

*“Make use of Pack-Horses as far as may be practicable ...”*  
*Baggage Carried on Horseback during the American War, 1776 to 1781*

John U. Rees

(Note: After finishing a detailed study of the June 1778 route from Valley Forge to Monmouth Courthouse, with some focus on the army’s baggage train and the mechanics of the Delaware River crossing, I decided to push forward a long-postponed project to update an old article on wheeled vehicles in the armies of the American Revolution. Considering further, I inevitably decided that any look at military transportation of the period had to include bat or pack horses. This, then, is the result.)<sup>1</sup>

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Given that the first campaigns of the War for American Independence consisted of limited offensive operations (Lexington and Concord, and Bunker Hill), siege warfare (Boston), or were conducted in locales where waterways formed the major thoroughfares (New York/Canada), it is hardly odd that bat or pack horses seem not to have been widely used until 1777. Both terms were used at the time, the former being a reference to the French term *bât*, packsaddle; *cheval de bât*, packhorse. While sometimes seemingly interchangeable, a bat horse usually refers to an animal used to carry an officer’s campaign equipage, while pack horses generally carried army provisions, tentage, and other gear. French pronunciation of *bât*, is “bah.”<sup>2</sup> (See note below.)

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Note: (The appended information was gleaned from a manuscript work in progress, “‘At Eutaw Springs he received three wounds ...’: *Black Soldiers in Southern Continental Regiments.*”) While most officers’ waiters/batmen were white soldiers, in studying pensions of fifty-six African-Americans who served as soldiers in Virginia Continental regiments, several mentioned serving for some portion of their enlistment as a waiter, batman or “Bowman.” (The last term is likely a colloquial pronunciation of batman). “Batman” often referred to an officer’s waiter, the batman’s role also involved having care of the pack or “bat” horses used for carrying baggage. The veterans who told of serving as a batman/bowman are : **Shadrach Shavers** (Pension No. S38368), 2d Virginia Regiment, enlisted 1778 for three years. 1821 deposition, “Shadrach Shavers enlisted for the term of three years in the spring of the year 1778, at Valley Forge in the state of Pennsylvania in the Company commanded by Captain Cunningham, in the second Virginia Regiment commanded by Colonel Febecker [Christian Febiger] in the line of the state of Virginia ... he continued in the service of the United States several years in the aforesaid Regiment & in the Companies of said Cunningham, [Samuel] Cobbs & John P. Harrison in the Company of the last of whom he was when he got injured in one of his ancles, which rendered him incapable of active service & consequently that he came to Virginia with said Harrison (about the year 1781) who promised to obtain his discharge but never did — that he was at the battle of Stony Point [15 Jul 1779] ... he has made an effort to obtain & has failed to do so) of his said services, except the affidavit of Captain George Burroughs hereto

annexed, viz: – ‘Virginia, Stafford County, to wit: Captain Geo. Burroughs personally appeared before me a Justice of the peace of the County aforesaid and made oath that he knew Shadrach Shavers in the Revolutionary War, that the first time he recollects to have seen him was acting as **Bowman** to Capt. John P. Harrison of the 2nd Virginia Regiment at that time commanded by Colo Febecker ...’; **Lewis Smith** (Pension No. S6112), 4th or 9th Virginia Regiment, 1779-?. 1832 deposition, “Lewis Smith (a free man of colour) a resident of Dinwiddie County in the State of Virginia, aged about eighty years... enlisted in the Army of the United States in the year 1779. while in service he was under the command of Captain Covington [Lt. James Covington, 9<sup>th</sup> Regt. or Adjutant William Covington, 4<sup>th</sup> Regt.] and General Mughlenburg [Peter Muhlenberg]; was first marched to Cumberland Court House and there remained for six months, at which place he acted in the capacity of **Bowman** for the said Captain Covington; After which he marched from Cumberland Court House to Charlestown [probably during the siege that ended in the surrender of Charleston SC on 12 May 1780] and there remained in service acting as **Bowman** as aforesaid for Capt Covington until the expiration of the time of his enlistment (say 18 months) ...”; **Reuben Bird** (Pension No. S37776), Col. Anthony Walton White’s 1st Continental Dragoon Regt. 1780 - 83. 1820 deposition, “Reuben Bird enlisted for and during the war of the American Revolution in April or May in the year 1780 in Hillsborough in North Carolina in the Company commanded by Captain James Guinn in the Regiment of Dragoons commanded by Colo [Anthony Walton] White of Virginia; that he continued to serve in the said Corps until the peace came, when he was discharged from service in Culpepper [sic: Culpeper] county in the state of Virginia; That he was in no battle, he being a colored man, and kept as a **Bowman**, although he was very near the ground where several were fought ...” 1819 supplementary deposition, “I was a Serjant in Captain William Mayo’s Company at the time of General Gates’ defeat at Campden in South Carolina [sic: Battle of Camden where Gen. Horatio Gates was defeated, 16 Aug 1780], and in the same company a mulatto boy appeared to be about the age of 16 or 17 years, by the name of Reuben Bird, who I believe enlisted under Captain James Gun [sic], in the town of Hilsbury, as we were on the way of our march to the South, and that for during the war; which I think was in the year 1780 sometime in May. (signed) Benjamin Sublett”; **Mason Collins** (Pension No. S39355), 7th or 11th Virginia Regiment, 1777-80. 1818 deposition, “Mason Collins aged 60 years being first sworn states that he travelled to the North as **Bowman** to Holt Richeson [Col. Holt Richardson] then an Officer in the United States service about the year 1777. That afterwards during the year 1777 in the State of Pennsylvania this affiant enlisted under Captain John Marshall in the seventh Virginia Regiment upon Continental establishment = served for three years as a private Soldier of infantry that he served his full term of three years and was then honourably discharged. After which he came to Virginia & in the year 1780 this affiant enlisted under Capt Culberson marched to the south & was in the battle of Guilford Courthouse [15 Mar 1781] & continued in service until the end of the War when he was honorably discharged ... This affiant further states that he is an illiterate Mulatto & in need of assistance from his country.” One man, originally belonging to a Georgia regiment, went on to serve several well-known officers. **Nathan Fry** (Pension No. S39545), Col. Samuel Elbert’s 2d Georgia Regiment, 1775-82. 1824 deposition, “Nathan Fry a colored man, an inhabitant of the City of Richmond appeared before me John Marshall Chief Justice of the United States this first day of January in the year 1824 and being first duly sworn deposes ... That he enlisted in the town of Savannah in the year 1775 for the war in the company commanded by Capt. Mosby [John or Littlebury Mosby] and Col. [Samuel] Elbert’s [2d Georgia] Regiment ... He served as a drummer in this company until he was taken out of that to wait on Major Duval [probably Maj. Peter De Veaux] who was aid-de-camp or Brigade Major to [Brigadier]General [Lachlan] McIntosh. He attended the Major Duval in the capacity of a **waiter** until he accompanied General McIntosh to the Army under General Washington [McIntosh joined the army at Valley Forge in December 1777, and took command of the North Carolina brigade] and remained with him until he was taken into the service of the Baron Steuben with whom he remained as a **waiter or Batman** until after the siege of York in Virginia. He was then transferred to General St. Clair by whom he was discharged in the course of the winter ... during the whole of this service he remained a soldier under his first enlistment in 1775 and that he continued a soldier and was uninterruptedly in service from the time of his enlistment to the time of his discharge ...” (All the above pensions transcribed and annotated by C. Leon Harris. Several annotations added by the author of this monograph.)<sup>3</sup>

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**“Girl with Packhorse,” Paul Sandby, 1731-1809, British, undated, graphite and watercolor on medium, cream, slightly textured laid paper, B2001.2.1167, Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection. Courtesy of Nathaniel Kobuck.**

**American Campaigns, 1755-1764.** Using animals to carry food and equipment for military forces was a centuries old practice and European armies were quite familiar with that usage. When navigable rivers and streams were not available, the lack of good roads in early America made carriage of supplies by pack horse a natural alternative. On the military side, in spite of recommendations that he rely solely on pack horses on his 1755 attempt to take Fort Duquesne, Maj. Gen. Edward Braddock took with him approximately 200 wheeled vehicles, mostly Pennsylvania wagons, but also as many as 1,500 pack horses. (The former carried only ammunition and artillery stores, while all provisions went by horseback.) By contrast, when Col. Henry Bouquet led an expedition to relieve Fort Pitt in 1763, he left his wagons at Fort Ligonier, continuing west with only pack horses. Wintering over at Fort Pitt, Bouquet advanced into Ohio the following year. In 1765 William Smith wrote a detailed account of those operations; after telling of troop dispositions upon leaving Fort Pitt in October 1764, Smith noted, “This was the general order of march. Nor was less attention paid to particular matters of a subordinate nature. The ammunition and tools were placed in the rear of the first column ... followed by the officers' baggage, and tents. The oxen and sheep came after the baggage, in separate droves, properly guarded. The provisions came next to the baggage, in four divisions, or brigades of pack-horses, each conducted by a horse master.”<sup>4</sup>

Smith details “Preparations for an Expedition in the Woods against Savages,” including support for a small army, and pluses and minuses of using pack animals. His points are pertinent to the 1777-81 American campaigns, as well.

It is not practicable to employ large bodies of troops against Indians; the convoys necessary for their support would be too cumbersome, and could neither be moved with ease, nor protected. It would be better to fit out several small expeditions, than one too unwieldy: I will therefore suppose that a corps intended to act offensively shall not exceed the following proportions.

Two regiments of foot - - - -	900
One battalion of hunters - - -	500
Two troops of light horse - - -	100
One company of artificers - - -	20
Drivers and necessary followers - -	280
In all	1800

The first article to provide is the provisions, and next the carriages.

The daily ration of a soldier in the woods should consist of one pound and a half of meat (which requires no carriage) and one pound of flour, with a gill of salt per week.

Upon that allowance 1800 men will require for six months or 182 days - -	327,600 lb. Flour.
Allowing one fourth for accident - - - - -	81,900
For six months	409,500 lb. Flour.
Meat for the fame time with a fourth part more for accidents, or 2048 beeves at 300 lb. each	614,400 lb. Meat.
Salt for 26 weeks	182 Bushels.

The above quantity would serve the whole campaign, but one half would be sufficient to penetrate from the last deposite into the heart of the enemy's country: therefore we shall compute the carriages for this last quantity only.

Every horse carries about 150 lb. neat weight, therefore, to carry flour for three months or 204,750 lb. will require 1365 horses.

Horses for flour brought forward	1365
For 91 bushels of salt	46
Ammunition	50
Tents	50
Tools	50
Hospital	20
Officers baggage and staff	150

To reduce this exorbitant number of horses, and the great expence attending it, I would propose, for such parts of the country as would admit of it, to make use of carts, drawn each by four oxen, and carrying about 1300 ib. or six barrels of flour. The above quantity of 204,750 lb. will then be carried by 160 carts drawn by

	640 oxen
Spare oxen with the army	384
The number of oxen wanted	1024

This method would not be as expeditious as the carriage by horses, and would require more time and attention in cutting the road, and bridging the swampy places &c; but, on the other hand, what an expence would be saved! And by killing the oxen in proportion as the flour is used, and abandoning the carts, the convoy is daily reduced, and the grass

near the encampment will not be so soon consumed, which is not the case with horses, which must equally be fed though unloaded. This is an object of consequence, particularly near the end of the campaign, when the scarcity of fodder obliges to move the camps every day, and to place them in low and disadvantageous grounds.

I would therefore incline for the use of carts, and they could be made beforehand by the hunters and their artificers.

The oxen could be bought in the provinces where the farriers make use of them in their works. One or two soldiers would drive the cart and take charge of the four oxen.

There are few rivers in North-America deep in summer, and which these carts with high and broad wheels, could not ford; but if the contrary should happen, the carts, provisions and baggage, may be rafted over, or a bridge built. In a country full of timber, and with troops accustomed to work, no river will stop an army for a long time.

By the above method, 3 or 400 horses would be sufficient to carry the baggage ammunition, tents, tools, &c.<sup>5</sup>

**The British Army in 1776.** The earliest mention I have found of pack horses in the War for Independence is in a "List of Waggon, Tents, Camp necessaries &c for the Detachment from the Three Regiments of Foot Guards, consisting with their Officers of 1097 men destined to Serve in North America. February 5th 1776." The Brigade of Guards embarked in early May 1776, arriving off Sandy Hook, at the entrance to New York harbor, on 12 August. The February list of needed equipment included "6 Waggon . . . . From the Ordnance" (very likely the large English wagons that proved too heavy for American service), and "32 Sunks for the Bat Horses for the Mens Tents & Blankets," plus "32 Water Decks . . . NB. Two of the Sunks and Water Decks are allotted for the Surgeons Medicine Chests." Also listed were 224 tents, 12 bell tents, and 1,120 Blankets, "being 5 pr. Tent." An undated document recounts the same equipment along with their cost and with one small addition, "32 Sunks & Sods £1.16." Similarly, a list of equipage for the Royal Fencible American Regiment dated 26 February 1776, included, "14 Sunks for Bat Horses for the Men's Tents and Blankets &c also for the Medicine Chests with Wanties and Collars compleat. 14 Water Decks." Sunks and sods may have been terms for the same item, "a canvas pack-saddle stuffed with straw," though a sod was also described as "two pieces of turf used as a substitute for a saddle or pack-saddle." Water decks were coverings to protect a pack horse's lading. In the event, there is no record that the Guards or any other British regiment used pack animals during the 1776 New York or New Jersey campaigns. On the contrary, British general and brigade orders for the period from mid-October to the end of December 1776 indicate only wagons carrying baggage; for example, "Head Quarters 24th November 1776 . . . [after] Orders [17th Regiment] . . . 1 Wagon to each Grand Division, no Women will be allowed with the Regiment. . . . Officers Commanding Grand Divisions to [be] answerable that the Waggon are not Loaded with anything but the men's Tents and Officers Necessaries Baggage [and] Bedding." One order does leave open the possibility that some officers did use bat horses: "Amboy 2 Decr 1776 Regimental Orders . . . Servants who Don't Ride or Lead their master's horses are to fall in and march with their [illegible, but likely Division]."<sup>6</sup>

**Proportion of Waggons and Other Necessaries, for such British Regiments as are Destined to Act on the Coast of the Atlantick the Ensuing Campaign. Jan'y. 6, 1776 <sup>7</sup>**

Waggon for every Batt'n of 677 with Harness compleat for four Horses to each Waggon	4
Waggon for every Batt'n of 677 with Harness compleat for four Horses to each Waggon . . . . . Sunks for the Bat-Horses of each Batt'n Vizt. . . . 2 per Comp'y for the Men's Tents and Blankets and . . . . . 2 for the Medicine Chests with Collars and Wanties compleat	22
Water Decks of painted Oil Cloth	22
<b>For the 42d Reg't Establishment 1,168 men</b>	
Waggon	6
Sunks	32
Water Decks	32
<b>For the 71st Reg't of 2 Batt'ns Establishment 2,298</b>	
Waggon	12
Sunks	64
Water Decks	64
<b>The Seven Reg'ts now about to sail under the Command of Earl Cornwallis have received the following proportion of Necessaries Vizt.</b>	
Waggon with Harness compleat for three Horses to each Vizt	1
Waggon for the use of their Hospital	2
Sunks for Bat Horses	22
Water Decks	22
<b>Therefore there wants to compleat to their proportion of Necessaries per Batt'n as follows:</b>	
Waggon	3
Sets of Harness for Waggon and the two Hospital Waggon	15



Packhorse with what looks to be a large basket hung from one or both sides.  
“View from the Guard Room at Windsor,” Paul Sandby, n.d.

**The 1777 Campaign.** In 1777 Lt. William Digby, Grenadier Company, 53d Regiment of Foot, served under Lt. Gen. John Burgoyne on the invasion south from Canada into New York. Writing on 17 July 1777, Digby noted the divestment of cumbersome gear as well as the use of pack animals.

We were obliged to remain a long time at Skeensborough on account of getting horses and wagons from Canada ... Our heavy baggage &c was mostly then sent to stores appointed at Ticonderoga, as there was no longer any water carriage. The mare I had made prize of was full able to carry as much baggage as I required, and saved me the expense of purchasing one for that purpose; and I suppose at our next moving we had almost as many horses as men, many officers having 3 or 4, tho it was strongly recommended by the general to take as little baggage as possible, which advice I followed, leaving my bedding behind and making use of a Buffalo skin, with my cloak to cover me at nights.<sup>8</sup>

Both carts and bat (pack) horses were used to carry baggage and provisions, and pack animals and their handlers (bat men) were mentioned in army orders early in the campaign:

Camp near Fort Edward, 13th Aug. 1777 ... The Assembly to beat an hour after the General and the Troops to march immediately after, having left a proper number of men to load and work the Batteaux and Rafts.

All **Bat Horses** and carriages, such as are the personal property of Officers, are to follow in the rear of the Column.

Camp at Duer's House, 29th August 1777 ... The Lieut. General meaning that every Regiment should be upon the same regulation, directs that the Servants and **Batmen** be allowed as follows:

	Servants	Batmen.
Field Officers,	1	2
Captains,	1	2
Subalterns of a Company,	2	1

When the men's Tents are carried upon Bat-horses, a Batman to be allowed each Company. The Batmen to be always armed, and to form the baggage Guard. The Servants to be considered as effective in the Ranks, and are to attend at every evening parade; the other parades and roll callings are excused, unless the Regiments are ordered under Arms.<sup>9</sup>

Fortunately, we do have some idea of numbers of baggage horses with Burgoyne's forces that summer and autumn:

Proportion of Bat-Horses Per Officer in Burgoyne's Expedition<sup>10</sup>

To a field officer	3 per batt[alion]	6
A captain	2 " "	12
A subaltern	1 " "	16
A surgeon and mate	2 " "	2
A chaplain	1 " "	1
A quarter master	1 " "	1
For carrying the company's tents		
2 horses to each company	" "	16
Total per Battn		54

N.B. This calculation was made upon eight companies to a battalion, in which 2 field officers' companies are included.

The horses for the five British battalions of the line, upon calculation, amount to	272
Gen. Fraser's corps, reckoned to be equal to four battalions	216
Five German battalions, @ 70 horses per battalion, that being the difference in proportion to their strength	350
Breyman's corps	100
Total for the regts. of the reg[ular]s.	936

Staff	
2 M[ajor]. Gen[eral]s.	12
4 Brig[adier General]s.	16
Brit. Q[uartern].M[aster].G[eneral]. and ass[istant]’s	12
Ger[man]. “ “ “ “ “	12
The Hospital	<u>30</u> 82
Irregulars	
Canad[ian]s. – Ind[ian]s. – and Prov[incial]s.	200
Artificers	<u>50</u> 250
Recapit[ulation]. of whole distrib[ution].	1268

That same year, in June, Maj. Gen Sir William Howe’s forces took the field against Gen. George Washington’s forces in northern New Jersey. During those early operations pack horses played little or no part, wagons being relied on for carriage. When the campaign shifted south to Delaware and Pennsylvania, some officers at least used horses to carry their personal gear. British army orders for 15 September 1777 at Ashtown, Pennsylvania, noted, the “Baggage of the army to be escorted by a Cap[tain]. 2 Sub[altern]s and 50 Grenadiers ... A Corps from each Brigade and a Q[uartern] M[aste]r from each Battn will attend the Baggage to prevent any excesses to be Committed.” Orders for the 2d Light Infantry Battalion the same day stated that “all the Baggage that Cannot be Carried upon the officers horses to be sent to the Q[uartern] M[aste]r & the waggons to be Loaded this Evening at 7 oClock.” There is also evidence that Washington’s forces resorted to pack animals during the autumn 1777 maneuvering. Continental Army orders at Whitpain Township, Pennsylvania, on 24 October 1777 stipulated that “The Brigade Quarter Masters are to make returns, to morrow afternoon, at five o'clock, of all the riding and bat-horses used in their respective brigades, and the persons and their ranks, and in whose service they are used.”<sup>11</sup>

**Marching Through New Jersey, 1778.** Hard-won campaign experience led to Connecticut Brig. Gen. Jediah Huntington’s January 1778 comments to the commander-in-chief, "The fewer the Waggons to the Army, the better, as the March of Troops is always greatly impeded, and Enterprizes often frustrated by their Delays — if Batt Horses could be substituted, they would be preferable – a Waggon of four Horses generally carries about forty Tents - each weighing about twelve pounds - the four Horses, therefore, carrying 10 or 12 Tents each, would transport as much as the Waggon ..." And along the same line, "A Change or two of Linnen, a little Provision and some Convenience for carrying necessary Papers, should comprise all the Baggage of an Officer when he takes the Field - some Boxes in Fashion of Horse Canteens might be contrived for them."<sup>12</sup> General Washington’s 27 March 1778 orders expanded Huntington’s remarks:

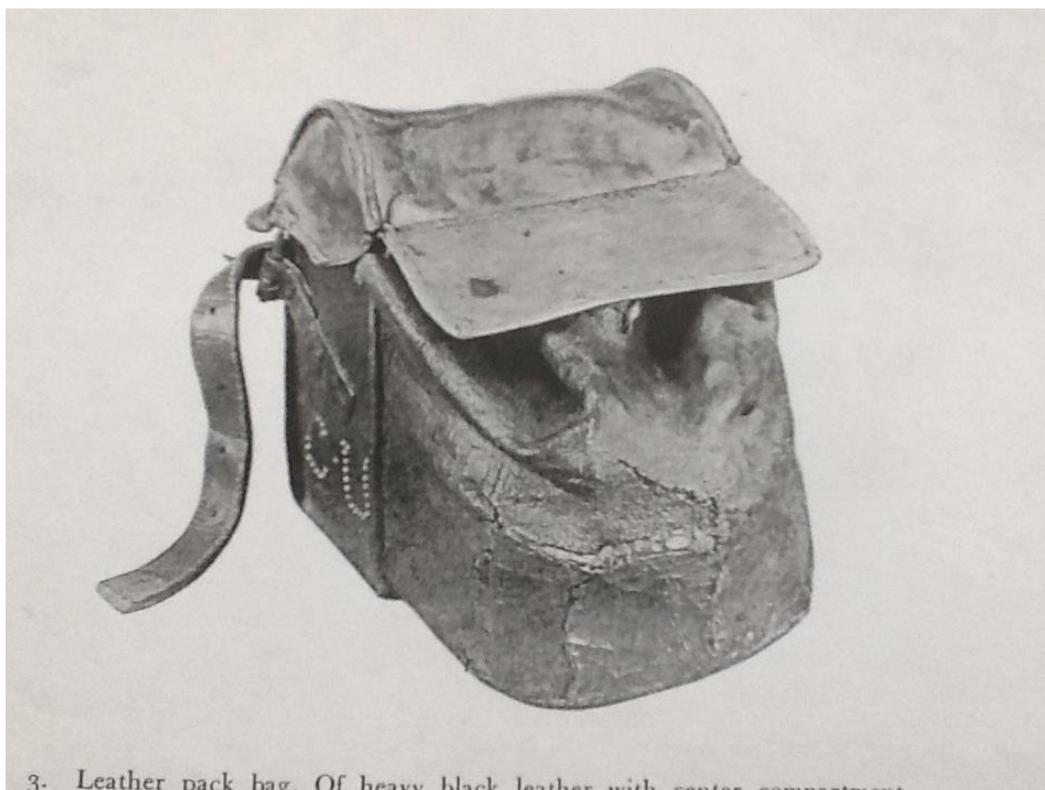
The numerous Inconveniences of a large train of baggage must be apparent to every officer of the least observation; an Army by means of it is rendered unwieldy and incapable of acting with that ease and Celerity which are essential either to it's own Security and defence or to Vigor and Enterprize in its offensive Operations; The sollicitude which those who have a large quantity at stake will feel for its safety even in the most critical Circumstances is sometimes attended with very alarming Consequences and Individuals frequently and

unavoidably sustain no inconsiderable losses from the Imprudence of incumbering themselves with superfluous baggage; the Public is burdened with a fruitless Expence, in an additional number of Horses and Waggon and the strength of the Army is diminished by the extraordinary number of Guards required for their protection ... many instances will be recollected in the course of last Campaign, and among others the great loss which attended the sending the superfluous baggage, during the more active part of it, to a distance from the Army. The Commander in Chief hopes these considerations will influence officers in the ensuing Campaign to provide themselves with those necessaries only which cannot be dispensed with, and with the means of carrying them in the most easy and convenient manner; In order to which he strongly recommends the dis-use of Chests and Boxes and that Portmanteaus or Valises made of Duck may be substituted instead of them, this will be the more requisite as it is in Contemplation to employ as few Waggon as possible and to make use of **Pack-Horses** as far as may be practicable: It is expected the General and Field Officers will set the Example and see that it is strictly followed by all those under their respective Commands.<sup>13</sup>

In the end, the Continental forces that marched east from Valley Forge, or shadowed Crown columns as they left Philadelphia in June 1778, relied largely on wagons to transport camp equipage and other necessaries. In fact, a 30 May recounting of the wagons and horses for Washington's army at Valley Forge showed only five pack horses among the 1,323 returned (the rest listed as riding, wagon, or artillery horses); those five pack animals belonged to Col. John Lamb's 2d Artillery Regiment.<sup>14</sup>



**(Previous page) Canteen, 1758; Probably made, United States; Possibly made, England; Leather, wood, iron, linen, copper alloy; Overall dimensions: 13 3/4 in. x 15 7/8 in. x 13 13/16 in. (34.93 cm x 40.34 cm x 35.08 cm); Transferred to the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association through the generosity of John Augustine Washington III, 1860; W-350/B. To supplement their often bland military rations, officers of means invested in canteens: small, lidded cases divided into lined compartments harboring glass bottles filled with wine, liquor, and condiments. George Washington is believed to have owned the three canteens featured here. Heavily worn, they were likely used throughout his service in the French and Indian War and, possibly, the American Revolution. They were among the handful of original Washington objects left at Mount Vernon when the Association purchased the property in 1860.**

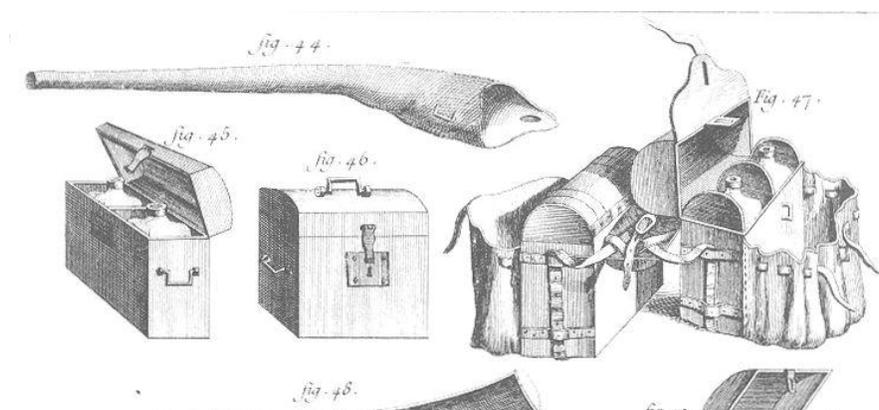


3. Leather pack bag. Of heavy black leather with center compartment

**George Washington's. One of three surviving examples. *General Washington's Military Equipment* (Mount Vernon: The Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union, first edition 1944, revised, 1963), 11.**



Previous page: Canteen, 1758; Probably made: United States, Possibly made, England; C.1: Leather, wood, iron, linen, copper alloy C.2: Iron, lead, tin; Overall dimensions (C.1: canteen): 14 1/8 in. x 12 in. x 15 1/2 in. (35.89 cm x 30.48 cm x 39.37 cm); Overall dimensions, (C.2: liner): 6 1/4 in. x 11 3/4 in. x 8 1/4 in. (15.88 cm x 29.85 cm x 20.96 cm); Transferred to the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association through the generosity of John Augustine Washington III, 1860; W-350/C.1-C.2. George Washington is believed to have owned the three canteens featured here. Heavily worn, they were likely used throughout his service in the French and Indian War and, possibly, the American Revolution. They were among the handful of original Washington objects left at Mount Vernon when the Association purchased the property in 1860.



Canteen chests and horse or pack canteens. French, 1763. Denis Diderot, *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire Raisonné des Sciences, des Arts et des Métiers*, vol. 3 (1763), "Coffretier-malletier-bahutier," plates.

CREDIT: Fort Ticonderoga Museum  
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**Portmanteau, Fort Ticonderoga collection.**

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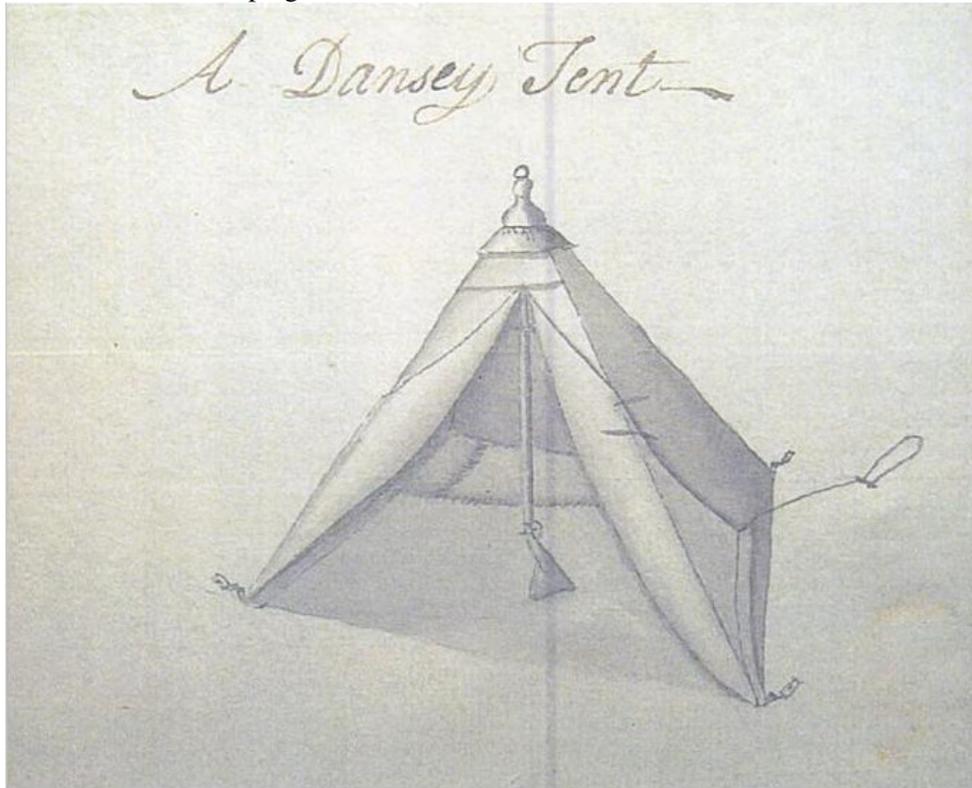


By contrast, in addition to the 1,500 wagons Lt. Gen. Sir Henry Clinton's forces took with them across New Jersey after they evacuated the American capital, a good portion of the army's baggage was carried on scores, if not hundreds, of pack animals. On 7 June 1778 Capt. William Dansey, 33d Regiment, described the belongings he planned to take with him on the march north:

After procuring a Horse I have been this Month past contriving what things to carry on him that will be most comfortable and convenient and not overload him.

My first thought was a comfortable Tent. I have been lucky in contriving and executing one that is admired by every Body for its convenience, Elegance and Lightness. It holds four people very well either to dine or sleep in, being a square of seven feet and Eight Foot high, lin'd with an Elegant Callicoe. I don't know if ever you saw a Tent or may comprehend my Description. It has only one Pole and twenty Eight pins. It is pitch'd or struck in five Minutes and its Weight with the Valise it goes in, Pole, Pins and Mallet included is but fifty two pounds.

So much for my House. Now for Furniture. First a Floor cloth, which serves as Bedstead as also to cover my Baggage when loaded. A Paillasse, weight about two pounds, to stuff either with leaves, Straw or Grass for a Bed. Two Blankets, my Portugee Cloak, my Bed Cloths. A small Portmanteau holding a change of Necessaries is my Pillow. A pair of Canteens holding my Liquor and Provisions and a small writing Trunk holding Paper and some Nick Nacks. This the whole of my Baggage that I expect to see before Christmas next and these are great Conveniences and Comforts compared with what I had last Campaign.<sup>15</sup>



**Capt. William Dansey's self-devised shelter, used for the first time during the 1778 Monmouth Campaign. Its seven foot square footprint and fifty-two pound heft gave it the same ground dimensions as a common soldier's tent, with over four times the weight, an important consideration whether using wagons or pack animals for carriage.<sup>16</sup>**

Capt. John Peebles, 42d Regiment, told of his own and the army's preparations just prior to leaving Philadelphia. On 23 May he noted, "pack'd up my Baggage & Tent the heavy part on [ship]board, made an assortment for the Field. 2 Coats 8 Shirts washing breeches & waist coats, trousers, - They say we are going to leave this place altogether." On June 15th, "The Light Horse & Brigade of Hessians pass over [the Delaware River] today – and all the Bat Horses, what little Baggage we have is to go over to morrow morning ..."; two days later, "a regt. of Cavalry & a Brigade of Hessians cross'd over to Jersey. The Officers Bat Horses and all the Baggage they can spare likewise sent over – it is supposed we shall all soon follow –" On 18 June, their final day in the city, "orders to send every thing over the River but one blanket, & after orders for the Troops to be under arms at 6 in the Eveng. Provision to be drawn on the other side."<sup>17</sup>

General Clinton later wrote, "Under the head of the baggage was comprised, not only the wheeled carriages of every department, but also the bat horses, a train, which as the country admitted but of one route for carriages, extended near twelve miles."<sup>18</sup> His orders before and after departure several times mentioned pack animals, their caretakers, and their place in the marching column:

Head Quarters, Philadelphia, 15<sup>th</sup>. June, 1778.  
Morning Orders, 9 o'Clock.

All the Horses and Carts in possession of the different Corps of Infantry are to be immediately sent to the upper Coal Yard Wharf in order to their being carried over the Water, an Officer from each Brigade or Corps, and **Batt men** of the different Corps, to be sent over with them.

Head Quarters, Mount Holly, 21<sup>st</sup>. June, 1778.

The following Corps are to be Under arms at 3 tomorrow morning and are to march In the order in which they are Mentioned

20 of the mounted Hessian Yagers, and all the Dismounted Queen's Rangers, an officer and 20 Pioneers, 1<sup>st</sup> Battalion of Light Infantry 60 Pioneers with two Wagons with Engineer's entrenching Tools; Queen's Light Dragoons, British Grenadiers Hessian Grenadiers, two medium 12 Pounders, one Howitzer, Brigade of Guards, 3 Brigade of British, 3 Battalions, 4 Brigade British 6 pontoons, The Remainder of the Engineer's Entrenching tools **Batt horses** of the army Baggage of the General Officers, and of the army according to the line of March, Cattle, 5<sup>th</sup> Brigade of British.

Hovendon's troops of provincial Cavalry, are to be under the Command of Brigadier General Leslie, one Battalion from the 4<sup>th</sup> Brigade to flank the Baggage On the Left, Lieutenant Colonel Allen's Corps will flank it on the Right, and Lieutenant Colonel Van dyks Corps will march in the Center of the Baggage

The Remainder of the army will Receive orders from his Excellency Lieutenant General Knyphausen.

Head Quarters, Camp near Freehold, 27<sup>th</sup>. June, 1778.

The army will move tomorrow morning. The 2<sup>nd</sup> Division under his Excellency Lieutenant General Knyphausen will march at [ ] oClock and the 1<sup>st</sup> at 5. The Baggage of the whole Army will go with the 2<sup>nd</sup> Division Except the **Batt horses** of the 1<sup>st</sup> Division, which may march with It. The Baggage of the 1<sup>st</sup> Division will follow that of the 2<sup>nd</sup>, in the order which They hitherto have moved.

The 27<sup>th</sup> Regiment will Join its Brigade before the hour of March.

Colonel Innes inspector General of the Provincial forces will follow the light Infantry of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Division with a Corps of Safe Guards, Consisting of a Detachment of Dragoons and 150 of Chamber's Corps.

The Corps of Yagers will join Lieutenant General Knyphausen tomorrow in time to take Such Situation in his line of march as his Excellency Shall think proper to order <sup>19</sup>

**Going Against the Iroquois, 1779.** The first large-scale use of packhorses by Continental forces was in 1779 when Maj. Gen. John Sullivan's army campaigned in northern Pennsylvania and New York. Due to the rough country his troops had to traverse, that mode of carriage was used when they headed north from Fort Wyoming. General Sullivan referenced the horses in a number directives, with some insights on how the animals were managed, even directing that women serve as pack horse handlers.

Hd. Qrs. Chowder Camp June 20 1779 [between Easton and Wyoming, Pennsylvania] ... Officers commanding corps are requested that the men's packs be not placed upon the wagons as they are already so heavily loaded as to impeded the march of the troops.

The men and women mounted upon **pack horses** are to fall in the rear of the troops.

Hd. Qrs. Wyoming 15 July 1779 ... As waggons will not be wanted in this army, the Commander in chief directs that those which properly belong to the army be sent to the fort at Wyoming ... The horses now annexed to those waggons will be used either as riding or **pack horses** & the enlisted waggoners employed as **pack horsemen**.

The Qr. Mr. General will immediately have all the horses of the army well shod & see that everything in his department be in perfect readiness for the movement of the army ...

Hd Qrs Wyoming [Saturday] 24th July 1779 ... The army to be in readiness to move on Wednesday morning ... The public horses of the whole army without any exception to be collected & assembled on the ferry at the west side of the river on Tuesday morning at 9 o'Clock where an officer with a proper detachment from each Brigade & one from the Artillery will attend to receive them respectively. It is expected that all the staff & all officers of whatever denomination who have public horses will turn them in at the time & place before mentioned. Those who neglect to do it may expect to have their horses taken from them, & be obliged to perform their duty on foot during the residue of the Campaign.

The officers entitled to horses are all desired to attend in order to receive them which are to be taken out in the following manner, to wit: two horses to be chosen for the Commander in chief, two for General Maxwell, two for General Poor, & two for General Hand, then two for General Clinton, one for Colonel Proctor, one for the Adj. General one for the Qr, Mr. General, the one for the secretary & each form the Aids-de-camp of the Commander-in-Chief; one for each of the Aids-de-camp of the Brigadier Generals & Brigade Majors; then one for each Colonel choosing according to rank, & to the Majors in the same manner; then one for the Surgeon General – then the Commissary General – then the Adjutants of regiments; then captains of artillery; then the surgeons of Hospitals; then Brigade Qr. Masters & Brigade commissaries; then the Surgeons & Chaplains of the army then each of the other staffs as are entitled to horses.

All the officers of the line except those before mentioned are positively forbidden to ride, as their place will constantly be with their platoons & divisions. After the above distribution has taken place & twenty **pack horses** are selected for the Commander-in-Chief, the residue are to be distributed according to quality to Generals Maxwell, Poor, Hand & Colo. Proctor in the manner following to wit: General Maxwell 300; to General Poor 30; to General Hand 200; to Colo. Proctor 100; the rest of the horses to be employed in carrying the public stores of the army. The horses assigned to the Brigades & corps to be furnished with pack horsemen from

the several corps to which they are assigned. ... The waggon horses will be turned in to serve as **batt & pack horses**, & the waggoners are to be employed as pack horsemen.

The Commanding officers will appoint conductors to them, who will apply to the Qr. Masters & Commissaries for slings & straps & halters & every other thing necessary for their horses & take their loading on Tuesday morning. The Qr. Master will see that a proper number of pack horses are assigned to the staff ... [New Jersey militia] Colo. [William] Bond will assign the pack horsemen whom he has procured to such horses as are not assigned to corps.

Gen. Poor's Brigade will move early Tuesday morning to this post after which all the waggons belonging to the army will be sent to the Fort & left in care of Colo. Butler.

The waggon horses will be turned in to serve s **batt & pack horses**, & the waggoners are to be employed as **pack horsemen**.

Hd. Qrs. Wyoming 26th July ... The Conductor of horses for the several corps to apply to the Qt. Master immediately for **pack saddles, slings &c. for the horses** assigned to them respectively

Hd. Qrs. Wyoming 27th July ... Every article in every department that can possibly be loaded on **Pack horses** is to be fixed for that purpose and carried in that manner [the remaining baggage and artillery was taken by boat up the Susquehanna to Tioga, present-day Athens, Pennsylvania]. ... The Horses will be divided and assigned this day when the Comr-in-chief & other General officers according to rank will first choose for themselves & their families; then Colo. Proctor, the Adjutant & Qr. Master Genl. then the field officers according to rank, the Engineer drawing with the Majors according to the rank he holds. It is not intended that the General officers should draw **Batt, portmanteau or pack horses**, before all officers have drawn their riding horses, horses for their own riding and that of their military assistants being designed. All other officers are to draw in the course prescribed in the orders of the twenty-fourth.

Immediately upon the horses being assigned to the corps, they are to be branded respectively.

Hd. Qrs. Wyoming 29 July 1779 ... The guards and fatigue party to parade tomorrow morning at 6 o'Clock. ... The Fatigue for loading the boats & **pack-horses** is to consist of 400 men. ... The Commissary & Qr. Master will attend to the loading of the necessary articles on the boats & **pack horses**.

Hd. Qrs. Wyoming 30th July ... The army will March at 8 o'Clock tomorrow morning ... The General reminds the officers commanding corps that as the horses assigned them, cannot be all loaded there with their own baggage, the public stores of the army are to be put on such as can be spared for that purpose ... All officers together with the boat & **pack horsemen** not already supplied with arms &c are to be furnished this afternoon ...

After Orders ... A subaltern & 20 men from each of the regiments to parade tomorrow morning on the grand parade at Reveille beating for the purpose of slinging the residue of the kegs ... All the **pack horses** to be paraded against 7 o'Clock for loading

Hd.Qrs. Quilutimak 2d August [on the route to Tioga] ... The Brigadiers & officers commanding regiments to see that not less than five **pack horses** be conducted by one man ... After Orders ... Com[mandin]g officers of regiments will please to order all the women belonging to their respective corps, who can ride, immediately to quit the boats & proceed by land, as there will be a sufficiency of **pack horses** & as the women going on horseback will diminish the number of drivers from the army.

The baggage to be loaded on horseback to be fitted this evening in the best manner for loading. All the articles of baggage on board the boats which can be conveniently be carried on horseback will be taken out this day & fixed for that purpose ...

After Orders ... The number of horses being insufficient for carrying on the necessary supplies of the Army, all adjutants Quarter Masters, Paymasters of Regiments as also every other officer of the line under the rank of field officer are to return their horses to the Quarter Master General tomorrow morning at six o'Clock

The General & field officers of the day will see that no officer of the line under the rank of a field officer be suffered to ride & order such dismounted as may attempt it. Such officers as have the command of Regiments & not of the rank of a field officer are to make special application to the Commander-in-Chief for liberty to ride.

Capt. Cummings of the Second New Jersey Regiment, being lame & unable to march, owing to his great fatigue in marching to Chemung twice, is permitted to ride until he be able to march. One conductor for each brigade & no more to be permitted to ride, the others to return their horses to the Quarter Master General tomorrow morning at 6 o'Clock.<sup>20</sup>

General Clinton's troops reached Tioga on 22 August, after traveling from Otsego Lake (present-day Cooperstown, New York) by boat. They would need another mode to carry their baggage during the next phase of the campaign; orders for 23 August directed "Colo. Bond to have all the horses collected this day, which have not been already assigned, that Genl. Clinton's Brigade may be supplied."<sup>21</sup> This was possible as the army was also directed to travel as lightly as possible. The orders of that day also noted, "The officers servants who conduct pack horses are each to drive five horses."

Head Quarters Fort Sullivan 23d August 1779 ... After Orders ... The number of horses being insufficient for carrying on the necessary supplies of the Army, all adjutants Quarter Masters, Paymasters of Regiments as also every other officer of the line under the rank of field officer are to return their horses to the Quarter Master General tomorrow morning at six o'Clock

The General & field officers of the day will see that no officer of the line under the rank of a field officer be suffered to ride & order such dismounted as may attempt it. Such officers as have the command of Regiments & not of the rank of a field officer are to make special application to the Commander-in-Chief for liberty to ride.

Capt. Cummings of the Second New Jersey Regiment, being lame & unable to march, owing to his great fatigue in marching to Chemung twice, is permitted to ride until he be able to march. One conductor for each brigade & no more to be permitted to ride, the others to return their horses to the Quarter Master General tomorrow morning at 6 o'Clock.

Head Quarters Fort Sullivan 24th August 1779 ... After Orders The Army to be in readiness to march tomorrow morning at eight o'Clock ... All the **pack horses** are to be loaded with commissary & military stores. The tents and officers' baggage to be loaded on the top of them, so that no horses are to be appropriated to the latter purpose until circumstances will admit<sup>22</sup>

In this instance, we have a return of the pack animals and some associated equipment used by Sullivan's initial force of 3,500 men (Brig. Gen. James Clinton's troops, about 1,500 strong, would join Sullivan at Tioga):

	Pack <u>Saddles</u>	Bell <u>Collars</u>	Leather <u>Hopples</u>	Horse <sup>23</sup> <u>Bells</u>
Major General Sullivan and Staff	6			
Maxwell's Brigade	270			
Poor's Brigade	220			
Hand's Brigade	115			
Proctor's Artillery	80			
Deputy QM General and Staff	4			
Pack Horse Department	19			
Flying Hospital	1			
Stores on hand	<u>        </u>	<u>250</u>	<u>204</u>	<u>27</u>
	<b>715</b>	<b>250</b>	<b>204</b>	<b>27</b>

	Pieces of <u>Artillery</u>	Ammunition <u>Wagons</u>	Travelling <u>Tumbrils</u>	<u>Forges</u>
Maxwell's Brigade		1		
Poor's Brigade		1		
Hand's Brigade		1		
Proctor's Artillery	<u>8</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
	<b>8</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>

	Artillery & Wagon <u>Horses</u>	Pack* <u>Horses</u>	Blind** <u>Bridles</u>	<u>Collars</u>	Pairs of <u>Harness</u>
Major General Sullivan and Staff		6			
Maxwell's Brigade		264	4	4	4
Poor's Brigade		313	4	4	4
Hand's Brigade		157	4	4	4
Proctor's Artillery	66		90	90	84
Deputy QM General and Staff		4			
Deputy Commissary General and Staff		6			
Pack Horse Department	<u>        </u>	<u>60</u>			
	<b>66</b>	<b>810</b>	<b>102</b>	<b>98</b>	<b>96</b>

\* Continental property; four privately-owned pack horses are also listed for Maxwell's Brigade. Public and privately-owned riding horses are also given.

\*\* Note: On the original the entries from "Blind Bridles" to "Breech Bands" look to have been accidentally shifted up one row. This transcription corrects that error.



**Wooden pack saddle, provenance unknown, date unknown, described as Example of the type of unknown date. "About 30" long, from the late 1700's." Posted on the Blog "What Is It?"(item 1854) <http://55tools.blogspot.com/2010/02/set-323.html> (Courtesy of Steve Rayner) (See Addendum for more examples.)**

**Regarding padding for these saddles, Quartermaster General Timothy Pickering wrote this missive, "If you have about three yards linnen to spare without spoiling a tent, issue it to Major Murnand [John Bernard de Murnan] of the Corps of Engineers for making the pads of a pack saddle. T. Pickering" Timothy Pickering to [Abner or Abraham] Mery, 22 October 1780, Quartermaster General, Letter Book, 28 September 1780-13 August 1781, Miscellaneous Numbered Records (The Manuscript File) in the War Department Collection of Revolutionary War Records 1775-1790's, no. 28630, folio 24 (National Archives Microfilm Publication M859, reel 98) U.S. War Department Collection of Revolutionary War Records, Record Group 93, Washington.**

The "Stores on hand" belong to no particular department or brigade, but were carried on horseback or by boat to Tioga and as such must have been considered indispensable. In addition to the wagon horse gear listed on the return (used for the ammunition wagons and artillery limbers), the items listed alongside the pack saddles would have served both wagon and pack horses. "Leather Hopples" were used to restrict the horses feet when they were loose and grazing (a website for supplying modern horse packing outfitters notes, "If you have several animals to graze, it is recommended to picket the most dominate animal and hobble the rest."<sup>24</sup> The horse bells and bell collars were certainly also used when the animals were off-duty (the small number of bells were perhaps replacements for any lost

from the collars). The late historian Don Berkebile wrote of the wagons and pack animals during the French and Indian War,

The advertisement that was circulated for the 1759 expedition mentions a "slip bell ... for each horse" among the items necessary on an expedition, so it is possible that some drivers of the 1755 expedition may have used a single bell on each horse, as was the custom with pack horses. These bells, kept stuffed during the day, were unstuffed at night when the horses were put out to forage in the woods so that they might be more easily found in the morning. Orme mentions no bells [used for the 1755 Braddock expedition], although he writes of other methods used to avoid losing horses at night.<sup>25</sup>

**Continental Army, 1780-1782.** As the war progressed wagons remained the mainstay for transportation in the Continental Army, but packhorses remained in occasional use. A March 1780 "Detail of Public Waggons, and those employd on hire for the Service of the Army ... reckoned for an Army of 30,000 Infantry — 5 regimts. [of] Cavalry & 5 of Artillery," allotted a single infantry brigade fourteen covered wagons, twenty-six open wagons and 218 horses, including seven bat horses for field officers and regimental staff.<sup>26</sup> In June 1781 General Washington informed Quartermaster General Timothy Pickering,

One of my own Horses which I sent from Camp to be Wintered, together with the Horses which usually carried my Canteens and Portmanteaus, I am informed, are dead. These losses will occasion a call upon you for four, wch. I should be glad to receive as soon as convenient. If there is a number to choose out of, two may be natural pacers (Horses or Mares) the Canteens going easier on them.<sup>27</sup>

A portion of General Washington's campaign equipage was in Secretary Richard Varick's care that summer, including several items carried by bat horses:

Invoice of Articles of Baggage of his Excellency Genl Washington left in my Charge June 25th. 1781 and sent to Hd. Qrts. Augt. 21. 1781. 1 Large Chest with Red Oil Cloth Covering. 1 Large round Cover Hair Trunk. 4 Black Leather Campaign Trunks with Leather Straps. 1 Box with a Saddle and I *think* one or two Bridles. A Pair of Canteens compleat with White Glass Bottles and brass topp'd Coiks &ca. 2 Small Leather Portmanteau Trunks. 1 Tea Box with Cannisters. 1 large Map of South Carolina and Georgia.<sup>28</sup>

During the reorganization of Armand's Legion in February 1782, the unit's commander, Colonel Armand (formally known as Charles Armand-Tuffin, Marquis de La Rouerie) enumerated camp equipment and transport needed for thirty-three commissioned and staff officers, and 362 noncommissioned officers and privates. One marquee, ten horseman's tents, thirty common tents, eight bat horses, and three four-horse wagons were included. The colonel noted, "The 30 common tents will be insufficient unless they are made very large ... Their weight, of consequence, will be less, [and] require, in the whole, fewer waggons, or bat-horses. Two thirds of the tent poles will also be sufficient. The bat-horses are destined for the carriage of the tents. For this purpose eight pack saddles will be requisite. There should also be eight oil cloths to cover the tents, to preserve them from rain, which, as they may be kept packed up for two or three days

together in warm weather, would soon rot them, — and to prevent an increase in weight, which in long rains would be very injurious to the horses: for a tent thoroughly wet weighs just double as much as when dry."<sup>29</sup>



**Two likely bat horses belonging to a German officer serving in the American south in 1779. “This bad little drawing has no other purpose than to give you a representation of my ménagerie during the tour (of duty) on which I am in the south.” Drawing by Capt. Carl Ludwig von Doernberg, (Hesse-Cassel Musketeer Regiment Prinz Carl), enclosed in a 10 August 1779 letter from South Carolina. Carl Ludwig von Doernberg, "Journal d'un voyage en Amérique l'an 1779," Hessisches Staatsarchiv Marburg 340 v. Dörnberg, H 67.**

**Cornwallis's Campaigns, 1781.** British, German, and Loyalist troops sent south in autumn 1780 to reinforce Lt. Gen. Charles, Earl Cornwallis's forces in South Carolina landed at Charleston in mid-December. Orders for 15 December directed that “The Troops under orders to Join the Army to provide themselves with Bat Horses as soon as possible, for none under the degree of a Comdg. Offir. of a Corps is allow'd a Waggon. But in Consideration of the Officers not yet having provided themselves, a few Waggons will be Spared to Each Corps for Carrying their light Baggage. No Camp Equipage to be taken but a few Soldiers Tents for the Officers.”<sup>30</sup> When they left town five days later, the column formed as follows:

Line of March	
Lt. Infy. Gds.	Baggage, Waggons & Bat Horses
Yagers	The Regt. D Bose
Grenadier Gds.	Provincial Lt. Infantry
Artillery	17th. Company
Brigade Gds.	Lt. Horse
Qr. Mr. Genls. Waggons <sup>31</sup>	

Army orders continued to remind officers that wagons were available to them only temporarily and that baggage needed to be lessened and consolidated.

Nelson's Ferry 26th. Decr. 1780

Orders ... The Brigade of Guards to be ready to Cross the River early tomorrow Morning, they are to take their loaded Waggons and [bat] Horses with them. The Officers are again Cautioned that no [officers'] Waggons will be Allow'd them farther than Camden. ...

After Orders 6 oClock at Night

The Brigade of Guards to be under Arms, & their Baggage Loaded ready to March by day break tomorrow Mornng. ... As the extra Waggons at Present given for the Assistance of the Corps, are Wanted for other indispensable Service, they are to be Deliver'd up to the Qr Mr. Genl. as the first Allotment of Waggons can Only be Allowed for the Transportn. of Baggage, the Officers are desir'd to lighten by Bat Horses as much as possible, the Road over which they are to pass being extremely bad.<sup>32</sup>

In camp near Camden:

Mornng. Ordrs. 2nd. Jany. 1781

B[rigadier] Gl. O'Hara takes the Earliest oppority of informing the Corps now under his Comd. That the Waggons will be taken from the different Regts. this day, or the next, & as the Officers can be Allow'd no other Means of Conveying their Baggage, than on their Bat Horses, he begs leave to recommend it to them to use the present time in fitting up their Pack Saddles, & Sunks & Sods.

Camden 2nd. Janry. 1781 ... All the Regl. Waggons. will be delivd. to the Qr Mr. Genl. at 4 o'Clock this Evng. When the Army moves each Corps will receive a four Horse Waggon, which is intended for the Conveyance of their Medicine Chest, Sick Men, Forage, or any other Necessary purpose that the Regt. Absolutely require; But on no Acct. Whatever, any Offr. will put into these Waggons any Baggage or Parcels.

Camden, Janry. 6th. 1781 ...

Regulations for Horses &ca.

Field Offrs. of Infry, Three Horses Each & those Comdg. Corps may have a Cart if they think proper; Captns, two Horses Each; Subalterns, Two; Adjts. & Qr Masters, Two; Qr Mr Sergt. & Sergt. Majs, one Each. Ten Horses will be allow'd to Each Battn. for the Use of such Women & Convalescents, as the Comdg. Offrs. shall think require them, & are deserving of them But should any Irregularity in Collecting Forage make this Indulgence a Screen for the Maintenance of More Horses than are Allow'd, it must

Necessarily be Revers'd. All Horses except the Numrs. Allow'd are to be immediately sent away from the Army, or Dispos'd of.

Ld. Cornwallis expects the Strictest Obedience will be paid to the above Regulation; as not only the immediate Situation, but also the future Operations of the Army make it Indispensibly necessary ...

Head Qr., Harrisons House, 12th Jany. 1781 ...

Brigd Orders

The very great Scarcity of Forage having Oblig'd Genl Ld Cornwallis to Regulate the No. of horses in the Army agreeable to the Rank & Situatn. of the differt. Offrs. & that proportion having been published in the Orders of this detachmt. – A Return is immedy. to be given in Specifyg. the Number Each Officer has now in his possession in order that the regulation may be Strictly attended to.”

Head Qrs. Ramsour's Mills, 24th. Janry. 1781 ... Mendm. Lord Cornwallis thinks it Necessary to repeat in Orders, Regulations respecting Negroes & Horses, & Commanding Officers of Brigades, as well as those of Corps, must be responsible for the due observation of them.

	Horses	Negroes
Field Offrs. of Infry.	3	2 Each
Captns. Subns. & Staff	2	1
Serjts. Major, & Qr Mr Serjts.	1	1

No Woman or Negroe to ;possess a Horse.<sup>33</sup>

Cornwallis's concern for the lack of forage, and removal of unneeded animals from the army shows that during this period, continuing until they reached Camden, South Carolina in April, horses allocated to officers below the ranks of colonel, lieutenant colonel and major (field-grade officers) were used only as pack animals, not for riding. The Earl's emphasis and insistence on the use and regulation of bat horses to reduce numbers of wagons indicates his desire to keep his forces as mobile and unencumbered as possible. That he did this early on puts his later decision to burn a good portion of his baggage and wagons prior to his pursuit of Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene's forces to the Dan River in a different light. Lt. Col. Banastre Tarleton noted of the time just before the movement towards the Dan, "On the 25th. [January], a halt was made at Ransoure's [Ramsour's] Mills, for the purpose of destroying all the baggage and carriages, except such as were absolutely necessary."<sup>34</sup> Cornwallis remained at the Mill for three days, a portion of that time likely spent in converting wagon horses into pack animals. Additional pack saddles ("sunks") would have been needed, and could have been devised from materials at hand, even if only ad hoc types made of turf ("sods"). An Boston, in April 1775, Lt. Frederick Mackenzie, 23d Regiment, was faced with the prospect of making pack saddles:

12th. April ... Orders given for the Officers to provide themselves with Baggage Saddles, at the rate of 3 pr. Company; vizt. One for the Captain, One for the Companies tents, and one for the two Subalterns. As Pack Saddles cannot be had in this country, Sunks and Sods (a kind of Baggage Saddle used by the troops during the German war) are recommended as the best substitutes.

Materials for Sinks or Sods - a kind of baggage saddle.

	.		d.		s.
2 yards of Sail Cloth at	1.		6		3.0
4 yards of Osnabrucks		1			4.0
Leather					1.6
Twine				6[d.]	
			Besides labor	9.0	p. 16. <sup>35</sup>

The next month the allotment of horses was standardized; the exception “besides Bat Horses” may only refer to infantry field officers; thus the allocation for cavalry officers, surgeons, and quartermasters likely included both riding and bat horses, while foot officers under the rank of major, barred from riding, would only have needed pack animals. (The correlation between the allotment of extra horses and freed blacks is notable and a significant indication of the British command’s attitude towards freed chattel slaves.)



**Paul Sandby, “The Encampment on Black-Heath,” 1780. Pack animal pictured on the right.**

Head Quarters Armstrong's  
19th. Febr. 1781

Regulations concerning Horses & Negroes repeated

For the Cavalry	Horses	Negroes
Lt Col	10	4
Captn	7	2
Sub[alter]n	5	2
Surgn	3	4
Qr Mastr	2	4
Infantry		
F[ield] Offr (besides Bat Horses)	3	2
Captns	3	1
Subs, Each	2	1
Qr Mr. Serjt. & Sert <sup>l</sup> Majr	1	

The Qr. Mr. of each Regt. may have Eight Negroes to Assist him in receiving prov[isio]ns & other Regl. Business. Each Negroe is to have a Ticket with his Masters Name Signed by the Comdng Officer of the Corps or the Head of the Departmt. to which he belongs; Offrs who have more than one Negroe will Number Each Ticket. The Depy Provost has reced orders to Seize & detain any Negroe who has not a Ticket agreeable to the above Order. All Servts & Bat Men are to have Tickets for the Horses to ride or lead Sign'd as beforementioned.<sup>36</sup>

Five days after the action at Guilford Courthouse, on the road to New Garden, and from there, Camden, South Carolina, numbers of bat men and horses were adjusted once more.

Head Qrs: Camp, Near Deep River 20th March 81. ...  
Brigd. Orders

Lord Cornwallis having Signify'd To Brigd. Genl. O'Hara that it is his Lordship's wish that the Number of Bat Men Servants & Orderlys may be greatly decreased the Necessity of the Service requiring every means what ever may be used to Strengthen the files in each Corps, & that those Men permitted to continue in Such Employ shall be of the worst Marchers.

Genl. O'Hara is pleased to Make the following regulations for the Brgd. of Guards ...

	No.[of servants/bat men]		No.
Bd. Genls.	2	Gl. Staff Offrs.	1
Commdant	1	Regl. Staff	1
Compy.	1 to each	Surgeons	1
[officers]		between two	

The whole to march with the baggage always Completely Armed & Appointed as other Soldiers & able to act for The defence of the whole, all Bat Men exceeding the regulation to Join at 4 O'Clock this day & be ordered to take their tower of duty.<sup>37</sup>

Cornwallis's battered force moved on to Wilmington, North Carolina, reaching the town on April 7th. On 25 April Cornwallis marched north, towards Virginia, entering the state on May 12, linking up with Maj. Gen. Benedict Arnold's detachment at Petersburg on the 20th. From headquarters there, on 21 May, the regulations concerning for "Negroes & Horses" were reiterated, with some minor modifications:

For the Cavalry <sup>38</sup>

Horses Negroes

L <sup>t</sup> Colonel	-----	10	-----	4
Captain	-----	7	-----	2
Subaltern	-----	3	-----	2 [five horses in the 19 February allocation]
Surgeon	-----	3	-----	4
Q <sup>r</sup> Master	-----	2	-----	4

Infantry

Field officer	--	5	--	2 [three horses in the 19 February allocation]*
Captains	--	3	--	1
Sub <sup>n</sup> & Staff	-	2	--	1
Q <sup>r</sup> M <sup>r</sup> Serjeant	1	--	1	[no black servant assigned in the 19 February allocation]*
Serj <sup>t</sup> Major	1	----	1	[ditto]

\* Likely includes two bat horses.

As the war moved south to the Carolinas, and then Virginia, British forces continued to use numbers of bat horses, augmented by confiscated animals; wagons were reserved for provisions, ammunition, and possibly tentage. The 43d Regiment landed on 26 May 1781 at Brandon, Virginia, on the James River, sent to reinforce, Lt. Gen. Charles, Earl Cornwallis's forces.

Apollo Transport Off[ Brandon, James River 23rd May 1781 ... Five Regimental Waggons will land with the Regiment. One to each Grand Division the fifth for Major Fergusons Baggage

Head Qrs Westover 27th May 1781 Orders ... The Subaltern Officers [are] to provide themselves with **Bat Horses** as the Waggons are not to be continued with the Battalion ...

After orders The Troops will form in line of march Precisly at 4 O'Clock tomorrow Morning in the following order.

Queens Rangers

Light Infantry [incl. Jaegers]

Corps of Pioneers

Two Six Pounders

Lieutenant Colonel Dundases Brigade [43rd, 76th, 80th]

Two Six Pounders

Regiment De Bose

Two three pounders

Brigadier General O'Hares Brigade [Guards, 23rd, 33rd]

**Bat Horses and Waggons** as usual

Generl O hare will please To order a Guard to march in the Rear of the waggons.

General Orders 4th June 1781

A Foraging party of 1 Sub[altern] 1 Serjt and 20 Men with the **Batt Horses** and Servants from Lt Col Dundas's Brigade to parade immediately at the Waggon yard <sup>39</sup>

June 10th orders for the 43d Regiment reiterated army orders of 21 May, issued at Petersburg, Virginia.

Lord Cornwalliss regulation Respecting the N[umbe]r of negroes and horses  
Field Officer of Infantry 5 horses and 2 Negroes.  
Captains 3 Horses and 1 negro  
Subalterns and Staff 2 Horses and 1 negro  
Q[uar]te[r] M[aste]r Serjn [surgeon] and Serjt Major 1 Horse and 1 Negro each  
The number or names of Corps to be marked in a Conspicuous manner on the  
Jacket of each negro.  
No woman or Negro to possess a Horse, nor any Negro to be Suffered to ride on a  
March except such as belong to publick departments. <sup>40</sup>

Orders issued the during the ensuing summer's active campaigning referenced baggage animals many times; here are several of the less routine directives:

Head Quarters Williamsbu[rg] 25<sup>th</sup> June 1781

The Officers Commanding Brigades are desired to inspect the Horses of the different Corps under their Command, & to take the most effective Measures to put the Order relative to Horses & Negroes into Execution; All Supernumerary Horses to be delivered to the Q<sup>r</sup>M<sup>r</sup> General & Negroes to Capt. Brown ... If the Officer who may be in possession of a Horse fit for the Cavalry Service has not got his Allowance of Horses exclusive of him, The Q<sup>r</sup> M<sup>r</sup> General Will furnish such Officer with a Horse either for the Saddle or for carrying Baggage.

Head Quarters Williamsburg 29th June 1781 ...

Lord Cornwallis is pleased to Order the usual returns for two hundred days Batt and forage Money to be sent in to the Deputy Quarter Master General ...

Head Quarters James City Island ... After Orders 5th July 1781

The Batt Horses to be loaded at 6 O'Clock to morrow morning and to pass over to James Island with a Quarter Master and Serjeant and 6 Men from each Corps, the Quarter Masters will keep the Horses of their Respective Battalions together and report to the Deputy Quarter Master General at the place of Embarkation what Number they have to be Carried over the River not Exceeding the Regulation. Officers may keep their Saddle Horses.

Brigade Orders

The Batt Horses of the Brigade to parade in front of their own Regiments at ½ after 5 O'Clock to Morrow Morning, Commanding Officers of Regiments will be Answerable that no more than the Regulated Number of Horses are brought to the place of Embarkation.

Commanding Officers of Corps will endeavor to have their Sick Crossed over on the Batt Horse[s] of their Regiments <sup>41</sup>

Upon reaching Suffolk, Virginia, the regimental bat horses were no longer needed:

Head Quarters Suffolk 13th July 1781

Orders

The Brigade of Light Infantry 43d and 76th Regiments will hold themselves in readiness to march to morrow morning under the Orders of Lieutenant Colnel Abercrombie.

The **Batt Horses** of the above Corps are to be delivered up this Evening to the Deputy Quarter Master General who will allow a sufficient number of Waggon[s] to carry the Baggage of each Corps

RO

The Quarter Master will receive the **Batt Horses** of the **Batt** this Evening at 6 O'Clock and deliver them to the Quarter Master General. ...

Reg After Orders

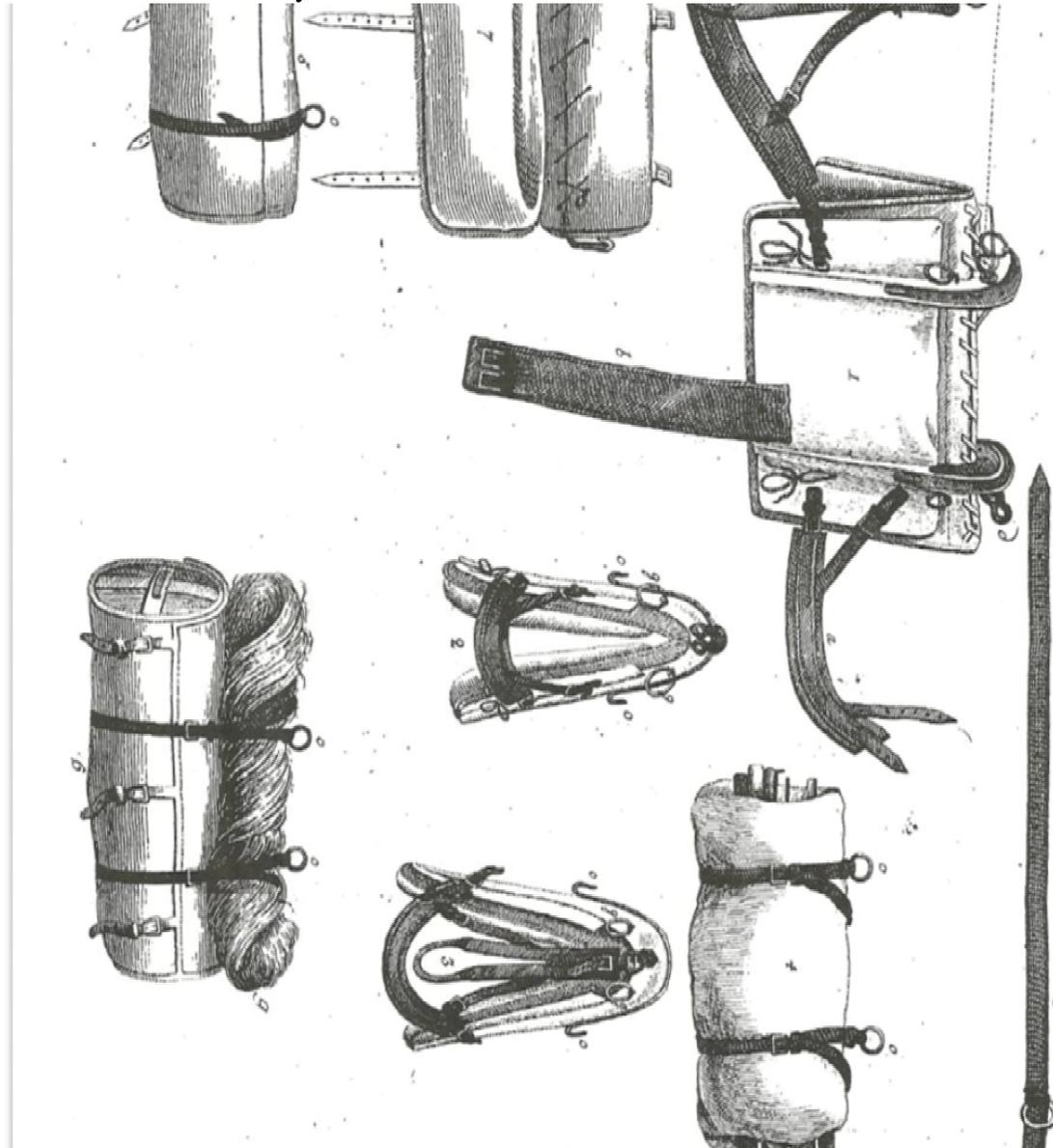
A Waggon will be attached to each Grand Divission to Carry the Regiments Baggage to  
morrow morning.<sup>42</sup>

Twenty days later Cornwallis's forces took ship to Yorktown.

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**Acknowledgments**

I am indebted to Linnea Bass, Christopher Fox, Don N. Hagist, Nathaniel Kobuck,  
SteveRayner, Robert A. Selig, John Ruf, and Gregory J.W. Urwin for their help with this  
study.



**Image (previous page): Plate 10, No. 1, Heinrich Medicus, *Was ist jedem Officier waehrend eines Feldzugs zu wissen noethig. Mit zehen Kupferplatten* (Carlsruhe, 1788).**

**Description (translation courtesy of Robert A Selig, PhD.)**

**A Pack Saddle**

- a) the Front Strap
- b) the Belly Strap
- c) the Rear Strap
- d) the strap to hang things with, the haunch
- e) is hung into hook "f"
- g) the rings into which the fodder/feed bag, boot cleaning material bag, (hair) powder bag and bread bag are tied

**2. The Pack Saddle from the front**

**3. The Pack Saddle from the rear**

**4. Packed Tent**

**5. Mantle Sack/Greatcoat Pack ready to be packed (onto the horse) seen from the side facing the horse**

**6. Mantle Sack with spun hay on it**

**7. Bed Sack.**

**N(ota) B(ene).** During packing the rings o of numbers 4, 5, or 6 are hung into the hooks o.

**8. The Pack Strap, of which each Pack Saddle has four**

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**Heinrich Medicus, *Was ist jedem Officier waehrend eines Feldzugs zu wissen noethig. Mit zehen Kupferplatten* (Carlsruhe, 1788), 51-54 (translation and annotation of excerpt courtesy of Robert A Selig, PhD.).**

**“The servant-horse or pack-horse must be strong and rough-boned, it carries a pack saddle that is as light as possible, (see plate 10, no. 1) made of wood with a completely filled pillow, three-finger-wide front and back strap besides a regular tail strap, a Hungarian halter, and a long water bridle/snaffle-bit with an open rein in order to tie in the one end and to lead the horse on the other or to attached (the horse with) it to another horse walking in front of it. The front and rear pommels (or knee roll) are studded on top with sheet-iron which ends on either side of the pack saddle [begin p. 52] in a hook into which the (two) packs can be hung. One pack contains the tent with the tent posts (see plate 10, no. 4), some-times also a bit of spun hay. The spinning of hay is done this way. One man sits down and has a pile of hay between his legs, another man takes a stick about half the length of a man's arm around which he wraps a rope of twisted hay about five fingers thick and gives both ends (of the hay rope) into the hands of the man who is sitting on the ground. He who holds the stick in his hands keeps turning it in one direction while slowly walking backwards. The one who is sitting picks up with both hands as much hay as**

is needed to make a rope about the thickness of a man's forearm. Once the hay one wants to take along has been spun [begin p. 53] one lets the [hay] rope run together a few more times or ties some of the strands together. (see plate 10, no. 9). When one wants to feed this hay it has to be untied completely and shaken (i.e., taken or torn) apart. On the other side (of the pack saddle) will be the mantle-sack (see plate 10, no. 5) in which there are contained six shirts, a hat, three handkerchiefs, three pairs of stockings, a vest, a pair of pants, a wound bandage, some lint besides a few clean rags and two napkins. In addition there is a leather bed sack (see plate 10, no. 7) which contains a *trilch* mattress<sup>1</sup> that is as thin as possible filled with horse-hair, besides a quilted blanket and a wooden field bed that is as light as possible (see plate 7). Both are tightly bound up with two pack straps (see plate 10, no. 8) into which there are [begin p. 54] inserted two strong rings one and a half *Schuh*<sup>2</sup> from the buckle/clasp with which each pack can be hung onto the hooks described above and then the camping posts will be inserted into them (the rings). The field kettle with the casserol (i.e. the pot itself) is in the kettle bag; in the kettle itself there is a small coffee kettle in which is a well tied-up bladder<sup>3</sup> with ground coffee, knife, spoon and fork as well as something to cook (i.e., to eat) which however has to rest firmly in it, as well as a cup packed into a leather casing, in it there are a few pieces of rock/candied sugar; the hard fodder (for the horse) in a long bag so that it lies the firmer (on the back of the horse). Onto the saddle pommels are attached on either side in the front and the rear (see plate 10, no. 2, 3) rings, to one of them is tied in the front the fodder bag (see plate 6, no. 10. 11.) ...”

### Addenda: Miscellaneous Pack Saddle Images and Narratives

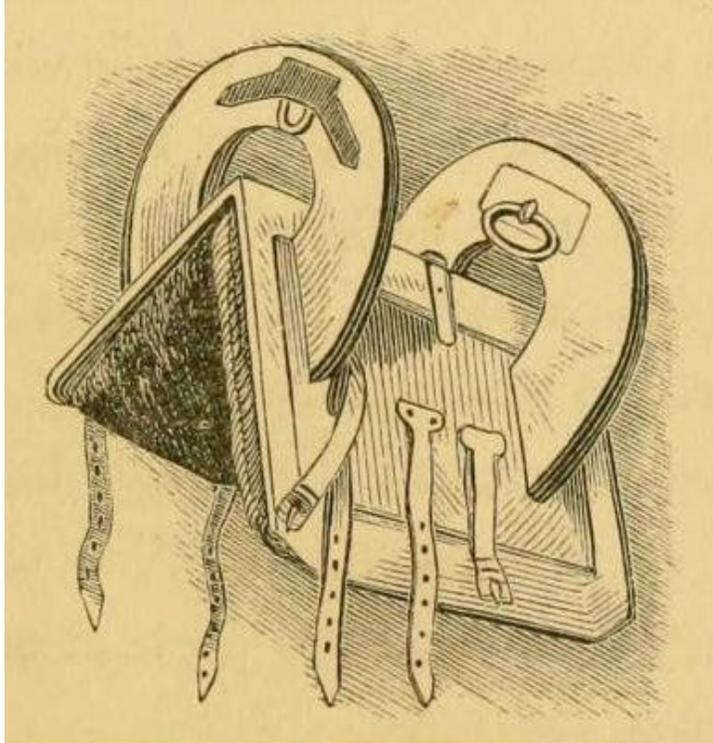
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<sup>1</sup> *trilch* is a linen cloth woven with three threads

<sup>2</sup> A *Schuh* is anywhere from 28 cm to 32 cm (keeping in mind that 1 inch = 2.54 centimeter):

Weimar: 28.19 cm	Saxony: 28.31 cm	Frankfurt/Main: 28.46 cm
Württemberg: 28.64 cm	Darmstadt: 28.81 cm	Bremen: 28.93 cm
Aschaffenburg: 29.05 cm	Duchy of Bavaria: 29.18 cm	Hannover: 29.21 cm
Augsburg: 29.61 cm	Oldenburg: 29.64 cm	Nuremberg: 30.37 cm
Kingdom of Prussia: 31.38 cm	Vienna: 31.60 cm	Freiburg im Breisgau: 32.40 cm

<sup>3</sup> He writes *Blase*, which in the 18<sup>th</sup> century would be an animal bladder.



Pack saddle supposedly owned and used by George Washington. Benson Lossing, "Mount Vernon and its Associations" (1859), 53. At <http://archive.org/details/mountvernonandit00lossiala> According to "The Historical Magazine and Notes and Queries," vol. VII, p. 247, this artifact was in the Alexandria Museum in 1863.



Pack saddle of unknown provenance in the collection of the Bushy Run Battlefield Museum. <http://explorepahistory.com/displayimage.php?imgId=1-2-3B2>



**This image of 16th century pack saddle shows that the design remained substantially the same into the early 19th century or later. Louis Le Nain, "The Milkmaid's Family," circa 1641 (Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg)**



**Pack Saddle  
Museum of the Fur Trade Collection**

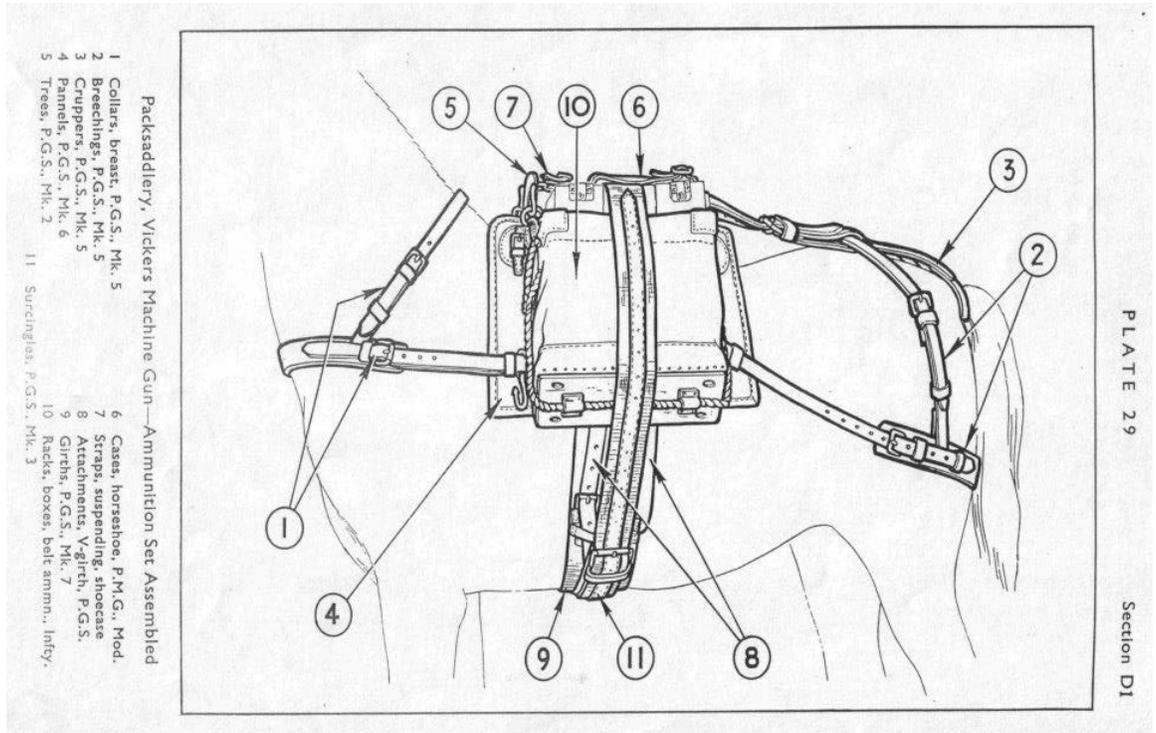
**Pack saddle of unknown provenance.  
Museum of the Fur Trade. Chadron, Nebraska**



**Packsaddle of unknown provenance (private collection).  
(Image posted on Frontier Folk online forum.)**



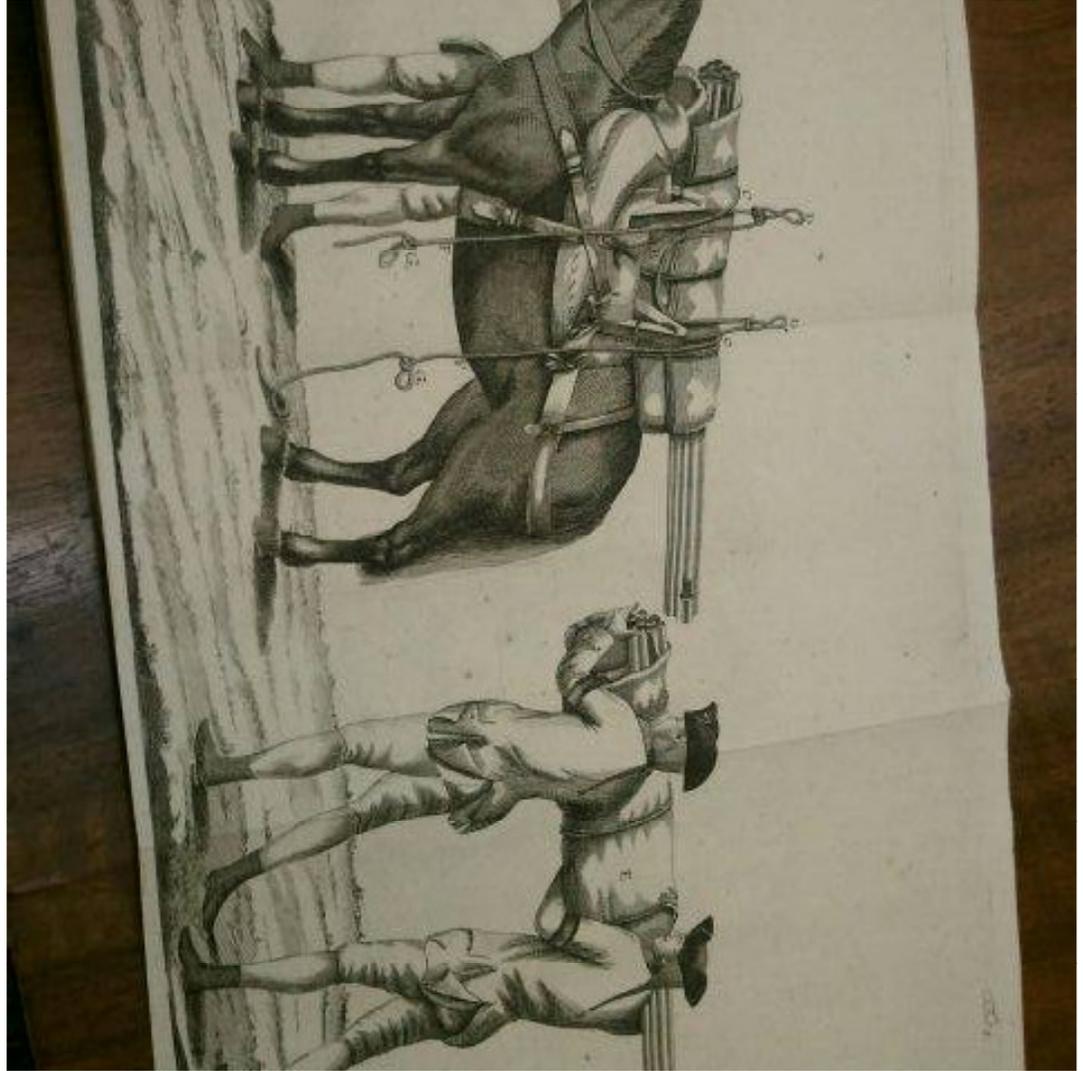


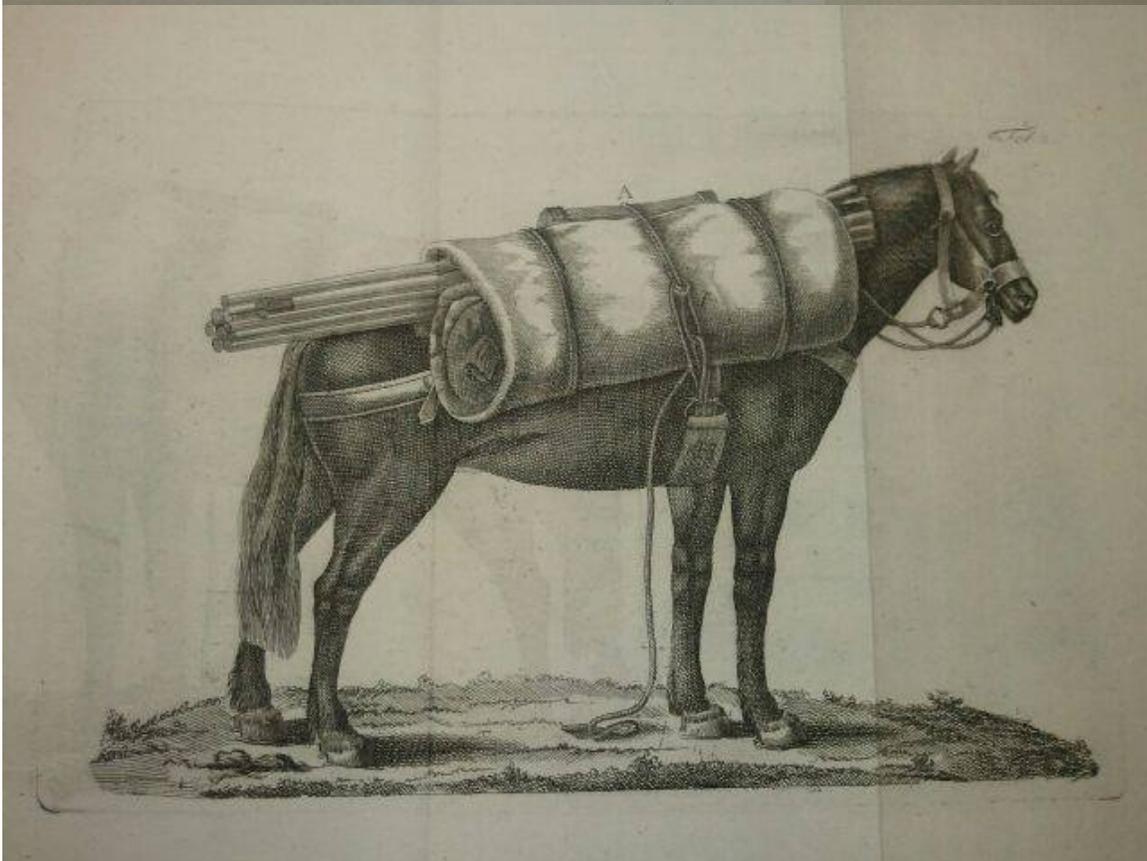
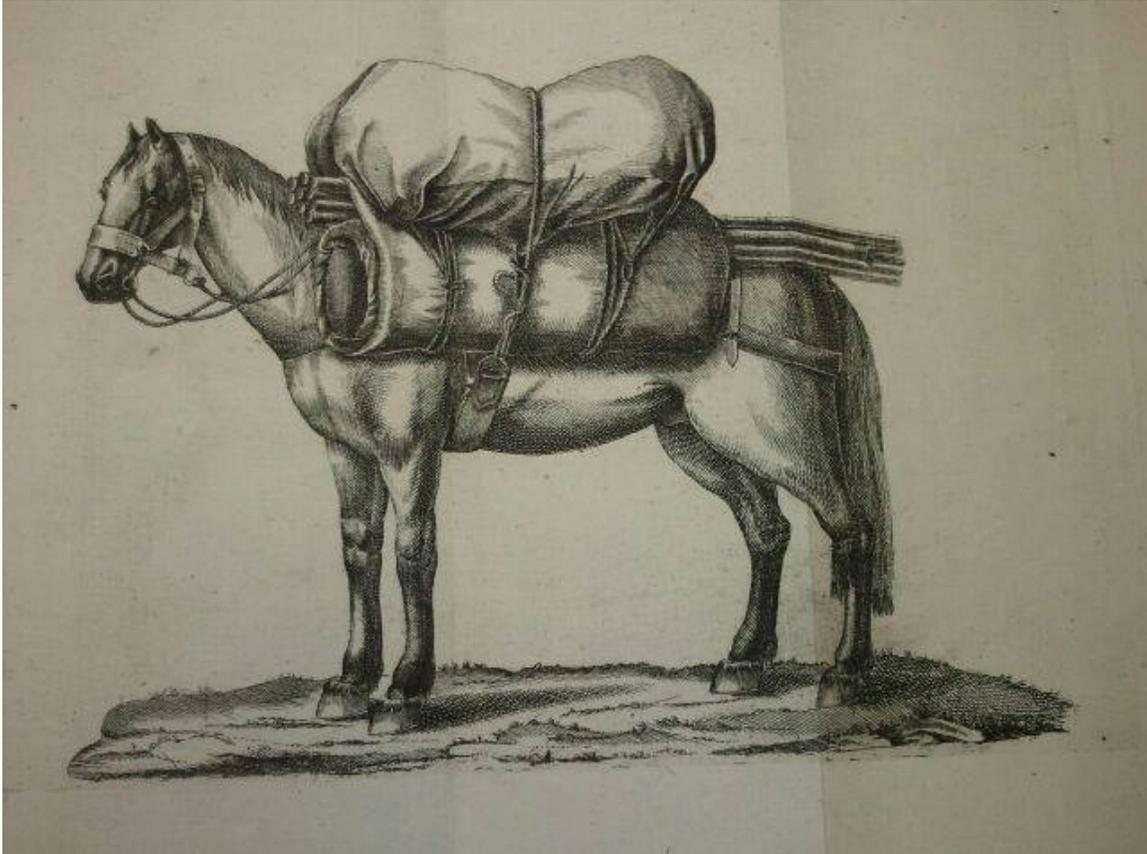


**One of the many British P.G.S. saddles still in use after WWII. Included for comparison with the pack saddle and harness pictured in Heinrich Medicus, *Was ist jedem Officier waehrend eines Feldzugs zu wissen noethig. Mit zehen Kupferplatten* (Carlsruhe, 1788), 51-54. (Image courtesy of John Ruf)**

(Following pages)

Pack horse images, likely Prussian (undated, circa mid-eighteenth century). Plates (unbound) from the Society of the Cincinnati collections (courtesy of Marko Zlatich). The Society of the Cincinnati, 2118 Massachusetts Ave NW, Washington, DC 20008.





From the Court Martial of Cosmo Gordon of the 3d Regiment of Foot Guards for neglect of duty near Springfield, New Jersey, June 1780.

Page 21-22: "...Thomas Hobbs, private soldier of the first regiment of Guards, being duly sworn was examined.

Q. Was he with the brigade of Guards on the 23rd of June 1780?

A. He was servant to Col. Thomas at the time and with the brigade.

Q. In what particular way was he employed on that day?

**A. He had the care of a horse and a pair of canteens belonging to Col. Howard, and of a few things belonging to Col. Thomas**

**Q. Was he not obliged to stop for some time, as the troops were passing towards Springfield and the heights thereof, in order to mend and repair the trappings of the horse or canteens, with which he was intrusted by Col. Howard and Col. Thomas?**

**A. Yes; he stopped some time, and took the opportunity, while the brigade halted, to repair his canteens."**

86-86.

"Thomas Hobbs, already sworn.

Q. (by Col. Gordon.) **Where was the halt of the brigade of Guards that he speaks of, when he says he was repairing and mending the trappings of his horse, and canteens?**

A. In the road leading to the heights of Springfield . ...

**Q. How long does he think he was employed in those repairs, from the time the brigade of Guards began to move on, after the halt, until he followed the Hussars ...?**

**A. About ten minutes after the brigade moved on, before he followed the Hussars ...**

**Q. Was he on horseback, or foot, when he followed the Hussars; and did he move slowly or briskly on?**

**A. He was on foot, leading the horse as fast as the horse could walk.**

*The Trial of the Hon. Col. Cosmo Gordon, of the Third Regiment of Foot-Guards, for Neglect of Duty before the Enemy, on the 23d of June, 1780, near Springfield, in the Jerseys: Containing the Whole Proceedings of a General Court-Martial, Held at the City of New-York on the 22d of August, and continued ... to the 4th of September, 1782 (London: Printed for Geo. Harlow, St. James's Street, 1783)*

## Endnotes

1. John U. Rees, “Reach Coryels ferry. Encamp on the Pennsylvania side.’: The March from Valley Forge to Monmouth Courthouse, 18 to 28 June 1778”  
<http://www.scribd.com/doc/133301501/“Reach-Corvels-ferry-Encamp-on-the-Pennsylvania-side-”-The-March-from-Valley-Forge-to-Monmouth-Courthouse-18-to-28-June-1778>

Endnotes:

<http://www.scribd.com/doc/133293312/Endnotes-“Reach-Corvels-ferry-Encamp-on-the-Pennsylvania-side-”-The-March-from-Valley-Forge-to-Monmouth-Courthouse-18-to-28-June-1778>

### Contents

1. “We struck our tents and loaded our baggage.”: Leaving Valley Forge
2. Progress, June 18, 1778.
3. Progress, June 19, 1778.
4. “Crost the dilliware pushed on about 5 milds ...”: June 20, 1778: Progress and a River Crossing
5. “4 Wagons & Horses, and 1000 Men at a Try.”: The Mechanics of Ferrying an Army
6. “Halt on the first strong ground after passing the Delaware ...”: June 20<sup>th</sup> River Crossing
7. “The number of boats ... will render the passage of the troops very expeditious.”:  
June 21st Ferry Operation
8. “The Troops are passing the River ... and are mostly over.”: June 22d Crossing
9. “The Army will march off ...”: June 22d and 23d, Camp at Amwell Meeting
10. “Just after we halted we sent out a large detachment ...”: Camp and Council: Hopewell Township, 23 to 24 June
11. “Giving the Enemy a stroke is a very desireable event ...”: Advancing to Englishtown, 24 to 28 June
  - a. Progress, June 25, 1778.
  - b. Progress, June 26, 1778.
  - c. Progress, June 27, 1778.
  - d. Forward to Battle, June 28, 1778.
12. “Our advanced Corps ... took post in the evening on the Monmouth Road ...”:  
Movements of Continental Detachments Followng the British, 24 to 28 June 1778
  - a. The Advance Force: Scott’s, Wayne’s, Lafayette’s, and Lee’s Detachments.
  - b. Daily Movements of Detachments Later Incorporated into Lee’s Advanced Corps.
13. Echoes of 1778, Three Years After.

### Addendum

1. Driving Directions, Continental Army Route from Valley Forge to Englishtown
2. Day by Day Recap of Route
3. The Road to Hopewell.
4. The Bungtown Road Controversy.
5. Weather During the Monmouth Campaign
6. Selected Accounts of the March from Valley Forge to Englishtown
  - a. Fifteen-year-old Sally Wister
  - b. Surgeon Samuel Adams, 3<sup>rd</sup> Continental Artillery
  - c. Henry Dearborn, lt. colonel, 3<sup>rd</sup> New Hampshire Regiment
  - d. Captain Paul Brigham, 8<sup>th</sup> Connecticut Regiment
  - e. Sergeant Ebenezer Wild, 1<sup>st</sup> Massachusetts Regiment
  - f. Sgt. Jeremiah Greenman, 2d Rhode Island Regiment
  - g. Dr. James McHenry, assistant secretary to General Washington
7. List of Related works by the author on military material culture and the Continental Army

### Endnotes contain:

1. Army General and Brigade Orders, June 1778.
  - a. Orders Regulating the Army on the March from Valley Forge.
  - b. Orders Issued During the Movement from Valley Forge to Englishtown.
2. Division and Brigade Composition for Washington’s Main Army to 22 June 1778
3. Washington’s army vehicle allotment for the march to Coryell’s Ferry,

**4. Wheeled Transportation (a primer on the vehicles and artillery on the road to Monmouth, including twenty-one illustrations)**

**5. Division and Brigade Composition for Washington's Main Army after 22 June 1778**

2. Marguerite-Marie Dubois, Denis J. Keen, Barbara Shuey, and Lester G. Crocker, *Larousse's French-English/English-French Dictionary* (two volumes in one) (New York: Pocket Books, Inc., 1955)

3. Soldiers' pension accounts transcribed and annotated by C. Leon Harris and Will Graves, *Southern Campaign Revolutionary War Pension Statements & Rosters* (World Wide Web) <http://www.southerncampaign.org/pen/>

4. "... we had 200 Baggage Waggons, about 1500 Pack Horses and a fine Train of Artillery." Paul E. Kopperman, *Braddock at the Monongahela* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1977), 177. See also, Don H. Berkebile, *Conestoga Wagons In Braddock's Campaign, 1755*, *United States National Museum Bulletin* 218 (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1959); William Smith, *An Historical Account of the Expedition against the Ohio Indians, in the Year 1764. Under the Command of Henry Bouquet, Esq.* (Philadelphia: William Bradford, 1765), 9, 53-54.

5. *Ibid.*, 53-55

6. Lord Barrington, Secretary of State at War, to the Earl of Loudon, commander of His Majesty's Foot Guards, 7 February 1776, Great Britain, Public Record Office, War Office, Class 4, Volume 96, p. 45. For large English wagons see, John U. Rees, "The road appeared to be full of red Coats ...': The Battle of Millstone, 20 January 1777: An Episode in the Forage War," *Military Collector & Historian*, vol. 62, no. 1 (Spring 2010), 24-35 (<http://www.scribd.com/doc/123985060/%E2%80%9C-The-road-appeared-to-be-full-of-red-Coats-%E2%80%A6-An-Episode-in-the-Forage-War-The-Battle-of-Millstone-20-January-1777>). "[ ] (illegible) Mr. Trotter," (verso) no date, Earl of Loudon Papers, Additional Manuscripts, no. 44084, f. 236, The British Library, London. Trotter was an Agent to the Guards at the time when they were forming the detachment for American service in 1776. Written on the front of this note is the following:

"22 Bell Tents with \_\_\_\_\_ [illegible] 50"

12 Camp Colours 7"

20 Drum Cases 9"

224 Tin Kettles & Canvas bags 2/2 bags 80 [sic]

1062 Tin Canteens 10d

1062 Haversacks 17d

10 powderbags 10"

32 Sunks & Sods L1.16\_\_\_\_

32 Waterdecks 10/10

40 Forage Cords @ 3/6 pr sett 4 to a Sett

30 Scyths with Sheeth & Whetstons 5/6

The above is already ordered to be provided by Mr. Trotter

Watchcoats of Kersey L1 pr pc"

Royal American Fencibles, Great Britain, Public Record Office, War Office, Class 4, Volume 96, p. 183. *The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary*, vol. 2 (Oxford University Press, 1971), 2903 (Sod: "two pieces of turf used as a substitute for a saddle or pack-saddle. Hence, a rough kind of saddle made of cloth, canvas, etc. and stuffed with straw"), 3155. Francis Grose, *A Collection of Local Proverbs and Popular Superstitions* (London: Printed for Edward Jeffrey, No. 11 Pall Mall, 1811), containing "A Glossary of Provincial and Local Words," "sods, a canvas pack-saddle stuffed with straw." "sunk, a canvas pack-saddle, stuffed with straw." Order Book, 17th Regiment [British], Lt. Col.

Charles Mawhood, 11 October 1776 to 28 December 1776, New-York Historical Society (transcription by Gilbert V. Riddle). See also, William W. Burke and Linnea M. Bass, "Preparing a British Unit for Service in America: The Brigade of Foot Guards, 1776," *Military Collector & Historian*, vol. 47, no. 1 (Spring 1995), 2-11, <http://www.military-historians.org/publications/journal/samples/Guards.pdf>

7. "Proportion of Waggons and other Necessaries, for such British Regiments as are destined to Act on the Coast of the Atlantick the Ensuing Campaign. Jany. 6, 1776," Edward E. Curtis, *The British Army in the American Revolution* (Originally published 1926. Reprinted, Gansevoort, N.Y.: Corner House Historical Publications, 1998), 186-187.

8. James Phinney Baxter, ed., *The British Invasion from the North: Digby's Journal of the Campaigns of Generals Carleton and Burgoyne from Canada, 1776-1777* (1887; reprint edition New York: DaCapo Press, 1970), 226-227.

9. E.B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Orderly Book of Lieut. Gen. John Burgoyne from his entry into the State of New York until his surrender at Saratoga, 16th Oct., 1777*, Munsell's Historical Series No. VII (Albany: J. Munsell, 1860), 71-72, 87-88.

10. Curtis, *The British Army in the American Revolution*, 185.

11. British Orderly Book [40th Regiment of Foot] April 20, 1777 to August 28, 1777, George Washington Papers, Presidential Papers Microfilm (Washington: Library of Congress, 1961), series 6 (Military Papers, 1755-1798), vol. 1, reel 117. Order book, Capt. Thomas Armstrong's Light Company, 64th Regiment (2d Battalion of Light Infantry), 14 September to 3 October 1777, *ibid.*, series 6, vol., reel 117 (transcription courtesy of Stephen R. Gilbert).

12. Observations on the Army, Jedediah Huntington to Washington, 1 January 1778, George Washington Papers, Presidential Papers Microfilm (Washington: Library of Congress, 1961), series 4 (General Correspondence. 1697-1799), reel 46.

13. General orders, 27 March 1778, John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources 1745-1799*, vol. 11, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1934), 161-162

14. "General Return of Waggons &ca. with the Army," Valley Forge, 30 May 1778, Chaloner and White Mss., box 6, folder 3, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. See also, endnote 91 of Rees, "Reach Coryels ferry. Encamp on the Pennsylvania side.: The March from Valley Forge to Monmouth Courthouse, 18 to 28 June 1778"

<http://www.scribd.com/doc/133301501/Reach-Coryels-ferry-Encamp-on-the-Pennsylvania-side-The-March-from-Valley-Forge-to-Monmouth-Courthouse-18-to-28-June-1778>

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15. "The 'Dansey' Letters" (Part IV), *The Iron Duke: The Regimental Magazine of the Duke of Wellington's Regiment*, no. 84 (January 1952), 64.

16. "A Dansey Tent" (drawing), Delaware Historical Society, Wilmington.

17. Ira D. Gruber, ed., *John Peebles' American War: The Diary of a Scottish Grenadier, 1776-1782* (Stackpole Books, Mechanicsburg, Pa., 1998), 184-189.

18. Sir Henry Clinton, K.B., to Lord George Germaine, 5 July 1778, Collection 72 Battle of Monmouth Collection, 1776, Library and Archives, Monmouth County Historical Society, Freehold, New Jersey.

19. Orderly Book of the Second Battalion of British Grenadiers, 1 June to 27 June 1778 (kept by Lt. John Kennedy Strong, Grenadier Company, 64<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Foot) George Washington Papers, series 6, vol. 5, reel 118 (transcription courtesy of Stephen R. Gilbert).
20. Order Book of Lt. Col. Francis Barber, 26 May 1779 to 6 September 1779, Louise Welles Murray, ed., *Notes from Craft Collection in Tioga Point Museum on the Sullivan Expedition of 1779*, (Athens, Pa., 1929), 16-17, 34-35, 41, 45, 47, 56-57, 58.
21. *Ibid.*, 74-75.
22. *Ibid.*, 77-78, 81.
23. Thomas Armstrong to Nathanael Greene, 21 August 1779, "A General Return of Stores in The Quarter Master General's Department with the Army under the Command of ... Major General John Sullivan on the Western Expedition Fort Sullivan, Tioga," Miscellaneous Numbered Records (The Manuscript File) in the War Department Collection of Revolutionary War Records 1775-1790's, National Archives Microfilm Publication M859, Record Group 93 (Washington, D.C., 1971), reel 94, no. 27523.
24. Outfitter's Supply: Essential Gear for the Trail (Columbia Falls, Montana), <http://www.outfitterssupply.com/horse-hobbles.asp>
25. Don H. Berkebile, "Conestoga Wagons in Braddock's Campaign, 1755," *United States National Museum Bulletin*, no. 218 (Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 1959) <http://www.scribd.com/doc/153819233/Don-H-Berkebile-Conestoga-Wagons-in-Braddock-s-Campaign-1755>
26. "Detail of Public Waggons, and those employd on hire for the Service of the Army ... reckoned for an Army of 30,000 Infantry — 5 regimts. Cavalry & 5 of Artillery," 29 March 1780, reel 41, target 161, Numbered Record Books Concerning Military Operations and Service, Pay and Settlement Accounts, and Supplies in the War Department Collection of Revolutionary War Records (National Archives Microfilm Publication M853) Record Group 93 (In total 14 covered wagons, 26 open wagons and 218 horses (including 7 bat horses for field officers and regimental staff) were deemed necessary for a brigade of infantry in 1780).
27. Washington to Timothy Pickering, 25 June 1781, Fitzpatrick, *Writings of George Washington*, vol. 22 (1937), 266-267.
28. Richard Varick, "Invoice of Articles of Baggage of his Excellency Genl Washington left in my Charge June 25th. 1781 and sent to Hd. Qrts. Augt. 21. 1781," George Washington Papers, series 3B (Varick Transcripts), footnote to Washington to Marquis de Lafayette, 21 August 1781, Fitzpatrick, *Writings of George Washington*, vol. 23 (1937), 33-34.
29. "Establishment of the legion commanded by Coll. Armand Marquis de la Rouerie," 13 February 1782, Numbered Record Books, National Archives, reel 29, 35-37.
30. A.R. Newsome, ed., "A British Orderly Book, 1780-1781", *North Carolina Historical Review*, vol. IX, no. 1 (1932); IX, 2 (1932); IX, 3 (1932); IX, 4 (1932).
31. *Ibid.*,
32. *Ibid.*
33. *Ibid.*
34. *Ibid.*
35. Frederick Mackenzie, *The Diary of Frederick Mackenzie Giving a Daily Narrative of his Military Service as an Officer of the Regiment of Royal Welch Fuziliers During the*

*Years 1775 - 1781 in Massachusetts, Rhode Island and New York,*" 2 vols. Cambridge, Ma.: Harvard University Press, 1930. Reprint The New York Times and Arno Press, NY 1969)

36. Newsome, "A British Orderly Book, 1780-1781."

37. Ibid.

38. Order book, 43rd Regiment of Foot (British), 23 May 1781 to 25 August 1781, British Museum, London, Mss. 42,449 (transcription courtesy of Gilbert V. Riddle).

39. Ibid.

40. Ibid.

41. Ibid.

42. Ibid.