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INTRODUCED AND EDITED BY JOSEPH LEE BOYLE

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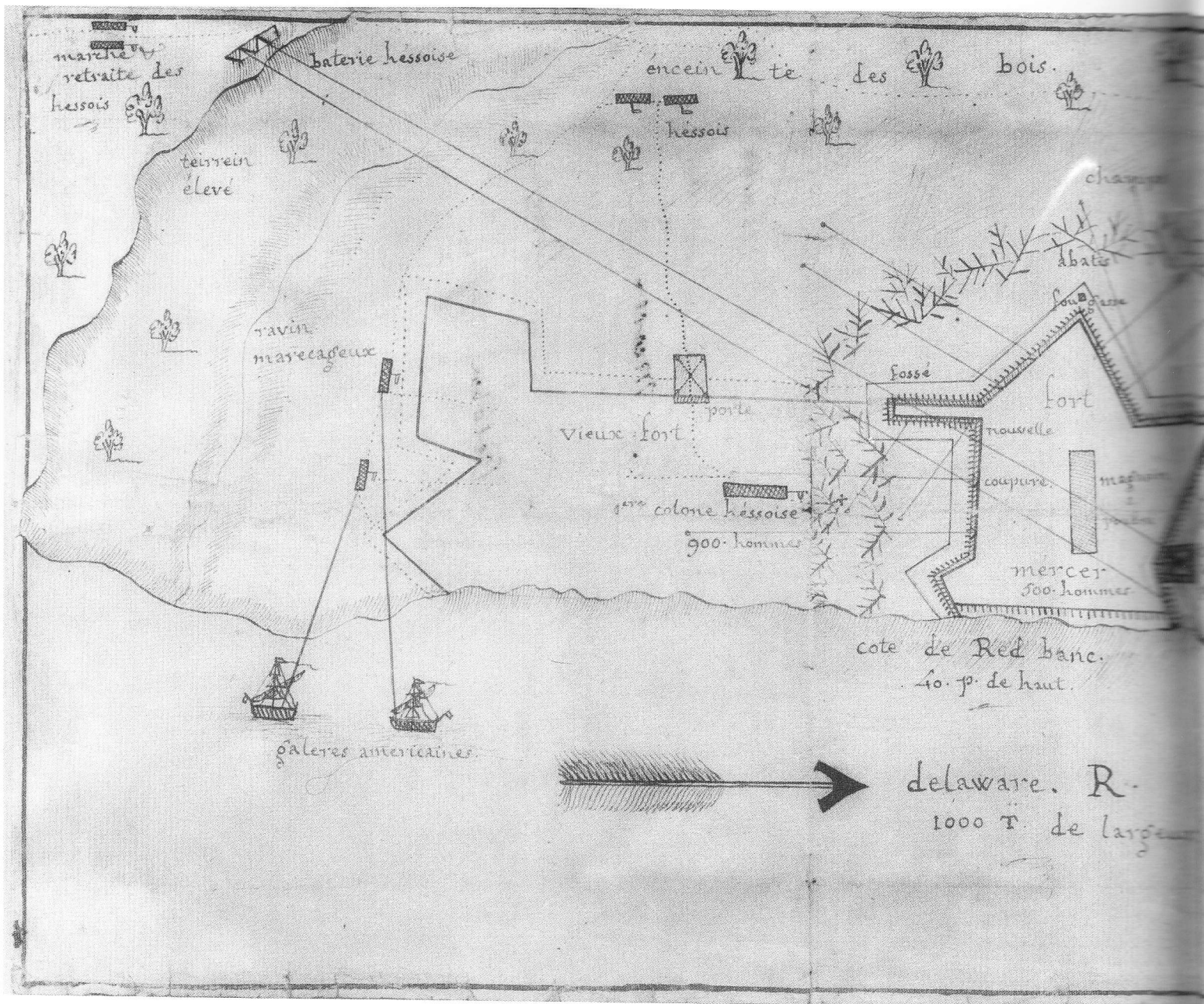
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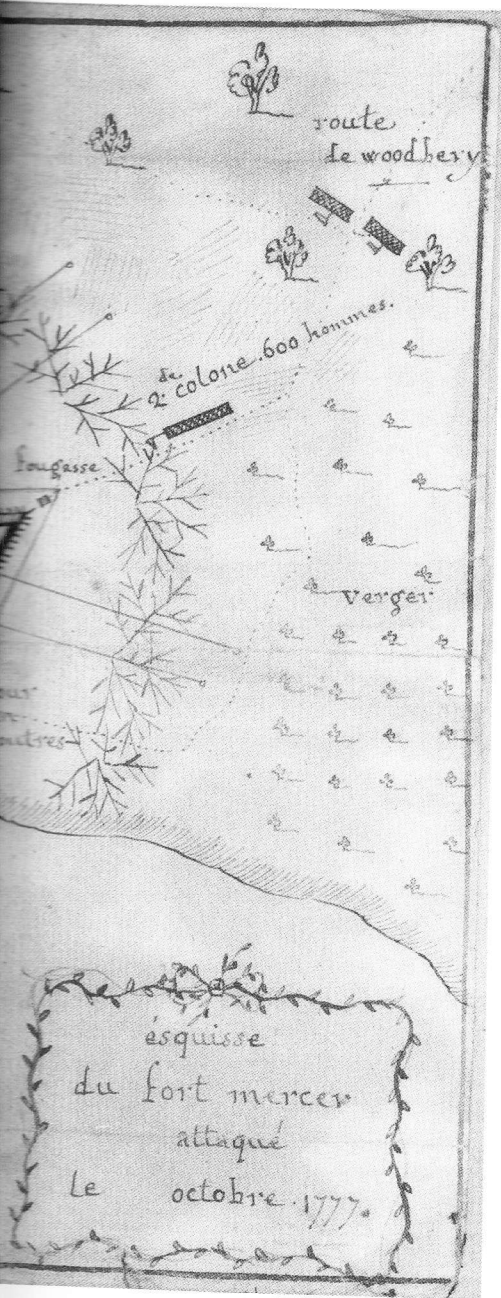
On 22 October 1777 the First and Second Rhode Island Regiments repelled a Hessian attack on Fort Mercer at Red Bank, New Jersey. It was the greatest American

victory in the battle for control of the Delaware River. Courtesy of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania (Accession no. Am 602 p. 29, Revolutionary maps).

The Israel Angell Diary, 1 October 1777-28 February 1778

INTRODUCTION

JOSEPH LEE BOYLE



When the first shots of the Revolutionary War were fired in April 1775, many thought, mistakenly, that the conflict would be quickly over. With hostilities continuing into 1777, the British launched two major campaigns in an attempt to end the war. In one of these, Gen. John Burgoyne marched south from Canada with an army in the early summer, but he was checked, surrounded, and forced to surrender at Saratoga that October. It was the first great American victory of the war.

The second, more successful British campaign, under the command of Gen. William Howe, began later in the summer of 1777. After being delayed by a wait in New York for reinforcements and supplies, in June Howe attempted to lure General Washington and his army into open battle from the mountains of New Jersey. When this strategem failed, Howe reassembled his forces and on 25 August 1777 led them to a landing at the head of Chesapeake Bay. On 11 September he defeated Washington's army at the Battle of Brandywine; then, having captured Philadelphia, the nation's capital, he defeated Washington again at the Battle of Germantown.

Rather than pursuing the Americans, Howe now remained at Philadelphia. His supporting fleet was still down the Delaware River, unable to penetrate the American defenses. Without his fleet, Howe could not long support his army, nor did he have a means of retreat if he was defeated. For nearly two months the American naval and land forces thwarted the British efforts to unite. It was during this critical period—a delay that cost the British favorable campaigning weather, and may well have cost them the war—that Israel Angell began his diary.¹

Angell came from a family that had settled in Rhode Island by 1637. Born to Oliver and Naomi Angell in Providence on 24 August 1740, he learned the family trade of cooperage, as well as carpentry, blacksmithing, and farming, from his father. In 1765 he married Martha Angell, a second cousin, with whom he would have eleven children.

Angell gained his first recorded military post in 1769, when he became a lieutenant in the Rhode Island Militia. He was promoted to captain in 1774. In 1775 he was commissioned a major in the Rhode Island Army of Observation, and he was at Boston that year and into the next when the city was besieged by the Continental Army. In 1776 he served in the battles for New York, and in 1776-77 in the Trenton-Princeton campaign. He was commissioned a lieutenant colonel in the Second Rhode Island Regiment when that unit was formed in January 1777, and he was promoted to a full colonelcy the following month.

The two most successful military actions in which the Second Rhode Island Regiment participated were the defense of Fort Mercer (Red Bank Fort), which is described in the following diary, and the 23 June 1780 action at Springfield, New Jersey. In the latter encounter, Angell's men defended a bridge until (as Nathanael Greene reported) "superior numbers overcame obstinate bravery."² For his role in that action, Angell was acknowledged in a letter by Washington and a resolution of the Rhode Island General Assembly.

Joseph Lee Boyle is a historian at Valley Forge National Historical Park in Pennsylvania.

After leaving the army in February 1781, when the two Rhode Island regiments were consolidated, Angell (a man of “medium height, light complexion, auburn hair surmounted by a wig, blue eyes, a strong Roman nose, and straight as a ramrod,” according to an acquaintance)³ resumed his work as a cooper and a farmer. During the ensuing years he held a number of local posts in Johnston, including those of justice of the peace and town councilman. He also acquired land in Vermont, New York, and Ohio, the latter a grant of twelve hundred acres earned by his military service. After his first wife died in 1793, he married again and sired six more children. A third marriage was childless. At the time of his death on 31 May 1832, he was courting a woman and contemplating a fourth marriage.⁴



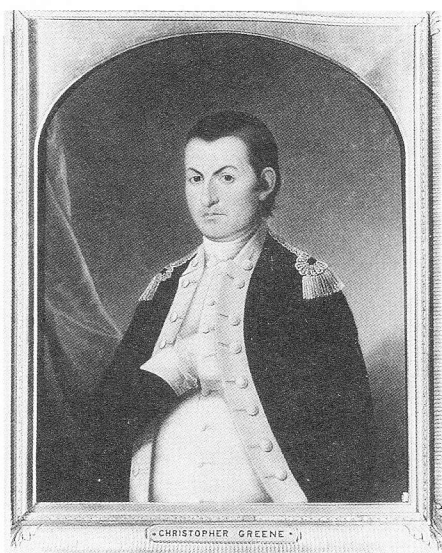
For several months prior to October 1777, when Angell’s diary begins, the Second Rhode Island Regiment was in the Hudson Highlands of New York as part of a force commanded by Gen. Israel Putnam.⁵ On 10 September Washington ordered Putnam to send 1,500 troops from Peekskill to New Jersey to repel an expected British invasion there. Four days later, after the American defeat at Brandywine Creek, Washington asked Putnam for 1,000 more men. Learning that Putnam had delayed his response and sent only 900 men, on 23 September Washington peremptorily ordered that the full 2,500 men be sent to join him and that “No considerations are to prevent it.”⁶ Angell’s regiment was one of the units now dispatched. It began its southward march on 29 September, and having crossed the Hudson River to Haverstraw, New York, it arrived at “Kakaat” (Kakiat) on the thirtieth. The diary begins on the day the regiment marched to “Rammapaw” (Ramapo), New Jersey, which is very close to the New York-New Jersey border.

On 18 October the regiment joined the First Rhode Island Regiment at Fort Mercer, about three miles southwest of Philadelphia at Red Bank, New Jersey. The Delaware River had been blocked by rows of underwater obstacles, and the strongpoints of Fort Mifflin on the Pennsylvania side and Fort Mercer on the New Jersey side, together with a small American fleet above the obstacles, ensured that no naval force could remove them without opposition. Although the Americans suffered from a number of problems, including disunity of command—John Hazelwood, in charge of the flotilla, did not report to Washington, who commanded the land forces—they were nonetheless preventing the British fleet from reaching General Howe’s army.

Howe’s frustration with the delays led him to send two thousand Hessians under Col. Carl von Donop to take Fort Mercer by storm. The Hessian assault against the Rhode Island regiments on 22 October was a disaster, costing the Hessians heavy casualties. This was the biggest American victory of the campaign, and it brightened hopes that the British army might be forced to abandon Philadelphia. “I heartily congratulate you upon this happy event, and beg you will accept my most particular thanks, and present the same to your whole garrison both officers and men,” wrote Washington to Col. Christopher Greene, who commanded the defence.⁷ Although Forts Mercer and Mifflin had to be abandoned in November, their prolonged defense meant that the lethargic Howe would not pursue Washington, and that both armies would spend a relatively quiet winter—Howe in Philadelphia, Washington in Valley Forge.



Israel Angell kept other diaries in addition to the one presented here. A war diary beginning in August 1778 and concluding in April 1781 was published in 1899 as *Diary of Colonel Israel Angell, Commanding the Second Rhode Island Continental Regiment during*



The defense of Fort Mercer was commanded by Col. Christopher Greene of the First Rhode Island Regiment. Copy by James Sullivan Lincoln, circa 1863, of a painting by Charles Wilson Peale. Courtesy of the Brown University Library

the American Revolution, 1778-1781 (see note 3 below). A journal of his 1788 trip from his home in Johnston to Ohio and back appears in Dwight L. Smith, "Israel Angell and the West in 1788," *Rhode Island History* 22 (1963): 1-15, 39-50.

Another diary of particular interest here—this one by an enlisted man who served in the Second Rhode Island Regiment—is Jeremiah Greenman's *Diary of a Common Soldier in the American Revolution, 1775-1783*, ed. Robert C. Bray and Paul E. Bushnell (DeKalb, Ill.: Northern Illinois University Press, 1978). This volume provides another perspective on the events that Angell recorded. For the most part the observations of the colonel and the enlisted man reinforce each other, though there are occasional contradictions; for example, Angell mentions that the Hessian colonel Donop was buried on 30 October, whereas Greenman places the burial on the thirty-first.

The original of the following diary is at the Massachusetts Historical Society in Boston. The diary consists of two bound books, each about 4 by 6½ inches, containing a total of forty-six leaves, with writing on both sides of most leaves. The edges are worn and some pages are heavily stained, but most of the writing is clear. Although the diary has no name on it, the handwriting is identical to that of the diary published in 1899. (The text of a letter that Angell wrote from Valley Forge on 28 March 1778 is in a different hand, but the letter's signature appears to be in the same handwriting as that of the diaries, indicating that the letter was penned for Angell by someone else.)

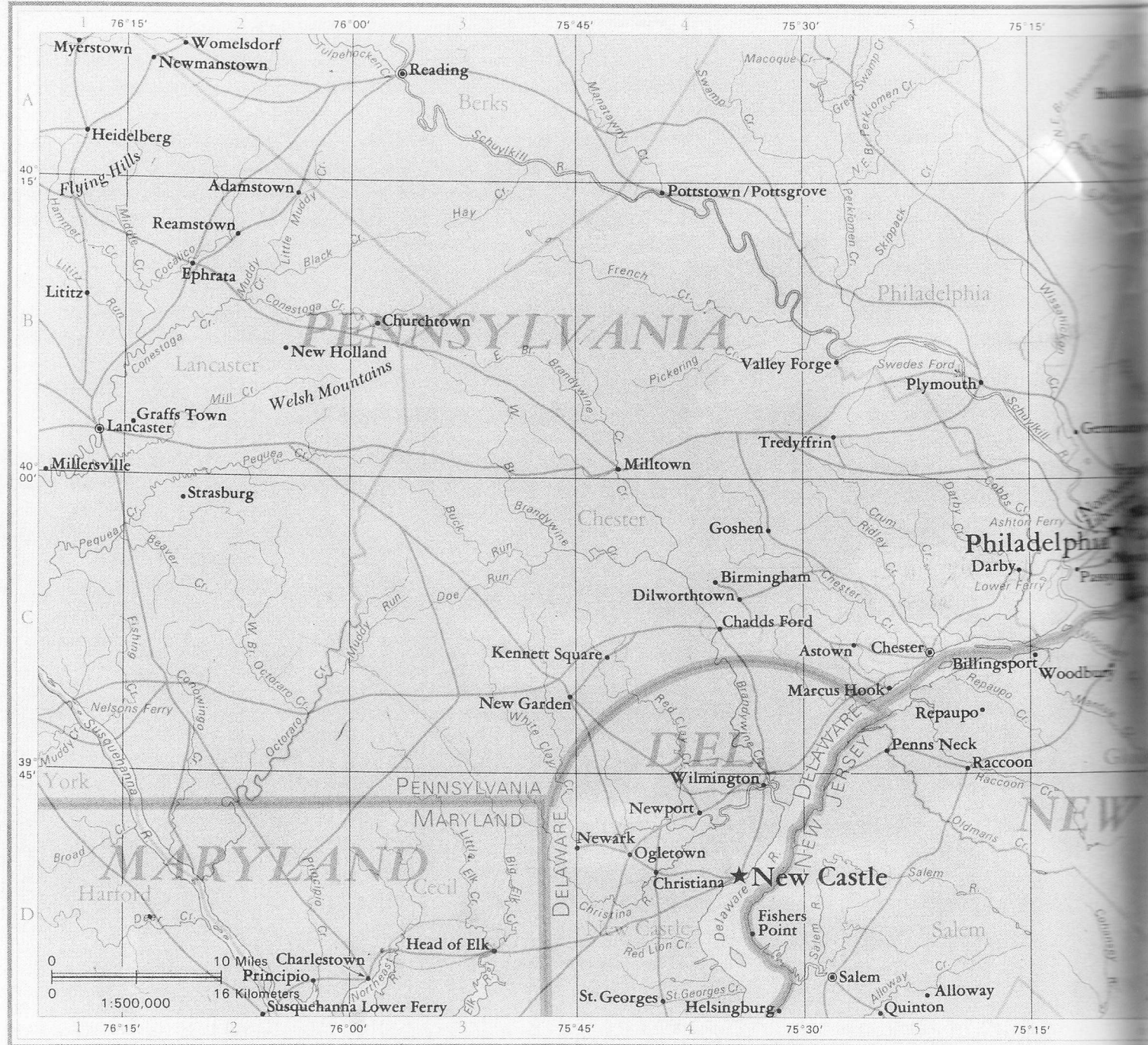
The transcription below is literal. All spelling remains Angell's. Brackets enclose letters and words that are conjectural because of illegibility or missing parts of the manuscript. Where capital or lowercase letters in the diary are not clearly defined, Angell's usual practice is followed. Where a punctuation mark is not clearly a period or a comma, the one best suited to the text is used. Some punctuation has been added to facilitate reading; these punctuation marks are enclosed in brackets.

This diary is printed by courtesy of the Massachusetts Historical Society. I wish to thank Brenda Lawson, the society's curator of manuscripts, who identified the diary and brought it to my attention; her assistance, and that of the society, are very much appreciated.

Notes

1. The most thorough study of the British invasion of Pennsylvania and the resistance by the Continental Army under Washington is found in John Reed, *Campaign to Valley Forge: July 1, 1777-December 19, 1777* (Philadelphia: Pioneer Press, 1980).
2. Nathanael Greene to Washington, 24 June 1780, *The Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, vol. 6, ed. Richard K. Showman et al. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Rhode Island Historical Society, 1991), 35.
3. *Diary of Colonel Israel Angell, Commanding the Second Rhode Island Continental Regiment during the American Revolution, 1778-1781*, ed. Edward Field (Providence: Preston & Rounds, 1899; reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1971), xiv.
4. Information for this biographical sketch was taken from Louise Lewis Lovell's *Israel Angell: Colonel of the 2nd Rhode Island Regiment* (New York: Knickerbocker Press, 1921).
5. Angell's regiment was very poorly clothed. "Not one half of them can not be termed fit for duty on any immergency. . . . In fine ye Regiment is scandallous in its apperance in ye view of every one—and has because of this incurred from surrounding regiments from ye inhabitanats of Towns thro which they have lately passed, ye disagreeable and provoking Epithets of the Ragged Lousey Naked Regiment." Angell felt that this was the major cause of recent desertions. Angell to the Governor and Council of Rhode Island, 27 Aug. 1777, *Diary of Colonel Israel Angell*, xii-xiii.
6. Washington to Putnam, 10 Sept., 14 Sept., 23 Sept. 1777, *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745-1799*, ed. John C. Fitzpatrick (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1933), 9:201-2, 218-19, 253-54.
7. Washington to Christopher Greene, 24 October 1777, *Writings of George Washington*, 9:424.

Map of eastern Pennsylvania, circa 1775, from Lester J. Cappon, ed., *Atlas of Early American History: The Revolutionary Era, 1760-1790*. Copyright © 1976 by Princeton University Press. Reprinted by permission of Princeton University Press.



The Israel Angell Diary, 1 October 1777-28 February 1778

October 1st. 1777. Four men Desarted from my Regt. Last night. we had intelligence of the Enemys landing in the Jersiy, which detained us here untill the afternoon, when we heard it was only a Small party Come out to plunder. we marchd from Kakaat to Rammapaw, there tarr[ied] that night.¹

2nd. Marched this morning from Rammapaw, went as far as pumpton[;]² there pitched our tents and took quarters for that night. on our march this Day three of the aforementioned Desarters was brought to their Regt. by the Meletia.

3rd. this Day we marched from Pumpnton to Morris town 22 Miles. The above mentioned Desarters was this day tryed by a Coart Martial of which I was President, and Ordered to be whipt one hundred lashes on their Naked Backs.³

4th. Marched from Morris Town to Veal town[;] there took up our quarters in the woods.⁴

5th. and this morning very early we marched on our Journey untill 9 oClock in the morning. then halted and had the three above mention'd Desarters whipt Agreeable to the Judgment of the Coart Martial, after which we went as far as Redding. there took up our lodging in the woods for that night.⁵

6th. Marched very early this Morning[;] went through Fleming town. Lodg'd in the woods three miles Short of Crealls ferry.⁶

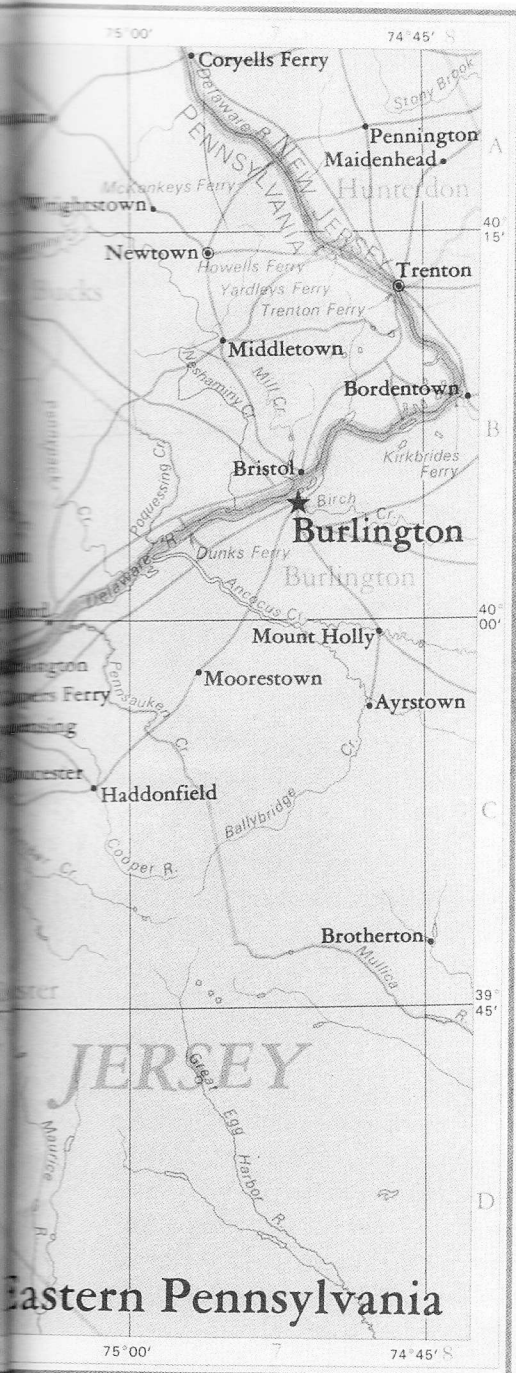
7th. left our lodgings this Morning at Day light[;] went to the ferry on the delaware. Crost the ferry and drew Provisions and Cookt it. then marched untill twelve OClock at nigh[,] then turned in to the woods in a place Called plumsteed in pensylvi.⁷

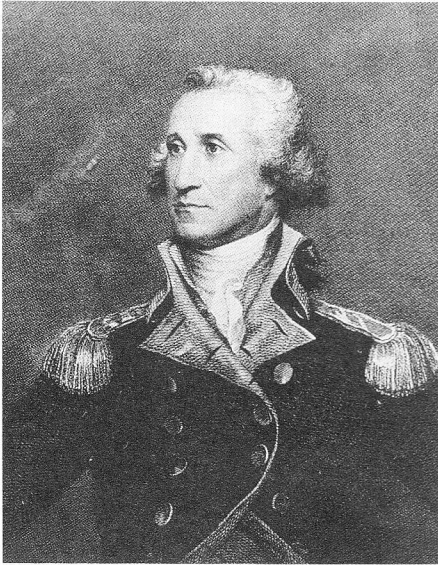
8th. left our lodgings Early this morning[;] marched through plumsteed about Six or Seven miles and was a prepa[ring] to Encamp being in 5 or 6 miles of the Grand Army, but before we had Encampt Recd. orders from head Quarters for Colo. Greens Regt.⁸ and mine to march Red Banks in the jersies.⁹ Colo. Printis and Colo. Burr¹⁰ the remaining part of General Varnoms Brigade was ordered to head quarters. Colo Greens Regt. and mine put about and marched back to the ground we lodged upon the night before and there took our quarters for that night.

9th. Marched very early this Morning, went to Buckingham, there halted to Cook our provisions. but mett with Some Difficulty in Cooking on account of the Extreem heavy rain, and after we had Cookt, march't on to New town[;]¹¹ there Dryed our Selves and lodg'd that night.

10th. Marched Very Early this morning. went within three miles of Bristol[,] then was Overtaken by an Express, which ordered my Regt. back to the Grand army. we parted with great Reluctance, Col Green went on for red banks, and my Regt. for the Grand Army, I marched about 12 miles back[;] there lodg'd that night in wrights town.¹²

11th. Drew Provisions this Morning and Cook't. Marched by Eight O Clock. there was a heavy Cannonading this morning which Continued all the day[.] this Cannonading





In an effort to deny control of the Delaware River to the British, on 7 October 1777 Gen. George Washington ordered that the First and Second Rhode Island Regiments be sent to the defense of Fort Mercer. Engraving by Asher Brown Durand, 1834, from a painting by John Trumbull, circa 1792. RIHS Collection (RHi X3 619).

was below Philadelphia[.] we marched as far as new brittan township. there lodged within 6 miles of General Washingtons Quarter.¹³

12th. the firing begun Yesterday morning Still Continues[;] Suposed to be at the Chevauxdefrize, below philadelphia[.]¹⁴ this afternoon the Cannonading Ceast about Six o Clock. we lay Still this day to Clean our arms and wash our Cloathes.

13th. this Morning we got our Breakfasts[,] march of and join'd the grand army by ten oClock, there Encamp't[.] this Day there was a Capt and Lt. with 56 men of the Enemy taken on province Island by our peo[ple].¹⁵

14th. I forgot to mention that we Recd. the disagreeable news yesterday of fort Montgomeris being taken by the enemy[.]¹⁶ we have Recd. Orders to day to Send away all our baggage Except what we Can Carry on our backs. this afternoon we had the Agreeable news to hear that General Burgoin was Defeated.¹⁷

15th. this day the news from the Northern Army was Confirm'd, as Which there was thirteen pieces of cannon fired and all the Small Arms that we had loaded. and gave three Cheers at five oClock this afternoon. we have this day Recd. orders to march tomorrow morning at Seven oClock from the right of the army,¹⁸ and Continue untill the whole army was under way. Major Ward and Capt. Flagg¹⁹ arrived in Camp from Rhode Island to Day.

16th Marched this morning at Seven OClock on a Seperate Command, agreeable to orders Recd. last Evening, went from Tawwanmensing our present encampment, to Buckingham, on the road towards Bristol[;] there lodg'd in the woods.²⁰

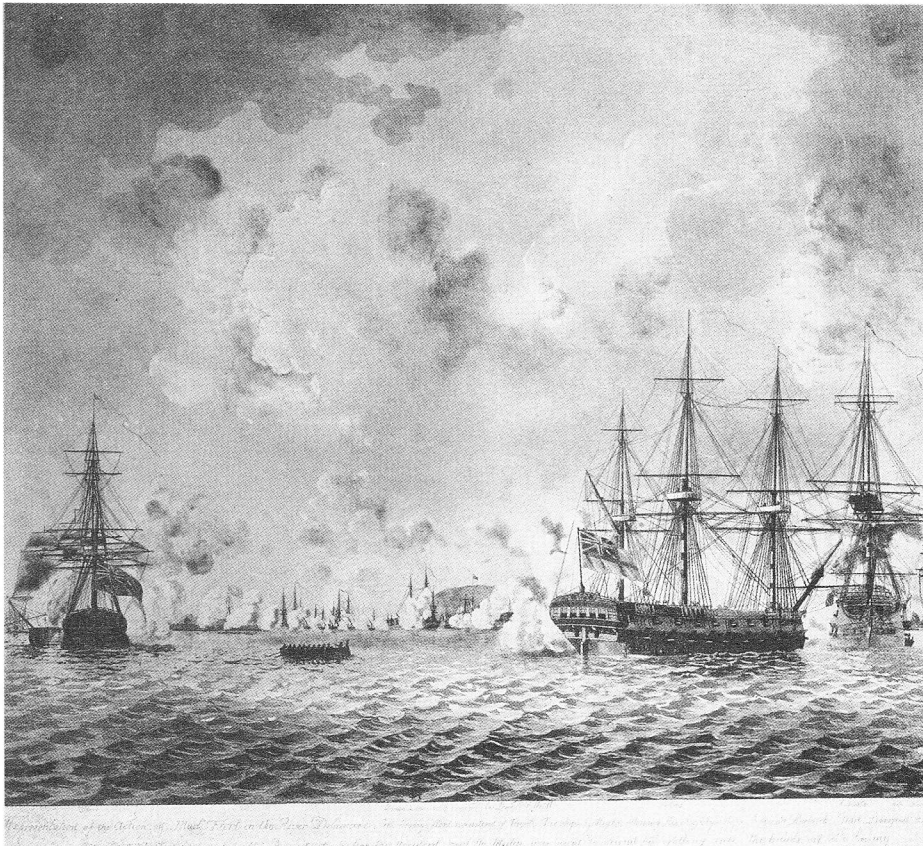
17th Turn'd out half past thre o Clock, got our Breackfasts and march[ed] off. went to Bristol[,] there Crost the Deliware, and marched through Burlington[.]²¹ Drew provisions and Cookt, then marched on all the Night following.

18. This Day we arived at Red Banks about Seven oClock in the Evening after marching Sixty miles without Sleeping.

19. Rested this Day after Pitching our tents untill ten oClock in the Evening. then both officers and Soldiers went to work and work't all night on our fort, as we Expected an attack that night or in the morning. this Day there was a heavey Cannonading on fort mifflin.²²

20th. this morning the Cannonading Ceast untill the afternoon when the Cannon and morters begun to play very brisk more So then they had aney time before. the greatist part of my Regt. was in the fort as they Relieved Colo. Greens Regt.²³

21st. Last Evening we had one man brought from fort mifflin Dead and three more wounded, one morta[ly] wounded.



This battle scene is described in its caption as a "Representation of the Action off Mud Fort on the River Delaware; the Enemys fleet consisting of Frigates, Fire ships, Gallies &c. attacking His Majestys ships Augusta

Robuck Pearl Liverpool and Merlin." The action took place on 22-23 October 1777. Aquatint by William Elliot, issued 17 February 1787. New York Public Library, Print Division, Phelps Stokes Collection.



Aground, on fire, and under attack by American vessels, the British frigate Augusta blew up off Fort Mifflin on 23 October. Painting by an anonymous artist. Courtesy of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania (Accession no. 1857.1).

this accident happened by a Shell Comming into one of the portholes in the Block hous, the Row Gallies last Evening run down and attack't a Ship and a galley of the Enemys, and obliged them to tow off. this Cannonade was very Smart, the Enemy had landed on hog Island and was Endeavouring to Errect a battery but Could not effect it. This Evening we Recd. Certain intilgence that the Enemy was a Comming to attack us, which oblig'd us to work all the night longe.²⁴

22nd. this day we Continued Dilligent on our works untill the after Noon about one oClock, when the Enemy Arrived within musket Shoot of our fort, we fired a Cannon or two at them on which they Retired, and kept Sculking in the woods untill half After four oClock, when they Sent in a flagg Demanding the fort but was answered that the fort was not to be Given up on aney terms. in Reply to this, they answered that if we Still remain'd obstinate, our blood might be upon our own heads, for we Should have no Mercy Shone us. our Answer was we asked for none; and Expect none, So parted, and in about ten minuts after there begun as Smart a fire as Ever I heard from Eight feild peices and two hoets they had placed against us, at the Same time advanced in two Colems to attack our fort by Storm, when there begun an incesant fire Musketry which Continued forty minuts, when the hessians Retreated in the most Prescipated manner leaving 200 kill'd and wounded in the field. we Spent the greatest part of the Night in bringing in the wounded.²⁵

23rd. This Day was Spent the Greatist part in bringing in the Slain, and burying them, and taking proper Care of the wounded. what time we had to Spair was Spent on our works, preparing them for the Second attack, as we had intilgence of their Comming the Second time. but it only proved to be a Covering party for their Retreat. the Galleys made an Attack on the Augusta man of war as She had gotten aground and by Some Accident She took fire and blew up with a most terrible Explotion[.] another twenty Gun Ship of the Enemys got a ground and they Set her on fire which also blew up, one fifty gun Ship got off Clear.²⁶

24th. This Morning I was taken very Sick with a Violent pain In my head, but taking a puke I Soon grew better[.] this Day we Spent in prepparing our works. at night I being Some poorely[,] went out of Camp to Mr Joseph Lows[;] there tarried.

25th. This day Continued Peasible and Quiet between our forces and the brittish, one Malencully Accident happened this day in the after noon[;] Mr. James Haden a worthy young Gentleman belonging to my Regt. was Shott through his Bowels and Expired the night following, this accident happened by overhalling Some hessian Guns that was loded.²⁷

26. Nothing Remarkable happened. there was a movement on the west Side of the River of the Enemy[.] Capt Coggeshal Olney and Lt. Sayles²⁸ Come to Camp this day, and brought the news of our people Agoing upon Rhode Island as they Came from that place.²⁹

27. this Day was an Exceeding Stormy day[.] we Recd the news of the Enemys taking possession of Billingsport[,] three hundred in Number, and that two hundred waggon loads of fashins Crossed Schuylkill.³⁰

28th. The Storm Still Continues or rather increases. by the abundance of rain and an Excessive high tide all the low Country was Laid under water, our people was all Drowned out of the fort. no intilgence from the Enemy this Day.³¹

29th. Remains Stormy and Uncomfortable, about one oClock it begun to break away, but Soon thickened up and begun to Storm again[.] Nothing Remarkable happen'd this day.

30. Col Donop Died last Evening half past Eight oClock in the Evening and was Desently Entered this evening Attended with all the honours of war.³² this Day it Cleared off and was a fine plesant Day.

31st. this Day being a plesant day the Hessian Officers that was wounded, was removed to philadelphia from Mr Joseph Lows where they had ben Carried after the Action.

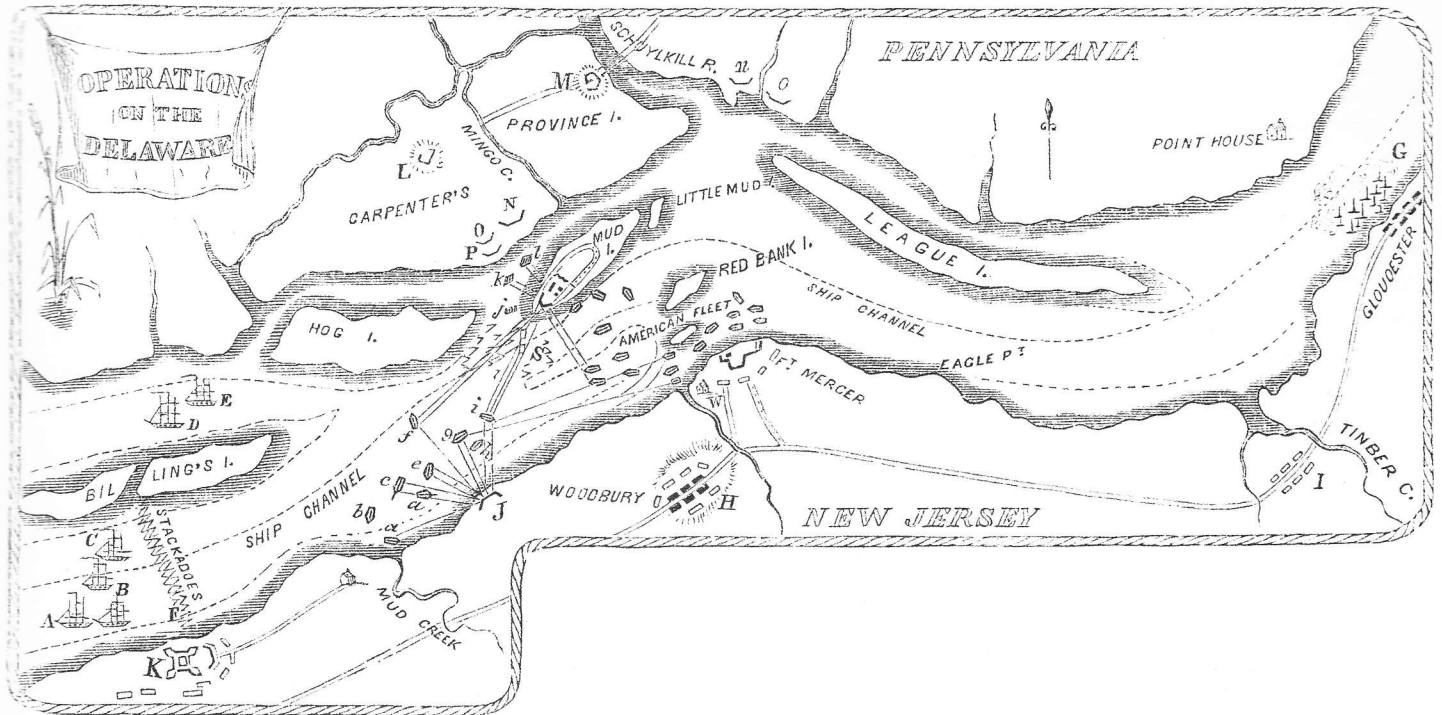
November the 1st. 1777. This Day about ten oClock in the morning, one Mucklewain a butcher from Philadelphia, and one Dick Ellis a Negrow man were both hanged here for being trators and Spies. And for Guiding the Enemy to red Banks, we Recd. news This afternoon from General Varnom that the Enemy had Sent two thousand men to attack fort Mifflin, which occationed an Allarm among us.³³

2nd. This Day General Varnom Arived in Camp, and 200 of his Brigade that Came with him Come to fort Mercer about 8 oClock in the Evening. the Remainder part of the Detachment went to woodbury.³⁴

Novr. 3rd. A fine plesant Day and nothing Remarkable happened. Colo. Green and my Self went to woodbury. from thence in Company with General Varnom along the Shore to Reconiter. at night our Galleys went down and fired briskly on the English Ships but nothing of Consequence was Done.³⁵

4th. Nothing Remarkable happened this Day, there was an officer buried this Evening from the Navey.

5th. Last Evening Gnl. Varnom ordered two peices of Cannon down against the English Ships, but in Their way there, they got mired down with one piece, an 18 pounder, and was not able to git her out untill this after noon, the other a 12 pounder begun to play upon the Ships This morning about 9 oClock[.] the Gallies attempted to goe down at the Same time and fier on the Ships, but the wind blowing very hard prevented them, in the afternoon about 5 oClock they maid a Second Attempt to attack the Ships, and formed a line across the River and went down and attackt the Ships and kept up a Smart Cannonad untill Dark when it begun to Storm. and they Come off without Doing the Enemy much damage, or Receiving much Damage.³⁶



Map from R. J. Lossing's *Field Book of the Revolution* (1852). RIHS Collection (RH1 X3 7120).

6th. The Guns that was Carried down to annoy the English Ships, was this Day brought back to the fort.

7th. this day Mr Thompson of Colo. Greenes Regt.³⁷ Set off for providence State of Rhode Island. Capt David Dexter Paymaster Holden and Lt. Grant³⁸ Return'd to Camp this day from the above Sd State and brought the news that Rhodeisland³⁹ was not Retaken, as it was reported here[.] one boat with Eight men in it went from our Navy to the Enemy to Day, our works went on as Usual.

8th. yesterday the Capts and 1st. Lts. and Staff officers, Dined with me and my other field officers, and to day the 2nd. Lts. and Ensigns, we was allarmed and all lay on our arms last night, I was troubled with an Ague in my face to Such a degree that I Slept none, last night, and but littel the night before, this night I left the Camp and went to Mr. Joseph lows.

9th. This morning I was Extreem Sick, attended with a Voilent purging and Vomiting, but grew better about noon, Nothing Extraordinary happened this Day between the Armys.

10th. This day the Enemy Opened five new Batteries on fort Mifflin, which play'd briskly During the whole day, and the Evening untill nine oClock, but did no great Dammage.⁴⁰

11th. The Bumbarding and Cannonading begun early this morning, at Nine oClock this morning a Shocking Accident happened in our fort at Red Banks. our french Enginear

burst one of our Guns, an Eighteen Pounder, and kill'd one Benjamin Ross belonging to Colo. Greens Regt. and wounded Ten more men, this Gun I beleave was Split through the ignorance of the Engeneer,⁴¹ in the length of this day I beleave there has ben Six hundred Shott and Shells fired at fort mifflin.⁴² Capt. Treet of the Artillary⁴³ was kill d and Two or three more. about Eight o Clock in the Evening there was a firing of Cannon and Smal Arms occationed by Some Vessels running by fort Mifflin of the Enemys.⁴⁴

12. the cannonading and Bumbarding Still Continues very heavey on fort mifflin, and Remaind So during the Day,⁴⁵ General Varnom ordered a battery erved down the River about two miles from Red banks against [the] English Ships which was fired upon the whole Day by the English Ships. I beleave not less then Eight hundred Shott have ben fired at the Battery this Day.⁴⁶ in Yesterdays Jornal I mentioned two or three men being kill d but am Senc informed it was five.

13th. The Seige of fort mifflin Still Continues as Sevear, as it has ben aney time before, though we had but one man killed and three wounded this day, the Seige Continues night and Day.⁴⁷

14th. this Morning the Seig was hotter then it had ben before as the Enemy brought a large floating Battery out of Schuykill. but She was Soon Silenced, by our fort, and Sunk, also a two Gun Battery they had Erected on the Shore was Soon Silenced.⁴⁸ we had four men kill'd and wounded at fort mifflin this day, Major Thayer⁴⁹ went over to fort mifflin last Night to take the Command of that post, the french Engeneer burst a 24 pounder in the fort at Red Banks this afternoon, in prooving her. he had no more judgement then to put in 20 pounds of powder and two wads and two balls.⁵⁰

15. this Morning the Enemy Run up a large Ship, which they had Cut Down, and made a battery off, mounting 20:24 pounders, but drew but little water[.] She Came up between hog Island and the main and run along Side of our fort, within pistol Shott. She Carried a number of men in her tops, who Could heave hand granads into our fort. also fired in with their Small Arms which drove all our people from their platforms. there Came up with the Ship a Sloop with Some Brass Eighteen pounders. Three men of war Come up as near as the Chevaxdefrize as they durst. all those Ships with all their Batteries on the land were playing at a time on fort mifflin, Several Ships were firing on General Varnoms Battery Down the River, Our Ships, Battreis and Galleys wer all Engaged at the Same time, Such a thunder of Cannon Never was heard in America before I beleave, the Galleys Refused to go and Destroy the Ship though they had positive orders from the Commodore, to go at all Events, by this means the fort was obliged to be given up[,] that is our men Avacuated it at night, bringing off all their Amminition and Stores, and Setting fire to the barraks, our loss this day is not yet known, but Suposed to be Sixty or Seventy kill'd and wounded.⁵¹

16th. We Saw the Enemy Early this morning on Mud Island Where fort Mifflin Stood a Viewing the Ruins. but Nothing Remarkable happened this Day.⁵²

17th. Col. Greene has this Day wrote to his Excelency Representing the State of our Garrison as the garrison Appears to be of little Consequence Sence fort Mifflin is lost, our fleet is all on the wing up to timber Creek, we are a fortifying with all possible Speed against the River as we Expect an attack Soon.⁵³

18th. There has ben a great Movement of the Enemy to day at Schyulkill ferry province Island, and mud Island. at billingsport they have ben burning all the Buldings, but what their Design is, Cannot be Easily known. this After noon General Knox Came to our Garrison from head Quarters with Genl. St. Clair and one or two more frenchmen[.]⁵⁴ there was a movement of the Enemy at billings port this afternoon.⁵⁵

Novr. 19th. By intilligence Recd. last night from two Desarters from billingsport we Expected to be attack't this morning. but it was my opinon that they was Sent out with a design to Decoy us and put us to flight that they might git off them Selves with Safty. our Sittuation was Such that had we ben beseig'd with a Superior force the Garrison must have fallen a Sacrifice, as they might attack us by Land and water at one and the Same time, and we Could have no Retreat, and the post being of no Consequence to us, Sence the Enemy had gotten a pass by water to philadelphia, we thought proper to avacuate the post and by the Intiligence from the Desarters we thought we Should not be able to Save the Stors. So march't of the troops leaving a Sufficient number behinde that in Case the Enemy Should advance to destroy the maggazien and Stores.⁵⁶ The Greatist part of the troops went as far as haddenfield, Two hundred of the troops went back to Red Banks to Git off the Stores as the Enemy did not Advance on them, I went this morning as far as hadenfield, there Rested my Self[,] then went on to mors town[.]⁵⁷ their I mett with Lt. Thopson of Col Greens Regt. with Cloathing for our troops,⁵⁸ and I tarried there that night.⁵⁹

20th. I tarried in Mors town untill twelve oClock as there was five men left in the meet- ing house belonging to the Servis and no officer with them, the men Extreemly bad wounded. I procured a waggon to Carry them to Burlington, there left them in the hos- pital, and got Lodgings for my Self at Mr. Levi Murrils, I have heard nothing from the army this Day Except that General Huntingtons Brigade Crost at dunks ferry as a Reinforcement for the troops at Red Banks.⁶⁰

21st. This morning Just before Day there was a Cannonading heard down the dillawar which we hear, Sence was at our Ships attempting to Come by the Enemy at philadel- phia, we have Recd. the disagreeable news of our people Destroying theirr maggizan and Stors at Red banks. and that our people had burnt the Battries and province Ship, and the Spear backs with Several other Vessels belonging to the Continental Servis.⁶¹ all the troops from red banks were marching up from thence to mount holley. General Greene Came over the dillawar from bristol to day with five Regts. of troops who all lodged in Burlington the night folling, and the other in mount holly.⁶²

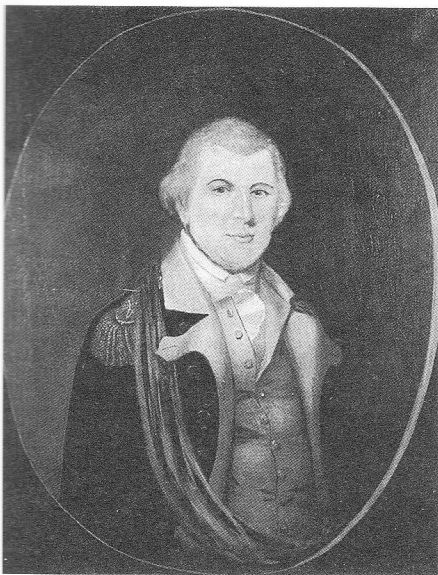
22nd. this morning the Troops begun to march out of town but their Baggage was not all got over the ferry till just night, which occationed Some troops to tarry in town this night. we have had no news of Consequence to be depended upon to day from aney part of the Army, I have not ben So well to day as I have ben in Days past.

23rd. This morning the Last of the troops and Baggage marched out of Burlington, and I am informed that they troops are to March this Evening or in the morning from mount holly. there is a report Circulating here that there was a Skirmish betwin our pic- quet and the Enemy's yesterday morning, but the truth I have it not yet Confirm d, or what is done,⁶³ it has ben a fine pleasant Day, I went over to bristol to day and there tarried all Night.

24th. Went from bristol about ten oClock to burlington, where I heard that the Army Still Lay at Mountholly. Nothing Extraordinary happend To day.⁶⁴

25th. this morning I Sett of for Trenton by the way of bristol where I arrived by three oClock in the Afternoon and there tarried that night.

26. this morning went out to look for a horse as I had none fit to ride, I went as far as Maidenhead⁶⁵ about Six miles which took up part of the Day. my Companion, Bartholomey went to Madienhead and did not return untill night which occationed us to tarry another night. I bought me a hors to day, of one M[rs.] Joseph Read.⁶⁶ Mr Helmes and Lt. Carpenter⁶⁷ Came from Camp to Day. Ensign helms has gotten his Discharge



Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene was to lead reinforcements to the defense of Fort Mercer, but the fort had to be evacuated before he could arrive. Portrait attributed to Rembrandt Peale, circa 1810. Courtesy of Thomas Casey Greene, Jr. RIHS Collection (RH X3 678).

from the Servis[.] Lt. Carpenter was agoing to Danbury for Stores, Person Davids⁶⁶ Come to trenton after Some Baggage.

27. This morning the Ground was white with Snow, and a very raw Cold are, and Snowed alittel. this was the first Snow that had fallen this fall, I had Seen a few Scatteren flakes once before though not So much as to white the Ground. we got our breakfasts this morning at Mr. Richmonds in trenton wher we had maid it our Quarters and then I Sett off for Burlington, after waiting untill half after Eleven OClock for Mr. Bartholome I arived at Burlington by three OClock. and Mett general Greenes Division a Crossing the ferry from Burlington to Bristol as the Brittish troops had left the jersies after having plundered the inhabitants of a Great Value in Stock and other things.⁶⁷ General Greenes Division did not all git over this night.

28 November. This morning I applyed to Major General Greene, to know Where I was to go forward to the Regt., or where the Regt. was to Come forward as I thought my Selfe able to join the Regt. the Baggage was Crossing all night, and did not more then half git over. My Regt. Arived in town about ten oClock and the troops Crost the ferry in the after Noon, but none of their baggage Could be got across that night, and about mid-night it begun to Storm and blow Extreem hard at northeast.⁷⁰

29. this Morning it Continued to blow Excessive hard and very Stormy So that there was no Crossing the ferry. about two oClock in the after Noon there was an allarm here, we had Several Reports that the Enemy Was Crossing ancokas ferry⁷¹ about five miles from burlington[.] there was a waggon master rode down and return'd and brought news that they were a Comming[.] for he Saw them about three miles from burlington, and he thought there was about thr[ee] Hundred of them, this allarm put us in great Confusion. I ordered all the Baggage to drive off for trenton, the boats was loded with goods in order to Cross as the wind had fallen Some, but before our boats got off, the news of the Enemys Comming was Contradicted, and proved false, we got over a few waggons and the wind blew So hard and was So dark that we left the others for another Day.

30 Novr. This morning we begun to git the Remainder of of our baggage over the ferry. it Still Continued Stormy and very uncofortable, the boats from the fleet that was to tooe over the Sco[u]s did not Come to our assistance till near t[wo] oClock. we just maid Shift to get all the Baggage over by Dark[.] I tarried in Bristol as did all the waggons and Baggage this Night.

December 1st. 1777. This morning all our baggage Waggons marched off by four oClock[.] I was obliged to Cross over to burlington before I Could proceed on my journey having left Some of my baggage, I Sett of for head Quarters by 9 oC[lock] and went as far as Crookit billit within Seven miles of head quarters[;] there took my lodgings for that night. our waggons Stopt allittle back on account of a peice of woods.

Decr. 2nd. 1777. This morning after I got Breakfast I Sett of in Companey with Capt. flagg for the grand Army, where we arived by Eleven oClock and found our people Encamped in the woods where they had built [them] huts of bushes and leaves. I went to a hous near the Camp[;] there tarried this Night.

3rd. Nothing Extroridanery happened this Day. it has been a Raw Cloudy and Cold Day.

Decr. 4th. 1777. We have Remained in peas and quietness and nothing Extraorny has happen'd to day[.] one Light hors man Come from the Enemy to day. at Night I left my Lodgings in a hous and went into the Woods with the troops.

5. This morning at Three oClock our Allarm guns was fired on which the Baggage was all imeadetly loaded into the waggons and drove off, and all the troops got under arms, and march'd to their Allarm posts, where we Continued till the Sun was near two hours

high, then dismiss the troops to git their breakfast, about ten oClock there was a firing on the right of our lines of Small arms, but what was done I have not heard. there has ben Several prisoners taken to the Number 13 among whom there is one Hessian Capt. our troops went to their huts at Night.⁷²

Decr. 6th. 1777. We Rested the Night past in peace and Quietness. though we did not Expect it, as the Enemy lay within two miles of us, this Morning was Still and quiet, untill about Eight oClock when our Allarm Guns was fired and we Recd. Intiligence that the enemy was advancing. but did not Come to attack us. So we grounded our arms and went to our quarters, but was again allarm'd in the afternoon and not attack't.

7th. The night was peasable but we was allarmed Early in the morning, and maned our lines. but they Come not to attack us. we grounded our Arms and all went to work on our Lines, building an Abbettee and Brest work of loags. and in the afternoon there begun a Smart fire of Small arms between our advanced picquet and the enemys and Colo. Morgans Rifle men who were Sent out to herris the enemy on their Advance.⁷³ we all Stood to our lines as we expected an attack, but our light troops Drove back their Picquet with the loss of two or three men kill'd and Six or Seven wounded. it is Said Colo. Charles Weeb was taken yesterday by the enemy, and in Skirmishing on the 5th of this month B. General Arven was wounded and taken Prisoner.⁷⁴ we have lost Several men in our Skirmishes here with the enemy but what No. I Cannot ascertain.

8th. We all lay upon our Arms last night, keeping our Divisions together. all the General Officers lay in Camp last night as it was Expected there would be a general Attack in the Morning. there was a number of Shott Exchang'd between the piquets in the Night. but was all Still and quiet in the morning.⁷⁵

Decr. 9th. This Morning we had intiligence that the Enemy was all gone into Philadelphia. the news was brought by one oClock in the morning that the Enemy was a Retreating, and the oldest Regt. in Each Brigade was ordered to presue them. but before the troops wer Collected, our light hors Came in and Said that the Enemy were all within their lines at Philadelphia, So the troops were Dismist and returnd to their Quarters.⁷⁶ I and Person Davids Rode down this morning below German town to See what Ravages and Destruction the Brittish troops had made, which was Shocking to beholde, as they had destroyd every thing in their power, Except the Buildings, and Some of them they had Burnt,⁷⁷ but Nothing Remarkable happend this Day.

Decr. 10th 1777. Nothing Remarkable has hapened to day, a flying Report has been flying about Camp To day that the Enemy was a Crossing Schuylkill. but no body beleaved it, at Night there was a report that the Enemy was a going to leave Philadelphia, as there was a french war proclaimed, which I Suppose to be as much truth in as there is in the first.

11th 1777. We Recd orders late last Evening to March this morning at three oClock, at which time we turn'd out, but did not march until Six in the morning[.] then we march't towards Schuylkill in order to cross at a bridg⁷⁸ about four Miles below Sweeds ford. but before we got there the Enemy had gotten possession of the hights on The other Side of the River, and had a Smart Skirmish with Genl. Potter who Commanded the meletia[.] the General lost a few men but how many I Cannot Say,⁷⁹ our Army marched three or four miles back towards our old Encampment, then Recd. orders to halt. and lay Still untill near four o Clock in the Afternoon, when we Recd orders to march to Sweeds ford. we marched within a mile of the ford, there took up our quarters in the woods, where we Rested peasable that Night.

Decr. 12. We tarried on the Ground untill about five oClock in the afternoon. then Recd orders to march. we Expected to have Crost the Schuylkill at Sweeds ford, as our people had this day erected a Bridge across the Schuylkill, with waggons, laying a length of

Rails from one waggon to another by which means we made a tollirable bridg for the troops to Cross upon. But when we Come to march, our waggons was ordered to cross at the ford called Sweeds ford, and the troops was ordered to the ford below where we attempted to Cross the day before[.] the troops arrived there by Seven oClock in the Evening, where we found the troops a Crossing, and had ben a Crossing ever Sence about Sunset, but did not all Cross untill past Six in the morning, as there was but a poor bridge to Cross upon being built with logs and plank naild from one pear of logs to another which floted on the water.⁸⁰ our Waggons and horses went through below the Bridge. we Suffered much this night as it was a Cold Stormy Night, with snow and rain.



Engraving by an unidentified artist, early nineteenth century. RIHS Collection (RH1 X3 5373).

Decr. 13th. Marched this Morning from the above Sd. ford about five or Six miles. There turn'd into a peace of woods, between Eight and nine oClock in the morning and got our Breakfasts. there tarried that night and the night following, where we built us Huts of bushes and leaves and lodg'd Comfortable that night, in peace, as the Enemy had Retreated into Philadelphia[.] it Cleard of this afternoon and was fine weather.⁸¹

Decr. 14. 1777. The Army Still Remains in the woods and the weather very Good. there was one man kill'd this day by falling A Tree. and one hors, a Sergt. and ten Hessians was brought into Camp to Day. taken by four of our lighthors Men. at night we had intilgence that the Enemys light hors was in three miles of our Camp, but it proved to be a falce Allarm.⁸²

15. A fine pleasant Morning and Nothing Remarkable happened. The Baggage waggons was ordered out of Camp four or five miles. and at Night we had orders for what waggons there was left to be Sent off in the morning by Seven oClock, and the whole Army

was to march by ten o'clock to a place about Eight miles up the Schuylkill, when we was told that we was to take up our winter Quarters.

Decr. 16. This morning being very Stormy the Orders for marching was Countermanded, and our tents Ordered to be brought to our Encampment where they arived about three o'clock in the afternoon, and was either pitched or Spread over our huts. and we Still Remain'd peasable in our Quarters the night following, it being a Stormy Night, one Scircumstance I Cannot omit mentioning Just to Show in what manner Some people live in this part of the Country. paymaster holden, and paymaster Green,⁸³ went out of Camp about three miles, and there Put up in an old farmers hous where they Saw a large number of Turkeys and other fouls, they Enquired if they were to be Sold. they Said they were, and they bought one of the turkeys and would have it Rosted, and Desired the old woman of the hous to dress it for them. but She Said that She never Saw one rosted in her life, they then Enquired of her how She did dress them. She Said they never Eat turkeys nor no other fouls, but always Solde them, as they would allways fetch the Ready money. So great is their love for money.

Decr. 17. We Recd Orders this morning at Seven o'clock for the waggons to march off imeadetly and, the troops were to march at ten o'clock. but it begun to Storm and the orders were Countermanded. So we Continued in our Encampment this day and the night following.

Decr. 18th. This day being Appointed by the Honourable Continental Congriss as a day of thanksgiving through All the Continent, we had orders to Still Continue in our present encampment, and it was Strongly Reccomended to all the Officers and Soldiers of the Army to attend Divine Servis. the troops attended Servis at three o'clock in the afternoon.⁸⁴

19th. This morning was A Sever Cold one, as it Cleared off last Evening with a Strong Norwest wind which blew So that it blew our fires into Some of our huts and burnt them Down. it broke down one tree across a tent where five men lay a Sleep but providently hurt but one man, and he had his thigh brooke.⁸⁵ we Rec'd orders this morning to march as Soon as possible and before ten o'clock the whole Army was a marching, pleas'd with the thoughts of going into winter Quarters, though in the woods.⁸⁶ we marched all the day without provisions as there was none to be drawn in the morning, and neither Could we get any at night. we marched but about Eight miles this day being plaged So bad With our waggons. as the Roads was Excessive Bad and our horses very poor and weak, we Turn'd into the woods about Sunset where we built us fires, and encampt by them that night after Eating our Suppers of raw Corn, which we got out of a field near by our encampment[.]⁸⁷ One Accident happened this Day[:] a waggon overs[et] and killd one woman.

Decr. 20th 1777. A fine plesant morning for the Season. we drew provisions this morning which was very pleasing to the troops as they had not had more than one days Allowance in th[em] for three days past.⁸⁸ we Continued Still in the woods and Nothing remarkable happened during the Day. Except we Could git nothing for our horses to Eat, as the County had ben much Stript by the Enemy here and to appearance a much poorer part of the Country then we had ben in before. the last Encampment was in Chester County.

21st. Nothing Remarkable Happened this Day Except we Could draw no privisons. we Still lay in the woods.

Decr. 22nd. 1777. This Morning we Recd. Orders to holde our Selves in Readiness in march at a moments warning, on which our tents were Struck and the troops all under arms, but having no orders to march grounded their arms and returnd to their fiers, and

afterwards recd. orders to take up our arms and return to our quarters as the orders for marching were Countermanded. we Remain'd quiet the Remainder of the day.⁸⁸

23rd. Fine weather and Nothing Remarkable happened Except, one womans being Drum'd out of our Camp to day by order of a Coart martial for Stealing.

24th. This Day we Begun to Clear the Ground and Cut timbers for building our huts to winter in.⁸⁹ But Nothing Remarkable happened[,] we Still Remaining in the woods.

25. This morning I was to have Sett out on a journey Into the jersies to Collect the Sick In General Varnoms Brigade, but the B.G Major not making his Returns timely[,] I did not Sett off till betwen 3 and 4 oClock in the afternoon[.] Crost the Schuylkill[,] went to norrington[,] there tarried that night.

Decr. 26th. left my lodging Early this morning went to a place called montgomery about 8 or 9 miles, there break fasted. then went on to Bristol where I arived about Seven OClock in the Evening, there has ben a great Firing to day. Suposed to be betwen our people and the Enemy near derby Southwrd of Schuylkill. I took up my Quarters in Bristol at Mrs. Murries.

27. This morning after Breackfast I went over to Burlington where I Spent part of the day. I dind at Mr. Murriels. and by that time That I could git back to bristol it was So near night that I Concluded to tarry there, and Sett off Early in the morning on my Journey. there is maney flying Reports here to day from the Army but nothing to be depended on.

28th. This morning was a Extreem Cold morning. after I had breakfasted I Set off for trenton where I arrived about three oClock and tarried there that night[.] I went in Company with one Mr. fisher of Philadelphia, his Mother and a young Ladey from philadelphia.

29th. This morning was Sever Cold. as it Cleard off last Evening[,] yesterday being very Stormy & it Sno[wed] Great part of the day though I forgot to mention it in my journal of yesterday[.] I left trenton this morning and went to Princetown from thence to Nottingame where I tarried the night. and it was as Cold a night as Ever I knew at that Season in N.E.

Decr. 30th. 1777. This morning about 9 oClock I left Nottingame[;] went to Princetown[.] this Day was So Colde that the Snow did not give aney upon the Sunside of hills and buildings, though it was a very Clear day. I tarried this night in Princeton.

Decr. 31st. this morning the weather Seem'd Some more Mordrate then it had ben before in Some days as the wind had fallen and was Calm, But Still Remained Seveal Cold. and there was two of the poore Soldiers in the hospital, belonging to the State of Virgenna froze to death last night, Owing in the negligence of the Quartermaster not providing wood, after Going through all the Hospitals and Seeing what Cloathing was wanting for the troops in General Varnums Brigade,⁹¹ and gitting my hors Shod, I Sett of for Quaker town by the way of Hopewell,⁹² where I tarried all night.

January 1st 1778. This morning was very pleasant To what we have had. and after I Had Gotten my breackfast, I Sett off for Quaker Town. won Curiosity I Saw Hear I Cannot omit Mentioning, I Saw a young Lady, Dafter of Mrs Stout where I tarried a making lace for Caps. She work'd the lace with Small Sticks Called Bobins, on a pillow with a Stripp of paper Round the Same prickt out in form of the Lace[.] I Dined in Quaker town, and then went on my journey, as the troops had gone from hence, I went through Pitts town and lodged at Colo. Bevers⁹³ in the town ship of Alexandria and County of huntingdon.

January 2nd. 1778. This morning I left Alexandria[;] went to East town, from thence to Bethlehem Where I took up my Quarters.⁹⁴ I found Some of the troops in East town, and Some in Bethlehem. here I fell in Company with Major Bose, the weather Still

Continues Tollirable Good, I Crost one Branch of the Dillaware to day, in a flatt but a few rods above foot Crost on the Ise.

January 3rd. 1778. This morning was very pleasant, after Breckfast I went through all the hospitals, in Serch of the troops of General Varnoms Brigade, and after I had Seen them all, I went all over the town to View all the Curiousities that was Contained therein, the First I went and view'd their Mills, which was the Curiousist I Ever Saw, built all of Stone, and in the After noon I went to the Ministers. And asked liberty to go through the nunery which he Chearefully granted, walking with me himself, and the old Ladey who had the Care of the Nuns. they appeared to be very Genteel ladies many of them, and it was very Curious to See all kinds of manafacturies in the Cloathing way going forward among them, and to See all their beds[.] in one room there was fifty five beds and about fifty in another. Each woman had her bed by her Self, and after viewing Every Curiosity In the Nunerys the old minester went to Shew me the Hous of worship, and the Nuns Band of musick, and all the imagis in their hous, which was very Striking to See the image of our Saviour in go[ars] of blood, and maney other Suchlike Seans. after which he preceeded to their water works on the River to Show me them. where there was a hemp mill and Bark mill with four other Different mills under one Rough, from thence he had me to their waterworks where there town is watered from, these works Exceeded all the ingenuity I yet Ever Saw. There was a Wheal that went Constant the Year round which Carried three pumps that forst the water up a leaden pipe which Run under ground to a Steapel or a tower in the town from whence it was Carried all over the place, much is the Same manner as in providence. by the time I had Viewed all the Curiousities it was near Night and I tarried the other Night hear.

January 4th. 1778. This day being very pleasant, I Should Have Sett off on my journey, had not it been Sunday, but having a great Inclination to go to the Maravain meeting, I Concluded to terry in town untill the after noon, and as the ministers Son was dead and to be buried that Day⁹⁵ I was the more Anxious to tarry to See their forms of burial. the meeting was to begin at one oClock, So I rode out into the Country 6 or 8 miles in the morning to view the Country, and Return'd by one o Clock and Went to the funeral. the maner of this people is that when one Dies they have a hous Call'd the Corps hous, where he is imeadetly Carried after he is dead. when the Congregation meet[s] in their meting hous, the minister Reads the desceast persons life over, then Says a few words to the brothers and Sisters[.] then they proceed to the Corps hous. where four trumpeters with their trumpets Come Before the Congregation, and Six men with them to take the Corps from the dead hous, who brings the Corps out on a bear with a white holland Sheet over the Coffin Embrored all round with needle work, with a great number of letters on the Same workt with a Needle, but all in dutch which I Could not understand. the trumpeters placed themselves about two roods before the Corps. the Six bearers Stood by the Corps, and as Soon as the Congregation begun to Come through the Gates out of the meeting hous yard. as the men had a gate by them Selves, and the women one through which they Came, the trumpeters begun to play and Continued playing untill they had all poraded, the women on the right of the Corps, and the men on the Left, then the trumpets Ceast and they all Sung a few himns in the German tongue, then the trumpets begun to play and they bearers took up the Corps and Marched to the Buring ground. the men Marching in Rank and file next to the Corps the women in the Rear, and the trumpets playing the whole time untill the Come to the Grave, and the women form on the Right and the men on the left, in the Same manner as they Marched of in. then the trumpets Cea[st] and they Sing a few more himns. after they have lett down the Corps into the grave they all Retire in the Same form as they Came in, the women forming the Rear, and the Grave is fill'd by Some who is Sent Some time after. thus is their form of burial.⁹⁶ after the funeral was over I Sett off in Company with a gentleman from

Boston Named walker, for Redding. we went through Allens town Crossing the River Lahi⁹⁷ and wrode about 17 miles that night[,] then put up in a germans hous, where we lodgd between two feather beads, that is we had a feather bead instead of Sheets.

January 5th. 1778. Left our lodgings Early this morning[,] went about five miles[,] then breckfasted. then went on to readding and din'd forty Two miles from Bethlehem[,] this day was the worst riding I Ever Saw on account of its being So muddy and Rained a little[,] I Tarried in Redding this night[,] this Town is Some bigger then the town of providence in N.E.

January 6th. it being a fine pleasant morning. I finish'd my business here and after breackfast, Sett off for Lancaster in Company with Colo. Wood of Virgina and Capt. Blewer of penselvena⁹⁸ and Mr Walker of boston. we rode to Adams Town Ten miles from Redding[,] there we Stopt and I went in Serch for the Sick but found none. from thence we went to Rheims town about 4 Miles further, there I halted and went to visit the hospitals where I found Some of the troops of General Varnoms B., my Company went on, and after I got Ready I Sett forward alone. I was to Visit the hospitals at Dunkers Town which lay a little out of the Direct Road to Lancaster.⁹⁹ I mist my way and went four miles out of the way and had to travel Back again. I got to Dunkers Town a little after Dark[;] there tuk up my Quarters for that night. I went to the Doctor to Enquire after the troops, and found there was a Considerable Number of the N. England troops there So I went to my Quarters and told the Doctor I Should Call in the morning.¹⁰⁰

January 7, 1778. This morning I went to the Doctor very Early and after Examining the hospital and Sending off all the Sick, I went to view the town to See what Curiousities was to be Seen here. the Town was Seated in a Beautiful Place, they had two Nuneries here, but much infearor to those at Bethlehem. these people was not of the Moraven Society, But were Roman Catholicks, all wering their Beards, Some of them I dare affairm were ten inches long, and had I appeared as Awful to them as they did to me, I Should have Expected to have ben Carried about the town for a Shoe. though they made Such an appearance they was an Exceeding Kind people, and after I had gotten my Breckfast I proceeded on my journey[,] went to a place Call'd the three Churches 8 or 9 miles from Dunkers town, there went through the hospitals but found none of the troops I was in Serch for here. I fell in with one Mr. Dunn an Acquaintance of mine from New york and Spent part of the day with him and after I had dind with him I proceeded on for Moraven Town about 7 miles from hence, where I arived about four o Clock and its Storming[.]¹⁰¹ I put up for that night, here being a great number of the Sick, and an Exceeding Beautifull place with Two large and Ellegant Nuneries, and a large hous for publick worship. The people here was Extreem kind.

January the 8th. 1778. I forgot to mention the Bigness of the town[s], as I passed through them from Redding to Lancaster. Allens town the first had about 200 houses in it and but an ornary town[.] Addams town about 100 houses and a Durty nasty place. Situated in a hollow Rheims Town much the Same. the next was Dunkers town which I have given a Discription of. then the three Churchs a Small place about 20 houses Compact, the next is Moraven Town, which appears allmost like a paradise, with Curious Stone Buldings and two large Nuneries and one large house for Publick worship, all Neetly built of Stone. I left this town after Breckfast, went to Lancaster, this is a large City much Bigger then Rhode island in New England, although it is [68] miles from a Seaport. I left Lancaster about 3 oClock in the Afternoon. on my journey for the Camp, I went about 13 miles to a place Called Laycock town Ship. there took up my Quarters for that night as the Roads was Exceeding bad and muddy the worst I Ever Saw.

January the 9th. 1778. Left my lodgings Early this morning, went on for the Camp. I fell in Company with a young Quaker, after I had rode about fifteen miles who invited me

to Go and dine with him, which I Chearfully Excepted. This Gentlemens name was Thomas Vickers Living in Chester County and East Caln Township, after I had din'd and bated my hors I Seet off for Camp went to the white hors Tavern on Lancaster Rode, where I took my lodgings for that night having traveled about 40 miles through the mud.

January 10th. 1778. I Sett off early this morning for the Camp, in Companey with a gentleman going to mount holley. his name was Lion, we arrived in Camp about ten oClock and found all frinds well, Exce[pt] Poor John Luther who was Dead and Buried, as I heard on the Road yesterday But I found a great alteration in the Regt. as my Regt. and Colo. Greens was both Incorporated into one, and Colo. Green Colo. Comstock¹⁰² and major ward, and about one half of the other officers were gone home, with a view of Raising a Negrow Regt.¹⁰³

January 11th. 1778. This day was an Exceeding Snowy Day, but Nothing Extrodinary happened, I kept Very Steedy in Camp this Day.

January 12th. 1778 fine weather[.] This Day there was five Serjants reduced to the Ranks for attempting to go home without leave and one of Them was whip one hundred lashes on his Naked back, these Serjts all belonged to Colo. foremans Regt under the Command of Capt. Combs, and in my Regt now and there to remain untill further orders.¹⁰⁴

January 13th. 1778. fine weather for winter & Nothing happened this day worth Notis[.] there was a large Detachment Sent from the army to releave Colo. Morgan.

14. This Morning Colo. Olney¹⁰⁵ Set off for Providence in the State of Rhode Island. we had one man Died out of the Regt. last Night, his name was Ladd.

15. Nothing Remarkable Happened this day.

16. this Mornin Capt. potter of my Regt.¹⁰⁶ Sett off for the State of Rhode Island. I went to the Cloather Generals and got 288 pair of Stockings and 4 Shirts for the Regt. under my Command but Nothing Remarkable happened During the Day.

January the 17th. 1778. This morning Lt. West and Lt. Jerald¹⁰⁷ Sett off for the State of Rhode Island, and it has been a very Stormey Day, and Some warmer then it has ben in Some days pas[t.] our people has frequently Crost the Schuylkill on the ice for Several days past.

18. This morning Capt. William Tew and Capt. William Allen, Lt. Bethuel Curtis and Lt. Samuel Whipple¹⁰⁸ Left the Camp on their way to the State of Rhode Island. Samuel Whipple had gotten his discharge from the Servis[;] the others were going on furlow. they was defeated in their first Setting off, by the Schuylkill being brok up by a large freshet, and So full of Ice that no Boat Could pass, but the Ice Clearing away in the Afternoon they all Crost and proceeded on in their journey. Died Last Night Daniel Phillips of my Regt. A Civil Honest young man, who Drove my waggon, and was this Afternoon Desintly Entered. Nothing more Extraordinary Happen'd During the Day as it was good weather, it Cleard off last Evening.

January 19th. 1778. Fine weather for winter and Nothing Extraordinary happened this Day. General Varnom bebun to Exercise the officers of his Brigade.

20th. my. Regt. begun this Day to build a Hospital, for the Sick.¹⁰⁹ Person David was Dischargd from my Regt. to day by General Varnom, as the Staff officers have no Commissions they Can be Discharg'd by the Brigadiers or Cols., but no Commission'd officer to be discharg'd without orders from Congress or his Excellency. Nothing Remarkable happened this Day.

This days journal finishes this Book.



Brig. Gen. James Mitchell Varnum had previously served as colonel of the First Rhode Island Regiment. After the war he would distinguish himself as a lawyer and jurist before his death in 1789 at the age of forty. Photogravure from a painting, by Ethan Allen Greenwood, owned by Varnum; painting now owned by the Varnum Continentals. RIHS Collection (RHi X3 2018).

January the 21st. 1778. Nothing in particular happen'd this day, Except a report of Capt. Lees beating of a Number of t[he] Enemys Light hors.¹¹⁰

22nd. This morning we Had porticulars of the affair betwen Capt. Lee and the british light Hors. Capt. Lee with 7 of his men wer in a Stone hous near the Enemys Lines, when they wer Surounded by a body of the Brittish Horse[,] Some Says near two hundred. they indeavourd to force themselves into the hous, but wer beaten off by only 8 men, with the loss of three kill'd and 4 wounded. Capt Lee had only one man Slightly wounded. they had burst open the Door but the man was instantly Shott dead, Capt. Stephen Windsor¹¹¹ Came to the Camp To Day and brought me a letter fro[m] my girl in new England informing me that all my frinds were well, Major thayer and my Self went over Schuylkill and Return'd at Night.

Jany. 23rd. 1778. Nothing Remarkable happen'd to day Except we Buried Two of our Soldiers, Viz Oliver Greene, and William foster.

24th. Three more of my Regt. died last Night and was this day Deacently intered, viz William Butten Timothy Noice, and Ceasar Cole. it is a very allarming time amongst us[,] the troops are very Sickley, and die fast,¹¹² we heard last Evening that General Spencer who Commanded at providence, had Resin'd and his Resignation was Excepted of by Congress[.]¹¹³ thus Ends this day but what will End the next is uncertain.

January the 25th. 1778. This morning was Exceeding pleasant, but I was no Sooner up and drest, before I was Called upon, for to give one more Mallencully order, viz, for a Coffin for one of my men, who departed this life last Night, what an allarm must this be to us a Small Handfull of poor Naked Soles, distute of money and Every Necessary of life, to See how we are Struck of off the List of time, one two and three, in the Space of twenty four Hours. it has ben a fine day, but has blown off very Cold this Evening and nothing Extrordinary has happend to day.

26th. This morning I apply'd to his Excellence to See when we Could have the money for my Regt. and after Returning Spent great Part of the day in writing letters, to my frinds in New England, we buried another man to day, Capt. Stephen Windsor Sett off for home this after noon, but faild of getting over the Schuylkill, Return'd back and tarried all Night, I recd. orders this Evening to Go on a Command to morrow Down to the Lines.

Janry. 27th. This was a Sevear Cold morning. I Sett of this morning on the above Sd. Command, with 300 men, Major Ellison¹¹⁴ was with me[.] we left the grand porade about 9 oClock, arived at Radnor by 12 oClock. this place Lies on lancester Road 14 miles from Philadelphia, Capt. Winsor Left the Camp to day bound for Rhode island[.] it Continued a Shocken Cold day and night.

28. The Weather was much Mordrated this morning, and our little incampment Remaind peasable, but no provisons was in the Camp for the men, untill Night When We had a weaks provision in For the Detachment of Salt pork, which was a Rarity to us having Lived so long on fresh, Major Rion¹¹⁵ Came to See me to day, and we rode out in the afternoon, and Spent the Day very agrable, we had two Desarters from the brittish Army Come to us to day, but we Could not git no intilgence from the Enemy, no other ways then they were very Still in philadelphia.

January 29th. 1778. Last night it begun to rain and Raind very hard the Greatest part of the night, and the forenoon but Clear'd of this afternoon and was Extreem muddy. I rode out to reconiter the Country but it was So muddy that I did not go no great distance, about Eleven oClock there Came Some officers down from the Camp after Some Deserters, I Sent out a patrolling party after the Rascals.

Janry. 30 1778. This morning was the pleasants I ever Knew at the Season of the year, the Blue birds was Churiping very plenty this morning. I beleave I had forty Applications to me for passes into Philadelphia, this day by three OClock in the afternoon at which time I left my Quarters, and took a ride Round in Companey with Capt. Vandelear,¹¹⁶ but it Still remain'd very Muddy[.] we went as far as the fox Chace about Seven miles, where I found a party of the troops Sent after the deserters last night, but the Desarters 9 in number got within the Picquets before our people Could over take them though they was not more than 1000 yards Behind.

January 31st. 1778. This morning it was very Raney, and Continued So all the day long[.] Capt. Scull¹¹⁷ who I sent out last night a patrolling Down below derby Come in to Day an brought in 23 fatt Sheep. they took from three Villins who were a driving them into Philadelphia, two of the rougs mad their Escape in the dark, one of them was taken prisoner and brought up with the Sheep, five of them I ordered killd for the troops with me, two I lett the light hors have and the other I Sent to head quarters. they took one woman a going to market with Some meal, flower turkeys and fowls, but as She appeard to be a poor woman I lett her have the greatest part of her truck, and paid her for the remainder[,] then Sent her home.

February 1st. 1778. This morning we had the pleasure to See the Sun Shine, as it had Clear'd off in the Night, the Ladies begun to apply this morning for passes to philadelphia, I gave a number as had not Recd. an Answer from a letter I wrote to his Excellency on the matter the day before, but in the afternoon Recd. orders not to give aney passes to aney person whatsoever.¹¹⁸ I had two villans Desarted from my Detachment last night, and to day I Rode out to one Widow Elisabeth Evens and one of her Daughters Came from Philada., while I was there, and Said that She Saw two of my men in the City and heard them Examin'd, who Said they Came from my Detachment And told the Brittish officers who Commanded at that post, and what number of men there was, they Swore that they would Soon Come and pay us a Visit, which if they do I Shall do my Endeavour to treat them according to their desart, I Sent my waiter to Camp to day who Return'd this Evening and brought a letter from Major Thayer, informing me that the paymasters had gotten the Money.

Febr. 2nd. 1778. fine weather over head, but Extriam muddy, our Scout Come in to day but had no Success, Nothing Extrordinary happen'd, Except the waggons returnd to day that went out of philadelphia with Cloathes for the hessian prisoners, that was taken at trenton last winter who were now Some in Lancaster and Some in the State of Virginia, they went No further then Lancaster, before they was Sent back, on Some Account the particulars I have not heard, Some Says it was on account of their passing Counterfit money.¹¹⁹

Febr. 3rd. 1778. This morning was fine and plesant & very Clear, about 12 oClock Colo. Tupper¹²⁰ Come with a detachment to releave me[.] a light horsman Come in and inform'd us that he had fallen in with Six toreyes on the roade, and Kill'd one of them{;} the others had made their Escape. he had taken one of their horses, and after wards had taken a hessian who had deserted from Lancaster where he was a prisoner and was a going in[to] Philadelphia.

Febry. 4 1778. I Return'd into Camp last Evening Just about Sunsett, when they troops had just buried Corprol dodg, This Morning we had another man dead. Major thayer Sett off to day to buy him a horse. I Recd. my money To day. Mr. Davids took his leave of us to day, and went to Lancaster where he is agoing to practise Phisick¹²¹—So the day Ended with as fine weather as Ever I Saw for the Season.

5th. fine weather and nothing Remarkable happened to day, Major Thayer Come into Camp to day and had bought him a horse[.] he arived a little before Sunset. paymaster Holden bought Commisary watermans¹²² horse to day.

February 6th. 1778. this morning was very raw and Cold, and Clowded up about noon and begun to Storm, paymaster Holden Sett of for Rhode Island in the afternoon[.] paymaster Green went away in the Morning. Major Thayer and I Rode about Six miles out of Camp to day to look of Some horses that was to be Sold, as I wanted to buy one but it was as tedious a time as Ever I was out in, and Rain'd as hard as Ever I Saw it, with a high wind at N.E. and Sevear Cold. we ariv'd in Camp about 8 oClock in the Evening as weat and Cold as men need be. there was a Gentleman at my hut when I come home, from the Jersies, he brought a letter from Capt. Oliver Clarke, who was a prisoner in Philadelphia[.]¹²³ this gentleman tarried with me this Night.

February 7th. 1778. This morning was very Clear as it had Clear'd off in the Night, with Snow, about ankel Deep, there was a man found in Frunt of our Encampment at about 150 yards Distance from the huts, pitched with his face into the mud dead[.] Suposed to have ben in Licquor, and perish'd with the Coald and weat, there was Two more Murdered in the Camp, in the frunt Line, among the Southern troops[;] one of them was Cut to peaces in a Shocking Mannor.¹²⁴ I went again to day with Esqr. Waterman in quest of a hors[.] as it Storm'd, So Yesterday that I did not buy one, I went about 6 miles to one Esqr. Potts: where I bought a horse for which I gave 180 Dollars and returnd to Camp about three oClock in the after[noon] where I found all well.



Four years after commanding a company in the defense of Fort Mercer, Capt. Stephen Olney would serve with distinction at the Battle of Yorktown. Engraving by an anonymous artist, n.d. RIHS Collection (RH1 X3 9192).

8. It was Clowdy and dull weather this morning, and begun to Snow very thick About 10 oClock, Major Thayer with a Number of Vollenteers went to help in with the last pear, of the bridg over Schuylkill,¹²⁵ A gentlemean from New England Come to Camp last Evening and brought letters for Some of the officers. Capt. Stephen Olney had one, by which we was Inform'd of the Death of Thomas Whipple Esqr. his mother Nancy Pollick, and Jencks Brown[.] all once near Neighbours to me, Mr. Connell a Gentleman from New Jersie, who I mentioned tarried with me the Night before last, Came to my Hut to Day and Set off for the Jersies, by whom I wrote a letter to Colo. Ellis of New Jersey.¹²⁶ Desiring him to assist Capt. Clark a prisoner in Philadelphia. also in forming Capt. Clarke where I was, and that I had the Command of both the Rhodeisland Battallions, I also Sent a letter by him to a Porticular frind I had in Bristol, I left the Camp to day about 2 or 3 oClock and went to Radnor, and It Storm'd all the way there as bad as Ever I See it in my life, it was with Dificulty I Could follow the Road. I tarried in Radnor this night.

February 9th. 1778. it Clear'd off this morning just before Day and was very pleasant[.] after Breackfast I went from Radnor where I tarried, to one widow Evenes' where I din'd[.] then went for the Camp in Company with a young Ladey, Daughter of The Widdow Evens, She went in Company within about two miles of the Camps to See a Sister of hers that was married to one Doctor Davis, Here I drink't Tea[.] then went to the Campss where I found all well[.] I arriv'd in Camp just after Dark.

Febry. 10 1778. This was a Sevear Cold morning, at Guard mounting there was 8 or 9 tories to be whipt, Some 150 Some 200, 250 Lashes, on their Nacked Backs, one was whipt and the others pardon'd by his Excellency.¹²⁷ Nothing more Remarkable Happend this Day. a Lt. in the Camp had a Sword broke over his head by a Sentance of a Cort martia[1].¹²⁸

Febry. 11th. 1778. It begun to Storm last Evening and Rain'd Very hard all Night, and was an Exceeding Stormey Day with both Snow and Rain, the Snow being about half leag Deap which Soon become Like water, and was Such traviling that there was no Stiring about; the Day Ended very Stormey, and our hutt Leaked Extreem bad.

Febry 12th. 1778. It Cleard off last Evening, with Squals of Snow and the most Viloent wind I ever knew blow, from the Norwest, and was very Colde this morning and Remain d So all the forenoon, but morderated a little in the afternoon and at night the wind fell, I din d with General Varnom to-day, at night we Recd. after orders for a detachment from the army to parade by ten O Clock in the morning. to Consist of one Major General, one Brigadier Genl. three Colo. four Lt. Cols. four Majors 16 Capts, 32 Subs. 32 Serjts 32 Corprols, 16 Drums and fifs, and 1200 privates, to be furnished with hard Bread for Six days, but where they are a going is not yet known.¹²⁹

January [*sic*] 13th. 1778. This morning was pleasant, but Soon Clouded up and grew raw cold and unpleasant, this being the fourth day that the troops had ben without meat, I was determined that not one man from my Regt. Should goe on duty untill they had their provisions. be the Consequence what they would, and I imeadetly went to the General and inform'd him of what I had done, who Justified my Conduct, Major thayer went on Fatague to day, with a Number of Men from the other Brigades who had got provisions; but Come home by one o Clock on account of its being So Cold and the men nothing to Eat.

Ferbry 14th. 1778. This morning was Sevear Cold and Continued So the whole day, Mr. Thomas Billings of my Regt. died about Eight o Clock in the morning, and was Deacently buried this afternoon.

15th. The weather was much morderated this morning, and General Sullivan Sent to majar thayer, Desiring him to try to git Some Vollenteers out of my Regt. to work upon the bridg over Schuylkill. but as our men had not had but half a days allowance of meet in 5 Days they did Not a man turn out to go with him[.] Neither would I order one to turn out untill they had their provisions, this being the Sixth day we have liv'd on bread and water, we drawed one herrin per Man, just So as to Save life.

Febry. 16th 1778. It Storm'd the greatist part of last Night, begining with Snow and Rain, and Snow d this morning very fast, but Soon Cleared away and imeadetly Clouded over again and Snowd a little and was a very unpleasant day. this being the 7th Day that we had lived on Bread and water, but was happily pleas'd with the agreeable news of provisions Coming into Camp, and a little after noon had a pound of pork pr man delt to the troops[.]¹³⁰ Nothing very Extrordinary happend this Day[.] Capt Dun a jentleman from the Navy Come to our hutt to day and tarried the Night.

17th. This morning was Exceeding Cold. I had one man died last night out of my Regt. and to Day there was A Number of men went from my Regt. to go on board of the Boats in the River Dillaware, below Philadelphia[.] the Day Continued Cold. I din'd with General Varnom, nothing Extraordinary happend, Except three Deser[ters] Come to the Genls from how.¹³¹

Febry. 18th. 1778. It was a fine pleasant day to day, and Nothing Remarkable happen'd. My Reigment was Mustered in the Afternoon.

19th. It Still remain'd Good weather and Nothing Remarkable hapn'd in our Camps, Except the Soldiers being eternely Drunk, as their Money was not all gone.

20th. I was to have Set off on a journey with Majar Platt¹³² to Mount holly in the jersies, but it Storm'd So that we did not Set off till the afternoon. then we Set off and sent as far as Whippen township, there put up at one Mr. Porters Some 10 Miles from Vally Forge.

Febry. 21st. 1778. it Clearing off[,] last Evening was very pleasant[.] this morning the Major and I left our Quarters a little after Sunrise, went on our Journey to bristol where we din'd, and after Spending the afternoon, we went over the River to Burlington in the

Jersies, there tarried that Night. When we first arriv'd in bristol we found the People all Allarm'd Saying that the Brittish troops were within 5 or 6 miles of the plase. we Enquired where they were[;] they told us a little back in the Country near Neshamini, where we had just past through. So we knew it was but a fallce allarm, but it was with Dificulty we Could make them beleave it. the people in bristol was a bringing of the Great tory Galloways goods.¹³³

February 22nd. 1778. This Morning was Cold and Cloudy and Soon Begun to Snow very fast but as it was Sunday we did not hurry on our journey. we got our Breakfast and Staid till about Eleven o Clock at Mr. McRoys where we lodg'd[,] then went to Mrs. Murrils where I Staid and Spent a few minuts, then went to Capt. Moulders and Spent a few hours, then rode to Mountholly where we dind. And put up for that Night at one williamsons and went out to look for Some goods, which we was in presuit off, but found but few, and them Extreem Dear. we bought but few articals to what we Expected. it Storm'd all the day long and at Night it begun to rain.

February 23rd. 1778. this Morning being Clear and pleasant, we proceeded on our journey[,] went to haddenfield, there dind[,] then went to red Banks. There Viewed all the works which were intierly Demolish'd, the fort Leavel'd plattforms ript up and burnt.¹³⁴ then went to Mr. Joseph Lows[;] there Drink Tea. then proceeded to Whippin Town or Rangle Town where we took up our lodgins for that night[,] having travel'd about forty miles. we Lodg'd at one Mr. Mount Skeens[.] here we mett with General Waines Division which Crost the Dilaware at Salem in the Jersies, Leaving General Greene on the Pensylvena Shore.¹³⁵

February 24th. 1778. This Morning was Exceeding Pleasent. we Start off after Sunrise. went to one Sparks Tavern on the road to Salem, About 9 miles[;] there breakfa[st]ed, then rode to Salem about 8 or 9 miles further, where we had our horses put to hay and we went to look for goods and after purchasing what we wanted we Din'd. here I and Major Platt had Each of us a fine present made us. we had Each of us a bottle of Shrub given us by Major Hall.¹³⁶ we then Sett of for the Camps, & went about 8 miles to kitts Ferry on Pells Neck, but Could not Croos that Night, as the [boat] was a ground. So we took up our Quarters for that Night.

Febry. 25 1778. the weather Still Remains very Mordrat, it froze none last Knight. we got our Breakfast, and then went and got off the Boat, Crost the Dallaware about one Mile above New Castle, on the western Shore, in the State of Dillaware, then went to willimington[;] there Din d. we Crost Christiana ferry against Willmington, this was a Beautiful town, and many thing[s] to be Solde in it although one Division of the Army lay in this town.¹³⁷ we left the town in the afternoon; went but about 7 miles before we put up for that night on account of the badness of the Roads.

February 26th. 1778. This morning we got up very Early in order to proceed on our Journey. But it Set to Raining very ha[rd] which occation'd us to wait about one hour, but See no prospect of Its holding up, we left Mr. Tallmans[,] our present Quarters, and went on in the worst riding I Even Saw, as far as Dillworths Tavarn, where we Stopt and Breakfasted, then Sett forward for the Camp. we traveled about 10 miles[,] then Stopt and bated our Horses, but Could git nothing to Eat our Selves. as Soon as we bated our horses we went forward and Arriv'd in Camp about Sunset and found all the officers well but the Soldiers very Sickly. they was buring two when I ariv'd in C[amp] which Died out of my regt.¹³⁸ Major Thayer had just got a Quantity of Cloathing into the Camp.¹³⁹ in this Journey I Traveled near Two Hundred miles.

February 27th. 1778. It begun to Storm Extreem hard & our hutt Leakt So bad that my Bed and Cloathes were Soon all weet. my Shirt was Ringing wett to my Back. Such was

our Situation in the morning, our hutt all of a float, our Cloathes all weet. it Still Continued Raining, till about Noon when it begun to Snow and Snow'd all the after Noon untill Sunsit, when it brook away and the Sun Sett Clear. there was one Malencully Accident hapen'd [the] night before last. Eight waggons & [hors]es and their Drivers was all drownd [crossi]ng Schuykill.¹⁴⁰

February 28. 1778. This morning was very plesant and the Sun Shin'd Clear. which We Seldom See in this part of the Country, for the Greatist part of this winter it has Storm'd or ben Cloudy Seven Eights of the time. it held Clear but a few hours to day before it Clouded over and in the afternoon begun to Snow, and Continued Stormy all afternoon. we Recd. news this after Noon that General Wane had had an Engagemet with the Enemy in the Jersies, and at Night there Came a Deserter from the Brittish troops who inform'd us that he saw 50 of their Men brought into the City wounded and that he heard a heavey firing but Could not tell what was dun. he Some Say that they had Drove the Rebbels to the Deavel.¹⁴¹

Notes

1. Kakiat is now New Hempstead in Rockland County, N.Y. Ramapo is in Bergen County, N.J.
2. Pompton (now Riverdale) is in Morris County, N.J.
3. In May 1777 Jeremiah Greenman, an enlisted man in Angell's regiment, wrote, "Our men all most ye biger part of them old Country men wich are very bad / we are [forced?] to flog them night & morning a hunder[d] lashes a piece." *Diary of a Common Soldier in the American Revolution, 1775-1783: An Annotated Edition of the Military Journal of Jeremiah Greenman*, ed. Robert C. Bray and Paul E. Bushnell (DeKalb, Ill.: Northern Illinois University Press, 1978), 72-73.
4. Veal Town was on the main road south and a little west of Morristown, in Morris County, N.J. On this day Washington launched a bold attack on the British army camped at Germantown, Pa. The attack was initially successful, but fog and confusion allowed the British to regroup and repulse the Americans.
5. Reading, N.J., is in Hunterdon County. According to Greenman, the regiment spent the night in the woods at Bedminster, N.J. *Diary*, 79.
6. Flemington is in Hunterdon County. Coryell's Ferry crossed the Delaware between the present towns of New Hope, Pa., and Lambertville, N.J.
7. Plumstead Township is in Bucks County, Pa.
8. Col. Christopher Greene commanded the First Rhode Island Regiment. Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army during the War of the Revolution, April 1775 to December 1783* (1914; reprint, Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1973), 260.
9. After the American defeat at Germantown, and with the British forces under Gen. William Howe fortified in Philadelphia, Washington realized the critical need of the British to bring supply ships up the Delaware River. In order to do this, they had to clear the river of the American defenses. These originally consisted of three fortifications: Fort Mifflin, on Mud Island, on the Pennsylvania side and Forts Mercer and Billingsport on the New Jersey side. These forts defended three lines of obstacles, called chevaux-de-frise, sunken into the river at and below the mouth of the Schuylkill River, south of Philadelphia. Anchored above the obstacles were the Pennsylvania navy and a few Continental vessels under Commodore John Hazelwood of Pennsylvania. See Christopher Ward, *The War of the Revolution*, ed. John R. Alden (New York: Macmillan, 1952), 1:373.

The fort at Billingsport was not defended, and the British occupied it on 2 October. On 7 October Washington ordered Brig. Gen. James Mitchell Varnum to send the First and Second Rhode Island Regiments to Fort Mercer, which was more commonly known as Red Bank Fort. Christopher Greene, the senior colonel in command, was given orders to defend Red Bank and to cooperate with Col. Samuel Smith at Fort Mifflin and Commodore Hazelwood. Washington to Varnum, 7 Oct. 1777, and Washington to Christopher Greene, 8 Oct. 1777, *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745-1799*, ed. John C. Fitzpatrick (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1933), 9:326-27, 333-35.

The primary British objective was to capture Fort Mifflin. Capt. John Montresor, who had built the fort before the war, was now in charge of reducing it. Siege preparations began in earnest on 15 October. For Montresor's record of the siege, see "Journals of Captain John Montresor," edited and annotated by G. D. Scull, *Collections of the New York Historical Society for the Year 1881* (New York: New York Historical Society, 1882), 461-77. A collection of primary documents from the American side may be found in *Defences of Philadelphia in 1777*, ed. Worthington Chauncey Ford (1897; reprint, New York: Da Capo Press, 1971). The construction of the river obstacles and the naval actions are thoroughly covered by John W. Jackson, *The Pennsylvania Navy, 1775-1781: The Defense of the Delaware* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1974). A good discussion of the river campaign is found in Samuel Stelle Smith, *Fight For the Delaware, 1777* (Monmouth Beach, N.J.: Philip Freneau Press, 1970). Michael J. Crawford, ed., *Naval Documents of the American Revolution*, vol. 10 (Washington, D.C.: Naval Historical Center, Department of the Navy, 1996) contains documents pertaining to naval operations of both the Americans and the British from October through December 1777.
10. Lt. Col. Samuel Prentice, First Connecticut Regiment, and Lt. Col. Aaron Burr, Malcolm's Additional Continental Regiment. Heitman, *Historical Register*, 451, 135, 559.
11. Buckingham and Newtown are in Bucks County.
12. Bristol (on the Delaware River) and Wrightstown are in Bucks County. Washington ordered Angell's regiment back to join Varnum. Washington to Varnum, 9 Oct. 1777, *Writings*, 9:343-45.
13. New Britain Township is in Bucks County. Montresor recorded that the rebels fired three thousand shot on this day against the first battery he had erected to bombard Fort Mifflin. "Journals," 464.

14. Hazerwood's galleys were bombarding the British battery. Jackson, *Pennsylvania Navy*, 144-55.
15. Province Island was at the mouth of the Schuylkill River. The Americans made landings against the battery on the eleventh and twelfth. The first attempt captured three officers and fifty men, but these were "retaken immediately" by Capt. James Moncrief and fifty Hessians. Despite initial successes, the Americans were repulsed in both attempts. Montresor, "Journals," 464-65.
16. Forts Montgomery and Constitution, on the Hudson River, were captured by Gen. Henry Clinton, who was moving up from New York to provide assistance to General Burgoyne. Gen. Israel Putnam to Washington, 8 Oct. 1777, *Correspondence of the American Revolution: Being Letters of Eminent Men to George Washington*, ed. Jared Sparks (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1853), 2:16.
17. This was news of the engagement of 7 October, usually called the Battle of Freeman's Farm or the Second Battle of Saratoga. Formal notification was made to the army in Washington's general orders the next day. *Writings*, 9:377-79. The victory led to the surrender of Burgoyne's army on 17 October.
18. To march "from the right of the army" meant to move off in formation to the right of the direction in which an encampment faced. *The Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, vol. 9, ed. Dennis M. Conrad et al. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Rhode Island Historical Society, 1997), 3 n.
19. Samuel Ward, Jr., and Ebenezer Flagg. Heitman, *Historical Register*, 568, 229.
20. At Christopher Greene's request, Washington ordered Angell to march "with the utmost secrecy" to Red Bank and assist with the defense of the Delaware. Experienced seamen in Angell's regiment were to be sent aboard Hazelwood's ships. Washington to Angell, 16 Oct. 1777, *Writings*, 9:380-81. Towamencin Township is in Montgomery County, Pa.
21. Burlington, in Burlington County, N.J., is across the Delaware River from Bristol, Pa.
22. Twelve officers and 137 men were sent from Angell's regiment to relieve a detachment of Christopher Greene's at Fort Mifflin. "Orderly Book of Colonel Christopher Greene," *Year Book for 1928* (Philadelphia: New Jersey Society of Pennsylvania, 1929), 49.
23. Montresor recorded that twelve flat-bottomed boats and a whaleboat had slipped past Fort Mifflin during the night. His batteries were now extensive enough that their fire was able to drive back the American ships that had been supporting the fort and open limited communication between Howe's forces and the British fleet downriver. "Journals," 469-70.
24. At Fort Mifflin "the duty very hard indeed / keep a continual fire on the Enemy & they on us with hot Shot & Shells." Greenman, *Diary*, 81. At five o'clock in the morning the German grenadier battalions Linsing, Minnigerode, and Lengerke, with the Mirbach regiment and Hessian jaegers, under the command of Col. Carl von Donop, crossed to New Jersey at Coopers Ferry (now Camden) to capture the fort at Red Bank. This effort was made in the belief that Red Bank was a battery erected against ships and was not fortified on the landward side. Friedrich von Muenchhausen, *At General Howe's Side, 1776-1778*, trans. Ernest Kipping, annotated by Samuel Smith (Monmouth Beach, N.J.: Philip Freneau Press, 1974), 41; Lt. Col. William Harcourt to Earl Harcourt, 26 Oct. 1777, *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 8 (1884): 224. Hog Island was west of Mud Island.
25. On the following day Maj. Samuel Ward reported to Washington that enemy losses included 1 lieutenant colonel, 3 captains, 4 lieutenants, and nearly 70 men killed and Baron Donop, his brigade major, 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, and "upwards" of 70 wounded noncommissioned officers and privates taken prisoner; American losses included 1 captain and 13 enlisted men killed, 1 captain captured, and 1 ensign and 22 enlisted men wounded. Samuel Ward to Washington, 23 Oct. 1777, *The Register of Pennsylvania* 3, no. 12 (21 Mar. 1829): 181. Two weeks later Angell's regimental chaplain said the enemy lost about 500 men, while the Americans lost 1 captain, 5 sergeants, and 7 privates killed with 19 privates wounded. Ebenezer David to Nicholas Brown, 5 Nov. 1777, *A Rhode Island Chaplain in the Revolution: Letters of Ebenezer David to Nicholas Brown, 1775-1778*, ed. Jeannette D. Black and William Greene Roelker (Providence: Rhode Island Society of the Cincinnati, 1949): 53. Howe's aide-de-camp put the Hessian losses at nearly 400. Muenchhausen, *At General Howe's Side*, 41.
- A Hessian report claimed that the attack failed not because of resistance from the fort but because of "an unheard-of fire" from American ships and row galleys. This report, dated four days after the battle, counted 382 Hessian casualties. "The Philadelphia Campaign, 1777-1778: Letters and Reports from the Von Jungkenn Papers," pt. 1, 1777, *Journal of the Johannes Schwalm Historical Association* 6, no. 2 (1998): 17. The Hessians had to leave many of their wounded behind because they lacked wagons to transport them. *Ibid.*, 11.
- The defense of Fort Mercer, the biggest American success of the campaign, was later marked by annual celebrations. "We fir'd a Number of Cannon and small arms & buried the image of Colo. Dunap in memory of the 22 of Oct. 1777," Greenman wrote on 22 October 1778. *Diary*, 131. On 22 October 1779 Angell recorded that a ceremonial dinner was held by the officers of the regiment and many local citizens, and that "the troops burned the Effigy of Count Donop this Day and raised a liberty pole near fore Score feet high." Angell, *Diary*, 84-5.
26. The twenty-gun ship was the *Merlin*; the fifty-gun ship was the *Roebuck*, which Commodore Hazelwood claimed to have "damaged much." John Hazelwood to Washington, 23 Oct. 1777, *Correspondence of the American Revolution*, 2:13.
- Despite their cooperative effort in repelling the attack on Fort Mercer, American naval and land forces were not always respectful of each other. Hazelwood "refused to cooperate with or subordinate his forces to Samuel Smith, who commanded Fort Mifflin. . . . Hazelwood ignored pleas from both Greene and Washington, believing he was a better judge of the best defenses necessary to protect the forts on the Delaware." James G. Bradsher, "Preserving the Revolution: Civil-Military Relations during the American War for Independence" (Ph.D. diss., University of Massachusetts, 1984), 449. Smith wrote, "I am Clearly of Opinion if we had a Commodore who would do his Duty, it would be impossible for the Enemy to ever get possession of this fort." Smith to Washington, 26 Oct. 1777, *Defences of Philadelphia*, 57. "How strange it is," Washington lamented, "that Men engaged in the same Important Service, should be eternally bickering, instead of giving mutual aid." Washington to Varnum, 4 Nov. 1777, *ibid.*, 82.
27. In his congratulatory letter to Greene, Washington suggested exchanging "the arms taken, as they are no doubt good," for the indifferent ones Greene might have, and sending off all the superfluous arms. Washington to Christopher Greene, 24 Oct. 1777, *Writings*, 9:424-25.
28. Coggeshall Olney and 1st Lt. David Sayles. Heitman, *Historical Register*, 420, 483.
29. Newport had been occupied by the British since October 1776. Gen. Joseph Spencer had gradually assembled some nine thousand men, mostly militia, to retake the town, but ten days of stormy weather in October led many of the men to return home, and Spencer canceled the attack. He was exonerated of blame for the aborted operation, but he resigned his commission in December.
30. The three hundred of the enemy were the Seventy-first Regiment and about a hundred marines. *Archibald Robertson: His Diaries and Sketches in America, 1762-1780*, ed. Harry

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- Miller Lydenberg (1930; reprint, New York: New York Public Library and Arno Press, 1971), 154. Fascines are bundles of sticks bound together for use in constructing earthworks or fortified trenches. The British were moving these to the site of the gun emplacements being built to bombard Fort Mifflin.
31. The British siege efforts also suffered. The "Tempest," as Montresor called it, "retards our work beyond description." "Journals," 471.
32. Greenman records Donop's burial on 31 October. *Diary*, 83. Muenchhausen, like Angell, places it on the thirtieth, as does an account in the journal of Maj. Carl Leopold Baurmeister of the von Mirbach Hessian regiment. *At General Howe's Side*, 42; "The Philadelphia Campaign," 14.
33. John McIlvaine and Dick Ellis guided the Hessians from Haddonfield, in Gloucester County, N.J., to Red Bank. Ellis was a slave owned by Col. Joseph Ellis of the Gloucester County Militia. The two were tried by a court martial and found guilty on 31 October. Jackson, *Pennsylvania Navy*, 173, 193-94; Greene, "Orderly Book," 51.
34. Washington ordered Varnum and his brigade to Woodbury, in Gloucester County, "to aid and give greater security to the Garrisons at Red-Bank and Fort Mifflin." Washington to Varnum, 28 Oct. 1777, *Writings*, 9:455-57. Varnum sent 12 officers, 24 noncommissioned officers, and 200 privates to Fort Mifflin. Varnum to Washington, 3 Nov. 1777, *Defences of Philadelphia*, 78.
35. On this day an Ensign Timothy McCarthy of Angell's regiment was found guilty "for endeavoring to raise a mutiny in ye Regiment when on their March from Peeks Kill, and refusing his Duty when Regularly warned," and he was cashiered from the army. Greene, "Orderly Book," 52.
36. Varnum's battery was near the mouth of Manto (or Mantua) Creek, about 2½ miles downriver from Red Bank. Crawford, *Naval Documents*, 10:405 n. 2, 422. Varnum jubilantly claimed that his two guns had "greatly shattered" the 64-gun ship *Somerset*, which, if "the Gallies had behaved tolerably well . . . must beyond a doubt have fallen into our Hands." He believed that bigger guns and more batteries would be very effective in holding the British fleet back. Varnum to Washington, 6 Nov. 1777, *Defences of Philadelphia*, 86-88.
37. Chaplain Charles Thompson. Heitman, *Historical Register*, 540.
38. Charles Holden and 1st Lt. Gilbert Grant. *Ibid.*, 295, 256. Holden was as ensign. Anthony Walker, *So Few the Brave: Rhode Island Continentals, 1775-1783* (Newport, R.I.: Seaford Press, 1981), 142.
39. I.e., Aquidneck Island.
40. The new batteries, on the Pennsylvania shore, included two 32-pounders, six 24-pounders, one 18-pounder, one 13-inch mortar, two 8-inch mortars, and two 8-inch howitzers. Muenchhausen, *At General Howe's Side*, 43. "We have lost but few men—," wrote Chaplain Ebenezer David. "But the works Barracks &c. are near cut all to peaces—& I find that it is on agitation to abandon them." David to Nicholas Brown, 11 Nov. 1777, *Rhode Island Chaplain*, 64.
41. Both this gun and the one referred to as exploding on 14 November were salvaged by the Americans from the wreck of the *Augusta*. Jackson, *Pennsylvania Navy*, 201, 242.
42. The damage at Fort Mifflin was great: "The Enemy have battered down a great Part of the Stone Wall. The Pallsades and Barracks are prodigiously shattered. . . . Upon these, and other Considerations, Colo. Smith is of Opinion that the Fort must be evacuated . . . it appears impossible for the Garrison to withstand point blank shot." Varnum to Washington, 11 Nov. 1777, *Defences of Philadelphia*, 115-16.
43. Samuel Treat was "one of the most promising and best of young officers." Henry Knox to John Lamb, 2 Dec. 1777, Isaac Q. Leake, *Memoir of the Life and Times of General John Lamb* . . . (Albany, N.Y.: Joel Munsell, 1857), 192.
44. These were two brigs and two sloops, "loaded with Provisions and ammunition which supplies the army with provisions 3 weeks to come." Montresor, "Journals," 475.
45. The damage done by the bombardment was severe. "We shall perhaps be able to keep the fort three days," Samuel Smith informed Washington, "in which Time it will be levell'd to the Ground." Smith to Washington, 12 Nov. 1777, *Defences of Philadelphia*, 121.
46. Varnum's new battery was eight hundred yards north of the one he had established a week earlier. Crawford, *Naval Documents*, 10:405 n. 2. Muenchhausen reported that it "drew a very heavy cannonade from the fleet, and it seems they [i.e., the Americans] gave up this dangerous work this evening." *At General Howe's Side*, 43.
47. "Here I endured hardships sufficient to kill half a dozen horses," a private in the Eighth Connecticut Regiment recollected of his service at Fort Mifflin. Joseph Plumb Martin, *Private Yankee Doodle*, ed. George E. Scheer (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1962), 85.
48. The British had built two floating batteries, each mounting two 32-pound cannon. According to Muenchhausen, one of the batteries was almost sunk, and its guns were removed to a new land battery; the other was forced to withdraw. *At General Howe's Side*, 43.
49. Simeon Thayer. Heitman, *Historical Register*, 538. Thayer took over from Lt. Col. Giles Russell, who had relieved Col. Samuel Smith just four days earlier, but whose health was not equal to the task. Major Thayer took fresh troops with him when he assumed command of Fort Mifflin. Because of the very hazardous nature of the post, he went there as a volunteer. David, *Rhode Island Chaplain*, 65.
50. Chevalier Thomas Antoine Maudit du Plessis had been sent by Washington to command the artillery on 8 October. Commenting on his actions in the 22 October victory over the Hessians, Maj. Samuel Ward had told Washington that "too many handsome things cannot be said of the Chevalier." Ward to Washington, 23 Oct. 1777, *The Register of Pennsylvania* 3, no. 12 (21 Mar. 1829): 180. Despite Angell's comments, Plessis was highly regarded by the army and the Continental Congress. Acting on Washington's recommendation, Congress made him a brevet lieutenant colonel on 19 January 1778, and when he returned to France in November 1778, it ordered that he be presented with a "written testimonial of the high sense which Congress entertains of his zeal, bravery, and good conduct." *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789*, ed. Worthington C. Ford (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904-37), 10:64, 12:1104-5.
51. The British had been trying to bring the *Vigilant* up to bombard Fort Mifflin for several days. Four other British warships were positioned to support the *Vigilant*, which the American fleet tried to attack. "The rebel floating batteries, galleys, sloops and one of their frigates answered our fire well," Muenchhausen stated. *At General Howe's Side*, 43. Hazelwood sent "as brave an officer as I had" to attack the *Vigilant*, "but it was impossible while they was so well supported by all their Batterys." Hazelwood to Washington, 15 Nov. 1777, *Defences of Philadelphia*, 129. The gunners at Fort Mifflin put "14 shot into her bow," but once the *Vigilant* began to fire broadsides into the fort, while marines fired from her tops and threw hand grenades, "it was almost imposible for a man to move without being killed." Greenman, *Diary*, 85. Meanwhile, the *Roebuck* and two frigates attacked Varnum's battery near Manto Creek. Robertson, *Diaries*, 155.
- John Laurens wrote to his father that "The fort has done infinitely more than was expected of it, and we must repair its loss." John Laurens to Henry Laurens, 16 or 17 Nov. 1777, *The Army Correspondence of Colonel John Laurens in the Years 1777-8*, ed. with a memoir by William Gilmore Simms (1867; reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1969), 78. Henry Knox declared that "The defence of Fort Mifflin was as gallant as is to be found in

- history." Knox to Lamb, 2 Dec. 1777, Leake, *General John Lamb*, 192. Major Baurmeister's account of this action appears in "The Philadelphia Campaign," 15.
52. The American flag had been left flying when Fort Mifflin was evacuated by its defenders, who left twenty-eight cannon behind. The British immediately began building a new battery to hold off the American ships while the chevaux-de-frise were being removed. With the siege over, Howe thanked his men "for their great exertions and indefatigable zeal throughout that very laborious operation." Montresor, "Journals," 477.
53. Varnum believed that Fort Mercer should be held if further actions were taken to support it and if a commitment was made to keep the British fleet in check. Varnum to Washington, 17 Nov. 1777, *Defences of Philadelphia*, 143-44. The American fleet had moved to Big Timber Creek just above Red Bank. Christopher Greene to Washington, 17 Nov. 1777, *Correspondence of the American Revolution*, 2:44-45.
54. Brig. Gen. Henry Knox, Maj. Gen. Arthur St. Clair, and Baron de Kalb had been sent by Washington to review the situation, and a council on the evening of the eighteenth recommended that Varnum withdraw most of his troops, "But as the holding the fort is a matter of the utmost consequence it ought to be retained to the last moment consistent with the safety of the garrison." St. Clair, De Kalb, and Knox to Varnum, 18 Nov. 1777, Frank H. Stewart, "The Evacuation of Fort Mercer and the Battle of Gloucester," *Yearbook for 1928* (Philadelphia: New Jersey Society of Pennsylvania, 1929), 57.
55. After Fort Mifflin fell, Howe sent Maj. Gen. Thomas Wilson, with 4,000 troops, and Lord Cornwallis, with a force of 3,000, across the Delaware to attack Fort Mercer from the south. Wilson commanded three English regiments, the Seventeenth Light Dragoons, two Anspach battalions, and two companies of Hessian jaegers; Cornwallis commanded a battalion of English grenadiers, a battalion of English light infantry, two English regiments, a battalion of Hessian grenadiers, and fifty jaegers. The 7,000-man force landed at Billingsport on 18 and 19 November. Muenchhausen, *At General Howe's Side*, 44; Smith, *Fight for the Delaware*, 38; "The Philadelphia Campaign," 15.
56. At five o'clock that afternoon Varnum wrote that he was going to Fort Mercer to consult with Col. Christopher Greene, and that he intended to hold the fort if the British did not advance a superior force. Varnum to Washington, 19 Nov. 1777, *Defences of Philadelphia*, 153. By eleven o'clock the next morning Varnum reported that he had evacuated the fort, except for a small rear guard, in the face of an enemy advance. Varnum to Washington, 20 Nov. 1777, *ibid.*, 156-57. Washington had written to Varnum on the nineteenth that he was sending Huntington's Brigade. *Writings*, 10:84-85. Later that day he wrote to Varnum again to tell him that he was sending additional reinforcements under Nathanael Greene, who was to take command of all forces on the New Jersey side of the river, and that Colonel Greene was to hold Fort Mercer until the relief arrived; but by then it was too late. *Writings*, 10:85; see also "Diary of Surgeon Albigenia Waldo, of the Connecticut Line," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 21 (1897): 301. Angell received word of the movement of Huntington's Brigade the following day.
57. Moorestown is in Burlington County.
58. Elias Thompson. Heitman, *Historical Register*, 540. Clothing was a major problem. The governor of Rhode Island had informed the president of Congress "that it will be impracticable for us to supply our Continental Battalions, with the necessary Cloathing the ensuing campaign. . . . We must therefore rely upon the Provision Congress shall make for the Cloathing of our Battalions." Nicholas Cooke to Henry Laurens, 8 Nov. 1777, *The Papers of Henry Laurens*, ed. David R. Chesnutt et al. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1990), 12:38-39.
59. Angell remained away from his regiment for over a week. On 20 November the regiment went from Haddonfield to Mount Holly, in Burlington County; on 25 November it returned to Haddonfield; on 27 November it went to Moorestown; on 28 November it went to Burlington, where Angell rejoined it. Greenman, *Diary*, 87.
60. Brig. Gen. Jedediah Huntington's brigade numbered 1,200 men. Smith, *Fight for the Delaware*, 44. Dunks Ferry was about five miles west of Burlington.
61. Most of the stores were removed from Fort Mercer before it was abandoned. Varnum to Washington, 21 Nov. 1777, *Defences of Philadelphia*, 157. The brig *Convention* and five shallops made a successful run upriver, but seventeen of the American vessels were burned. "There was never a more beautiful fireworks than the one caused by 15 burning ships during the dark night," said Muenchhausen. *At General Howe's Side*, 44. See also "The Philadelphia Campaign," 16, and "The Diary of Robert Morton," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 1 (1877): 29, 30.
62. Maj. Gen. Greene arrived in Burlington with Weedon's and Muhlenberg's Brigades on 20 and 21 November. See *The Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, vol. 2, ed. Richard K. Showman, Robert E. McCarthy, and Margaret Cobb (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Rhode Island Historical Society, 1980), 200-201 (hereafter cited as *Greene Papers*), and Smith, *Fight for the Delaware*, 44. Additional forces were then on their way from New York, having been sent by Maj. Gen. Horatio Gates, after a considerable delay, to assist in the defense of Fort Mercer. On 24 September Washington had written to ask Gates to send him Daniel Morgan's corps; Gates had done so on 18 October, the day after Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga. On 30 October Washington dispatched Lt. Col. Alexander Hamilton to Gates with instructions "to point out, in the clearest and fullest manner to Genl. Gates, the absolute necessity that there is for detaching a very considerable part of the Army at present under his command to the reinforcement of this." But Gates proved recalcitrant, and it was not until 10 November that Hamilton was able to report that he had persuaded him to send Brig. Gen. John Glover's and Brig. Gen. John Paterson's brigades southward. Smith, *Fight for the Delaware*, 41, 44. Washington blamed the loss of the Delaware River forts on Gates's tardiness in releasing these troops. Washington to John Augustine Washington, 26 Nov. 1777, *Writings*, 10:113.
63. Archibald Robertson, a British officer, reported "Driving back a scouting Party of the Rebels." *Diaries*, 157. General Greene reported a "small skirmish at Little Timber Creek Bridge." Greene to Washington, 22 Nov. 1778, *Greene Papers*, 2:204.
64. Washington had written two letters to Nathanael Greene on 22 November. In the first, he suggested an attack on Cornwallis's troops, but "I must leave the propriety of it entirely to your own judgement." In the second, he informed Greene that "It does not appear from any account worthy of credit that any part of the Detachment which cross'd the Delaware under Lord Cornwallis has return'd to Philadelphia. I am inclined therefore to wish that you would advance to meet it as much in force as possible." *Greene Papers*, 2:205.
- On 24 November Greene said he was ready to advance from Mount Holly, but since he believed that his three thousand men would face five thousand of the enemy, he wanted to wait for the reinforcements sent by Gates to join him. Greene to Washington, 24 Nov. 1777, *ibid.*, 2:208-10. However, with Washington now contemplating an attack on Philadelphia, Greene delayed his march pending his commander's decision. Greene to Washington, 24 Nov. 1777, *ibid.*, 2:211-12. During this delay the British withdrew to Gloucester and then crossed to Philadelphia. Maj. Gen. Marquis de Lafayette attacked their

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- picket on the evening of 25 November. Smith, *Fight for the Delaware*, 40. The jaeger picket lost twenty-five men killed and wounded and twelve prisoners in this action. William Haslewood, "Journal of a British Officer during the American Revolution," ed. Louise Phelps Kellogg, *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 7, no. 1 (June 1920): 58. For Nathanael Greene's 26 November report of it to Washington, see *Greene Papers*, 2:218-19.
65. Maidenhead is in Hunterdon County.
66. Joseph Read, of Northampton (now Allentown), Pa., was a lawyer who had served in the Provincial Congress.
67. Robert Helms, who had resigned his commission the previous day; 2nd Lt. Abel Carpenter. Heitman, *Historical Register*, 145, 284.
68. I.e., Parson Ebenezer David.
69. The British foray into New Jersey had gained "300 head of fat Cattle and 1000 Sheep." Haslewood, "Journal," 58.
70. Angell's regiment crossed to Pennsylvania on 28 November and joined Washington's army at White Marsh, about fourteen miles northwest of Philadelphia and some twenty miles from Bristol, two days later. Angell stayed behind in New Jersey to tend the baggage and did not rejoin the regiment until 2 December. Greenman, *Diary*, 87.
71. Ancocus (now Rancocus) Creek is in Burlington County.
72. Howe's army had marched out of Philadelphia at ten o'clock the previous night in an attempt to catch the Americans off guard at White Marsh. Instead, it found strong, alertly manned lines of defense. The two forces skirmished for several days, but neither wished to risk a major battle. The British marched back into Philadelphia on 8 December. John Reed, *Campaign to Valley Forge: July 1, 1777-December 19, 1777* (Philadelphia: Pioneer Press, 1980), 363-80.
73. Robertson claimed that Morgan was "immediately Drove off with a good deal of Loss" but admitted that the British lost about forty-three men. *Diaries*, 160. Morgan gave his losses as twenty-seven killed and wounded. Washington to the President of Congress, 10 Dec. 1777, *Writings*, 10:143-44. In his general orders for 8 December, Washington offered "his warmest thanks to Col. Morgan, and the officers and men of his intrepid corps, for their gallant behavior." *Writings*, 10:140.
74. The report about Col. Charles Webb, of the Second Connecticut Regiment, was incorrect; he was not captured. Heitman, *Historical Register*, 577. Brig. Gen. James Irvine, of the Pennsylvania Militia, remained a prisoner until June 1781. *Ibid.*, 314. British losses on 7 December were eighty-nine killed and wounded. General Howe reconnoitered the American position but found the natural and man-made obstacles so strong that they "prevented any hope of success." Muenchhausen, *At General Howe's Side*, 45.
75. The British began their march at noon on this day and were in Philadelphia by eleven o'clock that night. Muenchhausen, *At Howe's Side*, 45.
76. See "Diary of Surgeon Albigeance Waldo," 304.
77. Ebenezer David was less detailed about the devastation: "to see the ruins of furniture . . . was truly effecting—A Cow Horse or sheep was scarce to be seen for miles." David to Nicholas Brown, 22 Dec. 1777, *Rhode Island Chaplain*, 73.
78. This was at Matson's Ford, near the Gulph, in Montgomery County.
79. British troops under Lord Cornwallis, on a foraging expedition, pushed back Gen. James Potter's Pennsylvania Militia, who "behaved with bravery and gave them every possible opposition." Some of Washington's men had crossed the river, but they returned when they found themselves greatly outnumbered by the enemy. Washington to Henry Laurens, 14 Dec. 1777, *Writings*, 10:156; J. Laurens to H. Laurens, 23 Dec. 1777, *Correspondence of Colonel John Laurens*, 95.
80. "Our ancient bridge, an infamous construction which in many parts obliged the men to march by Indian file, was restored, and a bridge of waggons made over the Swedes Ford, but fence-rails from necessity being substituted to plan, and furnishing a very unstable footing, this last served to cross a trifling number of troops." J. Laurens to H. Laurens, 23 Dec. 1777, *Correspondence of Colonel John Laurens*, 96-97.
81. The army had arrived at the Gulph—identified by Washington as a defile leading to the Schuylkill River—where it remained until 19 December. Washington to the President of Congress, 14 Dec. 1777, *Writings*, 10:156.
82. Another officer reported that the British were close and had "Carried off some Liguers from a Tavern." *Revolutionary War Journals of Henry Dearborn, 1775-1783*, ed. Lloyd A. Brown and Howard H. Peckham (Chicago: Caxton Club, 1939), 118.
83. Charles Holden and Griffin Greene, paymasters respectively of the Second and First Rhode Island Regiments. Heitman, *Historical Register*, 295, 260.
84. On 1 November the Continental Congress set 18 December as a day "for solemn thanksgiving and praise" in recognition of the "most signal success"—the victory at Saratoga.
- Journals of the Continental Congress*, 9:854-56. Food supplies were very low and conditions were poor, prompting Major Dearborn to write, "all we have to be thankful for is that we are alive & not in the grave." Dearborn, *Journals*, 118.
85. Lt. Samuel Armstrong of the Eighth Massachusetts Regiment was more appreciative of the weather: "The sun shone out this morning being the first I had seen it for 7 days which serv'd to put new Life into everything." Samuel Armstrong, *Diary*, New England Historic Genealogical Society, Boston.
86. On this day the army marched to Valley Forge. Scattered farmhouses were the only available shelter there.
87. Greenman records that ten acres of corn was gathered in five minutes, and some of it cooked. *Diary*, 88.
88. Provisions were very short during this time; "unless some great and capital change suddenly take place," said Washington, ". . . this Army must . . . Starve, dissolve or disperse, in order to obtain subsistence." Washington to Henry Laurens, 23 Dec. 1777, *Writings*, 10:192. Moreover, the quality of the army's provisions was extremely poor. A committee of three captains, appointed by Gen. Johann De Kalb, inspected the fresh meat issued to Learned's Brigade on 20 December "and judged it not wholesome to eat. Report was made to the genl," who ordered that salt provisions be served out instead. Armstrong, *Diary*.
89. A large detachment from Howe's army, numbering eight thousand men, had marched from Philadelphia to forage in the area of Darby Creek, west of the city. To oppose them, Washington sent Lord Stirling's division on 23 December. (Lord Stirling was Maj. Gen. William Alexander; he was known to his American contemporaries as Lord Stirling in consequence of his unsuccessful claim to the earldom of Stirling in Scotland. Mark Mayo Boatner III, *Encyclopedia of the American Revolution*, Bicentennial Edition [New York: David McKay Co., 1974], 16.) Because of supply problems, the Americans could detach only part of their forces to limit British foraging. The British returned to Philadelphia on 28 December. J. Laurens to H. Laurens, 23 Dec. 1777, *Correspondence of Colonel John Laurens*, 97-98.
90. Washington's general orders of 18 December required the troops to be divided into twelve-man squads to build log huts, each fourteen by sixteen feet. *Writings*, 10:170-71.
91. A few days earlier the governor of New Jersey had written to the president of Congress informing him that the patients in the Princeton hospital "were destitute of many Articles absoltely [*sic*] necessary for Persons in

- their Condition" and that "4 to 5 per Diem" were dying in that hospital. William Livingston to Henry Laurens, 25 Dec. 1777, *Papers of Henry Laurens*, 12:200-203. This letter, and several from Dr. Benjamin Rush, prompted the formation of a five-man committee of Congress to report on the problems. Benjamin Rush to Nathanael Greene, 2 Dec. 1777, *Greene Papers*, 2:229-30.
92. Quakertown and Hopewell are in Hunterdon County.
93. Joseph Beavers was in the Provincial Congress.
94. Easton and Bethlehem are in Northampton County, Pa. Buildings of the Moravian community of Bethlehem served as a military hospital in 1776-77 and were again used from the fall of 1777 until April 1778. Some Moravians helped in the hospital, and diseases of the soldiers spread among the community, killing men and women. A. Gertrude Ward, "John Ettwein and the Moravians in the Revolution," *Pennsylvania History* 1, no. 4 (1934): 195-97.
95. John Ettwein, the nineteen-year-old son of the Moravian leader, had died on 31 December. He had assisted in the hospital. *Ibid.*, 197.
96. Moravian customs were of interest to many. In April 1778 Elkanah Watson documented a graveside ceremony for "resurrection of the Saviour." *Men and Time of the Revolution; or, Memoirs of Elkanah Watson, Including Journals of Travels in Europe and America from 1777 to 1842 with his Correspondence with Public Men and Reminiscences and Incidents of the Revolution*, ed. Winslow C. Watson (New York, 1856), 63-64. For an October 1779 visit to Bethlehem, see "Journal of William McKendry," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, ser., 2 (May 1886): 474-75.
97. Reading, Pa., is in Berks County; Allentown, or Northampton, is in Northampton County; "River Lahi" is the Lehigh River.
98. James Wood, Twelfth Virginia Regiment. Heitman, *Historical Register*, 603. Capt. Blewer was probably 2nd Lt. George Blewer, of the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment, who was captured at Germantown on 4 October 1777. He was not exchanged until 1781, but he may have been on parole. *Ibid.*, 107.
99. Adamstown is in Berks County; Reamstown and Dunkers Town (now Ephrata) are in Lancaster County.
100. Mortality was very high at the hospitals. Dr. Benjamin Rush suggested "a sure and certain method of destroying Howe's whole army. . . . Lead them thro' any of the Villages in Lancaster County where we have a hospital, and I will ensure you that in 6 weeks there shall not be a man of them alive, or fit for duty." Rush to Nathanael Greene, 1 Feb. 1778, *Greene Papers*, 2:267.
101. The Three Churches were in the area of Brickerville, Lancaster County. Moraven Town was Lititz, another Moravian community.
102. Lt. Col. Adam Comstock, First Rhode Island Regiment. Heitman, *Historical Register*, 166.
103. Varnum wrote to Washington on 2 January that his field officers had suggested combining the two understrength Rhode Island regiments into one and sending a group of officers home to recruit, as "It is imagined that a Battalion of Negroes can be easily raised there." Twenty-seven officers were suggested for this effort, including Col. Christopher Greene. Varnum to Washington, 2 Jan. 1778, Washington Papers, Library of Congress; microfilm, Valley Forge National Historical Park Library. Approving the recruitment, the Rhode Island General Assembly declared that any slaves who passed muster would become free and would receive bounties and wages equal to those of other soldiers, and that the owners of the freed slaves would be compensated. John R. Bartlett, ed., *Records of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in New England*, 10 vols. (Providence, 1856-65), 8:358-59. According to Rhode Island's governor, it was "thought that three hundred and upwards will be enlisted." Nicholas Cooke to Washington, 23 Feb. 1778, in Sparks, *Correspondence of the American Revolution*, 2:78. In another initiative prompted by Varnum's plan, John Laurens asked his father to allow him "a number of your able bodied men slaves" to form a corps for the army. On 2 February Laurens suggested that "5,000 black men . . . might give us decisive success in the next campaign." *Correspondence of Colonel John Laurens*, 108, 116.
104. Col. David Forman of New Jersey commanded one of the Additional Continental Regiments. Sixteen of these regiments had been authorized by Congress on 27 December 1779. *Journals of the Continental Congress*, 6:1040, 1043-46. John Combs served in the regiment, which never recruited enough men to become a viable unit. Heitman, *Historical Register*, 233, 166.
105. Lt. Col. Jeremiah Olney, Second Rhode Island Regiment. Heitman, *Historical Register*, 420.
106. William Potter. Heitman, *Historical Register*, 449.
107. 1st Lts. Ebenezer West and Dutee Jerauld, Second Rhode Island Regiment. Heitman, *Historical Register*, 319, 582.
108. All four officers were in the Second Rhode Island Regiment.
109. General orders on 9 January required that a hospital be built for each brigade as soon as men could be spared from working on the huts. Washington, *Writings*, 10:284.
110. Henry "Light Horse Harry" Lee was the father of Robert E. Lee. The heroic action described in the following day's entry earned Captain Lee the personal commendation of Washington. Washington to Lee, 20 Jan. 1778, *Writings*, 10:322.
111. Stephen Winsor, Rhode Island Militia. Heitman, *Historical Register*, 601.
112. During January a typhus-typhoid fever, called by contemporaries "putrid fever," became epidemic in Washington's army. Louis C. Duncan, *Medical Men in the Revolution, 1775-1783* (Carlisle Barracks, Pa.: Medical Field Service School, 1931), 224.
113. Maj. Gen. Joseph Spencer resigned his command on 13 Jan. 1778. Heitman, *Historical Register*, 511.
114. Perhaps Maj. John Allison, First Virginia State Regiment. Heitman, *Historical Register*, 69.
115. Perhaps Maj. Michael Ryan, Tenth Pennsylvania Regiment. Heitman, *Historical Register*, 479.
116. Perhaps 1st Lt. John Van Lear, Ninth Pennsylvania Regiment. Heitman, *Historical Register*, 556.
117. Edward Scull, Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment, or William Scull, 11th Pennsylvania Regiment. Heitman, *Historical Register*, 487.
118. "[T]o cut off the intercourse with Philadelphia, as effectually as possible," Angell was ordered, "I desire that no passes may be granted by you to any persons, upon any pretence whatsoever, and that you will do all in your power to apprehend those who attempt to go into the City [i.e., Philadelphia] with marketting." Washington to Angell, 1 Feb. 1778, *Writings*, 10:412.
119. On 21 January a British and Hessian party, carrying passes from Washington that allowed them to deliver supplies to British prisoners in Reading and Hessian prisoners in Virginia, stayed in Lancaster. When they paid their bill there in hard money, the innkeeper charged them less than would have been charged had they paid with paper money, a violation of Pennsylvania state law. The Pennsylvania Council became involved in the matter, as did several members of Congress. A few days later the party was sent back to Lancaster by orders of the Board of War, which had heard, mistakenly, that General Howe had forbidden provisions to be sent by water to American prisoners in Philadelphia. Congress, sitting in York, Pa., ordered the Board of War to hold an inquiry, but before this could be done the Hessians and British returned in disgust to Philadelphia. *Letters of Delegates to Congress, 1774-1789*, ed. Paul H. Smith (Washington: Library of Congress, 1981), 8:640-42.

Notes continued

120. Benjamin Tupper, Eleventh Massachusetts Regiment. Heitman, *Historical Register*, 551.
121. David had read medical books and had studied under a doctor in Providence for part of 1777. After leaving his post of regimental chaplain on 20 January, he had gone to York, where he was ordered by Dr. William Shippen, Jr., to the army hospital at Lancaster as a surgeon's mate. There he contracted putrid fever and died on 19 March. David, *Rhode Island Chaplain*, xxiv-xxviii.
122. John Waterman, Second Rhode Island Regiment. Heitman, *Historical Register*, 574.
123. Oliver Clark, First Rhode Island Regiment, had been captured on 23 October 1777. Heitman, *Historical Register*, 157.
124. The two victims were reported to be in General De Kalb's division. According to Samuel Armstrong, there was "one with his head almost cut off, the other considerably bruised, but the latter came to life . . . and was escorted into our Guard house." Armstrong, *Diary*.
125. Construction began on a bridge over the Schuylkill River a few days after the army arrived at Valley Forge. Maj. Gen. John Sullivan directed the work on what was called Sullivan's Bridge. General Orders, 22 Dec. 1777, Washington, *Writings*, 10:190.
126. Joseph Ellis, who had been a colonel in the New Jersey Militia, was now a brigadier general in the New York Militia. Heitman, *Historical Register*, 215.
127. The one Tory to be whipped had his sentence reduced to 100 lashes. Armstrong, *Diary*.
128. A Lieutenant Grey of the artillery was punished for theft, being absent without leave, "robbing and infamously stealing," and other crimes, and he was discharged from the army. It was declared that it would be "a crime of the blackest Dye . . . to associate with him after the execution of this just, though mild punishment." General Orders, 8 Feb. 1778, Washington, *Writings*, 10:434.
129. Rumors of a planned enemy foraging expedition, coupled with a severe supply shortage in camp, prompted the formation of this detachment. Nathanael Greene, its commander, was ordered to carry off all usable sheep, cattle, horses, and forage within fifteen to twenty miles west of the Delaware River between the Schuylkill and Brandywine Rivers. Washington to Greene, 12 Feb. 1778, *Writings*, 10:454-55.
130. There were reports that the soldiers were on the verge of mutiny. J. Laurens to H. Laurens, 17 Feb. 1778, *Correspondence of Colonel John Laurens*, 126. Varnum had written "that in all human probability the Army must soon dissolve." Varnum to Nathanael Greene, 12 Feb. 1778, *Greene Papers*, 2:280. On 17 February Samuel Armstrong noted that "for 7 or 8 days back we have not received more than 3 or 4 days allowance of meat which occasioned much Desertion." Armstrong, *Diary*.
131. Desertion was a steady drain on both armies. In his entry for February 16-18, Muenchhausen commented that German recruits who had been distributed among the English regiments "are now deserting in rather large numbers." *At Howe's Side*, 48.
132. Richard Platt (or Platte), aide-de-camp to Gen. Alexander McDougall. Heitman, *Historical Register*, 443.
133. Joseph Galloway was once a speaker of the Pennsylvania Assembly and a delegate to the Continental Congress. He supported the British in 1776, and during the British occupation of Philadelphia he served as that city's superintendent of police. Galloway had a country seat of 1,753 acres, which included "six well improved farms." Seeking reimbursement from the British government after the Revolution, he claimed that a substantial part of his goods had been destroyed by an American mob. Alexander Fraser, *United Empire Loyalists: Enquiry into the Losses and Services in Consequence of Their Loyalty*, Second Report of the Bureau of Archives for the Province of Ontario, 2 vols. (1905; reprint, Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1994), 2:1166-81.
134. The Twenty-sixth, Thirty-third, and Sixty-third British Regiments and a company of Guards had spent three days at Red Bank demolishing the works. Haslewood, "Journal," 58.
135. Anthony Wayne had been detached by General Greene to New Jersey to destroy hay along the Delaware shore and to drive off livestock and bring them to Valley Forge. Greene to Washington, 16 Feb. 1778, *Greene Papers*, 2:287.
136. Shrub was a drink made with the juice of oranges or lemons (or other citrus fruit), sugar, and rum (or other spirit). Major Hall may have been either Edward or Thomas Hall, each of whom held commissions as majors in the New Jersey Militia. Heitman, *Historical Register*, 267-68.
137. Brig. Gen. William Smallwood had been sent with the First and Second Maryland Brigades to winter at Wilmington.
138. On 8 April 1778 the officer of the day for Varnum's Brigade, Capt. Paul Brigham, noted that a number of Rhode Island men were in the hospital and were being visited by Colonel Angell. Angell told Brigham that one company had lost thirteen men since the first of January. Paul Brigham, "A Revolutionary Diary of Captain Paul Brigham, November 19, 1777-September 4, 1778," ed. Edward A. Hoyt, *Vermont History* 23 (January 1966): 21.
139. Angell's regiment received eight more boxes of clothing from Rhode Island on 16 March, but even that was not enough. "There are still many in the Regiment who are unfit for Duty for want of Cloaths," Angell wrote in a request for more supplies from Rhode Island twelve days later. "Tho' the Army in general is remarkable healthy," he added, "I am sorry to inform you that a very great Sickness & Mortality prevail among the Rhode Island Troops, which is judg'd to proceed in some Measure from the Badness of their Clothes." Angell to the Governor and Council of Rhode Island, 28 Mar. 1778, Letters of the Governor and Council, 12:51, Rhode Island State Archives.
140. According to another report, several brigades of teamsters from Northampton County disobeyed their orders the previous evening and "attempted to Cross the river and desert home, in which attempt several teams were lost and several men drowned—the particulars of which we cannot ascertain as the teams that got over made their escape and is gone off." John Chaloner to Col. Clement Biddle, 26 Feb. 1778, frame 895, reel 13, RG 27, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. An inquiry reported that "Four Waggoners were Drown'd by their imprudent behaviour" and nine wagons and about twenty horses were lost. James Young to the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, 7 Mar. 1778, *Pennsylvania Archives*, vol. 6, ed. Samuel Hazard (Philadelphia: Joseph Stevens & Co., 1853), 337.
141. The Second Rhode Island Regiment remained at Valley Forge until 18 June 1778. Angell and the rest of Washington's army then pursued the British through New Jersey and fought them at the Battle of Monmouth on 28 June. After that battle the regiment was detached to Rhode Island, where it participated in General Sullivan's unsuccessful attempt to recapture Newport.

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As British and American forces struggled for control of the Delaware River, on 23 October 1777 an explosion destroyed the 64-gun British frigate Augusta. Painting by an anonymous artist. Courtesy of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania (Accession no. 1857.1).