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Abstract

In the year 1755, two events occurred which left their impress upon the history of what was to become Adams county. One was momentous, and its consequences, like concentric ripples produced by a stone hurled into a large body of water, continued to move and shape the history of Pennsylvania's frontier long afterwards. By comparison, the other was insignificant, the mere, almost undetectable slipping of a pebble into the rushing torrent of Time. Yet this second happening eventuated in ways that profoundly contributed to our understanding of Adams county's, and Pennsylvania's, history during the years 1755-59.

The lesser of these occurrences had its genesis in the religious needs of a people often neglected in accounts of colonial Pennsylvania, the Anglicans (or members of the Church of England) who dwelt along the western frontier and who, as it fell out, were largely Anglo-Irish and Scots-Irish in origin. Numerically fewer than their Presbyterian neighbors clustered to the north in Cumberland county and to the south in the settlements of Marsh Creek, the people of the Church of England had informally staked out an area for themselves along the Conewago and the Bermudian Creeks in Huntington, Tyrone and Reading townships in what was then western York county. A shoal precariously situated in a sea of Presbyterians, Seceders, and Covenanters, and cut off from the nearest Anglican church, St. James's in Lancaster, by the triple geographic barriers of dense forest, broad river, and vast distance, they felt the survival of their religion an uncertain thing indeed. [*excerpt*]

Keywords

Adams County Historical Society, ACHS, Pennsylvania History, Exploration, Pioneer, Conewago, Marsh Creek, Bermudian Creek, Religious History

Preparations for the Forbes Expedition, 1758, in Adams County, with Particular Focus on the Reverend Thomas Barton

by James P. Myers, Jr.

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The lesser of these occurrences had its genesis in the religious needs of a people often neglected in accounts of colonial Pennsylvania, the Anglicans (or members of the Church of England) ¹ who dwelt along the western frontier and who, as it fell out, were largely Anglo-Irish and Scots-Irish in origin. Numerically fewer than their Presbyterian neighbors clustered to the north in Cumberland county and to the south in the settlements of Marsh Creek, the people of the Church of England had informally staked out an area for themselves along the Conewago and the Bermudian Creeks in Huntington, Tyrone and Reading townships in what was then western York county. A shoal precariously situated in a sea of Presbyterians, Seceders, and Covenanters, and cut off from the nearest Anglican church, St. James's in Lancaster, by the triple geographic barriers of dense forest, broad river, and vast distance, they felt the survival of their religion an uncertain thing indeed. "We Are in A Starving Condition for y^e Spiritual Nourishment, of our Souls," the "Inhabitants of . . . Conniwaga" wrote in a petition of 3 October 1748,

nor can we Ever hear Divine Service without traveling Many Miles. . . . we Dread to think of our Children being brought Up in Ignorance as to all Divine Knowledge and [it] Cuts us to y^e very harte, to See our poor Infants Dye without being Made Members of Christ, by Baptism. ²

So desperate was their desire to attract a resident minister that they had already set aside 180 acres of glebe land "for y^e Use of y^e Minister"



The Reverend Thomas Barton (c. 1728 - 1780)

and erected "A small Church . . . which we have Called Christ Church of thirty foot Long & twenty wide." ³ The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (the "S.P.G."), to which the settlers directed their petition, was not able to send them a resident missionary until the spring of 1755. In that year, the Rev. Mr. Thomas Barton, newly ordained by the Bishop of London and commissioned by the S.P.G., made his arduous way "over Susquehanna" to the Conewago settlements and there took charge of his Anglican flocks, which were scattered over an area stretching from Shippensburg to York-town, from Sherman's Valley to Marsh Creek.

In many respects, his parishioners could hardly have obtained a more suitable itinerant missionary. An immigrant, like many of them, from Ulster (co. Monaghan), a former school teacher, a naturalist with a special attraction to botany and mineralogy, and a militant defender of king and their Protestant faith, Barton became their fierce advocate. More significantly for them, and for us as well, he employed his considerable literary and rhetorical energy in their cause, leaving a rich legacy of letters, reports, and pamphlets which open a unique window into the lives of those who dwelt within the shadow of the frontier's edge during the years 1755-59.

Missionaries of the S.P.G. were required to return a yearly report of their activities to the society in London. Typically, the annual account, or *notitia parochialis*, enumerated parishioners, baptisms, and marriages, and summarized the more significant problems and conflicts that had challenged the missionary during the year. Thomas Barton's reports, however, were atypical, for they elaborated and analyzed to a much greater extent events that his colleagues would have normally only have mentioned, if even that. His first *notitia parochialis*, written over a year after he arrived in Conewago, runs to no less than twenty-two quarto pages and accordingly preserves a wealth of detail relating to the problems besetting the Anglican communities of the Pennsylvania backcountry in the year 1755-6. Pertinent to the present study, it also records the crisis that confronted Barton and his people as a consequence of the other, more momentous event alluded to earlier.

During the summer of 1755, a British army commanded by Major General Edward Braddock set out to seize Fort Duquesne, the French stronghold situated at the junction of the Allegheny and the Monongahela Rivers, on the site of present-day Pittsburgh. As every schoolchild knows, Braddock's army, moving north along the Monongahela, was routed on 9 July 1755, a few miles south of Ft. Duquesne. A disaster for Braddock's combined colonial and royal army, the massacre also plunged

Pennsylvania's frontier into chaos, for the French and their Indian allies subsequently were able to use Ft. Duquesne to raid with impugny the settlements recently established on the western margin of the Susquehanna.

In the wake of Braddock's debacle, Barton directed a stream of letters to Philadelphia and London recording the panic and terror that swept through Cumberland and western York counties like a wild fire. One of these, dated "3 o'clock in the Morning, November 2nd, 1755," registered vividly the near-hysteria that gripped the frontier after the French-and-Indian victory:

I am just come from Carlisle. You may see by the inclosed in what a Situation I left it. The great Cove is entirely reduced to ashes. Andrew Montour charged Mr. Buchanon last night at John Harris' to hasten home & remove his wife and children. ⁴ I suppose by to-morrow there will not be one Woman or Child in the Town.

Mr. Hans Hamilton marches this morning with a party of Sixty men from Carlisle to Shippen's Town. Mr. Pope and Mr. McConaughy came over with me to raise Reinforcements in order to join Mr. Hamilton immediately.

I intend this morning to return to Carlisle with a Party of men to guard that Town; the Gentⁿ. there desire me to request your assistance without Delay. ⁵

Hans Hamilton is discussed below. The "Mr. McConaughy" Barton refers to must be the David McConaughy who appears prominently in county records as a landowner, a mill owner, an officer of militia, a provisioner/victualer for the military, and, ultimately, a debtor. "Mr. Pope" would be Quaker John Pope, and his mention opens a most intriguing window into the religious controversies surrounding the defense of Pennsylvania's frontier at this time.

John Pope is listed in York country records as a justice of the peace (1751-64) and an assemblyman (1772-4). On 17 January 1756, Pope and another Quaker prominent in county government, John Blackburn, ⁶ were disciplined by the Menallen Friends' Meeting for going "out in a warlike manner to meet" the Indians raiding in Cumberland county, "Contrary to our Peaceable principles." ⁷ The two men, however, repented and "were continued in membership." In 1758, Pope once more appears at the center of a controversy. In a letter filled with details concerning several Quakers who had, contrary to their church's peace testimony,

sought commissions in the new companies being raised for the Forbes expedition in 1758, George Stevenson remarks that he fully expected that John Pope “would have accepted, but I believe the influence of the [Quaker] meetings has over ballanced mine.”⁸ General opposition to the war and attempts to prevent their members from participating in the military preparations brought criticism and hostility upon the Friends.

Barton’s long 8 November 1756 report to the society, however, is perhaps more valuable to us than his shorter letters, for in surveying the past year-and-a-half he poignantly conveys a feeling of precipitous, catastrophic reversal, of buoyant expectancy drowned in a riptide of irrepressible fear and anguish:

Just when I was big with the Hopes of being able to do Service . . . we receiv’d the melancholy News, that our Forces under the Command of General Braddock, were defeated. . . . This was soon succeeded by an Alienation of the Indians in our Interest:—And from that Day to this, poor Pennsylvania has felt incessantly the sad Effects of Popish Tyranny, & Savage Cruelty!—A great Part of five of her Counties have been depopulated & laid waste, & some Hundreds of her sturdiest Sons either murder’d, or carried into barbarous Captivity!⁹

Daily, he witnessed the sufferings of a teeming humanity who, having abandoned their homesteads, now fled eastward,

groaning under a Burden of Calamities; some having lost their Husbands, some their Wives, some their Children,—And all, the Labour of many Years! In this Condition (my Heart bleeds in relating what I am an Eye Witness to) they now wander about, without Bread of their own to eat, or a House to shelter themselves in from the Inclemency of the approaching Winter!¹⁰

Both religious leader of his people and *de facto* representative of the Penn Proprietary, Barton himself lost no time meeting the emergency. In the autumn of 1775, responding to widespread appeals that he do so, he published his sermon *Unanimity and Public Spirit*. Reinforced with a prefatory essay by his friend and colleague, the Reverend William Smith, provost of the College of Philadelphia and one of the colony’s leading intellectual lights, the pamphlet exhorted the frontiersmen, irrespective of religious affiliation, to set aside their factional interests to meet the common threat of a merciless, tyrannical enemy. More pragmatically, and not to be outdone by his Presbyterian colleagues, the Rev-

erends John Steel of Cumberland county and Andrew Bay of the Marsh Creek settlement,¹¹ Barton organized his parishioners into working parties to improve the fortifications at Carlisle and militia which might effectively defend against the war parties. Writing from Huntington township to the Reverend Richard Peters, friend, Anglican minister, and secretary of the province, he described the new militant role fate had thrust upon him:

I was oblig'd more than once to *call* together the Inhabitants to meet in a Body at my House,¹² in Order to encourage them under their present fearful Apprehensions.—Some skulking Indians which were seen to pass towards the South-Mountains, have rais'd such Commotions among them, that they are ready to quit their Habitations, & flee to preserve their Lives. . . . what a poor, defenceless Situation this is. Not a Man in Ten is able to purchase a Gun.—Not a House in Twenty has a Door with either Lock or Bolt to it. So that a very small number of Indians might totally destroy the whole Inhabitants (in their present Circumstances) without the least Opposition.¹³

Barton's contemporaries praised his seizing the initiative. William Smith, for example, wrote the Bishop of Oxford in 1756 that

poor M^r. Barton has stood . . . upwards of a Year at the Risk of his Life, like a good Soldier of Jesus Christ, sometimes heading his People in the character of a Clergyman, and sometimes in that of a Captain, being often obliged, when they should go to Church, to gird on their Swords and go against the Enemy.¹⁴

Together with Andrew Bay and John Steel, Barton provided the frontiersmen with the immediate leadership and inspiration they looked for in vain to Philadelphia. The people of the backcounties fortunately found in these "men of God" the martial strength and expertise they required. Smith makes this clear in the same letter. If Barton, he continued,

and two worthy Presbyterians Ministers had not stood it out, I believe all the parts beyond Susquehanah, where his Mission lies, would have been long ago deserted.¹⁵

When Barton reported to superiors on the new martial attitude of his congregations, he did so with an enthusiasm and pride that he must have shared with the Reverends Bay and Steel:

Tho' my Churches, are Churches militant indeed, subject to Dangers & Trials of the most alarming Kind; yet I have the Pleasure every Sunday (even at the worst of Times) to see my People coming crowding with their Muskets on their Shoulders; declaring that they will dye Protestants & Freemen, sooner than live Idolaters and Slaves.¹⁶

As we can infer from these remarks, the response of the settlers in York and Cumberland counties was immediate. Like the fearful inhabitants of Pennsylvania's other exposed counties,¹⁷ they commenced petitioning the provincial government to undertake such measures as would help them to withstand the new threats. They particularly wished to see erected a chain of fortifications which would extend a defensive line beginning at the Delaware River and running west and southwest to the Maryland border. On 30 October 1755, Sheriff John Potter of Cumberland county summoned a meeting in Shippensburg. Augmented with "Assistant Members" from York county, the General Council of Cumberland County resolved that five "large forts" should be constructed at the following locations: "Carlisle, Shippensburg, Collonell Chambers's [i.e., today's Chambersburg], Steells Meeting House [near present-day Mercersburg], & at Will^m Allison's Esq^r. [i.e., today's Greencastle]."¹⁸ In short time, these and other posts were in fact erected along the exposed frontier, their purposes being to reduce enemy infiltration and to provide protection during actual attacks.

A second, more far-reaching response was also more controversial insofar as it required legislation to raise a militia and provide funds to pay for and supply an army and to build forts. The Pennsylvania Assembly was at this time dominated by the pacifist faction, principally Quaker, which initially thwarted attempts to pass militia and supply bills. In time, however, the measures were enacted. Until they were, Governor Robert Hunter Morris in July 1755 authorized the setting up of "associated companies."¹⁹ These were in effect voluntary associations of militia whose legality lay with royal charter rather than with provincial legislation.²⁰ Additionally, to meet the emergency and later to augment the thin line of provincial forts, private individuals erected their own fortifications. Frequently, these were little more than blockhouses. McCord's, McDowell's, and Chambers's originated as privately built defenses intended to fill the urgent need. Similarly, tradition has it that a number of such forts, probably blockhouses, were built in what is now Adams county.²¹

It is difficult to identify with certainty the many from Adams county

who participated in the initial defense.²² A compilation dated 4 November 1756 and titled "List of Associated Companys in York County" shows a great number of names of individuals we know to have lived in the county at that time.²³ The trouble with any listing of largely Scots-Irish people, however, is that their stock of names admits relatively little variety: many exemplars of the same surname may be found in the same or different locales at the same time. A few however, stand out because their forenames may be unusual; or they may recur over a long period of time in the same situation and can thus be identified more accurately from later records; or the names may also be particularized further with a title such as *Doctor* or *Reverend*. Thus, the name of "the Rev^d. Mr. Bay" occurring among those listed as attending the 30 October 1755 emergency meeting in Shippensburg is surely that of the Presbyterian parson of the Marsh Creek settlement, the Reverend Andrew Bay, who continued to participate energetically in the defense of western York county. The Samuel Reynolds whose name appears immediately beneath that of Bay might also be the same Samuel Reynolds who held land on the Manor of Maske adjoining the property of Andrew Bay.²⁴

Similarly, a list in the Pennsylvania state archives entitled "Officers of the Provincial Service—1755" includes as a captain the Reverend Thomas Barton, thus giving us official confirmation of Barton's active military involvement in the associated companies authorized by Governor Morris in July 1755. Also included on the same list is the name of Hans Hamilton. Owner of a Manor of Maske plantation adjoining the lands of Samuel Reynolds,²⁵ Hans Hamilton is of course well-known in Adams county history as the first sheriff of York county, an associate judge, a mill owner, and an Indian fighter. An important participant in this episode of Adams county history, his early involvement in the defense of the area merits some attention.

In extant documents of this time, the Scots-Irishman figures with fair regularity. He appears to have impressed his superiors as a soldier who could be relied upon. In 1756, he was given command of one of the new "strong Forts" erected by the province, Fort Lyttelton, and appears to have remained its commandant until his promotion to lieutenant-colonel of the First Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment, at the outset of Forbes's march to Ft. Duquesne. Extant pay accounts in his hand from 1758, showing the names of soldiers recognizable as from Adams county, survived and were reprinted by Edward McPherson.²⁶

Lyttelton was one of three fortifications Captain George Croghan, Indian trader, later principal deputy for Indian superintendent Sir William Johnson, and friend of Barton, was charged with building.²⁷ It was

constructed near the present-day town of Fort Lyttelton, then known as the Sugar Cabins, and located about midway between Carlisle and Ray's-town (today's Bedford). Pennsylvania's Governor Morris wrote on 9 February 1756 that Lyttelton, situated on a

road that within a few miles Joyns Gen^l Braddocks rout[e,] . . . will prevent the march of any regulars that way into the Province and at the same time serve as an advanced post or magazine in case of an attempt to the westward.²⁸

A stockaded enclosure of about 100 square feet, with bastions at each corner, and garrisoned with about 70 men, Fort Lyttelton occupied a position of strategic importance, as the year 1756 soon dramatized.

During the early spring, Indians struck as far east as present-day Chambersburg. On 1 April they attacked and destroyed a private fortification, McCord's Fort, situated northwest of Benjamin's Chambers fortified mills. Retreating, they were pursued by militia from Lurgan township, Cumberland county. Reinforced by 19 men from Hans Hamilton's company at Fort Lyttelton, the combined forces intercepted the war party at Sideling Hill on 2 April. In a letter written two days later, Hamilton sent early news of the provincials' defeat:

These are to Inform you of the Malancholy News that Occurd on the 2nd Instant. . . . Our men Engaged about 2 hours, being about 36 in Number, & we should have had the better had not thirty Indians Came to their Assistance. Some of our men fir^d 24 Rounds a piece, and when their Amunition Fail^d were oblig'd to Fly.²⁹

Lyttelton's importance was again implied later that same year when Colonel John Armstrong's expedition arrived there to regroup during its return from the successful attack on the Indian stronghold at Kittanning. Located on the Allegheny River, north of Fort Duquesne, Kittanning was the principal Delaware staging point for the devastating raids led by the *sachems* Shingas and Captain Jacobs, or Teweia, on the English settlements. The attack that destroyed McCord's Fort had been launched from Kittanning.

Of even greater strategic significance than the attack on McCord's Fort, a French-and-Indian war party at the end of July 1756 captured and burned the provincial fort that stood on the site to today's Lewistown, Mifflin county, Fort Granville. In the assessment of William A. Hunter, authority on Pennsylvania's French-and-Indian War forts, "the loss of

this fort was a stunning blow.”³⁰ Indeed, just how imperiled the settlers felt may be appreciated in a missive Barton sent to Richard Peters from Carlisle:

I came here this Morning, where all is Confusion. Such a Panick has seized the Hearts of People in general, since the Reduction of Fort Granville, that this Country is almost relinquished, & Marsh Creek in York County is become a Frontier. . . .

I should be extremely glad to have the Pleasure of a Line or two from you. Your Advice would be of service to me at this Time, when I know not what to do, whether to quit this Place, or to remain a little longer, to see whether any thing favourable will turn out for us.³¹

The day before he wrote Peters, Barton had sent another communication to Governor Robert Hunter Morris. In his tersely worded covering letter, he told Morris that he was enclosing a “Petition at the Solicitation of a great number of People” in York county. He goes on to stress the urgency of the predicament faced by the frontiersmen of both York and Cumberland counties:

Marsh Creek is the now the Frontier, and such a Panick has seiz’d the Hearts of the People in general, that unless we soon have some favourable Turn in our Affairs, I am affraid the Enemy need not long be at the Point to dispute a claim to those two Counties.³²

Reprinted in the *Colonial Records* (7:233), the petition itself pleads at length for military aid from the provincial government against “the outrages of [a] barbarous and savage enemy.” It is an eloquently devised appeal, and its vocabulary and phrasing suggest that Thomas Barton, one of its signatories, was also its principal author. Lacking in the *Colonial Records* text, however, is the list of actual signatories—“the great number of People” referred to by Barton. Fortunately for us, George Prowell reproduced that list, and we can thus perceive that Barton hardly exaggerated, for no less than 191 names appear on it.³³ Although Prowell maintains that “most of the signers were Scotch-Irish or English Quakers,” a comparison of the names with those on various church lists we possess indicates that actually few, if any, were Quakers and that most were in fact Presbyterians and Anglicans. The list of 191 names survives as a valuable compilation of males who lived, largely, in what is

now Adams county in the year 1756 and who willingly put their names to a petition requesting the governor "to take some measure to ease our calamities; perhaps to command . . . the Royal American Regiment, to be forthwith sent to our relief."

These two letters to Peters and Morris show us another dimension to Thomas Barton's character. Beyond holding a commission as captain in one of Governor Morris's associated companies and leading his congregations against the Indians, he was busily helping write and dispatch petitions to Philadelphia, on 21 August from York/Reading, on 22 August from Carlisle. Indeed, we catch a brief glimpse of Barton the following year busily carrying yet another "Application . . . for a further Protection."³⁴ This time he is in Easton, delivering it to the new governor, William Denny, who remarks of parson Barton that "he waits only for an Answer, and is very much wanted at home."

Granville's destruction, then, revealed the weaknesses of what later became known at the outbreak of World War II as the "Maginot mentality," i.e., of passively relying upon a line of fortifications that were "widely spaced, lightly garrisoned, and difficult to supply and to reinforce."³⁵ More dramatically, the Indian success inspired the settlers to set aside their defensive passivity and take the offense. This they did by carrying the war into Indian country itself and eliminating the Delaware stronghold.

The raid upon Kittanning was for the most part executed by the Pennsylvania Regiment's Second Battalion, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel John Armstrong of Carlisle. Again, it is difficult to identify most of those from western York county who participated, but certainly not a few did. As the records show, Capt. Hans Hamilton was one of them.

The story of the attack has been well told by others.³⁶ Briefly, after moving across the Alleghenies undetected, Armstrong's men completely surprised the Indian town on the dawn of Wednesday, 8 September 1756. Nonetheless, by the time they broke off their assault, they had lost 17 known dead, with as many wounded, including Armstrong himself. The settlement, however, was put to the torch and the dreaded Captain Jacobs killed.

Although Barton did not march with the Second Battalion, he knew men who had, and at least one of them, possibly Lieutenant Robert Callender, one of his parishioners and the officer Armstrong used as his secretary after he had been wounded, passed on to him details omitted from Armstrong's official report, written 14 September 1756, in Fort Lyttelton.³⁷ Barton's letter to Proprietor Thomas Penn, written from his plantation or farm below Mud Run in Reading township on 28 February

1757, is remarkable for several reasons. In it, Barton employs a tone implying that his relationship to Penn is something other than that of a mere client addressing his patron and benefactor. This attitude may help to explain why Barton does not adopt the more general feeling of euphoria expressed by many other inhabitants of the back counties once they realized that Kittanning and the threat it represented had been destroyed.³⁸ As one who had met Penn in London in 1754 and who could continue to count on the latter's generosity—Thomas Penn was not usually acclaimed for his largesse—Barton wrote more candidly than others. Thus, although he acknowledges that “Since the Reduction of the Kittanning under Colonel Armstrong, we have not been much disturb'd,” he also fears that “the approaching Spring will again make us tremble. We have a great deal to do, & but little done.”³⁹ He perceives, moreover, that “the killing of a few Indians & burning their Huts at Kittanning is an Action not very considerable in itself.” Clearly, his guarded attitude departs from the more general enthusiasm accorded Armstrong's recent victory. Although he may be responding with the coolness of one who already felt the effects of a rivalry developing between himself and the Proprietary's other important placeman in the Carlisle area, the “Hero of Kittanning,” Barton's fear that “the approaching Spring will again make us tremble” proved well-taken.

Additionally, Barton uses the opportunity to inform his benefactor of Callender's bravery, a fact not stressed by Armstrong in his official account. Callender, who copied down Armstrong's report, might well have mentioned the omission to his minister. Barton said the following of Callender:

One M^r. Callender . . . distinguish'd himself by the most uncommon Bravery & Resolution. It is asserted that when Jacobs took to a House, out of which he kill'd & wounded Many of our Men—Callender undertook to fire it, which he accomplish'd at the infinite Hazard of his Life;—And that when our People precipitately retreated upon a Report pervailing that the French were to be up that Day from Fort-du Quesne, Callender not content to leave the Houses standing, went back with a small Party of Men, & set Fire to them all.⁴⁰

Although Barton's bringing this instance of Callender's heroism to the notice of the Proprietor might not be that unusual, his apparent respect for Captain Jacob's death must certainly stand out as unique in a cleric and a settler who had witnessed first-hand the sufferings everywhere

evident on the Pennsylvania frontier. Rather than expectedly turning the killing of Jacobs into a homily on the evil pagan receiving his just deserts, Barton in another letter perceives in the *sachem's* end intimations of the tragic deaths celebrated in the ancient epics and plays of Greece and in John Foxe's popular history, the *Book of Martyrs*:

the famous Captain Jacobs fought, & died, like a Soldier. He refus'd to surrender when the House was even on Fire over his Head; And when the Flame grew too violent for him, he rush'd out into the Body of our Men flourishing his Tomahawk, & told them he was born a Soldier, & would not die a Slave.⁴¹

As Barton foresaw, the French-and Indian raids resumed, until in the following year Delaware and Shawnee were once more attacking the back settlers frequently and without much resistance. The 5 April 1758 attack on Buchanan Valley is well-known, for it was this incursion that carried Mary Jamieson off into a world she came eventually to prefer to the one from which she had been forcibly abducted. Not quite so famous was the raid that occurred eight days later and which Barton described to Peters with an urgency we can feel to this day:

I have the misfortune to acquaint you that we are all Confusion. Within 12 miles of my House, two Families consisting of 11 Persons were murder'd & taken. . . . The poor Inhabitants are flying in numbers into the interior Parts. I prevail'd yesterday upon the Inhabitants of Canawago & Bermudian to assemble themselves together, & forming themselves into Companies, to guard the Frontiers of this County. . . .⁴²

Barton here refers to an attack that occurred in the vicinity of present-day Virginia Mills in Hamiltonban township. Fortunately one of the captives, Richard Baird, later made his escape to Ft. Lyttelton, survived, and left us a particularly vivid eye-witness account.⁴³

By the spring of 1758, Brigadier General John Forbes was in Philadelphia laying plans for a campaign against Ft. Duquesne. Relying upon a combined army of both provincial and royal forces, his strategy was designed to drive the French from Pennsylvania, thereby depriving the Delaware and Shawnees of their major support.

The Pennsylvania Regiment was eventually reorganized, with Colonel John Armstrong given actual leadership of the regiment, although Governor William Denny enjoyed nominal command as colonel-in-chief. And

in turn, although Armstrong, as colonel, theoretically still commanded a battalion, the First, Lieutenant-Colonel Hans Hamilton became *de facto* commander of that unit. Colonel James Burd commanded the Second Battalion.⁴⁴ To increase the strength of the regiment and to represent the trans-Susquehanna settlements more fully, the authorities deemed it necessary to raise still a third unit. Records show that most of the men in three of the new companies formed for the Third Battalion came from today's Adams county (another company raised locally was joined to the First).

In a 30 April 1758 letter to Provincial Secretary Richard Peters, proprietary land agent and surveyor for the county of York, George Stevenson, identified Archibald McGrew as a man who "has signified to me his Inclination to serve his King & Country in the Station of a Captain of Rangers."⁴⁵ A resident of Huntington township, a vestryman of Barton's Christ's Church, a county coroner, and a former officer in a York county associated company,⁴⁶ McGrew has, Stevenson noted, behaved in all "Stations . . . to the satisfaction of the People as well as myself."

Beyond recommending Archibald McGrew for a commission, Stevenson writes of two other important concerns. He records—"what is most remarkable"—that four leading York county Quakers have finally made common cause with the imperiled settlers and recently supported their efforts to raise a local militia of "45 men." Secondly, Stevenson suggests the possibility that

four or five good Companies could be rais'd in a very short Time here if proper Officers are chosen, & that in a Short Time. If the Governor & Council should think my Services necessary, I mean in recommending Officers & raising Men, &c., &c., all Fatigues of that kind will be a Pleasure to me.⁴⁷

Stevenson's pleasure was soon to be great, indeed, for Richard Peters replied forthwith, observing not only that the governor had granted Archibald McGrew his "Captain's Commission," but also that he (Peters) and John Armstrong had already been exploring the possibility of raising new companies.⁴⁸ Although nothing seems to have come of the plan, Peters also stressed the desirability of commissioning "one full set of Officers of German Farmers and Freeholders." An ordained Anglican priest himself, he further advises Stevenson to urge the "Ministers . . . in different and proper parts of the Country . . . to appoint Meetings, and animate the People to raise Levees with all possible Dispatch."⁴⁹

Stevenson's letter of 21 May details his difficulties in raising the new companies. Some candidates for officers' commissions had withdrawn or were perceived as unfit; new names appear.⁵⁰ Gradually, four new companies emerged. These were to be commanded by western York countians, namely, Captains David Hunter, Robert McPherson, Archibald McGrew, and Thomas Hamilton (Hans Hamilton's son). The plans for a fifth unit composed of Germans seems not to have materialized.

Stevenson also relays news of success in enlisting local clerics to whip up support for the war:

The Rev^d Mr. Craddock gave me the Pleasure of a Visit, & preach'd an excellent War Sermon from Mr. Listry's Pulpit, on Friday last, in the hearing of Messrs. Barton, Bay, & Listry; he went with Mr. Barton yesterday, is to deliver another Sermon to the same Purpose to day from Mr. Barton's Pulpit.⁵¹

Anglican Thomas Craddock, an influential Maryland clergyman, had apparently been invited by the proprietary to preach what in effect was an ecumenical sermon to a congregation which included Anglican Barton, Presbyterian Andrew Bay, and the German Reformed John Jacob Listry or Lishy. Thematic similarities to Barton's 1755 sermon *Unanimity and Public Spirit* imply that it might have helped inspire Craddock's exhortation to unity against the dreaded foe.⁵²

Stevenson's efforts as recruiting officer had its lighter moments, though maybe only to us far-removed in time. In one letter, for example, he launched into a digression on uniforms for the new companies:

Must the men buy green Cloathing? I fear this will hurt us much. I think linnen Stockings, red below the Knee, Petticoat Trowsers, reaching to the thick of the Leg, made of strong Linnen, and a Sailor's Frock made of the same, would be best.⁵³

Green uniforms, providing better camouflage than the traditional scarlet worn by British regiments, were popular among colonial units.

More typically, Stevenson was greatly challenged to put the new companies into readiness. Simply trying to assemble the new recruits who were "so scattered throughout the Country," as his assistant David Jamieson put it, was an arduous chore.⁵⁴ But trying to raise full complements for the new companies, and move weapons and provisions, as General Forbes and Colonel Bouquet were to discover later in respect to the entire campaign, proved enormously wearying. David Jamieson com-

plained that of the recruits whom he had seen in York, “not one-third of them had arms, or could be prevailed on to gett them.”⁵⁵ To find transport for the munitions and provisions, Stevenson had to scour the area for wagons. On 6 June 1758, he informed Peters that, having already made contracts for 35 wagons at York, he would be travelling the following Thursday “22 Miles West of York . . . there to contract for Wagons, in pursuance of a Power from Colonel Bouquet for that Purpose.”⁵⁶

Travelling “22 Miles” west on the Menallen-York Road (today’s state Rt. 234), then the east-west route of travel, would have brought Stevenson and Jamieson approximately to the intersection of the Oxford Road, near present-day Heidlersburg. Continuing a few miles south of that point on the Oxford Rd. would have placed him in the vicinity of Victor King’s tavern and mill in Tyrone township, on the north side of the Great Conewago Creek. King, commissioned 16 May 1758 as a lieutenant in Capt. Thomas Hamilton’s company, was, with Capt. Robert McPherson, also actively involved in the supply effort.⁵⁷ Thus, it is very possible that Stevenson alludes to plans to journey to Victor King’s, site of a mill and a tavern, and thus a natural mustering and meeting place, an ideal locale for negotiating the hiring of wagons.

In the event, Thomas Hamilton’s, Robert McPherson’s, and Archibald McGrew’s companies marched north to Carlisle along the Oxford Road to become integrated into the new Third Battalion, while the fourth, David Hunter’s, joined the First.⁵⁸ Before the Pennsylvania Regiment was deemed ready as a fighting unit, however, a decision had to be made on how to resolve the heated question of who would be commissioned its chaplain, or, rephrased, how diplomatically to find a place for the Proprietary’s religious representative, Anglican itinerant minister, the Reverend Mr. Thomas Barton.

Of all the conflicts and rivalries which must have occurred during those busy preparations for the campaign and which we know of, it is perhaps surprising that one of the most strident should involve the position of chaplain in the Third Battalion. Yet that it did is surely the measure of gravity with which Anglicans and Presbyterians, particularly Anglo-Irish Episcopalians and Scots-Irish Presbyterians, regarded the role of spiritual advisor. As well, it reflects the degree to which the old animosities spawned in their mutual homeland of Ulster apparently continued to divide the people inhabiting the frontier.

The full controversy has been detailed elsewhere, permitting us here to note only its general character.⁵⁹ Suppression of the full details by the principals, John Armstrong and Thomas Barton, and missing documents obscure for us what actually transpired during July 1758. Briefly, it ap-

pears that Thomas Barton, although appointed chaplain to the entire Pennsylvania Regiment,⁶⁰ had for some reason to settle for the chaplaincy of the Third Battalion.⁶¹ The overwhelming numbers of Presbyterians in that unit, however, instead petitioned General Forbes to commission for them one of their own creed, as was the case in both the First and Second Battalions.⁶² Apparently because he had been denied the spiritual authority of the entire regiment and because great numbers of Presbyterians in the Third resented him, Barton refused the governor's commission to the Third. Instead, he requested that Forbes employ him as a kind of Anglican chaplain-at-large for the entire expeditionary force, thus escaping the acutely critical eye of Presbyterian and rival Colonel John Armstrong. Forbes agreed, and on 9 July 1758, he commissioned the Anglo-Irishman: "you are hereby invited & authoriz'd to the Discharge of all Ministerial Functions belonging to a Clergyman of the Church of England amongst the Troops under my Command."⁶³

It is beyond the scope of this study to examine the documentation relating to the Forbes campaign for evidence of participation by Adams countians. Many references in the Pennsylvania state archives and the *Bouquet Papers* to the companies of Captains Thomas Hamilton, Robert McPherson, Archibald McGrew, and David Hunter suggest something of the duties they performed. Enjoying a rank of greater responsibility, Lt.-Colonel Hans Hamilton has left behind a larger, what we now term, "paper trail": by means of this we may trace the path by which he distinguished himself as a soldier and then allowed his violent temper to force his resignation in 1759.

We may also consult the 1758 war journal of Thomas Barton. Discovered in manuscript in 1970 and printed the following year, Barton's diary is filled with important details and significant observations.⁶⁴ Interestingly, it appears to trace his growing disillusionment with military life. Beginning on 7 July and breaking off abruptly on 26 September 1758, it unfortunately stops well before the capture of Ft. Duquesne on 23 November 1758, prompting speculation that Barton, depressed or demoralized by his circumstances, might have withdrawn from the campaign.⁶⁵

Recently discovered evidence, however, establishes that, for whatever reason Barton chose to stop his journal in September, he did in fact continue all the way to Fort Duquesne. An anonymous letter printed in Benjamin Franklin's *Pennsylvania Gazette* on 14 December 1758 (no. 1564) and jubilantly announcing the fall of the French fortress is clearly from Barton's pen. In the eighteenth century, newspapers did not normally identify their sources for news beyond the city where they were

published—i.e., writers whom we today would call “news correspondents.” Comparing the letter’s style with other writings of Barton allows us to recognize transparent similarities in syntax, vocabulary, figures of speech, and tone. We know from a later occasion that he indeed anonymously sent news of military interest to the *Gazette*. In 1763 a letter describing atrocities committed during Pontiac’s War was printed anonymously in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*: it duplicates the structure, phrasing, and vocabulary of a letter Barton had sent a few weeks earlier to Richard Peters on the same subject.⁶⁶ Additionally, Franklin also printed Barton’s war sermon *Unanimity and Public Spirit* in 1755. All this evidence shows that Franklin, during the years 1755-61, was publishing writings by Barton.⁶⁷

Finally, a letter by Thomas Penn to Barton commending the latter for his participation in the Forbes campaign also thanks him for sending both “your account of the flourishing state of the frontier Settlements . . . [and] your account of the Lands in the back parts of the Province.”⁶⁸ The Proprietor’s next remark suggests that Barton’s second “account” was of the new territories opened with the fall of Ft. Duquesne: “but [I] believe we must not think of making Settlements on the Ohio ‘till the next Age.”⁶⁹ Barton had seen and described for Penn the new rich lands that lay about and beyond the Forks of the Ohio, hoping to encourage him to open that territory to settlement.

The full text of what is certainly then Thomas Barton’s letter to Franklin’s *Pennsylvania Gazette* follows and fittingly concludes this essay. Appropriately, it is perhaps one of the final extant communications Barton wrote before he removed to Lancaster in 1759. His celebration of the destruction of Fort Duquesne and of his general’s great victory rounds off a sequence of events that in effect commenced with the virtual beginning of his incumbency in Christ’s Church, Huntington township, and the inglorious defeat of another British general marching to seize the French stronghold at the Forks of the Ohio. Barton’s euphoria matches in degree the despair and the anguish that distinguished his first letters, penned within the shadows of the forest of Huntington and Reading townships three-and-a-half years earlier.

* * * *

Thomas Barton[?] to *The Pennsylvania Gazette* (no. 1564, 14 December 1758):

The following Letter from that General’s ⁷⁰ *Army, being wrote by one, who seems to be no Stranger to the true Interest of these Colonies, nor to*

Indian Affairs, we hope will not be unacceptable to our Readers.

Pittsburgh (formerly Fort Duquesne) Nov. 28, 1758

SIR,

I have the Pleasure to write this Letter upon the Spot where *Fort Duquesne* once stood, while the *British* Flag flies over the Debris of its Bastions in Triumph.

Blessed be God, the long look'd for Day is arrived, that has now fixed us on the Banks of the *Ohio!* with great Propriety called *La Belle Riviere*, in the quiet and peaceable Possession of the finest and most fertile Country of *America*, lying in the happiest Climate in the Universe. This valuable Acquisition lays open to all his Majesty's Subjects a Vein of Treasure, which, if rightly managed, may prove richer than the Mines of *Mexico*, the Trade with the numerous Nations of *Western Indians*: It deprives our Enemies of the Benefits they expected from their deep laid Schemes, and breaks asunder the Chain of Communication betwixt *Canada* and *Louisiana*, a Chain that threatened this Continent with Slavery, and therefore the chief Favourite and Mistress of the *French* Court. These Advantages have been procured for us by the Prudence and Abilities of General FORBES, without Stroke of Sword, tho' had they been purchased at the Price of much Blood and Treasure, every Lover of his Country must have allowed that they would have been cheaply bought.

The Difficulties he had to struggle with were great. To maintain Armies in a Wilderness, Hundreds of Miles from the Settlements; to march them by untrodden Paths, over almost impassable Mountains, thro' thick Woods and dangerous Defiles, required both Foresight and Experience, especially if you consider the Efforts of an active Enemy, frequently attempting to cut off our Convoys; consider also his long and dangerous Sickness, under which a Man of less Spirits must have sunk; and the advanced Season, which would have deterred a less determined Leader, and think that he has surmounted all these Difficulties, that he has conquered all this Country, has driven the *French* from the *Ohio*, and obliged them to blow up their Fort (when we were within a few Miles of it we heard the Explosion) he has now reconciled the several Nations of *Indians* at War with us, and with one another, regained our lost Interest among them, and fixed it on so firm a Foundation, as not again to be shaken; so that our Back Settlements, instead of being frightful Fields of Blood, will once more smile with Peace and Plenty. These Things have rendered him the Delight of the Army, and must endear him to the Provinces.

All his Motions were narrowly watched by the Enemy, who, finding that he not only proceeded with Care and Circumspection, but with inflexible Steadiness, and that they could neither face him in the Field, retard his March, nor resist him in their Fort, retired to their Batteaus,⁷¹ and fell⁷² down the River, we hear, to a Fort, built two or three Years ago, near the Junction of the *Ohio* with the *Cherokee* River, where their united Stream falls into the *Mississippi*, Eight Hundred Miles from hence.

The Twenty-sixth of this Month was observed, by the General's Orders, as a Day of publick Thanksgiving to Almighty God for our Success; the Day after we had a grand *feu de Joye*, and To-day a great Detachment goes to *Braddock's* Field of Battle, to bury the Bones of our slaughtered Countrymen, many of whom were butchered in cold Blood by (those crueller than Savages) the *French*, who, to the eternal Shame and Infamy of their Country, have left them lying above Ground ever since. The unburied Bodies of those killed since, and strewed round this Fort, equally reproach them, and proclaim loudly, to all civilized Nations, their Barbarity.

Thanks to Heaven, their Reign on this Continent promises no long Duration! especially if Mr. PITT⁷³ be preserved, whose great Soul animates all our Measures, infuses new Courage into our Soldiers and Sailors, and inspires our Generals and Admirals with the most commendable Conduct.

NOTES

1. The term *Episcopalian* was not widely or officially employed until after the Revolution.

2. Petition of the Inhabitants of the Townships of Huntington and Tyrone . . . on the West Side of the Susquehanna, 3 October 1748, S.P.G. Letters, 16:116 (also included in William Stevens Perry, ed., *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church, 2: Pennsylvania* [Hartford, Conn., 1871], 255).

3. *Ibid.*

4. Andrew Montour, also called Henry, was the eldest son of the famous Indian interpreter Madame Montour, who claimed descent from a Huron and one of the governors of Canada. Andrew, whose Indian name was Sattelihu, figures prominently in Pennsylvania history as an interpreter, scout, and officer in the French and Indian wars. In the words of historian C. Hale Sipes (*The Indian Wars of Pennsylvania* [Harrisburg, 1931], p. 171): "A Town, a creek, an island, a county, a mountain range—all in Pennsylvania—are named for him and his mother."

"Mr. Buchanon" would probably be William Buchanan of Lurgan township, Cumberland (now Franklin) county, who contributed significantly to the defense of that area.

John Harris was the owner of the strategically important ferry at the site of today's Harrisburg.

5. Thomas Barton to the Governor, 2 November 1755, *Colonial Records*, 6:675.

6. John Blackburn (Jr.) was York county justice of the peace (1751-5, 1764-7), assemblyman (1760-7), and treasurer (1759-64, 1766-7).

7. Cited in Albert Cook Myers, *Immigration of the Irish Quakers into Pennsylvania* (Swarthmore, Pa., 1902), p. 231.

8. George Stevenson to Richard Peters, 15 May 1758, *Pennsylvania Archives*, 1st series, 3:395 (cited hereafter as *P.A.*).

9. Thomas Barton to the Secretary, 8 November 1756, S.P.G. Letters, Series B,

no. 1, p. 6.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

11. Several documents show John Steel and Andrew Bay to have been active in the defense of Cumberland and York counties. See, for example, William Smith's 1 November 1756 letter to the Bishop of Oxford, (*Historical Collections*, ed. Perry, 2:566), where Smith credits Barton and "two worthy Presbyterian Ministers" with setting martial examples for their people. In addition, the Minutes of the General Council of Cumberland County, 30 October 1755 (Lamberton Scots-Irish Collection, 1:23, Historical Society of Pennsylvania) includes the names of Bay and Steel as attending the war council.

12. Barton's plantation was located in Reading township, south of Mud Run, on the site of today's Gerald M. Ebersole farm along state Rt. 394. (I thank Arthur Weaner for this information.)

13. Thomas Barton to Richard Peters, 30 July 1755, Peters Papers, 4:36, Historical Society of Pennsylvania (cited hereafter as H.S.P.).

14. William Smith to the Bishop of Oxford, [1 November 1756], *Historical Collections*, ed. Perry, 2:556.

15. *Ibid.*

16. Barton to the Secretary, 8 November 1756, p. 7.

17. See, for example, the petition from Lancaster, 1 November 1755, *P.A.*, 1st ser., 2:450-1.

18. Minutes of the General Council of Cumberland County, 30 October 1755, Lamberton Scots-Irish Collection, H.S.P., 1:23.

19. William A. Hunter, *Forts on the Pennsylvania Frontier, 1753-1758* (Harrisburg, 1960), p. 184.

20. *Ibid.*

21. Robert L. Bloom writes in *History of Adams County, Pennsylvania, 1700-1990* (Gettysburg, 1992): "Tradition exists that a fort was erected just north of Arendtsville, another in Butler Township, one between

Two Taverns and Bonneauville, another near Gulden's in Straban Township, and one located in Latimore Township. It seems hardly possible that such forts, if indeed they had been built in the central and eastern parts of the county, would have provided much protection to Adams Countians to the west" (n. 5, p. 18).

The present author has learned that a blockhouse, possibly the above-mentioned one "in Butler township," was erected on 'Possum Creek, near the point where Stone Jug Road crosses it, at the site where David McConaughy, active in local defense, had a mill.

22. See C. Bradsby, *History of Cumberland and Adams Counties, Pennsylvania* (Chicago, 1886), pp. 7-12, for an account of early attacks and responses.

23. Certified by Richard Peters, *P.A.* (1st ser.), 3:20. The officers listed are as follows: Captains: Isaa[c] Sadler, Hugh Dunwoody, James Agnew, David Hunter, Samuel Gordon, Andrew Findley, William Gibson, Francis Holton. Lieutenants: Archibald McGrew, Charles McMullen, John Miller, John Correy, William Smiley, William Gamell, William Thompson, Joseph Ross. Ensigns: William Duffell [Duffield], James Smith, Samuel With[er]row, John Barnes, John Little, Moses Lawson, Casper Little, John McCall. The list indicates that the 8 companies included 642 "private men."

24. York County Deed A-332, 20 March 1759. (I am indebted to Arthur Weaner for this material on Samuel Reynolds.)

25. *Ibid.*

26. See "Hance Hamilton in the French-Indian Campaign of 1758 and His Associates in Command," *Star and Sentinel*, 2 August 1887.

27. Hunter, p. 410.

28. Cited in Hunter, p. 411.

29. Hans Hamilton to [?], 4 April 1756, *P.A.*, 1st ser., 2:611-12.

30. P. 391.

31. Thomas Barton to Richard Peters, 22 August 1756, *P.A.*, 1st ser., 2:756.

32. Thomas Barton to William Hunter Morris, 21 August 1756, *P.A.*, 1st ser., 2:755.

33. See George Prowell, *History of York County*, 2 vols. (Chicago, 1907), 1:154-5.

34. William Denny to [?], 21 July 1757, *P.A.*, 1st ser., 3:235.

35. Hunter, p. 392.

36. By Armstrong himself; see Colonel John Armstrong's Account of [the] Expedition against Kittanning, *P.A.*, 1st ser., 2:767-75. See also William A. Hunter, "Victory at Kittanning," *Pennsylvania History*, 23 (1956), 376-407.

37. Colonel John Armstrong's Account of [the] Expedition against Kittanning, *ibid.*

38. For an example of the more typical response, see Robert Hunter Morris's to [?] September 1756: "I think the Expedition will be of great use to the Publick as it will raise the spirits of the People and serve to remove that Dread and Panick which has seized the generality of the People" (Gratz Collection, Case 15, Box 18, H.S.P.).

39. Thomas Barton to Thomas Penn, 28 Feb. 1757, Penn Manuscripts (Official Correspondence), 8:239, H.S.P.

40. *Ibid.*

41. Thomas Barton to William Smith, 23 September 1756, Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, 2:560.

Interestingly, Armstrong separates several elements that occur in Barton's version and speaks of Jacobs more laconically, compelling one to wonder what actually transpired. In one place, Armstrong writes generally of an unnamed Indian who, asked to surrender, "said he was a Man and would not be a Prisoner." Later he describes only how "Cap^t Jacob[s] tumbled himself out at a Garret or Cock Loft Window, at which he was Shot." See Colonel Armstrong's Account of [the] Expedition against Kittanning, 14 September 1756, *P.A.*, 1st ser., 2:769.

42. Thomas Barton to Richard Peters, 11 April 1758, *P.A.*, 1st ser., 3:377.

43. See Richard Baird's Deposition, 12 May 1758, *P.A.*, 1st ser., 3:396-7.

44. See *P.A.*, (5th ser.), 1:128-31.

45. George Stevenson to Richard Peters, 30 April 1758, *P.A.*, 1st ser., 3:384.

46. See above, n. 23.

47. *PA.*, 1st ser., 3:384-5.

48. Richard Peters to George Stevenson, 3 May 1758, *PA.*, 1st ser., 3:386-7.

Peters also mentions several names of local interest: Thomas Armour, Robert Stevenson, Joseph Armstrong, David M'Conoway (i.e., McConaughy), Thomas Minshall, Benjamin Smith, and Sheriff [Hans] Hamilton.

49. *Ibid.*, p. 387.

50. George Stevenson to Richard Peters, 21 May 1758, *PA.* 1st ser., 3:400-1.

51. *Ibid.*, p. 401.

52. See David Curtis Skaggs, *The Poetic Writings of Thomas Cradock, 1718-1770* (Newark, N.J., London, and Toronto, 1983), pp. 38-9.

53. George Stevenson to Richard Peters, 8 May 1758, *PA.*, 1st ser., 3:392.

54. David Jamieson to Gov. Denny, 6 June 1758, *PA.*, 1st ser., 3:412.

55. *Ibid.*

56. George Stevenson to Richard Peters, 6 June 1758, *PA.*, 1st. ser., 3:411.

57. King and McPherson.

58. *PA.*, 5th ser., 1:128-31, lists the officers for the Third Battalion: field officers—Colonel Commandant Hugh Mercer, Lt. Colonel Patrick Work, Major George Armstrong; company officers in the three units raised in present-day Adams county—(1) Capt. Robert McPherson, Lt. James Ewing, Ensign Peter Meem; (2) Capt. Archibald McGrew, Lt. Alexander McCain, Ensign James Armstrong; and (3) Capt. Thomas Hamilton, Lt. Victor King, Ensign William McDowell. The company that joined the First Battalion: Capt. David Hunter, Lt. Andrew Finley, Ensign William Hadden.

59. See James P. Myers, Jr., "The Reverend Thomas Barton's Conflict with Colonel John Armstrong," *Cumberland County History*, 10 (1993), 3-14, particularly pp. 5-9.

60. See *PA.*, 5th ser., 1:177.

61. In his Journal, 7 July 1758, Barton wrote of receiving "the Governor's Commission appointing me Chaplain to the 3rd Battalion of the Pennsylvania Regiment . . .

and a Letter from the Secretary apologizing for my not having the Preference of the other two" (Journal, ed. William A. Hunter, "Thomas Barton and the Forbes Expedition," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 95 [1971], 439).

62. *PA.*, 5th ser., 1:132, records Presbyterians Charles Beaty and John Steel as chaplains of the First and Second Battalions, respectively.

For Presbyterian opposition to Barton, see the Petition of the Presbyterian Officers of the Third Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment, to General Forbes, 4 July 1758, Dalhousie Muniments, CD 45/2/33/2, Scottish Record Office.

63. General John Forbes to Thomas Barton, 9 July 1758, quoted by Barton for Richard Peters, 18 July 1758, Society Collection, H.S.P.

64. William A. Hunter discusses and reprints the journal in "Thomas Barton and the Forbes Expedition," *PM.H.B.*, 95 (1971), 431-83. The manuscript of the journal is now in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

65. See Hunter, "Thomas Barton," p. 438.

66. Compare Thomas Barton to Richard Peters, 5 July 1763, Peters Papers, 6:10, H.S.P., with the account from Lancaster (where Barton was living at that time) in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 28 July 1763, no. 1805.

7. Another letter, dated 6 December 1758, in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, no. 1565, reporting on the massacre and torture of Major James Grant's men also sounds like Barton.

68. Thomas Penn to Thomas Barton, 21 March 1761, Records of the U.S., E 2b, reel 3, unit 2, pp. 2-3.

69. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

70. I.e., John Forbes's.

71. Originating with French fur traders and trappers, batteaus were shallow-draft boats convenient for river travel.

72. I.e., descended, made their way.

73. William Pitt the Elder (1708-78), British prime minister at the time of the Forbes Expedition.