A REVOLUTIONARY JOURNAL AND ORDERLY BOOK OF GENERAL LACHLAN MCINTOSH'S EXPEDITION, 1778

Edited by EDWARD G. WILLIAMS

SECOND INSTALLMENT

INTRODUCTION TO ROBERT MCCREADY'S ORDERLY BOOK

As a sequel to Robert McCready's Journal of the McIntosh expedition of 1778 (the only journal of that event that has come to our view),¹ it is a singular fact that two orderly books of the same event have survived and that both have been obscured by a veil of misapprehension for more than a century. The first of these orderly books to be considered, and the one here-with first printed, was kept by Robert McCready, the diarist, himself. An erroneous label applied to it has served to screen it from the prying eyes of historical research workers.

According to McCready's affidavit, the orderly book, which he had kept as adjutant in Colonel Stephenson's Regiment, was attached to and accompanied his application for a pension (in 1836)² under the Act of Congress of 1832. The War Department gathered and indexed all Revolutionary records under the Act of 1892, and soon after the institution of the National Archives, in 1935, all Revolutionary pension records were deposited in its vaults. The application, supporting statements and witnessing affidavits remained among the pension files, while the Orderly Book and the Journal, probably after the 1892 date, went to the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress. Further to mystify those interested in following Robert McCready's career (as previously stated), the family historian and genealogist makes no mention of the existence of either the Journal or the Orderly Book.

The Journal went into the Journals and Diaries section of the Library of Congress and was correctly identified. The Orderly Book

¹ "A Revolutionary Journal and Orderly Book of General McIntosh's Expedition, 1778," Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine, XLIII, 1-17; hereinafter noted as WPHM.
² Robert McCready's Pension Records, National Archives, Washington, D. C., S-5747; hereinafter noted as Robert McCready's Pension Records.
Book, however, went into the section devoted to orderly books of all wars and received a label which read:

Robert McCreedy's Orderly Book
of Col Hugh Stephenson's Rifle Regt. 1778
Va. & M'd Corps

Now Hugh Stephenson (or Stevenson) was captain of a company of riflemen from Berkeley County, Virginia, who raced Daniel Morgan's and Michael Cresap's companies to Boston in the summer of 1775. Stephenson's company accomplished the march from Shepherdstown, Berkeley County, Virginia (now West Virginia), in 25 days. In June of 1776, he was commissioned Colonel of a regiment of Maryland and Virginia riflemen who suffered great losses around New York, and the remnant was captured with Fort Washington in November of 1776. In the meantime, Colonel Hugh Stephenson had died in September of that year.

During this time Robert McCreedy had enlisted and was, from the beginning of August, with a York County, Pennsylvania, company under a Captain Reed in Major Findley's command, which marched into New Jersey to be placed in Colonel Helton's Regiment. It is, then, obvious that neither Colonel Hugh Stephenson nor his regiment existed in November of 1778, at the time of the start of McIntosh's expedition, nor could McCreedy at any time have been in Colonel Hugh Stephenson's Regiment. McCreedy's Orderly Book, thus, was wrongly labeled, which has thrown many a searcher off the track in his quest for material relating to the McIntosh campaign.

There is internal evidence in the Orderly Book itself, however, that the Colonel Stephenson under whom McCreedy served was Colonel John Stephenson, since in one place, under date of Fort

4 John C. Fitzpatrick, The Writings of George Washington, VI, 128, 168; XII, 202 n; hereinafter noted as Fitzpatrick, Writings of Washington.
5 Robert McCready's Pension Records.
6 John Stephenson, born in Virginia (now Berkeley County) in c.1737, was one of five Stephenson brothers, John, Hugh, Richard, James, and Marcus, half-brothers to William and Valentine Crawford. The father of the Crawford boys having died when the sons were very young, the mother, née Onora Grimes, married Richard Stephenson. The seven sons were all very large, athletic and vigorous, like the mother, who died in 1776. Thus Hugh, Valentine, and the mother all died within five months, September, 1776 and January, 1777. Washington-Crawford Letters, 63, 11; Thwaites and Kellogg, Frontier
McIntosh, October 18, 1778, the orders read: "The Regt of Col° Jn° Stephenson . . . to hold themselves in Readiness To march At an hours warning." Apparently nobody read the books before applying the label upon the slipcase, which title also appears in the Guidebook to Historical Manuscripts in the Library of Congress.

As mentioned previously, there is another orderly book of the expedition. This book was copied by Dr. Lyman C. Draper in 1851 and, in a much edited and changed form, was printed by Louise P. Kellogg in Frontier Advance on the Upper Ohio.\(^7\) As published, it is hardly recognizable for the same orderly book as the original. Many abbreviations, so characteristic and expressive of the mental processes of the writer, were written in full, punctuation changed or supplied, even Colonel Brodhead's style of writing his signature and his rank was changed. At one place where the General for the N\(^{th}\) time was issuing a strong admonition against wasting ammunition, the adjutant wrote after the order: \(\underline{\text{I I I}}\) —humorously indicating his sentiment that it was an "old song." This extremely interesting sidelight was omitted altogether from this version. Also worthy of comment is the fact that the handwriting of the orderly changed the very next day. Again we note that youth and human nature have changed but little with the passing of time.

In a footnote at the beginning of the printed orderly book, the editor says that "the original is not now extant.\(^8\) The reason for this statement is not easy to understand; for, as a matter of fact, it very definitely does exist and is among the manuscript collection

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1960  AN ORDERLY BOOK OF MCINTOSH'S EXPEDITION, 1778  159

Defense on the Upper Ohio, Madison (1912), 190; hereafter noted Thwaites, Frontier Defense. Stephenson served in the French and Indian War and, about 1768, moved to Jacobs Creek, now Fayette County, Pa. He was visited by Washington in 1770 (October 16). John C. Fitzpatrick, Diaries of George Washington, Boston and New York (1925), I 409. In 1774 Stephenson commanded a company in Dunmore's War and was active in the Pennsylvania-Virginia troubles on the Virginia side. In 1775, he raised a company to serve under the (Rev.) Colonel Peter Muhlenberg, the 8th Virginia, and was at Charleston, S.C., and Savannah, Ga. In 1777, he retired in the fall on account of ill health but served as a volunteer in Hand's 1778 campaign, and commanded a regiment of militia in McIntosh's expedition. About 1790 he moved to the South Fork of the Licking in Kentucky, where he died. He was known as a brave and popular commander and citizen. Thwaites and Kellogg, Frontier Defense, 190; Veech, Monongahela of Old, 118; Franklin Ellis, History of Fayette County, 522ff.

7 Louise P. Kellogg, Frontier Advance on the Upper Ohio, Madison, Wis. (1916), 423ff.; hereinafter noted as Kellogg, Frontier Advance.

8 Ibid., 423, note 1.
of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. It is the same of which Dr. Draper wrote: "On the cover Within is once written 'Cap† Lieut. John Hardin'—and repeatedly 'John Guthrie, Ensign.'" Each of these officers was adjutant to Colonel Brodhead's 8th Pennsylvania Regiment, and these names appear beautifully inscribed on the first page of the book as it exists at this very time. The foregoing circumstance has served to bury the orderly book under a cloak of mystery from which it has only now emerged.

We shall make comparisons with the book of the 8th Pennsylvania from time to time, as there are gaps in McCready's book which may be thus filled. On the other hand, there are many more gaps in Ensign Guthrie's book which are supplied by McCready's. There are still other lapses which occur simultaneously in both books, and it would seem that, for some reason, there were no orders on these days.

In the Introduction to this work (found in the previous number of this magazine) we referred to the troubles of General McIntosh prior to his coming to the northern theatre of the war. Very recently a great deal of archeological work has been done by the Georgia Historical Society in locating the long-lost grave of Button Gwinnett. This reminds us of other new material that has come to hand, throwing new light upon the whole episode.

In the interest of impartial historical facts, it seems almost unbelievable that there should not have been extenuating circumstances which caused such intense animosity as must have existed between McIntosh and Gwinnett. On the basis of nearly all of the published evidence it would appear that Gwinnett was entirely the aggressor. In writing his Biographical Sketches of Delegates from Georgia to Continental Congress, Charles C. Jones conveys that impression, as do other writers on the subject. Washington's letters speak highly of McIntosh at first, although they later take on a sound of disappointment. Henry Woodman, however, re-

9 Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa., MS Room, Item No. 973 (McIntosh). This was evidently among the papers of General William Irvine and was in the possession of Gen. Irvine's grandson when Dr. Draper perused it in 1851. The Irvine papers were later placed in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.


12 Fitzpatrick, Writings of Washington, XIV, 262; XI, 379, 422.
ording the memories of his father, says: "Lee and Conway ... were remarkable for their high and domineering spirits, and McIntosh for many singular peculiarities and credulity" — this from a fellow Southerner, a North Carolinian who served under him, Woodman's father.

Much of McIntosh's trouble seemed to arise from the intense jealousy of Colonel Brodhead, who was highly critical of every act of his commander, even when he was conforming to direct orders from Congress and the Commander-in-Chief. It is an interesting observation that Brodhead, after he got the command, followed the exact pattern of his predecessor, advocated the indispensability of Fort Laurens to the defense of the frontiers, the urgency of a thrust to Detroit, the strategy of carrying the offensive into the enemy's country rather than of building more forts, and finally succumbed to the opposition of subordinate officers.

A most provocative commentary on the grass-roots thinking of the enlisted man has recently turned up in the form of a letter written by a soldier in the 8th Pennsylvania Regiment while stationed at Fort McIntosh during the winter of 1778-1779. It reflects the attitude of the rank and file toward military discipline and toward their officers. It shows their opinion regarding the wisdom of building Fort Laurens ("fort Noncence," the writer called it), indicating that the nickname was applied around the campfires, a view strongly supported by Colonel Brodhead. The real interest lies in the apparent fact that army life and army slang have changed but little and that the spirit of youth was exactly the same then as now. We print the letter in full, noting that the spelling, capitalization, punctuation, and so forth, are just the same as that in the Journal

15 Kellogg, *Frontier Advance*, 263, 272 (indispensability of Fort Laurens), 287 (necessity for Fort McIntosh); 303 (agreement of all officers to maintain Ft. Laurens), 311 (carry war into Indian Country); *Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania*, Harrisburg (1896), II, 136 (controversy, Brodhead with officers).
16 The letter was written by James Littell to his brother, William, ancestor of Mr. William Adams Littell of Hanover Township, Beaver County, Pa., who presented the letter. Like the orderly book, the penmanship is beautiful; but, following the custom of the times, punctuation is almost totally lacking, spelling phonetic and no standardization of spelling.
and Orderly Book. Keep in mind that the writer of the letter was Irish.

Fort McIntosh January 29th 1779

Dr William:
I take this opportunity to Acquaint you how Afares Stands here & how I got in the Next Day after you and I parted. I got to the Block House A Bout the Midle Of the After Noon where I had to Stay all Night And got in Next Day in time to Draw my Cloathing But had Almost been to Late though with Anu Drew what follows One Blanket one Coat One Jacket & one Pare of Shoes & one Do Hoes

The Leter Did not Seeme to Take much Affect upon the Old fellow as some of his men Did not Com in acord and to promise. It Did Inrage him a little at the First which makes him Very Back wards in giveing any more furlows Nor I Do Not think of Getting Home any More Except Captin Mc Cormack or some of the Officers there would spake To the General about me

Duty is [unreadable] Hard & [unreadable] is Very Particular for if a man Dus any thing Amiss Into the gard house with him & he Must Either List [Dur]ing the War or Receive thirty Nine on his back So you May [ wl] About what Buisoness you think moste Nessary or Moste Bennificial As I would Alow you to part with the Cloase as soon as Possible so as you get A sure Chap to Daile with And geather as Much Continentel Stuff as you Can while It is so Cheap & lay out as Little As Possible till times Alters for the Beter

Last night there was Two Indians Come in with an Express from fort Nonence which informed us that Capt. Clark of our Regt and the

18 From time immemorial, the colonel of a regiment or the captain of a ship has been called, by those serving under him, “the Old Man,” just as today.
19 This reference to Captain McCormick and Captain Clark identifies James Littell’s regiment as the 8th Pennsylvania.
20 This means thirty-nine lashes or stripes, a common penalty inflicted by military courts, especially in the New England regiments, where the influence of religion was strong, and refers to the Biblical “forty stripes, save one.” II Cor. 11:24 (“five times received I forty stripes save one”) See Allen French, The First Year of the War, Boston, (1934), 479 n19.
21 It was common parlance at the time to call Continental currency “stuff.”
22 Apparently the soldiers thought the building of Fort Laurens was unnecessary and pure nonsense. This viewpoint was supported by Brodhead who called it a “hobby horse upon Muskingum.” Kellogg, Frontier Advance, 29.
23 The facts concerning the life and services of John Clark, of the 8th Pennsylvania Regiment, have been confusedly, and wrongly, presented by some of the top reference sources on the period, due to the fact that there were two officers of the same name; and all authorities have attempted to combine the facts of both men into a single life history.

Kellogg, Frontier Advance, 205, states that he entered the army in 1775. Heitman, 157, and Pennsylvania Archives, 5th series, II, 332, show his having been commissioned 1st Lieutenant on March 15, 1776. All three state that he became an aide-de-camp to General Greene.

The man who entered the army in 1775, was John Lewis Clark of Colonel William Thompson’s Battalion of Riflemen, Third Lieutenant in Captain Michael Doudel’s Company raised in York County (chiefly at Samuel Gettys’ Tavern, Gettysburg, now Adams County, Pa.); and they marched forthwith to Boston. This John Clark fought at Long Island, White Plains, Trenton, Princeton, Monmouth, and became aide-de-camp to General Greene, later Auditor General of the army. He retired in 1779 to private law practice and died, December 27, 1819. He was Auditor General in 1778, at the very time of the McIntosh Campaign.

The other John Clark was commissioned 1st Lieutenant in Colonel Samuel Miles’ Rifle Regiment, Captain John Marshall’s Company, raised in Hanover
Men that was Left there was Coming Home to Join there Regt was Atacted on the Road within Two Miles of Tuskeyraways [Tuscarawas] & had two Killed on the spot And four wounded & one a Missing the[y] fought them till the[y] ware Reinforced from the fort and had then to Return with the party Back Again there is know Account of any of the Indians Being killed as I Can Lerern But the[y] Do Inform us that there was a good Daile of french Men at the fort Laurence when the[y] Left that [——unreadable——] present But wright to me any opertunity & tell me how Afares goes on their gave My Love to the family & Inquireing friend[s] & well wishers But in Particular to the prity Girls.

Adieu—— James Littell

Long range appraisal of all the evidence available has vindicated McIntosh's military acumen and the wisdom of his policy. He has been vindicated in other ways from a stigma that attached to him and seemed never to have been dispelled during his lifetime.

Since printing the first installment of this article, important material has turned up relating to the McIntosh-Gwinnett duel, biased, of course, but containing facts which may be presumed to have been true—a letter purporting to have been written by General McIntosh, several days after Gwinnett's death, to his old friend, John Laurens, then one of Washington's aides-de-camp. It purported to have the sanction of both of the seconds to the duel. In the letter McIntosh makes the statement: "... even his wife publicly declar'd me innocent & altogether blameless, & often requested of my health." He goes on to explain that there is, nevertheless, a conspiracy on foot to deprive him of his command in the army, that the abettors of the scheme used Gwinnett as their instrument, that they were sure to make McIntosh their victim in either event of the duel,

Township, Lancaster (that part now Dauphin) County, Pa., on March 15, 1776. He was promoted Captain in the State Regiment of Foot, Feb. 20, 1777; Regiment designated the 13th Pennsylvania in November; transferred to the 8th Pennsylvania, July 1, 1778. After serving with McIntosh and Brodhead and various transfers, he was discharged, June 3, 1783. His being ambushed and his escape near Fort Laurens was a notable event in the McIntosh campaign. (See James Littell's letter in the Introduction, above.) For an authentic autobiographic statement by John Lewis Clark, see PMH&B, XX, 77-86; also William B. Reed, Life and Correspondence of Joseph Reed, Philadelphia (1847), 323. Heitman's record is correct, concerning his military service, except for his statement of this Clark's having been an aide to General Greene. He, then, omits the record of the other (John Lewis Clark) entirely.

When he retired, Clark had been breveted Major. He reentered the army in 1791, and was wounded at St. Clair's defeat. He served as Colonel in Wayne's Legion and fought at Fallen Timbers. After his retirement, he lived at Freeport, Pa., where he died April 27, 1819.

Thus we have an interesting parallel between these two officers; both originated in Lancaster County, both entered rifle regiments, both retired with the rank of Major, and both died in the same year, 1819.
using the lives of the two men as pawns in their game. A postscript written June 3, 1777, states: "Mrs. Gwinnett I am inform'd has enter'd a prosecution against the Doctor who seems to be generally blam'd for the death of her husband."

This letter, transcribed and printed in quaint form, may be found in the Library of Congress, index card number E 302.6 G95 M3, the original purported to have been owned by the American Autograph Shop of Merion Station, Pennsylvania, not now in business, and no trace can be found concerning them.

Robert McCready stated in his pension application, already cited, that he was orderly sergeant of Captain Bay's Company until November 2, when he was appointed Colonel Stephenson's Regimental Adjutant and thenceforward took over the book of that unit. As his former orders are incomplete and are duplicates of those written by the former regimental adjutant, we shall print only the regimental orders from October 17 to November 3, except that we shall use McCready's version of the orders for the 18th. They are exactly the same as the others, save for personal differences of spelling, capitalization, and punctuation, but for one great difference: the regimental orders direct Colonel Stephenson's Regiment to be ready to march, whereas McCready's orders for the same day state Colonel John Stephenson's Regiment.

At the end of the orders up to, and including, October 30th, McCready has inserted the statement:

The foregoing entries Contain part of what orders I Executed as orderly Sergeant in Captain Bays Company before I was Appointed Adjutant of Col Stevensons Regiment during M'Intoshes Campaig[n] in the year 1778.

Robt M Cready
Personaly comes before me George Elliott one of the Justices of the peace in and for Said County comes Robert McCready and being by me Sworn as the Law deposeth and saith that the above declaration is solemn truth
Sworn this 8th day of February 1837
and subscribid before me
Geo Elliott

At the end of the book, on what were then blank pages, McCready later made several entries headed:

Robert McCready his Commonwealth docket 1816.

For many years Mr. McCready was a Justice of the Peace of Washington County, Pennsylvania.
Robert McCready's Orderly Book

Head Q's Fort Pitt Octr 17th 1778——
Parole Gibson) ( C Sign Bayard ——

As a Deputy Adg1 Genl is absolutely necessary for the Good Order And Discipline of the Army in this Department Since the junction of the Militia brigade ——— Major Mc Kintosh who Has heather-to Done ye Duty ——— is appointed to that office with the pay and subsistance of Lt Colo And without Any prejudice to his Rank in the line of the Army ——— Lt Alexander Graham2 is appointed Brigade Major to Colo Broadheads3 Brigade ——— and Mr Danl Leet4 Brigade Major to Colo Crawfords5 Brigade with the usual allowance And all to Comance from the 18th of Septr ——— Richard Taylor6 Esqr late a Cap7 in the first V Regt is also appointed Major in 13th Reg of ye same State and each of those Gentle-

men Are to be Respected And obeyd in their Respective Stations Accordingly

NB the field officers are all 

Lacklin McIntosh

D. Adg8 Genl

Marque this Day at 11 OClock)

Brigade Orders Fort M'Intosh Octr 18th Anno.D 1778

The Regt of Colo Jno7 Stephenson And Colo Evins8 [Evans] to hold themseles in Readiness To march At an hours warning. The Quarter Master of Each Regt To make Returns this Afternoon. Both of the Tents Kettles and Axes they have, And. what of those Articles they want. Also make A Return of what Amunition they have On hand ——— Each Rifle Soldier To be supplied with One Quarter Of A Pound of Powder; And lead in Proportion Run up into Ball. The Musket Men to have 24 Rounds of Cathridge [cartridge]9 ——— The Officers Are to see the Same Done As Soon As Possible ———

The Commissarys To have Fifty head of Cattle Drove Over the River to Morrow for which Purpose. the Brigade Major10 is to Furnish Them with A fatigue of One Subaltern. One Serjeant And Fifty Men. To Taken Out of the said Two Regts ———

The Soldiers in Each Reigt Ordred To March Are To take their Pieces By Compan[ies] That want Repairs To the Armors And have them Done. And An Officer from Each Company to Go Along And See Them Repaird. The Armorers to Do No Other Work
until they be Finis’d ——— The Quarter Master General is to have 70 Pack horses Ready to march At the Shortest Notice And likewise A team of Horses Or Oxen. ———

Head Quarters Monday Octr 19th 1778 Fort McIntosh

Brigade Orders
The Col° Commadt is Sorry to observe that Some of the New Guards & fatigues were Very Slow In running out. to the Grand Parade this morning And wishes in future every man who Regards His Country will Consider himself interested in Finishing the business of the Campaign with the Greatest Dispatch ——— And he Does Expect that all Guards & Fatigues will be on the Grand Parade At Eight OClock each morning
Daniel Broadhead

Fort McIntosh Octr 20th 1778
A field officer 2 Capt° 4 Sub° 6 Serjt° & 200 men to parade emediatly from Col° Crawfords Brigade fifty with their Arms & fifty with Axes Spades and Shovels ———

Octr 21st 1778 ——— Fort M Intosh

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Detail of the Guard

Fatigue D°

1  31

Head Q° fort M Intosh Octr 22d 1778 ———
The Col° Comd° is Much Surprisd after genl orders being isued to the Contrary Some Persons as y° unknown have Prosumed to mark trees in the woods with Initial letters of Their names And names at large And thereby give great uneasyness to our good friends and allies ye Delwar nation — our frendly Indians he therefor Does promise a Reward of five Pound to Any person who Shall made Information of Such who in contempt of orders have Acted So Daring And he Does most Strikly forbid the like practise in future being Deterd [determined] to punish all who Shall ofend in like manner
——— Cap° Bays & comp° on Duty this Day ———
Head Quarters Fort Pitt Octr 21st 1778. General O
Parole Desipline C Sign Order ————
All officers And others imploy'd in the Conential Service either in
the line or Staff Are ordred immeadately Down to Camp at Beaver
Creek Unless it is those who Are Ordred upon Stations Are
allowd to be absant upon the necessary Duitys of there offices.
the Genl is much Surprisd to See So many of the Staff & officers
of the 13th Virga Reg't Absant from where their Duity requiers
them to be without Knowing the Occesion or Reason of Such
absance which he expects For the future to be informed off ———
otherways they must be taken up as Deserters Such Irregularitys
is not even knowon and would Be inexcusable in militia. the Com-
manding officer at fort pitt is Desird Particularly to Observe this
Order Strickly And Report all Defaulters or Send them to their
Duity

Head Quarters fort McIntosh octr 26th 1778
At Brigade Court Martial heald at fort McIntosh By order of Colo
Wm Crawford Presant
Lt Colo Evans Precdt

Majr Springer Capt Dougherty
Capt Brenton Capt Ogle
Capt Crow Capt Minter
Capt Pirce Capt Sweringen
Lt Pollock Lt Bruce
Lt Tetus [Teter] Lt Alexander

James Berwick Judge Advocate
the Court with the judge advocate being sworn procd to the trayl
of the following prisnors —— Adam Wolf Conf'd [confined] by
Capt Wright for Desertion being brought before The Court pleads
Guilty the Court orders him to Recive Ten Lashes on his bare
Back well laid on with hickrey Swiches Sarjt Jno McCarty Con-
fine by Co1 Bealer15 for ill treatment of Qr Mr McClean16 and
Speking Disrespectfuly of others being brought before the Court
pleading guilty the Court orders Sarjt Mr McCarty to ask Mr McCleans
pardon on the publick parade

H Fort Mc Intosh Monday Octr 26th 1778 ————
A Genl Court martial from the Conential Line Whereof Major
Taylor is appointed precedent to Sit this morning at 9 O'Clock for the tryal of Mr Hadley of the North Carolina Dragoons. And such other prisoners as may be brought Before them. The General observes in the Returns of the week that above one twentieth part of our little Army are employed as officers, servants, and as the having any is rather an indulgence than allowed. And the men have hard duty between guards and fatigue. He expects at least such officers as may be brought before them to restrain them to a moderate number and that for the future they appear once a day upon the parade and show their arms and accoutrements are in order that they may be of some service when required — no forlows are allowed on any pretense at this time. Col. Crawford and the field officers from the other side of ye mountains are requested to attend at the general's tent at 11 O'Clock this morning.

Head Quarters Fort McIntosh 27th Oct
Parole Berkley
C Sign Hempshire

Col. Crawford is desired to join ye Berkley and Augusta troops into one corps and those from Hempshire and Rockingham into another who may be distinguished or called the 3rd and 4th Regiments of his Brigade. And out of these two corps he is to order one company of picked officers and men for Lt. Infantry observing to have no company less than fifty men (agreeable to the liberal determination and request of the field officers of these troops) and another such company of Lt. Infantry from ye 1st and 2nd Regiments. Col. Broadhead is also desired to keep these two Lt. Infantry Companies of his Brigade compleat as they are the most necessary and useful troops on our Expedition.

The General is extremely sorry to find the unmilitary practice of firing guns in and about camp become so customary since he left it last and no notice taken of it. As he flattered himself it was entirely abolished he observed yesterday with infinite concern the impudent eagerness of military as well as militia. And is sorry to say officers as well as men in pursuit of a trifling deer, which might have been sent by an artful cunning and vigilant enemy and well known to be practiced in such deceptions through our camp with a design to Surmise it without any thought or attempt to...
Guard against Such Manovers which are very Frequent ———
And is inclind rather to intreat than Order officers to be more Careful for the future I Could wish Gentlemen would Consider Such practices Are directly Against & in Contempt of a Gen\(^1\) Standing order already Issued here —— that A Strict Subordination & obedience to Such orders without Inqurng into the Reasons of them until they are first obeyd is the very first Principle of all Military Despline And without which every Pretance to the Lesser forms And Apendages of it are a mere farce ———
In order to indulge the people in their favorite Deversions of Hunting the Gen\(^1\) Permits it Provided it be out of hearing of the Pickets on Both Sides of the River but Positively forbids Shooting upon any other Occision without Leave And expects hearafter that if two guns are fir'd within 2 or 3 minutes of each other by Day Or one by night that the Drums Shall beat to Arms And the whole line turn out inmmeadately Ready prepar'd for Action the Gen\(^1\) Court Martial whereof Maj\(^r\) Taylr was Precd\(^t\) Desolved ———

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BO [Brigade Orders]

Oct\(^r\) 28\(^{\text{th}}\) 1778 Col\(^o\) Stephenson Lt Col\(^o\) Evans Lt Col\(^o\) Morrow\(^{18}\) Lt Col\(^o\) Harrison\(^{19}\) is to form two Companys of Light Enfantry A Greable to Gen\(^1\) Orders which officers is to be good woodsmen And Sutable for Such fotigue the men ought to be Good Riffle men And have good Riffels the officers Commanding Batalions to make a Return of the Artificers at work at Fort McIntosh No More men to Go a hunting to Morrow the whole Brigade to hold themselves in readiness to march at an hours warning ——— and to Vive & Vale

[To be continued]
EXPLANATORY NOTES

1 Lachlan McIntosh, Jr., was son of General McIntosh and served as First Lieutenant in the First Georgia Regiment from Jan. 7, 1776; Captain and Brigade Inspector from October of the same year. General Washington's letter of May 27, 1778, directs him "to attend Brigadier General McIntosh in the Western Department . . . and while he remains with the General he is to act as Brigade inspector to the Troops under his command." At the first opportunity, at Fort Pitt, his father appointed him a Major and Deputy Adjutant General, to fare as a Lieutenant Colonel. Heitman, 371; Fitzpatrick, Writings of Washington, XI, 461. At the war's end he died while returning his mother from North Carolina. Georgia Historical Quarterly, XXXVIII, 133. He kept the Scottish spelling of his first name as his brother John had with Mackintosh. Ibid., 109 n21.

2 Alexander Graham is shown as Ensign, "ranks Second Lieutenant, Aug. 9, 1777." Pennsylvania Archives, 5th ser., III, 335. On April 1, 1779, he was appointed First Lieutenant in place of Basil Prather, who then resigned. Heitman, 225, gives his record thus: Ensign 5th Pennsylvania Bn. Aug. 9, 1776; 2nd Lieutenant, 8th Penna. Regt. July 7, 1777; 1st Lieutenant 8th Penna. Rgt. Apr. 1, 1779; Resigned Mar. 1, 1779 (1780 meant?)

3 Daniel Brodhead was born in Ulster County, New York, in 1736 (not in 1725 as in Pennsylvania Archives) and was brought, while very young, to (now) East Stroudsburg, Monroe County, Pa., by his pioneering father. The Delaware and Lehigh Valleys were ravaged by Indians in 1755, when the Brodhead house was successfully defended by the settlers.

In 1771, Daniel was appointed Deputy Surveyor under John Lukens, Surveyor General of Pennsylvania, and moved to Reading. In 1775, he was delegate to the Provincial Convention and, early in 1776, was appointed colonel of Miles' Rifle Battalion, which saw service during the British attack on the colonelcy of the 8th Pennsylvania Regiment, March 1, 1777, and was at Trenton, Princeton, Brandywine, Paoli, Germantown, and part of the winter at Valley Forge. In the Spring of 1778, he was ordered to Fort Pitt, making a detour to the Susquehanna Valley to rout ravaging Indians. He commanded a brigade in McIntosh's army on the Fort Laurens Campaign and succeeded to the command of the Western Department after McIntosh's recall, from May, 1779, to September, 1781. During that time he led expeditions to Coshocton and up the Allegheny against the Indian towns. On September 30, 1780, he was brevetted Brigadier General.

After the war Brodhead served in the Pennsylvania Assembly and, 1789-1800, was Surveyor General. He married (his second marriage) the widow of Governor Mifflin and spent the remainder of his life in Milford, Pike County, Pa., where he died Nov. 5, 1809. Pennsylvania Archives, 2nd ser. X, 661-662; Ibid., 5th ser., III, 310; Kellogg, Frontier Advance, 58; Heitman, 122; Dictionary of American Biography, III, 62 (hereinafter noted as DAB).

4 Daniel Leet, son of Isaac Leet, was born in Bordertown, New Jersey, 1748. (There is some doubt as to the date of his birth.) The family moved to Prince William County, Virginia, and Daniel attended William and Mary College, where he received a diploma in surveying. He assisted William Crawford (note 5, below) in surveying Washington Lands as early as 1773. In 1776, he was appointed Deputy Surveyor in Augusta County. Boyd Crumrine, History of Washington County, Penna., Philadelphia (1882), 226, 797. About 1773 Leet moved to (now) Washington County and settled near the headwaters of Chartiers Creek, south of (present) Washington, Pa. Leet joined the army as Regimental Quartermaster in the 13th Virginia Regiment, Jan. 1, 1777; Regimental Paymaster, Oct. 1, 1777; retired Sept. 30, 1778. He became Brigade Major of a Virginia brigade, Dec. 21, 1778 to the close of the War. Heitman, 346. As here stated, in the orders of October 17, he was appointed to that office. He was Brigade Major in Crawford's expe-
dition in 1782, and succeeded to the command of the regiment after Major Brinton (note 14) was wounded.

One of Leet's most important services was performed when, in 1783, he was appointed one of the surveyors of the Deprecation Lands, including parts of Allegheny, Beaver and Lawrence Counties. He continued to live in his homestead tract near Washington until late in life, when he moved to the "Sewickley Bottoms" estate of his daughter, Mrs. David Shields (Shields, P.), in 1829. There he died, June 18, 1830. Pennsylvania Archives, 3rd ser., III, 766ff (map fol. p. 758). C. W. Butterfield, *An Historical Account of the Expedition Against Sandusky Under Colonel William Crawford*, 1782, Cincinnati (1873), 77, 124, 207, 219, 296 (hereinafter noted as Butterfield, Crawford's Expedition, 1782); Daniel Agnew, *A History of Pennsylvania North of the Ohio and West of the Allegheny River*, Philadelphia (1887), 22-29 (hereinafter noted as Agnew, History of North Western Pennsylvania).

5 William Crawford, patriot and one of the outstanding tragic characters of American history, was born in Frederick, now Berkeley County, Virginia, in 1732. He was a brother of Valentine, the trader, and half-brother of the five Stephensons, among whom were Hugh, John, and Richard (see Introduction to the Orderly Book). Franklin Ellis in his *History of Fayette County, Pa.*, Philadelphia (1882), 522ff, states that Mrs. Stephenson had, in all, seven stalwart sons of unusual size and vigor, by both marriages. He also states that Washington stayed at her house while surveying part of the Fairfax lands and taught William the surveying art.

The first record of Crawford's military service is Washington's order given at Winchester, Dec. 28, 1755: "Nathaniel Gist is appointed Lieutenant, and William Crawford Ensign, in a Company of Scouts Commanded by Christopher Gist." Fitzpatrick, *Writings of Washington*, I, 261. Ellis may be right in controverting both *DAB* and Butterfield in the statement that he was in Braddock's army; but Crawford's affidavit, made in 1780, upon which the assertion is made, "that his first acquaintance with the Country on the Ohio was in the year 1758 . . ." does not preclude the fact that he may well have been on the Monongahela at the time of the battle (1755). Ellis, *Hist. of Fayette Co.*, 61. He was a lieutenant in the Forbes campaign in 1758, having been commissioned in Washington's regiment, June 1757. *The Papers of Henry Bouquet*, Vol. II, *the Forbes Expedition*, S. K. Stevens, Harrisburg (1941), 143-144 (hereinafter noted as Stevens, *Bouquet Papers*). Crawford settled at Stewart's Crossing on the Youghiogheny (present Connellsville) in 1765, bringing his family the next year. The succeeding years were full of activity as surveyor for George, Samuel, John Augustine, and Lund Washington, in locating lands and viewing lands for veterans of the French and Indian War. Washington stayed at his house during one of these trips (1770), and Crawford accompanied him down the Ohio and up the Kanawha. C. W. Butterfield, *Washington-Crawford Letters*, Cincinnati (1877), the entire work; Eugene E. Prussing, *The Estate of George Washington, Deceased*, Boston (1927), 301, 324-327, 341-342. In Dunmore's War Crawford became a major and, in the jurisdictional controversies in Western Pennsylvania, was a strong partisan of Virginia.

At the Revolutionary Meeting held at Fort Pitt in May, 1775, Crawford was a leader. Commissioned Lieutenant Colonel of the 5th Virginia Regiment, Feb. 13, 1776, and Colonel of the 7th, Aug. 14, 1776, he served through the Battle of Long Island, the retreat through New Jersey, Trenton, Princeton, Brandywine, Germantown, and the winter at Valley Forge. He resigned March 22, but Washington recommended him for command of one of the new Virginia regiments at Fort Pitt, and he commanded a brigade in McIntosh's expedition to Ohio in 1778-1779. He continued with Brodhead at Fort Pitt and through the expeditions to Coshocton and against the Indian towns on the Allegheny. For a short time he commanded at Fort Pitt.

After the war Colonel Crawford retired to his plantation on the Youghiogheny but undertook, at the request of General William Irvine, the command of an expedition against the Indians at Sandusky. This ended disastrously,

6 Richard Taylor was commissioned First Lieutenant in the 1st Virginia Regiment, Sept. 6, 1775; Captain, March 5, 1776; Major in the 13th Virginia, Feb. 4, 1778; transferred to the 9th Virginia, Sept. 14, 1778; Lieutenant Colonel in the 2nd Virginia, Dec. 7, 1779; retired, Feb. 12, 1781. He fought at Brandywine, Germantown and Monmouth. *Heitman*, 534; J. H. Gwathmey, *Historical Register of Virginians in the Revolution*, Richmond (1938), 761. After the war he moved to the neighborhood of Louisville, Kentucky, with his family in 1785. He was a member of the Constitutional and other conventions and the State Assembly. He also became a judge and U. S. Collector of Revenue. It is notable that he was the father of the future General Zachary Taylor, twelfth President of the United States. He died in 1826. *Frontier Advance*, 205.

7 Refer to footnote 6 of the Introduction, page 158.

8 John Evans was born in Loudoun County, Virginia, in 1738 and later settled on Decker's Creek, Monongalia County, near present Morgantown, W. Va. He was active in Virginia transactions relative to the organization of Monongalia County from West Augusta District of Augusta County. He served on the frontier as Colonel of Monongalia militia, 1777-1779, and in 1782 was made County Lieutenant. He had correspondence with George Rogers Clark in that capacity. Gwathmey, *Historical Register of Virginians in the Revolution*, 260. In 1778, he engaged in McIntosh's expedition and, in 1779, was in Brodhead's expedition up the Allegheny. He retired to his farm at "Walnut Hills," Monongalia County, where he died in 1834 at the age of 96. Kellogg, *Frontier Advance*, 283, 330; Thwaites, *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, 234.

9 Muskets could be loaded with loose powder from a powder horn, wad, and ball (as were the rifles), or with cartridges, which saved much time in loading. These were previously prepared by hand, by rolling a measured amount of powder in paper with the ball in one end of the roll. The exact amount for load plus priming was measured. The paper was then twisted and tied with a thread to seal it. To load, the musketeer bit off the paper at the tied end of the cartridge, and first, put a little powder in the priming pan, then poured the powder down the barrel and rammed down the paper cartridge with the ball on top of it, thus wadding simultaneously with seating the ball on the charge. A soldier's face was soon blackened around his mouth from the black powder in biting the cartridges; and the whole face was begrimed from the powder flash in the pan. After an action it was difficult for friends to recognize each other. The author can remember Civil War veterans commenting upon this difficulty in recognition. For "the best mode of making cartridges," see *An Easy Plan of Discipline for Militia*, by Timothy Pickering, jun., Salem, New England: printed by Samuel and Ebenezer Hall, 1775, Chapter I, Part I, p. 2-3; also Allen French, *The Day of Concord and Lexington*, 35.

After an action, one could tell the exact positions of opposing troops from the ring, or line, of cartridge ends bitten off and lying upon the ground. Major Ebenezer Denn, in his journal, *Historical Society of Pennsylvania Publications*, Philadelphia (1860), p. 242, thus describes the scene: "About a fortnight after the action [Greenspring, Virginia] I visited the field; could trace plainly the ground occupied by both, from the tops of the cartridges which lay in a line; the distance between about sixty paces."
10 Brigade Major or Major of Brigade. Refer to WPHM, XLII, 301, note 69 of the “Bouquet Orderly Book.”

E. S. N. Campbell, A Dictionary of the Military Science, London, 1830, p. 29. “An officer appointed to assist the General commanding a brigade in all his duties. No officer under the rank of captain is eligible to hold this situation; nor can effective Field Officers of Regiments be appointed Majors of Brigade. [The restriction upon lieutenants holding the office did not hold good in the American army for the obvious reason that the Americans were under the necessity of using talent where they found it. A case in point was the appointment of Lieutenant Alexander Graham as Brigade Major, see note 2 above.]”

Ibid., p. 135. “Major of Brigade is the channel through which all orders are received and communicated to the troops; he is considered attached to the Brigade, not personally to the Officer commanding it. He inspects all Guards, Outposts, and Picquets, furnished by the Brigade, and is responsible that they are withdrawn when the Brigade is to march. No person under the rank of a General Officer, unless commanding a Brigade, the Adjutant General excepted, has any right to give directions to the Major of Brigade on the General Parade, or to interfere with any party he is parading, until the Brigade Major delivers it over to the Officer who is to command it.”

11 There seems to be a confusion in the issuing of orders from headquarters at Fort Pitt and Fort McIntosh, which can be thus explained:

It is not definite at what time McIntosh can be said actually to have transferred headquarters of the Western Department. It is obvious that Brodhead preceded the General to the mouth of the Big Beaver and started erecting Fort McIntosh. The first brigade orders we have from Fort McIntosh were issued October 8. There was, however, a gap of several days in orders prior to that. General McIntosh continued issuing general orders from Fort Pitt; and, on October 22, we have general orders from Fort Pitt and brigade orders from Fort McIntosh. On the 26th are the first general orders and brigade orders, both issued from Fort McIntosh. Here again, there is a three-day gap in the orders preceding the 26th.

12 Observe that the signature is Broadhead; it, however, is in the handwriting of Deputy Adjutant General Lachlan McIntosh.

13 Captain Bay (Thomas ?), Robert McCready makes several mentions of Captain Bay’s company without recording a given name. Robert McCready’s Pension Records, National Archives, S-5747 (Robert McCready). Here it is apparent that Bay’s company was a local militia company from around the neighborhood of Well’s Fort, which was near the Cross Creek settlement where McCready was situated. Boyd Crumrine, in his History of Washington County, Philadelphia (1882), 721, states that Alexander Wells was one of the first settlers of Cross Creek (now Jefferson) Township, prior to 1772; took up 1500 acres of land on the Middle Branch of Cross Creek and 500 acres on the North Branch of Cross Creek, near the village of the same name; patented to Alexander Wells, 1780; sold 500 acres on the Middle Branch to Thomas Bay, April 23, 1796. This is the only mention of the name of Bay that comes to light.

14 Major Levi Springer, brother of Josiah and son of Dennis Springer, was born in Burlington, New Jersey, in 1744. The family moved to lands obtained from the Fairaxes, surveyed by Washington, in Virginia. In 1773 Levi moved to what is now Fayette County, Pennsylvania, and, in 1768, married Annie Gaddis of the well-known family south of Uniontown. They had seven children. The first wife having died in 1778, he married Sarah Sheppard Duke, by whom eight children.

Levi Springer served as a militia officer in the Revolution, as a major in McIntosh’s expedition. He died in 1823. Kellogg, Frontier Advance, 330; Franklin Ellis, History of Fayette County, 690-691. (Other members follow.)

James Brenton (sometimes spelled Brinton) was in Dunmore’s War, on the Wakatomica expedition, in 1774. In 1777, he was a ranger, in command of a company raised around Fort Redstone (Brownsville) and, in 1778, was
with Hand at Fort Pitt and the expedition to the north. Brenton commanded a company in the McIntosh expedition, 1778-1779, and he was a major in the ill-fated Crawford expedition in 1782, in which he was wounded. Thwaites and Kellogg, *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, Madison, Wis. (1908), 231; Kellogg, *Frontier Advance*, 162; Thwaites and Kellogg, *Frontier Defense*, 84.

After the Revolution, he returned to his home in Washington County, Pa., and later moved to Mercer County, Kentucky, and was killed by Indians in 1788.

This was John Crow, who lived in the neighborhood of Pigeon Creek, then the District of West Augusta, Augusta County, later Yohogania County, Virginia, now Washington County, Pa. On November 4, 1776, he attested the will of a neighbor, Jacob Lamb of Pigeon Creek, as did also several others, all residents of Pigeon Creek settlement. The will was proved Jan. 24, 1777, before the Yohogania County Court. *Annals of Carnegie Museum*, Pittsburgh (1905), III, Boyd Crumrine, “Abstracts of Old Virginia Wills,” p. 326. He took the oath as Captain of Militia, December 22, 1777; and, on March 28, 1780, the court of Yohogania County “ordered that John Johnson be recommended Capt. in the room of Cap. John Crow.” *Annals of Carnegie Museum*, Pittsburgh (1903), II, “Minutes of the Court of Yohogania County, Virginia,” 114, 404.

Isaac Pierce was a captain in Stephenson’s Regiment. Kellogg, *Frontier Advance*, 450 (Orderly Book of the 8th Pennsylvania Regt., Dec. 8, 1778).

Thomas Pollock, also William Bruce, concerning both of whom the “Minutes of the Court of Yohogania County, Virginia,” Boyd Crumrine, *Annals of Carnegie Museum*, II, p. 137 (item 78), says (March 25, 1778): “William Bruce and Thomas Pollock produced Commissions from his Excellency the Governor which being read the said William and Thomas came into Court and swore to said Commissions.”

An interesting occurrence later involving Thomas Pollock is worth mentioning. Crumrine’s *History of Washington County* relates that, on the 2nd of May, 1780, the Rev. Joseph Smith purchased from James Wells 376 acres on Cross Creek, of which, on Dec. 12, 1783, Smith sold 84 3/4 acres to Thomas Pollock in consideration of £5/19/6. Pollock afterwards sold the plot to one Robert Fulton, a miniature painter of Philadelphia, for £84. Fulton’s parents and three sisters resided there, both parents dying there. Fulton willed the farm to one of his sisters in 1814. This was Robert Fulton of steamboat fame.

The name was probably Teter. No other name can be found in the records that corresponds so closely. Samuel Teter had been a captain of militia since June 7, 1777. “Minutes of the Court of Ohio County.” He had been in Braddock’s army, at Grant’s defeat, and in the Forbes campaign, hence was older and more experienced than the young lieutenants listed here. This must have been one of his sons, either Samuel, Jr., or George, who was a lieutenant in one of the Virginia regiments. Samuel Kercheval, *History of the Valley of Virginia*, Woodstock (1902), 231ff; Kellogg, *Frontier Retreat*, 420.

Lieutenant Dougherty is unidentified by any of the cited sources.

The Ogle family were first settlers in Ohio County, Virginia, around the headwaters of Wheeling Creek. Captain Joseph Ogle was present at the siege of Fort Henry (Wheeling) and, in 1781, he commanded a company in Brodhead’s Coshocton expedition. Soon after that he emigrated to Saint Clair County, Illinois, where he died in February, 1821, still known as an Indian fighter. Thwaites and Kellogg, *Frontier Defense*, 36. In the “Minutes of the Court of Ohio County, Virginia,” Crumrine, *Annals of Carnegie Museum*, 11, 14, June 2, 1777, it is stated: “The following Militia Officers took the oath of office in open Court (Viz): David Sheperd as Colo. Sam. McColloch as Major . . . Joseph Ogle . . . Captains.”

the minutes of the proper court); "John Minter Gent. took the Oath of Capt. of the Militia & William McCormick Lieut." *Ibid.,* 411 (April 24, 1780): "William McCormick recom'd as Capt. in the stead of John Minter who has resigned."

Swearingen (the records of the 8th Pennsylvania Regiment give no other name than Van as a given name), known on the frontier as "Indian Van," was born in Berkeley County, Virginia, in 1742. He was the son of John Swearingen and brother of Andrew, who later lived on Chartiers Creek, Washington County, Pa. The father appears on the tax lists of Springhill Township, now Fayette County (then Bedford, the next year Westmoreland) in 1772. Van moved to the banks of the Monongahela in 1774, where he lived opposite the present California, Washington County (formerly Greenfield) until 1781.

Early in the Revolution, Swearingen raised an independent ranging company of riflemen, which was incorporated into the 8th Pennsylvania upon its organization, his commission dating from August 9th, 1776. He experienced the terrible winter march over the mountains to the aid of Washington in New Jersey (1777). He was with the detachment of about 100 from the 8th which Washington sent, with Morgan's Rifle Corps, to the aid of General Gates around Saratoga, that summer. Fitzpatrick, *Writings of Washington,* XI, 340; *Ibid.* IX, 70, 78, 102.

Swearingen was wounded and captured by Burgoyne's Indians, rescued by General Simon Fraser's bat man, taken before the General, and threatened with death by hanging if he refused information on American strength and position. "You may, if you please," answered Swearingen; and Fraser, who admired such spirit, ordered his prisoner not to be harmed.

After being exchanged, Swearingen rejoined his regiment under Gen. McIntosh, resigned his commission, Aug. 10, 1779; and, in March, 1781, when Washington County was organized, he was chosen sheriff. This office he held for four years; and, his daughter, Drucilla, having married the famous Samuel Brady, he moved to a tract he had purchased near Wellsburg (presently), West Virginia. There he lived with the Bradys until his death, December 2, 1793.

The statement of Heitman, that the subject of this sketch was a captain of Kentucky militia, killed at St. Clair's defeat in 1791, is obviously erroneous. According to Major Ebenezer Denny's Military Journal, this was an officer of drafted levies. That event occurred more than two full years before this Van Swearingen died, aged 51. Boyd Crumrine, *History of Washington County,* 238, 483; Kellogg, *Frontier Advance,* 360; Ellis, *History of Fayette County,* 77; *Penna. Archives,* ser. 5, III, 312, 314, 327; *Heitman,* 529.

For reference to Lieut. William Bruce, see note on Thomas Pollock above. Other than the date of his commission and his having served this campaign, nothing further is mentioned of him.


James Berwick seems to have been an attorney, as the minutes of the various courts held at Fort Dunmore, Yohogania, and Ohio Counties have many entries where he proved mortgages, witnessed the sale of real estate, and other services. *ACM,* I, 531, "Minutes of the Court at Fort Dunmore," Feb. 23, 1775, state: "James Berwick Gent. is recommended to the Gentlemen to Examine Attos (attorneys?) as a person of Probaty, Honesty and good Demeanor." In *ACM,* III, "Minutes of the Court of Ohio County," it is reported, Sept. 7, 1778, that, "Mr. James McMecchen, Clerk of the Court, being down the Country, the Court proceeded to appoint James Berwick Clerk for the present Court who will take the oath accordingly."

Mr. Berwick was probably with the army as a "volunteer," not being an officer, yet, from the nature of his duties, having that status. There were

15 Joseph Beeler (sometimes spelled Beelor, Bealer and Bealar) was from Virginia and took part in the French and Indian War and Bouquet’s expedition in the service of that colony. This we have from “The Minutes of the Court of Yohogania County,” in these words: (Monday, March 6, 1780) “Joseph Beeler came into Court and proved his service as a Captain in the Virginy Service in Col. Brocodes (Bouquet’s) Campaign; he Likewise proved his being a Waggon master in General Forbes Campaign.” On April 28, 1778, “Joseph Beeler produced . . . a Commission . . . appointing him Colonel of Militia was red & Sworn to in open Court.” *Ibid.*, II, 214. On June 22, 1778, he took the oath of “Justice of the piece and Justice of Oyer and Terminer.” *Ibid.*, II, 235. He was also recommended as one of the “Corenor[s] for this County.” During the fall and winter of 1778-1779, Colonel Beeler was with McIntosh on his Ohio campaign. We find him serving as County Lieutenant of Yohogania County and living on Chartiers Creek, Peters Township, in what is now Washington County, Pa., before 1780, below the mouth of the Eastern Branch. Boyd Crumrine, *History of Washington County*, 91 n2, 152, 196. He lived here on his farm for the remainder of his life and, in 1792 and 1795, was licensed to keep a tavern. *Ibid.*, 890.

16 Alexander McClean, born in York County, Pennsylvania, c. 1742, was the youngest of seven brothers, all but one of whom (James) were surveyors. Archibald was the more noted brother. Samuel, Archibald, Moses and Alexander all were with Mason and Dixon when they ran their celebrated line, 1763-1767. During the next ten years Alexander surveyed all over the western country, becoming a Deputy Surveyor himself in 1772.

He was a member of the Pennsylvania Assembly in 1776 and was also a justice of the peace. In 1775 he was married near present Stoyestown and moved to the vicinity of Uniontown, which plot of Henry Beeson’s land he laid out for the future county town; and, in 1779, he moved to Uniontown adjacent to the court house.

As quartermaster, McClean accompanied McIntosh’s expedition with Colonel Beeler’s Virginia militia regiment, which is apparent from the orders here given. He afterwards referred to “the fatigues of the most difficult campaign . . . and was a witness to both their sufferings and fortitude.” Veech, *Monongahela of Old*, 132-133. In 1781, he was appointed one of the surveyors of the temporary Virginia-Pennsylvania line and, in 1784, of the final line. *Penna. Colonial Records*, XIII, 252, 335, 510, 519; *Penna. Archives*, 1st ser., IX, 353, 402, 563, 566, 585, 588, 722; Also see Dr. John Ewing’s Journal in *Penna. Archives*, 6th ser., XIV, 11, 12, 13. In 1783, McClean was a representative to the Assembly that formed Fayette County and was appointed, by the Supreme Executive Council, President Judge of Common Pleas and Orphans’ Court. He also became Prothonotary and Register and Recorder, which office he held from 1783 until 1834. In fact, this astonishing man held more offices than any other Western Pennsylvanian. After the opening of the land office, in 1784, McClean was appointed Deputy Surveyor General for all of Fayette County, and parts of Somerset, Westmoreland, Allegheny, Washington and Greene Counties. He held that office for Fayette until 1825.

One of McClean’s greatest services was performed as surveyor of the first district of the Pennsylvania Depreciation Lands for Revolutionary veterans, completed by 1785. His district lay nearest the western boundary of the State, for which line he was appointed as one of the commissioners, with Colonel Andrew Porter, to run the survey in the summer of 1786. He had been appointed, in 1783, to the Board of Trustees of Dickinson College in Carlisle, Pa. Colonel McClean’s busy life came to an end in 1834. See James Veech, *Monongahela of Old*, 131, 137; Ellis, *History of Fayette County*, 363.

17 This is evidence that North Carolina was represented in McIntosh’s army. McIntosh had taken command of the North Carolina Brigade following the

The *Journals of Continental Congress* for Dec. 5, 1778, referring to the North Carolina Dragoons: "About 40 completely fitted out and sent to Brig. Gen. McIntosh under Capt. Ashe, in expectation that the men whose terms of service were near expiring would agree to stay two months beyond their time; but on or soon after their arrival at Fort Pitt, their times being expired, all but 14 quitted the service and went home."

18 Colonel Morrow of Berkeley County is one of the "Evidences" listed by McIntosh for the proposed Court of Inquiry requested by him. Kellogg seems to feel that this is Charles Morrow (see Index to *Frontier Advance*). It would seem, however, that it must have been his brother John Morrow; since Gwathmey, *Historical Register of Virginians in the Revolution*, 567, shows him as Colonel of the 2nd Battalion of Berkeley County Militia, 1778-1780. He shows, *Ibid.*, 566, Charles Morrow, Captain of Berkeley Militia in 1780; which would indicate that he did not rank above a captain in 1778.

John was later a member of Congress, and both were, with a party of six, the only passengers aboard James Rumsey's steam boat which he demonstrated on the Potomac at Shepherdstown, in 1787. Charles Morrow was the pilot of the boat on that occasion, and General Horatio Gates among the excited spectators. Ella M. Turner, *James Rumsey, Pioneer in Steam Navigation*, Scottdale, Pa. (1930), 18-21; M. P. Andrews, *Virginia, the Old Dominion*, New York (1937), 373-374.

19 Lieutenant Colonel Benjamin Harrison was born in 1741, in (then) Augusta, (now) Rockingham County, Virginia. There were several of the same name, Benjamin being a common one in the whole Harrison family connection. This one was the son of Captain Daniel and first cousin to Thomas, founder of Harrisonburg, near which he spent his entire life. The family homestead stands yet at Dayton, Virginia. He was a captain in General Andrew Lewis's heroic army at the battle of Point Pleasant, at the mouth of the Kanawha, in 1774. As colonel of the Rockingham militia, he turned out for McIntosh's campaign and passed that terrible winter at Fort Laurens, when men boiled old steer hides, left to dry by the Indians, to make broth, and nearly died from cold and hunger.

During the invasion of Virginia by Cornwallis, in 1781, Colonel Harrison commanded his regiment under General Anthony Wayne. For many years after the war he commanded the militia of his country and was a member of the Virginia Legislature, favored the adoption of the Federal Constitution, and was a leading citizen. Colonel Harrison was one of those on McIntosh's list of witnesses in his favor for the proposed court of inquiry. He died in 1819. Kellogg, *Frontier Advance*, 330; J. H. Harrison, *Settlers by the Long Gray Trail*, Dayton, Va. (1935). 295-297 (Transcribed from the Draper MSS 8ZZ68) Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison.