CUMBERLAND County History

Summer/Winter 2008

Volume Twenty-five
Number One-Two

In This Issue

Contributions Solicited

The editor invites articles, notes, or documents on the history of Cumberland County and its people. Such articles may deal with new areas of research or may review what has been written and published in the past.

Manuscripts should be typed double-spaced. Citations should also be double-spaced; they should be placed at the end of the text. Electronic submissions should be in Word format with any suggested graphics digitized.

Authors should follow the rules set out in the *Chicago Manual of Style*.

Queries concerning the content and form of contributions may be sent to the Editor at the Society.

Membership and Subscription

The basic annual membership fee of the Cumberland County Historical Society is $40. All members receive Cumberland County History as part of their membership. Individual issues may be purchased for $7 each.

Correspondence concerning membership and subscriptions should be addressed to the Executive Director at the Society.

Cumberland County Historical Society
21 North Pitt Street
P.O. Box 626
Carlisle, PA 17013

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CUMBERLAND COUNTY HISTORY

Cumberland County Historical Society and Hamilton Library Association: Carlisle

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Two ceramic soldier figurines from a collection of military figurines in the Cumberland County Historical Society Museum's collections. The two soldiers show the uniforms of members of the Royal American Regiment, circa 1756.

Contributors

Ben Scharff is a graduate of Wake Forest and Slippery Rock Universities with degrees in history and anthropology. He is currently an adjunct professor of history at Robert Morris University and a graduate assistant at West Virginia University where he is working in a doctoral program. He has written and lectured on a variety of historical topics with a particular interest in the French and Indian War. This is his first submission to the Journal.

Tad Miller is a retired Air Force communications officer who relocated to Cumberland County two years ago. He has been very active in the museum community since his retirement. He currently volunteers at the Historical Society's Photo Archives, Education Center, and Library. In addition, he is a docent at the Society's Museum, the Smithsonian's National Museum of American History, and at Fort Frederick State Park in Maryland. He is involved with French and Indian War reenactment activities as a member of Maryland Forces, a recreated regular army unit raised by the Colony of Maryland to protect its western settlers. This is his first submission to the Journal.

Carla Christiansen is a retired intelligence analyst with a long-standing interest in American military history. A new volunteer at the CCHS Hamilton Library, she has been helping to research and highlight the Library's wealth of archival material from the 18th century. This is her first article for the Journal.

Editor's Note

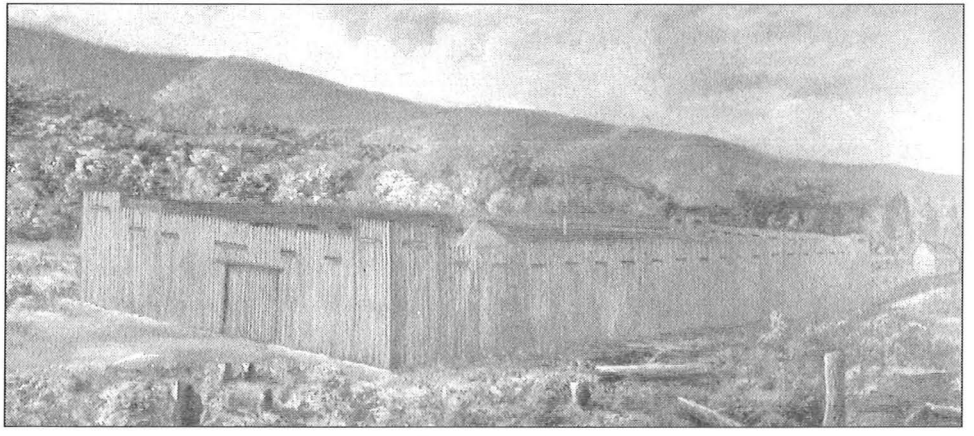
This issue of Cumberland County History is focused on the theme of the French and Indian War. A variety of observances have been and continue to be held in commemoration of the 250th anniversary of this conflict. This issue is presented in recognition of that anniversary.

The first article, written by Ben Scharff, presents an analysis of colonial armament at the beginning of the conflict in 1756. Scharff presents interesting arguments regarding the lack of armament owned by the local citizenry and how the colonial government in Pennsylvania responded to the military demands of the time.

In the second article, Tad Miller provides an overview of the war as it played out in Cumberland County, particularly in 1758. Miller originally presented the information in the article as a talk given to the Historical Society in the winter of 2008.

In the final article, Carla Christiansen presents a detailed analysis of a military orderly book from 1759 held in the archives at the Society. In the past year Carla has transcribed the orderly book (available at the Hamilton Library), and following careful study of the information gleaned from it, she provides an interpretation of what was occurring between Carlisle and points to the west in the year following the establishment of the Forbes Road.

David L. Smith



Artist's conception of the French and Indian War fort erected in Carlisle during the conflict

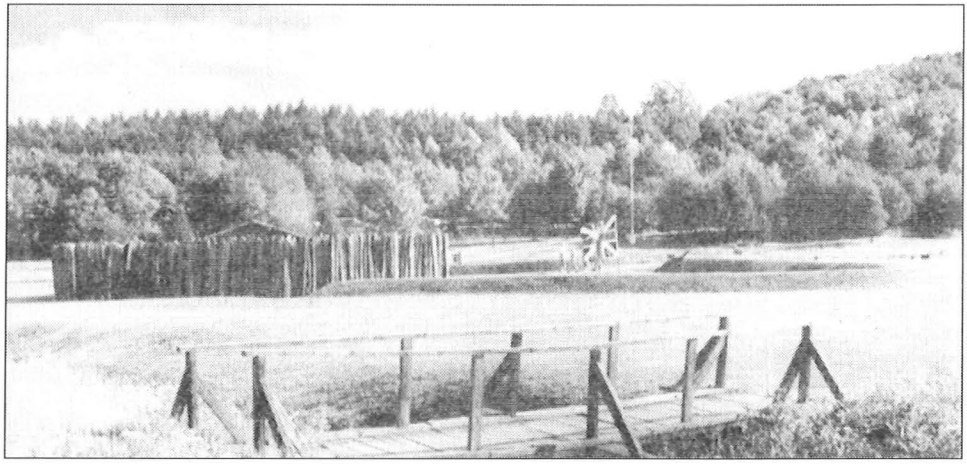
Cumberland County Historical Society Museum Collection

Great Uncertainty: Pennsylvania's Defensive Measures in 1756

by Ben Scharff

In 1754 and 1755, Great Britain suffered two humiliating defeats in North America at the hands of the French. First, Colonel George Washington faced the French at a hastily built fortification in western Pennsylvania named Fort Necessity. After a short skirmish, Washington conceded defeat and surrendered his predominantly provincial command to the combined French and Indian force opposing him.

The following year, Britain committed a regular army under the command of General Edward Braddock to the developing North American struggle. Braddock, like Washington before him, had received orders to gain control of the Forks of the Ohio at present day Pittsburgh. As Braddock's troops marched



Fort Necessity as restored by the National Park Service
"Pennsylvania: The Heritage of a Commonwealth, Vol. 1" by Sylvester K. Stevens, American Historical Company, Inc., 1968.
Hamilton Library Collection

confidently through the forests and mountains of western Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, Pennsylvanians at home shared the troops' confidence in ultimate success. Philadelphians even launched a campaign to raise funds to purchase fireworks in order to celebrate Braddock's anticipated victory. Benjamin Franklin, in a typical act of caution, refused to contribute, warning that, "[t]he events of war are subject to great uncertainty."[1] Franklin proved more prescient than he knew, for Braddock ultimately marched towards defeat. Like Washington the year before, Braddock also suffered a humiliating defeat at the hands of the French and their Indian allies. Where Washington's defeat in 1754 had created dismay in the colonies, Braddock's defeat caused panic. Colonists, after all, had considered Braddock's redcoated army invincible against the ragtag French and Indian foe. With the subsequent disintegration of Braddock's army, the colonial frontiers became open to attack.

In a way, the optimism of Philadelphians during the summer of 1755, as demonstrated by their collection of funds for fireworks, reflected the apathy with which Pennsylvania's government treated armed conflict. Most Pennsylvanians, from private citizens to Assembly members, assumed that Braddock would be victorious; the King's Army would deal with the French and Indian problem. When events contradicted popular expectation, the provincial government's previous inattention to their own military needs left many Pennsylvanians almost completely defenseless against the coming onslaught of Indian raiding parties. The colonial government's frantic efforts to create a military from scratch, combined with grassroots militarization on the individual level, ultimately changed the culture of the colony as a whole. Familiarity with firearms and warfare, where it had not been widespread before, became the legacy of frontier warfare in Pennsylvania during the Seven Years' War.

Pennsylvania's military inaction before Braddock's defeat was the legacy of its history and leadership to that point. Quaker leaders, who had traditionally been in positions of power, had long resisted any type of military buildup in the colony. A history of peaceful relations with Indians, inaugurated by proprietor William Penn, meant that there had been little need to develop Pennsylvania's military institutions. And finally, the colony's remoteness from New France to the north and New Spain to the south had effectively buffered it from previous imperial conflicts.[2] As a result, Pennsylvania had not previously felt the need, much less the desire, to create a military.

These conditions left Pennsylvania woefully unprepared for war in 1756. It had no active government fortifications, public armories, or military institutions.[3] As late as King George's War in the 1740s, Pennsylvanians had remained largely indifferent to military preparation. On November 13, 1747, Ohio Indians under

the leadership of Scaroudy had arrived in Philadelphia seeking assistance from Pennsylvania against French incursions. They asked Pennsylvania's leaders to "put more Fire under your Kettle."[4] Unlike the Seven Years' War a decade later, many Indians would actually have preferred the English as allies in the 1740s. In response to the Indian request, Pennsylvania provided little more than some material support and several volunteer companies of soldiers.[5]

In 1755, Governor Robert Hunter Morris quickly identified Pennsylvania's defenselessness. He informed the Pennsylvania Assembly:

> "This unfortunate and unexpected change in our affairs [referring to Braddock's defeat] deeply affects every one of his Majesty's Colonies, but none of them in so sensible a manner as this province; while having no militia it is hereby left exposed to the cruel incursions of the French and barbarous Indians, who delight in shedding human blood, and who made no distinction as to age or sex; to those that are armed against them, or such as they can surprise in their peaceful habitations, all are alike the objects of their cruelty—slaughtering the tender infant and frightened mother, with equal joy and fierceness. To such enemies, spurred by the native cruelty of their tempers, encouraged by their late success, and having now no army to fear, are the inhabitants of this province exposed; and by such may we now expect to be overrun, if we do not immediately prepare for our own defence."[6]

The governor understood the situation of his citizens, but could not immediately act on their defense. Others, however, proved willing and ready to react.

Experienced frontiersmen, such as George Croghan, Andrew Montour, and Conrad Weiser, quickly stepped in. Croghan and Montour formed volunteer companies of traders and Indians.[7] Weiser raised several hundred Berks County men, many of whom arrived armed only with axes and pitchforks. These men rushed to Harris' Ferry on the Susquehanna River to blunt an expected French advance into eastern Pennsylvania. When the attack did not materialize, the men returned home. Eventually, however, a loose defensive perimeter began to form along the arc of inhabited country.[8]

Pennsylvania had become a victim of the differences between the French and the British strategies in North America. Even as the British military recovered from Braddock's defeat in 1755, their strategy focused more upon capturing great forts and citadels. French arms, however, focused more upon the harassment of the English colonists.[9] Pennsylvania, as a result, had been left to its own devices after the defeat of Braddock, and by the end of 1756, over 900 people had been either killed or captured by hostile Indian war parties.[10]

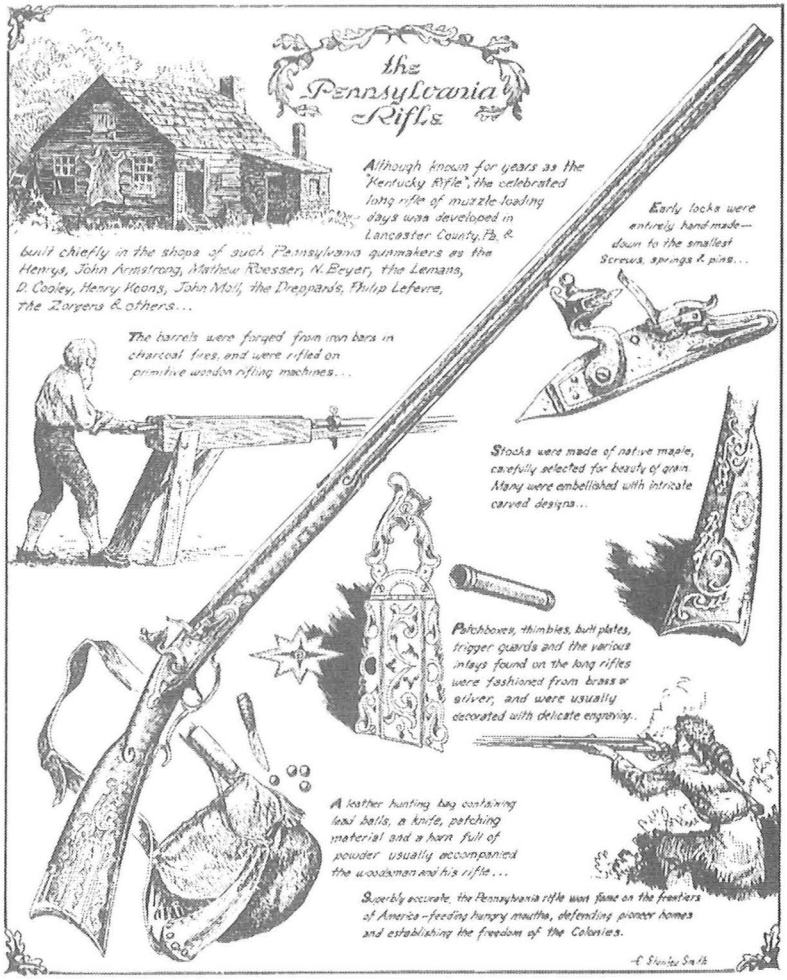
If many of the men from Weiser's Berks County contingent went without firearms to Harris' Ferry to stop the expected French army in 1755, it is evident that some of them either did not have or had difficulty obtaining such weapons. The French, after all, had already defeated Braddock's ostensibly invincible army of redcoats. Available evidence suggests that Pennsylvanians possessed few firearms at the outbreak of the conflict. Beginning on April 10, 1755, private shipments of weapons began arriving in Philadelphia. Notice of firearm shipments appeared in the Pennsylvania Gazette.[11] The use of advertisements suggests that the government had not contracted for these arms. Instead, merchants aimed their sales pitches at private citizens. The steadiness of these shipments further suggests that a substantial demand existed in the province of Pennsylvania. Finally, this apparent high demand suggests that large numbers of Pennsylvanians had either not owned firearms previously or did not own them in quantities sufficient to take their existing firearms with them, as doing so would have left their families unprotected at home.

The requirements of the second Militia Law, passed in May of 1756, further demonstrate the scarcity of appropriate firearms in Pennsylvania. Among other things, it required every man between seventeen and fifty to "provide himself with one well fixed Muscat, or Fuses, with a worm and Priming Wine." Those deemed too poor to purchase arms received funds from their militia company to arm themselves. Funds came from fines levied on disciplinary infractions, a result of prohibitions against physical punishments in the militia law.[12] Leaders in Philadelphia apparently understood that their fellow citizens possessed few firearms, because they first required and then provided for the arming of every adult male in the province. Thomas Barton, an Anglican minister on the Pennsylvania frontier, confirmed the leaders' assessment, noting, "not a man in ten is able to purchase a gun."[13] The picture of a poorly armed Pennsylvania citizenry in 1756 seems clear enough, and it is further reinforced by accounts of unarmed Pennsylvanians in the years to follow.

In 1758, Britain launched its first major campaign in Pennsylvania since Braddock's defeat nearly three years earlier. The successful Kittanning Raid, although not a major campaign, had been led by Lt. Colonel John Armstrong in September of 1756. It was a notable exception to the failure of British forces to take control of the region.

General John Forbes assumed command of several thousand colonial and regular troops. Finding it difficult to provide enough firearms for his provincials, the general struck on a plan. He decided "to encourage the provincials to bring their own arms, and that some allowance should be made them for the use of them."[14] It seems like a fair deal, and cash-strapped colonists should

have responded to the offer. Despite the financial incentive, however, reports indicate that two thirds of the new soldiers arrived unarmed.[15] They did not bring firearms because many did not possess them or could not bring them and leave their families without. At the close of the campaign, Colonel Henry Bouquet, Forbes' second in command, expressed some surprise at the success of the mission, given the inexperience of his provincial soldiers, "A great number of whom," he wrote, "had never seen a musket."[16] Even as late as 1763 in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvanians remained largely unarmed. When Indians attacked this far-flung outpost during Pontiac's War, Captain Simon Ecuyer, the com-



The Pennsylvania Rifle
Historic Pennsylvania Leaflet Series: no. 4,
Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1955.
Hamilton Library Collection

manding officer at Fort Pitt, reported having to arm the local settlers to aid in defense of Fort Pitt.[17] Pennsylvanians therefore appear not to have had firearms in large quantities in 1758 or in 1763, well after hostilities began. It seems logical therefore that there would have been even fewer firearms available at the outbreak of the earlier frontier war in 1756.

Assuming that Pennsylvanians slowly began to arm themselves after 1755, the types of weapons they possessed proved to be widely varied. The aforementioned advertisements indicate muskets, fuses, trading guns, blunderbusses, shotguns, and fowling pieces as popular firearms.[18] It seems reasonable to assume that former Indian traders sold trade guns to colonists as well. Rifles, too, appear in the record. Bouquet notes them among the soldiers who did arrive with weapons in the 1758 campaign.[19] Thus, those Pennsylvanians who did arm themselves looked to a variety of suppliers, and the result was a wide array of weaponry.

Sidearms represented the complement to the firearm. The same advertisements containing firearms for sale unfailingly listed bayonets and swords. The term "tomahawk" never appears.[20] Tomahawks certainly saw use by colonists, but they must have been purchased from traders, not import merchants. A preference for bayonets and swords, as indicated by the ads, makes sense. British regulars carried bayonets and swords and Pennsylvania's new citizen soldiers may have wanted to model themselves after these professional soldiers. Furthermore, the distance of combat allowed by the parry of a bayonet and sword, compared to the close-in fighting required by a tomahawk, may have been attractive to amateur soldiers. On the other hand, it is also possible that the close-in fighting advantage of the tomahawk or hatchet would have been preferred by frontier fighters. Many firearms, however, did not allow for the attachment of a bayonet. Considering the variability of colonial firearms, tomahawks (or small axes and hatchets) must have remained a cheap alternative to the bayonet and sword.

The terms "tomahawk" and "hatchet" often appear to be interchangeable in eighteenth century primary sources. However, a study of the advertisements indicates subtle but important differences. Hatchets often contain prefixes such as "lathing," "shingling," or "joining". When listed generically, hatchets were always listed with tools, not weapons,[21] denoting the intended function of the hatchet. It thus seems apparent that eighteenth century people specifically considered hatchets to be tools. This is not to contend that soldiers did not carry hatchets, because primary sources indicate that they did. Rather, this observation lends support to the belief that many soldiers went to war carrying what was in their minds a tool, as a weapon. When eighteenth century militiamen carried hatchets as weapons, therefore, it may suggest that they did so because of inadequate supply levels in the case of regulars, or poverty in the case of militias.

Pennsylvania's early efforts at militarization suffered from an acute lack of experience in both warfare and firearm use. Pennsylvania had never fought a war. As James Smith, a Pennsylvania soldier in both the Seven Years' War and the American Revolution, recalled, "except the New Englanders, who had formerly been engaged in war, with the Indians, we were unacquainted with any kind of war."[22] Berks County leaders agreed, complaining to Philadelphia, "we have... no officers practiced in war."[23] Limited familiarity with firearms, resulting from low ownership numbers, also hampered Pennsylvania's efforts. The recruits were comprised of laborers and artisans in addition to frontier farmers. The farmers probably had experience with firearms, but laborers and artisans likely did not. In an attempt to train his raw soldiers in 1758, Forbes decided, "if any of the Provincials want Powder to practice to drop them a Barrel" and to "leave Directions with some good Officer concerning the Exercise of the new Levies in fireing at Marks."[24] Even if they had been outfitted with the finest weapons in the world, and they certainly had not been, Pennsylvania's first soldiers were woefully lacking in experience.

The very nature of citizen soldiers further eroded their effectiveness. The first Militia Act, passed in November of 1755, stated that militia units could not march more than three days from a settlement or be left at a garrison for more than three weeks, in an attempt to appease citizen-soldiers anxious about their homes and responsibilities.[25] Even with these extremely low expectations, Pennsylvania leaders found it difficult to force citizens to protect themselves. The pull of local domestic concerns, the bane of militias the world over, proved too strong. In February 1756, Weiser noted that settlers "begin to be secure again, and are tired of keeping watch."[26] Apparently, if attacks did not occur frequently, settlers lost interest in defense. In an effort to maintain interest, Governor Morris created a financial incentive. A policy of providing payment for Indian scalps and prisoners began on April 15, 1756.[27] How much this measure affected colonial interest in defense remains difficult to determine. It did not, however, significantly slow Indian raids into the settlements.

The lack of arms, distance between homes and settlements, limited experience, and ineffectiveness of organized defense meant that citizens remained vulnerable to Indian raiders. Sometimes, settlers did fight off Indian attackers. One report stated, "[w]e hear...that an Indian came to the House of Philip Robinson...carrying a green Bush before him; but being discovered he got safe off, tho' fired at by said Robinson."[28] Although the astute Robinson's ability to identify a moving bush as unnatural was noteworthy, Pennsylvanians tended more often to be reactionary. While they generally possessed the ability to respond to Indian attacks, they did not prevent or destroy their ability to launch

them. In exasperation, Morris wrote to Governor Robert Dinwiddie of Virginia that Indians quit the area and went elsewhere when confronted with armed settlers.[29] It is an understatement to say that Indians proved difficult to defeat for the citizens of Pennsylvania, with the previously mentioned Kittanning Raid being an exception to this.

Citizen soldiers could also be described as glorified gravediggers. In November, 1755, Captain Jacob Morgan set out "to get Intelligence of the Mischief done at Tolheo, or thereabouts, and to get a Number of Men to join them to go and seek for the Persons who were scalped by the Indians, and to help, in the best Manner they could, the poor distressed Inhabitants."[30] Although he was on a noble, humanitarian mission, Morgan's goals underscore the lack of effectiveness amongst Pennsylvanians. He set out to clean up after the Indians, not to catch and punish them. The destruction reached wide and far. While following the path of the raiding party, Morgan and his men found and buried ten dead at seven different locations. One of the dead, Caspar Spring, had his "[b]rains... beat out...two cuts in his Breasts, shot in the Back, and otherwise cruelly used, which a Regard to Decency forbids mentioning." Another victim, named Beslinger, was found with his "[b]rains beat out, his Mouth much mangled, one of his Eyes cut out, and one of his Ears gashed, and had two Knives lying on his Breasts." Besides burying the dead, the recovery of one scalped, yet miraculously alive, child represented one of the few positive results of Morgan's mission.[31]

On another occasion, local citizens again pursued a particularly destructive raiding party. They arrived at Coombes Fort where they found "only four Men in this Fort, two of which were unable to bear Arms; but upwards of forty Women and Children, who were in a very poor Situation, being afraid to go out of the Fort, even for a Drink of Water."[32] Although this account unfortunately does not indicate why the two men could not carry arms, it does emphasize Pennsylvanians' inability to deal with Indians in the woods. Not only did the tracking party not catch the Indians, the settlers in the fort had been unable to even retrieve fresh water for fear of Indian attack.

On only one major occasion did a group of citizen soldiers catch up with an Indian raiding party. The results probably made others feel fortunate that they themselves had never caught such a party. Around April 1, 1756, a small private stockade named McCord's Fort fell to the Indians. All twenty-seven of its occupants either died or became captives.[33] Three groups pursued the perpetrators; one group caught up to the raiders at Sideling Hill with disastrous results. During a two-hour engagement, in which many men reported firing twenty-four rounds apiece (actually quite a lot for a black powder firearm), twenty men died and twelve received wounds.[34] Among the dead lay the com-

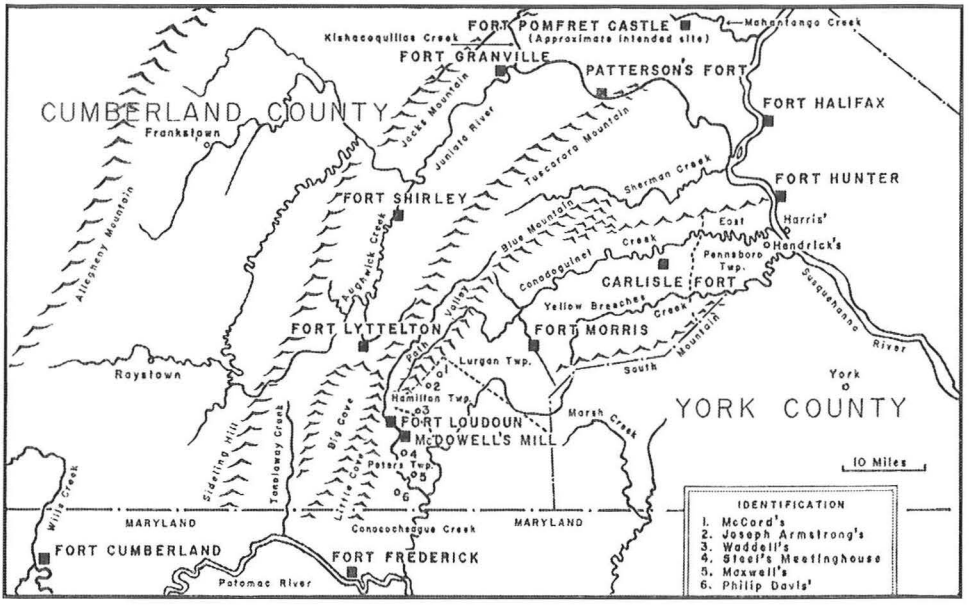
manding officer, Captain Alex Culbertson. In initial reports, soldiers claimed to have inflicted similar losses on the Indians. The Indians, they claimed, carried off their dead.[35] Later that fall, however, one of the prisoners from McCord's Fort escaped and returned east. Another man by the name of John Cox reported that one Indian had been killed at McCord's Fort and four had been slain at Sideling Hill. One of the killed was a captive the Pennsylvanians had been trying to rescue.[36] According to Cox, fifty-nine Pennsylvanians had been killed, captured, or wounded. The Indians had lost four. It represented a much more terrible defeat than first reported.

With their inability to halt Indian raids, settlers faced a choice. They could remain and defend their property or flee with their lives. In the chaos that ensued, some communities that had been previously buffered by others found themselves on the fringe of the colony. One man expressed his indecision, writing:

> "We are in the greatest Distress here. Besides the Danger we are exposed to, and the Shortness of our Crops, we are now full of People, who have been obliged to leave their Plantations, to avoid falling into the Hands of the Savages. Poor as we are, we can rescue a little Part of our poor Stock to our Fellow Subjects, who are reduced to begging their Bread. Last Friday the Indians killed three Men in the Gap of the Mountain; and we have certain Accounts that there is a large Body, who, we expect, will fall upon this Settlement. This Day we have an Account that 3 or 4 Persons have been killed by the Savages near the Line. We don know what to do; hard to give up our Livings, and yet, unless we are assisted, that will be the best we are to expect. The people about ten or twelve Miles beyond us have left their Plantations upon this Alarm. JOSEPH MAYHEW."[37]

Mayhew's decision remains unknown, but his situation represents the plight of those similarly situated in Pennsylvania who suddenly found themselves on the front line of defense. The Pennsylvania government, however, had already set plans in motion to relieve this difficult situation. The government, through the establishment of a chain of frontier forts, attempted to defend the outermost defensive positions in the colony.

In the winter of 1755–1756, the Pennsylvania government built Forts Shirley, Loudon, George, and Granville.[38] They represented the government's presence west of the Susquehanna River. Morris took great pride in his efforts, writing to William Shirley in Massachusetts on February 9th, 1756, "[t]his [Fort Shirley] stands near the great path used by the Indians and Indians traders, to and from the Ohio, and consequently the easiest way of access for the Indians into the settlements of this Province." He went on:



Forts in Cumberland County circa 1756
"Forts on the Pennsylvania Frontier, 1753-1758" by William A. Hunter, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1960.
Hamilton Library Collection

> "This fort [Lyttleton] will not only protect the inhabitants in that part of the Province, but being upon a road that within a few miles joins General Braddocks road, it will prevent the march of any regulars into the Province and at the same time serve as an advance post or magazine in case of an attempt to the westward. For these reasons I have caused it to be built in a regular form, so that it may, in a little time and at a small expense, be so strengthened as to hold out against cannon."[39]

Apparently, the governor expected plenty of foreknowledge of a French attack, because other assessments of the fort did not agree with his. The French noted that the English "construct several pretended forts; that is to say to enclose a number of dwellings of stockades."[40] When General Forbes arrived in 1758, moreover, his description of Fort Lyttleton came closer to the French assessment than Morris's.[41]

Morris's plan called for seventy-five professional government troops in each fort.[42] A report dated February 23, 1756, indeed suggests that seventy-five men garrisoned each fort.[43] The actual existence of full, seventy-five man garrisons, however, remains questionable. By the spring and summer of 1756 the garrisons certainly did not possess these numbers. Captain Hugh Mercer, commander at

Fort Shirley, wrote to Morris on April 18, "I am now about filling my company to sixty men."[44] Fort Granville as well did not possess the recommended seventy-five men when Indians arrived on July 22.[45] Thus, at least half the government forts remained undermanned into the spring and summer of 1756.

If the government forts lacked substance and adequate manpower, Pennsylvanians could at least initially take solace in the professionalism of their troops. No militia, these provincial units received pay and training. A twentieth century historian wrote romantically of these soldiers, "[e]very man was a frontiersman, large and sinewy, toughened by hardships in the forests, and a dead shot."[46] Unfortunately for Pennsylvania settlers, provincial soldiers had neither military experience, patriotic fervor, nor necessarily any admirable physical traits.

Soldiers in the Pennsylvania provincial regiment did not necessarily possess more military experience than the average citizen. On April 18, 1756, Captain Mercer lamented to the governor, "I am sorry to observe that numbers of our best men have declined the service."[47] Another officer, Captain Joseph Shippen, had an even more scathing impression of his troops. "If we attempt to personate soldiers in the field," he wrote, "we shall soon be hissed off the military stage... [having only]...raw men unacquainted with discipline and obedience to command."[48] Part of the problem lay with the government. Although the governor disagreed, Pennsylvania's assembly believed that many experienced soldiers would reenlist. Most soldiers, however, chose not to rejoin and went home after short three, six, or twelve-month enlistments.[49] Thus, accrued military experience was wasted when the soldiers went home.

Patriotic fervor does not appear a prime motivator for many of the provincial soldiers either. More than sixty percent of the men had been laborers or tradesmen before enlisting.[50] This disproportionate number suggests economic motivations. Wage earners depend more heavily on an economy's well being than do farmers who have the advantage of being able to survive off the product of their labor. Furthermore, more than seventy five percent of Pennsylvania's professional soldiers were recent immigrants.[51] Joseph Turner, a Philadelphia merchant, noted:

> "almost all the Pallentines who came in familys could no[t] be Disposed of, none cared to be encumbered with them for breeding women brought charges to a family more than the Husband Earn'd[.] many such family were Suffer'd to go into the back parts on their own Security who now...are undone & some of them from any thing we know are in a Starving condition. Hardly able to maintain themselves...the Husbands have lately Enlisted."[52]

On the fringe of colonial society both literally and figuratively, immigrants were subject to the same economic issues as laborers and tradesmen. They too, it seems, enlisted in the military service as a result of economic concerns. Such a situation did not lend itself to a dedicated professional military.

Physically, the soldiers in the Pennsylvania Regiment do not mirror the romantic image sometimes attributed to them. Descriptions in desertion notices shed light on the true features of these men. Joseph Scott stood six feet high with a light, slender make. John Bastick and Richard Mercer stood five feet seven inches high. Finally, Abraham Freehold stood five feet five inches tall, and one of his shoulders lay higher than the other.[53] What type of deformity Freehold had remains unclear, but it apparently seemed so notable that it could be used as an identifying mark. Clearly, then, Pennsylvania's provincials did not possess the superhuman attributes sometimes attributed to them.

Pennsylvania's professional soldiers also did not necessarily end up better armed than private citizens. When George Croghan briefly commanded at Fort Shirley, he received from the Pennsylvania government two hundred tomahawks, one swivel gun, and twenty-nine small arms with which to arm his men. Croghan, who had been an Indian trader, apparently outfitted the remainder of his men from his own supplies. Captain Mercer inherited the problem when he assumed command of the post. "I have given Mr. Croghan a receipt," he wrote the governor on April 18, "for what arms and other necessary articles belonging to him are at Fort Shirley...and find it impossible to arm my men... without them. The guns are preferable to those belonging to the government and I hope will be purchased for our use."[54] Finally, late in the summer of 1756 the situation began to improve. Colonel John Armstrong, commander of all Pennsylvania forces west of the Susquehanna, reported sending one hundred muskets and two hundred fusils just imported from England to the western posts.[55] Up until that time, Pennsylvania's soldiers had been armed almost as poorly as private citizens.

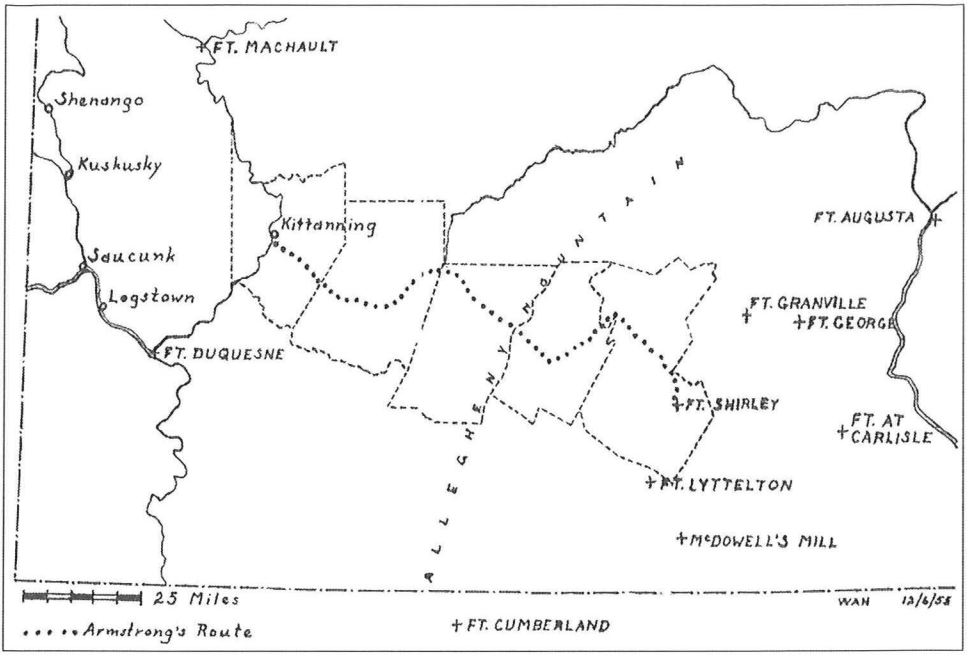
As the previously discussed aspects of the Pennsylvania Regiment show, it perhaps comes as a less of a surprise that the performance of that unit did not outshine the work of citizen soldiers. Armstrong assumed command of the second battalion (all forces west of the Susquehanna) on May 11, 1756, with orders to range the woods in each direction from the forts.[56] Morris apparently believed this plan would work, berating Major James Burd because "the Indians who committed those last murders must have passed near where ye Fort was order'd to be built."[57] The French already knew what Morris did not: the plan contained flaws. "In vain," stated a French dispatch, "did these provinces which have no Indians to aid them, levy and pay a thousand men, at the opening of this

campaign, who dressed and painted themselves in the Indian fashion; in vain did they send them to scour the woods."[58] The inability of Pennsylvania's soldiers to function in the woods appears to be part of a larger issue. Problems with ranging, scouting, or spying became more apparent in the months to come.

In September 1756, Colonel Armstrong led a raid against the Indian stronghold of Kittanning. Six guides, including Thomas Burke and James Chalmers, had been hired in addition to the rangers to help guide the army to its destination.[59] Failures by these men seriously compromised Armstrong's mission. As the army marched towards the village, soldiers spotted a campfire. After an inquiry, Armstrong's spies informed him that three or four Indians camped near the flames. Detouring the main army around the fire, the colonel left twelve men under Lieutenant Hogg with orders to attack the camp at dawn. When the soldiers made their attack, they found more than twenty Indians opposing them. Whether wiped out or forced to flee, the soldiers suffered terribly from the spies' misinformation.[60] A short distance away, Armstrong split his army into two columns. One attacked the village directly while the other hooked around on a ridge to the right. The latter apparently got lost and never entered the battle.[61] In his post-battle report, Armstrong claimed, "rather than by the Pilots we were guided by the beating of the Drum and the Whooping of the Warriors at their Dance."[62] How one wing could hear the noise but the other could not remains a mystery, but the events at Kittanning ultimately led Armstrong to a startling conclusion.

In his post-battle report, the colonel cast doubt upon the abilities of his woodsmen. Not only did he blame "the Ignorance of our Pilots who neither know the true Situation of the Town nor the best Paths that lead thereto," for his limited success, but he thought "it appear'd they had not been nigh enough the Town either to perceive the true Situation of it, the Number of the Enemy, or what Way it might most advantageously attack'd."[63] In short, Armstrong believed that his scouts had not gone anywhere near the town. Interestingly, Colonel Henry Bouquet came to a similar conclusion in 1758. While the army sat idle at Fort Bedford during several months of the prime campaigning season, Bouquet sent out numerous ranging parties to Fort Duquesne.[64] After several instances of incredibly poor intelligence, Bouquet began to suspect the troops had gone nowhere near the fort.[65] Considering the difficulties colonial troops experienced in the woods, Pennsylvania's failures to defend itself in 1756 comes as no surprise.

The evidence of Pennsylvania's failure lay all around it. Colonel Armstrong indicated to the governor that the government forts could not protect the citizens, warning him, "the new settlements being all fled except Shearman's



John Armstrong and the Kittanning Raid
Historic Pennsylvania Leaflet Series: no. 17,
Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1956.
Hamilton Library Collection

Valley, whom if God do not preserve we fear will suffer very soon."[66] In York country, where three thousand people had once resided, less than one hundred remained.[67] Finally, by August 19, the Juniata and Shearman Valleys had been deserted.[68] Pennsylvania's citizens had lost faith in their government's ability to protect them.

The greatest signal of Pennsylvania's failure occurred on July 30, 1756 with the destruction of Fort Granville. On July 22, sixty Indians had appeared outside the gates and demanded that the garrison present themselves for battle. The commander, Captain Edward Ward, wisely declined. When the Indians appeared to break up and scatter, Ward took roughly half the garrison and marched away to protect harvesters.[69] Several days later, then commanding officer Lieutenant Edward Armstrong (younger brother of Colonel John Armstrong) was dismayed to see the reappearance of the Indian party. With only twenty-four men, the garrison held out until Armstrong fell dead. The garrison subsequently surrendered itself and the civilians who had taken shelter within the fort.[70] Escaped prisoners later reported that only two Indians had been killed during the assault.[71] Although several private forts had been captured in Pennsylvania, the

fall of Fort Granville represented an embarrassing setback for the professional forces. The Indians had destroyed one of the forts Morris had bragged about, defended by the best troops that Pennsylvania could muster. If questions about Pennsylvania's defensive strategy had not already risen in people's minds, they must have now.

Despite Pennsylvania's failure to defend its population, the government still had its backers. In December, 1757, William Franklin, son of Benjamin Franklin, argued:

> "That even the Colony of New York, with all its own Forces, a great Body of New England Troops encamped on its Frontier, and the regular Army under Lord Loudoun, posted in different Places, has not been able to secure its Inhabitants from Scalping by the Indians; who coming secretly in very small Parties, skulking in the Woods, must sometimes have it in their Power to surprise and destroy Travellers, or single Families settled in scattered Plantations, notwithstanding all the Care that can possibly be taken by any Government for their Protection. Centinels posted round an Army, while standing on their Guard, with Arms in their Hands, are often killed and scalped by Indians. How much easier must it be for such an Enemy to destroy a Ploughman at Work in his field?"[72]

Franklin's defense of the Pennsylvania government illuminates several points concerning the government's ability to protect its citizens in 1756. In a comparison with the colony of New York, which had regulars and troops from other colonies upon its frontier, Pennsylvania had fared no worse. Virginia experienced the loss of many settlers as well, and had attempted a defense similar to that of Pennsylvania. In a letter written to Colonel George Washington, Governor Dinwiddie expressed his dissatisfaction with the chains of forts garrisoned by small parties of men. He informed Washington confidentially that the forts were to be built for political reasons and appearances rather than for successfully halting the raids.[73] Other colonies, such as Virginia, with more military experience than Pennsylvania and with previously established military institutions, had yet to develop a defense capable of stopping Indian raiding parties. Pennsylvania's failure does not seem quite so complete from this perspective. The government had faced an almost impossible task. Building a military practically overnight should be considered a success in its own right. And the situation did improve.

By the time of Forbes' campaign in 1758, Pennsylvanians had defended their frontiers alone for over two years. If only due to practice, military experience developed. Washington's First Virginia Regiment and Armstrong's Second

Pennsylvania Battalion had seen similar duty at the forts on the frontiers of their respective colonies. The actions of both units during the Forbes Expedition extracted compliments from regular British officers.[74] The learning process that these units went through apparently paid dividends. The colony as a whole, after another generation of experience with firearms and participation in occasional Indian wars, proved much better prepared to defend itself in 1775 than in 1756.

The common experience of the generation reared between 1756 and 1775 proved vastly different than the experience of the generation before it. These differences were a direct result of Pennsylvania's societal changes begun in 1756. If the political issues leading up to the American Revolution, such as taxes and land policy, are stripped away, and the big names such as Armstrong and Mercer, who became officers in the war, are set aside, this grass roots militarization in Pennsylvanian society tells a larger story. Many soldiers returning from their service in the provincial ranks, or those who simply served as citizen soldiers, arrived home with the possession and knowledge of weapons and warfare. Many children grew to adulthood with this knowledge as a part of their everyday lives. It likely was not so for their fathers. This widespread new experience helped create enough colonial confidence to encourage the outbreak of violent rebellion against Great Britain in 1775. At least one eighteenth century contemporary agreed. James Smith, the Pennsylvania veteran of the two wars, stated, "[h]ad the British king attempted to enslave us before Braddock's war, in all probability he might readily have done it...but after fighting such a subtile and barbarous enemy as the Indians, we were not terrified at the approach of British red-coats."[75] Although many less astute colonials may not have identified the changes acting among them, their world was forever altered. Indian wars, violence, and firearms were part of Pennsylvania's culture after 1756.

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Cumberland County Goes to War: General Forbes' Campaign in 1758

By Major Tad W. Miller, USAF (Retired)

Two hundred and fifty years ago Cumberland County was the focus of one of the three battles in 1758 that would change the outcome of the French and Indian War in North America. Carlisle, the new seat of Cumberland County, was the launching point for the third military expedition to attempt to take Fort Duquesne from the French and open up the Ohio country to English traders. General John Forbes would lead this campaign and succeed where others had failed. This paper will consider the campaign primarily through the words of the people who were there. General Forbes, Colonel Henry Bouquet and Reverend Thomas Barton all left letters, journals, and reports that have been preserved, and these primary sources form the core of this article.

So why did the English want the French to leave the Ohio country? The short answer is money. Both New France (Canada) and the British colonies in North America existed to further the economies of their respective mother countries. Both France and England claimed the Ohio country and its natural resources. While the English colonies included warmer regions where tobacco and other cash crops grew, the colder climate in New France provided fewer choices for the Canadians to produce that were of value to France. Canada's main export to France was pelts, especially beaver, that could be used to make felt. Hat industries in Europe consumed vast amounts of felt made from fur from North America. The best felt for hats was made using the underhairs of the beaver and other aquatic mammals. The best fur came from the coldest places, which in North America meant Canada.

For the most part, colonists did not hunt or trap animals for their pelts. The main source of these furs was trade with the various Indian nations. The Indians brought the furs from the interior of the continent to trading posts established by the colonists. The English had higher quality goods at lower prices than the French, but the Indians had to travel farther to reach the English trading posts.

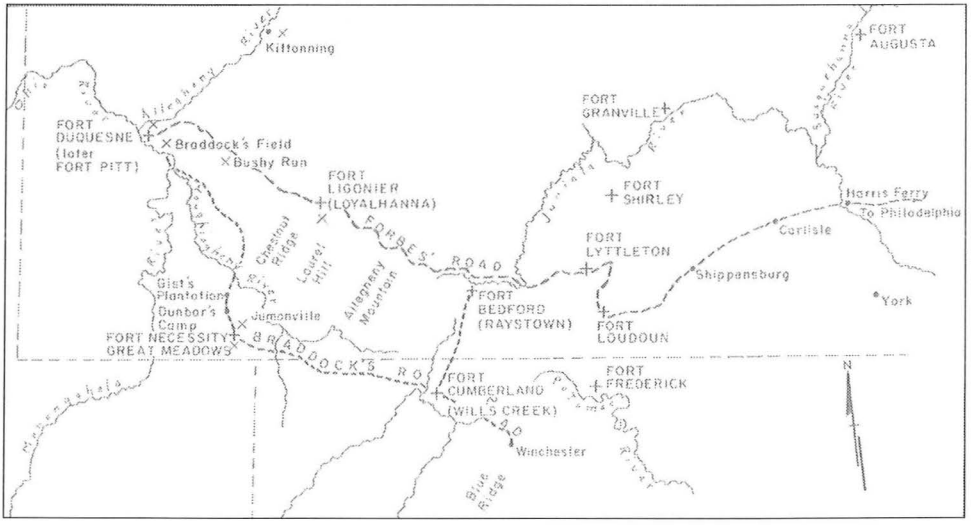
Photo of a re-enactment of the Augusta Regiment moving forward
Photo by author.

There were few roads in colonial America and most of those were poor. Most travel was done by water. Lakes and rivers were the natural transportation venues. While the English colonists lived east of the Appalachian Mountains, the French colonists lived near the Saint Lawrence River, the Great Lakes, the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, as well as the tributaries of these bodies of water. This gave the French claim to Canada, the Ohio country, the Illinois country, and Louisiana, a vast area that nearly surrounded the British colonies. A Canadian could travel all the way from Quebec City to New Orleans by water, with only a few portages. On such a trip he would pass the spot where the Allegheny and Monongahela Rivers meet to form the Ohio River – the site of modern Pittsburgh. This location became the focal point of the opening years of the French and Indian War. However, the story actually starts a few years earlier. In 1753 the Ohio Company of Virginia sent a group of men under the leadership of veteran woodsmen William Trent, Thomas Cresap and Christopher Gist to build a fortified trading post on a bluff near were the three rivers meet.[1] Before they could finish building the post they were driven from the area by the French. Since this territory was claimed by Virginia, that colony's governor, Robert Dinwiddie, sent George Washington*, then only 21 years old, on a diplomatic mission to ask the French to leave. The French, at their winter quarters of Fort Le Boeuf, received him politely but refused his request.

*Governor Dinwiddie was well acquainted with the Washington family, having been a partner with Lawrence Washington, George Washington's brother, in the Ohio Company, a land speculation company. Dinwiddie had appointed George Washington as Adjutant General for the southern department of the Virginia militia, conferring on him the rank of Major. When Washington heard that Dinwiddie was considering sending an envoy to the French he went to Dinwiddie and volunteered his services.

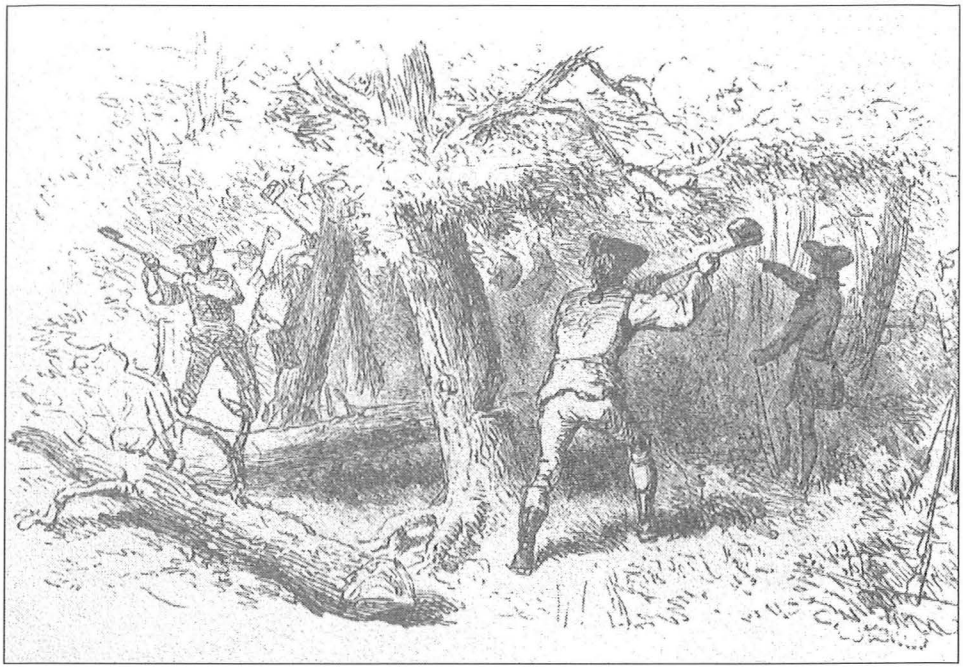
The following summer (1754) Governor Dinwiddie again sent George Washington on a mission, this time a military one. Washington led a force of over 200 Virginians and South Carolinians on a mission to evict the French from what was now Fort Duquesne. On the way there, Washington attacked a French patrol after which the leader of the patrol, Ensign Jumonville (brother to the commander of Fort Duquesne), was killed by an Indian allied with the British. Washington retreated a few miles to a place called Great Meadows, built a fort he called Fort Necessity, and waited for the French to arrive. When they did, Washington was dealt his first military defeat. After one day of fighting, in which rain spoiled most of his men's gunpowder, Washington accepted the generous French surrender terms. He and his men were allowed to leave the fort (ironically on July 4th, 1754) with their guns and baggage, their flag, and one of their cannons.

The following year another expedition was launched to capture Fort Duquesne. This time it was led by a British officer, Major General Edward Braddock. George Washington accompanied the expedition as Braddock's aide. They started in Alexandria, Virginia and began to execute Braddock's plan to cut a road through the forest to Fort Duquesne with an army of two thousand men. Braddock and his men got to within eight miles of Fort Duquesne when they were attacked by nearly seven hundred French and their Indian allies. Although the British outnumbered the enemy by nearly two to one, the British retreated in a panic



Map showing Braddock's Road and Forbes' Road

Taken from "The French and Indian War in Pennsylvania 1753 – 1763," by Louis M. Waddell, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1996.

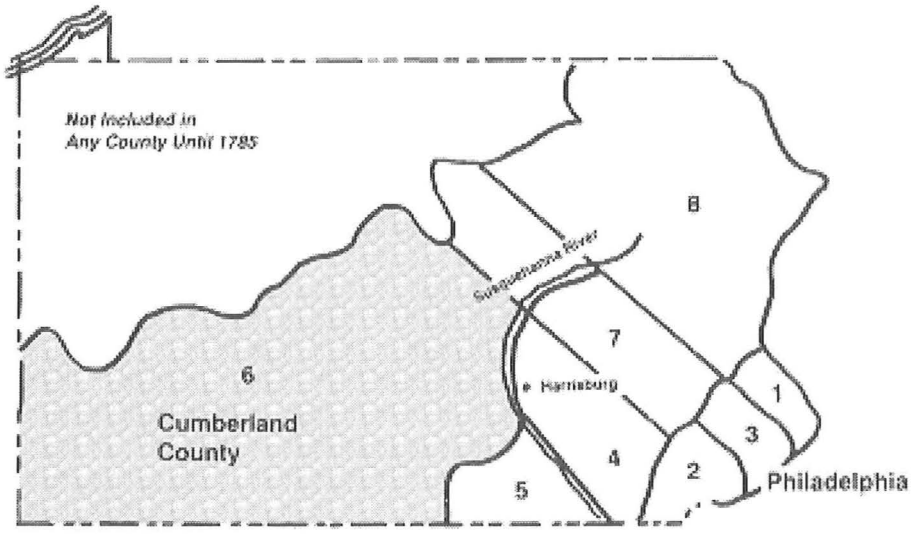


Military engineers cutting down trees to build Braddock's Road
"The American Revolution – A Picture Sourcebook,"
by John Grafton, Dover Publications, Inc., 1975.

after about two hours of fighting. General Braddock was mortally wounded and died four days later. The British army retreated to Philadelphia and the frontier was made vulnerable to attack from the Indians and their French allies.

Three more years would pass before the British made another attempt to take Fort Duquesne. During this time Pennsylvania was vulnerable to attack. At that time the newly formed Cumberland County was much larger than it is today, comprising most all of the area west of the Susquehanna except for York County (including present day Adams County) and portions of Bucks and Berks Counties. The western border of Cumberland County was uncertain. The charter for Pennsylvania specified that the western border was five degrees longitude west of the Delaware River. Some people thought the border was straight, others thought it meandered, paralleling the path of the Delaware River. Maps of the time show the site of present day Pittsburgh as being within the boundaries of Virginia, not Pennsylvania.

Pennsylvania was not prepared to protect its citizens from the violence that followed Braddock's defeat. Dozens of isolated farms were attacked by Indians, who killed or captured all they found. By 16 October 1755 the first reports of incursion and massacre by heretofore friendly Delaware Indians were reported



Cumberland County circa 1755
"Cloth and Costume 1750 – 1800 Cumberland County, Pennsylvania,"
by Tandy and Charles Hersh, Cumberland County Historical Society, 1995.

as far east as Selinsgrove, where about 25 men, women and children had been killed.[2] In November 1755 the warring Indians massacred a dozen Indian Christian converts, and on New Year's Day 1756 an entire Christian Indian village and its mill and trade buildings were reduced to ashes. Even the pacifist Moravians and their Indian converts were not exempt from attack by the Delawares, for on November 21st their mission at Gnadenhütten was burned and nearly everyone there was massacred. Families from all over the frontier left their farms and crops behind and retreated to the relative safety of Carlisle.[3]

The reason for the unpreparedness was that Pennsylvania did not have a militia law. The colonial legislature was controlled by the Religious Society of Friends, also known as Quakers. The Quakers were, and still are, pacifists, and would not permit the colony to raise armies of any sort. Governor Morris repeatedly petitioned the legislature for a militia law on December 24th, 1754; January 29th, 1755; and November 3rd 1755 to no avail. On November 10th Governor Morris received petitions from Cumberland and other counties asking for a militia law. Finally on November 19th the legislature began to relent and sent military supplies to the residents of Cumberland County. By this time Benjamin Franklin was putting pressure on the Quaker-led legislature which finally passed a Militia Law which was signed into law by Governor Morris on November 25th, 1755.

Pennsylvania's new militia law paled when compared to those of other colonies. To begin, it was a temporary law set to expire on October 30th 1756. It did not compel anyone to join the militia but merely allowed militias to exist. It excluded many classes of people from joining the militia, including all men under 21 years old, bound apprentices, clergy, members of the Society of Friends, and anyone whose religious convictions forbade them from joining the military. Weak as the law was, Pennsylvanians at least could now legally defend themselves on the frontier.

By 1758 England's North American colonies were ready to take the offensive. They had an ambitious plan to defeat the French in North America. There were to be three simultaneous attacks on the major French strongholds. Major General James Abercromby was charged with capturing Fort Carillon (later called Ticonderoga) on the southwestern shore of Lake Champlain in New York. This was the only attack to fail. Major General Jeffery Amherst was to take Fortress Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island in Canada. Finally, Brigadier General John Forbes was to take Fort Duquesne.

General Forbes, forty-eight years old, was newly promoted to the rank of Brigadier General. He was an excellent organizer, diplomat, and leader of men. However, he was very ill. He described himself as having "...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 [a litter] carried betwixt two Horses..."[4] While we don't know for certain exactly what condition plagued General Forbes, some have speculated that he had cancer. Whatever the condition was, Forbes would die from it less than four months after capturing Fort Duquesne.

Forbes' plan for taking Fort Duquesne showed that he learned from the previous failed expeditions. Braddock had pushed his men to cut a road as quickly as possible to reach the enemy. He did not stop to build forts or supply points. Forbes wrote to Secretary of State William Pitt on June 17th 1758:

> "As my offensive Operations are clogged with many Difficulties, owing to the great distance & badness of the roads, through an almost impenetrable wood, uninhabited for more than 200 miles, our back inhabitants being all drove into Carlisle. I am therefore lay'd under the Necessity of having a stockaded Camp, with a Blockhouse & cover for our Provisions, at every forty Miles distance."[5]

Forbes realized that General Braddock's expedition had failed because it did not have any place to fall back to and regroup after they were attacked. Forbes chose a slower, more methodical plan than Braddock. He knew that it would take longer to reach Fort Duquesne if he built forts along the way. But he also knew that if anything went wrong he would not be driven all the way back to

Philadelphia, as happened to Braddock. Forbes wanted to have places all along his road where there would be food and munitions if he needed them, and he wanted a safe place for his soldiers to go if anything went wrong. He also knew that Indians would play a critical role in this endeavor either as combatants or as allies.

Would the road from the Ohio Country lead back to Philadelphia or to Virginia? Washington, who lived near Alexandria, campaigned hard for Braddock's road to be cleaned up and finished. While it had become overgrown in the past three years it did reach almost to Fort Duquesne. Pennsylvanians wanted to see a road connect one end of their colony to the other. There was already an established road from Philadelphia through Lancaster and Carlisle to Shippensburg. From there a road of lesser quality existed to Fort Loudoun and on to Fort Littleton. But that still left a road to be built across the mountains and on to the French fort.

Forbes did not make the decision immediately. He wanted to know if there was an efficient way through the mountains. He also wanted to keep the French guessing. He let the Virginians clear the old Braddock road so the French would not know where the attack was coming from. However, once a pass through the mountains was found near Fort Lyttleton, Forbes decided to continue across Pennsylvania.

Once General Forbes decided to move his route he needed to choose a launching point. In a memorandum written circa June 1st, 1758 Forbes wrote "The Great Channel of Communications to Virginia to be entirely by Carlisle and Shippensburgh [*sic*]..." and "... as soon as the Companies are compleated [*sic*] from Lancaster towards York or in that Neighbourhood Col Boquet [*sic*] may order them to assemble at Carlisle."[6] Carlisle was a central place where troops could be gathered and prepared for the expedition. It was also at the end of the "good" road that connected Philadelphia with the interior of Pennsylvania.

General Forbes' infirmities made it difficult for him to attend to the day-to-day management of the expedition. Fortunately, he had the assistance of a Swiss-born officer, Colonel Henry Bouquet. Bouquet was an excellent leader and organizer. He was the commanding officer of the 60th Regiment of Foot, also called the Royal Americans. As second in command to Forbes, Bouquet carried out all of the details of moving an army across the wilderness, and there were a host of details to be dealt with.

Colonel Bouquet left hundreds of pages of letters and memoranda dealing with all of the logistical issues of the campaign. While no militias took part in the expedition itself, there were large numbers of new recruits in the provincial armies, such as Pennsylvania's Augusta Regiment, the Virginia Regiment, and

the Maryland Forces. These new troops needed all of the basics: guns, blankets, tents, canteens, and so on. Shoes in particular were a problem as an army of six thousand men will wear out thousands of pairs while marching two hundred miles into the wilderness.

Chief among the shortages was the lack of muskets. While there was a strong tradition of gun ownership among people on the frontier there was a reluctance to bring the family's gun on the expedition. Doing so would leave the soldier's family defenseless at the time they needed protection the most. Both General Forbes and Colonel Bouquet noted the shortage of arms throughout their correspondence. Forbes wrote to Pennsylvania's Governor Denny on April 20th, 1758 "...as there is a great Scarcity of Arms for that purpose [fighting the French], I am under the necessity of requiring your Honour that you will give orders for delivering to me Two Hundred and Eighteen Light Fuzees [lightweight military muskets], which are in your Store, as likewise as many of the 165 Arms as are found to be serviceable...."[7] Meanwhile, Colonel Bouquet, while still in Carlisle, wrote to Sir John St. Clair, the Deputy Quartermaster General for the British Army in America stating "Our new levies are upon their March to form a Chain from Lancaster to Rays Town [now called Bedford], but expecting about half who have their own Arms, the rest walk with Sticks"[8] So we see that about half of the men joining the provincial army had enough guns in their households that they felt comfortable taking one of the guns with them. Bouquet that same day wrote to George Stevenson, Esq. "And we expect, dayly [*sic*] to receive Some arms, and Tents sent over by his Majesty. But in the interim, I think it advisable to persuade every Man that has a Good Gun, or Rifle to bring it with him...."[9] The shortage of some arms, however, was not looked on as bleakly. Bouquet commenting to St. Clair on June 3rd: "I wish these Men did not want nothing excepting Bayonets, a useless Arm in the Woods."[10]

The ability of Pennsylvanians to handle a gun was well known. In March 1758 General Forbes wrote a letter to Governor Denny telling him "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...."[11] Forbes wanted to encourage the Pennsylvanians' prowess with firearms. In a memorandum he wrote on June 1st he said "In going along if any of the Provincials want [gun] Powder to practice to drop them a Barrel...."[12]

Once the army had overcome its worst supply problems it was ready to move. The plan was to move the Pennsylvania regiments and the British Regulars from Carlisle to Fort Morris at Shippensburg and on to Fort Loudoun to Fort Lyttleton. From there they would have to build the roads and forts. The next place on their march was a small fur trading village known as Rays Town. There

they would meet the Virginia and Maryland soldiers who had marched north from Fort Cumberland in Maryland. The army would then build the first of its large forts: Fort Bedford. The location of the original Fort Bedford has been found and a partial reconstruction is currently underway.

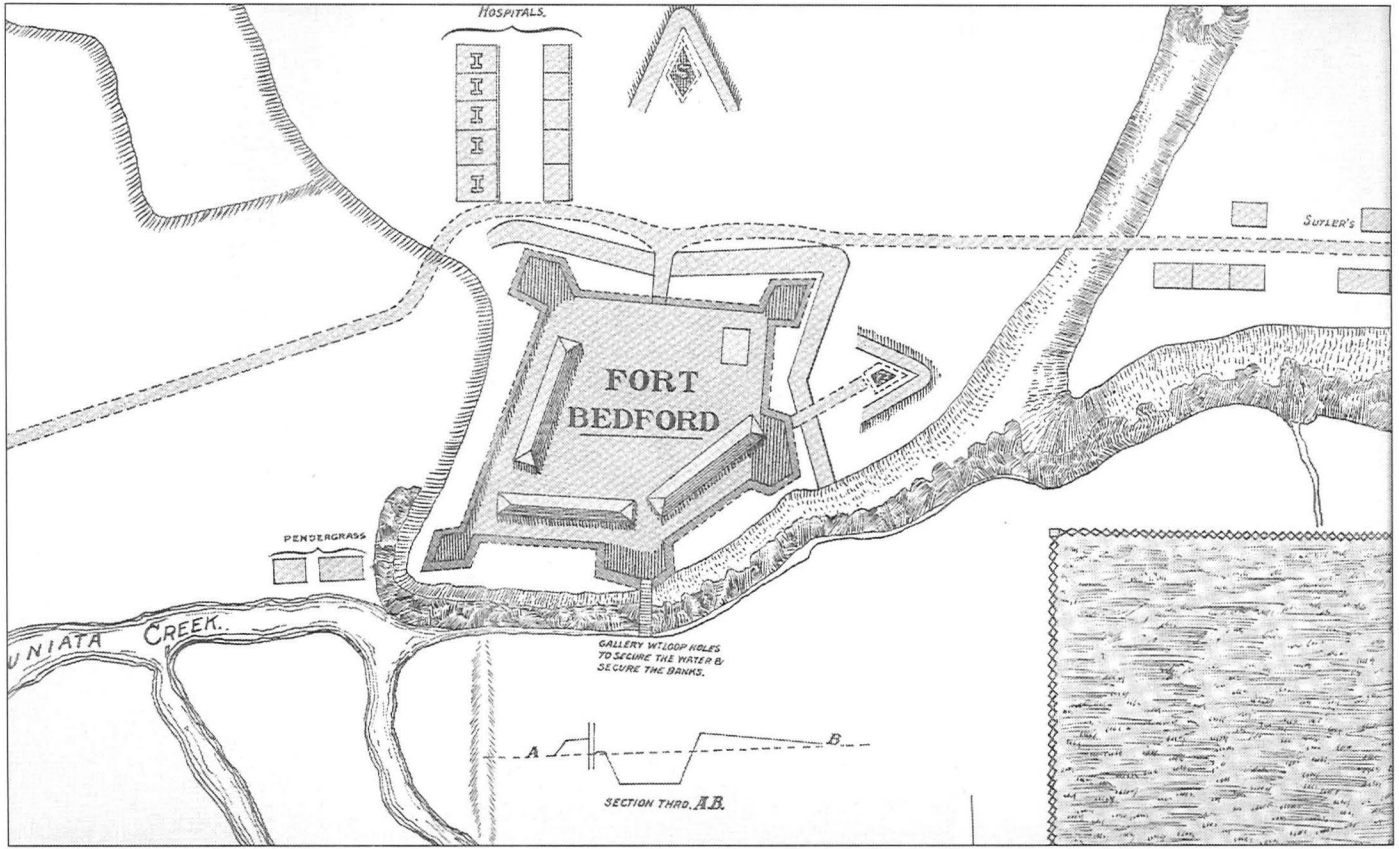
The expedition did not only include soldiers. One civilian who left a fascinating written record of the expedition was the Reverend Thomas Barton, a Church of England minister who preached in Carlisle, York and Huntington. General Forbes himself appointed Barton as the Chaplain for the entire army. This did not sit well with the Presbyterians in the Highland Regiment or the Scotch-Irish in Carlisle. However, the General was in charge and he got to decide. Barton only stayed with the army from Carlisle to Fort Bedford. His journal ends abruptly on September 26th after he witnessed the execution of a soldier who deserted from the Pennsylvania Regiment.

Reverend Barton gives a very vivid account of the dangers faced on this expedition. In his journal on July 31st, 1758 he writes,

> "An Alarm at 7 OClock P.M. When a Soldier belonging to Major Lewis of Virginia came running into Camp wounded in the Head, Arms, Thighs, Hand, & Leg. He reports that being in Search of Horses about 4 Miles from Camp, 3 Indians appear'd to him who endeavor'd to shoot him; but their Guns Flashing, he shot at the first whom he saw drop. Upon which the 2d ran up to him with a Sword & Tomahawk & strove to kill him. But he warded off the Blows, & knock'd down his Antagonist, & gave him several Thumps with the Butt of his Gun, which he thinks near finish'd him. Before he had Time to perfect the good Work begun, the 3d fell upon him with a Sword, Knife, Tomahowk [*sic*], & wounded him in the Manner above mention'd. He struggled with & knock'd down this Fellow, but hearing a rustling in the Bushes he was oblig'd to run, & got into Camp in a bloody Condition."[13]

Besides being an exciting story, this tells us something about military life on the frontier at the time. For example, horses were left to find food for themselves at night and were not tied to anything. The horses could roam at will and there are a number of accounts of walking miles to find a horse in the morning. A surprising detail in this account is that two of the Indians are carrying swords, clearly not the Hollywood image of an Indian.

Another civilian on the campaign was a woman by the name of Martha May. We only have one account of her, but her story is compelling. She was the wife of a British soldier and accompanied him wherever he was stationed. Martha ran into some trouble while in Carlisle. This letter is all we know of her story.



Fort Bedford
"A Set of Plans and Forts in America Reduced from Actual Surveys"
London, M.A. Rocque, 1763.

Carlisle 4 th June 1758
Honourd Sr/

Please to hear the Petition of your Poor unfortunate Servant Martha May, now Confined in the Carlisle Gaol Please your Honr as my Husband is an Old Soldier and Seeing him taken out of the Ranks to be Confined Put me in Such a Passion that I was almost besidse myself but being informd, after that I abused Yr Honour, to a High degree, for which I ask Yr Honour a Thousand Pardons, and am Really Sorrow for what I have said & done; Knowing Yr Honour to be a Compationate and Mercifuly Man, I beg and hope you'll take it into Consideration that it was the Love I had for my Poor Husband; and no _____ hill will to Yr Honour, which was the cause of abusing so good a Colonel as you are. Please to Sett me at Liberty this time & I never will disoblige yr Honour nor any other Officer belonging to the Army for the future, as I have been a Wife 22 years and have Traveld with my Husband every Place or Country the Company Marcht too and have workt very hard ever since I was in the Army I hope yr Honour will be so Good as to Pardon me this time that I may go with my Poor Husband, one more time to carry him and my good Officers water in ye Hottest Battle as I have done before.

Photo of a re-enactor portraying Martha May
Photo by author.

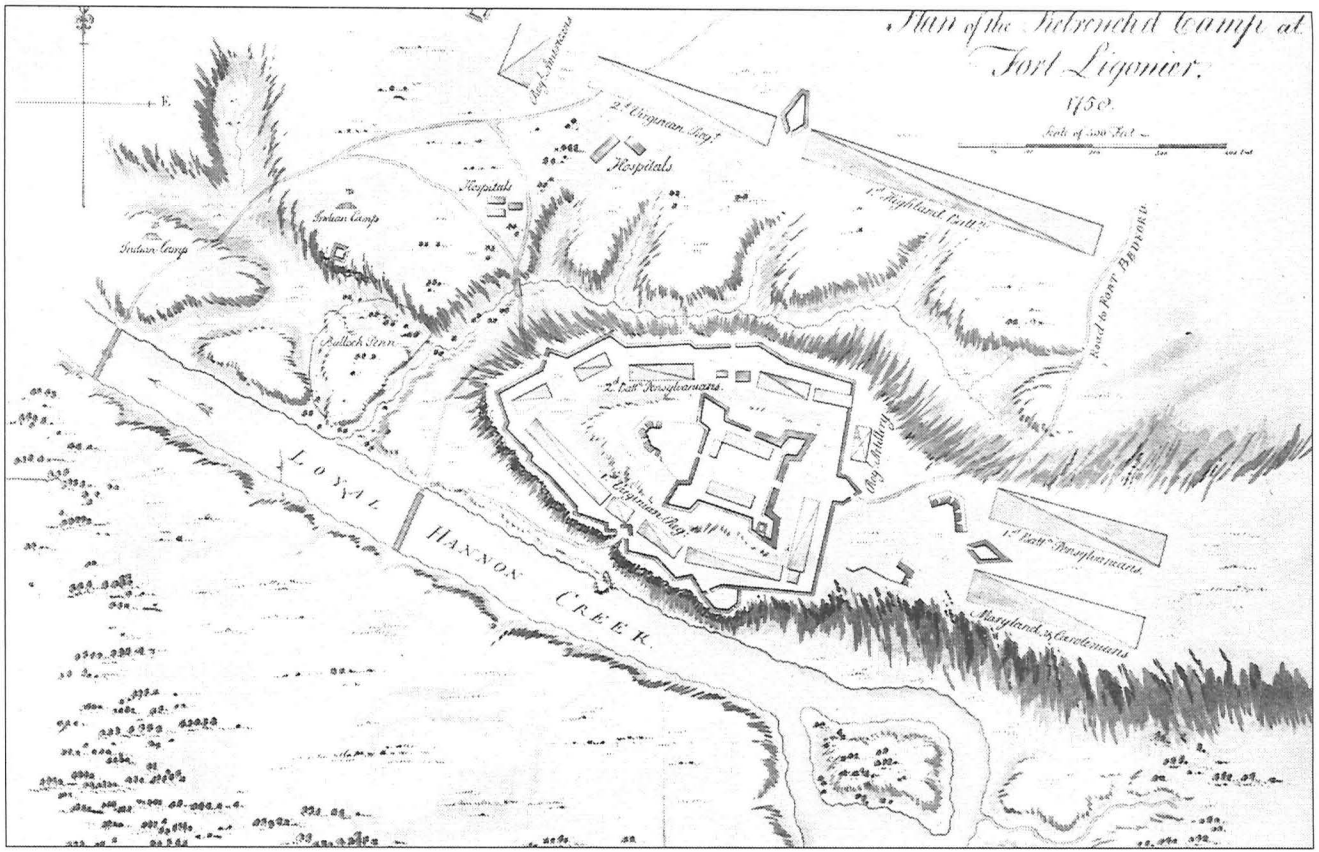
I am
Yr unfortunate Petitioner and Humble Servant
Martha May
[Endorsed] Petition of Martha May to carry Water to the Soldiers In the heat of Battle
[Addressed] To the Right Honble Colonel Bouquet These [*sic*][14]

The next major post along the ever-lengthening Forbes' road was built at Loyal Hanna (now Ligonier, PA). It was named after Sir John Ligonier, commander-in-chief in Great Britain. Fort Ligonier was meant as a final staging area before the attack on Fort Duquesne. Ligonier was fifty miles from Fort Duquesne and would see the first large scale fighting of the campaign. The fort was designed as a central stronghold and was surrounded by storehouses and as many as five thousand soldiers camped in tents.

Forbes knew that the Indians would be key to this expedition. He encouraged Indian allies to accompany him and gave them gifts to encourage their loyalty. However, the Indian way of war was far different from the European way. The Indians wanted to go on quick raids in which they could take prisoners, scalps, or plunder. Such feats brought them status in their own community. Forbes' slow progress and methodical construction activities frustrated the Indian allies and slowly they left and went home. By September 6th Forbes wrote from Fort Loudoun in a letter to Secretary of State Pitt "As likewise of almost the total defection and desertion of the Southern Indians [Cherokees and Catawbas] (except 80) who after the receiving of their presents &c, have all returned home not without committing egregious outrages upon the scattered Inhabitants of the Northwest parts of Virginia in their return."[15]

It was at Fort Ligonier that General Forbes got news of the Easton conference. While Forbes had lost most of his Indian allies, the field would be leveled if the French lost theirs as well. The British hosted a conference at Easton Pennsylvania attended by governors of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, Indian Agents, and five hundred Iroquois and Delaware Indians. After weeks of negotiations the Indians agreed to stay out of the conflict between the French and the British. In return, the British agreed not to settle or even hunt beyond the Appalachian mountains, on land that belonged to the Indians. The conference concluded on October 26th and the missionary Christian Frederick Post brought the news to General Forbes at Fort Ligonier on November 8th. This news was critical in the decision to continue the advance before winter set in. Post continued on to Fort Duquesne and, much to the annoyance of the French, met with the Indians there. The French were powerless to stop Post from meeting with the Indians, who upon hearing the news agreed to leave Fort Duquesne and stay out of the war.

By November 11th Forbes was ready to stop the expedition for the year. They had repulsed a French raid on Fort Ligonier in October, but he had lost nearly 800 soldiers in a bungled raid on Fort Duquesne in September. Supplies were running low and he could not keep an army in the field in the cold Pennsylvania winter. Then on November 12th a British deserter was captured



Fort Ligonier
"A Set of Plans and Forts in America Reduced from Actual Surveys."
London, M.A. Rocque, 1763.

during skirmish. This soldier had gone over to the French side, but now told his English captors that the French were short of men and provisions and that their Indians had deserted them. This was the news that Forbes was looking for. He assembled a force of twenty-five hundred men and on November 15th they started out. They still had fifty miles of road to build, but with hundreds of axmen they worked quickly. Both Forbes and Bouquet traveled with the advancing column. By November 24th they were within a day's march of their objective. Then that night, the English column heard a blast and saw a glow on the horizon. The next morning they advanced and found a smoking ruin where Fort Duquesne had been. The French had set fire to the fort, exploded the powder magazine and then departed.

General Forbes penned the following letter to Secretary of State Pitt:

> Pittsbourgh 27th Novembr. 1758
>
> Sir,
>
> I do myself the Honour of acquainting you that is has pleased God to crown His Majesty's Arms with Success over all His Enemies upon the Ohio... I have used the freedom of giving your name to Fort Du Quesne...
>
> Your most obedt [obedient] & humle servt
>
> Jo: Forbes

Endnotes

1 Walter O'Meara, *Guns at the Forks*, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1979, page 40.
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3 Stewart, Irene, *Letters of General John Forbes relating to the Expedition Against Fort Duquesne in 1758*, Allegheny County Committee, 1927, 22.
4 Stewart, Irene, 38.
5 Stewart, Irene, 22.
6 Stevens, S. K. et al editors, *The Papers of Henry Bouquet, Volume II, The Forbes Expedition*, The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1951, 1.
7 Stewart, Irene, 11.
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Pennsylvania's Provincial Soldiers in 1759: Insights from "The Orderly Book of Captain Hamilton's Company"

by Carla Christiansen

One of the Hamilton Library's oldest 18th century manuscripts provides a unique glimpse into what life was like for Pennsylvania's soldiers serving in America's French and Indian War, the 250th anniversary of which is now being commemorated. A small journal preserved in the library archives contains records—principally daily assignments and directions (orders)—for a company of Pennsylvania troops serving under British Army command during military operations in Western Pennsylvania in the summer and fall of 1759. Although excerpts from the journal have been published over the years, the manuscript had yet to be fully transcribed.[1] This article provides highlights from a newly prepared transcription and insights gained about Pennsylvania's soldiers from a comparison of the entries in the "Orderly Book of Captain Hamilton's Company" with other published accounts of the period.

The War in Pennsylvania

The French and Indian War was a part of a global conflict that began in 1754 with a clash between French and British troops in the forests of what is now western Pennsylvania (and for governmental purposes was part of Cumberland County). This was not the first time France and Britain had gone to war over their colonies in North America. There had been intermittent hostilities since the 1600's, stemming from competition over the lucrative trade in furs with native peoples and from the continual westward expansion of British colonials into territory claimed by the French as "New France." When Britain sent fur traders and land surveyors to establish claims in the Ohio River Valley, French troops moved to the area to assert their trade monopoly and to protect the river as the principal route between French settlements on the Great Lakes and the Mississippi. Tensions escalated in 1753 when the Virginia Colony sent a young George Washington to deliver a letter demanding that the troops withdraw from what London claimed as British territory. Rebuffed in diplomacy, Virginia sent

What is an Orderly Book?

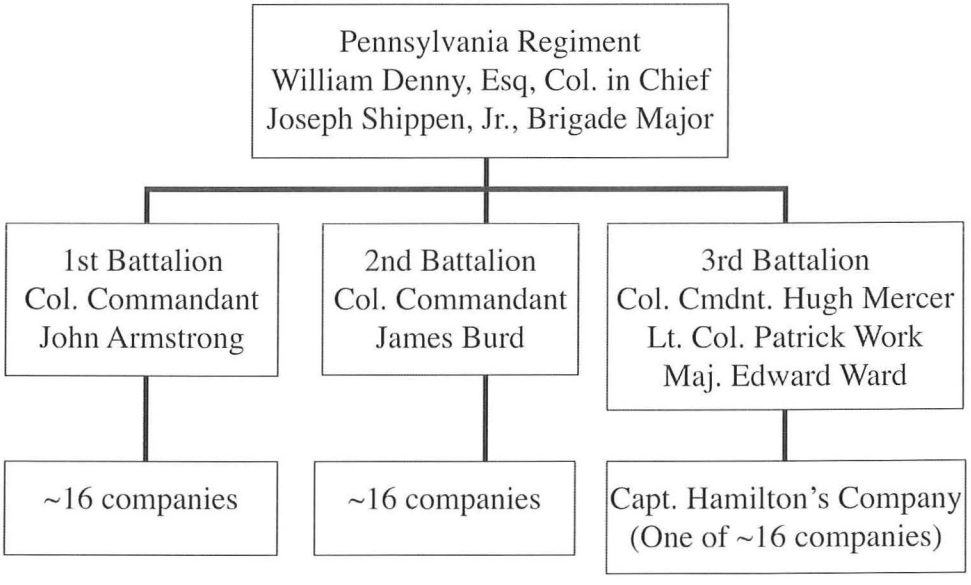
Into the 20th century, military units used 'orderly books' to record orders, directions, and assignments coming through subordinate levels from the senior command. Personnel assigned 'Orderly' duty would attend staff meetings at the next higher echelon and use the books to take notes about information pertinent to their own organization. Unlike ordinary journals, Orderly Books are the records of a unit rather than an individual; they convey information rather than interpretations or opinions and focus principally on what is to be done, not what has happened. Despite the passage of nearly 250 years, the "Orderly Book of Captain Hamilton's Company" remains in remarkably good condition, although sadly a few pages are missing. Most of the entries, for a total of about 120 days, are legible. Spelling is largely phonetic and chaotic, reflecting the lack of standard rules for spelling in the 18th century and possibly the educational level of the recorders. Differences in the handwriting suggest that entries were made by at least three individuals – probably the two sergeants and possibly a corporal. Each entry begins with the place, date and a "Parole" for the day. Like a modern day password, the Parole (from the French 'word') was given out to the camp guards for use in challenging anyone approaching the camp at night. Only persons calling out the correct "parole" were allowed to pass. The type of information in an Orderly Book includes general or standing orders and schedules and duty assignments for the next day.

troops to erect a fort at the forks of the Ohio River (present day Pittsburgh). The French drove the troops out and began construction of their own fort; Virginia then sent colonial troops to retake the fort. A brief skirmish led to a pitched battle at Great Meadows (near present day Brownsville, Pennsylvania) in which British colonial troops, including George Washington, were forced to surrender on (ironically) July 4, 1754. The epic battle for North America had begun. Ultimately the fighting would spread beyond North America to the West Indies, Europe, and Asia. The worldwide conflict, known as the Seven Year's War, would continue until 1763. Britain would emerge victorious, but taxes imposed to cover the high cost of the war would help set the stage for the American Revolution.

The British Army led two major expeditions into what is now Western Pennsylvania. Both could best be characterized as slow, road-building operations punctuated by brief and bloody battles. In 1755, General James Braddock led the first major expedition west since the defeat of the colonial forces the year before. Starting from Virginia he built a road that formed the basis for what later became U.S. Route 40. His expedition met with disastrous defeat on the banks of the Monongahela River just short of his objective, French Fort Duquesne at the Forks of the Ohio. General Braddock was wounded in the battle and died shortly thereafter. Overall, the British troops suffered a casualty rate of over 60 percent.[2] Survivors fled east, many not stopping until they reached Philadelphia. This left Pennsylvania's frontier open to a campaign of terror, during which French and Indian raiding parties attacked the isolated farms and settlements of Cumberland County. Civilians made attempts at organizing defenses, but most fled to Carlisle and points east. British forces did not return to western Pennsylvania until 1758, when a new British general, John Forbes, led another painfully slow expedition and built another road, the path of which is recognizable as today's U.S. Route 30. The Forbes Expedition included not only British regular units, but provincial troops from Pennsylvania as well as Virginia and Maryland.[3] Forbes also conducted successful peacemaking with France's local Indian allies. By late 1758, facing the loss of their Indian allies and the approach of overwhelming numbers of British troops, the French forces abandoned Fort Duquesne. They withdrew north along the Allegheny River passage to Fort Machault at Venango (near present day Franklin, in Venango County, Pennsylvania). For Pennsylvanians, the threat to frontier settlements was reduced to sporadic raids.

Pennsylvania's Troops

Pennsylvania's efforts to organize the defense of its citizens were slow paced and intermittent. The domination of the Pennsylvania Assembly by pacifist Quakers and ongoing disputes with the Penn family over taxes delayed formation of an organized provincial military capability until 1756. The Assembly finally agreed to recruit soldiers to man a chain of forts along the frontier. Funding for the province's new 'professional' military required periodic authorization, usually at the beginning and end of the year. As a result, the command structure and number of troops in service varied. In the spring of 1759, the Assembly approved 2,700 troops. This was the same number it had approved the year before to support the Forbes Expedition, but nearly twice that kept in service over the winter to man posts along the road between Carlisle and Pittsburgh.[4] With the new funding, the Pennsylvania Regiment recalled personnel on furlough and began the annual recruitment process. Captain Hamilton's was one of about 20 companies formed from the "New Levies" (recruits). New Levies companies occupied what was essentially the bottom rung of the provincial military. The Orderly Book mostly documents the activities of the Third Battalion, to which Captain Hamilton's company was assigned, but also contains some limited information, mainly announcements of officer assignments, about the regiment as a whole. (See Chart.[5]) Overall, the names of about 70 officers from the Pennsylvania Regiment appear in the entries.

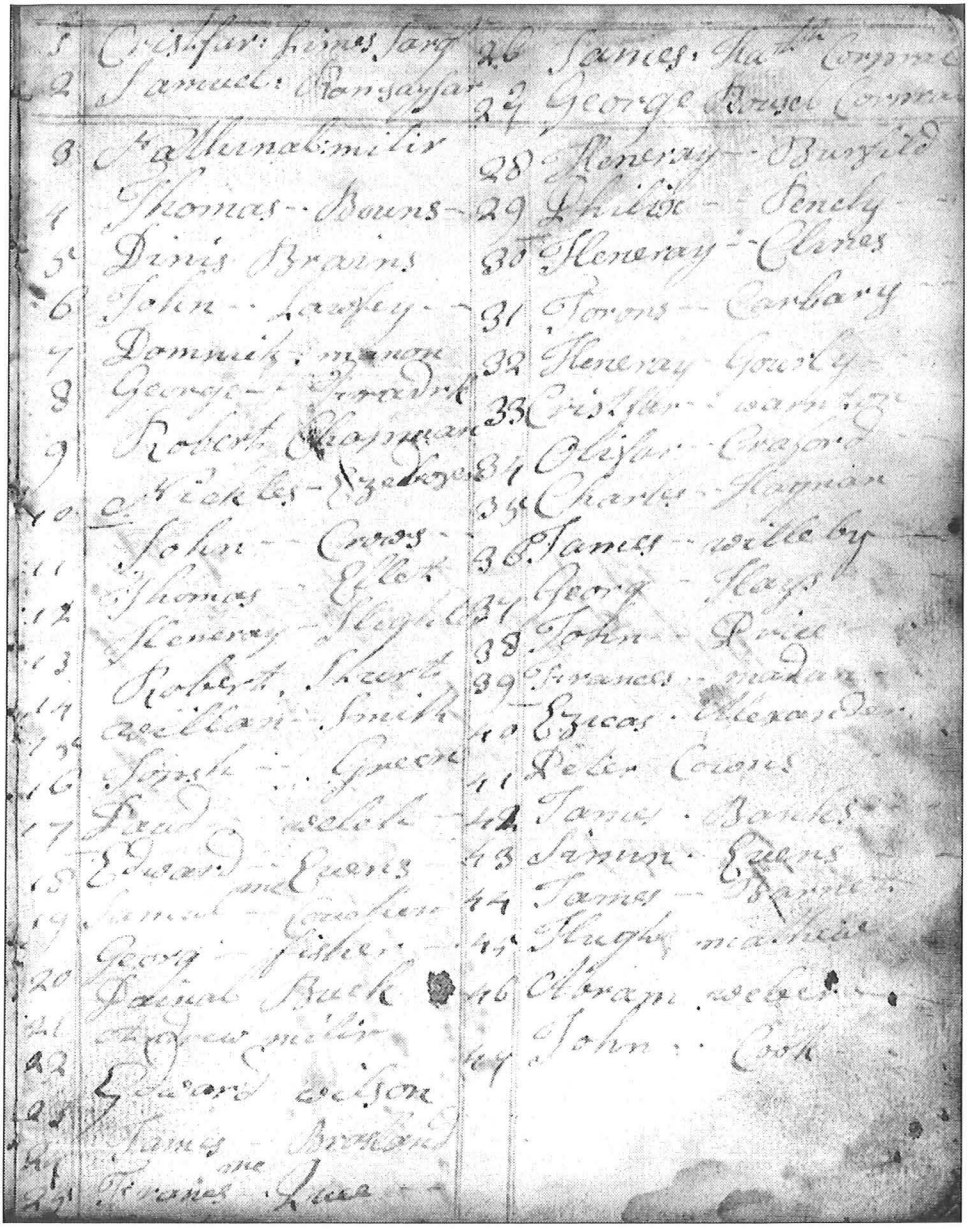


Structure of Pennsylvania Regiment in 1759 with estimate of company assignments

Thomas Hamilton most likely came from a prominent Scotch-Irish family in what was then York (now Adams) County.[6] A veteran of the Forbes expedition in 1758, he received a new commission on May 1, 1759.[7] His father, Hance Hamilton, also had served in the Pennsylvania Regiment and had risen to the rank of lieutenant colonel. Hance had resigned his commission earlier in the spring, however, ostensibly for health reasons.[8] Both father and son previously had held the position of York County sheriff.[9]

**Members of Captain Thomas Hamilton's Company,
as listed in an undated entry in the Orderly Book.
Brackets indicate the transcriber's best guess at a particular spelling.**

1	Cristofar Limes, Sarg	26.	James Hath Corporal
2.	Samuel Ramsay Sar	27.	George Rousel Corporal
3.	Nathinal: milir	28.	Heneray Burfild
4.	Thomas Bowns	29.	Philix [Penely or Tenely?]
5.	Dinis Brains	30.	Heneray Clines
6.	John [Lawsey]	31.	Torons Carbary
7.	Domnick manon	32.	Heneray Gourly
8.	George fradrk	33.	Cristfar warnton
9.	Robert Chapman	34.	[Olifar] Craford
10.	Nickles [Ezebozen]	35.	Charles [Hagnan]
11.	John [Crowns]	36.	James Willeby
12.	Thomas – [Ellet]	37.	Georg Hays
13.	Heneray Slighter	38.	John Price
14.	Robert Sturts	39.	Frances Madan
15.	Willam Smith	40.	Ezicas Alexander
16.	[Tom?] Green	41.	Peter Cowns
17.	David [Welch]	42.	James Banks
18.	Edward Evens	43.	Simin Evens
19.	Samuel Mc Coucher	44.	James Barnet
20.	George Fisher	45.	Hughe Mathew
21.	Danial Buck	46.	Abram Weber
22.	Andrew miler	47.	John Cook
23.	Edward Wilson		
24.	James Brasland		
25.	Franes Mc [Luce]		



Original page from the Orderly Book
showing members of Thomas Hamilton's Company
Hamilton Library Archives

Captain Hamilton's company probably numbered 50 men total: three officers, four non-commissioned officers, and 43 rank and file members. Hamilton most likely personally recruited many (if not all) of the men as part of the basis for receipt of his commission. Lieutenant William Clinton and Ensign Hugh McKean (McKeen) were the other officers assigned.[10] The names of the other members of the company were found listed in the Orderly Book; the transcription on page 41 lists them exactly as they were entered and gives the reader an idea of the challenge that 18th century spelling can present to the modern transcriber and researcher.

Apart from their names, little is known of the background of these men. Samuel Ramsey, one of the company's two sergeants and a principal recorder in the Orderly Book, writes that he came from Lancaster County. It is possible that like his captain, he was a veteran. Muster roles from 1756 list a Samuel Ramsey (not necessarily the same one) as having served as a lieutenant in a Lancaster County "associated" company, one of Pennsylvania's earlier informal military formations.[11] A review of the roles of other Pennsylvania provincial companies suggests that most recruits were laborers or artisans, for whom military service would have provided money to buy land and tools.[12] The terms of service for new recruits varied, but those in the New Levies companies probably agreed to serve for the year's campaign, which in 1759 meant a period of about seven months.

Supplies and Provisions

Captain Hamilton's company probably assembled and received firearms in Lancaster sometime in June 1759.[13] Samuel Ramsey wrote in a separate entry dated May 22 that he enlisted on May 20 and drew provisions on June 27. At the time, British Army units were quartered in Lancaster and the town was a hub, for organizing new recruits and obtaining wagons and horses to transport supplies needed for the campaign. British military leaders complained about the slowness in readying the new companies, but they too caused delays by holding some troops in Lancaster for potential use in forcibly obtaining wagons and horses.[14] Pennsylvanians had provided transport for the 1758 Forbes expedition, and even that of General Braddock in 1755. The loss of wagons in these campaigns and unpaid accounts naturally served as a disincentive to future contracts. Eventually, British issuance of official quotas ("press warrants") and implied threats of their enforcement proved sufficient to start the wagons rolling.[15]

The Orderly Book entries begin on June 28 in Carlisle, where temporary convoys, or brigades, formed up for the trip west. Carlisle was bustling with troops from all three battalions of the Pennsylvania Regiment, as well as wagon masters and drivers and merchants engaged in the lucrative business of selling

provisions and equipment for the troops. In this highly charged environment, all parties complained of abuses and mistreatment. The Orderly Book entry for June 28 cautions troops against use of unspecified "unfair methods" with the "English Country People." This may have been a reflection of the continued disgruntlement by wagon drivers and farmers over payment issues and perceived strong-armed methods used by military personnel. Conversely, Pennsylvania Regiment officers worried about their men being taken advantage of by local shop owners and tavern keepers, particularly when the troops received their pay. For example, Third Battalion commander Hugh Mercer wrote to his fellow officer James Burd in May 1759: "I never knew of any other Advantage accruing to soldiers, I mean ours, from being in Towns on the frontier, than black-eyes, Claps, & eternal flogging; And unless Carlisle and Shippensburg are of late miraculously altered in point of Morals, the old game at either of those seats of Virtue and good manners would undoubtedly be play'd over; especially as it is intended the men should receive their Pay there, to enable them, more and more, besides having their pockets pick'd by Tavern keepers."[16]

Personal clothing items and camp equipment for sale to troops, from the Orderly Book entry, Carlisle, June 28, 1759. Brackets indicate the transcriber's best guess at a particular spelling; parentheses indicate additional text (not in original) meant to explain possible meaning.

	L (Pounds)	S (Shillings)	P (Pence)
Coats	2	12	
Britches	0	7	4 ½
Shirts	0	8	10
[hats]	0	4	2 ½
Knapsacks	0	2	3
[Ln Brits (Linen Britches)]	1	3	9
West (Vest) Coats	0	18	4 ½
West Drilling	0	7	4 ½
Shoes	0	7	4 ½
Stakins (Stockings)	0	4	5
[Kantuns] (Canteens)	0	1	6
Haversacks	0	2	3
Camp Kettlis (Kettles)	0	2	3
Sholder Knots	0	4	8
Tassels	0	0	8

The Crown and the Province shared the burden of providing supplies and equipment for provincial troops. The Crown provided arms, ammunition, tents, and provisions, or reimbursed the province for their costs. From the Province, soldiers received their pay and some clothing.[17] Before leaving Carlisle, New Levies companies received advance pay and subsistence money and were given the opportunity to buy personal clothing items and camp equipment as listed on page 44, with the charges deducted from their pay.[18] The June 28 entry reminded officers to "settle their Companys' account Immediately with the Pay Master" and soldiers were cautioned that any complaints regarding accounts would not be heard after leaving Carlisle. During the campaign, the troops apparently received other opportunities to obtain personal supplies against their pay. On October 17, the officers were ordered to report to the commissary requirements for "shirt, shoes and Stokings," which were to be made available "at the Philadelphia price," i.e. less than would normally be charged at forward posts. Undated annotations in the Orderly Book also record disbursements of items of clothing to men in the company. On December 10, for example, Third Battalion soldiers were given the opportunity to order "neserys" (necessaries) that would be deducted from pay received at the end of the campaign.

Non-commissioned officers like Sergeant Ramsey were required to account to the Quartermaster for supplies and equipment assigned to their unit. Numerous entries in the Orderly Book record the return of 'arms and accouterments' and even blankets to the Quartermaster upon the discharge or death of soldiers in the company. Attention also was paid to accounting for horses, a valuable item of supply at Fort Bedford. On October 5, for example, companies were warned that if they failed to report the 'brans' (brands) of their horses, they risked the animals being picked up "as Strays and as Such Libel to be Employed in the Sarvis." Apparently, the reporting failed to meet the requirements. Two days later the officers were ordered to "produce all There Horses" so that the post commander could personally "See them all to Gither."

Training

New Pennsylvania recruits like those in Hamilton's company received basic weapons training in addition to learning to load and care for their firearms. Orderly Book entries for July 14, in Carlisle, contain directions that the troops should "fire at a mark," though not more than one round per day. This emphasis on basic marksmanship skills reflected the British Army's adaptation of infantry tactics, which had previously been more characterized by massed (essentially un-aimed) volley firing. This shift was based on hard lessons learned fighting irregular French Canadian and Indian forces in the heavily forested areas of North America. The orders issued at Carlisle are consistent with those given in

June 1759 to New England provincial troops by the senior British Army commander in North America, Maj. Gen. Jeffery Amherst.[19] Pennsylvania's officers were cautioned, however, to "be by their Respective Comapny while the soldiers are shooting at the target," and "not to suffer their men charge their Peices until they come at their Ground where they are to shoot from"—probably lest they accidentally shoot each other.[20] Beyond Carlisle, there is no indication in the Orderly Book entries that weapons training as such was renewed but inspection of arms was a daily requirement (see standing orders).[21] Each soldier was issued 18 rounds, or in some cases 20 or 30 rounds, for his weapon and was continually admonished not to waste ammunition.

As raw recruits, the men also needed to learn the daily routines and protocols of camp life, including the meaning of a series of drumbeats that signaled the troops to specific actions, e.g. the drumbeat to break camp ('the General') and to close down the camp for the night ('the Retreat'). Standing orders issued in Carlisle were to serve as the guide for behavior for the campaign, but many were repeated in later entries, suggesting that compliance remained a continual problem. A transcription of these orders follows; an attempt at a modern-day version can be found in the footnotes.[22]

Troop Assignments

Pennsylvania's troops played mainly a logistical support role in the British-led campaigns of the French and Indian War. They cut roads out of the forest, built garrisons and manned them, and made possible the movement of the large numbers of supplies needed to sustain the military forces, and in particular, the British Army in the field. The Orderly Book documents the continual shifts of Pennsylvania Regiment units and individual officers to keep the supply lines between Carlisle and Pittsburgh open and shipments protected and expedited.

In late July 1759, Captain Hamilton's company traveled from Carlisle to Fort Bedford for what was to be a five-month assignment. The troops marched as part of a large convoy through the Cumberland Valley and across the mountains with brief stops near Falling Spring (present day Chambersburg), Fort Loudon, Fort Littleton, Sidling Hill, and the Juniata River crossing (just west of present day Breezewood, Pennsylvania). The convoy included the Crown's new regional commander, Major General John Stanwix, and the Royal Train of Artillery. Pennsylvanians, under the temporary command of Lt. Col. Joseph Shippen of the Second Battalion, served as escorts for supply wagons. At Falling Spring, designated companies left the convoy for assignments repairing the road—notoriously bad between there and Fort Loudon.[23] Others were ordered to remain at Fort Loudon to await additional supply wagons and livestock needing escort over the first of the mountain gaps. Recent attacks by Indian raiding

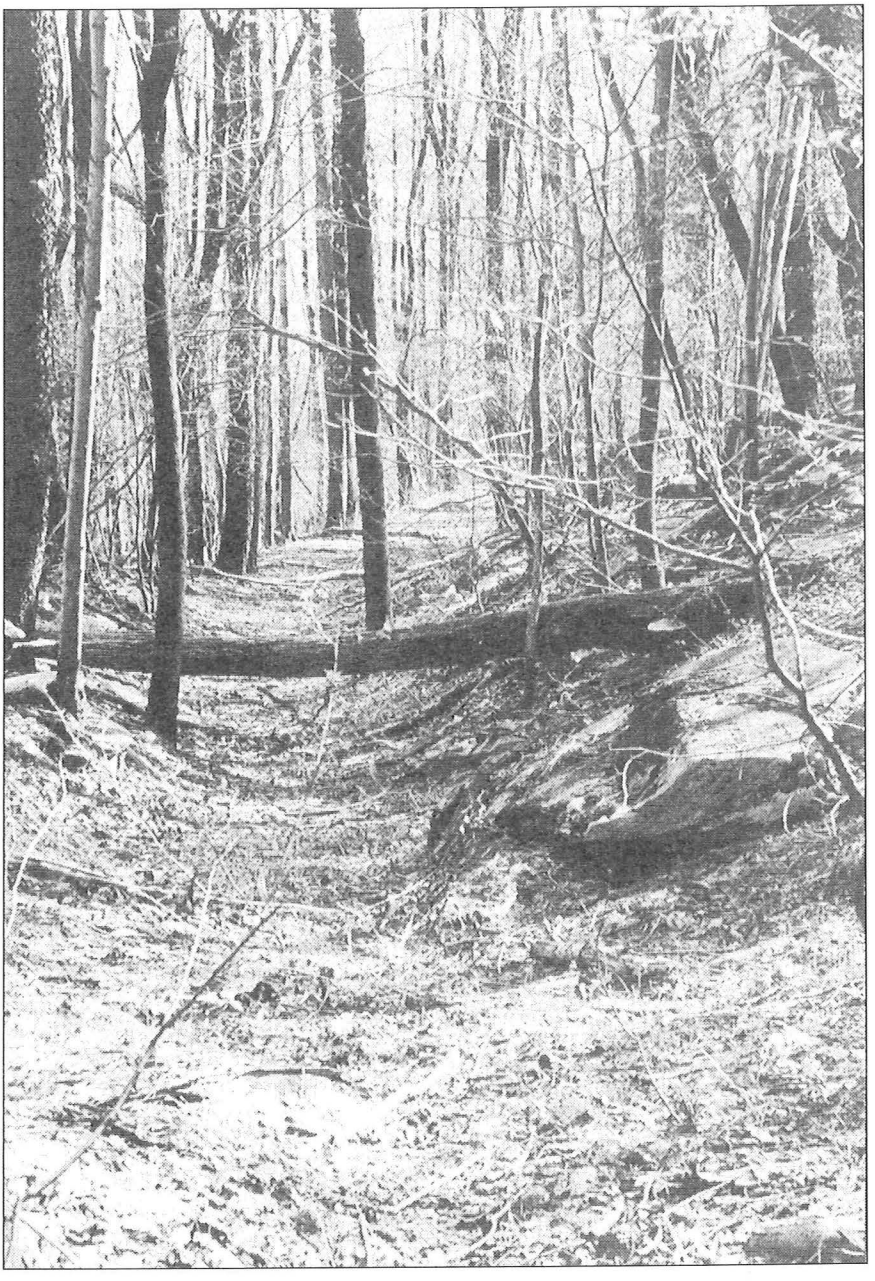


Photo of one of the few remaining sections of Forbes Road that has not been paved over by US Rt. 30
"The French and Indian War in Pennsylvania 1753-1763," by Louis M. Waddell, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1996.
Hamilton Library Collection

Standing Orders for Camp Protocols from Orderly Book Entries as Indicated

Carlisle, June 30:

Nott of Standing Several Orders have been Ishued from time to time for all the officers to apier on the Parade Morning and Evening Several have faild Obeying them. therefore they agin strickly Charged to Apier on the Parade and those that fails may be Depend on being called to on Account for Disobedience of Orders

All officers Comissend and NonComissend to be In camp when Orders given out Every Day

Carlisle, July 2:

Necessary hawses to be made in the rear of the camp no Persons to ease themselves within 100 yards of the camp the Sentries to call upon the guard who is to confine those He see Disobeying this Orders ---

An orderly officer to be appointed each Day to see this Orders obeyng and that the camp is clined once every Day, the Necessary houses filled once a day, and New once made every 4th days and make a report ther of as soon as he is relived.

Carlisle, July 3:

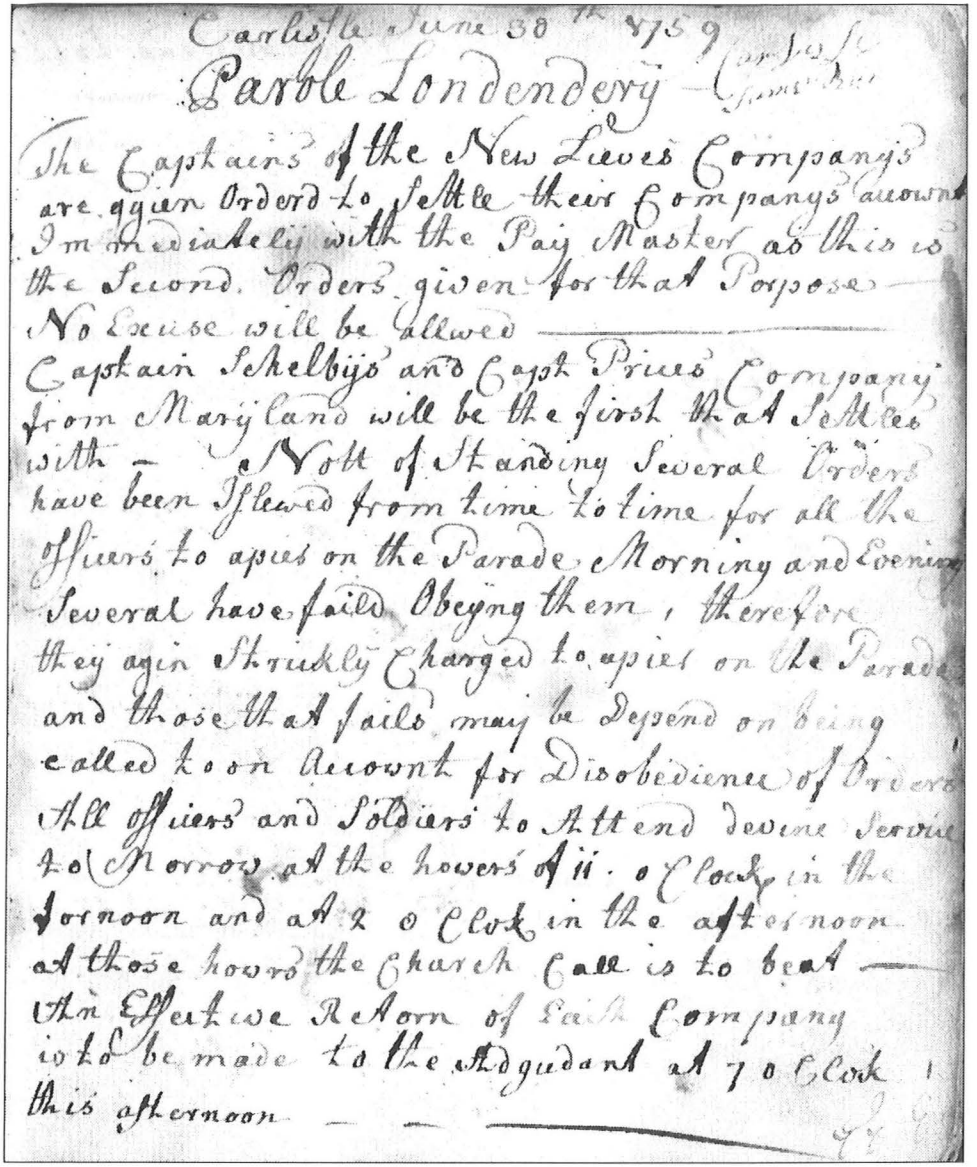
All officers on guard not to leave their Guard till Properly Relived not suffer any Spirits, Liquer to be brought to the Guard, under any Pretence What so ever and as several of the soldiers have found drunks when on guard, the officer are strictly charged to prevent this permisses Practice as much as possible and confine Delinquents –

An officer of each Company Examin once every Day, the arms accoterments and ammo of their Respective Companys, and confine such soldiers whose arms or accoterments are out of order through negligence and those that waste thier ammonition--

Carlisle, July 15:

No soldier to be abstent from Camp after the Retreat is Beat, the officers to order such soldiers to the Gaurd as they are found from Camp, from the Time of Beating the Retreat to Beating the Revelie

No soldier confined to the gaurd To Be Discharged from thence under anney pretence whatsoever without the Leave of the Commander of the [Core] the prisoner Belongs too –



Carlisle June 30th 1759

Parole Londendery

The Captains of the New Levies Companys are Again Orderd to Settle their Companys Accounts Immediately with the Pay Master as this is the Second Orders given for that Purpose — No Excuse will be allowed —

Captain Shelbys and Capt Prices Companys from Maryland will be the first that Settles with — Note of Standing Several Orders have been Shewed from time to time for all the Officers to Appear on the Parade Morning and Evening Several have failed Obeying them, therefore they Again Strickly Charged to Appear on the Parade and those that fails may be Depend on being called to an Account for Disobedience of Orders All Officers and Soldiers to Attend Divine Service to Morrow at the hower of 11 o Clock in the Forenoon and at 2 o Clock in the afternoon at those hours the Church Call is to beat — An Effective Return of Each Company is to be made to the Adjudant at 7 o Clock this afternoon — —

Page from Orderly Book for June 30, 1759
Hamilton Library Archives

parties along the road ahead had prompted the commander of Fort Bedford to require an escort of not less than 30 men for wagon convoys.[24]

Pennsylvania troops were essential to supply operations at Fort Bedford, a major transshipment point on the Forbes Road. Although the threat of attack on supply convoys in Western Pennsylvania had diminished by late summer 1759, wagon contracts specified delivery of supplies no further than Fort Bedford.[25] Pennsylvania troops offloaded supplies from the wagons to as many as 1,600 pack horses for transport to Fort Ligonier, the next major post along the road. At Fort Ligonier, supplies were reloaded onto wagons owned by the Crown and taken to Fort Pitt. Pennsylvania troops escorted the pack horses to Ligonier and the empty wagons back east. They built and repaired storehouses located along the route, and most importantly they kept the road repaired.[26] Daily entries in the Orderly Book are filled with the names of Pennsylvania Regiment officers assigned to oversee these work parties and to lead escort and camp guard detachments. Throughout the fall, the number of Pennsylvania troops at Fort Bedford decreased as elements of the First and Second Battalion were shifted to Fort Ligonier and detailed to build a new fort at Redstone Creek (near today's Brownsville). With the departure of the veteran troops, the work load for the Third Battalion and Captain Hamilton's company increased.

Conestoga Wagon, of the type used to move goods west along the Forbes Road
Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission illustration.
Hamilton Library Collection

Beyond logistics, at least a few of Pennsylvania's troops played a reconnaissance role in the campaign. Evan Shelby, a frontiersman and fur trader from Maryland who had served in both Braddock's and Forbes' expeditions, received a Pennsylvania commission in 1759 as a captain to lead a corps of rangers. The Orderly Book entry for July 18 highlights the emphasis given to the unit's formation and extra pay to be given to members. Each company in the line was ordered to "Pick out the Best woodsman, The man Everyway most Proper" for "the very useful Service they are Intended for to Perform." During July, Shelby received 27 men from the battalions. A month later he returned 14 to their units and the remainder became permanent members of his company. Overall, his company totaled nearly 120 men.[27] During the campaign, he and his rangers accompanied General Stanwix to Fort Pitt and thereafter conducted reconnaissance along the road from Fort Ligonier to Fort Pitt, scouting for threats to the supply trains and surveying alternate routes to improve travel times. By the fall of 1759, even these troops were assigned to road repairs, however, as the enemy threat and numbers of effective troops declined.[28]

Discipline

The system of discipline for both British regular and provincial troops relied on prompt determination of guilt and swift application of punishment. Courts martial, a regular feature of military life, were of two basic types: general (for capital crimes, such as desertion) and regimental (for lesser crimes, such as insubordination).[29] Courts of inquiry (preliminary hearings to determine whether grounds for a court martial existed) also were used. The Orderly Book entries include notices and listings of participants in 21 courts martial or courts of inquiry. The results of only two appear, both general courts martial:

–The first, held in Carlisle on July 18, tried two captured deserters, James Martin and William Morrow of the Pennsylvania Regiment. Nothing is known of Morrow, but a notice in the Pennsylvania Gazette accuses Martin of having deserted three times.[30] The Orderly Book cites the results of the court martial as a sentence of Death for both men and notes that the "The General is Pleased to Perform to the above sentance and to order it to be Put in Executison when the troops arrive at fort Bedford." No mention is made in later entries about the execution being performed. The announced decision to hold the execution at Fort Bedford is consistent with the British Army's use of public executions as a deterrent. In some cases, it is known that last minute reprieves were given, though less frequently in the case of repeat offenders.[31]

–The second was held in Pittsburgh but its results were announced to troops in Fort Bedford on December 6. The entry notes that Ensign George McDowell of the Pennsylvania Regiment's First Battalion "having been tryed for Theft"

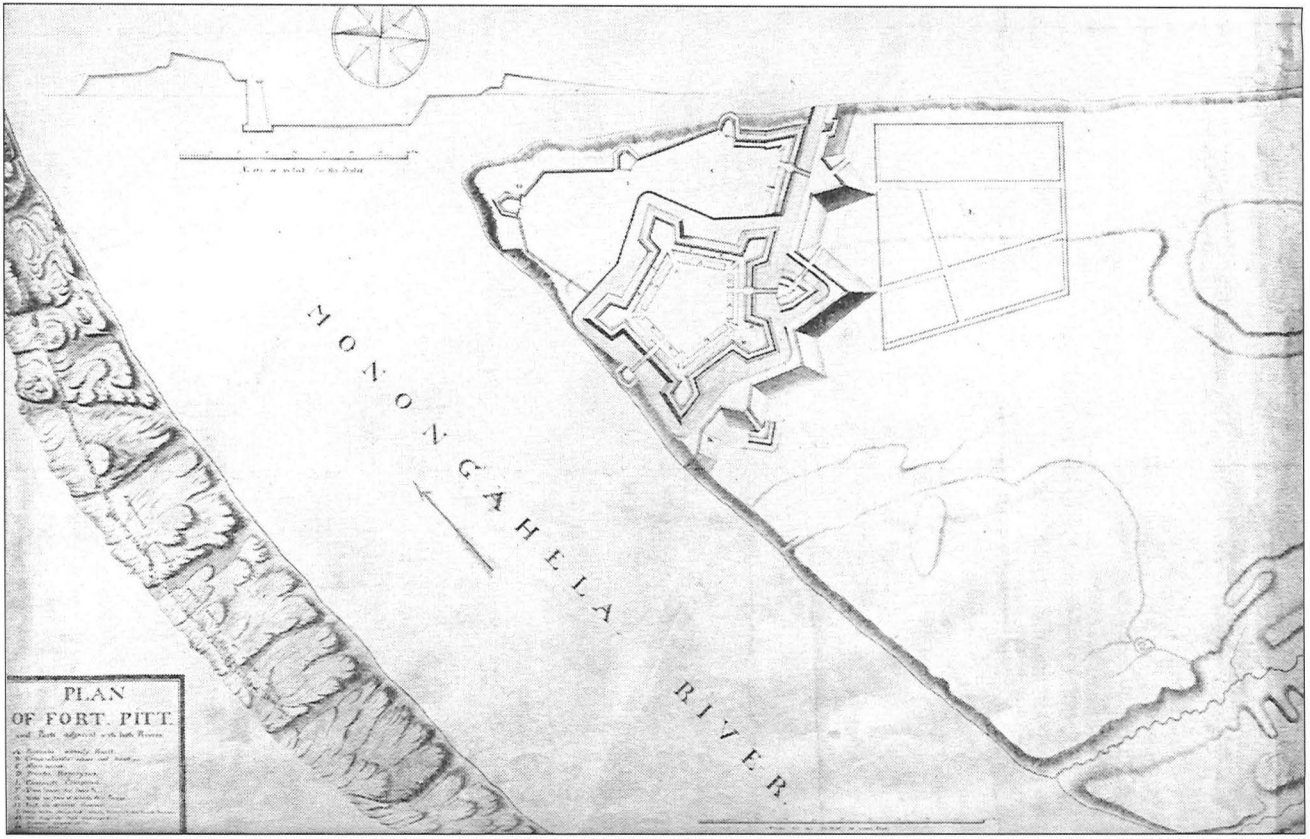
was "by the unanimus opinoun of the members of the said Court marchal acquited with hounour of the Crime Laid to his charg." The case involved a charge brought against the Pennsylvanian by an officer of the Virginia provincial regiment stationed at Fort Ligonier. Colonel John Armstrong, the commanding officer of the First Battalion, had interceded on behalf of the accused, characterizing the charges as "manifestly ridiculous."[32] The details included in the Orderly Book suggest that the case had attracted the interest of all of the Pennsylvania troops.

Diversions

Based on the frequency of work assignments recorded in the Orderly Book, Pennsylvania's soldiers at Fort Bedford spent months at unrelenting manual labor, with little time for diversions. Nonetheless, some were at least attempted. Alcohol was clearly available for sale from merchants known as sutlers, who followed the troops. Sutlers were warned (on October 25) against sales to soldiers "after Soun Set." Women were present as well, although like others in camp they had assigned duties. An entry for October 19 directs that "all women Belonging to the Provvenshal Troops are ordered to assemble Together this afternoon in the front of the Camp and all Other women followers of the armey Except Those Belonging to the Royal Americans." Hunting in the areas surrounding the camp also appears to have been a popular, if constrained activity. There were repeated warnings (on September 6 and 9 and October 8) against soldiers being absent from camp and wasting ammunition in such pursuits "unless with permission of the commander." The shooting of firearms was directed on two specific occasions, however. On August 7, troops at Fort Bedford were each provided three rounds of powder (without ball) to fire a *"feu de joy"* ("fire of joy") to celebrate the "Suckess of his Magestis Arms in Taking for Tiondaragou" (Fort Ticonderoga, taken on July 27). Similarly, on August 10, the troops fired another *"feu de joy"* and heard a prayer service to celebrate the British capture of the French fort at Niagara on July 25. For Pennsylvanians, the latter victory was the most deserving of celebration, as the loss of Fort Niagara led the French to complete the withdrawal of their forces from Lake Erie and the Ohio Country.

The End of the Campaign and Beyond

For the Crown and the Province, the 1759 campaign in western Pennsylvania was a success. Although the British victories far to the north were responsible for the removal of the French threat, the construction of Fort Pitt and the establishment of regular supply shipments along the new Forbes Road solidified a British presence on the Ohio River. The new road and chain of forts, built largely by the efforts of Pennsylvania's provincial troops, formed the infrastruc-



Fort Pitt, constructed at the junction of the Monongahela, Allegheny, and Ohio Rivers at the site of present day Pittsburgh
"Pennsylvania: The Heritage of a Commonwealth, Vol. 1," by Sylvester K. Stevens, American Historical Company, Inc., 1968.
Hamilton Library Collection

ture for westward expansion not only for the Province but ultimately for the new nation as well.

For Pennsylvania troops, the end of the campaign meant the deactivation of most of the regiment. In early December 1759, the Pennsylvania Assembly authorized only a few officers and men (150) to be retained to man Fort Littleton, Fort Loudon and other posts to the east.[33] The men of Captain Hamilton's company prepared for their release from service and departure from Fort Bedford by taking stock of and returning accountable items such as tents and "arms and accoutrements." On December 24, the troops received orders to proceed directly to Lancaster to turn in their arms and be discharged. Sick personnel were to march to Carlisle under the care of an officer. It is not known exactly which soldiers of Captain Hamilton's company went to which destination. A report prepared just before the company's departure from Fort Bedford records the return of a total of "eight gouns and acotrements" to the Quartermaster. This suggests that at least some in the company were unable (too sick?) to make the trip to Lancaster on their own.

Pennsylvania continued to field its provincial troops on a more limited basis in the 1760's, increasing their strength in 1763-64 to support the British-led campaign to suppress Pontiac's Uprising. Several officers named in the Orderly Book served during this period, but Captain Hamilton apparently was not among them.

Although little is known, or could be found by this researcher, of what became of the men of Captain Hamilton's Company, at least two members–the company's two sergeants–joined the ranks of Cumberland County's early entrepreneurs:

– Sergeant Christopher Limes (Lems, Lemms, Lim, Lewis, etc.), like many other military veterans then and now, used his wartime experience and connections, in this case with the Pennsylvania Regiment and possibly the British Royal American Regiment, to earn money selling goods and services to the military.[34] A frontier trader/hauler/sutler, Limes supplied troops at Fort Bedford and Fort Pitt.[35] By December 1760, he was operating a tavern at Fort Bedford and seeking to open another near Fort Pitt. In 1763, when Indian attacks threatened his business and properties, Limes temporarily turned soldier once again. He raised a company of militia, obtained a Pennsylvania commission as Captain, and served under Bouquet in Pontiac's War.[36] As an early landholder in Cumberland County (later Bedford County), Limes achieved prominence by serving as a member of a commission sent by Governor Penn in early 1768 to give notice to settlers to leave Indian lands in Western Pennsylvania.[37]

– Sergeant Samuel Ramsay also earned money selling and transporting goods, but his customers were mainly civilians. Unlike Limes, Ramsey remained east of the mountains, conducting business with settlers in Cumberland County (including areas that are now in southern Perry County) and possibly northern York (now Adams) and Lancaster Counties. He used the Orderly Book for his accounting, recording sales of agricultural products and fees for hauling services through at least 1789.[38] Although there is no indication Ramsey again served in the military, in 1776 he apparently supplied the military commissariat in Carlisle, hauling wood as ordered by a Colonel Davis 'for the us of the Steats.[39]

In the years after 1789, subsequent generations of owners filled the remaining blank pages of the Orderly Book with poetry and wrote their names in vacant spaces amid the original 1759 entries. A "John M'Conaughey" added a poem, for which he provided both encoded text and its translation, and dedicated his work to Sergeant Ramsey. The inscription, "David McConaughy, Blacksmith of Manalin township by Great Canowago York county in America," appears next to two other poems about British military exploits.[40] Could these men have been from the family of the David McConaughy who served as Deputy Sheriff of York County under Hance Hamilton, Thomas's father? Other individuals who added their names to the book, perhaps as penmanship practice, include Martha, James and Alexander Ramsey; Isabella Kelley; and Sarah Ann Woodrow. In 1902, John M. Cooper, of 109 North Hanover Street, Carlisle, donated the book to the Hamilton Library.

Other Hamilton Library Resources on the French and Indian War Period

In addition to the manuscript outlined in this article, visitors to the Hamilton Library will find a large number of rare and now out of print publications that provide a wealth of detail on military operations in Pennsylvania during the French and Indian War and on what life was like for frontier settlers during this dangerous period. Key among these resources are the Library's multi-volume editions of the *Pennsylvania Archives*, various county histories, Loudon's *Indian Narratives*, and Hunter's *Forts on the Pennsylvania Frontier, 1753-1758*. The Library also has a complete set of *The Papers of Henry Bouquet*, a multi-volume compendium that contains both the correspondence of key players in the war and an Orderly Book kept by Colonel Bouquet's headquarters in 1758. A full transcription of Captain Hamilton's Company Orderly Book, with an identification of Pennsylvania Regiment personnel and an index of names and place names, is available for use in the Library.

Endnotes

1 Louis M. Waddell et al, eds., *The Papers of Henry Bouquet*, vol. 4 (Harrisburg: The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1978), 42 and 188.

2 Fred Anderson, *The War That Made America: A Short History of the French and Indian War.* (New York: Viking/Penguin Group, 2005), 71.

3 The British command also recruited throughout the colonies for soldiers to fill in the ranks of the 60th or Royal American Regiment (RAR) of Foot. Henry Bouquet, second in command of forces for the Forbes Expedition and the campaign of 1759 was a Swiss national who was a Lieutenant Colonel in the RAR .

4 William A. Hunter, *Forts on the Pennsylvania Frontier, 1753-1758* (Harrisburg: The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1960), 201.

5 This depiction of the structure and formal leadership assignments of the regiment and estimated assignment of companies is drawn from unit listings in the Pennsylvania Archives, Fifth Series, vol. 1 (Harrisburg: Harrisburg Publishing Company, State Printer), 1906, 271, 295-300. Actual command assignments varied. Provincial governor William Denny's title as Colonel in Chief was honorific only. Moreover, although Col. Hugh Mercer is shown as Colonel Commandant of the Third Battalion, during 1759 he served as commandant at Pittsburgh, leaving Lt. Col. Work to head the battalion. The latter was temporarily assigned for part of the year as the officer in charge of Fort Loudon, leaving Major Ward temporarily in charge of the battalion.

6 The connection between Thomas Hamilton of the Orderly Book and the family of Hance Hamilton of then York (now Adams) County is based on circumstantial but persuasive evidence. For example, York County estate records list a Thomas as Hance's oldest son and marriage records indicate that three of Hance's children married members of the McKean (McKeen) family. Thomas's marriage to Mary McKean was officiated on April 28, 1758 by Thomas Barton, who served as a chaplain in the Forbes Campaign. A Thomas Hamilton, commissioned for the first time on May 16, 1758 is listed as raising 20 men that year. See John Gibson, ed. *History of York County, Pennsylvania...* (Chicago: F. A. Battery Publishing Company, 1886) 108; and York County marriage and estate records held by the York County Heritage Trust, York, Pennsylvania.

7 "A List of Officers of the New Levies & the Dates of their Commissions—1759". *Pa. Archives*, Fifth Series, vol. 1, 296.

8 Donald H. Kent et al, eds., *The Papers of Henry Bouquet*, vol. 3 (Harrisburg: The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1976), 259.

9 The Bonds and Commissions associated with the appointment of Thomas Hamilton as Sheriff of York County list his name together with Hance Hamilton. Both are listed as residing in Cumberland Township, York County. Hance was sheriff of the county in 1749 and 1755; Thomas held the post in 1756 and his commission was renewed in 1757. Pa. Archives, Third Series, vol. 9, 146-7; 153; 176-177; 200.

10 *Pa. Archives*, Fifth Series, vol. 1, 296.

11 *Pa. Archives*, Fifth Series, vol. 1, 57. The company's other sergeant, Christofar Limes (also known as Lems, Lemms, Lim, Lewis, etc.) was identified by Edward G. Williams as having served in the Kittaning Expedition, but this assessment is not supported by the source material cited. Edward G. Williams, ed. *Bouquet's March to the Ohio: the Forbes Road*, (Pittsburgh, 1975), 50, fn (f).

12 R. S. Stephenson, "Pennsylvania Provincial Soldiers in the Seven Years' War," *Pennsylvania History* 62.2 (1995): 196-212.

13 Bouquet to Burd, 26 June 1759, Kent, 382-383.

14 Bouquet to Burd, 27 June 1759, Kent, 383-384.

15 Assessment of Wagons in Lancaster County, Kent, 394-395.

16 Although Mercer's wording is somewhat unclear, it seems fair to assume he believed that with pay in their pockets, the troops were more likely to get into trouble. See Mercer to Burd, May 23, 1759, Kent, 308.

17 Hunter, 198-199.

18 Timely payment for Provincial troops was an issue throughout the war. In 1759, New Levies received four months pay at enlistment and were to receive another four months pay by January 1760. See Stanwix to Denny, 18 October 1759, Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania (*Colonial Records*), vol. 8 (Harrisburg: Theo. Fenn & Co., 1852), 427.

19 Stephen Brumwell, *Redcoats: The British Soldier and War in the Americas, 1755-1763* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 248 and Fred Anderson, *A People's Army—Massachusetts Soldiers & Society in the Seven Years War* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1984), 75.

20 Anderson, 76.

21 Other Pennsylvania troops did engage in marksmanship practice while stationed at Fort Ligonier early in 1759. Blane to Bouquet, March 2, 1759, Kent, 166-167.

22 Translation of standing orders for camp protocols as cited in various Orderly Book entries. Carlisle, June 30: Not withstanding the issuance of several orders from time to time for all of the officers to appear on the Parade grounds morning and evening, several have failed to obey. Therefore they are again strictly charged to appear on the parade and those that fail may depend upon being called to account for disobedience of orders. Carlisle, July 2: Latrines are to be located in the rear of the camp. No persons are to relieve themselves within 100 yards of the camp. Those observed disobeying these orders will be confined by the Guard. An orderly officer is to be appointed each day to see that the camp is cleaned once a day, latrines are filled once a day, and new ones are dug every fourth day. The orderly will report on the accomplishment of orders as soon as he is relieved. Carlisle, July 3: All officers must remain on guard until they are properly relieved. No alcohol of any sort is to be brought to those on guard duty. Officers are reminded to enforce this prohibition

because several individuals have been found drunk while on guard. Violators will be confined. In each Company, an officer is to inspect his soldiers arms and related equipment and ammunition. They are to confine any soldiers whose arms, etc. are out of order through negligence or who waste their ammunition. Carlisle, July 15: No soldier is to be absent from camp at night (from Retreat to Reveille). The Guard will confine any soldiers found outside the camp during that time. No soldier confined by the guard will be discharged under any pretence whatsoever without the permission of the commander of the corps to which the soldier is assigned.

23 The road was to be "opened wide enough for Three Waggons to go abreast, & the Rut filled up with gravel or stones, and the bridges put in order." [Bouquet] to Chambers, July 17, 1759, Waddell, 421.

24 Major John Tulleken to Stanwix, July 12, 1759 and to Bouquet, July 13, 1759, Waddell, 402-405 and 412-413.

25 Weiser to Denny, June 25, 1759, Kent, 379-381.

26 Virginia provincial troops under Colonel William Byrd performed similar tasks in 1759, operating principally out of Fort Ligonier. Bouquet to Gordon, July 23, 1759, Kent, 444-445.

27 "Capt. Evan Shelby: Roll of Rangers" [B.M., Add. MSS. 21644, f.476. A.D.S.]. S. K. Stevens et al, eds., *The Papers of Col. Henry Bouquet*, Series 21644, part 2 (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical Commission, 1941), 182-185.

28 Gates to Bouquet, September 8, 1759, Waddell, 53.

29 "British Courts Martial – Their History," <http://www.stephen-stratford.co.uk/history_cm.htm (14 February 2008). For a detailed discussion of the application of British military discipline in the provincial forces, see also Anderson, 121-135.

30 At least four desertion notices appeared in the Pennsylvania Gazette for James Martin, a soldier from Captain Samuel Grubb's Company of the Second Battalion. Martin also had deserted from the Royal American Regiment. Pennsylvania Gazette, May 17, 1759 (No. 1586); June 14, 1759 (No. 1590); July 12, 1759 (No. 1594); and July 19, 1759 (No. 1595). Pa. Archives, 1:283.

31 Brumwell, 106-110.

32 Armstrong to Bouquet, September 10, 1759, Waddell, 66. Footnote 4 for this letter identifies Ensign McDowal as either Alexander McDowell or George McDowell. The Orderly Book entry clarifies the identity of the ensign.

33 Waddell et al, vol. 4, 376, fn 1.

34 In a letter to General Amherst on 10 June 1763, Captain Lieutenant Lewis Ourry cited Christopher Lems as having once been a sergeant in the Royal American Regiment. Louis M. Waddell, ed., *The Papers of Henry Bouquet*, vol. 6, 247. In December 1759, the Royal American Regiment actively sought to recruit men being discharged from the Pennsylvania Regiment. See Amherst to Stanwix, 18 December 1759, Waddell et al, vol. 4, 370. It is possible that Limes responded to this recruitment effort and stayed in Fort Bedford as part

of the Royal American Regiment. It also is possible, though less likely, that Limes had been with the Royal American Regiment earlier in the war or that Captain Ourry was mistaken in his identification of the former sergeant.

35 See Ourry to Bouquet, 14 December 1760, Waddell et al, vol. 5, 174. Limes name also appears on a list of owners of houses at Fort Pitt. Waddell et al, vol. 5, 410. His official status as a sutler to troops at Fort Bedford is documented by a license signed in September 1761 by the British commander of Fort Bedford, Captain Lieutenant Lewis Ourry. This license is on exhibit at the Fort Bedford Museum in Bedford, Pennsylvania.

36 Hamilton to Armstrong, 11 July 1763, Pa. Archives, First Series, vol. 4, 116.

37 Pa. Archives, Colonial Records, vol. 9, 481-483.

38 A listing of about 50 names transcribed from the accounts kept by Samuel Ramsey is available in the Hamilton Library.

39 Colonel John Davis was the Continental Army's Deputy Quartermaster General stationed at Carlisle.

40 William A. Hunter, "Collectanea: Verses from a Colonial Orderly Book," *Keystone Folklore Quarterly*, vol 20, nos 1&2, winter-spring 1975, 57-70.

41 S. K. Stevens et al, eds., *The Papers of Henry Bouquet*, vol. 2 (Harrisburg: The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1951), 655-690.

Notable Acquisitions 2008

The Carlisle Area School District moved its collection of school board records dating from 1836 – 1996 to the Society for preservation and safekeeping.

Richard Nickle donated a large collection of sports memorabilia including a group of items regarding Billy Owens.

A 1793 land warrant for Juniata Township (now in Perry County) was donated by Chip Fenton.

Charles Leeds donated a collection of items related to his career with the Pennsylvania Railroad.

Sally Jenkins donated the research material she used to write her book, *The Real All-Americans.*

A collection of Penn Times Newsletters was donated by Ann and David Smith.

Tita Eberly donated a large-format color reproduction of the Mechanicsburg Map from the 1872 Atlas of Cumberland County.

Jacob Waggoner donated an 1840 servant indenture.

A collection of Newville area items was given by Nancy S. Tritt

Raymond Heckman gave original architectural drawings of the Sadler Estate, Thornwald.

Carlisle Country Club collection given by Marguerite Harnish.

Cumberland County Pennsylvania in the Civil War by John Hemminger given by Bob Rowe.

Daniel North, the Immigrant by Paul North given by the author.

Cooperative Weather Observer Records, 1916-1974 given by Jane Chronister.

Collection of items related to the artist, Clifford Holmead Phillips, given by Patricia Mateya.

Tell Me, Tell Me, by Marianne Moore given by Richard Hammann.

VHS tapes and transcriptions completed by students of Susan Smith regarding the one-room schools in the Big Spring School District.

The Carlisle Hospital, The Most Important Building in Town, by Sue Meehan.

Collection of Civil War Books given by Joe Winton.

Unpublished index of Cumberland County Indictments, 1800 – 1825 given by the compiler, Merri Lou Schaumann.

Collection of business ledgers from the G. B. Dum feed, coal and lumber business, 1906 – 1918 given by Bob Rowe.

An anonymous donor gave a collection of items purchased at an auction in Newville from the Hemphill estate.

A large collection of museum and library reference sources was located by Rachel Zuch at the Institute of Museum and Library Services. These items were provided free to the Society and will be very useful for staff in working with various collections.

Gail Gill gave a copy of "Medical Soldier" from V-J Day, August 1945, the newspaper of the Medical Field Service School at Carlisle Barracks.

Raymond Wiss gave a framed deed from Dickinson Township, 1812.

Harry Nusser gave a copy of his work, "The Backbone of Early American Industry: Iron Making in Central Pennsylvania, 1724-1900."

CCHS Staff Collected the following:

1865 Newville concert broadside with a list of soldiers on the reverse from Company E.

"Mother Earth and Her Children: A Quilted Fairy Tale" by Sibylle Von Olfers.

"The Trial of Emanuel Myers of Maryland, November 1859," a photocopy of a booklet about a fugitive slave case involving slaves captured in Carlisle, Pennsylvania.

Indian School files from the National Archives collected as part of the writing of the new book on Indian School art, "Changing Images, The Art and Artists of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School" by Linda Witmer.

Central Book Store records, 1927-1938 found in the floor of the former IOOF building on High Street. This business was located on the first floor of the building at 33 and 35 West High Street.

"Changing Images: The Art and Artists of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School" by Linda F. Witmer was published by the Society.

"First Families of Cumberland County – Waynesboro Quadrangle" by Paul Barner and Hayes Eschenmann was published by the Society.

Ann Hoffer donated "American Windsor Chairs," by Nancy Goyne Evans and a collection of 30 receipts from the Charles S. Hoffer Meats business.

Ilene S. Whitacre and Janet S. Zettlemoyer donated an extensive collection of Carlisle Indian School items that had been collected by their father, John S. Steckbeck. Dr. Steckbeck used much of this material in writing his book, "The Fabulous Redmen."

Joan McBride donated a collection of 30 items related to various Cumberland County topics.

Michael Lau donated a framed photocopy of Jim Thorpe's 1913 marriage license.

Bob Rowe donated a variety of items including a history of Company H, 3rd Pennsylvania Cavalry and 4 photocopies of 1887 and 1888 issues of "Indian Helper."

Stewart Family Collection – purchased at Auction with funds from the Pierson K. Miller Trust.

Dr. Fulk/Alfred Greenwood Collection – In Memory of Paul S. Lesher by: Lilliam May Jacubus Lesher, Karen Lesher Minder, Alan Paul Lesher, Lynn Lesher Brown, Maryann Lesher Pohle, donated by Alan Paul Lesher.

"First Families of Cumberland County, Vol. 14, Shermansdale and Wertzville Quadrangles," published by the Society.

Funeral Address booklet for Prudence M. Wing given by William H. Thomas.

"United Telephone Service Since 1901: United Telephone System – Eastern Group History," Mechanicsburg, PA: Center Square Press, 1982. – donated by Charles and Isabelle Gibb.

Framed Broadside "Grand Parade! In Mechanicsburg, PA," purchased at auction using funds from the Pierson K. Miller Trust.

Items from the estate of Walter Bishop given by Juanita Mell.

Collection of receipts from a local coal business donated by Paul Sunday.

"First Families of Cumberland County, Vol. 15, Greencastle Quadrangle," published by the Society.

Army Day program and history booklet given by George Yuda.

"A Willing Heart: The Life Story of H. Robert Davis Jr.," by Susan E. Meehan given by Dr. H. Robert Davis.

Collection of material involving former county commissioner A. Wayne Smith donated by Cliff and Louise Brown.

"Descendants of Georg Andreas Burkhardt & Susanne Mutschler," given by Gordon P. Burgett, Jr.

Scrapbook of local WWII military veterans donated by Lester and Pearl Mohler.

"Fire Light: The Life of Angel DeCora," published by the University of Oklahoma Press.

Minutes of the Board of Directors for the Cumberland County 250th Anniversary Celebration, given by Merri Lou Schaumann.

"Two Essays: A plan for the Punishment of Crime," by Benjamin Rush given by Jeannette B. Brown

"The American Farmhouse and Early American Inns and Taverns," donated by Bosler Library c/o Nancy Halton.

Collection of C.H. Masland. Co. Inc., materials donated by IAC (International Automotive Components Group).

CUMBERLAND COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY PUBLICATIONS

The County Heritage Series

The Bitter Fruits: The Civil War Comes to a Small Town in Pennsylvania, by David G. Colwell (1998). Hardcover, $10.00.

In Pursuit of Pleasure: Leisure in Nineteenth Century Cumberland County, by Clarke Garrett (1997). Hardcover, $10.00.

Past Receipts, Present Recipes, by CCHS Cookbook Committee (1996). $10.00.

The Indian Industrial School, Carlisle, Pennsylvania 1879–1918, by Linda F. Witmer (2000). Paperback, $24.95.

"Drive the Road and Bridge the Ford": Highway Bridges of Nineteenth Century Cumberland County, by Paul E. Gill (1992). Hardcover, $24.95.

Twentieth Century Thoughts. Carlisle: The Past Hundred Years, by Ann Kramer Hoffer (2001). Paperback, $29.95

Recent Publications

The Secret War at Home: The Pine Grove Furnace Prisoner of War Interrogation Camp, by John Paul Bland (2006). Paperback, $22.00.

The New Way: Greeks Come to Carlisle, Pennsylvania, by Susan E. Meehan (2003). Paperback, $22.95

Seven Lively Artists: Fifty Years of Art. (Exhibit catalog, 2006). Paperback, $10.00.

Walking Guide to Historic Carlisle, PA. (2001). Paperback, $5.00,

First Families of [Old] Cumberland County (maps and surname indexes to 18th century land records in Cumberland and Franklin counties), by Hayes Eschenmann and Paul Barner. Thirteen volumes, spiral bound paperback with map, $15.00 each.

Recent volumes:

Vol. X – Chambersburg (Franklin County)
Vol. XI– Roxbury (Franklin County)
Vol. XII– Carlisle
Vol. XIII– Waynesboro (Franklin County)
Vol. XIV– Shermansdale and Wertzville
Vol. XV– Greencastle (Franklin County)
Vol. XVI– Mt. Holly Springs

A complete list of publications available at CCHS, as well as information concerning ordering, sales tax, and postage and handling fees, is available at www.historicalsociety.com.