

**The 1758 Forbes Campaign and its Influence on the Politics of the Province of**  
**Pennsylvania**

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Submitted to:  
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Although it often gets overlooked, the French and Indian War, or the War for Empire as it is now becoming known, was a very important turning point in United States History. While it was only a small part of a much larger scale war between Great Britain and France, it would bring about many changes on the North American continent. The immediate results of the war included the British acquisition of Canada and an almost immediate end to French presence in the North American colonies. The war also had the long term effects of establishing British dominance in the colonies and planting the seeds for the American Revolution.

In the grand scheme of the war, the state of Pennsylvania would prove to be immensely important. While the war was being intensely debated among the assemblymen in the State House in Philadelphia, many important military events were taking place across the state. Not only did the French and Indian War establish places like Fort Duquesne and Fort Necessity as key historical sites, but it also involved some notable men in Pennsylvania and American history, such as Edward Braddock, James Abercrombie, and a then little known 21 year old Colonel by the name of George Washington. The major turning point of the war, and American history for that matter, was led by a Scottish-born General by the name of John Forbes, whose expedition across the state in 1758 forced the French to retreat from Fort Duquesne, a feat unsuccessfully attempted by Braddock three years earlier, and ultimately set the British on a course towards victory.

Prior to his promotion to brigadier-general in December 1757, John Forbes had worked his way up through the ranks of the British army after serving for six years in the War of the Austrian Succession as part of the Scots Greys, a cavalry regiment. Throughout the course of that war, he was promoted twice, once to captain and then to major and deputy quartermaster. Forbes is said to have been clever and witty, often applying those qualities to both his battlefield

preparations and his social interactions with fellow staff members. His resourcefulness and experience were both key factors in establishing him as one of the most reliable officers in the British army, which earned him the responsibility of leading the expedition against Fort Duquesne.<sup>1</sup>

Throughout his campaign, Forbes would encounter many obstacles, but none would prove more difficult to overcome than the reluctance of the Pennsylvania Assembly to fund his expedition. The war had been the subject of debate in the State House ever since its beginning, with some assemblymen showing support for the war, while others, most notably the Quakers, supported a more pacifist stance, arguing that the colonies should not be used to fight the wars of the King. Also, the Quakers had a long standing peace with the Indians of the region.<sup>2</sup>

During Forbes' campaign, William Denny, who was then Governor of Pennsylvania, received many letters from both supporters of the Forbes campaign, such as British Secretary of State William Pitt and General Forbes, himself. While letters from Pitt and Forbes are addressed to Denny, the Governor, in turn, read many of them aloud to the Provincial Council in order to gauge their reaction to the requests of the Forbes campaign. These letters, which can be found in both the writings of Forbes and Minutes of the Provincial Council, tell us a lot about the campaign, including the many difficulties Forbes encountered in the field, such as relations with Indians, shortage of troops and supplies, and his own struggle with sickness. In addition, the letters, and the response of the Provincial Government tell us a great deal about how the provincial government operated in Philadelphia in the 1750's.

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<sup>1</sup> Stanley M. Pargellis, "John Forbes," in *Dictionary of American Biography Vol. III: Cushman-Fraser*, ed. Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1959), 504-505

<sup>2</sup> Ralph L Ketcham, "Conscience, War, and Politics in Pennsylvania, 1755-1757," in *The William and Mary Quarterly, 3<sup>rd</sup> Series*, 20. Vol. 3. (July, 1963), pp. 416-239. [links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0043-5597\(196307\)3%3A20%3A3%3C416%3ACWAPIP%3E2.0.CO%3B2-Q](https://www.jstor.org/sici?sici=0043-5597(196307)3%3A20%3A3%3C416%3ACWAPIP%3E2.0.CO%3B2-Q)

The first letter of note was one sent by William Pitt who wrote to Governor Denny on December 30, 1757 asking for him to request that the Assembly “Dispatch as Large a Body of Men within your Government as the Number of its Inhabitants may allow, and forming the Same into Regiments as far as shall be found convenient.”<sup>3</sup> On March 7, 1758, the letter was read to the Council, along with another letter from Pitt that the governor had received. Pitt opens the letter by reflecting upon the disappointment that the Royal army has dealt with in light of recent failed military initiatives, most notably Braddock’s defeat at Fort Duquesne. The letter is a basic request for more troops overall, but Pitt specifically highlights the Forbes campaign as crucial for the success of the British cause. In his plea to the Governor asking for more troops, he requests that he bring the matter to the Pennsylvania Assembly:

That you do direct them to hold themselves in readiness as early as may be to march to the Rendezvous at such Place or Places as may be named for that Purpose by Brigadier General Forbes, appointed to Command his Majesty’s Forces in those Parts, in order to proceed from thence in Conjunction with a Body of his Majesty’s British Forces, & under the Supreme Command of Brigadier General Forbes, appointed as above so as to be in a Situation to begin by the first of May if Possible, or as soon after as shall be any way practicable...<sup>4</sup>

The language in Pitt’s letter suggests that the situation is quite dire and an expedient response is essential for the success of the Forbes Campaign. In order to appeal to the Governor and the men of the Assembly, he stresses that it is imperative that they comply for the safety of their “own province.”

Upon receiving Pitt’s letter, Governor Denny read it aloud to a small council and issued a statement to the council highlighting his response to Pitt’s requests. In this reply, he reiterated Pitt’s claim that the Forbes campaign not only necessary for the preservation of British power in

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<sup>3</sup> William Pitt, “Letter to Lieutenant Governor William Denny: 30 December, 1757,” in *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania, From the Organization to the Termination of the Proprietary Government, Vol. VIII; Containing the Proceedings of Council from Jan. 13<sup>th</sup> 1757, to the 4<sup>th</sup> of October, 1762, Both Days Included.* (Harrisburg: Theo. Penn and Co., 1852), 27 Henceforth, I will refer to this as “*Minutes*” in my citations.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid

North America, but it was also crucial for the safety of civilians living in the frontiers of the Province of Pennsylvania, who could have involuntarily been subjected to French rule if action was not taken. To quote Denny, the Forbes campaign was necessary to “repair our late Losses and to secure us from the future Designs of [the King’s] enemies.”<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, Denny urges the Council to act quickly with regard to carrying out the requests made by Pitt.

As a result of Pitt’s letter, and Denny’s resolution to grant Pitt the support he requests, it would seem that the Provincial Council, which had been previously hesitant to support the war effort, was convinced to throw their support behind Forbes. With a single letter, the Council was forced to realize that if the French prevailed in their war with the British, they would most likely subject the people of the colonies to French rule. Since Fort Duquesne’s strategic location at the intersection of two major rivers was an important asset to the French, there would be a number of benefits to the war effort if the British were able to take it over. The most obvious benefit would be the psychological boost given to the British soldiers if they were able to finally defeat the French army. But what gave the Forbes campaign even more importance was the knowledge that, should he be successful, the British army would be able to establish its own fort, in a very strategic location, in what was a disputed area.

The next mention of the Forbes campaign in the Minutes of the Provincial Council comes on March 27, 1758, when two letters from Forbes to Governor Denny were read aloud to the Council. In his letter, Forbes requests of Governor Denny that “the Officers and Soldiers raised in Pennsylvania for the Service are Able Bodied good men, capable of enduring fatigue, and that their Arms be the best that can be found in the Province.”<sup>6</sup> In these words, it seems Forbes is stressing to Denny that what he is attempting is no mundane task. Forbes’ letter continues to

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 29

<sup>6</sup> John Forbes, “Letter to Governor Denny: 17 March, 1758,” in *Minutes*, 59

highlight the specific attributes of many Pennsylvanians and how they could be beneficial to his cause. For example, he highlights Pennsylvania's frontier inhabitants as possible candidates for duty as Rangers, due to their extensive knowledge of the lay of the land from their experience as hunters in the woods.<sup>7</sup>

Signed March 20, 1758, this one letter serves as an example of Forbes' attempts to appeal to specific aspects of the culture of Pennsylvania. In a post script, Forbes informs Denny of a specific encounter with French forces he has recently been informed of:

P.S. – I have this moment an Express from Fort Edward, acquainting me of One of your Scouting Parties of 180 Men having been attacked by a Thousand of the Enemy's Indians, Canadians, &c<sup>a2</sup> near Ticonderoga, in which we have lost 130 Men; the Party behaved most Gallantly, but were overpowered by numbers.<sup>8</sup>

Informing the Governor, who in turn reads the letter aloud to the council, of this incident serves two strategic purposes for Forbes. Not only does he inform the council of the greater numbers possessed by the French, but he also brings the war to the Council's doorstep. By using the language, "*your* Scouting Parties," he is, in a sense, making sure they are aware that there are Pennsylvanians being attacked and killed by the allies of the French.<sup>9</sup> It is almost a perfect compliment to Pitt's earlier letter, in which he stressed to the Council that the Forbes campaign was necessary because of the dangers posed by the French army to the people of the Province.

Forbes' second letter, read to the Council that same day, detailed a need for carriages and also asked for the Council to post press warrants throughout Pennsylvania which Forbes hoped would inspire citizens to volunteer for the expedition.<sup>10</sup> In response to these letters, Governor Denny spoke to the Council, urging cooperation with Forbes' requests. The talk then shifted, however, to the quartering of soldiers, which had always been a touchy subject amongst the

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 60

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 60

<sup>9</sup> Emphasis mine

<sup>10</sup> Forbes, "Letter to Governor Denny: 20 March, 1758," in *Minutes*, 60-61

Council. For much of the war, the Council had been divided regarding the quartering of soldiers, as many felt it unfair to force ordinary citizens to provide hospitality for the British army.<sup>11</sup>

Despite the reluctance of the Council to grant quarters to the army in the past, Denny and Forbes both knew that this would be necessary to do as the army gathered in Philadelphia for the expedition across Pennsylvania. According to the *Canadian Dictionary of Biography*, Forbes would go on to spend most of the spring and summer of 1758 in Philadelphia preparing for the expedition. Unfortunately, while in his preparations, Forbes would suffer many setbacks due to “difficulties in obtaining colonial troops, supplies, and wagons.”<sup>12</sup> Furthermore, letters that Forbes wrote during this time indicate that he was becoming increasingly frustrated with what he perceived as incompetence on behalf of Thomas Janvier, the Council’s Provincial Armourer in regard to providing him with requested supplies.

In a letter dated April 20, 1758, Forbes essentially gives the council a status report, specifically documenting what he refers to as a “scarcity of arms.” It is a short letter, written at what he describes as a “Critical Juncture” of his preparations, he makes specific requests, including “Two Hundred and Eighteen Light Fuses” and “165 Arms.” In response, Governor Denny, after receiving approval from the Council, directed Janvier to provide Forbes with the weapons he needed. However, a few days later, another letter from a Forbes revealed a sense of frustration with the fact that he had not yet received the supplies he requested:

I am extremely sorry that any just request of mine to you...should meet with obstructions that I neither could nor foresee not suppose; particularly as I had signed a receipt for the Arms I had demanded, according to your desire and by which receipt of mine, I certainly showed the Necessity that I was under for such an application, in order to support His Majesty’s Measures for the general warfare of North America, and for the immediate protection of this Province in Particular. Such a refusal of what is the undoubted Right of the King to demand, or the Officer Commanding his Majesty’s

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<sup>11</sup> Ketcham, 433

<sup>12</sup> I.K. Steele, “John Forbes” in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*, (Toronto: University of Toronto, 2000); accessed 23 February 2007. <http://www.biographi.ca/EN/ShowBio.asp?BioId=35465>

Subjects under Arms in the Province, is what I am astonished at; and as the Service is pressing, and will admit of no delay, I must beg, Sir, you will send me an answer in writing, as soon as possible whether you are to deliver the Fuzees demanded or not.<sup>13</sup>

In this letter, it is very apparent that while he does his best to be reverent and polite towards Denny, he is very annoyed and frustrated by the incompetence of the council and Janvier in providing him the supplies he needed. In response to this plea from Forbes, Denny begins to emerge as Forbes' strongest supporter aside from William Pitt. He immediately calls for Janvier to appear before him and the Council and explain why munitions were not delivered to Forbes. Janvier defends himself by claiming that he was interfered with and is ordered by Denny to immediately see to it that the requested munitions are delivered to Forbes before he embarks on his campaign.<sup>14</sup>

In addition to his supply problem, Forbes also faced difficulties in planning the route for his expedition. In his failed attempt to take Fort Duquesne three years earlier, General Braddock forged his own trail, which was favored by some amongst Forbes' troops, specifically the soldiers from Virginia. Forbes, though, believed Braddock's road to be weak, so weak in fact that "a withdrawal would have been necessary even after victory."<sup>15</sup> Ultimately, Forbes decided that, in order to facilitate a permanent conquest of Fort Duquesne, he needed to set up a system of roads and forts that would provide the fort with a practical supply line across the province.

Once his army was finally gathered, Forbes had set off across Pennsylvania on the expedition that would ultimately lead to the establishment of Pittsburgh. His campaign was not without its difficulties, though. A major difficulty that would have to be dealt with was the interference of the Indian population along the way that essentially doomed the Braddock campaign in 1755. The most notable of these encounters with the Pennsylvania Indian

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<sup>13</sup>Forbes, "Letter to Governor Denny: 21 April 1758," in *Minutes*, 83

<sup>14</sup>*Minutes*, 84.

<sup>15</sup>Quoted from Steele



population was one with the self-proclaimed “King of the Delawares,” Chief Teedyuskung. In order to achieve success in his campaign, Forbes knew it was essential that the Council do whatever was necessary in order to appease the Indian population.

To be successful, it was crucial for Forbes to recognize the desires of the Indians in the area and make sure those desires were attended to and appeased. Had they not have been, it is likely that the Indians would have formed a formidable alliance with the French. As a result, it was important for the British to convince the Indian population that if they were victorious, they would treat the local peoples better than the French would. This made it imperative to listen closely to the demands of Teedyuskung and the rest of the Delaware tribes. From the letters of Forbes, it can be derived that he was acutely aware of this, as he strongly suggested that Denny and the Council acquiesce to Teedyuskung’s demands, which included a promise from the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania that his people would always remain in control of the Wyoming Valley in Northeast Pennsylvania.<sup>16</sup> In his letter, dated May 3, 1758, Forbes writes:

I really think Teedyuskung’s demands ought to be agreed with, as he has the Publick Faith for the making of such a settlement, altho’ I would parry off all Convoy of Troops, as Axmen and Carpenters will answer all his purposes, and I think that he and his tribes ought to be our Guards for those Back Settlements this summer, as we shall want all the Troops somewhere else.<sup>17</sup>

After some deliberation, Denny and the Council agreed with Forbes in that it was better to respect the wishes of Teedyuskung in order to prevent the Delaware tribes from interfering with the Forbes Campaign as they had with Braddock’s in 1755. Throughout the month of October 1758, a conference took place consisting of many meetings between Governor Denny, members of the Provincial Council and the Delaware Tribes that ultimately led to an

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<sup>16</sup> Anthony F.C. Wallace, *King of the Delawares: Teedyuskung* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949)

<sup>17</sup> Forbes, “Letter to Governor Denny: 3 May 1758,” in *Minutes*, 110

agreement between Teedyuskung and the Council to abandon the Indian alliance with the French that became known as the Treaty of Easton.<sup>18</sup>

In order to negotiate with Teedyuskung, Denny and the Council called upon a missionary by the name of Christian Frederick Post, who had established peaceful relations with many of the Delaware Tribes through his missions and had even married one of his converts.<sup>19</sup> It was Post who convinced Teedyuskung of the benefits of a widely attended conference with the Denny and the Council. The month long conference is documented in the Minutes of the Provincial Council in the form of a long dialogue between the two parities, in which each attempts to peaceably understand the wishes of the other.

The leaders of the Indian population attempted to justify their earlier attacks on British military personnel, stating that it was the British who “first began to do mischief.”<sup>20</sup> Furthermore, they expressed hesitation in forming an agreement with the British, as it is widely felt, and understandably so, that the English had a tendency to not live up to their promises, especially with regards to land. However, the inclusion of Post in the negotiations eventually proved beneficial to the Council, as his amicable relationship with Teedyuskung and the Delawares ultimately led to the decision of the Indian population to abandon their alliance with the French in exchange for a promise from the British that they would cease to interfere with Indian affairs in the Wyoming Valley. This agreement would prove to be pivotal in the success of the Forbes campaign.

Once he had embarked on his campaign, Forbes continued to write to Governor Denny, updating him, and subsequently the Provincial Council, of the status of his campaign. In a

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<sup>18</sup> *Minutes*, 192-213

<sup>19</sup> Albert G. Rau, “Christian Frederick Post,” in *Dictionary of American Biography Vol. VIII: Cushman-Fraser*, ed. Dumas Malone, (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1959), 504-505

<sup>20</sup> *Minutes*, 212

lengthy letter dated September 9, 1758, Forbes goes into great detail to inform the council of the hardships being endured along the way. He notes a shortage of provisions due to a lack of carriages. He also goes on to say that he is sending his Quarter Master General back to Philadelphia to discuss the situation of the army with the council in person.<sup>21</sup>

Then, on October 22, Forbes wrote a letter to the Governor containing another detailed account of the situation of his camp. While it is the one of the last of his letters to the Governor, it was the first to mention specifically that he was suffering from illness. Biographical writings on Forbes show him to be sick from the time the expedition began, though none specify exactly what his ailment is. He states: “My state of health continues precarious, but not so bad as to occasion any stop to our operations.” At this point in the expedition Forbes was so ill that he could no longer walk on his own, but rather had to be carried via a sling that was placed in the middle of and carried by two horses.<sup>22</sup>

Preparing for a fight, this letter informs Governor Denny of exactly how many troops he has remaining under his command (under twelve hundred), and he states that he would like to be sent more, so that he may be better prepared to go up against the French and their Indian allies. Also, as it is turning to autumn at this point, he requests that the assembly approve the sending winter supplies. It becomes apparent that, at this point, Forbes has succeeded in building a strong, fortified supply road across the state, as he makes references to many other forts along the way to Fort Duquesne. Despite that success, his army’s lack of personnel is a major hindrance to the maintaining and defending of his trail. As a result, he asks that the assembly

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<sup>21</sup> Forbes, “Letter to Governor Denny: 9 September 1758,” in *Letters of General John Forbes: Relating to the Expedition Against Fort Duquesne in 1758*, ed. Irene Stewart, (Pittsburgh: Allegheny County Committee, 1927), 39. Henceforth, “*Letters*.”

<sup>22</sup> Forbes, “Letter to Governor Denny: 22 October 1758,” in *Minutes*, 224-225

send 1,200 more troops, and even goes so far as to document exactly where he needs them to be stationed.<sup>23</sup>

As he had done with all of Forbes' letters, Denny read the letter aloud to the Council and the Provincial Assembly, followed by a speech in which he expresses doubt that the Forbes campaign will be successful unless Forbes' request for more troops is met. While he expresses doubt of the success of the campaign, he also commends Forbes for his bravery. He stresses how necessary it is for the Assembly to provide Forbes with the supplies he needs as he may have to set up camp for the duration of the winter.<sup>24</sup> However, less than two weeks later, the Governor received a final letter from Forbes, with a much more upbeat tone.

While the previous letter indicates that Forbes was clearly preparing for a fight in order to take over Fort Duquesne, he later found that he would not be required to take his troops into battle in order to obtain the fort. The winter months served to give Forbes the advantage he needed. The Indian allies of the French had abandoned them in accordance to their agreement at Easton. Furthermore, the cold months aided the British in reducing the amount of cover at the disposal of the French. Due to their weakened condition, Forbes was able to achieve what was essentially a bloodless victory after the French had made what was essentially their last stand against the advance of Major James Grant, who later became a British General in the American Revolution, in which the French had their "last success."

Because the French had lost many of their Indian allies through the Treaty of Easton and Forbes' army was closing in fast, they demolished most of Fort Duquesne and abandoned it. Forbes documents this himself, in a letter written on November 26, 1758, where he also claims a new name for the abandoned Fort:

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> William Denny, "Address to Gentlemen of the Assembly: 16 November 1758," in *Minutes*, 227.

...the retreat of Grant was the last success of the enemy, they were convinced that all hopes of saving the Fort were fruitless; they withdrew to the Fort, destroyed most of the works, and went down the Ohio, in number exceeding five hundred men. On the twenty fourth the English Flag waved triumphantly over Fort Du Quesne. In the third year after commencement of hostilities about that fortification, it fell into our hands after having kindled so fierce a flame in so destructive a war. With the change of masters it has assumed the name of Fort Pitt, and Pittsburg the property of which is too evident to require a justification of the change.<sup>25</sup>

On another letter dated in late November, 1758, Forbes wrote to Denny to inform the Governor and the Council of his success. He states:

I have the pleasure and Honour of Acquainting you with the Signal Success of his Majesty's Troops over all his Enemys on the Ohio, by having obliged them to Burn and Abandon their Fort, Duquesne, which they effectuated upon the 24<sup>th</sup> Instant, And of which I took Possession with my little army the next Day, - The Enemy having made their escape down the River, part in boats and part by Land, to their Forts, and Settlements on the Mississippi being abandoned, or at least not seconded by their Friends, the Indians, whom we had previously engaged to act a neutral part, And who now seem all willing and ready to Embrace His Majesty's Most gracious Protection.<sup>26</sup>

Also in this letter, Forbes informs the Governor that it will be required that a number of troops remain stationed at what Forbes now called Fort Pitt in order to protect the area that Forbes had just claimed from the French.

Forbes returned to Philadelphia and died shortly thereafter due to his worsening illness.<sup>27</sup>

Although he died before he was able to see the fruits of his labor, his expedition proved to be of immense importance to the British cause. Not only did the British now occupy a strategic position in Western Pennsylvania, but they also had a fortified supply line that stretched across the state of Pennsylvania. The Forbes' campaign was important not only for the British cause in the French and Indian War but it also had a lasting impact in the broader scope of American history. Forbes' efforts were crucial in helping the British emerge victorious in the war, and

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<sup>25</sup> Forbes, "Letter containing account of the defeat of Major Grant," in *Letters*, 71

<sup>26</sup> Forbes, "Letter to Governor Denny: 26 November 1758," in *Writings of General John Forbes: Relating to his Service in North America*, ed. Alfred Proctor James (Menasha, Wisconsin: The Collegiate Press, 1938), 264-265

<sup>27</sup> Pargellis, 505

essentially forcing French influence out of the colonies. As a result, the British were able to continue their dominance over the American colonies, which ultimately would lead to the American War for Independence, which is where the French and Indian War ultimately becomes as important as it does.

While the French and Indian War was important as part of Great Britain's ongoing battles with the French over territories across the globe, it gains its importance for American history in that it planted the seeds for what would later become the American revolution. Ketcham notes that the greatest lasting effect the War would have on politics in Pennsylvania was that it unified factions that had once been against each other against one thing: British Parliament.<sup>28</sup> Essentially, Pennsylvania and the rest of the colonies felt disdain towards the British government as a result of their forcing the war upon the colonies. Pennsylvania in particular was up in arms over the British demand that the Province provide quarters for soldiers being sent over from Great Britain for the war, which would certainly impose on the citizens. This issue, along with others, provided the foundation upon which the North American colonies would eventually declare their independence from the rule of Great Britain.

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<sup>28</sup> Ketcham, 437

MINUTES  
OF THE  
PROVINCIAL COUNCIL  
OF  
PENNSYLVANIA,

FROM THE ORGANIZATION TO THE TERMINATION  
OF THE PROPRIETARY GOVERNMENT.

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PUBLISHED BY THE STATE.

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VOL. VIII.

CONTAINING THE PROCEEDINGS OF COUNCIL FROM JANUARY 13TH,  
1757, TO 4TH OF OCTOBER, 1762, BOTH DAYS INCLUDED.

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HARRISBURG:  
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1852.

At a Council held at Philadelphia, Tuesday, 7th March, 1758.

## PRESENT:

The Honourable WILLIAM DENNY, Esquire, Lieutenant Governor.

Benjamin Shoemaker,  
Richard Peters,  
Lynford Lardner,  
John Mifflin,

Robert Strettel,  
Benjamin Chew,  
Thomas Cadwallader, } Esquires.

The Governor received this morning by express, Two Letters from the Secretary of State, Dated at Whitehall the 30th December, 1757, which were read, considered, and ordered to be entered.

“ WHITEHALL, 30th December, 1757.

“ Sir:

“The King having Judged proper that the Earl of Loudoun should return to England, and his Majesty having been pleased to appoint Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Abercrombie to Succeed his Lordship as Commander-in-Chief of the King's Forces in North America, with the same Powers and Authorities, I am commanded to signify to you his Majesty's Pleasure that you do apply to & correspond with Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Abercromby on all Matters relating to the King's Service; & that you do Obey such orders as you shall receive from him, in the same manner as you were directed to do with regard to the several former Commanders-in-Chief in North America, and you will from time to time give Mr. Abercromby all the Assistance & Lights in your Power, in all matters relative to the Command with which the King has honoured him.

“ And I am particularly to signify to you his Majesty's Pleasure that in case Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Abercromby, or the Commander-in-Chief of his Majesty's Forces, shall at any Time apply to you to lay an Embargo on all Ships within your Province, you do strictly comply with the said request for so long a time as the Commander-in-Chief shall desire.

“The King having resolved to send a considerable Squadron of Ships of War the Ensuing Year to North America, I am further to signify to you his Majesty's Pleasure that you do from time to time transmit to the Commander-in-Chief of the King's Ships in North America, all intelligence relative to his Department in the same manner as you were directed to do by my Letter of the 19th of last February to Vice Admiral Holbourn, & it is also the King's Pleasure that you do on any application from the Commander-in-Chief of the King's Ships, use all Legal methods to supply him with such a Number of Sailors and Workmen from your Province as he shall at any time require for his Majesty's Service.

“ I am, Sir, your most Obedient humble Servant,

“ W. PITT.”

“ WHITEHALL, 30th December, 1757.

“ Sir:

“ His Majesty having nothing more at Heart than to repair the Losses and Disappointments of the Last inactive and unhappy Campaign, and by the most Vigorous and extensive Efforts to avert, by the Blessing of God on his Arms, the Dangers impending on North America, and not Doubting but all his faithful & brave Subjects there will chearfully co-operate with and second to the utmost the Large Expence and extraordinary Succours supplied by this Kingdom for their Preservation and Defence, And his Majesty Considering that the Several Provinces from Pennsylvania, inclusive to the Southward, are well able with Proper Encouragement to furnish a Body of several Thousand Men to join the King's Forces in those parts for some offensive operation against the Enemy; And his Majesty not judging it expedient to limit the Zeal and Ardour of any of his Provinces by making a Repartition of the Forces to be raised by each respectively for this most important Service, I am commanded to Signify to you the King's Pleasure that you do forthwith use your utmost Endeavours and Influence with the Council and Assembly of your Province to induce them to raise with all Possible Dispatch as Large a Body of Men within your Government as the Number of its Inhabitants may allow, and forming the Same into Regiments as far as shall be found convenient; that you do direct them to hold themselves in readiness as early as may be to march to the Rendezvous at such Place or Places as may be named for that Purpose by Brigadier General Forbes, appointed to Command his Majesty's Forces in those Parts, in order to proceed from thence in Conjunction with a Body of his Majesty's British Forces, & under the Supreme Command of Brigadier Forbes, appointed as above so as to be in a Situation to begin by the first of May if Possible, or as soon after as shall be any way practicable, such offensive Operations as shall be judged by the said Commander of his Majesty's Forces in those Parts most expedient for annoying the Enemy, and most efficacious towards removing & repelling the Dangers that threaten the Frontiers of any of the Southern Colonies on the Continent of America. And the better to facilitate this Important Service the King is pleased to leave it to you to issue Commissions to such Gentlemen of your Province as you shall Judge from their Weight and Credit with the People and their Zeal for the Public Service may be best disposed and enabled to quicken and Effectuate the Speedy levying of the Greatest Number of men. In the Disposition of which Commissioners I am perswaded you will have nothing in View but the good of the King's Service and a due Subordination of the whole when joined to his Majesty's Commander. And all officers of the Provincial Forces as high as Colonels inclusive are to have Rank according to their Several respective Commissions in Like manner as is already



given by his Majesty's Regulations to the Captains of Provincial Troops in America.

"The King is further pleased to furnish all the Men so raised as above with Arms, Amunition, & Tents, as well as to order provisions to be issued to the Same by his Majesty's Commissaries in the same Proportion and manner as is done to the rest of the King's Forces; and a Sufficient Train of Artillery will also be provided at his Majesty's Expence for the Operations of the Campaign. The Whole, therefore, that the King expects & requires from the Several Provinces is the Levying, Cloathing, and Pay of the Men; & on these Heads also, that no Encouragement may be wanting to the full Exertion of your Force, the King is further most graciously Pleased to permit me to acquaint you that Strong Recommendations will be made to Parliament in their Session next Year to grant a proper Compensation for such Expences as above, according as the active Vigor and Strenuous Efforts of the Respective Provinces shall justly appear to merit.

"Altho' several Thousand Stands of Arms will be forthwith sent from England, to be distributed to the Troops now directed to be raised in the Southern & Northern Provinces, yet as it is hoped that the Number of Men levied in all Parts of America may greatly exceed the Quantity of Arms that can at present be supplied from England, It is his Majesty's Pleasure that you do with particular Diligence immediately collect and put into the best Condition all the Serviceable Arms that can be found within your Government, in order that the Same be employed as far as they will go in this Exigency.

"I am further to inform you that similar Orders are sent by this Conveyance to Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina & South Carolina. The Northern Governments are also directed to raise Men in the Same Manner, to be employed in such Offensive Operations as the Circumstances & Situation of the Enemy's Possessions in those Parts may point out, which it is hoped will Oblige them so to divide their Attention and Forces as will render the several Attempts more easy and Successful.

"It is unnecessary to add any thing to animate your Zeal in the Execution of his Majesty's Orders on this Great Occasion, where the Safety and Preservation of America, and of your own Province in Particular, are at Stake, and the King doubts not, from your Known Fidelity and attachments, that you will employ yourself with the utmost application and Dispatch in this urgent and dangerous Crisis.

"I am, Sir, your most Obedient Humble Servant,

"W. PITT."

The following Message was drawn up and approved, and if the Assembly was still Sitting, as it was late, the Secretary was ordered

to Deliver it to-night, if not, to-Morrow Morning, with a Copy of the Letter last above entered, from Secretary Pitt, and the Governor being informed the House was risen, the Message was dated the Eighth:

"Gentlemen:

"I have ordered to be laid before you a Letter I received from his Majesty's Principle Secretary of State, which contains Matters of the utmost importance to his Majesty's Service, the common Concern of his Dominions on this Continent, and more particularly the Security and Protection of this and the Southern Provinces. The vigorous Efforts determined on by his Majesty the ensuing Campaign to repair our late Losses and to secure us from the future Designs of his Enemies, give the most convincing Proofs of his Royal Care and paternal Regard, and must necessarily inspire every Loyal Heart to make the most grateful Returns. I cannot, therefore, doubt a ready and chearful Compliance on your Part, with the most reasonable Demands made of this Province by his Majesty in the Secretary of State's Letter. On an occasion so interesting, I must in the Warmest Terms press you, Gentlemen, to use Vigor, Unanimity, and Dispatch in your Councils, that nothing may be wanting towards the immediate Execution of such Offensive Measures as the Commander-in-Chief may judge necessary for his Majesty's Honour and Interest, in which you may assure yourselves of my most Hearty Concurrence.

"WILLIAM DENNY.

"March 8th, 1758."

The Secretary was ordered to carry down to the House the Indian Trade Bill, with a Message, that the Governor adhered to his Amendments, and would not pass the Bill unless they were all agreed to by the House.

At a Council held at Philadelphia, Monday the 13th March, 1758.

PRESENT:

The Honourable WILLIAM DENNY, Esquire, Lieutenant Governor.

Robert Strettell,  
Lynford Lardner,

Richard Peters, }  
Benjamin Chew, } Esquires.

Teedyuscung coming to Town on Saturday with three Indian Deputies from Diahoga, the Governor sent the Secretary this morning with his Compliments to them, and by a String of Wampum he wiped off the Snow out of their Eyes and Ears, cleaned their Throats, &c. Teedyuscung did the same to the Governor by another String, and Twelve o'Clock was appointed to receive them and

At a Council held at Philadelphia, the 27th of March, 1758.

## PRESENT:

The Honourable WILLIAM DENNY, Esquire, Lieutenant Governor.

Robert Strettell,	Joseph Turner,	} Esquires.
Richard Peters,	Lynford Lardner,	
Benjamin Chew,	Thomas Cadwalader,	

A Return of a Court for the Tryal of Negroes, was made by the Judges, by which it appears, that at Newtown in Bucks County, a Negro Man, named Christmas, was Condemned for Burglary, and Mr. Graydon, in behalf of the Court recommended him to mercy, informing the Governor by Letter, that he was a new Negro, and could not speak to be understood in his Defence.

All the Council were unanimous, that he was a proper Object of the Governor's Mercy, and the Secretary was ordered to make out a pardon for him, but not to deliver it till the Negro's Master engaged to have him transported to some other Country.

A Letter from Captain Christopher Atkins, dated the 24th Instant, on Board the Charming Polly, armed Sloops, lying at Reedy Island, was read in these Words:

"Charming Polly, Arm'd Sloop,  
"Lying at Reedy Island, Philadelphia River, }  
"the 24th of March, 1758.

"Sir:

"Agreeable to my directions from Commodore Durell, Esqr., Commander-in-Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels in North America, I am to acquaint you of my Arrival in the Above Sloop, under my Command, to enforce the Embargo on the Shipping of this Port, at the same time with my Compliments, as a King's Officer, and am with all due respect,

"Sir, Your most Obedient and very Humble Servant,

"CHRISTOPHER ATKINS.

"P. S.—Since I wrote this I have met with three or four sail of Vessels in the Bay of Delaware, Outward bound to different Parts; one ship bound to Teneriff, One Brig to Antigua, Sturgis, Master, an other Brig to Halifax, and a Schooner to Jamaica, Hugh Wright, Master, all which Vessels I have brought back with me to Reedy Island, where I intend to detain them till I hear your Orders.

"Must further beg leave to acquaint your Excellency that the General and Commodore at New York are very strict in enforcing the Embargo and preventing Vessels from eluding it; they having sent for two Privateers up, and Several Merchant Vessels who were Loading at the Watering Place.

"By General Abercrombie's Directions, Collonel Haldiman has a Copy of my Orders."

And whilst the Letter was reading a Petition was presented to the Governor in Council by William Fisher, Redmond Canyngham, John Nesbitt, and Amos Strettell, setting forth the Difficulties they laboured under in not having their Vessels permitted to proceed on their Voyages, they having been cleared and sailed before the Embargo was laid. With these Petitions came Mr. Thomas Willing, Samuel Carson, Mr. Williams, and Captain Blair, who, as Well as the petitioners, made Application to the Governor for an Order to Mr. Atkins to suffer their Vessels to proceed on their Voyages, all having been cleared and sailed before the Embargo.

The Matter being considered, the Council were unanimously of Opinion that these Vessels could not Legally be stopped, and advised the Governor to recommend it to Mr. Atkins immediately to discharge them, that they might proceed to their respective Ports; and the Governor wrote to the Officer accordingly.

The Governor received Two Letters from General Forbes, the one dated the twentieth, the other the twenty-third Instant, both which were read and ordered to be entered:

*A Letter from General Forbes to Governor Denny.*

"Sir:

"I have the favour of yours of the 17th, and make no manner of doubt of your doing of every thing in your Power in forwarding His Majesty's Service, and therefore must beg that the Officers and Soldiers raised in Pennsylvania for the Service are Able Bodied good Men, capable of enduring fatigue, and that their Arms be the best that can be found in the Province; As Carpenters and Axe Men are absolutely necessary upon Many Occasions, I must recommend the sending as many of those as can be conveniently got into the Troops.

"And likewise that the Province will raise fifty good Men, well mounted upon light Serviceable Horses, and every way accounted to serve in Conjunction with those to be furnished by the other Provinces as a Body of Light Horse, from whom I expect very Important Service.

"As the Roads from Lancaster to Williams' Ferry upon the Potomack may want considerable repairs and widening of them for the Carriages of Cannon, &c" I have therefore wrote to the Governor of Maryland for that Purpose, In order that those roads may be repaired by the Inhabitants of the 2 Provinces of Pennsylvania and Maryland, living near those parts.

"As I propose Assembling the Regular Troops, and those of Pennsylvania, at Conegochieque, about the 20th of April; You will therefore give Orders for all Manner of Diligence to be used in

raising the Numbers that your Province is to send, who shall be payed at the rate of 4 pence  $\text{p}^d$  Diem, in lieu of provisions from the time they begin their March; until that they are furnished with Provisions from the King's Stores.

"I am informed that the Inhabitants upon the Frontiers of your Province being much used to hunting in the Woods, would consequently make good Rangers, In which case I am to beg you will give your direction for the forming some of your properest Men into Companys of Rangers with good Officers, who are well acquainted with the Country, to Command them.

"If it could possibly be contrived to find some Intelligent Person who would venture up to the Ohio, either as a Merchant or a Deserter, & would bring us Intelligence what was going on in those parts, I should certainly reward him handsomely. Perhaps such a one might be found in some of your Provincial Companies up a Fort Loudoun, &c. &c."

"I should be obliged to you if you will give orders to send me some Account of what provincial Troops you have now on Foot, and where they are for the present, as likewise what Numbers (in the whole) your Province is to raise for the Service of the present Year.

"I must beg the favour that you will Order your Secretary to send the Inclosed Packett by an Express to Virginia, And I shall have the Honour to be with great regard, Sir,

"Your Most Obedient & most humble Servant,

"JO. FFORBES.

"New York, March 20th, 1758.

"P. S.—I have this moment an Express from Fort Edward, acquainting me of One of your Scouting Parties of 180 Men having been attacked by a Thousand of the Enemy's Indians, Canadians, &c. near Tionderoga, in which we have lost 130 Men; the Party behaved most Gallantly, but were overpowered by Numbers."

*Another Letter from General Forbes to Governor Denny.*

"Sir :

"As there will be a Number of Waggons and Carriages wanted in the Province of Pennsylvania, and as the Inhabitants may be backward in furnishing of them, altho' to be payed for them with ready Money, I therefore take this Opportunity of letting you know that Press Warrants will be necessary all over the Province, In order that if you are not vested with the Power to grant such Warrants, that you will apply to the Assembly to grant theirs, and fix

prices upon the Different Carriages and Horses. I have the Honour to be, Sir,

"Your most Obedient and most humble Servant,

"JO. FFORBES.

"New York, March 23d."

The Council taking the within Letters into Consideration, it was agreed that Extracts of the said Letters should be sent to the House, and a Message to the Assembly was drawn at the Table, and agreed to, and the Secretary ordered to deliver it with the Extracts.

The Secretary was directed to make a fair Copy of the Indian Minutes of the Twenty-Fifth, and carry them to the House, with the following Message, But Mr. Peters acquainting the Governor that a Quorum of the House had not met, the Messages were ordered to be dated on the Twenty-Eighth, and entered :

*A Message from the Governor to the Assembly.*

"Gentlemen :

"I have ordered the Secretary to lay before you Extracts of Letters I lately received from Brigadier General Forbes, containing Demands of several important Matters to be done by this Province for the facilitating and forwarding the Expedition to the Westward, and earnestly recommend it to you to take the same into your Consideration, and make Speedy Provision for this necessary Service. The Mayor has acquainted me that Quarters are demanded for One Thousand and Seventy-two Men, including Forty Officers, of which Two Hundred and Twelve are already in Town, and the rest expected in a Day or two. As the Publick Houses in the City and Suburbs cannot at most contain more than Six Hundred, I desire you would be pleased to give Directions that the Barracks be forthwith made ready, and furnished with such necessaries as are required in Quarters, and particularly that a proper quantity of Straw and Wood be ready against the Arrival of the other Troops.

"Some time ago I desired one of your Members to acquaint the House that the Act for Quartering of Soldiers would expire at the end of this Sessions, that it Might be renewed, and I now remind you that this is the Case with respect to the Act for regulating Carriages to be employed in his Majesty's Service. A Number of Waggons will be wanted for the expedition, which will make it necessary for you to fix the Prices of Carriages and Horses, without confining the Hire, as in the late Act, to the inhabited Parts of the Province, or limiting it to a Day or any certain Time.

Many of the Arms given to the provincials being very bad and unfit for use, I propose to Supply them out of the Publick Magazine in this City, and desire you would make provision for the Expence that will attend the Carriage of them.

"WILLIAM DENNY.

"March 28, 1758."

plary Zeal and Dispatch furnishing their respective Contingencies, and returned to their Several Homes, while your part, to the unspeakable Detriment of the General Service, remains yet undetermined and unsettled. It is true, you have not been wanting in Professions of Loyalty, Duty, and Zeal; and if these could pass for real Merit, you have suffered none to excel you. But actions speak louder than words; and how far your Actions and Professions have corresponded, need hardly be shewn.

"Three Months of your sitting were expired before I received any Money Bill from you, and the first you sent me was so framed that you knew I could not pass it, being only calculated to keep up Disputes, altho' the Season was too far advanced to admit of that Delay, and the Operations of the Campaign in these parts in a great Measure suspended on our Account.

"My principal Objections to that Bill, as appears from my Messages of the Third and Seventh Instant, were two. The first related to the unjust Method proposed for taxing the Proprietary Estate; and the Second to the Appointment of the Provincial Commissioners from among the Members of your own House, accountable only to yourselves a Practice liable to so many glaring Exceptions, that it must require an extraordinary Degree of Hardiness even to propose it.

"The Former of these points you have given up in the present Bill, which I received the Twentieth Instant, having totally exempted the Proprietary Estate, and chusing rather to deprive your Constituents entirely of the Benefit that would arise from an equal Taxation of that Estate, than not Subject it intirely to your own Mercy in the Mode you propose.

"As to the Latter point, although I refused your Bill yesterday on that Score, yet you adhere to it, and seem determined to see the Province brought to the utmost Destruction, and all the Measures concerted by our gracious Sovereign, for our Relief, defeated, rather than the Fingering the Publick Money should not be in a few leading Men of your House, who, in various Instances have abused their former Trust, disregarded me and acted in open contempt of Law.

"These are hard Charges, Gentlemen, but I have made them publicly, and if these Men regarded their own Characters, or if you had that regard which might have been expected for the Honour of your House, you would either have Obligated them to exhibit their Accounts, when required, or you would have left them out of the present Bill, and inserted some other unexceptionable Men in their Stead; But all this you have still declined to do, and what renders the matter still more Suspicious, is your inserting a Clause in the Bill, notwithstanding my repeated Protestations and Objections to the Contrary, intimating, that they have, with my Consent, already expended the Sum of One Hundred Thousand Pounds.

This, Gentlemen, is indeed a short Way of settling Accounts, and is One of the boldest Impositions that perhaps was ever offered to a Governor. From your Obstinaey, and the hard Necessity of the Times, I am reduced to this Dilemma; I must subscribe my Name to a falshood. Shelter these Men under an Act of Assembly, and preclude myself and the Publick from calling them to a future Account, or Suffer all the Measures concerted for your Safety to stand still, the numerous Body of Indians come to our Assistance to return Home, and the present Campaign to be as inactive as the former,—so far, at least, as regards the Parts these Southern Colonies are to act.—and how fatal that might prove to the grand Cause of Liberty and Religion, which ought to be so dear to us, is but too obvious. The expence of the Mother Country and the Neighbour Colonies to strike a decisive Blow now is too great to be continued; and if the present Opportunity is neglected, we may wish in vain to recal it when it will be too late.

"Wherefore, under these Considerations, and to shew my Regard for his Majesty's Service, I do agree to pass your Bill as it stands, if you think proper still to adhere to it, and shall be ready to attend you for that purpose in the Council Chamber, at any Time you will appoint this Day, in order that there may be no further Delays. But, I must do it with a Solemn Protestation to all the World, that it is Contrary to my Conscience, and in Violation of Truth, that I am obliged to say that the former Hundred Thousand Pounds is Expended with my Consent; not to mention the Obscurity of the Bill, and other material Objections, which I waved for the sake of Dispatch.

"April 22d, 1758."

"WILLIAM DENNY.

The Governor laid before the Council a Letter from Brigadier General Forbes, which was read in these words:

"Sir:

"PHILADELPHIA, April 21st, 1758.

"I am extremely sorry that any just request of mine to you, as first Majestrate, should meet with obstructions that I neither could forsee nor suppose; particularly as I had signed a receipt for the Arms I had demanded, according to your desire; and by which receipt of mine, I certainly showed the Necessity that I was under for such an application, in order to support His Majesty's Measures for the general welfare of North America, and for the immediate protection of this Province in Particular. Such a refusal of what is the undoubted Right of the King to demand, or the Officer Commanding his Majesty's Subjects under Arms in the Province, is what I am astonished at; and as the Service is pressing, and will admit of no delay, I must beg, Sir, you will send me an answer in

writing, as soon as possible, whether you are to deliver to my orders the Fuzees demanded, or not.

"I have the Honour to be, with the greatest regard,

"Sir, Your most obedient and most hum. Servant,

"JO. FORBES."

Thomas Janvier was immediately sent for, and declared that Mr. Hughes, Mr. Galloway, Mr. Baynton, and Mr. Masters, forbid him to deliver the two hundred and Eighteen Fuzees on the Governor's Order and the receipt Indorsed. He was ordered pre-emptorily to deliver the Fuzees directly, and the Governor would indemnify him.

The following Letter from Mr. Horsfield, by Mr. Spangenberg, was delivered in Council and read in these Words:

"May it Please Your Honour:

"Sir: I received a Letter from Robert Strettell, Esquire, advising that when Teedyuscung was informed of the Murders lately committed he engaged to send a Party of his Young Men to Join a Party of Captain Orndt's Soldiers to range on the Frontiers, and, if possible, to take some of them or Retake some of our People the Enemy had carried off; Desiring I would hurry Teedyuscung's Party to Fort Allen, I went to him and reminded him of his promise, and desired he would send his Young Men to the Fort as quick as possible, which he promised he would do, but that he must first keep a Council with his People to make out who to send. He spoke something of the Last Messengers that came down, and seemed dissatisfied with them, in particular Daniel, the last that Came. 'I don't know (says he) what this is; they say they bring good News; all is well and at Peace; and now I hear they kill White People. I don't know how this is.' Tuesday morning Last he came to my House with a Company of Indians, having several Belts and Strings of Wampum, which he spread on a Table and began to deliver his Message, and he appointed Five Indians to go to the Allegheny, Viz<sup>t</sup> Hans Jacob, his own son, who he made Captain, Amos, another of his Sons, Christian, Isaac, and John.

"He then took some Strings of Wampum in his hand and spoke in the Indian Language, which Augustus Interpreted:

"This String of Wampum I now send with my Son to Allegheny. I want to know what is to be done, and what you are doing?"

"Now, you Three Nations at Allegheny, Delawares, Shawanes, and Qusnaweesawes, and you, Kastaruga, the Captain, you know all the News at Allegheny, and how matters stand there. Two times I received good news from you that all was well and in good Peace, but now lately I hear that certain Indians have killed many

white People, which I can't see through. I want to know how this is Circumstanced."

"He then took a Belt,

"Saying, 'Now, this, my Son, the Captain, shall go and tell all the Captains at Allegheny, that they shall sit down and be still, and shall not do any mischief, nor murder any of the English or White People, for here amongst the English are many Indians Living, and if you are not still you will break the Peace and do much Mischief amongst us; you must hear the words he brings and take good Notice.'

"He then took the second Belt.

"Give Ear you three Nations and take notice; I have heard good News from you, which you sent, that we should take hold of the Belt at both ends and keep it fast; we have taken hold and held it fast, you say we must take hold in the Middle, and the English must take hold in the Middle with me and hold fast; we did so, I and the English with me, and we held fast and was glad for it was good News."

"He then took the third Belt.

"This Belt I send to Allegheny to the three Nations. My Friends all of you I tell you, you must move further off; if you live near the French, go away, live further off, and then I will reach out my hand to you to come down. By this Belt I further tell you, you shall not let the French know what words I sent, they shall not hear or know what Words I sent; you must keep it Private and come away and stop their Ears and Eyes that they neither Hear nor see, nor know what we are doing or what passes amongst us; he then desired they might be supplied with some necessaries, which was done; I wrote to Captain Orndt desiring him to let them have some Powder, Lead, and Provisions. One of them having a very poor Shirt on Teedyuscung took his own new one from off his Back and gave it him, he also gave each of his Sons a Dollar and sent them away in high Spirits.

"I do assure your Honour I never was so much convinced of Teedyuscung's Zeal for the English Interest before; he charged me to write to the Governor and let him know what he had done; he sends his Compliments to your Honour, to your Council, and to the Gentlemen Commissioners, and says he will do all in his Power to keep the Peace. There is a rumour bro't by an Indian, Two or 3 Days past from Fort Allen, who says an Indian came out of the Woods and reported the 30 French Men was coming down to Murder; but as Cap<sup>t</sup> Orndt takes no notice of it in his Letter to me Dated Yesterday, I imagine it is groundless.

"I am your Honour's most Humble Serv<sup>t</sup>

"TIMOTHY HORSFIELD.

"Bethlehem, April 19th, 1758."

received from the Proprietaries, and their Agents, with regard to their Lands.

"Signed by order of the House.

"THOMAS LEECH, Speaker.

"May 3d, 1758."

The Governor received the following Letter from General Forbes :  
"Sir :

"Finding that the Storeship with the Tents, Arms, &c<sup>a</sup> has not arrived from England with the Transports, I applied to General Abercrombie, to know how I was to proceed with regard to Camp Necessaries, and his answer is :

"With regard to Camp necessaries for the Provincials, they must be furnish'd by the different Provinces; those to the Northward have agreed to it, and their Troops are to come provided with them at their Expence.' I must therefore beg leave to Know the Resolution of the Province upon this Subject directly.

"Upon your Application, I promised to send an Hundred of the Royal Americans up towards Reading, but as these Companies are very Sickly, coming from Carolina, and very much want some Days of Rest and Refreshment, I must, therefore, beg you will excuse me from my Promise, and in their Room you may send some of the new raised Provincials, which will answer every purpose fully as well.

"I should be glad to know your Opinion of the Party of Cherokees at Carlisle, whether they should be allowed to proceed, or turned another Way. I should likewise want to know how far the Province thinks themselves Obliged to take Care of those Indians by Presents, Cloathing, &c<sup>a</sup>

"I beg, Sir, that the Orders about the Light Horse may be given as soon as possible; And that you will likewise be so good as to order the Horses to be placed, for the Conveying Intelligence thro' your Counties, according to the plan given to you by the Quarter-master General.

"I really think Teedyuscung's Demands ought to be agreed with, as he has the Publick Faith for the making such a Settlement, altho' I would parry off all Convoy of Troops, as Axmen and Carpenters will Answer all his purposes, and I think that he and his Tribes ought to be our Guards for those Back Settlements this Summer, as we shall want all the Troops somewhere else.

"I am, Sir, with great Regard, Your Most Obedient & most Hum. Serv<sup>t</sup>

"JOHN FORBES.

"Philadelphia, May 3d, 1758."

The Secretary was directed to carry the Above Letter from

General Forbes to the House, together with a Letter from Captain William Thompson to Colonel Armstrong, and a Message in these Words :

"Gentlemen :

"I lay before you a Letter I have just now received from General Forbes, on which I desire to know your Resolutions before you rise, that I may be enabled to give him a proper Answer.

"Teedyuscung has renewed his Request to have the Houses finished at Wyoming, for which this Government stands engaged. I propose sending the same Gentlemen that were appointed last Year, and shall recommend it to the Commissioners to defray the Expences that will attend the Execution of this Commission.

"WILLIAM DENNY.

"May 3d, 1758."

*A Letter to Colonel Armstrong from Captain William Thompson.*

"YORK TOWN, 26th April, 1758.

"Sir :

"The Cherokees and Catawbas that left Fort Loudoun to go to War, Marched in Company 'till they crossed Juniata, at which Place some Misunderstanding that Happened amongst them occasioned the Four Catawbas to return to the Fort; But the Cherokees proceeded towards Fort Du Quisini, by the Franks Town Road.

"They proposed, being out twelve or Fourteen Days, and said if their Brothers of Pennsylvania had any Inclination to hold a Treaty with them, they were sure a Present would be sent them by the Time they return'd.

"As I have not as yet received any Orders concerning them, nor do I know if the People in this Province will incline to treat with them, I can't determine what is best for me to do, as it is at my own risque I have furnished them with Provisions and what Drink was Necessary for them since they came into this Province. And I have reason to Doubt the Accounts will not be Answered, as I have not been paid for a Horse and a Rifle Gun, which I gave to the Cherokees last Year by Colonel Stanwix's and Your Orders.

"I will set off for Fort Loudoun to-morrow, and will be glad to know, as soon as possible, what his Honour the Governor and the Assembly intends to do with them.

"I am, Sir, Your most Obedi<sup>t</sup> hum<sup>t</sup> Servant,

"W<sup>m</sup>. THOMPSON."

"You told us, that you could not sleep sound whilst your Prisoners were detained from you, nor could you have any confidence in the Friendship of those who did detain them. We of these three Nations promise, that we will use our best Endeavours to make you easy; When we return, we will enquire of every Town for the Prisoners; We will call our Councils, and lay what you have said before them, and make diligent Enquiry for them through all our Towns, and all that we can find you shall see.

"If any of them are gone down our Throats, we will heave them up again."

A String of Seven Rows.

At a Conference with the Indians on the 16th of October, 1758.

PRESENT:

The Governors and the Gentlemen of their Councils, &c.

The Minutes of the preceding Conferences were read and approved.

Those of Yesterday's private Conference were read, at the particular Desire of the Chiefs of the Eight Nations, and interpreted to Teedyuscung and the Delawares in the Delaware Language by Mr. Stephen Calvin.

The Governors then spoke separately, Governor Denny beginning as follows:

"Brethren, the Mohocks, Onondagoes, Senecas, Oneidoes, Cayugas, Tuscaroras, Nanticokes, and Tuteloes:

"In a Conference held with you yesterday, you told me, that we know your Nephew, Teedyuscung, gives out that he is a great Man, and Chief of Ten Nations, and that this was his constant Discourse. By this Belt, therefore, you denied him to be so great a Man, and desired to know of me who made him so, or gave him Authority over you.

"Brethren:

"I will answer you truly, and tell you in a few Words all that I know of the Matter. I have already informed you that after the Delawares had Struck us, you, our good Friends, the United Nations, advised them to sit still and do us no more mischief; and that soon after this we invited the Delawares to meet us at a Council Fire kindled at this Place.

"We received an Answer to our Message from Teedyuscung as a Chief among the Delawares. At the Time appointed he came and told us that he represented Ten Nations, amongst which the United Nations were included; that he acted as a Chief Man for the Delawares, but only as a Messenger for the United Nations, who

were his Uncles and Superiors, to whom he would faithfully carry every thing that should be transacted between us that they might do as they saw Cause.

"We believe what your Nephew told us, and, therefore, made him a Counsellor and Agent for us, and desired him to publish to all Nations of Indians what we did at our Council Fires, and to let them know we were sincerely disposed to be at peace with them.

"Brethren:

"I can only speak for myself, and do assure you that I never made Teedyuscung this great Man, nor ever pretended to give him any Authority over you; and I must do him Justice to declare to you that at our former publick Treaties Teedyuscung never assumed any such Power; but on many Occasions when he spoke of you called you his Uncles and Superiors.

"I never shall attempt to nominate or impose a Chief on any Indian Tribe or Nation, but on all Occasions will pay due regard to those who are chosen by their Countrymen.

"If any others have made Teedyuscung so great a Man as to set himself above you I am sorry for it. It is more than I know, and they who have done it must answer for themselves.

I should be greatly concerned that any uneasiness should arise among you, and hope you will guard against it, and preserve that Harmony which ought to subsist between Friends and Relations.

"Brethren:

"By this Belt and String you promised me to make Diligent Search in your Towns for our Flesh and Blood who are Prisoners among you and return them to us.

"Brethren:

"We have always found you honest and punctual in the performance of your Promises. Your Words, therefore, give me great Comfort and fill all our Hearts with Pleasure.

"We rely upon you that no Time may be lost in fulfilling an Engagement on which our Peace and Quiet so greatly depend."

A Belt and String.

The Governor Bernard spoke:

"Brethren of all the Confederated Nations:

"As you proposed your Question concerning Teedyuscung separately I think it proper to give you a separate Answer thereto.

"I know not who made Teedyuscung so great a Man, nor do I know that he is any greater than a Chief of the Delaware Indians settled at Wioming. The Title of King could not be given him by any English Governor, for we know very well that there is no such Person among Indians as what we call a King; And if we call him so, we mean no more than a Sachem or Chief. I observe in his

Treaties, which he has held with the Governors of Pennsylvania (which I have perused since our last meeting), he says he was a Woman till you made him a Man by putting a Tomahawk in his hand, and through all those Treaties, especially at the last held in this Town, he calls you his Uncles, and professes that he is dependent on you, and I know not that any thing has since happened to alter his Relation to you. I therefore consider him to be still your Nephew.

“Brethren :

“I heartily thank you for your kind Promises to return the Captives which have been taken from us. I hope you will not only do so, but will also engage such of your Allies and Nephews who have taken Captives from us to do the same. That you may be mindful of this, I give you this Belt.”

A Belt.

After the Governors had done speaking, and their Answers were interpreted in the Six Nation and Delaware Languages, the Indian Chiefs were asked if they had any thing more to say, upon which Tagashata arose and made a Speech to his Cousins, the Delawares and Minisink Indians, directing his discourse to Teedyuscung :

“Nephews :

“You may remember all that passed at this Council Fire. The Governors who sit there have put you in mind of what was agreed upon last year. You both promised to return the Prisoners. We, your Uncles, put you in mind of this Promise, and desire you will perform it. You have promised it, and you must perform it. We your Uncles have promised to return all the English Prisoners among us, and therefore we expect that you our Cousins and Nephews will do the same. As soon as you come home we desire that you will search carefully into your Towns for all the Prisoners among you that have been taken out of every Province, and cause them to be delivered up to your Brethren. You know that this is an Article of the Peace that was made between you and your Brethren, in Confirmation of which you received a large Belt; of which Belt we desire you will give an Account, and let us know what is become of it, and how far you have proceeded in it.”

A Belt.

After this was interpreted in the Delaware Language it was observed that there was no Minisink Indians Present. The Governors desired Mr. Read and Mr. Peters would procure a Meeting of the Chiefs of the united Nations with the Delawares and Minisinks, and cause the speech of Tagashata to be interpreted to the Minisinks in the presence of their Uncles.

Robert White, the Nanticoke Chief, arose and said, he was going to speak in the Behalf of Seven Nations, and, directing his Discourse

to the Governors, he delivered himself in the English Language as follows :

“Brethren :

“It is now more then two Years past since we heard of our Cousins, the Delawares, taking up the Hatchet against the English. At the first Sir William Johnson sent a Message to the Head Nations, and when they received it, they sent one to us at Otsaningo, telling us, that as we lived close by our Cousins, they desired we would invite them to meet at our Town, and accordingly we invited them, and they came to a great meeting at our Town of Otsaningo. We then gave our Cousins a Belt of a Fathom long, and Twenty-five Rows in Breadth, and desired them to lay down the Hatchet that they had taken up against the English, and to be easy with them, and if they would follow this Advice, we told them that they would Live in Peace until their Heads were white with Age, otherwise it might not be so with them.

“Not hearing from our Cousins for some time, What they did in Consequence of this Belt, we sent them two other belts, one of Sixteen, and the other of twelve Rows, desiring them once more to be easy with their Brethren, the English, and not to strike them any more, but still we heard nothing from them. Indeed some time afterwards we understood the Delawares should say that the Indians at Otsaningo had grey Eyes, and were like the English, and should be served as Englishmen; and we thought we should have the Hatchet struck into our Heads. We now want to know what is become of these Belts; may be they may be under Ground, or they have swallowed them down their Throats.

“Brethren :

“As our Cousins have been loath to give any Answer to these Belts, we now desire they may let us know, in a Publick Conference, what they have done with them.”

A String.

October 17th, 1758.

The Indians were in Council all Day, and acquainted the Governors that they could not be ready to meet before morning.

At a Conference held at Easton on the 18th of October, 1758.

PRESENT :

The Governors, Council, Gentlemen, and Indians, with the Interpreters as before.

Mr. Read and Mr. Peters acquainted the Governors, that at a meeting of the Chiefs of the Older and Younger Nations with the



several Tribes of the Delaware and Minisink Indians on Monday Night, the Speech of Tagashata, delivered that morning in the Publick Conference, respecting the giving up the Prisoners, was interpreted in the Delaware Language by Stephen Calvin, and another Belt, on the part of the Governor, being joined to Tagashata's Belt, they were both delivered to the Delaware and Minisink Chiefs, to enforce the Matter. When this was done, Tagashata spoke to the Minisink Chief, Egohohowen, saying, "we were told by you that you had delivered up the English Prisoners, and we believed you. But our Brethren have told us that they were not delivered up, and therefore we earnestly desire that they may be made easy on this Article. You know, Cousins, that their Hearts will always be in Grief till they see again their Flesh and Blood. It is natural that they should be so. It would be so with us if it was our case. We desire you will be extremely carefull to perform this matter fully and soon. Let there be perfect Peace over all the English Country, And now let it be published, that we may all live in Peace, and with Satisfaction, now and for ever. I told you, Egohohowen, when you was in my Town, to bring with you the English Prisoners, and that our Brethren would expect it. I wish you had done it. But, however, do it now with all speed, and it will be well."

Egohohowen answered, "it is true I was at my Uncle's Fire, and I believe he desired me to bring the Prisoners down, but I suppose it was not interpreted to me, for I did not understand it clearly, but I now understand it."

The Minisink and Delaware Indians were desired to collect all their Warriors together, and give them these Belts, and receive from them their answer, it being necessary they should concur heartily in whatever should be concluded.

Nichas, the Mohock Chief, acquainted the Governors, that, as Counsellors, they had finished, having nothing to propose at this present meeting. The Warriors were to speak now, and Thomas King was appointed to deliver their Words, who thereupon arose, and began with an Exhortation, as well to all concerned in Publick Affairs, Governors and their Councils, and Indian Chiefs and their Councils, as to Warriors of all Nations, White People and Indians, desiring all present to attend carefully to what was going to be related as matters of great Consequence, which would serve to regulate the Conduct of English and Indians to each other. He added, that the Reason going to be made had taken a great deal of Trouble to put it into order, and it was made on Information given by the Several Indians now present, who were acquainted with the Facts. "Brethren, we, the Warriors, have waited some time, in Hopes our Counsellors would have taken this matter in hand; but as they have not done it, we have, at their desire, undertaken it, and they have approved of every Thing. I say, the Counsellors of the Five Younger Nations, as well as the three Older Nations have

approved of what the Warriors are going to relate; and take Notice, that the Speech is not only the speech of all the Warriors of the elder and younger Nations, but of our Cousins, the Delawares and Minisinks."

This was interpreted in the Delaware Language, and Thomas King then proceeded, directing his Speech to the Governors and all the English upon the Continent.

"Brethren:

"You have been inquisitive to know the cause of this War, you have often enquired among us, but perhaps you did not find out the true Cause of the Bitterness of our Hearts and may Charge us wrong, and think that you were struck without a cause by some of our own Warriors, and by our Cousins; But if you Look a little about you, you Will find that you gave the first Offence; For in Time of Profound Peace, some of the Shawanese passing through South Carolina to go to War with the Enemies, were taken up and put in Prison; The English knew they were going to War, and that they used to do it every Year; and yet, after they had persuaded them in a Friendly way into their Houses, they were taken up and put into Prison, and one who was an Head Man of that Nation, lost his Life, and the others were severely used; This first raised ill will in the minds of the Shawanese, and as the French came a little after this happened to settle on the Ohio, the Shawanese complained of it to them, and they made an artful use of it, set them against the English and gave them the Hatchet. Being resolved on Revenge they accepted it, and likewise spoke to their Grandfathers, the Delawares, saying, 'Grandfathers, are not your hearts sore at our being used so ill, and at the Loss of one of our Chiefs? Will not you join us in Revenging his Death?' So by Degrees our young Men were brought over to act against you; On Searching Matters to the Bottom, you will find that you in this manner, gave the first Offence; This we thought proper to let you know, It may be of Service for the future; You may be induced by this to take better care in Conducting your Business in Council so-as to guard against these Breaches of Friendship, or, as soon as they happen in Corresponding immediately with one another, and with the Indians who are in anywise concerned on such Occasions."

Eight Strings of Black Wampum.

"Brethren:

"This was the Cause of the Shawanese, that I have just now related; another of the like Nature had since happened to the Senecas, who had suffered in the same.

"About three years ago eight Seneca Warriors were returning from War through Virginia, having Seven Prisoners and Scalps with them; at a place called Green Briar, they met with a Party of Soldiers, not less than One Hundred and Fifty, who kindly in-

vited them to come to a certain Store, and they said they would supply them with Provisions, and accordingly they travelled two Days with them in a Friendly Manner, and when they came to the House they took their Arms from the Senecas; The head men cryed out here is Death, defend yourselves as well as you can, which they did, and two of them were killed on the Spot, and one, a young Boy, was taken Prisoner; This gave great offence, and the more so as it was upon the Warriors road and we were in perfect Peace with our Brethren. It provoked to such a Degree that we could not get over it.

“Brethren:

“You have justly demanded your Prisoners; it is right; and we have given you an Answer. And therefore as we think this young Boy is alive, and somewhere among you, we desire you will enquire for him. If he be alive return him; if you have swallowed him down your Throats, which perhaps may be the case, let us know it and we will be content. His Name is Squissatego.”

Six Strings of White Wampum.

“Brethren:

“We have one Word more to mention of the same Nature, and which was the very cause why the Indians at Ohio left you.

“Brethren:

“When we first heard of the French coming to the Ohio we immediately sent Word to the Governors of Virginia and Pennsylvania; we desired them to come, and likewise to supply us with such Things as were proper for War, intending to defend our Lands, and hinder the French from taking the Possession of them; But these Governors did not attend to our Message. Perhaps they thought there was no foundation for our Intelligence. The French however came and became our Neighbours, and you neither coming yourselves, nor assisting us with Warriike Stores, our People, of necessity, were obliged to Trade with them for what we Wanted, as your Traders had left the Country. The Governor of Virginia took care to settle on our Lands for his own Benefit; but when we wanted his assistance against the French he disregarded us.”

A Belt.

“Brethren:

“At this Treaty you justly demanded to see your Flesh and Blood. We have pressed this on our Cousins, the Minisinks, and they, by this String, desired us to assure you, the Governors, that they would make strict search in their Towns, and Sincerely Comply with your Request, and return all the Prisoners in their Power.”

Two Strings of black and white Wampum.

Then directing his discourse to the Governor of the Jersey he proceeded:

“Brother, the Governor of Jersey:

“Our Cousins, the Minisinks, tell us they were wronged out of a great deal of Land, and the English settling so fast they were pushed back, and could not tell what Lands belonged to them. If we have been drunk tell us so. We may have forgot what we sold, but we trust to you, the Governor of Jersey, to take our Cause in Hand, and see that we have Justice done us. We say that we have here and there Tracts of Land that have never been sold. You deal hardly with; you claim all the Wild Creatures, and will not let us come on your Land to hunt for them. You will not so much as let us peel a Single Tree. This is hard, and has given us great offence. The Cattle you raise are your own; but those which are Wild are still ours, and should be common to both; for our Nephews, when they sold the Land, did not propose to deprive themselves of hunting the Wild Deer or using a Stick of Wood when they should have Occasion. We desire the Governor to take this Matter into his Care, and see Justice done in it.”

Two Strings of White Wampum.

“Brethren:

“All that has been said has been of one Nature, that is, of matters that are Subjects of Dispute; this that I am going to speak upon now is of another nature.”

Then directing himself to the Governor of Pennsylvania, said:

“We must put you in mind that, four years ago, you bought at Albany a large Tract of Land over Susquehannah, extending from the Mouth of John Penn's Creek to the Ohio. The Proprietaries' Agents then paid One Thousand Pieces of Eight for the part which was settled by your People, that have since been driven off and killed. We acknowledge to have received Payment for those Parts which were settled, but for the other Part that we have not received Payment for, that we re-claim. Our Warriors or Hunters, when they heard that we had sold such a Large Tract of Land, disapproved our Conduct in Council, so now we acquaint you, that we are determined not to confirm any more, than such of the Lands as the Consideration was paid for, and were settled, tho' included in the Deed; they are our hunting Grounds, and we desire the request may be granted, and Notice taken that it was made in open Conference.”

Three White Strings.

Then Thomas King sat down.

The Six Nation Chiefs being asked if they had any thing to say, answered, that they had done; and having eased their minds of all that lay heavy upon them, they would return home.

The Governor promised attentively to Consider what was said, and give them an Answer.

Teedyuscung then arose and spoke :

“ Brethren :

“ I should have said Something at the Time our Uncles laid before you their Grievances, or Causes of Complaint, in Behalf of my Countrymen who lived near Goshen. About three years ago Nine of their People were killed at Goshen, when they were in Peace. I will not take upon me to say that the Land had never been sold, but there was no Dispute about this at that time. I very believe that they killed those nine Indians, for no other Reason than because they were hunting on that Land. I speak to all the English when I mention this, as what was very wrong.”

Three White Strings.

“ Brethren :

“ One of the Waping Tribes, or Goshen Indians, tells me, that as soon as those Nine Men were killed, he went, with three Belts and Tears in his Eyes, to George Freeland's, in order to have the matter made up, but he never received an Answer to this Day, tho' he told him that he would send the Bets to the Governor, and as soon as he should receive his Answer he would send for him and let him know it, but he has never yet received an Answer.

“ Brethren :

“ I give you this String to enquire what became of the three Belts, and what answer was made to them.”

Three Strings of White Wampum.

“ Brethren :

“ You may remember we made Peace last year, and a Peace Belt was made, a Fathom long, and of Fifteen Rows. Mr. Croghan was present; so were some of my Uncles, and the Minisinks. They all saw it. You have asked me what is become of that Belt, and how far it went. I will tell you: I sent it up the Susquehannah to Diago; from thence it went to Assintzin; thence to Secaughkung. The Chief men there got together to Consider what was best to be done with it. They all concluded that it should be sent to our Uncle. He is a Man, and often told us he ought to see Things first, and Consider what is to be done. The Senecas had the Belt first, and then all the United Nations afterwards; they had it almost a Year. Now it is come back, and in Lapackpeton's Hands, who is one of the Delawares, and lives at Secaughkung. How far the Peace Belt went, I don't know, but I suppose it went through all my Uncles, and I assure you I will do as my Uncles does. He has promised you he will deliver up all your Captives, and I assure I will do so, wheresoever I find them in all my Towns. Four Tribes now present have agreed to this, Viz<sup>t</sup> Delawares, Unamies, Mohic-

cons, and Wappings, who are settled as far as Secaughkung. This Belt confirms my Words.”

A Belt.

“ Brethren :

“ I did let you know formerly what my Grievance was. I told you that from Tohiccon, as far as the Delawares owned, the Proprietaries had wronged me. Then you and I agreed that it should be laid before the King of England, and Likewise you told me you would let me know as soon as ever he saw it. You would lay the Matter before the King, for you said he was our Father, that he might see what was our Differences, for as you and I could not decide it, let him do it. Now let us not alter what you and I have agreed. Now, let me know if King George has decided the Matter between you and me. I don't pretend to mention any of my Uncles' Lands. I only mention what we, the Delawares, own, as far as the Heads of Delaware. All the Lands lying on the Waters that fall into the Susquehannah belong to our Uncles.”

A Belt.

Teedyuscung then took up another Belt, designing to speak to his Uncles, the United Nations, but whilst he was delivering the above, their Chiefs had one after another left the Council, seemingly much displeased; he, therefore, declined speaking it.

October the 19th, 1758.

The Governors having prepared their Answers, desired the Indians to meet, but they continued holding private Councils among themselves all that day till late in the afternoon; and as the Governors were going to the Place of Conference, the Indians sent Mr. Weiser out of Council to desire they would defer meeting till the next morning, their own private Business not being finished.

At a private Conference with the Indians held at Easton, October the 19th, 1758, P. M.

PRESENT :

His Excellency, Governor BERNARD.

The Commissioners of New Jersey.

The Chiefs of the United Nations, and of the Minisinks and Wappings.

George Croghan, Deputy to Sir William Johnson.

Andrew Montour, His Majesty's Interpreter.

Stephen Calvin, Interpreter of the Minisink and Waping Language.

His Excellency, reciting the Request of the United Nations to him, to do Justice to their Nephews, the Minisinks, concerning their Claims to Lands in New Jersey, said, he would make diligent Enquiry what Lands were remaining unsold by them; but as that would be a Work of Time and Expence, he wished that some means could be found to give them Satisfaction at this Meeting. The People of New Jersey said they had bought all, or the greatest part of the Minisink Lands, and the Minisinks said they had a great deal of Land unsold.

He could not tell who was in the right, but would suppose there were some lands unsold; and upon that Supposition, would give them some Money by way of consideration for them, if they would propose a reasonable Sum, and desired they would advise about it, and give an Answer.

The United Nations said it was a very kind Proposal, and recommended it to the Consideration of the Minisinks.

The same Day, Teedyuscung waited on Governor Denny at his House, bringing with him Isaac Still for his Interpreter, and his Grandson; and in the presence of Governor Bernard, Mr. Andrew Johnson, and Mr. Peters, acquainted the Governor that the Delawares did not Claim Lands high up on Delaware River; those belonged to their Uncles; and he thought proper to let the Governor know this, that there might be no Misunderstanding of what he had said in the Publick Conference.

At a Conference with the Indians, held at Easton, October the 20th, 1758.

PRESENT:

The Governors, Council, Gentlemen, and Indians, with the Interpreters as before.

Governor Denny desired to know of Teedyuscung if he proposed to speak, as the abrupt departure of the Six Nation Chiefs from the Conference yesterday had prevented him from finishing what he had to say.

Then Teedyuscung arose, and addressing himself to the Six Nations, said:

“Uncles:

“According to our Old Custom, we used to speak to one another at Home; but we are now met upon Business; I must speak to you in the presence of the English Governors, and what I shall say I desire both you, the English, and my Uncles who are here, will attend to.”

A Belt.

“Uncles:

“I take this opportunity of speaking to you in the Presence of our Brethren, the English, and two of their Governors: please to take notice what I am going to say.

“Uncles:

“You may remember that you have placed us at Wioming and Shamokin, places where Indians have lived before. Now I hear since, that you have sold that Land to our Brethren, the English. Let the matter now be cleared up in the Presence of our Brethren, the English.

“I sit here as a Bird on a Bow; I look about and do not know where to go; let me therefore come down upon the Ground, and make that my own by a good Deed, and I shall then have a Home for Ever; for if you, my Uncles, or I die, our Brethren, the English, will say they have bought it from you, & so wrong my Posterity out of it.”

A Belt.

Governor Denny then requested the attention of the Indians, and Spoke:

“Brethren, Chiefs and Warriors of the Six United Nations, and your Nephews, here assembled:

“I am much obliged to you for the Account you gave me the Day before Yesterday of the True Cause of the Bitterness of your Hearts towards us, and the Reasons which induced some of your Young Men first to strike us, and others to side with the French on the Ohio.

“The Advice you gave us to take better care, and guard against any Breach of Friendship between us for the future, is very kind and wholesome; we will join with you, and Endeavour to prevent the like Evils for the time to come.

“I promise you that I will immediately send to the Governor of Virginia to enquire after the Seneca Boy, Squissatego, who you say was left a Prisoner in his Country, and if he is alive, you may depend on his being returned to you.”

A Belt.

“Brethren:

“By these Strings you put me in mind that the Proprietaries, Four Years ago, bought of you, at Albany, a large Tract of Land over Susquehannah, from the Mouth of a Creek called Kayarondinhigh or John Penn's Creek to the Ohio, and were paid by the Proprietaries' Agents One Thousand Pieces of Eight, as the Consideration Money, for such Parts as were settled by our People; but that as your Warriors disapproved of your Conduct in Council for making that Sale, you now reclaimed such of the Lands contained in that Grant as you have not received a Consideration for.

"Brethren :

"The Proprietaries of this Province have on all Occasions manifested their particular Regard for you. They prefer your Friendship and the Publick good to their own Private Interest. Their former Conduct gives you no Room to doubt the Truth of this. What I am about to tell you is a further Confirmation of it. Therefore give me your Attention, and listen to what I shall say. You may remember that at a Treaty you held with your good Friend, Sir William Johnson, three Years ago, some of your wise men told him that there were some among them who were dissatisfied with the sale of the above Lands made by them at Albany, and were desirous that part of it should be reserved for them, though the Proprietaries had purchased it fairly of them and paid One Thousand Pieces of Eight, which was all they were to receive till our People settled to the Westward of the Allegheny or Appalaccin Hills. Sir William Johnson represented this matter to the Proprietaries in your Behalf, whereupon they chearfully agreed to release to you all that part of the Purchase you have reclaimed; and, by a Letter of Attorney, empowered Richard Peters and Conrad Weiser to execute a Deed to you for those Lands, on your Confirming to them the Residue of that Purchase. On this Subject, therefore, you will please to Confer with them and Settle the Boundaries between you, that they may release the Lands to you accordingly before you leave this Place, and set your Minds at Ease."

A String.

"Brethren :

"I thank you for the Pains you have taken with your Nephews to prevail with them to return us such of our Brethren as are Prisoners among them, and we depend on the Speedy Performance of their Promise.

"Brethren :

"I have something to say to you which is of the Utmost Importance to us all. It requires your particular Attention and Consideration. Providence has brought you and your Nephews together at this Meeting, Face to Face with us, that every thing may be settled; and nothing remains, not so much as a doubt, to create any uneasiness in our Hearts hereafter. You know, Brethren, that there is an Old Agreement between the Proprietaries and you, that you will not sell any of the Lands lying within this Province to any but them, and they never take Possession of Lands till they have bought them of the Indians. You know, also, that the United Nations have sold Lands to the Proprietaries which your Nephews, the Delawares, now claim as their Right. This is the Case with Regard to some Part of the Lands lying between Tobiccon Creek and the Head of the River Delaware, which Teedyuscung, in your hearing, the Day before Yesterday, said the Proprietaries had de-

frauded him of. The Proprietaries are desirous to do Strict Justice to all Indians; but it cannot be supposed they can know in which of you the Right was vested. It is a matter that must be settled among yourselves; till this is done there will probably remain some Jealousy and Discontent among you that may interrupt both your and our future Quiet, which we should guard against by all means in our Power."

A String.

"Brethren :

"I now acquaint you that a Store of all Sorts of Goods for your use is opened at Shamokin, where the Indians may be Supplied at the most reasonable Rates with any goods they may want; and the best Prices will be given to you for such Skins, Furs, and Peltry as you shall bring them. Another Store is intended to be opened at Fort Allen, and you may depend upon it that such Persons will be placed there who shall use you with the Strictest Justice in all their Dealings."

A String.

"Brother Teedyuscung :

"As I understood at our last Meeting that you were prevented at that Time by the absence of some of the Six Nation Chiefs, from finishing what you then had to say, I defer answering, for the present, such parts of your speech as relate to me. But I shall soon take an Opportunity of doing it."

This was interpreted to the Delawares by Isaac Still.

After the Governor had done speaking, Tagashata and Nichas arose and said they did not Rightly understand that Paragraph relating to the Lands, and requiring them to Settle Matters among themselves; they said the Governor had left Matters in the Dark, they did not know what lands he meant. If he meant the Lands on the other side of the Mountain he knew the Proprietaries had their Deeds for them, which ought to be produced and shewn to them. Their Deeds had their marks, and when they should see them they would know their marks again.

And then Conrad Weiser being desired to bring the Deed, Governor Bernard informed the Indians he was going to speak to them, on which they acquainted him, that they chose to be spoke to by one Governor only at a Conference; for that when they both spoke their Belts were mixed, and they were thereby confused in their Councils; Whereupon he deferred his Speech to another Time.

The Deed was then produced to the Indians, and Nichas said, "this Deed we well remember; we know our Chiefs who Signed it, some of them are present now; we sold the Land, and were honestly paid for it; the Land was ours, and we will justify it." They

were desired to take it with them into their Council room and Confer on it, and settle the matter among themselves.

The Conference then broke up.

Teedyuscung having yesterday requested of the Governor, that two Belts, which he then presented to him, might be sent as their joint Belts to the Ohio Indians.

This Day the Chiefs of the United Nations, and Teedyuscung, had a meeting with two Members of Governor Denny's Council, at which the following intended Answer from Governor Denny to the Ohio Indians, being first Interpreted to the Indians, was considered, settled, and approved by all present:

*Governor Denny's Answer to the Message of the Ohio Indians, brought by Frederick Post, Pisquitomen, and Thomas Hickman.*

"By this String, my Indian Brethren of the United Nations and Delawares join with me in requiring of the Indian Councils, to which these following Messages shall be presented, to keep every thing private from the Eyes and Ears of the French."

A String.

"Brethren:

"We received your Message by Pisquitomen, and Frederick Post, and thank you for the Care you have taken of our Messenger of Peace, and that you have put him in your Bosom, and protected him against our Enemy Onontio, and his Children, and sent him safe back to our Council Fire. by the same Man that received him from us."

A String.

"Brethren:

"I only sent Post to peep into your Cabbins, and to know the Sentiments of your Old Men, and to look at your Faces, to see how you look. And I am glad to hear from him that you look Friendly, and that there still remains some sparks of Love towards us. It is what we believed beforehand, and therefore we never let Slip the Chain of Friendship, but held it fast on our Side, and it has never dropped out of our Hands; by this Belt we desire you will dig up your end of the Chain of Friendship that you suffered, by the Subtily of the French, to be buried."

A Belt.

"Brethren:

"It happened that the Governor of Jersey was with me, and a great many Indian Brethren, sitting in Council at Easton when your Messengers arrived, and it gave Pleasure to every one that heard it; and it will afford the same Satisfaction to our Neighbouring Governors and their People, when they come to hear it; I

shall send Messengers to them & acquaint them with what you have said.

"Your requesting to let the King of England know your good Disposition, we took to Heart, and shall let him know it, and we will speak in your Favour to His Majesty, who has for some time past looked upon you as his lost Children; And we can assure you that as a Tender Father over all his Children, he will forgive what is past, and receive you again into his Arms."

A Belt.

"Brethren:

"If you are in earnest to be reconciled to us, you will keep your Young Men from attacking our Country, and killing and carrying Captive our Back Inhabitants; And will likewise give orders that your People may be kept at a Distance from Fort Duquesne, that they may not be hurt by our Warriors, who are sent by our King to Chastise the French, and not to hurt you; Consider the Commanding Officer of that Army treads heavy, and would be very sorry to hurt any of his Indian Brethren."

A Large Belt.

"And Brethren:

"The Chiefs of the United Nations, with their Cousins, our Brethren, the Delawares, and others now here, jointly with me send this Belt, which has upon it two figures that represent all the English and all the Indians now present taking Hands and delivering it to Pisquitomen, and we desire it may be likewise sent to the Indians who are named at the End of these Messages,\* as they have all been formerly our very good Friends and Allies, and we desire they will go from among the French to their own Towns, and no Longer help the French.

"Brethren on the Ohio:

"If you take the Belts we just now gave you, in which all here join, English and Indians, as we don't doubt you will, then by this Belt I make a Road for you, and invite you to come to Philadelphia to your first Old Council Fire, which was kindled when we first saw one another, which fire we will kindle up a gain and remove all disputes, and renew the Old and first Treaties of Friendship; This is a Clear and open Road for you; fear, therefore, nothing, and come to us with as many as can be of the Delawares, Shawanese, or of the Six Nation Indians; We will be glad to see You; we desire all Tribes and Nations of Indians who are in Alliance with you may come; As soon as we hear of your coming, of which you will give us timely Notice, we will lay up Provisions for you along the Road."

\* Sasaghretsy, Anigh Kaliehon, Atowayteany, Towigh Towighraano, Geghdageghroano, Oyaghtanont, Sisaghoano.

A Large White Belt, with the Figure of a Man at Each End, and Streaks of Black, representing the Road from the Ohio to Philadelphia.

“Brethren :

The Six Nation and Delaware Chiefs join with me in those Belts which are tied together, to Signify our Union and Friendship for each other; with them we jointly take the Tomahawks out of your Heads and bury them under Ground.

“We Speak loud, so as you may hear us; you see we all stand together, joined Hand in Hand.”

Two Belts tied together.

The Indian Chiefs being asked if it would not be proper to insert in the Message an Account of the Situation of our Army to the Westward, and to desire them to join the General against the French, they replied that they would by no means advise this Government so soon to press them to take up the Hatchet, because the Wounds were not yet healed, nor Peace made, which must be done first. They said further, that as the French had many Indians fighting for them, and they, by Intermarriages, were related to the Indians who sent the Messages, it could not be expected they would easily be persuaded to join the English, lest they should kill their own Flesh and Blood, adding, that the only proper Measure that could now be taken was to advise them to sit still and keep out of the Way, and this Advice they believed would be hearkened to.

Then they desired that at least two of our Inhabitants might accompany Pisquitomen and Thomas Hickman, the Two Messengers, to Ohio. The Six Nation Chiefs promised to send Two of their own People with them, and Teedyuscung said he would send one, if not two, Delawares.

At a private Conference with the Indians held at Easton, October the 21st, 1758.

PRESENT:

His Excellency, Governor BERNARD, and the Jersey Commissioners.

Thomas King, Chief of the Oneidoes.

Tagashata, Chief of the Senecas.

Tokaiao, Chief of the Cayugas.

Egohohowen, Chief of the Minisinks.

Nimham, Chief of the Wapings, with other Indians of the Several Nations.

George Croghan, Deputy to Sir William Johnson.

Andrew Montour, His Majesty's Interpreter to the United Nations.

Stephen Calvin, Interpreter of the Delaware and Minisink Languages.

His Excellency informed them that he met them to agree about the Price of the uncertain Claims of the Minisinks, Wapings, and other Indians, Claimants of Land in the northern parts of the Province of New Jersey, and desired that it might be considered, that they knew not what they sold, and he know not what he brought; therefore the Price ought not to be large.

That they might propose a Sum to him, or he would make an offer to them; or it should be left to their Uncles to consider a Price as would please them best.

The Mingoes, or Six United Nations, by Thomas King, said that the United Nations had no claims to the Lands of the Minisink, or others, their Nephews, on the East Side of Delaware, and should therefore leave the fixing a Price to them.

Then the Minisinks and Wapings withdrew to consult upon it; and being returned, Egohohowen, the Minisink Chief, said they would chuse the Governor should make an Offer, as they might perhaps demand too much.

His Excellency, having consulted the Commissioners, offered them Eight Hundred Spanish Dollars for their claim in New Jersey as an extraordinary Price.

The Minisinks said they should be glad of the Opinion of their Uncles in the Matter.

The Mingoes, or United Nations, by Thomas King, said that it was a fair and honourable Offer, and that if it were their own Case, they would cheerfully accept of it; but as there were a great many Persons to share in the Purchase Money, they recommended it to his Excellency to add Two Hundred Dollars more; and if that was complied with, the Report of it would be carried to all the Nations' and would be a proof of the Affection and Generosity of their Brethren, the English, on this Occasion, and would be very agreeable to them.

His Excellency desired to know of the Minisinks, and other Indians, if they approved of the Proposal of their Uncles, and they informed him that they did.

The Governor, after Consulting the Commissioners, said it was more than he intended to give; but as the United Nations had given themselves the Trouble of being Mediators between them, he could not refuse their Recommendations, and was glad of the Opportunity he had of showing his regard to the United Nations, and his Benevolence to the Minisinks, and other Indians who had

resided in the Province where he presided, and therefore complied with their Request.

His Excellency then desired them to remember that this Consideration Money was to be in full for the Claims of all the Minisinks and Waping Indians, and all others who Claim any Lands in a Map, which was laid before them at the same Time, which included all the Lands from the Line between the Provinces of New York and New Jersey, and Down Hudson's river to the Mouth of Rariton; up the same to Laametag Falls on the North Branch of Rariton River; and thence on a Strait Line to Pazoqualin Mountain, where it joins on Delaware River; and thence up the Delaware to Cushythink; and recommended it to them to have respect to this in the Division of the Consideration Money.

Then Tagashata, the Seneca Chief, arose, and addressing himself to the Minisink and other Indian Claimants, spoke as follows:

"My Nephews:

"I desire you will now give over all Thoughts of your Land, and that we may hear no more Complaints about it.

"Now You must remember the Friendship between you and your Brother, and transmit it to your Children, and make them acquainted with the actions of this Day. I recommend this to you, not from my Lips only, but from the Bottom of my Heart. I hope it will also make a deep impression in your Hearts.

"It seems as if your Grandfathers had not told you all of the Treaties they used to have with their Brethren, but carried them with them to the Grave. But we hope you will not do so, but carefully inform your Children of your Agreements. We have given you this Advice, and hope you will follow it. We also expect you will take Care of your Young Men, that they do no more Violence to their Brethren, the English."

Egohohowen then addressed himself to the Governor, and desired to be heard.

"Brother:

"We are now thoroughly satisfied, and we still retain a Friendship for our Brethren, the English, and we desire that if we should come into your Province to see our Old Friends, and should have Occasion for the Bark of a Tree to Cover a Cabbin, or a little Refreshment, that we should not be denied; but be treated as Brethren, and that your People may not look on the Wild Beasts of the Forests or Fish of the Waters as their sole property, but that we may be admitted to an equal Use of them."

The Governor answered, that as soon as he got home, he should issue a Proclamation, to Notify to the People of his Province that he had made Peace with them, and to order that, for the Future, they should be treated as Brethren, which he hoped would be done,

but desired that they would not go into those parts where they had lately committed Hostilities till the People's Passions were cooled, for he could not be answerable for his People's Behaviour whilst their Losses were fresh upon their Minds.

On the 21st of October the Members of the Pennsylvania Council received a Message from Mr. Weiser, that the Chiefs of the United Nations were met in Council with their Nephews, the Delawares, at the House of Nicholas Skull, and that the Delaware had something to say to their Uncles, which they desired some of the Members of that Council, and Commissioners, should be Witnesses of and hear. Messieurs Growdon, Chew, and Mifflin attended accordingly, with Messieurs Galloway, Fox, and Hughes, Commissioners, and Israel Pemberton, Isaac Zane, and some other Quakers, who were present at this particular Request of the Delawares.

PRESENT:

All the Six Nation Chiefs.

Teedyuscung.

Tapiscawen, alias Samuel Davis.

Nowallkeeka, or Four Steps.

Compass.

Awehela, alias James Davis.

Lappink.

Neccochoon, Munsey Chief.

Moses Tetamy.

Couard Weiser, Andrew Montour, Isaac Still, Interpreters.

Teedyuscung, on Behalf of the Delawares, arose and spoke as follows:

"Uncles:—

"I desire you will hear me; We have gone so far at this Treaty, as to talk of Lands; I, therefore, thought proper to meet you here, to let you know that I have Consulted with all my Brethren, your Cousins, here present, about the Deed you, our Uncles, Signed to the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania, shewn to us Yesterday, for the Lands beyond the Kittocktinny Hills.

"We have seen the Deed, and know it well. Nutimus, one of our Chief Men, has signified it; and here sits one of our men, named Philip Compass, who was present when the sale was made; and remembers that Nutimus, our Chief, received Forty-four Dollars as his Part, or Share of the Consideration Money. We agree to it, and acknowledge that the Land was fairly Sold. We give it up, and now confirm it. Let there be no difference, nor any thing



more said about it. This is not the Land I have disputed with my Brethren, the English. That Land lies between Tobiccon Creek and the Kittochtinny Hills."

Gave a Belt.

Tokaanon, the Cayuga Chief, stood up and spoke as follows, addressing himself to Teedyuscung :

"Cousin :

"I thank you for your Openness and Honesty on this Occasion, freely to declare the Truth. We wish our Brethren, the English, naming the Governors of Pennsylvania, Virginia, Carolina, and Jersey, were so honest and precise.

"They have called us down to this Council Fire, which was kindled for Council Affairs, to renew Treaties of Friendship, and brighten the Chain of Friendship. But here we must hear a Dispute about Land, and our Time is taken up, but they don't come to the Chief point.

"The English first began to do Mischief; we told them so; They only thanked us for our Openness and Advice, and said they would take Care for the future, but healed no wounds. In short, when they speak to us, they do it with a Shorter Belt or String than that which we spoke to them with; tho' they can make Wampum, and we cannot.

"They ought not thus to treat with Indians on Council Affairs. Several of our Strong Belts are lost in their Hands intirely. I fear they only speak from their Mouth, and not from their Heart."

On the Same Day, P. M., Pisquitomen and Thomas Hickman, came to take their leave of the Governor, accompanied with Captain Bull, William Hayes, and Isaac Still, the Persons appointed to attend them to the Ohio, who were particularly recommended to their Care and Protection by a String of Wampum.

The Belts and Strings were numbered, as well in the written Paper containing the Message, as on Labels tied to each of them, and delivered to Pisquitomen, and the Written Message was delivered with the Passports, to Captain Bull.

The 22d of October, the Six Nation Chiefs held a private Council, and named Two of their People to send to the Ohio, Viz: Tojenontawly, Cayuga Chief, and the youngest Shick Calamy, who joined Pisquitomen, and set off this afternoon. As they were setting out, Mr. Frederick Post arrived with news from General Forbes, that a Large Body of French and Indians having attacked his advanced Post at Loyal Hanning, were repulsed with great Loss on their Side, which news he Communicated to the Indians.

At noon the Governor being prepared for a Conference, proposed a meeting of the Indians, which they desired might be deferred till the Morning.

October the 23d, 1758.

This Morning one of the Seneca Chiefs died; Condolence Ceremonies, and Presents being made as usual, he was decently interred, a Number of the Inhabitants attending the Funeral. This took up the Forenoon.

At a Conference with the Indians the same Day, P. M.

PRESENT :

The Governors, and the Gentlemen of their Councils, &c. as before.

The Minutes were read, and approved, to the End of the Publick Conference on Friday last, after which Governor Denny spoke: "Brethren :

"By this Belt we heal your Wounds, we remove your Grief; we take the Hatchet out of your Heads; we make a deep hole in the Earth, and bury the Hatchet so low, that no Body shall be able to dig it up again."

A Belt.

"Brethren :

"Now we have healed your Wounds, we, by this Belt, renew all our Treaties; we brighten the Chain of Friendship; we return to our first Affection; we confirm our Antient Union; we put fresh Earth to the Roots of the Tree of Peace, that it may bear up against every Storm that can blow, and live and flourish to the End of Time, whilst the Sun Shines and the Rivers run. And we desire you would publish it among your own, and all other Indian Nations who are your Friends and Allies, and engage them to join with you in a firm Peace with his Majesty, and all his Subjects, in whose behalf I give you this Belt."

A Large Peace Belt.

"Brethren :

"We now open a Road to the Old Council Fire, which was kindled by you and our Fathers in the City of Philadelphia.

"Be assured that you will always find this Road open, easy, and pleasant to travel in, and for the future, whenever Occasion Calls, we shall be glad to see you there."

A Belt.

At a Council held at Philadelphia, Monday the 6th of November, 1758.

## PRESENT :

The Honourable WILLIAM DENNY, Esqr., Lieutenant Governor.

Robert Strettell,  
Richard Peters,  
John Mifflin,

Lynford Lardner,  
Thomas Cadwalader, } Esquires.

A Letter from General Forbes, dated the 22d of October, was read in these words :

“RAYSTOWN CAMP, October 22d, 1758.

“Sir :

“The Heavy Rains that have fallen of late has rendered the Roads almost Impassable for Carriages; these few Days past of dry Weather have given things a more favourable Aspect, and every thing is in Motion, the last Division being to March from hence to-morrow.

“My State of Health continues precarious, but not so bad as to occasion any stop to our Operations, which must now come to a speedy Conclusion on account of the Advanced Season of the year.

“Whatever the Fate of the Army may be it is impossible to foresee, but whether we are successful or not it is necessary for me to leave as large and extensive a Barrier as possible to cover the Province of Pennsylvania.

“The Number of the King's Troops that I have under my Command does not exceed Twelve Hundred Men, the greatest part of which I must send down to the Inhabited Parts of the Country to recruit and fit themselves out for the ensuing Campaign; for were I to leave the whole during the Winter in the uninhabited parts of the Country, these Corps would not be in a Condition to march on Service early in the Spring.

“I shall lay before you the Posts that are proposed to be kept up, which are now in possession of us, leaving it to you and the Assembly of your Province to judge of their Importance to them, and to know how far they can contribute in Men and Expences for the Supporting of these Posts, and making the Soldiers' Lives comfortable, without which no real Service can be expected from them.

“I have received no Answer from you relating to Fort Duquesne, if it should please God to grant Success; but whether that Fort is taken or not, the Forts of Loyal Hannon, Cumberland, Raystown, Juniata, Littleton, Loudoun, Frederick, Shippensburgh, and Carlisle, ought to be Garrisoned, beside those on the other Side of the Susquehannah. I have wrote to Mr. Fouquiere to know what assistance I may have from the Colony of Virginia, which I do not expect will

be very great, not even to Garrison Fort Cumberland, their Frontiers are so extensive that Augusta County will require Two Hundred Men to Garrison its Forts; Winchester, with the south Branch of Potomack, Three Hundred Men more, to which Colonel Washington's Regiment will not amount at the End of the Campaign. I have nothing to expect from Maryland, as I am told they have abandoned Fort Cumberland and Fort Frederick.

“It will easily occur to you the Things that will be necessary for making the Soldiers' Lives Comfortable in this severe Climate during the Winter. The most necessary are, a second Blanket in lieu of a bed, a Flannel Jacket, a new pair of Breeches, two Pair of Stockings, and a pair of Shoes.

“I should be glad to know, without Loss of Time, how far your Assembly will go in putting it in my power to maintain the Ground that is Gained. If they do nothing for the Safety of the Province, I am certain it is not in my Power to defend them during the Winter with the strength that I shall have left and which I must expect will daily diminish.

“To Cover the Country between Susquehannah and Potomack, and to secure the Communication to the advanced Posts will require, in my Opinion, Twelve Hundred Men, stationed in the following manner, Viz :

“ At Loyal Hannon	- - - - -	300
“ At Ray's Town	- - - - -	200
“ At Fort Cumberland	- - - - -	200
“ At Fort Frederick	- - - - -	100
“ At Juniata	- - - - -	100
“ At Littleton	- - - - -	100
“ At Loudoun	- - - - -	100
“ At Shippensburg and Carlisle	- - - - -	100

“1,200 Men.

“I must intreat you to return me an Answer to this Letter as soon as possible, as it is a Matter of the greatest Consequence to the Colonies.

“I am, with the greatest Regard, Sir,

“Your most Obedient and Humble Servant,

“JOHN FORBES.”

The Council unanimously advised the Governor to call the Assembly together by Summons to meet on Wednesday the fifteenth Instant; and the Secretary was directed to prepare Writs for that Purpose.

The Governor likewise directed the Secretary to order the Paymaster to prepare an Estimate of the Arrears that would be due to the Provincial Troops on the first of January next.

The Minutes of the Indian Treaty lately held at Easton were produced and ordered to be printed Time enough to have a Copy laid before the Assembly at the Meeting.

At a Council held at Philadelphia, Thursday the 16th of November, 1758.

## PRESENT:

The Honourable WILLIAM DENNY, Esqr., Lieutenant Governor.

Benjamin Shoemaker,  
Lynford Lardner,

Richard Peters, } Esquires.  
John Mifflin, }

The Governor acquainted the Council that two Members delivered him last Night a Message that the House was met agreeable to the Governor's Summons and desired a sight of one of the Summons which the Governor promised to send this Morning; and the Secretary was accordingly sent with one to the House.

"Then was read the Governor's Speech to the House, which was approved; and the Paymaster having delivered to the Governor an Estimate of pay, which will become due to the Provincial Forces by the First Day of January, 1759, the same was likewise read, and ordered to be entered as follows:

"*Estimate of Pay that will become due to the Provincial Forces by the First Day of January, 1759, as by their last Pay Rolls, vizt.:*

"To Twenty-Five Old Companies, from the First of October, 1758, to the First of January, 1759, exclusive of Draughts in the Light Horse, and about Seventy Men at Fort Augusta,	£9,115 0 0
"To two Troops of Light Horse Men, from the First of October, 1758, to the First of January, 1759,	889 0 0
"To a Detachment at Fort Augusta of the Old Companies, about Seventy Men, from the First of June, 1758, to the First of January, 1759,	1,660 0 0
"To Twenty-Three Companies new Levies, Vizt: Eleven Companies from the first of September, Seven Companies from the first of August, and five Companies from the several Dates of their respective enlistments, after a Deduction of Seven Pounds advance Money $\frac{1}{2}$ Man, and three Months Pay to the Officers, there will remain due to them by the first Day of January, 1759,	14,000 0 0
"To staff Officers from the first of October, 1758, to the first of January, 1759,	358 0 0
	£26,022 0 0

"N. B.—The Calculation for the new Levies not to be depended on as exact, but as nearly so as I could possibly make it, they having not been all paid up to one Day, nor the Seven Pounds advance; advance Money all deducted; that depending on the several Dates of their Enlistments.

"JAMES YOUNG, Paymaster."

The Governor received a Message by seven Members, that the House had met on the Fourteenth of October, and chose a Speaker, and had afterwards adjourned on Account of the Governor's being then at Easton, and now desired to know when and where they might present their Speaker; His Honour was pleased to say that he could be in the Council Chamber at Twelve o'Clock, and they might present their Speaker to him there. Accordingly, the Governor and Council repaired to the Council Chamber, and Isaac Norris being presented as the Speaker elected, he was approved, and proceeded to request the usual Privileges, the Governor having declared they were the Rights of Assembly. His Honour then made the following Speech, which was ordered to be entered in these words:

"Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the Assembly:

"I have ordered the Secretary to lay before you a Letter I lately received from General Forbes, the Importance of which will, I am persuaded, convince you of the Necessity I was under to convene the House on the Occasion.

"The advanced Season and late heavy Rains render it doubtful whether the General will be able to accomplish the Reduction of Fort Duquesne this Campaign. His Zeal and personal Bravery will, I doubt not, induce him to attempt every wise and prudent Measure practicable to make an Acquisition that will be attended with so many Advantages to His Majesty and his Colonies. It will, however, at all Events, be absolutely necessary for him to maintain this Winter the advanced Post he has possessed himself of, fortified, whereby he will be in a Condition not only to make an Attempt very early in the Spring, but will be the better enabled in the mean time to cover and protect this and the neighbouring Provinces from the cruel Incursions and Ravages of the Enemy. To these Ends his Letter will inform you the General expects to be supplied with Twelve Hundred Men and Necessaries for their comfortable Support during the Winter, and that he desires to know, without Loss of Time, how far the Assembly of this Province will Contribute towards furnishing him with those Aids. I must, therefore, press you to take this Matter into your immediate Consideration, and give me your answer, that I may have it in my Power to communicate your Resolutions to the General with that Dispatch the Severity of the Season and his critical Situation require.

"But if General Forbes should be fortunate enough to take Fort

Duquesne, I think it will be for the Interest of this Province to Garrison that Fortress with our Provincials, as thereby we may have an opportunity of Establishing a Trade and a lasting Friendship with the Indians, without which, it is much to be feared, the French and their Emissaries will still maintain such an Influence over the Warriors of the Several Nations as to excite them to renew their Barbarities against the unhappy People on the Frontiers.

"I must also inform you that the Provincial Commissioners have reported to me that the last Sum granted to His Majesty by the Legislature of this Province is near exhausted, and that Considerable arrears are due to the Forces, as you will see by the Paymaster's Estimate, now laid before you. I do not doubt, therefore, you will, in the most Speedy and Effectual manner, raise the Supplies necessary for this Service.

"I have the Pleasure to acquaint you that at the late Treaty at Easton there was a numerous appearance of Indians, consisting of Deputies from the Six Nations and other Tribes, a general Peace was concluded, and I flatter myself every thing done on my part to their Satisfaction. They solemnly promise, immediately on their return, to restore to us all the Captives they have taken from us, and, from their Candour and Openness during the Course of the Treaty, the Concern and Sorrow they repeatedly expressed for the Mischief done by their foolish young Men, who were seduced and misled by the French, the many professions of Friendship and Love for their Antient Brethren, the English, we have the greatest Reason to believe them once more sincerely attached to the British Nation. I have also prevailed with them to exert their influence with the Indians in the French Interest settled on the Ohio to withdraw themselves from our Enemies and return to their Former Friendship with us, and have joined with them in sending proper Messages on the Occasion, which I hope will be attended with Success. I have ordered the Minutes of the Several Transactions to be laid before you, and hope my Conduct therein will meet with your Approbation.

"November the 16th, 1758."

The Secretary delivered to the Speaker the foregoing Letter from General Forbes, the Paymaster's Estimate, and the printed minutes of the Conferences lately held at Easton.

At a Council held at Philadelphia, Saturday the 2d of December, 1758.

PRESENT :

The Honourable WILLIAM DENNY, Esq<sup>r</sup>. Lieutenant Governor.

Robert Strettell, }  
Richard Peters, } Esquires.  
Benjamin Chew, }

The Governor acquainted the Council, that on Wednesday the Twenty-Second of last Month Two Members delivered him a Message in answer to his Speech, which was read in these Words:

"May it please your Honour :

"We have carefully weighed your Speech, recommending to our Consideration General Forbes' Demands of this Province, and we apprehend, was he sufficiently acquainted with the Circumstances and Abilities of the People of this Young Colony, the large Aids they have already granted on many Occasions to the Crown, and the Load of Debt they now labour under by means thereof, he could not reasonably expect them to bear the additional Burthen of defraying the extraordinary expence that must attend the Supporting of Garrisons in Forts, and at Posts so very distant from the inhabited Parts of the Province as many of those are mentioned in his Letter to your Honour, which, as we are well informed, are usually Garrisoned by the King's Troops in other Colonies. However, we are so well acquainted with the Circumstances of the People we represent, that we are of Opinion a Burthen of that Sort, added to the Sum they now owe, would be too heavy for them to bear.

"Your Honour will further be pleased to Consider the great Inconveniency which must attend the raising Supplies at this unusual season of the Year, before we have received the least Intimation of the Measures His Majesty shall be pleased to concert for the common safety and Protection of the Colonies, or can form any Idea of the part it will be necessary for this Province to take therein. It is now not more than Seven Months since the last Aids were granted to the Crown, and a very heavy additional Tax imposed on the People, from an expectation that, by one vigorous Effort of this and our Neighbouring Colonies, His Majesty's General in this District, would have been enabled to strike a decisive Blow, which would relieve them from the like Grievous Burthen for the future; And should we at this Juncture, grant further Supplies, and impose further Taxes upon our Constituents, in all probability when we shall be made acquainted with His Majesty's intended Operations in the next Campaign, more Aids may be demanded, and will then become more necessary.

"We are, therefore, induced to postpone the raising of Supplies until our next meeting, when we expect we shall have an Opportu-

nity of taking into our Consideration, as well the Aids necessary to pay off the arrears due to the Forces, as to defray the Expences of the ensuing Year.

“Signed by order of the House.

“ISAAC NORRIS, Speaker.”

A Bill intituled “A Supplement to the Act intituled ‘An Act for granting to his Majesty a Duty of Tonnage upon Ships and Vessels, and also certain Duties upon Wine, Rum, and Brandy, and other Spirits, and a Duty upon Sugar, for the Supporting and maintaining the Provincial Ship of War, for protecting the Trade of this Province, and other Purposes for His Majesty’s Service,’” was delivered to the Governor last Thursday Night for his Concurrence, and was read over Twice and amended only in one Place, Viz: After the word Act, in Page 19, Line 15, insert the Words [Law, usage, and Custom].

Mr. Chew acquainted the Governor that as he was coming to Council several reputable Merchants of the City informed him that they thought the Bill for granting a Duty on Tonnage, & a great grievance, and were preparing Petition to the Governor, praying that his Honour would not give his assent to the Bill till their Reasons against it were first heard. On this Information, Mr. Chew and Mr. Peters were desired to inform themselves of this Matter, and if it should be found that many considerable Merchants requested this by Petition, the Bill should then be kept under Consideration; if not, that then the Secretary should carry the Bill to the House, with a Message that his Honour would pass it upon the foregoing amendment being allowed.

A Petition, signed by Twenty-Four considerable Merchants, was presented to the Governor, and thereupon the Secretary was sent to the House with a verbal Message that many reputable Merchants of the City having presented a Petition to his Honour against the Bill before him, he has the said Petition now under his Consideration.

Upon which Message, Two Members waited on the Governor from the House to acquaint him that the House met again in the Afternoon, and proposed to adjourn to the Fifth of February next, and desired to know the Governor’s Resolution on the Bill before him, to which his Honour answered that he would give it all the Dispatch in his Power, having the Bill much at Heart, as a Bill very much concerning the Publick, and that he wanted to hear what the Merchants had to say against it.

At a Council held at Philadelphia, Tuesday the 5th of December, 1758.

PRESENT:

The Honourable WILLIAM DENNY, Esqr., Lieutenant Governor.

Robert Strettell,	Benjamin Shoemaker,	} Esquires.
Joseph Turner,	Richard Peters,	
Lynford Lardner,	Benjamin Chew,	
John Mifflin,	Thomas Cadwalader,	

The Merchants who presented their Petition last Saturday having desired the Governor would be pleased to appoint a Time for hearing their Objections against the Tonnage Bill, Twelve o’Clock this Day was appointed, and the Council being convened on this Occasion, Two Petitions of the same Tenor, signed by a great Number of Merchants of this City, were read.

Then Mr. Samuel Mifflin, Mr. William Cox, Mr. John McMichael, and Mr. Edwin Shippen, Junior, appeared and acquainted the Governor that they were appointed a Committee by the Merchants to offer their Reasons in Objections to the Bill, and having reduced them to writing, the paper was presented by Mr. Shippen to the Governor and read.

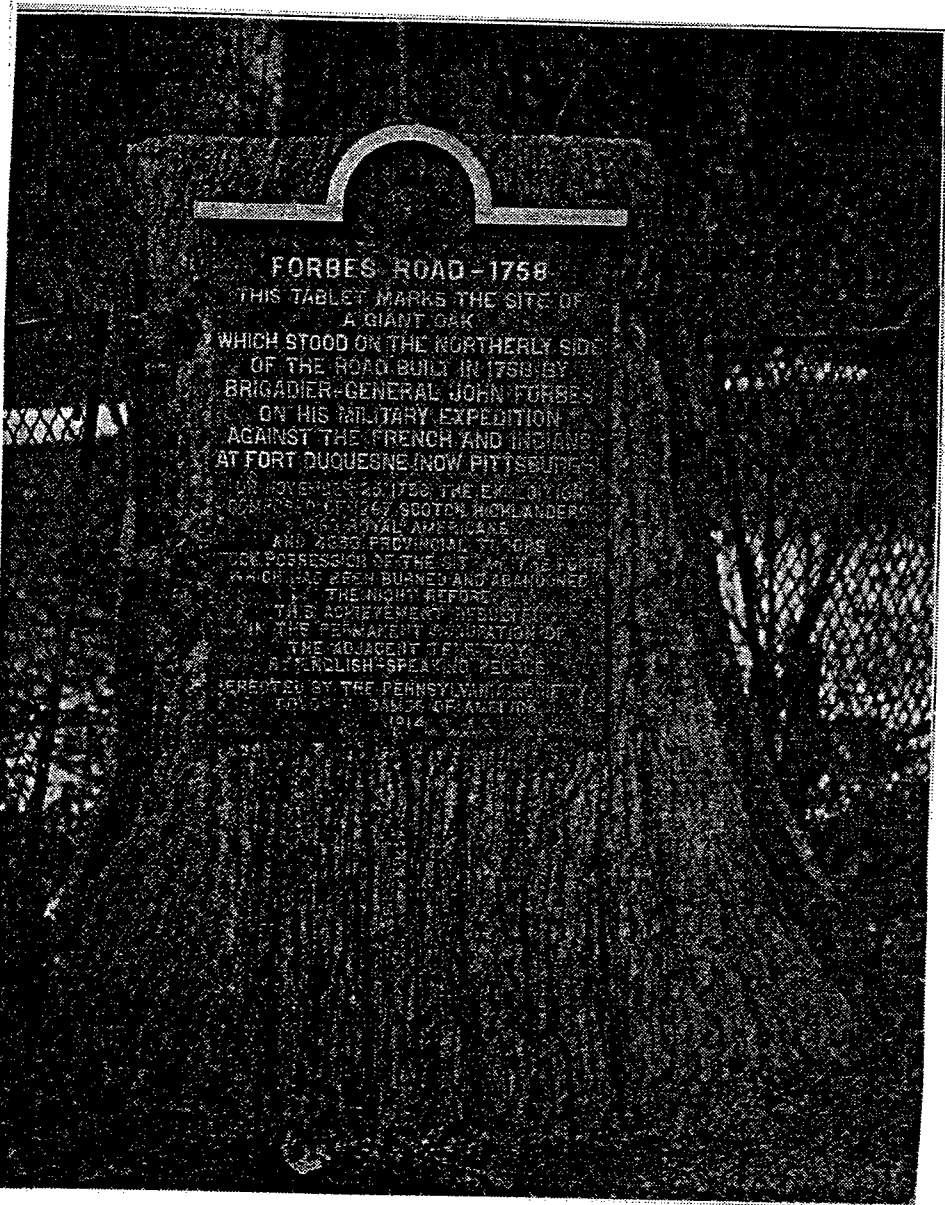
The Governor was pleased to assure the Merchants that he was & always would be disposed to encourage the Trading Interest, and support it on all Occasions, and would immediately Consider the Reasons they had offered against the Bill.

Then the Bill was read; and it was agreed, after Considering the Objections of the Merchants thereto, that a proper Message should be drawn and sent to the House with the Bill and Petitions of the Merchants.

#### MEMORANDUM:

In the evening, Two Members waited on the Governor from the House to know if his Honour had come to any determination on the Bill before him; to which his Honour was pleased to say that the House should receive a Message from him in the Morning.

And accordingly, on the Sixth, the Secretary delivered to the House the Bill intituled “A Supplement to the Act intituled ‘An Act for granting to his Majesty a Duty of Tonnage upon Ships and Vessels, and also certain Duties upon Wine, Rum, Brandy, and other Spirits, and a duty upon Sugar for supporting and maintaining a Provincial Ship of War for protecting the Trade of this Province and other Purposes for his Majesty’s Service,’” with Two Petitions



**FORBES ROAD - 1758**

THIS TABLET MARKS THE SITE OF  
A GIANT OAK  
WHICH STOOD ON THE NORTHERLY SIDE  
OF THE ROAD BUILT IN 1758 BY  
BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN FORBES  
ON HIS MILITARY EXPEDITION  
AGAINST THE FRENCH AND INDIANS  
AT FORT DUQUESNE (NOW PITTSBURGH)  
ON NOVEMBER 23, 1758, THE EXPEDITION  
COMPOSED OF 247 SCOTCH HIGHLANDERS  
AND 2000 PENNSYLVANIA MILITIA  
TOOK POSSESSION OF THE SITE OF THE OAK  
WHICH HAD BEEN BURNED AND ABANDONED  
THE NIGHT BEFORE.  
THIS ACHEIEMENT RESULTED  
IN THE PERMANENT SEPARATION OF  
THE ADJACENT TERRITORIES  
BY ENGLISH-SPEAKING PEOPLE  
CREATED BY THE PENNSYLVANIA  
TERRITORY ACT OF 1762.

LETTERS  
of  
GENERAL JOHN FORBES  
relating to the  
EXPEDITION AGAINST FORT DUQUESNE  
IN 1758

Compiled from Books in the  
Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh

for the

Allegheny County Committee  
Pennsylvania Society

of the

Colonial Dames of America

by

Irene Stewart

*Reference Librarian, Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh*

To which is added a list of  
References on the Expedition

Pittsburgh

Allegheny County Committee

1927

## LETTERS OF GENERAL FORBES

but as they are in want of everything, I must either give them a kind of Cloathing, or get no Service from them.

I vainly at the beginning flattered myself that some very good Service might be drawn from the Virginia, & Pennsylvania Forces, but am sorry to find that a few of their principle Officers excepted, all the rest are an extream bad Collection of broken Innkeepers, Horse Jockeys, & Indian traders, and that the Men under them, are a direct copy of their Officers, nor can it well be otherwise, as they are a gathering from the scum of the worst of people, in every Country, who have wrought themselves up, into a panick at the very name of Indians who at the same time are more infamous cowards, than any other race of mankind.

If it should please God to grant Success to His Majesty's Arms in their Attempts upon the Ohio, and which I think can't well fail, I shall be greatly at a loss how to dispose of Fort Du Quesne, whether to blow it up, and destroy it and the whole Settlements thereabout, or to keep it and leave a Garrison there for the Winter, the execution of the first is as easy, as the second appears to be attended with many difficulties, all which must naturally occur to you, from its great distance from any of the inhabited parts of those Provinces, and consequently the great difficulties of either supporting it, or supplying it with Necessaries during a long severe Winter.

I have consulted the Governours of Pennsylvania and Virginia upon this head, and to know what Number of Troops they could leave there in case it was thought proper to preserve it, to which I have had no positive answer, but I know the Pennsylvania troops will disband the first of December unless their Assembly make a new Provision for their Support.

In a few days I shall have most of my Troops moved forward towards the head, there to be in readiness of seizing the first favourable Opportunity of marching to the Banks of the Ohio, which I now have in my power of doing, by a march of 48 hours, and if refused the Carriages demanded from the Pennsylvanians, or they appear too tardy, and dilatory in the execution thereof, I shall most certainly try it upon flour, and rice, with the Assistance of what live Cattle we can carry forward with us.

My health, that has been extreamly precarious these two years, has of late been very near brought to a close, by a long and severe attack of a bloody flux, which has reduced me to a state of weakness that I am obliged to travel in a Hurdle carried betwixt two Horses but I hope the animating spirits of being able to do the smallest Service to my King and Country, will leave nothing undone on my part that can anyways contribute to the Success of so glorious a cause. I have the honour to be, with the highest esteem and regard, Sir

Yr. most obed<sup>t</sup>. & most humble. Serv<sup>t</sup>.

Jo: Forbes

## LETTERS OF GENERAL FORBES

To Governor Denny

Pennsylvania Colonial records, v.8, p.167

Fort Loudoun, Septem<sup>r</sup>., 9th, 1758.

Sir:

I have the Honour of laying before you the Situation of His Majesty's Affairs under my Directions in these Southern Provinces at this Critical Juncture, and at the same time to shew you how much it depends on you and the People of this Province to assist in carrying on a Service which his Majesty has so much at Heart, or by their Neglect and Obstinacy have it in their Power to render every step that has been taken (for the safety of these Colonies) fruitless and to no Purpose, but to expend a very great Sum of Money.

The laying in Provisions for the Support of the Army I attempted to do without even being obliged to impress any Carriages. The Quantity of Provisions to have been Collected at our principal Magazine has fallen greatly short of what I had reason to expect, because most of the Waggons were not Loaded with more than Fourteen Hundred Weight, and took a Third more time in the Carriage than they ought to have done, which obliged us to break in upon the Stock of Provisions laid in at Ray's Town, while the Troops were opening a Road over the Mountains, and Securing its Communication, which is now effectually done to within Forty Miles of the French Fort, so that if the Inhabitants who have Waggons are not obliged to furnish a Sufficient Number of them, who, in one Trip to Ray's Town, might Transport the Quantity of Provisions wanted, and where they may receive payment for the Trip at a just and equitable Price, to be fixed by Authority, in Proportion to the Quantity of Provisions so delivered and to the Length of the Journey that they make, the Expedition cannot go forward; nor can I maintain the Ground I am already Master of, but shall be Obligated to draw off my Master's Forces to the Inhabited Parts of the Country, and take Provisions and Carriages wherever they can be found. The Evil which will Attend this Procedure is, that the Innocent must Suffer with the Guilty, and the Exigence of the Case is so pressing as to admit of no delay.

I know there has been several Complaints made of the Scarcity of Forrage, and that several Waggoners has been abused by Officers. If there was any Scarcety of Forrage, it was owing to the Want of Waggons for its Transport; and no Driver ever made his Complaint but the Person who abused him was punished, so that I am induced to believe every Complaint of that kind is without foundation, and, therefore, shall not further insist on a detailed account of the Infamous Breach of Contract on the Part of the Inhabitants.

I have sent to Philadelphia the Quarter Master General, who will explain to you fully the Situation of the Army. I should be sorry to employ him in executing any Violent Measures, which the Exigency

of Affairs I am in at present must Compel me to do, if I am not relieved by a Speedy Law for the Providing the Army with Carriages, or a general Concurrence of Magistrates and People of power in those Provinces in assisting, to their utmost, to provide the Same, and that with the greatest Diligence.

Every thing is ready for the Army's Advancing, but that I cannot do unless I have a Sufficient Quantity of Provisions in the Magazines at Ray's Town. The Road that Leads from the advanced Posts to the French Fort may be opened as fast as a Convoy can march it. Therefore my movement depends on his Majesty's Subjects entering chearfully in carrying up the necessary Provisions. The new Road has been finished without the Enemies knowing it. The Troops having not suffered the least insult in the Cutting it.

And as one Trip of the Waggons will be sufficient for carrying up Provisions to Ray's Town, they shall be paid off at that Place for the Weight they carry and discharged; When they arrive at Ray's Town I shall have nothing to do, but proceed with the Army under my Command, which hitherto have exerted themselves with the greatest Vigor and Spirit, in the great Labour they have undergone; I have done every thing in the Power of Man, to carry on this Expedition with Vigor, if any stop is made to it now, there can be no part laid to my Charge. For this stop you know I have long dreaded, as Six Weeks ago I wrote circular Letters to the Different Magistrates to give all their Aid and Assistance in procuring Waggons to the Contractor's Agents for Transporting Provisions, and that nothing has been neglected that Occur to me for Expediting this so necessary Branch of the Service.

I need not repeat to you the care I have hitherto been at to prevent our Parties from falling upon the Indians, lest, by mistake, it might have fallen upon those who are any wise well disposed to us, and who are, I hope by this time at Easton to meet you, where I hope you will as soon as possible bring things to an Issue, letting the Indians know that the Regard I had for them has been the only reason why I had not long ago fallen upon their Towns, Wives and Children, but that now I could no longer Stop from putting in Execution the Orders of the King, my master, against his Enemies, and all who joined with them.

As you will see Mr. Croghan, you will be so good as to send with those who will follow up to me as soon as possible, and pray, as soon as you can form any idea how matters are likely to turn out, let me know by Express; And I beg your Sentiments as to my Proceedings, if God grant us success against the Enemy; You see the Difficulty of leaving a Garrison there, and you know how your Province have put

it out of my power of leaving any of their Troops after the first of December, So I am really at a Loss what step I must take.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir, your most obed<sup>t</sup>. and Hume. Serv<sup>t</sup>.,

John Forbes.

P. S.—As I am willing to embrace every Measure for Carrying on the Service, I have wrote to Several of the Members of the Assembly, to desire their assistance in relation to Carriages, as I suppose you may think it proper to Lay my Letter before them.

Major Grant to General Forbes

Darlington's Fort Pitt and letters from the frontier, p.63

September 14, 1758

Sir:—If it had been in my power to write sooner, you will do me the justice to believe that I should have troubled you long before this time with an account of the detachment which marched the 9th of September from the Camp at Loyal Hanna.

We were lucky enough not to be discovered in our march, though several scouting parties passed very near us. We got to an advantageous post the 12th, about three in the afternoon, which, according to the information of all our guides, was ten or twelve miles from the French fort. I thought it was a proper place to encamp in, as I did not think it advisable to go nearer, for fear of being discovered; but I afterward found that our guides were much mistaken about the distance, for, as near as I can judge, the camp is about sixteen miles from the top of the Hill, where we were to take post. The 13th, at break of day, I sent Major Lewis, with 200 men, and our Indians, with orders to post men in ambuscade, about five miles from the fort, which was all the precaution I could take to prevent our being discovered in the camp. I flattered myself that, if a reconnoitering party was sent out, it might possibly fall into the ambuscade, and, in that case, in all probability they must have been killed or taken; and, if they had sent, in the event our plans succeeding, a second party from the fort, would have found the whole party ready to receive them. I ordered Mr. Chew to march with a party of fifteen or twenty men to reconnoitre the ground and to try, without exposing himself or the men, to draw a party of the enemy into the ambuscade.

He only went with three Indians, who soon left him, and, by that means, in place of returning to Major Lewis' about ten o'clock as I expected, he was obliged to conceal himself till night came on, and he joined me upon the march about eleven o'clock at night. But I would not be understood to reflect upon him; he is a good, brisk young lad. About three in the afternoon I marched forward to the rest of the detachment, and I found Major Lewis advantageously posted about four miles from our camp. The post, J was assured, was not seven miles



## LETTERS OF GENERAL FORBES

Letter containing account of the defeat of Major Grant  
Hazard's Register of Pennsylvania, v.7, p.125

Fort Du Quesne, Nov. 26th, 1758.

Sir,—Our march has been attended with innumerable difficulties, country wild and desolate, through and across mountains, where civilized man had not before trod, by Indian paths almost impracticable and harrassed at every step by merciless savages who hidden from our view would pour forth their deadly shot with impunity. As we approached the Fort the danger of a surprise became greater; the recollection of the defeat of Braddock made us cautious; I ordered Major Grant who was in the advance to guard against ambuscades.—That officer with three hundred men approached the Fort on the supposition that the French had withdrawn, when suddenly the hostile Indians rose on each side and poured forth a destructive fire and the Garrison numerous and strong rallied out and made a fierce and violent attack; the attack was on every side but Grant ordered retreat, the men formed a compact band and avowed the assailants by a resolute and determined combat. Many were killed, many were taken prisoners, but the success of the enemy met with a powerful check, for they came in contact with the body of the army being led on with skill and circumspection; met them boldly and compelled them to give up their attempts; the retreat of Grant was the last success of the enemy, they were convinced that all hopes of saving the Fort were fruitless; they withdrew to the Fort, destroyed most of the works, and went down the Ohio, in number exceeding five hundred men. On the twenty fourth the English Flag waved triumphantly over Fort Du Quesne. In the third year after the commencement of hostilities about that fortification, it fell into our hands after having kindled so fierce a flame in so destructive a war. With the change of masters it has assumed the name of Fort Pitt, and Pittsburg the propriety of which is too evident to require a justification of the change; two plans of operation have been judicious, extensive, vigorous and successful.

My health is still delicate.

With sentiments of respect

I remain yours, &c.

Forbes.

Captain Haslet to the Rev. Dr. Allison  
Rapp's History of western Pennsylvania, apx., p.301

Fort Duquesne, Nov. 26, 1758.

Rev'd Sir:—I have now the pleasure to write you from the ruins of the fort. On the 24th, at night we were informed by one of our Indian scouts, that he had discovered a cloud of smoke above the place, and soon after another came in with certain intelligence that it



Portrait of Brigadier General John Forbes presented to the Royal Greys Regiment by  
Colonel T. S. G. H. Robertson-Aikman, a collateral descendant. Reproduced through the  
agency of Mr. Henry King Stehneck.

# WRITINGS

of

## GENERAL JOHN FORBES

*Relating to his Service in North America*

*Compiled and Edited by*

ALFRED PROCTER JAMES, Ph.D.  
Professor of History, University of Pittsburgh

for

THE ALLEGHENY COUNTY COMMITTEE

of

THE PENNSYLVANIA SOCIETY

of the

COLONIAL DAMES

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only from day to day, so you may believe it is high time for me to Seperate.  
I am D<sup>r</sup>. S<sup>r</sup>

With great regard and esteem

Y<sup>r</sup>. Most obedt.

Most humble Serv<sup>t</sup>.

Jo: fforbes

30<sup>th</sup> November

[Endorsed:] Brigadier General Forbess's Letter of the 26<sup>th</sup> & 30<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup>.  
1758 in M. G. Amherst's of Dec<sup>r</sup>. 18<sup>th</sup> 1758

\* \* \* \* \*

*Forbes to Denny\**

[Pa. Col. Recs. VIII, 232.]

Fourt Duquesne, or now Pittsburgh, the 26 Nov<sup>r</sup>., 1758

Sir:

I have the Pleasure and Honour of Acquainting you with the Signal Success of his Majesty's Troops over all his Enemys on the Ohio, by having obliged them to Burn and abandon their Fort, Duquesne, which they effected upon the 24th Instant, And of which I took Possession with my little Army the next Day,—The Enemy having made their escape down the River, part in boats and part by Land, to their Forts, and Settlements on the Mississippi being abandoned, or at least not seconded by their Friends, the Indians, whom we had previously engaged to act a neutral part, And who now seem all willing and ready to Embrace His Majesty's Most gracious Protection.

So give me leave to congratulate you upon this publick event of having totally expelled the French from this Fort and this prodigious tract of fine Country, and of having in a manner reconciled the various Tribes of Indians inhabiting it to His Majesty's Government.

I have not time to give you a detail of our proceedings and approaches towards the Enemy, or of the Hardships and Difficulties that we necessarily met with; all that will soon come out, but I assure you, after receiving the Ground & Fort, I have great reason to be most thankful for the part that the French have acted.

\* Also printed *Pa. Arch.* 2nd series VI, 432; and Stewart, *Letters of General John Forbes*, p. 69. Varying copies of this document exist, in H.S.P. Penn Papers, Official Correspondence; P.R.O. C.O. 5:54, pp. 49-50; and elsewhere. Since the content is the same, the matter of determining the relation of the copies to each other is not carried out.

As the Conquest of this Country is of the greatest Consequence to the adjacent Provinces, by securing the Indians, our real Friends, for their own Advantages, I have therefore sent for their Head People to come to me, when I think in few Words and few Days to make every thing easy; I shall then set out to kiss your Hands, if I have the Strength enough left to carry me through the Journey.

I shall be obliged to leave about Two Hundred Men of your Provincial Troops to join a proportion of Virginia and Marylanders, in order to protect this Country during Winter, by which Time I hope the Province will be so sensible of the great Benefit of this new Acquisition, as to enable me to fix this noble, fine Country, to all Perpetuity, under the Dominion of Great Britain.

I beg the Barracks may be put in good repair, and proper Lodging for the Officers, and that you will send me, with the greatest Dispatch, your opinion how I am to dispose of the rest of your Provincial Troops for the ease and Convenience of the Province and the Inhabitants.

You may also remember that Colonel Montgomery's Battalion of Thirteen Hundred Men, and Four Companies of Royal Americans, are after so long and tedious a Campaign, to be taken care of in some Comfortable Winter Quarters.

I kiss all your Hands, and flatter myself that if I get to Philadelphia, under your Cares and good Companys, I shall yet run a good Chance of re-establishing a Health that I run the risque of ruining to give your Province all the Satisfaction in the Power of my weak Abilities.

I am, Sir, with great Esteem and regard,

Your most Obedient and Hum<sup>le</sup>. Servant,

Governor Denny

Jo. Forbes.

[Endorsed:] Copy A Letter from Gen. Forbes to Gov<sup>r</sup> Denny Nov. 26<sup>th</sup>  
1758 in M. G. Amrherst of Jan<sup>ry</sup> 18<sup>th</sup> 1759

P.S.—I must beg that you will recommend to your Assembly the building of a Block House and Saw Mill upon the Kisskaminities, near Loyal Hannon, as a thing of the utmost Consequence to their Province, if they have any intention of profiting by this Acquisition.

I send the New Levies to Carlisle, so beg you will loose no time in sending up Mr. Young, the Commissary, to clear them.

\* \* \* \* \*