

George Washington Papers, Series 3, Subseries 3A, Varick Transcripts, Letterbook 2

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Harlem Heights, October 7, 1776.

Sir: Doctor Skinner⁹⁶ having been very urgent and pressing to go to Philadelphia, in order to procure Medicine for the sick of his Regiment, I could by no means refuse my assent to this proposition. By him I beg leave to inform you, that the applications of the Regimental Surgeons, are very frequent and importunate, and it

is not in my power to satisfy their demands; their situation will be fully made known by Doctor Morgan's⁹⁷ Letter to one of my Aid de Camps, in answer to one wrote to him on that Subject, which I have inclosed to you for your consideration. I have the Honor etc.

96. Alexander Skinner, surgeon of the First Virginia Regiment.

97. John Morgan, director general and chief physician of Continental Hospital. The Morgan correspondence is not in the *Washington Papers*.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

White Plains, November 6, 1776.

Sir: I have the honor to inform you, that on yesterday Morning, the Enemy made a Sudden and unexpected movement from the Several Posts they had taken in our front, they broke up their whole Encampments the preceeding night, and have advanced towards Kingsbridge and the North River. The design of this Manoeuvre is a Matter of much conjecture and speculation, and cannot be accounted for, with any degree of certainty.

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The grounds we had taken possession of, were strong and advantageous, and such as they could not have gained, without much loss of Blood, in case an attempt had been made; I had taken every

possible precaution to prevent their out. flanking us, which may have led to the present measure. They

Resolve of Congress of December 11, 1776, Which Washington Suppressed

may still have in View their original plan, and by a sudden wheel, try to accomplish it. Detachments are constantly out to observe their motions, and to harrass them as much as possible.

In consequence of this movement, I called a Council of General Officers to day, to consult of such measures as should be adopted, in case they pursued their retreat to New York. The result of which is herewith transmitted.⁸⁹ In respect to myself, I cannot indulge an Idea, that Genl. Howe, supposing he is going to New York, means to close the Campaign and to sit down without attempting something more. I think it highly probable and almost certain that he will make a descent with part of his troops into Jersey, and as soon as I am satisfied that the present Maneuvre is real and not a feint, I shall use every means in my power, to forward a part of our force to counteract his designs. Nor shall I be disappointed, if he sends a detachment to the Southward, for the purpose of making a Winter's Campaign. from the information I have received, there is now a number of Transports at Red Hook, with about three thousand Troops on Board; their destination as given out, is to Rhode Island, but this seems altogether Improbable, for various reasons; among others, the season is much against it, in the Southern States they will find it milder and much more favorable for

89. The original proceedings of this council (November 6), at White Plains, N. Y., in Joseph Reed's writing, is in the *Washington Papers*; the copy forwarded to Congress is in that of Tench Tilghman. Washington propounded three queries, to which the council agreed unanimously as to the first—that in case the enemy were retreating toward New

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York City it would be proper immediately to throw a body of troops into New Jersey; that those raised on the west side of Hudson's River should be detached for this purpose and those raised on the east side should continue there; and that 3,000 men should be stationed at Peekskill and the passes of the Highlands.

their purposes. I shall take the liberty of mentioning, that it may not be improper to suggest the probability of such a measure to the Assemblies and Conventions in those States; that they may be on their guard, and of the propriety of their Establishing and laying up Magazines of Provisions and other necessaries in Suitable places. This is a matter of exceeding importance, and what cannot be too much attended to.

From the approaching dissolution of the Army, and the departure of the new Levies, which is on the Eve of taking place, and the little prospect of levying a new one in time; I have wrote to the eastern States, by the unanimous advice of the General Officers, to forward Supplies of Militia in the room of those that are now here, and who is feared, will not be prevailed on, to stay any longer than the time they are engaged for. The propriety of this application, I trust will appear, when it is known, that not a single Officer is yet Commissioned to recruit, and when it is considered, how essential it is to keep up some shew of force and shadow of an Army.

I expect the Enemy will bend their force against Fort Washington and invest it immediately, from some advices, it is an object that will attract their earliest Attention.

I am happy to inform you that in the

Engagement on Monday sennight, I have reason to believe, our loss was by no means so considerable as was conjectured at first. By some deserters and Prisoners we are told, that of the Enemy was tolerably great, some accounts make it about Four hundred in killed and Wounded;—all agree, that among the former there was a Colo. Carr of the 35th. Regiment.

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The force that will be sent to Jersey, after I am satisfied of Mr. Howe's retreat, in addition to those now there, according to my present Opinion, will make it necessary for me to go with them, to put things in a proper Channel, and such a way of defence, as shall seem most probable to check the progress of the Enemy, in case they should attempt a descent there or a move towards Philadelphia. I have the honor to be &c.90

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

White Plains, November 9, 1776.

Sir: I have the honor to transmit you a Copy of a Letter from Genl Gates to Genl. Schuyler,⁷ and of another paper containing Intelligence respecting the Northern Army, and the situation of the Enemy in that department. They this minute

90. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison; the draft is in that of Samuel Blatchley Webb.

7. Gates's letter, dated Oct. 24, 1776, is in the *Washington Papers*. The other paper, a copy of which is filed with Washington's letter, in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, informed of Sir John Johnson's movement down the Mohawk Valley to join Burgoyne at Albany.

came to hand, and to them I beg leave to refer you for particulars.

By every information I can obtain, and the accounts I had last night, by two deserters who were very intelligent and particular, Genl. Howe still has in view an expedition to the Jersey's and is preparing for it with the greatest industry. I have detached the first division of our Troops, which was thought necessary to be sent, and which I hope will cross the River at Peekskill to day. The Second I expect will all march this Evening, and to morrow Morning I propose to follow myself, in order to put things in the best train I can and to give him every possible opposition. I hope when the two divisions arrive and are joined to such other force, as I expect to collect, to check his progress and prevent him from penetrating

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any distance from the River if not to oblige him to return immediately with some loss. Whatever is in my power to effect, shall be done. I have the honor to be &c.8

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Peeks kill, November 11, 1776.

Sir: I have only time to acknowledge the honor

8. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison; the draft, also in Harrison's writing, varies in minor verbal details from the above.

of your Letter of the 5th. Inst. and its Several Inclosures, and to inform you, that agreeable to the Resolves of Congress I shall use every Measure in my Power, that the moving and present confused State of the Army, will admit of, for to appoint Officers for recruiting. You will have been advised before this, of the arrival of Commissioners from the Massachusetts. Others have come from Connecticut, but from the present appearance of things we seem but little, if any nearer levying an Army. I had anticipated the Resolve respecting the Militia, by writing to the Eastern States and to the Jerseys, by the advice of my Genl. Officers, and from a consciousness of the necessity of getting in a number of Men, if possible, to keep up the appearance of an Army. How my applications will succeed, the event must determine. I have little or no reason to expect, that the Militia now here will remain a day longer than the time they first engaged for. I have recommended their stay and requested it in General Orders. General Lincoln and the Massachusetts Commissioners, are using their Interest with those from that State, but as far as I can judge, we cannot rely on their staying.16

I left white Plains about 11 O'Clock yesterday. all peace then. The Enemy appeared to be preparing for their expedition to Jersey, according to every information. What their designs are, or whether their present conduct is not a feint I cannot determine. The Maryland and Virginia Troops under Lord Stirling have crossed the River as have part of

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16. Congress (October 4) had passed resolutions authorizing Washington, after consulting with such of his generals as he could conveniently call together, to grant warrants to officers of States which had not sent commissioners for such, appointing officers as he thought worthy of commissions; that these officers proceed to recruit their regiments and that Washington also take such steps as he might think most proper for continuing the militia then in camp.

those from the Jersey, the remainder are now embarking.

The Troops judged necessary to Secure the Several posts thro' the Highlands, have also got up. I am going to examine the Passes and direct such Works as may appear necessary, after which and making the best disposition I can, of things in this Quarter, I intend to proceed to Jersey, which I expect to do to Morrow.

The Assemblies of Massachusetts and Connecticut, to induce their Men more readily to engage in the Service, have voted an Advance pay of Twenty Shillings pr Month in addition to that allowed by Congress to privates. It may perhaps be the means of their levying the Quotas exacted from them, sooner than they could otherwise be raised, but I am of Opinion¹⁷ a more fatal and mistaken policy could not have entered their Councils, or one more detrimental to the General Cause. The Influence of the Vote will become Continental and materially affect the other States in making up their Levies. If they could do it, I am certain when the Troops come to act together, that Jealousy, impatience and mutiny would necessarily arise.—A different pay cannot exist in the same Army. The reasons are obvious and experience has proved their force, in the case of the Eastern and Southern Troops last Spring. Sensible of this, and of the pernicious consequences that would inevitably result from the advance, I have prevented the Commissioners from proceeding or publishing their Terms,

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17. The draft, in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison, has the word “convinced,” which was softened to “of opinion” in the letter sent.

till they could obtain the sense of Congress upon the Subject and remonstrated against It, in a Letter to Governor Trumbull. I am not Singular in opinion, I have the concurrence of all the General Officers, of its fatal tendency.¹⁸

I congratulate you and Congress on the News from Ticonderoga and that Genl Carlton and his Army have been Obligated to return to Canada, without attempting anything. I have &ca.¹⁹

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

General Greene's Quarters, November 14, 1776.

Sir: I have the honor to inform you of my arrival here Yesterday, and that the whole of the Troops belonging to the States, which lay South of Hudsons River and which were in New York Government have passed over to this side, except the Regiment, lately Colo Smallwood's which I expect is now on their march. That they may be ready to check any incursions the Enemy may attempt in this Neighbourhood, I intend to quarter them at Brunswick, Amboy, Elizabeth Town, NewArk and about this Place, Unless Congress should conceive it necessary for any of them to be Stationed at or more contiguous to Philadelphia. In such case they

18. Although Congress had determined what inducements should be offered to officers and men enlisting to serve during the war, the individual States undertook in some cases to alter the rewards. Maryland, having no lands in the west, offered to its recruits \$10 in lieu of the 100 acres of land promised by Congress; but Congress decided that its faith was pledged to a performance of the promise of land, that the promise was equally

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obligatory upon its constituents, and no one State could by its own act be released there from, and requested the convention of Maryland to “reconsider” its resolution.— *Ford*.

19. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

will be pleased to Signify their pleasure. There will be very few of them after the departure of those who were engaged for the Flying Camp and which is fast approaching, The disposition I have mentioned, seems to me well calculated for the end proposed and also for their accommodation.

The movements and designs of the Enemy are not yet understood. Various are the opinions and reports on this Head. From every information, the whole have removed from Dobb's ferry towards Kingsbridge, and it seems to be generally beleived on all hands, that the investing of Fort Washington is one object they have in view.—But that can employ but a small part of their force. Whether they intend a Southern expedition must be determined by time. To me there appears a probability of it, and which seems to be favoured by the advices we have, that many Transports are wooding and Watering. General Greene's Letter²⁷, would give you the Substance of the Intelligence brought by Mr. Mercereau²⁸ from Staten Island in this Instance, which he received before It came to me.

Inclosed you have Copies of two Letters from Genl. Howe and of my Answer to the first of them. The Letter alluded to and returned in his last, was One from myself to Mrs. Washington of the 25th. Ultio. from whence I conclude that all the Letters, which went by the Boston Express, have come to his possession.²⁹ You will also perceive that General Howe has requested the return of Peter Jack a servant to Major Stewart, to which I have consented, as he was not

27. Greene had written (November 11) of intelligence from New York of a projected British expedition against South Carolina. His letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

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28. John Mercereau. He sent in valuable intelligence to headquarters throughout the war while the main army was in the vicinity of New York City.

29. Howe's letters, dated Nov. 8 and 11, 1776, are in the *Washington Papers*. They relate mainly to the exchange of prisoners. For answer to the first see Washington's letter to Howe, Nov. 9, 1776, *ante*. The capture of these letters, among which was the one to Mrs. Washington, which Howe returned unopened, seems to have furnished the idea for J. Bew's London publication of the "Spurious Letters" of Washington. (See Washington's letter to Lund Washington, June 12, 1776, *ante*; and note to General Orders, Nov. 1, 1776, *ante*.)

in the Military line and the requisition agreeable to the Custom of War. This Servant having been sent to Philadelphia, with the Waldeckers and other Prisoners, I must request the favor of you to have him conveyed to Genl. Greene by the earliest Opportunity, in order that he may be returned to his master.

Before I conclude, I beg leave not only to suggest but to urge the necessity of encreasing our Field Artillery very considerably. Experience has convinced me, as it has every Gentleman of discernment in this Army, that while we remain so much inferior to the Enemy in this instance, we must carry on the war under Infinite disadvantages, and without the smallest probability of success. It has been peculiarly owing to the situation of the Country where their operations have been conducted, and to the rough and strong grounds we possessed ourselves of and over which they had to pass, that they have not carried their Arms by means of their Artillery to a much greater extent. When these difficulties cease, by changing the Scene of action to a level champaign Country, the worst of consequences are justly to be apprehended. I would therefore, with the concurrence of all the Officers whom I have spoke to upon the subject, submit to the consideration of Congress, whether immediate measures ought not be taken for procuring a respectable Train. It is agreed on all hands, that each Battalion should be furnished at least with Two

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pieces, and that a smaller number than 100 of 3 lb., 50 of 6 lb. and 50 of 12 lb. should not be provided in addition to those we now have—

obvious reasons. they will be much more portable, not half so liable to burst, and when they do, no damage is occasioned by it, and they may be cast over again. Sizes before described should be particularly attended to, if they are not, there will be great reason to expect mistakes and confusion in the charges in Time of Action, as it has frequently happened in the best regulated Armies. The disparity between those I have mentioned and such as are of an Intermediate size, is difficult to discern. It is also agreed, that a Regiment of Artillerists, with approved and experienced Officers, should be obtained if possible, and some Engineers of known reputation and abilities. I am sorry to say, too ready an Indulgence has been had to several appointments in the latter instance and that Men have been promoted who seem to me to know but little if any thing of the business. perhaps this Train &c. may be looked upon by some as large and expensive; true it will be so, but when it is considered that the Enemy (having effected but little in the course of the present Campaign) will use their utmost efforts to subjugate us in the next, every consideration of that sort should be disregarded, and every possible preparation made to frustrate their unjust and wicked attempts. How they are to be procured, is to be inquired into. That we cannot provide them among ourselves, or more than a very small proportion, so trifling as not to deserve our notice is evident; therefore I would advise, with all imaginable deference that without any abatement of our own Internal exertions, application should be immediately made to such Powers, as can and may be willing to supply them. They cannot be obtained too early, if soon enough, and I am told they may be easily had from France and Holland.³⁰

30. On November 19 Congress resolved that one hundred 3-pounders, fifty 6-pounders, fifty 12-pounders, thirteen 18-pounders, and thirteen 24-pounders, all of brass, be immediately provided for the armies of the United States. The Secret Committee was

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directed to procure them and that the “matter be kept as secret as the nature of the business will admit.” (See *Journals of the Continental Congress*.)

Mr. Trumbull, the Commissary General, has frequently mentioned to me of late, the inadequacy of his pay to his trouble and the great risk he is subject to, on account of the large sums of Money which pass thro his Hands. He has stated his case with a view of laying it before Congress, and obtaining a more adequate compensation. My sentiments upon the subject are already known, but yet I shall take the liberty to add, that I think his complaint to be well founded and that his pay, considering the important duties, risks of his office, by no means sufficient, and that the footing he seems to think it should be upon himself, appears just and reasonable.

A proposition having been made long since to Genl Howe and agreed to by him, for an Exchange of Prisoners, in consequence of the Resolutions of Congress to that effect, I shall be extremely happy if you will give directions to the Committees and those having the charge of Prisoners in the several states south of Jersey, to transmit me proper Lists of the names of all the Commissioned Officers and of their Ranks and the Corps they belong to; also the number of the Non Commissioned and Privates and their respective Regiments. You will perceive by his Letter he supposes me to have affected some delay or to have been unmindfull of the Proposition I had made.

I propose to stay in this neighbourhood a few days, in which time I expect the designs of the Enemy will be more disclosed, and their Incursions be made in this quarter, or their investiture of Fort Washington, if they are intended.³¹ I have the honor &c.³²

31. The draft, in the *Washington Papers*, in the writing of Harrison, is unfinished.

32. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

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General Greene's Quarters, November 16, 1776.

Sir: Since I had the honor of addressing you last, an important Event has taken place, of which I wish to give you the earliest Intelligence.

The preservation of the Passage of the North River, was an Object of so much consequence, that I thought no pains or Expence too great for that purpose, and therefore after sending off all the Valuable stores, except such as were necessary for its Defence, I determined agreeable to the Advice of the most of the General Officers, to risque something to defend the Post on the East Side call'd Mount Washington.³⁷ When the Army moved up, in Consequence of Genl. Howe's landing at Frog Point, Colo. Magaw was left in that Command, with about 1200 Men, and orders given to defend it to the last. Afterwards, reflecting upon the smallness of the Garrison and the Difficulty of their holding it, if Genl. Howe should fall down upon it with his whole Force, I wrote to Genl. Greene who had the Command on the Jersey Shore, directing him to govern himself by Circumstances, and to retain or evacuate the Post, as he should think best, and revoking the absolute Order to Colo. Magaw to defend the post to the last Extremity; Genl. Greene struck with the Importance of the Post, and the

37. On the night of November 14, 30 flatboats were sent to Kings Bridge by the British, who ferried their troops over the Harlem River the next day and marched upon Fort Washington.

Discouragement which our Evacuation of Posts must necessarily have given, reinforced Colo Magaw with Detachments from several Regiments of the Flying Camp, but chiefly of Pennsylvania, so as to make up the Number about 2000. In this situation, things were Yesterday, when General Howe demanded the Surrender of the Garrison, to which Col. Magaw returned a spirited refusal.³⁸ Immediately upon receiving an Account of this transaction, I came from Hackensack to this place, and had partly cross'd the North River, when I met Genl. Putnam and Genl. Greene, who were just returning from thence, and

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informed me that the Troops were in high Spirits and would make a good Defence, and it being late at night I returned.

Early this Morning Colo. Magaw posted his Troops partly in the Lines thrown up by our Army on our first coming thither from New York, and partly on a commanding Hill laying North of Mount Washington (the Lines being all to the Southward) In this position the attack began about Ten O'Clock, which our Troops stood, and returned the Fire in such a Manner as gave me great Hopes the Enemy was intirely repulsed. But at this Time a Body of Troops cross'd Harlem River in Boats and landed inside of the second Lines, our Troops being then engaged in the first. Colo. Cadwalader who commanded in the Lines sent off a Detachment to oppose them, but they being overpowred by numbers gave way, upon which Colo. Cadwallader ordered his Troops to retreat, in order to gain

38. Colonel Magaw returned the following answer to Lieut. Col. Stephen Kemble, adjutant general of the British Army, who sent him the summons to surrender the fort: "Sir, If I rightly understand the purport of your message from Gen: Howe, communicated to Colonel Swoope, 'this post is to be immediately surrendered or the garrison put to the sword.' I rather think it a mistake, than a settled resolution in General Howe, to act a part so unworthy of himself and the British nation. But give me leave to assure his excellency, that, actuated by the most glorious cause that mankind ever fought in, I am determined to defend this post to the very last extremity."

The copy of this reply was immediately sent across the river to General Greene, and inclosed in the following note from him to General Washington, who was then at Hackensack, N. J.: "Inclosed you have a letter from Col. Magaw. The contents will require your Excellency's attention. I have directed Col. Magaw to defend the place until he hears from me. I have ordered General Herd's brigade to hasten on. I shall go to the Island soon. Fort Lee, 4 o'clock."

A copy of Magaw's reply, in his writing and signed by him, is in the *Washington Papers*.

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the Fort; It was done with much Confusion, and the Enemy crossing over came in upon them in such a Manner that a number of them surrendered. At this time the Hessians advanced on the North Side of the Fort in very large Bodies, they were received by the Troops posted there with proper Spirit and kept back a Considerable time. But at length they were also obliged to submit to a superiority of numbers and retire under the cannon of the Fort. The Enemy having advanced thus far, halted and immediately a Flag went in with a Repetition of the demand of the Fortress as I suppose.³⁹ At this time I sent a Billet to Col Magaw, directing him to hold out, and I would endeavour this Evening to bring off the Garrison, if the Fortress could not be maintained, as I did not expect it could, the Enemy being possessed of the adjacent Ground. But before this reached him, he had entered too far into a Treaty to retract. After which, Colo. Cadwallader told another messenger who went over, that they had been able to obtain no other Terms than to surrender as Prisoners of War.⁴⁰ In this situation Matters now stand. I have stopped Genl. Beall's and Genl. Heard's Brigades to preserve the Post and Stores here, which with the other Troops I hope we shall be able to effect.

I dont yet know the number of killed and wounded on either Side. but from the heaviness and Continuance of Fire in some places, I imagine there must have been considerable Execution.⁴¹

39. According to Sparks, General Howe in his public dispatch stated that Colonel Rahl had brought his column within 100 yards of the fort when he summoned it to surrender, and a treaty was acceded to by Colonel Magaw.

40. They were required to surrender as prisoners of war, giving up their arms, ammunition, and stores of every kind; but the men in the garrison were allowed to keep possession of their baggage and the officers to retain their swords.— *Sparks*.

41. The British loss was in the neighborhood of 500 in killed and wounded. Their official report is printed in Force's *American Archives*, Fifth Series, vol. 3, 10561057; their return

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of ordnance and stores captured is on page 1058. The American loss was placed at about 150 in killed and wounded. The Committee on Foreign Affairs of Congress wrote to the United States Commissioners at Paris, Dec. 30, 1776, that 2,634 prisoners had been taken and 43 guns, with ammunition, stores, etc. According to the table of prisoners compiled by the British commissary of prisoners and sent by Howe to Washington for exchange negotiations, the total was 2,818. This table is printed by Sparks in his *Writings of Washington*, vol. 4, p. 547.

The Loss of such a number of Officers and Men, many of whom have been trained with more than common attention, will I fear be severely felt. But when that of the Arms and Accoutrements is added, much more so, and must be a farther Incentive to procure as considerable a Supply as possible for the New Troops, as soon as it can be done. I have &c.42

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Hackensack, November 19, 1776.

Sir: I have not been yet able, to obtain a particular account of the unhappy affair of the 16th, nor of the Terms on which the Garrison surrendered. The Intelligence that has come to hand, is not so full and accurate as I could wish. One of the Artillery, and whose information is most direct, who escaped on Sunday night says the Enemy's loss was very considerable, especially in the attack made above the Fort by the Division of Hessians that Marched from Kingsbridge, and where Lieut. Colo Rawlings⁵⁵ of the late Colo. Stevenson's Regiment was posted. They burnt Yesterday one or two Houses on the Heights and contiguous to the Fort, and appeared by advices from Genl. Greene, to be moving in the evening,

42. The draft is in the writing of Joseph Reed and Tench Tilghman; the letter sent is in that of Tilghman.

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55. Lieut. Col. Moses Rawlings, of Stephenson's rifle regiment. He was wounded and taken prisoner at Fort Washington, N. Y.; colonel of one of the 16 Additional Continental regiments in January, 1777; resigned in June, 1779.

their Main Body down towards the City. Whether they will close the Campaign without attempting something more, or make an incursion into Jersey must be determined by the events themselves.

As Fort Lee was always considered, as only necessary in conjunction with that on the East side of the River, to preserve the Communication across, and to prevent the Enemy from a free Navigation, It has become of no importance by the loss of the other, or not so material, as to employ a force for its defence. Being viewed in this, light and apprehending that the stores there, would be precariously situated, their removal has been determined on, to Boundbrook above Brunswick, Prince Town, Springfield and Acquackinac Bridge, as places that will not be subject to sudden danger in case the Enemy should pass the River, and which have been thought proper, as repositories for our Stores of Provisions and Forage.⁵⁶ The Troops belonging to the Flying Camp under Genls. Heard and Beal, with what remains of Genl. Ewing's Brigade, are now at Fort Lee, where they will continue till the stores are got away. By the time that is effected, their term of enlistment will be near expiring, and if the Enemy should make a push in this Quarter, the only Troops that there will be to oppose them, will be Hand's, Hazlet's; the Regiments from Virginia⁵⁷ that lately Smallwood's, the latter greatly reduced by the losses it sustained on Long Island &c.

56. Sir William Howe's letter to Lord George Germain (November 30) describes the British military movements from the landing on Frogs Point to the capture of Fort Lee and the beginning of the pursuit of Washington through New Jersey. Of Fort Lee, he wrote that Admiral Howe sent boats to Kings Bridge the night of November 17, and the troops were ferried across the Hudson the 18th and landed undiscovered about 7 miles above Fort Lee at to o'clock a.m. "Lord Cornwallis immediately began his march, and had not the enemy at Fort Lee been apprised of his moving towards them by a countryman, after he had

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proceeded some distance, he would have surrounded two thousand men at the fort, who escaped in the utmost confusion, leaving all their artillery and a large quantity of stores and provisions, their tents standing, and kettles upon the fire.”

57. The draft says “the five Virginia Regiments.”

and sickness, nor are the rest by any means complete. In addition to these, I am told there are a few of the Militia of this State, which have been called in by Governor Livingston. I shall make such a disposition of the whole at Brunswick and at the intermediate Posts, as shall seem most likely to guard against the designs of the Enemy and to prevent them making an Irruption or foraging with detached Parties.

The Inclosed letter from Cols. Miles⁵⁸ and Atlee,⁵⁹ will shew Congress the distressed situation of our Prisoners in New York, and will become greater every day, by the cold, inclement Season that is approaching. It will be happy, if some expedient can be adopted by which they may be furnished with necessary Blankets and Cloathing. Humanity and the good of the service require it. I think the mode suggested by these Gentlemen for establishing a credit, appears as likely to succeed, and as eligible, as any that occurs to me. It is probable Many Articles that may be wanted, can be obtained there and upon better Terms than elsewhere. In respect to provision, their allowance perhaps is as good as the Situation of Genl. How's Stores will admit of. It has been said of late by deserters and others, that they were rather scant.

By a letter from the Paymaster General of the 17th he says there will be a necessity that large and early remittances should be made him. The demands, when the Troops now in service are dismissed, will be extremely great. besides

58. Col. Samuel Miles, of a Pennsylvania rifle regiment. He was taken prisoner on Long Island, N. Y.; exchanged in April, 1778; brigadier general, Pennsylvania State troops. His letter, dated Nov. 10, 1776, is in the *Washington Papers*.

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59. Col. Samuel John Atlee, of the Pennsylvania Musket Battalion. He was wounded and taken prisoner at Long Island, N. Y.; exchanged in August, 1778; did not reenter the service. His letter, dated Nov. 9, 1776, is in the *Washington Papers*. A joint letter from both Miles and Atlee was undated. It is in the *Washington Papers* under date of November, 1776.

the bounty to recruits requires a large supply and he adds, that the Commissary Genl. has informed him, that between this and the last of December he shall have occasion for a Million of Dollars.

November 21.

The unhappy affair of the 16th has been succeeded by further Misfortunes.

Yesterday Morning a large body of the Enemy landed between Dobb's Ferry and Fort Lee.⁶⁰ Their object was evidently to inclose the whole of our Troops and stores that lay between the North and Hackensac Rivers, which form a very narrow neck of Land. For this purpose they formed and Marched, as soon as they had ascended the High Grounds towards the Fort. Upon the first information of their having landed and of their movements, our men were ordered to meet them, but finding their numbers greatly superior and that they were extending themselves to seize on the passes over the River, It was thought proper to withdraw our Men, which was effected and their retreat secured. We ⁶¹

⁶⁰. Grayson, in his letter of November 20 to General Lee, written by Washington's direction, described the landing place as Glosser Dock, "nearly opposite to Philip's house." He added: "His Excellency thinks it would be adviseable in you to remove the Troops under you Command on this side of the North River and there wait for farther Order." This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

⁶¹. The draft says "over Hackinsac Bridge."

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—about a thousand Barrels of Flour and other stores in the Quarter Master's Department. This loss was inevitable, As many of the stores had been removed, as circumstances and time would admit of. The Ammunition had been happily got away. Our present situation between Hackensac and Posaic Rivers, being exactly similar to our late one, and our force here by no means adequate to an Opposition, that will promise the smallest probability of Success, we are taking measures to retire over the Waters of the latter, when the best dispositions will be formed, that Circumstances will admit of.

By Colo. Cadwalader⁶² who has been permitted by General Howe to return to his Friend.⁶³ I am informed the surrender of the Garrison on the 16th was on the common terms, as prisoners of War. The loss of the Hessians about Three hundred Privates and Twenty Seven Officers, Killed and Wounded, about forty of the British Troops and two or three Officers. The loss on our side but inconsiderable. I beg leave to refer you to him for a more particular account and also for his relation of the distresses of our Prisoners. Colo. Miles and Atlee's Letter, mentioned above upon this subject, was thro' mistake sent from hence yesterday evening. The mode of relief proposed by them, was a Credit or supply of Cash, thro' the means of Mr. Franks.⁶⁴ This seems to be doubtful, as he is said to be in Confinement by Colo Cadwalader,

62. Col. Lambert Cadwalader was a native of New Jersey but colonel of the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment. He had been captured at Fort Washington, N.Y., and after his release resigned from the Army. He was a Delegate from New Jersey to the Continental Congress, 1784–1787, and a Member of the United States House of Representatives, 1789–1791, 1793–1795. He died in 1823.

63. Colonel Cadwalader was immediately released without parole by Sir William Howe, at the instance of General Prescott, who, when a prisoner in Philadelphia, had received civilities from Colonel Cadwalader's father.— *Sparks*.

64. David Franks, British commissary of prisoners.

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provided it would have been otherwise practicable.

P.S. Your favor of the 16th. was duly received. My Letter to the Board of War⁶⁵ on the subject of the return of the Waldeckers I presume you will have seen.⁶⁶

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

New Ark, November 27, 1776.

Sir: I do myself the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your favors of the 21st and 24th with their several Inclosures. The Execution of the Resolves has been and will be attended to, as far as in my power. I have wrote to Genl. Schuyler to send down, as early as possible, the Troops in the Northern department, from this and the State of Pennsylvania. The proposition for exchanging Mr. Franklin⁸⁴ for Genl. Thompson,⁸⁵ I shall submit to Genl. Howe, as soon as circumstances will allow me.

I have nothing in particular to advise you of, respecting the Enemy, more than that they are advancing this way. Part of them have passed the Passaick, and I suppose the main body that they have on this side the North River, would have done the same before now, as they are coming on, had their progress not been retarded by the weather, which has been rainy for several days past. I have scouts and Detachments constantly out to harrass them and watch their Motions and to gain, if possible, intelligence

65. The letter to the Board of War is that of Nov. 15, 1776, *q. v.* On November 15 Congress had given Washington "leave to negotiate an exchange of the foreign troops in the pay of Great Britain, that are prisoners to these states."

66. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison, who also wrote the draft.

84. Gov. William Franklin.

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85. Col. William Thompson, of the Pennsylvania Rifle Regiment.

of their designs.

Colo Miles, who has been permitted to go to Philadelphia for a few days by General Howe, will deliver you this, and inform you of the distresses of our prisoners and the necessity of effecting their exchange, as far as we have Prisoners to give in return.

By a Letter from the Board of War on the subject of an exchange, they mention that several of the Prisoners in our hands have inlisted. It is a measure that I think that cannot be justified [tho' the precedent is furnished on the side of the Enemy, nor do I conceive it good in point of policy] But as it has been done, I shall leave it with Congress to order them to be returned or not, as they shall judge fit. I have the honor etc.⁸⁶

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Brunswick, November 30, 1776.

Sir: I have been honored with your favor of the 26th with its Inclosures, by which I perceive the measures that have been adopted for forwarding a reinforcement of Militia. Their arrival is much to be wished, the situation of our Affairs being truly alarming and such as demands the earliest aids. As Genl. Mifflin's presence may have a happy influence upon the

^{86.} Both the draft and letter sent are in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison, but the letter sent has the additional phrase in brackets above and varies in verbal particulars from the draft.

disposition and temper of many of the Associators, I shall [attempt to do without him as well as I can, 'till his return] not direct his return so long as he can be done without, and till it becomes indispensibly necessary.⁹⁴

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On Thursday morning, I left New Ark and arrived here yesterday with the Troops that were there. It was the opinion of all the Generals who were with me, that a retreat to this Place was requisite and founded on necessity, as our force was by no means sufficient to make a stand against the Enemy, much superior in number, with the least probability of success, and whose advanced Guards were entering [when] the Town by the time our Rear [came] got out. It was the wish of all to have remained there longer and to have halted before we came thus far, but upon due consideration of our Strength, the circumstances attending the inlistment of a great part of our little force, and the frequent advices, that the Enemy were embarking or about to embark another detachment for Staten Island, with a view of Landing at Amboy to co-operate with this, which seemed to be confirmed by the information of some persons who came from the Island, that they were collecting and impressing all the Waggon's they could find; It was judged necessary to proceed till we came here, not only to prevent their bringing a force to act upon our Front and Rear, but also that we might be more convenient to oppose any Troops they might land at South Amboy, which many conjectured to be an object they had in view. This conjecture [was not without some reports] too, had probability and some advices to support it.⁹⁵

94. The Associators, or militia, of Philadelphia City and County; of Bucks, Chester, and Northampton Counties, Pa., were called out for six weeks from the time of joining the Army, but the order was countermanded on November 27 and renewed on December 1. New York directed Brigadier General Scott to continue his brigade in the service for one month, as it had so volunteered, and New Jersey called out its militia on November 26.

95. Sparks refers to the *Narrative of Sir William Howe Before a Committee of the House of Commons* (London: 1780) and Almon's *Parliamentary Register* (vol. 11, pp. 361, 371) as authority for the statement that Howe did not intend to push his force across the Delaware in this campaign. I hoped we should

have met with large and early Succors by this time; but as yet no great number of the Militia of this State has come in, nor have I much reason to expect, [from the accounts

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I have,] that any considerable aid will be derived from the Counties, which lie beyond this river, and in which the Enemy are. [Indeed] Their situation will prevent it in a great measure from those parts where they are, provided the inclinations of the people were good. Added to this, I have [now] no assurances, that more than a very few of the Troops composing the flying Camp will remain after the time of their engagement is out; so far from it, I am told, that [many] some of General Ewing's brigade, who stand engaged to the 1st of January, are now going away. If those go, whose service expires this day, our force will be reduced to a mere handfull. From intelligence received this morning, one Division of the Enemy was advanced last night as far as Elizabeth Town, and that some of their Quartermasters had proceeded [as far as Spank Town] about four or five miles on this side, to provide Barns for their accommodation. Other accounts say another division, composed of Hessians, are on the road thro Springfield and are reported to have reached that place last night. I do not know how far their views extend, but I doubt not, [that] they mean to push every advantage resulting from the small number and State of our Troops. I early began to forward part of the Stores from this place towards Philadelphia. Many are gone, the rest we are removing, and hope to secure. I am, &c.

P.S. I have wrote to Govenr. Livingston who is exerting himself to throw in every assistance and to have guards placed at the ferries to prevent the return of the soldiers who are not discharged.⁹⁶

96. Both the draft and letter sent are in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. 'The bracketed portions, which are in the draft, are not in the letter sent, and the draft ends with "the small number and State of our Troops."

To THE BOARD OF WAR

Head Quarters, Brunswick, November 30, 1776.

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Gentn: I am to acknowledge the receipt of your favors of the 18th. 19th and 23d Instant, which, from the unsettled situation of our affairs, I have not been able to answer before.

That of the 18th incloses a list of Stores taken in the Hancock and Adams Continental Ship and carried into Dartmouth in New England, with a Resolve of Congress to deliver the Muskets, Powder, Lead and Flints to my order, as the other Articles of the Cargo will be full as useful to the Army, as those included in the Resolve, I would advise, that you give directions to have the whole Cargo removed from Dartmouth to some secure place in the Neighbourhood of Philadelphia, and there deposited till call'd for.⁹⁷ It is by no means proper, that so great a Quantity of Military Stores should be lodged with the Army, especially at present, as we know not today, where we shall be obliged to remove tomorrow, and that will in all probability the case, while the Enemy continue with a light Army on this Side the North River.

In Answer to that part of yours of the 19th. in which you ask my advice, as to the propriety of inlisting prisoners of War, I would just observe, that in my opinion, it is neither consistent with the Rules of War, nor politic, nor can I think that because

97. The *Hancock and Adams* was bringing a cargo of military stores from France for the use of the continent when seized by the Rhode Island privateer *Gamecock*.

our Enemies have committed an unjustifiable action by inticing and in some instances intimidating our men into their service, we ought to follow their Example. Before I had the honor of yours on this subject, I had determined to remonstrate to Genl Howe on this Head; as to those few who have already inlisted, I would not have them again withdrawn and sent in, because they might be subjected to punishment, but I would have the practice discontinued in future. If you will revert to the capitulation of St. Johns and Chamblee you will find an express stipulation against inlisting the prisoners taken there. I remarked that the Inlistment of Prisoners was not a Politic Step; my Reason is this, that in time of Danger I have always observed such persons most backward, for fear I suppose of falling into the

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Hands of their former Masters, from whom they expect to receive no Mercy, and this fear they are apt to communicate to their Fellow soldiers. They are also most ready to desert, when an Action is expected, hoping by carrying Intelligence, to make their peace.

I met Capt. Hesketh⁹⁸ on the Road, and as the situation of his Family did not admit of delay, I permitted him to go immediately to New York, not having the least doubt but General Howe will make a Return of any officer of equal Rank, who shall be required. I have &c.⁹⁹

98. Capt. Thomas Hesketh, of the Seventh Foot, British Army.

99. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman. It varies from the "Letter Book" copy in minor details of capitalization.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Brunswick, December 1, 1776.

Sir: I yesterday had the honor of writing you and to advise of our arrival here. I am now to inform you that the Enemy are still advancing, and that their Van guard had proceeded as far as Bonum, a small Town about four miles this side of Woodbridge, according to my last intelligence. As to their number, reports are various. Some say, they were joined yesterday by a considerable reinforcement from Staten Island, how far this fact may be true, I cannot determine, but from every information before, they were between Six and seven thousand strong. I have for some time past, supposed Philadelphia to be the Object of their movement, and have every reason to beleive my Opinion well founded. The advices of sundry persons who have had an Opportunity of mixing and conversing with them on the March, agreeing that such is the report. I have wrote to Governor Livingston upon the Subject, requesting his utmost exertions to forward on every succour in his power. The same I trust will be attended to in Pennsylvania. Without a sufficient number of Men and

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Arms, their progress cannot be checked, at present our Force is totally inadequate to any attempt.

Several Officers belonging to the Enemy who were

Prisoners, have obtained permission to return. I have not yet sent in the names of those belonging to us, that are to be exchanged for them. By a Virginia paper, I perceive that Capt. Morgan² and Lieut. Heath³ who were taken prisoners at Quebec and now on parole are promoted in the late arrangement of Officers in that State; the former to a Regiment the latter to a Majority: It would be well if they could be released, but being Virginians and not knowing that any Gentlemen, who were taken at the same time are so circumstanced, I have declined claiming their return without the Opinion of Congress lest I should incur the charge of partiality. I have sent forward Colo. Humpton⁴ to collect proper boats and craft at the Ferry for transporting our Troops and it will be of Infinite importance to have every other craft, besides what he takes for the above purpose, secured on the West side of Delaware, otherwise they may fall into Enemy's hands and facilitate their views. I have &c.

P.S. ½ after 1 o'clock P.M. The Enemy are fast advancing, some of 'em are now in sight. All the Men of the Jersey flying Camp under Genl. Herd being applied to, have refused to continue longer in service.⁵

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Trenton, December 3, 1776.

Sir: I arrived here myself yesterday morning with the Main body of the Army, having left Lord Stirling with two Brigades at Princeton and that neighbourhood to watch the Motions of the Enemy and give notice of their approach. I am informed that they had not entered Brunswick yesterday morning at 9 O'Clock, but were on the opposite side of the Raritan. Immediately on my arrival here, I ordered the

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2. Capt. Daniel Morgan, of the Virginia Rifle Company. He had been taken prisoner at Quebec; was promoted to colonel of the Eleventh Virginia Regiment Nov. 12, 1776.

3. Lieut. William Heth, of Morgan's company. He was promoted to major of the Eleventh Virginia Regiment Nov. 13, 1776, and became lieutenant colonel and colonel of the Third Virginia Regiment; was captured at Charleston, S.C., in May, 1780; remained a prisoner on parole to the end of the war.

4. Col. Richard Humpton, of the Eleventh Pennsylvania Regiment.

5. Both the draft and letter sent are in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison, but the last paragraph and the P.S. above are not in the draft, which varies in minor verbal details from the letter sent.

Removal of all the Military and other Stores and Baggage over the Delaware, a great Quantity are already got over, and as soon as the Boats come up from Philadelphia, we shall load them, by which Means I hope to have every thing secured this Night and to morrow if we are not disturbed. After being disencumbered of my Baggage and Stores, my future Situation will depend intirely upon Circumstances. I have not heard a Word from General Lee, since the 26th last month, [which surprises me not a little, as I have dispatched daily Expresses to him, desiring to know when I might look for him. This makes me fearful that my Letters have not reached him.]

I am informed by report that Genl. St. Clair has joined him with three or four Regiments from the Northward, to know the Truth of this, and also when I may expect him and with what Numbers, I have this minute dispatched Colo. Stewart¹⁷ (Genl. Gates's Aid de Camp) to meet Genl. Lee and bring me an Account.¹⁸ I look out earnestly for the Reinforcement from Philadelphia, I am in hopes, if we can draw a good Head of Men together, It will give Spirits to the Militia of this State who have as yet afforded me little or no Assistance, nor can I find they are likely to do much. Genl. Heard just informs me, that

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a person, on whose Veracity he can depend, has reported to him, that on Sunday last he counted 117 Sail of Ships going out of the Hook. You may depend upon being advised instantly of any further Movement of the Enemy's

17. Maj. Walter Stewart. He was colonel of a Pennsylvania State regiment in June, 1777, which was designated the Thirteenth Pennsylvania Regiment in November, 1777. He was transferred to the Second Pennsylvania Regiment in July, 1778, and acted as subinspector, Continental Army, up to June, 1783.

18. Congress seemed to be as much in the dark about General Lee's plans and movements as General Washington, and on December 2 they resolved: "That the Committee for establishing expresses be directed to send Colonel Stewart, or any other officer express to General Lee, to know where and in what situation he and the army with him are." (See *Journals of the Continental Congress*.)

Army or that of mine. I am, etc.19

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Trenton, December 4, 1776.

Sir: Since I had the honor of addressing you yesterday, I received a Letter from Genl. Lee. On the 30th Ult. he was at Peekskill and expected to pass with his Division two days after. From this intelligence you will readily conclude that he will not be able to afford us any aid for several days. The report of Genl St. Clair's having joined him with three or four Regiments, I believe to be altogether premature, as he mentions nothing of it. It has arisen, as I am informed, from the return of some of the Jersey and Pennsylvania Troops from Ticonderoga, whose time of service is expired. They have reached Pluckemin where I have wrote to have them halted and kept together, if they can be prevailed on, till further orders.

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The Inclosed, is a Copy of a Letter which came to hand last night from Major Clark,²⁷ to which I beg leave to refer you for the Intelligence it contains. The number of the Enemy said to have embarked is supposed to be rather

19. Both the draft and letter sent are in the writing of Tench Tilghman. The part in brackets was not in the draft as first written, but was added later in the margin.

27. Major John Clark, jr., of the Pennsylvania Battalion of the Flying Camp. Later he was an aide-de-camp to General Greene; captain in the Thirteenth Pennsylvania Regiment and one of the auditors of the Continental Army. He was of much service to Washington during the Brandywine-Germantown campaign and later in collecting secret intelligence. A copy of Clark's letter, dated Nov. 29, 1770. from Tappan, N. Y., is filed with Washington's letter in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*.

exaggerated. That there has been an embarkation is not to be doubted, it being confirmed thro' various channels. By Colo. Griffin²⁸ who went from Brunswick on Sunday morning with a Capt. Sims,²⁹ to pass him by our Guards, and who was detained by Lord Cornwallis till Monday evening [yesterday morning] on account of his situation [of his Army]. the amount of Genl Clinton's force from what he could collect from the officers, was about Six Thousand, as to their destination he could not obtain the least information. By him I also learn, the Enemy were in Brunswick and that some of their advanced parties had proceeded two Miles on this side. The heavy rain that has fallen has probably checked their progress [and the weather that may succeed, may delay their progress, if not] and may prevent their further movement for some time. I have &c.³⁰

To THE BOARD OF WAR

Head Quarters, Trenton, December 4, 1776.

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Sir: Yours of the 28th last Month was delivered to me by the Brigadier Le Loche de Fermoy²¹ who is now here, but unable to render me that Service; which I dare say from his Character he would, was he better acquainted with our Language.

28. Col. Samuel Griffin, deputy adjutant general of the Flying Camp. He had been wounded at Harlem Heights, N. Y., in October.

29. Lieut. Richard Symes. (See note to Washington's letter to the Board of War, Dec. 4, 1776, *ante*.)

30. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The parts in brackets are in the draft, but not in the letter sent.

21. Mathieu Alexis de Roche Fermoy. He had been commissioned by Congress a brigadier general on Nov. 5, 1776; resigned Jan. 31, 1778.

I yesterday received a Letter from you without a date, mentioning that the Prisoners from York Town were directed to halt at Newtown for my Orders. On hearing they were there, I sent Colo. Moylan to conduct them, and the Prisoners from Reading who arrived nearly at the same time, over towards Brunswick, and deliver them in. I hope you have not sent Capt. Price,²² Lt. Peacock²³ and Major Campbell²⁴ on to this place, as it is highly improper they should see and know the Situation of our Army here and at Princeton; they had better be sent up, under the care of some person to Newtown or that Neighbourhood and there wait the arrival of some large Party, who, I imagine will be soon forward from Lancaster, and go in with them. Lieut. Symes²⁵ came over to me at Brunswick from Bethlehem without the least guard or Escort, and a Lieutenant of the 7th Regiment went thro' our whole Army, and was at last discovered by a mere accident, he had a pass from the Council of Safety and that was all. Such an irregular Mode, of Suffering prisoners to go in alone must be put a Stop to, or the Enemy will be as well acquainted with our Situation,

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as we are ourselves. If they are left at liberty to choose their own Rout, they will always take that thro' our Army for reasons too obvious to mention. I am &c.

22. Capt. William Price, of the Twenty-fifth Foot, British Army.

23. Lieut. George Peacock, of the Sixth Foot, British Army.

24. Maj. Mungo Campbell, of the Fifty-fifth Foot, British Army.

25. Lieut. Richard Symes is listed in the *Army List*, 1776, as a captain of the Fifty-second Foot.

P.S. I have been obliged to send down a number of our Sick to Philadelphia to make room for the Troops and to remove them out

of the way. Be pleased to have some care taken to have them properly accommodated. I should think part of the House of Employment, might be procured for that purpose. I have ordered down an Officer from each Regiment and a Surgeon's Mate, if they can be spared. But I hope they will not want the Assistance of the visiting Physicians of the Hospital. I am &c.26

***To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS**

Trenton, December 5, 1776.

Sir: As nothing but necessity obliged me to retire before the Enemy, and leave so much of the Jerseys unprotected, I conceive it to be my duty, and it corrisponds with my Inclination, to make head against them, so soon as there shall be the least probability of doing it with propriety; that the Country might in some Measure be covered, I left two Brigades (consisting of the five Virginia Regiments and that of Delaware, containing in the whole abt. 1200 Men fit for Duty, under the Command of Lord Stirling and Genl. Stephen)³⁴ at

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Princeton, till the Baggage and stores could cross the Delaware, or the Troops under their respective Commands forced from that place. I shall now, having removed the

26. The draft and the letter sent are in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

34. Brig. Gen. Adam Stephen. He had been colonel of the Fourth Virginia Regiment; promoted to brigadier general in the Continental Army Sept. 4, 1776; major general Feb. 19, 1777; dismissed for drunkenness on November 20 of that year.

greatest part of the above Articles, face about with such Troops as are here fit for Service and March back to Princeton and there govern myself by Circumstances and the movements of General Lee. At any event, the Enemy's progress may be retarded by this Means if they Intend to come on, and the People's fears in some measure quieted if they do not; sorry I am to observe however, that the frequent calls upon the Militia of this State, the want of exertion in the principal Gentlemen of the Country, or a fatal supiness and insensibility of danger, (till it is too late to prevent an evil, that was not only foreseen but foretold) have been the causes of our late disgraces. If the Militia of this State had step'd forth in Season, (and timely notice they had) we might have prevented the Enemy's crossing the Hackensack, although (without some previous notice of the time, and place) it was impossible to have done this at the No. River. We might with equal probability of success, have made a stand at Brunswick on the Rariton; but as both these Rivers were fordable (in a variety of places knee deep only) it required many Men to defend the passes, and these we had not. At Hackensack our force was insufficient, because part was at Elizabeth Town, Amboy and Brunswick, guarding a coast which I thought most exposed to danger; and at Brunswick, because I was disappointed in my expectation of Militia, and because on the day of the approach of the Enemy and probably the reason of it, [why the attack was made] the term of the Jersey and Maryland Brigade's Service expired and neither of them would stay an hour longer.

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These, among ten thousand other Instances, might be adduced to shew the disadvantages of short Enlistments, and the little dependance upon Militia in times of real danger; but as yesterday cannot be recalled, I will not dwell upon a subject which no doubt has given much uneasiness to Congress, as well as severe pain and mortification to me.

My first wish is, that Congress may be convinced [from experience] of the [indispensable necessity]³⁵ propriety of relying as little as possible upon Militia, and of the necessity of raising a larger standing Army than they have voted, the saving in the Article of Stores, Provisions and in a thousand other things by having nothing to do with Militia, [unless in cases of extraordinary emergency and such as could not be expected in the common course of events,]³⁶ would amply support a large Army which (well officered) would daily be improving instead of [allways]³⁷ continuing a destructive, expensive and disorderly Mob.

I am clearly of opinion, that if 40,000 Men had been kept in constant pay since the first Commencement of Hostilities, and the Militia had been excused doing duty during that Period, the Continent would have saved Money. When I reflect on the losses we have sustain'd for want of good Troops, the certainty of this is placed beyond a doubt in my Mind. In such case the Militia, who have been Harrassed and tired by repeated calls upon them, and Farming, and Manufactures in a Manner suspended would, upon any

35. The phrases in brackets were crossed out by Washington.

36. This phrase in brackets is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

37. Crossed out by Washington.

emergency have run with alacrity to Arms, whereas the cry now is, they may as well be ruind one way as another, and with difficulty are obtaind. I mention these things to show that in my opinion, if any dependance is placed on Militia another year, the Congress will deceive themselves. When danger is a little remov'd from them, they will not turn

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out at all. When it comes home to them, the well affected, instead of flying to Arms to defend themselves, are busily employed in removing their Family's and Effects, while the disaffected are concerting measures to make their Submission, and spread terror and dismay all around, to induce others to follow the example; daily experience and abundant proofs warrant this Information.

I shall this day reinforce Lord Stirling with 1200 Men, which will make his Numbers about 2400, to morrow I mean to repair to Princeton myself and shall order the Pennsylvania Troops (who are not yet arrivd except part of the German Battalion, and a Company of Light Infantry), on to the same place.

By my last advices the Enemy are still at Brunswick and the Account adds that General Howe was expected at Elizabeth Town with a Reinforcement, to erect the King's Standard and demand a submission of this state. I can only give this as a Report, brot. from the Enemy's Camp by some of the Country People. I have &c.38

38. The last paragraph of this letter is missing in the draft. It is supplied from the letter sent, which was copied by Robert Hanson Harrison, and is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*. There are a few slight variations of minor value between the letter sent and the draft in Washington's writing as above.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Trenton, December 6, 1776.

Sir: I have not received any Intelligence of the Enemy's movements since my Letter of Yesterday; from every Information they still remain at Brunswick, except some of their parties who are advanced a small distance on this side. to day I shall set out for Princeton myself, unless something should occur to prevent me, which I do not expect.

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By a Letter of the 4th Inst. from a Mr. Caldwell,³⁹ a Clergyman and a staunch friend to the Cause, and who has fled from Elizabeth Town and taken refuge in the Mountains about Ten Miles from thence, I am informed, that Genl. or Lord Howe was expected in that Town, to publish pardon and peace. His words are, "I have not seen his proclamation, but only can say, he gives 60 days of Grace and Pardons from the Congress down to the Committee. No one man in the Continent is to be denied his Mercy."⁴⁰ In the language of this Good Man, the Lord deliver us from his Mercy.

Your Letter of the 3d, by Major Livingston was duly received. Before it came to hand, I had wrote to Genl. Howe about Governor Franklin's exchange, but am not certain whether the Letter could not be recovered. I

39. Rev. James Caldwell, chaplain of a New Jersey brigade and Assistant Quartermaster. He was killed by a sentinel in November, 1781.

40. The proclamation was issued November 30 by Admiral Richard Lord Howe and General Sir William Howe jointly, offering a pardon to all who had opposed the King's authority and who should within 60 days subscribe to a declaration that they would "remain in a peaceable Obedience to His Majesty, and will not take up Arms nor encourage Others to take up arms, in Opposition to His Authority." A photostat of one of the original imprints is in the Library of Congress from a copy in the archives of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Joseph Galloway, of Pennsylvania, was one of those who took advantage of this proclamation, and Richard Stockton, of New Jersey, was another. Galloway's conduct is described in the *Narrative of Sir William Howe Before a Committee of the House of Commons* (London: 1780), and Stockton's may be judged from John Witherspoon's letter to his son, David, Mar. 17, 1777, a photograph of which is in the Library of Congress.

dispatched a Messenger instantly for that purpose.⁴¹ I am &c.⁴²

***TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS**

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Mr. Berkleys Summer seat,45 December 8, 1776.

Sir: Colo. Reed would inform you of the Intelligence which I first met with on the Road from Trenton to Princeton Yesterday.⁴⁶ Before I got to the last mention'd place, I receivd a Second Express informing me, that as the Enemy were advancing by different Routs, by one of which it appeard they were attempting to get in the Rear of the Troops at Princeton whose numbers, comparitively speaking, were small, and the place by no means defensible they had judgd it prudent to retreat to Trenton. The Retreat was accordingly made first to that place and since on this side of the River.

This information I thought it my duty to communicate as soon as possible, as there is not a moment's time to be lost in Assembling such force as can be collected as the object of the Enemy cannot now, in the smallest degree, be doubted. Indeed I shall be out in my conjecture (for it is no more than conjecture) if the late Imbarkation at New York is not for 41. On December 3 Congress directed General Washington to postpone the exchange of Governor Franklin for General Thompson.

42. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

45. Thomas Barclay's "Summer Seat" was in what is now Morrisville, Pa., opposite Trenton, N. J. The house was about half a mile from the Delaware River.

46. Ford quotes from a letter of Greene to Washington (December 7): "This moment a captain has returned that went to reconnoiter last night, and it is beyond a doubt the enemy are advancing; and my Lord Stirling thinks they will be up here by twelve o'clock." This letter is not in the *Washington Papers* in the Library of Congress.

Delaware, to co-operate with the Army under the immediate command of Genl. Howe who I am informd from good authority is with the British Troops and his whole Force upon this Rout.

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I have no certain Intelligence of Genl Lee; although I have sent frequent Expresses to him and lately a Colo. Hampton to bring me some accurate Accts. of his Situation; last Night I dispatch'd another Gentr. to him, Major Hoops,⁴⁷ to desire he would hasten his March to the Delaware, at which I would provide Boats near a place called Alexandria for the Transportation of his Troops. I cannot acct. for the Slowness of his March.⁴⁸

In the disorderd and moving State of the Army I cannot get returns; but from the best Accts we had between three thousand and 3500 before the Philadelphia Militia and German Battalion arrived [they amount to about two thousand.]⁴⁹ I have &c.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Trenton Falls, December 9, 1776.

47. Maj. Robert Hoops, brigade major to General Dickinson. He was appointed Deputy Commissary General of Issues July 1, 1777; resigned Aug. 7, 1777.

48. On December 8 Lee wrote to Washington, from Morristown, N. J.: "If I was not taught to think that your Army was considerably reinforced, I should immediately join you; but as I am assured you are very strong, I should imagine We can make a better impression by hanging on their rear, for which purpose, a good Post at Chatham seems the best calculated. It is at a happy distance from Newark, Elizabethtown, Woodbridge and Boundbrook. It will annoy, distract and consequently weaken 'em." He addressed a similar letter to the committee of Congress sent to learn his position and situation. On the same day, after Major Hoops had reached him, he again wrote to Washington: "I am extremely shocked to hear that your force is so inadequate to the necessity of your situation, as I had been taught to think you had been considerably reinforced." He pretended to believe that the main effort of the enemy was to be directed against the Eastern States, reporting that his information was that the British embarkation at New York had sailed eastward. On this

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account he concluded: "It will be difficult, I am afraid, to join you; but cannot I do you more service by attacking their rear? I shall look about me tomorrow and inform you further."

49. Words in brackets not in the writing of Washington.

Sir: I did myself the honor of writing to you yesterday and informing you that I had removed the Troops to this Side of the Delaware; soon after, the Enemy made their Appearance, and their Van entered, just as our Rear Guard quitted. We had removed all our Stores, except a few Boards. From the best Information, they are in two Bodies, one, at and near Trenton, the other some miles higher up, and inclining towards Delaware; but whether with intent to cross there, or to throw themselves between General Lee and me, is yet uncertain. I have this Morning detached Lord Stirling with his Brigade to take post at the different landing Places, and prevent them from Stealing a March upon us from above, for I am informed if they cross at Corrill's Ferry or thereabouts, they are as near to Philadelphia, as we are here. From Several Accounts, I am led to think, that the Enemy are bringing Boats with them; if so, it will be impossible for our Small Force to give them any considerable opposition in the Passage of the River, indeed they may make a feint at one place, and by a Sudden removal carry their Boats higher or lower, before we can bring our Cannon up to play upon them. Under these Circumstances, the Security of Philadelphia should be our next object. From my own remembrance, but more from Information (for I never viewed the Ground) I should think that a Communication of Lines and Redoubts might soon be formed from the Delaware to Schuylkill on the North entrance of the City. The Lines to begin on the Schuylkill side about the Heights of Springatsbury and run Eastward

to Delaware, upon the most advantageous and commanding Grounds. If something of this kind is not done, the Enemy might, in case any Misfortune should befall us; march directly in and take possession. We have ever found, that Lines however Slight, are very formidable to them, they would at least give a Check till people could recover of the Fright and Consternation that naturally attends the first Appearance of an Enemy.

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In the mean time, every step should be taken to collect Force not only from Pennsylvania but from the most neighbourly States; if we can keep the Enemy from entering Philadelphia and keep the Communication by Water open, for Supplies, we may yet make a stand, if the Country will come to our Assistance, till our New Levies can be collected.

If the Measure of fortifying the City should be adopted, some skillful person should immediately view the Grounds and begin to trace out the Lines and Works. I am informed there is a French Engineer⁵³ of eminence in Philadelphia at this time. If so, he will be the most proper. I have the honor to be, etc.

P.S. I have just received the inclosed from Genl. Heath. Genl. Mifflin is this Moment come up and tells me, that all the Military Stores yet remain in Philadelphia. This makes the immediate fortifying of the City so necessary, that I have

⁵³. Possibly Thaddeus Kosciuszko, who had been commissioned a colonel of Engineers on October 18 and on December 5 voted a month's pay.

desired Genl Mifflin to return, to take charge of the Stores and have ordered Major Genl Putnam immediately down⁵⁴ to superintend the Works and give the necessary directions.⁵⁵

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Falls of Delaware, December 10, 1776.

Sir: Since I had the honor of addressing you yesterday, nothing of importance has occurred. In respect to the Enemy's movements, no other Information has been obtained, than that they have a Number of parties patrolling up and down the River (particularly the former). As yet they have not attempted to pass, nor do their patrols tho some are exceedingly small meet with the least interruption from the Inhabitants of Jersey.

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By a Letter received last night from Genl Lee of the 8th Instr., he was then at Morris Town, where he entertained thoughts of establishing a Post; But on receiving my dispatches by Major Hoops, I should suppose he would be convinced of the Necessity of his proceeding this way with all the Force he can bring. I have the honor &c.

P.S. 9 O'Clock A.M. This minute I received information, that the Enemy were repairing the Bridges [which had been taken up,] three or

54. Ford states that Putnam took command on the 12th and established martial law. A letter from him, dated Philadelphia, Dec. 12, 1776, describing the condition of affairs in the city, is in the *Washington Papers*.

55. In the writing of Tench Tilghman.

four Miles below Trenton, which seems to indicate an intention of their passing lower down and suggests to me the necessity that some attention should be had to the Fort at Billingsport; less they should possess themselves of it, the consideration of which I beg leave to submit to Congress. I have wrote to the Council of Safety on the Subject.⁵⁸

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Falls of Delaware, December 11, 1776.

Sir: After I had wrote you Yesterday, I received certain Information that the Enemy, after repairing Crosswicks Bridge, had advanced a party of about five hundred to Bordentown; by their taking this Rout, it confirms me in my opinion, that they have an Intention to land between this and Philadelphia, as well as above, if they can procure Boats for that Purpose. I last night directed Commodore Seymour, to Station all his Gallies between Bordentown and Philadelphia, to give the earliest Intelligence of any Appearance of the Enemy on the Jersey Shore. I yesterday rode up the River about 11 Miles to Lord Stirling's

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post, where I found a prisoner of the 42d Regiment, who had been just brought in; he informed me that Lord Cornwallis

58. Both the letter sent and draft are in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The latter varies in many unimportant verbal particulars from the above, the most important of which is the phrase in brackets, which is omitted from the letter sent.

was at Penny Town, with two Battalions of Grenadiers and three of Light Infantry, all British; the Hessian Grenadiers the 42d Highland Regiment and two other Battalions the names of which he did not remember. He knew nothing of the reasons of their being assembled there, nor what were their future Intentions; but I last night received Information from my Lord Stirling, which had been brought in by his Scouts, which in some Measure accounted for their being there. They had made a forced March from Trenton on Sunday Night to Coryell's Ferry, in hopes of Surprising a Sufficient Number of Boats to transport them, but finding themselves disappointed, had marched back to Penny Town, where they remained yesterday. From their Several Attempts to seize Boats, it does not look as if they had brought any with them, as I was at one time informed. I last Night sent a person over to Trenton, to learn whether there was any appearance of building any, but he could not perceive any preparations for a work of that kind. So that I am in Hopes, if proper Care is taken to keep all the Craft out of their way, they will find the crossing Delaware, a Matter of considerable Difficulty.

I received another Letter from General Lee last Evening, it was dated at Chatham (which I take to be near Morris Town) the 8th. of this Month, he had then received my Letter sent by Major Hoops, but seemed still inclined to hang upon the Enemy's Rear, to which I should have no Objection

had I a sufficient force to oppose them in Front; but as I have not at present, nor do I see much probability of further Reinforcements, I have wrote to him in the most pressing Terms, to join me with all Expedition.

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Major Sheldon⁷⁰ who commands the Volunteer Horse from Connecticut, waits upon Congress, to establish some mode of Pay. I can only say, that the Service of himself and his Troop, has been such as merits the warmest Thanks of the public and deserves a handsome Compensation for their Trouble. What ever is Settled now, will serve for a precedent in future. From the Experience I have had this Campaign, of the Utility of Horse, I am Convinced there is no carrying on the War without them, and I would therefore recommend the Establishment of one or more Corps, (in proportion to the Number of Foot) in Addition to those already raised in Virginia. If Major Sheldon would undertake the Command of a Regiment of Horse on the Continental Establishment, I believe he could very soon raise them, and I can recommend him as a Man of Activity and Spirit, from what I have seen of him. I have the honor to be &c.⁷¹

70. Maj. Elisha Sheldon. He was commandant of Connecticut Light Horse, Dec. 12, 1776; colonel of the Second Continental Dragoons; served to end of the war.

71. In the writing of Tench Tilghman. The draft, also by Tilghman, varies in minor verbal details from the letter seat.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Trenton Falls, December 12, 1776.

Sir: I last night received the favor of Mr. Thomson's Letter, inclosing the proceedings of Congress of the 11th. Inst. As the publication of their Resolve, in my opinion, will not lead to any good end, but on the contrary, may be attended with some bad consequences, I shall take the liberty to decline inserting it in this days Orders, [unless I am requested again to do it]. I am persuaded, if the subject is taken up and reconsidered, that Congress will concur with me in Sentiment. I doubt not but there are some who have propagated the report, but what if they have? Their remaining in or leaving Philadelphia must be governed by Circumstances and events; If their departure should become necessary, it will be

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right; On the other hand, if there should not be a necessity for it, [and if necessity should not proclaim the measure prudent,] they will [not] remain [depart,] and their continuance will shew the report to be the production of Calumny and Falsehood. In a word, Sir, I conceive it a matter that may be as well [be] disregarded, and that the removal or staying of Congress, depending entirely upon events should not have been the Subject of a Resolve.⁷⁴

The intelligence we obtain respecting the Movements and situation of the Enemy is far from being so certain and satisfactory as I could wish, tho' every probable means in my power and that I can devise are adopted for that purpose. The latest I have received was from Lord Stirling last night, he says that two Grenadiers of the Inniskilling Regiment who

74. The nervousness of Congress increased as the British advanced. Curious resolutions were passed. One (December 10) directed Washington and Putnam in military matters; another (December 11) appointed a day of fasting and humiliation, recommending to "all the members of the United States, and particularly the officers civil and military under them, the exercise of repentance and reformation," the strict observation of the Articles of War, and particularly of those forbidding profane swearing and all immorality. By another (December 12) all the vessels in the harbor were placed at the disposal of Putnam. Continental stores were directed to be removed, and a bold front assumed by directing that the city be defended "to the utmost extremity." On December 11 it was resolved that: "Whereas a false and malicious report hath been spread by the enemies of America that the Congress was about to disperse: Resolved, That General Washington be desired to contradict the said scandalous report in general orders, this Congress having a better opinion of the spirit and vigour of the army, and of the good people of these states than to suppose it can be necessary to disperse. Nor will they adjourn from the city of Philadelphia in the present state of affairs, unless the last necessity shall direct it." Charles Thomson, Secretary of Congress, sent this resolve to Washington December 11. This resolve is in the *Washington Papers*.

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On December 12 Congress resolved: "That, until the Congress shall otherwise order, General Washington be possessed of full power to order and direct all things relative to the department, and to the operations of war." (See Washington's letter to Congress, Dec. 27, 1776, *post.*)

Congress adjourned to Baltimore on December 12 and on December 21 "Resolved, That Mr. President inform General Washington by letter, that Congress approve his conduct in not publishing in general orders the resolve of Congress of the 11 instant." Both this resolve and the previous one of December 11 have been crossed out in the manuscript *Journals of the Continental Congress*, but a copy of that of December 21, signed by John Hancock President, is in the *Washington Papers*.

were taken and brought in by some Countrymen, inform that Genls. Howe, Cornwallis, Vaughan⁷⁵ &c. with about 6000 of the flying Army were at Penny Town waiting for pontoons to come up, with which they mean to pass the River near the Blue Mounts, or at Correls Ferry, they believe the latter. That the two Battalions of Guards were at Brunswick and the Hessian Grenadiers, Chasseurs and a Regiment or two of British Troops are at Trenton. Capt. Miller⁷⁶ of Colo. Hand's Regiment also informs me, that a body of the Enemy were marching to Burlington on Yesterday Morning. He had been sent over with a strong Scouting Party and at day break, fell in with their advanced Guards consisting of about 400 Hessian Troops who fired upon him before they were discovered, but without any loss and obliged him to retreat and with his party to take boat. The Number of the whole he could not ascertain, but they appeared to be considerable. Captn. Miller's Account is partly Con firmed by Commodore Seymour who reports that four or five hundred of the Enemy had entered the Town. Upon the whole their can be no doubt, but that Philadelphia is their object and that they will pass the Delaware, as soon as possible. Happy should I be, if I could see the means of preventing them. At present I confess I do not. All Military Men agree, that it is a work of great difficulty, nay impracticable, where

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there is any extent of Coast to guard. This is the case with us and we have to do it, with a force small and inconsiderable and much inferior

75. Sir John Vaughan, colonel of the Forty-sixth Foot, British Army, with the rank of major general in America.

76. Capt. Henry Miller, of the First Continental Infantry. He rose to lieutenant colonel of the First Pennsylvania Regiment and resigned in December, 1778.

to that of the Enemy. Perhaps Congress have some hope and prospect of Reinforcements; I have no intelligence of the sort and wish to be informed on the Subject. Our little handfull is daily decreasing by sickness and other causes, and without aid, without considerable Succours and exertions on the part of the people, what can we reasonably look for or expect, but an event that will be severely felt by the Common cause and that will wound the Heart of every Virtuous American, the loss of Philadelphia. The Subject is disagreeable, but yet it is true. I will leave it, wishing that our situation may become such as to do away [with] the apprehensions, which at this time fill the minds of too many and with too much justice.

By a Letter from General Heath dated at Peek's Kill the 8th, I am advised that Lt. Colo. Vose⁷⁷ was then there with Greaton's⁷⁸ Bond's⁷⁹ and Porter's⁸⁰ Regiments, amounting in the whole to between 5 and 600 Men, who were coming this way, he adds that Gens. Gates and Arnold would be at Goshen that night, with Stark's, Poor's and Read's Regiments, but for what purpose he does not mention.

The Inclosed Extract of a Letter, which I received last night, contains intelligence of an agreeable nature, I wish to hear of its confirmation by the arrival of the Several prizes; that with Cloathing and Arms will be an invaluable acquisition.⁸¹

I shall be glad to be advised of the mode I am to observe in paying the Officers, Whether they are to be allowed

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77. Lieut. Col. Joseph Vose, of the Twenty-fourth Continental Infantry. He was colonel of the First Massachusetts Regiment in January, 1777, and served to the end of the war.

78. Col. John Groaton, of the Twenty-fourth Continental Infantry.

79. Col. William Bond, of the Twenty-fifth Continental Infantry.

80. Col. Elisha Porter, of a Massachusetts militia regiment.

81. The reported capture was that of a ship with 3,000 stands of arms and 10,000 suits of clothing. The extract is filed with Washington's letter in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*.

to draw the pay lately established and from what time or how long they are to be paid, under the old establishment. A pay Roll which was presented yesterday being made up for the men, has given rise to these propositions. Upon my objecting to it, [without having the direction of Congress upon the Subject] I was told that Congress or the Board of War had established the precedent by paying the 6th Regiment of Virginia Troops commanded by Colo. Buckner 82 agreeable to the latter [under the New Establishment,] as they came thro' Philadelphia. I have the Honor &c.83

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Camp at Trenton Falls, December 13, 1776.

Sir: The apparent designs of the Enemy being to avoid this Ferry, and land their Troops above and below us, have induced me to remove from this place, the greater part of the Troops and throw them into a different Disposition on the River, whereby I hope not only to be more able to impede their passage, but also to avoid the Danger of being inclosed in this Angle of the River. And notwithstanding the extended Appearance of the Enemy on the other Side, made

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82. Col. Mordecai Buckner, of the Sixth Virginia Regiment.

83. Both the draft and letter sent are in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison and show plainly the strain at headquarters. The draft is unusually altered and is entered on three different pieces of paper, showing two false starts. The letter sent varies considerably in phraseology, but not in sense, from the draft. The most important variations are shown, the words within the brackets in the foregoing having been omitted from the letter sent.

at least in part, to divert our Attention from any particular point, as well as to harrass us by Fatigue, I cannot divest myself of the Opinion that their principal Design is to Ford the River somewhere above Trenton; to which Design I have had particular Respect in the new Arrangement, wherein I am so far happy as to have the Concurrence of all the General Officers at this place.

Four Brigades of the Army under Generals Lord Stirling, Mercer, Stephen and D'Fermoy extend from Yardley's up to Coryel's Ferry, posted in such a Manner as to guard every suspicious part of the River and to afford Assistance to each other, in case of Attack. Genl Ewing with the Flying Camp of Pennsylvania and a few Jersey Troops under General Dickinson, are posted from Yardley's Ferry down to the Ferry opposite Bordentown. Col. Cadwallader with the Pennsylvania Militia occupies the Ground above and below the Mouth of Neshaminy River, as far down as Dunks Ferry, at which place Colonel Nixon is posted with the 3d Battalion of Philadelphia. A proper Quantity of Artillery is appointed to each Brigade, and I have ordered small Redoubts to be thrown up opposite every place where there is a possibility of fording.

I shall remove further up the River to be near the main Body of my small Army, with which every possible Opposition shall be given to any further Approach of the Enemy towards Philadelphia.

As General Armstrong has a good deal of influence

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in this State and our present force is small and inconsiderable, I think he cannot be better employed than to repair to the Counties where his interest lies to animate the People, promote the recruiting service and encourage the Militia to come in. He will also be able to form a proper Judgement of the places suitable for Magazines of Provision to be collected. I have requested him to wait upon you on this subject, and if General Smallwood should go to Maryland on the same business, I think his presence would have a happy effect. He is popular and of great Interest and I am persuaded would contribute greatly to the State's furnishing her Quota of Men in a little time. He is now in Philadelphia. I have the honor
&c.96

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters at Keiths, December 15, 1776.16

Sir: About One O'Clock to day I received a Letter from General Sullivan, a Copy of which you have inclosed. I will not comment upon the melancholy intelligence, which it contains, only adding, that I sincerely regret Genl. Lee's unhappy fate, and feel much for the loss of my Country in his Captivity.

96. The letter sent is in the writing of Tench Tilghman and Robert Hanson Harrison. The draft is dated December 12 and was begun by Brig. Gen. John Armstrong, added to by Washington, continued by Tilghman, and finally finished by Harrison. The middle portion of the draft was stricken out in favor of the general description of troop positions in the second paragraph above, but the importance of the Trenton campaign justifies the inclusion of the more detailed and discarded description in the draft. "As I cannot at present farther enter into the various motives of this alteration, I shall only add a Copy of the Arrangement itself. Generals Lord Sterling, Mercer, Stevens and La Roch De Fermoy's Brigades are to take post at and below Corriels and McConkeys Ferrys. Lord Stirling's Brigade to continue at and near where his head Quarters are [at Blue Mount Ferry]. Genl. Stevens next below it. Genl. Mercer below Stevens. Genl. Defermoy above Lord Sterling.

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The Jerman Battalion to join Genl. Fermoy's Brigade. Genl. Ewings Brigade to continue at this Post and guard the River from Bordentown up towards Yeardlies Ferry. Redouts to be Erected at the Ford at Trenton Falls and near Yeardlies Ferry. Coll: Cadwalladers Brigade to take post at Bristol and [Guard those parts of the River Including Dunks's Ferry and to watch the motions of that part of the Enemy which have moved down towards].” The parts in brackets are in Washington's writing; the rest is in that of Armstrong.

16. On this date William Grayson wrote to Col. John Cadwalader, by Washington's direction, that information from a prisoner indicated that the British were preparing to fall back from the Delaware—their wagon train was reported as moving down toward Bordentown, N. J.—and requesting him to confirm this report and, if true, attempt something against the wagons. Grayson's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

In respect to the Enemy, they have been industrious in their attempts to procure Boats and small craft, but as yet their efforts have not succeeded. From the latest advices that I have of their movements by some prisoners and others, they appear to be leaving Trenton and to be filing off towards Princeton and Allen Town. What their designs are, whether they mean to retreat or only a feint, cannot be determined. I have parties out to watch their motions, and to form if possible, an accurate Opinion of their plans. Our force since my last, has received no augmentation, [of course (by Sickness &c.)] other causes, [has diminished], but I am advised by a Letter from the Council of Safety which just came to hand, that Colos. Burd and Gilbraeth are marching with their Battallions of Militia and also that some small parties are assembling in Cumberland County.

By Capt. Murray,¹⁷ who is just returned from his imprisonment, we are informed that Messrs. John, Andrew and William Allen¹⁸ are at Trenton. The fact I suppose is to be depended on, as Capt Murray is acquainted with them and saw them himself according to the report he has made. I have the honor &c.¹⁹

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

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Head Quarters at Keiths, December 16, 1776.

17. Capt. Francis Murray, of the Pennsylvania Musket Battalion. He had been captured at Long Island, N.Y.; was made major of the Third Pennsylvania Regiment in 1777; taken prisoner again in February, 1778; exchanged in December, 1780; did not reenter the service.

18. The Allens, from Pennsylvania, were sons of William Allen, who had been chief justice of the province from 1750 to 1774. Allentown was founded by and named after him. Andrew had been attorney general of Pennsylvania, recorder of Philadelphia, and was elected to the committee of safety in 1775 and to the Continental Congress in 1775. He disapproved of independence and left the Congress in June, 1776.

19. Both the draft and letter sent are in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The words in brackets were inserted in the draft by Washington, who wrote "Sickness &c.," which Harrison expanded in the letter sent to "Sickness and other causes."

Sir: In a late Letter which I had the honor of addressing you, I took the liberty to recommend that more Battallions should be raised for the new Army, than what had been voted, having fully considered the matter I am more and more convinced not only of the propriety, but of the necessity of the measure. That the Enemy will leave nothing unessayed in the course of the next Campaign, to reduce these States to the rule of a most lawless and insufferable Tyranny must be obvious to every One, and that the militia is not to be depended on, or aid expected from 'em, but in cases of the most pressing emergency, is not to be doubted. The first of these propositions is unquestionable, and fatal experience has given her sanction to the truth of the latter; indeed their lethargy of late and backwardness to turn out at this alarming crisis, seem to justify an apprehension, that nothing can bring them from their Homes. For want of their assistance, a large part of Jersey has been exposed to ravage, and to plunder, nor do I know that Pennsylvania would share a better fate, could Genl. Howe effect a passage across the Delaware with

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a respectable force. These considerations have induced me to [mention the subject to Congress] wish that no reliance except such as may arise from necessity, should ever be had in them again, and to make further mention to Congress of the expediency of increasing their Army. I trust the measure will meet their earliest attention. Had I leisure and were it necessary, I could say much upon this head, but as I have not, and the matter is well understood, I will not add much. By augmenting the number of your Battallions you will augment your force; The Officers of each

will have their interest and influence, and upon the whole, their numbers will be much greater, tho' they should not be compleat. Added to this, from the present confused state of Jersey and the [bad] improper appointment of Officers in many instances, I have little or no expectation that she will be able to raise All the Troops exacted from her, tho I think it might be done, were suitable spirited Gentlemen commissioned who would [engage and lead on the people, for want of which, many good men and who would have readily enlisted] exert themselves and encourage the people, many of whom for a failure in this instance and who are well disposed, are making their submissions. In a Word, the next will be a trying Campaign and as All that is dear and valuable may depend upon the issue of it, I [think no measure] would advise that nothing should be omitted [to ensure] that shall seem necessary to our success. Let us have a respectable Army, and such as will be competent to every exigency. I will also add that the critical situation of our Affairs and the dissolution of our present force, (now at hand) require that every nerve and exertion be employed for recruiting the new Battalions. One part of Genl. Howe's movements at this time, I believe is with a design to distract us and prevent this business. If the inclemency of the Weather, should force him into Winter Qrs. he will not remain there longer than necessity shall oblige him; he will commence his operations in a short space of time, and in that time [a Sufficient Army] our Levies must be [raised] made up to oppose [them] him, or I fear the most melancholy of all events must take place.

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The inclosed Extract of a Letter from the Comy. General will shew his demands for money, and his plans for procuring [proper supplies of] salted provisions, and a quantity of Flour from the Southward. The whole is

submitted to the consideration of Congress, and I wish [that] the result of their Opinion to be transmitted him, with such supplies of money as [axe] may be necessary for himself and the [Several] departments he mentions. [could be transmitted to im]

The Cloathing of the Troops is a matter of infinite importance, and if it could be [speedily] accomplished would have [most] a happy effect, their distresses are extremely great, many of 'em [are] being entirely naked and most [of them] so thinly clad as to be unfit for service. I must entreat Congress to write to the Agents and Contractors upon this Subject, that Every possible supply may be procured [they may have them made] and forwarded with the utmost expedition. I cannot attend to the business myself, having more than I can possibly do besides being involved in so many difficulties and affairs already, that I am obliged to neglect those coming properly within my own department, which is very injurious. I have the Honor, etc.²⁰

***To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS**

Camp above Trenton Falls, December 20, 1776.

Sir: I have waited with much Impatience to know the determinations of Congress on the Propositions made some

20. Both the draft and letter sent are in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The words in brackets are in the draft, but omitted in the letter sent, and are inserted as an example of the difficulties sometimes encountered by an aide in drafting a letter to Washington's satisfaction. The clear reading of the letter is obtained by ignoring the bracketed portions.

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time in October last for augmenting our Corps of Artillery, and establishing a Corps of Engineers; the time is now come, when the 1st cannot be delayed without the greatest injury to the safety of these States, and therefore under the Resolution of Congress bearing date the 12th. Instt. at the repeated Instance of Colo. Knox, and by the pressing advice of all the General Officers (now here) I have ventured to order three Battalions of Artillery to be immediately recruited; this is two less than Colo. Knox recommends, as you will see by his Plan Inclos'd⁴⁷ but then this scheme comprehends all the United States whereas some of the States have Corps already established and these three Battalions are indispensibly necessary for the operations in this Quarter ([including] comprehending the Northern department). The pay of our Artillerests bearing no proportion with that in the English or French Service, the Murmuring and dissatisfaction thereby occasioned, and the absolute impossibility, as I am told, of getting them upon the old terms, and the unavoidable necessity of obtaining them at all events, have Induced me (also by advice) to promise Officers, and Men that their pay should be augmented 25 pr. Ct., or that their engagements shall become null and void; this may appear to Congress premature, and unwarrantable; but Sir, if they view our Situation in the light it strikes their officers, they will be convinced of the Utility of the Measure, and that the Execution could not be delayed till after their Meeting at Baltimore; In short, the present exigency of our Affairs will not admit of delay, either in Council or the Field, for well

47. A copy of Knox's plan for establishing a Continental Artillery, magazines, laboratories, etc., is with this letter in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*. Another copy is in the *Washington Papers*.

convinc'd I am, that if the Enemy go into Quarters at all, it will be for a short Season; but I rather think the design of Genl. Howe is to possess himself of Phila. this winter, if possible (and in truth I do not see what is to hinder [prevent] him, as 10 days more will put an end to the existence of our Army); that one great point, is to keep us as much harrassed as possible, with a view to injure the Recruiting Service, and prevent a Collection of Stores,

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and other necessaries for the next Campaign, I am as clear in as I am of my existence; if therefore in the short Interval we have to provide, and make these great and arduous preparations, every matter that in its nature is self evident, is to be refer'd to Congress, at the distance of 130 or 140 Miles, so much time must necessarily elapse, as to defeat the end in view.

It may be said that this is an application for powers that are too dangerous to be Intrusted. I can only add, that desperate diseases require desperate Remedies; and with truth declare, that I have no lust after power but wish with as much fervency as any Man upon this wide extended Continent, for an opportunity of turning the Sword into a plow share. But my feelings as an Officer and a Man, have been such as to force me to say that no person ever had a greater choice of difficulties to contend with than I have; it is needless to add that short Inlistments, and a mistaken dependance upon Militia, have been the Origin of all our Misfortunes and the great accumulation of our Debt.

We find Sir, that the Enemy are daily gathering strength from the disaffected; this Strength like a Snow ball by rolling, will Increase, unless some means can be devised to check, effectually, the progress of the Enemy's Arms; Militia may, possibly, do it for a little while; but in a little while also, the Militia of those States which have been frequently called upon will not turn out at all or with so much reluctance and sloth as to amount to the same thing. Instance New Jersey! Witness Pennsylvania! Could any thing but the River Delaware have sav'd Philadelphia? Can any thing (the exigency of the case indeed may justify it), be more destructive to the recruiting Service than giving 10 Dollars Bounty for Six Weeks Service of the Militia; who come in you cannot tell how, go, you cannot tell when; and act, you cannot tell where; consume your Provisions, exhaust your Stores, and leave you at last in a critical moment. These Sir are the Men I am to depend upon Ten days hence,—this is the Basis on which your Cause will and must for ever depend, till you get a large standing Army, sufficient of itself to oppose the Enemy. I therefore beg leave to give it as my humble opinion that 88 Battalions are by no means equal to the opposition you are to make, and that not a Moment's time is to be lost in raising a greater number; not less in

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my opinion, and the opinion of my Officers than 110; it may be urged, that it will be found difficult enough to compleat the first Number, this may be true, and yet the Officers of 110 Battalions will recruit

many more Men than those of 88. In my judgment this is not a time to stand upon expence; our funds are the only objects of Consideration. The State of New York have added one (I wish they had made it two) Battalions to their quota. If any good Officers offer to raise Men upon Continental pay and establishment in this Quarter, I shall encourage them to do so, and Regiment them when they have done it. If Congress disapprove of this proceeding, they will please to signify it, as I mean it for the best.

It may be thought that, I am going a good deal out of the line of my duty to adopt these Measures, or advise thus freely; A Character to loose, an Estate to forfeit, the inestimable Blessing of liberty at Stake, and a life devoted, must be my excuse.

I have heard nothing of the light Horse from Virginia, nor the Regiment from the Eastern Shore;⁴⁸ I wish to know what Troops are to [Act in] furnish the different departments and to have those from the Southward (design'd for this place)

48. The eastern shore of the Chesapeake Bay.

order'd on as fast as they shall be raised, the Routs should be pointed out by which they are to March. Assistant Commissaries and Quarter Masters upon the Communication to supply their Wants; the first or second Officer of each Battalion to forward them and the other to come on, receive, and form them at their place of destination. Unless this is immediately set about, the Campaign, if it should be closed, will

be opened in the Spring before we have any Men in the Field. Every exertion should be used to procure Tents. A Clothier General should be appointed without loss of time for Supplying the Army with every Article in that way. He should be a Man of Business and Abilities. A Commissary of Prisoners must be appointed [to attend the Army]; for want of an Officer of this kind the [business of that department] Exchange of Prisoners has

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been conducted in a most shameful [and injurious] Manner. We have had them from all Quarters push'd into our Camps at the most critical junctures and without the least previous notice. We have had them actually travelling through the different States in all directions, by certificates from Committees without any kind of Controul; and have had Instances of some going into the Enemy's Camp without my privity or knowledge, after passing in the manner before mentioned. There may be other Officers necessary, which [I dont] my recollection at this time does not furnish [and which when thought of] but must be provided; for this Sir you may rely on, that the Commanding Officer under the present establishment is obliged to attend to the business of so many different departments as to render it impossible to conduct that of his own with the attention necessary, than which nothing can be more Injurious.

In a former Letter, I intimated my opinion of the necessity of having a Brigadier for every three Regiments, and a Majr. Genl. to (at most) every three Brigades. I think no time is to be lost in making the Appointments, that the arrangement may be consequent; this will not only aid the

Recruiting Service but will be the readiest means of forming and disciplining the Army afterwards; which, in the short time we have to do it, is of amazing consequence. I have labourd ever since I have been in the Service to discourage all kinds of local attachments, and distinctions of Country, denominating the whole by the greater name of American; but I found it impossible to overcome prejudices, and under the New Establishment I conceive it best to stir up an Emulation in order to do which, would it not be better for each State to furnish (tho not appoint) their own Brigadiers; this if known to be part of the Establishment might get rid of [prevent] a good deal of contention and jealousy, and would, I believe, be the means of promotion going forward with more satisfaction and quiet in the higher officers.

Whilst I am speaking of Promotion, I canot help giving it as my opinion that if Congress thinks proper to confirm what I have done with respect to the Corps of Artillery, that Colo.

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Knox (at present at the head of that department, but [who] without Promotion will resign) ought to be appointed to the Command of it with the rank and pay of Brigadier. I have also to mention, that for want of some establishment in the department of Engineers, agreeable to the plan laid before Congress in October last Colo. Putnam who was at the head of it, has quitted, and taken a Regiment in the State of Massachusetts. I know of no other Man tolerably well qualified for the conducting of that business. None of the French Gentlemen whom I have seen

with appointments in that way, appear to me to know anything of the Matter. There is one in Philadelphia whom I am told is clever, but him I have never seen. I must also once more beg leave to mention to Congress the admisability [expediency] of letting Promotion go [be] in a Regimental line; the want of this, has already driven some of the best Officers [that were] in your Army out of the Service; from repeated, and strict enquiry I am convinced you can adopt no mode of promotion that will be better receivd, or [that will] give more general satisfaction, I wish therefore to have it anounced.

The casting of Cannon is a matter that ought not to be one moment delayed, and therefore I shall send Colo. Knox to put this in a Train, as also to have travelling Carriages and Short provided, Elaboratories to be established, one at Hartford and another in York, Magazines of Provisions should also be laid in; these I shall fix with the Commissary, as our great loss last year proceeded from a Want of Teams, I shall direct the Quarter Master Genl. to furnish a certain number to each Regiment to answer the common purposes thereof, that the Army may be enabled to remove from place to place differently from what we have done, or could do, this Campaign. Ammunition Carts, and proper Carts for Intrenching Tools should also be provided, and I shall direct about them accordingly; above all, a Store of Small Arms should be provided or Men will be of little use; the Consumption, and waste of these this year has been great; Militia, Flying Campmen &ca. coming in without, were obliged to be furnished,

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or become useless; Many of these threw their Arms away, some lost them, whilst others deserted and took them along. In a word, altho' I used every precaution to preserve them, the loss has been great, and this will forever be the case in such a Mixed and irregular Army as ours has been.

If no part of the Troops already Imbark'd at New York, have appear'd in Virginia their destination, doubtless, must be to some other Quarter, and that State must, I should think, be freed from any Invasion, if Genl. Howe can be effectually opposed in this. I therefore Inclose a Memorandum given me by Brigr. Stephen of Virginia, which Congress will please to adopt in whole, in part, or reject, as may be consistent with their Plans, and Intelligence.

That division of the Army, late under the command of Genl. Lee, now Genl. Sullivan, is just upon the point of joining us; a strange kind of fatality has attended it! they had Orders on the 17th of Novr. to join, now more than a Month! Genl. Gates with four Eastern Regiments are also near at hand; three others from those States were coming on by his order by the way of Peakskill, and had joined Genl. Heath, whom I had ordered on with Parsons's Brigade to join me, leaving Clintons Brigade and some Militia (that were at Forts Montgomery and Constitution) to guard those important passes of the Highlands; but the Convention of the State of New York seeming to be much alarm'd at Heath's coming away, a fleet appearing

off New London, and some part of the Enemy's Troops retiring towards Brunswick, induced me to countermand the Order for the march of Parsons's Brigade, and to direct the three Regiments from Tyconderoga to Halt at Morris Town, in Jersey; where I understand about 800 Militia had collected, in order to inspirit the Inhabitants and as far as possible cover that part of the Country; I shall send Genl. Maxwell this day to take the Command of them, and if to be done, to harrass and annoy the Enemy in their Quarters and cut off their Convoys.

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The care and vigilance which was used in securing the Boats on this River has hitherto baffled every attempt of the Enemy to Cross, but from concurring reports, and appearances they are waiting for Ice to afford them a passage.

Since writing the foregoing I have receiv'd a Letter from Govr. Cooke of Rhode Island of which the Inclosed is a Copy,⁴⁹ previous to this, and immediately upon the first Intelligence obtain'd of a Fleets going, through the Sound, I dispatch'd orders to Genls. Spencer and Arnold to proceed immediately [without the least] delay to the Eastward. The first I presume is gone, the latter not getting my Letter till he came to a place called Easton was, by advice of Genl. Gates who also met my Letter at the same place, induced to come on hither before he proceeded to the Eastward. Most of our Brigadiers are laid up, not one has come on with the division under Genl. Sullivan but [are] left sick at different places on the Road. By Accts. from the Eastward, a large body

49. Governor Cooke had written (December 8) that 78 British ships of war and transports had entered the harbor of Newport on December 7; that Rhode Island had been evacuated with the loss of about 20 heavy cannon, but the ammunition and stores had been saved; that 8,000 of the enemy had landed and were marching upon Newport, Howland's and Bristol Ferry. Cooke called for reinforcements from Massachusetts and Connecticut. This letter is printed in Force's *American Archives*, Fifth Series, vol. 3, 1315.

of Men had assembled in Rhode Island from the States of Massachusetts and Connecticut; I presume (but I have no advice of it) that the Militia ordered from the first, to Rendezvous at Danbury (6000 in number) under the Command of Major Genl Lincoln for the purpose of supplying the Places of the disbanded Men of that State in the Continental Army will now be ordered to Rhode Island. In speaking of Genl Lincoln I should not do him justice were I not to add that he is a Gentleman well worthy of Notice in the Military Line. He Commanded the Militia from Massachusetts last Summer, or Fall Rather, and much to my satisfaction, having prov'd himself on all occasions an active, spirited, sensible Man. I do not know whether it is his wish to remain in the Military Line, or whether, if he should,

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any thing under the Rank he now holds in the State he comes from, would satisfy him; how far an appointment of this kind might offend the Continental Brigadiers I cannot undertake to say; many there are, over whom he ought not to be placed, but I know of no way to discriminate. Brigadier Read of New Hampshire [does] not I presume mean to continue in Service, he ought not, as I am told by the Severity of the small Pox he is become both blind and deaf. I am &c.

P.S. Genls. Gates and Sullivan have this Instant come in, by them I learn, that few or no Men are recruited out of the

Regiments coming on with them; and that, there is very little reason to expect that these Regiments will be prevaild upon to continue after their term of Service expires. If Militia then do not come in the consequences are but too evident?50

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Camp above Trenton Falls, December 24, 1776.

Sir: That I should dwell upon the Subject of our distresses cannot be more disagreeable to Congress, than it is painful to my self. The alarming Situation to which our affairs are reduced, impells me to the Measure. Inquiry and investigation, which in most cases serve to devellop and point out a remedy, in ours, present more and greater difficulties. till of late I was led to hope from reports, that no inconsiderable part of the [Eastern] Troops, composing the Regiments that were with Genl. Lee, and those from Ticonderoga under General Gates, had enlisted again. This intelligence, I confess, gave me reason to expect that I should have at the expiration of the present year, a force somewhat more respectable than what I find will be the case. having examined into the State of those Regiments, I am authorized to say from the information

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50. The draft is in the writing of Washington; the letter sent is in that of Robert Hanson Harrison, which shows a few minor verbal variations from the draft. The words bracketed are Harrison's changes of Washington's draft.

of their Officers, that but very few of their Men have inlisted. Those who have, are of the Troops from Ticonderoga and were permitted to visit their friends and Homes, as part of the Terms on which they would reengage. In respect to those who Marched with Genl. Lee, I cannot learn that any have. Their refusal I am told, has not proceeded more from an aversion to the Service or any fixed determination not to engage again, than from their wishes to re turn Home; the nonappointment of Officers in some instances, the turning out of good and putting in of bad in others, and the in-compleat or rather no arrangement of them; A work unhappily committed to the Management of their States; Nor have I the most distant prospect of retaining them a moment longer than the last of this Instant, notwithstanding the most pressing sollicitations and the obvious necessity for it. By the departure of these Regiments, I shall be left with Twelve from Virginia, Smallwoods from Maryland, a small part of Rawlins's, Hand's from Pennsylvania, a part of Ward's from Connecticut and the German Battalion, amounting in the whole at this time from Fourteen to Fifteen hundred effective Men. This handfull, and such Militia as may choose to join me, will then compose our Army.⁷⁵

When I reflect upon these things, they fill me with much concern, knowing that General Howe has a Number of Troops cantoned in the Towns bordering on and near the Delaware, his intentions to pass as soon as the ice is Sufficiently formed, to invade Pennsylvania, and to possess himself of [the City of] Philadelphia, if Possible. To guard against his

75. The general return of the Army (December 22) shows a total of rank and file fit for duty of 4,707; but with sick, present, and absent, 3,270, on command and furlough, 3,039, the force fit for duty should be 3,797; the officers and noncommissioned officers brings the total to 3,966. Sparks points our that this return did not include the four regiments just

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arrived from the northern army, nor Lee's division now commanded by Sullivan, nor the Pennsylvania Militia under General Cadwalader at Bristol, Pa. The four regiments, having been greatly reduced by disease, amounted to about 1,200, Cadwalader's militia to 1,800, and Sullivan's division to about 3,000. This return is printed in Force's *American Archives*, Fifth Series, vol. 3, 1401.

designs, and the execution of them; shall employ my every exertion, but how is this to be done? As yet, but few Militia have gone to Philadelphia; and they are to be our Support at this alarming crisis. Had I entertained a doubt of General Howes intentions to pass the Delaware [up]on the dissolution of our Army and as soon as the ice is made, it would be now done away. An intercepted letter from a Gentleman of Philadelphia who has joined the Enemy, to his Friend and Partner in the City, declares that to be their design, that the Army would be there, in Ten or Twenty days from the 16th. Instt. the time of his writing, if the ice should be made, advises him by no means to remove their Stores that they would be safe.

The obstacles which have arisen to the raising of the New Army, from the mode of appointing the Officers, induce me to hope, if Congress resolve on an additional number of Battalions to those already voted, that they will devise some other rule by which the Officers, especially the Field Officers, should be appointed. In case an augmentation should be made to the Eastern Regiments, a deviation from the former mode, will operate more strongly as to them, than to other Battalions; Be cause there have been many more Officers in service from those States, than the Regiments voted to be raised would admit of, by which means several deserving Men could not have been provided for, had the utmost pains been used for the purpose, and many others of great merit have been neglected in the late appointments and those

of little worth and less experience, put in their places, or promoted over their Heads. This has been the case with many of the best Officers.

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The inclosed Letter from the Paymaster General, will shew the state of the Military Chest and the necessity of a large and immediate supply of Cash. The advances to the Officers for bounty and the recruiting service are great, besides the Regiments, at the expiration of this Month, will require payment of their claims. At the same time it will shew the justice of the clamours, made by some [of the] Officers respecting their pay, and the abuses they have practiced [that have resulted from an attention to them].⁷⁶ Whenever they have not been paid, it was because their Abstracts were not made up. I am &c.

PS If the public papers have been removed from Philadelphia, I hope those which I sent by Lieut. Colo Reed before we left New York, have not been forgot. (If they have not, I beg the favor of you to break open the Chest and send me the Several Letter Books sealed up, having frequent occasion to refer to 'em.)⁷⁷

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Newton, December 27, 1776. Sir:

76. The words in brackets are in the draft but not in the letter sent.

77. Both the draft and letter sent are in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The words in parentheses in the P.S. are in the letter sent but not in the draft.

I have the pleasure of Congratulating you upon the success of an enterprize which I had formed against a Detachment of the Enemy lying in Trenton, and which was executed yesterday Morning. The Evening of the 25th I ordered the Troops intended for this Service [which were about 2400]⁹¹ to parade back of McKonkey's Ferry, that they might begin to pass as soon as it grew dark, imagining we should be able to throw them all over, with the necessary Artillery, by 12 O'Clock, and that we might easily arrive at Trenton by five in the Morning, the distance being about nine Miles. But the Quantity of Ice, made that Night, impeded the passage of the Boats so much, that it was three O'Clock before the Artillery could all get over, and near four, before the Troops took up their line of march.

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This made me despair of surprising the Town, as I well knew we could not reach it before the day was fairly broke, but as I was certain there was no making a Retreat without being discovered, and harassed on repassing the River, I determined to push on at all Events. I form'd my detachments into two divisions one to March by the lower or River Road, the other by the upper or Pennington Road. As the Divisions had nearly the same distance to March, I ordered each of them, immediately upon forcing the out Guards, to push directly into the Town, that they might charge the Enemy before they had time to form. The upper Division⁹² arrived at the Enemy's advanced post, exactly at Eight O'Clock, and in three Minutes after, I found, from the fire

91. The phrase in brackets is in the draft but not in the letter sent.

92. As first written the draft was "I arrived with the upper division."

on the lower Road that, that Division had also got up. The out Guards made but small Opposition, tho' for their Numbers, they behaved very well, keeping up a constant retreating fire from behind Houses. We presently saw their main Body formed, but from their Motions, they seemed undetermined how to act.⁹³ Being hard pressed by our Troops, who had already got possession of part of their Artillery, they attempted to file off by a road on their right leading to Princetown, but perceiving their Intention, I threw a body of Troops in their Way which immediately checked them. Finding from our disposition that they were surrounded, and that they must inevitably be cut to pieces if they made any further Resistance, they agreed to lay down their Arms. The Number, that submitted in this manner, was 23 Officers and 886 Men. Col Rall. the commanding Officer with seven others were found wounded in the Town. I dont exactly know how many they had killed, but I fancy not above twenty or thirty, as they never made any regular Stand. Our loss is very trifling indeed, only two Officers and one or two privates wounded. I find, that the Detachment of the Enemy consisted of the three Hessian Regiments of Lanspatch, Kniphausen and Rohl⁹⁴ amounting to about 1500 Men, and a Troop of British Light Horse, but immediately upon the begining of the Attack, all those who were, not killed or taken,

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pushed directly down the Road towards Bordentown. These would likewise have fallen into our hands, could my plan have been completely carried into Execution. Genl. Ewing was to have crossed before day at

93. The draft here has the following, which was afterwards crossed out: "They first moved towards their left, but being briskly charged by Genl. Sullivans division, they were drove into the Town again; they then filed off to their Right and I suspected were attempting to gain a Road leading to Princetown, upon which I ordered Colo. Hands and the German Battalion to throw themselves before them, this they did with Spirit and Rapidity and immediately checked them. I then ordered Lord Stirling to advance his brigade upon their other flank which effectually prevented them from regaining the Town, finding themselves in this Situation and seeing our other Troops advancing upon them from every Quarter they in a very little time agreed to lay down their Arms."

94. Anspach, Knyphausen, and Rahl's regiments.

Trenton Ferry, and taken possession of the Bridge leading out of Town, but the Quantity of Ice was so great, that tho' he did every thing in his power to effect it, he could not get over.

This difficulty also hindered General Cadwallader from crossing, with the Pennsylvania Militia, from Bristol, he got part of his Foot over, but finding it impossible to embark his Artillery, he was obliged to desist. I am fully confident, that could the Troops under Generals Ewing and Cadwallader have passed the River, I should have been able, with their Assistance, to have driven the Enemy from all their posts below Trenton. But the Numbers I had with me, being inferior to theirs below me, and a strong Battalion of Light Infantry at Princetown above me, I thought it most prudent to return the same Evening, with my prisoners and the Artillery we had taken. We found no Stores of any Consequence in the Town. In justice to the Officers and Men, I must add, that their Behaviour upon this Occasion, reflects the highest honor upon them. The difficulty of passing the River in a very severe Night, and their march thro' a violent Storm of Snow and Hail, did not in the

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least abate their Ardour. But when they came to the Charge, each seemed to vie with the other in pressing forward, and were I to give a preference to any particular Corps, I should do great injustice to the others. Colonel Baylor,⁹⁵ my first Aid de Camp, will have the honor of delivering this to you, and from him you may be made acquainted with many other particulars; his spirited Behaviour upon every Occasion, requires me to recommend him to your particular

95. Lieut. Col. George Baylor. He took with him a Hessian flag. Congress (Jan. 1, 1777) voted him a horse, properly caparisoned, and recommended him to Washington for promotion to the command of a dragoon regiment. He was given command of the Third Continental Dragoons Jan. 9, 1777.

Notice. I have the honor &ca.

P.S. Inclosed you have a particular List of the Prisoners, Artillery and other Stores.⁹⁶

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Newtown, December 29, 1776.

Sir: I am just setting out, to attempt a second passage over the Delaware, with the Troops that were with me on the Morning of the 26th. I am determin'd to effect it, if possible, but know that it will be attended with much fatigue and difficulty, on account of the Ice, which will neither allow us to cross on foot or give us an easy passage for the Boats. Genl Cadwallader crossed from Bristol on the 27th and by his Letter of Yesterday, was at BordenTown with about Eighteen Hundred Men.⁷ In addition to these Genl. Mifflin sent over Five Hundred from Philadelphia on Friday, Three Hundred Yesterday Evening from Burlington and will follow to day with 7 or 800 more. I have taken every precaution in my power for subsisting of the Troops, and shall without loss of time and as soon as circumstances will admit of, pursue the Enemy in their retreat,

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96. In the writing of Trench Tilghman. A return of prisoners, etc., captured, in the writing of Trench Tilghman, was inclosed and is filed with Washington's letter in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*. It shows a total of 918 prisoners, 6 brass 3-Pounders, 3 ammunition wagons, as many muskets, etc., as there were prisoners, 12 drums, and 4 colors. The draft, also in Tilghman's writing, varies in minor verbal particulars from the letter sent.

7. General Cadwalader wrote to Washington at 10 o'clock the morning of December 27, from Burlington, N.J., that he had crossed with a considerable part of his 1,500 Pennsylvania Militia before being informed that Washington had recrossed into Pennsylvania. "This defeated the Scheme of joining your Army; we were much embarrassed which way to proceed. I thought it most prudent to retreat; but Colonel Reed was of opinion, that we might safely proceed to Burlington, and recommended it warmly, lest it should have a bad effect on the militia, who were twice disappointed. The Landing in open daylight must have alarmed the Enemy, or we might have been cut off by all their Force collected to this place. We had intelligence immediately afterwards, that the Enemy had left the Black Horse and Mount Holly. Upon this we determined to proceed to Burlington. Colonel Reed and two other officers went on from one post to another, till they came to Bordentown, where they found the Coast clear. We shall march at four to-morrow morning for that place."

try to beat up more of their Quarters and in a word, in every instance adopt such measures as the exigency of our affairs requires and our situation will justify. Had it not been for the unhappy failure of Genls. Ewing and Cadwallader in their attempts to pass on the Night of the 25. and if the several concerted attacks, could have been made, I have no doubt but that our views would have succeeded to our warmest expectations. What was done, occasioned the Enemy to leave their Several Posts on the Delaware with great precipitation. The peculiar distresses to which the Troops who were with me were reduced, by the severities of Cold, rain, Snow and Storm, the charge of the Prisoners they had taken, and another reason that might be mentioned, and the little prospect of receiving

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further succours, on account of the Season and situation of the River, would not authorize a further pursuit at that time. Since transmitting the List of Prisoners, a few more have been discovered and taken in Trentown, among them a Lieut. Colo. and a Deputy Adjutant General. The whole amounting to about a Thousand.

I have been honoured with your Letter of the 23d. and its several Inclosures, to which I shall pay due attention. A Flag goes in this Morning with a Letter to Genl. Howe and another to Genl Lee. For the latter, Rob. Morris Esq has transmitted a Bill of Exchange, drawn by Two British Officers for £116:9:3 on Major Small for Money furnished them in South Carolina which I trust will be paid. This supply is exclusive of the Sum you have resolved to be sent him and which Mr Morris will procure

in time. I have the honor etc.

P.S. I am under great apprehensions about obtaining proper supplies of Provision for our Troops. I fear it will be extremely difficult, if not impracticable, as the Enemy, from every account has taken and collected every thing they could find.⁸

8. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The draft, also in Harrison's writing, has minor verbal variations from the letter sent.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Trenton, January 1, 1777.²⁵

Sir: Your Resolves of the 27th. Ult. were transmitted me last Night by Messrs. Clymer, Morris and Walton; The confidence which Congress have honored me with by these proceedings, has a claim to my warmest acknowledgements. At the same time, I beg leave to assure them, that all my faculties shall be employed, to direct properly the powers they have been pleased to vest me with, and to advance those Objects and only those, which gave rise to this honourable mark of distinction. If my exertions should not be

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attended with the desired success, I trust the failure will be imputed to the true cause, the peculiarly distressed situation of our Affairs, and the difficulties I have to combat, rather than to my want of zeal for my Country and the closest attention to her interests, to promote which has ever been my study.

On Monday Morning I passed the Delaware myself; the whole of our Troops and Artillery not till yesterday owing to the ice which rendered their Passage extremely difficult and fatiguing. Since their arrival we have been parading the Regiments whose time of service is now expired, in order to know what force we should have to depend on, and how to regulate our views accordingly. After much persuasion and the exertions of their Officers, half or a greater proportion of those from the Eastward have

25. According to the *History of Trenton* (Trenton Times: 1929), Washington's headquarters from December 30 to January 1 were in the house of Maj. John Barnes, high sheriff of Hunterdon County, on Queen (now South Broad) Street. On January 2 the headquarters were at the True American Inn, South Broad Street, just below Factory Street. The inn was burned down in 1843.

consented to stay Six Weeks, on a bounty of Ten dollars. I feel the inconvenience of this advance and I know the consequences which will result from it; But what could be done? Pennsylvania had allowed the same to her Militia. The Troops feel their importance and would have their price. Indeed as their aid is so essential and not to be dispensed with, it is to be wondered, they had not estimated it at a higher rate. I perceive that Congress, apprehensive of this event, had made unlimited provision for it.²⁶ Genl. Mifflin is at Bordentown with about Eighteen hundred Men and Genl. Cadwalader at Croswix with about the same number. We are now making our arrangements and concerting a plan of operations, which I shall attempt to execute as soon as possible and which I hope will be attended with some success. As to the Number and situation of the Enemy, I cannot obtain exact intelligence; but from the Accounts most to be relied on, they have collected the principal part of their force from Brunswick and the neighbouring posts at Princeton,

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where they are throwing up some Works. The Number there, is reported to be from Five to Six Thousand, and it is confidently said they have sent the chief part of their Baggage to Brunswick. It is added, that Genl. Howe landed at Amboy a day or two ago with a thousand light Troops and is on his march from thence. I have sent into different parts of Jersey, Men of influence, to spirit up the Militia and flatter myself that the many injuries they have received will induce some to give their aid. If what they have suffered, does not [excite] rouse

26. Greater Powers must be lodged in the Hands of the General than he has ever yet exercised. It is impossible, in his present Situation and the short Time he has to prepare for the insuing Campaign, for him to be in readiness so early as General Howe will take the Field, unless you delegate to him full Power to take such Measures as he may find Necessary to promote the Establishment of the New Army. Time will not admit nor Circumstances allow of a reference to Congress. I can see no Evil nor Danger to the States in delagating such Powers to the General reserving to yourselves the Right of Confirming the Measures....I am no Advocate for the Extension of Military Power; neither would I advise it at present, but from the fullest Conviction of its being absolutely Necessary....The Fate of War is so uncertain, dependant upon so many Contingencies; a Day, nay, an Hour, is so important in the Crisis of publick Affairs, that it would be folly to wait for Relief from the deliberative Councils of Legislative Bodies. The Virtue of the People, at such an Hour, is not to be trusted; and I can assure you that the General will not exceed his Powers, altho' he may sacrifice the Cause. There never was a Man that might be more safely trusted, nor a Time when there was a louder Call."— *General Greene to the President of Congress, Dec. 21, 1776*. This letter is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*.

their resentment, they must not possess the common feelings of humanity. To oppression, ravage and a deprivation of property, they have had the more mortifying circumstance of insult added. After being stripped of all they had, without the least compensation, [they

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were granted] protections have been granted them for the free [and secure] enjoyment of their effects. I have the honor &c.

P.S. I have not been able to procure returns of our force owing to our situation; I suppose that about Two or three and Twenty hundred passed with me, which number is now reduced to Fifteen or Sixteen hundred. No Estimate of our force can be formed from the number of Regiments; many of 'em by reason of sickness cannot turn out more than a hundred men.²⁷

To ROBERT MORRIS, GEORGE CLYMER, AND GEORGE WALTON

Head Quarters, Trenton, January 1, 1777.

Gentn.: I have the honor and pleasure of acknowledging your favors of the 28th and 31st December and Mr. Morris's of the 30th and 31st. The Messenger delivered me the two parcels of hard Money, which I suppose will turn out agreeable to the list, having not had time to count it.

The Sum that is lodged at Ticonderoga shall be ordered down, provided the Commander in the Northern Department, finds no better use for it there, than I can make of it here.

The Accounts you give me, in yours of the 28 Ulto. of the good effects that are likely to flow from our Success at Trenton, add not a little to the Satisfaction I have felt on that
27. Both the draft and letter sent are in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison, but the P. S. is not found in the draft, and the words in brackets show the variation of the draft from the letter sent.

occasion. You are pleased to pay me many personal Compliments, as if the Merit of that affair, was due solely to me; but I assure you, the other General Officers, who assisted me in the plan and Execution, have full as good a right to your Encomiums as myself. We are devising such Measures, as I hope, if they succeed, will add as much or more to

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the distress of the Enemy, than their defeat at Trenton, and I promise myself the greatest Advantages from having engaged a number of the Eastern Troops, to stay Six Weeks beyond their time of Inlistment, upon giving a Bounty of Ten dollars. This I know is a most extravagant price, when compared to the time of Service; but the Example was set by the State of Pennsylvania, with respect to their Militia, and I thought it no time to stand upon Trifles, when a Body of firm Troops, inured to danger, were absolutely necessary to lead on the more raw and undisciplined.

I shall know this day how many of Colo Glover's Regt. are willing to continue in the land Service. I dont expect many will be prevailed upon to stay, and I will endeavour to procure the rest for the purpose of fitting out the Frigates upon the best terms I can.

The future and proper disposition of the Hessian Prisoners, struck me in the same light in which you view it, for which Reason I advised the Council of Safety to seperate them from their Officers, and canton them in the German Counties. If proper pains are taken to convince them, how

preferable the Situation of their Countrymen, the Inhabitants of those Counties is to theirs, I think they may be sent back in the Spring, so fraught with a love of Liberty and property too, that they may create a disgust to the Service among the remainder of the foreign Troops and widen that Breach which is already opened between them and the British.

Yours of the 31st of last Month, incloses me sundry Resolves of Congress, by which I find they have done me the honor to intrust me with powers, in my Military Capacity, of the highest nature and almost unlimited in extent. Instead of thinking myself free'd from all *civil* Obligations, by this mark of their Confidence, I shall constantly bear in mind, that as the Sword was the last Resort for the preservation of our Liberties, so it ought to be the first thing laid aside, when those Liberties are firmly established. I shall instantly set about making the most necessary Reforms in the Army; but it will not be in my power to make so great a progress, as if I had a little leisure time upon my Hands.

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Mr. Morris has my sincere thanks for the advice and Assistance he promises to give Mr. Commissary Wharton, and I beg he would remind him, that all his Exertions will be necessary, to Support an Army in this exhausted Country. I have &ca.

P.S. My best thanks to Mr. Morris for procuring the Qr. Cask Wine, which is not yet got to hand.²⁸

28. Both the draft and letter sent are in the writing of Tench Tilghman, but the P.S. is not found in the draft.

***To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS**

Pluckamin, January 5, 1777.

Sir: I have the honor to inform you, that since the date of my last from Trenton I have remov'd with the Army under my Command to this place. The difficulty of crossing the Delaware on Acct. of the Ice made our passage over it tedious, and gave the Enemy an opportunity of drawing in their Several Cantonments, and assembling their whole Force at Princeton. Their large Picquets, advanc'd towards Trenton; their great preparations, and some Intelligence I had received, added to their knowledge that the first of Janry. brought on a dissolution of the best part of our Army, gave me the strongest reasons to conclude that an attack upon us was meditating.

Our Situation was most critical and our strength [force] small; to remove immediately, was again destroying every dawn of hope which had begun to revive in the breasts of the Jersey Militia, and to bring those Troops which had firstcross'd the Delaware, and were laying at Crosswixs under Genl. Cadwallader, and those under Genl. Mifflin at Bordenton (amounting in the whole to abt. 3600) to Trenton, was [to] bringing of them to an exposed place; one or the other however, was unavoidable; the latter was preferred, and these Troops [they] orderd to join us at Trenton which they did by a Night March on the first Instt.

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On the Second,³⁶ according to my expectation, the Enemy began to advance upon us, and after some skirmishing, the head of their Column reach'd Trenton about 4 O'Clock whilst their rear was as far back as Maidenhead; they attempted to pass Sanpinck Creek³⁷ (which runs through Trenton) at different places, but finding the Fords guarded, halted, and kindled their Fires. We were drawn up on the other Side of the Creek. In this Situation we remaind till dark canonading the Enemy, and receiving the Fire of their Field pieces, which did us but little damage.

Having by this time discoverd that the Enemy were greatly Superior in Numbers, and that their drift [design] was to surround us. I orderd all our Baggage to be removd silently to Burlington soon after dark, and at twelve O'Clock (after renewing our Fires, and leaving Guards at the Bridge in Trenton, and other passes on the same stream above March'd by a round about road to Princeton³⁸ where I knew they could not have much force left, and might have Stores. One thing I was sure of, that it would avoid the appearance of a Retreat, which (was of Consequence) or to run the hazard of the whole Army's being cut of was unavoidable whilst we might, by a fortunate stroke withdraw Genl. Howe from Trenton, give some reputation to our Arms; happily we succeeded. We found Princeton about Sunrise with only three Regiments of Infantry and three Troops of Light Horse in it, two of which were upon their March for Trenton; these three Regiments (especially the two first) made a

36. Ford quotes from a letter of General Howe to Lord George Germain (January 5): "On the 2d^d Lord Cornwallis having received accounts of the rebel army being posted at Trenton, advanced thither, leaving the 4th brigade under the command of lieutenant colonel Mawhood at Princeton, and the 2d. brigade, with brigadier general Leslie at Maidenhead. On the approach of the British troops, the enemy's forward posts were driven back upon their army, which was formed in a strong position, behind a creek running through Trenton. During the night of the 2d. the enemy quitted this situation, and marching by Allen's Town, and from thence to Princeton, fell in on the morning of the 3d. with the 17th and 55th regiments, on their march to join brigadier general Leslie at Maidenhead.

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Lieutenant colonel Mawhood, not being apprehensive of the enemy's strength, attacked and beat back the troops that first presented themselves to him, but finding them at length very superior to him in numbers, he pushed forward with the 17th regiment, and joined brigadier general Leslie. The 55th regiment retired, by the way of Hillsborough to Brunswick, and the enemy proceeding immediately to Princeton, the 40th regiment also retired to Brunswick. The loss upon this occasion to his majesty's troops is 17 killed, and nearly 200 wounded and missing."

37. Assunpink Creek. It was then bridged at Queen (now Broad) Street by a structure scarcely 16 feet wide.

38. The army marched by the Sandtown road, near what is now Hamilton Avenue; crossed Miry Run near Mercersville, Quaker Bridge to Clarksville, and Stony Brook to Princeton. The British advance from Princeton struck the American skirmish line near Maidenhead and in the face of sharp resistance did not succeed in reaching Trenton until about 4 o'clock in the afternoon. The effort to cross the creek by the Queen Street bridge was repulsed. A council of war was held at Alexander Douglass's house, which stood on the site of the present red-brick German Lutheran Church on South Broad Street. The house has been removed to Stacy Park near the old Hessian Barracks.

gallant resistance and in killed, wounded and Prisoners must have lost near 500 Men upwards of one hundred of them were left dead in the Field, and with what I have with me, and what was taken in the pursuit, and carried across the Delaware, there are near 300 Prisoners, 14 of wch. are Officers, all British.

This piece of good fortune, is counter ballanced by the loss of the brave and worthy Genl. Mercer, [Cols Hazlet³⁹ and Potter,⁴⁰ Captn. Neal⁴¹ of the Artillery, Captn. Fleming,⁴² who commanded the 1st Virginia Regiment and four and five] and several other valuable Officers who [with 25 or 30 Privates]⁴³ were slain in the Field and have since died of their Wounds. Our whole loss cannot be ascertained, as many who were in pursuit of the

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Enemy (who were chased three or four Miles) are not yet come in. Our Slain in the Field was about 30.

The rear of the Enemy's army laying at Maidenhead (not more than five or Six Miles from Princeton) were up with us before our pursuit was over, but as I had the precaution to destroy the Bridge over Stony Brooke (about half a Mile from the Field of Action) they were so long retarded there, as to give us time to move of in good order for this place. We took two Brass Field pieces from them, but for want of Horses could not bring them of. We also took some Blankets, Shoes, and a few other trifling Articles, Burnt the Hay and destroyed such other things as the Shortness of the time would admit of.⁴⁴

My original plan when I set out from Trenton was to have pushed on to Brunswick, but the harrassed State

39. Col. John Hasler, of the Delaware Regiment.

40. Col. James Potter, of the Pennsylvania Militia. He was wounded and taken prisoner, and not killed, as Washington thought.

41. Capt. Daniel Nell, of the New Jersey artillery.

42. Capt. John Fleming, of the First Virginia Regiment.

43. The words in brackets are Robert Hanson Harrison's attempts to improve Washington's diction.

44. Sparks notes that in both the actions at Trenton and Princeton General Washington encouraged the troops by his presence in the most exposed situations. An officer who was in these engagements wrote from Morristown (January 7): "Our army love their General very much, but they have one thing against him, which is the little care he takes of himself in any action. His personal bravery, and the desire he has of animating his troops by

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example, make him fearless of danger. This occasions us much uneasiness. But Heaven, which has hitherto been his shield, I hope will still continue to guard so valuable a life.”

of our own Troops (many of them having had no rest for two Nights and a day) and the danger of loosing the advantage we had gained by aiming at too much, Induced me, by the advice of my Officers, to relinquish the attempt but in my judgment Six or Eight hundred fresh Troops upon a forced March would have destroyed all their Stores, and Magazines; taken (as we have since learnt) their Military Chest containing 70,000 £ and put an end to the War. The Enemy from the best Intelligence I have been able to get, were so much alarmed at the apprehension of this, that they March'd immediately to Brunswick without Halting (except at the Bridges, for I also took up those on Millstone on the different routs to Brunswick) and got there before day.

From the best Information I have received, Genl. Howe has left no Men either at Trenton or Princeton; the truth of this I am endeavouring to ascertain that I may regulate my movements accordingly. The Militia are taking Spirit, and, I am told, are coming in fast from this State; but I fear those from Philadelphia will scarce Submit to the hardships of a Winter Campaign much longer, especially as they very unluckily sent their Blankets with their Baggage to Burlington; I must do them the justice however to add, that they have undergone more fatigue and hardship than I expected Militia (especially Citizens) would have done at this Inclement Season. I am just moving to Morristown where I shall endeavour to put them under the best cover I can,⁴⁵ hitherto we have lain without

45. A large part of the militia, already called out, had been directed to assemble at Morristown, and Washington's letters during the month of December show the general convergence of troops toward that point. See Washington's letter to the President of Congress, Jan. 7, 1777, *post*, for an assigned reason for marching to Morristown.

any, many of our poor Soldiers quite bearfoot and ill clad in other respects. I am &c.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Morris Town, January 7, 1777.

Sir: I am happy to inform you, that the account of General Mercer's death transmitted in my last, was premature, tho' it was mentioned as certain by many who saw him after he was wounded; By intelligence from Princeton yesterday evening, he was alive, and seemed as if he would do well; Unhappily he is a Prisoner. had it not been for the information I had of his death, I would have tried to have brought him away, tho' I believe it could not have been effected.

The Enemy have totally evacuated Trenton and Princeton and are now at Brunswick and the Several Posts on the Communication between that and Hudson's River, but chiefly at Brunswick. Their numbers and movements are variously reported, but all agree their force to be great. There have been two or three little skirmishes between their parties and some detachments of the Militia, in which the latter have

been successfull and made a few Prisoners. The most considerable was on Sunday Morning, when Eight or Ten Waldeckers were killed and wounded, and the remainder of the party, Thirty nine or Forty, made Prisoners, with Two Officers, by a force not superior in number and without receiving the least damage.

The Severity of the Season has made our Troops, especially the Militia, extremely impatient, and has reduced the number very considerably. Every day more or less leave us. Their complaints and the great fatigues they have undergone, induced me to come to this place, as the best calculated of any in this Quarter, to accomodate and refresh them. The situation is by no means favorable to our Views, and as soon as the purposes are answered for which we came, I think to remove, tho' I Confess, I do not know how we shall procure covering for our Men elsewhere. I have &c.55

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To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Morris Town, January 9, 1777.

Sir: I am honored with yours of the 1st Instant, inclosing sundry Resolves relating to this and the Northern Army;

55. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The draft is also by Harrison, who had written at first that the number of militia had- been reduced "to one third less than it was when we first crossed the Delaware."

those that respect my department shall be properly attended to. I am obliged by your Notice of Colonel Baylor on whom I shall confer the Command of Horse, to which you recommend him. When the Uniform for the Regiment is fixed upon, a Horse properly caparisoned shall be provided and presented to Colo. Baylor. There were no Horses of any Figure or Value taken at Trenton.

Since I wrote to you last, the Enemy have withdrawn all their out Garrisons, and centered their whole force at and near Brunswick, but whether with an Intention to make a stand there or make another push towards Philadelphia I cannot yet determine. Upon the evacuation of Elizabeth Town, Genl. Maxwell fell upon the Enemy's Rear and made Seventy prisoners and took a parcel of Baggage. I have the honor etc.80

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Morris Town, January 12, 1777.

Sir: I am honored with yours of the 6th. inclosing Several Resolves of Congress respecting an Exchange to be proposed between Genl. Lee and the Hessian Field Officers taken at Trenton. Colo. Rall²⁴ died the day after the Action and we left one of the

80. In the writing of Tench Tilghman.

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24. Col. Johann Gottlieb Rail, or Rahl.

Majors, so ill of his Wounds, that I am in doubt of his recovery.²⁵ I can however make an Offer of all that remain, in Exchange for General Lee, except one that you order to be proposed for Colo. Allen.²⁶

If the offer is rejected by General Howe, I shall think myself then at liberty to remonstrate to him on [the Subject of] his treatment of General Lee. If he will not exchange him, he should at least admit him to his Parole, as we have ever done their prisoners who have fallen into our Hands. I understand, from undoubted Authority, that they intend to try the General, by a Court Martial, as a deserter from their Service, pretending that his Resignation was never accepted of. But I shall inform Genl Howe, that if any such step is taken, under so Shallow and illegal a pretext, and their Sentence Should extend, either to effect his Life or Liberty, that they may depend upon the most Severe and adequate Retaliation upon our part.

The Enemy have made no Move since my last, by every Account they begin to be distressed, particularly for Forage, of which there is little or none remaining in the small Circle they possess, except Salt Hay. By Letters from Genl. Heath of the 9th, he was begining to move down towards Kingsbridge with the Troops [coming in] from New England. This must add to the distress of the enemy, who will by this Measure be deprived of the Subsistence they formerly drew from West Chester and the Counties to the Northward of York Island. I am &c.²⁷

25. Maj. Friedrich Ludwig von Dechow. He died of his wounds Dec. 27, 1776.

26. Congress had resolved (January 6) that General Washington propose to General Howe the exchange of six Hessian field officers taken at Trenton, N. J., in exchange for General Lee, and (January 3) one for Col. Ethan Allen. Reports that General Lee was ill treated moved Congress to resolve that retaliatory measures be exercised. President

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Hancock wrote to Washington (January 6): "General Lee's situation seems to be extremely dangerous and critical; and, from General Howe's Behaviour to him, it is highly probable, he will be brought to a Trial for Desertion. General Lee, it is said, by Mr. Eustace, his aide-de-camp, having addressed two Letters to Genl. Howe, received them both back again unopened, and enclosed under a Cover directed to '*Lieutenant Colonel Lee.*' I hope the Flag, which Congress ordered to be sent to make Enquiry into the Manner in which he is treated, has been despatched; and a Remonstrance in Consequence of it, should the Information you have received of his Treatment, have rendered that Step necessary."

27. In the writing of Tench Tilghman. The words in brackets are in the draft and not in the letter sent.

To ROBERT MORRIS, GEORGE CLYMER AND GEORGE WALTON

Morris Town, January 12, 1777

Gentn.: I have your several Favors of the 7th and 9th instant. Complaints of the Usage of the prisoners, both in the land and Sea service, have been the subjects of many of my Letters [both] to Lord and General Howe, but all the Satisfaction or Answer, that I could ever obtain, was, that the Reports were groundless. However upon the Authority of Capt. Gamble's relation, and the miserable emaciated Countenances of those poor Creatures, who have lately been released, I shall take the Liberty of remonstrating sharply to his Lordship and the General, and let them know in very plain terms, that if their rule of Conduct towards our prisoners is not altered, we shall be obliged, however disagreeable it may be, to make retaliation.

I think your plan of appointing Agents to attend the prisoners would answer many good purposes, that particularly of seeing them regularly and honestly supplied with whatever their Allowance may be. And then, any Accounts of ill Usage coming thro' them, would be so authentic, that we might safely proceed to take such measures towards their prisoners

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as would be fully justifiable. I shall demand Capt. Burke²⁸ for Lieut. Boger and agreeable to your Request, desire that Capt. Bell and Getshius²⁹ may be sent out under

28. Capt. William Burke. He had been a lieutenant under Capt. John Manley, of Washington's fleet, in 1775–76 and, later, succeeded to the command of Manley's vessel. Lieutenant Boger was from the British frigate *Liverpool*.

29. According to Sir William Howe's letter to Washington (January 17), Captains Bell and Getshius were sea captains.

parole, at the same time mentioning to Lord Howe, that we do not treat Captains of Merchantmen as Prisoners of War.

I dont know what to make of the Information of Joseph Traverse,³⁰ it appears very strange to me, that people who have been 12 Months from Canada, should be able to lay any plans, at the distance of many hundred Miles, that can be any way detrimental to us. I have just received Letters from the French Officers at Reading, desiring a Liberty of returning home under our Cartel, but if it should be thought improper just now, on account of the above information, I have no objection to their being detained a while longer.

I received a Letter from Mr. Walton,³¹ inclosing the Names of the Captain and Crew of an Armed Boat, belonging to Georgia, which was taken by the Raven Man of War. I will, when I write to Lord Howe, transmit the List and desire an Exchange.

The Enemy are very quiet at Brunswick and Amboy, to all appearance more afraid of an attack, than thinking of attacking. General Heath is begining to move towards Kingsbridge and a few days will shew [us] what Alteration a diversion in that quarter will make. I have the honor to be &c.³²

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30. Capt. Joseph Traverse, of the Second Canadian Regiment. A contemporary copy of his information, in the *Washington Papers*, gives intelligence of an alleged plot among the Canadian prisoners at Reading, Pa.

31. George Walton, Delegate from Georgia to the Continental Congress. His letter, dated Jan. 9, 1777, is in the *Washington Papers*, but the list of prisoners is missing. Richard, Lord Howe's letter to Washington (January 17) claimed that the crew of the armed boat had been exchanged, except Messrs. Brown, Kirk, Watson, and Lee, who were not exchanged because of illness.

32. In the writing of Tench Tilghman. The words in brackets are in the draft and not in the letter sent.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Morris Town, January 14, 1777.

Sir: I embrace this opportunity, by Mr. Hopkins, ¹² of informing you that the Enemy remain upon the old Ground at Amboy and Brunswick. Our Accounts still confirm their want of Forage, which I hope will increase. If their Horses are reduced this Winter it will be impossible for them to take the Field in the Spring. Genl. Warner, with two Regiments from Massachusetts are arrived here, Genl. Heath with the remainder of the Troops from that State has by this time began to move down towards Kingsbridge.

I this day intend to send a Flag with Letters to Lord and General Howe upon the Subject of General Lee's Exchange and remonstrating against the severe treatment of our prisoners. I inclose you Copies of both for your Inspection and Approbation. I have the honor etc.¹³

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Morris Town, January 17, 1777.

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Sir:

12. David(?) Hopkins.

13. Both the draft and letter sent are in the writing of Tench Tilghman. The draft has the following additional paragraph, which has been crossed off and is not found in the letter sent: "I have made Mr. Hopkins an offer of a Company in one of the new Regiments to be commanded by Col: Patton."

I have not had the honor of any of your favors since I wrote to you on the 14th instant. No material Alterations have happened in this quarter. The Enemy, from every Account, mean to make Brunswick their advanced post for this Winter; they are endeavouring to draw in all the Forage they can get, in the course of which, they have daily Skirmishes with our advanced parties. But I think do what they will, they must be distressed greatly, before the Winter is over.

By a late Resolve of Congress, the Towns of Carlisle in Pennsylvania and Brook field in Massachusetts, are fixed upon for the proper places to erect Elaboratories and lay up Magazines of Military Stores. Upon Communicating this Resolve to Genl Knox, who will have the principal direction of these Matters, he was of opinion, that Hartford in Connecticut would be, on many accounts, more convenient for that purpose than Brookfield, particularly in respect to Buildings, which are already erected, and tho not such, as are immediately fit for the uses they are intended for, may be easily converted to them. Genl Knox and others, whom I have consulted on the Occasion, also think, that York Town will be full as safe and more convenient than Carlisle. If these two Alterations, should, upon a reconsideration, appear to you in the same light, and no steps should have been taken towards carrying Matters into Execution, I should be glad, that you would, by a new Resolve, permit me to direct the Works to be carried on at the places last mentioned.

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Since I began this Letter, your favor of the 10th was deliver'd to me, inclosing sundry Resolves of Congress, to which I shall pay due Attention, and shall inform Doctr. Morgan and Doctor Stringer⁴² of their Dismission from the Service of the States. I have the honor to be, etc.⁴³

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarts., Morris Town, January 19, 1777.

Sir: The fluctuating state of an Army, composed Chiefly of Militia, bids fair to reduce us to the Situation in which we were some little time ago, that is, of scarce having any Army at all, except Reinforcements speedily arrive. One of the Battalions from the City of Philadelphia goes home to day, and the other two only remain a few days longer upon Courtesy. The time, for which a County Brigade under Genl. Mifflin came out, is expired, and they stay from day to day, by dint of Solicitation. Their Numbers much reduced by desertions. We have about Eight hundred of the Eastern Continental Troops remaining, of twelve or fourteen hundred who at first agreed to stay, part engaged to the last of

42. Drs. John Morgan and Samuel Stringer were dismissed by resolve of Congress of January 9, a culmination of the quarrel between Morgan and Dr. William Shippen, who obtained the backing of the New England Delegates. Morgan was vindicated by a resolve of Congress June 12, 1779.

43. Both the draft and letter sent are in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

this Month and part to the middle of next. The five Virginia Regts. are reduced to a handful of Men, as is Col Hand's, Smallwood's, and the German Battalion. A few days ago, Genl Warner arrived, with about seven hundred Massachusetts Militia engaged to the 15th [of] March. Thus, you have a Sketch of our present Army, with which we are obliged to keep up Appearances, before an Enemy already double to us in Numbers, and who, from every Account, are withdrawing their Troops from Rhode Island to form a junction of their

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whole Army and make another Attempt, either to break up ours, or penetrate towards Philadelphia, a thing by no means difficult now, as the Ice affords an easy Passage over the Delaware. I dont yet know what effect Genl. Heath's moving down towards New York, will have. Yesterday Morning a considerable firing was heard, which seemed to be about Kings Bridge. I am in hopes, that his appearance on that Quarter with a pretty large force, will oblige them to withdraw part of their's from Jersey to secure the City of New York, which, by late Accounts is weakly Garrisoned. Genl Heath has all the Eastern and York Militia with him, except the small Brigade under General Warner that I mentioned before, one Regiment of Connecticut stopped at Providence in Rhode Island, and a Number (how many I dont know) requested by General Schuyler to be sent to Ticonderoga. If it should appear that they are regardless of the diversion made by Genl. Heath and persist in their plan of drawing their whole Army together in Jersey; I must order him over with all his Troops, except as many as are necessary to garrison the Forts and guard the Passes in the

Highlands.

I have ordered away every Officer that could be spared, some to recruit and some to collect the scattered Men of the different Regiments, who are dispersed almost over the Continent. For of the vast Numbers sent to the Hospitals, at different times, few ever returned after they got well.

As Militia must be our dependance, till we can get the New Army raised and properly arranged, I must intreat you to continue your endeavours with the States of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, to turn out every Man that they possibly can, and for some longer time than they generally have stipulated for. If they agree for a Month or any limited time, it should commence from the time they actually join the Army, and not from the time they leave their homes, otherwise, the marching backwards and forwards, consumes the term of engagement. I think these demands of Aid, should be made, as quietly as the nature of the Case will admit of, especially at this time, when we are deceiving our Enemies with

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false Opinions of our Numbers. For to boast of our superiority in that respect on one hand, and to call publicly on the people for Assistance on the other, is an impropriety too glaring. Indeed it has been already noticed in some publications that I have seen from New York. I have &c.56

56. In the writing of Tench Tilghman.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Morris Town, January 20, 1777.

Sir: I am favored with yours of the 15th Inst. with the sundry Resolves inclosed in it. If that respecting the Continental Currency is carried strictly into execution, it cannot fail of fully reestablishing its Credit.71

I have no objection to the three Gentlemen, who are recommended for Field Officers in the New Hampshire Regiment, they seem fully intitled to it, as they have raised the Regiment. I will furnish them with Commissions, from the date of their appointment, when applied to for that purpose.

There is something particular in the Application of Col Duo bois72 and his Officers for the Sum of 513# dollars. They were to have been commissioned, provided they could raise the Men, but from their own pay Abstract it appears, that 14 Officers only brought 25 Men into the Field. As they Certainly did not comply with their agreement, I would, after stating the Matter as it really was, submit it to Congress, who have the disposal of the public Money.

I have perused the Petition of Monsrs. Fanuiel73 and other French Gentlemen. If they could raise such a Regiment, as they propose, it would certainly be useful, but I have no conception, that there are Canadians enough to be found even for a Regiment of the common Number, much less of 2347, which is the number

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71. The resolves of January 14 provided for the punishment of any person who asked or received for the Continental currency more than the face value of such currency in gold or silver, and that any transaction of barter or sale that depreciated the face value of the paper currency in coin should be punished by confiscation of the property so bartered or sold. The States were asked to pass laws inflicting such forfeitures and to make the Continental bills of credit lawful tender in private and public debts; debts payable in sterling money to be discharged by Continental currency at the rate of 4/6 sterling per dollar. Also, among other provisions for State sinking funds, etc., Congress directed the Continental Loan Office to receive State bills of credit for financing within the respective States.

72. Col. Lewis Dubois, of the Fifth New York Regiment. He was taken prisoner at Fort Montgomery in October, 1777; resigned in December, 1779; served later as colonel of New York levies.

73. The petition of Fanuiel and three others, of Boston, was presented to the Massachusetts Legislature, transmitted to the Continental Congress, and by that body referred to Washington. A copy of the petition is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*.

proposed. I know neither Colo Livingston,⁷⁴ nor Col Hazen⁷⁵ could even complete their Canadian Regiments, when they had the Country open to them. As I would give Encouragement to Foreigners of real Merit, I would put the thing upon this footing. If Monsr. Fanuiel can procure a sufficient Number of Officers to fill a Regiment of the common Size, and they can give any Assurance of being able to raise the Men, I would grant them Commissions. I would beg leave to remark here, that except we can throw the many Foreigners, who have Commissions in our Army, into a Corps together, they will be intirely useless, as they can neither converse with Officers or Men in any other kind of Regiment.

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I am so well assured, that you would not recommend Doctr. Potts⁷⁶ to succeed Doctr. Stringer in the northern Department, except you had Sufficient proof of his Abilities in the medical line, that I readily concur with you in the Appointment.

I have received a piece of Information, which I am afraid is true, and that is, that the British Cruizers have taken a French Vessel with a large parcel of Cannon and Mortars on board. I know such a one was expected, and therefore more readily credit the Account. I am etc.⁷⁷

74. Col. James Livingston.

75. Col. Moses Hazen.

76. Dr. Jonathan Potts.

77. In the writing of Tench Tilghman.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Morris Town, January 22, 1777.

Sir: My last to you was on the 20th Instant. Since that, I have the pleasure to inform you, that General Dickinson, with about 400 Militia, has defeated a foraging Party of the Enemy of an equal number, and has taken forty Waggon, and upwards of an hundred Horses, most of them of the English draft Breed, with a great number of Sheep and Cattle, which they had collected. The Enemy retreated with so much precipitation, that General Dickinson had only an opportunity of making nine prisoners, they were observed to carry off a good many dead and wounded in light Waggon. This Action happened near Somerset Court House, on Millstone River. Genl. Dickinsons behaviour reflects the highest honour upon him, for tho his Troops were all raw, he lead them thro the River, middle

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deep, and gave the Enemy so Severe a charge, that, although supported by three field pieces, they gave way and left their Convoy.⁸⁷

I have not heard from Genl. Heath since the firing near Kingsbridge last Saturday, which I cannot Account for, unless the North River Should have been rendered impassible by the Ice. But the Account of his having Surprised and taken Fort Independence on Friday Night last, comes so well Authenticated by different ways, that I cannot doubt it. It is said that he took 400 prisoners in that Fort and that he invested Fort Washington on Saturday, which

87. A British foraging party, after sweeping up the stock between Brunswick and Millstone River, were endeavoring to secure a quantity of flour that was stored in a mill in that vicinity when Dickinson attacked.

occasioned the firing. This is brought out by three of our Officers, who made their Escape from New York on Sunday, and is confirmed by a Spy who went into Amboy, who says, an Express had arrived at Amboy from New York, with an Account of the loss of Fort Independence and Calling for a Reinforcement to protect the City, in Consequence of which a Number of Troops had gone over. I have sent in Spies to Brunswick and Amboy to know the truth of this, and if it appears that they have weakened themselves, to reinforce New York, I shall probably make some attempt upon them, if we have Men enough left to do it.

I shall be glad to know what Stock of small Arms you at present have, and what are your Expectations shortly. The Necessity that we have been, and are now under, of calling in and arming the Militia, Scatters our Armoury all over the World in a Manner, their Officers are so irregular, that they generally suffer their Men to carry home, every thing that is put into their Hands, which are forever lost to the public. The new raised Regiments will call for a great Number of Arms, and I do not at present see how they are to be Supplied. (The increase of our Army will occasion an increase of Brigadier Generals, thirty at least will be necessary for the ensuing Campaign, for supposing the Regiments to be full, three will be

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full sufficient to a Brigade. These promotions had better be thought of and made in time, that I may be able to arrange the Army properly, as fast as it is raised. Three Brigades will form a proper division of the Army for a Major Generals command, consequently there is need of promotions in that line also.

As our Army will be more divided the ensuing Campaign than it has been there appears to me a necessity of introducing the Rank of Lieutenant General into the Army.)

[I would again beg leave to recall the attention of Congress to the Appointment of Genl. Officers. I will not suppose the Nomination of them is postponed upon a saving principle; because, the advantage in having proper Officers to examine the Pay Rolls of their Several Regiments, and compare them with the returns of their Brigades, to see that the Regiments are

provided with what is proper, and that no more than a sufficiency is allowed; to keep Officers to their duty, and not, while the spirited Officer is encountering all the fatigue and hardship of a vigorous Campaign; suffer a number of others, under various frivolous pretences, and immaginary Sickneses, to enjoy themselves at the Public expence in ease and comfort by their own Firesides; I say, if the appointments are withheld upon parsimonious principles, the Congress are mistaken, for I am convinced that by the correction of many abuses which it is impossible for me to attend to, the Public will be benefitted in a great degree in the Article of expence. But this is not all. We have a very little time to do a very great work in, the arranging, providing for, and disciplining a hundred and odd Battalions, is not to be accomplished in a day; nor is it to be done at all with any degree of Propriety, when we have once entered upon the active part of the Campaign; these duties must be branch'd out, or they will be neglected, and the public Injured. Besides, were the Brigadiers appointed, they might be facilitating the Recruiting Service, they would have time to get a little acquainted with their Brigades, the wants of them, and ease me of the great weight and burthen which I at present feel.

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On whom the choice will, or ought to light, I can not undertake to say; in a former Letter, I took the liberty of submitting to the consideration of Congress, the Propriety of appointing, out of each State, Brigadiers to Command the Troops

of that State, thinking, as a distinction is now fixed, a Spirit of Emulation might arise by this Means; at any rate, I shall take the liberty of recommending Genl. Cadwallader as one of the first for the New appointments, I have found him a Man of Ability, a good disciplinarian, attentive to Service, firm in his principles, and of Intrepid Bravery. I shall also beg leave to recommend Colo. Read⁸⁸ to the Command of the Horse, as a person in my opinion every way qualified; for he is extremely active and enterprising, many signal proofs of which has he given this Campaign. For the rest, the Members of Congress can judge better than I can; I can only say, that as the Army will probably be divided in the course of the next Campaign, there ought, in my Opinion, to be three Lieut. Generals, Nine Major Generals, and 27 Brigadiers. In other words there ought at least to be a Brigr. to every four Regiments and a Majr. Genl. to every three Brigades. The Lieutt. Genls. will, I presume, be appointed out of the oldest Majr. Genls., and the Major Genls. from the oldest Brigadiers; New Brigadiers will then be to nominate.

I forgot, before this, to inform Congress, that Including the Regiment of light Dragoons from Virginia and Colo. Sheldon's to be raised in Connecticut, I have only Commissioned Officers for four Regiments. I was willing to try how those could be equip'd, before I put more Officers into Commission. It is apprehended we shall find difficulty in providing
88. Col. Joseph Reed.

Necessaries or even Horses for these four Regiments. If we should not, I shall immediately set about the residue; Colo. Baylor, Colo. Moylan (who as a Volunteer has remaind constantly with the Army since his discontinuance in the Quarter Masters department) and Colo. Sheldon commands the three new Regiments of light Dragoons.]

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The Treasury has been for some time empty, and the Army has laboured under the greatest inconvenience for want of Money. The recruiting Service is particularly injured by this, as many Officers are now waiting, only for Bounty Money. I have also Complaints from the Eastward of the want of Money to carry on their recruiting Service. If we are not Supplied with that necessary Article, all Matters must be at a Stand. I must therefore beg, that if Mr. Palfrey has not been already Supplied with a large Sum, that it may be done with the utmost expedition, and that you will endeavour to keep up the Supply, by constantly sending on smaller parcels. I am &c.

P.S. I did not recollect Major Genl. Lincoln in the provincial Service of Massachusetts, he is an excellent Officer and worthy of your Notice in the Continental line.⁸⁹

89. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman. The paragraph in parentheses () was struck out and the portion in brackets [], in the writing of Washington, inserted in its place. The letter sent, which incorporates the change, is entirely in the writing of Tilghman. Washington inserted therein a couple of words which Tilghman inadvertently omitted in recopying.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Morris Town, January 26, 1777.

Sir: I was last Night honoured with yours of the 18th Instant, inclosing a Letter from the [Convention of the] State of New York to Congress. From the particular Situation of their State, in regard to their being totally deprived of Commerce, they certainly must stand in need of the Assistance of the other States, to provide them with Cloathing and every thing necessary for the equipment of their Forces, and it ever was my intention, to allow them a full proportion of the Cloathing purchased to the Eastward, whenever it came to hand. Little or none of it has yet reached this Army tho' in the greatest want, and exposed to the Severities of a Winters Campaign. The Convention have, in one instance already

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provided for themselves out of the public Stock, by stopping and making use of 26 Bales of Cloathing coming on from the Eastward to the Army here. As this was done without consulting me, I took the Liberty of desiring them not to do the like in future, not that I meant to deprive them of their Share; but because it disappointed me of many Articles which I stood in immediate want of, and had not provided from other Quarters. But you may be assured, that whenever Returns are made of the whole Stock of Cloathing, they shall have their proportion, and more than that, allowances for their peculiar Situation.

I am amazed to hear Complaints of the Hospital on the East Side of Hudson's River; Doctr. Morgan, with most of his Mates has been Constantly there, since I left it with the main body of the Army. It is vain however, to look back upon past Misfortunes, I will not pretend to point out the Causes, but I know Matters have been strangely conducted in the medical line. I hope your New Appointment, when it is made, will make the necessary Reform in the Hospital, and that I shall not, the next Campaign, have my Ears and Eyes too Shocked with the Complaints and looks of poor Creatures, perishing for want of proper Care, either in the Regimental or Hospital Surgeons.¹³

I agree with the Convention, in the Expediency of obstructing the Passage of the North River, in some place between the Mouth and the Highlands, we have found, that our labour and expence has been thrown away, in endeavouring to do it below, where the Channel is amazingly wide and deep, but from the slight View I have had of the River above, I think the passage may be easily obstructed, and defended by proper Fortifications, as the River is so narrow, that no Vessel going up could possibly escape the Fire. I am no judge, of what can be done towards fitting out the Frigates at Poughkeepsie, that must be left to the Gentlemen of the Marine Committee.

The hint given by the Convention of New York, of the necessity and Utility of a Commissary of Forage had struck me before, and had been mentioned by Genl. Mifflin, whose department of

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13. A plan for establishing military hospitals was drawn up by Drs. William Shippen and John Cochran and submitted to Washington, who, in turn (February 14), transmitted it to Congress. Congress adopted (April 7) regulations for the Continental Hospital, which provided for a deputy director general east of the Hudson River. (See *Journals of the Continental Congress*.)

Quarter Master General, must be eased of part of the load, which is at present thrown upon it. He is obliged, in many Instances, to act intirely out of his proper line, and instead of being confined to the duty of Qt. Master General, is also Waggon Master and Forage Master General. I have wrote to two persons that I think qualified to fill the Office of Waggon Master, and I hope one of them will accept. That of Commissary of Forage Shall be attended to.

The want of accurate Maps of the Country which has hitherto been the Scene of War, has been of great disadvantage to me. I have in vain endeavoured to procure them, and have been obliged to make shift, with such Sketches, as I could trace out from my own Observations, and that of Gentlemen around me.¹⁴

I really think, if Gentlemen of known Character and probity, could be employed in making Maps (from actual Survey) of the Roads, Rivers, Bridges and Fords over them, the Mountains and passes thro' them, it would be of the greatest Advantage.

I had, previous to the Receipt of your Letter, wrote to General Howe, and proposed the fixing an Agent for Prisoners in New York. I have not [yet] received an Answer, but if he accedes to the proposal, I shall appoint Mr. Lewis Pintard.

I am Sorry that I am obliged to contradict the Report of the taking of Fort Independence as mentioned in my last. I believe the evacuation of some detached Redoubts gave rise to the Report.

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I have not heard from General Heath since the 14th

14. The draft at this point has the following crossed out, which does not appear, of course, in the letter sent: "Two persons are now employed in making me a draft of this part of the Country and."

of the Month, which I am amazed at. I am quite in the dark, as to his Numbers and what progress he has made.

On the 23d., a party of 400 of our Men under Col Buckner¹⁵ fell in with two Regiments of the Enemy, conveying a Number of Waggon from Brunswick to Amboy. Our advanced party under Colo. Parker¹⁶ engaged them with great Bravery, upwards of twenty Minutes, during which time the Colo Commandant was killed and the second in Command Mortally wounded. The people living near the Field of Action, say, their killed and wounded were considerable. We only lost two men who were made prisoners. Had Col Buckner come up with the main body, Colo. Parker and the other Officers think we should have put them to the rout, as their confusion was very great, and their ground disadvantageous. I have ordered Buckner under Arrest and shall bring him to tryal, to answer for so extraordinary a piece of Conduct.

Reinforcements come up so extremely slow, that I am afraid I shall be left without any Men, before they arrive. The Enemy must be ignorant of our Numbers, or they have not Horses to move their Artillery, or they would not Suffer us to remain undisturbed. I have repeatedly wrote to all the recruiting Officers, to forward on their Men, as fast as they could arm and cloath them, but they are so extremely averse to turning out of comfortableQuarters, that I cannot get a Man to come near me, tho' I hear from all parts, that the recruiting Service goes on with great Success. It would be well, if the Board of War, in whose

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15. Col. Mordecai Buckner, of the Sixth Virginia Regiment. He petitioned Washington on January 28 for a dismissal from the service, but was cashiered by court-martial on February 9.

16. Lieut. Col. Richard Parker, of the Sixth Virginia Regiment. He was transferred to the Second Virginia Regiment on February 10; colonel of the First Virginia Regiment in February, 1778; died May 8, 1780, of wounds received at Charleston, S. C.

department it is, would issue orders, for all Officers to equip and forward their Recruits to Head Quarters, with the greatest Expedition.

By a Resolve of Congress passed some time ago,¹⁷ General Schuyler is directed to apply to me for 94 Tons of powder. A Quantity, which it is impossible I should have by me, and for which I do not know where to direct him to apply. I could wish that Returns were made to me, of the Quantity of Powder on hand, and where it is to be found, that I may not be at a loss at any time of Emergency.

Since the Resignation of Colo. Reed, the important Office of Adjutant General has been left unfilled, I mean as to a principal. And I am much at a loss, how or where, to find a person, in every respect capable and proper to execute the Office. My inclinations lead me to confer the Appointment upon a Major Morris, but ample Testimonials Should be produced, and full proof of Fidelity ought to be made, before an Office of so high trust Should be conferred upon a person in a manner a Stranger to me. I only know Major Morris¹⁸ from a short personal acquaintance, and from Report, he never even brought a Letter of recommendation to me. From his Conversation and from the Accounts I have received from others, he is a Man of considerable Military Abilities, and from his Behaviour in two instances, he is a Man of Bravery and Conduct. His Story is simply this, that he left the British Service in disgust, upon not receiving a promotion

17. The resolve of Dec. 31, 1776. (See *Journals of the Continental Congress*.)

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18. Maj. Apollos Morris, formerly of the Twenty-seventh Foot, British Army. He officiously attempted to bring about a reconciliation between the United States and Great Britain. Congress ordered his arrest on June 9.

to which he was justly intitled, perhaps some Gentr. of Congress may know more about him, or may be able to make such Enquiries as might Satisfy them, as to the Safety and propriety of appointing him. I have no other Motive for wishing him a preference, than, that I think him the properest person that has come under my Notice, provided all Matters before mentioned were cleared up. I shall wait the Result of a determination of Congress, before I proceed further in this Appointment, and I wish to be favoured with their Advice, as speedily as possible; for the remains of the old Army is much dis-arranged for want of a good Adjutant General, and the Formation of the New, in a great Measure, depends upon an able Officer in that Line. I have the honor &ca.¹⁹

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Morris Town, January 31, 1777.

Sir: I have none of your favors unanswered at present. There is such a demand upon me from all Quarters, for Money, which I am unable to answer, that I cannot help again pressing you, to send on a Supply. The recruiting Service is almost at a stop here, for want of Money, and Governor Trumbull writes me

19. In the writing of Tench Tilghman. The words in brackets are in the draft, but not in the letter sent.

word that it is totally so in Connecticut. He adds, that their loan Officers cannot proceed in their Business, for want of proper Checque Books and Notes; but that if they were furnished with them, they could soon take in a sufficient quantity to answer their purposes. I shall be glad to be informed, whether I have a right to draw Warrants upon the loan

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Officers in the different States. The State of Connecticut advanced Colo. Sheldon [at my request] ten thousand Pounds lawful to raise his Regiment of Horse. To their reimbursement, they desired me, to give them a draft upon the loan Office; but not knowing whether I had a right to draw upon that fund, I deferred it, till I heard from you.

I must beg you will write to the Assemblies of the different States, and insist upon their passing a law, to inflict a severe and heavy penalty upon those who harbour deserters, knowing them to be such. Our Army is shamefully reduced by desertion, and except the people in the Country can be forced to give Information, when Deserters return to their old Neighbourhoods, we shall be obliged to detach one half of the Army to bring back the other.

I have a Letter from Genl. Heath of the 24th Instant; he was at and near Kingsbridge with his Army, I dont find that he is likely to do more than to draw the attention of the Enemy that way and cut them off from Forage, of which they are in great want. The Troops had not returned from Rhode Island by the last accounts, but were daily expected.

I have the honor to be, etc.³⁹

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Qtrs., Morris Town, February 5, 1777.

Sir: I am honored with yours of the 24th January, with Sundry Resolves of Congress and a Petition of Monsr. Pellisier's⁸⁸ inclosed. I am not the proper person to refer the Petition to, as as I am no judge of his Merit as an Engineer, having never had an opportunity of seeing any of his performances. At any rate, I do not see the necessity of appointing him or any other person principal Engineer at Ticonderoga, for that would exclude any other, tho' of superior Abilities from being sent there. Besides, as a Corps of Engineer's, will in all probability be soon established, Monsr. Pellisier's Rank can then be settled with more propriety.

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I forgot to mention in any of my former Letters that I had appointed Capt. Nathaniel Gist of Virginia to the command of a Regiment to be raised upon the Frontiers of Virginia and Carolina, and I have directed him if possible, to bring a Company or two of Cherokee Indians. If they can be procured, they will answer two valuable purposes, one as excellent Scouts, the other, that they will

39. In the writing of Tench Tilghman. The phrase in brackets was added by Washington in the draft.

88. Lieut. Col. Christopher Pelissier, Engineer Corps, Continental Army. (See *Journals of the Continental Congress*, Jan. 23. 1777.) Pelissier's petition has not been located.

be in fact Hostages, and will secure the good behaviour of their Nation.

Major Bland⁸⁹ Commandant of the Virginia Horse, has desired to know, whether there is not a necessity of giving a Bounty and re-inlisting his Regiment as Continental Troops. They were inlisted to serve in the Colony, and the Men were with some difficulty prevailed upon to march hither, but the Major thinks they would be intirely reconciled upon receiving the Bounty.

I received a letter from Mr. Chase,⁹⁰ desiring I would appoint proper persons to make enquiry into and take depositions concerning the Behaviour of the British and Foreign Troops in Jersey. This would be an endless task, as their line of march is marked with devastation, and is a thing of such public notoriety, that it demands no further proof. I remonstrated with Genl. Howe upon the Treatment of our wounded at Princeton, you will see by the inclosed Letter from him, that he disavows and detests the proceeding. But I fear that too much encouragement is given to such barbarous Behaviour by the British Officers, for in a late Skirmish [near Brunswick] in which Sir William Erskine⁹¹ commanded, Lieut. Kelly⁹² of the 5th Virginia Regiment was Slightly wounded in the thigh, but before he could get off the field, he was overtaken and murdered in a most cruel

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manner. General Stephen informed me that he would write [in] to Sir William and inform him, that unless such practices were put a Stop to, our Soldiers would not be restrained from making Retaliation.

89. Maj. Theodorick Bland.

90. Samuel Chase.

91. Lieut. Col. Sir William Erskine, of the Seventy-first Foot, British Army.

92. Lieut. William(?) Kelly.

By a Letter from Genl. Heath of the 30th. last month, I find that he had decamped from the Neighbourhood of Kingsbridge and removed back towards the White Plains. His reasons, for so doing, were that the Troops could not stand the inclemency of the Weather, and that he feared, the Troops expected from Rhode Island, would land upon his Back. I have, however, directed him, to leave a Body of light Troops, under an active Officer in order to harrass their foraging parties, and to cover our own, who are to remove as much of the forage from West Chester County as they can. And after leaving as many men, as will Secure the passes in the Highlands, the remainder are to be sent over here to join me, for I am apprehensive that the Enemy are reinforcing themselves at Brunswick. I shall tomorrow send out parties, from every quarter to remove all the Waggon, Horses, Cattle and Sheep, or as many as possible, from the neighbourhood of the Enemy's lines. They are to attend particularly to the Horses, for if we can reduce those that they at present have, and can hinder them from getting fresh ones from the adjacent Country, it will be impossible for them to move their Artillery and Waggon forward, should they incline to make another push towards Philadelphia.

I observe, by your last Resolves that the Militia of Baltimore, Hartford⁹³ and Cecil Counties in Maryland are ordered out and to march this way. Let me intreat you to Suffer

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none to go forward to Philadelphia, but what are equipped with Arms, Accoutrements and Blankets, they hurt the Service much by taking

93. Harford County.

these things, only for a short time, from the continental Troops, many of whom would otherwise be enabled to take the Field.

The Secretary of the Board of War, has transmitted me extracts from Genl. Schuyler's Letters, in which he calls [very] pressingly for some General Officers to be sent to his Assistance. This will shew you the necessity of immediately making the promotions recommended in mine of the 22d January. For at present, I cannot spare a General Officer from this quarter, without injuring the Service.

Nothing of consequence has happened since I wrote to you last, except a Skirmish on the 1st. of this Month, five or six Miles from Brunswick landing, between our advanced parties about seven hundred in the whole, and upwards of two thousand of the Enemy under Sir William Erskine. The heat of the engagement was between Colo. Scott of the 5th Virginia Regiment, who, with about one hundred Men, beat back two hundred of the British Grenadiers. Several other Officers behaved with great spirit, but there is some reason to suspect that Colo. Andrew Ward who commanded our main Body, did not behave altogether as he ought.

I have ordered a Court upon him, that the Matter may be fairly canvassed, and that he may stand condemned or acquitted by the Evidence of those who were present.

Colo Buckner of the 6th Virginia Regiment who was under Arrest upon a charge of cowardice, broke his parole and went over to Bucks County, I suppose with an intent to make his Escape, but I dispatched a Troop of light Horse after him,

who brought him back yesterday, and he is to take his tryal on Friday.

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The small pox has made such Head in every Quarter that I find it impossible to keep it from Spreading thro' the Army, in the natural Way. I have therefore, determined not only to inoculate all the Troops now here, that have not had it, but shall order Doctor Shippen to inoculate the Recruits, as fast as they come into Philadelphia. They will loose no time, because they will go thro' the disorder while their cloathing, Arms and accoutrements are getting ready.

From the first institution of civil Government, it has been the national policy of every precedent State to endeavour to engage its Members to the discharge of their Public duty, by the obligation of some Oath; its force and happy influence, has been felt in too many instances, to need any Arguments to support the Policy, or prove its utility. I have often thought, the States have been too negligent in this particular and am more fully convinced of it from the Effect Genl Howe's excursion has produced in New Jersey. An oath is the only substitute, that can be adopted to supply the defect of principle. By our inattention to this Article we lose a considerable Cement to our own Force, and give the Enemy an opportunity to make the first tender of the oaths of allegiance to the King. Its baneful influence is but too severely felt at this time. The People generally confess they were compelled to take protection and subscribe the declaration, yet it furnishes many with Arguments to refuse taking any active part and

further, they alledge themselves bound to a neutrality at least. Many conscientious People who were well wishers to the Cause had they been bound to the States by an Oath, would have Suffered any punishment, rather than take the Oath of Allegiance to the King, and are now lost to our Interest for want of this necessary tie. Notwithstanding the Obligation of the Association they do not conceive it to have the same effect of an Oath.⁹⁴ The more united the Inhabitants appear, the greater Difficulty Howe will find, in reconciling them to regal Government, and consequently the less hope of conquering them. For these Reasons and many more that might be urged, I should Strongly recommend, every State

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to fix on some proper form as an Oath or Affirmation of Allegiance to be tendered to all the Inhabitants without exception, and to out law those that refuse it. I am &c.95

To ROBERT MORRIS

Head Quarters, Morris Town, February 5, 1777.

Dr. Sir: I have the pleasure of yours of the 31st Ulto. and can readily excuse your not answering my Letters with regularity, as I know the Weight of important Business that lays upon your

94. "I expect a recommendation will soon be made by Congress to all the States to administer an Oath not only to Officers and Electors but to all Suspected persons as a Test to discriminate between Friends and foes."— *Roger Sherman to Governor Trumbull*, Apr. 9, 1777. (See Burnett's *Letters of Members of Congress*, vol. 2, p. 320.)

95. In the writing of Tench Tilghman, The words in brackets are in the draft but not in the letter sent.

hands.

The Return of Stores made by Mr. Towers,⁹⁶ is so small, that I do not think the immediate removal of them any ways necessary. Besides they are such as will be chiefly taken up by the Troops upon their March. If there are any bulky Articles not likely to be wanted soon, they are better out of the way.

Mr. Wallace⁹⁷ wrote to General Sullivan concerning his plate, and I have desired him to write to Genl. Heath and know whether he has got it. You may depend, that such Steps shall be taken, as will render Strict justice to Mr. Wallace and the Public.

I perfectly agree in Sentiment with you, that it would be better for every Suspicious and dangerous person to be in New York, for which reason you have liberty to send in Capt.

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Jones in exchange for Capt. Hallock⁹⁸ and Mr. Palmer⁹⁹ for Capt. Dean.¹ If there are any others taken in Merchantmen that are not held as Prisoners of War, use your own discretion, only endeavour if you can, to procure the liberty of Masters of Ships or others under the same Circumstances.

I hope your Ship will not loose her Valuable Cargo of Salt. I thank you for the Copy of the Kings Speech, which I think fairly bids the Parliament to prepare for an approaching Storm, indeed France has done every thing but make the much wished for declaration. I have given Monsr. Derolland² a Lieutenancy in Colonel Patton's Regt. I am etc.³

96. Robert Towers, commissary of the Pennsylvania committee of safety.

97. Hugh Wallace, of New York City.

98. Capt. William Hallock, of the Continental armed vessel Lexington. He had gone to the West Indies for the Secret Committee of Congress and on his way back was captured by the British frigate *Pearl* off the Delaware capes.

99. Palmer was British commissary.

1. Capt. John Dean, of the Fifth Maryland Regiment. He was taken prisoner at Fort Washington. N.Y. Heitman's *Register* states he was exchanged in August, 1778.

2. Sebastian De Roland. He was appointed a lieutenant in Patron's Additional Continental regiment on January 15; dropped from the rolls after September.

3. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman. The letter sent, which is also in Tilghman's writing, is in the collection of Judge E. A. Armstrong, of Princeton, N.J.

To SAMUEL CHASE

Head Quarters, Morris Town, February 5, 1777.

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Sir: I have yours of the 23d January, inclosing a Resolution of Congress, whereby you are appointed one of seven Gentn., to enquire into the Conduct of the British and Hessian Officers, towards the Officers and Soldiers in the Service of the States and towards the Inhabitants of the States of New Jersey and New York.⁴

To take a particular Account of all the Ravages and devastations would be endless, I shall therefore employ some proper person to take the depositions of people in different parts of the Province of New Jersey, who have been plundered, after having taken protection and Subscribed the Declaration.

One thing I must remark in favor of the Hessians, and that is, that our people who have been prisoners generally agree that they received much kinder treatment from them, than from the British Officers and Soldiers. The Barbarities at Princeton were all committed by the British, there being no Hessians there. I sent Genl Howe a deposition taken from Lieut. Yates, who afterwards died of the Wounds he received after he Surrendered, but you will see by a Copy of a Letter transmitted to Congress, that Genl. Howe disavows and reprobates all such proceedings. There has been another Instance of Barbarity in a Skirmish on the 1st of this Month. Lieut. Kelly of the 5th Virginia Regiment was

4. See *Journals of the Continental Congress*, Jan. 16, 1777. The committee was Samuel Chase, John Witherspoon, Abraham Clark, Francis Lewis, George Ross, Thomas Heyward, and William Smith.

Slightly wounded in the Thigh, but before he could get off the Field he was overtaken and cruelly Murdered. Genl Stephens sent in a Flag to Sir William Erskine, complaining of this Savage Manner of Carrying on War; but I do not know his Answer. I have heard that orders were given at Trenton to make no Prisoners, but kill all that fell into their hands, but of this there is no proof. I have the honor &c.⁵

5. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Morris Town, February 14, 1777.

Sir: Since I had the honor of addressing you on the 5th. Inst., no event of an important and interesting Nature has occurred, unless the Successes of our parties in foraging, and bringing off Several Horses, Waggon and some fat Cattle and Sheep, which were contiguous to and around the Enemy's Lines are considered as such. I then mentioned, that I had such a Scheme in contemplation, which was happily accomplished the next day and without any loss. The Enemy in turn have made frequent efforts in that way, but with little Success. Whenever they made the Attempt, it never failed to produce a Skirmish. They have been common of late, but with little damage to either side.

We have certain intelligence, that they have drawn the greatest part of their Troops from Rhode Island, and are told, that part of them have landed on Staten Island and at

Amboy, with a view of augmenting their force at Brunswick.

Colo. Buckner, agreeable to the information contained in my last, has been tried by a Court Martial and cashiered. The Proceedings and Sentence I directed to be transmitted to the Secretary of the War Office and to the Printer in this State and in Virginia to be published.

Genl. Lincoln is just arrived with a Regiment of Massachusetts Militia, consisting of about 250. This he says, is succeeded by Three more which will make in the whole near Eighteen Hundred; but in this, I think he must be mistaken, unless those on the March are much fuller and larger than what they usually are. The whole are of the Troops that were with Genl. Heath.

Genl. Knox, by a Letter of the 1st Inst., informs me, that on mature enquiry and examination, he finds Springfield to be more convenient and much better calculated for

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an Elaboratory and Cannon Foundery than any other part of the New England States. He adds, that a Quantity of Copper, Tin and other useful materials can be had there and that the necessary Works and preparations from these and other advantages can be accomplished, at least three or four Months sooner, there, than any where else. In consequence of his opinion, which I esteem of weight, particularly in this instance and knowing the importance of and how essential the Establishments are, I have ventured to order the works to be begun there,

without regard to what had been done at Brookfield, which was of but little consequence. The former, besides the many advantages mentioned by Genl. Knox, stands on Connecticut River, and has a good Navigation, yet is entirely secure against any Attempts of the Enemy, being Twenty Miles above Hartford, where the River is narrow and too shoal, to admit Vessels, that can give the least annoyance. As nothing but the good of the Service could have lead to this measure, I trust it will be approved.

I have wrote the Assembly of the Massachusetts State and the Convention of New Hampshire, requesting their good Offices and exertions, to promote the raising of their Regiments as expeditiously as possible, and to forward the whole of the Quotas first exacted from them, to Ticonderoga. Their contiguity to that post, more than to any Other, the importance of it, and Genl. Schuyler's apprehensions that the Enemy may Attempt to pass the Lake, if not upon ice, as soon as it is open, added to the great trouble, expence and loss of time it will save, in marching them elsewhere, and Others there who are much more distant and remote, induced me to determine so. I find the Council of the former, on General Schuyler's earnest application before my Letter reached them, had determined to send four Regiments, as soon as they could be compleated. I only wish the whole maybe made up in a short time, and that their arrival may

be early enough to prevent those inconveniences and fatal consequences, which the want of a Sufficient force in that Quarter would subject us to, were the Enemy to pass the Lakes at this time.

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Mr. James Mease is now here in consequence of being appointed Clothier General. He is adjusting a plan for answering the End of his Appointment and making an Estimate to be laid before Congress or their Secret Committee, of such Cloathes as may be necessary to import for the Army.

It is with much concern, that the situation of our Affairs obliges me to mention so frequently the want of Money, especially when I am persuaded every means are used to furnish it. Our distress on this Account is great indeed and the injury the Service receives almost inconceivable. Not a day, an Hour, or scarcely a Minute passes without complaints and applications on this Head. The recruiting the Regiments is most materially retarded by it.

10 O'Clock, P.M.

Just now a Flag returned, that went to Brunswick to day, which brought the inclosed Letters from Genl Lee⁷⁶ which I do myself the honor to transmit you, with a Copy of One to myself. I have the honor &c.⁷⁷

76. Lee wrote to Washington (February 9): "As Lord and General Howe have given me permission to send the inclosed to the Congress, and as the contents are of the last importance to me, and perhaps not less so to the Community, I most earnestly entreat, My Dr. General, that you will despatch it immediately, and order the Express to be as expeditious as possible.... I am likewise extremely desirous that my Dogs should be brought as I never stood in greater need of their Company than at present." In the letter to Congress which was inclosed, Lee requested that two or three gentlemen might be sent immediately to New York, to whom he would communicate what he conceived to be of the greatest importance, assuring Congress that the Howes would grant safe conduct to the gentlemen thus deputed. Congress almost unanimously decided that it was inexpedient to send any of their Members to such a conference, remembering that the meeting on Staten Island in September, 1776, had much embarrassed Silas Deane in his efforts to secure aid from France. Lee was urgent, and wrote another letter (March 19), reiterating

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the request, but Congress adhered to its decision. Both of Lee's letters are in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*. John Adams, in a letter to General Greene (March, 1777), saw in it an “artful stratagem of the two grateful brothers to hold up to the public view the phantom of a negotiation, in order to give spirits and courage to the Tories, to distract and divide the Whigs at a critical moment, when the utmost exertions are necessary to draw together an army. They meant further, to amuse opposition in England, and to amuse foreign nations by this manœuvre, as well as the Whigs in America, and I confess it is not without indignation that I see such a man as Lee suffer himself to be duped by their policy so far as to become the instrument of it, as Sullivan was upon a former occasion.... But another thing: We have undoubted intelligence from Europe that the ambassadors and other instruments of the British ministry at foreign courts made the worst use of the former conference. That conference did us a great and essential injury at the French court, you may depend upon it. Lord Howe knows it, and wishes to repeat it.”

77. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Morris Town, February 14, 1777.

Sir: I do myself the honor to inclose you a plan, drawn up by Doctor Shippen in concert with Doctr. Cochran, for the Arrangement and future Regulation of the General Hospital. As this plan is very extensive, the appointments numerous, and the Salaries at present affixed to them, large; I did not think myself at liberty to adopt any part of it, before I laid it before Congress for their approbation⁷⁸ I will just remark, that tho' the Expence attending an Hospital upon the inclosed plan, will be very great, it will in the end, not only be a saving to the public, but the only possible method of keeping an Army afoot. We are now, at an enormous Bounty, and with no small difficulty, recruiting an Army of upwards of one hundred Battalions. The ensuing Campaign may, from the same Causes, prove as sickly as the last. If the Hospitals are in no better condition for the reception of the Sick, our

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Regiments will be reduced to Companies, by the end of the Campaign, and those poor Wretches, who escape with life, will be either Scattered up and down the Country and not to be found, or if found, totally enervated and unfit for further duty. By these Means, the Bounty is not only lost, but the Man is lost also, and I leave you to judge,

78. See *Journals of the Continental Congress*, Feb. 27, 1777.

whether we have Men enough, to allow of such a Consumption of Lives and Constitutions as have been lost, the last Campaign. For my own part, I am certain, that if the Army, which I hope we shall have in the Field this year, is suffered to moulder away by Sickness, as it did the last, we must look for Reinforcements to some other places than our own States.

The Number of Officers, mentioned in the inclosed plan, I presume are necessary for us, because they are found so in the British Hospitals. And as they are established upon the surest Basis, that of long Experience, under the ablest Physicians and Surgeons, we should not hesitate a moment in adopting their Regulations, when they so plainly tend to correct and improve our former want of Method and Knowledge in this important department.

The pay, affixed to the different Appointments, is, as I said before, great; and perhaps more than you may think adequate to the Service. In determining upon the Sum that is to be allowed to each, you ought to consider, that it should be such as will induce Gentlemen of Character and Skill in their profession to step forth, and in some manner adequate to the practice which they leave at home. For unless such Gentlemen are induced to undertake the Care and Management of our Hospitals, we had better trust to the force of Nature and Constitution, than Suffer persons intirely ignorant of Medicine to destroy us by ill directed applications.

I hear from every Quarter, that the dread of

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undergoing the same Miseries for want of proper care and attention when Sick, has much retarded the new enlistments, particularly to the Southward. This is another Reason for establishing our Hospitals upon a large and generous Plan, for we ought to make the Service as agreeable and enticing as possible to the Soldiery, many of whom (especially when we call forth the Militia) not only quit the Comforts, but the luxuries of life.

A few days ago Doctor Morgan sent me the inclosed Manuscript, which is a vindication of his Conduct, upon which he desires a Court of Enquiry may be held. I transmit it to you by his direction. As I do not know what particular Charges were alledged against him I can say nothing to it or about it. You will find a plan of his also inclosed, for the better Regulation of the Hospital, but I think all his hints are included in Shippens Plan.

As no time is to be lost, in appointing the necessary Officers, fixing upon the proper places for Hospitals and many other preparations, I could wish that Congress would take this Matter under their immediate Consideration and favor me with their Sentiments thereon, as soon as possible. I am &c.79

79. In the writing of Tench Tilghman.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Morris Town, February 20, 1777.

Sir: The principal design of this is to inform you, that we have strong reason to believe that the Enemy are on the point of making some push. what their object is, whether to beat up our Quarters and to extend their own, to make a large forage and collection of provender, of which they are in great want, or to turn their views towards the Delaware, is a matter of uncertainty; but it seems probable, that one of these things they have in contemplation. Such of their Troops as have returned from Rhode Island, have landed at Amboy and with them several pieces of heavy Artillery. General Howe is come over too, and it is said Lord Piercy. Their number before this last reenforcement, was estimated from Seven to Eight

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Thousand. I have ordered the utmost vigilance and attention to be observed, at our several posts, to guard against Surprizes and every preparation to be made that the weak and feeble state of our little Army will admit of. At this time we are only about Four Thousand strong: A force you will suppose unequal to a successful opposition, if they were not Militia, and far too small for the exigencies of our Affairs. It is impossible to obtain exact returns, tho' they are daily called for, owing to the frequent and almost constant departure of some of the Corps. Colo Neilson²⁰ of Brunswick with

20. Col. John Neilson. Later he was brigadier general of New Jersey Militia and deputy quartermaster general of the State.

a detachment of Militia on the morning of the 18th surprised Major Stockdon,²¹ whom he took with 59 Privates of General Skinner's Corps, killing four and bringing Away the Arms of the whole with some Blankets. This about ballances the loss of a Militia Guard, which a Party of the British Troops took last week in Monmouth near the Hook. I wish to be informed how the Regiments, that are now raising, are to be armed and of the provision that has been made for the same. I have reason to fear, indeed I am convinced, that there is a great deficiency in many, if not in the whole of the States in this Article. Every Letter that I receive from them, mentions their want and calls for supplies.²² I am etc.²³

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Morris Town, February 20, 1777.

Sir: Monsieur Fanueil, who some time ago laid a plan before you for raising and officering a Corps of Frenchmen, waited upon me Yesterday. His success, as I expected, has been small in inlisting or rather engaging Canadians; I cannot find that he has met with more than thirty or forty, who would be willing to serve with him. He is now upon another Scheme, that

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21. Maj. Richard W. Stockton, of Brig Gen. Cortlandt Skinner's New Jersey Volunteers, British provincial troops.

22. The letter was read in Congress (February 24), which immediately went into the Committee of the Whole to consider it. It ordered Washington to call in all the troops to his aid and the Board of War to make supporting arrangements. Thomas Burke, of North Carolina, wrote that the committee subjoined a declaration to its report that it was the intention of Congress "to reinforce the General so as to enable him not only to curb and confine the enemy within their present quarters but with the blessing of God entirely to subdue them before they are reinforced. This pompous paragraph was very much condemned by some gentlemen as an unworthy gasconade, and it was warmly debated ... there appeared upon this whole debate a great desire in the delegates of the eastern states, and in one of New Jersey to insult the General." Burnett, in *Letters of Members of Congress* (vol. 2, p. 274), thinks this New Jersey delegate was, probably, Jonathan Dickinson Sergeant.

23. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

of raising, arming and cloathing a number of Men in the French Islands. To grant a Commission of that kind is without the extent of my powers, and I have therefore desired him to go forward and lay his proposals before Congress. If they appear feasible, they may be adopted, but I would beg leave to observe, that one precaution will be necessary, that is, that the Commissions of Monsr. Fanueil and his Officers should depend upon the performance of their Agreement for raising any certain number of Men.

I have often mentioned to you the distress I am every now and then laid under, by the application of French Officers for Commissions in our Service, this Evil, if I may call it so, is a growing one, for from what I learn they are coming in Swarms from old France and the Islands. There will therefore be a necessity of providing for them or discountenancing them, to do the first is difficult and the last disagreeable and perhaps impolitic, if they

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are Men of Merit. And it is impossible to distinguish those from mere Adventurers, of whom, I am convinced, there are the greatest Number. They seldom bring more than a Commission and passport, which we know may belong to a bad, as well as a good Officer. Their ignorance of our language, and their inability to recruit Men, are unsurmountable obstacles to their being ingrafted into our Continental Battalions, for our Officers, who have raised their Men, and have served thro' the War, upon pay, that has hitherto not borne their Expences, would be disgusted, if Foreigners were put over their heads, and I assure you few or none of these Gentlemen

look lower than Field Officer's Commissions. To give them all Brevets, by which they have Rank and draw pay without doing any Service, is saddling the Continent with a vast Expence, and to form them into Corps, would be only establishing Corps of Officers, for as I said before, they cannot possibly raise any Men. Some General mode of disposing of them must be adopted, for it, is ungenerous to keep them in Suspence, and at great Charge to themselves. But I am at a loss how to point out this Mode. Suppose they were told, in general, that no Man could obtain a Commission, except he could raise a number of Men, in proportion to his Rank; This would effectually stop the Mouths of Common Applyers, and would leave us at liberty to make provision for Gentlemen of undoubted Military Characters and Merit, who would be very useful to us as soon as they acquired our Language. If you approve of this, or can think of any better Method, be pleased to inform me, as soon as you possibly can; for if I had a decisive answer to give them, it would not only save me much trouble, but much time, which I am now obliged to bestow, in hearing their different pretentions to merit, and their expectations thereupon.

I inclose you the papers which Monsr. Fanueil originally laid before the Council of Massachusetts, they may be of use, if you enter into a Negotiation with him.²⁴ I have the honor etc.²⁵

24. The letter was read in Congress March 12. On March 13 Congress directed the Committee of Secret Correspondence to write to the ministers and agents abroad "to

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discourage all gentlemen from coming to America with expectation of employment in the service, unless they are masters of our language, and have the best recommendations.” On March 14 Congress passed a resolve that no commissions should be given to foreign to officers unless they were well acquainted with the English language.

25. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

To ROBERT MORRIS

Head Quarters, Morris Town, February 22, 1777.

Dr. Sir: You are well acquainted with my opinion upon the inexpediency of keeping any more Stores in the City of Philadelphia, than are absolutely necessary for the equipment of the new Levies. I am at this time particularly anxious to have them removed. The Enemy have lately been considerably reinforced in Jersey, and from a variety of Accounts are meditating some Blow. I am firmly persuaded that they mean to attempt to reach Philadelphia again, as I do not know what other object they can have ultimately in View. They may first remove us from this and our other Posts, but they cannot remain at them, for want of covering for their Army, which I imagine they will never again Suffer to be cantoned over a great extent of Country. I have certain information, that they have been projecting a portable Bridge to lay over the Delaware, and I do not see any great difficulty in transporting it from Brunswick to the Delaware, if they take the Advantage of the Roads being hard and firm. The Numbers that are at present in Amboy and Brunswick cannot long Subsist there, and therefore adds Strength to my Opinion, that they are assembled there for some other purpose, than merely as a Reinforcement. The Salt that has lately been imported Should be the first article Secured.

Mr Wharton wrote me, that he either had or was carrying it to a place of Security, but as I do not altogether depend upon his promises, I should be glad you would have an Eye to that and the other Matters in his department. I know you have Sufficient in your own

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to engage your whole time and attention, but in times like these, we must double our Exertions. I am &c.47

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Morris Town, February 23, 1777.

Sir: Congress having Resolved, that Several Regiments of Cavalry should be raised to form a part of their Army, I beg leave thro' you Sir, to lay before them the inclosed list of Officers, which appear necessary to be appointed to each Corps, and which they will be pleased to establish.

At the same time, I should Suppose it highly expedient to fix their pay and that of the Privates. There is now one Regiment in Service and three more recruiting. This makes it indispensably necessary, that it should be done. Applications are constantly making, to know what the pay is, and objections raised against the service for want of due information. I have transmitted a list of such pay

47. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman. The letter sent, also in Tilghman's writing, ia in the collection of Judge E. A. Armstrong, of Princeton, N. J.

as seemed to be thought reasonable for part of the Officers to receive, when Colo. Sheldon's Regiment was directed to be levied and a Copy of the Memorandum made at that time. This, Colo. Sheldon conceived would not be more than adequate to their services, trouble and expence, and which, in some degree, was founded on the opinions of other Gentlemen of whom inquiry was made upon the Subject. I did not fix it in the Instances where it is set clown with certainty, as the Memorandum will shew. A criterion by which I was also governed upon that occasion, was the Resolve, appointing Mr. Sheldon Lt. Colo. Commandant with the Rank and pay of Colo.; From thence I attempted to proportion that of some other Officers. Upon the whole, I think it should be settled without further loss of time and wish the earliest attention of Congress to be had to it.

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Our delicate and truly critical situation for want of a Sufficient force to oppose the Enemy, who are now ready and will before many clays elapse, take the Field, induced me to expect that the Troops raising in the Southern States and intended for this Army, would march in Companies or half Companies, as they were made up, without waiting for their Regiments to be compleat. Policy strongly suggested the propriety of the measure and I requested it. But to my great anxiety and Surprize, I am told, that this line of Conduct is totally neglected, tho' a great number of Recruits are actually engaged. I must intreat Congress to interpose again, with their most

pressing applications and Commands, that this expedient may be adopted without a moment's delay. No injury can result from it, because a sufficient number, and proper Officers can and must be left, to recruit the Corps to their full Compliments. Nor will my fears respecting the State of our Arms allow me to be silent on that Head.

Let the States be urged to send their Men equipped with them and every other necessary, if Possible. I know not what Supplies may be in Store elsewhere or in the power of Congress; but they must not depend on their being furnished here, with any or but with very few. No human prudence or precaution, could Secure but a small part of those belonging to the Public and in the Hands of the Soldiery, from being embezzled and Carried off when their Time of service expired; Nor can the same abuses be restrained in the Militia. I have &c.65

To THE BOARD OF WAR

Head Quarters, Morristown, February 23, 1777.

Gentn.: I have been honored with your Letter of the 6th Instant, and beg leave to assure you, that I shall not only

65. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

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be always ready to rectify any Error which I may commit thro' hurry or otherwise, but be happy to have them pointed out. I have not the proceedings of Congress at this time which would apply to the subject matter of your Letter and therefore cannot pronounce upon it with certainty and precision. However, if my memory serves and I am not much deceived, the distinction in bounty, which you mention, does not now exist. By the first Resolves of Congress, for levying the New Army, it was to be raised during the War, under a landed bounty; some time after, this was altered and the alternative of inlisting for the War or three years allowed, those who engaged for the latter, were not to have that Bounty. Thus the matter stood till when it experienced another change and the inlistments were to be for three years under all former Bounties. I am persuaded by recuring to the several proceedings, it will be found that the matter stands as recited above. In this interpretation I am not singular, there are other Gentlemen and some that never saw my recruiting instructions, who have formed the same. However, as it is of consequence to have the point ascertained, you will be pleased to review the several resolves respecting it. I have the honor, etc.⁶⁶

66. This letter, in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison (the draft in that of Caleb Gibbs), is indorsed: "This Letter to be read in Congress & enquiry to be made whether any Member remembers the Resolves of Congress respecting the Bounty of Land to be allowed Soldiers &c. The General is of opinion the 100 Acres Bounty, is to be granted to those enlisting for three Years. The Board of a diffr. opinion." The board was right; but Congress, in November, 1776, had allowed Maryland to advance to their three-year troops a cash bounty in lieu of land; the language was ambiguous and caused the difficulty.

To ROBERT MORRIS, GEORGE CLYMER AND GEORGE WALTON

Head Qurs., Morris Town, February 27, 1777.

Gentn.: I am honoured with yours of the 20th, 21st and 22d Instr. The French Gentlemen having been demanded by General Howe as Officers belonging to the British Army, I

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gave directions to the Council of Safety of Pennsylvania, on the 22d Instt. to send them to Easton, from whence, they might go to Brunswic or Amboy. It will probably be some Months before they reach Canada, for if we deny them the Liberty of returning by land, they must wait at New York, till the St. Lawrence is navigable.

I shall signify the want of Rope Makers, in Genl. Orders, and if there be any in the Army they shall be sent.

On recurring to my Letter to Genl. Gates of the 19th., I found with much concern, the paragraph alluded to in yours, importing a Censure unmerited by you and not designed by me. I only meant to convey to him my Ideas of the expediency of removing the public Stores from philadelphia, and that he should converse with you upon the Subject. By some means, the Gentleman who drafted the Letter, adopted a Language different from what I wished, or what Justice, and a regard to your exertions and polite Attentions to my requisitions,

would justify. It is true, that whatever is under my Signature is imputable to me, and to be considered as my Act, but in this instance, permit me to assure you, that the immense Business which surrounded me at that time, occasioned me to be less attentive to the Letter, than I otherwise should have been and which would have prevented your Regret and my Concern. I am free to declare, that I have the highest sense of your exertions, in the great Cause in which we are engaged, and to profess my warmest thanks for the Strict and pointed Regard you have ever paid, and which you promise to shew to my Requisitions upon all Occasions.

The Recruits from the new Regiments come in so Slowly, or rather do not come in at all, (tho' I hear that Town and Country are full of them) that I shall be under the Necessity of calling for a Reinforcement of Militia to Supply the places of those, whose Terms of Service are near expiring. Some of Genl. Johnson's Men are already gone, and the whole will go the 5th. of next Month. The Eastern Militia, under Genl Lincoln, are engaged to the

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15th March. These two Bodies form so considerable a part of our Army, that unless they are replaced by continental Troops or Militia, from some of the other States, we shall be left almost in a defenceless Situation. Add to this, that a Number of our best Troops will be down in the Smallpox, for a time to come. The Militia of Baltimore, Hartford and Cecil were ordered out, as well as those of Frederick, but I have never heard whether

they turned out. I shall be glad to know whether I may expect them, at what time, and in what Numbers.

If those of the Pennsylvania Militia, who have not yet performed their tour of duty, can be prevailed upon to come out, and to stay five or six weeks from the time they join the Army, they will render most essential Service. If Genl. Howe, who certainly must have intelligence of our Situation, does not take Advantage of our Weakness, he must have Reasons, that I am altogether at a loss to account for, unless it be the want of Horses, which I believe are much reduced. However, it is our Business to prepare for the worst, and not to reason ourselves into a belief that the Enemy are unable to attack us. I have the honor &c.78

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Morris Town, February 28, 1777.

Sir: No Military Operation of any Consequence has occurred since I had the honor of writing to you last, except that on Sunday last, I reced. information that the Enemy were advancing in a manner, and in numbers, so much greater than usual, that it look'd like a prelude to an

78. In the writing of Tench Tilghman.

attack upon our posts, which were immediately put in the best preparation to receive them.

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It turned out to be only a stronger foraging party than usual, they were however opposed in so spirited a manner, by our advanced parties, that they were checked, and retired in the Afternoon towards Amboy, from whence they came. Their loss in the course of the day, from the best Accounts I can get, amounts to about one hundred, in killed, wounded, prisoners and deserters. Some people, who were near the scene of Action, and who have picked up accounts from those who have since been in Amboy, are sanguine enough to suppose, that they lost five hundred altogether, but of this I have no conception. Our loss was only two killed and ten wounded.

I was in hopes, that by the time, the Militia who are now in Service would be discharged, that we should have a considerable number of the new Levies in the Field, but tho' I have Reports from all quarters of the great Success of recruiting, I cannot get a Man of them into Service. Genl. Johnsons Militia, all go the 5th of March, many are gone already, and Genl. Lincoins on the 15th. These two Bodies form so considerable a part of our force, that unless they are replaced, I shall be left in a manner destitute, for I have no great hopes of seeing an equal Number of Continental Troops by that time. I have wrote to pennsylvania, to endeavour to get a Reinforcement of Militia from thence, and I am told the Militia from the Counties of Baltimore,

Hartford and Cecil in Maryland are on their March, but as I have it not from any Authority, I know not when to expect them or in what Numbers. They are about passing a Militia law in this State, which may perhaps have some effect, but at present they are under no Regulation at all.

I have in my late letters recommended several things to your Consideration, particularly that of a promotion of General Officers, the very well-being of the new Army depends upon its being done speedily. Not only this, but we are suffering for want of Brigadiers. Genl Schuyler has wrote most pressingly for the Assistance of General Officers, and I have none to send him, without injuring the Service in this Quarter. The hospital plan too requires an Answer, as nothing can be done in the nomination of the proper Officers, till I

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know your determination. There are several other Matters of Consequence before you, to which I am waiting your Answers, before I can proceed upon the respective points to which they refer.

Inclosed you have a Letter from the Widow⁷⁹ of a brave Officer who was killed at princeton. If any provision is made, I do not recollect what it is. If there is any please to inform me. If there is not, I can venture to recommend her as a proper Object, to make some Reparation for her great Loss.

P.S. Mine of the 20th. mentioned that Lord Piercy had arrived with the troops from Rhode Island, but I find that he remains there.

By some Gentr. just arrived from Boston, Doctr. Franklin's⁸⁰ arrival in France is mentioned with certainty. A Ship come to Salem brings the intelligence, the Captain of which says the Doctr. had got in Five days before his departure.

Also that Captn. Wicks⁸¹ made two prizes in his passage and they were condemned and sold at Burdeaux. I have the honor to be, etc.⁸²

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Morris Town, March 1, 1777.

Sir:

79. Eliza Neil, widow of Maj. Daniel Nell, of the New Jersey Artillery. Her letter, dated Feb. 19, 1777, is filed with this of Washington in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*.

80. Dr. Benjamin Franklin, Commissioner from the United States to France.

81. Capt. Lambert Wickes, of the Continental armed vessel *Reprisal*. Franklin sailed with him.

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82. In the writing of Tench Tilghman. The last part of the postscript is in that of Robert Hanson Harrison.

I was this Evening honored with your favor of the 23d Ulto. accompanied by sundry proceedings of Congress: Those respecting Genl. Lee and which prescribe the treatment of Lt. Colo. Campbell and the Five Hessian Field Officers, are the Cause of this Letter.

Tho' I sincerely commiserate the misfortune of Genl. Lee and feel much for his present unhappy situation, yet with all possible deference to the opinion of Congress, I fear that their Resolutions would not have the desired effect, are founded in impolicy, and will, if adhered to, produce consequences of an extensive and melancholy nature.

Retaliation is certainly just and sometimes necessary, even where attended with the severest penalties; But when the Evils which may and must result from it, exceed those intended to be redressed, prudence and policy require that it should be avoided.

Having premised thus much, I beg leave to examine the Justice and expediency of it in the instances before us. From the best information I have been able to obtain, Genl Lee's usage has not been so disgracefull and dishonourable, as to authorize the treatment decreed to these Gentlemen, was it not prohibited by many other important considerations. His Confinement, I believe, has been more rigorous than has been generally experienced by the rest of our Officers, or those of the Enemy, who have been in our possession; but if the reports be true, received on that Head, he has been provided with a decent apartment,

and with most things necessary to render him comfortable. This is not the case with one of the Officers comprehended in the Resolves, if his Letter, of which a Copy is transmitted, deserves your credit. Here retaliation seems to have been prematurely begun, or to speak with more propriety, Severities have been and are excercising towards Colo Campbell, not justified by any that Genl. Lee has yet received.

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In point of policy and under the present Situation of our Affairs, most surely, this Doctrine cannot be supported. The Balance of prisoners is greatly against us, and a general regard to the happiness of the whole, should mark our conduct. Can we imagine that our Enemies will not mete the same punishments, the same indignities, the same cruelties to those belonging to us in their possession, that we impose on theirs in our power? Why should we suppose them to possess more Humanity than we have ourselves? Or why should an ineffectual attempt to relieve the distresses of one brave unfortunate Man involve many more in the same calamities? However disagreeable the fact may be, the Enemy at this time have in their power and subject to their call, near Three hundred Officers belonging to the Army of the United States. In this number there are some of high rank, and the most of them are Men of bravery, and of merit. The Quota of theirs in our hands, bears no proportion, being not more than Fifty at most. Under these Circumstances we should certainly do no act to draw upon the Gentlemen belonging to us and who

have already suffered a long captivity, greater punishments than they have and now experience. If we should, what will their feelings be and those of their numerous and extensive connections. Suppose the treatment, prescribed for the Hessians, should be pursued, will it not establish what the Enemy have been aiming to effect by every artifice and the grossest misrepresentations? I mean an Opinion of our Enmity towards them, and of the cruel conduct they experience when they fall into our Hands, a prejudice which we on our part have heretofore thought it politic to suppress, and to root out by every act of lenity and of kindness. It certainly will. The Hessians would hear of the punishment with all the circumstances of heightened exaggeration and would feel the injury without investigating the cause, or reasoning upon the justice or necessity of it. The mischiefs which may and must inevitably flow from the execution of the Resolves, appear to be endless and innumerable. On my own part, I have been much embarrassed on the subject of Exchanges already, Applications are daily made by both Friends and Enemies to complete them as far as the circumstances of number and rank will apply. Some of the former have complained, that a discrimination is about to be adopted perhaps injurious

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to their reputation, and certainly depriving them of their right of exchange in due course, as established upon the principles of equality proposed last year, acceded to by both parties, and now subsisting. The latter charge me with a breach of faith and call upon me to perform the agreement.

Many more objections might be subjoined were they material; I shall only observe, that the present state of our Army, if it deserves that name, will not authorize the language of retaliation; or the stile of menace. This will be conceded by all who know, that the whole of our force is weak and trifling and composed of Militia (very few regular troops excepted) whose Service is on the Eve of expiring. There are several other matters which might be mentioned upon this subject, would time and opportunity permit, but as they will not, I beg leave to refer you to Colo. Walker who will deliver this and give satisfaction to any enquiries that may be deemed necessary. Persuading myself, that Congress will indulge the Liberty I have taken upon this occasion, I have only to wish for the result of their deliberations, after they have reconsidered the Resolves, and to assure them that, I have the honor to be etc.⁹¹

To ROBERT MORRIS, GEORGE CLYMER AND GEORGE WALTON

Head Quarters, Morris Town, March 2, 1777.

Gentn.:

91. The draft is in the writing of Caleb Gibbs; the letter sent is in that of Robert Hanson Harrison. It was read in Congress on March 12, and on March 14 Congress resolved: "That General Washington be informed, that Congress cannot agree to any alteration in the resolve passed on the 6th of January, 1777. And, as to the complaints of Colonel Campbell, it was never their intention that he should suffer any other hardship than such confinement as is necessary to his security for the purpose of that resolve." In forwarding this resolve, President Hancock wrote (March 17): "The obvious Distinction of Genl Howe in his Treatment of Genl Lee, who is notoriously committed to the Custody of the Provost,

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and denied his Parole, while our other Officers are admitted to it, was the Ground on which Congress proceeded when they passed that Resolve, the Intention of which was to shew that in Proportion as Severities against him were encreased, the same Treatment should be exercised on six Field Officers.”

I was last night honored with yours of the 26th last Month, inclosing the late Resolves of Congress. My opinions upon the parts that relate to Genl. Lee, you will find at length in mine to the Congress of this date, which after perusing, you will please to forward by Colo Walker who goes immediately to Baltimore, if the Congress should not have adjourned from thence. If they have, I agree with you, that Lancaster will be the Safest and properest place for them to sit.

I never meant that the Public Stores should be removed in such a manner, as would give any Alarm to the Inhabitants, and I gave early notice, that they might be began upon in time, and carried off by degrees. By these means the Business may be done imperceptibly as it were, and the people not distracted by Fears that may prove groundless. I am &c.7

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Qurs., Morris Town, March 6, 1777.

Sir: I do myself the honor to transmit you the inclosed Copy of a Letter from General Lee⁵² received by a Flag on Tuesday last. You will perceive from thence, his wishes and expectations of seeing some Members of Congress, in consequence of his Letter

7. In the writing of Tench Tilghman.

The following brief of a letter, in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison, dated Mar. 2, 1777, is entered on the verso of William Duer's intelligence of February 25 from Long Island, N.Y., through Nathaniel Sackett. It is, doubtless, a letter to Duer, no copy of which is found in the *Washington Papers*: “The forage in West Chester. The consequence resulting

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from the retreat of Heath and Wooster for mtg. [mustering] Militia to prevent outrages of Rangers. Calling Conl. Troops by parts injurious, Forage should be got off as soon as possible or sooner. The Enemy drawn their Force from N. York and design Phila. The Enemy going up North River, The Convn. should certly. inter pose about purchase of provision. Expedn. to Long Isld. Mr. S.”

52. Lee's letter of February 26 is in the *Washington Papers* in the Library of Congress; a copy is filed with Washington's letter of March 6 in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*.

upon that subject. None of the passports which he mentions were sent out, tho the Letters came by Genl. Howe's permission, as the others did. I should be happy to relieve his anxiety, as far as I could, by sending in Major Morris,⁵³ but this I can not do, till a safe conduct is granted.

The more I consider the Resolves respecting Lt. Colo. Campbell and the Hessian Field Officers, the more convinced I am, of their impolicy.⁵⁴ The proposition made by Congress for the Exchange of Prisoners, and which by their direction was transmitted to Genl. Howe, was founded on principles of Equality, in number, and in rank. From thence, no demand, as a matter of right, can be made of Genl. Lee's releasement, for any Officer or number of Officers of inferior rank. Whatever is done or might be done in such instances is the one I have mentioned. This, so far as it goes, is a beneficial one, it recognizes the rank of our Officers and insures their discharge from Captivity, whenever we are possessed of a like number belonging to them, and of the same Rank. If one our part it should be violated, if it is not observed, surely it will, and must cease to obligatory on Genl. Howe. What consequences may then ensue, I leave to your conjecture.

If it be objected, that the above Observations and what I said in my former Letter prove that no treatment received by our Officers should be retaliated on their Hands, is at least Six to one in ours. This consideration, supposing we had a right

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53. Maj. Jacob Morris, aide to Lee.

54. A copy of a letter from Sir William Howe (February 27) was inclosed by Washington, though not alluded to in his letter: "Some days having elapsed since the conference between Lieut. Col. Walcot and Lt. Col. Harrison, without having heard from you, for the further prosecution of the business relative to prisoners of war, I am to trouble you with my request to have a second meeting.... With much reluctance, I am to remonstrate against the treatment of Lieut. Col. Campbell...." A copy of Campbell's protest to Washington (February 4) was also inclosed and, with Howe's letter, read in Congress March 12. The copy of Howe's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

to demand Genl Lee's liberty, would be of great weight and sufficient to prevent, in my Opinion, the execution of the Resolves. I have the honor etc.⁵⁵

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Morris Town, March 14, 1777.

Sir: I was honored several days ago with your Letter of the 25th Ulto. with its Inclosures, the receipt of which was omitted to be acknowledged in my last. Could I accomplish the important Objects so eagerly wished by Congress, confining the Enemy within their present Quarters, preventing their getting supplies from the Country and totally subduing them before they are reinforced,¹⁰ I should be happy indeed. But what prospect or hope can there be, of my effecting so desirable a Work at this time? The inclosed Return, to which I solicit the most serious attention of Congress, comprehends the whole force I have in Jersey. It is but a handful, and bears no proportion, on the scale of Numbers to that of the Enemy. Added to this, the Major part is made up of Militia. The most sanguine in speculation, cannot deem it more than adequate to the least valuable purposes of War.

55. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

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10. This, although not quoted, is the exact phraseology used by Hancock in his letter to Washington.

The reinforcements mentioned to be drawn from General Heath, were merely ideal, nearly the whole of the Eastern Troops which were with him, being here before. They were only engaged 'till to day, and to day they leave the Camp. Their service has been of pretty long continuance and almost the whole of the Winter Months. What prospect there may be of immediate succours from other Quarters, I know not, but from the Militia of this State, I cannot expect to derive much more aid. Those who are well affected, have been so frequently called from their Homes, that they are tired out, and almost profess an abhorrence of the Service. Nor have I heard as yet, that any Continental Troops are on the Way. I have wrote to the Brigadier Generals in most of the States upon the Subject and also to the Colonels, urging them by every motive to exert themselves in filling the Regiments and to forward them on. I confess Sir, I feel the most painful anxiety when I reflect on our Situation and that of the Enemy. Unless the Levies arrive soon, we must, before it be long, experience some interesting and melancholy event. I believe the Enemy have fixed their object, and the execution will surely be attempted, as soon as the roads are passable. The unprepared state in which we are, favors all their designs, and it is much to be wished they may not succeed to their warmest expectations.

On recurring to the late promotions of Brigadiers, I find the Number appointed to be short of what I took the liberty to reccommend and not competent to the exigencies of

the Service, supposing the whole in Office before and those lately created consent to act, which I have reason to believe will not be the case. I shall only beg leave to refer you to my former Letters upon this Subject, and to assure you, that many disadvantages will result from not having a Sufficient number of Officers, of this Rank. We have always been deficient in this instance, and certain I am, that the Service has been greatly injured by it. The proportion I mentioned was full small, and in my opinion should not be dispensed with.

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I would also take the liberty of mentioning again, having received no answer upon the Subject, that Settling the Hospital plan and Establishment becomes more and more necessary. It is an object of infinite importance, and the difficulties of doing it on a proper foundation, will be great, if not almost insurmountable should it be deferred till the Campaign opens and the Enemy begin their operations. The benefits of the institution will soon be known; the want was severely felt in the course of the last year.

There is one thing more, which claims in my opinion the earliest attention of Congress, I mean the pay of the Regimental Surgeons and that of the Mates. These appointments are so essential, that they cannot be done without. The pay in the first instance is so low, so inadequate to the Services, which should be performed, that no man, sustaining the Character of a Gentleman, and who has the least Medical Abilities or Skill in the profession, can think of accepting it. That in the

latter, is so paltry and trifling, that none of the least generosity of Sentiment or pretensions to merit, can consent to act for it. In a word, these are inconveniencies of an interesting nature, they amount to an exclusion of persons who could discharge the duties of these Offices; and if not redressed, there is not the smallest probability, that any can be prevailed upon to enter them again.

There are several matters also, which I referred to Congress some time since, and upon which I have not received the result of their deliberations. One, enquiring about the State of Arms and Amunition, I am particularly anxious to be satisfied in.

From the inconveniencies and injuries to the Service of late, for want of Money, I am induced to request, that the strictest regard should be had to furnish the Pay Master with constant and Sufficient supplies. On Sunday he received 500,000 Dollars, half of which is already expended, and the Ballance in a day or two, will be entirely swept away, without discharging the several claims. By his report, the Commissary here requires an immediate draft for 100,000, and the Militia returning and about to leave the Camp 120,000 more. The

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Expence incurred by calling on them so frequently, is almost incredible. Besides these, there are several arrears due the old Troops and to most of the General and Staff Officers. I have &c.

P.S. I fully intended to transmit you a Genl Return, but am not able to make it out with precision. However from the most accurate estimate that I can form, the whole of our Numbers in Jersey, fit for duty at this time, is under Three Thousand. These (981 excepted) are Militia, and stand engaged only till the last of this Month. The Troops under innoculation, including their Attendants, amount to about One Thousand.11

To THE MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

Morris Town, March 15, 1777.

Dr. Sir: Give me leave to introduce to your attention, Major Genl. Greene, who obliges me by delivering this. He is a Gentleman in whose abilities I place the most intire confidence. A long acquaintance with him justifies me in this; the danger of Communicating by Letter our present Situation, and the indispensible necessity of Congress knowing it, have compelled me, tho' I can illy Spare so useful an Officer at this time, to Send him to Philadelphia. His perfect knowledge of our Strength, and of my opinion, enables him to give Congress the most Satisfactory Accounts they can desire. I am &c.20

11. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison; the draft is in that of Caleb Gibbs, Richard Kidder Meade, and Harrison, and is in the *Washington Papers* in the Library of Congress. It is dated March 11, as was the letter signed, but it was changed to March 14 before it was sent to Congress.

20. The draft is in the writing of George Johnston. This letter was a circular to the Delegates.

To THE PRESIDENT OF THE CONGRESS

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Head Quarters, Morris Town, March 18, 1777.

Sir: The difficulty, if not impossibility, of giving Congress a just Idea of our situation, and of several other important matters requiring their earliest attention by letter, has induced me to prevail on Major General Greene to wait upon them for that purpose. This Gentleman is so much in my Confidence, so intimately acquainted with my ideas, with our strength and our weaknesses, with every thing respecting the Army, that I have thought it unnecessary to particularize or prescribe any certain line of duty or enquiries for him. I shall only say, from the rank he holds as an able and good Officer, in the estimation of all who know him, he deserves the greatest respect and much regard is due to his opinions in the line of his profession. He has upon his mind, such matters as appear to me most material to be immediately considered of, and many more will probably arise during the intercourse you may think proper to honor him with, on all which, I wish to have the sense of Congress and the result of such deliberations as may be formed thereupon.

I have inclosed an Extract of a Letter, received yesterday from Govr.Trumbull, with a Copy of one intercepted, going from the late Govt. Wentworth 35 to his Sister.

35. Gov. John Wentworth. The inclosures are not found in either the *Washington Papers* or the *Papers of the Continental Congress*.

The information contained in the Letter, if true, is important and interesting. How far it is to be relied on, I cannot determine; but there can be no doubt of the British Court's straining every nerve and interest at Home and abroad, to bend us to their insufferable Yoke. I have &c.36

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Morris Town, March 21, 1777.

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Sir: I was last night honoured with your Letter of the 17th Instt. covering sundry Resolutions of Congress, which shall have my attention.

Having charged Major Genl. Greene, who will probably be in Philadelphia to day, with such matters as I wished to refer to the consideration of Congress, I have nothing to trouble them with at this time, or material to inform them of. I have the Honor to be, etc.⁴⁷

36. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

47. In the wring of Robert Hanson Harrison.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Qurs., Morris Town, March 23, 1777.

Sir: Colo. Palfrey having expressed a desire to settle the Accounts counts of his Office to this time has obtained my permission to repair to Philadelphia and now waits on Congress with his Books and Vouchers, hoping that a Committee will be appointed to examine and adjust the same.

The disadvantages which have arisen to the Service and which have been severely felt, for want of constant Supplies in the Military Chest, are almost incredible and are not to be described, but with difficulty, to those who are not immediately in the Army and privy to the frequent and importunate Applications that are made. To prevent inconveniencies of the like nature, in future, I have thought it proper, that an Estimate of the Monthly advances should be formed and laid before Congress. This Colo. Palfrey will do, and tho' it cannot be effected with a degree of scrupulous exactness and precision; Yet from his intimate knowledge of the incidental charges and expences, in the Common course of things, the calculation I apprehend will be attended with many benefits. It will shew Congress the necessary provisions of Money to be made for ordinary contingencies and enable them to form a Rule for their government in the instance of Supplies in the Army.

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I have &c.60

***To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS**

Head Quarters, Morris Town, March 26, 1777.

Sir: Yesterday a Letter, of which the Inclosed is a Copy, came to my hands. The Acct. is confirmed by a Countryman who is since come in, but nothing distinct has yet been received.

The aid required of me in Colo Hay's Letter, cannot be given. I have no Men to oppose the Enemy's designs in any one Quarter, altho' called upon from every Quarter. All that was possible for me to do towards collecting a force at Peekskill, I had attempted before. I had in peremptory terms called upon the Officers of Rhode Island and Connecticut, to forward on their Recruits (under proper Officers) as fast as possible, to that place; I had directed such of the New York Regiments as had not been ordered to Tyconderoga, to repair thither, I had requested Eight of the Massachusetts Regiments to be Marched to that Post, and lest these should not arrive in time, I urged Govr.

60. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The draft, also by Harrison, contains the additional sentence: "To him I beg leave to refer you, and adding that much regard is due to his Opinions on this Subject and every Matter appertaining to his Office."

Trumbull in a Letter of the 6th Instt. to send 2000 of his Militia to the same place.

But, sorry I am to observe, the Militia have got tired, and, that the Colonels of the Continental Regiments have been greatly deceived themselves, have greatly deceived me, or, the most unheard of Desertions, or most scandalous Peculations have prevail'd, among the Officers who have been Employed in Recruiting; for Regiments, reported two, and three Months ago, to be haft compleated, are, upon the Colonels being called upon in possitive terms, for a just State of them, found to contain less than a hundred Men;

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and this not the case of a Single Regiment only, but of many.—In Connecticut alone, by a Letter from Genl Parsons of the 6th Instt. four Regiments are mentioned as having not more than Eighty Rank and File each.⁶⁴

These Sir are Melancholy truths, but Facts they are, and necessary to be known to Congress, however prudent it may be to conceal them from the observations of others.

To superintend the business of Recruiting. To see that the Officers were diligent. To prevent Impositions, if possible, to appoint fit places of Rendezvous, to see that the Recruits were actually brought to those places, and there equip'd. and train'd for the Field, were among the great objects which early, and repeatedly, induced me to press the appointment of Genl. Officers; but unfortunately the delay of

64. Col. Israel Shreve wrote (March 22) in excuse of this condition, and on his letter, now in the *Washington Papers*, in the following note in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison: “Anad. 26th: Returns so essential—so necessary. that they can no longer be dispensed with. The Officers must be called on who are recruiting and they must be made.”

appointing, being followed by the resignation of some Officers, and non-acceptance of others, will Involve the Army in a mere Chaos of Confusion, at a time when the utmost order and regularity should prevail, and when all our arrangements ought to be completely established. The Medical department will, it is much to be feared, be in the same Situation, not an Officer yet appointed to it.

For want of proper coercive powers, from disaffection, and other causes, the Militia of this State are not to be depended upon. They are drawn out with difficulty; and at a most enormous expence, as their Accts. will shew; they come, you can scarce tell how, they go, you hardly know when. In the same predicament are those of Pensylvania. Numbers from this State have joind the Enemy, and many more are disposed to do so, as the Letter

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from a Mr. Hoff, copy of which is Inclosed, (corresponding with several others of the same tenor) sufficiently evinces. I have the honor to be etc.

P.S. Small as our prest. force is, it will be reduc'd in a few days by the going of of the Jersey 3 Month's Men, the Cecil County Militia, and the Virginia Volunteers, all of whom claim discharges the first of next Month (April). I have sent an Officer express towards Peekskill, to enquire into the Circumstances and the consequences of the Enemy's Descent on that place, not being able to Acct. for Genl. McDougall's, (who Commands there)

and Genl. Clinton's, who is at the Forts in the Highlands, their Silence upon this Occasion.⁶⁵

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Morris Town, March 29, 1777.

Sir: I last night had the honor to receive your Letter of the 26th. Instt. accompanied by sundry Resolves of Congress and some other papers.

The arrival of the Arms, Locks and Flints, you have been pleased to mention, is a most fortunate and happy event. I join you most sincerely, in congratulations upon the occasion.⁸⁶

I have not yet obtained a Certain account of the expedition against and destruction of Peek's Kills. Information of those events has not been transmitted by Genls McDougall or Clinton or the Convention of the State. There is no doubt, but the Town is destroyed and with it some Stores; neither the quality or amount of them is known. It is said, that it was done in part by our own people, when they found, that they could not prevent them falling into the Enemy's

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65. The draft is entirely in the writing of Washington; the letter sent is in that of Tench Tilghman.

86. "Tuesday last [March 24] I arrived here the brig Sally, Capt, Stocker, in 11 weeks from Nants, in France, with 6800 stand of small arms, a large number of gun locks &c."—*Pennsylvania Gazette*. Mar. 26, 1777.

Hands. The Ships and Troops have gone clown the River again.⁸⁷

Mr. Kirkland, the Oneida Missionary, arrived here this week, with a Chief Warrior and five other Indians of that Nation. They had been to Boston and came from thence to this place, to enquire into the true state of matters, that they might report them to a Grand Council to be shortly held. They said things were so falsely and variously represented by our Enemies thro their Agents, that they did not know what to depend on. I invited them to go to Philadelphia, but they declined it, declaring they were well satisfied with what they had seen and that they were authorized to tell their Nation, all they had heard from the Enemy was false. Being told that France was assisting us and about to join in the War, they seemed highly pleased and Mr Kirkland said, he was persuaded it would have a considerable effect on the Minds of several of the Nations and secure to us their neutrality, if not a declaration and commencement of Hostilities in our favor. I shewed them every civility in my power and every thing that I thought material to excite in them an Idea of our strength and independence. After staying Two days, they set off for their Nation, expressing their desire of the most speedy return to the Council and professing the most friendly Sentiments towards us. I am &c.⁸⁸

87. Brig. Gen. Alexander McDougall wrote (March 29) to Washington an account of the British mid against Peekskill. Stoics and provisions to a considerable amount had been collected at that place and Howe determined to destroy them. He sent out an American artillery officers, who had been captured at Port Washington and exchanged, and this officer reported having heard the enemy talk of a foraging expedition by three divisions,

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one up the Sound to Mamamroneck, another from Kings Bridge by the center road, and a third to land at Tarrytown. McDougall had only 250 men and took no steps other than to prepare for removing the stores to places of greater safety—to Forts Montgomery and Constitution.

Before this was accomplished nine or ten of the enemy's vessels appeared. in the North River near Tarrytown, and two of them ascended as high as Tellers Point, 12 miles below Peekskill, on the evening of March 22. The next day, at noon, they reached Peekskill, At, 1 o'clock about 500 men in eight flatboats landed at Lents Cove, on the south side of the bay, with four pieces of light artillery drawn by the sailors. This force being double General McDougall's, he destroyed such stores as he could and retreated towards the Highlands and sent orders to Lieut. Col. Marinus Willett, at Fort Constitution, to march to his assistance. The British kept possession of the town till the next day, when Willet attacked their outpost and drove it in, That evening the British embarked, and sailed down the river. Nine of the enemy were killed and wounded in the skirmish with Wilier, and four were killed at the creek while attempting to burn the boats. The Americans had one man mortally wounded by a cannon shot, and the loss of provisions and stores was considerable. McDougall's letter is in the *Washington Papers* in the Library of Congress.

88. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Qurs., Morris Town, March 29, 1777.

Sir: Since I had the Honor of addressing you this Morning by the Return Express, the Eastern post arrived. The Intelligence he brought, is agreeable and interesting, as you will perceive by the inclosed Letter from Mr. Hazard,⁸⁹ which I do myself the pleasure of transmitting you. I am happy to say the Arrival of the Ship at Portsmouth,⁹⁰ and the

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Capture of the two Prizes, is confirmed by other Letters from Gentlemen of note in and about Boston.

Upon these events I give you my most hearty congratulations. Some of the Letters add, that a French General, Colo and Major⁹¹ came passengers in the Ship who are highly recommended by Doctr. Franklin.

The Affair of Peek's Kills has not been transmitted me with certainty, but I am informed the relation of it in Loudon's Paper,⁹² which I have inclosed, is nearly as it happened. I am &c.⁹³

89. Ebenezer Hazard, Postmaster General. His memorandum is filed with Washington's letter in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*.

90. The *Mercury*, one of Beaumarchais's supply ships, arrived at Portsmouth, N.H., on March 17.

91. It is difficult to identify the French officers who came in the *Mercury*.

92. Samuel Loudon's *New York Packet*, published at Fishkill.

93. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The letter sent varies slightly from the draft, which is also by Harrison.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Qrs., Morristown, March 31, 1777.

Sir: Captain Desheild of Mr. Buchanans Ship from Baltimore who was taken by the Enemy and carried into York made his Escape from thence on Saturday Evening. He informs, that three thousand Troops, British and Hessian, embarked about Ten days ago from the City and Staten Island on board Transports which were laying at the Latter when he came

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away, he adds that the Enemy have built and are building a number of light fiat Bottomed Boats, about Seventy of which were finished. Captn. Desheild says, it seemed to be the general opinion and conversation, that this embarkation was for Chesepeak Bay with a view of making a descent on the Eastern Shore, or that the Troops were to proceed to the Head of Elk, taking Annapolis and Baltimore in their way. there were some who thought it probable they mean to go up the North River and attempt the Highland fortifications. I have written to Genls. McDougal and Clinton desiring them to make the best preparations that circumstances will admit of, for their reception, in case the latter should be their Object.

Captn. Desheild being in company with the Captain of the Packet, but unknown to him, heard him say, that a War with France was much expected when he left England which was about the beginning of February. I have the Honor, etc.¹⁶

16. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The draft, also by Harrison, is not so full as the letter sent.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Qurs., Morris Town, April 2, 1777.

Sir: Since I had the honor of writing to you last, I have received the inclosed from Genl Mcdougal, which contains a full account of the late Affair at Peekskill. Every prudential step appears to have been taken by the General, and as good a disposition made, as his small number of Men would admit of.

I have heard nothing farther respecting the Embarkation of Troops which I mentioned in my last. I am in hopes the Connecticut Militia will arrive at Peekskill, before another expedition is made up the North River. I have wrote to hasten them, as much as possible, lest such another design should be really in agitation. In my opinion Delaware Bay is their Object, and Chesapeak only thrown out, by way of blind; their late attempt to procure Delaware Pilots seems to confirm it. I observe, by your late promotions, that a foreign

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Gentleman is appointed to the command of the German Battalion.²⁹ I could wish that he was ordered to join immediately, as that Regiment much wants an Officer of experience at the Head of it. I have the honor to be, etc.

29. Henry Leonard Philip, Baron d'Arendt, had been appointed colonel of the German regiment on March 19. He was granted leave of absence Aug, 18, 1778, and did not rejoin the regiment.

P.S. I have ordered the Deputy Qr. Mr. General to establish

proper Relays of Expresses between this and Philadelphia, that intelligence may be occasionally conveyed in the most expeditious Manner. If there should be any appearance of a Fleet in Delaware Bay, it will be known in a very few Hours in Philadelphia, by hoisting the Signal and I beg I may have the earliest Notice of it. The Quarter Master will inform you who his Rider, in Philadelphia is, that you may know where to apply.³⁰

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Morris Town, April 5, 1777.

Sir: The inclosed from Monsr. Le Chevr. de Dreud homme de Borre,⁵¹ with the papers annexed to it, were received this day by the Eastern Mail. It appears, that by an agreement with Mr. Deane,⁵² he is to have the Rank and pay of a Brigadier General in our Service. I imagine by this, that he is a Man of real Merit. If you think proper to confirm Mr. Deane's appointment, be pleased to inform me of it, and return the Letter, that I may give a Suitable Answer. If, as I imagine, he does not understand English, it will be some time before he can be of any use at the Head of a Brigade. I have &c.⁵³

30. The letter seat is in the writing of Tench Tilghman; the draft, which does not include the postscript, is in that of George Johnston.

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51. Chevalier Preudhomme de Borre. He was appointed a brigadier general on April 11, to rank horn Dec. 1, 1776; resigned on September 14.

52. Silas Deane.

53. In the writing of George Johnston; the draft is in that of Tench Tilghman.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Morris Town, April 9, 1777.

Sir: I am honoured with yours of the 4th. inclosing sundry Resolves of Congress from 29th March to the 5th Instant.

I am extremely glad to see the Resolve for the immediate removal of Military Stores from Baltimore and Annapolis, for altho' I do not imagine that the Enemy intend an expedition of any great Consequence in Chesapeak Bay, yet while the Stores lay at the above places, they were always Subject to be destroyed by a Sudden attack of a Ship of War, with a few land Forces. The Regulations for the paymaster General's department⁸⁰ are very Salutary, and if carried strictly into execution will make a vast saving to the public, it may be easily done, when the Army is put upon a regular footing; but while we are obliged to make use of Militia, we must Submit to all the irregularities that naturally attend them, and must not therefore expect to have the Rule as Scrupulously complied with by them as could be wished.

By comparing the Returns of the Commissary General and Muster Master General, I hope we shall be able to detect any Impositions in respect to numbers, which I am certain has been Scandalously practiced for a long time

80. The resolves of Apr. 1, 1777, (See *Journals of the Continental Congress*.)

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past, and which it has not been in my power to remedy. The Muster Master Genl. complained, that the duty required of him, was more than he could perform; but by the late Resolves, there is an ample allowance of deputies, and therefore no further excuses can be made upon that head.⁸¹

I most ardently wish to see the Hospital established, I am afraid too much time has been lost in the consideration of the plan. But the Gentlemen, who shall be appointed to the superintendance, must endeavour to make up for the lost time by their diligence.⁸²

By the latest accounts from Brunswick, it looks as if the Enemy were projecting an embarkation, they have been Stripping the Buildings of Boads and cutting small Timber and transporting them from Brunswick to Amboy. It is imagined, this is to build Births in their Transports. I shall keep a constant look out upon the Motions of their Vessels and shall endeavour to obtain every intelligence by sending people into their quarters. I think Delaware Bay must be their Destination, if they move by Water. I am &c.⁸³

81. The resolve of Apr. 4, 1777. (See *Journals of the Continental Congress*.)

82. he resolve of Apr. 7, 1777. (See *Journals of the Continental Congress*.)

83. In the writing of Tench Tilghman.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Morris Town, April 10, 1777.

Sir: I was just now honored with your Letter of the 9th Inst. covering sundry Resolutions of Congress. Those for regulating the Hospital and Medical department, I trust, will prove of the most salutary consequences. It is only to be regreted, that this necessary and liberal institution had not been gone into and Completed at an earlier period.

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The Honors Congress have decreed to the memory of Generals Warren and Mercer, afford me the highest pleasure. Their character and merit had a just claim to every mark of respect, and I heartily wish, that Every Officer of the United States, emulating their virtues, may by their actions secure to themselves the same right to the grateful Tributes of their Country.

Since writing to you Yesterday, I have received further intelligence of the Enemy's preparations in York indicating a Movement before long. It is contained in the Inclosed Letter No. 1,89 and corroborates the Opinion, I have long entertained, that they would make a push against Philadelphia. The Tory Regiments mentioned, we are told are at Hackensack, and about Five hundred strong, exclusive of a Company of Highlanders, which is with them.

89. This paper, the examination of an unnamed individual who came out of New York City, is in the writing of John Fitzgerald and is filed with Washington's letter in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*.

The inclosed Letter from Le Chevalier Count of Vrecount⁹⁰ came to hand this Morning, and which I have thought proper to transmit to Congress, that they may consider his case, and adopt such measures respecting him, as his Character and testimonials deserve. I never heard of him before, but if he is a Skilful Engineer he will be extremely useful and should be employed, tho' he may not understand our language. At this time we have not one with the Army, nor one to join it who has the least reputation or pretensions to Skill. If this Gentleman came, in Consequence of an agreement with Doctor Franklin and brought credentials from him, I should suppose him to be acquainted with what he was recommended for.

The Cartel proposed to be settled and so long in agitation is not accomplished yet. The last meeting, on that business, was the 2d Instant, when nothing was done, nor is a further interview appointed respecting it. I have transmitted a Copy of Lord Cornwallis's Letter,

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which came out the next day, with that of the paper alluded to by him, which Mr Harrison refused to receive from Colo. Walcot, and of my Answer to the latter, in a Letter to Genl Howe. The Objections or Articles mentioned by Colo Walcot, were those Genl Greene had with him and which he left when he came from Philadelphia. The original I have by me. Those points were insisted on again and rejected, and a tender made of the paper by Colo Walcot, which he brought with him prepared.

90. Comte de Vrecourt was an engineer and artillery officer from Luxembourg. He came to America at the instance of Penet and Pliarne and was commissioned a colonel of engineers by Congress Apr. 12, 1777.

I have appointed John Wilkins, John Steel, Matthew Irvine and Samuel Kearsley Esqrs. Capts. of Companies to be raised by them in Consequence of the recommendation of Genl Armstrong. As the Interest of those Gentr. lies in Pennsylvania chiefly, and it would be drawing money from the Pay Master here to carry to Philadelphia, supposing there was a Supply in the Chest, which is not the case, I shall be obliged by Congress's ordering Six hundred Dollars to be advanced each of them, on Acct. of the Recruiting service. The first of whom I imagine is in Philadelphia, if this requisition can be complied with, He, I presume, will give notice to the rest, or if Genl Armstrong is informed of it, he will do it. I have the honor etc.⁹¹

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Morris Town, April 12, 1777.

Sir: I am honoured with yours of the 10th, accompanied with one from the Committee of Congress, to whom I have wrote very fully upon the Subject of the Resolve for forming an Army upon the West side of Delaware, and to which

91. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

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I refer you. I wish I could see any prospect of an Army, fit to make proper opposition, formed any where. You will perhaps be surprised at this, after the Public Reports of the great Success of recruiting in all the States; but to convince you that these have been but bare Reports, I will give you the best information, I have been able to collect, from actual Returns and other accounts.

New Hampshire. No Returns, but a Letter from Genl. Heath says they are tolerably forward. All their Regiments go to the Northward.

Massachusetts. About 400 Men raised to a Regiment, many of those yet to undergo inoculation. Seven of their Regiments go to the Northward and Eight are to come to Peekskill for the present.

Rhode Island. Only 360 Men inlisted in both Regiments the 1st of April; 200 of those are yet to be inoculated. Genl. Varnum writes me that he despairs of filling up the Regiments.

Connecticut. By a Return from Genl Parsons of the 4th April, about 1800 Men were recruited thro' the whole State, they much dispersed, many to have the Small pox and recruiting at a stand.

New York. About 200 Men to a Regiment and from the peculiar Situation of that province, it will be almost impossible for them to fill their Regiments, tho' they exert themselves very much.

New Jersey. Between two and three hundred to a Regiment; they also lay under many difficulties on account of the

disaffection of their State, but their officers are active and diligent.

Pennsylvania. Most of her Regiments are very backward. Those most so, who have been longest recruiting.

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Delaware State. No Returns of their Regiments.

Maryland. I have only the Return of one Regiment, which consists of 200 Men; but I do not believe the others are in more forwardness. The disputes about the Rank of Officers has prevailed so much, that the recruiting Service has been in a manner neglected.

Virginia. The nine old Regiments will not exceed 1800 effective Men, and Governor Henry, in a Letter which I received yesterday, informs me, that he did not think more than four of the six new ones would be filled. He proposes the expediency of raising Volunteer Companies to Serve Seven or Eight Months, to make up the deficiency. But this I shall object to, on many Accounts, particularly, that it would be introducing a Body of Men, who would look upon themselves at liberty to do what they pleased, and the Moment their times expired would leave us, tho' at the most critical Juncture.

If the Men that are raised, few as they are, could be got into the Field, it would be a matter of some Consolation, but every method that I have been able to devise, has proved ineffectual. If I send an Officer to collect the Sick or Scattered of his Regiment, it is ten to one but he neglects his

duty, goes home on pleasure or Business and the next that I hear of him, is, that he has resigned. Furloughs are no more attended to, than if there was no limitation of time, and in short, Sir, there is such a total depression of that Military Ardor, which I hoped would have inspired every Officer, when he found his pay genteely augmented, and the Army put upon a respectable footing, that it seems to me, as if all public Spirit was sunk into the means of making money by the Service, or quarrelling upon the most trivial points of Rank.

I shall, as soon as possible, transmit to the Board of War, a list of the appointments I have made, in consequence of the powers vested in me.

If the appointments in the Hospital are not filled up, before the receipt of this, I would take the liberty of mentioning a Gentleman, who I think highly deserving of Notice, not only on

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Account of his Abilities, but for the very great Assistance, which he has afforded in the course of this winter, merely in the nature of a Volunteer. The Gentleman is Doctr. John Cochran¹, well known to all the Faculty and particularly to Doctor Shippen, who I suppose has mentioned him among the Candidates. The place for which the Doctor is well fitted, and which would be most agreeable to him, is Surgeon General of the Middle Department. In this line he served all the last War in the British Service, and has distinguished himself this Winter particularly in his

1. Cochran was appointed physician and surgeon general of the Middle Department Apr. 11, 1777; Chief Physician and Surgeon of the Continental Army Oct. 6, 1780. and Director General of Continental Hospitals Jan. 17, 1781; served to the close of the war.

attention to the Small pox patients, and the wounded, which but for him and Doctor Bond,² must have Suffered much, if not been totally neglected, as there were no other Medical Gentlemen to be found.

If the appointment of Surgeon General is filled up, that of Deputy Director of the Middle department would be acceptable. I have been thus full in my recommendation, because Doctor Cochran, in a manner had my promise of one of the Capital appointments in the Hospital, upon a presumption, that I should have had some hand in the nomination, by the Resolution of Congress empowering me to fill all Commissions under the Rank of Brigadier's General.

April 13.

I have this moment reced a Line from Genl. Lincoln, informing me that the Enemy attempted to Surprise him early this Morning at his post at Bound Brook, but that he made good his Retreat to the pass of the Mountains just in his Rear, with trifling loss. I have the honor etc.³

2. Nathaniel Bond, surgeon, hospital department.

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3. In the writing of Tench Tilghman.

To ROBERT MORRIS, GEORGE CLYMER AND GEORGE WALTON

Head Quarters, Morris Town, April 12, 1777.

Gentn.: I was late last Evening honored with your favor of the 10th. and perfectly agree with you upon the propriety of forming an Army on the West Side of Delaware. I can only regret that the Situation of our Affairs, at present, is such, that not a Man of the Continental Army can yet be suffered to remain there, without endangering the Small part, that is already collected here. But this is no objection to making Bristol the place of Rendezvous, from whence the Troops may be drawn to the Army on this Side the River, till we are made too formidable robe attacked without danger, and at the same time strong enough to fall upon the Enemy with advantage, Should they move forward. I am myself pretty well convinced, from the concurrence of all our late intelligence, that Philadelphia is the Object; but should too much of our attention be drawn to that Quarter, a watchful Enemy, taking advantage of the remote Situation of our main force, might Suddenly shift their ostensible plan of operations, and fall upon a Quarter, tho' not so valuable, yet not far behind Philadelphia, if considered in point of convenience; by this I mean, the passes upon the North River, the occupancy of which, would not only cut off the Communication between

the Eastern and Southern States, but would also render the Support of Tyconderoga impracticable. Again, another objection which I have to forming an Army in Pennsylvania, before I am considerably reinforced in this State, is, that it would in all probability give the Enemy an opportunity of dislodging me from the Posts which I at present occupy, and which are so advantageously situated, that if held, they effectually hinder the Enemy from extending themselves, and getting access to a Country ready and willing to furnish them with Supplies of Horses, Cattle, provision, and even Men, all of which they steal in, as often as they have Opportunities. These advantages, to an Enemy who has been Shut

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up the whole Winter, and reduced to the greatest Straights for want of many necessaries, Forage and fresh Provision particularly, would be inestimable, and put them again into a hearty and flourishing Condition.

From the above Arguments I think it is plain, that we must establish a respectable Force where we now are, as the most convenient point, from whence we can give opposition to the Enemy, should their designs be either Northward or Southward. When that is done, an Army which I will call a Reserve, will be properly stationed upon the West side of Delaware. Tho' I am totally averse to dividing the Army at all, except in cases of the greatest emergency. We shall be eternally beat in Small detachments.

I am therefore clearly of Opinion, that the Troops should be hurried on from Philadelphia as quick as possible, and Bristol I think the propcrest place for their Rendezvous; because there is Sufficient covering for near, if not quite two thousand Men at a time. You mention the immediate formation of a Camp, but it is yet too early for that, especially for Men who have, most of them, just come out of Small pox Hospitals. If the State of Pennsylvania can furnish three thousand Militia, to take post some where on the West Side of Delaware, they will be a valuable acquisition, but if they come into the field, I beg that they may be at some distance from the Continental Troops, I mean, till there is occasion for their coming to Action. The unavoidable necessity that there is, of being relaxed in your discipline towards them, spreads the Seeds of licentiousness among the Regulars, who naturally fall into the same excesses, of which they see their Neighbours guilty, and it is impossible, without evident partiality, to inflict punishment on the one, for the same Crime, which the other commits with impunity.

I have so often mentioned the expediency of removing the Superfluous Stores from Philadelphia, that I would fain hope few are left. Salt is an Article the most Valuable of any to us, and the most difficult of removal; I would recommend the Security of it, as a principal object of attention. The Chance of War is uncertain, and in Spite of opposition, Philadelphia may fall into the hands of the Enemy; but let us

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endeavour, in case of an Accident of that kind, to leave them nothing but the bare Walls. With Magazines well filled, our Resources are endless.

I thank you for the deference which you pay to my Judgment and Opinions, which I am happy to find, coincide so nearly with yours upon this occasion. I have the honor etc.⁶

To RICHARD PETERS³⁹

Head Quarters, Morris Town, April 17, 1777.

Sir: I am directed, by a Resolve of Congress of the 10th Inst., to transmit to the Board of War, a list of the appointments, made in Consequence of the powers with which I am invested by Congress, together with a Copy of all Commissions originating from and issued by me.

I have made no appointments out of the Military line, but James Mease Esqr. Cloathier General, with a salary of 150 dollars pr Month. and Elias Boudinot⁴⁰ Esqr. Commissary of Prisoners with a salary of 60 dollars pr Month. I have not been able yet to obtain compleat Returns of Colo Sheldon's, Baylors and Moylans Officers of Light Horse, or of as many
6. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman, with some minor changes by Alexander Hamilton. The letter sent is in the writing of Hamilton and is in the New York Historical Society.

39. Secretary of the Board of War.

40. Copies of these commissions are in the *Washington Papers*, Mease's under date of Jan. 10, 1777, and Boudinot's under Apr. 15, 1777.

of the 16 Additional Battalions, as are put into Commission, indeed all the Subalterns, to those that are put into Commission, are not yet appointed; but when they are, and the Regiments are drawn together, you shall have exact Returns. I think it would be almost

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needless to attempt to form a General Return of the Army just at this time, for what with promotions and Resignations, the State of a Regiment is scarcely the same a Week together; but when the Army is once fully arranged, things will not be in that fluctuating Situation.

I inclose you a list of such of the Colonels of Horse and Foot, as I have appointed. I gave the disposal of all Commissions under the Rank of Field Officers, to the different Colonels, subject to my approbation; by which means I think these Regiments will be better officered than the others; because, as the Reputation of the Corps depends upon their choice, they will be very circumspect. I also inclose you a list of Several Captains, to whom I gave Instructions to raise Companies in the different States, and when a Sufficient Number are raised to form a Regiment, I intend to incorporate them. I am etc.

P.S. I also appointed Benjamin Flower Esqr. Commissary Genl. of Military Stores, with Rank and pay of Lieut. Colonel.⁴¹

41. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

*LIST OF OFFICERS OF THE SIXTEEN ADDITIONAL BATTALIONS

A list of officers appointed by General Washington in consequence of powers given him by the Honble. Congress

Colonels of Horse George Baylor Stephen Moylan Elisha Sheldon Colonels of part of the 16 Addl. Regimts. Captns. for part of the 16 Addn. Regts. Captains John Patten [William] Scott Willm. Grayson [Edward] Burke David Foreman [Nezer?] Swaine Ezekiel Cornell [John] Wilkens Thos. Heartly [Alexander] Steel Saml. B. Webb [Matthew] Irvine David Henly [Samuel] Kearsley Willm. Lee [Ronald T.?] McDougal Henry Sherburne [James] Calderwood Nathi. Gist [Jonathan] Hallett Henry Jackson [John] Hunter Oliver Spence [John Paul?] Shott. Chas. M. Thruston.

4 Companies given to Genl. George Clinton to appoint Officers for.

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These are also for the 16 Regts.

Note, It is much to be feared, that several of these Regiments will fall through, as the Officers were appointed of, and sent to, the Eastern States, before it was known that an Additional bounty was given by them to their Levies.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Morris Town, April 18, 1777.

Sir: I have nothing of importance to transmit Congress, no Event in the Military line having happened since my last, except the Surprising a Small picquet guard of the Enemy, on Monday night at Bonam Town and bringing off Thirteen prisoners by One of our Parties. An Enterprise of a similar nature was formed against that at Amboy, in which, the party sent to effect it did not succeed so well, tho' the most advanced of them seized and secured three of their Out Sentries, without giving an alarm.

By a Letter from General McDougal of yesterday, I am informed, that he had received accounts of Thirty Six Sail of Transports having left New Port on Friday last, with Troops on Board; Other reports he had, were, that a number of Ships were coming up the Sound, so that we may reasonably conclude Genl. Howe is drawing his forces from the Eastward. General Arnold in a Letter of the 6th, mentioned, that from the preparation of Transports and other circumstances he thought it probable an embarkation was about to take place.

There are grounds to Suspect, from information received, That some unfair practices have been and are meant to be used in certain Exports from Philadelphia. It is said,

that a Vessel navigated by Frenchmen loaded there, belonging to the Murrays of New York, which carried her Cargo to Genl. Howe; Also, that Hartshorne and Bowne of Monmouth County intend to load one or more for the same purpose, under the Idea of sending them to Foreign Markets. I have written to the Board of War for Pensylvania upon

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the Subject, and doubt not, but these Hints will be properly improved and such frauds guarded against as well as circumstances will admit.

I have inclosed a Copy of an Advertisement published in Gaine's Paper of the 14th, which shews, that no Artifices are left untried by the Enemy to injure us. Before the appearance of this unparalleled piece, I had heard, that a person was gone from York to Rhode Island with a Quantity of Counterfeit Money.⁵⁷

There is one thing which I beg leave to mention to Congress, and which I think highly deserving their attention, that is, that Supplies of Hard Money or Bills of Exchange to procure it, should if possible be sent to our prisoners in the hands of the Enemy, at least to the Officers, to releive their wants. By Letters, which I have received from them of late, I find they are in great distress and such as ought to be removed, if it can be done. No inconvenience will result to the Public from such Supplies, if they can be furnished, as proper Stoppages and deductions can be made from their pay.

57. Another of the numerous attempts of the British to dislocate the finances of the United States by sending counterfeit Continental bills to Tories, who paid their taxes with them, in addition to placing in circulation as large amounts of counterfeit money as possible.

April 19.

I was honored with your Letter of the 16th between Twelve and One O'Clock Yesterday, accompanied by Sundry Resolutions. I hope the measures Congress have adopted, will produce the Salutary consequences they had in view; but I fear, that the States, unless they are delicate in exercising the Powers they are invested with for filling vacancies in instances of removal from office, and pay a strict attention to a proper line of Succession, where there are no Capital Objections, will renew much of that confusion and disorder, we have been endeavouring to extricate ourselves from. Nor will this be of small difficulty, if they displace many Officers; For supposing them to have kept the most accurate Lists of

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their Original appointments, changes have taken place in several instances, from various causes unknown to them, and of which they can not be apprized.

I can assure Congress the Appellation given to the Regiments officered by me, was without my consent or Privity. As soon as I heard it, I wrote to Several of the Officers in terms of severe reprehension, and expressly charged them to suppress the distinction; adding that all the Battalions were on the same footing, and all under the General name of Continental.⁵⁸

An Attack upon the Kings Troops at Rhode Island was certainly a desireable Event, could it have been conducted with success, or upon equal terms. It being an Object of

58. The Second Canadian Regiment, Moses Hazen, colonel, had dubbed itself "Congress's Own Regiment" and the guard of the Commander in Chief called itself "General Washington's Life Guard." This had aroused jealousy, and Congress resolved (April 15) that as "the continental battallions are all on one footing, liable to the same kind of services, and entitled to equal privileges, that the appellations 'Congress's own regiment,' 'General Washington's life guards' &c. given to some of them, are improper and ought not to be kept up; and the officers of the said batallions are required to take notice hereof, and conform themselves accordingly." The official designation of Washington's life guard was "The Commander in Chief's Guard."

great Moment, and involving in its issue many important consequences, I am led to believe the practicability of it, has had much consideration and the measure found to be unadvisable under the circumstances of the Troops collected for the purpose. If the Enemy have not evacuated the Island I suppose the matter will be further weighed.

I do not find in the Medical Arrangement, any mention of Regimental Surgeons Mates, or provision made for their payment. Whether Congress mean to dispense with such Officers or not, I cannot tell. I have heard they do; But they appear to me to be absolutely necessary. We are often obliged to divide Regiments and to send a part to a distant post.

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When this is the case, it is essential that there should be some person with them to take charge of the Sick or wounded, if such there should be. I have only mentioned this, for Many Reasons, that might be urged to shew the expediency of such Appointments.

Notwithstanding the many circumstances inducing a belief, that Philadelphia will be the first object of the Enemy's attention, Yet as the Stratagems of War are various and they may be easily changed, especially when they have the entire command of the Water, I cannot but consider the detention of the Troops at Philadelphia, farther than mentioned in my Letter in Answer to that from the Board of War,

as inexpedient and subject to great inconvenience and injury. In the present divided, seperated State of the Army, we are weak at all points and not able to make the least opposition promising success. [If what the Enemy have done, is a feint and calculated to amuse, and the North River should be their Object, we are not in a Situation to check their Attempts or progress, in the smallest degree; But was our force collected here, and such should be their design, we might entertain some hopes of doing it. On the other hand, if they persevere in their Scheme against Philadelphia, we must have notice of their embarkation, if they go by Sea, or of their March if they go by land. If they adopt the first mode, we could be there in time. If the second, we should have an Army to hang on their Flank and Rear,] Supposing they were Collected here, they would be ready to Act as necessity and circumstances might require. If the Enemy pushed for Philadelphia, we should have notice of it and could hang upon their Flank and Rear; Nor is it likely they would undertake such an expedition without attempting the destruction or dispersion of the Army first. If they embarked and should go by Sea, we should have information of it and could be there in time. On the other hand, should all they have done prove a feint, and they should turn their Views to the North River, we should be in a much better situation to counteract their designs and to check the progress of their Arms in that Quarter. added to this, Several of the Regiments, especially those which came first from

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Virginia and Pennsylvania, are so broken, that it is impossible to do any thing with the parts that are here, and that Spirit which is always derived from a Corps being full, or as much so, as circumstances of number will admit of, is entirely done away. I have the Honor to be etc.⁵⁹

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Morris Town, April 21, 1777.

Sir: I was this Morning honored with your favor of the 20th inclosing sundry proceedings of Congress.

The removal of Provisions &c. from the Communication between Brunswick and Trentown, has been pretty well effected already. It was an object early attended to, and what I recommended to the Assembly of this State, as deserving their interposition and aid; but finding it had not their immediate consideration, and that they seemed to decline interfering in the matter, I directed the Quarter Masters and Commissaries to purchase their first supplies of those necessaries, from such places, as appeared to be most exposed to the Enemy's incursions, and

⁵⁹. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The part in brackets are in the draft and not in the letter sent.

through which, it is most probable, they will take their Route towards the Delaware, in case an enterprize that way should be in contemplation. I have transmitted Copies of the Resolve upon this Subject to General Putnam and Colo. Foreman, the latter of whom is in Monmouth County, with orders to execute the same, agreeable to the directions therein prescribed, where it may be necessary on the Road leading from South Amboy across the Country.

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I have nothing of importance to communicate to Congress; The advices they will receive today which passed thro' this Town Yesterday, will tell them that the Enemy remained at Rhode Island on the 15th. Inst notwithstanding the Accounts we had received of their embarkation before. I have the Honor &c.88

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Morris Town, April 23, 1777.

Sir: I have the honor to transmit you the inclosed pieces of intelligence, which I received this day from Genl: Stephen, who, by my desire, employed persons to go into New York and Brunswick. I do not put intire confidence in the whole, but

88. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

the principal reason of sending the intelligence forward is, that proper measures may be fallen upon to find out and apprehend Thomas Long8 mentioned in General Stephen's letter of this date.

If the Enemy should move, I have taken steps to make as good an opposition, as my small force is capable of. I have the honor to be etc.9

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Morris Town, April 26 1777.

Sir: I was last night honored with your Letter of the 25th with sundry Resolves of Congress. Such of them as are necessary for my government and conduct I shall strictly attend to.

The Money and Bills for our prisoners, had better be trans. mitted to Elias Boudinot Esquire, to whom I shall give directions to adopt ways and means for sending the same,

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and for a proper appropriation and distribution of the Money amongst them. Bills, I think, will be most eligible, provided they are duly paid. As to procuring Cloathes in

8. Thomas Long, nicknamed Bunk Eye, from his prominent eyes, was a schoolmaster near Rahway. Stephen had written Washington that Long “distressed the Inhabitants on the passage of the B. troops through the Jerseys. He is gone for Philadelphia as a spy, two days ago. He associates with Quakers.” Stephen's letter to Washington, dated Apr. 23, 1777, is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, with Washington's letter to Congress, this same date.

9. In the writing of Alexander Hamilton; the draft is in that of Tench Tilghman.

New York, I have reason to believe, that it will not be allowed, and that the prisoners will obtain no supplies, but what we send them.

I heard of Mr. Franklin's practices some time ago, and advised Governor Trumbull of the same, that his conduct might be properly attended to. It is very unhappy for us, that thro' the intrigues of such Men, the Enemy have found means to raise a spirit of disaffection, but too generally, in many of the States. In this, I have Strong assurances, that it has arisen to a great height, and I shall not be disappointed, if a large number of the Inhabitants, in some of the counties Should openly appear in Arms, as Soon as the Enemy begin their operations. I have taken every measure, in my power, to suppress it; but nevertheless, several from Sussex and Bergen, have joined their Army, and the spirit becomes more and more daring every day.

You will be pleased to direct General Mifflin to remain at Philadelphia, as long as Congress shall think his presence there essential.

I have inclosed a Copy of General Howe's Letter,³⁰ which I received last night, in answer to mine of the 9th Instant.

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Nothing of an interesting Nature has occurred since my last, which leaves me only to add, that I have the honor to be etc.³¹

30. Howe's letter, dated Apr. 21, 1777, is in the *Washington Papers*.

31. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison; the draft is in that of Alexander Hamilton.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Morris Town, April 28, 1777.

Sir: I last night received the favor of your Letter of the 26th with the Resolves to which it alludes.

The views of Congress in Sending General Officers to the Eastward, to hasten on the Troops, have been long anticipated. Genl Poor is in New Hampshire for the purpose; General Heath in Massachusetts Bay, with Brigadiers Nixon, Glover and Paterson, General Varnum in Rhode Island and General Parsons in Connecticut. Genls. Spencer and Arnold too, have been desired to attend to the business, to these Gentlemen I have wrote repeatedly, in the most pressing terms upon the Subject, and I have no reason to doubt, but every exertion on their part, has been employed to promote the end. The delay of those, who have inlisted, has arisen from the late period when they engaged, and from their being inoculated since, which could not be dispensed with, without subjecting them to the calamities and ravage of the Small Pox in the natural way.

At three O'Clock this Morning, I received a Letter from Genl McDougal inclosing three from Colo. Huntington, Copies of the whole of which, I have transmitted. By these you will perceive the impression which a part of Genl Howe's Army

has made into Connecticut, and the prospect they had of destroying such of our Stores as were deposited in Danbury, which, unfortunately, were but too large and considerable,

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if the Event has taken place. A circumstance, perhaps more to be regreted, is, that the Enemy marched thro' a strong and rough Country and were near that place, without the smallest opposition. I have no other information upon the Subject, than what these papers contain, but we have little ground to expect, that they have not accomplished their purpose. Further intelligence will have not accomplished their purpose. Further intelligence will be probably received to day or to morrow, when I shall be happy to hear, that they have paid for their Enterprize. Of this I confess, however, I am not very sanguine in my expectations. This post had been considered, as a proper depository for Stores by Gentlemen acquainted with it, and its security not thought questionable, whilst Troops were passing thro' it. I had also directed, that as many of the drafts in Connecticut, as the place was capable of accomodating, should be collected there and innoculated, to answer the purpose of a guard; hoping by the time of their recovery, that the Situation of the Army would be such as to admit a strong one to be stationed there and continued; but unhappily for us, such languor and supineness prevails every where, that we seem unable to effect any point we wish, tho' never so important and interesting. So early as the 6th of March, I wrote Govr. Trumbull earnestly requesting Two thousand Militia to be sent to Genl McDougal, to be employed at Peeks Kill and on the communication in

West Chester County for Six Weeks; with this requisition he most readily complied, so far as his orders were necessary, and I am certain, his influence would extend. This I have repeated and this Supply he has exerted himself to furnish. Yet so ineffectual have his endeavours been, that not more than Eight hundred had come out, by Genl. McDougal's return on the 17th Inst. nor did he expect more from the accounts he had. In a word, Sir, no expedient or pains have been unattempted by me, to bring on Troops, and to keep our Affairs on a favorable footing.

I would again mention, the case of our prisoners with the Enemy, and pray that the Secret Committee would send to Mr. Boudinot, Supplies of Money for them as early as possible. They are in great distress, and many Officers have lately escaped, Contrary to the tenor

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of their paroles, some of whom are now here, urging that necessity compelled them to the measure. I have the honor &c.63

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Morris Town, ½ after 8 O'Clock, April 30, 1777.

Sir: I have been waiting with much anxiety to hear

63. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

the result of the expedition against Danbury, which I never was informed of 'till this minute. The inclosed Copy of a Letter from General McDougal and of Several Others, which he transmitted, will give Congress all the intelligence, I have upon the Subject. I have only to add and to lament, that this Enterprize has been attended but with too much success on the part of the Enemy. I have the honor to be etc.71

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Morris Town, May 3, 1777.

Sir: I was yesterday honored with your Letter of the 29th ulto. inclosing Sundry Resolves. Agreeable to the direction of Congress, I have written to the States of New Hampshire and Massachusetts, and urged them to compleat and forward their Troops, destined for Ticonderoga, with all possible expedition.

The Brigadiers who are gone there for the present, are Fermoy, Poor, Paterson and Learned. Nixon and Glover were also intended for that Post under my first Plan, which was, that all the Regiments to be raised in those States by the

71. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The McDougall letter was that of April 29 with its inclosures.

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Resolve in September, should compose that Army; but having, by the advice of my Officers, directed the Route of Eight Regiments from the latter to Peek's Kills, to wait till the designs of General Howe were unfolded, these two Officers were to follow them. I did not particularize the Brigadiers who were to go first, or the Regiments, but left the Matter to Major Genl. Heath, who was instructed, in general Terms, to pursue such measures as seemed most likely to promote the service. The Colos. Appointed to the New Hampshire Regiments, I never knew; Those ordered to Ticonderoga from Massachusetts by Genl Heath, and who, I presume have marched, were Baily, Wesson, Jackson, Marshall, Brewer, Bradford and Francis. What proportions of their Regiments have Marched, I cannot ascertain; but I am persuaded, they were detached as fast as they were raised and circumstances would admit. Francis's Regiment, the first of April, was returned Five hundred strong, and by a Letter from Colo. Marshall about the 15th of last Month, he expected to March in a day or two with the last division of his Regiment that was ready, which would make about 400, including those who had gone; The remainder, about 60, were to follow with proper Officers, as soon as they were fit, having been inoculated.

I have written to Generals McDougall and Clinton, to have the Provisions removed from Derby &c. and directed, that they should point out proper places for its reception in Ulster; also that small Works and guards of Militia

will be essential for its protection.

The Measures adopted for bringing Officers to Account and to a Settlement, I wish to have the desired effect. Every aid in my power to enforce the Regulations and to produce the end, shall be given; being firmly convinced, that many have committed the most flagrant and Shameful abuses.

The damage we Sustained at Danbury, or the Enemy's loss, have not been transmitted with any accuracy; but from the latest Accounts from thence, The former was not so great and the latter more Considerable than was apprehended at first.

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I congratulate Congress upon the fortunate arrival of the Amphitrite, with Military and Ordnance Stores; It is an important event. That of the French Ship at Boston and of the Sloop from Martinique, added to the Capture of the two provision Ships, are to be regarded as interesting too. I would here take the Liberty to mention, that I think all the Military and Ordnance Stores should be moved, without a Moment's delay, to Springfield, or some interior part of the Country. Springfield should be the place, because the Elaboratory is there and they will be more convenient to use, as Exigencies require. In their present situation, their security is questionable, and if an Attack should be made in the Eastern Quarter, their loss is much to be apprehended. Before I quit this Subject, I would beg leave to observe also, that the disposal and direction of Military Stores should be only with one body or with one person. At present this power is exercised thro' so many Channels, that much confusion is introduced, and it cannot be avoided; nor will it be possible, that Matters in this line, should be conducted with any degree of propriety, unless Congress come into some Regulations respecting them. The inclosed extract of a Letter from Genl. Heath, will prove the expediency. Many other Instances might be mentioned, were it necessary.

The desertions from our Army of late, have been very Considerable. Genl Howe's proclamation and the bounty allowed to those who carry their Arms, have had an unhappy influence on too many of the Soldiers; in a particular Manner on those who are not Natives. Nor have the base frauds, practised by Several of our Officers, contributed a little to this, in my Opinion. Many of the privates complain loudly, declaring they have not received either pay or bounty, others not a farthing of the latter, and they have become so mutinous and uneasy, in many cases, that I have been obliged to draw Warrants for Money on Account, to distribute among the Men, not having it in my power to obtain regular Abstracts, notwithstanding the most pointed and repeated orders. On the other hand, Some of the Officers aver, they have not been able to collect and adjust yet, all their

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Recruiting Accounts. I could wish some means could be devised, to cause more frequent desertions of their Troops; Congress may think

of some Expedients. A larger bounty might have some effect, and Money to the Foreigners in lieu of Lands. The Bounty given by Genl. Howe to those who carry in Arms is Sixteen Dollars, as we are told, tho' his proclamation only express they shall have the full Value. To the Inhabitants who will take up Arms and join him, he promises Land. I have the honor to be &c.9

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Morris Town, May 5, 1777.

Sir: I was this morning honored with your Letter of the 3d Inst. with its inclosures.

General Arnolds promotion gives me much pleasure; he has certainly discovered, in every instance where he has had an opportunity, much bravery, activity and enterprize. But what will be done about his Rank? he will not act, most probably, under those he commanded but a few weeks ago.³⁰

I trust the appointment of Mr. Ludwick³¹ as Superintendant of Bakers, will have the salutary consequences you mention. I have been long assured, that many abuses have
9. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

30. Arnold's commission as major general gave him rank from Feb. 17, 1777. On May 20 Congress ordered that a horse, properly caparisoned, be presented to him to replace the one killed under him at Danbury, Conn.

31. Christopher Ludwick (Ludowick). He served as superintendent of bakers and director of baking from May, 1777, through 1782.

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been committed for want of some proper regulations in that department.

By Major Troop,³² one of Genl Gates's Aids, and who left Albany on Tuesday last, I am informed, the accounts of General Carlton's approach towards Ticonderoga were premature. He says Genl Gates received a letter before he came away, from Brigadier Genl. Wayne of the 24th Ulto., in which he mentions nothing of it, and that Three thousand Troops had arrived there all in high Spirits and Health, except nine, and that that Post could never be carried, without the loss of much Blood. The Proceedings of Congress and your Letter of the 29th Ulto., were the first and only information I had of Mr. Carleton's being on the Lake, having heard nothing upon the subject from Genl Gates or any other person.

In my last I mentioned, that 16 Dollars bounty were given by Genl. Howe to deserters with Arms; I have reason to believe, from information received since, and which seems to be generally credited, that he has advanced the bounty to 24 Dollars.

It is much to be wished, that our Printers were more discreet in many of their Publications. We see almost in every Paper, Proclamations or Accounts transmitted by the Enemy, of an injurious nature. If some hint or caution could be given them on the Subject, it might be of material Service.

32. Maj. Robert Troup. Later he was promoted to lieutenant colonel; became secretary to the Continental Board of Treasury on May 20 1779; resigned in February, 1780.

By a Person, who has just arrived here, it is reported that Genl. Wooster is dead of his wounds.

I would mention to Congress, that in a day or two our Military Chest will be exhausted; I beg that a Supply may be forwarded as soon as possible. If there should be a failure, we shall have many things to apprehend. I have the Honor to be &c.

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P.S. I have inclosed a List of Stores lost at Danbury. You will also receive a New York paper, by which you will see the Enemy's Account of that Affair and how little they have regarded a True state. We are told certainly they had 47 Men killed and from the Accounts, that have been received. I think it may be fairly concluded, that their Loss was much more considerable than they make it.³³

To ROBERT MORRIS, RICHARD HENRY LEE, WILLIAM WHIPPLE, AND PHILIP LIVINGSTON³⁴

Head Quarters, Morris Town, May 5, 1777.

Gentn.: I was this Morning honored with your Letter of the 2d Inst covering one for Mr. Boudinot, which shall be delivered him. I wish the Bills transmitted to him, had been for a larger Sum, and I trust, in a few days they will be followed by others or a Supply of Money. Mr. Boudinot's address, is, Commissary Genl of Prisoners, in the Army of the United States of America. I have the honor to be, etc.³⁵

33. In the writing of Richard Kidder Meade and Robert Hanson Harrison.

34. A secret committee of Congress.

35. The draft of this letter is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Morris Town, May 9, 1777.

Sir: This will be delivered you by Colo. Conway⁵⁵ an Irish Gentleman, in the Service of France, who came passenger in the Amphitrite and was introduced to me Yesterday, by a Letter from Mr. Deane and one from Genl Heath, Copies of which are transmitted.

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This Gentleman waits on Congress, to obtain an appointment in the Army of the States and from Mr. Deane's recommendation, is an Officer of Merit. He says no particular command was agreed on, between him and Mr. Deane, nor does he wish otherwise, than that Congress should exercise their own discretion; At the same time he observes, that it will be mortifying to him, to hold a rank under that of Monsieurs De Fermoy and De Borre, who were inferior Officers, in their own service, and subject to his Command. He can give the Character of Several of the Officers, who were passengers with him.

I cannot pretend to Speak of Colo. Conway's merits or abilities of my own knowledge, having had but little opportunity to be acquainted with him; From what I can discover, he appears to be a Man of candour, and if he has been in service, as long as he says he has, I should suppose him infinitely better qualified to serve us, than many who

55. Thomas Conway. Congress made him a brigadier general on May 13. It was from him that the cabal which attempted to supersede Washington as Commander in Chief took its name.

have been promoted, as he speaks our language. He seems extremely anxious to return to Camp, as the Campaign may be expected to become active every day, and wishes Congress to determine whatever command, they may think proper to honor him with, as soon as they shall think it expedient. I have the honor to be &c.56

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Morris Town, May 9, 1777.

Sir: The inclosed is Copy of a Letter which was handed to me by Mr. Mottin de la Balme⁵⁷ from Silas Deane Esqr. For a more particular account of his Merit and Services, I must refer you to himself. I have sounded him as to his expectations, and find that nothing under a Lieut. Colonelcy of Horse will content him. If you should, from his own Account, or from

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what you can collect from others, think proper to confer this Rank upon him, there is no vacancy in any other Corps, except that of Colo. Sheldon's.

I am afraid we shall never be able to find places vacant, equal to the expectations of the French Gentlemen that are now here, much less for those that will follow. The high

56. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

57. Capt. Mottin de La Balme, captain in the French Army. He was made lieutenant colonel and Inspector General of Cavalry of the Continental Army in July, 1777; killed by the Miami Indians in 1781.

Rank conferred upon those who first came over, many of whom had no pretensions, either from their Services or Merit, has naturally raised the expectations of those who come properly recommended to such a pitch, that I know not what will satisfy them. Indeed it is not to be imagined, that a Gentleman and an Old Soldier, can Submit to be commanded by a Person in this Country, who he remembers to have been his inferior in France. I know not how we can remedy this evil, or put a Stop to the growth of it, but by being very circumspect for the future, on whom we confer any Rank above that of a Subaltern. I have the Honor etc.⁵⁸

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Morris Town, May 10, 1777.

Sir: Since I had the honor of addressing you on the 5th Instt. nothing material has occurred.

Inclosed, you will be pleased to receive a General Return of our forces in Jersey the 6th Instt., which is the first I have been able to obtain with any degree of accuracy.

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I have not heard from General De Haas since his promotion. As soon as I was informed of it, I wrote and

58. Win the writing of Tench Tilghman.

requested him to repair to Camp, but having received no Answer I am apprehensive my Letter miscarried. I wish Congress to give him Notice of his appointment and directions to join the Army, if he accepts his Commission and is not prevented by indisposition.

Thro' the Board of War, I have been favoured with a Copy of Genl Gates's Letter of the 29th Ult. Hudson's River and the passes in the Highlands, I always Considered, as objects of great importance, and accordingly, have provided for their Security in the best Manner my judgment would direct and the circumstances of the Army admit. If they are less secure, than we wish them to be, it is owing to our inability and not to inattention. I have written to Genl McDougall and will do it again, to employ much of his care, upon this Subject. War in Theory and the modes of defence are obvious and easy, but in practice they are more difficult. Unhappily for us, the means in our power, do not always accord with our wishes, or what would be our Interest to pursue. As yet, none of the Eastern Troops have pass'd the North River, except two small detachments from Connecticut and Rhode Island, amounting to about 270, which missed my orders, till they had got over. These I shall send back, after we are more reinforc'd, unless the movements of the Enemy in this Quarter, make their detention necessary. The rest of the Eastern Troops, which have March'd, except the 7 Regiments from Massachusetts, and Three from New Hampshire ordered

immediately to Ticonderoga, are at or on their way to Peek's Kills, as mentioned in my Letter of the 3d, where they are to remain, with all the York Troops, except Van Schaick's and Gansevorts now at the Northward, till Genl. Howe's designs and intended Operations are better understood. This disposition appearing to me and my General Officers, the best that could be made, in our State of uncertainty, was adopted. The Two Troops of Horse,

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recommended by Congress to be sent to Genl Gates, shall go as soon as circumstances will admit. At present we have not more than what are constantly employed at the different Posts.

Genl. Heath in a Letter of the 30th. Ultio. mentions, that the Military Chest at the Eastward is exhausted, and that a Supply will be wanted much to defray the Expenses which will arise on the removal of the Military and Ordnance Stores to Springfield. He says, Mr. Hancock⁶⁴ was to write upon the Subject, and requested I would also mention it to Congress in my first Letter.

Accounts have been frequently exhibited of late by the Officers respecting Subsistence, whilst recruiting and on their March. As I do not recollect the provision Congress have made in such cases, I wish to be informed and to be favoured with a Copy of their Several Resolves upon the Subject.

A consideration of the Return transmitted and of the Several Detachments, that have joined and which form it, will shew Congress what our Situation has been.

64. Ebenezer Hancock.

I have, etc.⁶⁵

To THE BOARD OF WAR

Head Quarters, Morris Town, May 10, 1777.

Sir: I am favored with yours of the 7th. instant inclosing Genl Gates's Letter to Congress. A proper attention has been paid to the importance of the passes upon Hudson's River, for the Security of which, a large part of the Eastern Force is ordered to Peekskill and that Neighbourhood, there to wait, until the intentions of the Enemy are more fully known.

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You will be pleased to transmit Major Etherington's⁶⁶ parole to Elias Boudinot Esqr. Commissary of Prisoners, to whom you will in future address all Papers or Letters upon the Subject of Prisoners. I am etc.

P.S. Three Regiments of New York are also at Peekskill.⁶⁷

65. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison; the draft is in that of Richard Kidder Meade.

66. Lieut. Col. George Etherington, of the Sixtieth Foot, British Army.

67. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman. It is addressed to Richard Peters as secretary to the Board of War.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Morris Town, May 12, 1777.

Sir: I was this Morning honored with your Letter of the 10th Inst., accompanied by the proceedings of Congress of the day before.

The conduct of too many Officers, in withholding the pay of their Soldiers, I am persuaded, is reprehensible, and has been the cause of uneasiness and of many desertions. Every measure in my power will be exerted, to prevent such abuses in future, and every aid given, to punish the offenders in an Exemplary manner; But Congress will excuse me, when I tell them, it will be impossible to comply with their recommendation upon this subject, unless the General Officers withdraw their attention from Matters of the utmost importance and such as require their constant care. Were this not the case, the dispersed Situation of the Officers at this time, thro' the different States, on the Recruiting Service, would prohibit the inquiry. Nor do I apprehend the Regulations empowering and enjoining the Regimental Pay Masters to bring them to an Account, will be found competent to the end. Such Officers will be proper to state the Accounts in the first instance and to receive

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Vouchers &c, but will not do to Settle them finally, as their connections with the Regiment will subject them much

to the influence of the Officers. I should suppose, if two or three Gentlemen of integrity and ability in Accounts were appointed Auditors, to attend the Army till the Business is finished, it would be the best expedient that could be fallen on. They would be a check on the Pay Masters, and, I am persuaded, will be the means of the Accounts being fairly and justly liquidated. If a Settlement can be once obtained, I trust the same confusion will never take place again, as the pay Masters will receive and pay All Money due to the Regiments and account for it, and as the Army is on a more permanent footing than it ever was before; For this, like most other inconvenience and difficulties, which we have experienced, is to be imputed, in a great Measure, to Short Inlistments and the frequent dissolution of our Troops.

A Return of the Army in Jersey, as late as the 6th Inst I transmitted yesterday Morning in a Letter by Mr. Randolph of Chesnut Street; which you will probably receive to day and from which Congress will be able to determine, the Expediency of calling out the Militia from Delaware and Pennsylvania. Tho' it gives me pain, that we should be under the necessity of recurring to such a Measure, yet I should suppose it to be advisable. Our Army is weak and by no means equal to that of the Enemy and till their designs are known, and we are more reinforced with Regular Troops, we should be prepared in the best manner we can. I would observe, if the Militia are called out, it should be for a fixed, determinate time; For tho' they will certainly

return when that expires, yet, that is more tolerable than for them go off in Parties, every day, as their whim and caprice suggest, which has been always the case, when the time was not stated. I would also observe, if it is possible, they should be engaged to march out of their States if they are ordered. If their Service is located, they will move with great reluctance, if they do at all.

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On Saturday a Smart Skirmish happened with a detachment of our Troops, who attacked a Number of the Enemy near Piscataway, in which our Men behaved well and obliged the Enemy to give way twice, as reported to me, with loss; The Enemy receiving a strong Reinforcement, our People retreated to their Post. I cannot give the particulars, as they have not been sufficiently ascertained. Their Pickets were also attacked yesterday by some of our parties from Bound brook and forced within their Lines. I have &c.79

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Morris Town, May 12, 1777.

Sir: This will be delivered you by General Arnold, who

79. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

arrived here to day in his way to Philadelphia.⁸⁰ He seems to be anxious to Settle his public Accounts, which are of considerable amount, and waits on Congress, hoping they will appoint a Committee of their Body, or of such Gentlemen as they shall judge proper, to take the Matter into consideration. This he considers the more necessary, as he has heard, some Reports have been propogated, injurious to his Character as a Man of Integrity. If any such aspersion lie against him, it is but reasonable, that he should have an Opportunity of vindicating himself, and evincing his innocence.

I find, he does not consider the Promotion, Congress have been pleased to confer upon him, sufficient to obviate the neglect arising from their having omitted him in their late Appointments of Major Generals. He observes, It does not give him the rank he had a claim to from Seniority in the line of Brigadiers; And that he is subject to be Commanded by those, who had been inferior to him. He further adds, that Congress in their last Resolve respecting him, have acknowledged him competent to the Station of Major General, and therefore have done away every objection, implied by their former omission. These Considerations are not without their weight, tho' I pretend not to judge, what

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motives may have influenced the conduct of Congress upon this occasion. It is needless to say any thing of this Gentleman's Military Character. It is universally known, that he has always distinguished himself, as a

80. With Washington's permission Arnold went to Philadelphia on the question of his rank, and Putnam was ordered to Peekskill in his stead. Arnold was unsuccessful in his application to Congress for the adjustment of his seniority. His enemies in that body were more numerous than his friends, though they were compelled to render at least a show of justice to his acts of extraordinary bravery and military conduct. Richard Henry Lee and John Adams, however, were quite in the dark as to this, as Lee wrote to Jefferson (May 20): "One plan, now in frequent use, is to assassinate the characters of the friends of America, in every place, and by every means. At this moment they are now reading in Congress an audacious attempt of this kind against the brave General Arnold." (See *Memoir of the Life of Richard Henry Lee and His Correspondence*, vol. 2, p. 38.) And John Adams wrote to his wife (May 22): "I spent last evening at the war office with General Arnold. He has been basely slandered and libelled. The regulars say 'he fought like Julius Caesar.' I am wearied to death with the wrangles between military officers, high and low. They quarrel like cats and dogs. They worry one another like mastiffs, scrambling for rank and pay like apes for nuts."

judicious, brave Officer, of great Activity, enterprize and perseverance. I have &ca.81

To THE BOARD OF WAR

Head Quarters, Morris Town, May 12, 1777.

Sir: I am favored with yours of the 11th. Capt. Gamble⁸² who was at Princeton, has been exchanged some time since, and Capt McPherson⁸³ who was left there wounded, has, upon his own request, permission to go into Brunswick, whenever the State of his health will admit of his removal. The Doctr. will of course go with him. I never heard of any particular improper behaviour of the Doctor; General Putnam barely mentions, that he

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suspects, that thro' him, Messages are Sent backward and forward, and to get rid of him I consented that Capt. McPherson Should go in.

I yesterday furnished Congress with a General Return of the Army in this Quarter; since that was made out, I have received Returns from Colo. Stone at Bristol of the 8th Inst., where there were about 800 Men; some Small detachments have likewise since joined Genl. Putnam.

81. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

82. Capt. Thomas Gamble, of the Forty-seventh Foot, British Army.

83. Capt. John(?) McPherson, of the Seventeenth Foot, British Army.

I have wrote fully to Congress upon the propriety of calling out the Militia of Delaware and Pennsylvania, to which I refer the Board.

I am obliged for the particular Returns of the Amphitrite's Cargo and the other papers inclosed and am with great Respect etc.⁸⁴

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Morris Town, May 13, 1777.

Sir: I have reason to apprehend, from the information I have received, that desertions from some of the Virginia Regimts., now on their March, will, in all probability be not less frequent, than they have been from some from Pennsylvania, which are in Camp. There is cause to fear, they will be more Common and certain. I am told, that Convict Servants, purchased from their Masters by the Recruiting Officers, compose no small proportion of the Men from the Upper and more interior Part of that State. If the fact be so, and I believe it is not to be doubted, I strongly suspect, that the greater part of these Men, if not the

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whole of them, will go over to the Enemy, especially if the Money paid for their purchase should be Stopped from their pay.⁹⁵

84. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman. The letter was addressed to Richard Peters, as secretary to the Board of War.

95. On May 19 the Board of War reported on this matter, and it was resolved that “no stoppages be made for the present from the pay of soldiers who were servants, for any moneys paid their late Masters.” (See *Journals of the Continental Congress*, May 19, 1777.)

The Officers concerned in this business, excuse themselves upon the principle of necessity, alledging that the difficulty of getting Recruits, compelled them to the Measure. As this most probably was the case, and we find ourselves greatly distressed for want of Men, I beg leave to submit it to Congress, Whether it will not be advisable, that they should receive their full pay, without Stoppage, and the advances made in such instances be taken into public Account; Or whether it will not be most conducive to the good of the Service, to discharge them from it, returning them to their former occupations, or disposing of them to New Proprietors. I confess, I shall have no reliance upon such Troops, nor shall I ever be without apprehensions of their deserting with their Arms. In the consideration of this case, many difficulties appear, and I shall be happy if Congress will adopt or advise such measures, as shall seem most likely to remove them and to advance the public good. I have &ca.⁹⁶

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Morris Town, May 16, 1777.

Sir: Your Letter of the 15th. I had the Honor to receive

96. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

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last night at Eleven O'Clock. The Commission inclosed for Monsieur Armand,²⁶ I shall deliver him as soon as I see him.

Agreeable to your request, I will give Commissions to the Brigadiers, and will ascertain their Rank by their original Commissions, when I obtain them. The inquiry directed, respecting Major Campbell,²⁷ shall be made and that be done which shall appear right.

I fear it will be hardly possible to satisfy the views and Claims of some of the French Gentlemen. The late promotion of Monsr. Malmady, tho highly Honourable, and such as should be considered fully, if not more than adequate to his pretensions, taken upon any principle, does not come up to his demands. He arrived here yesterday morning, and has been writing to me upon the Subject. From the high marks of distinction, but too readily conferred upon those men, in many instances, they seem to have lost sight of what is just and reasonable. It would have been happy for us, particularly for me, and for the Gentlemen themselves, if a too easy grant of favors, had not induced them to contemn All rank in our Army, under that of first Officers: Nor is it in my power to give Commands to every Appointment. I shall inform Monsieur Armand, and reconcile him to it in the best manner I can, that there is no Vacancy for him at present: and I would beg leave to suggest, that where promotions are made in future, from Political and Honorary Motives, that it will be Well for Congress to explain to the Gentlemen, that it may be some time before they can be put in actual command. This might prevent their entertaining Suspicions

26. Charles Armand-Tuffin, Marquis de la Rouerie. He was lieutenant colonel and Inspector of Cavalry of the Continental Army; colonel in Pulaski's Legion and Armand's Partisan Corps; brigadier general in the Continental Army.

27. Maj. Richard Campbell, of the Eighth Virginia Regiment. By resolve of Congress (May 13) Washington was requested to inquire into the date of Campbell's commission and make such rank adjustments as he believed proper.

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of neglect on my part, which the situation of the Army will not allow me to obviate. There is no vacancy for Monsieur Malmady of the rank he now holds, unless the Merits of many other Officers who have Served with reputation and much longer here, are to be overlooked, to make way for him. Such a Measure will neither be practicable, nor prudent to attempt.

By a Letter from General Heard, who is at Pompton, I am informed that Cols. Barton and Buskirk²⁸ with 300 Tory Levies from Bergen, on the Morning of the 13th, attempted to Surprize and cut off, about 70 of his Militia, Stationed at Paramus. The Officer happily had Notice of their design and eluded it, by moving his Post. It happened that the Morning was foggy and the Enemy entering at different places, their parties engaged. Genl. Heard says their loss could not be ascertained, but from the Reports of some of the Inhabitants, Ten of their Men were killed and carried away at one time and several wounded. I have &ca.²⁹

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Morris town, May 21, 1777.

Sir: Inclosed I have the Honor to transmit you a General

28. Lieut. Cols. Joseph Barton and Abraham Van Buskirk, of New Jersey Volunteers, British Provincial troops.

29. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison; the draft is in that of Richard Kidder Meade.

Return of the Forces in Jersey.⁷⁴ It is regimentally digested and will shew the strength of each Corps. I should not have sent it so particularly made out, had I not conceived the conveyance, by which it goes from hence, entirely secure.

I have nothing material to add respecting the Enemy. I have &c.

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P.S. I need not suggest to Congress the necessity of keeping our Numbers concealed from the knowledge of the public. Nothing but a good face and false appearances have enabled us hitherto to deceive the Enemy respecting our Strength.⁷⁵

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Morristown, May 24, 1777.

Sir: I beg leave to inform Congress, that immediately after the receipt of their Resolve of the 26th March, recommending the Office of Adjutant General to be filled by the appointment of a Person of abilities and unsuspected attachment to our Cause. I wrote to Colo Timothy Pickering of Salem, offering him the Post in the first instance, and transmitting at the same time a Letter for Colo. Lee, whom Congress had been pleased to mention, to be delivered him, in case my offer could not be accepted. This

74. The return inclosed, in the writing of Washington, is in the *Washington Papers*. The five divisions consisted of two brigades each, and each brigade contained four or five regiments. The total strength of the Army was but 8,188. The regiments comprising the brigades are given in the General Orders of May 22, 1777, *q. v.*

75. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

conduct, in preference of Colo. Pickering, I was induced to adopt, from the high character I had of him, both as a great Military genius, cultivated by an industrious attention to the Study of War, and as a Gentleman of liberal education, distinguished zeal and great method and activity in Business. This character of him I had from Gentlemen of distinction and merit, and on whose Judgment I could rely. When my Letter reached Colo Pickering, at first view, he thought his situation in Respect to public affairs, would not permit him to accept the Post. That for Colo Lee, he sent immediately to him, who in consequence of it repaired to Head Quarters. By Col Lee, I received a Letter from Colo. Pickering, stating more particularly the causes which prevented him accepting the Office, when

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it was offered, and assuring me that he would in a little time accomodate his Affairs in such a manner, as to come into any Military Post, in which he might be serviceable and thought equal to. Here I am to mark with peculiar satisfaction, in justice to Colo Lee, who has deservedly acquired the reputation of a good Officer, that he expressed a distrust of his abilities to fill the Appointment intended for him, and on hearing that Colo Pickering would accept it, he not only offered but wished to relinquish his claim to it, in favor of him, whom he declared, he considered from a very intimate and friendly acquaintance, as a first Military character and that he knew no Gentleman better or so well qualified for the Post among us. Matters being thus

circumstanced, and Colo. Lee pleased with the command he was in, I wrote Colo. Pickering on his return, who accepted the Office and is daily expected. In this business, I beg Congress to be assured, tho' Colo. Lee was postponed in the first instance, their recommendation had its due weight, and that no motive other than a regard to the service, induced me to prefer Colo Pickering. His acknowledged abilities and equal zeal, without derogating from the merits of Colo Lee, who holds a high place in my esteem, gave him a preference, and I flatter myself the Cause will be promoted in his Appointment, especially as we shall have two good Officers in lieu of one, and who I am persuaded, will do honour to themselves, in the line in which they move.

Considering the passes thro' the Highlands of the utmost importance to secure, I sent Generals Greene and Knox about a Fortnight ago, to see what had been done for their defence and to consult with the General Officers, they should meet upon such further measures as might be deemed necessary for their greater safety. The inclosed Copy of their Report, will fully convey their Sentiments upon the Subject and to which I beg leave to refer Congress.⁹² I have sent Genl. Putnam to command in that Quarter, and have instructed him to use every possible means in his power for expediting and effecting the Works and obstructions mentioned in the Report. Fearing that the Cables might not be procured in time, I have directed his particular and immediate attention to fixing the Boom.⁹³ However, as the Cables would render that more secure and will be

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92. The report of Greene and others, dated May 17, 1777, is in the *Washington Papers*.

93. The cables and boom were to support the chain which was stretched across the Hudson. Some of the links of this chain have survived and are at the United States Military Academy, West Point, N. Y.

extremely serviceable, in the Opinion of the Officers, if they are to be had in Philadelphia, I would advise Congress, to order them to be purchased and forwarded without loss of time. They cannot be got elsewhere. They must be proportioned to the width of the River which is Five Hundred and forty yards and as they will be of most use, if diagonally laid, the Gentlemen think they should not be less than Four hundred and fifty fathoms long; and of the largest size that can be had. Unless they are large and substantial, they will answer no purpose, and will not sustain their weight when stretched.

I should be glad to know, whether it be the intention of Congress, that one of the already appointed Genl. Officers may be assigned to the Command of the light Horse, or whether they have it in contemplation the appointing of one for this purpose. If the first, I shall immediately name one to that duty. If the second they will pleased to choose one, as it is time we should have our Arrangements compleat.

I have nothing of importance to communicate, unless it is, that Seventeen Ships are said to have arrived at New York on the 22d, and that others were in the Offing. A Report has also prevailed and has come thro' two or three Channels, that Govr. Tryon, that was, is dead of the wound he received in the Danbury expedition and one account is that Lieut. Colo. Walcot fell in the engagement at Ridgefield.⁹⁴

I don't know how far the facts are to be depended on; It seems certain that Mr. Tryon was wounded.

94. Both of the reports were untrue.

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I have the Honor to be, &ca.

P.S. As I don't know what particular purposes Congress had in view, when they ordered Colo Harrison's 95 Regiment of Artillery to be raised, I don't think myself at liberty to give any directions about it. But if they had no certain employment for it in view, I could wish them to order the whole or such part of it, as they shall judge proper, to join this Army, as we are in great want of more Artillery men than we have; It will not be necessary that the Artillery should come.⁹⁶

To CHARLES THOMSON

Head Qurs., Morris Town, May 24, 1777.

Sir: I received your favor of the 22d Ulto. requesting the papers, containing a plan for the establishment of Cavalry transmitted to Congress some time since by Genl Greene, and approved by them.

Those papers, if not left with Congress, have miscarried in the hands of Genl Greene as they have never been returned to me, nor has he them at present in possession. I applied to Col. Bland, who drew up the Original, for a Copy. He had kept none, but has transcribed one as well as he could from memory, which I believe Contains every thing material, in the original

95. Col. Charles Harrison, of the First Continental Artillery.

96. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison; the draft is in that of Harrison and George Lewis.

sent to Congress, and on which their Resolutions are founded. I have inclosed the same, and shall be glad to have a certified Copy of it agreeable to your Promise.⁹⁸ I am etc.⁹⁹

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Headquarters, Morristown, May 28, 1777.

Sir: The inclosed is a Copy of a Letter received yesterday from Genl Howe. 14 Congress will perceive, by referring to the Copy of this Letter of the 21st April, transmitted in mine of the 26th, that he persevered in his demand for an equal number of Prisoners to be returned for those sent out by him, and which have been the Subject of controversy between us. As General Howe has called upon me again, for my final decision upon the Subject, and Congress are fully possessed of it, having received transcripts of every paper respecting it; I wish them to take the matter under their earliest consideration, and to inform me, as soon as they can, Whether the grounds on which it has been conducted by me, are agreeable to their Ideas, and whether my objections are, or cannot be departed from. The affair is particularly stated in my Letter of the 9th ulto. to Genl. Howe, in answer to the paper addressed to me by Lt. Colo Wolcot, Copies of which were

98. What appears to be Col. Theodorick Bland's copy of the plan for establishing the cavalry is in the *Washington Papers* under the assigned date of Dec. 28, 1777.

99. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

14. Howe's letter of May 22, 1777, is in the *Washington Papers*. A copy by Alexander Hamilton is filed with this letter from Washington in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*.

inclosed in my letter to the President, on the 10th of the same Month. The dispute, as far as Genl Lee is concerned, rests at present on their declaring them exchangeable, as other Prisoners are, on the Principles of equality of Rank, to insure which or his safety, Lt. Colo Campbell and the Hessian Field Officers are detained. The other Objection to returning their prisoners, is, that a great proportion of those sent out by them, were not fit Subjects of Exchange when released, and were made so, by the Severity of their Treatment and

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confinement and therefore a deduction should be made from the list. Good faith seems to require, that we should return as many of theirs at least, as we received effectives from them; I mean, such as could be considered capable of being exchanged; and perhaps sound Policy, that the Agreement subsisting for Exchanges, should continue. On the other Hand, it may be said, that our Prisoners in general in the Enemy's hands, at present, will have greater security, by our retaining them, and that Genl Howe, will be less apt to relinquish any part of his claim, the more the number in our Hands is diminished by an Exchange. I confess, I am under great difficulty in this business; But what is more particularly the cause for this application, is, the latter part of the first paragraph of the Inclosed Copy "and for your determination respecting the Prisoners now here, that I may make my arrangements accordingly." This is couched in Terms of great ambiguity and I am really at a loss what interpretation to give it.

Whether he intends that his conduct respecting them, shall be as I advise; (This appears to me more favourable than can well be expected) Or that if the previous demand is not answered, in a satisfactory manner, he shall consider them on a different footing, from that on which our former Prisoners were and the Agreement totally dissolved. We are told Government offered the Prisoners they took, to the India Co. and they have procured an Act, dispensing with that of the Habeas Corpus, in particular cases of Persons supposed inimical to them &c. How far they or their Commanders may adopt these Measures, remains to be known; I have only mentioned them as they respect the Genl. Subject of my Letter.¹⁵ Notwithstanding my recommendation, agreeable to what I conceived to be the sense of Congress, Lt. Colo. Campbell's treatment continues to be such, as cannot be justified either on the principles of Generosity or strict retaliation. As I have authentic information and I doubt not, you will have the same, that General Lee's situation is far from being rigorous or uncomfortable. Except his not being permitted to go at large on parole, he has reason to be content with every other circumstance of his treatment.

I am just moving to Bound Brook, from whence I returned yesterday morning. On Monday Morning a Body of the Enemy advanced near that post; they retreated, on seeing a

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detachment march to meet them. There was some firing at long shot, but without any great damage. We had only three men slightly wounded. What their loss was, I know not; Three of their Light Horse were killed. By advices from the Eastward, the Troops are coming from Rhode Island. I have the Honor etc.16

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, May 29, 1777.

Sir: I this Morning had the Honor of your Letter of the 27th with its Inclosure.

I shall pay the strictest attention to the Resolutions transmitted me; However I am not without apprehensions, that the Regulation lately adopted

15. A bill was introduced into Parliament in February by the British ministry, enabling the King to “detain and secure persons charged with, or suspected of, high treason, committed in North America, or on the high seas, or of piracy.” The purpose of the measure was practically to suspend the habeas corpus privilege to all suspected persons to be apprehended, and to confine as prisoners of war prisoners taken from the “rebels,” and in the act of piracy. After a long debate the bill was passed with some amendments in the House, and met with no opposition in the Lords, the Earl of Abingdon alone entering a protest.— *Ford*.

16. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison; the draft, in that of Richard Kidder Meade, does not include the last two paragraphs.

In Judge E. A. Armstrong's collection is a short note in Hamilton's writing, signed by Washington, dated May 28, and addressed, presumably, to Robert Morris, informing that he is just setting off for Bound Brook and forwards letters from General Lee and others, received by flag of truce, from the British lines.

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respecting Chaplains, will not answer. I recollect, when One was assigned, in the course of last year, to Two Regiments, the prevailing Opinion was, and that founded on a variety of reasons, that it would not do, and the old mode of appointment was introduced again.

General Schuyler's proposal, for raising One or Two Troops of Horse, I think a Good one, I intended to write to him upon the Subject, before the receipt of your favor and shall do it by the first Opportunity.

I arrived here yesterday Evening. Nothing of importance has occurred since, and I have not further to add, than that I have the Honor to be etc.

PS. You will be pleased to send the Letter which accompanies this, to Genl. Reed.²²

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, May 31, 1777.

Sir: Monsieur Coudrè³⁶ is just arrived at Camp, and proposes to set out to Morrow for Philadelphia. What his views are, I am uncertain, having had no conversation with him upon the subject; but I find, an Idea prevails, that there is an agreement

22. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison; the draft, in that of Richard Kidder Meade, does not have the P. S.

36. Philippe Charles Jean Baptiste Tronson du Coudray. He came to America by way of the West Indies. He was adjutant general in the French Army and was selected by the Minister of War, Comte de Saint-Germain, to withdraw from the arsenals of France the artillery and ordnance stores which were sent to America by Beaumarchais, as part of the secret aid, with which the latter had been charged by the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, Comte de Vergennes. An agreement was signed in Paris between Du Coudray and Silas Deane on Sept. 11, 1776, by which he was to accompany the stores to America and receive the title of general of artillery and engineers, with the rank of major general

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in the Continental Army. Between the date of the agreement and Du Coudray's arrival in America serious difficulties arose through his imperious temper and his misunderstandings of the relations of Beaumarchais and Comte de Vergennes. Du Coudray's memorials and letters to Congress prejudiced that body against the work of Beaumarchais and made easier the work of the anti-Deane faction in bringing about his recall. Though an officer of undoubted ability, his accidental drowning in the Schuylkill River (Sept. 17, 1777) relieved the American Army of a difficult problem of rank adjustment.

between Mr. Deane and him, that he shall have the chief command of the Artillery.

How well founded this opinion may be, I cannot determine; but if it be true, it may involve the most injurious consequences. Genl Knox, who has deservedly acquired the Character of One of the most valuable Officers in the Service, and who, combating almost innumerable difficulties in the department he fills, has placed the Artillery upon a footing, that does him the greatest Honor. He, I am persuaded, would consider himself injured by an Appointment superceding his Command, and would not think himself at liberty to continue in the Service. Should such an Event take place, in the present State of things, there would be too much reason to apprehend a train of ills, and such as might convulse and unhinge this Important Department.

Supposing Monsr. Coudre to have made such an agreement, the case is of great difficulty, and which in my Opinion is worthy of the most delicate consideration of Congress. May not means be still devised to satisfie this Gentleman by appointing him to some Command not derogatory to his promised rank, and which will be agreeable to him? From the recommendations we have had of him, I am obliged to esteem him of high character, and of great knowledge in what he professes; And from this consideration and the manner in which he is mentioned to us,

it appears, that much address and delicacy must be used to conciliate Matters.

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Many reasons, besides those I have noted, might be assigned for continuing Genl. Knox, first in Command in this Department, which on reflection will readily occur. I would only observe, without insinuating the most distant Shadow of distrust of Monsr. Coudre's Honor, candour or integrity, that on the General maxims of prudence and policy, it may be questioned with much propriety, whether so important a Command, as that of the Artillery, should be vested in any but a Native, or one attached by the ties of Interest to these States.

Congress will be pleased to excuse the freedom, I have taken upon this occasion, and I trust, will impute it to the importance of the Subject, which gave rise to it. I have &ca.³⁷

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Qurs., Middle Brook Camp, May 31, 1777.

Sir: Since I did myself the honor to write to you the 29th, I have received the inclosed intelligence.³⁸ As it comes from a person of Veracity, and one who is much in the confidence of the

37. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

38. A copy of this intelligence is filed with Washington's letter in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*.

Enemy, I have no doubt as to the fact of the two Brigades having come over from New York to Amboy, and also that a number of Waggon's have been brought from Staten and Long Island. These accounts are corroborated by informations of the same kind from Several different Quarters. But I do not place so much dependance upon the Account of the intended attack upon this place, because I think, if such a matter was really in agitation, it would be kept a profound Secret. I rather am of opinion, that it is thrown out to deceive. But at any rate, taking it for granted that they are assembling their Troops

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and Carriages. What can they have in view but a move, either immediately or when their reinforcement (if they get any) arrives? and if they do move, I can see no other object but Philadelphia. It is true, they have seemed for some time past to have laid aside all thoughts, of attempting that City by land; but if they had only the attacking this Army in contemplation, they would never incumber themselves with a large Train of Waggons, which, if they were Successful, would retard them in their pursuit, and if defeated, would be in danger of falling into our Hands.

I inclose you an extract of a letter, which I reed. from Genl. Sullivan,³⁹ because they are not capable of performing a rough or long Voyage. This, if true, looks as if a Sudden if the two India Ships, which have been cut down, are gone out to Sea, I should suppose they are for the Delaware,

39. The extract from Sullivan's letter dated May 29, 1777, is filed with Washington's letter in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*.

corresponding move by land was intended, for they will never Send their Ships long before their Troops. These you will please to observe, are mere conjectures upon circumstances, for the Actions of the Enemy, have been for a long time past so different from appearances, that I hardly dare to form an opinion. But I would wish to profit by every piece of intelligence, and be prepared to ward off every danger that threatens. I would therefore recommend, that the Pennsylvania Militia, who are assembling at Bristol for the Express purpose of guarding the River and opposing the passage of the Enemy, should be put under the command of a good General Officer, who would see that they are kept to their duty and prepared for a Sudden emergency. Except this is done, they may as well be at home.

I last Night received a Letter from Genl McDougall, an extract of which you have inclosed.⁴⁰ By this it appears, that a Reinforcement is arrived, but whether from Canada or Europe is uncertain. You will observe that he likewise mentions that eight Transports

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with Foot and a Schooner with Horses and Hay had fallen down. We can only form conjectures for the present, of the place of their destination, but if they stand Southward, Philadelphia is the most probable place.

I have the pleasure to communicate a very agreeable piece of intelligence, which I have received from General Parsons⁴¹ of the destruction of twelve of the Enemy's Vessels in Sag Harbour upon the East End of Long Island. I give you his Letter

40. McDougall's letter, dated May 29, 1777, is in the *Washington Papers*.

41. Parsons's letter, dated May 25, 1777, is in the *Washington Papers*.

at length, which I think reflects high honor upon the Conduct and Bravery of Colo. Meigs, his Officers and Men. I have &ca.⁴²

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Middlebrook Camp, June 2, 1777.

Sir: The inclosed copies of General's Gates's and Poor's Letters, which just now came to hand, contain the latest advices from the Northern Army. These I thought it proper to transmit; as I am not authorised to conclude, that Genl Gates had written to Congress upon the Subject of their Contents. I wish our Accounts from that Quarter may be happy, if Mr Carleton makes an attack. The shameful deficiency in all our Armies, affords but too just grounds for disagreeable apprehensions. If the Quotas assigned the different States, are not immediately filled, we shall have every thing to fear. We shall never be able to resist their force, if the Militia are to be relied on; Nor do I know whether their Aid, feeble and ineffectual as it is, is much to be expected. Can no expedient be devised to complete the Regiments? and to rouse our unthinking Countrymen from their lethargy? If there can, the Situation of our affairs calls loudly

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42. In the writing of Tench Tilghman.

for it. I have the honor to be etc.

P.S. Mr Boudinot Commissary General for Prisoners, will deliver this. He goes to Philadelphia on business respecting his department and has Several Matters to Settle and adjust with Congress, which are essential and Necessary to a regular discharge of his duty. To him I beg leave to refer you upon the Subject and wish him to have your attention.⁵⁹

To GEORGE WALTON

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, June 2, 1777.

Sir: I have the pleasure of yours of the 27th May by Colo. White.⁶² I think the Answer which you gave him respecting his request for Liberty to recruit a Regiment for Georgia, in the other States, at this time, was extremely proper. For experience shews us, that the Quotas already allotted to them are full as much and I fear more than they will be able to furnish. At any rate, a recommendation of this kind would go very improperly from me, as it would be assuming a kind of right, to levy Men upon the States, which

⁵⁹. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison; the draft is in that of Alexander Hamilton and Harrison.

⁶². Col, John White, of the Fourth Georgia Regiment. He was wounded and taken prisoner at Savannah Oct. 9, 1779; made his escape but died shortly afterwards from his wounds.

right is and ought to be solely vested in the Members of the different States in Congress. To them therefore I think he ought to apply for a recommendation for such liberty, if it is thought expedient. I am &ca.⁶³

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To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quars., Middle Brook, June 3, 1777.

Sir: I would take the liberty of addressing a few lines to Congress, on a Matter, which appears to me of importance and which is considered in the same light by many of our Officers and others not in the Military line.

The subject I allude to, is, the condition of many persons now with the Enemy, who deluded by their Acts and a misguided attachment to their measures, fled from the protection of the States to find security with them, and who, in many instances, are in Arms against us.

It has been suggested thro' various Channels, and the suggestion seems to be credited, especially as some have already escaped, that many of those unhappy people, convinced of their error and the wicked part they have taken, would embrace the earliest opportunity of leaving the Enemy

63. The draft is in the writing of TenchTilghman.

and returning among us, were they sure of being received into our friendship again, and of enjoying their Property and the rights of Citizens.

This subject, in the consideration of it, strikes me as important, interesting and delicate, involving many consequences worthy of mature deliberation and attention. As such, and deeming myself incompetent to it, I think it my duty to submit it to Congress for their discussion, to take such measures therein, as they shall esteem necessary and right.

If these people, particularly those in Arms, are ingenuous in what has been hinted, and it is their wish or that of a considerable part of them to return; I should suppose, that it would be expedient and founded in sound Policy, to give every suitable assurance, to induce

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them to come. Such an event would be attended with Salutory effects, would weaken the Enemy, distress them greatly, and would probably have a most happy influence, in preventing others from joining their Arms. On the other hand, the indulgence may be liable to great abuse, supposing it not to be duly regarded, or if the effects produced by it, should be partial, they will not be adequate to the ends in view; Yet, as the Enemy, on their part, are using every devise they are capable of, to seduce both Soldiers and Citizens from our Service into their's and have succeeded but too well. It is generally thought, in the Military line, that something should be attempted to counteract them. Whether Congress

will be of the same Sentiment, and if they should, what and how extensive the mode and Indulgence ought to be, is entirely with them. There is one difficulty that occurs to me; supposing the measure to be adopted. What line of discrimination can be drawn upon such an occasion, tho' circumstances should differ and seem to require it? While the poor deluded, ignorant, duped by artifices and a thousand causes to lead them wrong, have a claim to their Country's Pardon and indulgence. There are many of well informed understanding, who from their early avowed hostile dispositions and inveterate disregard of her rights, and those who have taken a double and treble part, cannot have the same pretensions, whose only view in returning may be, to serve their own sordid purposes and the better to promote those plans, they have steadily pursued.

One thing more I would observe, which is, that if Congress judge an adoption of Measures eligible on the subject of my Letter, the sooner it is come into, the better, for the most obvious reasons, and the time allowed for those to return, who wish the indulgence, should be fixed at a short period; not longer, in my opinion, than till the day of next, otherwise they may avail themselves of the circumstance and wait events, to decide their choice. If any good consequences are produced, the means can be renewed and further extended.⁶⁷

Congress will be pleased to excuse me, for thus freely communicating my Sentiments, especially when I

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67. On June 4 Congress resolved: "Whereas, General Howe has, by offers of reward, endeavoured to induce the soldiers of the United States to desert and go over to him; *Resolved*, That General Washington be empowered to offer such rewards as he shall judge proper, to deserters from the enemy, whether horse or foot, encouraging them, by suitable offers, to bring with them their arms and horses.

assure them, that they are dictated by what I esteem my duty. I am &ca.

P.S. The more I consider the Subject of my Letter the more important and interesting it appears. I am inclined to think, if the measure proposed should be deemed expedient, that it will be better, that the indulgencies and assurances, for [to induce the] their return [of those with the Enemy] should be communicated thro' the medium of some Second, secret hand, qualified to offer them and to negotiate the business, rather than by an Act of Public Authority; Opportunities I should suppose, may be found, by which they may obtain due information in that way, and which will not hold out to the Enemy the same cause of Suspicion and of vigilance to prevent their escaping. Whatever mode shall be considered most advisable, should be immediately adopted. What time should be allowed in the first instance, I am at a loss to determine; If the continuance is too short, there may be danger of their not being apprized, so as to get off. If it is too long, they'll defer matters to the last and act then as circumstances of Interest dictate, to err in the former, will be least injurious.⁶⁸

68. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison; the draft is in that of Harrison and Richard Kidder Meade. The words in brackets are in the draft and not in letter sent.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Qurs., Middle Brook, June 5, 1777.

Library of Congress

Sir: Inclosed you will receive a Copy of a Letter from Genl. Howe of this date⁷⁹ You will perceive, how extremely pressing he is for an Answer to the demands in his Letters of the 21st of April and 22d Ult^o. As I referred the consideration of them to Congress, in mine of the 28th of May, requesting their opinion, I entreat that they will not defer giving it, that I may return an Answer. I shall impatiently wait their sentiments and flatter myself I shall have them by the most speedy and early conveyance.⁸⁰ I have the honor to be etc.⁸¹

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Qurs., Middle Brook, June 6, 1777.

Sir: I this morning had the Honor of your Letter of the 5th with its inclosures.

The Resolution of the 30th of May, respecting

79. Howe's letter of June 5 is in the *Washington Papers*. A copy is filed with Washington's letter in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*.

80. On June 6 Congress approved Washington's management of the exchange negotiations and authorized him to proceed along the lines laid down in his letters.

81. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

the French Gentlemen who came passenger in the Amphitrite, reached Camp before your Letter and has excited much uneasiness in the Artillery Corps.⁸³ The inclosed Copy of a Letter from General Knox will convey their anxiety upon the Subject and which I think it necessary to transmit, as well from duty as on Account of his request.⁸⁴ The difficulties upon this occasion, arise from the peculiar circumstances of most of the Officers composing the Artillery Regiments at this time.

I do not know, for my own part, what Operation Congress precisely meant the Resolution should have, but if the Commissions which these Gentn are to receive, should give them

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Rank from the date of those they had from the King of France, or from their compact with Mr. Dean, there are but few Officers now in the Artillery, who will not be superseded in their Command, unless some method is adopted to prevent it. This I am persuaded Congress had not in contemplation, because it is opposed to policy and to justice, and I am led to believe the Resolution was come into, for want of due information how matters were circumstanced in this instance.

The Officers now in the Artillery, I am obliged to consider of great merit. Experience has proved them to be most warmly attached to the rights of their Country, and their conduct in the line of their profession, has been such, as does the highest honor to themselves and the Gentleman who immediately commands them. Without derogating the least from the character of the French Officers, who are to be commissioned, and whom I wish to receive every

83. On May 30 Congress had resolved "That blank commissions be sent to General Washington, for the French officers lately arrived in the *Amphitrite*, to be filled up agreeable to a list to be forwarded to him by the committee; the rank of each class of the said officers robe settled by the date of their commissions from the King of France."

The list of names of these officers, dated May 30, 1777, is in the *Washington Papers*. It was forwarded to Washington by the Committee of Foreign Applications of Congress, this date.

84. Knox's letter, dated June 5, 1777, is in the *Washington Papers*; a copy is filed with Washington's letter in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*. Knox conceived that "the most fatal consequences will arise to the Artillery, except this Resolution be repealed; at least so far as respects the seniority of rank." (See note 46 to Washington's letter to Richard Henry Lee, June 1, 1777, *ante*.)

countenance they merit, there is strong reason to doubt, laying aside every consideration of Policy, whether they have seen as much real Service as our own in the course of Two

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Campaigns. It would be hard, not to say unjust, that the latter should loose their command, when they have a claim to every mark of favor, and after they have taken great pains to form their Companies. The Service requires that they should not, and I am convinced the Event would be attended with the most fatal consequences. But what is to be done? This is a case of difficulty, view it as you will. I am not for rejecting the French Gentlemen; far otherwise, I am for employing them, Public faith and the encouragements given to bring them over, demand that it should be done. After much thought and consideration upon the Subject, Two Modes occur to me, as only possible, by which it can be effected, and by which the inconveniencies I have mentioned, can be remedied. One is, that a New Corps of Artillery should be formed and these Gentlemen attached to it. This we have reason to fear cannot be done, from the difficulties we have experienced in raising Men and from their having no Interest or connections with the people. Their Situation in such case, if they are Men of Sentiment and Active dispositions, would be irksome and distressing. The other is, that our present Officers, now under consideration should have their Commissions antedated, to give them precedency of rank; And this may be done with the greater propriety, as most of them were intended to hold the Posts they now sustain, before the

French Gentlemen had any Claim upon us. It is true they were not commissioned, because the old Corps existed under the first arrangement: Further, it is said, and there is no doubt of the fact, that these Gentlemen were promoted by Brevet, just before their departure from France, merely to give them Rank here, antedated to which, our Officers were superior to them in this point; and those Brevets only confer local Rank, confined to the French American Colonies. This latter mode appears the most eligible; If it is adopted, they will be distributed thro' the Corps, as Assistant Officers; their want of a knowledge in our language, incapacitates them for command in the first instance, and not only so, but to place them at the Head of Companies, over Officers that have been at great trouble, pains and expence in raising the Men, would be both unmilitary and unjust. I shall now quit the Subject, wishing that whatever will best conciliate matters, and advance the public

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good, may be done, suggesting at the same time with all deference, as it is much easier to prevent Evils, than to remedy them, after they have happened; it will be well in all cases of Foreign and indeed other applications, that the consequences which granting them will involve should be maturely weighed and taken in every point of view. In the present case of difficulty, things I am persuaded, might have been adjusted, with the greatest facility, had the Committee of Foreign Applications, been fully possessed of all the Circumstances respecting the Artillery Regiments.

By a Letter from Genl Gates of the 2d Instant

transmitting a Copy of one from Genl. Poor, the Enemy, who were at Split Rock according to their last advices which I forwarded, have returned down the Lake. Capt. Whetcomb⁸⁵ had been sent out to reconnoitre and reported on his return, that only One Boat remained.

From Sundry Accounts from New York, there is reason to beleive, the Enemy are on the point of making some expedition. Their preparation of Ships for Troops, Light Horse &c. indicates, that they intend to go by Water. What their object is, yet remains a Secret. The inclosed Copy of an Examination, is very particular and as recent as any that I have received; The Person who gave the information belongs to Cape May County and appeared to be a Sensible, intelligent Lad.⁸⁶ A Deserter of the 71st this moment came in. You also have his Examination inclosed.⁸⁷ I have &c.⁸⁸

To THE BOARD OF WAR AND ORDNANCE

Head Qurs., Middle Brook, June 6, 1777.

Sir: I am favored with yours of the 30th May. Mr. Boudinot Commissary of Prisoners, is gone down to Congress, to lay before them

85. Capt. Benjamin Whitcomb, of Bedel's New Hampshire rangers. The British had returned northward on Lake Champlain.

Library of Congress

86. Enoch Willis. A copy of his examination, in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade, is filed with Washington's letter in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*.

87. William Mitchell, of the Seventy-first Foot, British Army. A copy of his examination, in the writing of Tench Tilghman, is filed with Washington's letter in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*.

88. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison; the draft, dated June 6, is in that of Richard Kidder Meade and Harrison. The examinations of Willis and Mitchell are dated June 7, so that this letter was not forwarded to Congress until that date. It was read in that body June 9.

a state of that department and from him you will learn, that Sir Wm. Howe would not permit Mr. Pintard to act as Agent for Prisoners, by Virtue of any Commission from me, but assented to his being allowed to distribute any Money or Necessaries that might be sent in. Mr. Boudinot can likewise give you full information of any other matters respecting the State of our Prisoners in the hands of the Enemy.

If there was any use in Col Forman's having Artillery, I could not spare them at this time. But I do not conceive they would be of the least Service in his Situation. If the place is Such that he cannot safely plant a Guard there for fear of the Enemy, he would by the same rule lose his Artillery, as he has not Men to Support them. If any Works are necessary at the passes he mentions, I should think small Redoubts Sufficient to oppose musquetry.

I shall let Capt. Doyle⁸⁹ know of the charge exhibited against him, and if it appears that he has appropriated the Public Money to his private use, he certainly ought to be dismissed the Service. I am &ca..⁹⁰

To ROBERT MORRIS

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Head Quarters, Middle Brook, June 6, 1777.

Dr. Sir: Inclosed you have a Letter for Major Apollos Morris

89. Capt. John Doyle, of the Independent Pennsylvania company.

90. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

which I have left open for your inspection; after reading it, be pleased to deliver it.

I will just remark, that the political Queries referred to, were addressed to Lord and Sir Wm. Howe, and Major Morris declared, that if they refused to give him an answer, he should look upon it as a tacit Confession, that they had no other terms or Powers than those thrown out by the first proclamation and prescribed by the Act of Parliament. And that when he was convinced that they had none, but those of receiving Submissions and granting pardons, he should not hesitate to take an active part, as he should think the Americans, under such circumstances perfectly justifiable in their Declaration and Assertion of Independence.

An Answer to the Queries has been refused, and yet upon Mr. Allen's⁹¹ bare assertion, whose interest, from the part he himself has acted, it is to mislead and deceive, Major Morris fixes his Opinion that we are in the wrong, and that he cannot consistent with the dictates of his Conscience take part with us.

I am aware, that upon my recommendation to him to leave the Country, he will apply for Liberty to go to New York. But that must not by any means be permitted, for before he threw off the Mask, he made himself Master of too many of our Secrets, especially in the Military way.

He made a shift to get here by the West Indies

Library of Congress

91. John Allen, son of Chief Justice William Alien. He had joined Sir William Howe in 1776. His letter to Morris, dated Apr. 2, 1777, is in the *Washington Papers*.

and I think he should be obliged to take the same way back or to go directly to Europe. The sooner this is done the better, for I look upon him as a dangerous person, and as one that will take every opportunity of gathering information, that may operate to our disadvantage.⁹² I am etc.⁹³

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, June 8, 1777.

Sir: I was this morning honored with your favor of the 6th Inst. with its inclosures.

I am extremely happy, in the approbation Congress have been pleased to express of my conduct, respecting the proposed Cartel for the exchange of Prisoners, and shall govern myself by the principles which influenced me on that occasion and such other as shall appear right and just, should there be any further negotiation on the Subject.

I shall order a return to be made of the Chaplains in Service, which shall be transmitted, as soon as it is obtained. At present, as the Regiments are greatly dispersed, part in one place and part in another, and accurate States of them have

92. This letter was read in Congress June 9, whereupon it was resolved "That General Arnold be directed to put Major Appolos Morris under immediate arrest and confinement, until the further order of this Congress." The major was later paroled and allowed to go to the West Indies.

93. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

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not been made, it will not be in my power to forward it immediately. I shall here take occasion to mention, that I communicated the Resolution, appointing a Brigade Chaplain in the place of all others, to the several Brigadiers; they are all of opinion, that it will be impossible for them to discharge the duty; that many inconveniences and much dissatisfaction will be the result, and that no Establishment appears so good in this instance as the Old One. Among many other weighty objections to the Measure, It has been suggested, that it has a tendency to introduce religious disputes into the Army, which above all things should be avoided, and in many instances would compel men to a mode of Worship which they do not profess. The old Establishment gives every Regiment an Opportunity of having a Chaplain of their own religious Sentiments, it is founded on a plan of a more generous toleration, and the choice of the Chaplains to officiate, has been generally in the Regiments. Supposing one Chaplain could do the duties of a Brigade, (which supposition However is inadmissible, when we view things in practice) that being composed of four or five, perhaps in some instances, Six Regiments, there might be so many different modes of Worship. I have mentioned the Opinion of the Officers and these hints to Congress upon this Subject; from a principle of duty and because cause I am well assured, it is most foreign to their wishes or intention to excite by any act, the smallest uneasiness and jealousy among the Troops.

There remains no room to believe otherwise, than that the Enemy are on the point of moving. This is confirmed by intelligence from all Quarters and thro' so many different Channels that we must consider it certain. Whether they will move by Land or Water or by both, cannot be ascertained, nor is their destination precisely known; but every circumstance points out Philadelphia as their Object. Being of this Opinion, I have directed a return of General Mifflin. Before he left Philadelphia, I wrote countermanding the order for his coming here, but he did not receive my Letter. I would also mention to Congress that I think the Military Stores lately arrived and at or coming to Philadelphia, should be removed to a place of perfect Security. Tho' I would not excite, needless uneasy

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apprehensions; prudence requires, that these, so essential, should not be exposed to risk.
I have the Honor &ca.12

To CHARLES THOMSON

Head Qurs. Camp at Middle Brook, June 13, 1777.

Sir: I received your favor of the 22d April, requesting the papers, containing a plan for the establishment of Cavalry, transmitted to Congress some time since and approved by them.

12. In tile writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

The 23d of February last, I sent Congress a Copy of the Original plan and a list of pay as assigned to Colo. Sheldon's Regiment, which were ratified by a resolution of the 14th March. But as the resolution had not reached me, when Genl Greene left Morris Town, I put the original in his hands for the consideration of Congress, which, if not left with them, has been lost by him, as he has it not at present in his possession.

On the Receipt of yours, I applied to Colo. Bland who drew up the Plan, for a Copy. He had kept none; but has now presented me with one transcribed from memory, which I believe contains every thing material in the former papers. I inclose it to you, together with a Copy of the arrangement of pay,⁴⁶ shall expect a certified copy agreeable to your promise. I am etc.⁴⁷

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, June 13, 1777.

Sir: Inclosed you will receive a Copy of a Letter from me to Lord Cornwallis, on the Inhuman treatment of Lieut. Martin, by a Party of the Enemy's Horse. My remonstrance and sending his Corpse, produced nothing more than a short answer from

Library of Congress

46. On June 14 Washington forwarded a copy of the establishment and pay of the light dragoons to the Board of War with a brief inclosing note. These are in the *Washington Papers*.

47. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

his Lordship, which you also have. It was thought unnecessary to view the Body, the fact being admitted and justified.

I have also taken the liberty to inclose a Copy of my Letter to Genl Howe, in Answer to his of the 21st of April, 22d of May and 5th Instant. From the latter part of the first paragraph, in that of the 22d May, I was induced to propose an Exchange of all the Prisoners now in his hands, so far as it can be effected, on the principles of the agreement subsisting between us, except that of Lt. Colo Campbell and the Hessian field Officers, who are to be retained till Genl Lee is declared exchangeable. I did not expect the proposition would be acceded to, but as his Letter is of doubtful meaning in this instance, I thought it expedient to make the offer; first as it will be a happy event, if we release our Prisoners, and secondly, as the proposition may draw from him an explanation of his Sentiments, tho he should reject it.

The New York paper of the 9th Inst. I transmit for your perusal. It contains an extract of a Letter from Govr. Tryon to Christopher Billop of Long Island. This extract, I think, is worthy of attention, and may be improved to great advantage, if published in the Papers, with such strictures and observations, as it will well warrant, and as will occur to an ingenious Pen. The Enemy on their Part use the most artful publications, and avail themselves of every thing they can, going from us. We Should profit where we can by their productions.

I would mention to Congress, that Several Officers in the Corps of Cavalry have applied to me, to know in what point of

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view, their Horses are considered. Whether as public property, or as private, belonging to themselves, to be furnished at their own expence. When Colo. Sheldons Regiment was ordered to be raised, the Officers thought the Horses should be a matter of Public charge; but, as it had never been determined and I was not perfectly satisfied with the custom in such cases, I did not consider myself authorised to decide upon it. I promised to recommend it to the consideration of Congress and this I have done since on similar occasions. The Officers urge, that as Horses are essential to a discharge of their duty, they should be provided at Public expence; That they have risen to such enormous prices, if the contrary is established, that they must from the nature of the Service, not only sink their pay, but make a large sacrifice of their private interest; Tho' the practice, may have been against their application in other Armies, yet, their reasoning seems plausible and to be founded in justice. There are objections too, against the Measure, but not of sufficient validity, in my opinion, to oppose to their claim. Another reason may be suggested, why the Public should find them Horses, which is if they were to provide them themselves, the apprehension of loosing them, might prevent a proper discharge of duty, and in some cases, produce too great a degree of cautious prudence. This matter, I have thought it necessary to lay before Congress, not doubting, but it will have that attention, which it may seem to deserve. There is one thing more, I would add on the Subject, which is,

If their application is considered just, I should suppose it best, to fix a certain determinate sum, to be allowed for the Horses they have bought and may have occasion to purchase, in preference to leaving it to their discretion and judgement.

It being evident, so far as we can reason from circumstances and appearances, that Genl Howe designs Philadelphia to be the first object of their pursuits, or the defeat of this Army and for one or both of these purposes, is collecting nearly his whole force at Brunswick, a Board of General Officers determined yesterday evening, after mature deliberation, that all the Continental troops at Peeks Kill and its dependencies, except One Thousand Effectives, should be immediately Marched to reinforce this Army. That number, with the

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Convalescents and such aids of Militia as are now and may be assembled, in case of emergency, was deemed competent to the defence of those Posts, against any attempt that may be made to possess them in the present situation of Things. I have inclosed a General Return, shewing our whole strength in Jersey at this time, and from which, it will appear, our circumstances in this respect, are by no means so desirable, as could be wished.⁴⁸ I esteem it my duty, to transmit information of this sort from time to time to Congress, and am encouraged the more to do it, from a conviction, that they, sensible of the necessity of the most profound secrecy, will not suffer the least intimation of our numbers to transpire.

June 14th.

Your favor of the 13th with its Inclosures was received last night.

48. A copy of this return, dated Morristown, May 14, 1777, is in the *Continental Army Returns* (Force) in the Library of Congress 100, fo. 147. It shows a strength of 5,738 rank and file, fit for duty, with the light corps and artillery still to be heard from. The original, initialed by Alexander Hamilton, is in the office of The Adjutant General, War Department, Washington, D.C.

Having proposed to Genl Howe an Exchange of the Prisoners now in his possession, as you will perceive by the inclosed Copy of my Letter, and also added, "That his conduct towards Prisoners would govern mine," It appears to me, that it would be improper to transmit him a Copy of your first Resolution of the 10th Inst. till we hear something more from him on the Subject proposed. I confess I did not, nor do I yet, understand the paragraph of his Letter, of the 22d of May, to which I have alluded, and which induced me to propose an exchange, if that was his wish, and to subjoin, that his conduct to our Prisoners should govern mine, as a caution to prevent him exercising severity or a new mode of treatment of them, contrary to the spirit of the agreement between us and the ideas entertained upon the Subject, when it was first entered into, if such was his meaning.

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Finding that there would be the great difficulty in filling the Battalions intended to be raised, I did not Commission Officers for all the Sixteen additional Ones. I apprehended such a Measure would accumulate Expence, without increasing our strength and therefore did not set the whole on foot. I shall be happy, on Governor Caswell's⁴⁹ Letter and your recommendation of Colo. Shephard⁵⁰ that he should have a Regiment. From the Character given him and the Terms on which he offers his Services, there can be no objection. Congress will be pleased to appoint him to the Command they wish him to have, and I should think it advisable, that he be

49. Gov. Richard Caswell, of North Carolina.

50. Col. Abraham Sheppard, of the Tenth North Carolina Regiment. He retired June 1, 1778. On June 17 Congress resolved that Colonel Sheppard have authority to raise a battalion in North Carolina, to form one of the 16 Additional Continental regiments, provided he did so within the time limit set by the State. He did not succeed in this.

ordered to march with his Corps to join this Army, leaving proper Officers to recruit the deficiency.

I have perused Monsr. DeCoudrays Opinion about the Fortifications,⁵¹ and have no doubt but that it is well founded. I have not sufficient knowledge of them, to pronounce an Opinion with certainty myself.

You will observe by the New York paper, the execution of Abra. Patten.⁵² His family well deserves the generous Notice of Congress. He conducted himself with great fidelity to our Cause rendering Services and has fallen a Sacrifice in promoting her Interest. Perhaps a public act of generosity, considering the character he was in, might not be so eligible as a private donation.

June 15th.

Library of Congress

When I wrote yesterday, my information was, that one Division of the Enemy was advancing on the Prince Town Road, and it was beleived from the general movement of their Army, that they were proceeding towards Delaware. What their real design was, is not yet understood. Those that advanced on that road, after marching some distance, filed off to the right, down Milstone River and joined the other column on the Coriel ferry Road, leading by Sommerset Court House. One object of their movement might be, to inclose Genl Sullivan and his division between their two Columns. Another, (which most probably was the principal cause, if they did not mean to proceed to Delaware when they set out) to manœuvre us out of our present Encampment into action upon

51. A copy of Du Coudray's observations on the fortifications of the Delaware at Billingsport and Red Bank, in the writing of William Churchill Houston, is in the *Washington Papers*.

52. Executed as a spy.

disadvantageous terms. The first they could not hope to Succeed in, After General Sullivan had Changed his Post to Rocky hill, an Event which took place only the Evening before, and which it is presumed, they were not well advised of when they left Brunswick. A considerable Body of them remained at Sommerset Court House, and on the Communication between that and Brunswick. We have been and are harrassing them with Light Troops; but they being in open ground with a large train of Artillery, we cannot do it so effectually as could be wished.

I shall be glad to be informed, whether Genl De Haas considers himself an Officer in the Army. He has never joined it since his promotion or written a Single line to me upon the Subject. If he accepts his Commission, it will be well for Congress to order him to repair to the Army immediately. The Brigade intended for him is without a Genl. Officer, and has brought on a disagreeable dispute between two of the Colonels, each claiming the Command.

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This is not the only inconvenience; Officers of high Rank remaining at home, afford a bad Example to others, who are inferior, and grounds of application for the like indulgence.

This Letter, Except the Paragraphs of this date, I intended to send Yesterday, but was prevented by the movement of the Enemy, which rendered it unadvisable. I have &c.

P.S. by a person just now arrived with a Letter from Genl. Sullivan, The Enemy's advanced guard is posted between 3 and 4 Miles from Sommerset Court House on the road to Coriel's ferry.⁵³

53. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The P.S. is not in the draft, which is in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade, Robert Hanson Harrison, and Caleb Gibbs.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Qurs., Middle Brook, June 20, 1777.

Sir: When I had the Honor of addressing you last, I informed you, that the Main Body of the Enemy had marched from Brunswick and extended their Van, as far as Sommerset Court House. I am now to acquaint you, that after encamping between these Two posts and beginning a line of Redoubts, they changed their Ground, Yesterday Morning and in the course of the preceeding night, and returned to Brunswick again, burning, as they went, several valuable dwelling Houses. We had constantly Light Troops, hovering round them, as far as circumstances would permit, but being

secured on their flanks by the Raritan and Milstone, they were difficult to approach, and without loss, effected their return to their former Posts. This sudden and precipitate change in their operations, has afforded matter for much speculation. We suppose, their Original design was to attempt an impression on our right or to manœuvre us out of our Ground, or to advance towards the Delaware. Whether these conjectures were well founded, cannot

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be ascertained. But it is probable, if they had an impression in view, they found, it could not be attempted without great loss.

As to bringing on an attack, they effectually secured themselves against One by the post they took; or if passing the Delaware ware was their object, that from the temper of the people, the prosecution of it, if not impracticable, would meet with much greater opposition, than what they expected. For I must observe, and with peculiar Satisfaction I do it, that on the first notice of the Enemy's movements, the Militia assembled in the most Spirited manner, firmly determined to give them every annoyance in their power and to afford us every possible aid. This I thought it my duty to mention, in justice to their conduct and I am inclined to believe, that General Howe's return, thus Suddenly made, must have been in consequence of the information he received, that the People were in and flying to Arms in every Quarter, to oppose him. I shall not reason upon this event, but I cannot but consider it, as a most

fortunate and happy one to us, and the most distressing Mr. Howe has yet experienced, unless he has Schemes in contemplation, beyond the reach of my conjecture.

I should have written to Congress more frequently respecting the Enemy, after they came from Brunswick, had I not been almost constantly on Horseback and their designs been clear; but as they were not, I did not wish to puzzle them with conjectures, more especially as I wrote Genl Arnold, with whom I was obliged to correspond, that he might cooperate with me as circumstances should require, to transmit them Copies of my Letters.

Inclosed you will be pleased to receive an Extract of a Letter from Colo. Jackson of Boston, to Genl. Knox.⁸⁷ The intelligence it contains, is interesting, and I shall be happy to hear that the two Brigs mentioned, have captured the remainder of the Hessians and more particularly so, if the capture should not be far from the British Coast, provided they arrive safe.

Library of Congress

12 O'Clock.

I just now received a Letter from Genl. Schuyler, a Copy of which and of its inclosures is herewith transmitted.⁸⁸ The Enemy, from appearances, having changed their views for the present, or at least rendered them dark and mysterious, I have sent expresses to Brigadiers McDougall and Glover, to halt their Divisions, if they have proceeded any considerable distance from Peekskill, till further Orders, otherwise to return. I have also written to Genl. Putnam, to hold four Regiments in readiness to embark for Genl. Schuyler's aid, should

87. This extract is filed with Washington's letter in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*.

88. Schuyler's letters, dated June 15, 1777, and June 16, 1777, are in the *Washington Papers*; copies are filed with Washington's letter in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*.

further intelligence, respecting the Enemy's movements from Canada, make it necessary. [The situation of Affairs in this Quarter,] The uncertainty of General Howe's operations will not permit more to be done at this time. Genl Parsons arrived here this morning and his Division is marching to their ground towards the left of the Lines.

I omitted to mention in my last, that in Consultation with my Genl Officers, it was agreed, that promotions should be Regimental in the Army, for all Officers under the Rank of Field Officers, and for all of that Rank, in the line of their State. This is now settled as a General Rule, a right being reserved However, that it may be made for particular merit, out of this line or refused for demerit or any substantial objection.⁸⁹ I have the honor &ca.⁹⁰

To THE BOARD OF WAR

Head Qurs., Middle Brook, June 20, 1777.

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Sirs: I am favor'd with yours of the 16th. The Spears have come to hand, and are very handy and will be useful to the Rifle Men. But they would be more conveniently carried, if they had a sling fixed to them, they should also have a spike

89. See *Journals of the Continental Congress*, June 5, 1777, for report of the Board of War on rank and promotion in the Army.

90. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The draft, in Harrison's and Caleb Gibbs's writing, contains the phrase within file brackets, which was omitted from the letter sent.

in the but end to fix them in the ground and they would then serve as a rest for the Rifle. The Iron plates which fix the spear head to the shaft, should be at least eighteen inches long to prevent the Shaft from being cut through, with a stroke of a Horseman's Sword. Those only, intended for the Rifle Men, should be fixed with Slings and Spikes in the end, those for the Light Horse need neither. There will be 500 wanting for the Rifle Men, as quick as possible.⁹¹ Be pleased to send on all the Tin Cartridge Cannisters and have as many more made as possible, they will save an immense deal of Ammunition from damage. The Qur Masters of Troops have no more Rank than Qur. Mast sergeants. There is but one Quarter Master to a Regiment, whose Business it is to provide necessaries for the Regiment at large. But as the Horse are generally divided, there is a necessity for a Quarter Master to each Troop, to provide Forage &c. whose pay is 15 dollars pr. Month.

I refer the Board to my Letter to Congress for an Account of General Howe's return to Brunswick. I am &ca.⁹²

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, June 21, 1777.

Sir: I was last night honored with yours of Yesterday

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91. A letter from Col. Benjamin Flower, Commissary General of Military Stores of the Continental Army, dated June 23, 1777, in the *Washington Papers*, describes the pike designed and contains a sketch of the implement. Flower reported that he would make 500 of them at once.

92. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

morning with its Inclosures, the Contents of which I shall duly attend to.⁶

Having written fully Yesterday, and nothing new occurring since, I have only to request, that you will forward the papers respecting the Commissary's department, as soon as possible. For want of some certain fixed line of duty, in this instance, the Commissary says, it is impossible to conduct matters with any propriety.⁷ I have the Honor &ca.⁸

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Qurs., Middle Brook, 11 O'Clock P.M., June 22, 1777.

Sir: I have the honor and pleasure to inform you, that the Enemy evacuated Brunswick this Morning and retired to Amboy, burning many Houses as they went along. Some of them from the appearance of the Flames were considerable Buildings. From several pieces of information and from a variety of Circumstances, it was evident that a move was in agitation, and it was the general Opinion, that it was intended this morning. I therefore detached three Brigades under the command of Major Genl. Greene, to endeavour to fall upon their Rear, and kept the main body

6. The most important of these inclosures was the resolve (June 18) enlarging the power of a general officer on a separate command.

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7. These were the regulations for establishing the pay of commissary generals, adopted by Congress on June 16, printed in broadside form, and forwarded to Washington in the President's letter of June 24.

8. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

of the Army paraded upon the Heights to support them, if there should be occasion. A Party of Colo Morgan's Regt. of light Infantry attacked and drove the Hessian Picket about Sunrise, and upon the appearance of Genl. Wayne's Brigade and Morgan's Regiment (who got first to the ground) opposite Brunswick, the Enemy immediately crossed the Bridge to the East side of the River and threw themselves into Redoubts which they had before constructed. Our Troops, advanced briskly upon them, upon which they quitted the Redoubts without making an opposition and retired by the Amboy Road. As all our Troops, from the difference of their Stations in Camp, had not got up when the Enemy began to move off, it was impossible to check them, as their Numbers were far greater than we had any Reason to expect, being, as we were informed Afterwards, between four and five thousand Men. Our People pursued them as far as Piscataway, but finding it impossible to overtake them, and fearing they might be led on too far from the main Body, they returned to Brunswick. By information of the inhabitants, Genl. Howe, Lord Cornwallis and Genl. Grant were in the Town when the Alarm was first given, but they quitted it very soon after. In the pursuit, Colo Morgan's Rifle Men exchanged several sharp Fires with the Enemy, which it is imagined did them considerable execution. I am in hopes that they afterwards fell in with Genl Maxwell who was detached last Night with a Strong Party, to lay between Brunswick and Amboy to intercept any Convoys or parties that might be passing. But I have yet heard nothing from him. Genl Greene desires me

to make mention of the Conduct and bravery of Genl Wayne and Colo. Morgan and of their Officers and Men upon this occasion, as they constantly advanced upon an Enemy far superior to them in numbers and well secured behind strong Redoubts. General Sullivan

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advanced from Rocky Hill to Brunswick with his division, but as he did not receive his order of March till very late at Night, he did not arrive till the Enemy had been gone some time. I have sent down Lord Stirling's Division, to reinforce Genl. Maxwell, and in the morning I shall move the Main Body of the Army to some secure Post nearer Amboy, from whence we can with more ease annoy the Enemy than from this distance. I am inclined to think they mean to cross to Staten Island, if they do, we may perhaps find an Opportunity of making a stroke upon their Rear. At any rate we shall have a chance of obliging them to make a total evacuation of the State of Jersey. I have the Honor to be &ca.

His Excellency having been on Horseback from 3 o'Clock in the Morning and much fatigued, rather than disturb his Rest, I take the Liberty to close the Letter without his Name. I am etc.11

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Camp at Quibble Town, June 25, 1777.

Sir: When I had the honor to address you last,

11. The draft, in the writing of Tench Tilghman, omits the last paragraph; the letter sent is signed by Tilghman.

it was on the Subject of the Enemy's retreat from Brunswick to Amboy and of the measures pursued to annoy them. At the time of Writing, the information I had received respecting their Loss was rather vague and uncertain; But we have reason to beleive, from intelligence thro' various Channels since, that it was pretty considerable and fell chiefly on the Grenadiers and Light Infantry, who formed their covering party. The inclosed Copy of a Letter, containing the information of a person just from New York, corresponds with other Accounts on this Head and with the Declarations of some Deserters. Some of the Accounts are, that Officers were heard to say, they had not suffered so severely since the Affair at Prince Town.22

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After the evacuation of Brunswick, I determined with the advice of my General Officers, to move the whole Army the next Morning to this Post, where they would be nearer the Enemy, and might act according to circumstances. In this I was prevented by Rain, and they only moved yesterday Morning. I have advanced Lord Stirling's Division and some other Troops lower down in the Neighbourhood of Metuchen Meeting House, and intended to have posted more there, but found, on reconnoitring the Ground, it was low and disadvantageous, and still more unfavorable thro' a scarcity of Water; These reasons, added to that of there not being the smallest prospect of attacking the Enemy in Amboy with a probability of Success, secured on their Flanks by Water and in their Front by strong Redoubts across the Neck, would not permit me, either in my own opinion or that of my General Officers, to keep any

22. This information came from Matthew Williamson, jr., of Elizabethtown. N. J., who reported, among other things, that the British wounded removed from the docks to the hospitals in New York were said to amount to 500. A copy of Williamson's letter is filed with Washington's in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*.

greater body of Men in that Quarter, where they would have been dispersed and, of consequence, extremely insecure.

I have light parties lying close on the Enemy's lines, to watch their Motions and who will be ready to Act in conjunction with Lord Stirling's division and such other Troops as it may be necessary to detach. Tho' I think and so do the rest of the Officers, that no event is likely to take place that will require more, since the Idea of forcing their lines or bringing on a General Engagement on their own Grounds, is Universally held incompatible with our Interest, and that, that number is Sufficient to avail us of any advantages we can expect to arise from their retreating from Amboy, supposing notice of the Fact should be obtained. Their contiguity to the Sound and the small distance across it, having Boats prepared to pass in, will enable them to get off should they so incline, against every prudent and justifiable exertion on our part. Whether such is their designs, is more than I can positively

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determine; but there is every reason to believe that they have been and are transporting their Baggage to Staten Island and making every preparation to embark on Board their Transports for some new Expedition.

Your favor of the 24th, I just now received and am extremely obliged by your Cordial congratulations on the retreat of the Enemy from Brunswick and favourable interpretation of the Event, to my conduct. The Resolutions

you did me the honor to transmit shall have my attention.

It is much to be regretted, that an Express sent off on Saturday night, to Genl Maxwell to inform him of Genl Greene's Movement towards Brunswick, that he might conduct himself accordingly, did not reach him. Whether the Express went designedly to the Enemy, or was taken is not known, but there is reason to believe he fell into their Hands. If Genl Maxwell had received the Order, there is no doubt but their whole Rear Guard would have been cut off. This the Enemy confessed themselves, as we are well informed by persons in Bonam Town.

By a Reconnoitring Party just returned, it is reported as a Matter of doubt, whether any of the Enemy have removed from Amboy, tho' it is almost certain they have transported a great deal of their Baggage. I have &ca.23

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Camp at Middle Brook, June 28, 1777.

Sir: On thursday Morning Genl Howe advanced with his whole Army in Several Columns from Amboy, as far as Westfield. We are certainly informed, that the Troops sent to

23. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

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Staten Island returned the preceding Evening and, it is said, with an Augmentation of Marines, so that carrying them there was a feint with intention to deceive us. His design, in this Sudden movement, was either to bring on a General Engagement upon disadvantageous Terms, considering matters in any point of view, or to cut off our light parties and Lord Stirling's Division, which was sent down to Support them, or to possess himself of the Heights and passes in the Mountains on our left. The two last seemed to be the first objects of his attention, as his March was rapid against these parties and indicated a strong disposition to gain those passes. In this situation of Affairs, it was thought absolutely necessary, that we should move our force from the low Grounds, to occupy the Heights before them, which was effected. As they advanced they fell in with some of our light parties and part of Lord Stirling's division, with which they had some pretty smart Skirmishing, with but very little loss, I believe, on our side, except in three Field Pieces which unfortunately fell into the Enemy's Hands; but not having obtained Returns yet, I cannot determine it with certainty, nor can we ascertain what the Enemy's Loss was. As soon as we had gained the passes, I detached a Body of Light Troops under Brigadier General Scott, to hang on their Flank and to watch their Motions and ordered Morgan's Corps of Rifle Men to join him since. The Enemy remained at West field till yesterday

afternoon, when, about Three O'Clock, they moved towards Spank Town with our light Troops in their Rear and pursuing.

The Enemy have plundered all before them and it is said burnt some Houses. I have the honor to be, etc.³⁵

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, June 29, 1777.

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Sir: I have not been able to ascertain yet, with any degree of precision, the loss sustained by the Enemy in the Several Skirmishes on Thursday, tho' we have many reasons to believe it was much more considerable than what it was apprehended to be, when I had the honor of addressing you upon the subject. The inclosed Copy of a Letter from Lord Stirling, contains the fullest and most particular information that I have received, and the accounts given by sundry Inhabitants, to persons who have been in the Neighbourhood where the Skirmishes were and where the Enemy were encamped, countenance this Intelligence. As to our loss as reported by the Enemy, I am persuaded it is exaggerated beyond all bounds of truth or probability, being

35. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

assured by Lord Stirling, that it was trifling, and by such Deserters as have come in, that they saw but very few Prisoners taken. It would have been certainly known before this, (that is the Number not yet returned) had not some of the Parties and I believe the most of which were then out, joined the Corps since detached.

In respect to the Enemy's designs or intended movements, they are not to be determined. It is certain they got into Amboy yesterday Evening and from advices this Morning, from Officers sent to South Amboy to observe their Motions, there were strong reasons to conclude they were evacuating the Town, as their Horse had gone over to Staten Island and Several Boats were also passing with Baggage and others with Troops. There were further circumstances favouring this Opinion, such as apparent breaches in some of their Lines; Yet General Sullivan informs me by a Letter just now received, that from all the intelligence he has been able to obtain to day, he does not think they have any serious intentions of quitting it, and that all their movements are a feint calculated merely to deceive and to cover some plans they have in view. I have two Brigades (Scott's and Conway's) now lying at and near Woodbridge, as Corps of Observation and to act as circumstances may require. Genl Sullivan was down in the same Neighbourhood with his

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Division, till this Evening, when he returned; It appearing to him unnecessary to remain longer,

and that the Brigades I have mentioned would be sufficient for any Event likely to take place. I have the honor &ca.

P.S. June 30th. From Intelligence received last night, the Opinion that the Enemy are evacuating Amboy seems to be more confirmed.

As the facts in Lord Stirling's Letter are rather taken up on report, than from any certain knowledge of their having happened, I cannot consider them sufficiently authentic for Publication, nor are they transmitted for that purpose. Tho' I am well persuaded the Enemy's Loss was much more considerable than it was at first imagined to be. It has been reported to me to day, that the Enemy took Sixty four Prisoners in the whole: Whether they were all of our Army, or in part Country men, I cannot decide. For having detached at that time a Number of Light Parties and many having fallen in with the Corps ordered out since, Returns could not be made with Accuracy. The Prisoners taken by us were thirteen, two of which are Light Dragoons, the rest Infantry. Genls. Scott and Conway intended to move towards Amboy this Morning, but it is probable the Rain has prevented them.³⁶

36. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

To THE BOARD OF WAR

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, June 30, 1777.

Sir: I yesterday received your favor of the 28th Instant with the Inclosures.

Every proper measure has been already taken with respect to the Artillery, imported in the Amphitrite. The whole 52 Pieces have been brought to Springfield, and the 31 of the Swedish light construction are ordered on thence to Litchfield, from which place they will be forwarded to Camp, as fast as circumstances will permit. The other 21 are made

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upon an old plan exceedingly heavy and unmanageable, intended to be used principally in embrazures, and requiring so large a Number of Horses to carry them, and Men to manoeuvre them, as must render them very inconvenient for Field Service, and the more liable to be lost in an unsuccessful action. For these reasons, it has been judged expedient, to have them cast over and constructed upon a lighter plan, which, besides making them more portable and convenient for use, will be attended with the advantage of increasing the number. Each of those heavy four Pounders, will nearly make three Six pounders, Sufficiently Substantial for any purpose whatever. Congress have directed the Council of Massachusetts to establish a Foundery, and have them new Cast; and Springfield is the Place designed for the

purpose. It were to be wished, that a matter of such importance may meet with no delays, that can be avoided.

The Light pieces will all join the Army, as fast as the repairs they want can be completed; The necessary Horses and tackling provided to convey them, and the Ammunition and Men to serve them, prepared and collected. It will answer no good end to bring them forward, faster than all these necessary matters can be adjusted. On the contrary, they would only be an incumbrance. General Knox informs me, that a part of them will be shortly at Camp properly equipped and manned. The rest will be on as expeditiously as they can come, in the same condition.

I have given orders, not to send on the Twelve pieces, demanded by General Schuyler for the Northern Department. As he is in a Garrison, and has a Sufficient quantity of garrison Artillery, I see not the propriety of his requesting such a number of field pieces, in addition to those he already has. They cannot be wanted in the garrison, and in case of any accident, would in all probability be lost. I should not wish to have them hazarded with so little chance as there is of their answering any valuable end, to compensate for the risk, and when we have the greatest occasion for them in this Quarter. I have however promised him a part of the next importation. When we have a great plenty, a few may be

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spared, and exposed, even where they are not essentially required; but in the present Scarcity, the good of the Service will by no means permit it.

I could wish, that there was some uniform channel ascertained, through which applications of this nature should always come. The present practice is productive of much confusion and embarrassment; and the Service will be very likely to suffer, while Officers in the different departments can send orders, to procure what articles and in what proportion they think necessary. Unless there is some general regulating hand to make the distribution, it may often happen, that articles may be drawn away to places where there is little need of them; when there is an absolute call for them at others, and the worst effects may result from the not having them. This was very near happening in a late instance with respect to Tents. General Gates sent to me to request a supply of two thousand for the Northern Army. Every appearance convinced me that the Army under me would be greatly Straitened in this important Article, having sustained so considerable a loss at Danbury; And as the Northern Troops were in a Stationary post, provided with Barracks, and might easily raise comfortable huts, to make good any deficiency of covering, which was not practicable to us, in the desultory State in which we must necessarily be. It was not in my power to comply with his request in its extent; but I assured him that he should have as many as could possibly be spared after the indispensible demand for this Army had been answered. I afterwards found, that besides the application to me, he had solicited the Council of the State of Massachusetts to send him 2000 from that State, having heard of a quantity being arrived in the Amphitrite, tho' the number required was more than double the number arrived. The Council referred the request to General Heath, who suspended a compliance with it, till my consent could be obtained; Had he not done this, and had the Tents gone on agreeable to Genl. Gates requisition, very great inconveniences would have followed; for all we have been able to collect, have not been equivalent to our wants.

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General Schuyler has proceeded in a Similar manner. Not contenting himself with barely applying to me, he has sent an order to the Commanding Officer of Artillery at Springfield, desiring him to send the 12 Pieces on immediately.

You will easily perceive the ill consequences that must flow from such an irregular indefinite mode of drawing supplies; I am not so solicitous, where the power of dispensing them is vested; but I should be glad to see it fixed somewhere, that when any demands are made, a knowledge of all circumstances, may enable those to whom they are made, to form a right judgment of their propriety and expediency. I have the honor etc.43

43. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton and addressed to Richard Peters, secretary of the board.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Qurs., Middle Brook, July 1, 1777.

Sir: Yesterday afternoon the Enemy totally evacuated Amboy and encamped opposite to it on Staten Island. General Scott entered directly after, and posting guards to secure any Stores they might have left, he withdrew his Brigade and halted about four Miles from thence. This it was expedient to do, It being night when he entered, and his remaining there might have induced the Enemy, whose Boats were ready, to throw over a Superior force in his Rear. He wrote me he should return this Morning and bring off whatever Stores he may find ;Tho' there is little reason to expect, that they have left any thing valuable behind. When I am more particularly informed upon the Subject, I shall take the liberty of addressing you on the same. I am etc.49

49. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

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Head Quarters, Middle Brook, July 2, 1777.

Sir: The Inclosed Copies of Genl. St. Clair's Letters, transmitted yesterday afternoon and last Night by Genl. Schuyler, I have thought it my duty to send you.⁵⁴ The Intelligence they contain is important and interesting, nor are there circumstances wanting, besides these to induce a belief, or at least, to raise a Strong presumption, that the Enemy have in Contemplation a junction of their Two Armies, by way of the Lakes and the North River. If they have, their whole Canada force on the former, it is certainly their Object. On receiving these Accounts, I wrote immediately to General Putnam, to embark Nixon's Brigade for reinforcing the Northern Army, to wait, however, the arrival or near approach of Genl. Parsons's and Varnum's Brigades from this place, who march this Morning, or the coming in of an equal number of Militia, to supply their place, before they sail. This I have done by the advice of my Genl. Officers, and is all that is thought practicable in the present uncertain, indeterminate situation of things. The rest of the Army here will be held in readiness to move according to information and circumstances. As I have observed, If we were certain General Burgoyne, with his whole Army, was approaching Tyconderoga, I should not hesitate a Moment in concluding, that it is in consequence of a preconcerted plan with Genl. Howe,

54. Probably St. Clair's letters of June 24, 25, and 26, copies of which are in the Washington Papers. A copy of St. Clair's letter of June 25 is filed with Washington's in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*.

and that the latter is to co-operate with him, by pushing his whole force up the North River and aiming a Stroke, in the first instance and immediately against the Highland passes; But as the appearance of the Enemy on the Lake may be a feint calculated to amuse and distract (tho' it may seem like a real attack,) to draw this Army to Peek's Kills and move to the Northward, that General Howe may, with more facility turn his Arms against Philadelphia; It has been determined unadvisable for us to move, till we have further proof of his Intentions and that our Conduct must be governed by his. Our

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situation is truly delicate and embarrassing. Should we march to Peekskill, leaving General Howe on Staten Island, there will be nothing to prevent him passing to South Amboy and pushing from thence to Philadelphia, or in short by any other Route. Tho' marching such of his Troops from the point opposite Armboy that were encamp'd there, and the sailing of the Ships from Prince's Bay yesterday Morning, are circumstances indicating that an embarkation has or will take place. On the other hand, if the North River and the possession of the Highlands are his Objects, Our remaining here till his views are certainly known, may subject them to a risk, that we wish to avoid. Thus let us examine matters as we will difficulties stare us in the face. We shall attempt to consult and to do the best we can.

I have written to Genls Putnam and George Clinton,

fully upon the Subject, urging them to put forth every exertion in their power and instantly to call in a respectable body of Militia, to aid in the defence of these important Posts, at this critical conjuncture. I trust they will come out, their Services, in all probability will not be wanted but for a short time.

I must earnestly request, that you will send Mr. Stewart the Issuing Commissary General to Camp immediately. There is reason to apprehend the Army will be in great distress and confusion for want of Issuing Commissaries in three or four days. On Saturday, those with Mr. Trumbull declare they will leave him without they are put on a different footing from what they now are. I need not mention the consequences that will result from such an Event, If there are not others here to supply their places.

There is One thing more I would add, which is, that there are not more than Forty thousand Dollars in the Military Chest and two Months pay due to all the Army, except two or three Regiments, which have just obtained Warrants. One hundred and fifty Six thousand out of the last Supply sent the Paymaster, I was obliged to order to Peeks Kills for the Troops in that Quarter, whose demands are great and pressing also. I must

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earnestly entreat that you will forward a Supply directly to the Paymaster. Should we be obliged to move before the Troops are paid, much uneasiness and murmuring will be the certain attendants and I fear something worse.

As the Enemy will adopt every Stratagem and device to deceive and distract us, notwithstanding the present appearance in favor of their making an expedition up the North River, I doubt not but you will have the most vigilant look outs, kept along Delaware Bay and proper expresses and signals for communicating the earliest intelligence. I think it would be highly expedient, that some sensible, judicious men should be employed in that business, at this time, who would view things as they ought to be and from whose Accounts certain inferences and conclusions may be drawn, so as to form a proper line for our conduct. The most fatal consequences may flow from false information, at this period, Things should be examined with all possible certainty. I shall not be surprised, to hear of several Ships appearing in or off Delaware, tho Genl Howe's destination should be elsewhere. Their Fleet give them the most signal advantages, and opportunity of practicing a thousand feints. I have the Honor etc.⁵⁵

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Morris Town, July 5, 1777.

Sir: Since I did myself the honor to address you

⁵⁵. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

upon the 2d Inst., the Enemy's Shipping all moved round from Prince's Bay towards the watering place and the British and Foreign Troops marched from the ground opposite to Amboy, to the North End of Staten Island. The New Levies now lay from the Blazing Star along the Sound. Upon this Motion of the Enemy, it was judged expedient to form a new disposition of the Army, and it was therefore determined to advance Genl Sullivans division to Pompton, the main Body of the Army to this Place, and to leave two Regimts. of

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Foot and a detachment of Horse, to guard the Shore from Newark to Amboy and prevent small parties from crossing over and distressing the Inhabitants. Had General Howe remained opposite Amboy, I should not have thought this remove of the Army justifiable, because he might have Suddenly thrown himself over again, and got the start of us; but in his present Situation, it would take him so considerable a time to remove his Baggage and Stores back again, that we could be in our old Camp at Middle Brook long before he could effect this.

General Sullivan will proceed on to Peekskill upon the first certain information of the Enemy's intention to move up the River, and with the Force already there, I hope will be Sufficient to check them, until the whole Army arrives to their Assistance. I keep people constantly upon Staten Island, who give me daily information of the operations of the Enemy. I have heard nothing from Tyconderoga, since the Accounts which I transmitted in my last, from whence I conclude, that matters

have remained quiet in that quarter.

Brigadier Genl Saltonstall, who came out with the Connecticut Militia last Fall, was taken sick soon after his arrival at Camp and returned home, from whence he never came to join the Brigade during its continuance in Service. He however and that the Troops now coming on will be destitute, unless to, but made him an offer of pay for the time he was actually employed. To support his claim he sent me the inclosed Letter or rather Journal, which I submit to your determination. If you think him entitled to his whole pay, I will grant him a Warrant.

Capt. Sullivan,⁷⁴ one of the Hostages given at the Cedars, was released in March last by Genl Carleton, upon Condition that he should return if demanded. Being Subject to this Controul, he does not think it prudent to enter into any Business in the Civil line, lest he should be suddenly called away, and from the nature of his parole he cannot take a Military part. A continuance of his pay while under these circumstances, is therefore all he

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has to subsist upon, but I did not think myself at liberty to grant this, without the sanction of Congress, tho' in my opinion he is entitled to it. As Capt Sullivan pleads his wants and writes pressingly for tile Money, I shall be glad of your Speedy Answer.

I mentioned the Exhausted State of the Military Chest in my last, and I hope you have fallen upon means to

74. Capt. Ebenezer Sullivan, of the Fifteenth Continental Infantry. He was exchanged in 1778.

replenish it. I have the honor etc.75

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Morris Town, July 7, 1777.

Sir: I was this morning honored with yours of the 5th. with sundry Resolves of Congress to which I shall pay clue attention. No change has taken place in the Situation of the Enemy upon Staten Island, since I wrote to you the 5th. But I have this Morning received an account from Elizabeth Town which mentions that a person had just come from the Island who informs, that small Craft are constantly plying between New York and the Fleet laden with Officers, Baggage and Stores put in packages and marked with their Names and Regiments, and that Transports are fitted up with Stalls over their main Decks for the Reception of Horses. This looks as if a longer Voyage was intended than up the North River. I have given Notice to all the Eastern States to be upon their guard should the Fleet put to Sea and steer that way; and I think the Works upon and obstructions in the Delaware should be carried on with Spirit and compleated as far as possible lest they should visit that quarter. I think

75. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

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the Southern States should also be advised of the uncertainty of the next operation of the Enemy that they may also be making such preparations as they may judge necessary. I shall make enquiry into the Number of Arms at present at Springfield and if any can possibly be spared to the State of Connecticut, they shall have all or part of those requested by Govr. Trumbull.

Genl. Knox expects the Return on Saturday from Springfield and I can then determine the Matter.

I am pleased to hear that a Supply of Money is upon the Road, as there two Months pay due to the Troops. I have the honor etc.

P.S. The inclosed piece of information is just sent to me by Genl. Forman, which is confirmed in several particulars by two deserters from the Fleet, who left it Yesterday Morning.⁸⁵

To THE BOARD OF WAR

Head Quarters, Morris Town, July 7, 1777.

Sir: Your's dated the 19th last Month, only reached me this Morning. Ezekiel Cheever Esqr. is Commissary of Military Stores at Springfield and is the person to whom you are to apply for Returns of all that are at that place.

The draft of the Spear is exactly what I meant and wish that both they and the Cannisters for Cartridges

⁸⁵. In the writing of Tench Tilghman. The P.S. is not entered on the draft, which is also in Tilghman's writing, but it has the following paragraph which is crossed off:

"I know not what is become of all the new Arms imported within six Months. The two great importations to Philada. and Boston exceed the Number of Continental Troops at present

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in the field, and yet there is an universal Complaint of the scarcity and badness of Arms, especially from the Northern Army. They must therefore either have been delivered out to Militia and never collected again, or the States must have appropriated them to their private Magazines and furnished their Troops with old and indifferent Arms.”

may be sent forward as quick as possible. If the Cannisters are filled with Cartridges when they are sent up, it will bring them safe and dry and save Carriage. I am, etc.⁸⁶

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Morris Town, July 9, 1777.

Sir: The inclosed copy of a Letter from the Commissary Genl. of Provisions and the information you will receive from Majr. Hoops will convince Congress of the distress and confusion prevailing in that Department.⁹⁷ Without something is done in aid of Mr. Trumbull immediately, this Army must be disbanded. If the present difficulties continue, it is impossible it can exist. I entreat Congress to take the Matter under their most early consideration and to make such provision as the exigency and importance of the case demands.⁹⁸ I know not but we shall be obliged to move in the course of a few Hours, when from the situation of things in this line, we shall have more to dread than from the Enemy. I have the honor etc.⁹⁹

86. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

97. The letter of Joseph Trumbull, Commissary General of the Continental Army, dated July 9, 1777, is in the *Washington Papers*, and a copy of it is filed with Washington's letter in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*. The difficulty was that no one was willing to act under the new commissary regulations established by Congress. Trumbull begged that a committee of Congress come to Morristown at once.

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98. Washington's letter was read in Congress July 11, and a committee, composed of Philip Livingston, Elbridge Gerry, and George Clymer, were ordered to proceed at once to the Army and "make a diligent enquiry into the state of the army, particularly into the causes of the complaints in the commissary's department, and to make such provision as the exigency and importance of the case demands." (See *Journals of the Continental Congress*, July 11, 1777.) For the regulations governing the Commissary Department, see *Journals of the Continental Congress* of June 10, 1777.

99. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Morris Town, July 10, 1777.

Sir: I this Morning received a Letter of the 7th Instant from Genl Schuyler, a Copy of which and of its inclosure, I herewith send you. The intelligence which they contain is truly interesting, supposing it just; But it differs so widely from what we had reason to expect, from the Accounts mentioned in General St Clair's Letters to Genl Schuyler, Copies of which you would receive in his Letter, transmitted from hence last night by Major Hoops, that I would fain flatter myself, it is not true. I am the more encouraged to hope this, as Capt. Farnam's¹ Letter, from Fort Ann to Brigadier Learned, seems to be the foundation of the whole and does not authorize the unfavourable, unhappy conclusions built upon it. I should rather suppose, if any accident has befallen us, it must have happened to the detachment of Men from the Grants under Colo Warner, for we find from Genl St. Clair's Letters he expected something from him. The whole Account is so confused, that we cannot establish any certain deduction from it, and shall be happy if it proves premature and groundless.² I am told by a Gentleman, who came to Camp yesterday Evening, that Nixon's Brigade would certainly arrive at Albany on Tuesday Morning, as he saw the Vessels, in which It was embarked,

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1. Capt. Benjamin Farnum(?) (Farham), of the Eleventh Massachusetts Regiment. He resigned in March, 1779.

2. Schuyler wrote two letters to Washington on July 7, one from Stillwater and one from Saratoga, both of which are in the *Washington Papers*. In them he gave the account of the evacuation of Fort Ticonderoga and Mount Independence as related to him by Lieut. Col. Ann Hawkes Hay, whose story was that the greater part of the American forces were captured by the British near Skenesborough, N.Y. An account of the evacuation is in the *St. Clair Papers*, vol. 1, p. 404.

standing up the Evening before with a fair wind.

If the event mentioned by General Schuyler should not have happened, we cannot doubt but Genl. Burgoyne has come up the Lake, determined, if possible, to carry his point, I mean, to possess himself of our Posts in that Quarter and to push his Arms further. Supposing this not to have happened, as our Continental Levies are so deficient in their number, our security and safety will require that aids from the Militia should be called forth in cases of emergency. If it has, there is now an absolute necessity for their turning out to check Genl Burgoyne's progress or the most disagreeable consequences may be apprehended. Upon this occasion, I would take the liberty to suggest to Congress the propriety of sending an Active, spirited Officer to conduct and lead them on. If General Arnold has settled his affairs and can be spared from Philadelphia, I would recommend him for this business and that he should immediately set out for the Northern department.³ He is active, judicious and brave, and an Officer in whom the Militia will repose great confidence. Besides this, he is well acquainted with that Country and with the Routes and most important passes and defiles in it. I do not think he can render more signal Services, or be more usefully employed at this time, than in this way. I am persuaded his presence and activity will animate the Militia greatly, and spur them on to a becoming conduct; I

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could wish him to be engaged in a more agreeable Service, to be with better Troops; but circumstances call for his

3. The *Journals of the Continental Congress* show that on July 11 Arnold was directed to repair to the army immediately and take orders from Washington.

exertions in this way, and I have no doubt of his adding much to the Honors he has already acquired.

In consequence of the advices from Genl St. Clair, and the strong probability there is, that Genl Howe will push against the Highland passes, to co-operate with Genl Burgoyne, I shall, by the advice of my Officers, move the Army from hence to Morrow Morning, towards the North River. If such should be his intention, we shall not be too early, as a favourable wind and tide will carry him up in a few Hours. On the other hand, if Philadelphia is his object, he can't get round before we can arrive there, nor can well he debark his Troops &c.4 and proceed across the Land before we can oppose him. I have the Honor, &c.4

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Pompton Plains, July 12, 1777.

Sir: When I had the honor of addressing you last, I hoped the Intelligence received respecting our Affairs in the Northern Department was not true, or at least, that they were not so unfavourable, as they were then represented; But the inclosed Copy of a Letter from Genl. Schuyler,⁸ which came to hand

4. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The letter was read in Congress July 11 and referred to the Board of War.

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8. Schuyler's letter (July 7) from Saratoga is in the *Washington Papers*; a copy by Alexander Hamilton is filed with Washington's letter in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*.

Yesterday Evening, Confirms it most unhappily for us, in its fullest latitude. This Event (the evacuation of our posts on the Lake) among the most unfortunate that could have befallen us, is rendered more interesting by the manner in which it took place. I have no further information upon the Subject, than what the Copy contains, and shall be happy to hear by my next advices, that the Main body of the Army, of whose situation Genl Schuyler knew nothing with certainty, have not become Prisoners. For I fear, from the disposition discovered on this distressing occasion, they would have surrendered to the Enemy, in case they fell in with them, tho' inferior in number.

In respect to General Schuyler's demands, It is not in my power to comply with the whole of them. Not a Single Tent can be furnished, the Kettles will be and are ordered on; and an Express is going to Springfield for all the Musquet Cartridges; Sixty barrels of Powder and a proportionable Quantity of Lead and Cartridge paper for his use. Ten pieces of Field Artillery with Harness, are also ordered with proper Officers from Peekskill. I have written to him, to procure Horses and Drivers himself, as they are to be obtained with much more ease, where he is than here; Nor can he be supplied with the Heavy Cannon, which he requests, supposing them Necessary, not having one to spare from a more important use, the defence of the Highlands. Colo Putnam, I imagine, will be with him before this, as his Regiment is part of Nixon's Brigade, who will answer every purpose he can possibly have

for an Engineer at this crisis: A Supply of Intrenching Tools was sent him four or five days ago in consequence of an application then made. I should be extremely happy, if our Situation would allow me, to afford him a large reinforcement of men; but I cannot, with any degree of propriety, in the opinion of my Genl. Officers, send more to his aid at this time, than a Number of Recruits on the March from Massachusetts State, belonging to

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some of the Regiments under his command, which amount to Six hundred at least, and are now, I expect, pretty well advanced towards Peekskill. With this augmentation, to what he already has, supposing Genl. St. Clair and his force to have come in and any Number of Militia to have turned out, he will have an Army equal, if not superior to Genl Burgoyne's, from the only accounts we have obtained. Besides this consideration, It is most probable that Genl. Burgoyne will suspend his Operations, till Genl. Howe makes a movement and an effort on his part. His designs, I think, are most unquestionably against the Highlands, and that he will attempt the execution, as soon as possible.

We have been prevented Marching to day by the Rain, but as soon as the Weather permits, shall proceed, as expeditiously as we can, towards the North River and cross or not, as shall appear necessary from circumstances.

In my last, I took the liberty of suggesting the propriety of sending an Active Officer, to animate the Militia that may assemble for checking Genl Burgoyne's progress, and mentioned Genl Arnold for that purpose. Being more and more convinced of the Important advantages that will result from his presence and conduct, I have thought it my duty to repeat my wishes on the Subject, and that he may, without a moments loss of time, set out from Philadelphia for that purpose.

When this arrives, it is likely Genl Howe's intentions will be well understood; but whether it is or not, as there

are strong reasons to beleive his operations will be up the North River and on the East side of it, I shall take the liberty to recommend the sending on the North Carolina and other Continental Troops at Philadelphia, to join this Army, unless Congress have some information that a Southern expedition is intended, of which I am not apprized.

If Congress have taken Colo. Proctor and his Corps into the Service of the States, It will be expedient for them to come on with all the Field Artillery, which Colo Flowers, the Commissary may have ready. This I have been induced to mention, having heard

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Congress was about to adopt them and as our demand for Artillerists is great. I would also observe, that the Situation of our Affairs has become so delicate and embarrassing, by the late misfortune which we have experienced, that it is much to be wished, some expedient could be come into, if there be any more efficacious than what has been already recommended, for filling and compleating the several Regiments At present they only count in number but not in force, being most shamefully deficient in their just compliment.

Your Letter of the 8th was duly received and agreeable to your request, I communicated to Genls. Greene and Knox the Resolution of Congress respecting them and Genl Sullivan, the last of whom I have not seen since it came to hand.⁹ I have &c.

P.S. $\frac{1}{2}$ after 8: PM I this Minute received a Letter of the 9th. from Genl. Schuyler, a Copy of which and of the Proclamation alluded to, you have inclosed.¹⁰ I fear more and more, that Genl. St Clair and his Army are prisoners.¹¹

9. The letters of Greene, Sullivan, and Knox, resigning if the reported appointment of Du Coudray were true, See note to Washington's letter to Richard Henry Lee, June 11, 1777, *ante*.)

10. Burgoyne's proclamation was dated June 20, 1777, and threatened the Americans with the terrors of Indian warfare from the "thousands of Indians" under his command, He warned the inhabitants that "the messengers of justice and wrath await them on the field, and devastation, famine, and every concomitant horror that a reluctant but indispensable prosecution of military duty must occasion."

Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America* states (vol. vi, p. 295) that in ridicule of this appeal Edmund Burke indulged in an illustration which delighted the House of Commons. 'Suppose,' said he, "there was a riot on Tower Hill. What would the keeper of his Majesty's lions do? Would he not fling open the dens of the wild beasts and then address them thus: "My gentle lions—my humane bears—my tender-hearted hyenas, go

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forth! But I exhort you, as you are Christians and members of civil society, to take care not to hurt any man, woman or child.”

In the *Gentleman's Magazine* (London) for September, 1777, was published a manifesto attributed to General Washington (July 19, 1777) in answer to General Burgoyne's proclamation of June 20. It is a palpable forgery. William Carmichael wrote to C. W. F. Dumas (June 20, 1777): “A junto of refugees from various parts of the continent, who met weekly in Pall Mall, London, do this dirty work of government to earn the pittance but scantily afforded to each of them. At the head of this junto was Hutchinson, Cooper, Chandler and Vassel, and others who would not be named but for their infamy. They have forged letters lately under the name of General Washington, which the good silly souls in Europe will swallow as genuine, unless contradicted in different gazettes.” (See *Deane Papers*, vol. 2, p. 75, New York Historical Society Publications.)

11. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The draft, also in his writing, is minus this P.S.

To THE BOARD OF WAR

Pompton Plains, July 12, 1777.

Sir: I am favored with yours of the 8th Inst. I am as much at a loss as you can be, to account for the complaint of the Northern Army for the want of Arms, when it plainly appears, that as many, if not more, new ones have been delivered, than they have Men in the Field; besides these, there must have been, or ought to have been, a considerable number of good old Arms belonging to the Continent. I believe, the great Sinking fund of our Arms is the carelessness of our Officers, and until they attend more strictly to their duty, a set of Arms will be as necessary pr Annum, as a suit Cloathes. I endeavour to remedy this evil, as much as possible, by constant repetitions in General Orders, to inspect the state of Arms and Accoutrements; by some

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I am obeyed, but by the greater number the thing is neglected in fact, and only a report made that it is done.

Nothing can be urged in excuse for such unsoldierlike behaviour, but the unsettled State which our Army has been in since the new formation; The Regiments have been drawn together by detachment, and are Scarcely yet under any kind of Regulation, the Subalterns, whose particular business it is to attend to the State of their Companies, are young in Office and ignorant of their duty, and the non Commissioned Officers, as you say, are as raw and unexperienced as the Common Soldiers. I can only hope that time will make a reform in these Matters, and that our Army will be in fact, as it is in name, a regular one.

I have been as much Suprised, at the Complaint for want of Cloaths for the Troops of some of the State, as I have been at that of Arms. Massachusetts has been loudest in their Demands, and yet the Cloathier General assured me, that upwards of four thousands Suits had been delivered to them. I cannot say much as to the other States, as I have not heard much on the Subject from them.

Genl. Knox informs me, that there are a Considerable Number of Arms yet at Cambridge, but he does not know how many, perhaps they may make up the deficiency that you say are not accounted for. They are ordered to Brook field, as it was not thought expedient to keep too many at one Place.

As matters have turned out at Tyconderoga, it

is happy that neither Arms or Cloathes were sent forward, as they would probably have shared the same Fate with the other Stores at that Post. I have given Congress all the information that I have received, relative to that unlucky Affair and to my Letter to them I refer the Board. I am &ca.

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P.S. I mentioned, in some of my former Letters either to the Board of War or Congress, the absolute Necessity which there was of putting all Military Stores under the direction of, and Subject, in their distribution, to the order of the Board of War or some *one* person. Otherwise, while the different States, and Officers commanding seperate departments and at Seperate Posts, undertake to draw by their own Authority, nothing but confusion can insue. Each will take care to supply its own wants fully, without paying any regard to the general demand.

By a Resolve of Congress, the direction of Military Stores of all kinds was vested in me; but I find, that some of the States have notwithstanding stopped quantities of Cloathing which were allotted to others, and Officers commanding in Seperate departments, have drawn what Arms and other Things they thought proper. The Resolve above mentioned is not therefore Competent to the purpose, and I would recommend it to the Board to apply for another, calculated to answer the end more fully.¹²

12. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Vanaulens, 8 Miles from Pumpton Plains, July 14, 1777.

Sir: I arrived here this afternoon with the Army, after a very fatiguing March, owing to the Roads which have become extremely deep and miry from the late Rains. I intend to proceed in the Morning towards the North River, if the Weather permits; At present it is cloudy and heavy and there is an Appearance of more Rain.

By the Express, who will deliver this, I just now reced. a Letter from Genl. Schuyler, advising for the first time, that General St Clair is not in the Hands of the Enemy. As the Express has a large Packet for Congress from General Schuyler, I presume they will be informed of all the Intelligence he was possessed of respecting our Affairs in his department, and therefore I shall not trouble them with a Copy of his Letter to myself upon

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the Subject. I should be happy if they had a more agreeable aspect than they seem to have. I am &ca.34

34. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Camp near the Clove, July 16, 1777.

Sir: I was yesterday Evening honored with your's of the 14th. I have heard nothing from the Northward since my last. I this day recd. Advice from Staten Island, that on Sunday Seventy sail of the Enemy's Ships fell down from the watering place to the Hook, but whether they have since gone out to Sea, I have not heard. Till I have more certain information of the State of our Affairs to the Northward, and of Genl Howe's real intentions, I have concluded to halt the Army at this place, from whence I can march either forward or return, as circumstances may require.

If Genl Nash⁴⁶ should not have began his march before this reaches you, be pleased to order him to proceed as far as Trenton only, and there wait my further orders. In case he should have marched be pleased to dispatch an Express after him with orders to halt at Trenton.

I am pleased to hear that you have taken Colo. Proctors Corps of Artillery into Continental Service; you will be kind enough to order them to join the Army immediately, for I expect the light Artillery in a few days from the Eastward and Artillery Men will be wanted to Man them.

I have no doubt but the Militia, from the Western parts of New England, will turn out to Genl. Schuylers

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46. Brig. Gen. Francis Nash. He died Oct. 7, 1777, of wounds received at the Battle of Germantown, Pa.

Assistance, as I hope those of this State and Jersey will to mine, should they be wanted.

I shall be very happy if the Committee of Congress can arrange the Commissary's department in such a manner, as will satisfy the Officers concerned in the Business, and at the same time serve to supply the Army with more regularity, than has been done for some time past. I can assure you the Complaints have been many of late, and not without foundation. I have the Honor etc.⁴⁷

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Camp at the Clove, July 16, 1777.

Sir: I beg leave to congratulate Congress on the Captivity of Major Genl. Prescott⁴⁸ and one of his Aids. The particulars of this fortunate event, you will find in the Inclosed Extract of a Letter, this Minute received from Genl. Spencer, which I presume are at large in the packet Mr. Greenleaf will deliver. Lieut. Colo. Barton⁴⁹ and the small handful under his Command, who conducted the Enterprize, have great merit. I shall immediately propose to Genl Howe his Exchange for that of Major Genl Lee, which if acceded to, will not only do away

⁴⁷. In tile writing of Tench Tilghman.

⁴⁸. Maj. Gen. Richard Prescott.

⁴⁹. Lieut. Col. William Barton. With a party of 40 he made a night raid on Rhode Island and captured Prescott, one of his aides, and the sentry at Prescott's quarters, so quietly that the British did not discover it until Barton's party had almost reached the mainland on their return journey. Barton was a lieutenant colonel of Rhode Island Militia, and Congress, on

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July 25, voted him a sword. On December 24 Congress voted that Barton be promoted to the rank and pay of a colonel in the Continental Army. (See *Journals of the Continental Congress*.) Maj. Gert. Joseph Spencer's brief account of the enterprise is in his letter of July 11 to Washington, which is in the *Washington Papers*.

one ground of Controversy between Genl Howe and myself, but will release Lt. Colo Campbell and the Hessian Field Officers and procure the enlargement of an Equal number of ours in his Hands.

In mine of this morning, I desired that Colo Proctor's Regiment should join this Army without loss of time. Upon consulting Genl Knox, we are of opinion, they had better halt at Trenton with Genl Nash, till further Orders, as the operations of Genl Howe are not yet perfectly understood. I have nothing new from the Northern Department and only to add that, I have the honor, etc.⁵⁰

To THE BOARD OF WAR

Camp near the Clove, July 16, 1777.

Sir: I am this moment favor'd with yours of the 10th Inst.⁵¹ As I am an utter Stranger to any want of Arms in Colonel Armand's Corps, I am pleased that you have fallen upon so judicious a mode of supplying him, should it appear, upon inquiry, that he wants so many, which at present I can scarcely beleive; however, after proper examination, the necessary Steps shall be taken respecting it.

50. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

51. This letter. dated July 10, 1777, is in the *Washington Papers*. The Board of War suspected carelessness in the need of these arms for Armand's Corps and, while complying with the requisition, ordered the officer who received them not to deliver them

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until he obtained Washington's approval. If Washington disapproved, the arms (50 stands) could be issued wherever the Commander in Chief thought proper.

Should Arms be granted, upon every application from Commanders of Corps or Regiments in service, all that could be imported would fall exceedingly short of supplying the Army, as the most trivial disorder or wanton negligence would (in general) be the cause of requesting such supply. Instances of the Soldiers selling their Cloathes or Arms to Sutlers, have not as yet come under my Notice; should they in future, I shall fall upon the most effectual Method to prevent a Repetition of them. I am, etc.⁵²

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Camp at the Clove, July 18, 1777.

Sir: I just now received a Letter from Genl Schuyler of the 14th Inst., inclosing the proceedings of the Council of War which he alludes to, a Copy of which and of his Letter I herewith transmit. He represents matters in a distressing point of view. I believe they are bad, but I hope they are not so alarming as they are painted by him.

My Letter of the 12th would advise Congress, how far his demand of Necessaries had or would be complied with. In addition to the supplies then ordered, I directed, a day or Two after, Six Tons of musket Ball to be forwarded to him

52. The draft is in the writing of John Fitzgerald.

from Peek's Kill with all possible expedition, which, I doubt not, have arrived at Albany. As to sending him more Troops than those mentioned in my Letter above referred to, it is not in my power; And I am persuaded, the force he now has, with such Succour, as may be had from the Militia, if well conducted, would greatly, if not effectually stop Genl Burgoyne's progress. Genl Arnold arrived here last Night and will set out this Evening for Albany. From his activity and disposition for Enterprize, I flatter myself, his presence and

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assistance in that Quarter, will be attended with happy consequences. I am well assured his utmost exertions will be employed to baffle the Enemy's views, and wishing that they may succeed. I have the honor etc.⁷⁴

***To PHILIP LIVINGSTON, ELBRIDGE GERRY AND GEORGE CLYMER⁸¹**

Camp at the Clove, July 19, 1777.

Gentn.: The little Notice I had of your coming to the Army, and the shortness of your Stay in Camp, will, more

74. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

81. This was the committee appointed by the resolve of July 11, 1777. (See note to Washington's letter to the President of Congress, July 9, 1777, *ante*.)

than probably, occasion the omission of many matters which of right, ought to be laid before you, and the interruption which my thoughts constantly meet, by a variety of occurrences must apologize for the crude, and indigested manner in which they are offered.

The completion of the Continental Regiments is a matter of such Infinite importance, that I think no means should be left unessayed to accomplish it. Drafting, where the powers of Government are adequate, would be the Speediest and most effectual, but if it should be thought unadvisable to attempt this mode, next to it, I would recommend, that the business of recruiting should be taken entirely out of the hands of the Officers of the Army, and, that, each State should appoint some person of known activity (one for Instance who has been a good under Shcriff) in each County or Township, not only to recruit but to apprehend Deserters; these persons to be liberally rewarded for each Recruit, and Deserter whom they shall deliver at stated Periods, and places, to Officers appointed to receive, discipline, and March them to the Army, none of these Recruiters to have the smallest power to act

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out of their own districts but to be absolutely fixed to them. A mode of this kind, would, in my humble opinion, be less burthensome to the public than the present, prevent the Idle habits which recruiting Officers contract, not only injurious to themselves but others; be the most effectual means, which can be devised, for the recovery of Deserters, the surest means of keeping your Regiments

of equal strength and of making the duty more equal in the detail of it. In a word, many valuable advantages would result from it, whilst I can suggest but one reason against it (and that fully satisfied I am, when weighed in the Scale of Interest will not operate) I mean the keeping so many Officers in Camp who might be spared from the duties of the Field till the Regiments are stronger than at present. The Sixteen additional Regiments labour under such disadvantages in some States as to render the Interposition of Congress (in some shape or other) indispensably necessary.

With respect to Food, considering we are in such an extensive and abundant Country, No Army was ever worse supplied than ours with many essential Articles of it. Our Soldiers, the greatest part of the last Campaign, and the whole of this, have scarcely tasted any kind of Vegetables, had but little Salt, and Vinegar, which would have been a tolerable Substitute for Vegetables, they have been in a great measures strangers to. Neither have they been provided with proper drink. Beer or Cyder seldom comes within the verge of the Camp, and Rum in much too small quantities; thus devouring large quantities of animal food, untempered by Vegetables, or Vinegar, or by any kind of Drink, but Water and eating indifferent Bread (but for this last a remedy is providing) is to be ascribed, the many putrid diseases incident to the Army, and the lamentable Mortality

that attended us last Campaign. If these evils can be remedied the expence and trouble ought not to be obstacles. Though some kinds of vegetables are not to be had, others are; which, together with Sour Crout and Vinegar might easily be had, if proper persons, acquainted with the business, were employed therein.

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Soap is another Article in great demand. the Continental allowance is too small and, dear as every necessary of life is now got, a Soldiers pay will not enable him to purchase; by which means his consequent dirtiness, adds not a little to the diseases of the Army.

I have no reason to accuse the Cloathier general of Inattention to his department, and therefore, as his Supplies are incompetent to the wants of the Army, I am to suppose his resources are unequal; ought not each State then to be called upon to draw such supplies from the Country Manufacturies as can be afforded? particularly of Shoes, Stockings, Shirts, and Blankets; articles indispensably necessary, and of which scarce too many can be provided. In the mean while every provision to be making for Cloathing the Troops uniformly, and Warm in the Winter. It is a maxim, which needs no illustration, that nothing can be of more importance in an Army than the Cloathing and feeding it well; on these, the health, comfort, and Spirits of Soldiers essentially depend, and it is a melancholy fact, that the American Army are miserably defective in both these respects; the distress the most of them are in, for want of

Cloathing, is painful to humanity, dispiriting to themselves, and discouraging to every Officer. It makes every pretension to the preservation of cleanliness impossible, exposes them to a variety of disorders, and abates, or destroys that Military pride, without which nothing can be expected from any Army.

The Consequence of giving Rank indiscriminately, is much to be dreaded; great dissatisfaction has already arisen on acct. of bestowing this on Officers in the civil departments of the Army, on the Inferior Staff, Waggon Master &ca. who by custom, propriety, and every other motive are excluded from it in all well regulated Armies. The too great liberality practised in this respect, will destroy the pride of Rank where it ought to exist, and will not only render it cheap but contemptable. It is the policy of all Armies to make it valued and respected, as a stimulus to emulation and an incitement to bold and gallant undertakings, it must be very unadvisable, therefore, in our infant state of War, to

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adopt novel customs to bring it into discredit, which must and will be the consequence of making it too common, besides the disgust it creates in others.

An Auditor of Accts. to be constantly with the Army is absolutely requisite. It is impossible for me, crowded, as I am, with other business, to examine and adjust the numerous complex Accts. of the Army with

that correctness the Public have a right to expect before warrants pass for payment and without doing it, great Impositions may follow. The Provision, for making regimental Paymasters regulate all regimental accts. is altogether incompetent to the end proposed from it; for these Men being appointed, generally, agreeably to the recommendation of the Field Officers of the Regiments, they belong to, associating constantly with the Officers of their Corps, and in a great Measure under their Controul, cannot be considered as sufficiently uninfluenced. Nor are Auditors at a distance from the Army of much use, as it would require a delay not admissable to send accounts to them to audit before they were passed, and paid in consequence of warrants from the Commander in Chief of the Army.

A good Geographer to Survey the Roads and take Sketches of the Country where the Army is to Act Would be extremely useful and might be attended with exceeding valuable consequences. He might with propriety have the chief direction of the Guides who must have a head to procure, govern, and pay them. If such a person should be approved of I would beg leave to recommend Mr. Robt. Erskine who is thoroughly skilled in this business, has already assisted us in making Maps of the Country, and has (as I am informd) uniformly supported the Character of a fast friend to America.

A Small travelling Press to follow head Quarters would be productive of many eminent advantages.

It would enable us to give speedy and exact information of any Military transactions that take place with proper comments upon them; and thereby frustrate the pernicious tendency of falshood and misrepresentation, which, in my opinion of whatever complexion

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they may be, are in the main, detrimental to our Cause. If the People had a Channel of Intelligence, that from its usual authenticity they could look up to with confidence, they might often be preserved from that dispondency, which they are apt to fall into from the exaggerated pictures our Enemies and their emissaries among us commonly draw of any misfortunes we meet with; and from that diffidence of truths favorable to us, which they must naturally feel from the frequent deception they are exposed to, by the extravagant colourings our friends often give to our Successes. It would also be very useful to dispatch business in Camp, being the most expeditious means of taking Copies of any orders or other matters that require to be dispersed and would save a good deal in returns and other papers we are often Obligated to get Printed in Philadelphia. An ingenious Man to accompany this Press and be employed wholly in writing for it might render it singularly beneficial.

I am exceedingly embarrassed how to dispose of the French Officers in general, but more especially the Artillery Officers, who are come out under the sanction of a compact. I can think of no other way than that of forming

a separate Corps of them and draughting Men from the whole line to compose that Corps; but even this will be attended with many disagreeable effects; among others, this is not the least, that Officers will think themselves much injured to have the Men they have had the trouble of raising taken from them and given to others; there is something in this, wch. is discouraging and breaks the Spirits of a good Officer who prides himself in having a full and compleat Corps.

A doubt has arisen whether a person who belongs to any of the United States of America, and who owed Allegiance to any of the said States, that went to the Enemy some time past, and since that time has been lurking about any of the Fortifications or ab. any of the Incampments of the Armies of the United States plundering and driving off Cattle to the Enemy, Recruiting for them, or committing any other atrocious Crimes, or who is appointed an Officer in the Enemys Army, can be tryed by a Genl. Court Martial under

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the Resolution of Congress of the 21st of Augt. 1776, and punished as a Spy. I have the Honor etc.⁸²

82. The draft, in the writing of Washington, has been corrected in minor particulars as to spelling and punctuation by an unknown hand. The above text follows the draft and disregards these changes. The letter sent is in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade and varies only in capitalization and spelling from the draft. It was presented to and read before Congress (July 24) and referred to the Board of War. On July 25 Congress resolved that the board be empowered to contract for beer, cider, vegetables, soap, vinegar, and sauerkraut; that Washington be empowered to increase the ration of soap, and to appoint Erskine geographer and surveyor of the roads, and to procure, govern, and pay the guides employed under him; Washington to fix the pay of the geographer and guides. The question of clothing was recommitted and the recommendation of the board that the Quartermaster General be ordered to furnish the printing press was laid on the table. (See *Journals of the Continental Congress*.)

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Camp, 11 Miles in the Clove, July 22, 1777.

Sir: We have been under great embarrassments respecting the intended operations of Genl. Howe and still are. Notwithstanding the utmost pains to obtain intelligence of the same. At present it would appear that he is going out to Sea. By Authentic information there are only Forty Ships at New York. The rest are gone elsewhere and have fallen down between the Narrows and the Hook. Between these Two places, the Number, from the most accurate observation was about [supposed to be] One hundred and Twenty, [lay at Anchor] on Yesterday. As I observed before, their destination is uncertain and unknown; But I have thought it my duty, to inform Congress of these Facts, that they may give Orders to the Militia, to hold themselves in readiness to march on the shortest notice, in case Philadelphia should be their Object. At the same time I am to request, that they

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will have a sufficient number of proper Lookouts fixed, at the Capes of Delaware, to whose accounts implicit confidence may be given, to make the earliest report of the arrival of any Fleet, which Congress will transmit me by the speediest conveyance. As the Enemy will probably make many Feints and have it unhappily but too much in their power, from their Shipping, I would

advise, that the Look outs should be cautioned, to be extremely accurate in their Observations and Reports, mentioning with as much precision as possible, the Number of Ships that may appear. Our situation is already [truly] critical and may be rendered still more so, by inaccurate and ill grounded intelligence [Reports].

From the advices received on Saturday of the movements of part of the Enemy's Ships and the strong reasons there were, to suppose Genl. Howe would push up the North River to cooperate with Genl. Burgoyne, I detached Lord Stirling with his Division to Peeks Kill on Sunday Morning, they crossed the River that Evening and the next morning. This movement will prove unnecessary, should his destination be to the Southward. I have also ordered Genl Nixon's⁹⁷ Brigade from Peeks Kill to reinforce Genl Schuyler, from his representations of the inadequacy of his force to oppose Genl Burgoyne and of the seeming backwardness of the People in that Quarter to afford him aid. I have the Honor etc.

P.S. I think the Works at Billingsport well worthy of attention and it is expedient to effect their completion, as soon as possible.⁹⁸

97. Glover's brigade was ordered to reenforce Schuyler. (See Washington's letters to Schuyler and Putnam, July 22, 1777, *ante*.) From the letter to Putnam, it might be inferred that a part of Nixon's brigade had previously marched from Kingsborough to join Schuyler, but the P.S. of Washington's letter to Congress July 25, 1777, *q. v.*, explains the matter.

98. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The words in brackets are in the draft, which is also in the writing of Harrison, but do not appear in the letter sent. This letter was read

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in Congress July 24. It is indorsed by Thomson: "referred to the board of war who are directed to confer with the executive powers of Pennsylvania and take immediate and effectual measures to carry into execution the views and wishes of the general."

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Ramapough, 3 Miles from the Clove, July 25, 1777.

Sir: I do myself the Honor to transmit you a Copy of my Letter to Genl. Howe of the 16th Inst., proposing an Exchange between Genls. Lee and Prescot. I dispatched it early the next morning, and presume it got to hand on the 18th. As yet I have not received his Answer.

The amazing advantage the Enemy derive from their Ships and the Command of the Water, keeps us in a State of constant perplexity and the most anxious conjecture. We are not yet informed of their destination, nor can any plausible conclusions be drawn respecting it; at least not such as appear satisfactory. What renders the matter still more difficult and confused, is their extreme inactivity and delay. For it is certain, they began to embark immediately after the evacuation of Amboy, and now remain between the Narrows and the Hook, or were there when I was last advised upon the Subject. I have two Active Officers with an escort now out, for the purpose of Intelligence and for reconnoitring their Situation from Fort Lee and along the River in that Neighbourhood. Things being thus circumstanced and various opinions, as to their real object, prevailing among us; Some supposing it to be Philadelphia, others the

North River and others an Expedition more Easterly, I would submit it to Congress whether the Militia of the Neighbouring Counties should not be immediately called to the first or at Chester, [those from]¹⁵ the lower Counties at Wilmington. This measure appears to me highly expedient and no Objection can lie against it, of sufficient validity to prevent it, as a few days must certainly determine their real designs. Should they be against Philadelphia and they have favourable winds, their Voyage will be made in a Short time, when it may

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be too late to obtain their aid, and to arrange them properly for defence, supposing them to come in. I am the more induced to recommend this measure, as the Several objects we have to attend to, necessarily oblige this Army to continue at a considerable distance from that place, till their Intentions are better understood; and as they might by a sudden and rapid push, attempt to effect some material capital stroke, before we could get there, unless there is a respectable force to oppose them. For, tho' no great dependance can be put in a Militia acting alone, nor a vigorous Opposition expected from them, from the nature of things, to a disciplined, well appointed Army, yet their Operations may be greatly retarded by them, and may be checked till other Succours can arrive. The report of a force, especially if it is any way respectable, let it be of what sort it may, will have some influence on their conduct and may prevent Enterprizes that would otherwise be undertaken.

From the Intelligence received on Saturday

15. The bracketed words were inserted by Richard Varick.

Evening that a Number of the Enemy's Ships were standing up the North River, and in the course of that and the preceeding day, that Forty Sail were in the Sound going into Fairfield Harbour, I had not the least doubt in my mind, but Genl. Howe had in view a stroke against the Highlands and the Fortifications there and to co-operate with Genl Burgoyne. In consequence of these advices, I judged it expedient to move the Army the next Morning from our then Encampment towards those Posts. Lord Stirling's Division was ordered to take the Rout to Kings Ferry and to pass the River to Peekskill, and I proceeded myself with the remainder, which composed the main body by the Rout leading thro' the Clove towards New Windsor. We marched over a very difficult and rugged Road till Night, when we halted, the First Division having advanced about Eighteen Miles. In this situation we lay till yesterday Morning, when, from the information received before, respecting the Enemy's Fleet being at and near the Hook and no further accounts of the Ships in the Sound, a change in our Measures took place. Stephen and Lincoln's Divisions were ordered to proceed to Chester, there to wait further directions, as a place from

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whence they may move with more ease, either to Philadelphia or Hudsons River, being Seven Miles nearer the former and equally convenient to the Latter, and General Greene's Division to this Ground. By dividing and this arrangement, I am in hopes our movements will be

more expeditious, wheresoever they may be necessary. I have &ca.

P.S. In my Letter of the 23d I mentioned that Nixon's Brigade was ordered, as a further reinforcement to Genl Schuyler. I meant Glover's.

4 O'Clock P.M.

This Minute received a Letter of the 22d from Genl Schuyler,16 a copy of which and of its Inclosure I herewith transmit. This Letter of the 21st, which he mentions, has not come to Hand. Things seem still in an unpromising way in that Quarter. Genl Schuyler complains much for want of Artillerists, It is not with me to satisfy his demands; he has at this time a much greater proportion of Artillerists than this Army, having regard to the Quantity of Artillery.

After sealing my Letter I received by Express from Colo Moylan17 a Letter advising that the Fleet sailed from the Hook Yesterday Morning out to sea.18

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Half after 8 A.M., July 25, 1777.

Sir: I do myself the Honor to transmit you the Inclosed

16. Contemporary copies of Schuyler's letter of the 22d are in both the *Washington Papers* and the *Papers of the Continental Congress*. It deals with the evacuation of Ticonderoga, the weak state of his army, lack of every necessary, and the prospects of reenforcements.

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17. Moylan's intelligence, dated July 23, 1777, is in the *Washington Papers*.

18. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

Letter from Governor Franklin, which came this Minute by Express.²⁰ As Mr. Franklin was confined by order of Congress, I could not think myself at liberty to answer him on the subject of his request, therefore have referred it to their consideration. At the same time I would observe, his situation is distressing and must interest all our feelings, as I have no doubt of the great indisposition of his Lady. I should suppose, after his solemn assurances and being laid under such further restrictions as Congress may judge necessary to impose upon him, that he might be indulged to see her. Humanity and Generosity plead powerfully in favor of his application. I am certain it will be duly considered. If it is granted, he should have the earliest notice [of it,] or the end and the views of Congress may be disappointed in the death of Mrs. Franklin before his arrival. I have the Honor etc.²¹

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Morris Town, July 27, 1777.

Sir: I do myself the Honor to transmit you the inclosed Memorandum of Warlike Stores, wanted for an

20. Congress refused to grant Franklin's request, on the ground that he had not complied with the obligations of his parole. It was because of this that he was at this time confined in the Litchfield, Conn., jail. Franklin's letter, dated July 22, 1777, is filed with this one of Washington's in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*.

21. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The words in brackets are in the draft and not in the letter sent; the draft also varies slightly in the order of words from the letter sent.

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Expedition to the River St Johns, which I received in a Letter from General Heath of the 16th. Inst. The Memorandum was sent, that I might order the Stores to be supplied. Not knowing that Congress have such an Expedition in view at this Time, I do not conceive myself authorized to comply with the requisition, and therefore refer the Matter to their consideration, to direct therein as they shall judge proper. But I would beg leave to observe, that I think the Force intended to be employed upon the Occasion, would render infinitely more Important Services, by reinforcing the Northern Army and assisting in the repulse of Genl Burgoyne. The progress of his Arms, and the deficiency in the Quotas of Men, exacted from the States to compose our Army, seem to forbid Expeditions for Conquest and to demand our utmost exertions to maintain what we already have. Congress will be pleased to write the Massachusetts Council on the subject and a Line to Genl. Heath, that he may know how to govern himself respecting the Application. I have the Honor &ca.

Cross Roads 16 Miles West of Morris Town, 2 O'Clock P.M.

Your Letter of the 26th with its Inclosures I met on the Road. The Subject of Rank which Congress have been pleased to submit to my consideration, shall have my attention, as soon as circumstances will admit and the result made known.

Genl. Greene's Division, consisting of Muhlenburg and Weedon's Brigades, is now here, It will proceed Six or Seven

Miles farther this Evening. Genls. Sullivan and Stirling's Divisions have repassed Hudson's River. The former will proceed by this Rout, The Latter by way of [thro'] Pyramus and [by way of] Bound Brook or Brunswick. Genl. Stephen with his own and Lincoln's Division, (Genl. Lincoln being ordered to join Genl. Schuyler) is marching on a back Road from Chester, thro' Sussex to Howel's Ferry on Delaware. Moylan and Bland's Regiments of Horse, which [who] were pasturing about Bound Brook and on the Communication towards Woodbridge, were ordered to March too on the first intelligence I received of

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the Fleet's sailing. Morgan's Corps of Light Troops is also on the March thro' Brunswick, with directions to halt at Trenton till further orders, or till he gets certain information of the appearance of the Fleet in Delaware. I intend in like Manner, that Lord Stirlings Division shall halt and remain there or at Bristol till we have further information of the Enemy. From either of these places they will be sufficiently near Philadelphia and may proceed in time on any emergency. I am etc.⁴⁰

To THE BOARD OF WAR

Fleming Town, July 28, 1777.

Sir: I have now before me, your two favors of the 15th and 23d Inst.

40. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. *cf.* Washington's letter to Congress, July 25, 1777, *ante*.

I have not the proceedings of the Court Martial respecting Hudson Burr.⁴⁵ The Crime alledged against him, I recollect, was not supported by the State of the Evidence submitted to me, and therefore I refused to confirm the Court's Sentence. At the same time being informed, that he was a Citizen of Philadelphia, I advised Genl Sullivan to send him down to the Board of War of Pennsylvania, that they might take his long Absence, the cause &c. under their consideration. This I expected had been done and Burr dealt with according to right, till your Letter of the 15th advised the Contrary. For my part, from the unimportant Character of the Man, I think he may be discharged, more especially, as the Charge for which he was originally apprehended, tried and Sentenced, was by no means proved to my Satisfaction.

It is not in my power to furnish Genl Schuyler with any Tents. A thousand, of those mentioned in the Return, went to his Army. I wrote Genl Putnam, immediately after Genl. Schuyler's application, to forward to his relief, all he could, of a Parcel which I heard was then coming from the Eastward, How many they were, whether any could be spared or

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what Number has gone, I cannot inform you. So far from being in a Situation to assist him in this instance, there are Several Men in this Army who now want, and who have never been provided with any.

General Putnam has transmitted me Returns

45. Burr was a hatter of Philadelphia and was considered a suspicious character also in 1778.

of his Force, as often, I beleive, as it has been in his power. Neither these or Returns of this Army have been sent to Congress, in the Manner I wished; But the failure has not arisen from want of inclination or attention to the matter, but from the peculiar, moving, changeable situation and condition of the Troops. In the General Return delivered the Committee of Congress, who honored me with a visit, Genl. Putnam's force was included. I think the most eligible mode to be pursued, will be, for Returns of his Division to come to the Adjutant Genl. who in a general Return, will make mention of it, whenever the State of things will admit.

I had received the Resolves first passed, for establishing a Corps of Invalids, but not those of the 16th. published in the News paper; Such parts of the latter as are necessary for Genl. Orders, will be inserted, as soon as opportunity offers. I am etc.46

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Coryels Ferry, Jersey, July 30, 1777.

Sir: I do myself the Honor to Inform you, that I

46. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

arrived here on the 28th at Night with Genl. Greene's Division, one Brigade of which passed the River that Evening, that the whole might encamp the more commodiously.

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Genl Stephen with his own and Lincoln's Division also arrived a little time after at Howel's Ferry, four Miles above this. I have thought proper to halt the whole Army at these two places and at Trenton, till our knowledge of the Enemy's destination becomes more certain. If the Delaware is their object, we are within two days easy March of Philadelphia and can be in time, I trust, to make every necessary disposition for opposing them. On the other hand, If Genl Howe by this expedition to Sea only means a deep feint and should turn his attention again to the North River, we can from hence reinforce General Putnam's Army more expeditiously than if we were farther advanced.

The importance of my receiving the earliest intelligence of the Fleet's arrival, is apparent, and Congress, I am certain, will direct proper measures for obtaining it, and also for transmitting it to me in the most speedy manner. If authentic advice should be had of the Fleet's coming into Delaware, at the same time that it is communicated to me, it will be proper that an express should be sent to Lord Stirling or Commanding Officer at Trenton, to advance with all the Troops from thence. Should this not be done, the Marching of the Troops here, will be considerably delayed. I am &ca.58

58. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison, as is also the letter sent, which varies from the draft in capitalization only.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Philadelphia, August 3, 1777.

Sir: Your Favor of this date with its inclosures is now before me.

At the same time that I express my thanks for the high mark of confidence which Congress have been pleased to repose in me, by their Resolve authorizing me to send an Officer to command the northern Army, I should wish to be excused from making the appointment. For this, many Reasons might be mentioned, and which I am persuaded will occur to Congress upon reflection.

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The Northern department in a great measure, has been considered as separate, and more peculiarly under their direction, and the Officers commanding there always of their nomination. I have never interfered, further than merely to advise, and to give such aids as were in my power, on the requisitions of those Officers.

The present Situation of that department is delicate and critical and the Choice of an Officer to the command may involve very interesting and important Consequences.

It is certainly necessary that a Body of Militia should be immediately called out, to reinforce the northern Army.

In the conference, which your Committee honored me with Yesterday Evening, I mentioned the Number which I thought sufficient. But my opinion on this point and the apportioning them to the different States, I wish to submit to Congress, who can best determine the Quotas that should come from each. I would only observe that Connecticut and New York are already and may be called on again to afford succours to the Army at Peekskill. I have the honor etc.¹⁵

To THE BOARD OF WAR

Philadelphia, August 5, 1777.

Sir: I have your favor of the 3d, which I should have answered Yesterday but I was down the River visiting the different Posts. The constant demands for Arms and Accoutrements, notwithstanding the great Quantities lately delivered, is a thing so unaccountable, that I think no means should be left untried, to investigate the true Reasons of deficiencies in almost every Corps. The first Step towards this, is to direct the Commissary General of Military Stores, to make out a particular detail of the Arms and Accoutrements delivered to the Continental Army within four or five Month's past,

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15. In the writing of Tench Tilghman. The letter was read in Congress August 4 and “Ordered to be taken into consideration at 1 oClock.” James Lovell wrote to William Whipple (August 4) the result of this consideration: “New York pushed for a reference to General W— as to the successor of Schuyler, intending and attempting to prevent G — from being sent; but it was referred back to us and we were 11 to 1 which is far from 5 to 4, and 2 divided.” (See Burnett's *Letters of Members of Congress*, vol. a, p. 437.) Washington was directed (August 4) to order Gates to the Northern Department to take the place of Schuyler.

specifying the name of the Officer to whom delivered and to what Corps he belongs. We shall then be able to see, with what propriety an Officer of any particular Regiment calls for a further Supply, by comparing his demand with the number delivered out to him by the Commissary. I wish the Return just mentioned may be made out as quickly as possible.

One great Cause of the Waste and abuse of the public Arms is the want of a Sufficient number of Armourers to attend the Army. If the Smallest matter is amiss in the Lock, the Gun is useless, and if an Armourer is not at hand to repair it, it must be returned into the Store and a New one drawn, or it is thrown aside into a Baggage Waggon and perhaps lost or broken by Carriage. The want of Armourers also gives the Officers a fair Opportunity of attributing many things, which are really owing to their inattention to their Men, to the impossibility of keeping the Arms in order without such persons; And it is no uncommon thing to find Arms returned as defective, upon close inspection, to want only rubbing and cleaning.

It has heretofore been customary for the Commissary to deliver Arms &c. to the order of the Adj. General. But in our present Situation, where our wants appear to be many and our means Small, I have ordered all the commanding Officers of Corps to make a Return of their deficiencies, and if we cannot Supply them with the whole, we must apportion what we have, among

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them.

It does not appear that any person has yet undertaken the Business of Supplying the Army with Beer, or Cyder, Vinegar and Vegetables; but as those things would exceedingly refresh the Troops that now lay at German Town, I beg to know whether they could not be procured for them immediately, by some person appointed by the Board for the present. If only Beer or Cyder and Vinegar was procured, it would not be so material as to Vegetables, for they can purchase them in the Neighbourhood.

I am just favor'd with your Note of this date, by which I perceive that Mr. Butler²⁹ Chief Armourer is put under my direction; You will oblige me by ordering him to attend upon me that I may see whether he can undertake to supply armourers to follow the Army. I have &c.

P.S. Since writing the above, I have seen Colo Flower, who tells me the Returns are made to Genl Knox. He also has promised to send Mr. Butler to me.³⁰

29. Thomas Butler.

30. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Camp near Germantown, August 6, 1777.

Sir: I beg leave to be informed, whether Congress have Written or mean to Write themselves to Genls. Schuyler and St Clair,⁴⁰ to repair to Head Quarters or whether they expect me to do it. My reason for this is, the Resolves for their recall, transmitted in your favor of the 2d Inst., do not mention how the same should be communicated. I have the honor etc.⁴¹

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To GEORGE WALTON

Camp near Germantown, August 6, 1777.

Sir: I had the Pleasure of your Letter, respecting Genl. McIntosh. You may inform Congress, that one Brigade in this Army is without a General Officer, occasioned by Dehaas's not choosing to accept of that commission and should they think proper to order Genl. McIntosh for that purpose, it would be very agreeable to me,³⁸ [were it not for the length of time it

40. Congress informed Schuyler and St. Clair of its action.

41. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

38. McIntosh was in Georgia.

will take to get him here;] this I apprehend, they will have no great objection to, unless they have some Gentleman in view to fill that Vacancy, or may be of opinion that the Campaign will be almost over before he can possibly arrive or be of any Service to us.

I expected an Answer was given to you yesterday and did not know the Contrary until I was leaving Town. I am &ca. 39

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Camp near Germantown, August 7, 1777.

Sir: Yesterday evening, I received a Letter from Genl Schuyler⁶⁰ of the 1st Inst. a copy of which and of its Inclosures, I do myself the honor of transmitting you. By these you will perceive, that our affairs, at the Northward, have experienced no change for the better; On the contrary, that they are in a more unpromising train. I have the honor etc.⁶¹

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39. In the writing of John Fitzgerald. Phrase in brackets inserted by Washington.

60. Schuyler's letter of August 1 told of the panicky condition of the troops, Col. Seth Warner's weakness, the British advance, and Maj. Gen. Benedict Arnold's request for permission to retire on account of rank. This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

61. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Camp near German Town, August 9, 1777.

Sir: I have been duly honored with your Letter of Yesterday and with its Inclosures. I shall pay attention to the Resolves transmitted, and as soon as circumstances admit, shall propose to Genl Howe an Exchange between Lt. Colo. Campbell and the Hessian Field Officers and a like number of Ours of equal rank in his Hands.

I would beg leave to lay before Congress a Copy of a Report made by a Board of Genl. Officers held on the 7th Inst to consult of several Matters respecting the Army. In the course of their deliberation, they took into consideration the subject reported. I shall only add, that this matter has been long complained of by the Officers, and the more so, as the Indulgence they pray could not nor can be ever attended with the least possible injury to the Public, and is what, I believe, is allowed, in most Armies. Congress I am persuaded, will give it their attention, and if no good objections of a Public Nature appear against the Measure, will grant what the Officers wish and the Board have recommended.⁶⁹

I perceive by the Resolutions of the 30th Ulto. and 1st Inst. for recalling Genls. Schuyler and St. Clair, that they are directed to repair to Head Quarters. I also find, that a Committee

69. This was a representation by the regimental officers regarding their ration issue. The original, dated August 7, is in the *Washington Papers*. It was read in Congress (August 11)

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and referred to James Wilson, Jonathan Bayard Smith, and William Smith. The matter was settled by the resolves of September 11. Washington's letter also inclosed the report of a board of general officers (August 7) on the Wagonmaster General's Department, soap allowance, and clothing. This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

had been resolved on, to digest a mode for enquiring into the Reasons for evacuating Tyconderoga and Mount Independence, and into the conduct of the General Officers in the Northern department at the time of the evacuation. As these Gentlemen have received the Letter upon this Subject by this time, and will probably be down in the course of a few days, I shall be glad to be informed what I am to do with them when they arrive. I may be then at a great distance from this, and in such case, should be at a loss what to say or how to conduct myself respecting them, without receiving some directions, which I request to be favoured with by the earliest Opportunity. I have the Honor &ca.70

70. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Camp near German Town, August 10, 1777.

Sir: The disappearance of the Enemy's Fleet for so many days, rendering it rather improbable that they will again return, I have thought it advisable to remove the Army back to Coryels, where it will be near enough to succour Philadelphia, should the Enemy, contrary to appearances, still make that the object of their next operations; and will be so much more conveniently situated to proceed to the Northward, should the event of the present ambiguous and perplexing situation of things call them that way. I was the more inclined to this step, as the nearness of the Army to the city, beside other disadvantages, afforded a temptation both to Officers and Men, to indulge themselves in licenses inconsistent with discipline and order, and consequently of a very injurious tendency.

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But before my departure, I esteem it my duty

to communicate to Congress the result of my examination into the nature of the River defence, proper to be adopted, according to the means in our possession, to prevent the Success of any attempt upon Philadelphia, by water. I therefore beg leave to lay before Congress what appears to me most eligible, considering all circumstances and comparing my own observations, with the different opinions of the Gentlemen, whom I consulted on the occasion.

It is generally a well-founded Maxim, that we ought to endeavour to reduce our defence, as much as possible, to a certainty, by collecting our Strength and making all our preparations at one point, rather than to risk its being weak and ineffectual every where, by dividing our attention and force to different objects. In doing this, we may disable ourselves from acting with sufficient vigor any where, and a misfortune in one place, may pave the way for a similar one in another. In our circumstances we have neither men, cannon, nor any thing else to spare, and perhaps cannot with propriety hazard them on objects, which being attended with the greatest success, we can promise ourselves, can be productive of only partial and indecisive advantages, and which may possibly fail of the end proposed, may have some serious ill-consequences, and must at all events have some disadvantages.

It is then to be considered, where our defence can be most effectually made; whether at Bilingsport, or at Fort Island. It appears to me, that the last deserves greatly the preference.

Bilingsport has but one row of Chevaux de frize, Fort Island has three, and in addition to them, a boom and another chevaux de frize, ready to be sunk in the channel, on the approach of the enemy; of course the obstructions in this respect are four times as great at the one as at the other. The Gallies and floating batteries, that could be brought for the defence of the chevaux de frize at Bilingsport, would be unable to Maintain their Station,

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when once the enemy were in possession of the commanding ground on the Jersey side, to which they would be intirely exposed, and notwithstanding the works raising there, even supposing them complete, the strongest advocates for making our defence in this place, do not pretend that the event can be protracted, more than fifteen or twenty days at most; at the end of which time, we should be obliged, with the loss of our cannon at least to abandon the defence, and leave it in the Power of the enemy to remove or destroy the chevaux de frize at pleasure. Nor is it by any means certain, that a single row of chevaux de frize would be an impenetrable barrier to the enemys ships. Experiments have been made, that lead to a contrary supposition, and if they should hazard one, which it might be worth their while to do, with some of their less valuable Ships, under favour of a leading breeze and tide, and should succeed in it; the consequence might be the loss of our gallies and floating batteries, which I apprehend might be intercepted; and with the assistance of their gallies and small armed vessels, taken, and would greatly weaken the opposition we might otherwise

give, at Fort Island, and tend powerfully to render it abortive. But if they should not attempt this, contenting themselves with safer tho' slower operations, I have already observed, that it is agreed on all hands, in fifteen or twenty days, they would be able to possess themselves, of infallible means of frustrating our opposition there, by the capture of our works; and if we add to this, that it might very possibly happen in less time; if from no other cause, yet from the garrison being intimidated, by a consciousness of its own inferiority and inability to support itself, against a so much superior force of numbers, which might occasion a conduct destructive to itself, there will remain no sufficient reasons to justify the making this the principal point of defence.

At Fort Island the boom and chevaux de frize are an ample security against any forcible impression of the enemy's ships, which it would be imprudent in them to attempt. On the Jersey Side, the situation of the grounds is such, that the gallies, floating batteries and forts employed in the defence of the obstructions, would have little to fear from any batteries erected there. Red Bank seems, by its elevation, to be the only advantageous

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spot for annoying them; but as it is computed to be above 1900 Yards from Fort Island, the distance is rather too great to allow any battery, raised there, to act with so much effect as to be able to silence our fire. On this side, the ground by dykes and sluices may be laid under water, to so considerable an extent, as to leave no danger of our River force being annoyed from thence; for which purpose, suitable preparations ought at once to be made against it may be necessary to carry them into effect.

But tho' a Battery upon Red-bank would not, in my apprehensions, be able to prevent the efficacy of our defence or give any material disturbances to Fort Island in particular, yet it might serve to make the situation of some of our gallies rather uneasy, and this perhaps makes it worth while to pre-occupy it, in order to keep it out of the Enemy's hands, erecting a small but strong work there, capable of containing about two hundred Men with six or eight pieces of light cannon, and a proportionable quantity of stores. As the approaches to it are difficult, on account of the adjacent creeks and a communication can be kept open, between it and our army, by which means the garrison might receive succours from time to time, though we could not expect to make it impregnable, yet we should have a prospect of holding it much longer than we could the work at Bilingsport. In the position, which from my present view of it, I should think it best for our Army to take, the left wing of it would be nearly opposite to Red-bank, and therefore in a condition to relieve and support it; whereas Bilingsport, being more remote, from the probable position of the army and detached from any other work, could not easily derive any assistance from without, and must rely wholly upon its own strength.

Either at Bilingsport or at Fort Island, I beleive, there is not much to be apprehended from the fire of the enemy's ships unaided by land batteries: For as by the information of those who ought to be acquainted with the fact, not more than three ships can act abreast at a time, at either place; and as the gallies, not

requiring the same depth of water, can extend themselves at pleasure, and besides carry a superior weight of Metal to that which frigates commonly have, a much superior fire

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could be opposed to them, than any they could bring; and from the difference of size and make between the frigates and gallies, to much better effect than theirs. The comparative extent of the River at Bilingsport and at Fort Island has been assigned as a motive of preference to the former, the river being narrower there than at the latter, and supposed to admit of fewer ships operating at a time; but as it is asserted by the Gentlemen in the River department, that the sand banks and shallowness of the River in most places near Fort Island, compensate for the width of it and make it impossible for more than three ships to act at a time, this reason for preferring the position at Bilingsport seems to have no foundation. And if we consider, that our whole force of gallies and floating batteries would be collected at Fort Island, assisted by the fort itself, and that it would not be safe to trust them all out, for the defence at Bilingsport, for fear of the disaster already suggested: it seems evident enough that this is the place where our defence may be most successfully made.

One of the weightiest considerations with me, is, that our Army, as before intimated, could more conveniently co-operate with the defence by water here, than at Bilingsport. The ground on this side is better situated here, than at the other place; and the army being so much nearer the city, it is so much the less likely, that the enemy should be able, by a circuitous route, to fall into the

rear of it and Separate it from the city; which is a circumstance that ought carefully to be attended to.

Some Gentlemen are of Opinion, that our principal dependance ought to be upon Fort Island and its appendages; but at the same time, that we should make a part of our defence at Bilingsport; proposing for that purpose, that the works there should be continued in the new contracted scale to be garrisoned by four or five hundred Men. The reasons for this are, that it would serve to delay the enemy and give our army time to come up, should it be at any distance, and that it would prevent those disagreeable impressions, which never fail to accompany the abandoning works that have been

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once raised, and plans that have been once in execution; especially when the persons concerned in the defence of them, repose a degree of confidence in them; which is said to be the case in the present instance. But these reasons may perhaps not be so conclusive as 'tis imagined; for 'tis a question, whether if our army was so remote, as to make such a delay necessary, the Enemy would embarrass themselves with removing the water obstructions in the first place; but would not rather debark and make a rapid March by land, possessing themselves of the city and of those positions which would make the surrender of the gallies &c in some sort a natural consequence; and it is worthy of consideration, whether the abandonning the works begun, at this time, which will probably allow some leisure, for any disagreeable impressions it might make to be effaced will not be less injurious,

than the abandonning them hereafter, when they have cost more expence time and labour, and in the critical moment of an attack, when every misfortune and the loss of the most inconsiderable post is too apt to have a much worse influence upon the mind, than the real importance of it will justify. Add to this, the possibility that the garrison, dismayed at the approach of numbers so superior to their own, might not answer the end expected from them, and might even be lost by their timidity; the certainty of losing the cannon after the time limited for the defence, and thereby weakening that of the upper position; the chance of losing the gallies and floating batteries, requisite for covering the chevaux de frize, by a hazardous and successful attempt to break through them, and the garrison with them, which would fall of course upon such an event. It is however submitted to Congress to balance the advantages and disadvantages and determine accordingly. I would only beg leave to give it clearly as my opinion, that our principal dependance ought to be upon Fort Island and the obstructions there, and that Bilingsport ought not, by any means to be defended, more than as a secondary object.

And to that end, I would recommend, that the works on Fort Island, which on their present construction are, by no means calculated for the defence of the Chevaux De frize, be immediately altered and adapted to that purpose, taking care at the same time to make

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them defensible with a small number of Men against any sudden attempt to land in boats and carry them by assault.

But whatever scheme is pursued, I could wish the

greatest diligence and dispatch may be used in bringing it to maturity, for though the danger which lately threatened seems to have subsided, there is no knowing how soon it may return, and certainly it will be prudent to do every thing in our power to be prepared for it, as we can lose nothing by being so, and may lose a great deal by neglecting to improve the interval of leisure they have given us, should it be their intention to revisit this quarter. As the means to this, it will be necessary to furnish Mr. Coudray, to whom the superintendency of those works has been intrusted, with a competent number of workmen, tools and other things he may want, to enable him to carry them on with propriety, ease and expedition.

On the whole, I am of opinion, that the obstructions in the River, with the help of the gallies, floating batteries, and with tolerable industry to put the land works in a proper state, will be extremely formidable to the enemy, and authorize a reasonable expectation of their being effectual. The fire ships also will contribute to this end, for though there are many obstacles that render their success precarious, and a happy concurrence of circumstances is necessary towards it any of which failing, may disappoint the project, and there is therefore no room to be sanguine, yet there is some probability of its succeeding, and they will be at least an embarrassment and terror to the enemy, and will oblige them to use precautions, inconvenient to them and serviceable to us.

As an accurate knowledge of the Country is essential to a good defence, and as the Enemy's approach may be sudden

and we may be called to act, without having time, when it happens, to examine it sufficiently, if it is not done beforehand; it would answer a valuable purpose, to have it immediately carefully reconnoitred, and sketches taken of all the landing places, great

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roads, and bye-paths, encamping grounds, heights, Rivers, creeks, morasses, and every thing that it can be of any importance to know. Marcus Hook seems to be the most advanced place, at which it is conjectured the enemy will land; the survey should therefore comprehend all the country between that and Philadelphia. Mr. Du Coudray has offered his service with his Engineers, to do this business, if authorized by Congress, only requiring that they may be supplied with horses [and a hand or two]. If Congress approve of it I shall be glad they may be desired to enter upon it, without loss of time. I have the Honor etc.79

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Camp at Cross Roads, August 12, 1777.

Sir: General Newcomb having informed me, that he had collected a body of about five hundred Jersey Militia at Woodbery, I have desired him to endeavour to keep them together, while

79. In the writing of Alexander Hamilton. The draft is in that of Richard Kidder Meade, The letter was read in Congress (August 11) and referred to the Board of War, "who are directed to carry the general's plan of defence into execution with all possible dispatch." The words in brackets were added by Washington.

matters remain in their present uncertainty and suspense and to employ them in whatever works may be carrying on at Bilingsport or Redbank, for the defence of the river. I mention this, that if it shall be thought proper, Mr. Du Coudray may be directed to call for the assistance of those Militia accordingly. I have the honor etc.88

To SILAS DEANE

Camp in Bucks County, August 13, 1777.

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Sir: I have had the pleasure of receiving several of your favors by the hands of Gentlemen coming to America, with a desire to enter into our service; but as they were merely introductory, I hope I shall be excused for not answering them in regular order.

The difficulty of providing for those Gentlemen, in a Manner suitable to the former ranks of some, and the expectations of many, has not a little embarrassed Congress and myself. The extravagant Rank given to the Officers who first came over from France, most of whom have turned out but little better than adventurers, made those of real Merit and long 88. In the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

Service, who came over with proper credentials, naturally conclude that they should enjoy the highest posts in our Army; Indeed it could not be expected that they would consent to serve in this Country, in an inferior station to those whom they had Commanded in France. Had not this difficulty been in the way, it would have been in a measure impossible for us to have provided for them all in the line of the Army, for the following Reasons: When Congress at length determined to establish the Army upon a permanent footing, the Regiments and Field Officer's Commissions were naturally given to those Gentr. in the differrent States who had stepped forward and distinguished themselves from the beginning of the Contest. All that could then be done, was to give those that came well recommended, Commissions in the Continental Army, from whence they derived Rank and Pay; but as they were assigned to no particular Corps, they were in a great measure excluded from any real Command. This to those who came over upon Motives of Interest only, was not unsatisfactory; but it was very irksome to Men of real spirit who wanted to distinguish themselves, and who could not brook the thoughts of drawing pay, without rendering service for it. From this State of the case, you will plainly perceive, that had applications for employment in our service, been but few, it would not have been easy to have granted them in a proper Manner; but when they have been so extremely numerous

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(and scarce a Man willing to accept of any thing under the degree of a Field Officer) it has been really

distressing, especially when it is considered that many of the Gentlemen are Men of Merit, and who have come from home out of a desire of serving our Cause. I have often expressed my Sentiments to Congress upon this Head, and have wished them to take some measures, to make Doctr. Franklin and yourself acquainted with our difficulties. If the Gentlemen in France were properly informed that our Army was fully Officered and that all Vacancies are filled by succession, none would come out, but those in particular Branches with whom particular Stipulations are made. I make no doubt but you are sufficiently importuned for Letters of recommendation, which I am Confident you grant to none but those whom you think worthy of them. But I hope you will in future, let the Gentlemen who apply for them, into a true State of the Nature of our service and of the difficulty of getting into it, in any but an inferior station; if after that, they choose to come over upon a Risque, they cannot complain if their expectations are not answered. Altho' Letters of recommendation are not binding, yet if the parties that bring them have not their Wishes fully complied with, they are apt to attribute their disappointment to slight of them and want of attention to the Gentn. recommending.

I have laid this Matter thus fully and candidly before you, that you may endeavour to prevent the fruitless applications and great expence that those Gentn. must incur who cannot be provided for. I am &ca.94

94. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Qurs., Camp at Cross Roads, August 15, 1777.

Sir: Mr Du Coudray has lain before me a plan of the river, by which it appears, that for a considerable space between the two sand banks on the East Side of Fort-Island, there

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is from four to four and a half fathom's depth of water. According to this representation, there would be room for three frigates to lie between those banks, in such a position as to enfilade the works at Fort-Island, and make it difficult to maintain them. There are but two ways of remedying this inconvenience: one by having a sufficient number of chevaux de frize sunk at the entrance between the two banks, and the other by having the left flank of Fort-Island fortification supported by a good battery capable of resisting the cannon of the ships and obliging them to quit their station. The first is evidently preferable, because the efficacy of it will be more certain. A few chevaux de frize properly placed might effectually bar all access to the ships; but there is a possibility, that any battery, we can construct, might be overpowered by the fire of the shipping; and as we have few cannon, and Fort-Island is itself a marshy spot, incapable of affording earth for the batteries necessary to be raised upon it, which must be brought from the opposite shore, it would not be prudent to multiply works there, more than cannot be avoided. It would also be a great advantage gained, to secure the Island from annoyance, except in one point

and that in front, from only three ships at a time; which would be effected by stopping up the passage between the two banks, with chevaux de frize. I should therefore think it of importance to have this measure immediately adopted, and carried into execution. I have the honor etc.⁹

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Neshamini Camp, August 16, 1777.

Sir: I do myself the Honor of addressing a few lines to Congress on a Subject, which appears to me of infinite importance and to have a Claim to their serious attention. The matter I allude to, is the exorbitant price exacted by Merchants and Venders of Goods, for every Necessary they dispose of. I am sensible, the trouble and risk in importing, give the Adventurers a right to a generous price, and that such, from motives of policy, should be paid; But yet, I cannot conceive, that they, in direct violation of every principle

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of generosity, of reason and of Justice, should be allowed, if it is possible to restrain 'em, to avail themselves of the difficulties of the times, and to amass Fortunes upon the public ruin. This Grievance, is now an Object of Universal complaint and

9. In the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

of Universal apprehension; And the consequences that are likely to result from a continuance of it, excite in every well affected mind the most disagreeable feelings. The Inclosed Copy of a Memorial from a part of the Pennsylvania Officers, shews their sentiments upon the Subject, and I am persuaded, those of the whole Army are similar, as they have and do experience the gross abuses they complain of. I know that ways and means for preventing this Evil wholly, are difficult, if practicable, to find out; But I should hope, that Congress themselves, or the Supreme Powers in the respective States, thro' their recommendation, may devise some mode by which it may be redressed in part. I think there are Two Measures, which if adopted and put under proper regulations, would be of considerable saving to the Public and to the Army, at the same time that they would contribute a good deal to do away part of the Uneasiness of the Latter, arising from the enormous prices they are compelled to pay for Necessaries. The First is, the Establishment of public Tanneries, in three or Four of the States, under care of a Judicious Commissary or Director, to which all the Hides of the Cattle killed for the Army should be carried and tanned. There should be also Deputies to attend the Army and Collect the Hides and it appears to me, that establishing the Tanneries in different States, for instance, one in this and Another in Connecticut, will be much more advisable than fixing Only One in either of 'em, as the business may be carried on more extensively, with more convenience and at less expence, than if the Raw Hides were to be transported to one place only, from which probably there would

be a necessity of carrying them the whole distance back again after they were dressed. This Subject was under consideration of Congress once before and a Commissary (if I recollect a Mr. Phillips) appointed, who declined the Office [since which things have gone

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on in the old train]. Leather is of such Essential use and so indispensably necessary for shoes and other purposes in the Army, that too much care, nor too effectual means cannot be taken to procure it. What I have ventured to mention, if gone into, will add much to our Supplies, and I am certain, will prevent the high and unjustifiable prices demanded for this Article, when in the hands of Private Owners. Besides, at these Tanneries, a number of Artists [artisans], such as Shoe and Harness Makers, might be employed to work the Leather up. In like Manner, since our Imports of Spirit have become so precarious, nay impracticable, on Account of the Enemy's Fleet which infests our Whole Coast, I would beg leave to suggest the propriety of erecting Public Distilleries in different States. The benefits arising from the moderate use of strong Liquor, have been experienced in All Armies, and are not to be disputed. In the present situation of Affairs, Our Soldiery cannot obtain such supplies, as are absolutely necessary, and if they are fortunate enough to get any, it is from the Sutlers, at most extravagant rates and at such, as are incredible to tell of. This is a source of much complaint, and I should hope may be removed, by appointing proper persons to buy Grain and distill it for the Army, large quantities of which, may easily be procured and

on reasonable Terms, in many of the States. In respect to the observation, in the Memorial about Rations, it is certain, the present allowed value, is by no means Sufficient, nor does it answer the purpose intended. Since that was fixed, Provisions like every other Article, tho' not from the same Causes, have become extremely dear and what at that time was a just equivalent, is totally inadequate now. This matter, I doubt not, will have the attention of Congress and such regulations be made respecting it as may be right and equitable.

It appears to me from the Information I have received that Two Companies, each to consist of Sixty Men at least, under proper Officers of unsuspected Attachment, Spirit and activity, should be immediately raised to guard the Laboratory and Stores at Carlisle. Their Security is of considerable importance and ought to be attended to. These Companies, besides serving as a Guard, will be frequently of use as Escorts and Convoys to Stores. If Congress should deem them necessary and order them to be inlisted, Yet I would

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recommend that they should not be raised, as merely Stationary or local, having found from experience, that Regiments or Companies, formed upon such a footing, enter upon their services with great discontent and reluctance, tho' the Occasion should be never so pressing.

In a Letter of the 13th of June I submitted to Congress an Application from the Officers of Cavalry respecting their Horses. Whether they were to be provided at their own or public expence.

I also laid before them in a Letter, of the 5th. of July, Captain Sullivan's requisition for pay. I shall be glad to be honored with their determination upon these Subjects, and also, in general, respecting the Line of conduct I should pursue as to the pay of Officers, taken Prisoners at any time before the close of the last Campaign, and who have been permitted to be on parole, and whether there is to be any distinction between such of them as are continued by new Appointments and those who are not. I have frequent applications in these instances and wish to know how to act.

Since the Express from Genl Schuyler left this, I received a Letter from Govr. Clinton,¹² a Copy of which and of its Inclosures I herewith transmit, as they give a much more favorable Account of the affairs at Fort Schuyler, than was contained in his Letter. I have &ca.¹³

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Neshamini Camp, August 17, 1777.

Sir: The unfavorable situation of our Affairs in the Northern department and the pressing applications of Genl. Schuyler for aid, induced me to write, some time ago, to Genl. Putnam to hold Van Cortlandt's and Livingston's Regiments,

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12. A copy of Clinton's letter of August 13, in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison, is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*.

13. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The words in brackets are in the draft, but not in the letter sent.

in readiness to embark for Albany, in case I should find it necessary and the Succours he received of Militia would justify the measure. I have the honor to acquaint you, that by a Letter from him of the 16th which came to hand yesterday, he informed me, that without waiting for further directions, he had ordered them to proceed with all possible expedition, as the late advices from that Quarter seemed to make a further augmentation of the Army requisite. Besides these, I have, contrary to my wishes, but from the necessity of the case, ordered Colo Morgan to march immediately with his Corps, as an additional support.¹⁹ I hope they will be of material service, particularly in opposing the Savage part of Genl Burgoyne's Force, which from every Account, spreads a general Alarm among the Inhabitants and affects the minds of the Militia not a little who have not been much accustomed to their mode of Warfare. I have the honor etc.

P.S. They are to march to Peekskill, where I have written to General Putnam to have Vessels provided, to transport them by water.²⁰

19. The President of Congress wrote to Washington (August 17): "The Complaints of the Want of Men to the Northward, are so great and urgent, that Congress, with a View of affording them some Assistance, have come to the enclosed Resolve; by which you will perceive, it is their Desire that five Hundred Riflemen, under the Command of an active Officer, should be immediately sent into that Department, to oppose the Incursions of the Indians."

On August 17, on a report of the Committee on the state of the Western Frontiers and the Northern Department, Congress resolved that 500 men should comprise such a force. This

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committee consisted of William Duer, Richard Henry Lee, James Wilson, John Adams, and Samuel Chase. Washington replied to the letter in a short note, dated August 18: "You will perceive by my letter of yesterday ... that I had been so happy as to anticipate the views of Congress, by ordering Col. Morgan to march with his Corps to the northern Army."

20. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The draft, also by Harrison, has the P.S., which is not included in the letter sent.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Camp at Cross Roads, August 17, 1777.

Sir: Colo. Portail, for himself and in behalf of the Gentlemen with him, has made different applications to me for horses and servants, and I have been in a manner, under the necessity of furnishing them by way of loan till he can be otherwise provided. He expects these things to be found them at the public expence, and informs me that the matter is now before Congress, whose determination they look for every moment. I have taken the liberty to mention this, because I should be glad, if any thing of the kind is intended, that it might be done as soon as convenient, or if it is not that they may be informed their expectations are not well founded. This will put them upon providing for themselves, and will prevent their repeating their applications to me on a subject, which I am not authorized to do any thing in. I have the honor etc.²¹

21. In the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

To THE MARYLAND DELEGATES²²

Neshamini Camp, August 17, 1777.

Gentn.: I beg leave to trouble you with a few Lines, upon a Subject which I wish to have your attention. I was just now informed, that Lt McNair²³ of the Artillery has been arrested

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and stands bound over to the next Court to be held for Hartford County for enlisting two Men to serve in one of the Continental Regiments of Artillery. This it is said, is in consequence of an Act of your Assembly, by which all Officers are prohibited enlisting men within the State, unless they are of the Regiments belonging to it. I have never seen the Law and therefore cannot pretend to determine, how far the prohibition extends, but should suppose it was only designed to prevent the Officers of other States enlisting Men to fill up the Regiments, assigned as their quota. So far it appears to me, the Act is founded in the strictest justice; But when there is an absolute necessity for Artillery Corps, When three such Regiments were ordered to be raised by Congress, without being apportioned on any particular State, certainly each should furnish a proportion of Men. The case is quite otherwise. All in this Line now with the Army, have been enlisted in the New England States, a few excepted, and the greatest part in that of Massachusetts, over and above their quota of the 88 Battalions first voted, and a proportion of the additional 16. I will not

22. Samuel Chase, William Paca, and William Smith.

23. Lieut. James McNair, of the Second Continental Artillery. He was killed at Monmouth, N.J., June 28, 1778.

say any thing of the Policy or impolicy of this act, if it has a more extensive Operation than I have supposed it to have; but I would take the liberty to observe, that in my opinion, It would be for the advantage of the States, if each of them had men employed in this important Branch of War, not to add, that the whole ought to contribute equally to the filling of all Corps that are deemed essential and which are not allotted to any Individual one. Capt Lt. McClure²⁴ will deliver you this Letter and I should hope thro' your application and intercession with the Court of Hartford, so far as they may be consistent, that Lieut. McNair may be discharged from his recognizance, if he has not offended in any other instance against the laws of the State. I have the honor &c.²⁵

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To BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

Head Quarters, August 17, 1777.

Sir: I have been honored with your favor of the 2d. April by Monsr. De Cenis, written in behalf of that Gentleman on the Credit of Monsr. Turgot's recommendation.

I should have been happy had it been in my power, in deference to your recommendation, founded upon that

24. Capt.-Lieut. James McClure, of the Second Continental Artillery. He was a captain in the Fourth Continental Artillery in April, 1781; retired in January, 1783.

25. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The letter sent is in the Maryland Historical Society, and varies in capitalization and other minor verbal particulars from the above draft.

of so respectable a Character as Monsr. Turgot, to afford Mr. De Cenis the encouragement, his zeal and trouble in coming to America to offer his Services, give him a Claim to; but such is the Situation of things in our Army, at this time, that I am necessarily deprived of that Satisfaction. Our Corps being already formed and fully Officered and the number of Foreign Gentn. already commissioned and continually arriving with fresh applications, throw such obstacles in the way of any future appointments, that every new arrival is only a new Source of embarrassment to Congress and myself, and of disappointment and chagrin to the Gentn. who come over. Had there been only a few to provide for, we might have found employment for them in a way advantageous to the Service and honorable to themselves; but as they have come over in such Crowds, we either must not employ them, or we must do it, at the expence of one half the Officers of the Army, which you must be sensible would be attended with the most ruinous effects, and could not fail to occasion a general discontent. It is impossible for these Gentlemen to raise Men for themselves; and it would be equally impolitic and unjust, to displace others,

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who have been at all the trouble and at considerable expence in raising Corps, in order to give them the command; Even where vacancies happen, there are always those who have a right of Succession by Seniority, and who are as tenacious of this right as of the places they actually hold; and in this they are justified by the Common principle and practice of all Armies, and by Resolutions of Congress. Were these vacancies to be filled by the

foreign Officers, it would not only cause the resignation of those who expect to succeed to them; but it would serve to disgust others, both through friendship to them, and from an apprehension of their being liable to the same inconvenience themselves. This, by rendering the hope of preferment precarious, would remove one of the principal Springs of emulation, absolutely necessary to be upheld in an Army.

Besides this difficulty, the error we at first fell into of prodigally bestowing rank upon foreigners, without examining properly their pretensions, having led us to confer high ranks upon those who had none, or of a very inferior degree, in their own Country; it now happens that those who have really good pretensions, who are men of Character, abilities and Rank will not be contented, unless they are introduced into some of the highest stations of the Army, in which it needs no arguments to convince you, it is impossible to gratify them. Hence their dissatisfaction and the difficulty of employing them are increased.

These obstacles reduce us to this dilemma; either we must refuse to Commission them at all, and leave all the expence, trouble and risk that have attended their coming over, uncompensated; or we must Commission them without being able to incorporate or employ them, by which means, enjoying the public pay and an unmeaning rank, they must submit to the mortification of being mere Cyphers in the Army. This last, to some of them, may not be disagreeable; but to Men

of Sentiment, and who are actuated by a principle of honor and a desire to distinguish themselves, it must be humiliating and irksome in the extreme.

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From these considerations, it would be both prudent and just to discourage their coming over, by candidly opening the difficulties they have to encounter, and if after that, they will persist in it, they can only blame themselves. I am sensible, Sir, that it is a delicate and perplexing task to refuse applications of Persons patronised (as I suppose often happens) by some of the first Characters in the Kingdom, where you are, and whose favor it is of importance to conciliate; But I beg leave to suggest whether it would not be better to do that, than by compliance, to expose them to those mortifications which they must unavoidably experience; and which they are too apt to impute to other Causes, than the true and may represent under very disadvantageous colors. Permit me also to observe to you, that even where you do not promise any thing; but simply give a line of recommendation, they draw as Strong an assurance of success from that, as from a positive engagement, and estimate the hardship of a disappointment nearly the same in one case as in the other. I am &ca.26

26. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

To BENJAMIN HARRISON

Neshamini Bridge, August 19, 1777.

Dr. Sir: If I did not misunderstand, what you, or some other Member of Congress said to me, respecting the appointment of the Marquis De la Fayette³⁹ he has misconceived the design of his appointment, or Congress did not understand the extent of his views; for certain it is, if I understand *him*, that he does not conceive his Commission is merely honorary; but given with a view to Command a division of this Army. True, he has said that he is young, and inexperienced, but at the same time

39. Congress had resolved (July 31) that Lafayette receive the rank of major general.

has always accompanied it with a hint, that so soon as I shall think *him* fit for the Command of a division, he shall be ready to enter upon the duties of it, and in the

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meantime has offered his service for a Smaller Command; To which I may add, that he has actually applied to me (by direction he says from Mr. Hancock) for Commissions for his two Aide de Camps.

What the designs of Congress respecting this Gentn. were, and what line of Conduct I am to pursue, to comply with their design, and his expectations, I know no more than the Child unborn and beg to be instructed. If Congress meant, that this Rank should be unaccompanied by Command I wish it had been sufficiently explain'd to him. If on the other hand, it was intended to vest him with all powers of a Major General, why have I been led into a Contrary belief, and left in the dark with respect to my own Conduct towards him ? This difficulty, with the numberless applications for employment, by Foreigners, under their respective appointments, adds no small embarrassment to a Command, which, without it, is abundantly perplex'd, by the different tempers I have to do with and different modes which the respective States have pursued to nominate and arrange their Officers; The combination of all which is but a too just representation of a great Chaos, from whence we are endeavouring (how successfully, time can only tell) to draw some regularity and order.

I was going to address Congress for Instructions, in the case of the Marquis de la Fayette, but upon second thought

concluded to ask some direction of my conduct in this matter, through a Member; and therefore have imposed this task upon you. Let me beseech you then, my good Sir, to give me the Sentiments of Congress on this Matter, that I may endeavour, as far as it is in my power, to comply with them;⁴⁰ with respect to Commissions for his Aid de Camps, I told him that I should write to Mr. Hancock about them, and wish to be instructed. The Marquis is now in Philadelphia but expected up this day or to morrow. With sincere regard. I am, etc.⁴¹

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

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Neshamini Camp, August 21, 1777.

Sir: From the time which has elapsed, since Genl. Howe departed from the Capes of Delaware, there is the strongest reason to conclude, that he is gone either to the Eastward or Southward, and with a design to execute some determined plan. The danger of the Sea, the injury his Troops and Horses must sustain from being so long confined, the loss of time so late in the Campaign, will scarcely admit the supposition, that he is merely making a feint and still intends to return either to Delaware or the North River, without performing some enterprize first, in another Quarter. The

40. On August 20 Harrison replied to Washington as follows: "I remember well a Conversation's passing betwixt you and I on the subject of the Marquis de la Fayette's Commission, and that I told you it was merely Honorary, in this light I look'd on it, and so did every other member of Congress, he had made an agreement with Mr. Deane, but this he gave up by Letter to Congress, not wishing as he said to embarrass their affairs, Mr. Duet who presented this Letter assur'd us he did not wish or desire Command, but gave us to understand his chief motive for going into our Service was to be near you, to see Service, and to give him an Eclat at home, where he expected he would soon return, these you may depend on it were the Reasons that induced Congress to Comply with his request, and that he could not have obtain'd the Commission on any other terms; The other Day he surprised every body by a letter of his requesting Commissions for his officers, and Insinuating at the same time that he should expect a Command as soon as you should think him fit for one; depend on it, Congress never meant that he should have one, nor will not countenance him in his applications, I had it not in my power yesterday to get their opinions on the subject, but will do it soon."

41. The draft is in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.

probability is in favor of a Southern Expedition; because he has been seen, since his departure from the Capes, off Sinapuxent, steering a Southern course; and because, had

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his destination been to the Eastward, his arrival there from the general State of the Winds must have announced It before this, or his Fleet would have been discovered by some of the Cruisers on that Coast. If he is gone to the Southward, he must be gone far that way; For had Chesapeak Bay been his Object, he would have been there long since, and the Fact well established. Beyond that, there is no place short of Charles Town, of Sufficient importance to engage his attention. The extensive commerce, the vast accumulation of Military and other Stores in that Town, and its dependencies, with the eclat it would give his Arms, if he should unfortunately take it, afford him stronger inducements to direct his Operations there, than he could possibly have elsewhere.

Matters being thus circumstanced, an Important Question arises, How this Army is to be employed. If his Intentions are such, as I have supposed them, It appears to me, that an attempt to follow him, would not only be fruitless, but would be attended with ruinous consequences. The distance is so immense, that Genl. Howe might accomplish every purpose he had in view, before we could possibly arrive to oppose him, and so long a march, through an unhealthy climate at this season would debilitate and waste a principal part of our Force. Added to this, after we had made a considerable progress, he might easily reembark his Troops, and turn his Arms against Philadelphia or

elsewhere, as he should think proper, without our being in a Condition to give the least aid.

As these, and many Other reasons, which will readily occur to Congress, will shew the impracticability of our counteracting Genl Howe in that Quarter, with any good effect, we have no other alternative left, than to remain here idle and inactive, on the remote probability of his returning this way, or to proceed towards Hudson's River, with a view of opposing Genl Burgoyne [with the greater part of our force,] or making an attempt on York Island, as the Situation of affairs shall point out. A successful Stroke, with respect to either, would be attended with the most signal advantages, and would be the best compensation we could make, for any losses we may sustain to the Southward. Besides these considerations, if after all our conjectures and reasoning upon the Subject, Genl.

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Howe should be gone to the Eastward, to co-operate with Mr. Burgoyne, the Army will be, by the movement proposed, so far on its way to prevent, I hope, the success of his Enterprize.

The above reasons led me to call a Council of Genl. Officers this Morning, to take the Subject of removing the Troops from hence into consideration, and I am happy to inform Congress they were in Sentiment with me upon the occasion, as they will perceive by a Copy of the proceedings then had, which I do myself the Honor of laying before them. Nevertheless, as it is a Movement which may involve the most important consequences, I have thought proper to submit it to Congress for their

deliberation and decision. If it is deemed expedient, we have perhaps not a moment to lose, in carrying it into execution; and under this persuasion, I have sent Colo. Hamilton, one of my Aids, who will have the honor of delivering this, to bring me the result of their Opinions.⁶³

As the Northern department has been all along considered as separate and in some measure distinct; and there are special Resolves, vesting the Command in particular persons; in case it should hereafter appear eligible to unite the Two Armies, it may perhaps be necessary that Congress should place the Matter upon such a footing, as to remove all scruples or difficulties about the Command that could possibly arise on my arrival there. This I request, from a disposition to harmony, and from my knowing the ill and fatal consequences, that have often arisen from such controversies, and not from the most distant apprehension that one would take place upon such an Event. The Thing, However, is possible and to guard against it can do no injury.⁶⁴ I have the honor &ca.

P.S. That I may not appear inconsistent to advise and to act, before I obtain an Opinion, I beg leave to mention that I shall move the Army to the Delaware, to Morrow Morning, to change their Ground at any rate, as their present Encampment begins to be disagreeable

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and would injure their Health in a short time. Our forage also begins to grow scarce here.⁶⁵

63. See Council of War, Aug. 21, 1777, *post*.

64. Congress answered this by resolve of August 23. See illustration facing p. 128.

65. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The phrase in brackets is in the draft and was not in the letter sent.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Camp at Neshamini, August 21, 1777.

Sir: Since I wrote to you on the 12th instant, on the subject of the Militia under the Command of Genl Newcomb, I have recd. another Letter from him which you have inclosed. By this it appears, that the Men were not employed in any way while they were at Red Bank, and that they are now anxious to get home to their farms, as they see no immediate occasion of their Services. As I had in some measure put them under the direction of Monsr. Du Coudray, I did not chuse to give them a discharge without consulting you, tho' in my opinion they had better be suffered to go home, than be kept discontented, as they will turn out with more spirit when they are wanted again. The Bearer waits upon you for your determination. I have the honor etc.⁶⁷

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Neshamini Camp, August 21, 1777.

Sir: I am this moment honored with yours of this

67. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

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morning, containing several pieces of intelligence of the Fleet's having been seen off the Capes of Virginia on the 15th Inst. I shall in Consequence of this information halt upon my present ground, till I hear something further.

Colo. Pinkney⁶⁸ of South Carolina paid me a visit two days ago; he informed me that the Military Stores in Charlestown and the Neighbourhood were immense and that he did not beleive that the Governor or commanding [Officer] there, had had the least intimation of the Fleets having stood to the Southward and he seemed very apprehensive, that if Charles town was their object, they would find them lulled into security and quite unprepared for an attack.

As I cannot yet think Genl Howe seriously intends to go into Chesapeak, I would by all means advise, that an Express be immediately dispatched (if one has not already gone) to warn them of their danger, to let them prepare in the best manner for defence, and to advise them to remove all supernumerary Stores.

I shall immediately call upon Govr. Livingston, to furnish the Number of Militia from the State of Jersey, demanded by requisition of Congress to Garrison the Forts in the Highlands, while the New York Militia March to reinforce the Northern Army. I have the honor etc.⁶⁹

68. Col. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney.

69. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman. The word in brackets was added by Washington.

To JOHN PAGE

Neshamini Camp, Bucks County, August 21, 1777.

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Sir: I was this afternoon honored with your Letter of the 15th.⁷³ The order of the Board of Council to the Regiment of Alexandria, in consequence of the Advices they had received, I think perfectly right, and I shall write to the Commanding Officer of it, by this Conveyance, to remain there, subject to the direction of Congress, Your Board or Myself.

The Conduct of Genl Howe is extremely embarrassing. He left the Capes of Delaware the 31st Ult. and having never been heard of since the 7th Inst. off Sinapuxent. It was generally beleived here, that he had passed the Capes of Virginia, and that Charles Town in South Carolina was the object of his expedition. We were so fully persuaded of this, and convinced of the impracticability of affording it succour in time from this Army, that a Resolution was come into this Morning, to move to morrow towards Hudson's River, if approved by Congress, to avail ourselves of any advantages, circumstances might point out. The destination of the Fleet, if for Chesapeak Bay, must soon be known, and the Army will remain here, till further intelligence is obtained on the Subject. At present, I think it not unlikely, that their appearance off the Capes is to amuse and that their designs may yet be against Charles Town. I have &c.⁷⁴

73. From Williamsburg, Va.

74. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quars., Camp at Cross Roads, August 22, 1777.

Sir: I am honored with your favor containing the intelligence of the Enemy's arrival in Chesapeak Bay and the Resolutions of Congress thereupon.⁸³

I have, in consequence of this account, sent orders to General Nash, immediately to embark his Brigade and Col Proctor's Corps of Artillery, if Vessels can be procured for the purpose and to proceed to Chester; or if Vessels cannot be provided, to hasten towards

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that place by land with all the dispatch he can. I have also directed General Sullivan to join this Army with his division, as speedily as possible; and I have issued orders for all the Troops here to be in motion to morrow morning very early, with intention to march them towards Philadelphia, and onwards.

I am happy to find Congress have ordered the removal of the stores from Lancaster and York to places of greater safety, which is, without doubt a very proper and necessary measure. With much respect etc.⁸⁴

83. Congress approved (July 11) Washington's determination to march toward the Hudson River, but on the receipt of intelligence of the British being in the Chesapeake directed the General "to proceed in such manner as shall appear to him most conducive to the general interest notwithstanding the resolution of Yesterday concerning his progress to the north river." (See *Journals of the Continental Congress*, Aug. 22, 1777.)

84. In the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.

To THE BOARD OF WAR

Head Quarters, Bucks County, August 22, 1777.

Sir: I am favored with yours of the 21st. Colo Bland who is now here, informs me, that the Cannon that were in the Raritan were weighed by his directions and that they are upon one of the Wharfs at Brunswick. One of them is 8 Inches and the other Seven in the bore, they are very long. The Colo thinks they are good. There are likewise two double fortified fours. They had better be sent for from Philadelphia, for we have not more Horses and Carriages than are wanting for the Army. I have in a letter to Congress, a very little time since, expressed my opinion of the impolicy of trusting any number of Cannon upon the Jersey Shore, as they cannot possibly be supported and I understood that Mr. Du Coudray acquiesced in the same opinion.

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Having nothing to do with the Naval department, I will not undertake to determine whether the twelve pounders would be more safely and usefully employed on the Jersey Shore or in the Frigates or some kind of floating batteries, but I think in one of the Latter.

Be pleased to send a further Supply of Blank Commissions, those recd. Yesterday are nearly expended.

Since beginning to write, yours of the 19th, respecting the Carolina Horse,⁸¹ was put into my hands. If the Officers did

⁸¹. There were about 80 men, with officers sufficient for three troops of horse, then in Philadelphia, which had come from North Carolina with Brig. Gen. Francis Nash's brigade. The horses had been sold as unfit, and the men had from 12 to 18 months still to serve.

not interfere, there would be no difficulty in disposing of the Men in Colo. Baylor's Regiment. It would be hard upon Baylor's Officers, who have put themselves to Considerable expense, altho' they have not met with Success in recruiting, to be reduced to make room for the Carolinians, and it would be as hard upon the Carolinians, to have their Men taken from them for the remainder of their times, to fill Baylors Regiment. All that I can do at present, will be to make a proposal to Col. Baylor to take both Men and Officers and endeavour to settle the command between them and his Officers, by doing duty in rotation. Be pleased to inform me of the number and the ranks of the Carolina Officers, with the dates of their Commissions, that I may explain the matter more fully to Colo Baylor, who I am informed recruits with more Success, since his Officers went to the Western parts of Virginia. You may communicate this to the Carolina Officers and see how they would be content with an arrangement of the above kind. I am &ca.⁸²

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

August 23, 1777.

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Sir: I beg leave to inform you, that the Army marched early this morning, will encamp this evening and I expect

82. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

within Five or Six Miles of Philadelphia. To morrow Morning it will move again, and I think to march it thro' the City, but without halting. I am induced to do this, from the opinion of Several of my Officers and many Friends in Philadelphia, that it may have some influence on the minds of the disaffected there and those who are Dupes to their artifices and opinions. The March will be down Front and up Chestnut Street, and, I presume about Seven O'Clock.⁹¹

Notwithstanding the arrival of the Enemy's Fleet in Chesapeak Bay, and the seeming probability that Genl Howe will debark his Troops and attempt something, yet I would take the liberty to mention, that I think the several Works for the defence of the City should be carried on with the usual industry, and that no pains should be omitted to compleat them. I would also advise, that the same Look Outs for intelligence should be continued at the Capes, and the earliest information communicated of any thing material. For tho' the Fleet is in Chesapeak Bay, the Enemy may push in a Number of Vessels with Troops, and make an effort to effect some stroke against Philadelphia by Surprise. Such an event does not seem probable, while they have a large shew of Force in a Neighbouring State, but it will be prudent to guard against it. I have the honor etc.

P. S. I think some directions should be given Genl. Armstrong respecting the Militia.⁹²

91. "The army marched through the city, and was allowed to make a fine appearance, the order of marching being extremely well preserved." — *Pickering's Journal*.

Ford quotes from Henry Marchant's letter to Governor Nicholas Cooke (Aug. 24, 1777): "The main body of his [Washington's] army this morning passed through this city. From the State House, we had a fair view of them as they passed in their several divisions. The

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army alone, with their necessary cannon—and artillery for each division, exclusive of their baggage wagons, guards, &c., which took another route, were upwards of two hours in passing with a lively, smart step.”

92. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The P. S., which is also in the writing of Harrison, is not in the draft.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Wilmington, 6 O'Clock P.M., August 25, 1777.

Sir: The inclosed intelligence has just come to my hands, Genl. Greene's and Genl Stephen's divisions are within a few Miles of this place, I shall order them to March immediately here. The two other divisions halted this day at Darby to refresh themselves, but they will come on as expeditiously as possible. There are about five hundred pennsylvania Militia at Chester and Marcus Hook that are armed, there are a number more unarmed. I have ordered all the armed immediately down. I do not know what Number of Militia of this State are yet collected, but I am told they turn out with great Alacrity. There are a great quantity of Public and private Stores at the Head of Elk, which I am afraid will fall into the Enemy's hands, if they advance quickly; among others there is a considerable parcel of Salt. Every attempt will be made to save that. When I get my force collected, I shall dispose of it in the most advantageous manner in my power. To this End, I purpose to view the Grounds towards the Enemy to morrow Morning. I am yet a Stranger to them. I have the honor, etc.⁹⁸

98. In the writing of Tench Tilghman.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Chester, 8 O'Clock, August 25, 1777.

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Sir: I last night had the Honor of your favor of the 24th with its inclosures. No Letters came for you from Genl Schuyler [to my care], and therefore, agreeable to your request, I transmit you a Copy of the One I received from him and of the material papers which it covered. Among the Copies, you will find Genl Burgoyne's Instructions at large to Lt. Colo. Baum, pointing out the objects of his Command, when he was first detached. What we had before, was after he marched, and was an Answer to a report he had received from him. There was also a mistake in his name before, being called Bern in the copies sent by Genl. Lincoln.

I shall be happy, if the Account respecting Staten Island should prove true. I hope it will.⁹⁹

Two Divisions of the Army moved this morning and will proceed after a short halt near this place to refresh themselves. The remainder will continue on their Ground to day, in order to rest and recover from the fatigue of the March yesterday and the day before. After Breakfast, I intend to set out for Wilmington with the Light Horse, to reconnoitre the Country and to obtain the best information I can respecting the Enemy. I have &ca.

⁹⁹. The rumor of Major General Sullivan's unsuccessful raid on Staten Island, which ended in a rear guard action. The British captured about 130 of Sullivan's men and their loss was about the same number. Sullivan's two letters to Washington of August 24 describing the raid are in the *Washington Papers*.

P. S. The publication of Genl. Burgoyne's Instructions with a few Comments, I think, might be attended with many advantages.¹

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Wilmington, August 27, 1777.

Sir: I this Morning returned from the Head of Elk, which I left last night. In respect to the Enemy, I have nothing new to communicate, they remain where they debarked first. I

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could not find out from inquiry what number is landed, nor form an estimate of it, from the distant view I had of their Encampment. But few Tents were to be seen from Iron Hill and Grey's Hill, which are the only Eminences about Elk. I am happy to inform you, that all the Public Stores are removed from thence, except about Seven thousand Bushels of Corn. This I urged the Commissary there to get off, as soon as possible, and hope it will be effected in the course of the few days if the Enemy should not prevent, which their Situation gives them but too easy an opportunity of doing; The scarcity of Teams, in proportion to the demand, will render the removal rather tedious, though I have directed the Quarter Master to send some from hence, to expedite the Measure. A part of the Delaware Militia are Stationed there

1. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The letter was read the same day in Congress, and Burgoyne's instructions, which were dated August 9, were duly ordered published. They were issued in broadside (handbill) form and a copy is in the Library of Congress. Words in brackets are in the draft and not in the letter sent.

and about nine hundred more from Pennsylvania are now on the March [that way]. I also intended to move part of the Army that way to day, but am under the necessity of defering it, till their Arms are put in order and they are furnished with Ammunition, both having been greatly injured by the heavy rain that fell yesterday and last night. I have the Honor etc.5

To SAMUEL CHASE

Wilmington, August 27, 1777.

Dr. Sir: I am favored with yours of yesterday. Colonel Richardson's Battalion was left in Maryland, by order of Congress, to keep the disaffected in the lower Counties in order, if their presence was necessary before, it is certainly much more so now. The Enemy are in want of many necessaries, with which those people would undoubtedly supply them, if a

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Watch is not kept over them. I do not therefore think myself at liberty to recall the Battalion, except I am ordered by Congress. I am etc.

P.S. Since writing the above, I have yours of the 25th and am

5. In the writing of Richard Kidder Meade. The words in brackets are in the writing of Washington.

obliged for the Account you give me, of well affected and suspicious Characters, to which I shall attend. I have not an engineer to spare to go to Baltimore. Several of those who came over with Monsr. Du Coudray, are not employed yet, by applying to him, he will be able to point out a proper person. One division of the Army already wants a Major General, by General Lincoln going to the Northward. Genl. De Haas's Vacancy has not been filled up and Genl. Smallwood is ordered to Maryland; under those circumstances I cannot detach another Genl officer without injuring the Service. The Board of War ought to give orders, for the removal of the Continental Powder from the Neighbourhood of Baltimore, and if you will be kind enough to let Col. Flower the Commissary Genl. of Stores know of the Flints at Baltimore, he will purchase them if wanted. I am etc.⁶

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Qurs, Wilmington, August 28, 1777.

Sir: Having endeavoured, at the solicitation of the Count De Pulaski, to think of some mode for employing him in our service, there is none occurs to me, liable to so few inconveniences and exceptions, as the giving him the command of the horse. This department is still without a head, as I have not, in the present deficiencies of Brigadiers with the Army, thought it advisable

6. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman and Caleb Gibbs.

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to take one from the foot, for that command. The nature of the horse-service with us, being such that they commonly act in detachment, a general Officer with them is less necessary, than at the head of the Brigades of infantry. In the absence of Genl. Smallwood, who is ordered to put himself at the head of the Maryland Militia, we shall have two brigades without General Officers.

But though the horse will suffer less from the want of a General officer than the foot, A Man of real capacity, experience and knowledge in that service might be extremely useful. The Count appears by his recommendations to have sustained no inconsiderable Military Character in his own country and as the principal attention in Poland, has been for some time past paid to the Cavalry, it is to be presumed this Gentleman is not unacquainted with it. I submit it to Congress, how far it may be eligible to confer the appointment I have mentioned upon him. They will be sensible of all the objections attending it, without my particularising them and can determine accordingly.

This Gentleman, we are told, has been like us, engaged in defending the liberty and independence of his Country, and has sacrificed his fortune to his zeal for those objects. He derives from hence a title to our respect that ought to operate in his favour as far as the good of the Service will permit; but it can never be expected we should lose sight of this.

I have the honor, etc.¹⁶

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Qurs., Wilmington, August 29, 1777.

Sir: On my return to this place, last evening, from White Clay creek, I was honored with yours of the 27th with sundry Resolves of Congress, to which I shall pay due attention. The Enemy advanced a part of their Army yesterday to Greys Hill, about two Miles on this side of Elk, whether with intent to take post there, or to cover, while they remove what Stores they found in the Town, I cannot yet determine. I do not know what quantity of

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private property remained, but of the public there were [several] thousand bushels of corn and oats, which might have been removed also, had not most of the Teams in the Country been employed by private persons in bringing off very valuable goods. Our light parties yesterday took between thirty and forty prisoners, twelve deserters from the navy and eight from the army have already come in, but they are able to give us very little intelligence. They generally agree, that their Troops are healthy, but that their horse suffered very much by the voyage.

16. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

By a Letter from Genl. Gates, which you were pleased to transmit me yesterday, he requests, that Commissions may be sent to Brigadiers Glover, Poor and Paterson which I beg the favour of you to do by the return express. The two last lost theirs with their baggage at Ticonderoga, and Genl. Glover had none. I have the Honor &c.18

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Wilmington, August 30, 1777.

Sir: Since I had the Honor of addressing you Yesterday, Nothing of Importance has occurred and the Enemy remain, as they then were. I was reconnoitring the Country and different Roads all Yesterday and am setting out on the same business again.

Sensible of the advantages of Light Troops, I have formed a Corps under the command of a Brigadier, by drafting a Hundred from each Brigade, which is to be constantly near the Enemy and to give them every possible annoyance. I have the honor etc.

10 o'Clock. This Minute 24 British prisoners arrived, taken yesterday by Captn. Lee of the Light Horse.21

18. In the writing of Alexander Hamilton. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman and Robert Hanson Harrison, and the word "several" in brackets was inserted by Washington.

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The draft also stated that General Glover never had a commission, which Hamilton altered by striking out the word "never" in the letter sent.

21. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The 10 o'clock note was entered on the outside wrapper of the letter.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

New Ark, November 23, 1776.

Sir: I have not yet heard that any provision is making to supply the place of the Troops composing the Flying Camp, whose departure is now at hand. The situation of our Affairs is truly critical and such as requires uncommon exertions on our part. From the movements of the Enemy and the information we have received, they certainly will make a push to possess themselves of this part of the Jerseys. In order that you may be fully apprized of our Weakness and of the necessity there is of our obtaining early Succours, I have by the advice of the General Officers here, directed Genl. Mifflin to wait on you. he is intimately acquainted with our Circumstances and will represent them [make a] better than my hurried state will allow [representation of It, than I possibly can, hurried as I am]⁷³ I have wrote to Genl. Lee [and Ordered him] to come over, with the Continental Regiments immediately under his command; those with Genl. Heath I have ordered to secure the passes thro' the Highlands; I have also wrote to Govr. Livingston requesting of him such aid as may be in his power, and would submit it to the consideration of Congress, whether application should not be made for part of the Pennsylvania Militia to step forth at this pressing time.

Before I conclude, I would mention if an Early and immediate Supply of money could be [immediately] sent to [the paymaster] Mr. Dalham⁷⁴ to pay the Flying Camp Troops, it might have [several valuable consequences; The flying

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73. An abstract of returns, showing the strength of the army at or near Newark to be 5,410, accompanied this letter. It is in the writing of Adj. Gen. Joseph Reed. Mifflin was admitted to an audience with Congress, sitting as a committee of the whole, on November 25. In a letter to Washington he reported the results. He represented the state of the army and "went as far in my Relation" as the sensibility of Congress "and *my own Delicacy* would justify." The resultant resolves will be found in the *Journals of the Continental Congress* of Nov. 25, 26, and 30, 1776. Mifflin's a letter, dated Nov. 26, 1776, is in the *Washington Papers*.

74. Richard Dallam, deputy paymaster general of the Flying Camp.

Camp men would be paid and return satisfied and the public probably would save something from their pay Rolls being made out here] a happy effect. They would subsist themselves comfortably on their return; provide many necessaries of which they are in great want, and more over, It might be the means of inducing many after seeing Their friends to engage again.

I expected on coming here to have met with many of the Militia, but find from inquiry that there are not more than from four to five Hundred in the different posts. I have the honor, etc.⁷⁵

To JAMES LOVELL

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, June 4, 1777.

Sir: Your letter of the 26th May was duly handed me. As Major Lutterloh⁷¹ has served in the Quarter Master General's Department; he can in no way be more usefully employed than in that. I have accordingly recommended him to General Mifflin, for some suitable appointment. He may make an excellent regulating officer in that line. I am etc.⁷²

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To JAMES LOVELL⁹⁶

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, June 6, 1777.

Sir: I have your favor of the 30th May inclosing a List of the French Officers who came over in the *Amphitrite*;⁹⁷ with the Rank,

75. Both the draft and the letter sent are in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The parts in brackets show the draft as first composed; these were omitted in the letter sent. A comparison of the draft with the letter sent has value as a study of the secretarial work at headquarters.

71. Maj. Henry Emmanuel Lutterloh.

72. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

96. Lovell was chairman of the Committee on Foreign Applications, Continental Congress.

97. Lovell's letter with the list (in French) is in the *Washington Papers*. Thomas Conway's name as a colonel commandant is the highest rank on the list; the others were captains and lieutenants of infantry, artillery, and engineers.

which they are to bear. I have stated in Congress some difficulties that will arise upon granting them rank from the dates of their French Commissions. They will by these means supercede all our own Officers of equal Rank whose Commissions, upon the new Establishment of the Army are to bear date the 1st Janry. 1777.

As I am convinced that Congress never meant to do this, I have taken the Liberty to point out to them an expedient, which I hope will Satisfy all parties, and which I wish they may adopt. I am etc.⁹⁸

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98. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.