as I am sensible you have too much reason for it. The resolution of defending Fort

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Cumberland, and evacuating the other forts, was taken before I knew or mistrusted any thing of the matter. I must confess I was not a little surprised at it, and took the liberty to expostulate with many of the Council upon it, who gave me in answer, that Lord Loudoun had insisted that Fort Cumberland should be preserved at all events, and, as we had so few troops, it could not be done without breaking up the small forts, and taking the men from them. It was to no purpose to tell them that our frontiers would thereby be entirely exposed to our cruel and savage enemy, and that they could receive no protection from Fort Cumberland, as it was in another province, and so remote from any of our inhabitants; —and further, that the act of Assembly. which gave the money solely for the defence and protection of our frontiers, would be violated, and the money applied otherwise than the Assembly intended. Yet, notwithstanding all I could say, they persisted in their resolution, without alleging any other reason, than that it was in pursuance of Lord Loudoun's desire. It can't be any difficult matter to guess, who was the author and promoter of this advice and resolution, or by whom Lord Loudoun has been persuaded, that the place is of such importance. But supposing it was really so, surely it ought to be defended by the people in whose province it is [Maryland], or at least at the expense of the three colonies jointly, and not leave our own frontiers exposed for the defence of a place, from which we can't receive the least advantage or protection. The present unhappy state of our country must fill the minds of every well wisher to it with dismal and gloomy apprehensions; and without some speedy alterations in our counsels, which God send, the fate of it must soon be determined.”

INSTRUCTIONS TO CAPTAIN GEORGE MERCER

December 20, 1756.

As I have Orders from his Honor Governor Dinwiddie to repair to Fort Cumberland, and leave an Officer here with the command of this Garrison; I have appointed you to this Command, and expect your particular diligence and care. You must observe all former Rules and Orders which have been given for the regulation of this Garrison; and let no

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Stores or other thing issue without an Order signed by you. So soon as you hear of the arrival of the Clothing at Alexandria, you must order a sufficient number of waggons down for them; and have them brought to this place, from whence you must send what are necessary to the several Garrisons and Commands; the remainder to be left here. As it will be necessary to supply the Workmen here with the usual allowance of Rum during the winter season, you must endeavour to provide it from time to time for them, upon the most reasonable terms. All Expresses on His Majestys Service, you are immediately to forward. Use your utmost endeavours as well to prevent Desertion, as to apprehend all that are guilty of that crime; and indulge the men as much as possible in their Duty during the cold weather. Whatever Tools, &c. are wanted for the works here, you must also procure from below. You are not to give Discharges to any men, nor grant

Furloes to them for more than two days at a time. You are to settle with the Masters of Servants, and take certificates for each man on the back of his Indentures, to be laid before the Governor. You are to pay out of the money which will be left in your hands for all trivial contingencies, such as horse-hire, with Expresses, &c. observing the greatest economy therein.

To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

Fort Cumberland, January [12], 1757.

Honble. Sir: Your letter of the 27th ultimo came to hand the 9th instant. I wrote to your Honor by Capt. Spotswood (who was charged with the care of Catawba Indians as far as Williamsburgh,) that I had sent Colo. Stephen with a detachment to bring the mutineers on the Branch to this place in irons. They were secured before he got there and he has brought all but six, who deserted from Capt. Joshua Lewis's company, before he reached it. We have held a General Court Martial on the Ring-leaders; flogged several severely; and have some under sentence of death. The proceedings of the Court I thought it

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needless to send, or ask warrants for execution, as we have no Law to inflict punishments even of the smallest kind.

I shall keep those criminals in irons, and if possible, under apprehensions of death, until some favourable opportunity may countenance a reprieve. We have as many men at work here, preparing Timber to strengthen the works, as tools will supply: but I wish I had been ordered to build a new fort altogether, rather than attempt to repair the *old* one.

Your Honor thinks Mr. Walker's discontinuing was for want of countenance,

I must beg leave to answer, and I dare believe Mr. Walker will do me the justice to declare, that I have uniformly treated him with all the respect and complaisance in my power. That I did not approve of his staying is certainly true; I thought it was doing injustice to the service for him to be absent when his presence was requisite, and mentioned this circumstance to him accordingly. And since the subject hath been mentioned, I beg leave to add that if your Honor conceives Mr. Walker has been at any trouble in laying in provision, you have been exceedingly mis-informed. He left the Service the last of June or 1st of July, and has never done a day's duty since; either in making contracts, directing the purchases, or concerning himself in any manner whatever with the business; nay, no more than a stranger wou'd do: but either declined the Service altogether at that time, or intended to throw the principal burden of his office upon me. Had Mr. Walker continued to discharge the duties of a Commissary I never shou'd have thought of any other, as there is the greatest friendship between us. The part I have acted with that Gentleman, I shou'd have acted with my brother had he been in his place. But, to acquit myself of all suspicion of this sort, I shall observe that there never was the least disagreement between Mr. Walker and myself, either in words or actions before he left the Service, (which he did with my knowledge,) since which I have

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never seen him at this place, until he came up in December to settle his accompts: nor did I hear from him in all that time but once, when he informed me it was his intention to resign.

If your Honor thinks it proper to send Capt. McNeill (whom I also esteem a very sensible judicious Officer) home with the Catawba Indians, you will please to send for him: He *must* be at Winchester by this time, Capt. Spotswood having had charge of them to Williamsburgh only. When I left Winchester, I gave directions about carrying on the works at Fort Loudoun with all possible dispatch. But a letter from Capt. Mercer which accompanied your Honor's, informs me, that they are at a loss in respect of the manner of making the Ambrazures thro the *parapet* ; although I gave directions in person before I came away on this head; they propose a method that will spoil the whole work. And as I could not make them sensible of my plan by instruction only when present, I have little hope of accomplishing it by *writing* , consequently am reduced to a disagreeable dilemma!

I have directed the provision on the Branch to be smoked, if there are conveniences for doing it.

No more forts were evacuated than were requisite to reinforce this

Garrison with 100 men, and to continue 100 at Fort Loudoun, according to order. The others are continued at their former posts, as may be seen by the return of our strength, which I have caused to be noted.¹ A Return of the Indians was sent in my last. I am &c.

To CAPTAIN PETER HOGG

January 26, 1757.

Sir: Yours from Staunton of the 1st. instant I have received. I am sorry you did not make a final settlement of your accompts, as it was for that purpose I appointed the meeting.

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As I do not meddle with any accompts. or vouchers relative to provision, you must still settle that matter with the Commissary in the best manner you can, as it was prevented before, and draw upon him for money. At present I am entirely without, and shall be, until Mr. Kirkpatrick comes from Winchester. I have examined your accompt of contingencies, and some articles without vouchers (which you ought to have known would be required by the Committee for every farthing that is paid) will not pass: Others which relate more particularly to yourself, such as horse feeding &c. I can have nothing to do with. If Edmond Withs' disease is found

1. A return of the strength and disposition of the Virginia Regiment, in Washington's writing, dated Jan. 1, 1757, is in the *Washington Papers*.

so bad as to render him unfit for Service, it sho'd be certified by the Surgeon, and then Major Lewis may discharge him, 'till such time as the Committee shall come to some determination in regard to the pay of Ensign Fleming, as Surgeon, I can not desire him to officiate in that capacity.

I hope, and dare believe, his humanity and good disposition will induce him to assist the needy, as he has knowledge in physic.

If Mr. Wright's charge against Win. Bishop (who I suppose to be the person you speak of) be just, it ought to be paid.

With regard to David Evans, you cannot complain; when you consider that I ordered you three men from another Company, for which you have made no allowance.

The Governor has forbid me listing any more Servants 'till further Orders. You will observe this accordingly. I am &c.

**[REMONSTRANCE OF OFFICERS OF THE VIRGINIA REGIMEN TO GOVERNOR
DINWIDDIE]11**

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[April 16?], 1757.

Hon'ble Sir: We may I think with great propriety and justice represent That The Virginia Regiment was the first in arms of any Troops on the Con

11. This remonstrance seems to have been inclosed in Washington's letter to Dinwiddie of April 16. It is, doubtless, a collaboration in which Lieut. Col. Adam Stephen and other officers joined; but the flavor of Washington's manner of expression may be found therein.

continent, in the present War. That the three years they have served has been one continued scene of action That, Whilst other Troops have had agreeable recess in Winter Quarters, the nature of the Service in which we are engaged, and the paucity of our numbers (so unequal to the task) have kept us constantly in motion. That, nevertheless all these Services have hither to been performed with great spirit and chearfulness: But, that continuing in a Service precarious and uncertain; hazarding life, fortune and health to the chances of War, for a present and bare subsistence, are serious and melancholy considerations, evidently tending to promote langer and indifference: They sicken for that laudable and generous Emulation, so necessary among Troops: It is nipping the hopes we were led to cherish: It is discouraging to merit, and (I can not help repeating) it is in the greatest degree dispiriting to those Officers who, having thrown themselves out of other employments, must now perceive that they are wasting the prime of the life and constitution, in a Service at once the most hazardous and uncertain that can be! In which they can expect to be continued no longer than hard blows and continual dangers render it necessary. And when these cease their Services are to be dismissed; perhaps in a state of disability and indigence occasioned by wounds, &c.

These are reflections which strike deep in every breast, and have made our Officers anxiously solicitous to know their fate at once

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and the extent of their dependence; that they may regulate themselves accordingly. We can not conceive that because we are Americans, we shou'd therefor be deprived of the Benefits common to British Subjects, nor that it shou'd lessen our claim to preferment. And we are certain, that no Body of Regular Troops ever before served three bloody Campaigns, without royal notice!

The idle argument which is often used, namely, you are defending your Country and property; is justly look'd upon as inapplicable and absurd. We are defending part of the Domain of Great Britain: And altho' the inhabitants of our Mother Country are a little farther removed from danger than the most of us are, yet they are equally concerned and interested in the fate of the War. Therefore, if we shed our blood and waste our Substance in defence of the Country, we do service to them, and have an adequate right to preferment. Some, boast of their long Services, meaning I suppose the length of time they have borne a commission: shou'd this alone recommend a man? I apprehend it is the Service he has done, not the length of time he has borne a Commission, that can merit reward; and that there may be as just a claim to promotion from 3 years

hard and bloody Service, as from ten, where neither real danger or Field of Battle was ever seen.

If it shou'd be said the Troops of Virginia are Irregulars and ought not to expect more notice than other provincials: we beg leave to deny the assertion, and observe, that we want nothing but Commissions from His Majesty to make us as regular a Corps as any upon the Continent. Because we were regularly enlisted, attested and bound, during the Kings or Colonys pleasure. We have been regularly Regimented and trained; and have done as regular Duty for upwards of 3 years, as any regiment in His Majestys Service. We have been regularly and uniformly clothed, both Officers and Soldiers. We have been at all the Expence that Regulars are, in providing Equipage for the Camp. And, in a word; we labour under every disadvantage, without enjoying a single benefit which the Regulars do. How different the establishment from all others this is, may easily be seen, when we

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consider, that they are raised for a time assembled in the Spring, and dismissed in the Fall: consequently are totally ignorant of regular Service. They knew their dependance, and had nothing to expect. They are never clothed, and are at little expence; as they act as Regulars, and are paid exorbitantly!

But, were there not these differences to give us the preference, the following, in my opinion are fully sufficient to obviate all scruples, vizt. We have been in constant pay, and on

constant hard duty, since the beginning of these Broils, while none others have. We are, Sir, etc.

To THE RIGHT HON'BLE JOHN, EARL OF LOUDOUN: General and Commander in Chief of All His Majestys Forces in North America; and Governor and Commander in Chief of His Majestys Most Antient Colony and Dominion of Virginia

February, 1757.

We , the Officers of the Virginia Regiment, beg leave to congratulate your Lordship on your safe arrival in America; and to express the deep sense We have of His Majestys great Wisdom and paternal care for His Colonies, in sending your Lordship to their protection at this critical Juncture. WE likewise beg leave to declare our singular satisfaction and sanguine hopes, on your Lordships immediate appointment over our Colony; as it in a more especial manner Entitles Us to your Lordships patronage.

Full of hopes that a perfect Union of the Colonies will be brought about by your Lordships Wisdom and Authority; and big with expectations of seeing the extravagant insolence of an insulting, subtile and inhumane Enemy Restrained; and of having it in Our power to take our desired Revenge.

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We humbly represent to Your Lordship, that WE were the first Troops in Action on the Continent, on occasion of the present Broils, and that by several Engagements and continual Skirmishes with the Enemy, We have to our cost acquired a knowledge of them, and of their crafty and cruel practises: Which We are ready to testify with the greatest chearfulness and Resolution, whenever We are so happy as to be honored with the Execution of your Lordships Commands.⁸

To THE EARL OF LOUDOUN

[January], 1757.

My Lord: The posture of affairs in this quarter is really melancholy, and the prospect was rendered more gloomy while there appeared no hopes of amendment; but, from the presence of your Lordship at this time in the Dominion, we conceive hopes of seeing these threatening

8. Washington probably composed this. The “Letter Book” copy, however (made in 1784–85), which is the only one available, is unsatisfactory because of some evident carelessness with which the record was made.

clouds dispelled.

The sums of money, my Lord, which have been granted by this colony to carry on war, have been very considerable; and to reflect to what little purpose is matter of great concern, and will seem surprising to those, who are not acquainted with the causes, and the confusion with which all our affairs have hitherto been conducted, owing to our having no fixed object, or pursuing any regular system, or plan of operation.

As I have studied with attention and care the nature of the service in which we are engaged, have been engaged therein from the beginning of the present broils, and have been an eyewitness to all the movements and various proceedings, I beg leave to offer

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a concise and candid account of our circumstances to your Lordship; from which many errors may be discovered, that merit redress in a very high degree.

It was not until it was too late, we discovered that the French were on the Ohio; or rather, that we could be persuaded they came there with a design to invade his Majesty's dominions. Nay, after I was sent out in December, 1753, and brought undoubted testimony even from themselves of their avowed design, it was yet thought a fiction, and a scheme to promote the interest of a private company, even by some who had a share in the government. These unfavorable surmises caused great delay in raising the first men and money, and gave the active enemy time to take possession of the

Fork of Ohio (which they now call Duquesne), before we were in sufficient strength to advance thither, which has been the chief source of all our past and present misfortunes. For by this means, (the French getting between us and our Indian allies,) they fixed those in their interests, who were wavering, and obliged the others to neutrality, 'till the unhappy defeat of his (late) Excellency General Braddock.

The troops under Colonel Dunbar going into quarters in July, and the inactivity of the neighbouring colonies, and the incapacity of this, conspired to give the French great room to exult, and the Indians little reason to expect a *vigorous* offensive war on our side, and induced the other, which promised the greatest show of protection. This is an undeniable fact, and that all of the Indians did not forsake the English interest, 'till three months after the battle of Monongahela, but actually waited to see what measures would be concerted to regain our losses, and afford them the protection we had but too liberally promised them.

Virginia, it is true, was not inactive all this time: On the contrary, voted a handsome supply for raising men to carry on the war, or, more properly, to defend her self; matters being reduced to this extremity for want of assistance. But even in this she signally failed, arising, I apprehend, from the following causes:

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5. The Six Nations.

The men first levied to repel the enemy marched for Ohio the beginning of April, 1754, without tents, without clothes, in short, without any conveniences to shelter them, (in that remarkably cold and wet season,) from the inclemency of the weather, and to make the service tolerably agreeable. In this state did they, notwithstanding, continue, till the battle of the Meadows, in July following, never receiving in all that space any subsistence; and were very often under the greatest straits and difficulties for want of provisions.

These things were productive of great murmurings and discontent, and rendered the service so distasteful to the men, that, not being paid immediately upon coming in, they thought themselves bubbled, and that no reward for their services was ever intended. This caused great desertion; and the deserters, spreading over the country, recounting their sufferings and want of pay, (which rags and poverty sufficiently testified,) fixed in the mind of the populace such horrid impressions of the hardships they had encountered, that no arguments could remove these prejudices, or facilitate the recruiting service.

This put the Assembly upon enacting a law to impress vagrants, which added to our difficulties, for, compelling these abandoned miscreants into the service, they embraced every opportunity to effect their escape, gave a loose to their vicious principles, and invented the most unheard-of stories to palliate desertion and gain compassion; in which they not only succeeded, but obtained protection also. So that it was next to impossible, after this, to apprehend

deserters, while the civil officers rather connived at their escape, than aided in securing them.

Thus were affairs situated, when we were ordered, in September, 1755, to recruit our force to twelve hundred men. 'Tis easy therefore to conceive, under these circumstances, why we did not fulfil the *order*, especially when the officers were not sufficiently allowed for this

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arduous task. We continued, however, using our endeavours until March following, without much success.

The Assembly, meeting about that time, came to a resolution of augmenting our numbers to fifteen hundred men, by drafting the militia, (who were to continue in the service until December *only* ,) and by a clause in the act exempting all those, who should pay ten pounds, our numbers were very little increased, one part of the people paying that sum, and many of the poorer sort absconding. This was not the only pernicious clause in the act for the funds arising from these forfeitures were thrown into the treasury; whereas, had they been deposited in proper hands for recruiting, the money might have turned to good account. But a greater grievance than either of these was restraining the forces from marching out of the

colony, or acting offensively, and ordering them to build forts, and garrison them, along our frontiers (of more than three hundred miles in extent.) How equal they or any like number are to the task, and how repugnant a defensive plan is to the true interest and welfare of the colony, I submit to any judge to determine who will consider the following particulars.

First, that erecting forts at greater distances than fifteen or eighteen miles, or a day's march asunder, and garrisoning them with less than eighty or a hundred men, is not answering the intention; because, if they are at a greater distance from each other, it is inconvenient for the soldiers to scout between, and it gives the enemy full scope to make their incursions without being discovered, until they have fallen on the inhabitants and committed a ravage. And, after they are discovered, the time required in assembling troops from forts more distant, prevents a pursuit being made in time, and allows the enemy to escape without danger into a country so mountainous. and full of swamps hollow ways covered with woods. Then, to garrison them with less than eighty or a hundred men, the number is too small to afford detachments, but what are very liable to be cut off by the enemy, whose numbers in this close country can scarcely be known till they are proved.

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Indian parties are generally intermixed with some Frenchmen, and are so dexterous at skulking, that their spies, lying about these small forts for some days and taking a prisoner, make certain discoveries of the strength of the garrison; and then, upon observing a scouting party coming out, will first cut it off, and afterwards attempt the fort. Instances of this have lately happened.

Secondly, our frontiers are of such extent, that if the enemy were to make a formidable attack on one side, before the troops on the other could get to their assistance, they might overrun the country; and it is not improbable, if they had a design upon one part, they would make a feint upon the other.

Thirdly, what it must cost the country to build these forts, and to remove stores and provisions into them; and

Fourthly, and lastly where and when this expense will end? For we may be assured, if we do not endeavour to remove the cause, we shall be as liable to the same incursions seven years hence as now; indeed *more* so. Because, if the French are allowed to possess those lands in peace, they will have the entire command of the Indians, and grow stronger in their alliance; while we, by our defensive schemes and pusillanimous behaviour, will exhaust our treasury, reduce our strength, and become the contempt of these savage nations, who are every day enriching themselves with the plunder and spoils of our people.

It will evidently appear from the whole tenor of my conduct, but more especially from reiterated representations, how strongly I have urged the Governor and Assembly to pursue different measures, and to convince them, by all the reasons I was capable of offering, of the impossibility of covering so extensive a frontier from Indian incursions, without more force than Virginia *can* maintain. I have endeavoured to demonstrate, that it would require fewer men to remove the cause, than to prevent the effects, while the cause subsists. This, notwithstanding, as I before observed, was the measure adopted, and the plan under which we have acted for eight months past, with the disagreeable reflection

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of doing no essential service to our country, gaining honor to ourselves, or reputation to our regiment. However, under these disadvantageous restraints I must beg leave to say, that the regiment has not been inactive; on the contrary, it has performed a vast deal of work, and has been very alert in defending the people, which will appear by observing, that, notwithstanding we are more contiguous to the French and their Indian allies, and more exposed to their frequent incursions, than any of the neighbouring colonies, we have not lost half the inhabitants, which others have done, but considerably more soldiers in their defence. For in the course of this campaign, since March, I mean, (as we have had but one constant campaign, and continued scene of action, since

we first entered the service), our troops have been engaged in upwards of twenty skirmishes, and we have had near an hundred men killed and wounded, from a small regiment dispersed over the country, and acting upon the defensive, as ours is by order. This, I conceive, will not appear inconsiderable to those, who are in the least degree acquainted with the nature of this service, and the posture of our affairs; however it may to chimney-corner politicians, who are thirsting for news, and expecting by every express to hear in what manner Fort Duquesne was taken, and the garrison led away captive by our small numbers; altho' we are restrained from making the attempt, were our hopes of success ever so rational!

The next things, I shall beg leave to mention, is our military laws and regulations.

The first men raised, if I rightly remember, were under no law; if any, the military⁶ law, which was next of kin to it. But under this we remained a short time, and, instilling notions into the soldiers, who knew no better, that they were governed by the articles of war, we felt little inconveniences; and the next campaign we were joined by the regulars, and made subject to their laws. After the regulars left us, the Assembly, as I before mentioned,

6. Sparks suggests that this word should be "militia." The text is from the copyist's record of 1784–85, and the instances of his carelessness in transcribing are numerous.

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passed an act in September following to raise twelve hundred men, and, in order (I suppose) to improve upon the act of Parliament, prepared a military code of their own, but such a one as no military discipline could be preserved by while it existed. This being represented by the most pressing and repeated remonstrances, induced the Assembly to pass a bill in October following, for one year only, making mutiny and desertion death, but took no cognizance of many other crimes, equally punishable by act of Parliament. So that no officer, or soldier, accused of cowardice, holding correspondence with the enemy, quitting a post, or sleeping upon it, and many other crimes of a capital dye, or pernicious tendency, could be legally tried. Neither was there any provision made for quartering or billeting of soldiers, impressing wagons, &c., &c.

But that which contributed the most towards rendering this law inconvenient and absurd, and at the same time to demonstrate that the Assembly fully intended to prevent any enterprise of their troops out of the colony, was a clause forbidding any courts-martial to sit out of it; by which means all proceedings held at Fort Cumberland (in Maryland) were illegal, and we were obliged to remove to Virginia for trial of offenders, or act contrary to law, and lie open to prosecution. How then were we to behave upon a march perhaps fifty, eighty, or an hundred miles distant? These circumstances concurring to render the law ineffectual, induced me again to recommend an amendment, which I did with all the force and energy of argument I was master of.

But no regard has hitherto been paid to my remonstrances. To what cause it is owing, I know not, unless to short sittings and hurry of business; for I can conceive of no reason upon earth, why the Assembly should be against instituting rules for the regulation of their forces, which long experience in established armies has fully evinced the necessity of. But, to cut short the account, we are under no government at all, to speak properly. Indeed, there is a jumble of laws that have little meaning or design in them, but to conspire to make the command intricate, precarious in supporting authority, and not to offend the civil powers, who, tenacious of liberty, and prone to censure and condemn all proceedings

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which are not strictly lawful, not considering what cases may arise to render them necessary.

Another grievance, which this act subjects us to, is the method prescribed to pay for deserters. Many of our deserters are apprehended in Maryland and Pennsylvania, and, for the sake of reward, are brought to the regiment; instead thereof they receive certificate *only*, that they are entitled to two hundred weight of tobacco. This certificate is to be given into a Court of Claims, they refer it to the Assembly; and there it may lie perhaps two or three years before it is

paid. This causes great dissatisfaction, and the ill-disposed to aid, rather than prevent, the escape of soldiers.

No regular provision is established for the maimed and wounded, which is a discouraging reflection, and grievously complained of. The soldiers justly observe, that the result of bravery is often a broken leg, arm, or incurable wound; and when they are disabled, and no longer fit for service, they are discharged, and reduced to the necessity of begging from door to door, or perish thro' indigence. It is true, no instance of this kind hath yet appeared; on the contrary, the Assembly have dealt generously by those unfortunate soldiers, who have met with this fate. But then, this provision is not established, nor in any wise compulsory, and a man may suffer in the interval of their sitting.

After giving this short and genuine account of our military laws, and then observing that these laws are expired, I conceive there need but few arguments to prove the difficulty of keeping soldiers under proper discipline, who know they are not (legally) punishable for the most atrocious crimes. When this happens to be the case, as it is ours at present, how is it to be wondered at, if mutiny, desertion, and all other irregularities should creep into the camp, or garrison? more especially if we consider that hard duty, want of clothes and almost every necessary that renders a soldier's life comfortable and easy, are strong

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incentives, and, to go further, when these in *themselves* intolerable grievances are set to view in the most glaring point of light by a person, who, lost to all

sense of honor and virtue, (and building, I am sorry to say, upon a proclamation inviting the deserters from the Virginia Regiment to enlist into the Royal American Regiment,) hath made use of every artifice to represent the fatigues and hardships of this service, and the ease and conveniences of the other, to seduce them from their duty.

Want of clothing may be esteemed another principal grievance, which our soldiers have labored under. In the first twelve months of their service they received no clothing; but in March, 1754, they were presented each with a suit made of thin, sleazy cloth without lining, and flannel waistcoats of an inferior sort. After that no others were sent for (and two pence stoppages drawn from every man's pay, recruits not excepted,) until repeated complaints and remonstrances from me, enforced in June last by a representation of many gentlemen of the Assembly, (who had formed an association, and saw the disagreeable situation of the soldiers,) induced the Committee, to whom those addresses were presented, to send for clothing, &c. These were to have been here by the middle of October, but no advice is received of them yet, which gives the soldiers some pretence to

suspect they are deceived. And it is owing to this irregular pay, and the causes aforementioned, that their late disobedience ought to be ascribed. For I can truly say, and confidently assert, that no soldiers ever were under better command than these were before.

Perhaps it may be asked, by gentlemen not thoroughly acquainted with the nature of our service, why the officers do not see that their men's pay is more properly applied? In answer I must beg leave to observe, that, after the soldiers have appropriated a part for purchasing reasonable and fit necessaries, the remainder is barely sufficient to keep them in shoes, owing, in the first place, to the very great consumption the service occasions, and, in the next, to the exorbitant price, which this article bears. I have known a soldier go

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upon command with a new pair of shoes, which shoes perhaps have stood from seven shillings and sixpence to ten shillings, and return back without any; so much do they wear in wading creeks, fording rivers, clambering mountains covered with rocks, &c.

As great a grievance as any I have mentioned is yet unnoticed, *i.e.* ., the militia under their present regulation. A representation of this matter comes better and more properly from others; yet my zeal for the service and my interest in the welfare of my country, have influenced me to touch slightly on some things relative to their conduct, as I cannot enter deeply into the causes that produce them.***7

7. The three paragraphs omitted were copied verbatim from Washington's letter to Speaker Robinson, Nov. 9, 1756, *ante*.

When they come into service it is with the utmost difficulty they are prevailed upon to take measures for self-defence, much less for the protection of the inhabitants; But indolent and careless, and always unguarded, are liable to be surprized. By this means Vass's fort was taken (and the garrison destroyed, and Dickinson's was on the point of sharing the same fate!

To set forth all the reasons that can contribute to render the militia of little use, and to point out all the causes which combine to make our service infinitely hard and disagreeable, would swell these observations into a volume, and require time, and a more able pen than mine. But there are yet some things that require to be spoken to the ill-judged economy that is shown in raising of men. We are either insensible of danger, till it breaks upon our heads, or else, thro' mistaken notions of economy, evade the expence, till the blow is struck, and then run into an extreme of raising militia. These, after an age, as it were, is spent in assembling them, come up, make a noise for a time, oppress the inhabitants, and then return, leaving the frontiers unguarded as before. Notwithstanding former experience convinces us, if reason did not, that the French and Indians are watching their opportunity, when we are lulled into fatal security and are unprepared to resist an attack, to muster

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their force to invade the country, and by ravaging one part terrify another, and then retreat when our militia assemble, repeating the stroke as soon as they are dispersed, sending down parties in the intermedium to discover our motions, procure intelligence, and sometimes

to divert our troops. Such an invasion we may expect in March, if measures to prevent it are neglected, as they hitherto have been.

The want of tools occasions insurmountable difficulties in carrying on our works, either offensive or defensive. Cartridgepaper is an article not to be met within Virginia. And now, before I sum up the whole, I must beg leave to add, my unwearied endeavours are inadequately rewarded. The orders I receive are full of ambiguity. I am left, like a wanderer in a wilderness, to proceed at hazard. I am answerable for consequences, and blamed, without the privilege of defence. This, my Lord, I beg leave to declare to your Lordship, is at present my situation. Therefore, it is not to be wondered at, if, under such peculiar circumstances, I should be sicken'd in a service, which promises so little of a soldier's reward. I have long been satisfied of the impossibility of continuing in this service, without loss of honor. Indeed, I was fully convinced of it before I accepted the command the second time, (seeing the cloudy prospect that stood before me;) and did for this reason reject the offer, (until I was ashamed any longer to refuse,) not caring to expose my character to public censure.

But the solicitations of the country overcame my objections, and induced me to accept it.

Another reason of late has continued me in it until now, and that is, the dawn of hope that arose, when I heard your Lordship was destined by his Majesty for the important command of his armies in America, and appointed to the government of his dominion of Virginia. Hence it was, that I drew my hopes, and fondly pronounced your Lordship our patron. Altho' I had not the honor to be known to your Lordship, your Lordship's name was familiar to my ear, on account of the important services performed to his Majesty in other parts of

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the world. Do not think, my Lord, that I am going to flatter; notwithstanding I have exalted sentiments of your Lordship's character and respect your rank, it is not my intention to adulate. My nature is open and honest and free from guile!

We have, my Lord, ever since our defeat at the Meadows, and, behaviour under his Excellency General Braddock, been tantalized, nay, bid to expect most sanguinely a better establishment, and have waited in tedious expectation of seeing this accomplished. The Assembly, it is true, have, I believe, done every thing in their power to bring this about; first, by soliciting his Honor, the Lieutenant-Governor, to address his Majesty; and next, by addressing his Majesty themselves in favor of their regiment. What success these addresses have met with, I am yet a stranger to.

With regard to myself, I cannot forbear adding, that, had his Excellency General Braddock survived his unfortunate defeat, I should have met with preferment agreeable to my wishes. I had his promise to that purpose, and I believe that gentleman was too sincere and generous to make unmeaning offers, where no favors were asked. General Shirley was not unkind in his promises, but he has gone to England. I do not know, my Lord, in what light this short and disinterested relation may be received by your Lordship; but with the utmost candor and submission it is offered. It contains no misrepresentations, nor aggravated relation of facts, nor unjust reflections.

Virginia is a country young in war, and, till the breaking out of these disturbances, has remained in the most profound and tranquil peace, ne'er studying war nor warfare. It is not, therefore, to be imagined, that she can fall into proper measures at once. All that can be expected at her hands she cheerfully offers, the sinews of war, and these only want your Lordship's ability and experience to be properly applied and directed.

It is for this reason I have

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presumed to lay this information before your Lordship, that, if there be any thing in it which appears worthy of redress, and your Lordship will condescend to point out the way it may be obtained.

And now, my Lord, how to apologize to your Lordship, for assuming a freedom, which must (at any rate) give you trouble, I know not, unless an affectionate zeal to serve my country, steady attachment to her interests, the *honor* of arms, and crying grievances she is struggling under, will plead an excuse, till I am so happy as to have an opportunity of testifying how much I admire your Lordship's character, and with what profound respect I have the honor to be, &c.

To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

[Alexandria] April 5, 1757.

Hon'ble Sir: A letter which I received from Capt. Mercer, upon my return to Alexandria, informs me, that 95 Cutawba's, beside 25 that are gone to Williamsburgh, are now in Winchester, waiting orders how to conduct themselves. That, according to custom they are in want of matchcoats, Shirts, leggings, and all other necessaries. I shou'd be glad to receive your Honors particular directions with respect to providing them with those things, and in what manner they are to be employed: as I understand they intend to accompany (in a body) any Troops of ours that may march towards DuQuisne: Or, if no Expedition of that kind is intended, then to go out in small Scalping parties against the Enemy.

As your Honor gave me no particular directions concerning withdrawing the Troops from Fort Cumberland, or how they are to be employed and posted, when relieved by the Marylanders; I shou'd be glad of orders now also, whether I am to bring off all the Virginia Stores (Provisions excepted) at the same time that the Indian Goods are removed.

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If your Honor does not choose to give particular directions concerning the disposition of the Troops, but leave it to me; I shall endeavour to post them in the most

advantageous manner I can, until I have the pleasure of seeing you; when this and many other affairs may be fully settled. And I hope you will not think it advisable to order any part of our small Regiment to march for Carolina, 'till the Assembly meet and come to some determination about raising more, as the consequences might be bad.

Notwithstanding I know it was determined that only—Forts shou'd be retained and that these were fixed on; I shall not evacuate the others without orders as I know it wou'd be attended with very ill effects. Nor do I think it advisable that they should be dismantled just at this time. However, in this as in all other points, I only wait your Honors determinations, to carry them into execution.

I set out immediately for Fort Loudoun, and from thence to Fort Cumberland, if time will admit of it. I have ordered this Express to proceed as soon as he receives your Honors Despatches, to the former. Governor Sharpe did not incline to give Captain Dagworthy orders to march to Fort Cumberland, until you shall have given particular Orders about withdrawing our Garrison. Therefore the sooner I receive them the better. I shall be down by the 28th. if possible, and remain. You Honors, &c.

To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

Fort Cumberland, April 16, 1757.

Honble. Sir: Your letter by express, of the 5th⁹ instant, I fear has fallen into the hands of the common Enemy, for I never have seen it. The other of the 7th I this day received; and being exceedingly embarrassed to come to your Honor's intentions, and really at a loss to know in what manner to act, in such perplexed and difficult circumstances, I called a council of officers to my aid. The result of their advice you will find in the enclosed.

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It will not be in my power to be in Williamsburg by the 22d, as your Honor desires; but as soon after as I *can* , I certainly will. I shall leave orders with Colonel Stephen to march this garrison to Fort Loudoun, as soon as it is relieved, which cannot be before this express may return, and then your Honor's further orders may be received. We have no advice of Dagworthy's marching, tho orders were sent to him.

I shall order all the country's stores to be carried to Fort Loudoun, and the two companies on Patterson's Creek to be posted on the Branch, to complete the number that was designed for that place. I have ordered a particular return of the provisions to be made out, and Colonel Stephen to take Captain Dagworthy's receipt for the quantity left.

9. The "Letter Book" copy has the 8th instant.

We have been at a good deal of unavoidable expense and trouble to furnish the Indians with such things as they wanted. Some enemy Indians killed two Catawbans on Thursday last, at about one hundred and fifty yards from the fort, and seventy from a sentry, and made their escape, tho pursued by other Catawbans and near two hundred men. And the day before yesterday, two soldiers were killed and a third taken prisoner, as they were coming to this place from the fort below. The rest of the party, being ten in number, with Captain Waggener among them, made their escape.

The enclosed remonstrance:10 I received just now and think it expedient to send it to your Honor, that you may know the temper and disposition of the troops. As I expect to be with your Honor in two or three days after the express, I think it needless to add any thing but an apology for the incoherence of this. The Indians are all around teasing and perplexing me for one thing or another, so that I scarce know what I write. I have the honor, &c.

10. See following document.

AT A COUNCIL OF WAR HELD AT FORT CUMBERLAND APRIL 16, 1757

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Present

Colo. George Washington, President

Lt. Colo. Adam Stephen

Capt. Tho. Waggener

Capt. Joshua Lewis

Capt. David Bell

Capt. Will'm Bronaugh

Capt. Chas. Lewis

Capt. Henry Harrison

Capt. Lt. John McNeill

The Colonel laid before the Council a Letter which he had just received from His Honor, Governor Dinwiddie, (dated at Williamsburgh the 7th. instant;) referring him to another letter, by Express, of the 5th. which had not yet come to hand; for Orders and Directions concerning the marching two hundred men to Fredericksburgh by the 20th. instant, for the purpose of embarking them for Carolina. Also for the disposition of other Troops for the benefit of the frontier inhabitants: As also, concerning the sending out parties of Soldiers with the Indians. And desired their advice on the most expedient and proper measures to be used in the present situation of Affairs. The Governors letter of the 7th. without that of the 5th. inst. being altogether inexplicable.¹²

The Council

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12. Dinwiddie's letter of April 5 finally arrived, but it could not have altered the situation, as it is assumed that the Maryland troops had arrived at Fort Cumberland. His letter of the 7th contains these statements: "Mr. Sharpe told me he had wrote by you to Captn. Dagworthy to march his men to take possession of Fort Cumberland when you withdrew your forces from thence and I was in hopes it wou'd have been immediately done...I wonder Govr. Sharpe shou'd hesitate in sending Capt. Dagworthy with his men to Fort Cumberland, when he knew you had positive orders to withdraw our troops on his arrival at that place, and delays may now prove of bad consequence." These two letters are in the *Washington Papers* and are printed in Hamilton's *Letters to Washington*, vol. 2, pp. 61–62.

after duly considering the Governors letter, and weighing the consequences of evacuating Fort Cumberland, before the expected relief shou'd arrive: and thereby exposing the frontier inhabitants to inconceivable danger, were unanimously of opinion.

First, that Fort Cumberland shou'd not be evacuated by the Virginia troops 'till they were relieved by those from Maryland, and the Stores cou'd be removed; unless more explicit orders shou'd arrive from the Governor, requiring it.

Secondly, That the Detachment ordered to march with the Cuttawba Indians, to gain intelligence and annoy the enemy; ought not to be countermanded, because it might create Jealouses and uneasiness among the Indians, who earnestly desired to be accompanied by Soldiers.

Thirdly, That, as the French and Indians have already this Season committed acts of hostility upon the Inhabitants; of the Branch, which had, together with the small force that was posted among them, discouraged the Settlers from planting, and determined a pretty large part of them to move off entirely. It is thought absolutely necessary to post troops upon the said Branch, in order to preserve that valuable Settlement, to induce the people to plant a sufficiency of Corn; and to prevent by that means, the vale of Winchester from becoming the Frontier.

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Fourthly, That in order to this it is advisable to evacuate the Forts on Pattersons Creek (which serve no other purpose than to Secure the Communication between the forts Loudoun and Cumberland).

Fifthly, We humbly conceive, that the

measures here proposed by this Council, are, under our present circumstances, absolutely requisite for the good of the Service, and are in no wise contradictory to any thing contained in the Governors Letter of the 7th. whose Intentions, for want of the letter of the 5th. instant, are not to be understood.

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL ADAM STEPHEN

[Fort Cumberland], April 17, 1757.

Sir: You are to remain with the Garrison at this place, 'till the Maryland troops shall relieve you: As soon as possible you are to march the Virginia Troops to Fort Loudoun; taking care to carry all the Virginia Stores to that place, except a few tools which shou'd be sent to the Branch.

But, if it shou'd so happen that there do not come waggons enough to carry off the whole at once; you must have the remainder well secured here, and left under a Guard of our own Soldiers, which is to escort them down when more waggons arrive.

You are also to order the two Garrisons on Pattersons Creek (as soon as they can get waggons to transport their Stores to Pearsalls) to march to the South-Branch: One of which to be posted at Harness's Fort; the other at the Upper Tract (unless any of the Militia are there) then and in that case, they are to be posted at

Fort Defence: and to use their utmost endeavours in protecting the Inhabitants, and encouraging them to plant. You must have the most exact account taken of the provisions

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that are in this Garrison; they are to be left for the use of the Marylanders, and a receipt taken from the commanding Officer for the quantity delivered.

The Indian Goods are to be removed to Fort Loudoun. Order the Quarter Master to have them and the Tools, together with the Soldiers clothing; and all the small things that are liable to be lost or stolen, carefully packed up.

In the execution of all these things I recommend it to you, to be as expeditious as possible, and to have due regard to the Interest and honor of Virginia.

To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

Williamsburgh, Friday morning, April 29, 1757.

Honble. Sir: I make use of this as a less troublesome, the most effectual, and (I think), most expeditious method of recommending certain matters relative to the Regiment, &c., to your Honor's notice. And to begin:

The act of Assembly which subjected the Virginia troops to Martial law, is now expired; and when in force, was altogether ineffectual

for the purpose. It is I think quite obvious, that we can prepare no Law more fit than that provided by Act of Parliament, as a military code for the government of our Troops.

We now have, and are likely to get a goodly number of Indians. I would therefore humbly recommend, that a judicious person acquainted with their customs, be appointed to the care of them: To conduct them agreeably to your Honor's direction, or to the orders which he may receive from the Commanding Officer. To make it his business to see that they are well supplied with provisions and commit no waste of them. To provide them with such necessaries as they may stand in need of, and are allowed by the country. To keep regular Accompts of all expenses occurring, &c.

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It cannot be supposed that this duty (which will fully employ, to execute as it shou'd be, the time of any one person,) ought to fall upon the Commanding Officer; whose other engagements will render it absolutely impossible for him to pay so much attention to it, as the service requires. And if they are neglected the consequences will be bad. The paying a person for this extraordinary duty, will, in the end, be an advantage to the Country. A good many goods should be provided for this purpose, and that immediately.

There are many Masters of Servants yet unpaid, who are very anxious to receive their valuation. I shou'd be glad if there cou'd be a way pointed out to do it, as the owners look to me for the money.

The choice of good men to complete the Regiment is really a matter of great importance.

We received (because necessity obliged us) many Drafts last year, who were unfit for any sort of Duty and who were rather an expense than service to the Country. The Officers hearing that their numbers are to be reduced, are very desirous of knowing who are to go out.

Some other method to pay for Deserters besides that prescribed by act of Assembly, is absolutely necessary. It is also *necessary* that some expedient should be used to bring the commonalty acquainted with the consequences of harbouring and buying clothes and arms from Deserters, &c.

Not to confine the troops to our own frontiers and defensive measures only. By this means we put it into the power of the enemy, to use advantages as they offer. Last year we could not, without transgressing the Law, move out of the Colony.

[Not] Paying Soldiers in small bills is an intolerable grievance. It wou'd add to the credit of the Service and be a strong inducement for numbers to enlist, were the Assembly to make

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some regular provision for the maimed and wounded Soldiers, who shall be disabled in the Country service. It is an uncertain tedious and expensive way for each individual, after he is rendered unfit to serve, to come down and petition the Assembly for subsistence.

The Commissary's Office has for a long time,

been under very bad direction thro' Mr. Walker's uncertainty of continuing. It wants much to be regulated.

The Garrison which, by the Council at Philadelphia, is to be fixed at Enochs's plantation, in order to secure a communication with Fort Cumberland; will be a manifest disadvantage to the Country; as it can answer no other purpose, and will be attended with the ill consequence of leaving exposed the old road to Fort Cumberland; which also is the road to our Settlers on the South-Branch, betwixt whom and the Inhabitants about Fort Loudoun, are not any persons living, save those at the Forts, which we have built, and garrisoned for securing the said communication. Were the men who are appointed to Enochs's divided, and one part put at Edwards's, and the other (which shou'd be the largest) at Pearsalls; it wou'd be of infinitely more service to Virginia, and still keep open a communication with Fort Cumberland: But not m so direct a course; nor could the road this way, pass by the Fort at Cresaps.

When my opinion was asked concerning a place to build on between Fort Loudoun and that at Cresaps, I was obliged to say Enochs's, because there was no other place more suitable than Enochs's on *that* road; and to that

road I was confined. But, at the same time, I mentioned the *other road* as answering the two ends of securing the communication with Fort Cumberland and the inhabitants of the Branch. And asked Lord Loudoun in a particular manner, whether the Troops were to be confined to the places specified? His answer was "no, because" (says he) "that might defeat our intentions. The places now fixed upon are only nominated as passes which appear to be of the most importance; but the Troops will be removed to this place or that

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as occasion may require"; which was my motive for saying no more on the disadvantages that might arise from building a garrison at Enochs's. A full and discretionary power being thereby left in the commanding officer to post them here or there, as the good of the service, and change of circumstances, in his judgment might require, I therefore beg leave to offer this matter to your Honor's consideration, in time; as it may and doubtless will be attended with very bad consequences to this Colony, to secure the direct road that leads to Fort Cumberland *only* : and neglect the security of the other which is now become of much more comparative importance to the Settlers.

I also beg leave to observe here that the Fort at the Upper Tract, notwithstanding it is more in the Indian pass of the mountains, is too high up; since numbers of the inhabitants from those parts, if I am rightly informed, are lately moved down about Harness's, and a place called Butter-Milk-Fort; which renders it necessary to place the troops, or at least a principal part of them, *there* also; to protect the Inhabitants in sowing and gathering their Crops, &c.

It is a hardship upon the Regiment I think, to be denied a Chaplain.

Establishing the militia upon a good footing is a matter of very great moment. Under this present regulation they are of very little Service, upon any emergency, and very expensive! The rates of Soldiers diet when marching thro' the Country, or upon recruiting parties, ought to be settled. As also the Bounty-money allowed the Officers to recruit with; in case the Country compleats the Regiment by Enlistment. The Officers complain heavily of their losses in the recruiting service. Their allowance is much inferior to that of the British Officers; while their duty and fatigue are equally hard, if not more so.

I doubt not but your Honor will, when you settle with Governor Sharpe, about the provisions, at Fort Cumberland consider that the carriage of *them* up, &c., should be added to the first cost. If we only receive the like quantity at Fort Loudoun, the Country will

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sustain a considerable loss; as the carriage, &c., is almost if not quite as much as the first cost of the provisions.

I have, in the preceding pages mentioned every thing that occurs to me relative to the service in general, and must now beg leave to know, as there

are new regulations making in respect to the strength and establishment of the Regiment, upon what terms your Honor purposes to continue me, and what may be my certain Dependence?

The Speaker informs me that the Country Committee have determined no longer to be concerned in disposing of the public money; nor have any thing more to do with settling accompts, &c., and that the House have committed or intend to commit the care of it to your Honor's management. The Speaker farther informs me, that he has made your Honor acquainted with the allowance the country have made me, vizt., 30/ per day, pay, and two per cent commissions for examining, settling and paying off accompts; and that you seemed to think it high. I flatter myself Sir, that your Honor will not differ in opinion from the whole country in this particular. For the Committee first gave it, and the Assembly afterwards allowed it as a recompense for my services and the extraordinary trouble and confinement I shou'd meet with in the prosecution of such complicated duties, as the nature of this service wou'd oblige me to engage in. I also hope, that your Honor will not, after the repeated assurances given of your good inclination to better my Command, render it *worse* by taking away the only perquisite I have; and the only thing that enables me to support the expence which unavoidably attends my *Table* and removing about from place to place on our frontiers where every kind of necessaries is accompanied with incredible expence, from the distresses which

exist there.13

To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

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Fort Loudoun, May 24, 1757.

Hon'ble Sir: The Bearer of this is Sergeant Feint,¹⁴ a young fellow who went out with the *first* party of Cuttawba Indians, commanded by Capt. Johny, and taken near the french fort at the time we supposed and reported him to be killed, from the information which the Indians brought in.

He made his escape from a small Delaware Town on a branch of Muskingum called White Womans Creek, in company with a Cuttawba who was taken when he was. As he is a Sensible young fellow, I beg leave to refer your Honor to him for particulars, with regard to his observations on the country; strength of the Enemy, and the *manner* of his escape.

He is now going with my consent to visit his friends. I have inform'd the disbanded Captains at this place that they were not discontinued from any misconduct

13. Two instructions to Colonel Washington, dated May 16, 1757, both signed by Dinwiddie, are in the *Washington Papers*; one is in Washington's writing and the other in that of George Mercer. By them the 2 per cent commission was discontinued and a lump sum of £200 a year allowed Washington for his table and expense. "In all other Respects you are to be on the same footing as formerly; and to Act as you heretofore have done." The Virginia Regiment was reduced to 10 companies of 100 men each and all captains, except 7, were reduced to lieutenants to the number of 20; there were to be 10 ensigns. Stations of the troops are specified and Washington ordered to remain at Winchester. "You are no longer to have concern with, or the management of, Indian affairs."

14. Joseph Fent, Fant, Feint, who had recently escaped from Fort Duquesne. The governor described him as "a well-behaved man." He, later, became a lieutenant in the Virginia Regiment.

that hath been attributed to them: and that you were pleased to offer them Commissions as Lieutenants, But I have met none who are inclinable to accept of such. I have also

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dispatched an Express to the Branch, informing the Officers there of your Orders: But have received as yet no answer from them.

I shall endeavour so soon as the regulation of companies is made, to dispatch those destin'd to the Southern frontiers immediately to their respective posts: and apprehend I shall meet with much difficulty in getting them off before they are paid: as the march of the Detachment for So. Carolina was attended with innumerable inconveniences and grievous complaints from their Creditors.

It seemed to be the intention of the House of Burgesses (when I left Town) to raise a greater number of *Regulars* , and *not* to employ *Militia* . If this plan shou'd be carried into execution, it may employ all the Captains now in the Service, and more Subalterns will be wanted: in which case I must beg leave to recommend the Volunteers in the Regiment that have served 15 and 18 months, in hope of preferment. They amount to eight, in the whole.

I must also beg leave to mention Mr. Kirkpatrick again to your Honor. As the hurry of Business and other Solicitations may have caused you to have forgotten him. I presume to recommend him to your Honor in this warm manner from two motives. First, he has merit to deserve any favour that you may please to confer on him, and Secondly, I think myself bound in honor, as well as from inclination to Serve him, as I prevailed on him to accompany me, under expectation of an appointment

as Commissary of Musters, added to some other Commission, might be worth his acceptance.

I doubt not but your Honor before this is informed, that a party of Cherokees under Warhatchie is come in with 4 Scalps and 2 Prisoners: They are much dissatisfied that the presents are not here. Look upon Capt. Mercers going off as a trick to evade the performance of the promise that has been made to them; will not believe that Mr. Atkin is coming; and in short, they are the most insolent, most avaricious, and most dissatisfied wretches I have ever had to deal with. If any thing shou'd detain Mr. Atkins arrival, it will

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not be in my power to convince them that it is not a mere *hum*! All the rhetoric I can muster is not likely to detain them more than two or three days to wait this event.

I imagine your Honor must have been much surprized to find so few of the Officers whom you had ordered for Carolina with the Detachment. And it was matter of astonishment to me when I found upon my arrival at this place, that Colo. Stephen had taken the liberty to dispense with your Orders on this point. However, this is not the only instance in which he has used such liberties.

The Regimental Stores are, by his Orders, distributed among the Indians

although I left express Instructions to the Contrary with Capt. Mercer and the Quarter Master when I went from this place. Had I met with him here I Shou'd most assuredly have made him answer for his conduct; which has also been pretty extraordinary in drafting the men for his Detachment. I am &c.

To COLONEL JOHN STANWIX

May 28, 1757.

Sir: Your Orders of the 23d. instant I was favoured with this morning; and have complied therewith as punctually as possible. The following is a List of the particulars which John Spour¹⁵ hath passed his receipt to me for; and promised to deliver to Edward Shippen, Esquire (at Lancaster) agreeable to your direction.

10 Barrels Gun-powder

3 Tons of Lead

6 lb. round-shot

12,000 musket-flints

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There is not, belonging to His Majesty at this place, either match or cartridge-paper: neither brimstone, Saltpetre, or three-pound ball.

We have but 20 Rream of cartridge paper for the use of the Regiment: and that I bought and sent from Philadelphia, during my Stay there in March last.

In a Return which was given in to His Excellency, the Earl of Loudoun, mention was made of a *cask* containing matches and Cartridges: But, upon a later examination, we discover that no matches were in it; and that we are in want of this article ourselves. The load of each waggon is completed with six-pound ball to the amount as above.

A Return of His Majestys Stores I herewith send (at least at this place) as given to me by the Quarter-Master of the Virginia Regiment. For there

15. Spore's receipt, dated May 28, 1757, is in the *Washington Papers*.

never has been any person appointed (since Mr. DeFever left us) to take charge of them.

The Cuttawba's have been of little use, but a great expence to this Colony; and are now gone home: The Cherokees I apprehend will follow their example. There is a party of 70 or 80 of *them* , with some Soldiers, now out, commanded by Major Lewis of the Regiment. But I expect very little from them; as I conceive it will scarcely be in the power of the Officers to carry them *far* enough to do much Service.

We are still without pay, and must continue to be so for six weeks longer. Yet I have been lucky (for I can call it nothing but *luck*) under my circumstances, to keep the Soldiers from mutiny and desertion; employed as they are on very fatiguing and laborious Duty.

You will excuse me, Sir, for saying that I think there never was, and perhaps never *again* will be, so favourable an opportunity as the present for reducing Fort DuQuisne. Several Prisoners have made their escape from the Ohio this Spring and agree in their accounts,

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that there are but 300 men left in the Garrison. And I do not conceive that the French are so Strong in Canada as to reinforce this place, and defend themselves, at

Home, this Campaign. Surely, then this is too precious an opportunity to be lost.

Any Commands wherewith you are pleased to honor me, I shall take delight in obeying.
And am Sir,

To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

Fort Loudoun, May 29, 1757.

Hon'ble Sir: Mr. Atkins delay is productive of numberless ill consequences. I am teased incessantly by the Indians to know when he will come; and have put them off so long, that their patience is quite exhausted; and several of them are going off without waiting his arrival. Among these are three who I must beg leave to recommend to your Honors particular notice. The first is Capt. Aires, about Hixayoura; a Cuttawba: He was the Indian that took the Scalp which King Hiegler brought to your Honor; and shewed a great desire to encourage his Brethren to go to war again, and *did* go himself with Capt. *Bullen*. The next is Captain Tom, the Chief of the Nottoways: He has received less, and deserves *more* than any of them; as he used great pains to bring the Tusks, and has met with no reward for it, although

he was promised one.¹⁶ And the last is a young Cuttawba fellow, who made his escape with Sergeant Feint, after having killed and scalped two of the enemy just by their own Town: The *scalps* he has with him. I am, etc.

To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

May 30, 1757.

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Hon'ble Sir: The Indians are so dissatisfied at Mr. Atkin's delay, that I am obliged to send this Express to beg the favor of your Honor to hurry him up immediately, or to give Orders in what manner the Present shou'd be disposed of, which arrived here two days ago from Mr. Donald. If one or the other of these is not done, and in a very short time too, it will not be in my power to prevent their going off full of resentment! They complain in very opprobrious language of the treatment they have received; of their being referred from one to another for the Presents, which ought, according to promise, to have been ready before they left their nation: And, in Short, recapitulate a great number of grievances which they say have arisen from the perfidy of our promises.

It is disagreeable to me to repeat this Subject to your Honor, but it is

16. That is, to persuade certain Tuscarora Indians to join the Virginia forces.

necessary you shou'd be informed of the disposition of these people: and it is for this reason only that I mention it in the terms they express themselves to me.

The Indians not being under *one* direction, is the cause of great expence to the Country; and has other pernicious tendencies. For, as we are Strangers to the only proper method of managing them; and all of us being desirous of pleasing *them*, as knowing their importance: they have been very much indulged, to little purpose. Which will ever be the case while they are left to the management of different people.

I therefore beg leave to recommend (not from an inclination to *dictate*; much less from a disposition to intermeddle, but with due Submission) that some person of good Sense and probity, with a tolerable share of the knowledge of their customs, be appointed to transact, under your Honors direction, or *that* of the Southern agent, the Indian Affairs of this Colony, of every kind whatever. That a Stock of Goods, suitably chosen, be put into his hand; and that he may have power to reward them occasionally as their Services require: Pay them for Scalps; provide them with Provisions, arms, clothing, &c.

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It appears in a very clear light to me Sir, that, unless something of this Sort is done, the Country will be involved in insuperable expence, immense difficulties; and no advantage meanwhile will accrue from the Indians. An Indian will never forget a promise made to him: *They* are naturally Suspicious; and, if they meet with delays, or disappointment, in their expectations; will scarcely ever be reconciled. For

which reason, nothing ought ever to be *promised* but what is *performed*; and one *only* person be empowered to do *either*. If your Honor shou'd think this an advisable measure, and be inclined to carry it into execution, I wou'd beg leave to recommend Mr. Gist as the most proper person I am acquainted with to conduct the Business. He knows but little of their language it is true, but is well acquainted with their manners and customs; especially of the Southern indians. And, for his honesty and zeal I think I dare vouch.

It is also advisable that such a person shou'd be appointed, if it were for no other purpose than to receive, examine, and pay off the innumerable accounts that have arisen to the Country on account of these Indians. I have been presented with numbers of them myself, and have promised the people to represent their case to your Honor, that you may direct in what manner they are to apply for their money. Many of those accompts. are for provisions, &c. as they have marched along: while others are for presents &c. and certified (principally) by Colo. Stephen and some other Officers.

Capt. Bullen¹⁷ has proposed a scheme to Capt. Gist, for bringing in the Creek and Cherokee Indians: and I have desired them to communicate *it* to your Honor.

17. Capt. Jemmy Bullen, a Catawba Indian.

If this cou'd be effected so as to have them here at a time when a body of troops was marching for Fort DuQuesne; it wou'd be a propitious circumstance and worthy of Bullen: whom I beg leave to recommend to your Honor as deserving particular encouragement for

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his endeavours to save the Country. He has Spent *more* of his *things* to inspirit his own people, as well as £10 cash in bringing them in.

Colo. Stanwix has sent to this place, and taken away 100 Barrels of gun-powder; three ton of musket-ball, 100 of 6 lb round-shot, and 12,000 musket-flints.

I fear, Sir, it will not be in my power to move the Troops from their present posts 'till the money arrives; as they are so involved in debt, and so much arrears due to them.

The Works at Fort Loudoun go on so slowly with the small number of men *now* employed, that I despair of getting them finished in time. I am your Honor's &c.

To JOHN ROBINSON

Fort Loudoun, May 30, 1757.18

Dear Sir: We receive fresh proofs every day of the bad direction of our Indian affairs. It is not easy to tell what expenses have arisen on account of these Indians, how dissatisfied they are, and how gloomy the

18. The assembly, "having considered the great expense the Virginia regiment has cost the country from the number of companies it has consisted of, and those companies not half complete in proportion to the vast charge of officers," remodeled it in form, and made it consist of 10 companies of 100 men each, reducing all captains but 7. The force was distributed as follows: At Fort Loudoun, 100 men, commanded by Washington; at Maidstone, 70 men, commanded by Captain Stewart; at Edwards, 25 men, commanded by a subaltern; at Pearsall's, 45 men, commanded by Captain McKenzie; in the neighborhood of Buttermilk Fort, 70 men, commanded by Captain Waggener; at Dickinson's, 70 men, commanded by Major Lewis; at Voss's, 70 men, commanded by Captain Woodward. Washington was to remain at Winchester, and was deprived of all "concern with or management of Indian affairs," Mr. Atkin being appointed the King's agent to take charge

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of all affairs relating to the Indians who inhabited the country between Pennsylvania and Georgia. (See Dinwiddie's letter to Washington, May 16, 1757.) Dinwiddie's letter is printed in Hamilton's *Letters to Washington*, vol. 2, p. 71.

prospect of pleasing them appears, while we pursue our present system of management.

I therefore beg leave to propose a plan, which I know is exactly agreeable to the French policy of treating them and which may, if properly executed, be a means of retrieving our lost credit with this people, and prove of infinite advantage to the country. The French, Sir, have a proper person appointed to the direction of these affairs, who makes it his sole business to study their dispositions, and the art of pleasing them. This person is invested with power to treat with and reward them for every piece of service, and, by timely presents on suitable occasions, obtain very great advantages. There is always a store of goods committed to his care to answer these purposes, and no other person is suffered to meddle with it; by which means the whole business is thrown into one channel, and it thereby becomes easy and regular. Whereas, with us it is every body's business, and no one's, to supply. Every person attempts to please, and few succeed in it, because *one* promises *this*, and another *that*, and few can perform any thing, but are obliged to shuffle and put them off, to get rid of their importunities.

Hence they accuse us of their perfidy and deceit! I could recapitulate a great number of their reproachful complaints, if I judged it necessary to confirm

what I have already advanced. But I believe, Sir, you are convinced from what you have seen, that there can be no deception in my story. Therefore, I shall endeavor to remark with candor, freedom, and submission, that, unless some person is appointed to manage the Indian affairs of this colony, under the direction of the Governor, or the southern agent, that a vast expense and but little advantage will accrue from the coming of those Indians among us. And I know of no person so well qualified for an undertaking of this sort as the bearer, Captain Gist.¹⁹ He has had extensive dealings with the Indians, is in great

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esteem among them, well acquainted with their manners and customs, is indefatigable, and patient, most excellent qualities indeed where Indians are concerned. And for his capacity, honesty, and zeal, I dare venture to engage. If he should be appointed to this duty, or, if this plan should take effect, I dare say you will judge it advisable to send for a large assortment of those species of goods which are the most likely to carry on the above mentioned business.

Bullen, a Catawba warrior, has been proposing a plan to Captain Gist for bringing in the Creek and Chickasaw Indians. If such a scheme as this can be effected by the time we shall march for Fort Duquesne, it would be a glorious undertaking, and worthy of the man. I am, &c.

19. "When I proceed to the southward, I shall appoint some person to act for me in this colony according to my instructions during my absence, who I believe will be Capt. Gist, who resigns his post in the Virginia regiment. He is so well recommended to me, and does I believe understand the Indian affairs so much better than any man else I can find or hear of in this colony, that I hope he will give satisfaction to all that will be interested in his behaviour."— *Atkin to Governor Sharpe*, June 30, 1757.

To MAJOR ANDREW LEWIS

June 3, 1757.

Sir: In a letter which I wrote to you yesterday, I desired that the Indians might not be brought to this place if it cou'd possibly be avoided: Since

which, the Hon'ble Edmund Atkin, Esquire, Superintendant of Indian Affairs, is arrived, and desires to hold a conference with them here.

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No bad consequences are likely to ensue by bringing them from the Frontiers (of which, however, you are to judge from appearances.) Mr. Smith the Interpreter,²⁰ you are to bring without fail; as, without his assistance, no conference can be held. I am &c.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR CAPTAIN JOSHUA LEWIS

Fort Loudoun, June 6, 1757.

You are Ordered to take under your command the men belonging to your own Company, together with those joined thereto by a late Order; as also those (now) of Capt.

Spotswoods Company: And, with Lieutenants Lomax and Steenburg, and Ensign Thompson, with four Sergeants, four Corporals and a Drummer. You are to march to Maidstone, in order to relieve Capt. Stewart and the Troops under his command; except those of my Company,²¹ at Forts Patterson, Mendenhall and Neally: and as many of the said Company (which are now at Maidstone) as will replace the number of private men detained from you to work on the Fort at this place.

20. Richard Smith, Indian interpreter.

21. In Colonial and early Revolutionary times it was the military custom to have the field officers of a regiment also command a company of the regiment; when the regimental duties interfered, the command of the company devolved upon the lieutenant of the organization.

These will reinforce your Detachment until I direct further concerning *it* . When you get to your post you are *then* and *there* , to observe the following Instructions: Vizt.

First, To take an exact account of all the Stores, provisions, and other necessaries at that place belonging to the public, and pass your receipt to Capt. Stewart for the Same (except it be for the Tents he is to bring up here); and you are to be careful in preventing waste of

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any part or parcel thereof: and to see that the whole be used with the greatest economy, and prudence for the Country.

Secondly, As the principal end proposed in sending you to that Post is, to protect the Inhabitants of parts adjacent, and to keep them if possible easy and quiet: I injoin it upon you, to use every means which you and your Officers shall judge advisable to answer this Salutary purpose, especially the following; First, at the Forts above-mentioned, to post a Sergeant and fifteen men: vizt. the Sergeant and 7 at Pattersons, and the remaining 8 at the other two places; namely, Mendenhalls and Nealys; *four* at each, which you are to relieve

weekly, and cause (after the Country provisions now at these Forts are expended) them to take their weeks allowance with them; as also other Suitable necessaries; and a sufficient quantity of ammunition. Secondly, with the remaining part of your Detachment you are to keep out constant Scouts, to consist of not more than one-third of your *well* men at a time, if necessity shou'd not require more. And order them generally to range the woods and country about the Falling Waters, and heads of Garlands, and Peter Tustees Springs. In these Tours of Duty an Officer is frequently if not always to command, although he may judge the party too Small, for his Rank...22

22. The third to ninth instructions which follow are included, practically verbatim, in the General Instructions to all the Captains of Companies, July 29, *post*.

To cause all the provisions to be exactly weighed out; and when you want more, to apply to the Commisary at this place, who will have orders to Supply you. You must also apply here for ammunition and other necessaries which may be wanted for the use of your Garrison...23

23. This variation from the General Instructions to all the Captains of Companies, July 29, *post*, is in the fifth paragraph.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR JOHN DAVID WILPER

Fort Loudoun, June 7, 1757.

You are hereby Ordered to take charge of the Cherokee Indians, whereof Warhatchie and Yautanou are Chiefs, and to conduct them in the nearest and best way you can from this place, thro' Augusta, Bedford and Halifax Counties, to the Borders of North Carolina; and deliver them over to some Civil or Military Officer of that Province, in order to their being further conducted towards their Nation.

That the Indians may not be disappointed in provisions, you are to send on a man a days march before, you, to provide them. You are to get exact accounts of the kinds, quantities and value, from every man that supplies you; which you are to certify and keep copies, and endeavour to be as frugal of, as possible. The person who goes on before is to desire the people at whose Houses the Indians may halt, carefully to conceal any liquor they may have. Shou'd the Indians however, behave in a mild discreet manner, you may at night give them a little rum mixed with water, if to be had; which you are to inform them is procured thro your own influence upon the *White people* , on account of their good Behaviour, and not by virtue of Orders.

Shou'd any of the Indians *misbehave* , you are not to find fault with the Agressor, but to apply for redress to Warhatchie²⁴ *only* .

The party now at this place from Capt. Hogg's Company, is to march with you so far as their road and yours is *one* (and shou'd be supplied with provisions in the same manner that the Indians are; as they are intended for an Escort to them:) After which you are to order them to join their Company; unless you shall find it necessary to take them farther, to keep the Indians from mischief. In such case you may carry the men, but in no other.

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As you have applied to me for liberty of absence, you have hereby liberty for days, after you shall have conducted the Indians, agreeably to the above Orders.

24. Warhatche, spelled also Wawhatchee, and probably the Wahawtehew mentioned by Dinwiddie, was chief of all the southern Cherokee towns. Edmund Atkin described him as the “greatest rogue among them, most certainly of unbounded avarice, well and long known to me in particular, and not having the least regard for the English, further than he can get presents from them.” The cause of the separation mentioned by Washington is fully described in a letter from Atkin to Croghan in *Pennsylvania Archives*, vol. 3, P. 175.—*Ford*.

To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

June 10, 1757.

Hon'ble Sir: Your letters of the 23d. ultimo and 2d. instant are received.

Mr. Atkin will write your Honor by this opportunity; therefore my observations shall be principally confined to Indian Affairs. In the first place, I fear that, the different colonies struggling with each other for their assistance, will be productive of very great Evils; and, in the end, introduce insupportable expence to these Governments, or to the Crown.

Maryland hath already held treaties with, and given *presents* to them.

Pennsylvania hath sent Speeches to them, and offers presents (and to the latter a great part is now gone). The conse

quence is, those Savages look upon themselves in a more important light than ever, and have behaved very insolently thereupon; as Mr. Atkin can inform you.

Part of the Cherokees is returned to their nation. I have sent, agreeably to your Honors Order, a person with them, to procure provisions along the road; and a small Detachment

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(a large one we cou'd not afford, as we are greatly straightened for want of men every where, especially at this place, to carry on the Works) to escort them to Vauses Fort.

I have in late letters mentioned some of the inconveniences which arise for want of money: and must now add, that unless there is a good deal sent up in a very short time, I must inevitably Suffer, as well as the Service, in a very great degree: As all the country people who have any demands upon the Public, think I am liable, and look to me for payment. Mr. Atkin has received the Indian Goods which were at this place, brought from Fort Cumberland and elsewhere, the enclosed is a copy of the return of them: A return of our strength is also enclosed, as the Companys stood after the Draughts were taken for South-Carolina;²⁵ and, at the reduction of the Captains, the reason why my Company appears so much larger than the others, is because all the Workmen that have been taken out of other Companies for this employment, have been returned *in* it.

That Capt. Paris²⁶ has misbehaved, I verily believe: He has a commission in the Maryland

25. This return, dated May, 1757, is in the *Washington Papers*.

26. Capt. Richard Pearis or Paris. He seems to have raised a company, which was incorporated into the Virginia Regiment; then accepting a commission from Maryland, he insisted that both he and his company were still in Virginia's pay. Dinwiddie wrote to Washington (June 24): "Capt. Pearis having excepted a Como. from Govr. Sharpe, forfeits any expectations from this Colony, his conduct has been bad, so I think its a good ridance of him."

Forces: which I think pretty extraordinary on every account. However, as your Honor empower'd Mr. Atkin to enquire into his behavior, I did not interfere, or concern myself in any shape with him.

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Colo. Bouquets information after what I was told to the northward, after what I know was established under General Braddock (from whom, if I am rightly informed, proceeded the allowance of Bat-men, to the Virginia Officers;) and, after giving in, at His Excellency Lord Loudouns own request (and to his satisfaction, as far as I cou'd learn) the quantity of provision, number of Batmen, &c. allowed each Officer. And, that I did this, Capt. Stewart knows to be fact (for he himself made a fair copy of the return for me:) I say, after all this, Colo. Bouquets' information is matter of surprize to me.

However, if this is the practice of the Army by any late regulations, I dare say every Officer here will chearfully acquisce in it: and wou'd wish from their very heart, that every other regulation that is dispensed to the Regular Officers, was extended equally to them.

The *Wampum* which Capt. McNeil lost, is since found and delivered to Mr. Atkin. I shall order Capt. Woodward to march his Company to Vauses and relieve Capt. Hogg, whose Company

will be given to Major Lewis, as it formerly belonged to him.

I am importuned by the country people inhabiting the small Forts, for Supplies of ammunition. I have refused them all, until I know your Sentiments. Ammunition is not to be purchased; and indeed some of them are too poor to buy, if it was. Therefore they apply to me. If your Honor thinks proper to order me to deliver it out to such people as I conceive will appropriate it to a good use, and in such quantities as we may be able to spare, I will do it; but not without.

I have found it expedient to relieve the Detachment at Maidstone, commanded by Captain Stewart, and bring them to this place. There were several material reasons which urged me to this Step; but the two following will, I hope, meet with your approbation. I have found by experience, that it is impossible to work Soldiers, and train them to the use of their arms at the same time: and that, if both are attempted, both will be more or less

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neglected. For which reason it appeared to me evidently for the Interest of the Service, that the men at this place (except the necessary tradesmen) shou'd be removed to some other post; where they might be regularly exercised, when they are not upon the Scout. Then there was no Company so proper to relieve them as Capt. Stewarts; who having had and improved the opportunity of discipling his men, was desirous of coming hither, as they have been a long time detached from the body of the Regiment. The other reason is, half the men at Maidstone being enlisted by Capt. Gist, in Maryland, and so contiguous to,

and under the immediate influence and persuasion of their friends (who encourage them to desert: and not only do so, but protect them openly in it, under the eye and authority of their Majistrates, if we are rightly informed) that in a little time, not one wou'd have been left. Eleven are at this time under confinement for desertion from this Company. I hope your Honor will direct me in what points and how far I am to pay regard to Colo. Stanwix's Orders: If I shou'd meet with any thing from him at any time, that may clash with your instructions to me, how I am to conduct myself in the affair. A case of this kind happened in Maryland, as I am told, and Colo. Stanwix sent orders to the Officer under 27 to disobey his (Stanwixes) *orders* at his peril.

Major Lewis cou'd not prevail with the Cherokee Indians to take out with them any more than 8 days provisions; the consequence of which is that he is come in with a part of them. There are yet out two parties, one of which consisting of 20 Indians and 10 Soldiers, under Capt. Spotswood, and are gone toward Fort DuQuesne: while the other amounts to 15 Indians and 5 Soldiers, under Lt. Baker, bent their course for Log's Town.

I wrote your Honor in my last, that Colo. Stephen did, whilst I was in Williamsburgh, give out many of the

27. Blank in the manuscript.

Regimental Stores for the use of the Indians, among which were 122 Blankets. There are at this place, come up for the Indians, several pieces of dutch blanketing. I shou'd be glad

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to know whether we may not take out of them (if there is a sufficiency to replace our loss) as the Indians have all been supplied?

I doubt not that your Honor has been informed of the fate of our Beef at Fort Cumberland: I was all along apprehensive that this wou'd be the consequence of Mr. Walkers absence. And as soon as I heard the account, I desired Mr. Rutherford to go up and overhale the casks and see what cou'd be saved. His answer was, that he was employed by Mr. Walker to trans. act the business at this place, and did not care to undertake it without his instructions. I thereupon desired he wou'd communicate the affair to Mr. Walker, and receive his directions, as I apprehended the Country wou'd look to him for the damage. What notice Mr. Walker has taken of it I know not. But since I have heard they have destroyed the provisions in an unwarrantable manner. Indeed I shou'd be glad if your Honor wou'd direct what is to be done in this affair.

Capt. Bell waits upon your Honor in hopes he may be able to obtain one of the additional compys. which we hear are to be raised. I have been greatly importuned by his friends to Speak in his favor, or say what I know of him. All that I can say is that, so far as I have had an opportunity of judging, he appears to be a good-natur'd honest man; and willing to do his duty. He has had no opportunity of proving his Bravery, that I know of, nor do I remember ever to have heard *it* called in question.

As to his abilities in other respects, and his bodily activity, your Honor can judge of them better than I, being more acquainted with him.

I must once more presume to ask your Honor leave to attend the Settlement of my (deceased) Brothers Estate (when the Executors and Colo. Lee will fix upon a time)²⁸ You were so indulgent on a former occasion as to consent to my being absent for this purpose. But the Assembly called off my Brother,²⁹ and several others who were principally concerned, and prevented the completion of this affair since. Altho' it is matter of great moment to have this business finished, it yet lies open. I am &c.

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To JOHN ROBINSON

Fort Loudoun, June 10, 1757.

Dear Sir: A person of a readier pen, and having more time, than myself, might amuse you with the vicissitudes, which have happened in the Indian affairs since Mr. Atkin came up. I acknowledge my incompetency, and therefore shall only observe, that the Indians have been pleased and displeas'd oftener than they ought to have been; and that they are gone off (that party under Warhatche, I mean,)

28. That of Lawrence Washington. Col. George Lee had married Lawrence's widow. The estate included Mount Vernon.

29. Augustine Washington, half brother to George, whom the latter called Austin.

in different ways, and with far different views; one part southwardly to their nation; and the other northwardly to treat with the Pennsylvanians, contrary to the sentiments of Mr. Atkin, who has, I believe, sent to forbid any conference to be held with them.³⁰

Major Lewis is returned with part of the Indians, that went out with him, in consequence of their having taken only eight days' provisions with them. He was unable to prevail with those savages to take more. One party of twenty, with ten soldiers, is gone towards Fort Duquesne, under Captain Spotswood; and another party of fifteen, with five soldiers, under Lieutenant Baker, but they course towards Logstown. God send them success and a safe return, I pray.

Unless you will interest yourself in sending money to me to discharge the public debts, I must inevitably suffer very considerably, as the country people all think me pledged to them, let what will happen. They are grown very clamorous, and will be more than ever incensed if there should come an inadequate sum, and that sum be appropriated to the payment of the soldiers.

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I am convinced it would give pleasure to the Governor to hear that I was involved in trouble, however undeservedly, such are his dispositions toward me.

I should be glad to know whether Capt. Mercer received any money from the public while he was down; and if he did, on what account. If he did *not*, I would be glad you would pay none, until you hear further from me, altho' he

30. "As to Indian matters, you must know I can be but a stranger, and I find all those employed as agents very jealous of one another, and I can perceive Mr. Croghan so of Colonel Armstrong, and...Mr. Atkin so of them all, as well as of the Provinces."— *Colonel Stanwix to Governor Denny*, June 12, 1757.

Armstrong said that Atkin was "miffed" about the provinces taking any notice of the southern tribes without first consulting him; while Croghan believed that Atkin had been prejudiced by the Virginians. Atkin wrote to Croghan (June 8) that on arriving in Virginia he "found it just on the brink of confusion and distraction, by means of the very Indians that had been drawn with great pains and expense to its assistance," as they "behaved like freebooters in an enemies' country." And to Governor Sharpe: "You will see how fortunate my being at Williamsburg was, to prevent a convulsion which must otherways happened in this colony and shaken all the colonies in its consequences."— *Ford*.

may have drawn orders. 'Tis on the account of the public I desire this.

To CAPTAIN ROBERT McKENZIE

June 11, 1757.

Sir: The exorbitant expence, and bad precedent of giving to every Indian who is pleased to demand it, a Horse to ride, compel me to tell you, that a stop must be put to the practise, or the Officer who directs it will be made liable for the cost. The County will not allow it; Nor are you to give them liquor, but upon extraordinary occasions.

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I have the pleasure to inform you, that you are one of the Captains continued in the Service; and that I have passed all your accompts which you put into my hands, except that of contingencies, which lies over for Vouchers: As soon as you procure these, the Committee consent to the payment. After this it will, I presume be needless to say, that you ought not to pay a farthing without taking a receipt for it. I am Yrs. &c.

To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

June 12, 1757.

Hon'ble Sir: The enclosed is a return of the Subaltern Officers and Cadets in the Virginia Regiment, Set down according to their Seniority. I think it proper to send this to your Honor that you may be enabled to fill up the Commissions below, if you prefer, it, rather than sending blank ones to the Officers who have resigned their Commissions at different times, of which your Honor has been informed. Since I came up two only have followed their example: Namely, Lieutenant Williams, of Capt. Peachy's Company; and Ensign Deane, of Cap. Bell's. The latter was afraid of having his conduct enquired into, concerning an arbitrary exertion of Military power: and chose this method of avoiding an examination, as it was agreeable to all parties; and the Service, I very well knew, wou'd not suffer by his resignation. I gave him my consent accordingly; and hope it will meet with your Honors approbation. Capt. Gist is the only one of the reduced Captains who is agreed if he can regularly, to accept of a Lieutenancy. And he accepts of it upon condition that he is appointed the next oldest Lieutenant to Capt. McNeil whose first commission is dated the 4th. day of December 1754; and his second, the 18th. of August, 55. This I thought highly consistent with justice, and therefore promised my endeavours to have it so. Because these Captains

wou'd otherwise have become the youngest Lieutenants; and might have been commanded by those Officers, whom they *once* had in their own companies as Subalterns.

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There is no other method therefore, that I can see, to do them justice (and to preserve the proper Rank of the Subalterns) than to antedate their Commissions: It is attended with no expence nor inconvenience.

Being informed that the Money-Bill is passed, and that Troops will be raised by drafting the Militia; I shou'd be glad to receive timely Instructions, in what *manner* , and *where* I am to receive them. What privileges and immunties they are entitled to; and what Laws they are to be governed by, &c. I shou'd also be glad to know on what footing the Ranging Companies are to be established, and how they are to rank; compared with the Regiment? and whether (but this can not be) they are entitled to any of our Regimental clothes, &c. I recommended when I was in Williamsburgh, Sergeant Hughes (of Captn. Stewarts Company) for the Adjutantcy of the Regiment. Your Honor seemed to approve of it then, and will now, I hope, send him a Commission. We shou'd also be glad if our Chaplain was appointed, and that a Gentleman of sober, serious and religious deportment were chosen for this important Trust! Otherwise, we shou'd be better

without. Enclosed your Honor will receive a copy of the proceedings of a Court of Enquiry, held upon Lt. Campbell, for not going according to Orders, with the Detachment to Carolina. Lt. Steenburgens case was pretty nearly the same with this and many other cases extraordinary in their nature, were transacted by Colo. Stevens, while I was at Williamsburgh.

Mr. Boyd goes down for money. I am &c.

If your Honor is pleased to promote the Officers &c. according to their Seniority, and present Rank in the Regiment: They will then, if there are twelve Companies, stand as follows.

Lieutenants

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1 Capt. Lt. Jno. McNeil

2 Christopher Gist

3 Thomas Bullet

4 Walter Stewart

5 Hancock Eustace

6 John Blegg

7 John Edwd. Lomax

8 Charles Smith

9 George Weeden

10 Wm. Crawford

11 James Roy

12 James Duncanson

13 Peter Steenburgen

14 John Campbell

15 John King

16 James Baker

17 Nathan'l. Gist

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18 Mordecai Bucker

19 Wm. Dangerfield

20 Edm'd Hubbard

21 Leonard Price

22 Wm. Flemming

23 Nathan'l Milner

24 Nathan'l Thompson

Ensigns

1 Jethro Sumner

2 Henry Russell

3 Griffen Pert

4 John Lawson

5

6

7 Wm. Woodford

8 Colby Chew

9 Benj. Bullet

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10 [William] Starke

11 Thomas Gist

12 Vacancy

There remains according to this, a vacancy for an Ensign, to which I wou'd humbly recommend Mr. Kirkpatrick; with the Office of Commissary of Musters. If Captn. McNeil should be promoted, Capt. Gist will be Captn. Lt. in his room; and another Ensign will be wanted: In that case the oldest Ensign will be made Lt. and I would beg leave to speak in behalf of Mr. Thomas Rutherford for the vacancy of Ensign. He is a young man who, for his modesty and good behaviour gained a very good reputation as Lieutenant of one of the Ranging Companies on this quarter. I am etc.

To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

June 12, 1757.

Hon'ble Sir: Since closing my packet for your Honor of this date, I have received by Express, from Fort Cumberland the agreeable news of Lt. Bakers return to that place with 5 Scalps &c. one french officer, prisoner. Two other Officers were also made prisoners; but one of them being wounded and unable to march, the Indians killed; and the other they served in the same manner soon after: and both contrary to the intreaties of Mr. Baker. In this they took revenge for the death of the truly brave Swallow-Warrior, who was killed in the Skirmish, and for the *wound* received by his son; whom they brought from the head of Turtle-creek, where the Engagement happened (about 100 miles beyond Fort Cumberland) on their Shoulders, without eating a morsel the whole distance. The name of the Officer commanding the french troops on the Ohio, together with the names of the two who were killed, and the other taken prisoner, are given in by the latter, as enclosed. The party they engaged, consisted of 10 french, 3 of whom were Officers; who had parted only the day before with fifty odd Shawnese, returning from war. Our people wou'd have

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taken the whole party, had it not been for the unfortunate loss of the indian chief, which put a stop to his mens pursuing. If this party was to meet with a reward for their Scalps and Services, with no more difficulty, than Warhatchie did in Maryland; it wou'd be attended with happy consequences. If they do not, discontent and murmuring will ensue.

I have spoken to Mr. Atkin about the prisoner whom the Indians have brought in; and he will endeavour to have him brought to this place.

I have this instant received your Honors letter by Captn. Gist; and must observe in answer thereto, that it was the refractory behaviour of the Cherokee indians, which caused Capt. Mercer to promise them presents. It is very certain he had no power or authority to do it: But his case was peculiar, These Indians came upon him expecting presents; and no Orders or Instructions (I believe) were Sent concerning the manner in which they were to be treated: Upon which they grew dissatisfied and unruly; and he therefore, with the advice of the Officers, chose rather to make them the promise he did, than suffer them to run back in a discontented mood! This was the (alone) alternative he was reduced to, if I am rightly informed. I fancy your Honor will not think, him, upon a second thought, so much to blame, as might appear at first view: especially when it is considered that he (nor are any of us who are now here) is but little acquainted with the proper manner of treating them. Indeed I am fearful, as I have frequently observed, that unless some person is appointed whose *sole* business it shall be to take charge of those people, there will be many other errors committed

equally pernicious with this (if it be a wrong measure at all.) I have spoken to Mr. Atkin sundry times on this head. He thinks it the most advisable, yea, the best plan that can be devised, to answer our purposes. But says, unless the Colony will Support the expence, he can not appoint such a person, having no authority from the Crown to incur the expence which wou'd attend that appointment.

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Enclosed is a return of the arms and ammunition at this place. I shall acquaint Colo. Stanwix that your Honor desires to know whether arms may be had of him, if they shou'd be wanted.

There are many indian accompts against the Country. The people are continually at me to know who is to take them in, and how they are to be paid. I hope your Honor will direct Mr. Boyd, that he may satisfy the Creditors. I am &c.

To LIEUTENANT JAMES BAKER

June 12, 1757.

Dear Sir: I embrace this opportunity of congratulating you upon your Safe return; and of thanking you, for the Services you have done the public, in your late Scout and Skirmish.

I was greatly surprized at not receiving an account of this matter from yourself: but am satisfied, there was some particular reason why I

did not. For I can not belive that you, who have behaved so well in one respect, wou'd be so deficient in your duty in another.

Mr. Smith, at the instance of Mr. Atkin, has written to the Indians, requesting that the french officer be brought to this place.³¹ Use all fair arguments and endeavours to encourage this, but no foul measures must be taken. You must remain yourself with the company at Pearsalls; if there is no particular reason, on account of the Indians, to the contrary? I am your most obedt. Servt.

To COLONEL JOHN STANWIX³²

Fort Loudoun, June 15, 1757.

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Sir: I have the pleasure to inform you that a scouting party, consisting of 5 soldiers and 15 Cherokee Indians, that were sent out the 20 ultimo towards the Ohio, under Lieutenant Baker, returned the 8th instant to Fort Cumberland with 5 scalps, and a French officer, prisoner, having killed two other officers of the same party. Mr. Baker met with this party vizt., ten French, three officers on the head of Turtle Creek, twenty miles

31. Baker's letter to Washington, describing his skirmish, dated June 10, 1757, is in the *Washington Papers*. The fight occurred on Turtle Creek, Pa., about 35 miles from Turkey Foot and about 20 miles from Fort Duquesne. The failing of The Swallow, a Cherokee chief, so enraged the Indians that they murdered two of the French prisoners. The one whose life was saved by Baker was an ensign named Velistre.

32. Colonel Stanwix was stationed by the Earl of Loudoun on the frontiers of Pennsylvania, with the command of five companies of the Royal American Regiment, and such troops as Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia might raise. He was now at Lancaster, Pa., but his headquarters were afterwards at Carlisle, Pa.— *Sparks*.

distance from Fort Duquesne, (the day after they had parted with 50 Shawanese Indians returning from the war,) and would have killed and made prisoners of them all, had it not been for the death of the Indian chief, who being killed prevented his men from pursuing them. The name of the officer taken, according to his own account, is Velistre; and of those killed, Lasosais and St. Oure; all ensigns.

The commandant at Duquesne and its dependencies is Delignery, a knight of the military order of St. Louis, and captain of a company of detached troops from the marine. This officer likewise says, that the garrison at Fort Duquesne consists of six hundred French and two hundred Indians. I believe he is a Gasconian. We sustained on our side of the loss of the brave Swallow warrior, and one other Indian was wounded, and brought in on a bier, near 100 miles by the party, who had nothing to live upon for the four last days

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but wild onions. Mr. Atkin (who is now here) and I shall use our endeavours to have the French prisoner brought to this place.

Captain Spotswood, with 10 soldiers and 20 Indians, who went out at the same time with, but to a different place, from Lieut. Baker is not yet come in, nor any news of him; which makes me uneasy.

Our Assembly have granted a further sum of eighty thousand pounds for the service of the ensuing year, and have agreed, (I believe,) to complete their regiment of this colony to 1200 men, besides three companies of

rangers, of 100 each. Our strength, since the detachment has embarked for Carolina is reduced to 420 rank and file only and these much weakened, by the number of posts we hold. Governor Dinwiddie is apprehensive, that he shall not be able to provide arms for all these men, and desired me to advise with you thereupon.

If it is not too troublesome I should [be glad] to be informed what proportion of batmen there is allowed to a company of 4 officers and 100 men, in the Royal American battalions? or rather, the allowance to each officer, beginning with the colonel.³³ And how these batmen are clothed, paid and victualled, and by whom? Whether the officers have any allowance made them for their servants, and if the officers in garrison receive provisions as soldiers or an allowance in lieu of it, and how much to each? Also, if the officers in their battalions provide bat-horses at their own expense, or have their baggage transported at the King's? Whether any forage money is allowed them, and what other allowances they have made to them? Should also be glad to know what proportion of women is allowed to a company.

It is wrong, I must confess Sir, to trouble you in this manner; but I have

33. Washington had recently been taken to task by the governor for asking allowance for a greater number of batmen than Colonel Stanwix had. "Surely Colo. Washington cannot

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expect more than Colo. Stanwix, and I think it was your duty to inform me of this and to conform your regiment to the allowances given the [Royal] Americans; and pray, how shall I appear to Lord Loudoun on my report of our regiment, when so widely different from that he commands...You know the clamor of the people in regard to the vast expense, and it's your duty as well as mine to make all prudent savings." (See Dinwiddie's letter to Washington, June 2, 1757.) The entire letter is printed in Hamilton's *Letters to Washington*, vol. 2, p. 83.

particular reasons for asking these questions, and getting them answered by authority, and none unwarrantable.

Duty and inclination equally induce me to communicate all remarkable occurrences to you, and shall be punctual in doing so.

To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

Fort Loudoun, June 16, 1757.

Honble. Sir: This instant the enclosed letters came to my hands. I have not lost a moment's time in transmitting them to you, as I look upon the intelligence to be of the utmost importance. If the enemy are coming down in such numbers, and with such a train of artillery, as we are bid to expect, Fort Cumberland must inevitably fall into their hands, as no timely efforts can be made to relieve the garrison. I send you a copy of a council of war held upon this occasion. The advice I intend to pursue, and until I shall receive orders how to conduct myself. It is morally certain, that the next object, which the French have in view, is Fort Loudoun, and that is yet in a very untenable posture. They have no roads for carriages into any other province, but thro' this; and there lies a quantity of stores here, belonging to his Majesty and to this colony, very much

exposed and unguarded.

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I shall not take up your time Sir, with a tedious detail. You will be a sufficient judge of the present situation of affairs, from those circumstances already related. I have written to the commanding officers of Fairfax, Prince William, and Culpeper: (a copy of which letters I enclose your Honor) to march part of their militia to this place immediately, that no time may be lost. I shall you may be assured, Sir, make the best defence I can, if attacked. I have wrote to Colonel Stanwix an account of this affair, and enclosed him copies of the letters and council of war.³⁴ I am, &c.

34. Six Cherokee Indians came to Fort Cumberland and told Captain Dagworthy that they saw the French near Fort Duquesne coming in that direction with wagons and great guns. An attack was apprehended, the country alarmed. the militia called out, and Colonel Stanwix's regulars were put in motion; but it proved to be a false report. "Colonel Washington told me," Armstrong wrote to Governor Denny, "if he [the enemy] came without erecting something by the way, that it was not in his power to be early enough to assist the garrison, nor would all his men be more than a breakfast to the French and their Indians."— *Ford*. (See *Pennsylvania Archives*, vol. 3, p. 189.) The council's proceedings are printed in Hamilton's *Letters to Washington*, vol. 2, p. 94. The purport of the above letter, with copies of those from Dagworthy and Livingston, were sent to Colonel Stanwix and to Governor Sharpe. Dagworthy's and Livingston's letters, dated June 14, 1757, are printed in the *Maryland Archives*.

MEMORANDUM

The following account sent to Colo. Stanwix and Governor Dinwiddie together with the Council of War.

Fort Loudoun, June 16, 1757.

The number of men fit for Duty in the Virginia Regiment, exclusive of the Detachment gone for Carolina; where Stationed, and the distance of each Garrison from this place.

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Men Miles At Fort Loudoun 100 At Maidstone 60 distance 36 At Edwards 16 do 22 At Pearsals 35 do 50 At Fort Pleasant 30 do 70 At Butter-milk Ft. 28 do 78 At Harness's Ft. 27 do 81 At Powers Mill 28 do 90 At Vass's 60 do 210 384

To MAJOR ANDREW LEWIS

June 16, 1757.

Sir: I have just received intelligence from Capt. Dagworthy and Major Livingston, that they were informed by six Cherokee indians, of a large body of French and Indians being on their march towards Fort Cumberland.

You are therefore ordered to use every method (by means of the indians &c.) to gain intelligence of the real design and approach of this body of the Enemy: and if you find that they are numerous, and that their object is an attack upon Fort Cumberland, rather than the establishment of an advanced post for themselves, you are immediately to evacuate the small Forts on the Branch, and retire with the Garrison to this place. You should give the country people notice of their danger, and advise them at all events to send off their women and children before it may be too late! *Take especial care to com

municate to me all the intelligence you possibly can procure, if you shou'd be obliged to retire hither. Perhaps it may be more advisable to cross the mountains above the Trough, rather than come down to Pearsalls, as your retreat may be intercepted at this place.

N. B. To this mark (*) is a copy of the Letter wrote Captn. McKenzie.

To CAPTAIN JOHN DAGWORTHY

June 16, 1757.

Sir: I have seen your letter, and have dispatched copies of it by good Expresses to Governor Dinwiddie, Govr. Sharpe, Colonel Stanwix and the County Lieutenants of four counties. So that I have no doubt that a very considerable force will be with you in a very

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short time. I have dispatched the Bearer to inform you of this, that it may inspirit your Garrison. I heartily wish you all the success your *merit* may deserve; and am Sir, etc.

To THE COUNTY LIEUTENANTS OF FAIRFAX, PRINCE WILLIAM, AND CULPEPER

Fort Loudoun, June 16, 1757.

Gentlemen: This moment the enclosed is come to my hand, with another letter much more particular, but too long for me to copy, as I think no time shou'd be lost in transmitting intelligence of this important nature. Three Indians are come in wounded, and saw the french army this side of Monongahela, near the place of Genl. Braddocks defeat: So that the truth of this report is, I believe, unquestionable.

I therefore hope you will not think it needful at so critical a juncture as this, to wait the Governors Orders for marching your Militia, or part thereof to this place.

You may be assured, the more dispatch you make, the more agreeable it must be to the Governor, and to, Gentlemen, Your most obt. H'ble Servant,

To CAPTAIN ALEXANDER BEALL³⁶

June 20, 1757

Sir: Yours of the 19th. instant came to hand about noon this day. As there now remain but a few Indians here, who cou'd by no means be prevailed on to return towards Fort Cumberland, altho so much wanted on that Quarter; imagining we wished to sacrifice them by attempting to expose them to (what they think) certain destruction, they positively refused marching until they saw such numbers as wou'd give some probability of success against the formidable force of the enemy.

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I have had no account later than that of the 16th., that one *Trotter* left that Garrison: Does he add what C. D.37 transmitted the 14th. more than that the enemys indians were in great numbers about that place, and frequently appeared openly to the Garrison?

Should I receive any thing remarkable, will communicate it to you. I correspond in opinion with you, as to the chanel of conveying Colo. Stanwix's intelligence. Therefore I enclose you a letter for him, which I must request, you will lose no time in forwarding.

I have endeavoured all in my power to raise the Militia, but have only a small prospect for success.

36. Of the Maryland independent company.

37. Capt. John Dagworthy.

To COLONEL JOHN STANWIX

Fort Loudoun, June 20, 1757.

Sir: Yours of the 18th from the camp at Carlisle I received about noon this day, when I was examining (in company with his Majesty's agent for Indian affairs) the French prisoner brought to this place by Lieutenant Baker and the Cherokee Indian. A copy of this examination I herewith enclose. You will find, Sir, from the tenor of his answers, that a large body of Indians was hourly expected at Fort Duquesne, and that, altho' there was not (if his intelligence is to be literally credited, and surely it is not) a train of artillery fit for such an expedition; yet this might have been brought by those three hundred men, who arrived there after he left the place.

It is altogether evident, (if the Indian intelligence may be relied on,) that the French are bringing howitzers with them for the easier reduction of the place, if they should attack us. For, they say, your guns are but muskets, compared with those the French have with

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them. Theirs will admit a *fawn* in the muzzle, while yours will not take in a man's fist. To any person, who is in the least degree acquainted with the mountainous country about our set

tlements, it is clear, that the French can bring artillery along no other road, than that from Fort Duquesne to Fort Cumberland, without spending immense time in mending one. Then I conceive the garrison at Fort Augusta has been very negligent and inactive, not to discover the enemy sooner. On the other hand, we all know that a blazed path in the eyes of an Indian is a large road; for they do not distinguish, between one track and another without a circumspect inquiry, *i.e.* ., between a track which will admit of carriages, and a road sufficient for them to march in.

These, Sir, are only my own sentiments, and I submit them to your better judgment for improvement. We very well know, that from Fort Duquesne to Fort Cumberland there is a plain road already made, and bridges also. I shall, however, continue to pursue every means in my power to gain the earliest and best intelligence I can of the approaches of the enemy, and shall transmit it forthwith to you. I have sent Major Lewis of the regiment fifty miles advanced from this, with orders to keep out constant spies for intelligence, and to lose no time in transmitting it to me.

We have received nothing new from Fort Cumberland since the 16th. The Indians, who brought the first intelligence, imagine, that some of Spotswood's party are yet skulking after and watching for the motions of the enemy. On the contrary, I apprehend they are all cut off; for a man, who left Fort Cumberland the 16th, says, that the woods appear to be quite alive with enemy Indians,

who shew themselves openly in the day. This is unusual for them to do, unless they are strong. We work on this Fort, both night and day, intending to make it tenable against the worst event. Mr. Croghan, &c. write you by this express, and will no doubt be more explicit on Indian affairs, than I can pretend to be, and to them I refer.

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It would have given me great pleasure, had you been pleased to signify your sentiments on the Revolution having come to this place, that I might act conformably with your orders.

To COLONEL JOHN STANWIX

[Fort Loudoun], June 21, 1757.

Sir: Since writing to you by Express, last night, I have received a letter from Capt. Dagworthy (a copy of which I enclose:) and have had an opportunity of examining the Indians, who brought him the last intelligence myself. They unanimously agree, there is a large party of French and Indians marched from Fort Duquesne; but, whether they are destined against

the frontiers of Virginia, Maryland or Pennsylvania, or all of these, is yet uncertain. The enemy, however, are without carriages; and by their track (for the Indians did not see more than a party of about 100) pursued them towards Rays-Town. This they would do whether they be coming to either of the above Provinces (without artillery) It is the way they have used altogether of late, in coming to, and returning *from* us.

I return you my thanks, Sir, for answering my queries; as you took no notice of the arms I asked for, by the Governor's Order.

N. B. There was a great misapprehension between Capt. Dagworthy and the Indians that first came in. They deny to me, having said that there was a body of the enemy with wheel-carriages, on their march to attack Fort Cumberland. These Indians were not within 30 miles of Fort Duquesne; but nevertheless heard the discharge of the French artillery which they conceive, was fired at the departure of a large body of troops from that place. Capt. Dagworthy might easily have misunderstood these people for want of a good interpreter.

To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

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June 21, 1757.

Hon'ble Sir: I this day received the enclosed from Capt. Dagworthy. The Indians mentioned therein are likewise got here with their Scalps: and

altho' I believe from several circumstances that the Enemy are bringing down no Artillery. Yet, as they all agree that a formidable body of french and indians is certainly on their march down; and as it is impossible to know what province they will make an eruption into. I did not think it proper to countermand the march of the Militia, which I am informed are ordered hither from Culpeper and Fairfax consisting of one hundred from each county: As I conceive the great expence of these Militia, until we can learn the enemys destination, for a short time, is trifling compared with the risque of having this part of the country laid waste, shou'd the enemy march this way when we were unprepared for their reception.

In consequence of the first intelligence which I received from Fort Cumberland, and the result of the Council of War held on that occasion: I gave Major Lewis (who at present commands at the South-Branch) orders to give all the country-people warning of the danger with which they were threat'ned; and that he, and the troops under his command, shou'd hold themselves in readiness to retreat hither, in case it shou'd prove expedient; but not to evacuate the Forts on the Branch, until he shou'd have *certain* accounts of the enemys intentions against that Quarter.

I wrote to Colo. Stanwix, to know if he cou'd supply us with arms: and, altho' I have since heard from him, he does not answer that part of my letter. I send your Honor, enclosed, a copy of the french Officer's³⁸ (who is now here) examination. I am etc.

To COLONEL ROBERT SLAUGHTER

Fort Loudoun, June 21, 1757.

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Sir: I received yours of the 20th. instant; and am glad of the judicious, regular step which you have taken; and judge it necessary you shou'd lose no time in marching the Detachm't up here; as we have received no intelligence which contradicts that formerly received a few days ago. A man arrived here from Fort Cumberland who left that Garrison on the 16th. instant: at which time there were great numbers of the enemy's indians around that place, who frequently appeared openly to the Garrison. This is probably a party detached from the main Body, and sent out before it, to reconnoitre. I keep Major Lewis 50 miles advanced from this place, with Orders to use all possible means of procuring Intelligence. I am &c.

38. Ensign Velistre.

To CAPTAIN NICHOLAS MINOR

Fort Loudoun, June 24, 1757.

You are with the company of Mila. under your command, to march with all convenient expedition from hence to Pattersons' Fort: From whence you are to send out parties for the protection of that neighbourhood. You are to maintain a proper command; to place sentries at proper places by day and by night, when in Garrison; and to be very circumspect in your marches, and counter-marches, by keeping some alert woodsmen advanced a small distance before, and on your flanks. This, every party, however small, is constantly to observe. In short; you are to use every precaution to prevent surprizes, which generally prove fatal: And, as the principal intention of your being ordered thither, is to protect the Inhabitants. You are to spare no pains or trouble to accomplish that desirable end.

You are to use all possible means of procuring what intelli

gence you can of the enemys numbers, motions, and intentions, and give me due information of all material occurencies.

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You are to send me an exact return of all the ammunition and Stores you find at that place, of which (with what you carry with you) you are to be particularly careful. And give your Officers and men plainly to understand, that they will be answerable for what they may lose, waste or spoil. The provisions are to be weighted and regularly served; vizt. a pound of flour and a pound of meat for each man, per day. Shou'd you find that the inhabitants in the neighbourhoods of Mendenhall and Neally's Forts, will not remain there without some additional protection to their own; you are to send a few men to each of these places, under the command of a Sergeant or Corporal, and to relieve them every week.

To THE COUNTY LIEUTENANTS OF PRINCE WILLIAM AND CULPEPER

Fort Loudoun, June 25, 1757.

Gentlemen: This will serve to acquaint you, that I have received subsequent intelligence to that transmitted to you, which contradicts the report of the enemys having carried down a train of artillery, and that they have taken Ray's-town road, by which it is imagined their intention

is more probably against Pennsylvania than this province. Therefore I hope that the Militia may not be immediately wanted. However shall leave it to you to act as you shall think proper.

As I am informed by the Governor that he has (in consequence of our first intelligence) ordered up a third of the Militia of several Counties; among which yours are included; and as I sent him an express immediately upon the receipt of this last account: And, altho' it is beyond a doubt, that a considerable body of the enemy is coming *down* , yet I think by their rout, they will not send their principal force this way. I am, &c.³⁹

39. Practically the same letter was sent to the county lieutenants of Orange, Stafford, and Spotsylvania, Va.

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To MAJOR JOHN BELL

Fort Loudoun, June 25, 1757.

Sir: I have sent the enclosed to Colonel Lee, open to you, that you may peruse it, and afterwards transmit it immediately to him.

As I have many Expresses to dispatch, I am puzzled to procure Horses for that Service. I send you enclosed, letters for the County Lieutenants of Stafford and Spotsylvania; which I must desire you will forward with the utmost expedition; as it may be the means of preventing a great deal of trouble to them, and a heavy expence to the Country. I am &c.

To DOCTOR DAVID ROSS

Fort Loudoun, June 25, 1757.

Sir: I was this day favoured with yours of the 23d. instant. I think your proposals relative to the provisions at Fort Cumberland quite equitable. But as the management of them properly belongs to Mr. Walker, I do not choose to interfere in the business without Governor Dinwiddie's instructions. I have therefore enclosed your letter to His Honor, that he may be the better able to give explicit directions concerning the matter; and will inform you of his resolutions on the head, so soon as his answer returns to my hand. But, in the mean time, I hope care will be taken of those provisions, and an exact account taken of what is used; as it is evident some must be used, the people having no other to live on. It wou'd be obliging were you to direct fresh pickle to be put to the meat, or any other means whereby to preserve it; for which you wou'd be properly compensated. I am &c.

To COLONEL WILLIAM FAIRFAX

June 25, 1757.

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Dr. Sir: Your favors of the 17th. and 19th. instant I have received. Captains Fairfax⁴⁰ and Minor arrived here with their companies on tuesday last. The latter I have sent to Pattersons and Mendenhalls; small forts lying under the North-mountain and much exposed to the incursions of the Enemy.

The storm which threatened us with such formidable appearances is, in a manner, blown over. It arose in a great measure from a misunderstanding (in Captn. Dagworthy) of the Indians, for want of a proper interpreter. The indians are, nevertheless unanimous in asserting that a large Body of French and Indians have marched from Fort DuQuesne; but without artillery; and that they pursued the Ray's-town road which leads very conveniently, to the three Colonies of Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania.

I have for this reason, and because the enemy have already committed several depredations in this, as well as the neighbouring Colonies, since Sunday last, thought it expedient to detain what Militia have already arrived, a few days longer.

I do not think we have any occasion for more: and judge it necessary to apprise you thereof, knowing the Governor has ordered one-third of the Militia to repair to this place, that you may act as you shall see meet on this

40. Capt. Bryan Fairfax and Capt. Nicholas Minor.

occasion, or 'till you may hear further from the Governor, to whom I wrote (on Tuesday last) an account of our subsequent intelligence.

Our Soldiers labour on the *public works* with great spirit and constancy, from Monday morning 'till Sunday night, notwithstanding there is a month's pay due to them. We have no other assistance.

I have been exceedingly hurried of late, and still am so; which prevents my being explicit on the occurrences that have happened on this Quarter.

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Poor Spottswood,⁴¹ and a party that went towards duquesne, with some Cherokee indians are, I fear, lost! Lt. Baker from the said place, has brought 5 scalps, and a french Officer, prisoner, after killing two others.

Kieruptica, a Cherokee Chief, is just come in with two scalps, which, according to his own account, he took within musket-shot of fort duquesne. He is now permitted, by Mr. Atkin, to go to Pennsylvania with Captn. Croghan.

Outossita⁴² came to town last night with 27 Cherokee indians from his nation. And by him we learn, that a large party may soon be expected.

These, I think, are the most material occurrences.

I have been obliged to furnish your Militia with provisions

41. Capt. Robert Spotswood.

42. Outasitta, Outacite, Wootassitie, Otassity, or Mankiller, a king of the Cherokee Nation. See note 50, page 82, *post*.

and ammunition, but with a good deal of reluctance; as I was blamed for the like proceeding last year.

I offer my Compliments in the most affectionate manner, to the family at Belvoir. Yours,

To CAPTAIN WILLIAM LIGHTFOOT⁴³

Fort Loudoun, June 26, 1757.

You are with the Militia under your command, to march from hence to Back-Creek, and carefully range it quite down to its mouth. From thence you are to march to New-kirks fort where, and in its neighbourhood, you are to remain 'till further Orders.

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You are to maintain strict discipline among your men; and when you are in Garrison, to place Sentries at proper places by day and by night. In your marches and countermarches, you are to be very circumspect, to keep a few alert woods' men always advanced before, and *on* your flanks; and use every precaution to prevent surprizes: as you have to deal with a cunning dextrous enemy.

You are not to indulge your men in idleness, but keep them constantly on the Scout, as the most effectual means of answering the desirable end expected from you, that of protecting the distressed Inhabitants.

43. Of the Culpeper, Va., militia.

Shou'd you discover certain signs of any large Body of the Enemy being near to you; you are instantly to inform Mr. Pearis, and Captn. Minor of it. You are likewise to inform me of all material occurrences.

To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

Fort Loudoun, June 27, 1757.

Hon'ble Sir: I was favoured with yours of the 16th. instant by the Cherokee Warrior, Autasity, who I am in hopes will be of service to us.

I hinted to Mr. Gun44 your Honor's proposals. He seemed surprized, and said you well knew he wou'd not serve for Lieutenants pay. I do not understand he has much to say *with* the Indians.

Yours of the 20th. came safe to hand. And as I wrote to you, by Jenkins concerning the subsequent intelligence I received of the enemy's motions, and from

44. Mr. Gun seems to have been a person of some influence with the Cherokees, whom those Indians asked to have sent out on the warpath with them. Dinwiddie answered

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Washington to the effect that if Gun would not accept a lieutenant's pay he need be noticed no further.

what those contradictory accounts took their rise.

I therefore beg leave to refer your Honor to a former letter. I have since received various intelligencies of their appearing at many different parts, widely distant from each other, at the same time, which inclines me to think that they have detached their principal force into many scalping parties. I have therefore made the best dispositions I cou'd by posting my small numbers at the most advantageous posts for obstructing their inroads, and protecting the inhabitants.

The enemy have captured 3 children near Cunninghams fort, 12 miles from hence; and killed several person near Conogochiege, on the Maryland-side. They attempted to surprize some people upon the South-Branch (where our troops and inhabitants yet maintain their ground:) and are constantly heard and seen about Fort Cumberland.

Colo. Stanwix is at Carlyle; from whence he purposed to have marched to this place, had the enemy come down in the manner we once had reason to expect. I presented your Honors compliments to the Colo.; and will pay due regard to his Orders.

We are indefatigably assiduous in forwarding the workmen; *All* work from day-light to day-light, sundays not excepted, and but one hour in the day allowed for eating, &c. But it is impossible that so small a number of men as we had and now have at work, can be imagined sufficient to complete such a vastly heavy piece of work, in a much greater time than you

mention. Nay, 300 men could hardly finish it by next October.⁴⁵ And as with our present number it will require a considerable time to put it in a tolerable posture of defence; and as the great importance of this place, renders the completion of its works so necessary;

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I hope you will give me leave to employ at least double its present Garrison upon them when the Draughts come up.

I have ordered 5 Subalterns, 4 Cadets, and five Sergeants to Fredericksburgh to receive the draughts; who will be soon followed by Major Lewis: No more Officers can be spared. I expected you wou'd have completed the number of Officers, *now* much wanted.

I think myself under the necessity of informing your Honor, of the odd behaviour of the few Militia that were marched hither from Fairfax, Culpeper, and Prince William counties. Many of them unarmed, and *all* without ammunition or provision. Those of Culpeper behaved particularly ill: Out of the hundred that were draughted, seventy-odd arrived here; of which only twenty-five were tolerably armed.

I proposed to the unarm'd, that as they came from home (at

45. Fort Loudoun, Va.

least with a shew) of serving their country; and as they were, from the want of arms, incapacitated to defend themselves, much less to annoy the enemy, or afford any protection to the Inhabitants; that they shou'd (during their short stay here) assist in forwarding the public works; for which I offered them 6d. per day extraordinary. But they were deaf to this and every other proposition which had any tendency to the interest of the Service.

As such a conduct is not only a flagrant breach of the law, and a total contempt of Orders, but will be such a precedent (shou'd it pass with impunity) as may be productive of the most dreadful consequences. I therefore flatter myself, your Honor will take proper notice of these men. I have written to their County Lieutenant on this subject.

I have been under a necessity of delivering out some ammunition to several parties of the Militia. And shou'd be glad to have your Honors' directions for my government on the

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like occasions; as the few of them that were willing to do service, cou'd do none, without ammunition.

Enclosed is Doctor Ross's (the Commissary for the Maryland troops) letter, about the provisions at Fort Cumberland; I shall gladly receive your explicit directions relative to this affair.

I have not been able to send any men to the Southward. The continual alarms on this quarter retarded it, until we received the news of the french marching with artillery, and then it was judged quite imprudent to draw them from a part so much exposed.

Mr. Boyd arrived here this evening; by whom I am not honored with a Letter from you, altho' I was in hopes you wou'd, by him have answered those parts of my letter, the hurry you was in, when you wrote yours of the 20th. obliged you to pass over.

I imagined I was to have been supplied with cash to pay off the Draughts on their arrival here: as their not being paid may be of bad consequences.

I have written twice to Colo. Stanwix about arms: but he takes no notice thereof in his letters to me. From which I conclude he is not inclined to furnish us with any. We shall want them much.

The money Mr. Boyd brought up is very insufficient to pay off the large demands against the Regiment for provisions and contingent charges, and as we are quite plagued by the continual dunning of the country people; I hope a sufficient sum will be sent up soon.

This place when finished, will

mount 24 Guns; and we have no more than 4 twelve-pounders, and 10 four-pounders. Six more wou'd do tolerably well. I understand there are some pieces of cannon at Colonel Hunters, belonging to the Colony, which I imagine wou'd be of greater service here.

To COLONEL JOHN STANWIX

Fort Loudoun, June 28, 1757.

Dear Sir: I have had the pleasure of receiving your two favors both of the 22d instant. We were reinforced, upon the late alarm, by one hundred and seventy militia from the adjacent counties, one half of them unarmed, and the whole without ammunition or provisions.

Had you, Sir, in consequence of Captain Beale's⁴⁶ suggestions, ordered me to reinforce Fort Cumberland, with part of my regiment, I should have given you proof of my willingness to obey your commands, in a speedy compliance with them; but since you are so kind as to leave it discretionary in me, I freely confess that I cannot entertain any thoughts of parting with the few soldiers I have to strengthen a place that now seems to be in no actual danger. And can not help

46. Capt. Alexander Beall, commandant of the garrison at Fort Frederick in Maryland.—
Sparks.

observing, that I think it a little odd Captain Beale, after having received subsequent notice of the first should intimate that it was reasonable to reinforce Fort Cumberland, at the expense of Virginia, which has a frontier thirty times the extent of Maryland to defend, and that frontier left solely to the protection of her few regular troops.⁴⁷

I would only ask Capt. Beale which is most eligible: the militia of Maryland (who were also in motion at the same time with those of Virginia) defending whatever stores that province might hold at Ft. Frederick, while the troops in that garrison should march to the other; or, for us to leave the valuable stores which are at this place, belonging to his Majesty and the Colony in an unfinished fort, to the uncertain defence of militia, who would not be prevailed upon to give the least assistance towards the public works at this place, and march a part of the only force which we can in any wise depend upon from a much-exposed part of the

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country, in order to ease Maryland. If the expense of keeping her militia in arms is really the question, Capt. Beale can appear in no favorable

47. Colonel Washington was in some sort under the command of Colonel Stanwix, but to what extent he did not know, as he had received no instructions on that head. and the governor continued to issue his orders as formerly. At length the governor wrote as follows: "Colonel Stanwix, being appointed commander in chief [of the middle and southern provinces], you must submit to his orders without regard to any you have from me; he, being near the place, can direct affairs better than I can." Notwithstanding the above direction, the governor did not cease to write, give commands, require returns, and utter complaints as usual, thereby increasing the endless perplexities and bewildering doubts with which Colonel Washington was harassed in all his plans and operations. It has hereinbefore been seen that he had requested leave of absence for a few days to attend to certain private affairs of a very pressing nature at Mount Vernon. He afterwards repeated this request, and as he seemed to be under two commanders he thought it expedient to consult them both. The governor answered: "As to the settlement of your brother's estate, your absence on that account from Fort Loudoun must be suspended, till our affairs give a better prospect." Colonel Stanwix replied to the same request: "More than two weeks ago I answered your letter, in which you mentioned its being convenient to your private affairs to attend to them for a fortnight. In that answer I expressed my concern that you should think such a thing necessary to mention to me, as I am sure you would not choose to be out of call, should the service require your immediate attendance; and I hope you will always take that liberty upon yourself, which I hope you will now do."— *Sparks*.

point of light to me.

I flatter myself, the expected attack of Fort Augusta, will prove more favorable, than Colonel Weiser⁴⁸ imagines; for I have no conception, that a road fit for the reception of carriages can be cut within ten miles of a fort, without the garrison discovering it. It was a careless mistake of my Quarter master to send you 101 barrels of gun powder.

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It is quite manifest to every person who has had an opportunity of experiencing the advantage of Indian services, that the friendship and assistance of the Cherokees are well worth cultivating. For my own part, I think they are indispensably necessary in our present circumstances, and am sorry to find such unseasonable delays in bringing them amongst us. Since Captain Croghan⁴⁹ left this Outassity,⁵⁰ an Indian warrior of that nation, with twenty-seven followers, has arrived here. He brings an account of many more that are coming; but whether they will wait for Mr. Atkin's passport, or will come on with their own, I know not.

I have just received a letter from Governor Dinwiddie, in which he desires me to present his compliments to you. I am, &c.

To COLONEL HENRY LEE⁵¹

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Fort Loudoun, June 30, 1757.

Sir: I have received yours of the 28th. instant, in consequence whereof I have discharged John Wood (who has employed Doctr. Bowles to serve

48. Conrad Weiser, Pennsylvania Indian agent. He is credited with delaying alliances between the French and Indians until the English Colonies had developed strength enough to defend themselves.

49. George Croghan.

50. Also spelled Outacita. He was one of the most noted Cherokee chiefs of the day, and as early as 1721 was known as king of the lower and middle Cherokee settlements. In 1730 he visited England with Sir Alexander Cumming and entered into a treaty with George II. He was in the service of Virginia in 1755 and 1756; his name occurs frequently

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in connection with Indian affairs in the Colonial records, and as late as July, 1777, he signed the treaty of Holston.—Maxwell's *Virginia Historical Register*, vol. 5.

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

in his room.) I have, also, finding it inconsistent with the interest of the service, discharged John High Werden, who, thro' age and consequent infirmity, is altogether unfit to undergo the fatigues of a Soldier.

As the number of draughts I have received from your County, is far short of the complement you are to furnish; I recommend it to you (and at the same time flatter myself you will conform thereto,) to use the most speedy and effectual means of sending your quota; for we stand greatly in need of them. I am, Sir, etc.

To COLONEL JOHN STANWIX

July 8, 1757.

Dr. Sir: The enclosed was wrote the 28th. ulto. upon Mr. Atkins giving me notice that he shou'd send an Express to you the next day. But, the *important affairs* in which he is continually engaged, have detained the express day after day 'till *now* .

Nothing remarkable has happened in this quarter. We continue to discover tracks and signs of the enemys parties, but *none* appear to be numerous: nor have they done any mischief lately. Outassity, with about 30 Indians, &c. and an Officer from my Regimt. are marched from *this* , and intend, if they shou'd not

meet with the enemy sooner, to go the length of Fort duquesne.

We have received 210 Draughts towards compleating this Regiment, and sustained great loss by desertion. More men are expected, and I do not know what we shall do, for want of arms for them. When the hurry of this Duty is over (which I expect will be before August)

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I shou'd be much obliged, cou'd I obtain your permission to be absent about 10 days, to settle some private affairs of very great consequence to me. You may be assured, Sir, I shall make no ungenerous use of your indulgence if my request is granted; and that I shall not quit my post if there is even an appearance of danger. I am Sir, etc.

[To JOHN ROBINSON]

Fort Loudoun, July 10, 1757.

Dr. Sir: I have had the pleasure of receiving your favours of the 21st. and 29th. ultimo. I did indeed begin to think (tho' I cou'd scarcely believe it) that you had quite forgotten me.

I am greatly at a loss how to proceed, wanting the mutiny-bill and do not know whether the Assembly have provided any reward for apprehending Deserters, which is very detrimental, and impedes the service much at this time, as more than one fourth of the draughts deserted before they reached this; and still continue to go off, notwithstanding I use every precaution I can possibly devise, to prevent this infamous practice.

I am greatly obliged to you for your endeavours to serve Capt. Gist. He seems to have sanguine hopes of Mr. Atkins, doing something for him. How justly they are formed, I know not.

I received the money you mention in your first letter, by Mr. Boyd, and have disbursed the greatest part of it, and with the best economy I cou'd, to give content. The sum was trifling, and unless more is speedily sent, we shall be in the suds again.

The accounts transmitted by Capt. Dagworthy, made our Affairs appear with a gloomy aspect; but they begin to revive again. It was a surprising mistake for an Officer (in the least degree acquainted with the service) to make.

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I had an opportunity of examining the same indians afterwards, and to me, they denied having given such an account, but all agree, that many large scouting parties were sent hitherwards. And I believe they are

exercising their cruelties in Pennsylvania, as I heard of several murders committed there lately.

Capt. Dagworthy did I suppose for want of a good Interpreter, misunderstand the Intelligencer who was brought to him. I have received the two thousand pounds which you sent to Fredericksburgh; and have also received the Draughts etc. and from your County, except John Stevens and James Johnston who have deserted. We have at this place in all, about 210 Draughts: Have lost since their arrival at Fredericksburgh near 80; and shall I fear lose very many more, unless severe Examples are made of some: which can not be done unless the military and civil powers, in their respective counties, will unite to apprehend these Fellows, who go off in full confidence of finding protection.

It is I fear beyond all doubt that poor Spotswood has fallen into the hands of the Enemy. Three men of his party are come in, who left him by his own order (to disperse) after they had fled from a party of Indians. They are however positive that he escap'd *that* party of indians. But the certainty of this is doubted. That *matter* which I hinted to you about Mercer, is since cleared up. He borrowed £250 by my order, and for the use of the public,

while he remained at this place, and I was ordered to Ft. Cumberland: and went off from here without rendering me any account of it; so that I was liable for payment, and unacquainted with the disbursements. But since that he has pointed out the method to re-imburse Cox (who is crying every day thro' apprehension of wrong). The sum of £164.1.5d. which you speak of, is to assist in discharging this debt. I send you Mr. Palmers certificate, and shou'd be obliged to you for the money: (I believe it may safely be trusted with Jenkins) that Cox's doubts may be removed. I will send you a receipt for the money as soon as I get it.

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I have settled Mr. Carlyles accompt. for necessaries furnished, and was obliged to pay him £70 to appease his complaints. It was hard he said, to have the balance from myself to him of £186.9.2 stopped, because he owed the country according to another accompt which he produced, only £25.1. (unless the country wou'd not pay him £93..¾ accompts which he has charged and advanced money for 3 years ago). I did not care to pay him more than 70£ till I acquainted you with the affair; and shall now be glad if your sentiments on this matter: that is, whether I may allow him my whole accompt, and let him settle his other with the Committee; deduct the £25.1 only, or the 25 and 93 £ both?

Working destroys and wears out Soldiers clothing very much, and unless some timely measures are taken, to lay in a supply, we shall be

as bad off as formerly.

Were we to begin now to engage those things, it wou'd be next *fall* twelvemonths ere they wou'd come to hand; and that wou'd bring two years about, between their receiving one Suit and the other.

If there shou'd be any thing done in it, I hope, as it is a perquisite inseparable from the Colonel, that the Country will allow it to me: especially since the Governor has strip'd me of the only one that was allowed, and substituted a very inadequate reward in its room.

I shou'd be glad to know whether the overplus of the two thousand pounds, after paying enlisting money to the Draughts and volunteers, may not be applied to other purposes?

Since writing the above, 71 out of 95 Draughts that marched from Fredericksburgh on Wednesday last, arrived at this place, the rest deserted. I am with great sincerity, etc.

P.S. We are greatly distressed for want of Arms for the Draughts. I have mentioned this to the Governor; but on this head, as on most others, he is silent.⁵²

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52. The "Letter Book" copy attributes this letter to the Treasurer.

To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

July 10, 1757.

Hon'ble Sir: I received your Honors letter of the 27th. ultimo by Jenkins. The whole of the Militia from the adjacent counties that arrived here did not amount to more than 170 men: One half of those were unarmed, and the whole without ammunition or provisions. I detained such as were fit for Service, and discharged the rest; with threats to acquaint your Honor with the naked manner in which they came out. We have at this time about 50 of the Militia from Fairfax, 20 from Culpeper, and 40 from this County at different posts, employed in scouting, and assisting the inhabitants in harvesting.

The Letters I had from Colo. Stanwix⁵³ only informed me, that he had determined (and agreeably to that determination, had procured waggons and every thing in readiness) to march to this place which, upon the first intelligence from Captn. Dagworthy, he intended to make the general Rendezvous; and stand, until proper measures cou'd be concerted. That he approved much of the steps I had taken; and of the council of War held here. And that, upon the second advice, he had dismissed his waggons, and intended to remain at his camp near Carlyle. This is the purport of what he has written to me, except in answer to a letter of mine concerning Bat-men, which I desired to have certified by himself, as your Honor seemed to imagine I

53. Two letters, both dated June 22, 1757. They are printed in Hamilton's *Letters to Washington*.

intended an *imposition* , in setting down the allowance due to the Officers of the Virginia Regiment.

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As your Honor was pleased to make the Regulars a precedent for reducing out Bat-men; we hope you will also do it for establishing an allowance for the expence of keeping them, and for affording the other allowances of Waggon, &c. to transport the Officers Baggage and necessaries (which hitherto has always been done at their own private cost).

I send your Honor the original writing under Colo. Stanwix's own hand, as it came to me, annexed to his letter. I forgot to mention before, that Colo. Stanwix also wrote me, he had received advice from Colo. Wiser,⁵⁴ that the Garrison of Fort Augusta, at Shamoken, apprehended an attack; because some Indians who had just come in reported, that the french and indians had cut a large road within 10 miles of that fort. This letter was dated the 16th. ulto. and the Colonel observed, that he shou'd wait for further intelligence, before he moved.

There are 209 Draughts at this place; great numbers deserted before they got here, and some since: and, unless the civil and military Officers in the respective counties will exert themselves

54. Colonel Weiser, Pennsylvania Indian agent. He was adopted by the Mohawk Tribe; lived with the Iroquois, learned their language, and was adopted also by them.

in apprehending these fellows, and severe examples are made of some (as warning to others) we shall not be able to keep a man, notwithstanding I take every precaution I possibly can to prevent this infamous practise. Very few of the Draughts have arms; I have several Smiths employed in repairing the old ones in store here, which can scarcely be made serviceable. They can not be completed with Bayonets and cartouch-boxes. It was not 'till lately, I have been able to procure an Armourer ; altho I had used my best endeavours to do so these 8 months past. That the Draughts may not be useless (thro' the want of arms) I shall employ them on the public works until your Honors pleasure, on this head, is known.

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I think it my duty to represent, that the contractors or Commissaries, who are to lay in provisions for the forces of this Colony for the ensuing year, shou'd be immediately appointed; as the season for engaging Beef is fast approaching, and the Pedlars and Butchers from Pennsylvania, are coming amongst the Settlers for the purpose of buying.

After the arrears if the Regiment (for which I am answerable) are paid off; it is necessary I shou'd have a fund of money lodged in my hands, to answer the contingent Expences of the Service.

I have acquainted many people with the answer your Honor gave to my representation in behalf of the accompts of the indians. They are greatly dissatisfied at the

thoughts of going to Williamsburgh; and I believe it will be attended with such bad effects, that no services of a similar kind, will ever again be done by them on the most urgent occasion.

I wou'd therefore, to prevent this which may be very injurious in its consequences, beg leave humbly to recommend, that some person should be appointed to take in and adjust, if not to pay off, all these accompts; and at the same time wou'd mention Captn. Gist for this Duty: Because I understand Mr. Atkin intends to give him the management of all matters that relate to the Indians on this quarter, and it will therefore be consisted with his Office.

I now enclose two receipts which I presented to your Honor in Williamsburgh, for money which Capt. Mercer laid out for Moccasons for the Indians. The Committee refused having any thing to say to them; because the money was to come properly out of a fund, of which your Honor has the management alone: and desired me to apply to you for it; and if your Honor remember, you returned for answer, that there was no money in your hands: offering at the same time a warrant upon the Speaker for it; which I did not take, as he had before assured me, there was no

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money in the Treasury.

I hope you will be kind enough to send *it* now by Jenkins, as it is very much wanted. I shou'd be glad to know whether your Honor intended to continue Jenkins's pay?

Two Officers have desired leave to resign, since I wrote you last; namely, Lt. Eustace and Ensign Pert.⁵⁵

I have received 2,000 £ of the Speaker, to pay the Draughts: We are greatly at a loss how to proceed, wanting the mutiny and desertion Bills (passed by the last Assembly:) and I shou'd be very glad to know what reward the Assembly have given for apprehending deserters; and in what manner payment is to be made.

It is not in my power to send your Honor a return of our Strength, because I have not received the returns from the Officers at the detached posts. There is however, but little alteration from that of May.

Since writing the above, 70 more Draughts out of 95 that marched from Fredericksburgh on Wednesday last, are arrived here; the rest deserted. When the whole have joined the Regiment I shall (if your Honor is pleased to signify it as your desire,) send you the number I receive from each County; and, if you require a return yet more particular, will transmit the names of each *man* . I am your &c.

55. Lieut. Hancock Eustace and Ensign Griffin Pert.

To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

July 11, 1757.

Honble. Sir: I had just closed mine yesterday, and was going to send off Jenkins⁵⁶ with it, when yours of the 24th ultimo came to hand.

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The Deserters apprehended at Maidstone, were treated with such lenity as their subsequent behaviour convinces me was misplaced: several of them having since deserted.

This infamous practice, wherein such numbers of our men have (by means of the villainy and ill-judged compassion of the country-people, who deem it a merit to assist Deserters,) has been wonderfully successful; and is now arrived at such a height, that nothing can stop its scandalous progress, but the severest punishments, and most striking examples. Since mine of yesterday, no less than 24 more of the Draughts (after having received their money and clothes) deserted: notwithstanding every precaution I cou'd suggest was taken to prevent it: among others, I had all the roads way-laid in the night.—Seven of those who went off last night, took that road which happened to be blocked up. Mr. Hughes (whom your Honor has been pleased to appoint adjutant) and two Soldiers, took two of them, after exchanging

56. An express rider between Williamsburg, Va., and the army.

some shot, and wou'd in all probability have taken them all, had he not been disabled in the right hand, and one of our Soldiers shot thro' the leg; and, it is believed, one of the Deserters was killed in the conflict.

I must again, earnestly request, your Honor will please to send me up a copy of the mutiny and desertion bill, passed the last Session of Assembly,⁵⁷ with blank warrants to execute the Sentence of the Courts martial; without which I fear we will soon lose, not only all the draughts, but, by their going off with impunity, there is such a bad example, as will render even the detention of the old Soldiers impracticable.

As the pressing exigency of this unhappy juncture demands the utmost expedition, in which the welfare of the Colony is so nearly concerned; I flatter myself your Honor will not hesitate at sending me blank-warrants.

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By a course of unerring experience, I am convinced beyond any doubt, that nothing but the most rigorous measures can have the least effect.

The inconceivable trouble those discontented turbulent fellows give us, and the few Officers that now remain here, have greatly impeded the service; and laid me under the necessity of appointing the three oldest volunteers, vizt. Mess: Speake, Felt, and Wood, Ensigns, which I hope your Honor will approve of.

I am glad your Honor does not think of the additional companies, or Rangers, till the

57. "Our printing office is so closely engaged in printing the paper currency that I could not get the mutiny and desertion act in print."— *Dinwiddie to Washington*, July 18, 1757.

Regiment is complete. A short time has already demonstrated how justly founded your apprehensions on that head were. As I now begin to despair of seeing the 8 companies that remain in the Colony, compleated, I am convinced every day will lessen our numbers 'till some sad examples are made of the Deserters.

As the unhappy fate of poor Capt. Spotswood seems now to be ascertained, and made a vacant company in the Regiment; I beg leave to recommend Capt. McNeill in the warmest manner to your Honor for it; not only from his undoubted title of seniority but from his great merit, hard fate, and long sufferings in his rank and pay.

Should he be again superseded, it cannot be imagined that a man of his spirit will be any longer detained in the service however prejudicial his leaving it may otherwise be to him. And I must confess it would give me pain that we should lose a good officer thro' the default of common justice.

Your Honor seems surprized at my returning 432 men in May, and but 384 in June. It is true, there were several desertions in that interval, but if your Honor will take the trouble of looking [at] those two returns it will

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immediately remove your surprize; That of May was of my *total* effectives; and that of the 16th of June was only of the number I then had fit for Duty; designed to shew your Honor what I [had] actually fit for service, at a time when we were threatened with the most imminent danger.

The reason of my being so urgent for the blank warrants is that I am persuaded , that postponing the punishments ordered by the courts-martial will not only diminish the terror of delinquents, but encourage other of the Soldiers to follow their base example. And, would your Honor think proper to issue your proclamation, commanding all the officers, civil and military, to exert themselves in apprehending these Deserters, it wou'd probably have a good effect.

I have ordered a roll to be made out of the Draughts that deserted, since they were received at Fredericksburg, which I here enclose your Honor, that you have it advertised, if you shall think it proper.

Although my Brother's affairs have been long in an unsettled state; and I am nearly interested in having them properly adjusted, and which cannot be done without my presence, being one of the Executors; yet I did not purpose when I asked leave, nor ever intended to be absent, but at some favorable time, when the Service cou'd admit of it without any detriment.

In mine of the 27th ultimo, I enclosed your Honor Doctr. Ross's (commissary for the Maryland troops) letter, relating to the provisions

at Ft. Cumberland; and desired your Honor's instructions on that head. Since which the enclosed, on the same subject, came to my hand.

As Mr. Atkin, will not agree to part with any of the Dutch blankets which came up for the Indians, to replace those of the Regiments, which Colo. Stephen injudiciously gave away, I shall be at a great loss, not having a Blanket left. And unless they can be sent up soon

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from Williamsburgh, I shou'd be glad to receive orders to send for *them* to Pennsylvania. I am, &c.

To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

July 12, 1757.

Hon'ble Sir: After Jenkins left this yesterday evening, the enclosed, from Capt. Dagworthy, came to hand.

We have pretty many men, and very few arms here (that are fit for service). I must now beg the favor of your Honor, to send me a commission for holding General Court's-martial; as I apprehend that which I had under the former act, was no longer in force, than

while that act existed. Irregularity and confusion will continually prevail among us, till the Companies are formed, and the proper Officers appointed to each: which can not be done, unless your Honor will take the trouble upon yourself, or invest me with power and blank commissions to do it. At this time it will take nearly a dozen and an half commissions to complete the eight Companies in Virginia with Officers, and to make the necessary changes.

There are (including those which I have appointed the oldest volunteers to) five or six vacancies, besides nine or ten Ensigns that will be made Lieutenants: and if Captn. Spotswood's company shou'd be disposed of to McNeill (but I think it would be a little premature to give the company away till time or something else, shall confirm his death) there will be another vacancy occasioned by his promotion.

Capt. Woodward's company, nor any of the companies on the Branch were brought to this place. I am &c.

To COLONEL JOHN STANWIX

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July 15, 1757.

Dear Sir: Your obliging favor of the 11th instant I received this morning. It will seem odd to send you three letters under one cover, and those so widely differing in their dates: But the truth only shall account for it.

Mr. Atkin has told me day after day, since the date of my first, that his Express would go off the next morning, as he would the preceding evening be able to finish his despatches to you. This prevented my enquiring after any other conveyance, and is the cause of the delay of my letters 'till now.

Militia, you will find, Sir, will never answer your expectation, no dependence is to be placed upon them; They are obstinate and perverse, they are often egged on by the Officers, who lead them to acts of disobedience, and, when they are ordered to certain posts for the security of stores, or the protection of the Inhabitants, will, on a sudden, resolve to leave *them* , and the united vigilance of their officers can not prevent them.

Instances of the above nature I have now before me, which put me to some difficulty.

No man I conceive was ever worse plagued than I have been with the Draughts that were sent from the several counties in this Government, to complete its Regiment: out of 400 that were received at Fredericksburgh, and at this place, 114 have deserted, notwithstanding every precaution, except absolute confinement has been used to prevent this infamous practice. I have used the most vigorous measures to apprehend those fellows who escaped from hence (which amounted to about 30) and have succeeded so well that they are taken with the loss of one of their men, and a Soldier wounded. I have a Gallows near 40 feet high erected (which has terrified the *rest* exceedingly), and I am determined if I can be justified in the proceeding, to hang two or three on it, as an example to others.

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An affair has happened at this place, which may, I apprehend, be productive of very unhappy consequences; it is this: About 6 days ago, came to this town, from Chota, in the Cherokee Nation, ten Indians; some of whom call themselves Mingo's tribe of the Six Nations; others Cherokees, &c. But as they gave no good account of their intentions, Mr. Atkin suspected their loyalty; and taking them for Spies, has caused them to be put in close confinement, in which they now remain.

This procedure greatly alarmed and at the same time exasperated about 12 Cherokees, who were at this place and knew all the prisoners: and has obliged Mr. Atkin to send an Express to the South Branch to bring Outassity down, who now lies sick there, to clear the matter up. He is not yet arrived. Nineteen Indians and the Officer I mentioned in my last, marched from Fort Cumberland the 9th instant, for Ft. Duquesne.

By their return I hope I shall receive some intelligence worth transmitting to you. At present we are pretty peaceable.

The Philadelphia post, which formerly came to this place, being stopped, prevents our hearing any foreign news; but what are transmitted in the channel of friendly Letters. We greatly regret the loss of this post, and would gladly keep it up by private subscription, from this to Carlyle, if it comes that length.⁵⁸

To COLONEL JOHN STANWIX

July 19, 1757.

Dr. Sir: Your favour of the 14th. instant is come to hand.

I wrote you *fully* in three several letters, under one cover, about four days ago. Before yours came to hand, I had received a letter from Captn. Dagworthy, enclosing a copy of Steels deposition; and made particular enquiry (of the bearer) whether the account was

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transmitted to you, being answered in the affirmative, and hearing by the Express to Mr. Atkin that the Messenger was near Carlyle;

58. The post office of the Colonies was at this time under the management of Benjamin Franklin and Col. John Hunter, and its service extended from Georgia to New Hampshire. The Assembly of Pennsylvania, when Braddock marched west, had established a special post from Winchester to Philadelphia, "for the accommodation of the army chiefly"; but as early as August, 1756, Franklin had given notice that it must be discontinued unless supported by grants from Maryland and Virginia. (See Franklin's *Works*, vol. 2, p. 470.) Governor Denny, of Pennsylvania, asserted that Franklin took advantage of his official position to circulate his newspaper and receive intelligence free, "which he may make the best or worst use of in the present situation of affairs." (See *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, vol. 7, P. 447.)— *Ford*.

I forbore, in my last, troubling you with a repetition of it. I sent one to Governor Dinwiddie, that, in case the affair shou'd turn out worse than I apprehended, the charge of negligence shou'd not lie at my door. But I shall not literally believe every account (now) from that quarter; as the late alarming news was founded in so little truth.

I can not believe, either, that the french on the Ohio do think of more than their own defence, and sending out scalping parties of Indians to annoy and keep our frontiers in terror. Be this as it may, I shall always think it my duty to stand in the best posture of defence, that the situation of my affairs will possibly admit.

I beg leave to offer my compliments to those Gentlemen of your Battalion, with whom I have the honor to be acquainted. I am, Sir, etc.

To HORATIO SHARPE

July 20, 1757.

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Sir: I have undoubted intelligence that many Deserters from the Virginia Regiment are gone to, and are harbored and protected in several counties of your province, especially

Baltimore County, under the specious pretext of their unjust detention, after the expiration of the time, which, the Deserters (I learn) pretend was limited when they enlisted. And *some* in authority, either from an ill placed compassion, or from that spirit of opposition to the service, which is too prevalent through the Continent, have not only countenanced those Deserters, but made use of your Excellency's name for that purpose; as you may observe by the enclosed, (a copy of the original is in my possession.)

I am quite certain, that no orders have been issued, since I have been honored with the command of this Regiment, to enlist for any limited term, and Captn. Gist (upon whom the Deserters would fix this charge) declares on his honor, that he never mentioned limiting their time of Service in any other way than this, that they should be discharged at the conclusion of the War or Expedition, which might possibly be ended in 6 or 8 months: which could be deemed nothing more than one of those little subterfuges which, from the disagreeable nature of the Recruiting Service, has, at some junctures been considered necessary; Though I must still think, [it] would come with a better grace, from a Sergeant, than a commissioned Officer.

I am sure, from your Excellency's good sense, experience, and knowledge in military affairs, that you have given no decision in this affair, without a proper enquiry, which cou'd not well be made without the attendance of those who recruited the Deserters; and that Magistrates have, from the report of the Deserters, afforded them this unjustifiable protection. As this is the point of view in which it appears to me; I have ordered Ensign Fell, (who assisted in recruiting them) to wait on Your Excellency; and request you wou'd be pleased to have the affair enquired into; that if the allegations of the Deserters be false, you will please to give such orders as will enable me to have them apprehended and if

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they are well grounded, that I may have Captn. Gist's conduct, for disobedience of orders, enquired into.

I judge this step necessary to be taken, previously to my laying the affair before the Commander in Chief, therefore hope His Excellency will forgive this trouble from him who has the honor of being with great respect, &c.⁵⁹

59. Upon the receipt of this letter Governor Sharpe at once issued circular instructions calling upon "all and every of the officers, both civil and military in Baltimore County" to use their best endeavors in securing the deserters.— *Ford*.

To CAPTAIN PETER HOGG

July 24, 1757.

Sir: I should have written fully to you long since, and sent an Officer to relieve you, but the expectation we were in (by reports from Fort Cumberland) of a french invasion from Ohio, kept us in continual alarm, and readiness to oppose the attempt.

I must now, as I formerly have done, say, that all accompts relative to provisions must be settled with the Commissary; and all that concern the payment of your company, with the pay-master. I have nothing to do with either, nor do I choose to interfere with their

Business. I shall send money by Major Lewis (if the pay-master does not go himself) to discharge your recruiting accmpt, and the sums due to the Masters of such Servants as you may have enlisted. The reason why this was not done before, was the want of money, which I have been without since December, 'till about a fortnight ago; and now an insufficient sum is come to hand, to answer the numerous demands against the public.

I mentioned to Captn. McNeill your demand upon David Evans , and he has stopped the money: But as he writes to you by this opportunity, I refer to him. In respect to your other demand, against Trotter,⁶⁰ it wou'd have been regular to have made out your accmpt

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and sent it to the commanding Officer of the Company he is in; and then if Trotter refused to pay it, I shou'd have appointed a Court of Enquiry to sit and examine into the justice of your claim, and the reason of his denial, and order'd payment, if they thought it due. But I never will assume an arbitrary power, and oblige any person to pay a sum, unheard. I have heard nothing more about the matter; and the company in which Trotter is Sergeant, lies at a great distance from this: So I presume, that affair either is, or may be settled without my interposition.

60. Sergeant Richard Trotter.

I have great complaints made concerning your manner of carrying on the works at the Fort you are building. It has cost infinitely more money than ever was intended for it. and, by the injudicious spot of ground you have chosen to fix it upon, it has caused a general clamour.

Mr. Bullet and Mr. Fleming inform me, that you refuse to do the necessaries belonging to it.

I therefore desire you will immediately upon receipt of this, deliver up the company, arms, stores and fort, to the command of the former; that the Kings Service may not suffer: You are to take Lt. Bullets' receipt for every thing delivered to him.

I shall suspend giving any directions concerning the provisions at Ft. Dinwiddie, or matters relative to the company. Major Lewis will have the command of it, and will be instructed in these points. I am &c.

To LIEUTENANT THOMAS BULLITT

July 24, 1757.

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Sir: I have received two or three letters from you and Ensign Fleming. In answer I shall observe, that I think you have an undoubted right to sit as a regimental court martial, and to punish offenders; and that I am sorry to hear of the desertions which have

happened in your company, and the temper of mind that prevails in your men; and hope, that you hitherto have, and do still continue to check this growing evil, and to maintain discipline.

It was a mistake (I believe I might say negligence) in the Quarter-master, that he did not send Hats for your Company, Garters and Buckles; as to spatter-dashes,⁶¹ none of the Soldiers have received any: and, with regard to what they call half-mounting,⁶² I must tell you, that every Soldier who has received these, has paid for them. So that you may assure your Company, there is no distinction made.

If you have one Halbert, it is more than we have in the whole Regiment; and I desire it may be laid aside, and a musket, &c. substituted in its place. Cartridge-paper is an article not to be had here; and we make use of horns and pouches in its stead, which you must also do. Drums will be sent by Major Lewis, who is to have the command of your company, and will move it hitherwards.

I have directed Capt. Hogg to give up the command of the company to you; and I desire that you will exert your best endeavours to finish the fort in the most expeditious manner; altho'

61. Leggings, or knee-length gaiters, the equivalent of the puttees of to-day, though the colonial protection was either buttoned or laced.

62. Half-mounting was, generally, the underclothes and minor articles of dress; it may have meant, in Virginia, the stock, shirt, shoes, and stockings.

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it shou'd, by that means, be roughly done. You are to take an exact account of all the stores and of every thing you receive from Captn. Hogg; and pass your receipt for them.

In answer to the Queries which you and Mr. Fleming have put, I shall observe, that it is the duty of every commanding Officer to use the greatest diligence and care, to pursue and apprehend Deserters; and that at as little expence as possible; but that such expence as must inevitably arise, be paid by the country.

The second case is pretty clear, from several of the articles of war; one of which requires the commanding Officer to forbid a Soldiers being credited, without orders from him: another prohibiting any persons *dealing* with Soldiers without his leave. No Soldier is to be credited for more than his pay: and that pay so much as is due (and not more) shou'd be applied in paying off his accompt with the Captain, or other Officer, who keeps the Companys accompts, and furnishes them with necessaries: and the remainder to pay the expence apprehending them.

I think, whoever enlisted a man under the late regulation for recruiting, was entitled to the two pistoles, *bounty-money* ; but it cou'd not be expected that the Captain wou'd advance this sum, if he had no money of the Countrys in his hands.

By the present act of Assembly, the person or persons enlisted, are entitled to £5 without the least deduction, and the

Officer to his expences. If they are sent recruiting no person (either Servant or any other) after they are enlisted and attested, can be discharged by no person but myself, or the Officer whom I may appoint: and whoever assumes this liberty, subjects himself to be tried by a General Court Martial.

I have got several small accompts amounting to £2.12. which you sent me down, passed for the Soldiers; and will send the money by Major Lewis.

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Give my Complim'ts to Mr. Fleming, and tell him, that if the appointment of Officers is left to me, his detached situation will be no prejudice to his promotion.

GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS TO ALL THE CAPTAINS OF COMPANIES

July 29, 1757.

Gentlemen: The principal end proposed in sending you to the post to which you are ordered is to protect the Inhabitants of those posts, and to keep them if possible easy and quiet.

I enjoin it upon you, therefore,

to use every means which you and your officers shall judge advisable, to answer this salutary purpose, particularly by keeping out constant scouting parties; who with diligence care and precaution, are to range all those parts thro' which the Enemy make their inroads; and, when the enemy draw near the Quarter you are in, to exert your utmost efforts in preventing the inhabitants from suffering, by giving them all the intelligence you can of their danger, and by endeavouring to cover them, by way-laying those defiles, thro' which the enemy are most likely to pass, before they can penetrate into the Inhabitants.

These parties are to consist of such numbers as the service may require, and your circumstances will admit. But in general I wou'd have a third part of your well men and an officer (frequently, if not always to command; altho' he may judge the party too small for his rank.)

You are by no means to impress Horses, yourself, or licence any person or persons under your command to do it, except in cases of necessity and where the Interest of the Service indispensably requires it for Expresses, &c, and then you are to be careful in seeing that, as soon as the service is performed, they be immediately returned to their proper owners

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in good order; paying the hire of them, or else to give a certificate, specifying for what service they were pressed, and how long employed in it.

You are not to accommodate any Indians, that may happen to pass your way, with Horses, unless it be upon extraordinary cases, nor are you to hold any Conferences with them upon Business, only on such points as relate to the Service in which you are immediately engaged. Neither are you to attempt making Treaties with them, or to make them presents, promises, &c., or give any liquor, but in a very sparing manner.

If at any time or upon any occasion, you shou'd pay away money for contingent Expences, you are to take receipts for them, or any other person whom the Government may think proper to substitute. And all Services done the public for which you do not pay ready money, you are to give certificates, setting forth the nature and causes thereof, as aforesaid. And all accompts relative to provisions you are to settle with the Commissary or agents whom the Governor shall appoint and all that relate to your own and company's pay, with the pay-master.

You are to take care that only one pound of flour, and the like quantity of meat, be delivered to each man per day, and that no more women draw provisions, than in proportion as 6 to 100 men.

You must prevent any provisions issuing without a written order from yourself, or the officer commanding in your absence. To have regular returns made out for that purpose. To cause all provisions to be exactly weighed, &c.

You are to use every imaginable precaution to prevent irregular suttlng, licentious swearing, and all other unbecoming irregularities and to neglect no pains or diligence in training your men (when off duty) to the true use and exercise of their arms; and teaching them in all other respects, the duties of their profession.

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Be particularly careful in seeing that they take proper care of their clothes and accoutrements; which you are to do, by inspecting narrowly every Saturday at least, into their order; and by furnishing and making stoppages from those who have lost, sold, or otherwise made away with, or abused their things, till full reparation is had.

That this piece of duty may be conducted with ease; divide your men into as many squads as there are Sergeants, and make it the duty of each Sergeant (who is to keep the Roll of their necessaries for that purpose) to see that the men of his squad have their clothes, arms, and accoutrements always together, and in good order. This method I recommend as an alleviation of but not an excuse for the officers to neglect this duty themselves.

I also desire that the greatest regularity may be constantly observed in relieving the Guards, the Sentries, and all other parts of ceremonious duty. That the men may not by neglecting

this, contract bad habits, but rather thro' a strict observance, become intimately acquainted with, and knowing in their duty. And as I wou'd have the whole regiment tho' never so much divided at present, pursue the same system of discipline, even in the most minute punctilios, You are to send an alert Sergeant or Corporal and two or three men, fit for the Drill, to this place to be perfected therein, who, on their return, are to instruct the rest of your Command.

I recommend it to you, likewise, and in the strongest terms, that you and the officers under your command, do make yourselves master of the necessary salutes.

You are to give in an exact size, and necessary role of your company and to see that no non-commissioned Officer or Soldier is ever provided with less than 3 good shirts, two pair of good Stockings, and one pair of good Shoes, and that the initial letters of their names are marked upon their ammunition, clothes, and accoutrements, which you must cause to

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be entered in a Book kept for that purpose, to prevent their swapping and changing their things. You are also to be vastly careful in making them

preserve their Regimentals, and to make them appear always neat and clean, and soldier-like, especially when they are upon Duty.

You are to transmit me the most exact and regular returns, made out once a month, not only of the strength of, and alterations in, your company (or command) but also of the arms, ammunition, clothes, and stores, carefully examined by yourself, to prevent such egregious mistakes as often happen thro' the negligence of the Officers in trusting to the Sergeants, as, upon failure herein, you may depend upon being relieved and tried for disobedience of orders.

You are also to hold me duly advised of all material occurrences in your Quarter. You are not to give furloughs to more than one Soldier at a time, unless some particular cause requires it, and then you are to insert the reasons and time of their absence at the foot of your return, if they should not happen to be present at the time it is made. Shou'd any of your men desert, you are to use your utmost endeavours in having them apprehended; and whatever expence you are at, over and above what the country allows, is to be deducted from the pay of such offending Soldiers, if they shou'd happen to be taken.

Each Deserter is advertised at 40 s . reward, and more, when other aggravating circumstances accompany his desertion.

I expect you will take great pains

to make your Soldiers good marks-men by teaching them to shoot at Targets.

I have been thus particular in my Instructions to you, because I expect the most punctual obedience will be paid to them; being determined not to overlook neglects of duty in any,

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but to act with the utmost strictness (agreeably to the Instructions which I am honored with from the Governor): and therefore, in order to enable you to support a proper command:—

I hereby require, that you do put any officer under arrest whom you shall find negligent in his duty, or misbehaving as a Gentleman, and either enquire into his conduct with your own Officers (in order to a further examination at this place), or send him here, (at once) for that purpose.

And I do hereby direct you to hold courts martial for trying and punishing non-commissioned officers and soldiers (Without which the former are not to be broke, and after which, by no means to be reinstated, nor new ones appointed, without my approbation.) In all other respects you are to govern yourselves exactly agreeable to the articles of War, and the rules and customs of the Army.

Permit me before I finish (and now that the companies are formed for service, and agreeable to order) to recommend, and I do in the strongest manner I can to you and your Officers, to devote some part of

your leisure hours to the study of your profession, a knowledge in which cannot be attained without application; nor any merit or applause to be achieved without a certain knowledge thereof. Discipline is the soul of an army. It makes small numbers formidable; procures success to the weak, and esteem to all; and may, in a peculiar manner to us, who are in the way to be joined to Regulars in a very short time, and of distinguishing thro' this means, from other Provincials.

You are to be at no expence in building or repairing old works, without first apprizing me thereof, because the money appropriated to that purpose is expended. The safety and convenience of soldiers render it a duty upon them to repair the works, and make lodgments for themselves. I wou'd therefore have you observe this, and act conformably to it.

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To MAJOR ANDREW LEWIS

Fort Loudoun, July 29, 1757.

Sir: You are ordered forthwith to march with all the Draughts which are at this place belonging to your own Company and Capt. Woodward, together with Capt. Spotswoods, to Dickinsons plantation, on the

cow-pasture; where I expect you will meet Captn. Woodward on his march to Vauses. When a junction of these three Companies is formed, you are, if the ravages of the Enemy, and circumstances of the Inhabitants, do not render other dispositions necessary, to detach Capt. Woodward's whole company; and an officer and 25 men of Captn. Spotswoods, to occupy Vases fort and, (if you think proper) the posts on Cuttawba, and at Campbells place: and with the rest you are to proceed to Dickinson's fort; where you are to order Lt. Bullet, and that part of your company under his command, to join you.

I can not at this distance, with the least degree of propriety, pretend to order a disposition of your command further than to advise you, not to divide it into too small parties. You are nevertheless to assist any body of Inhabitants, which may have gathered together in certain places, and need protection, but to appoint no more men to this service, than what are absolutely necessary to act upon the defensive, reserving as many as possible under your immediate direction, at Dickenson's fort, to turn out in pursuit of the Enemy, when you hear they are about.

You will have the direction of the aforesaid Companies, till further

orders, and to *you* they are to apply for instructions, to you make the returns, as required in my general instructions; and from *you* I expect them myself.

You will deliver Captn. Woodward the Kettles sent for his company. You will receive from me £21.18. the contents of a recruiting accompt of Capt. Hogg which you are desired to

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pay him. You will also receive £30.4.2 value of sundry Servants enlisted in that part of your company lately under Captn. Hogg's command: And I shall be glad if you will settle this matter, and pay the Masters according to appointment, which is as follows; Charles Campbell for Mark Donally, £9. to Wm. Lewis, for Francis Adams, £13.11.6 To Andrew Duncan, for Thomas Davis, £7.12.8.

You will likewise receive £2.12 to be paid to the following Soldiers, in the following sums, agreeably to their several accompts handed in by Lt. Bullet: To John Heart, 8/ John Leak, 8/ Mark Donally, 4/ and Moses Gawin 32/.

You must apply to the Surgeon of the Regiment for a small assortment of medicines, which Mr. Fleming has promised to administer to the sick of your Detachment. For other directions, I refer you to my General Instructions herewith delivered.

To CAPTAIN THOMAS WAGGENER

Fort Loudoun, July 29, 1757.

Sir: You are Ordered forthwith to march from hence to the South-branch with your own men, and such of Capt. McKenzie's as are at this place. The latter you are to deliver to him so soon as you arrive at this Garrison (with the Orders and Instructions herewith given you for him). And, immediately after he has taken a size and necessary roll of his company, you are to demand 25 men and an Officer, (if he can possibly spare one) to reinforce your command; and with them proceed to the post assigned you (namely, Butter-milk-fort) and there use your utmost endeavours to protect the numerous body of Inhabitants in all those parts.

I am sensible, there is a necessity of throwing a few Soldiers into some of the country-forts, in order to detain the Inhabitants in them; and I approve of your doing it; but at the same time recommend, that no more be appointed for this Service, than what are

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absolutely necessary to detain the inhabitants, and to resist any sudden attempts of the enemy to surprize the fort; reserving the prin

cipal part of them at the fort you reside at, to turn out and pursue the enemy, when you hear they are about it.

You are, as soon as you arrive at Captn. McKenzie's Garrison, to dispatch a Messenger to Captn. Woodward, that he may hold himself in readiness to march immediately upon your arrival; (and to take with him the company lately belonging to Captn. Bronaugh, which is now joined to his own).

You are also to inform the Officer (Lt. Weeden) commanding the company, lately Captn. Cocke's, now joined to Captn. Lewis's, that he is to march those men to Conogochieg immediately upon your arrival. And you are to see that not the least delay is made, after you *do* arrive, in having this done.

As all the companies, agreeably to their present regulations, are now supplied with Kettles from the public stores; you are desired to collect all the old ones, pots, &c. that are among the troops upon the branch, and send them down to this place, under escort of Lt. Weeden, giving him a strict charge to be careful of them: and you will deliver to Captn. McKenzie, those which you have received at this place, for the use of his company.

You are, for farther direction, referred to the General Instructions herewith delivered to you.

To CAPTAIN HENRY WOODWARD

Fort Loudoun, July [29], 1757.

Sir: You are ordered, immediately upon receipt hereof, to march with your own company (which by a late regulation, has the *one* that was Capt. Bronaugh's added to it) to the plantation of Captn. Dickenson on the cow-pasture; and to pursue the following rout, vizt.

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First you are to go up the south fork; thence to the head of the cow-pasture river, and thence down the same to Dickensons; where you are to halt 'till joined by Major Lewis, and the Draughts sent by him to strengthen your company; or till you receive Orders from the Major, what to do, if he shou'd not be there himself.

That he may have timely notice of your coming to Dickensons; you are to despatch an Express to him at Augusta Courthouse, so soon as you begin your march. I expect you will make but little halt at Dickensons, as your place of destination is Vauses, on Roanoake, to relieve the company that is posted there. Not knowing what may intervene at this distance, to render *other* orders necessary; you are as above, to receive directions from the Major, who is

ordered to command the Detachment of the Regim't in that Quarter. And to him you are, till further orders, to apply for instructions in any thing you may require. You are also to send your Returns (agreeably to my General Instructions herewith sent you) to him; who is to send them with his own and Captn. Spotswoods, to me.

As you will receive new Kettles from the public stores (to be delivered you by Maj. Lewis:) I have desired Captn. Waggener to call in all the old ones, pots, &c. which were made use of in yours and Bronaugh's late company; and to send them to this place, and I desire you will be punctual in seeing this done, as well as in seeing that great care is taken of the new kettles.

As the Fort which Captn. Hogg is building, and to which you are now going, has, either thro' bad conduct in the Director, idleness in the workmen, or thro' some other cause which I can not comprehend, been of infinitely more expence to the country, and much longer about, than was ever expected. You are required to finish it with the utmost dispatch; and that in any manner, however rough, if it will secure you upon an attack. You are for farther direction referred to the General Instructions herewith delivered you.

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To CAPTAIN ROBERT McKENZIE

July 29, 1757.

Sir: I have received yours, and have paid Doct. Craik the contents of your recruiting accompt.

Colo. Stephen has given so many strange Orders, Orders, so inconsistent with my Instructions and incompatible with his own; that it will be with great difficulty, if it is even possible, to extricate the Officers and myself from the dilemma and trouble they have occasioned. What right Colo Stephen had to order any repairs to your fort, without giving me previous notice of his design, I know not; and why you shou'd apply to him for those orders (when I was nearly as convenient, and alone had the right to direct) is matter of surprize to me.

The fund established for building of forts, has long been expended, and how your demand will be answered, I am at a loss to determine. However, that you may not suffer by complying with Colo. S[tephen]s'; draw out an exact accompt, and what assistance I can be towards procuring your money, shall be chearfully given.

I have ordered the Adjutant to transmit you copies of those Orders, relative to the regulation of the

Companies. General Instructions I have myself sent, and kettles will be delivered to you by Captn. Waggener, whom I have given orders to demand a detachment of 25 men from your Company, and an Officer (if you can spare one) to strengthen his command, for the better protecting the Settlers above the Trough. All your old kettles, pots, &c. are to be sent to this place; and great care taken of the *new*. I am Sir, etc.

To COLONEL JOHN STANWIX

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Fort Loudoun, July 30, 1757.

Dear Sir: My former letters wou'd inform you how little share I had in confining the Indians in the public jail at this place.

Mr. Atkin, in his Majesty's name, applied to me as commanding officer for aid to secure these people, which I thereupon did, but not without first representing the consequences, that might and in some measure really did happen. This step was no sooner taken, than the Cherokees in town, about twenty two in number, despatched a runner to inform their people, that the English had fallen upon their Brethren, and desired that they

(the Cherokees) would stand upon their defence. Another runner, you are sensible, came to Carlisle to inform the warriors there of it, who returned fully resolved to rescue the prisoners, or die in the attempt. The former they did, and were so enraged with Mr. Atkin, that they wou'd hold no conference with him the next day, when he sent to desire it, till they had first been with me for information. I took great pains to convince them, that it was a mistake, and happily succeeded; they readily agreed to send an Indian with an express, which I might procure, to their nation to prevent a massacre of all the traders and white people there, which they looked upon as inevitable, except timely measures were taken to prevent it.

Out of the great number of Draughts that have deserted from us, we have been able to apprehend twenty-two; of whom two were hanged on Thursday last. The eight companies now remaining in Virginia are completed to about eighty, rank and file, four commanding officers, four sergeants, and two drummers, and are all marched to the several posts assigned them.

The commission, which I have received from Governor Dinwiddie, to hold general courts-martial, is very long, and rather a repetition of the act. I shou'd be obliged, if you wou'd let

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me know whether this be right or not. I took the liberty in a letter of the — to ask leave to be absent about

twelve or fourteen days, if circumstances in this quarter would permit, but having heard nothing from you since, I am inclined to address you again on that head, because the 1st of August is the time appointed for the meeting of the executors (of which I am one) of an estate that I am much interested in a dividend of; and have suffered much already by the unsettled state it has remained in. This estate does not lie more than a day's journey from this place, so that I could return very quickly, if occasion required it.

P. S. Since writing the above I have received the enclosed from Captn. McKenzie. Captn. Waggener just before with upwards of 100 men, had marched to the place he speaks of, to strengthen the garrisons on the Branch. I have sent him orders to select a good company (if the enemy still remain there) and use his best endeavors to fall in with their encampment; and I am certain he will neglect no means to accomplish it. I have also advice from the southern frontiers of Augusta County, that the Indians have appeared, and done some mischief. Major Lewis with a detachment of 250 men (including a company of 50 already in those parts) marched to occupy Vausses and Dickinson's forts, and to repel the enemy if they still continued to commit depredations.

To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

Fort Loudoun, August 3, 1757.

Hon'ble Sir: Your favours of the 13th. and 18th. ultimo, with the commissions, Warrants, and money, I have received.

The Indian accompts I have so often mentioned, and which your Honor says, you do not understand, are expences which have accrued on account of provisions, as they have marched from place to place (for they will not eat salt meat; but kill fresh wherever it is to be found). Liquor, unavoidably to be given them; Horses, pressed for the use of

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their sick, &c. and never returned: Tomahawks, and a great many other things which there was a necessity of purchasing for them. The people will never trust their vouchers, for the delivery of these things, to doubtful Messengers; and most of those articles are too inconsiderable to induce them to go down to Williamsburgh. They therefore think themselves ill used, and complain of oppression.

We have received Draughts as per the enclosed list: which list is agreeable, I hope, to your Honors orders to me. Their number has fallen so far short of expectation, that the 8 remaining companies will not exceed 90 rank and file, each. It is not in my

power to send a roll of each company, 'till the Captains get all their men together; as soon as this is done, I have ordered an exact size-roll to be transmitted to me, of each company, and I shall forward *them* to your Honor, without loss of time.⁶³ As the best Captains were fixed upon by your Honor, below; and some of our worst Subalterns resigned since, I have filled up the vacant commissions according to seniority, and hope it will be agreeable, as I think it was most equitable. Your Honor desired I wou'd give Sergeant Feint an Ensigns commissions: But I apprehend you only meant it, in case there had been Draughts enough for 12 companies. And therefore I declined doing it 'till I hear further from you: especially as there are yet volunteers in the Regiment, who have long served in hope of preferment, and given equal proofs of good Behaviour and of course expect to be preferred before Sergeants.

However, I have reserved one vacancy, to be filled up either with Feint or Mr. Chew⁶⁴ (the oldest volunteer) as your Honor shall *now* direct.

The present Officers names, and dates of their commissions, may be seen by the enclosed. The men are marched for Augusta, that were designed for the forts at Vauses and Dickensons, and Major Lewis sent to command *there* . Those for the Branch, under Captn. Waggener, are also marched: and there now remain here no more than Capt.

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Stewarts company and my own, except about 40 workmen which I took from the Draughts, to work at this place.

I have ordered two Officers to Ft. Cumberland

63. Washington forwarded the size roll of his own (the colonel's company) on August 28. It is in the *Washington Papers*.

64. Coleby Chew. He was, later, a lieutenant in the Virginia Regiment.

to inspect the refused Beef; and have sent up Mr. Kennedy, who acted as Commissary, there, with directions to use every means to save it, as adding fresh pickle, &c.

I send your Honor a copy of the proceedings of a General Court martial. Two of those condemned , namely, Ignatious Edwards, and Wm. Smith, were hanged on thursday last, just before the companies marched for their respective posts. Your Honor will, I hope excuse my hanging , instead of shooting them. It conveyed much more terror to others; and it was for example sake, we did it. They were proper objects to suffer: Edwards had deserted twice before, and Smith was accounted one of the greatest villians upon the continent. Those who were intended to be whipped, have received their punishment accordingly; and I should be glad to know what your Honor wou'd choose to have done with the rest?

A return for the month of June, I herewith send.⁶⁵ I had a letter from Colo. Stanwix the other day, concerning the deposition of *Street* . He seems to put no great confidence in the *report* ; and wrote me, that he was intrenching himself at Carlyle.

I have received advice from Augusta, that the Indians had appeared

65. This return, dated July 1, 1757, is in the *Washington Papers*.

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in large bodies there, and done some mischief. A letter also from Captn. McKenzie, on the South-Branch, informs me, that the enemy had taken away four or five men, and scalped another, who was carelessly reaping in a field.

As Major Lewis is gone towards the first, and Capt. Waggener towards the latter parts, I am in hopes they will keep the inhabitants from hurt.

We are, by reason of our dispersed situation, greatly at a loss for the articles of war, I should be glad if your Honor wou'd order many of them to be printed: In the regular Service there is scarcely a Sergeant but what has a copy.

I shou'd be glad to know too, in time, whether your Honor intends to pursue the last resource of the Act of Assembly for compleating the Regiment vizt. recruiting? If so, money will be wanted. I am &c.

To CAPTAIN JOSHUA LEWIS

Fort Loudoun, August 3, 1757.

Sir: As the inhabitants in general unanimously concur in opinion, that Pattersons wou'd much better answer the end proposed by your Command (vizt. the protection

of the Inhabitants) than your present Station; You are therefore upon receipt of this, immediately to quit your present post, and proceed to Patersons, leaving five men at Captain Catons. You are to apply to Patterson and his neighbours for waggons &c. They have tendered every service in their power to expedite your march. When you arrive at Pattersons, you are to detach 10 men to Neillys' 6 to Bells, and 4 to Mendenhals: The remainder of your command is to be employed in scouting agreeably to your former Orders. And apply to the country people, who I doubt not will act as your guides.

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As the small parties will have only Garrison duty, I wou'd recommend the sending your sick to those places, who may do that duty nearly as well as these; and, by change of air, and there being but few together, may recover much sooner than they otherwise wou'd.

As I think fresh provisions now and then, by way of change, necessary; you may purchase (if you can do it upon reasonable terms) from the country people. As to Bacon, I shall not meddle with it; that being under the direction of the Commissary: Therefore, all applications of this na

ture must be made to him only. You may have the same match-coats which you had at Maidstone, when you send for them. I am a good deal surprized at your taking 13 more Blankets than you had occasion for: especially as you knew how much we stand in need of them. You are to send them back so soon as you arrive at Pattersons. I am &c.

To CAPTAIN JOSHUA LEWIS

Fort Loudoun, August 4, 1757.

Sir: I received yours of the 3d. instant, covering a size and necessary roll of your company; which, being incomplete, is not what I wanted. Whenever you get all your company under your own command, you are to have them completed with necessaries agreeably to Orders; and then to transmit an exact size and necessary roll of the whole; and afterwards you are each month to send me a return of your company, as usual, and a general return of its necessaries agreeably to the enclosed form.

I wrote you fully yesterday when I desired you to send what spare Blankets you had, to this place, so soon as you

arrived at Pattersons. I have sent you the articles of War; which you will return when you are done with them.

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To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

Fort Loudoun, August 27, 1757.

Sir: Your favor of the 13th by Mr. Boyd, I have received. The draughts from Lunenburg are arrived, to the number of sixteen, which does not replace the soldiers, that have deserted since my last so prevalent is this infamous practice yet. The draughts, when they were divided among the eight companies in July, completed them to eighty-six rank and file; and there remained over and above forty workmen, which I detained at this place, as mentioned in a former letter.

What the strength of the companies is just at this time, I am no more able to say, (not knowing what casualties may have happened since,) than I am to send your Honor a return of the regiment, which is impossible to do till I get my returns from the several out-posts; and that, I believe your Honor must be sensible, is difficult and precarious, dispersed as

the regiment is. I have given express orders, however, that those returns shall be made to me as regularly as the nature of things will admit, and I shall not be wanting in my duty to forward them, nor shall I delay to send the companies' size-rolls, when they come to my hands, and I have directed these last also be made out and sent to me, carefully examined.

The enclosed is a copy of a report made to me by two officers, who were instructed to inspect into the state of the provisions at Fort Cumberland. Mr. Kennedy, who was entrusted with the care of these provisions, is now there repacking and pickling them; and when he has finished, I shall endeavour to do the best I can with them, but despair of turning them to the least advantage.

A letter, which I received a few days ago from Captain Waggener advises, that the enemy appeared upon the Branch, not far from his neighbourhood, (their numbers uncertain,) and

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killed men, and captivated others, without his being able to meet with them. On Sunday last, a small party of five Cherokees, who came here a few days ago, set out to war.

Your Honor having asked my opinion concerning recruiting, I shall give it candidly as follows. I believe, unless we are permitted to enlist servants, we should spend much time to little purpose in this service; There is such a spirit of opposition

prevailing in one sort of people, and so little spirit of any kind in another. I never thought, in the most distant degree, of recruiting for the additional companies, till the others were complete; nor should I have mentioned that but thinking it was required by act of Assembly.

As your Honor were pleased to leave to my discretion to punish or pardon the criminals, I have resolved on the latter, since I find examples of so little weight, and since those poor unhappy criminals have undergone no small pain of body and mind, in a dark room, closely ironed!

I have filled up a commission for Sergeant Feint, and will send it to him by the first safe conveyance. Colonel Stanwix, I am told (the truth of which I doubt), is marched to the northward. I have had no account from him for these four weeks.

Mr. Boyd, (whom I have spoken to on the matter,) conceives, there will be no money left for contingent expenses, when he has paid the troops. I shall do as your Honor directs, with regard to escorting Mr. Boyd to Augusta, and ordering officers to wait upon him at this place, however inconvenient it prove to the service.

Nothing remarkable has happened, for which reason I have nothing particular to add. I must beg leave, however, before I conclude, to observe in justification of my own conduct, that it is with pleasure I receive reproof, when reproof is due, because no person can be readier to accuse me, than I am to acknowledge an error, when I am guilty of one; nor more desirous for atoning for a crime, when I am sensible of having committed it. But,

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on the other hand, it is with concern I remark, that my best endeavors lose their reward, and that my conduct, although I have uniformly studied to make it as unexceptionable as I could, does not appear to you in a favorable point of light.⁶⁶ Otherwise your Honor would not have accused me of *loose* behaviour and *remissness* of duty, in matters where, I believe, I have rather exceeded than fallen short of it. This, I think, is evidently the case in speaking of Indian Affairs at all after being instructed in very express terms, not to have any concern with or “management of Indian affairs.” This has caused me to forbear mentioning of Indians in any of my letters to your Honor of late, and to leave the misunderstanding, which you speak of, between Mr. Atkin and the Indians, to the former to relate, knowing that he maintained a correspondence with your Honor on matters relative to his office. But, with regard to the accompts, when *he* would have nothing to do with them, and when I was hourly importuned for the payment, and knew I had not the means to do it, what could I do less than promise the people, that I would recommend their cases to your Honor,

in hopes that you would appoint a person, in whom you could confide, to take in and pay off their accompts, as I always looked upon it as a duty distinct from mine, and therefore was unwilling to intermeddle in the affair?

I really thought it unnecessary to say more, than that “the detachment destined for Augusta was marched,” because your Honor gave me a copy of the council held at Philadelphia, which directed one hundred and fifty men to be posted at Dickinson's, and one hundred at Vauses, which direction I observed, and thought it would be sufficiently understood when I wrote as above.

I should have acknowledged the receipt of the arms, had they come, but they were not arrived when my last was wrote; which obliged me to disarm the men that remained here, in order to supply those who marched, rather than detain them, as I had sent wagons to Falmouth to bring 'em from thence. However, if I have erred in these points, I am sorry for

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it, and shall endeavour for the future to be as particular and satisfactory, in my accounts of these things, as possible. I am, &c.

To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

Fort Loudoun, September 17, 1757.

Sir: Your favor of the 2d instant came safe to hand, and Jenkins's sickness has prevented my answering it sooner.

I apprehend that thirteen of the twenty-nine draughts from Lunenburg have deserted, as sixteen only have arrived here, and I have no accounts of any more being upon the march. Your Honor may observe by the enclosed list of deserters, all of whom have left the regiment since the last return I sent, and after having received too their clothes, arms, and bounty money, how prevalent still is that infamous practice among the dastardly draughts, especially at this garrison, where I indulge them in every thing but idleness, and in *that* I cannot, the nature of the work requiring the contrary. Lenity, so far from producing its desired effects, rather emboldens them in these villainous undertakings. One of those who were condemned to be hanged, deserted immediately upon receiving his pardon. In short, they tire my patience, and almost weary me to death. The expense of pursuing them is very considerable, and to suffer them to escape, without aiming at pursuit, is but giving up the point, altho' we have had but little success of late.

The uncertain and difficult communication with the outposts must apologize for my not sending you a return of our strength for August. For the second month will always be far advanced, before I can get in the returns of the preceding, as the latter must be first expired, before the returns can be made out, and then some of them are to come two hundred and fifty miles, and great part of that distance thro' an uninhabited country.

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If special messengers are always sent with these returns, it will be a pretty considerable expense. I should therefore be glad if your Honor would be pleased to direct, whether they are to be sent me by express, or to embrace the best conveyance without. In the one case, as I before said, there must be a constant expense, and in the other, great uncertainty. By the enclosed for July, your Honor will see that our total strength amounted to six hundred and ninety-nine; but, as there happened many changes and casualties in that month, by reason of the draughts joining, deserting, and the companies not being properly formed, this return will, I apprehend, appear confused and irregular. Our present strength, I guess, is about seven hundred. Major Lewis did, as he wrote your Honor, march from this place with about one hundred and forty men only; but then Captain Woodward, who also marched at the same time, with his company from the South Branch, joined him at Dickinson's; which with the men under Captain Hogg, formed a body of something more than two hundred and fifty men, agreeably to the number appointed at Philadelphia for the forts at Dickinson's and Vauses.

I am sorry I did not know it was necessary to give the name of each officer of the command, but shall do it now, and set them down as they are placed in companies:

Major Lewis, Lt. Bullet, Lt. Fleming, Ensn. Speake, Capt. Woodward, Lt. Dangerfield, Lt. Milner, Ensn. Sumner, Capt. Spotswood, Lt. Lomax, Lt. Crawford, Ensn. Starke.

The above are the officers belonging to three companies that went to Augusta. But your Honor knows Capt. Spotswood was absent; Mr. Milner was also absent, and has been so at his father's these 8 months, in a consumption, as I am told. And I have given a Sergeant a commission and appointed him to Woodward's company, in lieu of Ensign Sumner, who is now to join Capt. McKenzie's company.

As soon as I was informed that Colo. Reid was to supply the troops in Augusta with provisions, I acquainted Major Lewis therewith.

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As there is no addition made to the draughts, no men recruited, and our numbers daily diminishing by desertion, I cannot see how you can expect that I should complete the companies that are now under 90 to 100 rank and file each, as you mention in your letter.

I never expected, nor ever desired, that there should be an addition made to the number of those persons appointed to transact public business, much less that there should be *one* to settle every little affair. I only humbly proposed, that, as Captain Gist was empowered with your Honor's approbation to manage the In

dian affairs here, and as he is to be paid for that duty by this colony, that he, as a more proper person than myself, should take in and adjust the accounts against the Indians (so often mentioned), as it cannot reasonably be supposed that I, who am stripped of the help I once was allowed (and told that I should be freed from these things in consequence), can turn my hands and my thoughts to such a multiplicity of business, as naturally arises out of the variety of occurrences, which are occasioned by our scattered and detached situation and the many extraneous concerns of the Indians. Every person, who sees how I am employed, will readily testify, that very little recreation falls to my lot. Nevertheless, if it is your Honor's orders, that I shall collect these accompts, I will do it in the best manner I am able, and that with cheerfulness; but it will be some time ere it can be accomplished, as I have turned them off once.

The Indian chiefs, before they departed for their nation, warmly solicited me for some drums; and, as I had none but those belonging to the regiment, which could not be spared, I was obliged to promise them, that I would acquaint your Honor with their request, that you might, if you thought proper, provide them against their return.

Since my last, the enemy returned to the Branch, where they killed four men, wounded one, captivated a man and woman, and burned some grain, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the troops, who are constantly scouting.

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The people in that quarter are terribly affrighted by this last eruption, and I fear can hardly be prevented from evacuating that valuable settlement.

Enclosed is a return of the Deputy Commissary's return and report of the state of the provisions at Fort Cumberland and my letter to Doctr. Ross⁶⁹ on that subject, an answer to which I hourly expect. I have heard from second-hand, that they intend to make no allowance for the fish we left there, saying they were the King's fish, as they really were, and therefore as much theirs as ours. I should be glad to know your Honor's sentiments on this matter. I apprehended they would claim the fish as a right, and therefore when I left Ft. Cumberland, to attend the Committee in the Spring according to order, directed Colo. Stephen to have them removed, which he neglected to do.

I have received from Mr. Boyd, notwithstanding his first declaration to me, £500. Which, with what remains of the 2000, shall be applied and accounted for as you direct.

I was obliged to detain £250 out of the first sum which came up for the companies, but can now refund it.

When your Honor is pleased to order the vacancy, which Captain

69. The letter to Dr. David Ross (September 6) concerned the use of the salt beef at Fort Cumberland by the Maryland troops. "To settle this matter to the reciprocal satisfaction of both colonies, in an amicable way wou'd be quite agreeable to me." This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

Spotswood occasions to be filled up in the name of Captain McNeill, there will be room for a lieutenant; and then if you please to bestow it on Mr. Fairfax,⁷⁰ I should take it infinitely kind, if you would oblige me so far as to send the commission immediately from yourself to that gentleman.⁷¹ For altho I esteem him greatly on account of his father, for whose memory and friendship I shall ever retain a most grateful sense, yet, making him lieutenant over many old ensigns, will occasion great confusion in the corps, and bring censure on

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me; for the officers will readily conceive, that my friendship and partiality to the family were the causes of it. If Mr. Fairfax would accept of an ensigncy, the matter might pretty easily be accommodated. The letter under cover to Colonel Fairfax is not come to hand.

I have heard nothing yet from Colonel Stanwix; but soon shall, as I wrote to him a few days ago, and expect his answer. Robert Holmes is among the deserters.

I send your Honor a size-roll of my own, Captains Stewart and Lewis' companies. The others were sent to me, but being signed by the commanding officer only, as is usual, I was obliged to send back for the subalterns to sign also. When these come in I shall forward them.

As we have not at this time either commissary or assistant here, it is not in my power to send a return of the provisions with any tolerable exactness. But I do not doubt, that Mr. Rutherford, our acting commissary, who is now down, has

70. William Henry, the son of Colonel Fairfax.— *Ford*.

71. The commission had not been solicited by Colonel Washington nor was the application of Mr. Fairfax's friends made through him but directly to the governor.— *Sparks*.

satisfied your Honor fully in this particular; if he has not, I will take care to do it in my next.

The monthly return for July, mentioned in the body of this letter as sent, upon re-examination I find so unintelligible, by reason of some mistakes in Captns. Spotswood's and Woodward's return, that I am ashamed to sign it, 'till the mistakes are rectified, and for this end, I have ordered those companies in a peremptory manner to be careful for the future, or answer the contrary.

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Your Honor in estimating our numbers at about 700, will be near the complement; but if I may presume to advise, the contractors should provide for companies of 100 each, as it is supposed we shall complete to that number as fast as possible.

I doubt not your Honor will see the necessity of making an agreement with the contractors, for furnishing the Indians with provisions; otherwise they will take no concern in this matter, as I conceive they are allowed so much for each soldier, that shall be returned, in which case Indians are included. If they were not, no person would supply them on the same terms they do soldiers, for Indians *eat* and *waste* triple what the latter do.

I am, &c.

To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

Fort Loudoun, September 17, 1757.

Honble. Sir: A letter of the 22d ultimo, from Captain Peachy, came to my hands the other day, contents as follows: (here was inserted the letter).⁷² I should take it infinitely kind, if your Honor would please to inform me, whether a report of this nature was ever made to you; and, in that case, who was the author of it?

It is evident, from a variety of circumstances, and especially from the change in your Honor's conduct towards me, that some person, as well inclined to detract, but better skilled in the art of

⁷² The letter begins by detailing a conversation, which the writer had lately held with Mr. Charles Carter, of Shirley, Va., respecting a transaction in which Captain Peachy has been concerned some months before, on a mission to Williamsburg, Va., when the frontiers were in great alarm from the incursions of the enemy; and then proceeds: "He [Mr. Carter] says, that Mr. Christopher Robinson told him he heard Colonel Richard Corbin say, that I affirmed, that my whole business at that time was to execute a scheme of yours to cause

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the Assembly to levy largely both in men and money, and that there was not an Indian in the neighbourhood; that the frontiers, or even Winchester and the adjacent country, did not appear to be in any more danger at that time than any other. Mr. Robinson also informed Mr. Carter, it was said, that that piece of deceit, or imposition of yours (as they term it), had lessened the Governor's and some of the leading men's esteem for you; or, at least, they make use of it as a reason for their ill treatment, and the worse opinion (they say) they have than formerly of you. I hope Colo. Washington knows me better than even to suppose I could be guilty of a thing of this kind; therefore, shall only add, that you may depend I shall use my endeavor to trace the matter, till I find the scoundrel that dares make himself the author of such a scandalous report. If you think fit to make use of the above, you are at full liberty to do so." The entire letter is printed in Hamilton's *Letters to Washington*, vol. 2. p. 181.

detraction, than the author of the above stupid scandal, has made free with my character. For I cannot suppose, that malice so absurd, so barefaced, so diametrically opposite to truth, to common policy, and, in short, to every thing but villainy, as the above is, could impress you with so ill an opinion of my honor and honesty.

If it be possible, that Colonel Corbin, (for my belief is staggered, not being conscious of having given the least cause to any one, much less to that gentleman, to reflect so grossly,) I say, if it be possible, that Colonel Corbin could descend so low as to be the propagator of this story, he must either be vastly ignorant in the state of affairs in this county at *that time*, or else he must suppose, that the whole body of inhabitants had combined with me, in executing the deceitful fraud. Or why did they, almost to a man, forsake their dwellings in the greatest terror and confusion; and while one half of them sought shelter in paltry forts, (of their own building,) the other should flee to the adjacent counties for refuge, numbers of them even to Carolina, from whence they have never returned?

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These are facts well known; but not better known, than that these wretched people, while they lay pent up in forts, destitute of the common supports of life (having in

their precipitate flight forgotten, or were unable rather to secure, any kind of necessaries,) did dispatch messengers of their own (thinking I had not represented their miseries in the piteous manner they deserved), with addresses to your Honor and the Assembly, praying relief. And did I ever send any alarming account, without also sending the original papers, (or the copies,) which gave rise to it?

That I have foibles, and perhaps many of them, I shall not deny. I should esteem myself, as the world also would, vain and empty, were I to arrogate perfection.

Knowledge in military matters is to be acquired by practice and experience only; and, if I have erred, great allowance should be made for my errors for want of it; unless these errors should appear to be willful; and then, I conceive it would be more generous to charge me with my faults, and let me stand or fall according to evidence, than to stigmatize me behind my back.

It is uncertain in what light my services may have appeared to your Honor; but this I know, and it is the highest consolation I am capable of feeling, that no man, that ever was employed in a public capacity, has endeavoured to discharge the trust reposed in him with greater honesty, and more zeal for the country's interest, than I have done; and if there is any person living, who can say with justice, that I have offered any intentional wrong to the public, I will cheerfully submit to the most

ignominious punishment, that an injured people ought to inflict. On the other hand, it is hard to have my character arraigned, and my actions condemned, without a hearing.

I must therefore again beg in *more plain*, and in very *earnest terms*, to know, if Colonel Corbin has taken the liberty of representing my character to your Honor with

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such ungentlemanly freedom as the letter implies? Your condescension herein will be acknowledged, as a singular favor done your Honor's most obedient, humble servant.⁷³

To CAPTAIN WILLIAM PEACHY

Fort Loudoun, September 18, 1757.

Dear Sir: Your favor of the 22d ultimo came to hand about four days ago. In answer to that part, which relates to Colonel Corbin's gross and infamous reflections on my conduct last spring, it will be needless, I dare say, to observe further at this time, than that the liberty, which he has been pleased to allow himself in sporting with my character, is little

73. To this request, Governor Dinwiddie replied (September 24): "Your other letter of the 17th I perused. I would gladly hope there is no truth in it. I never heard of it before, or did I ever conceive you would have sent down any alarms without proper foundation. However, I shall show it to Colonel Corbin when he comes to town; but I'd advise you not to give credit to every idle story you hear; for if I was to notice reports of different kinds, I should be constantly perplexed. My conduct to you from the beginning was always friendly; but you know I had great reason to suspect you of ingratitude, which I am convinced your own conscience and reflection must allow, I had reason to be angry, but this I endeavor to forget; but I cannot think Colonel Corbin guilty of what is reported. However, as I have his Majesty's leave to go home, I propose leaving this in November, and I wish my successor may show you as much friendship as I have done." Dinwiddie's letter is printed in Hamilton's *Letters to Washington*, vol. 2, p. 204.

else than a comic entertainment, discovering at one view his passionate fondness for your friend, his inviolable love of truth, his unfathomable knowledge, and the masterly strokes of his wisdom in displaying it. These several talents he has, I think, exhibited in a most conspicuous manner to every person, who was in the least degree acquainted with the

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situation of affairs in this county at *that* juncture. The report of your false musters is equally absurd, and may take credit as above.

You are heartily welcome to make use of any letter, or letters, which may at any time have been written to you; for, altho' I keep no copies of epistles to my friends, nor can remember the contents of all of them, yet, I am sensible, that the narrations are just, and that truth and honesty will appear in my writings; of which, therefore, I shall not be ashamed, though criticism may censure my style.

Mr. Boyd is now in Augusta. I am perswaded he told me that the Governor forbad his paying you for the month of June. I have nevertheless certified, that you did duty until sometime in July and wish it had been your lot to have continued with [*sic*]

That our poor friends Spotswood, and Benj. Bullet are lost, is a truth (I believe) too certain. I am, etc.

To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

Fort Loudoun, September 24, 1757.

Honble. Sir: Enclosed is a copy of a letter, which I received from Captain McKenzie. Since my last, the different parties I detached in quest of the enemy, (who committed the late depredations in this neighborhood,) are returned, after having prosecuted the most probable measures, and exerted their utmost efforts in vain, in endeavoring to come up with and prevent the enemy's escape. Nor is it in any degree surprising, for when the vast extent of country, the scattered and distant manner in which the inhabitants are settled, the nature of the ground, and disposition of the enemy we have to cope with, are collectively considered, it is next to impossible, that any of our parties should ever see the enemy, except when they possess such advantages as render their victory certain.

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The inhabitants of this valuable and very fertile valley are terrified beyond expression. Some have abandoned their plantations, and many are packing up their most valuable effects in order to follow them. Another irruption into the heart of this settlement will, I am afraid, be of fatal consequence to it. I was always perswaded, and almost every day affords

new matter for confirming me in the opinion, that the enemy can, with the utmost facility, render abortive every plan, which can be concerted upon our present system of defence; and that the only method of effectually defending such a vast extent of mountains covered with thick woods, as our frontiers, against such an enemy, is by carrying the war into their country. And I think I may, without assuming uncommon penetration, venture to affirm, that, unless an expedition is carried on against the Ohio next spring, this country will not be another year in our possession.

Sickness, and the different parties, which the distressed situation of affairs here obliged me to detach from this garrison, so greatly retard the works, that finishing even the principal parts of them, before the winter sets in, will, I am afraid, prove impracticable.

I understand there are a mortar and a number of shells for it at Williamsburg, which would be of infinite service here, tho' of little or none where they are. We have a quantity of round and grape-shot for six-pounders, but no cannon to use them. A few pieces of that size would be a great addition to our strength; and, as this is the only place we have, (were it finished,) where a stand could be made, in case of any formidable attack, I conceive nothing in our power should be omitted to make it as defensible as we can.

Mr. Rutherford is not yet returned. Enclosed is a list of the killed and captured by the enemy, when last down. This is sent

to Fredericksburg, in order to go by post.

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To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

Fort Loudoun, October 5, 1757.

Honble. Sir: Both your Honor's letters of the 24th ultimo I received by Jenkins. As I cannot now send a proper monthly return of the regiment, for want of the remarks of the officers at the out-posts, I enclose your Honor an exact return, however, of our effective strength, and how disposed of, which will at present answer the end proposed equally well. I likewise send you enclosed the return of provisions, specifying the time they will serve.

I am informed "the contractor is to lay in the provisions for the troops in New [sic] Hampshire, at this place; that he is to have 6 *d* a man per diem for the whole he supplies, and that he is not to pay those who must inevitably be employed in issuing out the provisions at the different garrisons."

This information, I flatter myself, is without foundation; as it is beyond doubt that provisions could be purchased in Hampshire, where the troops are quartered for half of what the contractor has for lay

ing them in here, and that the amount of the waggonage and other charges of transporting these provisions from hence to New [sic] Hampshire will exceed the whole cost of the provisions, if purchased there; not to mention the great risque, trouble of escorts, &c., &c.

The assistant commissaries must still be continued, or some persons in their room, who, under the direction of a principal, would have purchased the provisions upon as good terms as any contractor. Besides, the commissary used to act as wagonmaster, supply the different garrisons with candle, made from the tallow of the country's beeves, and do many things for the good of the service, not to be expected from a contractor.

I shall take the earliest opportunity of communicating your Honor's intentions, respecting the ranging company, to Captain Hogg, who, I am informed, is lying ill, in consequence

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of the bite of a snake at Dickinson's Fort, and will, I fear, be unable to raise the men I am afraid the recruiting one hundred men will be found a very difficult task. I am quite at a loss how to act, as you did not inform me upon what terms they are to be levied and supported, what bounty money to allow, what pay to engage the officers and men, how clothed and supported, what the officers' pay and what kind of commissions they are to have.

Mr. Robert Rutherford, late deputy-commissary here, says that he could raise the men in a shorter time than any other,

and from his universal acquaintance on the frontiers, and the esteem the people in general have for him, I am apt to believe he could raise them as soon as any person whatever.

If they should have the same bounty, allowed by the Assembly for recruits, I shall want money for that purpose. The £68 13 s 8 d I received from Colo. Fairfax of the country's money I accounted with the committee for in April last. Enclosed is a copy of the last letter I received from Colonel Stanwix.

The enemy continue their horrid devastations in this settlement. Enclosed is a copy of a letter from Capt. Josha. Lewis. Immediately on receipt of Capt. Lewis', Capt. McNeill, 3 subalterns, 4 sergeants, and 70 rank and file, marched up to act in conjunction with Capt. Lewis. The day before Captain Lewis was attacked, twenty Cherokees, headed by one of the principal warriors of that nation, marched from hence to the South Branch, which with the troops under Captains Waggener and McKenzie, will, I hope, secure that quarter.

So soon as Capt. McNeill returns, I will order him up to his company to which I have by your orders appointed him; as I have Mr. Chew in room of Mr. Fell.

When Mr. Atkin went from here he carried Mr. Gist and the Indian interpreter with him. Since several parties of Cherokees have been here, by which I and my officers were involved in inconceivable trouble, as we had neither an interpreter, nor a right to hold conferences with them; nothing to satisfy their demands of things of which they were in the

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greatest need; nor liberty to procure them. These warlike, formidable people, altho they seem to have a natural strong attachment to our interest, will, I am afraid, be induced by such treatment to hearken to the pressing solicitations of the French, who (by the latest and best accounts, copies of which I enclose) are making them vastly advantageous offers. The Chief of the Cherokee party, who went last to the Branch, (and is said to be a man of great weight among that nation), was so incensed against what he imagined neglect and contempt, that, had we not supplied him with a few necessaries, without which he could not go to war, he threatened to return, fired with resentment, to his nation. In short, I dread that, by the present management of Indian affairs, we are losing our interest of that people, the preservation of whose friendship is of the last importance to the colonies in general, and this in particular.

I am sorry to acquaint your Honor that Hamilton, the quartermaster hath misbehaved egregiously, embezzling and disposing, (in a clandestine manner) of some of the regimental stores, and afterwards running away and carrying a man of the regiment with him. He had leave to go to Alexandria, to order up some of the stores left there, and managed his affairs with such cunning, that he was gone too long to be pursued, before he was suspected.

Enclosed is a copy of the proceedings of the court of enquiry. Several things were found at many different houses, and the magistrates did not behave consistently with their duty.

I do not know, that I ever gave your Honor cause to suspect me of ingratitude, a crime I detest, and would most carefully avoid. If an open, disinterested behavior carries offence, I may have offended; because I have all along laid it down as a maxim, to represent facts freely and impartially, but no more to others, than I have to you, Sir. If instances of my ungrateful behavior had been particularized, I would have answered to them. But I have long been convinced, that my actions and their motives have been maliciously aggravated.

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As your Honor proposes to leave the colony in November, I should be glad of liberty to go down to Williamsburg towards the last of this month, or first of the next, if nothing should intervene, to settle some accounts with your Honor and the Committee, which may not be done in so satisfactory a manner

after you are gone.⁷⁹

The last alarm occasioned a great many of the inhabitants in this county to go off, whereupon vast numbers are still moving. I fear that, in a short time, this very valuable valley will be in a great measure depopulated; and what farther steps to take, and how to obviate so great a misfortune, I am quite at a loss. As I have hitherto neglected nothing in the compass of my power, it is very evident, that nothing but vigorous offensive measures, (next campaign,) can save the country, at least all west of the Blue Ridge, from inevitable desolation.

We are in great want of a Quartermaster to take care of the stores, and I really do not know of a fit person, unless your Honor will please to bestow the office upon Mr. Kennedy. He acted sometimes as Quartermaster-sergeant, then as Commissary, and I believe is better acquainted with the duty than any one we can get. He bears a good character and is acquainted with figures.

The Dunkard doctor gave me notice of his intentions to wait upon your Honor again for his release, I in a late letter transmitted an information of the French deserters (who came from Fort Cumberland) against them, and think it my duty further to add, that I firmly believe they are employed as spies, and are useful to the French. Of this, all the frontier inhabitants seem convinced, and are so apprehensive of the consequences

79. "I cannot agree to allow you leave to come down here at this time. You have been frequently indulged with leave of absence. You know the fort is to be finished, and I fear when you are away little will be done; and surely the commanding officer should not be

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absent when daily alarmed with the enemy's intentions to invade our frontiers, and I think you are in the wrong to ask it. You have no accounts that I know of to settle with me; and what accounts you have to settle with the country may be done at a more proper time.”—*Dinwiddie to Washington*, Oct. 19, 1757. The copyist (in 1785) of this letter in the “Letter Book” was more than usually careless. The two instances of writing New Hampshire and “maliciously aggravated” (pp. 140 and 141) are evidence of this. Dinwiddie's letter is in the *Washington Papers*, and is printed in Hamilton's *Letters to Washington*, vol. 2, p. 216.

that it has caused numbers to remove, and will cause a general terror among them, if this person is suffered to return and the others to remain out there. For which reason I should really be glad to receive orders to bring the others in. 'Tis better, provided they do not assist the enemy, to bring them in, than to keep a whole country in perpetual uneasiness on their account.

Mr. Rutherford set about making his return, the moment your Honor's letter came to hand, and but this instant has finished it, having everything to measure and weigh, in order to be exact.

Since writing the foregoing, the express, which I sent to Major Lewis, is come in, and brings returns of those companies; so that your Honor will now receive proper monthly returns of our strength for July and August; by which you will see, that our total strength amounts to thirty-two commissioned officers, forty-eight noncommissioned, and seven hundred and three rank and file; whereof twenty officers, thirty non-commissioned, and four hundred and sixty-four rank and file, are employed in this county and Hampshire. But there are always six women allowed to a company, who draw provisions; and the officers receive more or less according to their respective rank, as your Honor would see by the estimate I received from Colonel Stanwix,

and enclosed you some time ago; which must be allowed for in the calculation.

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I have this instant received letters from Captains Waggener and McKenzie, by express. The first writes that two men were killed, [or] captured about 2 miles from his fort. The other says that a Cherokee party just as they were setting out to go to Captn. Waggener's heard that Pearis was at Fort Cumberland and marched to him.

To COLONEL JOHN STANWIX

Fort Loudoun, October 8, 1757.

Dear Sir: I am favored with an opportunity by Mr. Livingston, to acknowledge the receipt of your agreeable favor of the 19th ultimo; and to inform you of a very extraordinary affair, which has happened at this place, namely, the desertion of our quartermaster. This infamous fellow, as he has proved himself, after having disposed, in a clandestine manner, of many of our regimental stores, being called upon to settle his accounts (not that I, or any officer in the regiment, had the least suspicion of the scene of roguery he was carrying on), pretended, that he could not come to an exact settlement without going to Alexandria, where some of the stores yet lay. Several of our soldiers

deserting at the same time, (being the time when Lt. Campbell called upon you) he was sent in pursuit of them, which (for we had no doubt of his honest intentions) afforded him the desired opportunity of making his escape. He was ordered too to take Alexandria in his return. His villainy was not laid open, before his departure, and was at last only accidentally discovered. This person John Hamilton had been several years a sergeant in one of his Majesty's regiments, in which character he served three years under me. During that time he gave such signal proofs of his bravery and good behavior, as bound me, in honor and gratitude, to do something for him. And I therefore got him promoted to be quartermaster, as he was acquainted with the duty, and capable, (I thought,) of discharging it.

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We have had several visitations from the enemy, and much mischief done, since my last to you. About the 17th ultimo there were upwards of twenty persons killed only twelve miles from this garrison, and notwithstanding I sent a strong detachment from hence to pursue them, and ordered the passes of the mountains to be waylaid by commands from other places, yet we were not able to meet with these savages.

On Friday se'nnight, a body of near or not quite a hundred fell upon the inhabitants along the great road between this place and Pennsylvania, got fifteen more. The mischief would have been much greater, had not an officer and twenty men of the regiment, who were then out, fallen in with and engaged the enemy. Finding, however, that his party was overpowered, and like to be surrounded, he retreated to a stockade, not far distant, in which they were besieged for three hours; but the firing communicated an alarm from one habitation to another, by which means most of the families were timely apprised of their danger, and happily got safe off. Our party killed one Indian, (whose scalp they obtained,) and wounded several others.

I exert every means in my power to protect a much distressed country, but it is a task too arduous. To think of defending a frontier as ours is, of more than three hundred and fifty miles' extent, with only seven hundred men, is vain and idle, especially when that frontier lies more contiguous to the enemy than any other. I am, and have for a long time been, fully convinced, that, if we continue to pursue a defensive plan, the country must be inevitably lost.⁸⁰

You will be kind enough, Sir, to excuse the freedom with which I deliver my sentiments, and believe me to be, (for I really am,) with unfeigned truth and regard, your most

80. From the time that the Virginia Regiment was organized it had been Colonel Washington's opinion that an offensive war should be kept up against the enemy. In this sentiment Governor Dinwiddie agreed with him, and he urged upon Lord Loudoun the advantage of an expedition against Fort Duquesne. But the great operations at the north

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absorbed his lordship's attention, and he placed the whole southern frontier upon the defensive. Hence the enemy made perpetual inroads, committing murders and ravages. Considering the weak state of the garrison at Fort Duquesne, a large portion of which had been withdrawn to defend the Canada borders, it was deemed an object of easy attainment, as no doubt it was, for Colonel Stanwix, with his 500 Royal Americans, in conjunction with the Virginia and Maryland troops, to seize that fort. This would have effectually put a stop to all the savage depredations. But such were not his orders, and nothing was done. The Indians were emboldened by this inactivity, and the frontier inhabitants were molested in every quarter.— *Sparks*.

obedient, humble servant.

N.B. These constant alarms and perpetual movements of the soldiers of this garrison, have almost put a stop to the progress of the public works at this place.

To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

October 9, 1757.

Honble. Sir: As I wrote to your Honor fully by Jenkins, have little more to add, than the affair hinted at in my last, on the conduct of the magistrates here, which (from what I can collect) appears to me to be of a most extraordinary nature and whose substance is, or nearly, as follows, vizt.:

From the Court of Enquiry upon the Quartermaster's affairs, and from the credit which the tippling house keepers (with which Winchester abounds) gave to many of the Soldiers, we had reason strongly to suspect, that some there had received and concealed some of the Stores, arms, &c.,

belonging to the Regiment: and upon application, Justice Speake issued his search-warrants. But Thomas Wood, Constable, refused to execute them, from various frivolous

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pretences: nor was there one in the town who wou'd act even *pro tempore* : So that affair must have been dropped, had not Mr. Alexander Wood, now a merchant here, genteelly offered his service, and executed the Warrants with indefatigable assiduity. Enclosed is a copy of his return. The goods, and the people at whose houses they were found, were brought before Mr. Speake, who, being a young Justice, desired the assistance of Captn. Thomas Swearingen, one of the representatives of the County, and a man of great weight among the meaner class of people, and supposed by them to possess extensive knowledge.

Mr. John Lindsay, another Justice, likewise sat on this affair; and after having examined the goods and people brought before them, Mr. Swearingen sagaciously determined that the affair must be further tried at Court; the other two Justices readily coincided in opinion with him; and accordingly, without giving any other judgment or taking any security for the appearance of the delinquents, tho' many of them have few obligations to common fame for their character, they dismissed them by telling them they must appear at the next Court. When that period arrived, I ordered Captn. Stewart to apply to Mr. Gabriel Jones for his advice and assistance, as I conceived that procedure of the Magistrates not only to be absurd and irregular

but expressly illegal. Enclosed is a copy of what he did, and advised, taken in writing and signed by himself.⁸¹

Mr. Jones further advised me, to transmit to your Honor an account of the whole; and observed, that you no doubt wou'd direct the Attorney General to prosecute the Magistrates, as bringing a suit against them in this court wou'd not avail for this end.

I have taken every precaution I cou'd possibly suggest, to prevent the Soldiers of this Garrison from having any dealings whatever with the inhabitants of the town; and have issued the strictest orders against their parting with any of their clothes, arms, &c.; and moreover several severe examples have been made of those detected in the breach

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of those orders. But from the all alluring temptations of liquor, &c., many ventured to transgress, and the fear of consequent punishment, induced them to desert.

Were it not too tedious, I cou'd give your Honor such instances of the villainous Behavior of those Tippling-Housekeepers, as wou'd astonish any person; but the little I have already said, will suffice to convince your Honor, that it is impossible to maintain that discipline and do that Service with a Garrison thus corrupted by a set of people, whose conduct looks like the effect of a combination

81. Gabriel Jones's opinion is entered in Washington's "Letter Book" immediately preceding this letter.

to obstruct the Service, and frustrate the methods pointed out for their own preservation. And when some of those practises were at length proved, the laws made for the punishment of such gross offences, trifled with by the Magistrates, in the manner the above fact and the enclosed will render conspicuous: I could [not] believe did I not see it, that these are the people of a country whose bowels are at this juncture torn by the most horrid devastations of the most cruel and barbarous enemy.

But enormities of this kind have got to such a height, that nothing, I fear, but your Honor's interposition in ordering those Magistrates to be brought to Justice, and appointing others from whom more may be hoped, *can* prevent the worst of consequences to a (seemingly) infatuated people.

The enemy did not so much mischief in their last irruption as was at first apprehended. Ten of those who were missing, and supposed to be killed or captivated, have since appeared.

The party of the regiment that was out with Captain Lewis suffered greatly in point of clothes and necessaries. From the first intelligence Captain Lewis received of them he imagined the enemy's numbers trifling and inconsiderable; and, in order to better his chance of coming up with them, stripped and ordered his men to follow his example. In

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that condition he soon overtook them, but was obliged to make a very precipitate retreat, the enemy getting near the fort almost as soon as he did. He has applied to me in behalf of his men, to get them supplied out of the public stores, for what they lost; but as I had no directions in such case, cou'd not let them have any thing, altho' I thought they deserved it. They have likewise applied for the reward of the *scalp* they took, which I have sent your Honor, and hope they will by Mr. Byrd's return receive *it* which will greatly encourage them. Enclosed is a copy of Doctr. Ross's Letter respecting the provisions at Fort Cumberland. I am, Sir, &c.

To WILLIAM DENNY⁸²

Fort Loudoun, October 23, 1757.

Sir: Your favour Inclosing Sir William Johnson's Letter, I had the Honour to receive Yesterday between four and five P.M. at which time the Indians therein spoke of arrivd here. About the same hour to day they depart; Escorted by an Officer whom I have chargd with the care of conducting them to the first Garrison in Carolina.

I have bought of the bearer, Mr. James Innis, the Horses which conveyd them hither, and which he tells me, he was Instructed to sell. All other necessary Expences arising in their March through this Colony, I shall pay in behalf of this Government. I am etc.

[H.S.P.]

82. Deputy Governor of Pennsylvania.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR LIEUTENANT JAMES ROY

October 23, 1757.

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Sir: You are immediately to proceed from hence with the party of Cherokee and northern Indians now here, to Captain Waddell's fort, or the nearest Garrison (otherwise) in N. Carolina, taking the safest and best road.

When you arrive there, you are to deliver them over to Captn. Waddell, or the Officer commanding the Garrison, at which you shall deliver them.

In your march you are to use your utmost endeavours in getting the Indians

accommodated with provisions and other necessaries. You are to be particularly careful to procure those necessaries on the best terms; keeping the most exact accompts of all your disbursements; and taking receipts for every farthing you pay.

After having delivered over the Indians, you are to apply to him for some deserters from the Virginia regiments, which I am informed he has entertained; and of which you have herewith a list.

Shou'd he hesitate at delivering them up, you are to demand his reasons for so illegal a proceedure in writing. It being not only expressly contrary to an Article of War; but evidently detrimental to His Majestys general interest: and which I will not fail to represent to the *Commander in Chief* . But shou'd he deliver them up (as I am apt to believe he will) you are to apply to him for an Escort for them to the first Garrison in this Colony.

You are to make the greatest expedition, and rejoin this Garrison as soon as the nature of the service, to which you are now ordered, will admit.

To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

[Fort Loudoun], October 24, 1757.

Honble. Sir: Your favour of the 19th instant was delivered to me this evening.

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The raising a company of Rangers, or augmenting our strength in some other manner, is so far necessary, that *without* it, the remaining inhabitants of this (once fertile and populous) valley will scarcely be detained at their dwellings 'till the Spring. And, if there is no Expedition to the westward then, nor a force more considerable than Virginia can support, posted on our frontiers (if we still adhere to our destructive, defensive schemes,) there will not, next campaign I dare affirm, be one soul living on this side the Blue Ridge the ensuing autumn; unless it be the Troops in Garrison, and a few inhabitants of this town, who may shelter themselves under the protection of this fort. This I know to be the immovable determination of all the settlers of this County; which to give a more succinct account of than I cou'd in writing, was the principal among many other reasons that induced me to ask leave to come down. It was not to enjoy a party of pleasure I wanted leave of absence; I have been indulged with few of those, winter or summer! I must here add, that an incredible number of Inhabitants has fled in consequence of the two last incursions of the Enemy, of which your Honor has already

been advertised. And that I have taken indefatigable pains, and found it no easy task to prevail on the bulk of the country to wait the consultations of this winter, and the event of this Spring. I do not know on whom this miserable and undone people are to rely for redress. If the Assembly are to give it to them, it is time that measures were concerting; if we are to seek it of the Commander-in-chief, it is time our grievances were made known to him: for as I before said, another campaign, such as was the last, will depopulate this country. Then let the consequences be considered, where are we to get supplies of provisions for our armies, when this valley which is the only support of *them*, is entirely abandoned to an Enemy, which by that means will be entirely possessed of every thing necessary to pursue their conquest; and that the adjacent counties will fly much faster than this, not being half so well settled, is a fact indisputable.

I shall also add, what I did not in my last (lest it shou'd be thought I spoke from prejudice) that Captain Hogg is the most unfit person in the world, to raise and command a company

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of Rangers. He in the first place is generally disliked, were he not, he has neither activity, spirit or knowledge enough of the woods, to answer this end. And again, the men most proper for such an undertaking would be backward to enlist

under him, fearing his discipline; whereas, I conceive, a person in some degree upon a level with themselves wou'd have it in his power to engage for the good pay which is offered, huntsmen, who have been used to arms from their childhood, and in a particular manner acquainted with the country from which many have been drove.

These are my reasons against Capt. Hogg, and in behalf of some such person as Mr. Rutherford, to whom I have no particular attachment, or desire to serve. He refuses to accept of the second command.

I have expressed my sentiments upon this latter, as well as the first affair, with the utmost candor and sincerity; in doing which I conceive I have done no more than my duty. The whole is submitted to your Honor's better judgment.

Yesterday arrived here the Indians spoken of in the enclosed (copies of letters which came with them to me) I purchased four Horses, bridles, and saddles, for £14., and send them off to-day, escorted by an officer who is charged with the care of conducting them thro' this Colony. The Cherokees that were on the Branch, are on their return to their nation, having left *this* for that purpose several days ago. They met (about 8 miles beyond Fort Cumberland) a party of Indians under command of a French cadet, whom they engaged. The French cadet was killed and scalped, his orders found, which Captain Dagworthy detained, without even sending me

a copy of them. I understand, however he was ordered to take a view of Fort Cumberland and then proceed into the Inhabitants, to kill, captivate, and lay waste the country.

Mr. Kennedy I shall appoint in the place of Mr. Hamilton. I am, &c.

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P.S. Your Honor has not mentioned what pay the officers commissioned and non-commission'd, are to have.

I cou'd settle the provisions in dispute at Fort Cumberland, with Doctor Ross upon no other terms than these; He is to replace the flour and so much of the beef as the Marylanders used at this place, and to pay for the flour and beans. The remainder of the beef I must have transported to the Branch.

To JOHN ROBINSON

Fort Loudoun, October 25, 1757.

Sir: I applied to the Governor for leave to come down in order to settle my accounts before he left the country, and to represent the melancholy situation of our distressed frontiers, which no written narra

tive can so well describe, as a verbal account to a judicious person inclined to hear. In a verbal account, the questions resulting from one relation beget others, 'till matters are perfectly understood; whereas the most explicit writing will be found deficient. But his Honor was pleased to deny his leave, thinking my request unreasonable, and that I had some party of pleasure in view.

I have, in a letter by this conveyance, endeavored to set in as clear a point of light as I am able, the situation of our frontiers, and the disposition of the inhabitants, to the governor; and shall endeavor also, in as succinct a manner as possible, to make you sensible of *both* .

In doing which it will be necessary to observe to you that the inhabitants of this fertile, and (once) populous valley, are now become our most western settlers, save the few families that are *forted* on the Branch; that the enemy have, in great measure, ceased committing hostilities on the Branch, and fallen upon the people of this valley; and that a considerable

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part of them have already removed. This, by persons unacquainted with the country, and the enemy we have to deal with, may be attributed to the cowardice of the inhabitants, or inactivity of the soldiers, but by others it will be imputed to neither. No troops in the universe can guard against the cunning and wiles of Indians. No one can tell where they will fall, till the mischief is done, and then 't is in vain to pursue. The inhabitants see, and

are convinced of this, which makes each family afraid of standing in the gap of danger; and by retreating, one behind another, they depopulate the country, and leave it to the enemy, who subsist upon the plunder. This, Sir, is a matter of fact which you may depend on from me; and further, if we pursue a defensive plan next campaign, there will not, by autumn, be one soul living on this side of the Blue Ridge, except the soldiers in garrison, and such of the inhabitants as may seek shelter therein. This, Sir, I know to be the immovable determination of the people; and, believe me, when I tell you, that I have been at great pains, before I could prevail on them to wait the consultations of this winter, and the event of spring.

I do not know on whom those miserable, undone people are to rely for redress. If the Assembly are to give it to them, it is time that measures at least were concerting, and not when they should be going into execution, as has always been the case. If they are to seek it from the Commander-in-chief, it is time our grievances were made known to him; for I cannot forbear repeating again, that while we pursue defensive measures we pursue inevitable ruin, the loss of the country being the inevitable and

fatal consequence. There will be no end to our troubles, while we follow this plan, and every year will increase our expense. This, my dear Mr. Speaker, I urge not only as an officer, but as a friend, who has property in the country and is unwilling to lose it. This it is, also, that makes me anxious for doing more than barely represent, which is all that is expected of an officer commanding.

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It is not possible for me to convey a just sense of the posture of our affairs. It would be vanity to attempt it. I, therefore, content myself with entreating you to use your influence to prevent such delays, as we have hitherto met with, if you think this affair depends upon the Assembly. If you conceive the Assembly have done what they are able, and that recourse must be had elsewhere, I am determined, as I will neither spare cost nor pains, to apply to Colonel Stanwix (who commands on this quarter, with whom I am acquainted, and from whom I have received several kind and affectionate letters,) for leave to wait on him with an account of our circumstances.

Through these means, perhaps, we may be able to draw a little of Lord Loudoun's attention to the preservation of these colonies.

Pray let me have your sentiments⁸³ in respect to these affairs. I have not time to put my thoughts on these matters in a proper dress. The bearer is in waiting, and I am in other respects hurried. But the truth of what I have asserted, believe me,

83. The speaker, at the conclusion of his answer to this letter (November 3), after mentioning the governor's intended departure, writes: "We have not yet heard who is to succeed him. God grant it may be somebody better acquainted with the unhappy business we have in hand, and who, by his conduct and counsel, may dispel the heavy cloud at present hanging over this distressed and unhappy country. Till which happy event, I beg, my dear friend, you will bear, so far as a man of honor ought, the discouragement and slights you have too often met with, and continue to serve your country, as I am thoroughly convinced you have always hitherto done, in the best manner you can with the small assistance afforded you." Robinson's letter is printed in Hamilton's *Letters to Washington*, vol. 2, p.230.

is unquestionable; as well as that I am, with the most affectionate regards, your most obedient servant and friend.

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To CAPTAIN ALEXANDER BEALL

Fort Loudoun, November 1, 1757.

Sir: Your favour of the 25th. ultimo was delivered me to-day. If you had been more explicit in relating the circumstances of the abuse you were pleased to complain of, I shou'd have been better enabled to judge of the fact. But, after confessing, as you have done, that you made no enquiry at all into the affair, I am not more surprized at your making the complaint, than I am at a loss how to redress it.

I hope you will do me the justice to belive, that I never countenance commissioned, much less non-commissioned, Officers, or private men, irregular and disorderly Behaviour: especially in matters that may interrupt the good harmony subsisting, or which *ought* to subsist between troops of the different Governments. It hath been my study to cultivate unanimity and a quiet correspondence among *them* , and to prevent every thing which might have had a contrary tendency.

Henry Williams, the Sergeant, of

whom you complain, belongs to Capt. Lewis's Company, and is posted not far from your Garrison. If, therefore, you will produce testimony of this outrage to his Captain, he will see that satisfaction is made to the injured party. The enclosed directs you there. I am, Sir,

To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

Fort Loudoun, November 5, 1757.

Sir: Duty to my Country, and his Majesty's interest, indispensably requires, that I again trouble your Honor on the subject of Indian affairs here; which have been impeded and embarrassed by such a train of mismanagement, as a continuance of which must inevitably produce the most melancholy consequences.

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The sincere disposition the Cherokees have betrayed to espouse our cause heartily has been demonstrated beyond the most distant doubt; and, if rewarded in the manner in which that laudable and meritorious disposition entitles them to, wou'd, in all human probability, soon effect a favorable change in the present (apparently) desperate situation of this poor, unhappy part of his Majesty's dominions.

But, in the stead of meeting with that great encouragement, which the essential services of that brave people undoubtedly merit, several of them, after having undergone the rudest toils and fatigues of an excessively long march, destitute of all the conveniences and almost necessaries of life, and, (to give us still more convincing proofs of their strong attachment to our interest) in that very situation went

to war, and in the way behaved nobly (from which we reaped a signal advantage,) and when they returned here, with an enemy's scalp, baggage and other trophies of honor, they must have gone home without any kind of reward or thanks, or even provisions to support them on their march, justly fired with the highest resentment for their real-treatment, had not I and my officers strained a point, procured them some things, of which they were in absolute want, and made it the object of our care, in various respects, to please them.

Another party of those Indians since very opportunely arrived to our assistance, at the very juncture the enemy made an irruption into this settlement, pursued their tracks, came up with three of them, two of whom they scalped, and wounded the third. They are now returned from this pursuit, and are nearly in the same situation with those abovementioned. I applied to Captain Gist in their behalf, and told him I must represent the matter to your Honor. But he assures me that he has neither goods to reward them, money to procure them, or even an interpreter, which totally incapacitates him for doing any kind of service. If so (which I have no reason to doubt) it is surprising, that any man

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shou'd be entrusted with the negotiating of such important affairs, and not be possessed of the means to accomplish the undertaking. By which he, and several

others, who received high pay from Virginia, are not only rendered useless, but our interests with those Indians is at the brink of destruction. Whenever a party of them arrive here, they immediately apply to me; but I have neither any thing to give them, nor any right to do it. Nor is there anybody to inform them to what these and their other disappointments is owing; which reduces me to such a dilemma, as I wou'd most gladly be extricated from.

I must likewise beg leave to mention to your Honor once more the vast hardships, many of the people groan under here, having been so long kept out of the money, which the country owes them on account of the Indians. When I proposed going down to Williamsburgh, many of them brought their accounts to me, which I intended (had you given me liberty,) to have laid before your Honor. I mention this circumstance, not with any view of being employed in examining and paying off those accounts, (which for many reasons I can by no means undertake,) but in hope that your Honor will be pleased to give directions to and denominate some person for that purpose, for the neglect of which so many poor people greatly suffer.⁸⁴ I am, &c.

84. This was Washington's last letter to Governor Dinwiddie. In his answer (November 14) Dinwiddie expressed surprise at Edmund Atkin's failure to manage the Indian affairs properly. He gave orders to send up the Indian goods required and sailed for England in January, 1758.

Colonel Washington was now laboring under an indisposition, which shortly increased to an alarming illness. He left the army at the pressing request of Doctor Craik, his physician and intimate friend through life, and retired to Mount Vernon, where he was reduced so low by dysentery and fever that it was more than four months before he was able to resume his command. Dinwiddie wrote to Captain Stewart (November 15): "The violent complaint Col. Washington labors under gives me great concern, it was unknown to me

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or he shou'd have had leave of absence sooner, and I am very glad he did not delay following the Doctrs. advice, to try a change of air. I sincerely wish him a speedy recovery.” This letter is printed in Hamilton's *Letters to Washington*, vol. 1, p. 239.

To JOHN BLAIR⁸⁹

Fredericksburgh, January 30, 1758.

Hon'ble Sir: Hearing of the Governor's departure for England; I think it a duty incumbent on me to inform your Honor, that I lingered a long time under an illness, which obliged me to retire from my command (by the Surgeons advice, and with the Governors approbation) and that I am yet but imperfectly recovered from it: which is the cause that detains me from my Duty.

I have many accompts to settle with the country committee, and should be glad to obtain leave to come down for that purpose *now*. This being the proper season, as our Frontiers are quiet. I also want to receive money, for contingent Expences, before I return to Winchester; as there are several demands of the Public, that I shou'd be glad robe provided against. And further I shall, at that time, have an opportunity of laying before your Honor, a state of the frontier Settlements; a matter worthy of great attention; as the well being of the people depends upon seasonable and well-concerted measures for their defence!

If your Honor has any Orders for the Troops under my command, please to favor me with them, and they shall be forwarded up; while I come down myself, for the purposes aforesaid. I am, with great Esteem, etc.

89. John Blair was born at Williamsburg, Va., in 1689 and died there Nov. 5, 1771. He was long a member of the House of Burgesses, member of the council, its president in 1757–58, and Acting Governor of Virginia in 1768.— *Ford*.

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To JOHN BLAIR

Fredericksburg, January 31, 1758.

Honble. Sir: I wrote to your Honor yesterday. Since which your favor of the 25th is come to hand, I am greatly distressed to know what conduct to observe with regard to the Indians that are coming to our assistance. I would notwithstanding the ill state of health I am in, go directly to Winchester, cou'd I flatter myself that the Service wou'd reap any real advantage from it; but as I am not entrusted with the management of Indian Affairs, farther than directing their war-route's (and even here, they are governed by caprice and whim rather than by real design), I am of opinion, I should only share in Mr. Gist's embarrassments, *without* rendering him, the desired assistance. Because, if he informs me rightly, he is in no wise prepared for the reception of such a party, either *with arms* , or proper goods, and how he can be timely supplied with either, I know not. But this I am certain of; that were I on the *spot* ,

all their disappointments would be attributed to me, as they look upon the commanding officer to be culpable in all those cases.

Never was any thing more unlucky, perhaps, than these Indians coming at this time, having very little to apprehend, and the season being too rigorous to admit of incursions into the Enemy's country. If they were sent out to war, it is more than probable that they would return to their nation as soon as they came in; by which means we should need their assistance in the Spring, when they would be of infinite service in offensive or defensive measures; and to feed and clothe them thro' the winter, if they could be prevailed with to stay, would be at; tended with great expence.

Upon the whole, it appears to be a very ill judged step, the sending them in at this time and an affair of so much importance, that I do not care to meddle in it, without particular instructions from your Honor.

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I have dispatched a special messenger to Mr. Gist, apprizing him of this matter, and shall wait at this place for your Orders, as to my *own* conduct. I am, &c.

To JOHN BLAIR

Mount Vernon, February 20, 1758.

Hon'ble Sir: I set out for Williamsburgh the day after the date of my letter by Jenkins; but found I was unable to proceed, my fever and pain encreasing upon me to an high degree; and the Physicians assured me, that I might endanger my life in prosecuting the journey. In consequence of this advice, I returned back to this place again, and informed your Honor of the reason of my detention by the Post, whom I met with on the road, and who I have since understood, never lodged my letter in the Post-office at Fredericksburgh; which is the cause of my writing this second one to the same purport. Whenever I shall be sufficiently able to attempt the journey again, I can not say: but shall delay no time after I am in a condition to perform it. I am your Honor's &c.

To COLONEL JOHN STANWIX

Mount Vernon, March 4, 1758.

My Dear Colonel: Your favors of the 13th January and the 24th ultimo, with the extract of a letter from Lord Loudoun, were this day

delivered to me. In the latter you condescend to ask my opinion of Major Smith.⁹⁰ Pray, does not his plan sufficiently indicate the man? Can there be a better index to his abilities, than his scheme for reducing the enemy on the Ohio? and his expeditious march of a thousand men to Detroit? Surely, he intended to provide them with wings to facilitate their passage over so mountainous and extensive a country, or what way else could he accomplish it in?⁹¹

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I am unacquainted with the navigation of the rivers he proposes to traverse, and, consequently, cannot be a competent judge of his scheme in this respect; but the distance is so great, and that through an enemy's country, that, I candidly confess, it appears to me a romantic plan, in general, that may exist in the imagination, but cannot be executed. For, if we are strong enough to attempt the reduction of the Ohio, what necessity is there for our making such a circuitous march, and leaving Fort Duquesne behind us, which is the source from whence flow all our ills? And if we are too weak to attempt this place, what have we not to dread from leaving it in our rear?

These, Sir, are my sentiments upon Major Smith's plan. With regard to the person, if I have been rightly informed, he actually had a commission to command a ranging company, and obtained it by making promises, he never could comply with. He was adjudged, by persons better acquainted with him than I am, to be quite unfit to command even a company,

90. Maj. John Smith.

91. Colonel Stanwix replied (March 10): "have been favored with your obliging letter, and find your judgment tallies with Lord Loudoun's and mine, in regard to Major Smith's wild scheme."

and lost the Block-House, in which he commanded, by suffering his men to straggle from it at pleasure, which the Indians observing, took advantage of his weakness, and attacked him at a time when he had no men in his works. It is, nevertheless, agreed on all hands, that he made a gallant defence, but I never before heard of any capitulation that was granted to him.

I have not had the pleasure of seeing Major Smith, though I have been favored with a letter from him, in which he politely professes some concern at hearing of my indisposition, as it prevented him from seeing me at Winchester; but desires, at the same time, that I will

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attend him at his house in Augusta, about two hundred miles hence! or in Williamsburg by the 20th instant, when, I suppose, he intends to honor me with *his orders* .

I have never been able to return to my command, since I wrote to you last, my disorder at times returning obstinately upon me, in spite of the efforts of all the sons of Æsculapius, whom I have hitherto consulted. At certain periods I have been reduced to great extremity, and have now too much reason to apprehend an approaching decay, being visited with several symptoms of such a disease.

I am now under a strict regimen,

and shall set out to-morrow for Williamsburg to receive the advice of the best physicians there. My constitution is certainly greatly impaired, and as nothing can retrieve it, but the greatest care and the most circumspect conduct, as I now have no prospect left of preferment in the military way, and as I despair of rendering that immediate service, which my country may require from the person commanding their troops, I have some thoughts of quitting my command, and retiring from all public business, leaving my post to be filled by some other person more capable of the task, and who may, perhaps, have his endeavors crowned with better success than mine have been. Wherever I go, or whatever becomes of me, I shall always possess the sincerest and most affectionate regards for you; being, dear Sir, your most obedient and obliged humble servant.⁹²

92. Washington set out for Williamsburg, Va., the same day he wrote this letter, where he consulted Doctor Amson on March 15. He seems to have received the proper treatment, for he was able to be back to his command at Fort Loudoun April 5. The assembly passed an act (April 7) to augment the forces of the colony to 2,000, besides the three companies of rangers. A bounty of £10 was to be paid to every new recruit to serve only till December. The Second Virginia Regiment was organized, and William Byrd appointed its colonel. By the same act all the Virginia forces were to be united, by direction of the president, or commander in chief, to such troops as should be furnished by his Majesty, or by the other

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colonies, for a general expedition against the enemy, and were to be subject to the orders of the commanding officer of his Majesty's forces in America. Washington was placed in command of the two regiments with the title of brigadier.

To JOHN BLAIR

On the road to Winchester, April 2, 1758.

Hon'ble Sir: The Bearer, unfortunately pursuing me, insted of continuing on from Fredericksburgh (when he heard that I had passed that place, in my way to Alexandria) is the cause of the enclosed being detained so long from your Honor. The business which carried me by Alexand'a, was partly of a public and partly of a private nature; and I embraced this opportunity of accomplishing both, doubting whether another might offer, before I should be obliged to take the field.

The enclosed papers contain matters of a most important and interesting nature. The subject is explicitly handled; for which reason I shall urge nothing more on it, than to recommend, in the most pressing and submissive manner, the necessity of providing for the reception of our Indian Friends. The consequence of inviting these people to our assistance, and their finding us so unprepared when they *come* , may be destructive of our Interest; it being the cause already of much murmuring and discontent. These people are too sensible of their importance, to be put off with vague promises. I do not know at whose expence those numerous parties of Indians are to be furnished, whether at the *charge* of the Southern Colonies

in general, or this Government in particular? But of this I am fully satisfied, that, until such time as the indian Agent, or some other person, is invested with Power, and the *means* also of laying in suitable necessaries for them; we shall never be in a condition either of fitting them for war, or giving them *content* . For, although much money hath been laid out for Goods to present them with yet those presents have been so injudiciously chosen, that, when they have been offered to the Indians, they have laughed at, and refused them.

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I have no other motive for representing this matter so freely to your Honor, than as the Assembly are about to sit, that those Inconveniences, if the should appear such, being fully represented, may be redressed.⁹⁴

I have now, Sir, to apologize for my paper, &c. The Bearer overtook me on the road within less than a days ride of Winchester; and being unwilling to detain the enclosed put into the first house to dispatch him, which was unprovided with paper; except such as could be taken from a Book; and such is made use of by your Honors' Most obed. Servant.

To JOHN BLAIR

Fort Loudoun, April 9, 1758.

Hon'ble Sir: Since my last of the 2d. instant, nothing remarkable has occurred: But, having an

94. Blair answered this (April 9) by informing Washington that he had sent up £1,500 worth of Indian goods and paid £500 in the discharge of debts for what was already due for such supplies.

opportunity, by the Sheriff of this County, I enclose your Honor returns of the Regiment for the months of January and February.⁹⁵ Those for *March*, are not yet come to hand from the several out-posts; for want of which a general return can not be made. About 400 Indians had come to this place before I arrived, and the most of them (accompanied by some Officers and Soldiers) are gone out to War. One hundred and forty more are expected in to-day, and numerous other parties we hear are upon their march to join us: So that Colo Byrd⁹⁶ will, in a manner, find the Business done to his hands, when he gets to their nation; if he proceeds that length. I wish we may be able to detain those People still: but I fear it will be a difficult matter, without an early campaign, of which I am sorry to see so little prospect. I shall impatiently expect your Honors' Instructions about assembling the Regiment; as it will be of great service to have them rendezvous some short time

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before they enter upon the Campaign, many things being requisite to prepare, which can not be so well accomplished whilst we remain in the present dispersed situation. Indeed it is necessary for the ease of the Troops; some of them having a march to perform of more than 200 miles before they join the main Body of the Army, if it shou'd even happen at this place.

95. These returns, dated Feb. 1 and Mar. 1, 1758, are in the *Washington Papers*.

96. Col. William Byrd, who had been appointed to the command of the Second Virginia Regiment, was also commissioner to the Cherokee and Catawba Indians.

I have written to Major Lewis concerning Captn. Hogg, as your Honor desired. I am with great Respect, etc.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JOHN STANWIX

Fort Loudoun, April 10, 1758.

Dear Sir: Permit me, at the same time I congratulate you, (which I most sincerely do) upon your promotion, you have met with and justly merited, to express my concern at the prospect of parting with you.⁹⁷ I can truly say, it is a matter of no small regret to me! and that I should have thought myself happy in serving this campaign under your immediate command. But every thing, I hope, is ordered for the best; and it is our duty to submit to the will of our superior. I must, nevertheless, beg, that you will add one more kindness to the many I have experienced, and that is, to mention me in favorable terms to General Forbes, (if you are acquainted with that gentleman,) not as a person, who would depend upon him for further recommendation to military preferment, for I have long

97. Colonel Stanwix had been promoted to brigadier general. He was ordered to a station between the Mohawk River and Lake Ontario, where he built Fort Stanwix.

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conquered all such expectancies, (and serve this campaign merely for the purpose of affording my best endeavors to bring matters to a conclusion), but as a person, who would gladly be distinguished in some measure from the *common run* of provincial officers, as I understand there will be a motley herd of us.

Nothing can contribute more to his Majesty's interest in this quarter, than an early campaign, or a speedy junction of the troops to be employed in this service. Without this, I fear the Indians will with difficulty be restrained from returning to their nation before we assemble, and, in that event, no words can tell how much they will be missed. It is an affair of great importance, and ought to claim the closest attention of the commanding officer; for on the assistance of these people does the security of our march very much depend.

There should be great care taken, also, to lay in a supply of proper goods for them. The Indians are mercenary; every service of theirs must be purchased; and they are easily offended, being thoroughly sensible of their own importance. Upwards of five hundred are already come to this place, the greatest part of whom are gone to war. Many others are daily expected, and we have neither arms nor clothes (proper) to give them. Nor, indeed, is it reasonable to expect, that the whole expense

accruing on account of these people should fall upon this government, which hath already in this as well as in many other respects, exerted her utmost abilities for his Majesty's interest, and, in the present case, shares *only* an equal proportion of the advantages arising from Indian services.

These crude thoughts are hastily thrown together. If you find any thing contained in them, which may be useful, be pleased to improve them for his Majesty's interest. The latitude which you have hitherto allowed me, joined to my zeal for the service, has encouraged me to use this freedom with you, Sir, which I should not choose to take unasked with another.

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If it is not inconsistent, I should be glad before I conclude to ask what regular troops are to be employed under Brigadier-General Forbes, and when they may be expected? Also, where they are to rendezvous?

Fort Frederic,⁹⁸ I hear, is mentioned for this purpose, and, in my humble opinion, a little improperly. In the first place, because the country people all around are fled, and the troops will, consequently, lack those refreshments so needful to soldiers. In the next place, I am fully convinced there never can be a road made between Fort Frederic and Fort Cumberland, that will admit the transportation of carriages. For I have passed it with many others, who were of the same opinion; and lastly, because this is the place to which all Indian parties, either going to, or returning from war, will inevitably repair.

I am with most sincere esteem,

98. The ruins of Fort Frederick still exist. It was built by Governor Sharpe in 1755, on the Potomac, about 50 miles east of Fort Cumberland and 14 miles west of Conococheague, now in Washington County, Md.

dear Sir, your most obedient and obliged humble servant.

To SIR JOHN ST. CLAIR⁹⁹

Fort Loudoun, April 12, 1758.

Sir: Your favor of the 7th. from Philadelphia, I had the honor to receive this Evening. It gave the Officers at this place and myself, very sensible pleasure, to find your sentiments correspond with ours, on the measures taken with the Cherokee Indians. And we are not less pleased, to find you determined to interest yourself in the well-ordering of those important affairs, on the good regulation of which *so much* depends.

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Great pains have already been taken to encourage the Indian scouts to preserve their prisoners. Some Officers and volunteers of the Regiment have gone to war with those Parties for this salutary end: But the hard frosts, and exceedingly deep snows upon the Alleghany mountains, have forced the most of them back again.

I have directed Mr. Gist, Deputy-agent for indian Affairs, to transmit you an exact return of the number of Indians

99. Quartermaster general of the forces under General Forbes.

that have marched from this to war; what now remain here, and such as he has undoubted reason to expect; together with a succinct account of indian affairs in general; that you may be thereby enabled to judge of our situation, and to inform General Forbes of it.

As yet, I have received no Orders from Mr. Blair on the head you mention, nor have we received any advice of the arrival of our two Companies from Carolina. A return of our strength for February, and how that strength was disposed of, is enclosed. The returns from the out-posts for March, are not yet come to hand, but I believe little alteration has happened since February. Those men returned upon command, are small parties detached among the country people, to encourage them to plant: without this precaution, the whole country wou'd have been depopulated. So soon as it shall suit your convenience to come up, we shou'd think ourselves happy in seeing you here; in the meantime, I shall communicate your desires to the Farmers on the score of *Forage* and Waggons; but I do not think that much dependence should be placed on them for either. The cold and backward *Spring* has caused a scarcity of provender; hay especially, and the country does not much abound in Waggons.

We are highly delighted at the prospect of seeing Sr. John once more among us. The officers have desired me to testify this in their behalf; and very heartily join with me to

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offering their compliments to you. I have the pleasure to be, etc.

To MAJOR FRANCIS HALKETT

Fort Loudoun, April 12, 1758.

My Dear Halket: Are we to have you once more among us? And shall we revisit together a hapless spot, that proved so fatal to so many of our (former) brave companions? Yes! and I rejoice at it, hoping it will now be in our power to testify a just abhorrence of the cruel butcheries exercised on our friends, in the unfortunate day of General Braddock's defeat; and, moreover, to show our enemies, that we *can* practise all that lenity of which they *only* boast, without affording any adequate proofs at all.

To cut short, I really feel a degree of satisfaction upon the prospect of meeting you again, although I have scarce time to tell you so, as the express is waiting.

I am with most sincere regard, dear Sir, yours, &c.

To COLONEL THOMAS GAGE

Fort Loudoun, April 12, 1758.

Dear Sir: With a great deal of sincerity I thank you, for the notice you have been pleased to take of Mr. Hall. And, if possible, I more sincerely congratulate you upon the promotion you have justly met with, yourself.¹

I wou'd now, altho' I think modesty will scarcely permit me to ask it, beg the favour of you to mention me to Gen'l Forbes (if you are acquainted with that Gentleman:) I mean not, Sir, as one, who has favors to ask of him; on the contrary, having entirely laid aside all hopes of preferment in the Military line,(and being at present induced to serve this Campaign from abstract motives purely laudable.) I only wish to be distinguished in some measure from the general run of provincial Officers, as I understand there will be a motley herd

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of us! This, I flatter myself, can hardly be deemed an unseasonable request, when it is considered, that I have been much longer in the Service than any provincial officer in America.

I most sincerely wish you success in whatever Enterprize you may go upon; and with the most affectionate regard, I am etc.

1. Gage had been promoted to colonel of the Eightieth Foot.

To JOHN BLAIR

Fort Loudoun, April 17, 1758.

Honble. Sir: An unlucky, but unavoidable accident happened in the neighborhood of Patterson's fort the other day.

The proceedings of an examining court of officers on that occasion (which are herewith sent) will bring your Honor acquainted with the circumstances. I caused a very strict enquiry to be made into the conduct of Mr. Chew, that equal justice might be done to the dead and to the living; and it appeared that Mr. Chew had acted with great spirit and activity in pursuing the tracks of those people; and that in shooting them (altho' it was unlucky in the event) he had done nothing that was not strictly warrantable, *Lane* and *Cox* appearing both in dress, disguise and behavior, to be no other than Indians.²

I think it incumbent on me to be informed by your Honor, how the regiment under my command is to be furnished with tents, ammunition, cartridge-paper, and many other requisites, that may be wanted in the course of the campaign. We expect it is here to be furnished with all those articles from his Majesty's stores, but it is necessary for me to learn this from your Honor.

Captain Joshua Lewis, of the Virginia regi

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2. Capt. John Baker's letter to Washington describing this unfortunate affair of mistaken identity, dated Apr. 10, 1758, is in the *Washington Papers*. It is printed in Hamilton's *Letters to Washington*, vol. 2, p. 276.

ment has applied to me for leave to resign, urging as a reason, that his interest lies in the navy, and if longer neglected, it may be very detrimental to him. He has therefore obtained my consent to do so, and my promise of mentioning the thing to your Honor.

Captn. Lt. Thomas Bullet will in this event, by seniority, succeed to his company; which with the death of Lt. Milner, and the removal of Mr. Wm. Henry Fairfax to the northward, cause two or three vacancies (to be filled up, I hope, by the volunteers who have served for that purpose) and some promotions of Ensigns to Lieutenants, which will require at least half a dozen blank commissions. I therefore beg the favor of your Honor to send them to me; and you may depend, that in filling them, I shall have strict regard to justice, and will act conformably to the rules of the army. I have, at this time, four or five blank commissions of Govr. Dinwiddie's signing, but they are now useless.

The last Assembly, in their Supply Bill, provided for a chaplain to our regiment, for whom I had often very unsuccessfully applied to Governor Dinwiddie. I now flatter myself, that your Honor will be pleased to appoint a sober, serious man for this duty. Common decency, Sir, in a camp calls for the services of a divine, and which ought not to be dispensed with, altho' the world should be so uncharitable as to think us void of religion, and incapable of good instructions.

I now enclose a monthly return for March, and am, honorable Sir, your most obedient, humble servant.

To SIR JOHN ST. CLAIR

Fort Loudoun, April 18, 1758.

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Sir: Your letter of the 13th addressed to Captain Bullet, came to my hands about an hour ago. I have not words to express the great pleasure I feel, at finding General Forbes and yourself so heartily disposed to please the Indians, who are our steady friends and valuable allies.

Mr. Gist will send you a return of the number of Indians who have come to our assistance, of what *nations* they are composed; how many are gone to war; and what number is yet expected in; and I shall enclose you a return of the Virginia Regiment, for the month of March last.³ The Indians seem hearty in our cause, and full of spirits at the prospect of an Expedition, which they have long been wishing for. But I fear the rendezvous of the troops at the mouth of Conogochieg will give them some disgust; because from long *use* , this place is become perfectly known and familiar to them; and it is

3. This return is in the *Washington Papers*.

here they repair upon every occasion. Here, also all their scouting parties, that are gone to war, will return, and at this *place* , the earliest intelligence of occurrences on the frontiers, will always arrive.

I have taken great pains to encourage all that have gone to war, since my return here to take each a prisoner; and if they should get more than one, to keep them asunder; which they have promised to do.

That part of your letter relative to the building *flats* , I have communicated to Lt. Smith, and we shall endeavor to get plank and other materials in readiness; but at the same time I must observe, that all the men of this garrison are employed (by authority of this government) in finishing the works here; and I do not know how far my conduct may be justified in withdrawing them from them, as I have received no order from the President to regard any instructions but his own.

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I now flatter myself, that this settlement will be able to furnish a pretty number of waggons, and *willingly* ; but what quantity of forage may be had, I am unable to say. I have, however, made your desires known to the people on this occasion.

I have advice, that our Assembly have voted 2,000 men for the expedition; which are to be commanded by General Forbes, besides *militia* , for the security of the frontiers; and that they have also voted an additional fund of £6,000 for Indian expences.

Your express with letters of the 7th came safe to this place, on the 12th in the Evening, and was

dispatched early next morning. I am, &c.

To MAJOR ANDREW LEWIS

Fort Loudoun, April 21, 1758.

Sir: I do not yet know, whether any of the Levies raised by the newly appointed Officers, in consequence of the late Act of Assembly, will fall to our share; and as we want about 130 men to complete the Virginia Regiment, I earnestly recommend, that you will use the most efficacious means in your power to recruit your quota in Augusta, and its Borders: Farther than this District I wou'd not have you send Officers recruiting, as they must be ready to join you as soon as the Troops are ordered to this place. I have no money to send you for this purpose (which is a misfortune) but you may give the Recruits the strongest assurances, in my *name* , that they shall, upon their arrival at this place, receive each man £10 and a suit of Clothes, advantage of the Recruits for the New Regiment. I would have you send Lt. Crawford⁴ directly to this place; he is well acquainted in those parts, and I hope from such encouragement, will be able to pick up some *clever* fellows.

I have so often, and earnestly recommended the due practice of the Soldiers in their Exercises, that it is needless, I hope, to urge it again to [you] in this *letter* . But I must

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desire, that you will take great pains to get all your Arms straightened, and the men taught to shoot well at Targets, as that is an highly necessary

4. Lieut. John Crawford.

qualification in our Service.

I offer my Compliments to Captn. McNeill, and all the Officers, and am, Sir, etc.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JOHN FORBES⁷

Fort Loudoun, April 23, 1758.

Sir: Permit me to return you my sincere thanks for the honor you were pleased to do me, in a letter to Mr. President Blair: and to assure you, that, to merit a continuance of the good opinion you have therein expressed for me, it shall be one of my principal studies. I have no higher ambition than to act my part well, during the campaign, and, if I should *thereby* merit your approbation, it would be the most pleasing reward, for the toils I shall undergo.

It gives me no small pleasure that an Officer of your experience, abilities, and good Character, should be appointed to command the Expedition, and it is with equal satisfaction I congratulate you upon the promising appearance of a glorious campaign.

The Indians seem to anticipate our suc

7. Forbes was in command of the expedition against Fort Duquesne. He was of the Seventeenth Foot and had been Lord Loudoun's adjutant general.

cess, by joining, thus early, with 700 of their Warriors; of whose good inclinations to assist His Majestys Troops, Captn. Bosomworth,⁸ who held a conference with their Chiefs, can fully inform you; and to whom I shall refer. There are two things, however, which I must beg leave to indicate as likely to contribute greatly to their ease and contentment. To wit,

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an early campaign, and plenty of Goods: These are matters which they often remind us of, both in their public *Councils* , and private *Conferences* .

I have received no Orders yet to assemble the dispersed Companies of the Virginia Regiment; some of whom are 200 miles distant from *this* : So that I fear, we shall make a shabby appearance at the General Rendezvous. We are very much in want of Tents, having none with which to encamp the Regiment when it assembles; and this fort can not yet furnish Barracks, or the Town, quarters for it. I am Sir, with very great respect, etc.

To JOHN BLAIR

Fort Loudoun, April 24, 1758.

Sir: Your letter of the 19th instant,

8. Capt. Abraham Bosomworth.

intended to come by Colonel Stephen, was delivered me to-day about noon by express. As there are several matters contained in it of an interesting nature, I chose to be aided in my determinations by the advice of my officers, and have enclosed your Honor their and my opinion on the several heads.

I could by no means think of executing, (willingly,) that discretionary power, with which you were pleased to invest me, of ordering out the militia.⁹ It is an affair, Sir, of too important and delicate a nature for me to have the management of; for much discontent will be the inevitable consequence of this draft.

Your Honor will no longer be at a loss for a return, after you receive my letter by Jenkins; and lest any accident may have happened to that, I herewith enclose another for the same month.

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When the relief of our outposts in Augusta marches, Major Lewis, who commands on that quarter, should be advised thereof, and he will order them to their stations.

That was a most extraordinary request of Colonel Mercer, concerning the exchange of officers, and calculated, it would seem, rather to breed confusion, and to gratify his own vanity, than to benefit the other regiment.¹⁰ There is not an ensign there, that would not rather quit the service, than ac

9. This power of drafting the militia, with which the forts were to be garrisoned while the regular troops were employed in the expedition, was conferred equally on the president of the Virginia council and the commander in chief; a substantial proof of the confidence reposed in the latter by the assembly. Washington called a council of officers on the subject, and, after viewing the matter in every light, it was the opinion that it was best to leave the ordering out of the militia to the president and council. The proceedings of this council are printed in Hamilton's *Letters to Washington*, vol. 2, p. 281.

10. George Mercer was lieutenant colonel of the second, or new, regiment. The commanding officer was Col. William Byrd.

cept of a company in the other regiment, so much do they disapprove Colonel Mercer's proposal; and I have neither *inclination* nor *power* to force their compliance.

Captain Rutherford's company was raised and posted on this quarter by Governor Dinwiddie's express orders, and can be more useful here, than any other men whatever, being all sons of the neighboring farmers, men of property, young, active, and entirely acquainted with the woods on these frontiers. Whereas, if they go to the southward, they will be utter strangers to the enemy's haunts, and of no more use there, than the militia of an adjacent county; while their places here must be supplied by militia equally ignorant of these woods as they will be of any others; besides giving them a useless march of two hundred miles, and exposing the frontiers in the mean time. Another reason may be urged;

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their property all lies in this county. Interested motives induced them to enlist, and to be vigilant in defending it, and, I believe, they would desert, rather than go to the southward.

If your Honor will please to remember, it was one among the last questions, I had an opportunity of asking, if I should send parties a recruiting? You replied, "that, as the Assembly was so near meeting, you would defer giving any directions on that head," and as I had no money for that purpose, I hope it will not seem surprising, that we have recruited but a few men since, and that I have been waiting for orders to complete the regiment. I shall now use my

best endeavors, with what few officers, can be spared from the garrisons, (which will be very few, indeed!) dispersed as we are. I shall also be under a necessity of sending down for money to carry on this service; and should be glad that your Honor would order it to be ready immediately to prevent delay of the officer, who will set off to-morrow, or the next day after at the farthest. I am, &c.

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL ADAM STEPHEN

April 24, 1758.

Sir: I have this instant, and not before, received Orders from the President to complete the Regiment under my command. But, as no money is yet come for that salutary purpose, I am at a loss how to act. However, that no time may be lost, or blame laid at my *door*; I desire that you will send as many Officers on this Service as can be spared from your *command*; and let them recruit about Fredericksburgh and the parts adjacent. You will no doubt take care to direct them, to enlist such men as will not finally be refused. Let the Officers give a

little advance, and an order upon me for the balance of the levy-money, to each recruit; which shall be paid to them immediately upon their arrival. They are to enlist upon the same footing with the new raised regiment; with this advantage, to the recruit, that he will

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receive clothing immediately upon his coming here. For other necessary directions I must rely on you, being extremely hurried and not able (therefore) to write fully to you at this time.

I entreat you to forward a letter herewith sent, to the President, with the utmost expedition; not one moment should be lost. I am Sir, etc.

To CAPTAIN THOMAS WAGGENER

Fort Loudoun, April 25, 1758.

Sir: I received Orders yesterday from the President, to direct the Captains of the Virginia Regiment to complete their Companies, with all possible expedition, to 100 Rank and File. Ten pounds, bounty-money, are to be allowed to each recruit; the Officers (reasonable) Expences

borne, and the men so enlisted, to be discharged, the first day of December next: which is greater encouragement than hath been given before; and I hope will be the means of procuring us the Complement we want, speedily.

I must desire, you will send an Officer or two to this place for the above purpose, if you can spare them; and use your utmost endeavours to pick up what able-bodied men you can upon the Branch. Inform all the Officers under your care, that *this* is expected of them; and strictly charge them to enlist no men but those entirely fit for the *Service* .

I have no money to send you, having received none from below; but if you can muster up a little for *advance* , you may give each Recruit an Order on me for the balance of *his* £10 and it shall be duly paid.

There is another encouragement which I forgot to mention at first, and that is; clothing, which they will receive.

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Doctor Johnston is sent for down. I am, Sir, etc.

To JOHN BLAIR

Fort Loudoun, April 26, 1758.

Hon'ble Sir: Having wrote fully to your Honor on the 24th. past, I have little to offer at this time. I then thought to have sent an Officer for money but all of them that can be spared from the several Garrisons, must be employed in recruiting. I have therefore ordered Mr. Gist, a volunteer in my Regiment, to wait upon your Honor for this purpose.

I have not as yet received any returns from Colo. Stephen, but hear that he wants near 30 men to complete the companies he commands; if so, we shall, in the whole, want 150 men of our complement; to recruit which will require £1,500 levy money, besides officers expences, and other incidental charges, that must I dare say, amount to near £300 more. The £600 which I received on your Honor's warrant, for contingencies, is just expended, there being many more demands upon me than I could have apprehended, for waggonage and other services done the public in my long absence (which was occasioned by sickness.) An account of those payments, I shall send down by Mr. Boyd, about the first of next month, when he goes for the Regiments pay.

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

To MAJOR ANDREW LEWIS

April 26, 1758.

Sir: I have this instant and not before, received the Presidents orders to direct the Captains of the 1st. Virginia Regim't to compleat their Companies with all possible expedition, to 100 Rank and file *each* . The enclosed is a copy of the Instructions which I have given the Officers sent out from this place. You may give the same to yours; with this only difference;

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that all the Officers you can possibly spare for this service, be directed to rendezvous, the 10th. of May, at Staunton, if you shall not have marched before for this place; and to follow you as fast as possible, if you *have* .

I have received no money yet to carry on this Service; but shall this day send down to Williamsburgh for *some* .

You are not to delay a moment in marching to this place, after you are relieved; and orders, I believe, are issued to the Militia for that purpose. Take great care to distribute the Militia properly, according to the numbers that may come out. I scarcely know what direction to give you about the Country Stores (ammunition and Tools, I mean) as I can not tell in what manner the Militia will be provided with those Things. The *tools* , I think, if they are not absolutely necessary there, ought to be brought to this place: as they certainly will be wanted here. The Pay-Master will appoint a time to meet your Companies pay-rolls at Staunton; and you must punctually observe *it* . I am etc.