FOREWORD

In 1959, the orderly book of the march of Colonel Henry Bouquet's army from Fort Pitt (Pittsburgh) to the Muskingum River in Ohio, with an introduction and explanatory notes by this author, appeared in the Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine in three installments. At that time a promise was made to print the orderly book of the march of the army from Carlisle, Pennsylvania, to Pittsburgh. A decision of editorial policy was made to print the second orderly book during that bicentennial time. The accompanying presentation is a fulfillment of that obligation.

There were originally three books which recorded the daily orders and explicit instructions to the regimental and company commanders for every detail of duty in the camp, courts-martial, road cutting, marching, and troop formations to receive an enemy attack. Only two of the books have survived the years and, after the lapse of nearly two centuries, have found their way into hands that cherish them. The William L. Clements Library of Ann Arbor, Michigan, is the repository of these rare manuscript pieces among other collections of original source materials of American history. The books are bound in brown leather, 8 by 4-7/16 inches, hinged at the top of the narrow dimension. The pages are yellowed, foxed, and water stained but well preserved and, for the most part, very legible.

Mr. Williams, scholar, historian, and author of works on General Lachlan McIntosh, General Richard Butler, and other notable persons connected with the early history of Western Pennsylvania, resumes his annotation of the orderly books of Col. Henry Bouquet.—Editor


2 Interestingly, Capt. Barnsley, at Philadelphia, sent some seeds and orderly books to Bouquet at Carlisle on May 10, 1764. B.M., Add. Mss. 21650, Pt. 1, f. 192 (p. 132) (hereafter cited with appropriate Add. Mss. series and folio numbers from the British Museum and page in the printed transcription). Since the first entry in the orderly book which follows was made on Nov. 18, 1763, with intermittent general orders before the actual march of the army, those sent by Barnsley must have been No. 2 and the lost No. 3.
These are obviously the headquarters books of general orders as issued by Bouquet himself to the brigade major who then read the general orders to the battalion (regimental) adjutants, specifying the parole, countersign, and commanding officer of the day. The adjutants copied these orders in their books, adding the specific orders the battalion commanders wished to convey to the battalion companies. At orderly time (announced by a drum call) the first sergeants of companies assembled at battalion headquarters where the adjutants read, and the sergeants copied, the orders. The company commanders' instructions were added, and the first sergeants then read the full orders to the private enlisted men at retreat beating at sundown (evening roll call). All signals were transmitted by drum beats. Although designated orders of the day, they were issued for performance on the succeeding day. This discipline was continued in corresponding form through World War I.

At the end of the second orderly book, when the army was encamped at the Muskingum, we find the statement: "The Succeeding orders ——— Inserted in a book Mark'd: No 3 ——— Commencing 9th 11th" [November 9] It is this third book that is missing.

The quaint spelling and abbreviations, with superior letters, punctuation, capitalization, and other original forms, have been retained as far as possible. Much of the spelling was phonetic, there being little standardization in a day when dictionaries had hardly made an appearance, and certainly none would have been carried with the army.

Gratefully, acknowledgment is made of my indebtedness to Mr. Howard Peckham, director of the William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan, who has made available the Bouquet orderly books and has evinced continuing interest in our publication of the manuscript. The generous permission to peruse the British Army Lists (the most complete in the country), also the Ms. Papers of General Thomas Gage, and the collection of British headquarters maps, all in the Clements Library, has made possible much of the annotation. The staff of the Manuscript Department of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; the staff of the American History Room of the New York Public Library; the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress, also the Rare Book Room of the same institution; the History Division of the Cleveland Public Library, Ohio; the Bureau of Land Records, Department of Community Affairs, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania; also

3 Orderly Book No. 3, if it were found, would contain interesting details concerning the march back from the Muskingum to Pittsburgh.
the staff of the Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh — all have contributed specialized historical, biographical, and military information, maps, letters, and miscellaneous valuable material unobtainable elsewhere. The courtesy and interest in this work rendered by all these institutions have made the work pleasant and the production of this valuable manuscript possible.

Individuals also have rendered especially valuable aid in the way of location of the road. Mr. W. Niles Anderson of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania generously gave of his time and knowledge of the path of the Forbes Road over the mountains, and pleasant memories of many trips through forests and farmlands are cherished. Appreciation is expressed for the friendly consultation rendered by Mr. A. M. Larson, county engineer of Fulton County, relative to the traces of Bouquet's relocation of the Forbes Road over Sideling Hill and Ray's Hill mountains. Mention also is made of the aid given by Professor Harold A. Thomas, Carnegie-Mellon University, retired, regarding relocation of many stretches of the Forbes Road. Mr. H. C. Foreman, of Chambersburg, kindly assisted by an exchange of information on early roads and landmarks in the Shippensburg and Fort Loudoun area.

For editorial aid and advice in shaping up an unwieldy mass of material relating to the orderly book itself and the many individuals involved in the presentation, grateful acknowledgments are due to Mrs. W. Howard Pollard, associate editor of the Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine. We are hopeful that the publication of this orderly book, in addition to that of the orderly book west of Pittsburgh, will add interest to the achievements of that consummate soldier, Henry Bouquet, and appreciation of his contribution to the western movement of civilization in America.

Introduction

The deeds, valor, and image of Colonel Henry Bouquet of the Royal American Regiment have always captivated the interest of the American public and the admiration of military historians. Bouquet was one of a number of Swiss officers who entered the British service at the end of 1755, or the beginning of 1756, after years of rigorous campaigning in the armies of England's continental allies during the Seven Years War. He was, indeed, the only commander who had ad-
administered a complete defeat upon the combined Indian forces in the west or who would again effect it until the victory of Anthony Wayne at Fallen Timbers.

Following the total and terrible defeat of General Edward Braddock's army on the Monongahela (present Braddock, Pennsylvania) in 1755, some units of the British army in America were being reorganized and trained in the tactics of "bush fighting" in the forests that would thenceforward be the battleground. The most effective corps of infantry was the 60th (Royal American) Regiment. Bouquet was the chief executive officer and advance commander of General John Forbes's expedition in 1758, which wrested Fort Duquesne from the French, and he later commanded the rising Fort Pitt and its supporting posts under Generals Stanwix, Monckton, and Gage.

After severe defeats, the British army took Fort Niagara and Quebec (1759). The French unsuccessfully attempted to retake Quebec, and Montreal capitulating, the French and Indian War was practically at an end in America by 1760. In Europe, the Seven Years War continued and finally ended in 1763.

The years 1763-1764 bracketed a period of change, controversy, and violence in British America. The Peace of Paris concluding the Seven Years (French and Indian) War, in February of 1763, confirmed what was already an accomplished fact — the loss by France of her North American and many of her West Indian possessions, followed by the British takeover. Ironically, the expected resumption of peaceful pursuits did not attend the retirement of the armies from the field of combat. Many regiments were disbanded, others sent home, and those left in America (fifteen battalions) were reduced to the absolute minimum of personnel. For the maintenance of the remaining troops in America, the Sugar Act of 1764 and the Stamp Act (although not passed by Parliament until March of the following year,
but under violent opposition in 1764) were devised.\(^9\) Determined resistance to these and other measures already was flaring up in the American colonies. Removal of the old enemy, France, from her threatening position on the northern and western borders had rendered the colonies less dependent upon the mother country. Already suggestions were being pressed upon the king and Parliament for means to curb the growing economic and political maturity, approaching self-sufficiency, becoming evident in America.\(^10\)

In Pennsylvania turbulence was rife. Near the end of 1763 Deputy Governor John Penn arrived in Philadelphia to be greeted by a severe earthquake tremor and almost immediately plunged into a controversy raging through the year 1764 in the Provincial Assembly, between the proprietary faction and proponents of government under the crown. A bitter dispute was boiling over because of the sending of Benjamin Franklin to London as provincial agent.\(^11\) A deplorable armed riot rampaged through the province, late in 1763, when the Paxtang Boys (frontiersmen near present Harrisburg) marched to Conestoga and Lancaster, at both of which places they massacred numbers of defenseless, semicivilized, and Christianized Indians. The repercussions of this storm were still reverberating in the summer atmosphere of 1764, as the government continued to protect the Indian survivors.\(^12\)

Lulled into false security by the elimination of the archenemy, France, and the imagined pacification of her forsaken Indian allies, the frontier settlements expanded into new fertile valleys and across the mountains. Traders once more went forth to the Indian towns on the Ohio, the Muskingum, and the Wabash. The Indians were angered by the assertion of British mastery over them, while General Jeffery Amherst, the commander in chief, decreed that supplies of powder and accustomed presents should be withheld from them.\(^13\) Dissident Frenchmen from Canada fomented a storm and implanted suspicion that the British intended to massacre the defenseless Indians.\(^14\) The


\(^{10}\) Ibid., 27; Shy, *Toward Lexington*, 64-68.


\(^{12}\) Ibid., 404-10.


\(^{14}\) Ibid., 93-4.
deceptive tranquillity was shattered, in the spring of 1763, when the widespread secret confederation of tribes, led by the alert and aggressive Ottawa chief, Pontiac, swept up all the English traders within their power and almost simultaneously struck by stealth all of the British outposts scattered far into the mid-continent watersheds. Only Detroit, Oswego, Niagara, and Fort Pitt withstood the savage onslaught. The many scenes of bloodshed and torture that ensued have been amply recounted by historians of the period. Panic-stricken refugees overran Carlisle, east of the mountains, and Fort Pitt, west of them. With supply routes completely severed, the fort itself was besieged and in great danger. The Quaker-dominated Pennsylvania Assembly, meanwhile, continued to cling to the delusion that their former amicable associations with the Indians would supersede armed force.

General Amherst committed the last troops he could collect — to the very last man — to march with the packtrain to the relief of beleaguered Fort Pitt. The veteran survivors of disease and battle casualties from the West Indies, 214 of the 42nd Royal Highlanders (the Black Watch), 133 of the 77th Highlanders (Montgomery's), together with 150 of the Royal Americans, comprised the little force under the command of Colonel Henry Bouquet, whom Amherst had learned to trust. When this "forlorn hope" marched from Carlisle, few but Bouquet's friend Captain Harry Gordon expected them to succeed. Bouquet wrote his will. When about twenty-eight miles from Fort Pitt by the road they were following, on August 5-6, Bouquet's little force sustained an attack by far superior enemy numbers and inflicted a decisive defeat in the two-day battle of Bushy Run.

15 Ibid., 159-70; Gordon, History of Pa., 397, 399.
17 Peckham, Pontiac Uprising, 210-13; Amherst to Bouquet, June 23, 1763: "... I have now forwarded from hence Every Man that was here ..." B.M., Add. Mss. 21634, f. 296 (p. 198).
18 Peckham, Pontiac Uprising, 171.

Although the book was published anonymously "by a Lover of his Country," Francis Parkman, in his "Prefatory" to his (1868) edition of this book, same title, quotes Dr. William Smith of the College of Philadelphia in a letter to Sir William Johnson: "... which I drew up from some papers he favored me with ..." He ascribes the discovery to Mr. A. R. Spofford, of the Library of Congress. Also see W. Niles Anderson, The Battle of Bushy Run (Harrisburg, 1966), 9-17.
The demoralized Indians speedily withdrew, abandoning all of their towns in the Upper Ohio-watershed valleys clear back to the Muskingum in Ohio, 130 miles west of Fort Pitt, expecting the victors relentlessly to pursue them. Bouquet’s weak forces, now further weakened by losses and extreme fatigue, were unable to move a single step beyond Fort Pitt.20

It was midsummer of the next year, 1764, after intensive preparations during the winter and spring to raise men and material for the follow-up attack, that Bouquet finally mustered another small army to deliver the master stroke. The regular troops, the Royal Americans and the 42nd Highlanders, were mustered at Carlisle, and the provincials, two battalions of Pennsylvanians, were mustered at Lancaster, with Carlisle the final concentration point, at the end of July.21 Two hundred Virginians and two companies of Maryland volunteers joined farther along the route.22

This brings the narrative up to the time of the army’s pushing off from Carlisle on August 10. It arrived at Fort Pitt on September 18,23 marched from Fort Pitt and established camp on the north side of the river on October 2-3, arrived at the Forks of the Muskingum on October 25,24 and arrived back at Fort Pitt on November 28.25 Within this time Bouquet had forced the surrender from the Indians — Mingoes, Shawnees, and Delawares — of 363 prisoners held in their towns. He also sent influential chiefs to Sir William Johnson, the crown’s Indian superintendent with headquarters on the Mohawk in New York, to conclude a treaty of peace. With realistic toughness, Bouquet seized and held other chiefs as hostages to insure performance

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20 Bouquet to Gov. James Hamilton, Aug. 11, 1763: “...it [follow-up action] cannot be Attempted ... With the Troops I have left ... we may have the whole to do Over again.” B.M., Add. Mss. 21649, pt. 2, f. 295 (p. 16); Peckham, Pontiac Uprising, 213; Smith, An Historical Account, 30.
21 See muster rolls of the 1st and 2nd battalions of the Pennsylvania Regiment assembled first at Lancaster, then at Carlisle, where they were finally mustered and addressed by Gov. John Penn. See the orders for Aug. 5, following, and muster rolls of the troops.
22 The orderly book which follows notes the arrival of “the Corps of Virginia Volunteers arrived this day ...” in the orders for Aug. 25, at Fort Pitt. The Maryland volunteers (two companies) arrived with the army on the banks of the Muskingum (Tuscarawas) on Oct. 20. See Williams, “Orderly Book,” WPHM, 42: 190.
23 Ibid. Arrived at Fort Pitt, see orderly book following, Sept. 18.
24 Ibid. Crossing of the Allegheny, 17, 26; arrival at Forks of the Muskingum, 285.

Army service during Pontiac's War exercised an important influence upon men and events leading up to the American Revolution in that many of the young men who served under Bouquet gained experience in the routine and discipline of conducting an army, practice in the operations of logistics, castrametation, tactics, and strategy of movement — all from that master of all departments of the military profession. Of course, the same observation might be made regarding those serving under him during the Forbes campaign and the Bushy Run expedition, except that the 1764 expedition was a model of a tightly organized task force, a completely detached and independent command necessarily self-sufficient and unsupported. No battles were fought in 1764, but more decisive results were attained without the dubious hazards of a conflict.

Against the background described above of events and circumstances these intrepid men played their role in the drama of the civilizing of the continent. The road they cut thrust deeply into the heart of the hostile country and later served the army under McIntosh, Brodhead, and Gibson that poised a threat against Detroit during the Revolution. It became the conduit of civilization flowing westward to settle the Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois country.

\textit{Essay on the Road}

The marching road of Bouquet's army from Carlisle to Pittsburgh on route to Ohio in 1764 (the same track Bouquet had traversed the previous year to do battle at Bushy Run) was that carved out under his own supervision for the army of General John Forbes, but with two major improvements. Part of the track had initially been cleared by Colonel James Burd in expectation of supplying Braddock's army en route to attack Fort Duquesne in 1755.\footnote{Pennsylvania Minutes of the Provincial Council: Colonial Records (Harrisburg, 1843), 6: 368-69 (hereafter cited as \textit{Pa. Col. Rec.}).} Extensive improvements and short cuts had been made during the six years of intensive use and consequent wear to which the road had been subjected since the building of Fort Pitt. Detours circumvented deeply rutted and swampy stretches of road, and turnouts appeared in order to permit laboring teams to continue the steep uphill pull while descending
wagons with chained and spragged wheels might pass unhindered.\textsuperscript{28} Improvements in approaches and a quest for more solid streambeds at crossings were reasons enough for changes in the line.

An additional important consideration is the existence of two tracks in use simultaneously by Forbes's army in several places, as for example, the stretch from Stony Creek clear to the eastern slope of Laurel Hill. Both these alternate routes continued in use, as the orderly book will point out and Bouquet opened new cutoffs on the march with which we are presently concerned.

For over thirty years this modified road served as the main thoroughfare of travel and transport over the mountains — at first as the military and supply road for movements in both directions, then as the traders' packhorse trail (for many years the road was not maintained and no wheeled vehicles moved over the road),\textsuperscript{29} and finally as a principal emigrant route to the expanding West. Concurrently with emigration, commerce flowed in both directions. In 1785, the Pennsylvania Assembly authorized the reconstruction of the old road, thenceforward known simply as the Pennsylvania Road, the first such road built by any government (state or national), antedating the National Highway by more than twenty years.\textsuperscript{30} Fine stone-arched bridges and stone tavern buildings still mark its course. Some remains of all of these successive conduits of conquest, of commerce, and of advancing civilization may be seen on the wooded mountain slopes where the rains of two centuries have washed side ditches ever deeper and where the wheel ruts worn by the iron-shod felloes grooved deeply the rock-bottomed roadbed. Sometimes the course of the road was dotted in by the draftsmen of the old warrantee survey plats.

Finally, there are the modern highways that have been hard surfaced since the advent of the automobile. True, the Lincoln Highway (U.S. Route 30) came into being before motor cars became prevalent, but it has been rebuilt and relocated many times, and all of these scars and abandoned sections remain. Disconcerting is the fact that reputable

\textsuperscript{28} The writer personally has seen deep wheel ruts in large flat rocks in the roadbed, particularly in the descent to the old crossing of Juniata River, on the east side, and on the western slope of Laurel Hill.

\textsuperscript{29} Alfred J. Morrison, ed. and trans., Dr. Johann David Schoepf, Travels in the Confederation, 1783-1784 (Philadelphia, 1911), 2: 241-42.

writers (including some in the pages of our own magazine)\(^{11}\) have fallen into the fallacy of generalization, that the Lincoln Highway followed in the path of the Forbes Road, whereas the nearest similarity that can be found between the two roads is that they both ran in a generally westerly direction, their separate paths crossing perhaps four times with most of their length many miles apart, eighteen miles at one point.

The present superhighway named the Pennsylvania Turnpike (no relation to the early road of the same name), a four-lane divided roadway with mountain tunnels, was opened between Middlesex (near Carlisle) to Irwin, near Pittsburgh, in 1939. Like all the others, many miles have been relocated, short cuts made, and tunnels bypassed. In at least one strategic sector, it has reverted to the line and grade that Bouquet so highly praised as an accomplishment of his chief engineer’s skill two centuries ago, described in this very orderly book.\(^{32}\)

The evaluation, sorting out, and reconciliation of the mass of evidence upon the ground has been my task over a period of many years. The fact remains that there are many segments of the road that never can be satisfactorily identified due to obliteration of all visual traces by modern superhighway construction or coal-stripping operations that have also completely altered the topography of the land. These are some of the problems — and the romance — of the serious road-scout-historian in modern times who seeks to tread in the footsteps of Forbes, Washington, Bouquet, and the others. Where alternate roads existed and became worn deeper, they sometimes continued to bear the name of the famous original Forbes Road, thus leading to confusion in identity. We have sought to identify the road actually traversed by

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31 The Forbes Road, as here detailed, ran from Shippensburg to Fort Loudoun, up Path Valley, over Tuscarora Mountain by Cowan’s Gap, down to Burnt Cabins, to Fort Littleton, and up Sideling Hill mountain. The later Pennsylvania Road ran from Shippensburg to Upper Strasburg, Fannettsburg (the Three Mountain Road), joining the Forbes route again at Burnt Cabins. See E. G. Williams, “Samuel Vaughan's Journal,” *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, 44 (1961) : 160, 167 n26 (hereafter cited as Williams, “Vaughan Journal,” *WPHM*); J. G. Orr, “The Three Mountain Road,” *Kittochtinny Historical Society Quarterly* (Feb. 1908). 17-18 (hereafter cited as Orr, “Mountain Road,” *KHSQ*). The much later road that became the Lincoln Highway, via Lancaster, York, Chambersburg did not touch the Forbes route until the top of Rays Hill, excepting its crossing it at the village of Fort Loudoun. At Burnt Cabins, and a long way thereafter, the two routes are from 15 to 18 miles apart. The statement made in “Migrations of Pennsylvania Germans,” *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, 53 (1970) : 319, is completely erroneous and has been repeated by others.

32 Refer to orderly book entry for Sep 3, at Fort Bedford, following.
Forbes's army. At the same time, we bear in mind that this orderly book records the march of Bouquet's army in 1764 over some of the improved tracks he himself had traced. It will be necessary to identify both, for clarity, where their lines are divergent. To discriminate between the original scars and the later ones, which now appear to be as old as the first, is the problem that challenges the modern outdoor historian. To those persons not willing to accept evidence at first appearance, this has proved to be an intriguing quest.

Some portions of the itinerant road descriptions may not prove interesting to the general reader. To the hundreds of tradition-minded citizens across the western half of Pennsylvania who have demonstrated a deep interest in the Forbes Road (some have banded together in associations and societies, such as the active Forbes Road Association composed of residents of Bedford, Somerset, Westmoreland, and Allegheny counties), specific descriptions will invoke attention. Evidence will be presented from observation upon the ground itself, the result of over forty years of familiarity with the mountain roads and passes when "Pinchot roads" were hardly begun and when many more traces of the old road existed. Documentary evidence will be introduced from records of contemporary times, as diaries and maps, some available only to one who travels to find them in their snug repositories in distant libraries. It is hoped that this paper may be useful in preserving the history and landmarks of this important link in the lifeline of the pioneers of western advancement of civilization through the American wilderness.

The original road through Cumberland County (called the Virginia Road) was laid out by court order in 1744 from Harris's Ferry to the Maryland line, later to the Potomac ford (now Williamsport, Maryland). Road Docket No. 2 containing the survey plat having disappeared mysteriously from the Cumberland County courthouse, it became necessary to search the records of Lancaster County, from which Cumberland was formed in 1750. The original surveyor's field notes were found and plotted. The problems of harmonizing 240-year-old magnetic bearings with a modern road map are cumulative. Withal, the resulting traverse projects a picture of the ancient itinerary. In order to reconstruct the line of the road beyond Carlisle, it was necessary to follow it all the way from the Susquehanna River through Lemoyne and Camp Hill, past Oyster Point (Tobias Hendricks's tavern), all of which coincides with Market Street, thence to James Silver's Spring, just north of U.S. 11 and continuing to Randall
(Rowland) Chambers's mill in Middlesex, near the mouth of Letort's Spring Run. From this point the road ran a practically straight course for 6½ miles, in a southwesterly direction, north of Carlisle which was not laid out until seven years after the survey of the road. The plotting of this line established the fact that the line of the old road passes diagonally through the cloverleaf at the intersection of Interstate 81 and U.S. 11, through the Carlisle interchange of the Pennsylvania Turnpike, crosses the Carlisle Springs road (Metzer Street), Pa. 34, approximately 1.7 miles north of the Public Square (the Court House), crosses Pa. 641 (the Newville road) at .3 mile west of the Carlisle city line, meets U.S. 11 at the intersection of Pa. 165, runs parallel and a little south of U.S. 11 to Mountrock (Miller's Spring, formerly Robert Dunning's Spring). The loop around present Mountrock existed in the old road. The rest of the way to Shippensburg was evidently very close to present U.S. 11 with minor waverings, which the modern road has straightened. This survey establishes the fact that this old road did not run by the Great Spring (Springfield), only a mile north of the line, as has often been supposed. This is remarkable, since this fourteen-mile stretch is without water. An alternate road by the Great Spring certainly existed, since the early Indian path and later travelers' route took advantage of its refreshing waters. Three-quarters of a mile beyond Shippensburg then (probably centered near the Widow Piper's tavern and the erstwhile courthouse) was John Reynolds's spring. A mile beyond this, the roads parted, the "Loudoun Road" (T 663) turning north and west to Pinola. The left fork, following the course laid down in the surveyor's notes, proceeded via Chambersburg to the Maryland line, thence to Virginia. The section of the Forbes Road was long known as the Loudoun, or Loudon, Road and is practically the same as when it was opened shortly after the building of Fort Loudoun. At Pinola the road struck Culbertson Row Run which it followed to the village of Culbertson and the main gate into the Letterkenny U.S. Army Ordnance Depot. For nearly a mile and a half the old road traversed this now forbidden ground to emerge on T 538, half a mile from the old Salem church, which it circled

33 The original field notes are found in Lancaster County Road Docket (for 1744), 2: 31. These notes are reprinted in William H. Egle, Notes and Queries, Historical and Genealogical, 3rd ser. (Harrisburg, 1896), 3: 31, although lacking some of the original punctuation, hence clarity.

34 Paul A. W. Wallace, Indian Paths of Pennsylvania (Harrisburg, 1965), 177 (hereafter cited as Wallace, Indian Paths); Israel Shreve, "Journal from Jersey to the Monongahela," PMHB, 52 (1928): 195-96.
around to the north,\textsuperscript{35} rejoining T 538 again on the west side. Thence through Cheesetown, T 692, T 539, L.R.28006 to Crider's Cemetery, and by the same route 3.4 miles to the Saint Thomas-Edenville Road. A mile and a half of the old road has been abandoned from this intersection to the Lincoln Highway, running near to the site of the Campbell stone house that once stood on Campbell's Run and to Fort Loudoun\textsuperscript{36} in the flats along Conococheague Creek. Nothing other than a straight line from the Edenville Road to the site of the fort could have accomplished the distance in the prescribed mileage. The old Allegheny, or Raystown, trading path lay to the right, over the extended toe of Parnell's Knob, passing up Path Valley and over Cowan's Gap in Tuscarora Mountain.

One of the most controversial, confusing, and at the same time, useful elements in the investigation relative to the location of the Forbes Road has been the Potts map,\textsuperscript{37} titled on the manuscript map itself, “General Forbes marching Journal to the Ohio by John Potts.” It is nothing but a day-by-day drawing of the progress of the army and has been a well-known document for at least sixty-five years, since the Shippen family papers have been a part of the Ms. collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. It is the only contemporary map that has been known to have been drawn by a participant in the cam-

\textsuperscript{35} The automobile traveler may easily follow these details, since all authorities agree that the road, with small variations, is the same today as the original Loudoun Road. Physical features preclude variations to a great extent from the present road, here described. One apparent variation may be traced at the crossing of Wilson Run, where the old road bent to the left to cross the run 150 yards below the traveled road, then swung back again. See A. W. Thrush, “Along the Loudon Road,” \textit{Kittochtinny Historical Society Quarterly}, 11 (1935): 317-18, 493; also Orr, “Mountain Road,” \textit{KHSQ} (1908), 16.

\textsuperscript{36} Fort Loudoun, named for John Campbell, Earl of Loudoun, commander in chief of the British armies in North America, governor of Virginia, was completed in December of 1756, or shortly thereafter, replacing Fort McDowell, a mile and a half away. See W. A. Hunter, \textit{Forts on the Pennsylvania Frontier, 1753-1758} (Harrisburg, 1960), 463-65 (hereafter cited as Hunter, \textit{Forts}).

There were three forts of the same name, all at the same time, the others at Winchester, Va., and on the Little Tennessee River, west of the Great Smoky Mountains, built by British regular troops, the companies formerly stationed at Charleston, S. C. See J. C. Fitzpatrick, \textit{The Writings of George Washington}, 39 vols. (Washington, 1931-44), 1: 339n. Winchester fort was built by Washington from his own drawn plans. Also, J. G. M. Ramsey, \textit{The Annals of Tennessee} (Charleston, 1953), 52-54; L. K. Koontz, “The Virginia Frontier, 1745-1753,” \textit{Johns Hopkins University Historical and Political Science Studies}, ser. 43, 2: 93-94.

\textsuperscript{37} The subject of Potts's identity has baffled many historical writers needlessly. The author has used a copy of the Potts map for many years (see references by this author, “Vaughan Journal,” \textit{WPHM}, 44: 59 n3, 69.
campaign. Like many others investigating the relocation of the Forbes Road thirty years ago, this writer discarded the Potts map as nearly worthless as an aid, because of its inaccuracies in both measurements and in directional bearings. In the light of later developments, however, the map may be found to offer many clues to distinctive aspects of the road's location, topographical features, and particularly its resemblance to, or difference from, modern thoroughfares. There are places where the Potts map gives positive evidence of the true route over another possible route. These points of reference will be pointed out at the proper places.

John Potts himself has presented an enigmatical and obscure figure, quite elusive to all who have sought to identify him. The problem has been complicated by the fact that there were at least four men of the same name contemporary or overlapping. It is now certain that he was the same who was licensed an Indian trader in 1744,\(^{38}\) who was at Logstown in 1750, when he was trading on the Allegheny, was commissioned an ensign in Colonel William Clapham's regiment on May 1, 1759,\(^{39}\) and he was one of the captive traders held in the Lower Shawnee Town and released by Bouquet's Ohio expedition in 1764.\(^{40}\)

During this time, John Potts was acquiring land on the frontier of what was then Cumberland County, as witness the assignation signed by Robert Willson on "the 8th Day of Febr'y 1749" conveying to John Potts "a Tract of Land Lying & Situate on the South side of the Creek cald the Eyeest Branch of Caneygoge [Conococheague] .... extending to the aleyganey [Allegheny] path."\(^{41}\)

A tract of 69½ acres near Spring Run in Fannett Township, now in Franklin County, application dated October 28, 1766.\(^{42}\)

A tract of 308 acres on Tuscarora Creek, in Tuscarora Valley, in Lack Township, now Juniata County, and extending over Tuscarora Mountain into Toboyne Township, now Perry County, application dated June 15, 1767.\(^{43}\)

A tract of 60 acres and 79 perches (later 76 acres and 91 perches


\(^{39}\) Ibid., 1: 297. "A List of Officers of the New Levies & the Dates of their Commissions — 1759."


\(^{42}\) Bureau of Land Records, Pennsylvania Dept. of Community Affairs, Harrisburg, Pa., Survey Book C-41: 71.

\(^{43}\) Ibid. Survey Book A-29: 218.
after a lawsuit and verdict by jury) in Path Valley on the Western Branch of Conococheague Creek, on the eastern side of Pa. 75, in Metal Township and a small part in Fannett Township, Franklin County, half a mile north of the village of Willow Hill. It is interesting to note that the Pennsylvania Turnpike traverses diagonally the entire tract today. The warrant for the survey of this tract, dated March 2, 1770, “included his improvement,” the term indicating a house on the land. This was evidently the Potts homestead, as it was the only tract on which he had an “improvement,” and it was resurveyed in 1791 on a warrant to his four sons, to confirm their title under the original proprietary rights. It is probable that John was living there in 1770 when the warrant was issued.44

A family genealogy45 adds some pertinent facts, while confusing some otherwise known facts. Under the chapter heading, “John Potts of Path Valley, Pennsylvania,” the statement appears that he was with Braddock’s army, also that he held a commission in the British army. The family historian has evidently passed on some garbled tradition, the truth being that Potts accompanied the Forbes expedition and later held an ensign’s commission in Colonel William Clapham’s Pennsylvania militia regiment, in 1759 as stated above. After giving Potts’s birth date as 1729, the statement is made that he was a classmate of the prince, later George III (born 1738, nine years junior to Potts and privately taught); 46 also that he was educated to the clergy but, being too young for ordination, entered business in the countinghouse of his wealthy uncle in London. Owing to an accidental occurrence, not involving John’s honesty, that caused a loss to the firm, John brooded over the affair. He came to America and plunged into the Indian trade. (At less than sixteen years of age?) The record shows him registered as a trader in 1744.

Dispelling any doubt as to the personal identity of the man and associating him with all these activities, is a letter, here partially reproduced, which was sent from Dr. William A. Hunter, chief historian of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, for which I am indebted to the courtesy of Mr. W. Niles Anderson of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania.

45 David Potts, Historical Collections Relating to the Potts Family in Great Britain and America (Canonsburg, Pa., 1901), 347-48 (hereafter cited as Potts Family).
"In looking through some newly acquired Amherst Paper microfilm, I note two items that seem to relate to John Potts of the ‘marching journal.’ . . . The first, in PRO 294, WO 34/82, f. 106, is the April 2, 1760, ‘Memorial of John Potts formerly An Indian Trader On the River Ohio, And Guide And Surveyor of the Roade to Ohio Under General Forbes, And Late Ensign in the Pennsylvania Regiment.’ Addressing himself to General Stanwix, Potts says he lost 1,000 pounds by the encroachments of the French in 1750-1754. He wants to purchase an ensigncy in the regular troops and will pay the 1,000 pounds that he expects to recover from the French king at the conclusion of peace.

"Any suspicion that Potts may have been eccentric in his views finds confirmation in a second document, dated May 10, 1760 (ibid., f. 184), in which, in the King’s name, he directs Amherst to send ‘John Potts the Indian Trader an Ensigns Commission.’

"Such eccentricity of course does not impugn the accuracy of the ‘marching journal.’ [Signed] William A. Hunter, Chief Division of History.”

In support of the latter statement, the Historical Collections Relating to the Potts Family in Great Britain and America (on page 347) makes the remark: “. . . shortly after the opening of the Revolutionary War, he became mentally deranged and destroyed his patents, deeds, etc.” He died in 1785.47

The name of John Potts does not appear in any of the papers relating to the Forbes campaign, neither the published correspondence of Bouquet, nor of Forbes himself, nor of Washington. Neither does he appear in any of the lists of the Pennsylvania troops until the 1759 of New Levies (the year following the Forbes campaign). The suggestion is here advanced that, since he only began his map at Fort Loudoun, he may have attached himself to the Pennsylvania troops as a volunteer, as often happened, hence he would have had no official status. It does seem strange that, having had the experience as a trader he claimed, he should not have accompanied any of the parties sent on reconnaissance to explore a new route over the mountains. It is possible that he was not taken seriously and that the eccentricity so evident a year and a half later, as witness his letter above to General Amherst, was the probable cause of the erratic nature of the map of the road. Be that as it may, Potts’s “Marching Journal” is the only contemporary delineation of the march that we have. Colonel Joseph Shippen, later

47 Potts Family, 348.
to be the secretary of Pennsylvania, regarded it as worth taking home with him and preserving. At any rate, Potts started from Fort Loudoun as also Colonel Burd earlier evidently had done to cut his road that pioneered all the others, up Path Valley and over Tuscarora Mountain.  

ORDERLY BOOK

No. 1  1764

Orderly Book
Head Quarters at New York

November 18th 1763

General Orders

Head Quarters at New York Jan 7th 1764

His Majesty has been Graciously pleased, to Signify to the Commander in Chief, His Royal approbation, of the Conduct and Bravery of Colonel Bouquet, and the Officers & Troops under His Command; in the Two Actions of the 5th and 6th of August. In which Notwithstanding the many circumstances, of difficulty, and distress they Laboured under, And the unusual Spirit and resolution of the Indians; They repelled and defeated, the repeated attacks of the Savages; And conducted their Convoy safe to Fort Pitt.

48 The then existing road (that laid out in 1744) passed through Shippensburg to Chambersburg. In 1755, McDowell's mill (present Markes, Franklin County) was stockaded and designated a temporary depot for supplies for Braddock's army. It was "situate upon the new [Burd's] Road about twenty Miles Westward of Shippensburg:" Pa. Col. Recs., 6: 407; printed in Hunter, Forts, 424. A road must have run from Chambers's to McDowell's mill in order for supplies to have reached there. Hence Burd would have only to repair the roads thus far. Road construction began at McDowell's and proceeded up Path Valley. After completion of Fort Loudoun in the spring of 1757 (ibid., 464-65), on Conococheague Creek 1 1/2 miles above McDowell's, near the "new Road," the distance from Shippensburg to Fort Lyttelton was shortened by over two miles (ibid., 465). The Loudon Road (described on p. 292 above), branching westward just beyond Shippensburg, was built soon after the fort, but no contemporary documentation fixing the time is found beyond its designation as the direct road followed by Forbes's army, 1758. Bouquet Papers, 2: 5, 16, 22. This was the road also followed by Bouquet.

49 Gen. Thomas Gage arrived in New York from Montreal on Nov. 16, 1763, and took command of the army from Gen. Amherst the following day. J. R. Alden, General Gage in America (Baton Rouge, La., 1948), 61 (hereafter cited as Alden, Gage). On the second day, Orderly Book No. 1 was opened with the headquarters and date entry, but there were no orders until Jan. 7.

50 The commendation here set forth in the commander in chief's orders for Jan. 7 are printed in Dr. Smith's An Historical Account, in all editions, dated Jan. 5 and signed by Moncreif, Major of Brigade, and also published in England.
A list of all the Officers and men who are to Embark for Europe to be given immediately to Major Wilkins,\textsuperscript{51} who will Command the Said Embarkation

Major Wilkins will give in a Return of the whole to Captain Price Agent of Transports,\textsuperscript{52} And Settle with him, every [not completed].

The Supernumerary Arms and Swords of the 42\textsuperscript{nd} Reg.\textsuperscript{53} to be

\textsuperscript{51} Lieut. Col. John Wilkins, paradoxical figure interesting to Pennsylvanians, entered the British army in 1745, was listed as lieutenant in the 32nd Foot in 1755 and captain as of Oct. 30, 1755, in Lord George Augustus Howe's 55th Regiment in America. See Wilkins to Bouquet, B.M., Add. Mss. 21650, Pt. 1, f. 513 (p. 143); \textit{A List of the Officers of the Army and the Royal Marine Corps, Published by the Secretary at War} (London, 1754-1866), published yearly (hereafter cited as \textit{British Army Lists}). He was wounded at that terrible and bloody British defeat at Ticonderoga, in 1758 (\textit{Pa. Archives}, 5th ser., 1: 240), was appointed major in the 60th Royal American Regiment June 9, 1762, and was reduced to half pay when the 4th Battalion of the 60th was disbanded at the end of 1763. Wilkins to Bouquet, Aug. 2, 1762, B.M., Add. Mss. 21649, Pt. 2, f. 306 (p. 1) and Jan. 28, 1764, 21650, Pt. 1, f. 24 (p. 17). In the summer of 1768, Wilkins marched seven companies to Fort Pitt and, for some weeks, commanded there, continuing on to Fort Chartres on the Mississippi. While at Fort Pitt, he acquired the land later sold to Robert Hanna, called Miers' Spring, where Hanna laid out Hannastown. \textit{Pa. Archives}, 1st ser., 4: 300, 377, 395; Max Savelle, \textit{George Morgan, Colony Builder} (New York, 1932), 53, 55; Charles Hanna, \textit{The Wilderness Trail}, 2 vols. (New York, 1911), 1: 287. Wilkins became involved in commercial and political embroilments in the Mississippi Valley and, late in 1771, left his post and took ship from New Orleans for England. His name disappeared from the 1776 \textit{Army List}. See E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., \textit{Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York} (Albany, 1857), 8: 185n (hereafter cited as \textit{N. Y. Col. Docs.}); Colton Storm, "The Notorious Colonel Wilkins," \textit{Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society}, 40 (Mar. 1947): 2-12.

\textsuperscript{52} In the British navy of the eighteenth century the fleet preparing to sail was placed under the direction of a naval officer, Agent of Transport or Superintendent of Transports. His duties were to receive troops and furnish them quarters and supplies until embarkation, also to assign them to proper transports. See E. E. Curtis, \textit{The Organization of the British Army in the American Revolution} (New Haven, 1926), 122, 125 (hereafter cited as Curtis, \textit{British Army Organization}).

\textsuperscript{53} By Royal Warrant of George II of Aug. 25, 1739, six independent companies that for ten years had been employed in preventing the Scottish Highland clans from plundering each other, were incorporated into a regular battalion. At first numbered the 43rd, until the disbandment of Gen. Oglethorpe's battalion, it was renumbered the 42nd. The somber black, blue, and green tartan of the regiment and its former policing duties prompted the popular designation of the Black Watch. Archibald Forbes, \textit{The Black Watch, the Record of an Historic Regiment} (New York, 1897), 4, 6, 7 (hereafter cited as Forbes, \textit{Black Watch}); Sir John W. Fortescue, \textit{A History of the British Army} (London, 1899-1930), 2: 49 (hereafter cited as Fortescue, \textit{History of the Army}). Having fought valiantly in Flanders, the Black Watch was sent to America in 1756. Designated the Royal Highland Regiment in 1758 (permitted to carry the coveted royal insignia), it suffered the loss of half its numbers at
delivered into his Majesty's Stores for which Receipts will be given.

The 77th Regt. to deliver their Arms and Swords into the Store; taking also proper Receipts.

The Discharged Men who deliver in their Swords, will be allowed Three Shillings Sword money which will be paid them, together with fourteen Days pay when they will receive their Discharges.

Head Quarters New York Jan' 16th 1764

A General Court Martial to be held in the City of Albany on the [date blank] to try all Prisoners that shall be brought before them.

Lieut. Colonel Elliott President

Judge Advocate [blank]

Members [blank]

Jan' 16th... five in the Evening

Such Men of The First Battalion Royal Americans Regiment,

Ticonderoga the same year (Shy, Toward Lexington, 96). Decimated by tropical disease in the sieges of Martinique and Havana, they were sent north "to save the trouble of burying them there" in time for the remnants to march with Bouquet and to fight at Bushy Run in 1763 and again plunge into the wilderness with him in 1764. (See Introduction above.) Through all of the wars of empire, the Napoleonic and Crimean wars, also both of the World Wars, the Black Watch has stood firm and borne the royal crest valiantly.

54 The British Army Lists for 1759 through 1763 carry the page headings for Montgomery's Highlanders as the "77th or First Highland Battalion" (the Dictionary of National Biography is, thus, in error in numbering Montgomery's Battalion the 2nd; which was Frasier's). This unit first saw service in South Carolina with Bouquet, came north to march with Forbes's army against Fort Duquesne, in 1758, campaigned against the Cherokee Indians in 1760-61, and was with the Duke of Albemarle in the West Indian campaigns in 1761-62, and the remnants returned to fight with Bouquet at Bushy Run in 1763. After that ordeal, the few effectives were transferred into the 42nd, and the rest were disbanded, as the orderly book describes, early in 1764. Archibald Montgomery (Montgomerie), Lieutenant Colonel Commandant, became the Earl of Eglinton and a full general. See Cokayne, The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland and Great Britain, Vicary Gibbs, ed. (London, 1910), 5: 24.

55 At this very time (1764) there was great friction between the populace of Albany and the army. Impressment of horses, oxen, wagons, hay, food, and supplies, also of drivers, as well as unlawful plundering of farms, during the many military expeditions to the Mohawk Valley or up Lake Champlain had greatly incensed the public. Quartering troops in private homes was a frequent unwelcome occurrence. Shy, Toward Lexington, 166-69.

56 Robert Elliott had been commissioned ensign in the 43rd Regiment in 1746, major in 1757, and lieutenant colonel in the 55th in 1761. He disappeared from the Army Lists after 1765.

57 The formation of the Royal American Regiment has been detailed in an article by this author ("Prevosts," WPHM, 56: 7, 13). Dr. S. M. Pargellis,
whose right to their Discharges, is Clear, are to be Discharged here, and their Balances paid them: The Accounts of the rest to be made up and their Balances paid them at Philadelphia where Captain Barnsley\(^58\) will Settle the Accounts of everything due to them. They are to Embark tomorrow for Amboy at Seven o'Clock

Head Quarters New York Jan\(^{v} 23\text{rd}\) 1764. ———

The 77\(^{th}\) Regiment and the Discharged Men of the 42\(^{nd}\) with all the Men of the other Corps; who are to go home with the Transports; to Embark on Wednesday Next; Except such Non Commissioned Officers and Private Men who chuse to remain in America, These will receive their Discharges here ———

Head Quarters, Feb\(^{v} 22\text{nd}\) 1764. ———

Serjeant Willis to deliver to Lieutenant Colonel Prevost,\(^59\) or the

\(\text{Lord Loudoun in North America}\) (New Haven, 1933), 61-66 (hereafter cited as Pargellis, \textit{Lord Loudoun}) has recounted how appointments of officers proceeded from Dec. 25, 1755, even though the bill for commissioning foreign Protestants did not get through Parliament till the end of February and only received royal consent Mar. 9. A completely new training system was instituted to combat the Indians' warfare of "bush fighting." Composed of four battalions (reduced to two in 1763), the Royal Americans fought all over British North America, from Louisburg in the north, to Jamaica in the south, from the Atlantic seaboard to the Mississippi River. The Swiss officers, Henry Bouquet particularly, also Frederick Haldimand and Augustine Prevost, have been extolled by the regiment's own officer chroniclers as brilliant commanders. In 1830, the regiment was renamed the King's Royal Rifle Corps and bears that designation today. Through both World Wars this corps was in the thick of the fighting in France and Flanders. At Dunkirk they were the mainstay of the rear guard action that saved the whole British army. Butler, \textit{Royal Rifle Corps}, vols. 1 and 2, presents the official history of the regiment. A booklet by Richard W. Hale, Jr., \textit{The Royal Americans} (Ann Arbor, 1944), 22-27, gives a résumé of the regiment's service since William IV changed its designation.

\(\text{58 Thomas Barnsley was one of the rare and remarkable men who rose from the ranks in the British army. He had been sergeant major of the 30th Regiment, commissioned ensign Dec. 26, 1755, appointed adjutant Aug. 16, and promoted lieutenant Dec. 2, 1756. British Army List (1757); Butler, Royal Rifle Corps, 1: 21; S. M. Pargellis, Military Affairs in North America, 1748-1765 (New York and London, 1936), 283, 286 (hereafter cited as Pargellis, \textit{Military Affairs}). He was wounded at Ticonderoga, July 8, 1758. Pa. Archives, 5th ser., 1: 240. He was promoted captain May 30, 1759, and, by September of 1764, was deputy quartermaster general and in command at Fort Loudoun, in Pennsylvania, on the Forbes Road. British Army List (1760); B.M., Add. Mss. 21650, Pt. 2, f. 532 (p. 157). He does not appear on the 1768 Army List nor on the half-pay lists.}\)

\(\text{59 This was Lieut. Col. Augustine Prevost, commission dated Mar. 20, 1761. He entered the British service as major, Jan. 9, 1756, one of three Prevost brothers who came from the Netherlands service, ally of Britain, at the}\)
Officer he Orders to receive it, the Cloathing now in Store, and due to the Third Battalion 60 of Royal Americans for the Year 1763 ————

The Third Battalion to prepare Muster Rolls from the time they were last Mustered, to the 24th of April 1763. The Periods as follows Viz.: From 25th of October 1761 — to the 24th of April 1762, inclusive. From 25th April 1762. to 24th October following, And from the 25th October 1762. to 24th April 1763 ——— as above ————

The Officers and Men of the Third Battalion lately arrived in the Transport Venus and that are now here, will be Mustered at the Barracks, to morrow Morning at Ten ————

Head Quarters New York March 30th 1764 ————

His Majesty has been pleased to direct, that the Monthly Returns of the Troops, The Commanding Officers of Corps, shall for the future, cause the Dates from which Absent Officers have been permitted to leave their Duty; the length of their Several leaves, and by whom granted to be particularly Specified ————

New York Head Quarters, April 1st. 1764 ———
The Commander in Chief has thought proper to Send the Troops from Albany Westward, Under the immediate Command of Colonel Bradstreet. 61

formation of the Royal American Regiment. See note 57 above; also please refer to "The Prevosts of the Royal Americans," by this author, WPHM, 56 (1973): 1-38; also Butler, Royal Rifle Corps, 1: 323-26, quoting His Majesty's appointments printed in London Gazette, Mar. 16-20, 1756. Prevost had been badly wounded in the head while with Wolfe's army near Quebec, in 1758, underwent a trepanning operation, and led his 3rd Battalion in the sieges of Martinique and Havana, in 1761. The battalion had suffered terrible casualties, had just arrived in transports, and was about to embark for England to be disbanded. Augustine Prevost came back to succeed Bouquet, after that officer's death, as commander of the 1st Battalion and, during the American Revolution, rose to the rank of major general commanding in South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida, being succeeded by Lord Cornwallis. His two brothers rose in the army, one to lieutenant general, the other, to be noted later, dying a lieutenant colonel. His son, Lieutenant Augustine, also entered the Royal Americans, accompanied Bouquet's 1764 expedition, and will be noted as the orderly book mentions him.

60 The 3rd Battalion of the Royal Americans had suffered greatly and fought gallantly in such actions as the siege of Fort William Henry in 1757, at Louisburg in 1758, the siege of Quebec in 1759, and more recently at the sieges of Martinique and Havana and the storming of Morro Castle, in the West Indies. After a period of occupancy of fever-ridden Florida, they were now en route to England to be disbanded. "Memoir of Major Patrick Murray," printed in Butler, Royal Rifle Corps, 1: 293-94.

61 Ambitious, brilliant at times, but controversial always, was John Bradstreet. He purchased a commission in the 40th Regiment in 1735, was held
And all the Troops, Stationed in that district are to obey all Orders which they shall receive from Colonel Bradstreet ———

Head Quarters at New York April 4th, 1764 ———

General Orders ———

A List of the Officers of each Regiment, with the Dates of their present Commissions, and Rank in the Army; to be sent to the Commander in Chief, Also of their Half pay Officers, with a List of the Officers who chuse to purchase, and of the Half Pay Officers who choose to Pay the difference for an exchange from Half Pay to full Pay, to be sent at the same time62 ———

The General has fixed the Prices of Commissions as follows.

Viz'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Purchases of</th>
<th>Amount</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Company</td>
<td>£1400</td>
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<tr>
<td>Captain Lieutenancies</td>
<td>800</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lieutenancies</td>
<td>500</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ensigncies</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exchanges from Half Pay to Full Pay</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For Company</td>
<td>£700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Captain Lieutenancies</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lieutenancies</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ensigncies</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

62 Commissions in the British army during the 18th and 19th centuries (until 1871) were obtained by purchase. The schedule of prices here set forth in the orderly book are for marching regiments of foot. The purchase system did not prevail in the artillery and engineer corps or the Royal navy. In the Guards regiments, where lieutenants ranked with captains in the line regiments and captains with lieutenant colonels, a captaincy cost £2700. Commissions were sold, and exchanges were arranged between officers on the active and inactive lists for money considerations. New schedules were promulgated periodically with increased prices — 1757, 1764 (here published), 1766, 1775, etc. Abuses of the system and rules, also injustices, occurred. "An extraordinary amount of energy within the officer corps was spent in trying to climb the military ladder ... ." Shy, Toward Lexington, 367-71; Pargellis, Lord Loudoun, 306-13; Curtis, British Army Organization, 25-28, 150-51; Allen French, The First Year of the American Revolution (Boston, 1934), 98-100; Sir George Trevelyan, The American Revolution (London, 1915), 2: 92-99.
General Orders  Head Quarters  June 14th 1764

The Commanding Officer of each Regiment will fix on a Subaltern of His Corps (of those now in Britain) to be employed in the Recruiting Service. To whom the Necessary Orders for compleating each Regiment to the Establishment are to be sent, A Serjeant, Corporal and Drum are likewise to be sent from every Regiment as soon as possible to assist the Subalterns employed on this Duty. Advice to be given to the Agents of the Several Corps of his Order; That the Subalterns may be immediately found; and everything prepared against the arrival of the Non Commissioned Officers and Drums who are to be directed to the Agents for further Orders on their Arrival in London

The Serjeants, Corporals and Drums of the 15th, 27th, 28th, 44th, and Second Battalion of Royal Americans are to assemble at Quebec, and Embark from thence for England. Those of the First Battalion of Royal Americans Regiment will Embark at New York

[Several blank pages]

Governor Penn’s Orders to the 1st & 2nd Battalions of the Pennsylvania Regiment

Carlisle Aug 5th 1764

The unprovoked & repeated Insults & Barbarities of the Savages on the Inhabitants of this Province having obliged the Government to raise an armed force, & fit out an Expedition at great Expence, as well for the Protection of His Majesty’s Subjects, as to deter, by a

63 Each regiment had a regimental agent in London with power of attorney to transact regimental business and financial affairs. Purchases of clothing and equipment passed through his hands. The agent drew the funds for the troops' pay from the paymaster general, transmitted it to the regimental paymaster, who passed it to the captains, who paid the men. Curtis, *British Army Organization*, 37. Each received his fee; the agent apparently five per cent. B.M., Add. Mss. 21650, Pt. I, f. 209 (p. 144). John Calcraft made a business of acting as agent for more than half the regiments in the army, thereby amassing one of the largest fortunes in England. Shy, *Toward Lexington*, 71-2; *DNB*, s.v. “Calcraft, John.” He acted for the 60th Regiment from its organization through 1765. See British *Army Lists* for those years, where the agent’s name and address appears at the end of the regimental roll of officers.

64 John Penn was a grandson of William Penn, the founder of Pennsylvania, lieutenant governor, colonel in chief of the 1st and 2nd battalions of the Pennsylvania Regiment. The full text of his general orders addressing the troops is set forth in the orderly book. It was excerpted and paraphrased in Dr. Smith’s *An Historical Account* and in many histories that have followed that text. (Smith, London edition, 3-4; Parkman's edition [1868], 33-34.)
Severe Chastisement, that Treachourous Enemy from any future Hostilities. The Governor from the known Loyalty & Courage of the Inhabitants of this Province, has the greatest Reason to expect that the Behavior of the Troops will fully answer the Purpose for which they were raised, & that they will never lose Sight of the Numberless Cruelties & Murders, committed by the Barbarians on their Relations Friends & Countrymen, whose Innocent Blood calls loudly for Revenge. If notwithstanding such powerful Incentives any men should so far forget their duty to their King and Country and ye Solemn Oath they have taken at the time of their Enlistment, as to Desert the Service, they may Expect to be Prosecuted with the Utmost Severity by the Civil Power and that they will find no Protection neither in this Government, nor in any other Part of His Majesty's Dominions. ———– And all the Magistrates in this Province will be particularly directed to have all Deserters apprehended, as well as all Persons who may, either directly or indirectly have been Instrumental in inciting harbouring, or in any manner assisting them to Desert, that they may also be prosecuted with the Utmost Severity of the Law.

But the Governor Hopes that there are few or no such Men among the Troops, and that they will be Consious that they cannot fail of Success while they remain united and joined with the same Regular Troops and under the Same Leader, which alone last year, on this very day, sustained the repeated Attacks of the Savages and obtained a Complete Victory over them.65

[Signed] John Penn

Orders
and Dispositions for the
Forces Serving in the
Southern Department66
on an Expedition
against the Savages, in 1764. ———–

65 Bouquet's victorious battle at Bushy Run was fought Aug. 5 and 6, 1763.
66 Although it usually has been said that the northern and southern districts, or departments, were created after the end of the Indian uprising (Shy, Toward Lexington, 183), the orderly book here demonstrates that such a division had been established before the summer of 1764. In a letter to Gov. Sharp of Maryland, Apr. 10, 1764, Bouquet wrote: "General Gage having been pleased to appoint me to the Command of His Majesty's Troops from Philad* southward . . . ." B.M., Add. Mss. 21650, Pt. 1, f. 123 (p. 85). Earlier evidence is a warrant dated July 19, 1763, signed by Bouquet as "Commanding his Majesty's Troops in the Southern Depart-

The following dispositions for Encamping, Marching, forming and attacking the Savages, are calculated for a Body of 900 Regular Troops & 400 Light Infantry

Camp
The camp forms a Parallelogram 300 yards by 200. The Regular Troops Encamp on the four fronts and cover 1000 Yards of Ground which gives four feet to each man. The L.t. Infantry forms Parallel lines at 50 Yards in their rear and have 600 Yards Circuit on 1½ Yds. to each man. The Baggage Encamps in the rear of the Light Infantry. The Reserve compos'd of 100 Regulars encamp in the Center & furnish a Guard of One Subaltern, One Serj. 2 Corpl. & 30 Men upon the Baggage and for the Centries within the Camp.

The Rest of the Army gives One Field Officer of the day & four Captains, 12 Subalterns, 12 serjeants, 12 Corpl. & 300 Men for the Guards which are advanced 150 Yards from each front. Each Guard to consist of 1 Sub: 1 Serj. 1 Corpl. & 25 Men, one of which is to Act as Lance Corpl. each keeping 4 double Centries, one on their Left One before the Guard & 2 on their Right, The Circumference of the advanced Guards being 1880 Yards. Four of them will be at 150 Yards distance Eight at 160 Yards, Therefore the Centries will be at 38 & 40 Yards from each other, The Guards will immediately open the Communication between them which Path will serve for the Rounds, the Centries are to be advanced behind Trees a few Yards on the Outside. Each Guard is to make a Wattle Work agreeable to the following Directions & Dimensions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gorge</th>
<th>20 Feet</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Perpendicular</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flanks Parallel to d°.</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faces</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Height of the Parapet</td>
<td>5 feet</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Earth to fill the Wattle Work to be dugg from the Center of the Redoubts in which hole the Fires are to be made. The Pickets to be Six feet long two Inches thick 14 Inches to be drove in the Ground The distance between each Picket in the same Row to be 18 Inches and between the two for the thickness of the Parapet 9 Inches.

67 By scaling Bouquet's (or the engineer's) plan, which evidently is not completely accurate by his own scale (the perimeter being more than 1880 yards around the advance guard posts), we can determine that at least 52 to 54 acres were necessary within the guard posts. Of course, topography would dictate that the camp site could not always take an ideally rectangular form.
If Earth enough is not to be had within for the Parapet to dig for it without ——— A Banquet\(^68\) four feet wide to be left within & the Earth in the Parapet to be well Rammed. The Captains on Guard to take the Center post of each Front & Commands the Guards on their Right & That on their left. They will each make One Round & their Subalterns another which will be eight, The Field Officer of the day to make the Grand Round\(^69\) & Commands all the Guards. ——— The Centrys are not to Walk but to look different Ways in perfect Silence. If they discover any Enemy, One of them is to go directly to inform the Officer of the Guard. The Fires for the Camp to be at least 50 Yards in the Front and none in the Center, And in case of an Attack to be Scattered and put out — 36 Rounds \(p^n\) Man [i.e., cartridges per man].

References
A  Regulars
B  Light Infantry
C  Reserve
D  Advanced Guards
E  Captains Guards
F  Subalterns Guards
G  Communication
H  Baggage

\(^68\) A banquette was a step, or platform, on the inside of a parapet upon which the defenders of a fortification stood to fire over the parapet or through loopholes.

\(^69\) This very interesting and essential duty is detailed in the early manuals. Baron von Steuben's *Regulations for the Order and Discipline of the Troops of the United States* (Philadelphia, 1779), chap. 12, presents the steps in "Going and Receiving the Grand Rounds." Lengthy instructions include orders that the general and field officers of the day should visit the guards at random hours of the day and night to examine the guard and their arms, to see that the guards are properly placed and know their duty. Major Enion Williams, in his diary of 1775 (*Pa. Archives, 2nd ser.*, 15: 18-9) gives a picture of the rounds conducted at Cambridge: "The sentry . . . hollows out 'who goes there.' Sergeant answers 'Rounds.' 'What rounds?' 'The grand rounds.' 'Sergeant Advance and give the counter-sign.' He advanced and whispers it. The sentry then calls to the Sergeant of the Guard. The Guard turn out under arms . . ."
Order of March
The Army is to March in the same Order as the Corps are Encamped. The Regulars on the Right Flank face to the Left, The Light Infantry the same at 50 Yds on their left, The Right & Left of the Regulars in the Front face to the Center, The two Center Men stand fast, Upon the word March they March forward follow'd by a man from the Right & another from the left till the front is form'd in One Column & two deep, The Regulars on the rear face to the Center, The two Center men to the right about, & when the Army begins to march these two Center Men move On, & are follow'd two & two from Right to Left by the rest of That Corps, The Reserve March to the Center two deep, The Baggage March between the Light Infantry & the Regulars of the Center, The Advanced, Rear & Flank Guards for the day are to be posted before the Army begins to March, & when all is ready, Orders will be sent to the old Guard to Joyn their respective Corps, Every man is to keep the distance of One Yard from another on the March & on the word halt face Outwards; When the square is to be formed the Regulars in the Center halt, the two men in the Center stand fast, the two following run to their right & left and are follow'd by the rest facing outwards in the same way ***** In the Rear the whole goes to the right about, The Center men stand fast & the rest form on their right and left as before

Defile
In case of a Defile the whole is to halt untill the Ground is reconoitred when the Light Infantry will be ordered to take possession of the high Grounds of the Defile, Then the Regulars of the Center March & form on the other side

Then the Right Wing
Afterwards the Baggage
Then the Left Wing
And the Rear

The whole to form again as soon as the Ground will permit ————
Disposition to receive the Enemy

The Parallelogram is to be formed the Troops facing Outwards, The advanced and rear Guards divide them selves into two bodys & take post to the right & left of the road, so as to Flank the Sides. The Flankers on the right & left form a Rank intyre before the Front, covering themselves by trees, and are by their fire to keep off the Enemy as long as possible in order to give time to make the Necessary disposition and to Observe the motions of the Enemy. The Light Inftr. face to the Right & left & forms a Second Line. When the fireing begins the men to be ordered to fall on their knees to be less exposed.
For the Attack
The Regulars stand fast, The Light Infantry who had marched in the Front faces to the right & left towards the rear, and when the signal for the Attack is given, They are to march briskly to the Front & rear, out of the square thorow [through] the interval of the Regulars. The advanced & rear Guards are to close the Interval of the two files of each Corps of Light Infantry & together run up to the Enemy, and as soon as they have broken thorow [through] them, they are to attack them in the Flank by faceing to the right & left from their Center, divide into two bodys in Front & rear & keeping the advanced & rear Guards on their Flanks, charge the enemy with Impetuosity, The Light Horse are to follow them & divided into four Troops, must wheel on their Flanks & rush in with their Battle axes on the skirts
of the Enemy, pursuing them with their doggs\textsuperscript{70} until they are totally dispersed

As soon as the first Attack of the Light Infantry has succeeded, the Regulars are to march on with Celerity, tho without running & keeping their Rank about 200 Yards straight before their Fronts to support the Attack of the Light Infantry, & being come up with the Flankers in their Front they are to pass them & fire briskly upon the Enemy ——— driving them out of sight. The Regular Troops are then to halt & form when the half of each Front is to go to the right about and march back 50 Yd\textsuperscript{s}, then face & stand fast untill the other half have retreatd 50 Yd\textsuperscript{s} behind them and so on untill they come back to their former Ground where they are to stand. The Reserve remain with the Baggage; When the Light Troops have ended the pursuit, they are to form & retire to the Camp, leaving small parties in the rear and flanks for Intelligence & Joyn the Army

References

A  Regulars
B  Light Infantry
C  Reserve
D  Baggage
E  Advanced Guards
F  Rear Guards
Rifle Men

\textsuperscript{70} The idea of using dogs to track down and attack savages in the woods has been generally attributed to Bouquet, possibly because it is found in the appendix to Dr. Smith's book, first published in 1765. Among the papers of the Duke of Cumberland, however, Dr. Pargellis found (Military Affairs, 338) a document entitled "Memoir sur la Guerre d' Amerique," indorsed by Cumberland as having been received from Col. James Prevost in May of 1757: "This troop ought to be practiced in shooting at mark . . . to be provided with a number of dogs trained to hunt savages." The orderly book here offers proof that Bouquet actually put into practice the use of hunting dogs combined with cavalry action.
Regulations for the Southern Department.

For Expresses

1st The Officer Who sends an Express, to give an order certifying the place the Express goes from, where he goes, & the price agreed for.

2d The Officer who receives the Packet, is to Certify that the Service has been performed; & upon both Certificates, the Commanding Officer: will order payment.

Allowance for Officers Baggage

Each Co. [company] One Waggon
For the staff, one Waggon
For the Command. Off., one Waggon
The Waggons to be paid by the Officers who employ them, who will be paid by the Qm. M'. Gen' on producing the Waggoners receipts.

The Rates are as follows; Viz:

When by the day going with Loads, Fifteen Sh. [shillings] p' day.
And the same to return empty, at the rate of 30 miles p' day.

When by the Hundred ———

From Philadelphia to Lancaster 3/6 [3 shillings sixpence]
From thence to Carlisle
From thence to Loudoun 3/6

In Campaign ———

To a Capt ——— One Horse
2 Subs: ——— One Horse
A Field Off'. One additional Horse

Works & Repairs.

No Publick Works or repairs of Forts to be carried on without the Authority of the Command'. Officer of the Department: ———

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Carlisle August 5th 1764
General Orders
Parole Pennsylvania

The Commander in Chief in North America, having been pleased to put all Troops in the Southern Department under the Immediate
Command of Colonel Bouquet; He assumes this day in Consequence thereof, the Command of the Pennsylvania Troops: who will for the future receive all their Orders from him

The following Officers are appointed for the Staff on this Department Viz. 71

Cap. Thomas Barnsley   D: Qr. Mr. Gen.
[Deputy Quartermaster General]

Cap. Lewis Ourry       Assistants to yor. D: Q. M. G
Lieu. Wm. Brown       Major of Brigade
Cap. John Small        Chief Engineer
Cap. John Williams     Surgeon and Director of the Hospital.
Mr. Jonathan Mallet    Surgeon and Director of the Hospital.
Messrs. John Field     Mates
James Edwards

Cap. Gilbert Lister    Waggon Master General
James Reid     Commissary w. 5 deputies &
Six Assis. to act w. the Troops & at the
Diff. Posts on yor. Communication —
Alex. Lourie Cap. of yor. Guides

71 This orderly book clarifies long-standing relationships between some persons and the army as well as the identity of a few interesting officers.

(a) Capt. Thomas Barnsley has been noticed in note 58.

(b) Lewis Ourry, formerly a marine officer, came to America with Bouquet and Haldimand and struck up a close personal friendship with Bouquet. Of a French Huguenot family that had settled in England, his father, an officer in the British army, and three of his brothers, ship captains in the Royal navy, one an admiral, the Ourrys had good connections in British service circles. See Donald Cornu, "Captain Lewis Ourry, Royal American Regiment of Foot," Pennsylvania History, 19 (July 1952): 249-61. Commissioned lieutenant in the 60th Regiment Jan. 14, 1756, he became a captain as of Dec. 12, 1760. (1763 British Army Lists.) He served as assistant deputy quartermaster general with Forbes's army in 1758 and commanded Fort Bedford from Dec. 25, 1763, to Apr. 13, 1764. He especially requested to serve with Bouquet on the Ohio expedition, in which service the orderly book mentions him on many occasions. See Stevens, Kent, Leonard, eds., The Papers of Henry Bouquet (Harrisburg, 1951), 2: 10, 15 (hereafter cited as Bouquet Papers); B.M., Add. Mss. 21651, f. 107 (p. 88). Ourry's letters reveal a man of education and incisive humor expressed in picturesque language. A classic of diplomacy and condolences is his letter to Bouquet informing him of the whirlwind marriage of the object of Bouquet's dreams and affection, Miss Anne Willing, of Philadelphia.

(c) William Brown lived in America several years before being commissioned in the Royal American Regiment, recommended by Lord Eaton, ensign, Jan. 13, 1756. See Pargellis, Military Affairs, 285,
Loudoun's marginal note. Promoted lieutenant, Oct. 31, 1759 (British Army Lists, 1761), he served under Capt. Barnsley (note 58) as assistant deputy quartermaster general and performed important missions for Bouquet to obtain Virginia's troops and support, bearing considerable sums of money. B.M., Add. Mss. 21650, Pt. 1, f. 169 (p. 118); ibid., f. 489 (p. 127).

(d) John Small was appointed to a lieutenantcy in the 42nd Royal Highlanders in 1756, fought at the British defeat at Ticonderoga in 1758 and its capture the next year, also at Montreal in 1760. When the regiment was reduced at the end of 1763, he chose to remain in America with Bouquet. B.M., Add. Mss. 21650, Pt. 1, f. 40 (p. 39-41). He had been promoted to captain in the 42nd as of Aug. 2, 1762.

By the orders here, he was appointed brigade major. According to E. S. N. Campbell, A Dictionary of the Military Science (London, 1830), 29, "An officer appointed to assist the General commanding a brigade in all his duties. No officer under the Rank of Captain is eligible to hold this situation. (Ibid., 135) . . . Major of Brigade is the channel through which all orders are received and communicated to the troops. He is considered as an Officer attached to the Brigade, not personally to the Officer commanding it. He inspects all guards, Outposts, and Picquets furnished by the Brigade . . . "

In April of 1765, Small was promoted captain of the 21st Royal North British Fusiliers. In 1775, he raised a battalion of former Highlanders in Nova Scotia, the 84th Royal Highland Emigrants, of which he was major commandant. N. Y. Col. Docs., 8: 588; Forbes, The Black Watch, 88; British Army Lists, 1757 through 1778; also, at length, in Horatio Rogers, ed., Lieut. James Hadden's Journal (Albany, 1884), 349. He is supposed to be the officer depicted in John Trumbull's painting of the Battle of Bunker Hill, fending off the bayonet thrust about to be given the fallen Dr. Warren. Alexander Graydon's Memoirs of His Own Time (Philadelphia, 1846), 75. He became a major general as of Nov. 18, 1790, and lieutenant governor of Guernsey. He died in 1796. British Army Lists, 1797.

(e) The military record of John Williams reveals much concerning the structure of the army's auxiliary corps, as the engineer corps. Only in 1757 were the engineers given army rank; prior to that Williams was listed from 1755 on the List of Engineers in Great Britain. The titles are indicative; Williams's ratings follow:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1758</td>
<td>SubEngineer</td>
<td>As lieutenant 4 Jan., 1758</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1759</td>
<td>Engineer Extra-Ordinary</td>
<td>As captain-lieut 17 Mar., 1759</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1768</td>
<td>Engineer in Ordinary</td>
<td>As captain 14 Aug., 1766</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1775</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

He was first given rank in the 60th Regiment, with army seniority dating back to Mar. 1, 1756; but on Mar. 8, 1757, he transferred to the 22nd Regiment, which meant that he had moved far up in the numerical precedence so sought after. See British Army Lists, 1755-75; Pargellis, Military Affairs, 362. In the battle before Fort Niagara, in 1759, he "had an eye shot out." The Journals of Col. James Montrossor, The Collections of the New York Historical Society (1881), 84, 85 (hereafter cited as N. Y. Hist. Soc. Colls.). He was long recuperating in the South. During Bouquet's march to Pittsburgh, he performed invaluable service, for which Bouquet highly commended him in both orders and dispatches. On the march from Pittsburgh to the Muskingum, Williams suffered greatly in health, so that the bulk of the work was performed by Thomas Hutchins, and Williams was forced to return early to the east by very slow stages. B.M., Add. Mss. 21651, f. 60 (p. 58). He twice received leave to go to England to recuperate, but he disappeared from the British Army Lists after 1775. Bouquet's high praise is in his report to the Pennsylvania Provincial Council. Pa. Col. Recs., 9: 214.
(f) Dr. Jonathan Mallet, surgeon, was attached to the 46th Regiment, commission dated Aug. 31, 1757. This regiment, being on the left wing of the attack and defeat of the British army at Ticonderoga, July 8, 1758, suffered terrible casualties. See Col. William Eyre's report in Pargellis, *Military Affairs*, 420. After that it was in Cuba, where it again suffered battle casualties and disease, and was sent north to Fort Niagara. Shy, *Toward Lexington*, 115-16. After the Bouquet campaign, Mallet seems to have retired, but could not receive half pay. His statement of his situation, in 1775, aided Lord Barrington’s argument for “superannuation” of surgeons and resulted in a change of policy. Allen French, *The First Year of the American Revolution* (Boston, 1934), 98, n. 25. The 1776 Army List registers Dr. Mallet as Purveyor, under the heading of “Officers of the Hospital of the Forces in North America.”

(g) A note, Mallet to Bouquet, Philadelphia, Apr. 2, 1764, B.M., Add. Mss. 21560, Pt. 1, f. 118 (p. 78), states: “I arrived here last night, with two Mates of his Majesties Hospital & have orders from Genl. Gage to put myself under your command . . . .” Bouquet’s Marching Orders of Nov. 29, 1764 — the day after arrival back at Pittsburgh from the Muskingum — B.M., Add. Mss. 21653, f. 327B (p. 328-29) — ordering that the unnamed persons go to Fort Ligonier where Capt. Timothy Green is to send them and their baggage to Fort Loudoun. Although the name to whom it was addressed is left blank, Bouquet wrote “James Edward, John Field, and Gilbert Leister” in the margin of the order. Dr. Lister was the surgeon who had attended the wounded after the battle of Bushy Run. Mary C. Darlington, ed., “Capt. Ecuyer’s Orderly Book,” *Fort Pitt and Letters from the Frontier* (Pittsburgh, 1892), 171.

(h) It is more important to learn a few facts concerning the business of the “Waggon Master General” (officially spelled and written in that manner at that time) than the identity of Capt. Kennedy Farrell. All of the correspondence refers to him simply by the office, never by name. This 1764 orderly book establishes that Curtis (British Army Organization, 135) erred in the statement that, in July of 1782, Maj. Robert Molleson was “the first officer of the kind to be appointed.” His duties varied widely, from assisting the commissary general in transport service to having charge of horses and drivers obtained by contract. (Curtis, *British Army Organization*, 135.) The important point for consideration is that here is concrete evidence that wagons were used to transport provisions and supplies as far as Fort Ligonier. See Capt. John Williams to Bouquet, Monday Morning (Aug. 21, 1764): “Sideling Hill . . . . with eight horses to each Waggon, but eer we left it, many Waggons came up it . . . . with only Four.” Order for marching from Fort Ligonier, Sept. 15: sixteen brigades of pack horses, 72 each, one brigade for powder, equals 1224 horses. See Barnsley to Bouquet, Sept. 24, 1764, B.M., Add. Mss. 21650, Pt. 2, f. 517 (p. 148): “I spoke to him [Capt. Callender] about the Waggons going by the Hundred . . . . offered for 55 Shillings . . . . I think it would be Dearer than to have it Carried by Horses have declined it . . . .”

(i) There is abundant proof that the writer of the order erred in writing “James Reid.” The deputy commissary was John Read (written Reed, Reid, Read indiscriminately in correspondence). He was the commissary that supplied the train marching to Fort Pitt and the Bushy Run battle. See B.M., Add. Mss. 21649, Pt. 2, f. 354 (p. 59); ibid., 21645, f. 38 (p. 26-7), signed “John Read Dy. Commissry”; again (p. 64), “Mr. John Read Dy. Commissr. of Stores and Provisions . . . .” Most pertinent is the direct order from Bouquet to Capt. David Hay, when the army marched westward from Fort Pitt, Sept. 28: “You will take Command of this Fort and Ligonier . . . . Mr. Read D. Commissary of Stores and Provisions will give you Returns of all the Provisions and stores at this Post . . . .”

(j) Alexander Lowrey (1723-1805), spelled in the orderly book, Lourie, received both Lowery and Lowrey from his own grandson. (See
The First & Second Battalions of Pennsylvania Troops, to Parade at Six this Evening in the Front of their Encampment. No Officer or Soldier to be absent on any pretence whatsoever; except these [sic] on Duty, and such as are Sick: The latter to be examined, & reported by the Regimental Surgeons: unable to appear under Arms. Each Battalion will form a separate Circle in three Ranks: The Articles of War and the Governor’s Orders will then be read to them. ——

The Two Battalions, will each give tomorrow morning: to the Major of Brigade: Returns of their present States, In which they are to account for the Number of Men who were Effective at the last muster: taken by Cap‘t. Young.72 Viz‘ the 23 July, for the

biographical sketch by Samuel Evans in Alexander Harris, *A Biographical History of Lancaster County* (Lancaster, 1872), 375-81; also same author, “Taken at Gist’s,” *Magazine of Western History*, 12 (1890): 480-87. He himself signed his name Lowrey to the receipt for £60 for his services as chief guide to Bouquet’s 1764 expedition. Voucher in the Gage Papers in the William L. Clements Library. His father, Lazarus Lowrey, had settled in Donegal Township, Lancaster County, and he and four sons had become Indian traders, Alexander being the youngest. Having a reputation as a swift runner, he was frequently employed by the provincial government as an emissary to distant Indian towns. Through the trade, Lowrey became very wealthy and owned great landed estates. He was among the greatest losers by Indian confiscations in Pontiac’s war, in 1763. (Charles Hanna, *The Wilderness Trail* (New York, 1911), 1: 177-78; 277-78.) He was one of Bouquet’s guides in the Forbes campaign, 1758. (Henry Bouquet Papers, 2: 261-62.) He traded clear to the Mississippi and had a thorough knowledge of all that country west of the mountains and south of the Great Lakes, so that he was acknowledged by Lewis Evans as one of the chief sources of information for his famous General Map of the Middle British Colonies (1755), and for his *Analysis* of the same, Lawrence H. Gipson, ed. (Philadelphia, 1939), 57, 154.

In the Revolution, Lowrey became a militia colonel and led a regiment in the battle of Brandywine. He was a member of the state constitutional convention and a state senator. At nearly sixty-two years of age, he was one of two emissaries appointed to travel through the Ohio and Illinois country to bring Indian representatives to the Treaty of Fort McIntosh, in 1785. He died in 1805. Both of the articles cited above are the sources of information in this sketch of this great American.

(k) John Nugent is unidentified upon any roll of officers in Pennsylvania or of the regular regiments; also no rank is given him in the orderly book. A sergeant would have been a likely man for this appointment. The provost martial and his assistants were then, as now, the military police of the army. Their duties were to place under arrest all violators of the general orders or of the articles of war, to pursue deserters, detect thefts, to confine all prisoners in a secure place under guard, and to produce them to the proper authorities for trial, punishment, or execution. See Pargelli’s, *Lord Loudoun*, 331.

72 James Young signed himself “Commissy Genl of ye Musters” at the end of his journal, in 1756, of his round of inspection of the line of eastern Pennsylvania forts east of the Susquehanna. *Pa. Archives*, 1st ser., 2: 681. In May of 1758, he was commissary of musters and paymaster at Fort
first Battalion; and the 30th D°. for the Second ——— agreeable to
the following Returns signed by the Said Commissary of Musters. ———

[To be continued]

Augusta, at the forks of the Susquehanna (Sunbury). Ibid., 5th series.,
132, 177. Bouquet Papers, 2: 13, 18, 527. Young was also with the expedi-
tion into Ohio in 1764 as paymaster of the Pennsylvania Regiment, and
Bouquet thought very highly of him, as witness: (Aug. 22, 1764) “... I
do not know a Person so active and exact in Transacting Business, and
upon whose Judgement I would more rely in the choice of men for the
service.” B.M., Add. Mss. 21650, Pt. 2, f. 421 (p. 84). Young was a mem-
er of the provincial assembly, in 1758. W. R. Riddell, “Libel on the As-
sembly,” Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, 52 (1928):
261. A curious little item is an invitation to James Young’s funeral in