ORDERLY BOOK I
OF COLONEL HENRY BOUQUET'S EXPEDITION
AGAINST THE OHIO INDIANS, 1764
(CARLISLE TO FORT PITT)

Edited by Edward G. Williams

Part Two

Introduction

The preceding part of this paper left Bouquet's army assembled at Carlisle, seventeen miles west of the Susquehanna River. There were the regulars of the 42nd Royal Highland Regiment (the Black Watch), the 60th Royal American Regiment (the records are vague as to the numbers of each of these regiments), also the two battalions of the Pennsylvania Regiment, long in the provincial service, scattered at the forts upon the frontiers, their ranks recently filled with recruits. The regular and provincial troops had been assembled and exercised together for the first time. They had been harangued by a lengthy address from Governor John Penn, regaled with the reading of the Articles of War, threatened by their officers with dire punishments for desertion or infractions of the regulations, and finally — to instill an esprit de corps — an impassioned appeal to pride in the glory of His Majesty's victorious arms and the nobility of suffering hardships in the righteous cause against the cruel and savage enemy. With muster rolls brought up to date, arms inspected, deficiency in accoutrements and articles of clothing supplied and the issuing of food for three days' march, the troops were prepared — at least as nearly as they ever would be — to begin the westward march.

Essay on the Road

The itinerary detail thus far has carried the road "West and North of the Great Virginia Road leading from Harris' Ferry," only beyond Shippensburg, thenceforward known as "the Loudoun Road." Bouquet, in 1764, was retracing the Forbes Road of six years before, which he himself had engineered and commanded, and he con-

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continued upon it westward with few exceptions. Much has been made locally of traditions that earlier roads described circuitous routes over the mountain sides, over many early settlers' tracts, in order to reach Cowan's Gap in Tuscarora Mountain, with which Bouquet's route appears to be at variance. Let it be said that there can be no conflict of location encountered here, since we are not concerned with the earlier path, and since Bouquet reported to General Forbes on June 21, 1758, that "the road from Loudoun to Littleton, after hard work, has been almost entirely changed and is now passable." Forbes's line of march, by necessity and by all documentary evidence, ran directly to Fort Loudoun where the army camped roundabout. Thenceforward, Bouquet marched by the Forbes Road which, by the record, utilized little of the earlier Burd road and instituted several improvements. The roadbed up Path Valley was deep in mire, even much more so in that day when the primeval forest prevailed, and the water table was high. The writer well remembers that, in 1965 when the rebuilding of highway Pa. 75 was in progress, many thousands of tons of large rocks had to be dumped into the subgrade in order to produce a firm foundation for the present highway. The Forbes Road had therefore to take higher ground on the mountain slope. Leaving Fort Loudoun, on the left (eastern) bank of the West Branch of Conococheague Creek, 1.6 miles southeast of the village of Fort Loudon, Franklin County, the road ran a straight line to the lower point of the small island, still existing, just below the new Lincoln Highway (U.S. 30) bridge, where it crossed to the west side of the stream. It then crossed the new U.S. 30 and old U.S. 30 nearly with present Pa. 75 and veered left to higher ground on the mountain slope.

The map of John Potts, mentioned before, began at the fort and ran in a fairly direct course up the valley and climbed up to the elevation of Cowan's Gap by fairly easy grades. At one point it dipped far down the slope to avoid a shoulder of the mountain, and the last mile was a steep pull up the hollow of Stumpy Run. A local (Franklin County) historian has placed Anthony Thompson's tavern at the turn of the road on Stumpy Run. William Scull's (1770) *Map of the Province of Pennsylvania* locates Thompson's far to the east of the road, which appears to be much as the modern road goes through the gap. Potts's trace scales about 9½ miles on his map (as near as can be deciphered from a badly foxed and pitted map). His line, transferred to a modern highway map, measures the same. Captain Jonathan

74 Bouquet Papers, 2: 122, 126.
Heart ordered his troops to march 7½ miles up Path Valley and encamp. This brought them to the small, delta-shaped plain at the foot of the steep 1½-mile climb up the hollow of Stumpy Run, for a total of 9 miles to the top. The Cowan's Gap State Park, with its fine lake surrounded by more lofty peaks, is an inviting recreation spot in modern times, and the road here passes the county line (Franklin-Fulton). Until well after the turn of the nineteenth century, no evidence of any change was adduced from the time of Bouquet's declaration that he had completely changed the line from that of prior roads. The Pennsylvania Road of 1785-1787 went directly by the Three Mountain Road, from Shippensburg to Burnt Cabins.

Thence the Forbes Road slipped down the narrow trough, Allen's Valley, between Tuscarora and Cove mountains, closely following the South Branch of Little Aughwick Creek. At 4½ miles the track crosses from the east to the west side of the stream. Instead of following the creek down to its wide bend and the junction of the road with the Three Mountain Road, two miles before reaching Burnt Cabins, it turned a little to the left to run over the toe of Cove Mountain, where Scrub Ridge joins the larger mountain, and on to Burnt Cabins. Potts's map shows the road departing from the creek and decidedly veering westward. The valley in the bend of the creek bore, and still does, evidence of having been very marshy ground, which the road thus avoided.

Potts here perpetrated his greatest error in plotting a 90-degree turn to make the road direction due west from this point. The true direction more nearly approximates S 60° W as U.S. 422 follows generally the old track to Fort Lyttelton (Fort Littleton on today's map), thence T 431 to junction with Pa. 475, to Houstontown and Pa. 655 for half a mile to the fork with LR 29025 and with it a mile and a quarter farther. The Potts's map leads the old road to the left (after passing an old cemetery on the left) to cut crosslots to the LR 29022 underpass of the now abandoned section of the Pennsylvania Turnpike, then runs parallel to Wooden Bridge Creek for a mile (which Potts shows).

Looking forward from this point, one beholds perhaps the most remarkable object of admiration on the whole extent of the march, the switchback (zigzag) track gaining the thousand-foot rise of Sideling Hill. It is located directly back of (north and west of) the former

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The turnpike service building that housed the restaurant and service station. Potts depicts seven reverse curves and two 90-degree turns, with several connecting long tangents — one about a half mile in length — climbing the long and steep slope. The construction was accomplished by dragging large rocks, in which the mountainside abounds, into a line against which earth was scooped from the mountainside above, the large rocks serving for a retaining wall. A short, steep “pinch” at the top completed the ascent.

This leads to another feature of engineering skill, for which Bouquet gave full credit to engineer Captain John Williams in the orders for September 3. By producing a prolongation of the third long tangent of the switchback and taking advantage of an existing natural, inclined shelf rising along the side of the narrow valley of the falling Wooden Bridge Creek, for two miles, then passing through a gap between the lofty King’s Knob and the main ridge of Sideling Hill, Williams gained the comparatively level top of the connecting ridge to Ray’s Hill summit. It is worthy of notice that, after two hundred years of highway-engineering projects on this mountainside, the most recent one has returned to the original engineer’s location work of long ago. The new Pennsylvania Turnpike’s concrete right of way covers, with its broad concrete ribbon, all but two traces of Bouquet’s 1764 roadbed, which can still be distinguished.

The striking element in all these circumstances is the convergence of the several paths belonging to very different eras upon a single focal point. After the steep “pinch” at the top of the switchback mountain climb, the Forbes Road (1758) took a left-hand direction to follow the top of the ridge 1 1/4 miles down to where John Skinner’s (1787) Pennsylvania Road met and followed the former track for 1 1/2 miles farther to a then famous spring. Coincidentally (but not accidentally), the track through “Williams Gapp” swings in a graceful curve between

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76 In 1965, this writer, in company with Mr. Niles Anderson and Prof. Harold A. Thomas, climbed down over the zigzag roadbed to the very bottom. The earth fill had been mostly washed away, but the long lines of retaining-wall rocks were still standing in seemingly interminable rows. At least two, or three, long tangents of the old road with their climbing turns have now undoubtedly been covered by the turnpike grading. The switchback was exactly where Potts had located it.

I am indebted to Mr. A. M. Larson, County Engineer and Project Engineer of the Pennsylvania Turnpike, for advice in the matter of harmonizing the engineering of the turnpike right of way with the historical evidence contained in this orderly book, the Potts map, etc. He remembers the exact course of the old roadbed covered by the turnpike construction, also the two still existing traces.
King's Knob and the main ridge of Sideling Hill to arrive at the same spring. The former roads ran there from necessity, the most recent by pure engineering. The newest Pennsylvania Turnpike (tunnel bypass) westbound traffic speeds within less than one hundred feet of this same spring, while the Forbes-Skinner track runs within half that distance of it, then overpasses the turnpike. Known only as "Jerry Spring," this never failing fountain, from time immemorial, slaked the thirst of the savage forest runner and, for a century and a half, imparted renewed life to the sweating wagon teams, packhorse trains, cattle herds, water-famished soldiers, wagoners, packers, emigrants, and travelers. Like an oasis in a desert, all paths converged upon the magical point. As gratifyingly, an extensive flat area nearby offered a convenient campsite for armies and emigrants alike. Today the spring, though diminished in volume, is marked by the state as a recreational picnic ground, its waters as sweet and cold as two centuries ago.

Leaving the spring by Pa. 915 (which has joined us for a short space), we continue for .3 mile to an old track bearing to the right, distinctly traceable for two miles through the woods. It reaches the Lincoln Highway (U.S. 30) at, and passing behind, the Old Mountain House tavern, just 1½ miles west of the junction of Pa. 915 with U.S. 30. This was the original road, now incidentally, paralleled by a telephone line.

Extensive relocation and widening of the U.S. 30 right of way has obliterated all recognition of the original topography west of the Old Mountain House (really on part of Big Wood Ridge) approaching the summit of Ray's Hill, the descent of which is presently on the narrow ridge of a long spur of the mountain. In 1762, however, engineer Colonel William Eyre complained of the steepness of the descent — "... it should have been zig'zagged more." 77 The present road does not admit of reverse curves at all and Eyre's statement is positive that there was some zigzagging existing. Since the approach to the Juniata Crossing lay to the right, it seems reasonable that the descent complained of would have taken that direction.

The old crossing was three-quarters of a mile downstream (north) from the present U.S. 30 bridge. A long and steep descending ridge approached from the east where, deeply gouged in the solid

rock, are the wheel ruts worn by countless iron-rimmed wheels two centuries old. Early in the nineteenth century, James Finley built one of his famed chain-suspension bridges here. The stone masonry piers that supported the tall towers and the stone abutments are still a conspicuous part of the landscape. In 1764, fording was the method of crossing, except that at high water a flatboat was used when available. There had been a small stockade fortification on the western side of the crossing, but Bouquet would have found the buildings recently burned.78

The Juniata describes an interesting loop, formed by two reverse bends with an inverted curve between them. The historic crossing-place was located in the middle of the inverted bend, and a high ridge of land formed the narrow, three-mile-long neck. A narrow transverse valley carried the road to the river, which it followed to present Everett (formerly Bloody Run). The marshy condition of the land, forming the present business section of the town, caused the road to pass over the higher ground above First Street and diagonally across the town plat to Sixth Street, where traces of the old road can still be pointed out crossing the run and up the hill and across the railroad tracks, turning left along the base of Tussey Mountain to pass through Aliquippa's Gap where old U.S. 30 still may be followed. Thence the road was able to pursue a direct course to Fort Bedford, probably a little nearer to the Raystown Branch than the old Lincoln Highway, quite near the river as it passed through the gap in Evitts Mountain, and crossed Dunning's Creek near its mouth. It then crossed the Raystown Branch a quarter of a mile east (downstream) from the old Lincoln Highway bridge. (The old ford was pointed out to me many years ago by citizens of Bedford.) All of the foregoing itinerary is exactly as the Potts map depicts it, although direction is not always accurate. Fort Bedford sat upon the low hill, close to the river, its stockades extending across present Pittsburgh Street.

78 Joseph Gies, Bridges and Men (Garden City, 1963), 92, 292; B.M., Add. Mss. 21650, Pt. 1, f. 190 (p. 131). This writer has visited the Juniata Crossing and viewed the scene from both sides of the river, including the deep wheel ruts herein described.
ORDERLY BOOK

Muster

Of the First Battalion of the Pennsylvania Regiment at Lancaster

The 23rd of July 1764

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Men</th>
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<tr>
<td>Colonel Francis</td>
<td>41</td>
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<td>Major de Haas</td>
<td>43</td>
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<td>Capt. Hunter’s</td>
<td>47</td>
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<td>— Webb’s</td>
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<td>— Husecker’s [Housengger’s]</td>
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<td>— Cairn’s [Kern’s]</td>
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<td>— Proctor’s</td>
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<td>— Irvien’s</td>
<td>43</td>
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<td>— Hendrick’s [Hendricks’s]</td>
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79 This is documentation of the fact that the 1st Pennsylvania Battalion was mustered at Lancaster.

(a) Turbutt Francis came of a distinguished family. His father was the recognized leader of the Philadelphia bar. Turbutt was the brother-in-law of one (later) chief justice of Pennsylvania and uncle of another. Frank M. Eastman, Courts and Lawyers of Pennsylvania (New York, 1922), 1: 253-54; Lewis Walker, “Life of Margaret Shippen,” PMHB, 24 (1900): 402-3. He also was an uncle of Margaret Shippen, later the wife of Gen. Benedict Arnold. Ibid., 25 (1901): 39-40. A nephew, Tench Tilghman, aide-de-camp to Washington, had the honor of carrying the official news of Cornwallis’s surrender at Yorktown to Congress. John F. Fitzpatrick, The Spirit of the Revolution (New York, 1924), 83. Francis purchased a commission in the 44th Regiment, dated April 25, 1757, lieutenant July 24, 1758. He resigned from the regular army to accept a commission as lieutenant colonel commandant of the 1st Battalion of Pennsylvania forces, July 6, 1764. An interesting letter regarding this transfer of services, Col. Joseph Shippen to Col. James Burd, is in the Shippen Papers in the Clements Library.

On the return march of Bouquet’s expedition, at Fort Bedford, the officers formed an association to petition the Pennsylvania government for 24,000 acres of land; the Purchase of Fort Stanwix, 1768, from the Indians, resulted; and the officers paid £5 per hundred acres plus one penny per acre quitrents. Col. Francis took the lead in all matters and received 2,775 acres in one tract on the east bank of the Susquehanna River. He later bought the tracts of others, so that he owned eventually eighteen miles of river front above the forks of the Susquehanna, including the site of Milton and beyond. The transaction is detailed at length in Collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, 1853), 94-118 (hereafter cited as Pa. Hist. Soc. Colls.) ; H. C. Bell, History of Northumberland County, Pennsylvania (Chicago, 1891), 82-83 (hereafter cited as Bell, Northumberland County). He commanded Fort Augusta for a time and conducted provincial troops against the Connecticut settlers at Wyoming (Wilkes-Barre, Pa.). He was one of the commissioners to the Six Nations in 1775, but ill health forced his early retirement. He suffered from inflammatory rheumatism and gout. His nephew (by marriage) reported Francis’s death in July 1777. The
Journal of James Allen,” PMHB, 9 (1885) : 287. It is notable that his brother, Tench Francis, Jr., was the man who, two years before, had married Ann (Nancy) Willing, to the great disappointment of Bouquet. Ibid., 24 (1900) : 403.


(c) Born in County Donegal, Ireland, in 1732, Samuel Hunter came to Lancaster County (the part later forming Dauphin) with his father and near relatives, the Chamberses. Seven miles north of present Harrisburg, the Chamberses built a mill later owned by Hunter, stockaded and known as Fort Hunter, an important way station on the road to Fort Augusta. See H. G. Gearhart, Northumberland County Historical Society Proceedings, 4 : 36. He was commissioned May 2, 1760, in Col. Hugh Mercer’s 2nd Pennsylvania Battalion which marched with Bouquet in July to Pittsburgh and Pres’ Isle (Erie, Pa.) to build the British fort of that name. As of Nov. 10, 1763, he was a captain in Lieutenant Colonel Turbutt Francis’s 1st Battalion which marched with Bouquet’s expedition to the Muskingum, 1764. Pa. Archives, 5th ser., 1 : 314, 335; Col. James Burd’s Journal, ibid., 2nd ser., 1 : 421. In the allotment of land to officers, Hunter received 544 acres on Bald Eagle Creek and 612 acres on the eastern side of the Susquehanna. See survey map by Charles Lukens (1769) in J. B. Linn, History of Centre and Clinton Counties (Philadelphia, 1883), opp. 468-69 (hereafter cited as Linn, Centre and Clinton Counties); Bell, Northumberland County, 83; Pa. Hist. Soc. Colls., 107, 109.

In the Revolution, Hunter was appointed colonel of a militia regiment in 1776 and county lieutenant in 1777. In the latter capacity, he commanded at Fort Augusta and all of the dependent forts on both branches of the Susquehanna, as far away as Lock Haven and Wyoming, all of which suffered greatly from Indian and British attacks. He was appointed one of the first justices of the county, was elected to the Assembly for three years, served on the Committee of Safety and the Council of Censors. He died at Fort Augusta in 1784. A granddaughter became the wife of a United States Supreme Court Justice. Bell, Northumberland County, 447; J. B. Linn, Annals of Buffalo Valley, Pennsylvania, 1755-1785 (Harrisburg, 1877), 234 (hereafter cited as Linn, Buffalo Valley).

(d) John Webb was a son of John Webb, Sr., and Mary Boone Webb, sister of Squire Boone, father of Daniel Boone, all of Berks County; hence, Webb and Daniel Boone were first cousins. “Notes and Queries,” PMHB, 39 (1915) : 249; 7 (1883) : 116. Confusion has arisen due to Daniel’s having had a brother, Squire, who accompanied him to
Kentucky. Hanna, Wilderness Trail, 2: 217, 218 (quoting Draper Mss.). Webb first appears on the military rolls as captain in Col. Francis's 1st Battalion, Nov. 9, 1763. *Pa. Archives*, 5th ser., 1: 324, 325, 335. Capt. Webb later kept the tavern and ferry over the Schuylkill, on Province Island (the low-lying land just north of the Philadelphia International Airport). Scull and Heap's map of Philadelphia shows Province Island and Major John Andre's map of the attack on Fort Mifflin shows the ferry and Ferry House, later Penrose's Ferry. Penrose Ferry Road can still be seen running to the ferry, thus spotted opposite to the very easternmost angle of the Gulf Oil Corporation's refinery property, 450 yards below the high Penrose Avenue bridge. See "Extracts from the Diary of Jacob Hitzheimer of Philadelphia, 1768-1798," *PMHB*, 16 (1892) : 98; see also Henry Cabot Lodge, ed., *Major Andre's Journal* (Boston, 1903), Ms. map by Andre, 2: 116-17.

(e) The name of this officer, spelled in the orderly book Husecker, is spelled Housegger in the battalion rolls and in the roll of the agreement of officers. Commissioned lieutenant May 6, 1760, in Col. James Burd's battalion and captain in Lieut. Col. Francis's battalion Nov. 11, 1763, Nicholas Housegger marched with Bouquet's expedition to the Muskingum in 1764. *Pa. Archives*, 5th ser., 1: 312, 335. In the allotment of land to the officers, he received 551 acres on Bald Eagle Creek and about 605 acres on the east bank of the Susquehanna River (site of present Watsontown), both of which tracts he immediately sold to Thomas Willing of Philadelphia. See survey map, 1769, by Charles Lukens, Linn, *Centre and Clinton Counties*, 468; Bell, *Northumberland County*, 83; *Pa. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, 95, 107, 116.

On June 4, 1776, Haussegger (so spelled on all Revolutionary rolls), was commissioned major in Col. Anthony Wayne's 4th Battalion, promoted colonel of the newly raised German Regiment, July 17, 1776, and ordered to Philadelphia and the Pennsylvania frontier. See *Pa. Archives*, 5th ser., 2: 141; 3: 787. He fought at Trenton and in the battle of Princeton and was taken prisoner "under suspicious circumstances." Heitman, *Register*, 280; Alex. Graydon's Memoirs (Philadelphia, 1846), 238 (accusing him of attempting to influence an American officer to defect) (hereafter cited as Graydon, Memoirs); W. B. Reed, *Life and Correspondence of Joseph Reed* (Philadelphia, 1847), 1: 286 ("had never been able to divest himself of ideas he had acquired in the British army."). Heitman remarks, "Superceded...having joined the enemy." Nevertheless, he returned to his farm near Lebanon, where he died in 1786. *Pa. Archives*, 5th ser., 3: 787.

Kern, with Edward Biddle of Reading, was proprietor of a 1,000-acre iron mining operation in the southern end of Northumberland County. *Pa. Archives*, 3rd ser., 19: 613.

(g) John Proctor had taken an active part in affairs in Cumberland and Bedford counties, also in Col. John Armstrong's Kittanning expedition in 1756. In 1764, he marched with Bouquet to the Muskingum, signed the officers' articles of agreement at Bedford, but did not participate further in the land allotments. *Pa. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, 95, following. When Westmoreland County was formed in 1773 (the last formed under the proprietary), he was elected sheriff and was an active partisan of Pennsylvania against Virginia. *Pa. Col. Recs.*, 10: 59, 106. He was commissioned captain (probably) July 22, 1763, at the same time Gov. Hamilton commissioned Capt. Lemms and others. *Pa. Archives*, 1st ser., 4: 115-16; 5th ser., 1: 335.

With the outbreak of the Revolution, the adoption, May 16, 1775, of the Hannastown Resolves, an association was formed in accordance with other parts of the province and other colonies as a militia force. Proctor was elected colonel of these associates, and a flag was designed that became a famous example among the many Revolutionary flags. It bore the device of the coiled rattlesnake (as did many others) with the British union and the initials J.P. — also I.B.W.C.P. The fame of the flag has survived, although there is no evidence to show that it was carried in any campaigns. See M. H. Miller, "The Rattlesnake Flag of Westmoreland County." *WPHM*, 1 (1918): 155-56; George Dallas, *History of Westmoreland County* (Philadelphia, 1882), 75-76.

When, on July 15, 1776, Congress ordered the raising of a battalion in Westmoreland and Bedford counties, Aeneas Mackay was appointed colonel, to the great disappointment of Proctor. Proctor served as a member of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania in 1777 and later as a member of the Assembly. He was also paymaster of the militia and agent for forfeited estates (confiscated from convicted loyalists). *Pa. Archives*, 2nd ser., 3: 775, 777; 1st ser., 6: 145, 458, 506. "Proctor's place" became, after 1774, a frontier fort near the Forbes Road, between present Youngstown and St. Vincent's College, and the site has recently been the object of archeological excavation.

(h) James Irvine (misspelled in the orderly book, but spelled rightly in the articles of agreement of the officers), born in 1735, was commissioned ensign in Col. James Burd's battalion, May 2, 1760; captain, Dec. 30, 1763. *Pa. Archives*, 5th ser., 1: 312, 335. His share in the allotment of land was 547 acres on Bald Eagle Creek and approximately 609 acres in Buffalo Valley above Mifflinburg in (now) Union County. See Charles Lukens's survey map, 1769, in Linn, *Centre and Clinton Counties*, 468-69; *Pa. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, 107, 109. To the Committee of Safety in Sept. 1775, Capt. Irvine claimed that he had "... the Honour to command one of the oldest, if not the very oldest, Company in the three Battalions, ... having formerly enjoyed the same station in the actual Defence of the Province ... his Claim to Rank amounted to a Right of Precedency." See his memorial, *Pa. Archives*, 2nd ser., 1: 588. He was commissioned lieut. col. of the 1st Battalion, Nov. 5, 1775, promoted colonel of the 9th Pennsylvania Regiment of the Continental Line Oct. 25, 1776, and transferred to the 2nd Pennsylvania Regiment Mar. 12, 1777. Ibid., 5th ser., 2: 57, 66, 781. Resigned June 1, 1777.

On Aug. 26, 1777, Irvine was appointed brigadier general of Pennsylvania militia, fought at Brandywine, Germantown, was wounded and captured at Chestnut Hill, Dec. 5, 1777; exchanged June 1, 1781. Heitman, *Register*, 314. He served in the Assembly and state senate after 1783 and, in 1793, Gov. Mifflin appointed him major general of militia. He died Apr. 28, 1819, aged 84, and was buried in Christ's Churchyard,
Major deHaas 100
Lieut Thomson's [Thompson's] 46
— Fleeming's [Fleming's] 33
Capt Cairn's [Kern's] 18

Exclusive of Comm' Officers 521


(i) Capt. James Hendricks appears on the roster of the 2nd Battalion without date, but instructions, June 23, 1763, from Sec. Joseph Shippen issued to Lieut. James Hendricks to march to Fort Augusta confirm that he was in the service at that time. Pa. Archives, 1st ser., 4: 113. He was a son of Tobias Hendricks, Jr., well-known tavern keeper at Oyster Point, in present Camp Hill. He was brother to Capt. William Hendricks, later at the outset of the Revolution, killed with Gen. Montgomery at the attack on Quebec. See G. O. Seilhamer, "Old Mother Cumberland," PMHB, 24 (1900): 32 (hereafter cited as Seilhamer, "Cumberland," PMHB); G. P. Donehoo, A History of Cumberland, Pennsylvania (Harrisburg, 1930), 496; John Codman, Arnold's Expedition Against Quebec (New York, 1903), 245; J. J. Henry, "Account of the Campaign Against Quebec," Pa. Archives, 2nd ser., 15: 134. In the allotment of land, Hendricks received 522 acres on Bald Eagle Creek and approximately 634 acres on Buffalo Creek, near Lewisburg, Union County. Both tracts he sold to Col. Francis. Pa. Hist. Soc. Colls., 109, 116. He was one of the surveyors of the tract of the Purchase of 1768, his district being west of the Monongahela River. B. A. Konkle, The Life and Times of Thomas Smith (Philadelphia, 1904), 36. In at least one edition of William Scull's map, 1770, the cartographer included Hendricks among deputy surveyors of the province to whom he rendered grateful acknowledgments and thanks for assistance. Ibid., 37.

80 (a) George Thompson was ensign of Lieut. Col. Asher Clayton's own company, actually commanded by Lieut. William Maclay, following the British army organization practice. Thompson must have been newly promoted to lieutenant, as he appears on the List of Officers (Pa. Archives, 5th ser., 1: 336) as ensign. He was the son of Col. William Thompson, later brigadier general, captured at Three Rivers in Canada in the Revolution, colonel of the famous rifle battalion at the siege of Boston, the 1st Continental Regiment of the Pennsylvania Line, thus the 1st Regiment of the U.S. Army. Ibid., 5th ser., 2: 6, 14. George did not participate in the land allotment, and this was his only military service; but by 1769 he owned two tracts above present Braddock, where his brother, Capt. Robert, owned the tract named "Braddock's Field." See Allegheny County Warrantee Map, Bureau of Land Records, Dept. of Community Affairs, Harrisburg. George Thompson studied law with (later) the chief justice, Jasper Yeates, Esq., and was one of nine admitted to the Allegheny County bar, at the first court in Pittsburgh. He was later one of the associate judges. Edmund H. Bell, "Notes and Queries," WPHM, 5 (1922): 251-52.

(b) Lieut. John Fleming was the actual commander of Lieut. Col. Turbutt Francis's own company (see note 79-a above). This could not have been the man by the same name at Fleming's Mills in Kishacoquillas, since he was living there in 1764, whereas this officer was away with
Muster

Of the 2d Battalion of the Pennsylvania Regiment, 30th July 1764 at Carlisle.

Major William Armstrong
Cap' Sam Lindsay
— Ja. Piper's
— Joseph Armstrong
— John Bready [Brady]
— Christopher Lems
— William Piper
— Timothy Green

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81 (a) William Armstrong was a brother of Col. John Armstrong, the leader of the Kittanning expedition of 1756, commander of one of the divisions of Forbes's army in 1758, a future major general in the Revolution and member of Congress. See Pa. Archives, 1st ser., 2: 457; also Seilhamer, "Cumberland," PMHB, 36-37. He held title to land in Peters Township, Cumberland County, as early as 1755. Warner, Beers & Co., History of Franklin County (Chicago, 1887), 568 (hereafter cited as Warner, Beers, Franklin County). He was a lieutenant in Col. John Armstrong's battalion as of May 10, 1756, and captain as of Dec. 24, 1757. Pa. Archives, 5th ser., 1: 44, 91. In Forbes's campaign, 1758, he commanded a troop of light horse. Bouquet Papers, 2: 2 n4, 58. His commission as major was dated July 4, 1764, to serve with Bouquet's Ohio expedition. In the Revolution, he commanded a company in Washington's Flying Camp and was captured at Fort Washington, Nov. 16, 1776, and suffered long imprisonment. Pa. Archives, 2nd ser., 15: 769; Conway P. Wing, History of Cumberland County (Philadelphia, 1879), 185-86 (hereafter cited as Wing, Cumberland County).

(b) Samuel Lindsay was commissioned ensign in Col. Hugh Mercer's 3rd Battalion, May 3, 1758, and participated in the Forbes campaign in Capt. Sharp's company, which Forbes characterized as "... by far the best woodsmen ... and all acquainted with the back country towards the Allegany." Bouquet Papers, 2: 440; Pa. Archives, 5th ser., 1: 184. Promoted captain, July 13, 1763, he marched with Bouquet to the Muskingum. Ibid., 329, 335. In the Revolution, he served in the Flying Camp, and was captured at Fort Washington. Ibid., 2nd ser., 15: 773. After the Revolution "Captain Samuel Lindsay, Revolutionary Soldier, lived where the Courthouse, in Chambersburg, now stands." G. O. Seilhamer, "Founders of Chambersburg," Kittochtinny Historical Society Papers, 1 (1907): 119 (hereafter cited as KHSP).

(c) James Piper was one of three brothers (William, James, and John) who came with their parents from Ireland and settled near Middle
Spring, Cumberland (now Franklin County). The "widow Piper" conducted a tavern, still preserved, in Shippensburg where the first Cumberland County court was held. James, commissioned an ensign, Apr. 27, 1758, in the 3rd Battalion marched in the Forbes expedition in 1758. Commissioned lieutenant Apr. 27, 1760, he was quartermaster in Col. Hugh Mercer's battalion that marched with Bouquet to Presq' Isle to build the fort there. As a captain, July 16, 1763, he was at Carlisle at the end of July 1764 ready to march again with Bouquet to the Muskingum in Ohio. W. H. Egle, Historical Register: Notes and Queries (Harrisburg, 1884), 2nd ser., 1: 235-37 (hereafter cited as Egle, Notes and Queries); Pa. Archives, 5th ser., 1: 129, 178, 313, 314, 329, 336. James Piper was commissioned lieutenant colonel of Col. Samuel Miles's Pennsylvania Rifle Regiment, Mar. 13, 1776, severely wounded and captured at the battle of Long Island, Aug. 27, 1776, and died in captivity. Ibid., 5th ser., 2: 256. His wife, Lucinda, traveled to New York, suffered great hardships, and later received a widow's pension. Ibid., 4: 522.

(d) The records of the Joseph Armstrongs have been greatly confused. H. H. Emmons (in KHSP, 9 [1915]: 311-12) has differentiated clearly between the activities of the father and son. Capt. Joseph Armstrong, Sr., was a cousin of Col. (afterwards general) John Armstrong, a very early settler in the Conococheague, whose house was fortified and garrisoned during construction of Fort Loudoun and who led a company in the attack on Kittanning.


When the 12th Pennsylvania Regiment of the Continental Line was raised in the West Branch of the Susquehanna Valley, Brady was commissioned a captain, Oct. 14, 1776. Northern New Jersey was an extended battlefield. Then followed the two actions at Trenton and the battle of Princeton and later Brandywine, where Brady was shot through the mouth and was ordered home to recuperate and help to organize defense of the Susquehanna Valley. He was ambushed and killed by Indians in
Apr. 1779. Pa. Archives, 5th ser., 3: 671-72. His son, the famous Capt. Samuel Brady, became the most implacable enemy of the Indians. John Brady, Jr., also wounded at Brandywine, became sheriff of Northumberland County, and Hugh became a brigadier general in the U.S. Army. Gen. Brady's narrative and reminiscences of the family is printed in full in Limits Buffalo Valley, 219-31; also partially in J. F. Megginness's Otzinthanson (Philadelphia, 1857), 337-44. Other family information (not all accurate) is found in Now and Then, 6: 197-200, 234-36.

(f) Christopher Lems (so spelled from his signature to the officers' agreement) has been styled as variously as there have been writers: Lems, Lemms, Lemes, Lemer, Limes, even Semms. He led one of the first companies enlisted for Armstrong's expedition against Kittanning, 1756. Warner, Beers, Cumberland County, 65. He was one of the earliest landholders at Bedford and built the stone "Fort House" or "Bouquet House," burned in 1901. E. H. Blackburn and W. H. Welfrey, History of Bedford, Somerset, and Fulton Counties (New York, 1906), 1: 231. He was probably interested in trading, for he occupied house no. 55 at Fort Pitt in 1761. "Pittsburgh in 1761," PMHB, 6 (1882) : 347. He received a captain's commission from Gov. Hamilton, July 22, 1763 (see note 79-g above). Pa. Archives, 1st ser., 4: 115-16; ibid., 5th ser., 1: 337. He was one of the commissioners appointed to promulgate Gov. John Penn's proclamation of Feb. 24, 1768, warning settlers west of the mountains to vacate lands not purchased from the Indians by the Province. With other commissioners, Lems traveled to the Redstone and Youghiogheny settlements. See Proclamation, instructions, reports in Pa. Col. Rec., 9: 481-83.

(g) Capt. William Piper's antecedents have been related (note 81-c above, regarding his brother James). The first military service performed by William, of which there is record, is his commission as captain July 18, 1763, in Lieut. Col. Asher Clayton's battalion, which marched with Bouquet's 1764 expedition. It is highly possible that he had some noncommissioned experience, as had John Brady (note 81-e above). His allotment was of 553 acres on Bald Eagle Creek above Beech Creek, which he sold to Maj. deHaas. Charles Lukens's survey map (1769), Linn, Centre and Clinton Counties, 468-69; Pa. Hist. Soc. Colls., 116. He also received 609 acres on the eastern side of the Susquehanna, part of which the village of Dewart occupies. (Bell, Northumberland County, 83.) The Pipers were engaged in farming at this truly beautiful situation in the summer of 1774, when the Rev. Philip Fithian visited them. Albion and Dodson, Fithian Journal, 55-58.

The Indian atrocities of 1778, during the Revolution, precipitated the "Great Runaway" of settlers from the Susquehanna Valley, when the Pipers fled to their former home, then to Bedford County where Col. John Piper had stockaded Fort Piper on Piper Run, about seven miles north of Everett. Capt. Piper's granddaughter stated that he died in 1798, having served in the highly unpopular capacity of collector of excise taxes. Egle, Notes and Queries, 2nd ser., 1: 57.

(h) Timothy Green was born (c.1733) in Lancaster County, that part now Dauphin. He was for several years active in organizing the militia to protect the frontiers and was stationed in Hanover Township until June of 1764, when he marched to the rendezvous of Bouquet's troops for the Ohio expedition with commission as captain July 20, 1763. Egle, Notes and Queries, 1st ser., 2: 26; Pa. Archives, 5th ser., 1: 336, 337. He was entrusted with the command of Fort Ligonier during the period Sept. 15-Dec. 1, 1764. B.M., Add. Mss. 21651, f. 114 (p. 89). He received 542 acres on Bald Eagle Creek, which he sold to Capt. Dr. Plunkett. See Lukens's survey map, Linn, Centre and Clinton Counties, 468-69; Pa. Hist. Soc. Colls., 116. He also received 614½ acres in Buffalo Valley, of which he sold 216 acres at the Forks of Buffalo Creek.
Recruits

Lieut Finleys 17
Irvine’s *** 9

Exclusive of
Commissioned Officers 390
Signed X James Young Commissary
Carlisle The 4th Augst 1764
of the Musters ———— P: Fones

to Jacob Fought, locally noted mill site, two miles east of Mifflinburg, Union County. Linn, Buffalo Valley, 31, 34.

Green was the chairman of the meeting, June 4, 1774, that framed the nationally famous Hanover Resolutions voicing independence; was a member of the Pennsylvania Committee of Safety and the Lancaster County Committee of Observation and Correspondence. He commanded a company in the 1st Lancaster Battalion in Washington's Flying Camp in New Jersey, in 1776. Pa. Archives, 5th ser., 4: 526; Heitman, Register, 260. When Dauphin County was formed from part of Lancaster, in 1785, he was presiding justice of the courts. Pa. Col. Rec., 14: 348. He lived at the site of the small town of Dauphin (formerly Greensburg) at the mouth of Stony Creek where he had built a mill. He died in 1812. Egle, Notes and Queries, 1st ser., 2: 28.

82 (a) Samuel Finley appears on the roster of the 2nd Battalion, Capt. William Piper's company, as lieutenant with commission July 16, 1763, and the added note, “Promoted to Captain” (no date). The return here reproduced in orders of Aug. 4, 1764, designates him lieutenant. The first reference to his rank as captain is in orders for Aug. 24; hence, his promotion must fall between those dates. See Pa. Archives, 5th ser., 1: 330, 337. As a surveyor in the townships of Cumberland County, now Franklin, survey returns upon early warrants attest to his activity. In the Revolution, Samuel Finley served as quartermaster in Col. Samuel Culbertson's battalion of Cumberland County militia in Washington's Flying Camp in New Jersey. Wing, Cumberland County, 87. He, with William McCracken, very early patented the land where they, in 1790, laid out the town of Springfield at the Big Spring. McCracken (and presumably Finley, his partner) built and operated a mill and tavern there. Warner, Beers, Cumberland County, 364. Col. Israel Shreve, “Journal from Jersey to the Monongahela, 1788,” PMHB, 52 (1928): 196. Finley will be noticed later in the progress of the expedition.

(b) The total strength of both battalions at the end of July was 911 men exclusive of officers. By Aug. 10, Bouquet reported to Gov. Penn (B.M., Add. Mss. 21650, Pt. 2, f. 315 [p. 59]) that 200 had deserted or were incapacitated. On Aug. 22 (ibid., p. 87), he wrote that 200 men lost from the meager number of 950 the Assembly had agreed to furnish created a hazard that could be disastrous. On Sept. 12, he reported (ibid., p. 129) that deserters carried away arms, equipment, and horses, even shot cattle from the provision train, and were not punished by the civil authorities. Also, the report of Bradstreet's "peace" had kept recruits from joining him (see note 93 for further information). In a brighter tone, he was able to announce (ibid., p. 153), by Sept. 30, that 254 Virginia volunteers had replaced his losses.
Carlisle  The 4th Aug1. 1764
Parole  Bushy run
The pay due to every man of the Pensilvania Regt, from the 1st of July to the 1st of Aug1, & which the Capts have rec'd from the Pay M's. [Pay Masters], is to be paid this day, to the Capts into whose Compy the men are now drafted either as L1. [Light] horse men, L1. Inf12 or Batt13 [Battalion] men.

Each Captn. will see that his Compy [is] supply'd immediately with hatts, Coats, Westcoats, Shirts, Stocks, Leggons, shoes, Blankets, Tomhawks, & every oth'. Article of Cloath & Arms. Each mess (at Least;) to be provided, with a tin bottle of Oil, for their Arms, & an oil ragg to every man ———
The Gun smith, Buttler83 has orders to examine, Separately, all the Arms that the whole may be immediatly repaird or Changed.

The Batt14 Coy15 [Battalion Companies] are to be Limited The 1st to have 5 Coy16. of equal Noo17. the 2d Three ———

Both Batt18. to be under Arms to morrow morning at Six.

The Command5 Offrs. are to be Answerable that all orders delivered to their Corps shall be strictly comply'd with.

Carlisle  Aug 7th. 1764  9 A.M.

Morning Orders
The Field Officers, and Captains of the first Battalion of the Pennsylvania Regiment to attend Immediately at Mr. Hoops84 House with ———

83 Thomas Butler's gun shop is still a landmark preserved at Carlisle, Pa., near the corner of Dickinson Ave. and Pitt St. He was the father of Gen. Richard and Col. William Butler, later of Pittsburgh, in all “the five fighting Butlers” of Revolutionary fame. See letter of Peter Bard to Bouquet, from Carlisle, Aug. 29, 1764, B.M., Add. Mss. 21650, Pt. 2, f. 459 (p. 106).

84 Adam Hoops was one of the prodigies of the New World, in this case, the result of hard work. We first encounter him as a “whiskey kegg maker” for Edward Shippen and an “Indian trader unlycened” in 1748. Pa. Archives, 1st ser., 2: 14. By 1755, he was one of the creditors of George Croghan and William Trent and, with James Burd and others, was one of the commissioners to explore and lay out a new road (the Loudoun Road) west and north of the Great Virginia Road (Pa. Archives, 1st ser., 6: 318) for supplying Braddock's army at Fort Cumberland. For the latter purpose, he was active with Benjamin Franklin in enlisting wagons, teams, and drivers. Lewis Burd Walker, The Settlement of the Waggoners' Accounts (from the Burd-Shippen Papers), Pa. Hist. Soc., Philadelphia, 72, 73, 74 (hereafter cited as Walker, Waggoners' Accounts). He provisioned and supplied the Kittanning expedition in 1756. Pa. Archives, 5th ser., 1: 44. Bouquet found him indefatigable in collecting provisions and wagons for the Forbes campaign in 1758. Bouquet Papers, 2: 48, 97. He was one of the first purchasers of lots when Carlisle was laid out and was living there in 1764. He had also a large farm on the Virginia Road,
Returns & Rolls of their Companies: as Mustered the 23d July in Order to Account for all the Men who were then Effective, & ascertain their present State.

Those of the Second Battalion to be prepared for examination on this Afternoon.

General Orders Augst. 7th. 1764
Parole York
Lieut. Col: Clayton & the Captains of the 2d Battalion of the Pennsylvania Regiment will attend with their Muster Rolls ———— preceisley [sic] at 3 this Afternoon ———— The Adjutant & Surgeon of the Battalion to be also present ———— the former with the Re-

five miles below Chambersburg. See William Scull's map of Pennsylvania, 1770. His signature is found on the famous Non-Importation Resolution in Philadelphia, in 1765. Frank M. Etting, _An Historical Account of the Old State House_ (Boston, 1876), 54-55. He amassed great wealth and died in 1771.


85 Asher Clayton (born c.1740) came of a Monmouth County, N. J., family in which the name Asher was passed through several generations. (Micro-filmed genealogical notes in the Pennsylvania Historical Society, Philadelphia, by F. Mousley.) He apparently migrated quite young to Lancaster County, Pa., that part forming Dauphin (after 1785), for he was commissioned lieutenant and adjutant in the 3rd Pennsylvania Battalion at Fort Augusta, May 24, 1756, at age only sixteen. _Pa. Archives_, 5th ser., 1: 46, 47. Advancement to captain came June 9, 1758. Ibid., 121, 200. He was a very active officer on Forbes's campaign and was severely wounded at Grant's defeat (Grant's Hill in Pittsburgh) Sept. 14, 1758. Ibid., 182. Promoted major, Apr. 12, 1760, he was at Fort Pitt most of 1760. Ibid., 311-12. Clayton led a party in 1763 to drive out Connecticut settlers from the Wyoming Valley (Wilkes-Barre) but found them all massacred by Indians. Ibid., 2nd ser., 7: 448. Commissioned lt. colonel commandant of the 2nd Battalion, July 2, 1764, he performed as a good officer with Bouquet's Ohio expedition in 1764. He was working on his farm at Wyoming, in 1771, when all of the Pennsylvania settlers were attacked by Connecticut men, driven into a blockhouse, besieged and starved for 23 days. Forced to capitulate, with several of their number wounded, they went to Philadelphia. _Pa. Col. Rec._, 9: 767. He is said to have suffered greatly in later life from the effects of exposure and his wound.
turns, & the latter with the List of the Sick. The First Bat. to be under Arms at five when the Company's will be mustered agreeable to the Rolls given in & examined this morning. The Second Bat. to be ready to parade at a moments warning. ———
It will also be Mustered; as soon as the Returns and Rolls are examined & Compared in the same manner as those of the first Bat: have been.

After Orders Seven in the Evening
The two Bat's of Pennsylvanians to be under Arms to morrow morning at Six.
Cap't. Williams will proceed to morrow for Fort Loudoun with all the Military Tools & Artificers, Escorted by the Detachments of the 42d. & 60th. Regiments now here under the Command of Lieut. Campbell. 86 The Commanding Officers of Companies in the Pennsylvania Regiment to clear with their Men Immediately & Account to them for all their Pay till the 30th. of June Inclusive

Head Quarters Carlisle

August the 8th. 1764
Parole London

The Pennsylvania Troops to hold themselves in readiness to March at an hours warning.
Col: Bouquet takes this early Opportunity to forbid in the most express manner any Person belonging to the Army or followers of the same to commit the least damage or Violence against the propertys of the People through whose Settlements they shall happen to march during the course of the Expedition either in their Persons, Houses, fences, Cattle or in any Other Article whatsoever.
the Offenders will be punished with the Utmost Severity, and the strictest disciplin in Camp as well as when marching as they will be Answerable for any Irregularities their Men may be Guilty of Contrary to this Order.
A Return to be given in Immediately of what Powder and flints 87 will

86 Lt. Duncan Campbell of the 42nd Regiment had been desirous of retiring on half pay but expressed a willingness to serve this campaign, if Bouquet so desired. B.M., Add. Mss. 21650, Pt. 1, f. 237 (pp. 166, 188). He disappeared from the Army Lists after 1765.

87 Gun flints were imported from England where the art of flint knapping was a technique for shaping the stone with one sharp edge, held in the jaws of the cock, struck against the frizzen, and emitted sparks into the powder pan, which ignited the charge in the barrel of the musket. American flints were a prized item among British soldiers, as they were of superior quality and rendered up to ten times the service — averaging at least
be required to Compleat the Pennsylvania Troops with \( \frac{1}{4} \) [pound] of Powder and three Flints to each man including Officers.

Head Quarters Augst. 9th 1764
Parole Bern

Orders
The Officers of every Rank in the Pennsylvania Troops will be allowed One Bat Horse\(^88\) each the Staff included
The Quarter Master of each Battalion will immediately apply to Cap\(^1\). Callender\(^89\) who has directions to deliver the Horses to morrow morning with one driver to every Six.
The Officers to have their Baggage properly packed & weighed, each load by no means to exceed 160,\(^b\) the drivers having positive Orders not to load their horses beyond that weight.\(^90\)

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\(^{88}\) Bathorses were extra packhorses carrying officers' baggage and effects led by batmen, officers' servants.

\(^{89}\) Robert Callender, as early as 1749, was in partnership in the Indian trade with George Croghan, William Trent, and Michael Teaffe. Nicholas B. Wainwright, *George Croghan, Wilderness Diplomat* (Chapel Hill, 1959), 30. In 1750-51, he was in company with Christopher Gist and Croghan at the key Indian town, Pickawillany in Ohio. William M. Darlington, *Christopher Gist's Journals* (Pittsburgh, 1893), 161. Callender and Teaffe brought the first intelligence to Philadelphia of the advance of the French into the Ohio Valley in 1753. Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, 1: 367. With Benjamin Franklin, Callender was extremely active in procuring horses and wagons for Braddock's army and was, by far, the greatest loser, with the exception of Franklin, in that great debacle. He also advanced large sums of money of his own. See Walker, *Waggoners' Accounts*, 47. He was a captain lieutenant in Col. John Armstrong's attack on Kittanning in 1756; and in Forbes's expedition, 1758, he was a captain commanding the wagon train and its guard, besides being engaged in road building. *Pa. Archives*, 5th ser., 1: 44; *Bouquet Papers*, 2: 5, 6, 121, 123, 126, 305, 313. His activity won high praise from both Bouquet and Forbes; and, his house having burned that year, Bouquet's early letters and property stored there were lost. Ibid., iv. On the list of losers by Pontiac's war (\£80,862), Callender's was the greatest of the individual traders. Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, 1: 382. He bought the Middlesex estate where he ran a large flour mill and died in 1776. Warner, Beers, *Cumberland County*, 306.

\(^{90}\) Apparently both wagons and packhorses were used, at least for the march as far as Ligonier. The weight limit of 160 pounds to be carried by each bathorse compares with 150 pounds estimated per packhorse in "Reflections on War with the Savages," in Smith, *An Historical Account*, 53; also with 125 pounds of flour carried by each of 80 of the light infantry horses on the march to Muskingum. See orders for Oct. 2, 1764. Williams, "Orderly Book," *WPHM*, 42 (1959) : 21.
The King allowing no Provisions for women, & their being none to be procured beyond the Settlements, no Women can be allowed to follow the Troops after they March from this Place: The two Battalions of Pennsylvanians to be under Arms to morrow morning at Seven the Soldiers to parade with their packs, Camp kettles, tomhawks, and all their Accoutrements The Officers to see that their Men tie their packs Short, & carrying them on their shoulders they are to Carry nothing in their hands in order to have the free use of their Arms.

Head Quarters at Carlisle Aug. 10th 1764
Parole Shippensbourgh
The Troops are to draw provisions, this morning to the 12th. Inclusive: and are to March at One this Afternoon they will encamp at Millers. They are [to] pass to morrow beyond Shippenbourgh, and the next day to Fort Loudoun, where they will encamp on the Ground layd out for them by Cap't. Williams.

A Subaltern & 25 light Horsemen will be furnished this day with Horses: they are to remain in Camp as an Escort for Col: Bouquet. if there are any Sick or lame Men, unable to March a return of them will be given this morning to the Director of the Hospital that Carriages may be provided to Transport them: They will be attended to Fort Loudoun by one of the Regimental Mates.

The Men whose Arms are still at the Gun smiths must be left here with a proportion of Officers, who are to March them as soon as repairs are Complateed to join the Army At Fort Loudoun

91 This is one of the earliest mentions of Miller's Spring, the other being Col. William Eyre. See "Col. Eyre's Journal." WPHM, 27: 41; Wallace, Indian Paths, 50, 177. This also was the designated starting place of the Pennsylvania Road, then (1785) called "the widow Miller's spring at Mount Rock." It has ever since been named Mountrock. Pa. Col. Rec., 15: 331.

92 Shippensburg was named for Edward Shippen of Lancaster and Philadelphia, who owned and laid out the town. It was the first county seat of Cumberland County, organized in 1750. By the end of 1752 and early 1753, the county government was transferred to Carlisle. For many years it was the busiest trade center on the Philadelphia to Pittsburgh road. Pack-horses and wagon trains, later immigrant wagons and stagecoaches, were much in evidence on its main street.

93 Fort Loudoun has been noticed (note 36, part 1). The army lay at Fort Loudoun for eighteen days during which the army was being welded into a compact fighting unit, learned the meaning of discipline, and each recruit was taught his duty at all times. Regarding the march from Carlisle, it is significant that twenty-one years later an infantry detachment of the U.S. Army under Capt. Jonathan Heart, marching from Connecticut to Pittsburgh by the same road in 1785, evidently used the identical camp sites — Mountrock (Miller's Spring), and "7 miles beyond
This Detachment shall relieve the Guard in Town.
The Men examined yesterday by Doctor Mallet & reported by him un-fit for Service must Immediately be Discharged.

After Orders
A Company of the First Battalion of Pennsylvanians to receive the Deserters now Confined in Jail, take charge of them on this march & be a rear Guard to the whole. This Duty to be alternately done by both Battalions, till they arrive at Fort Loudoun where the Prisoners will be delivered to their Respective Corps.

August 12th, 1764
Parole Bedford
Counter Sign Gage

The Pennsylvania Troops to draw one days provisions to morrow morning which Victuals them to the 13th Inclusive; they receive the same Species of Provisions; and their Rations will be exactly equal in quality: with what the regular Troops receive.
The Bat and Baggage horses to be sent as soon as unloaded to the Kings pasture Ground a person will be ready to conduct them thither.
After Orders

The Rear Guard of the Pennsylvanians will deliver the Deserters belonging to the 42d. & 60th. Regts, as soon as these Corps send to Demand them the prisoners to be secured till ordered for Trial. ——

All firing and Hallowing in or near the Camp is expressly forbid. ——
The Guards and Centrys are strictly Injoined to confine such as disobey this order and the Officers will without any Trial be Instantly punished.94

Morning Orders Aug13th. 1764 for the Pennsylvania Troops. An Officer per Company to be constantly present in Camp who is to be Answerable that all Public Orders relating to the Men be read and explained to them: and that all Parties, Guards &c: ordered for Duty, be immediately turned out & sent by a Non Commissioned Officer to the parade. The Officer who is orderly will also be answerable that all returns demanded in Publick Orders or otherwise, be exactly and punctually made out & sent from their Respective Companies to the Adjutant, that he may thereby have it in his Power to deliver in said Returns precisely at the Time they are called for ——— The Rolls to be called four Times a day, and all Casualties to be Immediately reported.

Head Quarters, Camp at Fort Loudoun
Aug13th. 1764.

Parole ——— Scarborough
Counter Sign — Susquehanah
Field Officer for the Day Lieut: Col: Reid95

94 Where militia was concerned, all American armies had this problem of unauthorized and indiscriminate firing of guns, which alarmed whole camps and wasted ammunition. Gen. Lachlan McIntosh, marching this same road during the Revolution, found it necessary to issue like orders and to threaten dire punishments for the same offense. E. G. Williams, ed., "A Revolutionary Journal and Orderly Book of General Lachlan McIntosh's Expedition, 1778," WPHM, 43 (1960) : 168, 269-70.

95 John Reid of Straloch was born Robertson, in 1721, but later took the surname of his maternal ancestors, Scottish lairds of Strowan. Educated at the University of Edinburgh, he was commissioned a lieutenant in Lord Loudoun's Highland Battalion in 1745, served in Flanders and bought a commission in the 42nd Highlanders, June 26, 1751. DNB, s.v., "Reid, John." He was a captain in the 42nd as of June 3, 1752; major, Aug. 1, 1759; lieutenant colonel in the army, Feb. 3, 1762; colonel, Aug. 29, 1777; major general, Oct. 19, 1781; lieutenant general, Oct. 12, 1793; (full) general, Jan. 1798. Reid was twice wounded in Martinique in 1762, was with Bouquet at Bushy Run in 1763, and now was his second in command on the Ohio expedition of 1764. British Army Lists, 1755 through 1799;
The Guards & Picquets to be under Arms Every Morning from before day till an hour after Sun rise, when the Revellie\(^\text{96}\) beat: they are to send Patroles who will take a large Circuit round the Camp, if on their Return they report no signs of the Enemy, the Guards may ground their Arms and the Picquets return to Camp. ———

The Field Officer of the day commands the Guards and Picquets. they all report to him & he to the Officer Commanding the Army. He also makes the grand round & fixes the hours of the other Rounds & patroles during the night.

The Nature of this Expedition, not admitting the Incumbrance of heavy baggage, no Chests or Trunks will be carried by the Kings horses ——— The Officers who Choose to have such loads Carried must do it at their Own Expence.

On all Marches one Bat Horse will be allowed to every Officer of the Army and a Saddle horse to each Adjutant & Q\(^\text{t}\) Master ———

Drivers will be appointed, each of whom will have Charge of Six bat horses and will be made Answerable for the Officers Baggage these Horses are loaded with ——— On which Account no Soldiers or Servants are to be employed in attending the Baggage ——— In the Orders of the 9\(^\text{th}\) of August the weight of each load was fixed at 160\(^\circ\). ——— That Order is now repeated that the Horses may by no means be overloaded ——— And every Servant Soldier ——— or follower of the Army who shall presume to ride or load any part of his Baggage or Accoutrements on any of the Kings Horses will be severely punished, as well as the Driver who Suffers it. There will be Carriage always appointed for the Sick, that drivers may not avail themselves of that pretext ——— This being standing Orders for

\(\text{N.Y. Col. Docs., 8: 312. Bouquet was generous in his praise of the merit of Col. Reid. Smith, An Historical Account, 33.}

Reid married Suzanna Alexander of New York, stayed in America when the regiment sailed to England in 1767, acquired 35,000 acres of Vermont land, and built mills, leased to tenants, etc. He returned to England during the Revolution, suffering the loss of his Vermont improvements. He is gratefully remembered in Scotland as a patron of music and culture, a composer, and an endower of a chair of music at the University of Edinburgh. Concerts of his music were played on his birthday for over half a century. He composed the marches for the Royal American Regiment, treasured to this day by the King's Royal Rifle Corps and published for the first time in America. Williams, "Prevosts," \text{WPHM, 56: 8-12. Colonel Reid commanded briefly at Fort Pitt. He died in 1807. E. B. O'Callaghan, The Documentary History of the State of New York (Albany, 1851), 4: 842, 856-50; DNB, s.v., "Reid, John"; Shy, Toward Lexington, 356-57.}\)

\(\text{96 It is interesting to note that the soldiers of that day incorrectly pronounced the word \textit{revellie}, just as do our modern soldiers.}\)
the Campaign, its expected and required of the Officers to see them punctually obey’d as the Subsistance of the Troops depends entirely on the preservation of the Horses ———— The Commanding Officers of Corps and Detachments are to sign their Returns for Provisions one ration pr diem only being allowed to each Officer & Soldier & none on any account to Women or any other Person whatsoever. The Officers who sign the Returns, are Answerable that no Provisions be drawn but for effectives. A Detachment of 1 Captain 2 Subalterns 2 Serj’es. & 50 Rank & File of the 42d. & 60th. Regiments to be in readiness to escort to morrow a Brigade of Waggons to Bedford ———— That Detachment will draw five days bread & three days meat & the remaining proportion will be delivered to them by Mr. Reid [Read] the Commissary of the Crown in Live Sheep. Another Detachment of 2 Captains, Six Subalterns 6 Serjeants & 100 Battalion Men of the Pennsylvania Troops with a proportion of Tools to be ready to March to morrow to repair the road towards Bedford. They will receive Directions from the Chief Engineer. They are to draw ten days flower, it will be carried in Waggons ———— Three Days meat, & the remainder in live Cattle.97 A Serjeant & 12 Men from the 42d. & 60th. Regiments will be joined to this Detachment who will also be under Capt. Williams. ———— Directions.

Head Quarters Camp at Fort Loudoun
August 14th. Tuesday 9 in the Morning ————
The Commander in Chief having been pleased to appoint Capt. Marcus Prevost98 of the 60th. and Captain William Murray99 of the 42d.

97 A correct picture of the supply problem is presented when we reflect that fresh meat had to be transported on the hoof. There was no motorized transport, no refrigeration or canned provisions as today. We can form some idea of the problem when we consider that, when the army left Pittsburgh for the Muskingum, 400 head of cattle were driven along, the average weight 370 pounds. A large herd of sheep also went along. All these had to be prevented from straying into the woods, made to swim streams, and protected from the enemy; also their slow progress retarded the march of the army. B.M., Add. Mss. 21654, f. 210 (p. 237).

98 James Mark Prevost (not to be confused with his brother James, colonel afterwards general) signed all his army correspondence “J. M. Prevost.” He was one of the Swiss brothers Prevost in the Royal American Regiment. See Williams, “Prevosts," WPHM, 56: 14-16. His service record stands thus: captain, 60th Regiment, Jan. 17, 1756; major, July 23, 1772; lieutenant colonel, Aug. 29, 1777; mortally wounded in Jamaica, 1779. British Army Lists; Severo Mallet-Prevost, Historical Notes and Biographical Sketches Regarding the American Branch of the Mallet Family (New York, 1930), 80; Butler, Royal Rifle Corps, 1: 371. One of his sons was appointed by Pres. Jefferson a federal superior court
Regiment Majors for this Campaign, they are to be acknowledged and obey'd as such.

A General Court Martial\textsuperscript{100} to sett Immediately in Camp

\hspace{1cm} judge of Louisiana, and his widow married Aaron Burr. See Williams, "Prevosts," \textit{WPHM}, 56: 17.

99 William Murray of Lintrose was commissioned a captain in the 42nd Royal Highlanders July 18, 1758, survived the terrible Cuban campaign and stood with Bouquet at Bushy Run, for he signed a report at Ligonier only two days before the battle, and commanded a "Grand Convoy" of provisions to Fort Pitt in Oct. 1763. See B.M., Add. Mss. 21649, Pt. 2, f. 285 (p. 11), f. 389 (p. 87). He marched with Bouquet in 1764 and was left in command at Fort Pitt when the army marched east after that expedition. Ibid., 21651, f. 107 (p. 88). Bouquet intrusted to Murray very important negotiations with the Shawnees and Delawares and the sending of their chiefs to Sir William Johnson. Ibid., 21655, ff. 252, 263, 266 (pp. 251-54, 256-68). Murray continued with the 42nd when they returned to Ireland and Scotland in 1767. Promoted major in 1777, he commanded a battalion of the 42nd in 1776 at the battles of Long Island, Fort Washington, Brandywine, and Germantown. Whether he became a casualty is not definitely known, but he disappeared from the \textit{Army Lists} after 1777. See Forbes, \textit{Black Watch}, chapters XII, XIII.

100 (a) John Joseph Schlosser, German-born engineer officer, was one of the first to transfer from the Dutch to British service, commissioned lieutenant Dec. 27, 1755. Butler, \textit{Royal Rifle Corps}, 1: 346. He was promoted captain lieutenant May 12, 1756; captain July 20, 1758. British \textit{Army Lists}, 1755-60. He was wounded at the British defeat at Ticonderoga, July 8, 1758. \textit{N.Y. Col. Docs.}, 10: 731. From the military correspondence, he was one of the most active officers in the regiment, at Fort Miller on the Hudson, Fort Edward, Ticonderoga, Niagara, Philadelphia and Lancaster, Pittsburgh, Presq' Isle, and repeat. In the campaign to take Fort Niagara in 1759 the French burned their small fort, Little Niagara, at the end of the Niagara portage. Schlosser was sent to rebuild and garrison it, wherefore it was called Fort Schlosser (a strategic landing in the War of 1812). O. H. Marshall, "The Niagara Frontier," \textit{Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society}, 2 (1888): 409-10; Milo M. Quaife, ed., Alexander Henry, \textit{Travels and Adventures in Canada, 1760-1776} (Chicago, 1921), 174-76.

From wintering at Lancaster (1759-60), Schlosser marched to Fort Ligonier in June, with Bouquet to Pittsburgh and Presq' Isle in July, and to Fort Niagara where he remained a year. B.M., Add. Mss. 21645, f. 12 (p. 84); f. 137 (p. 103); f. 167 (p. 126). In 1761, he wrote Bouquet, "...seeing myself separated from my family makes them very unhappy and tries me almost beyond endurance." Ibid., 21647, f. 101 (pp. 75, 77). A year later he was arranging purchase from Sir William Johnson of a tract of land with 1½ miles of frontage on the Mohawk River. Ibid., 21648, f. 307 (p. 99). Later he attempted to sell his commission and was crushed by His Majesty's edict that none could sell who had not purchased a commission.

After the massacres of the Conestoga Indians, the survivors were sent to New York, but Gov. Colden would not permit them to pass. Capt. Schlosser, on his march from Niagara to Philadelphia, was ordered to escort the Indians back to Philadelphia and guard and protect them there. Gordon, \textit{History of Penna.}, 706; \textit{Pa. Archives}, 1st ser., 4: 160. On Bouquet's expedition to Ohio he performed his duties well and returned to Lancaster for the winter. B.M., Add. Mss. 21651, f. 281 (p. 206); Williams, "Prevosts," \textit{WPHM}, 56: 25.
After marching to Albany and to Canada where riots had occurred, and back to New York to guard the ship bearing the hated revenue stamps, the Royal Americans were beaten by a New York mob. Part went to the West Indies, and it is not known whether Schlosser went with them; but he is known to have suffered with severe rheumatism. See "Memoir of Maj. Patrick Murray," Butler, _Royal Rifle Corps_, 1: 296; B.M., Add. Mss. 21651, f. 229 (p. 174). He last appears on the British _Army List_ for 1772 (printed list for the previous year). It is probable that he returned to Germany.

(b) Alexander Fraser was a lieutenant in Simon Fraser's 2nd Highland Battalion, later designated the 78th Regiment of Foot. After rendering valued service at Louisburg, Quebec, and other parts of Canada, the regiment was sent home to be disbanded. Fraser chose to remain in America and, since he spoke French, was sent to accompany George Croghan in 1765 into the Illinois country to inform the Indians of the French capitulation and British ascendancy over all east of the Mississippi. Croghan having been delayed, Fraser proceeded with only a small company, was captured, and taken to Chief Pontiac, who threatened to boil all Englishmen, but relented and aided Fraser's escape to New Orleans. Fraser returned the next year to the Illinois country but achieved little. His long letters to Gen. Gage, the best contemporary description of Pontiac in existence, are in the Clements Library. He disappears from the _Army Lists_ after 1768. See R. G. Thwaites, "Croghan's Journal, 1765," _Early Western Travels_ (Cleveland, 1904), 1: 137-38; Hanna, _Wilderness Trail_, 2: 32-33; Peckham, _Pontiac Uprising_, 270-78; Wainwright, _George Croghan_, 213, 218-19; "Haldimand Papers," _Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections_, 10 (1886): 216; Parkman, _Pontiac Conspiracy_, 283-86; British _Army Lists_, 1755 through 1768.

(c) Lieut. Duncan Campbell (see note 86).

(d) Lieut. Augustine Prevost, Jr., serving his first campaign, was the son of Lieut. Col. Augustine Prevost (see note 59, part 1). He had been commissioned an ensign, July 24, 1758, a month before his fourteenth birthday, while in an English military school; lieutenant May 10, 1764. Anxious for service, he accompanied Bouquet's 1764 expedition and, in April of the next spring, married Susannah, daughter of the wealthy Indian trader and deputy Indian agent, George Croghan. After a varied service in Canada, the West Indies, and South Carolina, he settled upon a large estate at Lake Otsego, New York. He visited his father-in-law in Pittsburgh many times and became well acquainted with the celebrities at Fort Pitt. See Nicholas Wainwright, "Turmoil at Pittsburgh," _PMHB_, 85 (1961): 111-19; also Williams, "Prevosts," _WPHM_, 56 (1973): 22-25; British _Army Lists_, 1758-64. He served in the Royal Americans during the Revolution under his father, then a major general, and attained the rank of major. He owned the fine estate, later associated with John Audubon, which Prevost sold to Audubon. Sr. Augustine Prevost spent his last years at Hush-Hush, a large estate in Greene County, New York. He was the half-brother of Sir George Prevost, governor general of Canada, another an admiral, and another a major general in the British service. The Prevost article covers his entire career and that of his interesting family.

(e) Nathaniel McCullough was commissioned ensign in the 42nd Royal Highland Regiment July 3, 1759; lieutenant Aug. 16, 1764. He survived the West Indian ordeal of battle and disease and the Bushy Run battle. Having been reduced to half pay at the beginning of 1764, he showed spirit in volunteering to serve as quartermaster of the 42nd Regiment in Bouquet's campaign. B.M., Add. Mss. 21650, Pt. 1, f. 216 (pp. 150, 195). Bouquet placed him in command of Fort Bedford in December of 1764. He last appears on the _Army List_ for 1771.

(f) William Murray (see note 99).
(g) George Etherington, with a reputation of "a very good Officer who knows his Duty," is one of the rare examples of a sergeant and sergeant major who rose from the ranks of the British army to the status of a gentleman officer. See Pargellis, Military Affairs, 355, 496 (where he is called Elrington but corrected to Etherington); also Butler, Royal Rifle Corps, 1: 21, where the same correction is correlated to the Army List. He was commissioned lieutenant in the 60th, Feb. 16, 1756; captain, Apr. 17, 1759; major, 2nd Battalion in Antigua, Oct. 4, 1770; lieutenant colonel, 2nd Battalion, Antigua, Sept. 19, 1775; colonel in the army, May 6, 1782. We are told by Graydon (Memoirs, 71-73) that Etherington was a large man, a very efficient officer of dominating character, who had been a sergeant and could recruit with the best in the service.

He was with Major Gladwin at Detroit, in 1762, and was in command of the small garrison of Michilimackinac, in 1763, when attacked, most of the garrison massacred, and Etherington and Lieutenant Leslie taken to Montreal. Peckham, Pontiac Uprising, 95, 163, 165; Alexander Henry, Travels and Adventures in 1760-1776 (New York, 1809, Chicago reprinted, 1921), 68, 91-95. He was back in New York in Aug. 1763, spent the winter there, and was at Fort Loudon by June 1764, ready to march with Bouquet to Ohio. B.M., Add. Mss. 21649, Pt. 1, f. 320 (p. 33); ibid., 21650, Pt. 1, f. 13 (p. 8), f. 294 (p. 197). Although in Antigua from 1770 to 1775 (according to the Army Lists), Major Etherington gained distinction in the Island of St. Vincent, during 1773, and received a grant of valuable land there. Butler, Royal Rifle Corps, 1: 296-98. The Army Lists through 1783 and 1784 still carry the note "Antigua" after his name; and he last appears on the 1787 Army List, there being no listing for him in 1788, nor on the half-pay list.

(h) Francis Hutchinson was not without influential friends. His cousin was Hugh Wallace, wealthy New York merchant and a partner with Bouquet and others in land ventures, also a correspondent with the colonel, to whom he expressed his concern for Hutchinson: "He is very dear to me & I have his Interest much at Heart." B.M., Add. Mss. 21650, Pt. 2, f. 515 (p. 145). During the Revolution, Wallace was attainted as a loyalist and his estate confiscated; part of the time he was imprisoned in Connecticut. Lorenzo Sabin, American Loyalists in the Revolution (New York, 1847), 670; Thomas Jones, History of New York During the Revolution, 2 vols. (New York, 1879), 2: 269, 271, 276, 285, 385. Hutchinson's service record follows: ensign, Jan. 21, 1756, in the 60th Royal Americans; lieutenant, Aug. 23, 1758; quartermaster as of Oct. 4, 1760; dropped from the List in 1763, but is back May 9, 1764, with his former rank in the army, also as quartermaster; captain, Mar. 17, 1769; captain, 2nd Battalion through 1781, with rank of major in the army, Nov. 17, 1780. He does not appear on the 1782 List.

(i) James Rumsey's military record is confused, since the orderly book here rates him a lieutenant on Aug. 14, 1764, whereas some Army Lists show him as ensign in the 42nd Regiment as of Mar. 17 of the same year. Be that as it may, he left the army, when the 2nd Battalion was reduced at the end of 1766 and the regiment sailed to Ireland in June of 1767, to enter commercial pursuits. He joined the trading firm of Baynton, Wharton and Morgan and showed up in 1766 at Vincennes in the Illinois country with a boatload of slaves from Jamaica, thus winning the praise of John Wharton. T. P. Abernethy, Western Lands, 27-28, 117. He soon after became the secretary to Col. John Wilkins (see part 1, n51) then married the stepdaughter of William Murray, an ex-army man, relative of Lord Dunmore, and went into partnership with Murray as agents for David Franks & Co., large traders, including the wealthy Gratz brothers of Philadelphia. It was all very complicated, but Rumsey grew wealthy. See Savelle, George Morgan, 62, 64, 67, 68. An attempt
Lieut: Col: Ried [Reid] president
Major Prevost [i.e., Capt.] Major Murray [i.e., Capt.]
Capt' Schlosser Capt. Etherington
Lieut: Fraser Lieut. Hutchinson
Lieut: Campbell Lieut. Rumsey
Lieut: Prevost Ensign Peebles
Lieut: M'Cullough

Members
Lieut: Donaldson Deputy Judge Advocate

The Prisoners that will be brought before this Court are to be tryed and Immeately acquainted thereof; that they may prepare for their defence.
The Evidences to attend preezeicely at ten this Morning.
The Names & Ranks of the Members, together with the names & Crimes of the Prisoners will be given to the Deputy Judge Advocate.
A Subaltern, Serjeant, Drummer & thirteen Rank & File, from the First Battalion of Pennsylvanians to be ready to march for Fort Cumberland.
The Officer will receive his Orders from Colonel Bouquet, This Party will proceed with the detachment Order'd to Escort the Waggons to Fort Bedford and will be victualled in the same manner, On their

has been made to mistakenly identify this man with the American-born inventor of the same name.

(j) John Peebles, serving with the 77th (Montgomery's Highlanders) as a volunteer, was severely wounded at the Bushy Run battle, on Aug. 5, 1763. B.M., Add. Mss. 21649, Pt. 2, f. 313 (p. 28), f. 316 (p. 30), and f. 293 (p. 15). In the latter communication another officer solicits a commission for Peebles in the 42nd Regiment, where two vacancies existed after the same battle, which he received Aug. 23, 1763. W. C. Ford, British Officers Serving in America (1754-74), 81 (hereafter cited as Ford, British Officers). After seeking surgical aid in Philadelphia during the winter, the wound was still causing him trouble in the late spring, yet he was able to accompany Bouquet's army in the late summer of 1764. B.M., 21649, Pt. 1, f. 366 (p. 66); ibid., 21650, Pt. 1, f. 156 (p. 111). After returning from the Muskingum, he commanded at Fort Ligonier during Dec. 1764, and remained through the winter. Ibid., 21651, f. 114 (p. 89); f. 250 (p. 185-86). Since the 2nd Battalion of the 42nd was disbanded the next year and the officers reduced to half pay or dropped from the list, we find no more mention of him.

(k) Alexander Donaldson was commissioned ensign in the 42nd Regiment on July 18, 1758, just ten days after the terrible slaughter at Ticonderoga; adjutant Mar. 20, 1759; lieutenant May 8, 1760. The orders here fill the blank date that appears in the copy of the warrant issued to him "August 1759 . . . to Act as Deputy Judge Advocate to all such Courts Martial as shall be held . . ." B.M., Add. Mss. 21650, Pt. 2, f. 470 (p. 113). He disappears from the Army Lists after the regiment returned to Ireland and Scotland in 1767.
Arrival at Bedford they will receive Provisions to Subsist them to Fort Cumberland. A Return to be given in Immediately of the Quantity of ball [i.e., musket balls] to Compleat the Pennsylvanian Troops to 12 rounds per man.
All the Horses delivered to the Troops; to be returned to Cap't Callendar at the Fort at four this Afternoon. Except those received Yesterday by Captains Kern & Piper for their Troops of Light Horse men.

Head Quarters Camp at Fort Loudoun
Tuesday August 14th 1764.
Parole ——— Mobile
C: Sign ——— Misspie
Field Officer of the day Lieut. Col. Clayton
for tomorrow Major Dehaas
The Adjutants of the 42d & 60th Regiments will receive from the Major of Brigade & Insert in their Orderly Books; Extracts of such Orders given by Col: Bouquet previous to his Arrival at this Place. ——— as Concern the Service of the Campaign & are necessary for them to be acquainted with.

[Seven lines deleted.]

His Majesty has been pleased to make the following promotions in the American Army [i.e., the British Army in America].
Lieut: Col: David Wedderburn101 of the 68th Regt to be Lieut: Col: in

101 (a) Lt. Col. David Wedderburn was younger brother of Alexander Wedderburn, Lord Chancellor, later Lord Loughborough, and Earl of Rosslyn. It was he who humiliated Benjamin Franklin and caused his deputy postmastership to be taken away. Col. Wedderburn commanded the military forces in Florida in 1765 and cooperated there with Gov. Johnston. He was general of the British army that took Baroach (or Barrock), India, in 1772 and was killed the next year in fighting there. See Fortescue, History of the Army, 3: 141-42; DNB, s.v., “Wedderburn, David”; Cokayne, Complete Peerage, 11: 172-74.

(b) The exchange of commissions between Lt.Cols. Wedderburn and Martin is interesting. Jonas Martin was Lt. col. of the 22nd Regiment, of which Maj. Gen. O'Farrell had been colonel until his death in 1757 when it went to Col. Whitmore, then to Gen. Thomas Gage in 1762 who held it until 1765. Pargellis, Military Affairs, 380; Ford, British Officers, 5, 58. Martin was in America with the 22nd, while the 68th Regiment was “at home,” so that Wedderburn came to America in place of Martin.

(c) Richard Maitland was a captain in the 43rd Regiment as of Sept. 4, 1754, and the Army Lists carry him as senior captain of that regiment until the 1772 List. He evidently had rank in the army as Lt. col. (a common occurrence, since Bouquet here accords him that rank in announcing his additional office of adjutant gen. for North America). The Army List did not catch up with this appointment until the 1766 publica-
tion. Maitland died in New York, aged 48, in 1772 and was buried in Trinity Church yard, still to be seen in Lower Broadway. His will (Will Book 28: 302, *N.Y. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, for 1899, p. 61) gives all his estate "to my two natural sons, Richard and Peter, children of Mary McAdam, and to the said Mary McAdam, and the child with which she is now pregnant." The McAdams were one of the wealthiest and prominent families of New York. The Rev. John Ogilvie was one of the executors of the will.

(d) The Hon. William Hervey, brother of the Earl of Bristol, purchased the ensigncy left vacant by the death of Capt. Henry Bromley and the advancement of the other officers below, in the spring of 1755.

(e) Philip Skene, a Scotsman, was one of the most controversial figures of his times. His record has been confused often, for there were at the same time three officers of the same name in the *Army Lists*. He is authentically stated to have entered the army in 1739 and to have participated in many actions, notably the Cartagena and Portobelo campaigns in the West Indies, also Culloden in Scotland and Fontenoy and Laffeldt on the Continent, and several times wounded. He was commissioned a lieutenant in the 1st Royal Foot on Aug. 16, 1750, came to America in 1756, captain on Feb. 2, 1757, in the 27th Regiment, and was wounded at Ticonderoga, July 8, 1758. Rogers, *Haddon Journal*, appendix 16, 505-17; *N.Y. Col. Docs.*, 8: 415; ibid., 10: 728. He was again appointed by Gen. Amherst major of brigade, in July 1759, serving at Crown Point. In this Orderly Book, we have him again appointed to serve in the same capacity. In the meantime, he had, in 1761, started a settlement of 30 families on the shores of South Bay of Lake Champlain, where he obtained a total of 34,000 acres (the township of Skenesborough, now Whitehall). The royal patent had just been granted in May of 1765. By extreme activity, he had soon built stone buildings and defensive fortifications, an iron furnace and forge, sawmills, gristmills, roads and bridges, improvements that were the envy of all neighboring settlements and colonies. Skene was in England when hostilities broke out in 1775, his returning ship landed in Philadelphia, he was apprehended by Congress, and finally imprisoned in Connecticut, where he violated his parole. After his release, he joined Burgoyne, was captured with that army, and was later exchanged. The fine Skenesborough properties had been confiscated and plundered. He spent the remainder of his life in unsuccessfully attempting to recover his estates and died in England in 1810.

(f) Thomas Moncriefie had a life clouded with tragic events. There were apparently two officers of the name, which causes no little confusion. It seems likely that he was the lieutenant of the name in the 1st Regiment of Foot, Dec. 28, 1756, then captain in the 55th as of Feb. 14, 1760, exchanging for a captaincy in the 59th when the former regiment was about to leave America. *Army Lists*. He never rose above the rank of captain, although he was ever after this called Major from his being brigade major, an office always held by a captain or lieutenant. Moncrieffe was indebted to Gen. and Mrs. Gage, when, his wife having died, they took his motherless children into their household. The eldest, Margaret, fell in love at the age of thirteen with Aaron Burr, was married at fourteen, and at fifteen was the paramour of the Earl of Lincoln, later the Duke of Newcastle, cousin of Gen. Henry Clinton, even later the mistress of royalty. The Gages' efforts to bring her to respectability are outlined in John Alden's *General Gage in America*, 73-74. Margaret's own *Memoirs of Mrs. Coghlan*, 2 vols. (London, 1794), tell her own story. Burr's biographer treats the affair magnanimously. James Parton, *The Life and Times of Aaron Burr* (Boston, 1866), 1: 89-95. Also see letter of Margaret Coghlan in *PMHB*, 3 (1879): 476, in which she identifies her father. He, in 1774, married Helena Barclay, daughter of
the 22d Vice Martin who exchanges into the 68th.
Liet: Col: Richard Maitland of the 43d to be Deputy Adjutant General for North America.

Returns to be given in Signed by the Commanding Officers of Corps; of the Bat & Baggage horses requisite for their Officers & for their mens Tents the latter at the proportion of ten Tents to each horse after these horses are delivered: the Corps will be answerable for them and if any are lost; they must be replaced or paid for.
The whole Army to be ready to March to morrow morning early.

Head Quarters Camp at Fort Loudoun
Wednesady August 15th 1764.
Parole  Littleton
C: Sign  Juniata
Field Officer to morrow  Major Prevost
The General Court Martial of which Colonel Reid was president is dissolved.
John Sutherland Soldier in the 43d Regiment
Joseph Childers and Andrew Snider of the 60th Regt.
tried and found guilty of Desertion by the said Court Martial are Sentenced to receive the following Punishments.102 Viz:

the wealthy Andrew Barclay. *N.Y. Hist. Soc. Colls.* for 1899, p. 347 (his will, Will Book 30, p. 184; proved, May 25, 1776). In 1778, Maj. Moncrieffe and his brother-in-law, Bache, brother of Richard Bache, Benjamin Franklin's son-in-law, were captured during a raid on Long Island, were the objects of a good exchange, and were soon paroled. Graydon, *Memoirs*, 317.

102 The record of corporal punishment is one of the most disgusting chapters of British military history — and of American too, since American military traditions, training, and administration followed British precedents. The barbarous prescribed regulation for flogging with the cat-o'-nine-tails for almost all offenses "revolted, sometimes beyond all power of repression, the humanity of the populations among whom our troops were quartered, and of the allies with whom they served . . . . a youth, hardly more than a boy . . . was sentenced to a thousand lashes, and died under them . . . . a soldier was severely flogged . . . several of his comrades fainted in the ranks." Sir George O. Trevelyan, *The American Revolution*, 4 vols. (London-New York, 1899-1915), 1: 87-88. The punishment was administered by the drummers and fifers of the army, and the drummer who failed suffered the same awful fate. Corporal punishment persisted in the British army well into the 20th century. Ibid., 3: 197-98. Many instances of court-martial sentences of 500 to 1000 lashes are mentioned in Pargellis, *Lord Loudoun*, 331-32. A description of the practice of giving an individual undergoing the whipping a bullet to bite upon and a discus-
Colonel Bouquet approves of these Sentences, and Orders them to be put in Execution, at the Head of the line which is to be under Arms at five oClock this Afternoon.

William Anderson Soldier of the 42d Regiment and Francis Stedwell of the 60th —— try’d for desertion are to Remain in Confinement. the sentence against them by the Genl Court Martial is referr’d to the Commander in Chief —— these prisoners are reserved for a more exemplary punishment —— Col: Reid will March this evening with a Detachment of Troops to Escort the Convoy to Fort Pitt, This Detachment will be composed as follows Viz:

Major Murray with all the Officers present of the 42d Regt and 60 men of that Corps:

Cap’t. Schlosser’s Detachment of 50 men from the 42d & 60th to join on the Route.

The present Garrison of Fort Bedford103 consisting of an Officer &
40 men of the 60th Regt.
50 Light Horse Men & 250 Light Infantry men from the Pennsylvania Troops
Commanded by Lieut: Col: Francis & Major De Haas.

Total of the Detachment . . . 450, exclusive of Officers.
A Captain, Subaltern & 40 men of the 2d Battalion of Pennsylvanians will march at the same Time & receive Col: Reid's Orders to relieve Capt Schlosser when this Party arrives at Fort Bedford the Captain leaves a Serjeant and Twelve men at that garrison & returns with the remainder to Escort the Empty Waggons to this Post.
The Surgeon of the 42d & mate of the Hospital together with a Surgeon of the Pennsylvania Regiment, will attend this Convoy with their Medicine Chests.
A Commissary with an Attendant and a Butcher will be furnished by Mr Read, to proceed also to Fort Pitt.
The whole to be Victualled Immediately with meat to the 17th & flour to the 19th inclusive.

John Boggs & Alexander Blane,\textsuperscript{104} Are appointed Horses Masters,

\textsuperscript{104} (a) John Boggs, the son of Andrew Boggs, an Indian trader, was born in 1732 in Lancaster Co., and himself became a trader on the Allegheny and Ohio by 1763. As a wagoner in Braddock's campaign, in 1755, he received payment for 58 days' service. Franklin Ellis and Samuel Evans, \textit{History of Lancaster County} (Philadelphia, 1883), 17; Walker, \textit{Wagoners' Accounts}, 24. He must have been a wagon master in Forbes's campaign in 1758, since he appears as such at Fort Bedford on an undated "List of Persons Employed in the Department of the Deputy Quarter Master General," the others on the list being at Fort Loudoun, and Fort Littleton, Stony Creek, etc. He was with Bouquet's 1764 march into Ohio. In 1767, the proprietary manor of Lowther was resurveyed by Deputy Surveyor Gen. John Lukens, and a large number of Lancaster Co. residents purchased parcels of land, John Boggs among them. Wing, \textit{Cumberland County}, 71. In the Revolution, John Boggs was a captain of militia at Brandywine and around Philadelphia, in 1777 and 1778, his battalion suffering terrible losses at the massacre at the Crooked Billet. He was appointed one of the commissioners to liquidate the forfeited estates of attainted loyalists in 1778, and served as sheriff of Cumberland Co., 1780-83. Ibid., 102; Linn, \textit{Centre and Clinton Counties}, 181. When the U.S. Commissioners and the Indian sachems of Ohio met at Fort McIntosh (Beaver, Pa.), in 1784, John Boggs and Alexander Lowrey were appointed emissaries to bring the Indians to the treaty. \textit{Pa. Archives}, 1st ser., 10: 391; ibid., 11: 510; Daniel Agnew, \textit{Fort McIntosh and Its Times} (Philadelphia, 1887), 30. The latter part of his life Boggs spent on a farm on Buffalo Run, above Bellefonte, Centre Co., where he died in 1796. Linn, \textit{Centre and Clinton Counties}, 181.

(b) Alexander Blaine, born 1747, was a younger brother of Col. Ephriam Blaine, who became commissary gen. of the Continental Army during the Revolution. Ephriam was active in the Indian trade during the period of 1760-63, being found on the lists of male inhabitants of Pittsburgh in both 1760 and 1761. Alexander was engaged with his brother in most activities, always both names found in land transactions, as in Tax
to take care of and carry the Officers Baggage, they are to furnish the proportion of Horses & Drivers already Specified in Orders.

Two Caggs [kegs] of Powder will be delivered to the Q'r. Master of the 42d Regt.

Captain Ourry will receive from Lieut Donaldson & take Charge of the remain'g Ammunition at this Post.

The Light Horse men who are to march with this Convoy, are to load a bag of flour on each of their horses which they are to take care of.

The Order prohibiting Women to follow the Troops is again repeated.

Head Quarters, Camp at Fort Loudoun
August 14th 1764 [evidently an error for the 16th].
Parole ———— Doublin
C: Sign ———— Hibernia

Field Officer for to morrow Lieut. Col: Clayton
The Troops to encamp this Afternoon on the Ground marked out by Cap' Ourry. ————
the Guard to be relieved for the future at 9 oClock in the morning.
Orderly Time at Eleven

Head Quarters, Friday Augst 7th 1764 [evidently 17th is meant]
Parole Hague
C: Sign Holland

Field Officer for to morrow — Major Prevost
Adjutant & Quarter Master for to Day; from y®. 60th Regt.
For to morrow Pennsylvanians.
A Party of an Officer and Twelve of Cap't Pippers [Piper's] Troop of light Horse to be ready at Six to morrow morning — armed with their Battle Ax's only,105 to escort Col: Bouquet.

Lists, Pitt Twp., Westmoreland Co. in Pa. Archives, 3rd ser., 22: 483, 484. When, in 1791, Ephriam purchased the large Middlesex estate on Conodoguinet Creek, only two miles outside of Carlisle, which included a fine flourmill, Alexander apparently operated the mill. He married a Miss Hoge, and the family records show that he died in 1801. Warner, Beers, Cumberland County, 306; Egle, Notes and Queries, 2: 145-46, "Family of Ephriam Blaine."

105 Bouquet has put into practice in the field exactly his recommendations for organizing, clothing, arming, and training a new kind of light infantry force for fighting the savages in the American woods. The following, "Reflections on the War with the Savages of North America," is printed in Smith's An Historical Account, appendix, 49, Parkman's (1868) edition, 116: "Light Horse and Dogs . . . to complete the establishment, they should have two troops of light horse, supposed of 50 men each, officers included, . . . This corps should be equipped as the foot, having only a short rifle in lieu of a fusil, and a battle ax [sic] with a long handle, the only sort of arms they should make use of in the charge." This
The Health of the Troops depends greatly on Cleanliness & Sobriety. The Quarter Masters of the Corps encamp't to see Necessary Houses erected, between the Front of each Face of the Square & the Advanced Guards at least 50 yards distant from the former.

Selling of Liquor to the Soldiers without an Order in writing signed by an Officer, is strictly prohibited, and severe penalties will be Inflicted on Offenders against this Order.

Hospitals are provided where the Sick are to be collected, and properly attended.

The Field Officer on Duty will Visit the Hospital once a Day. ———

Head Quarters, Camp at Fort Loudoun
Saturday August 18th 1764.

Parole Havana
C: Sign Cuba
Field Officer for to morrow Lieut: Col: Clayton

Adjutant and Quarter Master 60th Regiment

At least Ten yards in Front & rear of the different faces of the Encampment to be cleared & swept Clean Immediately.

All the men Off Duty to be employed at this Work and the Quarter Master of the Day will see that it is properly performed. The Ground where the 42d & 60th Regiments were formerly encamped to be also cleared as soon as possible for a General parade, and in the Adjoining stuble field a proper space fenced and prepared for an Artillery park.

The Provost Martial will make Rounds at least twice a day he will be furnished with a Corporal & party from the main guard for that purpose.

———

idea of mounted axemen in open warfare was borrowed from the Greek and Roman precedents as depicted in numerous friezes in bas-relief found in ancient ruins. Bouquet was a deep student of military science and military history. He drew many of his precedents and maxims concerning tactics from the lessons taught by experience of Roman commanders in dealing with the barbarians of antiquity. In his "Reflections," he cites examples, and his footnotes quote copiously from the Roman military writings, especially the Commentaries of Caesar. The very dispositions and movements he executed on the hilltop above Bushy Run were direct applications of the tactics of the Roman legions under like conditions. Smith, An Historical Account, 40-50, Parkman, 100-17.

106 The building of "necessary houses" shows a concern for the sanitation and the health of the men of the army, especially as they encamped at Fort Loudoun from Aug. 13 to 31. Simply the word, necessaries, was applied to the little buildings in former days, so that practically the only time it is encountered today is by the visitor to one of the restorations of early American houses and estates. The term now in use, in army language, is latrine.
He must be Active and use his utmost Endeavours to prevent Desertion, Pillaging, marauding and that the Orders against selling Liquor to the Soldiers [are] Complied with.

He must be particularly attentive that no Irregularities be permitted in the Hutts adjacent to the Incampment. The people in those Hutts to be acquainted that if the Soldiers are allowed to frequent any of them, after retreat beating, on such Offence the hutt will be burnt. If any Liquor is found it will be Instantly destroyed ——— and the person Inhabiting it, will be severely punished ———

Head Quarters, Camp at Fort Loudoun
August 19th 1764.
Parole ———— Pittsburgh
C. S. ———— Bristol
Field Officer for to morrow ———— Major Prevost
Adjutant & Quarter Master ———— Pennsylvanians
A Court Martial of the Line to sitt Immediately in Camp ————
Cap' Webb of the first Battalion of the Pennsylvanians President ———
The first & Second Battalions give two Subalterns each for this duty.
The Prisoners in the Provost Martials Guard to be acquainted they are to be tryed by this Court & to prepare for their defence their Names & Crimes will be given to the President and Evidences [i.e., witnesses] ordered to attend. The Quarter Master of the Day will see the Calaring [clearing] in front of the Encampment and the General Parade Compleated as soon as the Weather permits. ————

Head Quarters, Camp at Fort Loudoun
Monday August 20th 1764
Parole Brunswick
C: Sign Amboy
Field Officer for to morrow: Lieut: Col: Clayton
Adjutant & Quarter Master 60th Regiment
The Order that an Officer per Company remain Constantly in Camp is again repeated ————
They must Carefully examine once every two days at farthest All the Mens Arms, Accoutrements & necessaries and make exact reports of all deficiencies, that they may be timeously repaired, and the men be constantly ready for a march or any other duty the Service may require of them.

Any Soldier found Guilty or neglecting or embezling his Arms, Ammunition, or necessaries, will be punished in the Severest manner.
As soon as the weather permits, all the men off duty to parade for work —— The Field Officer of the Day will direct the Quarter Master how they are to be employed.

After Orders 4 P.M.

The Sentences past by ye said Court Martial of the Line of wth Cap' Webb was president are approved of, and the Adjutant of the day is ordered to see that the Punishments therein expressed be Inflicted this Evening at the Head of the Piquets of the Line.

Head Quarters, Camp at Fort Loudoun — Tuesday
August 21st 1764.
Parole — Gloucester
C. Sign — Mount Holy
Field Officer for to morrow ——— Major Prevost
Adjutant & Quarter Master from the Battalion of Pennsylvanians.
All the men off duty to parade Immediately for Work.
Its recommended to the Officers to see that the non Commissioned Officers & Private Men do, at all Times & particularly when they have any recess from duty & Work appear Clean & dressed like Soldiers — The Officers who are orderly, must take care, that the men belonging to their Respective Companies; have their Hair Comb'd, their hands and faces washed before they appear at Roll calling every morning and that they Shift with Clean Linnen as often as possible. Notwithstanding the Orders of the 8th Instant. Complaints have been made by some of the Inhabitants; that their Corn fields have been much damaged since the Troops have encamped at this Place.

The Provost Martial will be ordered to make his rounds both by day [and] night with a Party of men in Order to seize & Confine any Strangers he may meet with or any of the Troops he may find, behaving with Irregularity ——— and for the future if any Soldier or followers of the Army are detected in molesting the Inhabitants, in plundering their Effects, or breaking open their Corn or Pasture fields. They will be Instantly Confined & tryed for their lives by a General Court Martial ———

[Here the handwriting changes]

Head Quarters Camp at Fort Loudoun
Wednesday Augt 22d 1764
Parole ——— Stockholm
Counter Sign — Sweden
Field Officer for to morrow Lieut Col Clayton
Adjutant & Quarter Master from the second Battalion Pennsylvanians. For the future the Adjutant on duty will send the Orders of the Day to the D. Q. M. G. [or] his Assistants, To the Chief Engineer & Director of the Hospital by an Orderly Sergeant. The Provost Martial to attend Head Quar* daily at Orderly time. He is also to Report every morning to the Field Officer of the Day. ———

A Court Martial of the Line to sitt Immediately. Cap officers: James Piper 2d Batt P° [Pennsylvanians] President: two subalterns from each of the Battalions Pennsylvania Regt Members. — The Court to try the following persons belonging to the Pennsylvania Troops Viz' ———

George Miller, Nightengale Richardson, John Young & Nathaniel Stuart for absenting themselves from their Companies without leave and suspected of Intending to desert. ——— Thos: Dower for Wounding a Soldier at Carlisle & James M° Matson for neglect of Duty. These Prisoners to be acquainted of & prepare for their tryal Evidences to attend. ———

Head Quarters Camp at
Fort Loudon August 23 1764
Parole Berlin. C S Brandenburg
Field Officer for tomorrow Major Prevost. ——— Adjutant & Quarter Master from the 60th Regt ———

Col Bouquet Approves of the following Sentences passed by the Court Martial of the Line of which Cap officers: Ja° Piper was President Viz' Nightengale Richardson Soldier in the Pennsylvania Regt tried for & found Guilty of absenting himself from his Company without leave ——— to receive Five Hundred Lashes Nathaniel Stuart & John Young soldiers in said Regt tried for being absent without leave ———

To receive 500 Lashes each ———
Thomas Doware of said Regt tried for & found Guilty of wounding Mathew Collins to receive 400 Lash°
The above mentioned Corporal punishment to be Inflicted this day at Noon by the Drummers of the Line. ———
George Miller Soldier in Cap officers: Houseckers Comp 1st B P° tried for absenting himself & suspected of Intending to Desert — and Ja° McMahon Sergt. in Cap officers: Finleys Comp of the 2d B P° Regt tried for Neglect of duty in allowing two Deserters to Escape from his Guard on the March from Carlisle are acquited of the Crimes laid to their
Charge These last mentioned Prisoners to be Immediately released.--------
A Court of Enquiry to sit this day at twelve Composed of ---------

Major Prevost President
Two Captains from each of the Pennsylvania Battalions Members
To Examine into the Cause of Anthony Rogers & Benjamin Woods
Deserters from the Pennsylvania Reg't being allowed to Escape on the 16th
Ins't from the Detachment under Cap't Webbs Command on the Road
from Carlisle to this Camp. ---------
All the Men of[f] Duty to Parade at 4 this afternoon for work. ---------

After Orders
half after four in the Evening. ---------
Co'n Bouquet is sorry he is forced to observe the Pennsylvania Troops
grow every day more negligent & remiss in their Duty which can be
attributed to no oy' 107 Cause than to the want of Care in the Officers
to see public orders obeyed which they themselves have been directed
[to] explain to their Men. To prevent the bad Consequences attending
such unmilitary Behavior, All the Officers are every day while in Camp
to attend at Head Quarters at Nine in the Morning w't the Lists of
their respective Comp'rs prepared to give an Account of every Man.—
All the Sergeants off duty to attend at the Same time w't their orderly
Books. ---------

AfterOrders 9 at Night.
A Detachment of two Cap's four Subalterns A Surgeons Mate Six
Serg'ts two Drummers & Ninety two Rank & file from the 1st & 2d
Battall'n Pennsylvaniaians to be ready to March w't. Cap't. Williams to
morrow morning at Eight. This Detachment to be Victualed w't.
Flower & Live Cattle for twelve Days.

Head Quarters Camp at Fort Loudon
August 24th 1764. ---------

Parole Madrass )
Counter Sign India { 

Field Officer for to morrow L' Co'n Clayton Adjutant &
Q' Master 1st B'n Pennsylvania Reg't. ---------
The Spaces left Vacant by the Detachments Marching this

107 "Or" should be read other, since y is the Anglo-Saxon thorn having
the sound of th. It was really an obsolescent form of writing at mid-
eighteenth century and belonged to a prior generation, even then. It,
however, persisted among educated people to a later date. We find similar
use of the symbol: y'=the, y'=this, y'=them, y'=that.
Morn® in the Right & left Faces of the Encampment to be occupied
Immediately w® the remaining Tents. Some ammunition has been un-
necessarily Squandered or Shamefully Embezzeled by the Pennsyl®
Troops. ——— Its hoped they will for the future behave more like
Soldiers & reserve their Ammunition for the Uses its Intended for.
———- Whatever Quantity is found deficient on the next Examina-
tion must be paid for by the Commanding Officers of those Comp®
who are short of the Compliment they had received

The Officers must charge the value of the Quantity wanting &
stop it out of the Mens pay who are deficient. ——

They will also be severely punished if found Guilty of having lost
it by their own Negligence. ——— The Detached Guards to Report
every morn® at Eight to the Officer of the Main G® who will Insert
these in the General one he makes to the Field Officer of the Day. ——

Head-quarters Camp at Fort Loudon
Saturday 25th Aug. 1764

Parole Madrid C S Spain
Field Officer for tomorrow Major Prevost Adjutant and Quarter m®.

No person belonging to the Army to presume to go hunting or
shooting with out express leave from the Officer command®

The Mens Arms must be kept in constant repair and their Am-
munition compleat; The Officers will be answerable for any de-

After Orders ½ after 4 PM

A Court Martial of the Line to sitt tomorrow morning at Eight.—
Cap®. Hendricks of the 1st Bat® Pensylvanians President. ———-
The 1st and 2® Batt®s of Pensylvanians give each two Subalterns for
This duty. ————- The Court will try the following Prisoners Viz®.
Corp® William Halliday of the Pensylvania Reg®, for being drunk on
duty John Cannon, Soldier in D® Reg®, on suspicion of theft ———
Michel Willcox
Ja®. Williams Edward Jones
John Reid Jacob Sanford
)
)
)
)
)

The Prisoners to be acquainted that they are to be tried that they
may prepare for their defence.
Evidences to attend.

Head Quarters Camp at Fort Loudon
Sunday Aug'. 26th 1764
Parole  ———— Naples
Counter sign ———— Italy
Field Officer for tomorrow Lieu't Co" Clayton
Adjutant and Quarter [Master] 60th Reg'
The proceedings of the Court Martial of the Line of which Cap't Hendricks was president are as follows viz'
Corp" William Halliday tried for drunkeness is found Guilty & Sentenced to be reduced to the Ranks and to receive 400 Lashes.  ———
John Stewart for selling his Blanket to receive 50 Lashes. ———
John Cannon for theft to receive 500 Lashes. ———

Jn°. Willcox  
Ja*. Williams  
Edward Jones  
John Reid  
Jacob Stanford  

For absenting themselves without leave are sentenced to receive 400 Lashes each

Co" approves of the above Sentences, but is pleased to remitt the Punishments of the five last mentioned In Consideration of their having of themselves returned to their duty   These Prisoners to be released and to Join their respective Companys Immediately, The other Sentences to be put in Execution tomorrow morning at Nine on the General Parade when the Guards and Pickets are to be under Arms.—

Head Quarters Camp at Fort Loudon Monday Aug'. 27th 1764
Parole  ———— Syracuse
Counter sign ———— Sicily
Field Officer for tomorrow Major Prevost
Adj't & Quarter Master from the 1st Bn P's Reg't
The Captains and Officers Commanding Companies of the Pennsylvania Troops to Attend at Head Quarters this day at Noon. ———
After Orders 7 in the Evening. ———
A Serg't. Corporall & twelve Men of the Pennsylvania Troops to be ready tomorrow morning at Eight to March with and Escort two Brigades of Pack Horses to Fort Littleton. This party to receive two days provision Commencing the 28th ———

Morning Orders Tuesday Aug' 28th 10 oClock.
Thirty Men of the Pennsylvanian Troops are reported sick and unfitt for Marching. ———
A List of these Men's Names to be given Immediately to the Director of the Hospital that they may be Examined by him. ———

Head Quarters Camp near Fort Loudon Tuesday Aug 28th 1764. ———
Parole ———— Turin
Counter Sign ———— Piedmont
Field Officer for tomorrow Lieu't Col'o. Clayton
Adj't & Q'r Master from ye 2d Batt'n P's Reg't
The Eight Pennsylvanian Recruits to Join Cap't Finley's Comp'y
The five Volunteers to draw Provisions w't. Cap't William Pipers Company.

Morning Orders 10 oClock Aug 29th 1764. ———
A Court Martial of the Line to sitt Immediately. Cap't William Piper of the Second Battalion Pennsylvanians President ——— One Subaltern of the 1st & three of the Second Members ———
Serg't. John Morrison of the 2d Battalion Pennsylvanians confined on suspicion of coniving at the Escape of two Prisoners ———
And Thomas Willson Soldier in the 1st Battalion for absenting himself without leave to be tryed by this Court ——— The Prisoners to be acquainted of their tryal and Evidences ordered to attend.

Head Quarters Wednes[day] Aug. 29th 1764. ———
Camp near Fort Loudon.
Parole ———— Constantinople
Countersign ———— Turkey
Field Officer for tomorrow Major Prevost
Adj't. & Qu'r Master for the 60th Reg't
The Troops to hold themselves in readiness to march tomorrow.
As soon as the tents are struck the Pennsylvanians will send theirs to the Artillery. ——— They will receive them from that Corps every [sic] Evening when they come to their Ground. ———
The Former Orders relating to Bat and Baggage Horses to be at this time exactly observed. ———

The Director of the Hospital on examining the Sick of the Pennsylvania Troops found the undermentioned Men unfitt for Service Viz't
Jn° Doran
Jn° Saggeson
Baynion Miller
Dan¹ McHay
Will¹ Lindsay
Will¹ Burton
Arthur Emet
Rob¹ Killpatrick
Jn° Basillion
Owen Murray

Major Dehaases  Comp⁹
Cap⁹ Webbs  Comp⁹
Cap⁹ Webbs  Comp⁹
Cap⁹ Richtsaups Co⁹
Cap⁹ Proctors Co⁹
Cap⁹ Hunters Co⁹
Cap⁹ Will¹ Pipers
Cap⁹ Lindsays Co⁹

The above ten Men to be Immediately Settled with for their pay to the 1st of Sepᵗ and then discharged.
The Captains or Officers Commanding the Comps they belong to will Clear w⁹ them for what pay is in their Hands the Remainder they will receive from Mr Young the Provincial Paymaster —— They must be furnished w⁹ Certificates from their Officers for that purpose. ——

These Men must previous to their being discharged deliver up their Arms and Tomahawks in the order they received them. ———

Such of them as have Shamefully brot disorders on themselves that render them unfitt for the service of the Campaign are to be stript of their Coats. ———

The Surgeon of the 1st Battalion of the Pensylvanians will remain at this post w¹ the Sick and Convalescents of the Army unable to proceed. He will receive Directions from Mr Mallet. ———

A Sergeant and Twelve Pensylvanians (of these least fitt for Marching) will be left as part of the Garrison at Fort Loudon. ———

Ensign Murray will pitch upon three of this party w¹ whom he will conduct to Carlisle The French Prisoner now in the Provosts Marechals Guard. ———— This Prisoner must be safely delivered to Coll Armstrong or any other Majestrate at Carlisle who will agreeable to Co¹ Bouquet's Request give the Necessary Orders to have him forwarded to Lancaster & from thence to the Governor.

Ensign Murray will at Carlisle collect the eight men of the Pennsylvania Troops left sick at that place, He will cause them to be properly Examined by a Surgeon And if any of them are unfit to Join Immediately the Garrison at Fort Loudon, they must be discharged in the same manner as those before mentioned, ———— A Corporal & four Men of the pensylvannia Troops to March this Evening w¹, a Brigade of Pack Horses they are to proceed & Join the party that Marched Yesterday and to be Victualed for the same time. ————
Morning Orders 7 oClock 30th Aug
A Sergt, Corporal & twelve Pensylvanians to parade ready to March at ten oClock ——— The Sergt will receive his Orders at Head Quar'ers

The Sentences past by the Court Martial of the Line of which Cap't Wm Piper was President are approved of and the Corporal punishments therein expressed to be Inflicted this morning at Nine in presence of the Guards & pickets on the General parade. ———

Head Quar'ers Camp
near Fort Loudon Thursday Aug 30th
Parole Milan
Counter Sign Essex
Field Officer for tomorrow L Co II Clayton
Adjutant and Quarter Master from the first Battalion

Pensylvanians

The Troops now remaining here to March tomorrow morning
Except the Garrison ordered for this Post
The General108 to beat at day break & the tents Immediately struck

The Assembly half an hour after when the out Guards are to Join of w' they will have notice this Evening.

The Light Horse to Mount on the beating of the Assembly. They are to be stationed on the March as follows ———

The Cap' a Sergt & 19 to attend the artillery & to receive directions from Cap't Hay109

108 The General was the drum signal to strike the tents and to prepare to march. All of the calls and signals of the eighteenth-century armies were given by the drum beat. Bugles were not used until well into the nineteenth century, and even then the drum was still used for certain signals. Trumpets resembling hunting horns were used by dragoon and cavalry corps. The regular drum signals were: Reveille, the General, the Assembly, the Troop, Retreat, and Tattoo. The sergeants, adjutants, etc., had each their own drum-roll signal, as also the mess hall. In the 1830 U.S. Army and Militia manuals bugle calls are given only as signals for the light infantry and rifle companies (flank companies). Not until the manual of 1836 were bugle calls printed for promulgating orders and then side by side with drum signals.

109 Little is known about the origin of David Hay. Shy (Toward Lexington, 354) thinks that he may have been a native Pennsylvanian, although it seems unlikely, since the artillery officers all came from England, and Shy points out that Hay's battery returned to Woolrich. Hay was commissioned 2nd lt., Mar. 1, 1755; capt. lt., Apr. 1, 1756; capt., Jan. 1, 1759; last found on the 1765 Army List. He commanded the artillery in the Forbes campaign in 1758. Bouquet Papers, 2: 672. He marched from Carlisle with Bouquet's army, in 1764, and was placed in command of Fort
A Subaltern Sergeant and 18 to attend at Head Quarters and Escort Co\textsuperscript{11} Bouquet. ———

A Subaltern Serj\textsuperscript{1} & ten to form the Rear Guard at a Mile Distance

This party will be answerable that no Straggling person or any Strayed Cattle belonging to the Army are on any Account whatsoever to be left behind. ———

The Prevosts [sic] Marshall's Guard with the Prisoner to March in the Center of the Convoy. ———

The Troops to receive this Evening Flower or Bread for Four Days The Proportion of Meat will be Issued on the March. ———

A Detachment of a Serg\textsuperscript{1} and 12 from the 42\textsuperscript{d} Reg\textsuperscript{t} to parade at three oClock at the Artillery Park to draw their Flower Immediately and receive Cap\textsuperscript{1} Hays directions to Escort the Artillery Waggons.

Head Quarters Camp\textsuperscript{110}
at Fort Littleton Friday Aug\textsuperscript{t} 31\textsuperscript{st} 1764. ———

Parole Limerick
Countersign Ulster
Field Officer for tomorrow Major Prevost
Adj\textsuperscript{1} & Q\textsuperscript{r} Master 2\textsuperscript{d} Batt\textsuperscript{a} Pennsylvanians

The General to beat at Day break and the Troops to March in half an Hour afterwards in the same Manner as this day ——— The Serg\textsuperscript{a} Guard for the Cattle to proceed w\textsuperscript{t} them tomorrow & continue on that duty till relieved. ———

The Troops will receive two Days Meat Immediately they En-


110 In January following Braddock's defeat, the Indians were perpetrating almost unprecedented winter attacks upon the settlements clear to the Carlisle and Shippensburg area. Pa. Archives, 1st ser., 2: 566. George Croghan (he then bore a commission as captain) was ordered by Gov. Robert Hunter Morris to build four forts upon the frontiers (three were built, 1756) for protection of the frontier inhabitants. Ibid., 538. One was built upon Burd's road at the Sugar Cabins, stronger than the rest for Morris foresaw that it would be used as a supply depot and guard post for regular troops upon the communication road with Fort Pitt. The governor named it Fort Lyttelton, "... in honour of my friend Sr George," chancellor of the exchequer, soon to be Lord Lyttelton. Ibid., 569. The site is a quarter of a mile east of the village of Fort Littleton, Fulton County, on an eminence of some sixty feet above and north of highway U.S. 522, identified by a large stone monument and state historical marker.
camp tomorrow at Juniata\textsuperscript{111} and proceed next day to Bedford\textsuperscript{112} ———
The Super-Intendants of the Cattle and Pack-Horses to report in writing every Evening during the March at Head Quarters the Occurrences of the Day and receive their Orders. ————

Sep\textsuperscript{tr} 1\textsuperscript{st} Saturday — Halted at Sidling hill & at Juniata Arrived at Bedford \(\frac{1}{2}\) after 7 in \(y^c\) Evening

[To be continued]

\textsuperscript{111} The camp site was on the western side of Juniata Crossing, the eastern approach being very steep and mountainous. Near the water is a narrow, sloping plain where the cattle and horses could have encamped, and upon the ridge forming the peninsula (referred to in the Essay on the Road) is a long, tapering, sloping area of approximately fifty acres, affording ample room for Bouquet's army, apparently good farm land today. There had been a stockade, fort, and cattle pens at the crossing, but the buildings had been burned only three months before this time. B. M., Add. Mss. 21650, Pt. 2, f. 190 (p. 131).

\textsuperscript{112} Fort Bedford (Raestown, Raystown) had been built by Forbes's army in 1758. Col. Eyre saw thirty or forty cabins near the fort in 1762. He was most impressed with the "Vast Quantities of Rats" which he found there eating the large stores of grain and provisions left by Forbes's army. Col. Eyre's Journal, \textit{WPHM}, 27: 43.