

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

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Morris Town, February 11, 1777.

Sir: I have with pain heard of the inconceivable uneasiness prevailing in the 1st. Jersey Battalion, originating, as I am credibly informed, in the Appointment of Colo. Newcomb⁵³ to the Command of it.

Notwithstanding I believe that Colo. Newcomb is a Gentleman of great goodness and integrity, and cannot entertain the Slightest doubts of his Bravery; yet I am too well persuaded that he is not equal to such a Command. —Many qualities, independent of personal Courage, are requisite to form the good Officer. —Among those, Activity claims a first rank; indeed it is indispensably necessary, Of this I fear he does not possess a Sufficient share. Moreover the inferior Officers of every Regiment, should have the Strictest Confidence in their Colonel; The Smallest Jarrings in any Corps are Considerably prejudicial to its Honor and the Service; for these Reasons, and these only, I have taken the Liberty (under the Authority of the inclosed Resolve of Congress) to displace Colo. Newcomb and of appointing Colo. Matthias Ogden to the Command of the said Regiment. He has answered my Expectation, by exerting himself in recruiting the Regt. and from every thing I can learn, will continue to deserve well of his Country.

I would not take the Liberty of intruding upon your more important business now, were it not necessary to give you this Information, least Inconveniences might result from your belief, that Colo. Newcomb continues to fill the post which you

53. Col. Silas Newcomb. He had been appointed colonel of the First New Jersey Regiment Nov. 28, 1776; became a brigadier of New Jersey Militia Mar. 15, 1777; resigned Dec. 4, 1777.

have assigned to him. —Colo. Ogden has likewise my Commands to fill up the several vacancies that have happened in the Regiment, subject however to my Approbation or dissent. these Officers are now recruiting. I have the honor etc.⁵⁴

To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL

Head Quarters, Morris Town, February 11, 1777.

Sir: I did myself the pleasure to write to you yesterday, and informed you that I had sent you Sixty thousand dollars, for the recruiting Service in your State.

After I had sent the Money off, I recd. a Letter from Genl. Knox advising me; that he was under the most pressing necessity for twenty thousand dollars, for the use of the ordnance department, but that he could not get that sum in the State of Massachusetts. I must therefore desire that you will reserve the sum of Twenty thousand dollars for General Knox, for which he will either draw or send.

I am furnished with the following Resolve of Congress of the 29th January,

That the Treasurer of the united States, be directed to give order, for the payment of thirty three thousand three hundred and thirty three and one third Dollars to the State of Connecticut, out of the Continental Loan Office in that State, in payment of that Sum advanced by Governor Trumbull to Colo Sheldon, at the request of Genl. Washington, for raising and equipping a Regiment of Light Horse,

54. The draft is in the writing of George Johnston.

the said state to be accountable, and that the president acquaint General Washington with this Resolution.

I am &ca.⁵⁵

To THE MASSACHUSETTS COUNCIL

Head Quarters, Morris Town, February 11, 1777.

Gentn.: Certain, that the British Court would leave nothing unessayed in the Course of this Campaign, to establish her unwarrantable claims over the United States and to deprive them of their rights, the Congress were induced upon reconsidering their first vote of Levies to compose the Army, to determine that 16. Battallions more should be raised, in addition to those they had resolved on before; And as the exigency of our Affairs would not suffer the least delay in the Work, they were pleased to honor me with the appointment of the Officers to those Battallions; supposing that it would be sooner compleated than if made according to the Mode observed for appointing those of the 88 voted, in September, In their proceedings for raising these several additional Corps the States to furnish them were not particularized, or determinate Quotas assigned them as had been done in the instance of the Eighty Eight.

Besides these they have determined that 4 Regiments of Artillery, 3000 Light Dragoons and Hazens Regiment to be composed of 4 Battallions should be levied.

Under these circumstances, I thought equality, as far as the peculiar situation of our Affairs would admit of, the best line to be pursued for making them up especially as Congress had observed it in their first vote; and in pursuance of its purpose

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

I have apportioned them in the best manner I could; Commissioning Officers to raise One Regiment of Artillery and three of: Infantry in your State, as not being an over Quota.

This mode of proceeding I trust will meet with General approbation and as the Several additional Regiments, are for the Service of the States at large; those allotted to be raised in each have an equal claim to their attention with the rest of the Battalions exacted from them to furnish. Impressed with this Idea and that our Affairs call [for] every exertion at this Time to give them a prospect of

Success, I beg leave to solicit the good Offices of your Honble. [Body] to promote and expedite as much as possible the raising

of these Four B[attalions] assistance and count [] and industry of [] They will in the ca[] will be ab[] I must request your [] that of the Artillery [] of his Corps is such the [] dispensed with. From en[] Know, that the Enemy nev[] a heavy Train, and if we [] properly formed for the Artil[lery] opposition or resistance that we [] to make will be effectual or atten[ded with] success.

I have been induced to mention those Corps as an Object of your first care, and let me add that the only Men who have served and had an Opportunity of acquiring Skill in this important branch of War, during the present contest, are now with you.

From your favors, in every instance of requisition and readiness to promote the Public good, I am satisfied I have

no need to Apologize for the Freedom I have taken, and assured of your attention to the Matters submitted to your consideration. I have the Honor etc.⁵⁶

To THE PENNSYLVANIA COUNCIL OF SAFETY

Head Quarters, Morris Town, February 14, 1777.

Gentn.: I have now before me your two Letters of the 29th Ulto. and the 8th Inst. with which you have been pleased to honor me. The disputes subsisting about Rank in Colo. McCoy's⁷¹ Regiment, I will try to settle and accomodate, agreeable to your request, should I hear any thing more upon the Subject. I have not yet seen the Colonel.

In regard to the return of Lieut. Robb⁷² and Ensigns Hoffner⁷³ and Sneider⁷⁴ with the Privates they have, I cannot see any necessity for it.—It is true their Number is but Small, yet as every Aid

at this time is wanted, and their presence at Philadelphia not necessary, to facilitate the levying or the Arrangement of the Regiment, I think their return should be dispensed with.

I am much obliged by your attention to my several Letters. The Collection of the Public Arms is a Subject that requires much of our Care. The utmost industry, I am apprehensive, will not relieve us intirely from difficulties and embarrassments on that head. Our demand for Artillerists, will make the arrival of Capt. Courtney's Company, seasonable and of Importance. I have the Honor etc.⁷⁵

56. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison and was in a mutilated condition in 1781. The brackets show the missing portions.

71. Col. Eneas Mackay, of the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment. He died Feb. 14, 1777.

72. Lieut. John Robb, of Miles's Pennsylvania rifle regiment. He became captain of a Pennsylvania State regiment in April, 1777, which, in November, became the Thirteenth Pennsylvania Regiment; retired July 1, 1778.

73. Ensign George Hoffner, of the Second Pennsylvania Battalion. He had been made a lieutenant of the Third Pennsylvania Regiment Jan. 1, 1777; was transferred to the Third Continental Artillery as adjutant in April, 1777; resigned in February, 1780.

74. Ensign Philip(?) Snyder, of the Sixth Pennsylvania Regiment. He retired in June, 1778.

75. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Morris Town, February 14, 1777.

Sir: Your two favors of the 6th and 10th Instt. I had the honor to receive this Evening. Nothing would give me greater pleasure than to have it in my Power fully to Comply with the request contained in the former. The first question proposed, is easily Solved by a sight of the emaciated

Bodies of all our Prisoners whom they have returned. The Second admits of equal proof, as well in the fate of Lieut. Yates of the first Virginia Battalion, who was butchered by a British Soldier at Princeton on the 3rd Ult., the truth of which is too well evidenced by his desposition, a Copy of which I take the liberty of inclosing you, as in that of Capt. Neil⁸² with Colo. Flowers now at Philadelphia, can inform you of, and also of Adj. Kelly of the 5th Virginia Battalion who experienced the same degree of Brutality in the Action of the —. This last became the Subject of a Letter from Genl. Stephen to Sir William Erskine; a copy of which, with Sir Williams Answer and the necessary Affidavits, I will transmit to you, so soon as Genl. Stephen, to whom I have wrote on the subject, furnishes me with them. The third question, as I have never had Occasion to make Inquiry into particulars, can be best answered by the Inhabitants on the Roads the Enemy marched along, they only can describe the treatment observed towards them.⁸³ The last I have no other knowledge of than by Information.⁸⁴ If my memory fails me not, an Application to one Marshow near Stack's ferry and to a Tavern keeper in Penny-Town will afford ample Testimony. The Generals about me know

82. Capt. Daniel Neil, of the East Jersey Artillery. He was killed at Princeton, N.J., on January 3. Governor Livingston wrote Washington (February 10) that Col. Benjamin Flower witnessed the barbarity used on Captain Nell. Livingston's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

83. The third question was regarding the British depredations of property.

84. The last was a query as to the British ill treatment of women.

as little about these things as I do.

I lament the misbehaviour of Colo. Bucknor. His punishment (tho' it breathed Mildness) I hope, sincerely hope, will deter others from committing the same Crime, under the expectation of escaping as well. I am determined that every Officer shall be answerable for his conduct at all

hazards, and that no pains shall be spared to deprive our Enemies, of even the Smallest ground of Triumph over our want of Discipline.

I concur with you in the belief, that the backwardness observed by the Militia in turning out may be fairly charged to their Officers. An observation that should have its due weight with the Power that appoints them; Very many of our Misfortunes originate in the want of proper attention to the choice of Officers. In Answer to the Representation of the joint Meeting of the Council and Assembly of this State, respecting the Rank of the Officers of their Battalions, I take the liberty to observe, that I know of no Method free'r from the Charge of Injustice and partiality, than to refer the decision to a Board of Officers, so soon as the Battalions are raised.

Before then, every Officer will have an Opportunity of advancing all his reasons for Precedence. The disputes that prevailed on an Occasion at Cambridge, were settled in this way to the Satisfaction of them all; I therefore beg leave to recommend to the Genl Assembly, the fixing the dates of all their Officer's Commissions to the 1st Jany. I mean to have all the Commissions dated on that day and Numbered agreeable to the decision of the Board. I have the honor etc.⁸⁵

85. The draft is in writing of George Johnston.

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, Morris Town, February 17, 1777.

Sir: Since I did myself the honor of Writing to you on the 14th. Inst. by way of Philadelphia, in answer to your favor of the 6th. I have received from Brigr. Stephen the Letters and affidavit by me referred to, when mentioning the Case of Adjutant Kelly; Copies of which and a part of a Letter inclosing them to my Aid de Camp, explaining a sentence in Sir William's answer, I take the liberty of inclosing to you. I have the Honor etc.⁹³

To THE NEW YORK LEGISLATURE

Head Quarters, Morris Town, February 20, 1777.

Gentn.: I have been honored with your Letter of the 13th Instt. You may rest assured, that the Situation of our Officers in the Enemy's hands, claims much of my Attention, and that it is my wish, to give them the earliest relief. Every Exchange that has been directed by me, was meant to be made on those principles which you politely mention. It did happen however, owing perhaps as much to the Miscarriage of the lists transmitted in the two first instances; or their not getting to hand, before the Exchanges were made, as to any design in Mr. Loring, that some Officers were released, whose confinement was not so early as that of others. This proceeding I remonstrated against and most probably the like will not be done again. The case of the Gentn. you particularly

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

notice shall not escape me, and they shall, if it is in my power, obtain an equal exchange with the rest, so far as the circumstances of their Rank and the time of their Captivity apply. There yet remain some Officers who were taken in Canada, to be discharged from their Paroles.

Since my last nothing of importance has occurred in the Military line; However, I think it extremely probable, nay almost certain, that the Enemy are on the point of making a push, the particular Object they have in view I cannot determine. Such of their Troops, as have returned from Rhode Island have landed at Amboy with some heavy Artillery and our information is, that General Howe and Lord Piercy are with them. I have the Honor etc.²⁶

To THE NEW YORK LEGISLATURE

Head Quarters, Morris Town, February 20, 1777.

Gentn.: The exigencies of our affairs requiring, that the several Regiments voted by Congress should be Officered without further delay, I beg leave to recommend to your notice Colo Regnier to

fill the place of Lieut. Colonel in Colo Henry B. Livingston's Regiment, raising in your State, which I am told is vacant.

I am not acquainted with Colo. Regnier myself, but from the recommendations I have of him, he is a Gentlemen of Honor, a diligent and brave Officer and well qualified for that Command. His attachment to the cause of America is not to be questioned,

26. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

having given many proofs of it and sacrificed his Fortune (as I am told) to her Interest. The latter might be urged as a reason for a generous Compensation, but would not be a sufficient reason for his promotion, did he not possess the other Requisites; but as he does, he has a Claim upon our good Offices, and I trust will approve himself worthy of your favor. I have the Honor to be etc.²⁷

To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL

Head Quarters, Morris Town, February 20, 1777.

Sir: A Letter from you to Genl. Heath, inclosing a Petition from the Officers taken at Princeton, for liberty to send one of the Party into New York for their Baggage, was transmitted to me by General McDougall: Genl. Heath having gone to Massachusetts. I am so sensible, that these People, by remaining any length of time in the Country, not only acquire a knowledge of our Affairs, but spread a very pernicious influence among the People, that I think it would be best to send them immediately in, and obtain an equal Number of our Officers in Exchange. I therefore desire, that they may be sent towards Providence, with orders to halt within Eight or ten Miles, till Genl. Spencer or Arnold is informed of their being there; that they may direct in what Manner they may be sent in, so as not to see any thing of the disposition of our Troops.

27. The draft is in the writing of George Lewis.

Be pleased to make the Eldest Officer Sign a Return, specifying their Names and Ranks and transmit it to me.—In a letter of the 7th. February, you desire to know what will be the best manner of disposing of the privates.—I think they had better be Cantoned in the Country, as near together as convenient; and if any of them, are tradesmen and are willing to work at their occupations, they may be usefully employed. I am &c.

P.S. If you can think of any more convenient way of sending in the Prisoners than to Providence, I leave it to you.²⁸

To THE PENNSYLVANIA COUNCIL OF SAFETY

Head Quarters, Morris Town, February 22, 1777.

Sir: I have received a Letter from Monsieur Rouville, in behalf of himself and other French Officers taken at St. Johns, desiring that they may be sent to New York for Exchange. As the Rank of these Gentlemen is acknowledged by General Howe, they will procure the Release of as many of our Officers of equal Rank, as are in the hands of the Enemy. I therefore desire you will be pleased to order them all to be sent from Reading, or wherever they may be, to Easton, and give the Officer who conducts them, directions to inform me of their Arrival at Easton, that I may take proper Steps to have them sent in, without viewing our disposition or any of our Posts I have the Honor to be etc.⁴⁸

28. The draft is in the Writing of Tench Tilghman.

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

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, Morris Town, February 22, 1777.

Sir: This morning I had the honor of receiving your favor of the 15th Inst. with the papers mentioned and inclosed.

No person, I hope, can be so lost to Virtue, as to except against Colo. Newcomb⁴⁹ on Account of his being religiously disposed. The relaxed Discipline and want of Order in the Regiment, I believe were among the principle objections to him; these added to his Inactivity and that want of Confidence mentioned in a former Letter, obliged me to displace him.

I will most assuredly keep Mr. Burr⁵⁰ in remembrance and take the first proper Opportunity of giving him a more permanent Office, than the one he now holds.

Your Sentiments on the Subject of Genl Putnams Letter to you, so exactly coincide with mine, and your Reasoning so perfectly just and full; that, without any observations in addition, I have directed the General immediately to put a Stop to the practice of extorting Fines from the Reluctant Militia, and ordered him to take no Steps, not Strictly consonant with the Laws of this State.—It is the first Instance of any thing of the sort happening within my knowledge. If I hear of it elsewhere, I shall discourage it, as I have done already.

So many applications from the friends of Individual Prisoners are constantly made, that on that Account, as well as from the Justice of the Case, I have let them come, as far as we have

49. Col. Silas Newcomb, of the First New Jersey Regiment. He was brigadier general of New Jersey Militia in March, 1777; resigned in December of that year.

50. Lieut. Col. Aaron Burr. He had been appointed lieutenant colonel of Malcolm's Additional Continental regiment in January, 1777; resigned in March, 1779; Vice President of the United States, 1801–1805; died in 1836.

Officers to give of equal Rank, according to the dates of their Captivity.

Lieut. Henry Frees⁵¹ this moment delivered me your favor of the 19th Inst., inclosing a Recommendation of him from five Gentn. of your Assembly. I have Satisfied him of the impracticability of equipping a Troop of Horse in any reasonable time; and have (on his mentioning that the Legislature will keep a vacancy in Colo Shrieve's⁵² Battalion for him), consented that he shall hold the Company he wishes to obtain, were it not for this, and that he prefers that Corps to one of the 16. additional, I would have provided for him myself.

I heartily thank you for the *Impartial Chronicle* :⁵³ If *Lucre*⁵⁴ has a Spark of Modesty remaining, he must blush at seeing himself so vastly outdone in his ruling Passion. I am &ca.⁵⁵

To THE MASSACHUSETTS COUNCIL

Head Quarters, Morris Town, February 28, 1777.

Sir: I yesterday received a Letter from Lieut. Colo. Campbell⁸³ of the 71st. Regiment, dated Concord Gaol 4th. of this Month. The Colo., in this Letter, gives me such an Account of the severity of his confinement as is scarce ever inflicted upon the most atrocious Criminals. The following extract of his Letter, shews the Reasons that were given to him upon his Confinement:—

The first of this Month, I was carried and lodged in the Common Gaol of Concord, by an order of Congress, thro' the Council of Boston, intimating, for a reason, that a refusal

51. Lieut. Henry Fries, of the First New Jersey Regiment.

52. Col. Israel Shreve, of the Second New Jersey Regiment.

53. “The *Impartial Chronicle* in ridicule of Gain's lying Gazette, which is a Jersey Production, and will probably afford you a little Diversion in a leisure moment.”— *Livingston to Washington*, Feb. 15, 1777.

54. Lucifer.

55. The draft is in the writing of George Johnston.

83. Lieut. Col. Archibald Campbell. Starks notes that he was a member of Parliament for Dumfermline, Scotland. His letter, dated Feb. 4, 1777, is in the *Washington Papers*.

of General Howe to give up General Lee for Six Field Officers, of whom I was one, and the placing of that Gentleman under the Charge of the Provost at New York, were the Motives of their particular ill treatment to me.

He then proceeds to give a description of the place in which he is confined, which, if true, is shocking to humanity, and not to be justified upon the most strict interpretation of the Resolve of Congress, which is as follows:

Should the proffered exchange of General Lee for Six Hessian field Officers, be not accepted, and the treatment of him, as above mentioned, be continued, that the principles of Retaliation shall occasion five of the said Hessian Field Officers, together with Lieut. Colo. Archibald Campbell, or any other Officers, that are, or may be, in our possession, equivalent in Number or Quality, to be detained, in order that the *same Treatment* , which General Lee shall receive, may be *exactly* inflicted upon their Persons.⁸⁴

By this you will observe, that *exactly the same Treatment* is to be shewn to Colo. Campbell and the Hessian Officers, that Genl. Howe shews to General Lee: and, as he is only confined to a commodious House with genteel accomodations, we have no right or reason to be more severe upon Colo. Campbell, who I would wish should, immediately upon the Receipt of this, be removed from his present Situation, and put into a House when he may live comfortably.

Colo. Campbell mentions the Case of Capt. John Walker of Colo. Goreham's Corps, who, he says, is confined in the same Goal

84. The resolve of Jan. 4, 1777. (See *Journals of the Continental Congress*.)

and in the Apartment with the Common Men. I know not what crime is alledged against Capt. Walker; but, I will only observe, that, except there is very good foundation, such treatment is impolitic, for the Enemy have three hundred of our Officers, (whom we have little chance of Exchanging) upon whom they may retaliate.

Colo Campbell lodges a Complaint against Capt. Bradford⁸⁵ the Continental Agent, which, if just, reflects dishonor upon our Service; He says—

he was plundered of half his private property, the very necessary Articles of living, by the Continental Agent Captain Bradford of Boston, who has since, as I am informed, seized upon and disposed of, for the dirty Consideration of gain, the very side Arms of my Officers, to whom they had been restored by the Captors and afterwards lodged in the Hands of Major Chase⁸⁶ at Boston, by order of General Ward.

I have given you Colo. Campbell's own Words; if they are not true, Capt. Bradford may have an Opportunity of wiping off the Aspersion. But, if it is a Matter of fact, he ought to be obliged to account with Colo Campbell for every farthing; for it appears that the Captors relinquished their Claim.

Before I had closed my Letter, I was honored with your favors of the 11th. and 13th. Inst. Nothing distresses me more, than the Universal Call that is upon me, from all Quarters, for fire Arms, which I am totally unable to supply. The scandalous Loss, waste, and private appropriation of Public Arms, during the

85. William Bradford, Continental Agent for Prizes at Boston. Campbell had been captured on a British transport.

86. Maj. Thomas Chase, Assistant Quartermaster General.

last Campaign is beyond all conception. Every State must exert itself and call upon their Colonels to produce Receipts, or to account for the Arms, that were delivered out to them last year; I beg you will not only do this, but purchase all, fit for the field, that can be procured from private persons, of which there must be a vast Number in the Government. I have wrote to Governor Cooke to return twelve hundred of the Eighteen hundred Stand of Arms, that were lent by your Agent to the State of Rhode Island, and I have also desired Col. Lee⁸⁷ to defer drawing for the three hundred Stand, till he finds that there is a certainty of raising his Regt. There can be no doubt, but that the Arms that are on hand, should be delivered out to the Men that are first raised.

I desire you will, as I directed in my former Letters, forward on your Troops as fast as they can be equipped, to the Northward; for General Schuyler continues to Assure me, that he expects an attack upon Ticonderoga, either by passage over the Ice if the lake freezes, or by Water as soon as the Navigation is clear.

A Sum of Money went thro' this place a few days ago for your State, so that your difficulties for want of Cash will be removed. I am &c.

P.S. I omitted to mention above, that the Commissions of all the Officers, upon the New Establishment, are to bear date upon the 1st. Janry. 1777, and the precedence to be settled by a Board of Officers.

87. Col. William Raymond Lee, of one of the 16 Additional Continental regiments.

I desire, for particular reasons, that the Contents of the above Letter may not be suffered to go beyond the Council for the present. Col Campbell's Confinement may be enlarged without assigning the reasons publicly.⁸⁸

To THE NEW YORK LEGISLATURE

Head Quarters, Morris Town, March 1, 1777.

Gentn.: During the last Campaign, the greatest part of the Army were, at a Considerable Continental expence, well Armed; from whence I had hopes, that in arming our New One, no very great difficulty would obstruct us.—but, in opposition to all my Orders, and notwithstanding my utmost Vigilance, most of [the Regimts. going off at differt. times, from difft. Places, and under different circumstances] took off with them, many that were put into their hands. These, no doubt, are still in possession of the Individuals who bore them away; and may, I should Suppose, with little Expence and some Activity in the Officers, aided by the Supreme Civil power in each State, be regained to the Public. Unless some such Step as this is adopted and attended with Success, I fear we shall not be able to furnish a Sufficient Number for our Soldiers. Satisfactory Answers, to my repeated applications on this Subject, have not yet been favored me by Congress; So that I am still a Stranger to the Resources they have. It, therefore, behoves each State, in addition to my Endeavours, to exert her most unwearied Activity in Arming her Quota, before

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

they March for the Field.⁹⁶

Our Situation and prospects compel me, in the most pressing Manner, to call your Attention towards expediting the recruiting and equipping of your Battalions. I beg that not a moments time may be lost in innoculating them, and that (when over the Disorder) they may be marched immediately to Peekskill and placed under the Care of Brigr. McDougall. The advanced Season of the year renders an Attack upon Tyconderoga over the Ice not so much to be dreaded, as to induce me to prepare against a possible Inconvenience there, at the Expence of not guarding effectually against a certain one here:—Wherefore, I have determined to send no more of your Battalions to that Place, having ordered a Sufficient force from the East. I have the honor to be, etc.⁹⁷

To GOVERNOR NICHOLAS COOKE

Head Quarters, Morris Town, March 1, 1777.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the 18th Ulto. by Mr. Green—As yet the Letter by you referred to, as explaining the Motives by which the General Assembly of your State were governed, in ordering the Brigade to be raised for 15 Months, and the Plan upon which they are inlisted, has not reached me. During the last Campaign * * *⁹⁸

96. The embarrassment about firearms, which threatened to be serious and alarming, was happily relieved by the arrival of two vessels from France in the month of March. One arrived at Portsmouth, N.H., with a cargo of about 12,000 fusees, 1,000 barrels of powder, blankets, and military stores on account of the United States; and the other at Philadelphia, with 11,000 fusees, of which 6,000 belonged to the United States and the remainder were purchased by Congress for the public service This fortunate supply, added to those already in use, was enough to equip the whole army for the approaching campaign, and was of the utmost importance. Congress voted that 5,000 of the firearms brought into Portsmouth should be delivered to the Council of Massachusetts. Three thousand were received by Connecticut, and more than 2,000 by New Hampshire.— *Sparks*.

97. The draft is in the writing of George Johnston. The words within brackets are in the writing of Washington.

98. The omitted portion is almost a verbatim repetition of Washington's letter to the New York Legislature, this same date, *q. v.*

before they March for the Field.—Application is made to me by the Council of Massachusetts, desiring that the 1800. Arms furnished to your State, by the Continental Agent at Boston, may be delivered to their Troops ordered immediately to Tyconderoga.—When I attend to your Situation and just Claim to a part, I can direct a return, but of 1200 of them; these you will be pleased to forward to them, with all Expedition.—The important Post of Tyconderoga is weak, and I design to Garrison it with the Troops (among others) of that State.

Our Situation and prospect compel me in the most pressing Manner, to call your attention towards expediting the

recruiting and equipping of your Battalions. I beg that not a moment's time may be lost in innoculating them; and that, when over the Disorder, they may be marched immediately to Peekskill and placed under the Care of Brigadier McDougall. I am &ca.⁹⁹

To MAJOR APOLLOS MORRIS

Morris Town, March 1, 1777.

Sir: I am favored with yours of the 18th Ulto. and upon perusing your Letter to General Howe, am sorry to find myself under the Necessity of returning it to you, as forwarding it by a flag from this would have the appearance of our asking these Questions, in an indirect Manner; which are already answered to the Satisfaction of Congress and indeed of every individual engaged in this dispute.—for your Private Satisfaction, I wish it was consistent with my duty to indulge you in this Matter, nor would I have any objection to your Letter being sent in by any Mode of Conveyance, which could not be construed or supposed by General Howe, to come from any Authority on this side. —You are sensible that Independance has been declared by the United States, nor could they in my Opinion, for the sake of engaging the first Military Genius in Europe in their Service, recede a single Iota from it; so that let my Inclination be never so great to have the addition of a Man of your Abilities to our Army, it must be under the same Circumstances that every other Gentleman has Engaged—

99. The draft is in the writing of George Johnston.

I thank you for your kind professions of Attachment to me and shall be glad to hear that you have reconcil'd the principles of our Opposition to your private Opinion. I am &c.¹

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, Morris Town, March 3, 1777.

Sir: The honor of receiving your favors of the 20th and 22d Ulto., I am now to acknowledge.

Some time past, Colo Shreve had my peremptory Order to march with such of his Battalion as was their inlisted; I therefore expected him every day, till your Letter of the 20th. informed me that he was then at Burlington. He has my orders repeated, to March immediately to Princeton, there to remain under General Putnam, till he hears farther from me.—Your opinion of him is perhaps too well founded.

I fear it is not in my power, to give so full and Satisfactory an Answer to your request, “to explain the nature of the Oath administred by virtue of my Proclamation,” as you may expect. What the Stile of it was, as administered by the Brigadiers, to whom that Business was chiefly assigned, I can't precisely tell. My instructions to them were, to insist on nothing more than an Obligation *in no manner to injure the States* , without adverting to the form prescribed by any Law of this; Had I known of any particular form adopted to the Circumstances of its Inhabitants, I would most certainly

1. The draft is in the writing of John Fitzgerald.

have ordered it.¹²

To remedy the Abuses which frequent Complaints had informed me were practised by the Troops Stationed at the Ferries upon Delaware, I have some time since Ordered all the Boats, from Trenton upwards, to be collected at Coryell's Ferry and placed under an Officer of approved Character, with a Strong Guard; whose orders are such, as will render the passage of the Inhabitants easy and expeditious, and at the same time Secure the Boats from the possibility of falling into the Enemy's hands.—Orders Similar to these, General Gates has, respecting those below.—An Obedience to these Orders will I hope, answer every good Purpose; But should it not, I will adopt any other Mode, which you shall think will Answer the purpose.—

Robert Combs, a tavern keeper in Pennington, can inform you, of a Rape committed on the Wife and Daughter of one John Christopher, by the Enemy while they lay there; One Philip Parmer's daughter of that Neighbourhood, was also ravished by 6 Soldiers; Thomas Keyne's daughter was treated in the same Manner.—Those facts I did not particularly recollect at the time of writing to you on the Subject of the Enemy's brutality.—I have since found the Memorandums that were taken when our Army lay on the other side of the Delaware.

The Enemy remain much in the same Situation they did when I wrote you last. from a Number of concurring Circumstances, and Corresponding Accounts, I am led to believe that the Enemy's loss in killed and Wounded on the 23d Ulto,

12. Livingston's letter (February 22) inclosed a proceeding of the New Jersey Legislature requesting the governor to write to Washington and obtain the form of the oath prescribed by his proclamation. This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

cannot be less than 100; Seven Prisoners were made at the same time. Our innoculated Soldiers have the Disorder much lighter than could be reasonable expected; from present appearances we shall not loose a Man. I am &c.

P.S. Capt. Thurston with the 3 Volunteer Companies from Virginia and some Maryland Militia had an Engagement near Piscataway, on the 1st. Instant; the Effect has not yet reached me; the Captain was much Wounded in the Arm. 3 of his Party were killed and 7 Wounded.¹³

To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL

Head Quarters, Morris Town, March 3, 1777.

Sir: I am to acknowledge the Receipt of your several favors of the 21st, 24th, 25th and 26th Febry., which came to hand yesterday. It gives me pleasure to find, that your State has come to a Resolution of granting the Colonial Bounty to Colo. Webb's Additional Regiment; and if the other States will do the same, it will in a great Measure, obviate the Objection which I made, to their

Granting a higher Bounty than was allowed by the Resolve of Congress. The Reasons which you give, for a deviation from the Resolve, carry weight with them; but I assure you, you are mistaken when you think that the Necessaries of life are cheaper to the Southward than the Northward; it is true that less Cloathing is Sufficient for them, but as they Manufacture little among themselves, they are Obligated to pay most extravagantly for what they wear.

13. The draft is in the writing of George Johnston.

I have ordered the Cloathier General, to Supply each State with their proportion, of what Cloathing of different kinds are in the Public Stores, but you must be sensible that a very full proportion of the Cloathing Purchased, for the use of the Continent out of the Prize Vessels, must be brought on for the use of the Southern Continental Troops; as the Country from whence they come furnishes scarce any Woolen Goods. To prevent Confusion and disappointment in future, I beg that no Cloathing may be stopped upon the way, without a particular order from myself or the Cloathier General.

I am glad to hear, that the Sum of Money lately sent to you, with the Assistance of the loan Office, is like to answer your Wants; and I hope that as the Instructions, which before retarded the recruiting Service, are now removed, that the Business will go on briskly.

Innocation at Philadelphia and in this Neighbourhood has been attended with amazing Success, and I have not the least doubt but your Troops will meet the same.

As I have in many of my late Letters, mentioned the distress that the Continent in general is under for the want of Arms, I need only repeat to you the Necessity that there is for making a Collection of the Public Arms and purchasing such as can be obtained from private Persons: Some time ago General Schuyler wrote to me and informed me, that there were a great Number of Arms returned into the Stores at Albany wanting repair; I directed that they should be sent down to the most convenient

place for that purpose, but perhaps that may not yet have been done. You will therefore please to make enquiry into the Matter and if they remain there, order three or four hundred Stand of them over, have them repaired and put into the Hands of the Troops.

All the Arms fit for the Field have been Constantly repaired as fast as it could be done; what I called useless, were such as are so light and thin in the Barrel, that they would not bear a Charge, with Safety, at the best, much less after being eat up with rust, such are not worth repair.

All the Officers taken at Princeton having been ordered to be sent in; Capt Luke¹⁴ will go in of course and Major Wyllis will be thereby released from his parole.

As I am about endeavoring to make a Settlement with General Howe for the Expences heretofore incurred, on Account of the Prisoners on both Sides; I beg you will furnish me, with an Account of what has been disbursed by your State, towards the Maintainance of the British Prisoners that have been at different times sent to be quartered among you; and I wish that in future a very regular Account may be kept. I have the Honor etc.¹⁵

To PRESIDENT JOHN McKINLEY³⁶

Head Quarters, Morris Town, March 4, 1777.

Sir: I was this day honored with your favor of the 28th Ulto.

14. Capt. John Luke, of the Fifty-fifth Foot, British Army.

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

36. Of Delaware.

The polite attention of your Assembly³⁷ to my Letter, demands my Acknowledgements, and I would fain hope, the measures they have adopted will be attended with many salutary consequences

and prevent in some degree the scandalous practice of desertion, but too prevalent of late in our Army.

I confess, I am much surprised to be informed at this time of the refusal of Colo. Bedford³⁸ and Major W. McDonagh.³⁹ I expected, that they had accepted their Commissions and were nearly ready to take the Field with their Regiment. Not hearing from them, I could conclude nothing else. As they declined, they should most surely have given me the earliest notice of it. The Rules of propriety required it, and a regard to the Service demanded it. Being unacquainted with the Gentlemen of your State, I cannot nominate such as will be either agreeable or qualified to fill their places. Under these Circumstances, I must take the Liberty to request, that you and your Assembly, or those you may think proper to consult upon the occasion, will appoint such Gentr. to those Commands and the other Vacancies in the Regiment, as you esteem suitable and likely to answer the interest and Expectation of the Public.⁴⁰ At the same time I would request, that every exertion be employed, to compleat and march the Corps with all possible expedition. The situation of our Affairs makes every Aid Necessary, and I am persuaded nothing on your part will be wanted to effect it. No pains should be spared to Arm and equip the Men as far as possible, previous to their

37. See Circular Letter to the States, Jan. 31, 1777, *ante*.

38. Lieut. Col. Gunning Bedford, jr., of the Delaware Regiment. He hail been wounded at White Plains, N.Y.; served as Mustermaster General of the Continental Army from June, 1776, to April, 1777.

39. Maj. Thomas MacDonough, of the Delaware Regiment. He had been wounded at Long Island, N.Y.. and did not rejoin the regiment; subsequently served as colonel of the Delaware Militia.

40. The officers commissioned to the Delaware Regiment, Apr. 5, 1777, were Col. David Hall, Lieut. Col. Charles Pope, and Maj. Joseph Vaughan.

Marching; the Stores at Philadelphia being greatly exhausted by the Supplies already drawn from them. The Sickly Condition of our Troops the last Campaign, especially towards the close of it, was rather discouraging to the Men to reinlist; but I trust, it will not be the case again, and that the prejudices on that Head are now done away. They should consider the moving disordered state of the Army whilst in Jersey and on the Banks of the Delaware, as the principal cause of their not being paid for the whole of their Service.—whatever wages were due them, might have been received since, had a proper Abstract been presented for that Purpose. I have the Honor etc.

P.S. When the Several Vacancies in the Regiment are filled up, the Officers shall receive Commissions, on a proper list being transmitted of their Names, Rank and the dates of their respective appointments.⁴¹

To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL

Head Quarters, Morris Town, March 6, 1777.

Sir: I flattered myself, that I should never again be under the necessity of trespassing upon the public Spirit of your State, by calling upon her for another supply of Militia; but, such has been the unaccountable delay in the recruiting of the Continental Battalions, chiefly owing to the long time that unhappily elapsed

41. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

before the Officers were appointed, that I see no prospect of keeping the Field till the New Levies can be brought into it, but by a Reinforcement of Militia. For want of proper Laws in the Southern Governments, their Militia were never well regulated; and since the late Troubles, in which the Old Governments have been unhinged, and new ones not yet firmly established, the people have adopted a mode of thinking and Acting for themselves. It is owing to this, that when a Summons is issued for Militia, those only turn out that please, and they for what time they please, by which means they some times sett off for their homes in a few days after they join the Army. From this

State of facts, you will perceive, that I put no great dependance on the Militia from the Southward, and I must, therefore, once more intreat you to endeavour to prevail upon Two thousand of the Militia of your State to march immediately to Peekskill and there wait further Orders; their time of Service to continue at least Six Weeks, after they arrive there. I am persuaded, from the readiness with which you have ever complied with all my demands, that you would exert yourself, in forwarding the aforementioned number of Men, upon my bare request. But I hope you will be convinced of the necessity of the demand, when I tell you, in confidence, that after the 15th. of this Month, when the time of General Lincoln's Militia expires, that I shall be left, with the remains of five Virginia Regiments, not amounting to more than as many hundred Men, and parts of two or three other Continental Battalions, all very weak. The remainder of the

Army will be composed of small parties of Militia from this State and Pensylvania, on whom little dependance can be put, as they come and go when they please. I have issued peremptory orders, to every Colonel in the regular Service, to send in what Men he has recruited, even if they amount to but one hundred to a Regiment, if they would do this, it would make a Considerable Force upon the whole. The Enemy must be ignorant of our Numbers and Situation, or they would never Suffer us to remain unmolested; and I almost tax myself with imprudence in committing the Secret to paper; not that I distrust you, of whose inviolable Attachment I have had so many proofs, but for fear the Letter should, by any Accident, fall into other hands, than those for whom it is intended.

If your Militia should make any objection to coming this way, on Account of the Small Pox, you may assure them, that if there is the least danger of taking that disorder here, they shall come no farther than Peekskill, (I mean those that have not had it) where they may take the places of the Continental Yorkers, whom I am obliged to keep in Garrison, having no other Troops to secure the Forts and Passes upon the North River. I am &c.⁵⁶

To WILLIAM DUER

Head Quarters, Morris Town, March 6, 1777.

Dr. Sir:

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

On Tuesday Evening, I was favored with your Letter of the 2d. Inst. The slow progress in the recruiting service gives me much concern, as the situation of our Affairs requires the most early Succours. I was always sensible, the bounty given by the Eastern States would prove extremely injurious; and remonstrated against it, as soon as it came to my knowledge.

I am sorry the securing and removal of the Forage has been attended with so many difficulties. It is a Matter of infinite importance, and yet I trust, that by your exertions and the Committee with you, that it will be accomplished. If the whole cannot be got away, the part remaining had better be destroyed than Suffered to fall into the Enemy's Hands, driving off the Stock, is also of considerable moment and none should be left within their reach.

The disposition recommended to the Troops under General Wooster, seems to have been well calculated for the ends in view and I heartily wish they had Maintained their Post. Their departure, I am satisfied, would be attended with bad consequences and it would disagreeably effect the minds of the Wavering and the timid. It is only to be lamented, that we have not Troops raised upon a different footing, who could and would afford protection to the Inhabitants and firmly fix them in our interest. I know no way to effect this, but by calling some of the Militia as you propose to secure them and their property from the ravages and depredations of the Rangers.

We have been long satisfied, that the Enemy were drawing nearly the whole or, at least, the Main Body of their force into Jersey; and, I think, they will make a Push for Philadelphia, as soon as the Roads will allow them to move. They may mean a feint, as you suggest; however, it is more likely, that the other is their Object. It will be happy for us, if we can be prepared for either event. Lest your apprehensions should prove true, the Wheat and Flour, contiguous to the Water, should be secured, and removed into the more Interior part of the State. The holders of it should not demand

an unreasonable price, and it will be worthy the attention of the Convention, to examine the Matter and give the Commissary and his Agents every Aid in their Power.

I have maturely weighed the proposed expedition to Long Island, and should be happy if the execution was as practicable, as it appears to be eligible. I am well assured many important advantages would be derived from it; But the Enemy's Force, now collected in this Quarter, calling for every possible aid, it cannot be attempted. However, I should think, it will be extremely proper, for an Idea of the sort to be spread with some address and management, which will be greatly favored, if a requisition I have made to Governor Trumbull, for two thousand Militia, can be complied with. This I mention to you in Confidence that the hint may be improved, as far as your prudence and discretion directs.

I am glad Mr. S.'s⁵⁷ plan is nearly compleated

57. Nathaniel Sackett. He was arranging for a system of secret intelligence.

and I am persuaded the benefits, resulting from it, will be great. The sooner it can be executed, the more beneficial it will be. I have the honor etc.⁵⁸

To THE PENNSYLVANIA COUNCIL OF SAFETY

Head Quarters, Morris Town, March 7, 1777.

Gentn.: I am honored with yours of the 5th, with Genl. Gates's Estimate of the force of the Enemy at Brunswick, which agrees with what I have Collected from Deserters and Other Channels; and Colo. Gurney's Intelligence of the Enemy's intended Rout to Philadelphia by the way of South Amboy, which I have ever thought very practicable and probable. These Informations alone, ought to suggest to you the Necessity that there is of having, as many of your Militia as possible, immediately embodied and⁶⁴ held ready to act as occasion may require. The City Militia should be particularly attended to, as they are a fine body of Men, and laying so much together, they are

able to throw in a very considerable force upon an emergency; but they are so usefully employed at home, that they ought not to be drawn out but at the last Extremity.

I must beg you will afford every Assistance to the recruiting and forwarding the Continental Troops of your State, there appears to me to be something extraordinary in the Returns of your Regiments. from Accounts I received sometime ago, I

58. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

64. The draft at this point was first written as: "and marched to join the Army under my command and ready to fall upon the Rear or Flank of the Enemy should they move from Brunswick, for you may depend upon it, that nothing will check or retard them so much as hanging upon them in either of the above Situations which it will be absolutely out of my power to do without a considerable Reenforcement. No Continental troops of any Consequence have yet come in and by the 15th of this month I shall scarce have any Militia left."Washington directed that this be stricken out.

expected Several of them were nearly full, but upon being furnished with actual Returns, I find they have only from fifty to one hundred men each. I fear this is owing to the Officers having pocketed the Bounty Money, and returned the Men deserted, when they were never inlisted. I have desired General Gates to scrutinize this Matter and I beg you will assist him if wanted.

Colo Proctor has shewn me a Letter from your Board, in which you require his attendance at Philadelphia. He is so essential here at the Head of the Artillery, in the absence of General Knox now on his way from Boston, that I am obliged to detain him till his return which will be in a few days.⁶⁵

As nothing but the good of the Service would have induced me to countermand your orders, I hope you will excuse the liberty taken by, Gentn., Yours &c.⁶⁶

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, Morris Town, March 8, 1777.

Sir: I this moment had the honor to receive your two favours of the 3d Inst. With pleasure I will forward your Letters to Mr. Jay by the first opportunity. How can an Assembly of Gentlemen, Eye witnesses of the distresses and Inconveniences, that have their principal Source in the want of a well regulated Militia, hesitate to adopt the only Remedy that can remove them ? And, stranger still, think of a Law, that must necessarily

65. The following paragraph was also stricken out from the draft: "If any of your Militia march this way, pray stipulate with them to stay a certain time after they actually join the Army; let it be six Weeks if possible."

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

add to the accumulated Load of confusion ? For Heaven's sake, entreat them to lay aside their present Opinions; and waving every other Consideration, let the Public Good be singularly attended to. The Ease they design their Constituents by Composition must be delusive; Every injurious distinction between the Rich and the Poor ought to be laid aside now.⁶⁷

The Enemy cannot remain much longer in their present situation. Their peace, for some days past, indicates Preparations to move; when they do, your Assembly may, perhaps, wish that their Militia were in the Field. I have endeavoured to cut off the Communication between Bergen and New York, having received Intelligence of it a few days ago.⁶⁸ I have the Honor to be etc.⁶⁹

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, Morris Town, March 9, 1777.

Sir: The Council of Safety of Pennsylvania has done me the honor to communicate to me a piece of Intelligence of Importance, which they received from Colo. Gurney.⁷² A copy of which is inclosed;

I wish it may rouse the Gentlemen of your Assembly to prepare for the worst Event. In my opinion the present time is of infinitely greater worth than is generally supposed. Vain and useless will all our Civil Institutions, however wise, prove, unless the State of Independance, in which alone they can

67. The New Jersey Assembly's law permitted a "composition" of from £3 to £20 in lieu of military service, and Livingston wrote (March 3) that the State legislators "are so unduly influenced by the Fear of disobliging their Constituents, that they dare not exert themselves with the requisite Spirit for the Exigencies of War."

68. Livingston's letter is in the Washington Papers in the Library of Congress.

69. The draft is in the writing of George Johnston.

72. Lieut. Col. Francis Gurney, of the Eleventh Pennsylvania Regiment. He was wounded at Iron Hill, Pa., in September, 1777, and resigned in October that same year.

operate, is secured. And as this must necessarily depend on the success of our Arms, Military preparations should possess an eminent degree of our deliberations and Care. Altho' the Enemy may not move as Colo Gurney thinks, yet common prudence must dictate, the necessity of making an instant attempt, to deprive them of such Articles, lying in the Country thro' which they may March, as can be of use to them. For which purpose I have directed Genl. Putnam to afford all the aid in his power to any measures which your Assembly may think will be productive of the End designed. I have the Honor to be &c.⁷³

To THE MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATURE

Head Quarters, Morris Town, March 13, 1777.

Gentn.: The prospect of a Vigorous attack upon Ticonderoga, some time past, [founded on a supposition that the Enemy might pass the Lakes on the Ice] induced me to order all the Continental

Battalions of your State to March, as fast as they were raised to that Post. A reconsideration of their Views, founded on a probability too well supported, that they will draw the greater part of their force from Canada by Water, as soon as the Season will permit, has induced me to countermand so much of that order as respects 8 of the Battalions, which I have directed General Heath to send on to Peekskill. There remains no doubt with me, or any of the General Officers here, of the Enemy's determined Resolution

73. The draft is in the writing of George Johnston.

to take possession of Philadelphia, as soon as the Roads become passable for their Artillery and Wagons.—The loss of that City, so eminently useful to the Army, must greatly retard our Military Operations, and will, I fear, injure the Cause.

To prevent this, and at the same time be in a Situation effectually to oppose any designs they may have upon Ticonderoga, or the Eastern States; I have determined to collect a respectable force at Peekskill with the utmost Expedition. It will occur to you, at first sight, that they can secure the passage of the North River, that they must oblige the Enemy to leave a Strong Garrison in New York, least we regain the Possession of it, and above all, that a Junction of our main force being easily effected We can take advantage of any Circumstances that may occur, in the course of the approaching Campaign. Having given Genl. Heath particular orders respecting the Innoculation of these 8 Battalions, I will only observe, that I am, etc.³

To GOVERNOR JOHN RUTLEDGE³¹

Morris Town, in Jersey, March 17, 1777.

Sir: The reduction of St Augustine being considered as an object of infinite importance; I have wrote to General Howe, who commands in Georgia, to consult with you, and the Governor of that State, the propriety of making an expedition

3. The draft is in the writing of George Johnston. The words within brackets were added by Washington.

31. Of South Carolina.

against it.

If on consideration of every Circumstance, the measure shall seem practicable, and to promise a prospect of Success, I flatter myself, and am well assured, that you will chearfully concur; and give General Howe every Aid in your power, necessary to the execution of it; in conjunction with the Assistance he will derive from Georgia. I have the honor etc.³²

To PRESIDENT JONATHAN BRYAN³³

Morris Town, in Jersey, March 17, 1777.

Sir: I have wrote to General Howe who Commands in Georgia, to consult with you and the President of South Carolina, the Propriety of making an Attempt upon St Augustine.

If on consideration, the measure shall seem expedient and practicable, I flatter myself, that your State and that of South Carolina will chearfully concur and give General Howe the aid necessary for the execution of it.

The good consequences that will certainly result from such an Expedition, if attended with success, are too obvious to escape your notice, and lead me to hope for a ready compliance with the requisition, if it shall appear, after due consideration had of all circumstances, that the Enterprize would have a

32. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

33. Of Georgia.

fortunate and favorable issue. I have the honor etc.³⁴

To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL

Head Quarters, Morris Town, March 23, 1777.

Sir: I am honored with yours of the 8th and 10th Inst. The first accompanying an Account of the Committee of Simsbury, against prisoners who were sent there by my order. There is no part of the charge to be objected against, but that of £9.6.0 said to be the Expence and trouble of the Committee themselves. I cannot see how either could have been incurred in so trivial a Matter; or if any, that it could have borne so large a proportion. However, I think the State had better pay what is reasonable and right and make a Continental Charge of it.

I wish you may not have been deceived in the forwardness of your Regiments, for I can assure you, the Returns fall far short of what was given out. Chandlers, Swifts and Chas. Webbs,⁶¹ by General Parsons's Letter of the 6th Inst., had only Eighty Men each. Tho' the latter sent his son down some Weeks ago and drew four hundred Stand of Arms, assuring me that his father had as many men ready. None of the other Regiments were half full, Durkee's⁶² had only 140 Men. From this State of Facts it is evident, that if the most spirited exertions are not made, the Enemy will take the Field before we can draw a

34. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

61. Col. John Chandler's Eighth, Col. Heman Swift's Seventh, and Col. Charles Webb's Second Connecticut Regiments.

62. Col. John Durkee's Fourth Connecticut Regiment.

sufficient head of Men together to oppose them. I am informed that the State of Massachusetts have called upon their different Districts, to furnish as many Men as are sufficient to make up their

Quota of the Eighty Eight Battalions, and that they have Succeeded by this Mode, far better than if they had proceeded in the usual line of inlistment. I dont know whether your State can exercise such powers; but if you can, you could never make use of them at a better time. From the present appearance of the Weather, the Spring promises to be a forward one, and from every account, the Enemy only wait for good Weather and good Roads to take the field.

The reinforcement of Russians, spoke of by Govr. Wentworth, is mentioned in several letters that have been thrown out, I believe, with an intent to divide and intimidate; for altho I do not doubt but they would employ Russians or any other Barbarians to accomplish their designs, I do not think there is a probability that they can be here very shortly, if at all.

Govr. Livingston informed me a few days ago, that he understood, that Governor Franklin, by some means or other contrived to carry on a Correspondence with Mr. Hugh Wallace in New York; And a Gentleman of the name of Livingston, who went into New York and took protection, but not liking his Situation returned again informs upon oath, that he heard that Governor Franklin, granted protections to such as would take them in Connecticut, and that one Shackles of Middletown

carried on a Correspondence with Miles Sherbrook in New York. This, Livingston says, he had from Sherbrooks Clerk. I dont know that the foregoing amounts to possitive proof against Governor Franklin, but it ought at least to put you upon your guard and have him narrowly watched. I am &c.⁶³

To THE PENNSYLVANIA COUNCIL OF SAFETY

Head Quarters, Morris Town, March 28, 1777.

Gentn.: I am glad to find by your publication in the Pennsylvania Gazette, of the 19th Inst.; that you have compleated your arrangement of Field Officers, by means of which I hope the recruiting of your Battalions will go on more briskly, than it has done heretofore. By the promotion of Major Butler⁷⁶ and death of the Colo.⁷⁷ and Lieut. Colonel,⁷⁸ the eighth Regiment of your state is left

without a Field Officer, I must therefore desire that you will order the three new field Officers to join immediately, for I can assure you, that no Regiment in the Service wants them more. From the dissensions that have long prevailed in that Corps; discipline has been much relaxed, and it will require strict care and attention to both Officers and Men to bring them back to a proper sense of Subordination and duty.—By the Absence of Colo. Hand,⁷⁹ the dismissal of Lieut. Colo Chambers,⁸⁰ and the Resignation of Major Ross,⁸¹ (who I see is again promoted) the 1st Regt. is likewise destitute of Field Officers, and what adds to the

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

76. Lieut, Col. Richard Butler.

77. Col. Eneas Mackay.

78. Lieut. Col. George Wilson.

79. Col. Edward Hand.

80. Lieut. Col. James Chambers. He was promoted to colonel and commanded the Tenth Pennsylvania Regiment at this date; was wounded at Brandywine, Pa.

81. Maj. James Ross. He was promoted to lieutenant colonel and transferred to the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment.

Misfortune, is, that Capt. Hamilton⁸² the Senior Officer was unluckily taken Prisoner a few days ago, as he was reconnoitring. I must therefore beg that you will Order Colo Hand, immediately to join his Regiment, and to bring with him such of his Sick as are recovered and what recruits have been lately inlisted. He left the Army some time ago for this purpose, but tho' I have wrote to him expressly, to come forward, I have never heard of him or from him, which I cannot account for, unless my Letters have miscarried.—By the late powers granted to me by Congress, I had a right to fill up all Commissions, under the Rank of Brigadiers General; but as I thought the Conventions,

Assemblies, or Councils of Safety, of the different States, were best acquainted with the Persons proper to fill the necessary Appointments, I was pleased to see that you had compleated your Arrangements yourselves in the first instance. In order to prevent the inconveniencies and delays that may arise from any Vacancies that may happen in future, remaining unfilled, I shall take the liberty to make the Appointments, always taking care to pay a due regard to Seniority, where merit is equal. I have the honor etc.⁸³

To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL

Head Quarters, Morris Town, March 29, 1777.

Sir: I am honored with yours of the 21st by Express, and return you my most sincere thanks for your ready compliance

82. Capt. James Hamilton.

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

with my request for two thousand Militia. A late manoeuvre of the Enemy, convinces us of the Necessity there is for an immediate March of this Body of Men to Peekskill. I imagine, upon information of our weakness at that post, the Eastern Militia having just left it and that there were a Valuable parcel of Stores there, last Sunday a Frigate and four Transports ran up the River, they landed a number of Men, said to be four Regiments of British; drove off General McDougal, who had but 220 Men at that time with him, and burnt the Store Houses with what Stores they contained. As I have not yet had a particular Account from General McDougal, I dont know the quantity or Value, but I hope there are not many of the Military kind lost. I am informed by a Gentn. who is come down, that Rum, Sugars and Molasses are the Principal. The next day the Troops went on board and the Ships fell down again. perhaps finding their conquest so easy, they may be induced to return again and Attempt the Forts, which are at present too weakly garrisoned to make much resistance.

I yesterday received information, from an intelligent Gentleman, who says “the Enemy are Stealing off, first on to Staten Island and then to New York. Last Sunday at least 2000 cross'd on to the Island and I believe are there yet, it is a fact that New York is fuller of Soldiers, than it has been for some time past.” If this should prove true, I dont know what other motives they can have for withdrawing their troops from Jersey, but to go

up the North River. General Arnold also says, in a letter of the 11th Inst. that Ten Transports that appeared full of troops passed Point Judith to the Westward on the 4th. This also looks, as if a Collection of Troops was making at New York for some purpose or other. To frustrate any designs of this kind, I beg that not only your Militia, but your Continental Troops may be hastened on with all expedition, for if I am not speedily reinforced in Jersey, the Enemy may leave small garrisons in Amboy and Brunswick, which they have fortified strongly; and make use of the Residue or such Number, as they may think necessary, to seize upon the Forts and passes upon the North River. When they have once possessed them, a small force will maintain them; especially as they have the Command of the Water. The Command of the passages over the North River and the free Navigation of it, would prove fatal to us; as the Eastern and Southern States would not only be cut off from each other, But Ticonderoga must also be evacuated for want of Supplies. I wrote you fully on the 23d, pressing you to fill up your Regiments by drafts, if it could not be done by any other means, to this I have not had your Answer.

I have the pleasure to inform you that a Vessel arrived at Philadelphia a few days ago from France, with Eleven thousand stand of Arms and some other Military Stores. The Accounts of the Intentions of France were most favorable.

The late arrival of Arms at Portsmouth,

is so ample, that we shall have no future complaint for the want of them; I shall therefore expect every Man of the new Levies in the Field shortly; those who have had the Small Pox, immediately, and those who have not, as soon as they recover from inoculation. I am, etc.⁹⁹

To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL

Head Quarters, Morris Town, March 31, 1777.

Sir: Since I did myself the pleasure to write to you yesterday, I have recd. Information, that the Enemy have embarked Three thousand Men; some said with an Intent to go to Chesapeak Bay, others, to go up the River again. As this last is most probable, I beg you will hasten your Militia to Peekskill with the utmost Expedition; and also what Continental Troops are ready. Should the Enemy get up the River before they arrive, they would meet with little or no Opposition. I am etc.¹⁷

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, Morris Town, April 1, 1777.

Sir: I have been honored with yours of the 17th and 26th March. I communicated the intelligence you gave me,

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

17. The drift is in the writing of George Johnston.

concerning Governor Franklin, to Govr. Trumbull, who will have his motions narrowly watched in future. I percieve many difficulties in the execution of your Militia law, particularly in Suffering an appeal to lay before a Court of Judicature; that indulgence will always be claimed, by the person refusing to serve, where the fine is levied; and before the suit is determined, this contest will probably be determined, one way or other. In the mean time the Service of the Soldiers is intirely lost. Colo. Forman, who waits upon you upon Public Business, informs me, that he thinks it would be of considerable advantage, to order out the Militia of Monmouth, Middlesex and Burlington at this Time; and as it was the district in which he would have commanded, had he accepted of the Brigadiership offered to him by the State; I could wish that he might have the power of calling them out, vested in him. He thinks very judiciously, that it will not only serve to distinguish the well

affected from the ill, but that it will hinder the Tories from poisoning the Minds of the people, by pointing out to them, the deficiencies of the Law, and how it may be evaded. Colo. Forman further informs me, that many people who have absconded, have left behind them, Stocks of Horses, Cattle and Grain, which will not only be lost to the Owners, but to the Public, if some mode is not fallen upon to secure them. If your Council of Safety think it proper, the Colonel will take possession of such effects for the public use, and return you an

account of them. If the owners return in future and clear up their Conduct, they may receive the Amount, otherwise I suppose they will be confiscated to the State.

I leave a Matter to your Consideration, which I think well worthy of your Attention. There are still, considerable quantities of Grain and other provisions on and near the Coast, most of it in the Hands of people who would willingly spare it to the Enemy, whenever an opportunity offered. As descents are very easy and practicable, I think, effectual Means should be fallen upon to remove such provisions from the Shore into the interior parts of the Country. Whatever direction you think proper to give in this Matter, Colo. Forman will execute.

Altho' I have particularly mentioned the Militia of Monmouth, Middlesex and Burlington; I could wish that the Brigadiers of the different districts were ordered to Summon parts of their Militia, and to order them to March (Officered as the late Resolve of Congress directs) and join the Army. The Backwardness of the Continental Levies, obliges me, much against my will, to call for a further Support from the Militia. The Expiration of time of the three Months Men of this State and of the Virginia and Maryland Volunteers leaves part of our line broken and exposed. I have the honor to be etc.²¹

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

To THE PENNSYLVANIA BOARD OF WAR

Head Quarters, Morris Town, April 2, 1777.

Sir: Capt. Practor²² did me the honor to deliver your favor of the 31st Ulto. I have to lament, that the Expressions intended to thank the late Council of Safety for easing me of a part of the heavy Load I bear, in forming our new Army, could be so misunderstood by your Board. I rejoiced at hearing, that they had not only appointed their Officers in the first instance, but arranged them likewise, and desired, that, in future, I should fill up the vacancies as they happen, intending thereby to save you the trouble and prevent delays.

Immediately on being apprized of the Plot you speak of, I ordered Collins²³ into the provost, and shall immediately send him to Philadelphia, that he may be ready for Trial when called for. Inclosed is his Examination, taken by one of my Aids de Camp.

I have established a Relay of Riders between this and Philadelphia, and have ordered Colo. Biddle²⁴ to acquaint you with the Rider's Name, and where he may be found, in Philadelphia. Intelligence will be secure and expeditious. I have received certain and Authentic Intelligence, that all the Top Sail Vessels have left Amboy and are riding off the Watering Place. Reports Says, that they are taking in fourteen days' Wood and Water. I should be happy to be informed of their appearance, if in your Capes, as soon as possible, that I may regulate myself accordingly. I have the honor &c.²⁵

22. Capt. Francis Procter, of the Fourth Continental Artillery.

23. Collins was a clerk in the Quartermaster General's Office. The examination mentioned is not found among the *Washington Papers*.

24. Col. Clement Biddle, Commissary General of Forage of the Continental Army.

25. The draft is in the writing of George Johnston.

To GOVERNOR NICHOLAS COOKE

Head Quarters, Morris Town, April 3, 1777.

Sir: I am honored with yours of the 18th of last Month. The late ample arrivals of Arms at Philadelphia and at Portsmouth, added to those we before had, puts me out of all further uneasiness on account of that necessary Article. The Eleven hundred and Seventy Six Stand which you received from the Continental Agent at Boston, will be very near the Number wanted for your two Continental Battalions when Compleat; and I desire that they may be carefully collected from the Militia, to whom any part of them were lent, and applied to that purpose.

The effects, of granting extravagant Bounties and of raising Bodies of Men upon Colonial establishments, now appear, from the returns of the low state of your two Continental Battalions. From the first cause, the Men are taught to set a price upon themselves and refuse to turn out, except that price is paid, and I am informed that, in some instances in Massachusetts, One hundred Pounds lawful Money pr. Man has been paid. It is also evident, that the raising the Colonial Brigade for 15 Months, retards the Continental enlistments; for Genl. Spencer in a Letter of 26 March, writes me, that the first has five hundred Men and the last but three hundred and Eighty, about half of whom have had the Small Pox; and he adds, that General Varnum was only then preparing Hospitals for the inoculation of the remainder. Strange that

this should have been neglected so long, when my Orders to him were given on the 3d of March, to provide quarters and to inoculate immediately.

You certainly over rate the Number of the Enemy upon Rhode Island, if they consist of only Six Hessian and two British Regiments. The Hessian Regiments, when they came out compleat, did not exceed Six hundred Men each, and the British 250 each. now, if they have decreased by Casualties &ca. in proportion to the other Troops in the British Army, they are scarcely more than three thousand. A number too small to make any attempt upon the Main.

I am convinced from every appearance, that they intend to leave Rhode Island, where they have wintered comfortably, and kept up a considerable diversion, and join their Main Body in

this Province. How I am to oppose them, God knows; for, except a few hundred from Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, I have not yet received a Man of the new Continental Levies. So far from being able to consent, that your Continental Batalions should remain at home, supposing the Enemy should continue upon the Island that I am obliged, in the most positive Terms, to order every Man who has had the Small Pox, to come immediately forward and those who have not, as soon as they are recovered. I have wrote Genl. Varnum to the same effect. As it is my duty to afford equal protection to every part of the Continent, you may be assured that if I thought there was any real danger to be apprehended

from the Enemy at Rhode Island, that instead of drawing the Continental Troops from that Quarter, I should add to their Numbers. But, when there is every probability of their coming away, and supposing they should stay, that the internal Strength of the Country would hinder them from setting foot upon the Main, I think I am excusable in drawing every Man in the Continental Service (except those intended for the Northern Department) to this point; to give opposition to the grand Army of the Enemy, who, except they are checked, will in turn overrun every State in the Union.

As the safety of the whole Confederacy, depends upon each State's furnishing the Quota of Men allotted to it; I must call upon you in the most pressing Manner; first, to endeavour to compleat your Allotment by the usual methods; but, if your Men will not turn out voluntarily, notwithstanding the great encouragement given by the State, I beg you will, if your powers are adequate, insist upon each district's furnishing a Certain number, as they have done in Massachusetts. If neither of these modes can be fallen upon, to good effect, we may as well give up the cause. I have the honor to be etc.³¹

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, Morris Town, April 5, 1777.

Sir: I have the honor of yours of yesterday, I may have been

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

mistaken in my interpretation of your Militia Law; but it however leaves open a door for much litigation and delay.

As you must certainly be best acquainted with the Circumstances of your own State, I intirely acquiesce with any mode which you may think most expedient in regard to calling out your Militia at this time.

I think the removal of the provisions in the County of Monmouth within reach of the Enemy, (if they make descents) of so much Consequence, that I shall direct Colonel Forman to set about that work as soon as he Collects a Sufficient force to do it effectually. I have the honor &ca.⁵⁴

To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL

Head Quarters, Morris Town, April 7, 1777.

Sir: The pay abstract of the 10th Regiment of Connecticut Militia, from October to January last, was this day presented to me for payment. The very unreasonable disproportion of Officers induced me to decline giving orders for the payment. I must beg the favor of you to have some mode adopted, by which the Public Treasury may be eased of such extraordinary Demands. Impositions of this Nature axe provided for in future by Congress; but how we are to remedy those that have happened, I am at a loss to determine. I can only say, that nothing shall pass thro' my hands, that may be construed into the slightest Approbation

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

of such Impositions. I have enclosed the abstract for your Consideration. I have the honour etc.

P.S. Should Colo. Sheldon want a further supply of Money, to finish the equipping his Regiment, I must request you would advance it.⁶⁴

[C.S.L.]

64. In the writing of George Johnston.

To JOHN DUNLAP

Head Quarters, Morristown, April 8, 1777.

Sir: The General desires that you would publish the following Order,⁷² and desire the other printers in Pennsylvania, as well Dutch⁷³ as English, to insert and continue it in their papers for a Month. I am etc.⁷⁴

72. The order inclosed was practically the same as that sent to the Williamsburg, Va., printer, Alexander Purdie, on April 7, except that it did not, of course, specify the Virginia regiments. It was published in the *Pennsylvania Packet* of April 15 and in the *Pennsylvania Evening Post* of April 17. (See note 75 to General Orders, April 7, 1777, *ante*.)

73. By Dutch Washington meant German.

74. In the writing of and signed by George Johnston.

To GOVERNOR THOMAS JOHNSON

Morris Town, April 9, 1777.

Sir: Having heard that your State have appointed Lieut Colo George Stricker to the Command of a Battalion. I hold myself bound to inform you, that the Character he holds here as an Officer will not justify such an appointment. Yesterday he obtained my leave to resign, complaining that his private affairs indispensably require his presence at home for several months. Had there been any other Field Officer with the Battalion, I should have permitted him to leave it immediately; he waits

only for the Colonel's arrival.

I beg you will consider this Information as proceeding from my great regard for the good of the Service, and from nothing else. I have the honor etc.⁸⁴

[MD.H.S.]

To WILLIAM SEVER AND THOMAS CUSHING⁹³

Head Quarters, Morris Town, April 10, 1777.

Gentn: I am favored with yours of the 20th of last Month, in which you make a request for Five thousand of the Arms, lately arrived from France, for the use of the Troops of your State. As your Letter went to Philadelphia, it only reached my hands yesterday. I cannot conceive that such a Number could be wanting, had proper pains been taken to collect the Public Arms and to purchase all that could be procured from private persons; but I have however given Orders to General Heath, to draw as many as are absolutely necessary to Arm the Men, that are raised and ready to March. You must apply to the Deputy Cloathiers in your State for your proportion of Blankets. I must entreat you, Gentlemen, still to persist in the Collection of the Public Arms, and have them properly repaired and deposited

84. In the writing of George Johnston.

93. A committee of the Massachusetts Council.

in Arsenals that will be built for the reception of Military Stores. Altho' our late supplies are seemingly large, they are small when compared to our present wants, and the allowance that must be made for loss and waste, and I am very fearful, that the States, taking it for granted that they will be fully supplied with the Arms lately arrived at Philadelphia and at Portsmouth, will neglect

to go on with the Collection of those that have been lent to the Militia, and which have never been returned.

General Knox thinks that part of the Powder borrowed from your State, was repaid out of that taken by Mugford;⁹⁴ he has wrote to Mr. Barber,⁹⁵ to know Certainly whether it is so. General Heath will have directions to deliver whatever is still due. I have the honor etc.⁹⁶

To GOVERNOR THOMAS JOHNSON

Head Quarters, Morris Town, April 11, 1777.

Sir: The latest Accounts received respecting the Enemy, rendered probable by a Variety of Circumstances, inform us, that they are very busily engaged in fitting up their Transports at Amboy for the accomodation of Troops; that they have compleated their Bridge, and are determined to make their first push at Philadelphia.

94. Capt. James Mugford, of Marblehead, Mass.

95. Nathaniel Barber, jr., deputy commissary of artillery.

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

The Campaign is therefore opening; and our present Situation, weaker than when you left us, forces me to entreat your utmost attention to the raising and equipping the Continental Troops allotted to be raised in your State. I have waited in painful expectation of Reinforcements, such an one as would probably have ensured an happy Issue, to any Attack I might have determined upon, and such as I had a right to expect, had the Officers faithfully discharged their duty.

But that time is past, and I must content myself with improving on the future Chances of War; Even this can not be done, unless the Officers can be persuaded to abandon their comfortable Quarters, and take the Field.

Let me, therefore, in the most earnest Terms, beg that they may be forwarded to the Army without loss of Time.

I have also to ask the favor of you, to transmit to me, a list of the Field Officers of your Battalions, and their Rank with the number of their respective Battalions. I have the honor to be etc.

P.S. Since writing the above, I have the disagreeable Information that disputes still prevail in your State about the rank of your Officers, and that the recruiting Service is exceedingly injured by them. Shall the general Cause be injured by such illtimed and ineffectual Jarrings among them? I have inclosed two Resolves of

Congress, warmly hoping that the knowledge of them, may tend to an honorable and necessary accomodation. No Settlement which they can make and submit to among themselves will affect the Army at large. I have long since determined, to refer the adjusting of Rank to a Board of General Officers, which will proceed upon the business, so soon as the Army Collects and Circumstances will admit.⁹⁸

To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL

Morris Town, April 12, 1777.

Sir: A Mr. Fernandez,⁷ an Officer just released from Captivity by an exchange, informs me, that large and weekly supplies of fresh Provisions are brought into York, which he was told by a Friend of ours, came from Connecticut, but whether by Water or by land, he does not know.—This information I have thought proper to transmit to your honor by the tardiest Opportunity, that you may adopt such Measures, as its importance demands and which shall seem most likely to prevent a practice so wicked and so injurious in its consequences. it is most probable, the most Common mode of Conveyance is by Water, and that the Supplies are from those, who live on the Sound; However, it will be well, to have The disaffected bordering on the State of York, watched with a scrupulous care, as well as those contiguous to the Sound.

98. A signed draft in the *Washington Papers* is in the writing of George Johnston.

7. Lieut. James Fearnandis (or Fernandez), of the First Maryland Regiment. He had been taken prisoner on Long Island, N.Y., and exchanged Mar. 24, 1777.

Mr. Fernandez adds, that Colo. Rogers⁸ and other Officers, whose names he does not recollect, have left York on the recruiting Service and gone into Connecticut, as he was advised. It is also said by a Mr. Deputy Commissary Frink,⁹ who has been, just exchanged too, that Sellech of Stanford is frequently in the City of York, and that one John Hart is gone to Rhode Island to pass Countertier Money. It highly imports us, to detect and apprehend these Villains, whose Crimes are of great enormity, and I should hope, if this intelligence is communicated to some of our prudent, trusty Friends in different parts of the State, particularly in those most favorable to their Views; that it might be effected. Rogers is an Active instrument in the Enemy's hands, and his Conduct has a peculiar claim to our notice.

I have nothing special to Mention respecting the Enemy. As yet they have made no movement, but from our advices of their preparations, there are strong reasons to beleive, that they are upon the Eve of doing it; And from a variety of combining circumstances, it appears, that Philadelphia will be the first Object of their attention. I only regret, that I have not the means, the exigency of our Affairs requires, and that a strange unaccountable langour seems but too generally to prevail, when the preservation of our Rights and of all that is dear calls loudly for the most vigorous and active exertions. I am &c.¹⁰

8. Better known as Maj. Robert Rogers. of Rogers's rangers.

9. Daniel Prink.

10. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

To WILLIAM(?) NORCROSS, THOMAS(?) BARBER AND EPHRAIM MARTIN¹¹

Head Quarters, Morris Town, April 12, 1777.

Gentn.: It has been represented to me by Capt. Kinney,¹² that there are many people in the County of Sussex, who are really innocent of any Crime or evil design against their Country, but having been seen in Company with some notoriously disaffected who have been tampering with them, they fear they will be considered of their party, and have therefore fled. Capt. Kinney says he is informed, that if they were certain of being well received, they would return to their homes, give any kind of Security for their future good Behaviour, and become peaceable inhabitants of the County and State. I therefore think you had better make the offer of Pardon to such as you think deserve it, and invite them to return, Perhaps by this kind treatment they may be induced to make some discoveries. I thank you for the care and attention which I am informed you have paid to the Public Business in your County, and am, etc.¹³

11. Justices of the peace of Sussex County, N.J.

12. Capt. Jonathan Kinsey(?), of the Fourth New Jersey Regiment.

13. The draft is in the writing of Fench Tilghman.

To GOVERNOR PATRICK HENRY

Morris Town, April 13, 1777.

Sir: I yesterday Evening had the honor to receive the favor of your Letter of the 29th. Ulto.¹⁸

It gives me much concern, to hear the recruiting service proceeds so slowly in most of the States; That it is the case in Virginia affects me in a peculiar Manner. I feel myself much obliged, by the polite respect your honorable Board of Council are pleased to shew to my Opinion; and am under

the necessity of observing, that the Volunteer plan, which you Mention, will never answer any Valuable purposes, and that I cannot but disapprove the Measure. To the short engagements of our Troops, may be fairly and justly ascribed, almost every misfortune that we have experienced. to that Cause, and that alone, have the liberties of our Country been put in question and the most obvious advantages lost. This I speak from painful experience; and assured of the facts, I cannot countenance, in the smallest degree, what I know to be pernicious in the Extreme. Short enlistments, when founded on the best plan, are repugnant to order and subversive of discipline; and men held upon such terms, will never be equal to the important ends of War; but, when they are of the *Volunteer kind* , they are still more destructive. Those who engage in Arms under that

18. Henry's letter of Mar. 29, 1777, is a very full picture of the reasons for the backwardness of recruiting in Virginia. It is in the *Washington Papers*.

denomination, let them agree upon what conditions they may, are uneasy, impatient of Command, ungovernable; and, claiming to themselves a sort of superior merit, generally assume, not only the Privilege of thinking, but to Do as they please: added to these Considerations, such Corps are long in forming, and half their time is taken up in Marching to and from Camp at a most amazing expence; nor are the injuries, to which a Country is exposed, by the frequent marching and countermarching Men, to be disregarded. Further, whilst they are in Service, the States, to which they belong, have but little, if any, chance to engage them for a longer term; when that is out, they will return, tho' the Exigency of Affairs should be never so pressing, and tho' you should be on the point of Action; on perhaps of grasping a Victory. Their departure, has a most baneful and unhappy influence on those who remain, who consider themselves, notwithstanding their Engagements, as subjected to peculiar hardships, become uneasy and discontented, and many desert; their return too, having seen only service sufficient to create disgust, and experienced, in the Course of it, a few difficulties; produces the same disposition, thro' the Circle of their Connections. In a word, Sir, I cannot advise the Volunteer plan, as I conceive the adoption of it would have the most fatal and pernicious tendency; and, in my opinion, the Interest of the States will be more advanced by regular enlistments during the War, tho' it should take a considerable time to

complete them.

The apologies you offer for your deficiency of Troops, are not without some Weight; I am induced to believe, that the apprehensions of the Small pox and its calamitous consequences, have greatly retarded the Enlistments; but may not those objections be easily done away, by introducing Inoculation into the State, or shall we adhere to a regulation preventing it, reprobated at this time, not only by the Consent and usage of the greater part of the civilized World, but by our Interest and own experience of its utility ? You will pardon my observations on the Small pox, because I know it is more destructive to an Army in the Natural way, than the Enemy's Sword, and because I shudder, when ever I reflect upon the difficulties of keeping it out, and that, in the vicissitudes of War, the scene may be transferred to some Southern State. Should it not be the case, their Quota of Men must come to the Field.

I have nothing in particular to mention, respecting the Enemy. As yet they have made no Movement, but from our advices of their preparations, there are strong reasons to believe, that they are upon the Eve of doing it; and from a variety of combining circumstances, it appears that Philadelphia will be the first object of their attention. I only regret that I have not the means the exigency of our Affairs requires, and that a strange, unaccountable languor seems but too generally to prevail at a time, when the preservation of our

rights and all that is dear, calls loudly for the most vigorous and active exertions. I have the honor to be, etc.¹⁹

To THE PENNSYLVANIA BOARD OF WAR

Head Quarters, Morris Town, April 14, 1777.

Sir: I was this morning favored with yours of yesterday, inclosing Copy of a Letter from Mr. Henry Fisher of Lewis Town. The Ships therein mentioned, are certainly meant for no other purpose, than to distress and cut off the Trade in Delaware Bay. you may depend, that when an attack upon the

Works below the Town is really intended, there will be a Cooperation of their land and Sea forces. I would notwithstanding have sent down the detachment of your Artillery under the Command of Lieut. Colo. Strobach,²¹ could they have possibly been spared at this Juncture; but as we have not a Man of the Continental Artillery yet arrived, I am obliged to keep them a little while longer. Genl Knox tells me that he expects part of Colo Crane's²² Regiment, in ten days from this time. The moment they arrive, Colo. Strobach shall be relieved. Lieut. Robb²³ with the small detachment of the Pennsylvania Regiment goes off to morrow, I shall send down Collins under his guard.

The Enemy came out early yesterday morning

19. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

21. Lieut. Col. John Martin Strobach, of the Fourth Continental Artillery. He died Dec. 2, 1778.

22. Col. John Crane, of the Third Continental Artillery.

23. Lieut. John Robb, of Miles's Pennsylvania rifle regiment. He was promoted to captain in a Pennsylvania State regiment Apr. 18, 1777 (designated Thirteenth Pennsylvania Regiment Nov. 12, 1777); retired Jan. 1, 1778.

from Brunswick, with an intent to surprise Genl Lincoln at Bound Brook, and had like to have effected their design by the carelessness of a Militia Guard, at one of the fords upon Rariton. But the General got notice of their Approach, time enough to withdraw himself and most of his Men to the Mountain just in the rear of the Town. Our chief and almost only loss was two pieces of Artillery and with them Lieuts. Ferguson²⁴ and Turnbull²⁵ with about twenty men of Colo. Proctors Regiment; A party of Horse was pushed so suddenly upon them, that they could not possibly get off. The Enemy staid about an hour and an half and then went back to Brunswick. General Lincoln took his Post again, with a Reinforcement.

I am afraid from the Situation of Billingsport, that the Works which you are constructing there, cannot be supported, if an attack is made upon it by land, and I should therefore think, that a small work with a few pieces of heavy Cannon, would be all that would be necessary. You may depend, that no Attack will ever be made by Shipping alone, and as you must ever count upon losing so remote a post, if attacked by land, the fewer number of Men and Stores that are risked, the better. As I have never seen a plan of the Works, I only speak from information. But I would recommend a compact Work, to contain about three hundred Men, in preference to a larger. If there were but few Cannon, they might possibly be removed, if there should be a necessity of evacuating. You will oblige me by putting the

24. Lieut. William Ferguson, of the Fourth Continental Artillery. He was promoted to captain Apr. 14, 1778, while still in captivity; exchanged in December, 1780; retired Jan. 1, 1783.

25. Lieut. Charles Turnbull, of the Fourth Continental Artillery. He was made captain in July, 1777, while still in captivity; exchanged in April, 1780; served to June, 1783.

inclosed Letters in the Post Office. I have the honor to be, etc.²⁶

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, Morris Town, April 16, 1777.

Sir: I am honored with yours of the 14th.; I dont know whether Colo. Duyckink³⁴ comes under the Civil or Military Jurisdiction; but from the following State of the facts on which I ordered him to be secured, you will be able to form a Judgment, and if you think, he falls within the line of Civil Authority, I will most cheerfully give him up to you. Colo. Duyckink, some time in the Winter, came Voluntarily out of Brunswick and Surrendered himself to General Dickinson at Mill Stone; Said he had seen my Proclamation and had come to take the Benefit; that he had been ill used by the British Army; and that he was determined to remain with his Countrymen. Genl. Dickinson sent him up to me, he told me the same Story, and I permitted him to go at large.

Some little time after this, he applied to Lord Stirling for Liberty to return again to Brunswick, who not being acquainted with Circumstances, granted him permission; but before he went, General Dickinson luckily received information from a

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

34. Col. Christopher Duyckink.

Person who came out of Brunswick, who told him that he heard Cortland Skinner³⁵ tell Duyckink, "he was afraid it would not do and that there would be danger in the Experiment;" meaning his going out under pretence of becoming a Convert. Upon this, he was Stopped and Carried before General Greene, who asked him what was the Reason of this Sudden Alteration in his Sentiments. He said, that he could not in Conscience take the Oaths to the State, as he had taken the Oath of Allegiance to the King; that the People in the Country threatened his life, and that he thought he had better return. General Greene asked him, if he had not considered the Matter of taking the Oaths to the State before he came out, as he owned he had seen the Proclamation; but he gave such evasive Answers, that it convinced us, that he only came out to get intelligence and I therefore had him apprehended and sent to Philadelphia, where he has since been Confined.

He is looked upon as so dangerous a Man, by the well affected in this part of the Country, that I believe his being set at Liberty and Suffered to remain in the Country, would create great uneasiness. I have the honor to be &c.³⁶

To THE PENNSYLVANIA BOARD OF WAR

Head Quarters, Morris Town, April 18, 1777.

Sir:

35. Brig. Gen. Cortlandt Skinner. He had been attorney general of New Jersey, but on the outbreak of hostilities adhered to the Crown and raised a loyalist corps called the New Jersey Volunteers.

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

I have lately received the two following pieces of Intelligence, which I think it my duty to give you, for if such practices are followed without detection, our Enemies will be well supplied.

Bowne and Heartshorne⁵⁶ near Shrewsbury in Monmouth County, purchase Continental Money in New York at a great discount, carry this Money to Philadelphia and there buy Flour &ca. under pretence of Shipping it to the Foreign Islands, but send the Vessels to New York. As those Persons are well known in Philadelphia, they may easily be detected.

The Murrays of New York some time ago sent a Vessel to Philadelphia navigated by a french Captain and Seamen, who pretended they came from the French Islands, they procured a Cargo of Provisions which they Carried to New York.

It would be well for your Custom House Officers, to make enquiry of every Captain upon whom he values himself, and if the Merchant is one, whose Character does not stand quite fair and unsuspected, the strictest scrutiny should be made into the intentions of the Voyage. I am &c.

56. Possibly Daniel Bowen and Lawrence Hartshorne.

To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL

Morris Town, April 21, 1777.

Sir:

I Yesterday received the favor of your honor's Letter of the 16th. with its inclosures; for which and your attention to the Publishing of my proclamation I am greatly obliged. I fear all the Militia,

intended for General Wolcott's⁸⁹ command, have not arrived at Peekskill yet, as not more than Eight hundred were there, by my last advices from that Quarter, and which are of a later date than your favor.

I mark with peculiar satisfaction and thanks, your constant and unwearied assiduity in giving the Service every aid in your power; at the same time I cannot but regret the occasion, which compels us, to bring Troops again into the Field for a shorter period than during the War, or for three years at least; But we must adopt our measures to the exigency of our affairs. I would fain hope, that many of the drafts, before the time expires for which they are called out, by the industry and care of the Officers, may be induced to engage for a longer term; and that your Quota may be completed by regular inlistments, being continued in the state for that purpose.

Mr. Franklin's conduct is truly reprehensible and I am amazed that under such engagements he should not be more regardful of the ties of Honor.⁹⁰ I have the honor &ca.⁹¹

89. Brig. Gen. Erastus Wolcott, of the Connecticut Militia.

90. On April 21 Alexander Hamilton wrote to Gov. William Livingston, by direction of Washington, that:

“A Number of disaffected persons having been taked up and brought to His Excellency, he ordered an examination into their cases, to know who of them were subject to a Military jurisdiction and who came properly under the cognizance of the civil power; also to discriminate those who were innocent, or guilty of trivial offences from those whose crimes were of a more capital and the henious Nature; directing, that those of the former character should be dismissed, and those of the latter referred to you for further trial and punishment.... The examination that has been made in this instance is somewhat irregular, and out of the common order of things; but in the present unsettled State of government, the distinction between the Civil Military power, cannot be upheld with that exactness which every friend to Society must wish.

“I flatter myself, however, you are convinced with me, His Excellency desires to avoid nothing more, than a deviation from the strict rule of propriety, in this respect, or the least Encroachment either upon the rights of the Citizens, or of the Magistrate. It was necessary to make the enquiry, for the sake of the discrimination before mentioned; and tenderness to the innocent, to save them from long and unmerited confinement, recommended the measure.”

Hamilton's letter is in the *Washington Papers*. One of the prisoners referred to in the letter, a certain John Eddy, was indicted by the grand jury for treason, but escaped before he could be brought to trial. The principal offense was that of enlisting men for the British service.

91. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

To GOVERNOR NICHOLAS COOKE

Head Quarters, Morris Town, April 21, 1777.

Sir: I have the honor of yours of the 14th instant, I shall make it my particular Business to demand Capt Chase's Son⁹² in Exchange for Mr. Hutchinson or Governor Shirleys Son; as he is certainly justly entitled to it. I thank you for the enquiry you have made after Thomas Rogerson.⁹³

I am pleased to hear that your General Assembly are determined to take such Methods, as shall seem to them most effectual for compleating their Continental Battalions, and I sincerely hope that the Measures, which they may think proper to adopt, may be attended with Success. I have the honor to be &ca.⁹⁴

To THE MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATURE

Morris Town, April 25, 1777.

Gentn.: I took the liberty in a Letter of the 11th. of February, to inform your Honorable Board, of the Augmentation Congress had Resolved to make to the Army they voted to be raised in September; and to solicit your attention and good Offices, in promoting

92. John Chase, son of Capt. William Chase, a privateersman.

93. Thomas Rogerson, a mulatto lad.

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

the raising of your proportion of these latter Levies. I trusted, that I then urged such reasons for the measure, and so clearly shewed, the Quota assigned to your State to be just, that your Interest would have been exerted to fill them up, in the same manner that it was to fill up the 15 Battalions, first voted. Finding this not to have been the case, and being assured from a variety of combining circumstances, and intelligence not to be questioned; that Britain, this Campaign will strain every nerve at home and abroad, to effect her purposes; I beg leave again, to repeat my solicitations upon this Subject, and to entreat, that you will take the matter under your most early and serious consideration and give every aid you shall deem necessary and conducive to compleating two of those Corps with all possible expedition; I mean those to be Commanded by Colonels Lee and Jackson.¹⁴ The third, which was allotted, I shall not require, tho' it was far within your proportion, as I design to call Colo. Henly,¹⁵ whom I intended to command it, to another office.

Were it necessary, I could mention many Circumstances to evince the propriety of your earliest interposition; but persuading myself, that the justice and necessity of the requisition and compliance with it, will strike you at once, I shall not enter upon a detail of them. I shall only observe, that the Battalions mentioned in my former Letter, were thought necessary to be raised by Congress, and the expediency of doing it,

14. Cols. William R. Lee and Henry Jackson, colonels of two of the 16 Additional Continental regiments.

15. Col. David Henley, of one of the 16 Additional Continental regiments. He retired in April, 1779.

becomes more and more apparent. That these Troops are equally Continental, and have the same claim to the attention of the States, upon which they are proportioned, that the others had or have. In this light they have been considered, and equal exertions have been generally employed to raise them. Where Bounties have been necessary to that end, they have been granted; Connecticut has done this for the one and a half Battalions allotted to her.¹⁶ Besides these Considerations, it may be added, that peculiar Hardships will be derived to the Officers appointed to those Corps, if they are not made up, and that the public will be materially injured in the loss of their Service; some of whom have given the most convincing proofs, not only of their bravery and fidelity, but of their Abilities to discharge the duties of their Station, and who actually refused other appointments, I shall subjoin one thing more, which is, till the designs of the Enemy are unfolded and dearly understood, and the exigency of Affairs require it, I shall not Order these two Regiments out of the State.

I have nothing new or interesting to communicate. The Enemy still remain quiet; but from various causes and their industerous preparations, we expect are on the point of commencing their Operations. what they will be or what the result, the facts themselves must decide. I have the honor to be &c.¹⁷

16. The reply of the legislature to this seems to have been the resolves of April 30, authorizing a draft of the militia, if necessary, but allowing the alternative of hired substitutes and a fine of £10 or imprisonment to Jan. 1, 1778, in case of failure to comply. This was one of the arrangements against which Washington argued. The fine of £10 was a poor substitute for an able-bodied soldier.

17. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

To THE PENNSYLVANIA BOARD OF WAR

Head Quarters, Morris Town, April 26, 1777.

Sir: I have your favor of the 19th. and congratulate you, upon the late discoveries you have made of some of the Plans of our internal Enemies and I hope the Clue you have got will lead to something more important.

I never before heard of Mr. Hughes, but upon enquiry I am informed that he has ever been closely connected with Galloway³³; that alone is enough to excite Suspicion at this time. I shall enquire further into his political Conduct for some time past, and if I find the least Grounds for a belief, that Fox's³⁴ testimony is true, I shall have him apprehended.

I place no great dependance upon any thing, that Shepherd has wrote to Fox; because it cannot be supposed, that a Man in his Station could possibly know anything of the true intentions or Motions of the Enemy.

As I have no proof of Hartshorne and Bowne's ever having been concerned in the practices I mentioned in my last, I cannot apprehend them. I gave you the Hint that if the thing should have been so, and they should return again to Philadelphia upon the same Errand, you might keep a watchful eye upon them.

33. Joseph Galloway. A James Molesworth, proven to be one of his spies, was executed.

34. Joseph Fox, a Light Horse farrier.

I have given orders to all the Officers at the out Posts, to suffer no more Women to pass in or out, upon any pretence whatever.

I shall be obliged to you for communicating any material Intelligence that may come to your knowledge, and you may be assured, that whenever I make discoveries of any suspicious Persons harbouring in or about your City, you shall have the earliest information. I am &c.

P. S. I have dispatched an Officer this Morning, to apprehend Hughes and to carry him down to you. If matters should not be fully proved against him, I think it would still be proper, to lay him under injunctions not to return home just at this time, for he is certainly a dangerous person and actively mischeivous just now.³⁵

***To ROBERT McKENZIE⁶⁶**

Morris Town, April 28, 1777.

Sir: Your favour of the 20th Ulto. did not reach my hands till the 19th Instt., since which I have made an unavailing enquiry of several Gentn. from the Eastward, after the Capturd ship Lord Stanly.⁶⁷ This enquiry I will continue; but if, in the meanwhile, you could furnish me with any Clue

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

66. This was the McKenzie who was a lieutenant in the Forty-third Foot, British Army, and who had been a captain in the old Virginia Regiment. He was in New York.

67. The *Lord Stanley* had been captured by an American privateer, and a case of goods belonging to Col. Robert Stewart, formerly a captain in the old Virginia Regiment, had been taken in her.

that might facilitate the end you have in view, and I wish to be the Instrument of accomplishing, I should be glad to be favour'd with it. I am etc.

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, Morris Town, April 29, 1777.

Sir: I do myself the honor of transmitting the inclosed Resolve of Congress passed the 25th Instant.⁶⁸

I shall be obliged, if you will, agreeable to the requisition therein made, order out one thousand of the Militia of your State, to continue in service, Four Weeks from the time they join the Army. I mention four Weeks, because I think by your late Militia Law, you cannot insist upon their Service for a longer term at one time. But if it can be prolonged, I could wish it might be for six or eight Weeks. The place at which I at present intend to post them, is from Pompton extending towards Hackensack; they will then protect the well affected, awe the disaffected, and serve to check the Tory Regiments under Brown, Van Buskirk &ca.⁶⁹ who are kept at Bergen, and intice many Persons to join them, from the adjacent Country and from Sussex.

68. "That the governor of the State of New Jersey be requested forthwith to call out such part of the militia of the said State as General Washington shall judge necessary to reenforce the army under his command."

69. Brig. Gen. Montfort Browne and Lieut. Col. Abraham Van Buskirk, New Jersey volunteers of the British provincial troops.

General Heard is at present at Pompton, he has about three hundred Men under his Command, whose tour of duty, I fancy, has almost expired; therefore those Regiments or Companies that can be soonest put in motion, should be ordered to March with all expedition to Pompton and put themselves under Genl Heard's Command, or whatever Brigadier of the State may be then in Service.

That there may be no disproportion between the number of Officers and Men, I enclose you the Regulation of Congress of the 21st March for that purpose, Copy of which you will please to transmit to the Colonels or commanding Officers of Battalions; letting them know at the same

time, that if there should be more Officers in the Field than specified in the inclosed, no pay will be allowed to them.

As you think Colo. Duyckink a Prisoner in the Military Line, I must keep him confined, for he is too dangerous to be set at Liberty at this time. I have the honor to be &c.

P.S. There will probably be occasion to keep up some Militia in Monmouth County and I should therefore be glad to be understood that the Body of 1000. is to be seperate and distinct from them.⁷⁰

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

To THE MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATURE

Head Quarters, Morris Town, May 3, 1777.

Sir: In consequence of advices received by Congress, of the preparations making by General Carlton to pass the Lake and attack Ticonderoga before our force is drawn together at that post, they have come to the following Resolve, which I transmit to you by their direction.

Resolved. That General Washington be directed to write to the Eastern States, from whence the Troops to be employed at Tyconderoga are expected and to request them in the Name of Congress to adopt and pursue every means, particularly those recommended by Congress in their Resolutions of the 14th of this Month for compleating and forwarding the Regiments which he has already ordered for that Service, it being the opinion of Congress that a delay in this Matter will be attended with the loss of that important pass.¹⁰

I have so frequently urged the necessity of straining every nerve, for the purpose which this resolve is intended to effect, that I flatter myself no means have been left untried, which could be fallen upon to accomplish it; and I doubt not, it is unnecessary to Suggest to you, any motives for exerting the utmost vigor and expedition. You must be fully sensible of the vast importance of doing it and

of the almost irreparable consequences that would result, should any misfortune happen to the Post now threatned; as the loss of it would open an avenue for a rapid progress into the Northern States, to oppose which, it would be for some time difficult to bring an adequate force. The pressing emergency of the occasion calls loudly for every effort in your power; and your own feelings will be the Strongest arguments for employing your greatest diligence and activity.¹¹ I have the honor to be &c.¹²

10. The resolve of Apr. 29, 1777. (See *Journals of the Continental Congress*.)

11. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman and Alexander Hamilton.

12. The same letter was also sent to the President of New Hampshire, and this was entirely in the writing of Hamilton.

To THE PENNSYLVANIA BOARD OF WAR

Head Quarters, Morris Town, May 8, 1777.

Sir: By the last return of the 1st Pennsylvania Battalion, I discovered a Number of Vacancies, which for want of a knowledge of Gentlemen competent to the duties of an Officer, I can't fill up. I must therefore beg the favor of you to perform this important business for me. The distractions occasioned in Battalions by irregular promotions and bad Appointments, are too generally known not to have reached your Ears; it becomes therefore unnecessary for me, to urge any Reasons in favor of a prudent Choice. I shall content myself for the present with entreating your Speedy Attention, that the Gentlemen may render immediate Service to their Country. I am &c.⁵³

To DANIEL OF ST. THOMAS JENIFER AND NICHOLAS THOMAS⁶⁸

Head Quarters, Morris Town, May 10, 1777.

Gentn.: I am honor'd with yours of the 18th Ulto. inclosing the

53. The draft is in the writing of George Johnston. The letter sent, also in Johnston's writing, is in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and varies from the draft in capitalization only.

68. Jenifer and Thomas were president of the senate and speaker of the house, respectively, of the Maryland Legislature.

Arrangement of the Officers of your Seven Battalions, as Settled by General Assembly 1st April 1777.

I hope this arrangement will prove satisfactory to all the Gentlemen in nomination, but should any disputes or difficulties arise, I shall endeavour to have them Settled upon the most impartial Scale.

The impediments to the recruiting Service, I hope are now removed, and I flatter myself that every Measure will be adopted, by the Senate and House of Delegates, that will contribute towards filling up the Quota of Men allotted to the State of Maryland. I have the honor to be etc.

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, Morris Town, May 11, 1777.

Sir: I am this day honored with yours of the 2d Instant, as I was a few days ago with that of the 30th April.

Previous to the receipt of it, I had desired Mr. Boudinot, to demand Mr. Fell's⁷⁴ release for that of Mr. Hugh Wallace, Colo. Philips or Mr. Jauncey⁷⁵ whose paroles we have and who are all Counsellors of the State of New York. If they refuse this, I shall call upon one of those Gentlemen to return to the Place of his

74. John Fell. He was a member of the New Jersey Provincial Council in 1776; had been captured on April 23, and was held a prisoner until January, 1778; delegate to the Continental Congress, 1778–1780, and a member of the New Jersey Council, 1782–83; moved to New York City in 1793.

75. Hugh Wallace, of New York; Col. Frederick Philipse, of Philipse Manor; and James Jauncey.

former confinement, and I hope they will interest themselves in procuring Mr. Fell's release, rather than Submit to a recall.

I have been informed by Colo. Forman, that the Quakers and disaffected are doing all in their Power to counteract your late Militia Law; but I hope, if your Officers are active and Spirited, that they will defeat their evil intentions and bring their Men into the Field. I have the honor etc.⁷⁶

To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL

Morris Town, May 11, 1777.

Sir: I was yesterday Evening honoured with your Letter of the 4th Inst. I regret our loss of Stores at Danbury, and the Misfortunes of our brave Men who fell, and of those who were wounded. However, from these latter events, we derive this Consolation, that the Sentiments of the People are still powerfully directed to liberty, and that no impression of the Enemy, be it never so sudden and unexpected, will pass with impunity. We cannot ascertain what the Enemy's loss was; but from our own, when our Men fought in parties, and theirs in a Compact body, and other circumstances of information from New York, I think, it must have been pretty considerable. Another happy consequence, which

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

must necessarily result from this affair, is, that the Enemy will engage in such Enterprizes, in future, with much caution and circumspection; For tho' they should be able to accomplish their end in destroying Stores, yet, the means attending it will be disagreeable.

That the Enemy will harrass our Coasts and injure the maritime Towns, with their shipping and by sudden debarkations of small parties of Men, is not improbable and what we cannot prevent, whilst they have the entire command of the Water. This we laid our account in, when we first engaged in the Contest; but I have no Idea that they will penetrate into your State, to form the junction you mention; nor is it likely that those, who have escaped from them, know the General's design. It is much to be wished, they would make that their plan of War. I should then expect most sanguinely, that we should bring the matter to a Speedy and glorious conclusion.

I should be happy, were it in my power, to station Guards of Continental Troops at every Place, subject to the depredations of the Enemy; but this cannot be done. If we divide and detach our Forces to every part, where the Enemy may possibly attempt an impression, we shall effect no one good purpose, and in the end, destroy ourselves and subjugate our Country. The Enemy have certainly some Capital Object in view, either Philadelphia or Hudson's River. Till their designs are unfolded, all the Troops from this and the more Southern States must

Assemble in this Quarter, to prevent their possessing the Former. Those raised in the Eastern States, except such as were ordered immediately to Ticonderoga, must march to Peekskill, to prevent them possessing the latter and the important passes thro' the Highlands. Should they be able to carry those and the Fortifications for the defence of the River, we all know the important and fatal consequences that would follow. I confess myself, and so do all, who have reasoned about their Operations, that the latter, from its importance and a variety of circumstances, which have occurred of late, seem to be the Objects of their attention. For these reasons and because the Battalions, which are in Service, from inoculation,—that langour which has but too generally prevailed in inlisting,—and from other causes, are extremely weak and deficient,—and totally inadequate to check the progress of the Enemy. I cannot comply with your request for two Regiments to remain in the State at this time. I heartily wish Congress would inform me of the dispositions they make of the Troops. Their not doing it, disconcerts my arrangements and involves me in difficulties. 'Till the favor of your Letter, I never had the least intimation, that I recollect, that any of the Regiments,

exacted from the States, were to remain in them. Nor do I know an instance, where Continental Troops are stationed in any State in which the Enemy have not a post. I have the honor to be &c.⁷³

73. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

On May 11 Washington wrote to Gates, then at Albany, “that the clothing for Colonel Shepard's Regiment of Massachusetts ... has been sent on to Ticonderoga; but as the destination of this Regiment, among others, has been altered, you will send back the Clothing for it, as expeditiously as possible.” Col. William Shepard's Fourth Massachusetts Regiment was stationed at Peekskill.

Also, on May 11, Washington ordered Brig. Gen. Ebenezer Learned to Ticonderoga to command the Massachusetts troops there.

To GOVERNOR PATRICK HENRY

Morris Town, May 17, 1777.

Sir: When I had the honor of addressing you on the 13th Ulto. I flattered myself that, tho' the recruiting business did not succeed to our wishes, a sufficient reinforcement would, ere this, have enabled me to open the Campaign in such a Manner, as to have recommended the Service to the lower Class of People, and thereby to have removed the necessity of compelling them to inlist. —But that Hope has been unfortunately blasted; So that we have only to decide, whether the States shall be loaded with the enormous expence of Militia, with difficulty drawn out, capable only of making a feeble defence, and the War protracted; or the Army compleated by coercive Methods. For altho' the important Season is almost past, that afforded the Opportunity of crushing the Enemy's power at present here, had I been Sufficiently enabled, yet it greatly behoves us, by an instant and vigorous exertion of our Strength, to put ourselves into such a Situation as to have a good prospect of never being obliged so greatly to hazard our Liberties as we have been. The warmest Advocates for Militia and short inlistments must, from the experience of two Campaigns,

confess that the important purposes of War cannot be answered, but by men engaged for a length of Time; No Substitute can be admitted. What then remains, for us to do?

Nothing less than furnishing our full quota of Continental Troops, by any means, that will ensure Success. Our Situation perhaps more critical now than ever, Policy directs that Caution should be used, in the Choice. But whether it Should be by [an indiscriminate] draft, or by making it the Interest of the Timid, the Rich, and the Tory to furnish Soldiers, at their own Expence, in ease of themselves and in Conformity to the Resolve of Congress of the 14th day of April last, is a subject well worthy the most dispassionate and mature deliberation of your Assembly. Both of these Methods have been tried and are still practised by some of the States, with better success than simple recruiting. They are however capable of abuse. The former may produce Convulsions in the People and their Opposition, by the manner in which it is conducted. The latter affords the bad Officer too tempting an opportunity of defrauding the Public, by receiving the reward for Men already in the Service, or for some private Emolument, giving Certificates when no Soldier is furnished, and of greatly injuring the Service, by introducing into it Foreigners of no principle, who Seize the first opportunity of deserting to the Enemy, with their Arms. If the former should be adopted, the Men drafted should Serve for a fixed time, 3 Years at least. and every possible precaution taken against their Substituting Convicts or foreign Servants in their room. If the latter, the Men procured, should serve during the War. Here the Evil may be effectually guarded. The Substitute, or exemption from Militia duty, being evidently an Indulgence, may be granted

on no other terms than furnishing a Native, [or a person of some property or Connections in the Country.] The anixed Return of your Battalions now here, will enable the Assembly to form a good Judgment of the Number of Men necessary to compleat them to the full Establishment.³⁷ A well executed Law, to encourage the taking up of deserters, will greatly lessen the deficiency that appears upon the Returns; which is not occasioned altogether by Deaths, because I am well assured, that a Number of the Men (taking advantage of their Absence from their Companies, occasioned by their being left in Hospitals), have on recovery, gone home without leave; nor can my most

unceasing Efforts bring them back; the Officers sent upon that duty, shamefully spending their time in Dissipation and Idleness.

I hope the Freedom of this Letter will find an Excuse in the Importance of the Subject, and its length have an apology, when 'tis considered that Consequences of the greatest magnitude are involved in the Issue of the present Contest; the Management of which demands our utmost Wisdom and Activity. I have the honour to be etc.³⁸

To PRESIDENT JAMES WARREN⁷⁶

Head Quarters, Morris Town, May 23, 1777.

Dear Sir:

37. A copy of this return, made and signed by George Johnston, is filed with the draft in the *Washington Papers*. By it the total of the 12 Virginia regiments, rank and file, was 2,321, with but 1,506 of this number fit for duty. The regimental strength averaged only 169.

38. The draft is in the writing of George Johnston; the words within brackets were added by Washington.

76. Of Massachusetts.

Your favor of the 4th. instant was duly handed me. I am fully sensible of the zeal, your State has demonstrated, in the instances you recite, and in many more. With you, I consider them as great exertions, and as a decisive evidence of your inclination to do every thing in your power to advance the Common Cause. At the same time, whatever efforts have been, or can be made, are not more than adequate to the exigency of our Situation. Tho' over sanguine and uninformed people may think differently, this is a most interesting and critical period, and will not countenance the least want of Activity or attention in any quarter. I have the highest confidence, that your State will not

let the great object, we are contending for, be lost, or endangered, more than is unavoidable, by any such deficiency on their part.

Your repealing the offensive part of the Act you mention, is a proof of your justice and regard to the Sense of your Sister States. It certainly bore the features of a monopoly, and was liable to the interpretation put upon it; and, though I am ready to believe, it proceeded from impolitick, rather than Selfish, motives,—I am happy the Cause of complaint is removed, and the matter placed upon a more liberal footing.

I observe, your State is not a little alarmed at the prospect of an immediate invasion.

Notwithstanding the intelligence from Europe, in some measure, warrants the Supposition of such an event and makes it proper not intirely to disregard it; yet I am clearly of opinion, it is not much to be apprehended.—It is by no

means an eligible way to the conquest of this country; your State, from its union, numbers and Situation, being capable of a much better defence than perhaps any other; and it is presumable, the Enemy will make their attacks where Circumstances promise the greatest likelihood of Success. But, be this as it may, I cannot help disapproving the project of raising Colonial regiments for your defence, at least till the Continental are filled. It is easy to perceive, as you have yourself hinted, that it will have a direct tendency to defeat your endeavours, for compleating your quota of the United Army; and it would be the most wretched policy to weaken the hands of the Continent, under the mistaken Idea of Strengthening your own. It would also be well to consider, how far it might be consistent with propriety, in the pursuit of partial schemes, to put it out of your own power to fulfill what is required of you by the Continent.

If the Several States, by levying Troops on the particular establishment of each, leave but a Small Continental Army in the Field, it will be impossible effectually to watch the Motions of the Enemy, and oppose them where they may in reality direct their operations;—the consequences of which must be inevitably fatal. But if we have a sufficient Continental force on foot, we shall be able to watch them narrowly and counteract them wherever they may attempt to move.—Every State will

find its Security in such an Army, whose sole business it will be to oppose the Enemy, wherever it is most requisite.—It cannot be imagined, that if your State were seriously attacked, a proportionate part of the Continental force would

not be detached to Succour and protect it. My duty, inclination, and a regard to the safety of the whole would equally compel me to it.—What valuable end can then be answered to you, in the Step you propose to take, which can compensate for the irretrievable injury the common cause might sustain, from our not having a Sufficient Army in the field for the purposes of general opposition? The measure, injurious in every view, can only serve to burthen the State, with an unnecessary expence, which will be intirely its own; as the Troops intended to be raised will be for local and Colonial uses, and in diminution of the common force.

I see no advantage you can derive from such an impolitic Step, which would not be fully produced, by what I assured the Assembly, on a former occasion, should be done; which is,—That the Supernumerary Regiments adopted by you, should remain in your State, 'till the designs of the Enemy became so evident, as to convince us, their continuance would be no longer expedient, or useful. This assurance I repeat; and I beg you will communicate it in my name to them; earnestly recommending it to them, to relinquish the Scheme. Indeed Sir, on a Cool, dispassionate Survey of all Circumstances, it will be found replete with impolicy and danger; and I am persuaded that, either they have already, on mature deliberation laid it aside, or on a reconsideration of the matter will coincide with me in opinion, and correct the mistake. With great regard and respect, I am &c.⁷⁷

77. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL

Head Quarters, Morris Town, May 23, 1777.

Sir: I was yesterday honored with your letter of the 18th Inst. As I could only repeat the observations contained in my letter of the 11th. upon your request for two Regiments to remain in Connecticut; I must beg leave to refer your attention to them and a few more which I shall now

subjoin. If the several Battalions, designed to compose the Army were compleat, I should then hope, a few Troops might be spared to guard those places most accessible to parties of the Enemy and their Cruizers; but as their State is very different, it cannot be done, unless we endanger objects of the last importance to us. I shall not trouble you with a Minute detail of the Forces assembled at this time from the different States; By the last return from Peekskill on the 10th., not more than three hundred and thirty Connecticut Troops were then there; in addition to those, there is a detachment here under Lt. Col Butler⁷⁸ consisting of about Men. I will not comment upon this subject, because I know it will not give you less pain than it does myself, and my only design in Mentioning it, is, to shew I have but too just grounds for my anxiety and desire that Troops should come on. I wish those Assembled as yet from some other States, did not bear a proportion too analogous to this. When those from Massachusetts Connecticut and Rhode Island do arrive, my present intention is, to

78. Lieut. Col. Zebulon Butler, of the Third Connecticut Regiment.

post a respectable number about the white Plains, to act as an Army or detachment of Observation &c., and from which your state, as far as I am able to judge, will be more likely to be protected, against any Capital attempts of the Enemy than any other. It will be impossible to secure every place against their small morauding, Plundering parties, but nothing will be so probable to effect it, as drawing our Strength to a point, which will oblige them to do the same. If we divide and act in detachment so will they. I am extremely sorry you should have been at so much trouble and expense in sending to Colo Langdon⁷⁹ for part of the Military Stores in his hands; his refusal and that of General Heath's, I am persuaded you will consider right and founded in necessity, upon mature reflection. All the Stores are coming to Springfield, where they will be deposited in the Public Magazine, except such as will be immediately wanted for the Army, and I feel myself extremely unhappy, in not having it in my power to consent, that a part should be appropriated as you request. Our Stores will by no means Authorize me to do otherwise, than to keep them for the forming Army. were they once let out, how could I collect them, or how could I be answerable for them to the States at large. they are not more than equal to our certain demands and in respect to

Artillery, the Quantity imported and fit for the Field, is far inferior to that we are to oppose and what we want. I have with pain been obliged to refuse other requisitions of the same nature, and am convinced, I should [not] have been laid under the necessity; the Expediency of

79. John Langdon, Continental agent for prizes in New Hampshire.

preventing the stores being scattered through out the States requiring it. I am much obliged by the Copy of the Act you were pleased to transmit me and I only hope its effects may be equal to our wishes. I am &c.

P.S. I have nothing of Importance to communicate in the Military line here. I am told from the last advices from France, things seem to be in favorable train and that Spain appears to be equally disposed to render us every Assistance. Govr. Tryon it is reported is dead; of the wounds he received in the Danbury Expedition.—how far it is true I know not. It is also said Seventeen Ships came in at Sandy Hook, on the 22d and more in the offing.⁸⁰

To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL

Morris Town, May 26, 1777.

Sir: I was yesterday evening honored with your Letter of the 22d Inst. It is certainly of importance, that I should have the earliest advices of the Enemy's movements, and I beg leave to thank you, for the information you have been pleased to transmit on that head.

Your anxiety for Troops to remain in Connecticut, and my inability to grant them, when I examine

80. The draft is in the writing of Caleb Gibbs.

matters upon a large and, I believe, just scale, distress me much. I assure you, Sir, no requisition has more weight with me than yours, nor will be more readily granted, when circumstances will admit, and where I think, it will not, in its consequences, be injurious to the General good. I must take the liberty of referring you to my Letters of the 11th. and 23d. for my reasons, why we should

draw our forces to a point, and which, I trust, upon consideration, will appear good and satisfactory. A Capital object in the Enemy's Plans, is, to divide and distract our attention. For this purpose has the Division under Lord Piercy been kept so long at Rhode Island, expecting from thence, that the apprehension of an Invasion, or of their penetrating the Country, would prevent any Troops coming from the Eastward. Could I but Assemble all our forces, our situation would be respectable, and such, I should hope, as would compel General Howe to employ his together, or to hazard their destruction. On the other hand, whilst the Quotas from the Several States are so extremely deficient, should they be divided and act in Detachments, there will be just grounds to apprehend our Ruin. I have the honor etc.⁹

To THE PRESIDENT OF THE MASSACHUSETTS COUNCIL

Head Quarters, Morris Town, May 28, 1777.

Sir:

9. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

As I saw no prospect of the three Supernumerary Regimts., allotted to your State being raised, till lately by the Legislature having adopted them, and given them the priviledge of the additional bounty; I had ordered Colo. Henly on to Camp, with a view of providing for him in some other Capacity. I consider him as too Valuable an Officer to permit him to be lost to the Service. But when that event took place, as it was a more desirable Object than I could have substituted, I wrote him a Letter countermanding my former orders, but it missed him on his way to this place. I have directed him to return immediately and Set about raising his Regiment with all diligence and dispatch. I recommend him to the particular attention of your Honorable Board, and beg he may receive every kind of Countenance and assistance, which his merit and the good of the Service demand. I am etc.¹⁷

To GOVERNOR PATRICK HENRY

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, May 31, 1777.

Sir: I this Morning received information, which I believe is not to be doubted, that, on Saturday last, a large fleet, consisting of a hundred Sail, left New York and stood out to Sea.

17. The draft is in the writing of George Lewis.

Whither they are destined, or what they had on board remains to be known. If possessing Hudson's River, should not be Genl. Howe's first object, I should suppose his Operations will be against Philadelphia, and that this Fleet, if they have troops on Board, are bound into the Delaware Bay.

Tho' my opinion is as above, yet I would take the liberty of Suggesting, that it may be expedient to put your Militia upon the most respectable footing, that Circumstances will admit, lest their destination should be more Southern. At the same time that I mention this, I would advise, that they should be immediately supplied with Ammunition, or that it be so deposited in the hands of the Several Committees, or other proper persons, that it may be had upon the most sudden emergency. The former would be by far the most eligible mode, if they would keep it for the purposes for which it was given.

Should this Fleet arrive on your Coast, and the Enemy attempt to penetrate the Country, or to make incursions, I would recommend, that the earliest opposition be made by parties and Detachments of Militia, without waiting to collect a large Body. I am convinced this will be attended with the most Salutary consequences, and greater advantages will be derived from it, than by deferring the opposition, till you Assemble a Number equal to that of the Enemy: by pursuing this mode they will be much annoyed, and will receive an early impression of the unfavorable disposition of the People towards them.

Besides, they will not have the same opportunity of establishing themselves, as they otherwise would; and it may be added, that Militia acting in large Bodies for want of Discipline, are unweildy,

difficult to conduct, and less apt to render proportionate Services. These hints, I have taken the liberty to suggest and submit to you, as worthy of attention.

In the course of this week, 18 Transports have arrived at York with Troops, supposed to be Foreign, from their Uniform. Whether they are immediately from Germany, or those who were in Canada, is a matter of Conjecture. Some have imagined the Latter would be called to reinforce Genl. Howe. I have the honor to be &c.

P.S. I must beg your attention to my Letter on the Subject of filling your Regiments. It is a matter of the last importance, and their present weak State does not furnish by any means the Quota assign'd you. I trust, and am persuaded, no exertions will be omitted to effect this Salutary and desirable event.³⁵

To JONATHAN BRYAN⁶⁰

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, June 2, 1777.

Sir: I am honored with yours of the 24th of Febry. last, by Colo. White who arrived here two days ago.

35. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

60. Vice President of Georgia.

Your request to me to grant permission to Colo. White to recruit in the Northern States, is what I have not the least right to comply with. If a liberty of that kind is allowed, it must be by the particular indulgence of the States, for they have already had their full Quota of Men assessed by Congress. And a recommendation for this Liberty goes properly from Congress and not from Sir, Your etc.⁶¹

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

To APOLLOS MORRIS

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, June 6, 1777.

Sir:

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

71. Maj. Henry Emmanuel Lutterloh.

72. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

I am favored with yours of the 26th and 29th May, from both of which it is evident to me, that you have at length determined upon the part which you are to take in this great dispute. I will not argue with you upon the propriety of your conduct; but I cannot help saying, that I think it very odd, that after being denied an Answer to your political Queries, which appears from Mr. Allen's Letter to you of the 2d April, you should upon the bare assertion, or rather opinion, of that Gentleman, expressed in his Letter of the 8th May,⁹⁴ conclude that Matters between this Country and Great Britain might have been adjusted, had any terms, Short of Independence, been insisted upon. I must tell you, in plain terms, that, at this time, a neutral Character is looked upon as a Suspicious one; and I would, therefore, advise you to leave a Country, with a Majority of whom you cannot agree in Sentiment, and who are determined to assert their Liberties, by the ways and means, which necessity, and not the love of War, has obliged them to adopt.

I thank you for your expressions of personal regard, and am, etc.⁹⁵

To JAMES LOVELL⁹⁶

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, June 6, 1777.

Sir:

94. Allen's letter, dated May 8, 1777, is in the *Washington Papers*.

95. The draft is in the writing of TenchTilghman.

96. Lovell was chairman of the Committee on Foreign Applications, Continental Congress.

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, 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

To LEWIS MORRIS³⁸

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, June 12, 1777.

Sir: Your favor of the 1st Inst. has been duly received. At this time, there unhappily subsists a dispute, between General Howe and myself respecting Prisoners and a proposition is now before him, which, if come into, will adjust it. Capt. Maxwell's exchange, in whose behalf you interest

yourself, must depend upon that line, which is adopted in Similar instances. Genl Howe has the Matter now under consideration, and if our

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.

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

38. Member of the Continental Congress and Signer of the Declaration of Independence. In 1777 he was also a judge of Westchester County, N.Y.

differences are accomodated, his Releasement will immediately follow. It is possible we shall know the Generals determination before long, when you will have an oppportunity of informing him more fully upon the Subject of his request. I am etc.³⁹

To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, June 23, 1777.

Sir: I have had the honor to receive your Letter of the 12th Inst.

Permit me to assure you Sir, that it would give me great pleasure to comply with your request for Field pieces, were it in my Power, but it is not. We have not Sufficient for the Army. General Schuyler applied for twelve, by a late Letter, for his department, which cannot be furnished. Our Number is so small, that we do not think it expedient to appoint more than two to each of our Brigades. We are obliged to keep some reserve in case of misfortunes.

Your exertions to compleat your Quota of Troops oblige me much and I am happy to hear they are likely to be attended with so much Success.

In respect to the Exchanging the Prisoners, taken

39. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

in the Danbury expedition, as the Action was chiefly with Militia, It seems to fall with more propriety under your direction. I am content that you should make a proposition of the Sort, if it be agreeable to Genl. Howe and that the exchange should take place, if he will accede to it. At present, I and he are in dispute upon the Subject of the Agreement between us, and I could not make the proposition, with any degree of propriety.

On Saturday night and Yesterday Morning, Genl. Howe and his Army evacuated Brunswick. Our advices of their intention unhappily were too late for us, to make such dispositions to annoy them as we wished. They had conveyed away their whole Baggage and were clear of all incumbrances. General Greene commanded the Brigades particularly detached on this Service, but before they could get up, the Enemy retreated. Genl. Wayne's only arrived in Time on the ground and behaved in a Manner that does them great honor. They formed and advanced on the Enemy, Colo. Morgan and his Corps of Light Troops, composed of Rifle Men, distinguished themselves greatly and hanging on the Flank of the Enemy, did them a good deal of Damage. They are now within their Lines at Amboy. What their next operations and movements will be I cannot determine. I should have been more particular upon the Subject, had not the urgency of Mr. Trumbull's business, by whom this goes, required his departure. I have the Honor to be &c.

P.S. Yours of the 9th has been also received. General Putnam informs me he has ordered payment for the Militia mentioned therein.¹⁷

To THE PRESIDENT OF THE MASSACHUSETTS COUNCIL

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, June 23, 1777.

Sir: The Cloathier General informs me, that in a prize lately brought into Salem, among other goods fit for the Army, are 4000. Blankets, an Article exceedingly wanted by the Troops. He has therefore ordered Messrs. Livingston & Turnbull to purchase the whole for Public use, and desires me to beg

your Assistance in preventing the interference of any other *Body* in the purchase. I conceive you will readily grant this request when you are assured that the goods will be delivered out to those Continental Troops who are most in want of them, without distinction or partiality to any particular State. I have the honor etc.¹⁴

To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL

Head Quarters, Camp at Middle Brook, July 2, 1777.

Sir:

17. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison and Alexander Hamilton.

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

I had last Night the honor of your letter of the 27th June. The proposition which relates to the Exchange of the Gentlemen you mention, is intirely agreeable to me, as they are now intitled to a releasement, from the time of their captivity; and fall within the rule of Exchange, I have prescribed myself, which is that of liberating those first, who were first taken.

I am sorry it is not in my power to comply with your request for Arms. Notwithstanding the many arrivals, there is scarcely a Sufficiency to Supply the demands for the Continental Troops. What has become of them, I am unable to conceive. Every State complains of a deficiency, and great part of their Several quotas comes into the field very indifferently furnished, and yet the public Magazines are nearly exhausted. The importations, from time to time, far exceed the number of Continental Troops raised to make use of them. These have not, and could not have, been all put into their hands; and yet there are very few of them now to be found undisposed of. If they are not many of them in possession of the Militia, it is impossible to imagine where they are; as a very inconsiderable part of them has fallen into the hands of the Enemy. The fluctuating State of the Army, and the irregular manner in which the Militia usually left the Camp, rendered it impracticable to withdraw the Arms intrusted to them, at their coming out; and gave them a fair

opportunity of appropriating them to themselves, which every reason obliges me to believe, they did

not fail to improve. It appears to me highly probable, that upon a careful Scrutiny, many individuals will be found in possession of more, than their own use requires, and the Surplus will fully answer the purpose you have in view.

It is painful to me to refuse any request of yours; but when, from the want of being fully acquainted with all circumstances, it happens to interfere with the general good, I am convinced it is your wish I should give the preference to that. You will be easily Sensible, Sir, that it would be improper intirely to drain the public Arsenals, or to straiten the Continental Army, in order to accomodate the Militia. In case of emergency, it will be much more easy to draw them thence and put them into the hands of the Inhabitants, than, if they were once distributed to them, and should be wanted for the Continental troops, they could be recovered from them to answer the call. Should your State be seriously invaded and your Militia unarmed, you cannot doubt they would be Supplied with every mean of defence in the power of the public, and that any Arms in Store, not immediately wanted for the Army, would be given to those who were disposed to make use of them. But when Continenal Arms are wanted for Continental troops, it cannot be expected that these should remain unsupplied, and those Arms be dedicated to another purpose. They cannot in any case, or, at any time be so useful as in their hands.

Since my last, the Enemy, disappointed in their attempt upon our right, have made an experiment upon our left; and frustrated in that also, have now abandoned the Jersey's; and encamped upon Staten Island. There is a great Stir among their Shipping; and in all probability, there next Movement will be by water, though it is impossible to decide with certainty to what Place. But I last night received intelligence from Genl Schuyler, that General Burgoyne is beginning to operate against Ticonderoga and its dependencies. If it is not merely a diversion, but a Serious attack, of which it bears Strongly the appearance, it is certain proof, that the next Step of General Howe's Army will be towards Peekskill, and that very suddenly, if Possible to get possession of the passes in the Highlands, before this Army can have time to form a junction with the Troops already there.

To guard against Contingencies, I have ordered Genl. Parsons's and General Varnum's Brigades, to March off with all dispatch towards Peekskill; and when they are arrived at or near that Post, a reinforcement of four of the Strongest Massachusetts Regiments will proceed thence immediately to Albany on their way to Ticonderoga. I have also urged Genl. Clinton, without loss of time, to call out a respectable body of the New York Militia, to join General Putnam. I have the fullest confidence that you will do every thing you can, to Second my endeavours, by forwarding as fast as possible, the remaining troops of your State or whatever else maybe in your power. Our greatest exertions will be requisite to Counteract the Enemy in their first attempts, on which their Success chiefly depends. I have the honor to be etc.

P.S. Whenever you execute any exchanges, you will be pleased to inform Mr. Boudinott,⁵⁷ without which he never can know the State of his department.

On a Second view, I must beg you will postpone the proposed posed exchange, till you hear from Mr. Boudinott who is Commissary Genl. of Prisoners, to whom I will communicate your proposal, and who I doubt not will do what you wish. But as he is appointed for the purpose of arranging and disposing every thing relating to the exchange of Prisoners, any interference with his department will tend to throw it into Confusion and defeat the end of establishing it.⁵⁸

Morris Town, July 4th.

The Army marched yesterday for this Place; where it will be more conveniently Situated for Succouring Peekskill, or the Eastern States, and will be near enough to oppose any design upon Philadelphia. General Sullivan is further advanced towards Peekskill.⁵⁹

To GOVERNOR JOHN RUTLEDGE

Head Quarters, Morris Town, July 5, 1777.

Sir:

57. Elias Boudinot.

58. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

59. Ford prints this July 4 postscript as a footnote.

A few days since, I had the honor of your Letter of May 5th. in which you refer me to General Howe for an explanation of the reasons, for declining the attempt upon St Augustine, recommended by me.

I meant nothing more than to propose it for consideration, and that you and the General, who would be fully acquainted with all circumstances, Should judge of the propriety, and adopt, or reject, it, as you thought most expedient. The reasons for not undertaking it, appear to me intirely Solid and Satisfactory; and I am satisfied, that, had it been practicable, your best endeavours would not have been wanting, to forward and give it Success.

The Enemy, after manœuvring a while in the Jerseys, have at last abandoned it, and are now encamped upon Staten Island. Their preparations, during the Winter, indicated a design upon Philadelphia; but it would have been too hazardous to have attempted passing the Delaware, unless they could first have given a blow to this Army. They could not but expect some opposition in front, and so formidable a force hanging upon their rear, unchecked and in full Spirits, would probably have made them repent the enterprize. They were Sensible of this, and all their movements were apparently calculated to draw us to an engagement with them, on terms that would give them a prospect of defeating us; which, if they could have effected, even in part, would have facilitated their project against

Philadelphia. But finding we kept ourselves advantageously posted, and that they would be obliged to fight us, if they did it at all, on a very unequal footing; they Seem to have relinquished their purpose and to be on some different plan. We took every Opportunity of Skirmishing with them,

and, from various accounts, we have reason to believe, to very good effect, and with little loss to ourselves.

By the Motions among their Shipping, they appear to be preparing for some expedition by water; it is impossible to determine with precision where. We have lately received intelligence, from General Schuyler that the enemy are beginning to operate against Ticonderoga. If this proves to be any thing more than a diversion, there is no doubt, General Howe will proceed up Hudsons River; for if they have any rational end in view, it must be a junction of the two Armies, to intercept the Communication between the Eastern and Southern States, and will make it necessary for Howe and Carleton to cooperate. But this may be nothing more than a diversion, to keep a large Body of our forces in that Quarter, while their Troops, except a Sufficient number to Garrison the Place, are coming round by Water to join their Main Army under General Howe. Our Situation is truly delicate and perplexing, and makes us Sensibly feel now, as we have often done before, the great advantage they derive from their Navy. But we are doing the best we can in our circumstances,

and keep in Sight the different objects to which they may direct their attention. As the information from the Northward was such as merited notice, I have sent a reinforcement thither from Peekskill; and have dispatched a couple of Brigades hence to that Post. We have also moved the whole Army, to a position more convenient for throwing Speedy Succours over the North River, than the one we lately occupied, and at the same time Sufficiently near to Philadelphia, to oppose any attempt of the Enemy to possess themselves of that City.

With great respect and Esteem, I have the honor to be etc.⁷⁶

To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL

Head Quarters, Morris Town, July 7, 1777.

Sir: I had the honor of writing to you the 2d Inst., with a postscript of the 4th. I there informed you of the Enemy having evacuated the Jerseys, and of the intelligence received from Ticonderoga that induced me to suppose it highly probable, the next operation of General Howe would be up the

North River. But as I have received no information Since the first, of the 26th. of last Month, to confirm the expectation of a serious attempt in that quarter, I am led very much to Suspect that the hostile

76. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

appearances there may be only a diversion, to keep alive our apprehensions for the Security of those posts, prevent our drawing off any part of our forces from thence, and even occasion us to weaken ourselves here, by sending reinforcements to them; while the real design may be to attack elsewhere. This supposition is agreeable to the accounts we daily receive from deserters and others who come from the enemy. We are told by them that accomodations for Horses are fitting up in the transports; that they are taking in large Supplies of Provisions, water and provender Sufficient for a Voyage of several weeks; and that Officers baggage is continually transporting on Board of them from New York, marked with their Names and the Corps they belong to. These representations, if true, denote an Expedition that would take longer time than would be necessary for one up the North River. But where, is all matter of conjecture, and cannot be determined with any degree of certainty. Prudence dictates, that we should be as much upon our guard, as possible every where; and on this Account I have thought it my duty to communicate to you the information I have received, that in case any thing should be meditated against the Eastern States; you may not be taken by surprize, but may have warning to put matters in the best situation you can, to give them a proper reception. On my part, no Vigilance, nor exertions Shall be wanting, to ascertain their intentions, and give effectual Assistance wherever they may

direct their efforts.

Since my last I have received advices from the Southward, that the Public Magazines there are intirely emptied of Arms; and that the Troops now coming on will be destitute, unless they can be Supplied out of those imported to the Eastward. This will oblige me, to order most of the Arms at Springfield to be sent forward, to furnish those Troops. It is a matter of equal concern and surprize, to hear Such loud complaints in the Eastern States for want of Arms, when we consider

the quantities brought in to them both on public and private Account; which their Situation enabled them to receive, in much greater proportion than the other States; and the arrivals of which have been announced in all the Public Papers, as well as in private and official Letters. How they have been applied it is impossible for me to conceive.

In case of an actual Invasion of your State, Should such an event take Place, and should there be a necessity for it, towards furnishing your Militia, you may draw out of the Magazine of Springfield, a thousand Arms for that purpose, if there be any remaining, after the Quantity I shall be obliged to call for, is Supplied. This you will be pleased to consider as a loan, not a Sale, and to be replaced to the Continent as Soon as Circumstances will permit. By the inclosed I have instructed the Commissary of Stores to deliver them. I am with due respect &c.⁸⁷

P.S. The enclosed information came to hand since writing the above. The other letters you will be pleased to forward, as directed, with all despatch. They are inclined to put the other Eastern States upon their guard also.⁸⁸

87. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

88. The P.S. is printed by Ford, but does not appear in the draft.

CIRCULAR TO THE GOVERNORS OF MASSACHUSETTES , NEW HAMPSHIRE, AND RHODE ISLAND

Morris Town, July 7, 1777.

Sir: I make no doubt, but, before this, you will have heard that the Enemy have evacuated Jersey. This information I should have done myself the pleasure of transmitting you by the first Opportunity after the event; had not my attention been employed in making a new disposition of the Army, and had I apprehended it materially interesting, that it should have come immediately from myself.

When General Howe withdrew his forces from this State and went to Staten Island, from the intelligence received, at that time, from Genl. St Clair at Ticonderoga, that the Canada Army were on the Lake and approaching that Post, and from every other Circumstance, It appeared extremely probable, nay almost certain, to me and to all the General and other Officers possessed of the Facts; That General Howe's first and immediate movement would be up the North River, and that the two Armies meant to co-operate and favor each other's attack. This, I say, *was* my opinion and that of my Officers, at that time, from a full Consideration of the intelligence we then had. But, I confess, however Satisfied I was then upon this Subject, I am now in extreme doubt respecting his intended operations. Having heard nothing from

Ticonderoga since the 26 Ulto.; nor any further Accounts of the Enemy's approach; we are left to conjecture whether their appearance on the Lake was with a view to a real and Serious attack, or whether to amuse and draw our attention that way, while a Stroke is meditating against some other place. This uncertainty is rendered considerably greater, by the concurrent accounts of Deserters, who have escaped from New York and Staten Island in the Course of a few days past. From their information and a variety of Circumstances, such as, that births are fitting up for the Light Horse on Board the Transports,—Provender taken in and providing for three or four Weeks,—The embarkation of the Officers' Baggage with their names and Corps indorsed on. The Ships watering &c; It would seem more probable that Genl. Howe has in contemplation some other object, than the North River. Whether he has, or what it is, however, is yet entirely unknown to us. I have thought it my duty, nevertheless, to give you this information; that, if he should once more turn his Arms against the Eastern States, you may not be taken by Surprise, and that matters may be put in the best train, circumstances will admit, to receive him. On my part, no exertions in my power shall be wanting, to counteract his plans, wheresoever they are directed, and to render every Service, compatible with our General line of defence and the interest of the States at large. I have the honor
&ca.⁸²

82. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The letter sent to the Governor of New Hampshire is in the New Hampshire Historical Society and is in the writing of John Fitzgerald.

To PRESIDENT THOMAS WHARTON, JUNIOR, AND THE PENNSYLVANIA COUNCIL

Head Quarters, Morris Town, July 9, 1777.

Gentn.: I find accurate Draughts or Maps of the Country which is or may be the Seat of War, so essentially necessary, that I must beg leave to recommend such a Measure with all possible Expedition, so far as regards the Shores of the Delaware, where the Enemy may probably land and March.

When the Enemy have once possessed themselves of any part of the Country, every Attempt to delineate it becomes difficult, if not wholly impracticable; the Propriety therefore of doing it with all possible advantage, I trust will be too obvious to your Honorable Board, to make it necessary for me to press it farther.

In the execution of this Work I could wish the Eminences, Distances of Places, Woods, Streams of Water, Marshy places and passes may be particularly noted. And that it be done on as large a Scale as is tolerably convenient. I am etc.⁹⁴

94. On July 25 Washington was “empowered to appoint Mr. Robert Erskine, or any other person that he may think proper, geographer and surveyor of the roads, to take sketches of the country, the seat of war, and to have the procuring, governing and paying the guides employed under him; the General to affix the pay of the said geographer, &c. and the allowance that shall be made to the guides.” (See *Journals of the Continental Congress*.)

P.S. I scarcely think it necessary to suggest, Secrecy and Caution in the Execution of this Work, as its Value and importance must very much depend, not only on the Ability but the Fidelity of those to whom it is intrusted.⁹⁵

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Pompton Plains, July 12, 1777.

Sir: I am honored with your favor of Yesterday, and observe what you say respecting the Discharge of the Militia now Stationed at Newark; which, provided you think the Situation of things on Staten Island, will warrant such a procedure, I have not the least objection to, which I have already mentioned to Colo Cortlandt. I would mention to you, that as soon as Genl. Howe's movements will fully satisfy me of his intentions, I shall be under the necessity of calling off the two Continental Regiments now in that Neighbourhood, and therefore wish you would deliberate upon proper Measures for the Security of those parts, as some of the Enemy's troops will most assuredly be left on Staten Island.

The complexion of things to the Northward and preparations lately made by General Howe, leave little room to doubt that their Intentions are to form a Junction up the North River. I have therefore thought proper to March that way, that I may be able to throw immediate assistance over to Genl. Putnam,

95. The copy is in the writing of Joseph Reed.

as the great advantages they may have over us by Water carriage, renders it necessary that we should be before hand with them.

I have lately received information from two deserters of Barton's¹³ Regiment, that William Myers and James Bartron of said Regiment, are now up in Sussex County enlisting Men for that Service; I request the favor of you to have this Matter inquired into, and proper Measures taken in case of a Discovery, as an Example of this Nature, I think would have a very happy effect.

I duly received your favor of the 18th Ulto. respecting a Mr. Wetherby, and upon enquiry find, that he has been this long time dismissed from our Service for bad behaviour. Colo Forman says he is of opinion that any Men he may have enlisted since, were for the Enemy, as he has been in Irons on that Account. I am &c.¹⁴

To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL

Headquarters at the Clove, July 17, 1777.

Sir: I have the honor of yours of the 14th with its inclosures. I had sometime before receiv'd the account of the Evacuation of Tyconderoga, but upon what Grounds or for what reasons this sudden Resolution was taken I have not yet learnt. I have not heard from General Schuyler since the 10th., he was then at Fort

13. Lieut. Col. Joseph Barton, of Sussex County, N. J. He was agent for the Proprietors of East Jersey and a member of the New Jersey Legislature in 1775; joined the British at Hackensack, in November, 1776, and recruited a loyalist regiment known as the Fifth Battalion, New Jersey Volunteers. Barton's claim against the Crown for damages is printed in the *Proceedings of the Loyalist Commissioners* in the Second Report of the Bureau of Archives of Ontario, 1904, vol. 1, p. 600, *et seq.*

14. The draft is in the writing of John Fitzgerald.

Edward, and expected that General St. Clair, who was at Bedford with the Troops that he brought off, would join him in a few days. I am in hopes, by my not hearing from General Schuyler since the 10th, that General Burgoyne has not followed his success with much rapidity. I have sent up such a reinforcement of Men and Artillery as I could spare, and I am not without hopes, that when the Army in that Quarter Collects again, and have taken breath, after their late Confusion; that they [with the Assistance of the Militia] will be able to check Burgoyne in a Country which I am informed is very strong by Nature.

The capture of General Prescott was a bold enterprize and will give us an Opportunity of making a demand of the Releasement of General Lee, in such a manner, that I think General Howe cannot, with honor, refuse to comply. Until I know General Howe's determination upon this matter, I would not have General Prescott sent forward. I would have him genteely accomodated, but strongly guarded. I would not admit him to Parole, as Genl. Howe has not thought proper to grant Genl. Lee

that indulgence. I have just received a Letter from General Parsons, in which he informs me, that he understands General Prescott is to be sent to Windham, which he says is by no means a place of Safety, as it would be easy for him to effect an Escape to long Island, by means of the disaffected; I therefore beg he may be removed further from the Sound, and into some place where the people are generally well affected. A Vigilant Officer should be sent with him, whose constant care

he should remain under; for by shifting of guards, it is more than probable, that some inattentive person might give him an Opportunity of making his Escape.

I am in hopes, if Genl Lee's exchange is acceded to, that a general exchange of Prisoners may be brought about, as the former treatment of that Gentleman, was one principal bar to its being carried into execution before. I am &ca.⁵⁸

To ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON

Camp at the Clove, July 18, 1777.

Dr. Sir: Your Letter of the 16th I received to day. Tho' I am and shall always be happy in your favors; I feel with you but too sensibly, the cause giving rise to our present intercourse. But we must look forward to more fortunate events. The evacuation of our Posts on the Lake has taken place, and cannot be recalled.

Agreeable to the Idea you have so obligingly hinted to me, I have written to the Brigadiers in the Western parts of Massachusetts and New Hampshire States, urging them by every motive of prudence and a regard to their own particular security, to step forth, at this critical and interesting conjuncture, with such aids as may be in their power to give, for repelling our Common Enemy. I should hope, from the

58. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman. The phrase in brackets is in the writing of Washington.

apparent necessity there is for Succour at this time, that they will not be backward in affording all the means they may possess, for checking Mr. Burgoyne's progress. The General interest of America, requires their exertions and their own preservation demands them in a peculiar Manner. Knowing Genl Arnold to be an Officer of Judgement, bravery and Enterprize, I have prevailed on him to repair to the Northern Department, to assist in the opposition. Under his more immediate command, I trust the Militia who come out, will render important Services. The Letters for the Brigadiers, I have taken the Liberty to trouble you with and must request, that after sealing, you will direct and forward it to the one most Contiguous with a requisition, that it may be sent to the nearest in the other State, from whence the Aid is solicited. I would not have imposed this difficulty upon you, had I known where and to whom to have transmitted the Letter. This I am persuaded and the urgency of the occasion, will be considered a sufficient apology. I am etc.⁷⁵

To THE NEW YORK COUNCIL OF SAFETY

Head Quarters, in the Clove, July 22, 1777.

Gentn.:

75. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

I am informed by Genl. George Clinton, that you have vested him with Powers to call out the Militia of the Counties of Ulster, Orange, Dutchess and Westchester until the 1st August, at which time the New Legislature of the State is Summoned to meet.

As it will probably be some time before the Wheels of the New Government can be put in Motion, I am fearful, that unless this Power is extended to a further time, there will be a vacancy between Genl. Clinton's present Commission, and the enacting new Laws by the Legislature. A circumstance, which at this time may prove most fatal in its consequences, because from the present appearance of Matters, the Enemy are upon the point of making some capital move. I could therefore wish, if it can be done with propriety, that before your Board is dissolved, you would

extend this power of calling out the Militia to Genl. Clinton, or some other person, till such time as you may reasonably expect the New Legislature will have met and proceeded regularly to Business.

I mention Genl. Clinton or some other person; because, as he will enter into his Office of Governor of the State upon the 1st. of August, he cannot probably attend to the Business of calling the Militia.

If you are of opinion that he can, I would prefer him to any other. I have the honor to be, etc.⁹⁹

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

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Camp at Ramapough, July 25, 1777.

Sir: If the Fleet that has lately Sailed is destined for Delaware it will be as necessary for the Militia of Burlington, Gloucester, Salem and Cape May to be assembled, as those of Pennsylvania; and I could therefore wish, that orders might be given, for such a proportion, as are usually called out upon Alarms, to Assemble immediately at Gloucester. A very few days must determine, whether they are to remain in Service or to be dismissed. I propose leaving Colo. Daytons and Ogden's Regts. at Elizabeth Town and that Quarter for the present; but Should there be a necessity of their joining the Main Body of the Army, their Posts can only be occupied by Militia; and as I think Such an event may probably happen, you had better make provision in time, by ordering a Number Competent to that purpose. I have the honor to be &c.

P. S. The Regiments at Elizabeth Town will move, either Northward or Southward, the Moment we learn which way the Fleet has gone. this must be determined in a day or two and therefore the Militia that are to replace them, cannot be ordered too soon.²⁴

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

To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL

Coryell's Ferry on Delaware, July 31, 1777.

Sir: I was just now honored with your Letter of the 25th Inst. The evacuation of Tyconderoga and Mount Independence, is an event so interesting and so unexpected, that I do not wonder it should produce in the Minds of the People, at least the well attached, the Effects you mention. I am fully in Sentiment with you, that the cause, leading to this unhappy Measure, should be fully and Minutely examined. Public justice, on the one hand, demands it, if it was not the result of prudence and necessity; and, on the other, the reputation of the Officers concerned, if they are not blame worthy. Had not Congress considered that as a Seperate department, appointed the Officers in some instances to that Command themselves, and been fully possessed of all the facts respecting the event that I am; I should not have doubted a Single moment about directing an inquiry. These Matters, I say, have laid me under some doubts as to the line I should pursue; but I am persuaded an examination will be ordered in a few days, either by the Congress or myself, when I hope the Subject will be properly discussed, and *that* done which is right.

As to sending Continental Troops from Peekskill, no more can be detached from thence to the Northern Army, than

what are already gone. Two Brigades (Nixon's and Glover's) have been ordered from thence to their Aid; more than were ever intended in the arrangement of our Forces. Not a Man more can go, as all the Troops (I mean Continental) at that post, except two thousand, are called to join this Army. For I am to inform you that Genl. Howe's Object and Operations no longer remain a Secret. At half after nine O'Clock this Morning, I received an Express from Congress, advising that the Enemy's Fleet, consisting of 228 Sail, were at the Capes of Delaware yesterday in the forenoon. This being the case, there can be no doubt but he will make a vigorous push to possess Philadelphia, and we should collect all the force we can to oppose him.

Fearing, from report and from the event itself, (the abandonment of the Northern Posts) that distrust, Jealousy, and Suspicion of the Conduct of the Officers might arise in the Militia, and that degree of Confidence in them wanted, which would be necessary to Success, and to give a

more promising aspect to our affairs in that Quarter, I sent Genls. Lincoln and Arnold to assist in that Command. These two Gentlemen are esteemed good Officers and, I think very deservedly. I am persuaded, nothing, that their judgements shall direct, will be omitted to stop the Progress of General Burgoyne's Arms, as far as in them lies—and, I am equally Sure, their personal exertions and Bravery will not be wanting in any instance. Their presence, I trust, will remove every Ground of diffidence and backwardness in the Militia, and that they will go on

when and where their Services are demanded, with a Spirit and Resolution becoming Freemen and the Sacred Cause in which they are engaged. As the Troops are on their March from hence, I shall not add more, than I have the most intire Confidence in your exertions upon every occasion to advance the Common Interest; and that I have the Honor etc.⁶⁵

To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Chester, August 1, 1777.

Dear Sir: I had proceeded thus far in order to look out for a proper place to arrange the Army, when I received the provoking account that the Enemy's Fleet left the Capes of Delaware Yesterday and Steered Eastward again. I shall return again, with the utmost expedition, to the North River; but as a sudden Stroke is certainly intended by this Manoeuvre, I beg you will immediately call in every Man of the Militia, that you possibly can to Strengthen the Highland Posts. The importance of Fort Montgomery is such, that I wish you to repair immediately to it, if you possibly can, consistent with the duties of the Office upon which you newly entered. I am etc.

P.S. A party must be still kept to secure the Entrance of the Clove.⁸

65. The draft is in the writing of Teach Tilghman.

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

CIRCULAR TO THE STATES¹⁷

Philadelphia, August 4, 1777.

Sir: The great expence and loss of time, that has attended the Recruiting Service in most of the States, and the little advantage derived from it, has induced Congress to recommend the Executive Powers of each, to adopt certain New Regulations, for promoting this important and essential business, and for taking it intirely out of the hands of the Officers of the Army. The Resolve on this subject, and the regulations recommended, passed on the 31st Ulto. and will, I presume, be transmitted you by the President.¹⁸

I will not urge the expediency of carrying this proceeding into immediate execution; I shall only observe the Necessity is obvious, and that it demands our most active attention. The principal cause of my troubling you at this time, is, to request that, after the persons recommended are appointed in your State, you will be pleased to transmit me their names, their Places of residence, and those designed for the Rendezvous of Recruits and Deserters. As soon as I am advised upon these subjects, I shall recall all the Officers, who are recruiting, and order them forthwith to join their respective Corps. Before I conclude, I would beg leave to mention, that the Success of this interesting Business, in all its parts, will depend

17. Sent to the Governors or Legislatures of Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire.

18. The plan recommended by Congress was that each State should be divided into districts, a proper person appointed to raise recruits in each district, and all to be under the direction of the State. Security was to be given by each agent for a faithful discharge of his duty, and he was to receive \$8 for every able-bodied recruit he should enlist for three years or during the war. The same agent was empowered to take up deserters and allowed \$5 for every deserter so taken. The recruits were permitted to join any regiment or company they chose at the time they enlisted if such regiment or company was not already full, and in that case they might choose any other.

Washington was directed to call in all the Continental officers then absent on the recruiting service except such as were necessary to receive recruits and march them to the army. (*See Journals of the Continental Congress*, July 31, 1777.)

much upon a judicious Choice of those who are to be employed in it, and that, I think, the districts should not be too large and extensive. I have the honor etc.¹⁹

To THE NEW YORK COUNCIL OF SAFETY

Head Quarters, Philadelphia, August 4, 1777.

Sir: I have been duly honored by your several favors of the

19. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

25th, 27th and 30th of July.

The Misfortune at Ticonderoga, has given a very disagreeable turn to our affairs, and has thrown a gloom upon the happy prospect, which the Campaign, previous to that event, afforded. But I am in great hopes, the ill consequences of it will not continue long to operate; and that the jealousies and alarms, which so sudden and unexpected an event, has produced in the minds of the People, both of your State and to the Eastward, will soon Subside and give Place to the more rational dictates of self-preservation, and a regard to the common good. In fact, the worst effect of that event, is, that it has Served to produce those distrusts and apprehensions; for, if the Matter were coolly and dispassionately considered, there would be found nothing so formidable in Mr. Burgoyne and the force under him, with all his Successes, as to countenance the least degree of despondency; and experience would shew, that even moderate exertions of the States, more immediately interested, would be Sufficient, to check his career, and, perhaps, convert the advantages he has gained, into his ruin. But, while people continue to view what has happened, through the Medium of Suspicion and fear, there is no saying, to what length an enterprising man may push his good fortune. I have the fullest confidence that no endeavours of the Council will be wanted, to bring your State, (with

the distresses of which I am deeply affected) to every effort it is capable of making, in its present mutilated Situation; and, they may rely upon it, no means in my Power Shall be unemployed, to cooperate

with them, in the danger that presses upon the State, and, through it, threatens the Continent. If I do not give as effectual Aid as I could wish, to the Northern Army, it is not for want of inclination, nor from being too little impressed with the importance of doing it; It is because the State of affairs in this Quarter will not possibly admit of it. It would be the height of impolicy, to weaken ourselves too much here, in order to increase our Strength there; and it must certainly be considered more difficult, as well as of greater moment, to controul the main Army of the Enemy, than an inferior and, I may say, dependent one; for it is pretty obvious, that if Genl. Howe can be completely kept at bay, and prevented effecting his principal purposes, the Successes of Mr. Burgoyne, whatever they may be, must be partial and temporary.

Nothing that I can do shall be wanting, to rouse the Eastern States and excite them to those exertions, which the exigency of our Affairs so urgently demands. I lament, that they have not yet done more; that so few of their Militia have come into the field, and that those few have behaved so inconsistent with the duty they owe their Country, at this critical period. But I have, nevertheless, great reliance upon those States, I know they are capable of powerful efforts, and that their attachment to the cause, notwithstanding they may be a little tardy, will not allow them long to withhold their aid, at a time when their own Safety, that of a Sister State, and in a great measure the Safety of the Continent calls for their greatest zeal and activity.

I flatter myself, the presence of Generals Lincoln and Arnold, in the Northern Department, will have a happy effect upon them. Those Gentlemen men possess much of their Confidence, particularly the former, than whom there is, perhaps, no man from the State of Massachusetts who enjoys more universal esteem and popularity; and, in addition to that, they may both be considered, as very valuable Officers.

You intimate a wish, that some Assistance could be drawn from the Southern States at this time. But, while things remain in their present posture, and appearances, however illusory they may prove, afford the Strongest reason to keep their force at home, to counteract the Seeming intentions of General Howe, I could neither ask nor expect them, to detach any part of it to the Succour of the Northern States, who are so well able to defend themselves, against the force they now have to oppose.

I hope an exaggerated Idea of the Enemy's force may have no injurious influence on our measures. There is no circumstance I am acquainted with, that induces me to believe General Burgoyne can have more than Six or Seven thousand men;²¹ and, if the force left in Canada is so considerable, as the information you send me makes it, he cannot have even so many. The representations of Prisoners and deserters, in this respect, are of little validity; their knowledge is always very limited, and their intention, particularly the former, is very often bad. Beyond what regards the State of their own Companys, no attention is due to what they say. The number of Regiments your informant mentions, agrees

21. Channing (*History of the United States*, vol. 3, p. 257) states that Burgoyne's force was 6,840 foot and 357 artillerymen. This included the Brunswickers.

with other Accounts, but in the number of men in each Company he gives the establishment, not, I am persuaded, the actual State. The British Army in Canada last Campaign, though they Suffered little by action, must have decreased materially by Sickness and other Casualties; and, if the recruits, both from England and Germany, bore any proportion to those which have reinforced General Howe, the State of their Regiments must be greatly inferior to what your information Supposes. Reasoning by analogy, as far as it will apply, I cannot imagine the British regiments can exceed 250 Men each, fit for the field, or that the foreign troops can amount to much more than 3000 Men.

The appointment of General Clinton to the Government of your State, is an event, that, in itself, gives me great pleasure, and very much abates the regret I should otherwise feel for the

loss of his Services in the Military line. That Gentleman's Character is Such, as will make him peculiarly useful at the head of your State, in a Situation so alarming and interesting, as it at present experiences. For the future, agreeably to your desire, I shall direct my applications to him. I have the honor &ca.²²

To PRESIDENT THOMAS WHARTON, JUNIOR

Camp near Germantown, August 9, 1777.

Sir:

22. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

I am this moment favor'd with your Letter of yesterday, covering a Complaint of William McIlvaine Esqr. against Major or Captain Sims.⁶⁵ The Corps to which he belongs is at present in Trenton. I shall take the first opportunity of having this matter strictly enquired into, and if Sims is found guilty of the charge, he shall make such satisfaction, as Mr. McIlvaine will deem sufficient, or (in case of his refusing so to do) he shall become amenable to the Powers of Civil Law in such Manner as it directs. I have the honor etc.⁶⁶

To WILLIAM SEVER⁸⁰

Camp near Germantown, August 10, 1777.

Sir: I was honored yesterday with your Letter of the 1st Inst., and at the same time with two from Genl. Heath, the first containing similar advices to those you were pleased to transmit; The Letter of the 2d Instt., giving us further Accounts of the Fleet, and discrediting the Report, as prematurely founded. I can only express my thanks, for your attention in this instance, and assure you, I shall consider myself much obliged, by your advising me by the earliest Opportunity of the arrival or appearance of any Fleet on your Coast, or of any other intelligence that you may

65. Maj. Charles Simms(?), of the Twelfth Virginia Regiment.

66. In the writing of John Fitzgerald. From the collection of Judge E. A. Armstrong, of Princeton, N.J., to whose kindness the editor is indebted.

80. President of the Massachusetts Council.

conceive important and interesting.

Since General Howe left the Capes of Delaware with his fleet, on the Night of Thursday Sennight, we have not obtained any accounts of him, nor can we fix his destination with any certainty or satisfaction, by reasoning on the subject. 'till he sailed from Sandy Hook, I had no doubt in my own mind, but that he would have pushed up the North River, to co-operate with Genl. Burgoyne; his expedition to the Capes of Delaware and departure again without further information of him, have put us all into a state of conjecture, as to the line of Conduct he means to pursue. Whatever it is, I hope, eventually he will be disappointed. I have the honor etc.

P.S. If Genl. Howe should arrive on your Coast and make dispositions for landing, I would recommend, that all Cattle and every Species of Provision, may be removed out of his reach; also all Teams and Carriages to prevent him penetrating the Country, if such be his design. You will readily perceive the propriety of this Measure, and I am persuaded will put it into execution.⁸¹

To ARTEMAS WARD

Neshaminy, Pennsylvania, August 11, 1777.

Sir:

81. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

Under date of Aug. 10, 1777, the following appears in the *Washington Papers*.

“John Tomkins Bill at the Billet, August 10, 1777.

His Excellency General Washington, Dr.

To 9 dinners @ 5/ £2:5

To 1 Bottle wine 20/ 2 lb sugar 3

To 2 quarts Spirit & Brandy 2:10

To hay & Oats 4:18

To Light horse mans & Servants dinners 4:10

To two bouls of toddy & three quarts rum 3:

The calculations were in Pennsylvania currency, with due regard for depreciation

Since I had the Honor of writing to Mr. Sever, yesterday, I received your favor of the 2d Inst. contradicting the intelligence transmitted thro' him, and which had been done before by a letter from Genl. Heath of the same date and purport of yours.

Having written to Mr. Sever upon the Subject of Genl. Howe's departure from the Capes of Delaware and of the uncertainty we are in respecting his designs and operations, I should have had nothing to add on that head, had I not received an express last night from Mr. Hancock, with some information of the Fleet. According to this Account which originated with a Mr. Purnell, a large Fleet of Ships, consisting of upwards of two hundred Sail was Seen off Sinapuxon Bar, in the Afternoon of the 7th. Inst., standing to the Southward with the Wind about Southeast. Sinapuxon lies to the Southward of the State of Delaware and forms an Inlet into Maryland. This is the first information we have had of them since they left Cape May, and I am now as much puzzled about their designs, as I was before; being unable to account, upon any plausible Plan, for General Howe's conduct in this instance or why he should go to the Southward, rather than cooperate with Mr.

Burgoyne. The latter appeared to me so probable and of such importance and still does, that I shall with difficulty give into a contrary belief, till I am obliged by some unequivocal event. If he should operate elsewhere South of Hudsons River, I should Suppose it will be against Philadelphia, for there is no other object of the same importance to

engage his attention. I am etc.⁸⁶

To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Camp, Bucks County, August 13, 1777.

Dear Sir: I this day received your favour of the 9th. Instt. Your vigilance in providing a proper force to oppose the Enemy, and the Alacrity with which the Militia have Assembled afford me great satisfaction; if your Efforts are seasonably and Skilfully seconded by your Eastern Neighbours, we may hope that General Burgoyne will find it equally difficult to make a further progress or to effect a Retreat. You are the best Judge with respect to the length of service to be required from the Militia; however as their assistance is a Resource which must be sparingly employed I would have them detained no longer than is absolutely necessary.

The excuse of Want of Confidence in General Officers, which has hitherto been alledged by the Eastern States, for withholding those Reinforcements from the Northern Army which were expected of them, will be obviated by the presence of Major Genl. Gates.

The Resolves of Congress which relate to the

86. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

Recruiting of the Army will have reached you before this time, and you will have acted in consequence. By a Resolve of the 3d. August, the Commanding Officer of the Northern Department has discretionary power to make Requisitions on the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay,

Connecticut, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, there will be therefore a concurrence of Authority in yourself and Genl. Gates which you will arrange between yourselves. I am etc.⁹³

To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Head Qurs., Camp at Cross Roads, August 16, 1777.

Dr. Sir: Your favor of the 13th. with the inclosed papers are before me.

I wish the accounts of the two Actions near Fort Schuyler had been more clear and intelligible than they are; as more Dependence could then be placed on the Authenticity of the particulars, and a Stronger assurance formed of the advantages, being as fully on our side, as they are there represented. If the loss of some of their most spirited Leaders, which happened on these occasions, do not operate too forcibly on the Minds of the People in that quarter, I should imagine these little Successes might

93. The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

be productive of valuable Consequences. The Indians, we know, are not a very persevering people, but on the Contrary are apt to be discouraged by the most trifling miscarriages; and two Rebuffs like these, would be no inconsiderable inducements with them to abandon the British Troops, and leave them to prosecute the business alone. These little Reverses of Fortune will also have their influence, in abating that confidence, which their former uninterrupted Successes have inspired into the Enemy; and will tend proportionably to revive the drooping Spirits of our Army. I shall be obliged to you when you receive any more explicit intelligence of what has happened, to communicate it to me.

I see with the most Sensible Pleasure the exertions of your State, dismembered as it is, and under every discouragement and disadvantage. I lament that any causes are Sufficiently powerful to prevent that effectual aid from your Eastern Neighbours, which the interest of the Public Cause and the immediate Safety of your particular State so pressingly demand at this time. But though it

is dilatory in coming, I cannot but hope it will Still come before it is too late. I imagine one cause and not the least material of their Delay, is an apprehension of General Howe's Army. It were to be wished his Designs were once reduced to I Certainty this, I should be in hopes, would serve to remove that Inactivity and Indecision, which I believe proceeds in a great measure from Suspense and

Uncertainty. I am however advised, that a Body of New Hampshire Militia, under General Stark had joined General Lincoln at Bennington, and another, of Massachusetts Militia, was partly arrived and the rest arriving at the Same place.¹⁴ A tolerable Body of Men, once collected there, would make Mr. Burgoyne anxious for his rear, oblige him to advance circumspectly, and to leave such Strong Posts behind, as must make his main body very weak, and extremely capable of being repulsed by the force we shall have in front. I should not be very uneasy for the Issue, if I could once see our Northern Army recovered from their present Dejection, and restored to a tolerable degree of Confidence and Animation.

In addition to the two Regiments that are gone from Peekskill, I am forwarding, as fast as possible, to join the Northern Army, Col. Morgan's Corps of Riflemen, amounting to about 500 Men. These are all chosen Men Selected from the Army at large; well acquainted with, the use of Rifles and with that mode of Fighting, which is Necessary to make them a good Counterpoise to the Indians, and have distinguished themselves on a variety of occasions Since the formation of the Corps, in Skirmishes with the Enemy. I expect the most eminent Services from them and I shall be mistaken, if their presence does not go far towards producing a general Desertion among the Savages. I should think it would be well, even before their arrival to begin to circulate these Ideas, with proper Embellishments, throughout the Country, and in the army and to take pains to communicate them to the Enemy. It would

14. Ford quotes Burgoyne's letter of Aug. 20, 1777, to Lord George Germain: "The great bulk of the country is undoubtedly with the Congress, in principle and in zeal; and their measures are executed with a secrecy and dispatch that are not to be equalled. Wherever the king's forces point, militia, to the amount of three or four thousand, assemble in twenty-four hours; they bring with

them their subsistence, &c., and, the alarm over, they return to their farms. The Hampshire Grants in particular, a country unpeopled and almost unknown in the last war, now abounds in the most active and most rebellious race of the continent, and hangs like a gathering storm upon my left.”

not be amiss, among other Things, to magnify Numbers.

I am of opinion of the Council of Safety that your presence to the Northward might have a very happy Influence, and if it were compatible with the many other Calls there are and will be, upon you, I could wish to see you with the Northern Army, at the head of the Militia of your State. I am etc.

From some expressions in a Letter, which I have seen, written by General Lincoln to General Schuyler, I am led to infer it is in contemplation to unite all the Militia and Continental Troops in one body, and make an opposition wholly in front. If this is really the intention, I should think it a very ineligible Plan. An Enemy can always act with more vigor and effort, when they have nothing to apprehend for their Flanks and Rear, than when they have, and, it is one of the most approved and most universally practiced Manœuvres of War, to keep their fears continually awake on these accounts, and, when circumstances permit to be actually in condition to give them Serious Annoyance in those Parts. Independent of the Inconveniences that attend a Situation, where the Rear and Flank are constantly exposed to the insults of light parties which may be at every moment harrassing them; the necessity of never loosing sight of the means of a Secure Retreat, which ought to be the first object of an Officer's Care, must be exceedingly embarrassing, where there is a Force in such a

position as to endanger it. If a respectable Body of Men were to be Stationed on the Grants, it would undoubtedly have the effects intimated above, would render it not a little difficult for Mr. Bourgoigne to keep the necessary Communication open, and they would frequently afford opportunities of intercepting his Convoys. If there Should be none there, he might advance with Security, leaving Small Posts behind, and might draw his Supplies regularly and without Interruption, than which, nothing could tend more to facilitate his operations and give them

Success. These Reasons make it clearly my opinion, that a Sufficient body of Militia should always be reserved in a Situation proper to answer those Purposes. If there should be more collected than is requisite for this use, the Surplussage may with Propriety be added to the main body of the Army. I am not however so fully acquainted with every Circumstance that ought to be taken into consideration, as to pretend to do any thing more than advise in the matter. Let those on the Spot determine and act as appears to them most prudent.

P.S. It is most probable, that General Schuyler will have put it out of the Enemy's Power, to avail themselves of the Convenience of Water Carriage by removing all Boats out of their Way; if however this necessary Precaution should not have occurred to him, it will be proper to remind him, that all means of facilitating their Progress down the River, should be cut off, as speedily as possible.¹⁵

[M.L.]

15. In the writing of John Laurens; the draft is in that of Alexander Hamilton and Laurens.

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Camp in Bucks County, August 21, 1777.

Sir: I do myself the honor to inclose you a Resolve of Congress which I have just received, directing me to call on you for one thousand Militia from the State of New Jersey, to relieve a like number of the Militia of the State of New York, at present in garrison at the Forts upon Hudson's River, who are to March to the Reinforcement of the Northern Army. The requisitions make no mention of any particular time of Service, but as the York Militia were engaged to the first of November, those of your state should if possible be drawn out for the same time. I shall be glad to hear how far and how Soon you think the request may be complied with.

I have just received advice from Virginia, that the Fleet was seen on the 15th. instant Standing in towards Cape Charles, but whether with a real design to enter Chesapeak could not be then determined. I have the honor etc.

P.S. If the first Class of Militia, cannot be called out for so long a time as the first of November, they may be relieved by another.⁷⁵

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

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, August 21, 1777.

Sir: By the inclosed Letters, you will observe how necessary it is for me to draw off the Regiments now in your State, Commanded by Colos. Dayton and Ogden, and consequently for you to order out some Militia to replace them, which I expect you will immediately do should it appear necessary to you. It would appear (for what reason I am totally unable to account), that Maryland is the object of General Howe's present attention. I shall therefore be under the Necessity of Moving the Army that way, though very contrary to my late intentions; as that Army will be too near us to turn our backs and act on a different Quarter. I am &c.⁷⁶

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, Wilmington, September 1, 1777.

Sir: I have been duly honored with your several favors of the 15th 28th and 29th Ulto. and observe their contents.³⁶

From the papers you have sent, there can remain no doubt, that Mr. Troup's³⁷ true errand, whatever may be his

76. The draft is in the writing of John Fitzgerald.

36. At this point the draft of this letter has the following sentences stricken out: “The during practice of sending their recruiting officers among us, has been for some time past so familiar with the enemy, and has been attended with so much success, that it demands vigorous measures to put a stop to it; and how much soever we may be disposed to mercy, the public good will hardly suffer us to indulge this disposition when offenders of so dangerous a kind come under our notice.”

37. Troup was a lieutenant in the third battalion of the New Jersey Loyal Volunteers. He was captured while at dinner. His brother Robert was an aide to Gates and, later, secretary to the Continental Board of Treasury.

ostensible one, was to recruit men for the British Army; and, after being so clearly detected, should he escape punishment, it cannot fail to have the disagreeable influence you mention, on the minds of the people, and to be an encouragement to other adventurers. As a similar instance however, has not before come under my direction, I have ordered a Special Court Martial, composed of Men of judgment and moderation to set upon the occasion, and I have every reason to expect their decision will be dispassionate and well founded. It is doubted whether the Military jurisdiction comprehends a case of this kind; this will be well considered, and if the Court can with propriety go into the Trial and their sentence should be such, as it is naturally to be expected it will be; I do not think, from my present view of the matter, that it will be in my power to mitigate or remit his punishment, tho' I shall sensibly feel for his friends, who cannot but be deeply affected by his fate.

Your reason for not entering upon the business of dividing the State into districts, till the ensuing meeting of the Assembly, is intirely satisfactory. I have no doubt, you are sufficiently impressed with the importance of carrying the Measure into speedy execution, and will use all your influence to have it done.

I am sorry you have no better prospect as to the number of Militia, you expect to collect; but considering all the circumstances you mention, it is not to be wondered at, that a people harrassed and exhausted by having their Country so

long the seat of War, should be unwilling to quit their homes; especially when they have an Enemy still at their doors.

I am fully convinced of the pernicious consequences of that abuse of passports you speak of; the liberty that has been taken in granting them, was altogether unauthorised by me, and contrary to my wish.³⁸ I am glad to find you are determined to put a stop to the Practice, with respect to your Militia Officers, who alone will now have it in their power to continue it, as the Continental Troops are all called away; and Doctor Barnet,³⁹ who has been so peculiarly Culpable, and who had not a shadow of right to grant a single passport, will also be immediately removed.

You will 'ere this have heard of the Enemy's advancing from the Place of their first landing, and occupying with their Van, a piece of High Ground, called Grey's Hill. They still remain in this position, and it is difficult to say, how soon they will alter it. All accounts agree, that they are very much distressed for want of Horses, numbers of which, it is said, died on the passage and the rest are in exceeding bad order; this will probably occasion some delay and give time for the Militia, who seem to be collecting pretty fast, to join us. We have light parties constantly hovering about them, who frequently make a few prisoners, the whole number already made, is about 70, and will be no inconsiderable check upon them.

They have as yet experienced little countenance

38. "I have sufficient Evidence to believe that a constant Communication and commercial Intercourse has been held for a considerable time past with the Enemy by many of the Inhabitants of the County of Essex. That these Communications have been principally supported by means of Flags and Passports obtained from divers officers of the Army under your Excellency's Command,

who for some time past have been stationed at Elizabeth Town, Newark, and other places near the Enemy's Lines.

“Under colour of these Flaggs or Permits, which from their Frequency must be supposed (to use the softest Term) to have been imprudently granted, great mischiefs have arisen to these parts of the Country. Mischiefs, I imagine, greatly superior to the Advantages that may be pretended to be derived from any Intelligence that can be gained thereby. Persons of dubious political Characters, as I am informed, have been sent over; Provisions for the aid and comfort of the British Troops, furnished: A pernicious and unlawful Traffic carried on; The little Specie left among us collected with the greatest Avidity to maintain this execrable Trade; and the continental Currency by that means depreciated: opportunities afforded the Enemy of circulating their counterfeit Bills; and the disaffected of conveying to them Intelligence of every movement and designed operation of our Troops; The Confidence of the People in the Integrity of our officers diminished, and a universal Murmuring excited among the Friends of the common Cause.” — *Governor Livingston to Washington*, Aug. 15, 1777.

39. Doctor Barnet probably was Capt. William Barnet, of the Second Continental Dragoons. Livingston described him as “much addicted to strong drink, and having very little discretion when sober.” He resigned in October, 1777.

from the inhabitants; and as we have accounts of their perpetrating outrages, similar to those they have committed elsewhere; I am in hopes, their Conduct here, as in other places, will not be of a complexion, to conciliate many new partizans to their cause. I have the honor etc.

P.S. since writing the above, the judge Advocate of the Court Martial above mentioned has Called upon me and reported that the court had proceeded upon the Trial of the Prisoner, but on Account of one point of his defence, which requires time to be investigated, had postponed their final decision, and adjourned to a future day the 16th Inst. Mr. Troup pretends that he came out with design to avail himself of the offer of Grace held out in your proclamation; but finding the people much exasperated against him and hearing that a Man had been hanged, who had applied for the

benefit of that proclamation, he was deterred from applying to you in person, 'till he had made his peace through the Mediation of a third person and Secured his terms; That for this purpose he had communicated his intention to one Philip Scout and his Mother, residing near Charlottenburgh; who were to intercede with a Certain Mr. Donoworth that lives with Mr. Erskine at Ringwood, in order to engage him to Solicit you in his, Mr. Troups behalf. he lays great Stress upon this; though it is probably a mere pretence; but as the Court have indulged him with time to have his Witnesses produced, I shall be much obliged to you

to notify the persons above mentioned that their immediate attendance at Head Quarters is required, and to have them sent on without delay. You will also be pleased to inform yourself of their Characters, particularly in a political light.⁴⁰

To GOVERNOR THOMAS JOHNSON

September 3, 1777.

Sir: The late Resolution of Congress, Sending Genl Smallwood and Colo Gist from this Army, to arrange and Command the Militia of Maryland, now called to the Field and the frequent applications I had before the arrival of those Gentlemen at this place, to Send officers to the Eastern Shore, to take the direction of the Militia Assembling there; give me reason to beleive that the regulations in this line are not so good, as either you or I wish them to be, and that there is a Want of Officers in that part of the State, or at least of a Head, to conduct Matters properly and in the best manner, that circumstances will admit. Under this persuasion; If you have not already appointed a General Officer or have no particular Gentleman in view for the purpose; I would beg leave to mention John Cadwallader Esqr. for your consideration. This Gentleman, I know to be a judicious, valuable officer, and I have often regretted that he did not hold a high Command in the Army of the States. If you should entertain the same

40. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

opinion of him and there is no objection to appointing him, I am satisfied he would render essential Services at the Head of the Eastern Shore Militia, if he will accept of the Command, which I am inclined to think would be the case. Before Colo. Gist went on this Business on Monday, on Account of the applications I have mentioned, and not knowing who were the Militia Officers on the Eastern Shore, I wrote to Mr. Cadwalader, and requested his good Offices and exertions, in Assembling and arranging the Militia, which I find have been employed with great Assiduity; and if Arms could have been procured, that he would have Collected a respectable body of them. My interfering in this matter was the result of necessity. I though the Situation of our affairs required it, and I trust I shall have your excuse upon the occasion. I would also observe, If Mr. Cadwalader is appointed, Colo Gist's Services there may be dispensed with, and he may join his Regiment again.

I sincerely congratulate you on our late Success at the Northward, in raising the Seige of Fort Schuyler and obliging the Enemy to go off with great precipitation; leaving their Tents, Provisions and Amunition, and with the loss of several Prisoners and Deserters and 4 Royals. I have the honor etc.⁶¹

61. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The letter sent, which is in the Maryland Historical Society, and is also in Harrison's writing, varies from the draft in capitalization and other minor particulars.

To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL

Head Quarters, New Port, September 8, 1777.

Sir: I was yesterday honored with yours of the 1st. Instant. You have my thanks for your ready compliance with my requisitions, thro' Genl. Putnam, for a Reinforcement to the important posts at Peekskill, and it is an additional pleasure to me, to find that you have also sent a Reinforcement to the Northern Army. Since General Howe's debarkation at the Head of Chesapeak Bay, he has made very little progress, having only moved five or six Miles from the Shore, with strong grounds in his front; Our advanced parties have had a Small Skirmish with his, but the damage on either

side is inconsiderable. General Howe's plans are yet very mysterious, a few days ago, he sent all his Tents and Baggage on Board again and his Ships have fallen some distance down Chesapeak Bay. This can be for no other purpose, but to go round to Delaware and meet him there, as he can easily extend himself across the Isthmus which is narrow. This will be a Strange Manoeuvre indeed, as it will be exposing his Ships to some danger upon the Coast, at this tempestuous Season, and should an accident happen to the Fleet he must be ruined. A little time must unfold his true designs, which I trust we shall be able to baffle; as the Troops are in good Spirits and the people of the Country shew

an universal good will to oppose the Common Enemy. I have the honor, etc.⁸⁸

To PRESIDENT THOMAS WHARTON, JUNIOR

Head Qurs., Germantown, September 13, 1777.

Sir: I was this morning honored with yours of yesterday. I am pleased to find, that you have ordered an additional number of Militia to assemble at the Swedes Ford, at which and the other practicable passages for some distance up the River, I have directed small close Redoubts to be thrown up. This work will be executed under the Command and direction of Genl. Armstrong, who will also employ some of the Militia at present in the Field, upon the same Service.

I wish it were in my power to turn any part of my present force, to the Completion of the Works upon Delaware, but in our present Situation, it cannot be afforded; except Genl. Howe can be checked upon land, the obstructions in the River will be of little avail, for if he can once totally defeat this Army, he will take possession of the Forts of course and turn our own Guns upon our Ships, Galleys and floating Batteries. In my opinion, the River would be Sufficiently Secured against any Sudden attack by Water

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

only, if the City Artillery Companies were thrown into Fort Mifflin, and all the Vessels of War of different kinds, drawn up behind the Chevaux de Frize. I have given orders to Colo. Penrose⁹ to overflow the Ground upon Province Island, which will render it impossible for the Enemy to approach the Fort in the rear and raise Batteries against it. As I am well apprized of the importance of Philadelphia, you may rest assured, that I shall take every Measure in my power to defend it, and I hope you will agree with me in Sentiment that the only effectual method will be to oppose Genl Howe with our whole united Force. I am this moment favored with yours of this date and thank you for your Compliance to my request for removing the Continental Soldiers, who may be loitering in the City. I have the honor etc.¹⁰

To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

September [19?], 1777.

Dr. Sir: Your favor of the 12th Instr. was delivered me last night. I recollect, that permission was granted Mrs. Hatfield⁴⁷ to visit her Husband, and had not the least doubt but she would be suffered to return, whenever she had an inclination; unless some singular circumstances Should render it ineligible for a day or two. her detention seems to be by the Mayor, to whom she was referred

9. Col. Joseph Penrose. He had been colonel of the Tenth Pennsylvania Regiment, but resigned early in 1777 in a rank dispute. From this letter he seems to have again entered either the State or Continental service.

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

47. Wife of Maj. Moses Hatfield, of Drake's New York Militia regiment. Major Hatfield had been taken prisoner at Montresors Island; was exchanged in 1778; served as a colonel of New York Militia, 1780 and 1781.

for a passport. As Mrs. Hatfield is not of the Military line, and went in of her mere motion, I do not conceive, that I can with propriety do any thing to obtain her releasement. But I am persuaded your Letter to General Clinton representing the reasons for her going in, will effect it without difficulty. It would be well to write her a line to apply to him upon the Subject.

I have not time to add much on public Affairs. I am now about twenty five Miles from Philadelphia on the East Side of Schuylkill, with the Main Body of our Army, fronting the Enemy, who are on the opposite Side. We have also a Body of Troops hanging on their rear, under the Command of Genls. Smallwood and Wayne. I suppose Genl Howe will soon attempt to pass the Schuylkill, which unhappily admits of but too many easy fords. I cannot give you the particulars of the Action of the 11th. From the best Accounts I have been able to collect, their loss was pretty considerable and chiefly fell on their Grenadiers and light Troops, composing their flying Army; The Queens Rangers (Rogers's Corps), who formed their advanced Guard, and who were first attacked in the Morning, are said to have Suffered severely. This Account I mean for yourself and not for the Public. I am etc.⁴⁸

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, October 1, 1777.

Sir:

48. The text is from the Varick Transcripts in the Library of Congress.

I was just now honored with your favor of the 30th. Ulto. with Its inclosures; I am extremely concerned, that the Situation of Affairs in Jersey is Such, as to preclude me from any hope of a further reinforcement from thence. The account transmitted by Genl. Dickenson, if true, is very interesting; But I trust even the Smallest number of Troops said to have arrived, is exaggerated, as none of the public prints, till a late paper or two from New York, have made mention of any such force. The Report, however, added to the contiguity of Staten Island to the Main, which affords an

easy passage across, for incursions on the part of the Enemy, holds forth but too just grounds of apprehension in the Eastern Militia and for their being employed where they are. If all were united, all would be well, but in this Quarter, Toryism and disaffection too generally mark the conduct of the people. I will not enlarge. Our affairs at present have an unfavourable appearance, but I hope they will change for the better. I have the honor etc.

P.S. It should be remembered always, that if we can destroy the Enemy's grand Army, the Branches of it fall of course.

The Situation of our public Stores, particularly those of the Ordnance kind at Trenton, gives me great uneasiness. I have directed every exertion to be employed for their removal. I must intreat, that any Assistance you can give in Waggon &c. may be afforded; Also that a body of Militia under a Spirited Officer, if it is possible

may be ordered there as a guard 'till they can be removed. I have Spoken to Colo Scudder²⁵ upon the Subject, to whom I take the liberty of referring you.²⁶

To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL

Head Qurs., October 1, 1777.

Sir: I was yesterday honored with yours of the 24th Ult., with its inclosures.

The prosperous situation of our Northern affairs, is a very pleasing and important circumstance; It is to be hoped they may continue in the same train, and have as happy an issue, as they seem now to promise. If they have, besides the advantage of disappointing the views of the enemy in that quarter, it will necessarily have a very desirable influence upon our operations here.

With respect to the promotion of Col. Meigs,²⁷ I am unable, without knowing how he stood in the line, to determine its propriety. In consequence of powers derived from Congress for the purpose, and in order to prevent that Confusion which arose in the army, for want of some general

established rule of promotion; I some time since appointed a board of General Officers, to take the matter into consideration; and in pursuance of their opinion, fixed it as a general rule, that all officers below the rank of

25. Col. Nathaniel Scudder, of the New Jersey Militia.

26. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

27. Col. Return Jonathan Meigs. He was appointed to the command of the Sixth Connecticut Regiment September 10 to rank from May 12, 1777; retired Jan. 1, 1781.

Major, should rise regimentally; and all of that rank and above it, should succeed to vacancies, according to their seniority in the line of the state to which they belong. If Colo. Meigs was the oldest Lt. Colo. in the line his late appointment was regular and unexceptionable; if not, his seniors will have a right to complain.

You will hear before this gets to hand, that the enemy have, at length, gained possession of Philadelphia. Many unavoidable difficulties and unlucky accidents, that we had to encounter, helped to promote this success. This is an event, that we have reason to wish had not happened, and will be attended with several ill consequences; but, I hope, it will not be so detrimental as many apprehend, and that a little time and perseverance, will give us some favorable opportunity of recovering our loss, and putting our affairs in a more flourishing condition. Our army has now had the rest and refreshment it stood in need of, and our soldiers are in very good spirits. With great regard and esteem, I have the honor etc.

P.S. The state of things here has obliged me to draw a further reinforcement from Peekskill in addition to that under Genl McDougall. This will render that post weaker, than is consistent with its security; and I must therefore intreat you will be kind enough to afford Genl. Putnam, every aid from the militia of your state, that you possibly can. you are sensible of the importance of taking

care of that Post and I am persuaded, you will do every thing in your power to contribute towards it.²⁸

28. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

To JOHN PAGE

Head Qurs., 20 Miles from Philadelphia, October 3, 1777.

Dr. Sir: I was this morning honored with your favor of the 19th Ulto and am much obliged by your kind wishes for my success and happiness. It has not been in my power, on account of our Situation and the various important concerns of the Army, to transmit more frequent intelligence, than I have, to my Southern Friends; and I should be happy, if things were in such a Train at this time, as would give them pleasure; But they are not. On the 27th. I wrote Genl Nelson fully, of their State, and make no doubt he will have advised you of the Same, before this comes to hand. If he has not, I must beg leave to refer you to him, and will add, that since that period no favorable change has taken place, Tho' I trust, under the Smiles of providence, one soon will. The Enemy are Still in possession of the City, and by some means, not well understood, the Delaware Frigate has fallen into their hands. It gives me pleasure, while I am mentioning our misfortunes here, to inform you, that our affairs at the Northward, have a more prosperous aspect. The accounts from thence are not so late, nor so accurately stated, as I could wish; yet they afford strong hopes, that we shall do well. You have them in the inclosed paper, which contains the latest.

You may rest assured, that I shall pay every

attention to your request, and that if any movements of the Enemy should indicate a Southern expedition, I shall give you the earliest notice. At present, their Object is so fixed, that I think one is not to be apprehended in a short time; However, I would recommend, every useful improvement and regulation to be adopted, for placing the Militia upon the most respectable footing, as Virginia

in the Course of the War, may be invested in turn. I do not mean by this, that the Militia lately embodied should be continued.

Capt. Pierce³⁷ delivered me the Governor's Letter two or three days ago. I shall cheerfully inform him of any interesting intelligence, that he may transmit it. I have the honor etc.³⁸

To GOVERNOR PATRICK HENRY

Head Qurs., 20 Miles from Philadelphia, October 3, 1777.

Dr Sir: I have been honored with yours of the 5th and 8th. of Septr. As you are pleased to make allowance for the great variety of Business that engages my attention, I must plead that in excuse for not acknowledging the receipt of your favors sooner. Had any thing in the motions of the Enemy seemed to indicate an

37. Capt. William Pierce, of the First Continental Artillery. He was aide to Generals Sullivan and Greene; thanked and presented with a sword by Congress for his conduct at Eutaw Springs, S.C.; served to close of the war.

38. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

attack upon Virginia, I should not have delayed one moment in giving you proper intelligence.

Colo. Thomas Marshall of the 3d Virginia Regt. informs inc, that the State are about raising a new Regiment of Artillery. He Seems desirous of exchanging the Foot Service for that of the Artillery, as he thinks he could render his Country more service in that line. His Mathematical Abilities are sufficiently known in Virginia, and he possesses in addition to those necessary qualifications for an Artillery Officer, that of indubitable Bravery, of which he has given proofs upon every occasion. Col. Marshall has Solicited the Command of this Regiment and requested me to mention, that if the State should please to honor him, that his leaving the foot Service would not be disagreeable to me, it being his Choice.

The inclosed recommendation in favor of Capt. Charles Porter field,³⁹ at present attached to the 11th Virginia Regiment, was handed to me by the Gentlemen who subscribe it, with a desire that I would and request your interest for the Commission of Lieutenant Colonel or Major of the New Regiment of Artillery if the places are not already disposed of. I cannot undertake to recommend Capt. Porterfield upon my own particular knowledge, but he is universally esteemed by his acquaintances in the Army, as an Officer of very extraordinary Merit. He also, I am informed, has made the Military Branches of the Mathematics his particular Study. This Gentleman entered very

39. Porterfield became brigade major to Woodford's brigade in July, 1778; resigned in July, 1779, to become lieutenant colonel of a Virginia State regiment; mortally wounded at Camden, S. C. in August, 1780; died in October of that year.

early into the Service of his Country, he accompanied Genl. Arnold in his expedition to Quebec, at the Storm of which under General Montgomery, he was made prisoner.

I shall chearfully communicate every piece of intelligence, particularly interesting to the State of Virginia, to Capt. Peirce, and any other of such Nature, that may be made public without injuring the Service. I therefore hope, that thro' him, you will be informed of every material occurrence in the Army. He is not about Head Quarters at present, and as my attention is taken up in planning a matter of great importance, I must beg leave to refer you to a very full letter which I wrote to Genl. Nelson,⁴⁰ a few days ago, in which I gave him a particular account of all our late transactions.

The inclosed hand Bill contains a full account of Northern Affairs, we are very anxious to hear the issue of them. Genl. Burgoyne seems to be in a fair way of being utterly ruined. Nothing but a successful stroke can extricate him. I have the honor etc.⁴¹

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Camp near Pennibackers Mill, October 6, 1777.

Dr Sir: I was this evening honored with your favor of

40. See Washington's letter to Brig. Gen. Thomas Nelson, jr., Sept. 27, 1777, *ante*.

41. In the writing of Tench Tilghman.

yesterday. I am much obliged by your attention to Colo Stewart's⁵⁷ application, and for your Letter to the Magistrates, and I trust by perseverance and care, the several important Stores which were removed to Trenton, will be Secured. I confess their situation has given me great uneasiness.

Your description of a Tory seems to me to be well drawn. Those who come within it appear unconquerable but by the means you mention.⁵⁸

From General Dickenson's Account, it is probable some movement is about to take place, on the part of the Enemy. perhaps it may be only a landing in pursuance of their original plan, to prevent Reinforcements to this Army. I hope, whatever the design may be, that he will be able to make head against them.

You will have heard of the Action on the 4th. I shall only add, that we lost the day by a sudden retreat of our Troops, at a Time when every appearance promised Victory, and a defeat of General Howe's Army. The Misfortune, I am persuaded, was occasioned by a Fog, which was so thick and heavy, that our several Columns and parties could not discover each other's movements and harmonise in the attacks. I hope things will be more favorable at another time. I have the honor to be etc.⁵⁹

57. Col. Charles Stewart, Commissary General of Issues of the Continental Army.

58. Livingston had written: "I really pity Your Excellency's Situation with respect to the Tories. In my small Department, I have infinite Trouble with them. A Tory is an incorrigible Animal: And

nothing but the Extinction of Life, will extinguish his Malevolence against Liberty.” This letter is in the *Washington Papers* in the Library of Congress.

59. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, October 8, 1777.

Sir: I yesterday received certain intelligence, that the enemy had proceeded up Hudson's River from New York, and landed a body of men at Verplanks point, a few miles below Peekskill. This movement fully explains those appearances, which lately induced Genl. Dickinson to apprehend a second incursion into the Jerseys; and gives reason to believe, that, instead of that, the enemy meditate a serious blow against our posts in the Highlands. This circumstance is somewhat alarming, as the situation of our affairs, this way, has obliged us to draw off so large a part of our force from Peekskill, that what now remains there, may perhaps prove inadequate to the defence of it. Should any disaster happen, it is easy to foresee the most unhappy consequences. The loss of the Highland passes would be likely to involve the reduction of the forts. This would open the navigation of the river, and enable the enemy, with facility, to throw their force into Albany, get into the rear of General Gates, and either oblige him to retreat, or put him between two fires. The Success of the present attempt upon Peekskill, may, in its consequences, intirely change the face of our Northern affairs, and throw them into a very disagreeable and unfavorable train.

I am confident no arguments need be used, to dispose you to contribute every effort in your power, to obviate an evil of so

great magnitude; and, as I do not conceive there can be now any danger of your militia being wanted at home for the internal security of your State, I am persuaded, you will readily consent to my request, that as large a part of them, as can be prevailed upon to go, may immediately march, with all expedition, to the aid of Genl. Putnam. At this distance, unacquainted with what may have taken place, I cannot give any particular directions to regulate their march; they must govern

themselves by circumstances, and act according to the intelligence and orders they may receive from General Putnam. In order to this; if you should think it proper to send a body agreeable to my request, it would be advisable that the Officer under whose command they go, should without delay advise General Putnam of his intended approach and desire his instructions how to proceed. In the mean time his rout must be directed towards the Clove and thence towards New windsor.

I shall be happy, if your views and mine concur in this matter, and that you may be able to afford any material succour to a post, the fate of which is of such essential importance to the prosperity of our Northern concerns; as in a great measure to threaten their ruin if it should be lost, and the disappointment of all those flattering prospects, which our late successes in that quarter have afforded us. I have the honor etc.⁷

7. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL

Camp, Pawlins Mills, October 8, 1777.

Sir: I have the honor to transmit you an Account of an Action between the American Army and that of the British, laying at Germantown, upon the Morning of the 4th. instant. Having obtained information of the Situation of the Enemy, we determined to endeavour to do something by way of surprise. We, accordingly, marched all night, and reached the Town by break of day. We attacked upon two Quarters, upon both of which, we were successful; but the Morning was so excessively foggy, that we could not see the Confusion the Enemy were in, and the advantage we had gained; and, fearing to push too far thro' a Strong Village, we retired after an engagement of two hours, bringing off all our Artillery with us. We did not know, till after the affair was over, how near we were to gaining a compleat victory; but, we have since learned from deserters and others that have come out, that preparations were making to retreat to Chester. While the action lasted, it was pretty severe. Our loss will amount, in killed and wounded, to upwards of three hundred. What that of the Enemy is we do not exactly know; but one deserter tells us, that, when he came away, the Returns

amounted to upwards of 700, among which are Genl. Agnew killed, and Sr. Willm. Erskine badly wounded. Other Accounts say, that upwards of 200 Waggons went into Philadelphia, loaded with wounded; if this is

true their loss is more than the deserter mentions. Upon the whole, our Men are in high Spirits, and much pleased with the fortune of the day, tho' not so compleatly lucky as could have been wished. I have the honor etc.⁸⁹

To THOMAS McKEAN¹³

Skippack Camp, October 10, 1777.

Sir: I have the honor of yours of the 8th. from New Ark and most Sincerely wish, that your exertions to rouse the inhabitants of the Delaware State, had been attended with better Success. They certainly labour under very peculiar difficulties; The Enemy in possession of their Capital; a vast number of disaffected and the Continental Army at present at too great a distance to Support them. The latter is a circumstance that cannot at present be helped, for you yourself very judiciously observe, that perhaps detaching part of our force might occasion the loss of a Battle, which would endanger the Liberties of the whole Continent. I have sent Genl. Potter with a Brigade of Pennsylvania Militia, to stop the intercourse between Chester County and Philadelphia, and to endeavour to intercept Convoys going between Chester and Philadelphia. If I could spare the force, I would fain aim a blow at Wilmington, which I think would prove an easy

89. Contemporary copy is in an unidentified hand. The date is written over, so that it could be either October 7 or 8. The indorsement gives the date as the 8th.

13. Acting President of Delaware.

conquest. If you think you could engage three or four hundred or more of the Militia of your State, to Assemble at a concerted time and certain places within reach of Wilmington, I should be strongly induced to send as many Continental Troops as would be sufficient to lead them, and to accomplish

the Business. But this must be managed with Secrecy and address to prevent the least Suspicion. I beg you will think Seriously of this Matter and let me know, whether you have any prospect of success, in getting your people together.

I fancy the Accounts given to you by the Quakers are pretty near the truth, as they are confirmed by variety of others, thro' different Channels. If the uncommon Fogginess of the Morning and the Smoke, had not hindred us from seeing our own advantage, I am convinced it would have ended in a compleat Victory. But we must not repine, on the Contrary rejoice, that we have given a Severe Blow to our Enemy's and that our Ranks are as full and rather fuller than they were before the engagement. I have the honor etc.¹⁴

To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Head Qurs., Philadelphia County, October 15, 1777.

Dr. Sir: I was this day honored with yours of the 9th. containing

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

a full account of the Storm of Forts Montgomery and Clinton. Genl. Putnam had given me information of the loss two days before, but not in so full and ample a manner. It is to be regretted that so brave a resistance did not meet with a suitable reward. You have however, the satisfaction of knowing that every thing was done that could possibly be, by a handful against a far superior force. This I am convinced was the case. This affair might have been attended with fatal consequences, had not there been a most providential intervention in favour of Genl. Gates's Arms on the 7th instant, but I am fully of opinion that St. Henry Clinton will not advance much further up the River upon hearing of Burgoyne's defeat and retreat. Nothing but absolute necessity could have induced me to have withdrawn any further part of the Troops allotted for the defence of the posts up the North River; but such was the reduced state of our Continental Regiments, after the Battle of Brandywine, and such the slowness and difficulty of procuring reinforcements of Militia from the southward, that without the Troops from Peekskill we should scarcely have been able to have kept

the Field against General Howe. I had the greatest hopes, that General Putnam would have drawn in as many Connecticut Militia, as would have replaced the Continental Troops, and I make no doubt but he did all in his power to obtain them in time. I am sorry that you were under the necessity of destroying the Frigates, the only consolation is, that if we had not done it ourselves, the Enemy would either have done it for us, or have carried them down for their own use.

Since the Battle of Germantown upon the 4th. instant, the two Armies have remained in a manner quiet. The Enemy have made several attempts to remove the obstructions in the Delaware, but hitherto without effect. They are now making preparations to raise Batteries in the Rear of Fort Mifflin which commands the uppermost Chevaux de Frize. If we can maintain that post and one opposite upon the Jersey Shore, I am in hopes our Ships, Gallies and floating Batteries will be able to keep their stations and repel any force that can be brought by Water directly in front. I most earnestly expect further news from the northward, which I hope will bring us accounts of the total ruin of Burgoynes Army.

It is not unlikely, that one of Sr. Henry Clintons objects will be to destroy the Boats and small craft in the North River. Should this be the case and he succeed, I think it will be advisable for you to set a number of Workmen to building Flat Bottom Boats at some secure places within three or four Miles of the Water, from which they may be easily hawled. They are so exceedingly useful and so frequently wanted, that I think the business cannot, in such case, be too soon begun or carried on with too much expedition. I have written to Genl. Putnam upon the same subject. I am etc.

P.S. By sundry concurring accounts of persons out of Philadelphia and from Deserters, the Enemy's loss in the action of the 4th was very considerable. The lowest say it was 1500 killed and wounded, others 2000 and some as high as 2500. Perhaps the two last are exaggerated, but there are many reasons to believe that the first cannot much exceed the mark. For they were compleatly surprized and drove in great disorder for a long time and for a considerable distance at every point of attack. Had it not been for the extreme fogginess of the day which prevented our several Columns discovering each other's movements and from improving the advantages which they separately gained, in all probability the day would have been a most fortunate one. But owing to

that circumstance they got confused and retreated at a moment when there was every appearance of victory in our favor. The Enemy lost some valuable officers, among the slain Genl. Agnew and it is said another Genl. officer was dangerously wounded. We were not without on our part Brigadr Nash was wounded by a Cannon Ball and is since dead. We had also several other officers of inferior rank wounded and some killed. This crude, undigested account I dont mean for publication. I hope all will yet end well.⁵¹

51. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman and Robert Hanson Harrison. The P.S. is from the Toner Transcripts in the Library of Congress.

To PRESIDENT THOMAS WHARTON, JUNIOR

Head Quarters, October 17, 1777.

Sir: As the term of Service, of great number of the Militia of this State, who were called out some time ago, has expired, and their places have been by no means punctually filled up by succeeding Classes, I am constrained to call upon you, in the most pressing Manner, to exert the Powers of Government, not only to keep up the Number of four thousand Men demanded by Congress, but of a much greater number, if they can possibly be armed and accoutred. When the Capital of your State is in the Enemy's hands, and when they can only be dislodged from thence, by a powerful reinforcement of Militia, in aid of the Continental Troops, there should not be a moment's hesitation, whether one or two Classes should be commanded to appear; but, at least, one half of the Men capable to bear Arms should be called into the Field. By exertions of this kind, New York, tho' sorely oppressed by our avowed Enemies, and more so by our internal foes, has made a noble resistance; and New Jersey has kept the Enemy out of her limits, (except now and then a hasty descent) without a Continental Regiment; besides doing this, she has sent, and is now sending reinforcements to this, and the Northern Army. It will be no great while, before the Militia from Maryland and Virginia will have performed their tour of duty, and from the Distance, which most of them have to travel, before

they reach the Army, I cannot expect much more assistance from those Quarters in the course of the remaining part of this Campaign. I assure you, Sir, it is Matter of astonishment to every part of the Continent, to hear that Pennsylvania, the most opulent and populous of all the States, has but 1,200 Militia in the Field, at a time when the Enemy are endeavouring to make themselves compleatly Masters of, and to fix their Winter Quarters in, her Capital. Without the free Navigation of Delaware, I am confident, that Genl. Howe will never remain in Philadelphia, and I am as confident, that, had I a sufficient force to afford as much assistance to the Forts upon Delaware, as their importance deserves, he would not be able to possess them. I have spared as many of the Continental Troops as I possibly can, without endangering the Safety of this Army, and I shall still continue to afford every further relief in my power. From this state of Facts, I hope that you will not loose a moment, in calling upon, and endeavouring to rouse the people of this Province to a manly and effectual opposition; and I know of no means so likely to answer, as not to confine the demand to any particular Number, but to call upon every man to come forth. The County Lieutenants should be particularly careful to see, that all those, who have Arms and accoutrements of their own, bring them out; for they have a very mistaken notion, that there are full supplies in the Continental Stores; Many even come out without Blankets, expecting to find them.

There is another matter which I beg leave to recommend

to the Serious Consideration of the Legislature of your State; that is, the falling upon some mode of compleating and keeping up the Quota of your Continental Regiments. Upon an average, your Battalions have never been above one third full; and, now, many of them, are far below even that. From the extravagant prices given to Substitutes, in the Militia, in the different States, it has become impossible to recruit more upon the bounty allowed by Congress. The New England States and Virginia have began to adopt the mode of drafting, and, I am informed, they have Succeeded very well; I am convinced, that this will be found the only method of raising continental Troops; and, if the measure was to become general throughout the States, it would not be deemed a hardship. I mention this matter to you at this time, in hopes that you will, as soon as possible, fall upon this, or some other, mode to recruit your Regiments in the course of this fall and Winter; and, as it is more

than probable, that our opposition will not end with this Campaign, we ought to endeavour to have a respectable army in the Field, in the Spring, before the Enemy can receive further reinforcements from Europe. I have the honor etc.

Just as I was upon closing my letter the inclosed most interesting and happy intelligence came to my hands.⁶⁹ It remains for us to play a counterpart, and to enable me to do it effectually I hope the whole Force of your State will pour forth.⁷⁰

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Qurs., 15 Miles from Philadelphia, October 22, 1777.

Sir:

69. News of Burgoyne's surrender, which reached Washington in a letter from Israel Putnam of October 16.

70. In the writing of Richard Kidder Meade. The paragraph of news from the north was added by Tench Tilghman.

I have the honor of yours of the 20th. inclosing a list of the Gentlemen appointed to raise recruits and apprehend deserters in the State of Jersey. I do not recollect the Resolve of the 31st of July, to which you refer, but I imagine you will find it fully explained by a Resolve passed the 17th. Inst., by which, I am to appoint an Officer in each State, to Superintend the persons appointed by the State. The State is to furnish the Officer of my appointment with Money, from time to time which he is to distribute to the Commissioners, and draw upon Congress for the Amount. You will have Copies of this Resolve transmitted to you by the president of Congress, with instructions thereon.

The Enemy evacuated Germantown two days ago and withdrew themselves within their Lines round the City. They have not yet been able to make any impression upon Fort Mifflin and scarce any upon the Chevaux de frize. They yesterday Morning threw a party over into Jersey at Cooper's

Ferry, whether with an intent to invest Red Bank or Collect Cattle I do not know, but I fear the former. I have Wrote pressingly to General Newcomb, to collect as many Militia as possible, and I have also sent an Express to Genl Forman, desiring him, if he could spare any Men from protecting the Salt Works, to March them to Red Bank. I dont know to what particular study Genl Burgoyne will now apply himself, but he will have need of all his Philosophy to support himself in his present Situation, after the many vain threats that he has uttered and bombast proclamations that he has published. I have the honor etc.¹⁰

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

To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

October 25, 1777.

Dear Sir: Your favour of the 20th. I received Yesterday Afternoon and feel much for the Havoc and devastation committed by the Enemy employed on the North River. Their maxim seems to be, to destroy where they cannot conquer and they hesitate not, to pursue a conduct that would do dishonour to the Arms of Barbarians.⁴² I know your feelings upon the occasion, and regret, that you were not in a situation to check their progress. This procedure, I hope, will call forth the exertions of all, and that in the course of events, we shall have more solid grounds for triumph. A Copy of the Articles respecting Genl. Burgoynes surrender reached me this morning for the first time.

When Genl. Putnam informed me of the capture of Fort Montgomery, he wrote the Congress upon the Subject. By the first opportunity I shall transmit them a Copy of your Letter now before me. I am happy you detained Colo. Malcom, as you found him so serviceable, and consent to his remaining as long as you shall think him of essential use. As to his Regiment, it is now here. Had I been apprized of the circumstance you mention, before it marched, I would not have ordered it to join this Army.

In the afternoon of the 22d., a Detachment of Hessian Troops, amounting to about Twelve Hundred, under the command

42. Burning of Kingston, N.Y.

of Count Donop, attempted to storm our Fort at Red Bank, and were repulsed with the loss of between four and five Hundred Men, in killed, wounded and prisoners. Among the prisoners is Count Donop himself, who is badly wounded. We only lost 32 in killed and wounded, chiefly the latter. The next morning several of the Enemy's Ships of War warped thro the lower tier of Chevaux de frize, and attacked Fort Mifflin on Mud Island and our Gallies and Armed Vessels which were posted near it. The Cannonade was severe and of long continuance but without other damage to us than the loss of three or four men killed and wounded. The Enemy on their part, lost two Ships. One said to be the Augusta of 64 Guns, the other a Frigate of 32. The first, in returning, got aground, and fearing that she would fall into our hands, they burnt her themselves. The latter accidentally took fire and was consumed. According to report, the Roebuck also suffered considerably. They seemed much determined to carry these posts. I hope these disappointments, they have met with will prevent their further attempts. However, they are not done, there having been a Cannonade this morning. I am etc.⁴³

To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL

Camp White Marsh, 15 Miles from Philadelphia, October 26, 1777.

Sir:

43. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

I was honored a few days ago with your favor of the 14th Inst. for which and its inclosure, I return you my thanks.

I am happy in Congratulating you, in turn, on the further Success of our Arms at the Northward, in the Surrender of General Burgoyne, the particulars of this fortunate event will have reached you, I expect, before this, and therefore shall not add more upon the Subject.

I have also the pleasure to inform you, * * *.⁶¹ Our loss at Red Bank did not exceed 32 in killed and wounded and not above four in the Action with the Ships of War. I have the honor etc.⁶²

61. The omitted portion is almost a verbatim repetition of Washington's description of the repulse at Red Bank and defeat of the British ships, as contained in his letter to Maj. Gen. Israel Putnam, Oct. 26, 1777, *q. v.*

62. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

To PRESIDENT THOMAS WHARTON, JUNIOR

Head Quarters, October 30, 1777.

Sir: I am this day honored with your Letter of the 26th Inst., previous to which I had given some orders respecting the Subject of it, upon a Complaint made to me by one of the Commissaries, of the enormous price to which Liquors had been raised in the country, occasioned principally by the Suttlers who resort our Camp.

I shall now have this matter more fully enquired into, and adopt such measures, as I shall judge most expedient, for the immediate Suppression of this Evil, which, when determined on shall be communicated to you.⁸⁸ I have the honor etc.⁸⁹

To GOVERNOR THOMAS JOHNSON

Head Quarters, November 6, 1777.

Dr. Sir: The approaching season, and the scanty supplies of Cloathing in public Store, without an immediate prospect of their being increased, have induced me, to send Lt. Colo. Adams of your state to procure, if possible a Quantity for the Troops which come from thence. The distress of the Army in this instance

88. By a council of general officers, the proceedings of which are undated, filed at the end of October, 1777, the commissaries were directed to take all liquors from the sutlers at a reasonable price and no sutler was to be allowed to remain with the army later than November 5. The proceedings of the council are in the Varick Transcripts in the Library of Congress.

89. The draft is in the writing of John Fitzgerald.

I am sorry to inform you, is now considerable, and it will become greater and greater every day, if some relief should not be had. Genl. Smallwood has addressed you on the subject and having pointed out the wants of your soldiery in a particular manner, it is unnecessary for me to make a minute detail of them. I shall therefore take the Liberty of referring you to his letter, and must entreat the interposition of your aid, to facilitate, as much as possible, the purpose and design of Colo. Adams's Commission. I do not know what supplies of Cloathing Maryland may have on hand; However, whatever they are, they can never be furnished with more propriety, than at the present juncture. Our wants extend to every species and to Blankets; but to the latter, and to shoes and Stockings in a peculiar degree. Besides the Necessaries, which I hope will be derived from the State, I have instructed Colo. Adams, to obtain all he possibly can by purchase from the Inhabitants, in which, I trust, he will have your countenance and warmest recommendation. These requisitions are not the result of Choice but of painful necessity; and viewing them in this light, I am well assured, you will not only excuse them, but will readily afford every relief in your Power to give. Our calls are pressing, and equal to any the imagination can represent. If they can be answered and the Troops can be properly provided in these instances, I should hope that we may be able to obtain some signal, if not some decisive advantages over the Enemy, by a Winter's Campaign; If not, we shall not be in a situation to attempt anything on a large and

general scale. We are trying to make a Collection here, and, under the authority of Congress, compulsory measures have been adopted, in some cases, to draw aid from the disaffected, where it could well be spared but was refused. I congratulate you sincerely on our success in the surrender of Genl. Burgoyne an event this, that reflects much honor upon our Arms. I have nothing new to inform you of here, The repulse Count Donnop met with and the destruction of the two Ships of War, being the last interesting occurrences. I am etc.¹⁸

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, November 1, 1777.

Sir: I think it not only incumbent upon me but a duty which I owe to the public, to represent to you the unaccountable conduct of Brigr. General Newcomb at this critical time. As soon as the Enemy shewed a disposition to possess themselves of Billing'sport and Red Bank, I wrote to him in the most urgent manner, to collect and keep up as many Militia, as he possibly could, to assist in the defence of Red Bank, in particular till I could afford a proper Garrison of Continental Troops; and altho' I received no very favorable Accounts of his activity or exertions, I imagined

18. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison and Richard Kidder Meade.

that he had been doing some thing towards it. On the 26th Ulto. Genl. Forman arrived at Red Bank, with a few of his own Continental Regiment and some of the Monmouth Militia and wrote me as follows,

The lower Militia under General Newcomb have not as yet produced a single man. As being elder in Command than Newcomb, I have taken the liberty this day, to issue orders for their immediate assembling, and will from time to time do every thing in my power to assemble them;

On the 29th he writes me again,

Previous to the receipt of yours of the 27th I had given orders to several of the Militia Officers of this part of the County, to assemble their Men and have used my endeavours with General Newcomb to obtain a Return of the Men, it is said he has assembled, that they might be put on some duty either in the Garrisons or on some out guards, but the General absolutely refuses to render me any account of himself or his Men, that I am not able to inform your Excellency, whether he really has or has not any men assembled.

In another paragraph of the same letter he says,

Yet I think I could be able to collect a respectable body of Militia, was I able to overcome the obstinacy of, or to displace Genl. Newcomb, from the best information I can collect he has at no time given any assistance either to the Garrisons or the fleet, particularly in the late attack upon Red Bank, he neither harrassed the Enemy in their advance, during the Assault, or in their retreat. He thinks of himself only accountable to the Governor or Major General Dickenson, I should be glad of your

Excellency's directions respecting my treatment of him.¹⁶

I shall make no Comments, but leave it to the opinion of yourself and the Gentlemen of the Legislature, whether such a Man is fit to command in a part of the State immediately the object of the Enemy's attention, and in which the most vigorous measures ought to be pursued. If you would only direct him to obey General Forman as a Senior Officer, much good to the Service would result from it.

I had been more than commonly pressing with General Newcomb to Assemble men at Red bank, because I found by Letters from General Forman, that scarce any part of the 2000 men ordered under his Command to the reinforcement of this Army, were from a variety of Circumstances to be expected;¹⁷ and therefore I should be able to afford less assistance of Continental Troops, to that Valuable post.

Colo. Dayton will inform you of the reduction of the Regiments of your State in point of Numbers and of the distress which they will labour under for want of Necessaries unless some measures can be fallen upon for supplying them. These are matters which deserve your most serious consideration and which I recommend to your attention.

It is in vain to think of filling up your Regiments by the common mode of enlistment, while the pernicious practice of hiring substitutes for the Militia prevails; for what man will

16. Both of Forman's letters, dated Oct.26 and Oct. 29, 1777, are in the *Washington Papers*.

17. The draft at this point stated that part of these 2,000 men were ordered to Monmouth County, N.J., to overawe the disaffected and to guard the salt works; but these lines were crossed out.

engage to serve during the War for a bounty of twenty dollars, when he can get twice as much for serving one Month in the Militia. Some of the Eastern States and Virginia have adopted the mode of drafting and I am told it succeeds, and was the practice universal, the people would not think it a hardship. I do not mention this by way of dictating to or directing you, I only do it to shew what has been found to answer the end in other States. I am confident that could we once be happy enough to fill the Continental Regiments, we should never have occasion to trouble the Militia again.

Circumscribed as we are in our importations from abroad, the Cloathier General finds it impossible to comply with the full demands of the whole Army. It therefore becomes incumbent upon the different States, to endeavour to procure the most material Articles of Blankets, Shoes and Stockings, at this inclement Season; and I am convinced if Assessments of these things were laid upon those only who do not perform Military Service, enough might be found to make the Troops comfortable; I have repeatedly sent out Officers to make Collections, but they either do it partially or neglect it wholly. I must therefore intreat you to lay this matter before your legislature as early as possible, and press them to make provision in such way as seems to them most likely to answer the end. I have the honor etc.¹⁸

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

To THE MASSACHUSETTS COUNCIL

Camp at White Marsh, November 5, 1777.

Sir: I have been duly honored with your favor of the 25th Ulto. and join your honorable board most heartily, in congratulations on our success in the surrender of Genl. Burgoyne and his Army, an Event of great importance, and which reflects the highest honor upon our Arms.

In respect to the embarkation of the Prisoners, I take it for granted, that the beneficial consequences the British Nation will derive from their arrival in England, will be sufficient motives for General Howe to use every possible exertion to get them away, and that no application for that end will be necessary. For, as soon as they arrive, they will enable the Ministry to send an equal number of other Troops from their different Garrisons to join him here, or upon any other service against the American States. I shall be sorry, if their remaining, should subject you to the inconveniences you seem to apprehend; and, if they can be accomodated, I think, in point of Policy, we should not be anxious for their early departure. As to the Transports, if Genl. Howe is in a Situation to send them, It is to be presumed, they will be properly appointed with provisions and Wood, the terms of Convention not obliging us to furnish their Prisoners for a longer time than their continuance in

our hands. I do not apprehend, that there will be anything to fear from the Vessels assigned for their transportation. The Condition which they are to be allowed an Entry, imports a time and no stipulations that can be made, will be more obligatory. Nevertheless, prudence and the usage of Nations do not only justify, but require, that every precaution should be had, previous to their being admitted into Port, to prevent an infraction of treaty and any Act incomptable with the design of their coming. What these precautions ought to be, will naturally occur. In fine, Sir, I do not know how far I should advise in this business, and suppose it probable, that Congress will give you their sentiments fully upon it, being possessed of all the circumstances by a state[ment] from Genl. Gates, and also from Genl. Heath.

I have nothing new to inform you of, the Situation of the Enemy in this Quarter being the same that it has been for some time past, and no interesting event having taken place, since the repulse of Count Donnop on the 22d Ulto. and the destruction of the two Ships of War the succeeding day. I have the honor etc.¹⁷

To THE PRESIDENT OF DELAWARE²⁸

Head Quarters, November 8, 1777.

Sir:

17. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. Ford prints this letter as to Jeremiah Powell, who was president of the council.

28. John McKinly, who at this date was a prisoner of war. George Read was Vice President of Delaware and the then acting executive.

The approaching season and the scanty Supplies of Cloathing in public store, have induced me to send Lt. Colo. Pope²⁹ to procure, if possible, a suitable Quantity for the Troops of your State. The distress of the Army in this instance, is great, and will daily increase, if some relief is not obtained. I do not know, whether your State may have turned its attention to this Object, or what provision it may have made. If it has and there are Supplies on hand, it will be a happy circumstance: but if not, I must intreat the earliest interposition of your aid, that a sufficient collection may be made.

Besides the necessaries, which I hope will be derived from the State, I have instructed Colo. Pope to obtain all he possibly can by purchase from the Inhabitants and Individuals, in which, I trust, he will have your countenance and every assistance. I need not detail our Wants; they are general, and extend to every species of Cloathing and to Blankets, but to the latter, and to Shoes and Stockings, in a peculiar manner. I assure you, Sir, these requisitions of mine are not the result of Choice but of the most urgent necessity, which will apologize for the trouble they may occasion you. Colo. Pope

is acquainted with the condition of the Troops, and will explain it. As the circumstances of your State, in point of Manufactures, are equal to any and far superior to those of most of the Thirteen, I flatter myself, that the supplies from thence will be ample for their soldiery, and that they will in some measure exceed for the benefit of the Army in General. Those who are able

29. Lieut. Col. Charles Pope, of the Delaware regiment. He resigned in December, 1779.

and attached to the cause, ought to contribute from motives of generosity and a regard to the service; And such as are disaffected, should be compelled. The latter is authorised by Congress and in a few instances the power has been exercised. I have the Honor etc.³⁰

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, November 8, 1777.

Sir: The great importance of the post at Red Bank has led me to be importunate in applications for its reinforcement. the State over which your Excellency presides is more particularly call'd upon, by reason of its Situation, and because it never furnished the two thousand Men which were ordered as its quota to the Continental Army. I do therefore most earnestly entreat your Excellency, that no exertions be wanting on your part, to have as respectable a Force embodied as the Circumstances of the State will permit, for the purpose above mentioned.

Haddonfield may be appointed as the place of rendezvous for the several Parts of it, and when the whole are assembled there, they will receive the orders of Brigr. Genl. Varnum. I am etc.

30. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The original is in the collection of Judge E. A. Armstrong, of Princeton, N. J., to whose kindness the editor is indebted.

P.S. Tho' Haddonfield is mentioned as a convenient place for Assembling this Reinforcement, yet it is not to be considered as stationary, but subject to removal as circumstances may require.

P.S. When this was ready to be closed, your Excellency's Letter of the 5th Inst. came to hand. I hope the measures which you have proposed for furnishing the Troops with Cloathing and Blankets will be adopted and prove successful, as it is a Matter of the highest importance. I think there can be no objection to your Excellency's plan for disposing of the State Prisoners, as it is dictated by humanity and is perfectly consistent with good policy.³¹

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, White Marsh, November 10, 1777.

Sir: I have the honor of yours of yesterday, I am sorry that you construed a part of my last letter into any kind of reflection upon the exertions of your State. I could not mean it, as I am conscious they do not deserve it. As it happened from several particular Circumstances, that the two thousand Militia voted to reinforce this Army, could not leave Jersey, I meant to urge the Necessity of their Marching towards Red Bank, to maintain that Valuable post, in the preservation of which the people of Jersey are peculiarly interested. For had the Enemy possession of that, they would make inroads into all their Western Counties.

31. The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

I am much pleased to hear that General Dickinson will, if he can possibly be spared, come to take the Command in Gloucester County, more especially as General Forman has resigned.

Give me leave, Sir, to congratulate you most Sincerely upon your re-election to the Government, and to assure you that I am etc.⁴⁷

To GOVERNOR PATRICK HENRY

Head Quarters, White Marsh, November 13, 1777.

Sir: I was, two days ago, honored with your favors of the 29th and 30th. October. I wish it were in my power to keep up a more regular Correspondence with the different States, but being exceedingly pressed by a variety of Business,⁷³ I am often under the necessity of being deficient in that respect. Since the engagement at Germantown, no material alteration has happened in the situation of the two Armies, Genl. Howe has withdrawn himself close within his lines round Philadelphia, and we have fallen down with the Main Body of the Army to this place about 13 Miles from Philadelphia; our light parties are much nearer and cut off all communication between the Country and City. I am in daily expectation of a Reinforcement from

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

73. At this point in the draft the following is crossed off: “and thinking that the intelligence which I transmitted to Congress is communicated by the Delegates to their respective Constituents,”

the Northern Army, and General Howe has drawn the principal part of his force from New York. Happy would it be for the liberties of this Country, could a sufficient head of Men be suddenly Collected, to give a fatal Blow to the remainder of her oppressors, now drawn together in such a situation, that it would be impossible to make a retreat after the Delaware is rendered unnavigable by Frost. Since the Enemy took possession of Philadelphia their whole attention has been paid to the reduction of Fort Mercer upon the Jersey Shore and Fort Mifflin situated upon a small Island in the Delaware. These two posts defend the Chevaux de frize. In an attack upon the former on the 22d last Month, the Enemy lost Count Donnop and about 400 Men, killed, wounded and prisoners and the following day in an Attack by Water upon Fort Mifflin, the Augusta of 64 Guns took fire and blew up and the Merlin 18, getting on ground; was burnt by her own people. As their land Batteries against Fort Mifflin had long proved ineffectual, we were in hopes that it would bake all their attempts, but a few days ago they opened a new Battery within five hundred yards, the Metal of which was so heavy, that it has demolished the greatest part of our Works and I fear we shall be obliged to evacuate it totally. This will be a great disadvantage to us, as the Enemy will not only get up supplies from their Fleet by means of small Vessels, but they will be enabled to annoy our Fleet

which lay above the Chevaux de frize. This I think is a pretty exact state of our Military operations up to this time.

As we have no immediate occasion for Col. Harrison's Regimt. of Artillery, I would advise that they should be inoculated as soon as circumstances will admit and held ready to march, when the service requires them.

The recruiting of our Continental Battalions, is a thing of so much importance, that I wish it were in my Power to point out a mode which will fully Answer the end. To attempt to enlist on the bounty allowed by Congress, is fruitless, as the amazing Sums given for Substitutes in the Militia, induces all those, who would otherwise have gone into the Continental service, to prefer a line in which neither duty or discipline is severe; and in which they have a chance of having the bounty repeated three or four times a year. To this fatal source, is owing the ill success of recruiting from one end of the Continent to the other. In my former letters to you upon this Subject, I mentioned drafting, as the only feasible method left, and I am still of the same opinion, but how to make this expedient, disagreeable in its nature and appearance, relished by the people, I will not undertake to determine. There would be a degree of Severity, in obliging the person on whom the lot should fall, to serve at all events, and if he was allowed to find a Man in his stead, the price which these kind of Substitutes for the War would ask for themselves, would in all probability amount to an enormous Sum. Thus you see, Sir, there are difficulties on all Sides, but I trust, if your Legislature think fit to adopt the plan upon the hint I have dropped,

that their wisdom will point out a mode adequate to the end proposed and agreeable to the genius of the people, who are to be the objects of it.

There is another matter of as much importance and no less difficult than the raising of the Soldier, and that is the Cloathing of him. Our importations from abroad are so uncertain from the Number of the Enemy's Cruizers that infest our Coasts that we can Scarcely count upon any Supplies thro' that Channel, and the Stock of Goods that were upon hand are so nearly consumed, that I look with the greatest concern, upon the Sufferings of the Soldiers for the remainder of this year; and

as for the next I view them as naked, except Some measures can be fallen upon to collect from the Inhabitants of the different States part of their Stock of Cloathing, which I fear is but Scanty. In this State very great Collections have been and are now making, and I have sent Officers to Jersey, Delaware and Maryland, with the most pressing Letters to the respective Governors, to give what assistance they can in procuring Necessaris for their Troops. Blankets, Shoes and Stockings are most immediately wanted, but Cloathing of any kind would be acceptable at this inclement Season, and more especially as we have the greatest prospect of a Winter Campaign.

I hope you will recommend this warmly to your Assembly, and I am certain that if they would immediately lay a very moderate Assessment upon the different Counties, that enough would soon be procured, without being felt by the inhabitants to

make the number of Men, which your State has in the field, comfortable. But all depends upon its being done speedily, or the Season will be past, before the Supply arrives.

The time, for which the original Men of the nine old Virginia Regiments were raised, will expire in February and from that to April; and it is much to be doubted, whether they will reinlist upon the common Bounty, if at all. They will be a loss to the service as they are seasoned soldiers and well acquainted with their duty. The Officers commanding the Regiments, proposed as an inducement to the Men to reinlist, to permit them to go home about Christmas and remain there till March, if your numbers would admit of this, or the situation of the Enemy was such that we could conveniently withdraw ourselves into winter Quarters. I would cheerfully comply with their request, for the sake of engaging the Men again, but I fear they cannot be spared. I mention this, lest your legislature in calculating the number of Men wanting to make up your Quota. should count upon the Men of the nine Regiments before mentioned, thro' inadvertency. I have the Honor etc.⁷⁴

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

**To THE OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS OF THE HUNTERDON, BURLINGTON,
GLOUCESTER, SALEM, AND CUMBERLAND COUNTIES MILITIA**

Head Quarters, November 20, 1777.

Friends and Fellow Soldiers.

The Enemy have thrown a considerable Force into your State with intent to possess themselves of the post at Red Bank and after clearing the obstructions in Delaware make incursions into your Country.

To prevent them from effecting either of these purposes, I have sent over such a number of Continental Troops, as I trust will, with the spirited exertions of the Militia, totally defeat their designs, and oblige them to return to the City and Suburbs of Philadelphia, which is the only Ground they possess upon the Pennsylvania Shore, and in which they cannot subsist, if cut off from the supplies of the plentiful State of New Jersey.

I therefore call upon you, by all that you hold dear, to rise up as one Man, and rid your Country²⁸ of its cruel invaders. To convince you that this is to be done by a general appearance of all its Freemen armed and ready to give them opposition, I need only put you in Mind of the effect it had upon the British Army in June last, who laid aside their intention of marching through the upper part of your State, upon seeing the hostile manner in which you were prepared to receive them. Look also at the glorious effect which followed that spirit of Union which appeared among our Brethren of New York and New England, who, by²⁹ the brave assistance which they offered to the Continental Army, obliged a royal one, flushed with their former Victories to sue for terms, and lay down their Arms in the most submissive Manner.

28. At this point the draft has “at one Blow” crossed out.

29. At this point the draft has “their vigorous exertions” crossed out.

Reflect upon these things, and I am convinced that every Man who can bear

a Musket, will take it up, and without respect to Classes give his Service in the Field for a few Weeks, perhaps only for a few days.³⁰

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, November 24, 1777.

Sir: I am honored with yours of the 22d, it gives me great pleasure to find, that your Legislature have undertaken to procure a Quantity of Blankets and other Cloathing by civil Authority which mode ought ever to be adopted instead of the Military. I have given orders to have all the Officers who were vested with powers to collect these Articles to be immediately recalled, except to Colo. Forman for whom you have a letter to that purpose.

I highly approve of the Measures you are taking to put a stop to the illicit Correspondence that is carrying on, between the Inhabitants upon the Sound and New York.⁴⁸ I am etc.⁴⁹

30. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman. This address was published in the *New Jersey Gazette*, Burlington, Dec. 5, 1777, where it was followed by an address from Governor Livingston, dated Trenton, November 23, exhorting the militia “to turn out with alacrity, at a time when Providence seems to have presented you with a glorious opportunity for defeating the common enemy.”

48. A trade carried on from Elizabethtown, N. J., to Staten Island, N. Y., under pretense of obtaining intelligence. Governor Livingston issued warrants for the arrest of the worst of the offenders.

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

To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Head Quarters, White Marsh, December 3, 1777.

Dear Sir: The importance of the North River in the present contest and the necessity of defending It, are Subjects so well understood and so familiar to you, that it is needless for me to enlarge upon them. I therefore only mean to mention that no exertions can be too great to render it secure against any future attempts of the Enemy, and that the present opportunity should be improved to effect it, as far as it may be practicable. There cannot remain a doubt, but that the Enemy, as soon as the Spring opens, or the condition of the River after the Winter's frost will permit, will attempt to gain possession of it, to prosecute their favourite plans of ruin and of devastation. [unless the most vigorous efforts are adopted to prevent them] Under these Ideas, I must beg, my Dr. Sir, that you will turn your attention to this infinitely important Object, and by your advice and assistance promote and forward, as much as possible, such Works and Obstructions as shall be essential to render it perfectly secure. I wish to be favoured with your sentiments upon the subject, and that you will give them with freedom and without reserve, as to the present management, or of any difficulties that may have occurred to prevent you from interfering.

Genl. Gates was directed by Congress to turn his views to this matter, but from some proceedings that have just

come to hand, he may be employed in the Board of War, if it shall be his choice. Should this be the case, nothing would be more pleasing to me, and I am convinced more advancive of the Interest of the States, than for you to take the chief direction and super-intendance of this business; and I shall be happy, if the Affairs of Government will permit you. If they will, you may rest assured, no aid in my power to afford you shall be withheld, and there are no Impediments on the score of delicacy or superior command, that shall not be removed. I am etc.⁹³

[N.Y.H.S.]

To GOVERNOR PATRICK HENRY

Head Quarters, White Marsh, December 10, 1777.

Sir: I was honored with yours of the 22d Ulto. on Wednesday last; but the Situation, which the Army has since been in, has prevented me from answering it before. Genl Howe had been for some time preparing for a move, which every account from the City, informed me was intended against this Army. On thursday Evening he advanced as far as Chesnut Hill and in the Morning he appeared upon the Heights about three Miles in our front. There was a small Skirmish between the Enemy's advanced Corps and the Pennsylvania Militia, in which Brigr. General Irvine

93. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The phrase in brackets is in the draft, which is also in Harrison's writing, but not in the letter sent.

of that State was unfortunately wounded, thrown from his Horse and taken Prisoner. Having reconnoitred our Situation all that day, and I suppose not liking the appearance of our right Wing, they moved on Friday night about three miles to our left. They lay still on saturday, and on sunday about noon intelligence was brought that they were in full March towards our Camp. As soon as they began to move Colo. Morgan with the light Corps under his Command and the Maryland Militia attacked their right flank, and I am informed did them a good deal of damage, considering the Number of Men that engaged. About sunset they halted again, their left wing being about one Mile from our line. From this Manœvre I expected an Attack in the Night, or by day break and made disposition accordingly. On Monday Afternoon they began to move, but instead of advancing, they filed off from their right, and the first Certain Account, that I could obtain of their intentions was that they were in full March towards Philadelphia; I immediately dispatched light parties after them, but such was the rapidity of their movement, that they could not even come up with their rear.

I am pleased to hear of the Arrival of Cloathing in Virginia,⁷ which tho' not very great will be very acceptable, as far as it will go. I beg that whatever you can spare may be immediately sent forward to the Head Quarters of the Army, where ever that may be, and I have no doubt but we can get the Cloaths more readily made up by the Taylors of the Army, than you can

7. In one of Beaumarchais's ships at Portsmouth, Va. Thomas Nelson, jr., in a letter (November 21) informed Washington of this arrival. Nelson's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

in the Country. I observe that there is a small Supply of Cloth, Suitable for the Officers. I should be extremely glad if that could be sent up for the use of those who remain in the Field and not delivered out to those, who under various pretences will find means to winter at home. I hope the Gentlemen, who are appointed in your State to make a Collection of Cloathing for your Troops will exert themselves; for altho' large quantities are ordered from Europe, the arrival is so precarious, that we ought by no means to put a dependence upon a Supply thro' that Channel.

As I have not yet seen the Director General of the Hospitals since the Receipt of your Letter, I cannot say, what may be his wants in the medicinal way, but I dare to say a Supply of any of the Capital Articles will be very acceptable to him. I expect him here in a day or two, when you shall hear further from him, or me upon the Subject. I have the honor etc.⁸

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, White Marsh, December 11, 1777.

Sir: I had the honor of receiving yours of the 1st Instant some days since; but the Situation, which the Army has been in, must apologize for my not Answering it sooner. Genl. Howe, after making great preparations, and threatenng to drive us

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

beyond the Mountains, came out with his whole force last thursday Evening, and, after manœuvering round us till the Monday following, decamped very hastily, and marched back to Philadelphia.

In my opinion, trying the Officers, taken by General Dickinson on Staten Island, for High Treason, may prove a dangerous expedient. It is true they left the state after such an offence was declared

treason; but, as they had not taken the Oaths, nor had entered into our Service, it will be said they had a right to choose their side. Again, by the same rule that we try them, may not the Enemy try any natural born subject of Great Britain, taken in Arms in our Service. We have a great number of them; and I, therefore, think we had better submit to the Necessity of treating a few individuals, who may really deserve a severer fate, as Prisoners of War, than run the Risque of giving an opening for retaliation upon the Europeans in our Service.¹¹ I am pleased to hear that your Assembly are in so good a disposition to regulate the price of Necessaries for the Army. I could wish that they would not forget to regulate the prices of Country produce, which the Commissaries tell me has risen to so exorbitant a rate, that there is no purchasing a single Article from the Farmers. I am &ca.¹²

To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL

Head Quarters, Gulf Mill, December 15, 1777.

Sir:

11. The names of these officers were not given in Livingston's letter (December 1) to Washington. Livingston mentioned that Putnam was to have made an attack on New York at the same time that Dickinson moved against Staten Island, "but I cannot learn that the Old Gentleman has bore any part in the Concert. L fear Sir there are Newcombs in your Army as well as in our Militia." Livingston's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

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

I have the honor of yours of the 2d Instt. I am much obliged for the attention you have paid to my requests thro' Genl. Putnam, and I shall ever acknowledge the readiness with which you have Always afforded any assistance from your State, when demanded immediately by myself. I was never consulted in the least upon the Rhode Island expedition, and I cannot therefore pretend to say

who were or who were not to blame; but it undoubtedly cost the Public, an enormous sum to little or no purpose.

I observe by the Copy of your letter to Congress, that your State had fallen upon means to supply your troops with Cloathing, I must earnestly beg that it may be sent on to Camp as fast as it is collected. To cover the Country more effectually we shall be obliged to lay in a Manner in the Field the whole Winter, and except the Men are warmly clad they must suffer much.

Among the troops of your State there are 363 drafts whose time of Service will expire with this Month. This deduction, with the former deficiency of the Regiments, will reduce them exceedingly low and as I have represented this Matter to Congress very fully I hope they have before this time urged to the States the necessity which there is of filling their Regiments this Winter. But lest they should not have done it, I beg leave to urge the matter to your immediate consideration. Recruits for the War ought by all means, to be obtained if possible;

but if that cannot be done, drafts for one year at least should be called out without delay; and I hope that as many as are now upon the point of going home, will be immediately reinstated. We must expect to loose a considerable number of Men by sickness and otherways, in the course of the Winter and if we cannot take the field in the Spring with a superior or at least an equal force with the Enemy, we shall have laboured thro' the preceeding Campaigns to little purpose. I have the honor etc.²⁷

To GOVERNOR PATRICK HENRY

Camp 14 Miles from Philadelphia, December 19, 1777.

Sir: On Saturday Evening I was honored with your favor of the 6th. Instant, and am much obliged by your exertions for Cloathing the Virginia Troops. The Articles you send shall be applied to their use, agreeable to your wishes.³⁷ It will be difficult for me to determine when the Troops are supplied, owing to their fluctuating and deficient state at present; However I believe there will be

little reason to suspect that the quantities that may be procured, will much exceed the necessary demands. It will be a happy circumstance, and of great saving, if we should be able in future to Cloath our Army comfortably. Their sufferings hitherto have been great, and from our deficiencies

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

37. Henry had sent nine wagonloads of supplies and would forward, shortly, he wrote, £15,000 of woolens for clothing for the Virginia troops.

in this instance, we have lost many men and have generally been deprived of a large proportion of our Force. I could wish you to transmit the price of all the Necessaries, you may send from time to time. This will be essential, and the omission upon former occasions of the like Nature in the Course of the War, has been the cause of much uneasiness and intricacy in adjusting Accounts.

I am persuaded that many desertions have proceeded from the cause you mention. The Officers were highly culpable in making such assurances. The Expedient you propose might, and I believe would bring in several, but I cannot consider myself authorised to adopt it.³⁸

The Letters for the Marquis were sent to his Quarters as soon as they were received. I shall present you to him according to your wishes. He is certainly amiable and highly worthy of Esteem.

I have nothing material to inform you of, Except that we are told by the Boston paper that a Ship has arrived from France at one of the eastern Ports, with Fifty pieces of Brass Artillery, 5000 Stand of Arms and other Stores. There are letters also which mention her arrival, but not the particular amount of the Stores. I have the honor etc.

P.S. I sent the Express on to Congress, which occasioned me to write by this Conveyance. I wrote you on the 13th Ulto. two Letters—

38. Henry's letter stated that a great many deserters were skulking on the Eastern Shore. They had been promised that they would not be called away from there and, on being ordered north, had

deserted. Henry's suggestion was that Washington pardon their desertion and promise that they would not be called away from the Shore, if they would surrender themselves. He argued that that many more recruits would be thus released elsewhere in Virginia for the main Army.

one a private one. I am fearful and uneasy lest they should have miscarried, as you have not mentioned the Receipt of them.³⁹

To PRESIDENT GEORGE READ

Head Quarters, Gulf Mill, December 19, 1777.

Sir: I have received information, which I have great reason to believe is true, that the Enemy mean to establish a post at Wilmington, for the purpose of Countenancing the disaffected in the Delaware State, drawing supplies from that Country and the lower parts of Chester County, and securing a post upon Delaware River during the Winter. As the advantages resulting to the Enemy from such a position are most obvious, I have determined and shall accordingly, this day send off General Smallwood with a respectable Continental force to take post at Wilmington before them. If Genl. Howe thinks the place of that Importance to him, which I conceive it is, he will probably attempt to dispossess us of it; and, as the force, which I can at present spare, is not adequate to making it perfectly secure, I expect that you will call out as many Militia as you possibly can to rendezvous without loss of time at Wilmington, and put themselves under the Command of Genl. Smallwood. I shall hope that the people will turn out cheerfully, when they consider that they are called upon to remain within, and defend, their own state.

39. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

In a letter, which I had the honor of receiving from you some little time past, you express a wish that some mode may be fallen upon to procure the exchange of Govr. McKinley. As this Gentleman will be considered in the Civil line, I have not any prisoner of War proper to be proposed for him. The application would go more properly to Congress, who have a number of State Prisoners under

their direction for some of whom Sir Win. Howe would probably exchange the Governor. I have the honor etc.

P.S. Let the Militia March to Wilmington by Companies, or even parts of Companies and form their Battalions there; Because if the Enemy move, it will be quickly.

PROCLAMATION

Head Quarters, near the Valley Forge, December 20, 1777.

By virtue of the power and direction to me especially given, I hereby enjoin and require all persons residing within Seventy miles of my Head Quarters to thresh one half of their grain by the first day of February and the other half by the first day of March next ensuing, on pain in case of failure of having All that shall remain in Sheaves, after the periods above mentioned, seized by the Commissaries and Quarter

Masters of the Army and paid for as Straw.⁴⁰

To GOVERNOR RICHARD CASWELL

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, December 25, 1777.

Sir: I had the honor to receive your Favor of the 25th Ulto., with its Inclosures by yesterday's Post. A spirit of resigning their Commissions, whether resulting from necessary causes or reigned ones, I cannot determine, has been but too prevalent in the Army of late. I have discountenanced it as much as possible, especially where the Applications were by men of merit and in some such instances have peremptorily refused to grant them. The practice is of a pernicious tendency and must have an unhappy influence on the service. At the same time, it is to be observed, where Officers wish to resign, whose Characters are exceptionable or do not stand in a favorable point of view, their Commissions should be received, as their continuance would not promote the Public Interest and

might prevent the promotion of better men. I shall pay due regard to the Resolve of your Honble. House of Commons,⁷⁰

40. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The printer's changes in capitalization and punctuation may be noted by a comparison of this draft text with the illustration facing next page. Tench Tilghman forwarded the text to John Dunlap, then in Lancaster, Pa., requesting him to strike off 300 handbills (see illustration) and to continue printing the Proclamation in his *Pennsylvania Packet* until the time limit mentioned therein expired. The quartermaster in Lancaster was to distribute the handbills. "If there is a German Paper printed in Lancaster be kind enough to have the proclamation printed in that also." Tilghman's letter to Dunlap, dated Dec. 22, 1777, is in the *Washington Papers*.

70. The Legislature of North Carolina had passed a resolve that any Carolina officer who resigned from the Army, except for good reasons certified to by the Commander in Chief, would be deemed incapable thereafter of holding any civil or military office in the gift of the State.

and that their views may be the more fully answered, I shall deliver a Copy of it to the Commanding Officer of your Troops, that it may be communicated through their Line.

I have nothing that is agreeable or interesting to inform you of in the Military Line. The Enemy still remain in possession of Philadelphia, and are strongly fortified by a Chain of Intrenchments and Redoubts from Schuylkill to Delaware. By a Letter from the Eastward, a ship arrived at Portsmouth (New Hampshire), about the last Ulto. in Seventy five days from Marseilles with forty Eight Brass four pounders, 19. nine Inch Mortars, 4110 stand of Arms, 9 Tons of Powder and 61,051 lb. of sulphur, 2500 9 Inch Shells and 2000, 4 lb Balls for the United States. This is an agreeable event, as it is a recent proof of the friendly disposition of the French Nation. I have the honor etc.⁷¹

71. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

To GOVERNOR PATRICK HENRY

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, December 27, 1777.

Sir: On Wednesday I had the Honor to receive your letter of the 9th. Instt., I have directed a Compleat state of the Virginia Troops to be made, which if done and I expect it will, I will transmit it by the next post. From it you will be able to discover the Amount of the Whole, their deficiency, How many Men of the Old Regiments have reinlisted &c.

I do not recollect ever to have heard that Genl. Stephen was employed or that he had interested himself to reinlist the Troops before the receipt of your favor. But however this may have been, It is evident, his Success was not very great or by any means equal to what his Letter of the 12th of April professes. This you will readily conclude from an Inspection of the return, especially, when you are informed that most, if not every Man reinlisted, have been engaged

within the course of a few Weeks past, by the exertions of their Genl. and other Officers in Consequence of my Orders. As an inducement to this desirable end, the Officers were authorised to promise a Furlough to such as would re-engage till March, and I hoped the Measure would have been attended with more happy effects than it has been. I really do not know what plans will be most likely to succeed for filling your Battalions or those of the other States. It is an Object of infinite, indeed of the last importance, and must be effected if possible. All the difficulties we are now involved in, are the result of the fatal, ruinous policy, of temporary and short Inlistments.

In Several of my late Letters, I addressed you on the distresses of the Troops for want of Cloathing. Your ready exertions to releive them have given me the highest satisfaction. At the same time, knowing how exceedingly the Service has been injured, How great the Sufferings and loss of Men thro' this want, I cannot but hope every measure will be pursued, that circumstances will admit, to keep them Supplied from time to time. No pains, no efforts can be too great for this purpose. The Articles of Shoes, Stockings and Blankets demand the most particular attention, as the expenditure of them from the Operations and Common accidents of War we find robe greater than Articles of any others. I assure you, Sir, it is not easy to give you a just and accurate Idea of the Sufferings of the Troops at large.

Were they to be minutely detailed, the relation so unexpected, so contrary to the common opinion of people distant from the Army, would scarcely be thought credible. I fear I shall wound your feelings by telling you that by a Field return on the 23d. Instant, we had in Camp not less than 2898 Men unfit for duty by reason of their being barefoot and otherwise naked; Besides these, there are many others detained at the Hospitals and in Farmers Houses for the same causes. I will no longer dwell upon the Melancholly subject, being firmly convinced, that your views and most Studious care, will be employed to render the Situation of the Troops, both Officers and privates, comfortable in future. If the Several States direct their attention to this indispensably essential Object, As I trust they will, I have the most Sanguine hopes, that their Supplies with those immediately imported by Congress themselves, will be equal to every demand. I have the Honor etc.⁷⁶

To ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, December 27, 1777.

Dr. Sir: I was a few days ago favored with yours of the 8th instant. I am sorry that any undue promotions Should have disgusted your Brother,⁷⁷ but as I do not know the instances to

76. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

77. Col. Henry Beekman Livingston.

which you allude, I can say nothing to the justice of his pretensions to rank in preference to them. The only dispute that has come to my knowledge, is that between him and Colo. Cortland, and in that I must say Colo Cortland had in my opinion an undoubted right to the precedency, upon principles of strict Justice. And as I have heard nothing more of this Matter for some time, I imagine Colo. Livingston has dropped his claim.

It is impossible to form such a Corps as you mention at this time. The Regiments, small in the beginning of the Campaign and much diminished by service, will not bear a draft without reducing them to mere Companies. I expect a Committee of Congress here in a short time, to confer upon ways and means of new modelling the Army, I shall, among other things, strongly recommend the formation of Corps of Light Infantry, and as your Brother will be upon the spot, he will have an opportunity, if such are formed, of putting in his claim for a Command. I have a high opinion of his Merit, and therefore shall not be forgetful of him. I do not chuse to make an absolute promise at this time, because I know there will be many competitors for such Posts, and I am determined to decide in favor of those, who appear in every view best qualified, and who will give the most general satisfaction. Col. Morgan,⁷⁸ Colo. Butler⁷⁹ and Major Morris⁸⁰ who have so eminently distinguished themselves in the light Corps established this Campaign, will undoubtedly claim a preference, should they incline to

78. Col. Daniel Morgan.

79. Richard Butler.

80. Maj. Lewis Morris, jr.

continue in that kind of service. I have the honor, etc.⁸¹

CIRCULAR TO THE STATES²

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, December 29, 1777.

Gentn. I take the liberty of transmitting you the inclosed Return, which contains a state of such of the Massachusetts Regiments, as are in the Army immediately under my command. By this you will discover how deficient, how exceedingly short they are of the compliment of Men, which of right according to the establishment they ought to have. This information, I have thought it my duty to lay before you, that it may have that attention which its importance demands; and in full hope,

that the most early and vigorous measures will be adopted, not only to make the Regiments more respectable, but compleat. The expediency and necessity of this procedure are too obvious to need arguments. Should we have a respectable force to Commence an early Campaign with, before the Enemy are reinforced, I trust we shall have an Opportunity of Striking a favorable and an happy stroke; But if we should be obliged to defer it, It will not be easy to describe with any degree of precision what disagreeable consequences may result from It. We may rest

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

2. This circular is a fair example of some of the peculiar textual difficulties encountered in editing Washington's letters. The draft, in the *Washington Papers*, is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison, and in the Washington photostats in the Library of Congress are facsimiles of the circular to New York and the circular to Maryland. No one of these three is exactly like the other two in word arrangement, capitalization, or spelling, while all three are in agreement in ideas and sense. It therefore follows that it is impossible for any one text to absolutely agree with every one of the surviving circulars. The text here printed follows the draft in the *Washington Papers*.

The circular to the Governor of Maryland omits the opening sentence and substitutes instead the following: "Genl. Smallwood will, by this Conveyance, transmit you a Return of Seven of the Maryland Regiments. The eighth, which was composed of part of the German Battalion and part of Rawlins's Regiment, is in the same situation in point of numbers."

The circular was sent to all of the States except Georgia, and in each instance addressed to the executive of the State, except the circular to Massachusetts, which was sent to the council.

assured, that Britain will strain every nerve to send from home and abroad, as early as possible, All the Troops it shall be in her power to raise or procure. Her views and schemes for subjugating these States and bringing them under her despotic Rule will be unceasing and unremitted. Nor should we in my opinion, turn our expectations to, or have the least dependance on the intervention of a Foreign War. Our wishes on this head have been disappointed hitherto, and I do not know that we have a right to promise ourselves from any intelligence that has been received, bearing the marks of

authority that there is any certain prospect of one. However, be this as it may, our reliance should be wholly on our own strength and exertions. If in addition to these, there should be aid derived from a War between the Enemy and any of the European powers, our situation will be so much the better. If not, our efforts and exertions will have been the more necessary and indispensable. For my own part I should be happy if the Idea of a foreign rupture should be thrown intirely out of our Scale of politics, and that it may have not the least weight in our public measures. No bad effects could flow from it, but on the contrary many of a salutary nature. At the same time I do not mean, that such an Idea ought to be discouraged among the people at large [because the event is possible³].

There is one thing more, to which I would take the liberty of solliciting your most serious and constant attention, to wit, the cloathing of your Troops and the procuring of every

3. This phrase is in the circular sent to New York.

possible supply in your power for that end. If the several States exert themselves in future, in this Instance, and I trust they will, I hope that the Supplies they will be able to furnish in aid of those which Congress may immediately import themselves will be equal and competent to every demand. If they do not, I fear, I am satisfied the Troops will never be in a situation to answer the public expectation and perform the duties required of them. No pains, no efforts on the part of the States can be too great for this purpose. It is not easy to give you a just and accurate idea of the sufferings of the Army at large and of the loss of Men on this Account. Were they to be minutely detailed, your feelings would be wounded, and the relation would probably be not received without a degree of doubt and discredit. We had in Camp on the 23d Instr. by a Field Return then taken, not less than 2898 Men unfit for duty by reason of their being barefoot and otherwise naked. Besides this number, sufficiently distressing of itself, there are many others detained in Hospitals and crowded in Farmers Houses for the same causes. In a most particular manner I flatter myself the care and attention of the States, will be directed to the Supply of Shoes, Stockings and Blankets, as their expenditures from the common operations and accidents of War is far greater than that of any other Articles. In a word, the United and respective exertions of the States cannot be too great, too

vigorous in this interesting work, and we shall never have a fair and just prospect for success, 'till our Troops (Officers

and Men) are better provided than they are or have been.

We have taken post here for the Winter, as a place best calculated to cover the Country from the Ravages of the Enemy, and are now busily employed in erecting Huts for the Troops. This circumstance renders it the more Material, that the Supplies should be greater and more immediate than If the Men were in warm comfortable Houses.

The Return transmitted, comprehends only such Troops of your State, as are at this Camp. I imagine all the Regiments stand nearly upon the same footing in point of deficiency and from it, you will be able to form a pretty just estimate of the men that will be necessary to fill the whole.

Before I conclude I would also add, that it will be essential to inoculate the Recruits or Levies, as fast as they are raised, that their earliest services may be had. Should this be postponed, the work will be to do most probably at an interesting and critical period and when their aid may be very materially wanted. I have the honor etc.⁴

4. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, December 31, 1777.

Sir: It being of great importance to prevent the Enemy from Supplies of Forage and Provisions, I must take the liberty of requesting the interposition of your interest and Authority for this purpose, and that the most speedy and Suitable measures may be adopted and pursued either by your direction, or that of the Legislature or Council, for the removal of all that lies within the vicinity of the Jersey shore opposite Philadelphia, or that may be within the reach of the Enemy's foraging parties,

except such as may be really essential for the Inhabitants' use. They Should be removed so far back from the Water, that they will not be in danger of falling into the Enemy's hands. The expediency and necessity of the procedure, I am satisfied, will appear at once to you, and I have no doubt as far as it may be in your power it will be carried into execution. It is not unlikely but that some of the Owners, especially if there are any tainted with toryism, will be somewhat averse to the Measure, as it has happened in similar cases; However, I trust means will be found to do away their prejudices, and to convince them of the propriety of it; Indeed if they will reason from their own experience and that of their Neighbours on this Side Delaware, they cannot but assent to it. But be this as it may, it is a matter so important, that it ought not to be dispensed with. The present opportunity, while the weather is severe, and a considerable quantity of ice in the River is favorable for the removal, as the Enemy will not be able to give any interruption. I am not without power and directions from Congress, to act myself in Such instances. But I would wish the business to be done by Civil Authority, as their Acts will create less jealousy and disgust, and be viewed in a much more unexceptionable light.¹⁴

In a few days, All our Light Horse, except a few that will remain to do duty, will be sent to Trenton to Winter and recruit, It being a place, under all circumstances, the

14. At this point the draft has the following crossed out: "I shall always be unwilling to exercise my powers out of the line of the Army."

best adapted to that end. Besides recruiting, they will serve to protect the Country from incursions by small parties of the Enemy, and will give security to our Stores and Magazines. In addition to these, when we have secured and fortified our Camp, If circumstances will possibly admit, I will send a few more Troops. I cannot promise that they will be many, The Army being now much reduced by the expiration of the service of several Regiments, and from other causes, equally distressing.

Your Favor of the 25th with its inclosures I received on Sunday Evening. Mr. Boudinot, being apprized of the Situation of Lts. Buskirk and Earle and Surgeon Hammell, I presume will give the

necessary directions about them. As to Browne, should he be acquitted, he must be considered as a prisoner of War. Your Sentiments in the close of your Letter to Colo. Seely are certainly just and will not admit an Answer.

I sincerely feel for the unhappy Condition of our Poor Fellows in the Hospitals, and wish my powers to relieve them were equal to my inclination. It is but too melancholy a truth, that our Hospital Stores are exceedingly scanty and deficient in every instance, and I fear there is no prospect of their being better shortly. Our difficulties and distresses are certainly great and such as wound the feelings of Humanity. Our sick naked, our well naked, our unfortunate men in captivity naked I You were certainly right in representing the state of Sick, that they may be made more happy if possible.

I have ordered a Field Officer to be always, in future, at the Hospitals, and hope they will contribute all in their power to accomodate them and prevent some of the inconveniences which you mention and which are of great moment. As to the Directors, if they do not afford every aid in their power, their conduct is highly culpable and deserves the severest reprehension. I assure you, Sir, I shall ever consider myself much obliged by your information, of any grievances or abuses respecting the Army, and shall never suppose you step out of your proper line in doing it. We are all equally engaged in the present Important Struggle, and In the cause of Humanity, and are equally concerned in promoting them. I have the honor etc.¹⁵

To GOVERNOR NICHOLAS COOKE

Valley Forge, December 31, 1777.

Sir: By Lt. Colo. Barton, I was honored with your Favor of the 5th Ulto. with its Inclosure. The spirit and disposition of this Gentleman for enterprize and of the Officers concerned with him in capturing Genl. Prescott, give them a high claim to the thanks and esteem of their Country. Congress, persuaded of this, promoted Mr. Barton on the 24th Inst. to the Rank and pay of a Colonel in the Service of the States, and recommended him to

15. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

me for employment. To their and your recommendations, I would willingly pay the utmost attention, But at present It is impossible for me to introduce Col. Barton into the Army without injuring others and creating disgust, there being now a full and over proportion of Officers, of which he is convinced.

Under these circumstances I would take the liberty to mention, if your State should raise and continue Troops for their own defence, that his past merit, and that of the other Officers, affords favourable grounds to hope, if they can be in command, that their service would be attended with no small benefits. I have the honor etc.¹⁵

15. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

To PRESIDENT THOMAS WHARTON, JUNIOR

Head Quarters, January 1, 1778.

Sir: By this Express from General Armstrong, he informs me he is of opinion that 1000 Militia, regularly reliev'd, may be equal to effect the necessary duty on the North side of Schuylkill; he also mentions that he writes you to this purpose, and requests my sentiments thereon.

As it has been my constant desire and study to conduct things in such a manner as may be attended with the smallest expence and inconveniences to the people I readily concur in this measure, and expect it may answer, as 2000 could not prevent the Enemy from coming out in force, and 1000 may be a Sufficient check to small parties, and answer all the purposes of preventing an Intercourse between the City and Country.

I think it will be absolutely necessary to furnish the light Horse the General speaks of, As I shall be obliged to send those belonging to the Army into quarters, in order to put them in a condition to be fit to render any essential Service the approaching Campaign; from the present appearance

of matters I hope I shall not be obliged to call for any assistance of Militia to do duty on this side Schuylkill this Winter; or if I do, that the number will not exceed 2 or 300. I am, &c.³⁰

30. The draft is in the writing of John Fitzgerald.

On January 1 Lieut. Col. Richard Kidder Meade wrote to Maj. John Jameson, of the First Continental Dragoons, ordering him, by Washington's direction, to stop all intercourse between the country and Philadelphia and to be particularly alert to send word of any movement of the British toward Valley Forge. The expense of the dragoons and the matter of their rations was also touched upon. This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

To GOVERNOR NICHOLAS COOKE

Head Quarters, January 2, 1778.

Sir: Inclosed you will receive a Copy of a Letter from Genl. Varnum to me, upon the means which might be adopted for completing the Rhode Island Troops to their full proportion in the Continental Army. I have nothing to say, in addition to what I wrote the 29th of last Month on this important subject, but to desire that you will give the Officers employed in this business all the assistance in your power. I am, etc.⁴⁷

To GOVERNOR PATRICK HENRY

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, January 3, 1778.

Sir: Colo. Innes having staid a few days longer than he expected, it affords me an Opportunity of inclosing you the Returns of the Virginia Regts., which I promised in mine of the 27th December. I refer you to Colo. Innes for more full information than I have given you by letter, of matters relating to the Virginia line. A valuable prize has fallen into Genl. Smallwood's hands near Wilmington, I have not the particulars of her whole

47. The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

Cargo, but there are three hundred Chests of Arms besides many other useful Articles. I have the honour, etc.⁵³

**To WILLIAM CLAYTON, BENJAMIN YARD, RENSSELAER WILLIAMS, AND
BENJAMIN VAN CLEAVE⁶⁴**

Head Quarters, January 6, 1775.

Gentlemen: I received your Letter of the 2d Instant pointing out the many inconveniences that will attend Trenton and its Neighbourhood by quartering the light Horse there. Before this Step was determined on I made inquiry of the Forage Master ter Genl., who reported, that plenty of forage &c could be got convenient to the Town. my desire of adding in some degree to the Security of that neighbourhood and the public property thereabouts was also an inducement to its which by your letter I observe you are of opinion, will have a contrary effect; but in this I am satisfied you will find yourselves deceiv'd particularly when they will be aided by a body of Infantry on that side Delaware, which probably may be the Case [after some little time].

My duty obliges me to Quarter the Horse in such places as can afford them the necessary supplies during the Winter, and where they may at the same time give some Cover to the Country. If upon trial, Trenton is not found to Answer these intentions, such change

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

64. Magistrates of Trenton and Mercer Counties, N. J.

must take place as will most probably answer this purpose. I am, etc.⁶⁵

To PRESIDENT THOMAS WHARTON, JUNIOR

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, January 18, 1778.

Sir: I have the pleasure of observing, by a publication in Dunlaps Paper that before the adjournment of the General Assembly of this State they had among other wholesome Laws enacted one for "filling the quota of troops to be raised in this State." As you may perhaps be ignorant of the reduced condition of your Regiments, I have thought proper to inclose you a Return by which you will see how very deficient they are at present as to the number required by the allotment. You will also perceive, by a note at the Bottom of the Return, how destitute the Men in the field are in point of Cloathing. I had sent out Officers from every Regiment to procure Cloathing for their Men, and they were collecting considerable quantities, when Colo. Bayard and Mr. Young, a Committee from the Assembly, waited upon me, and desired me to call in the Officers, informing me that they had appointed Commissioners in every County, to purchase necessaries for the Army, which would be a mode more agreeable to the inhabitants, than if done in a

65. The draft is in the writing of John Fitzgerald. The phrase in brackets was added by Washington. military way. What these Commissioners have gone, I do not know, but no Cloathing has yet come to the Army thro' their Hands. General Wayne informed me, that he understood it was collected and stored at Lancaster and he went up about ten days ago to inquire into the Matter.

It being recommended to every State to procure what Cloathing they can for their own Troops, I trust yours will not be backward. From the quantity of raw materials and the number of Workmen among your people, who being principled against Arms remain at home and Manufacture, I should suppose you have it more in your power to cover your Troops well, than any other State. The Continent will continue to import from abroad and to purchase on the General account what they can. I am therefore in hopes, that the exertions of the States, aided by foreign importations, will contribute to Cloath our Troops more comfortably and plentifully than they have heretofore been. But as there are so many impediments in the way of the latter kind of supply, I could wish that no great dependance may be put upon it, but that we may rely principally upon our internal manufacture.

I shall be glad to be favoured with a Copy of the law for raising your quota of Men, and have the Honour, etc.⁴⁴

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

To VICE PRESIDENT GEORGE READ⁴⁵

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, January 18, 1778.

Sir: I am in hopes that the legislature of your State have fallen upon some mode to fill up the Battalion allotted to it, against the ensuing Campaign. If they have not, I beg leave to remind you how short the time is from hence, to that, in which we ought to be in the Field. The advantages that will arise from our being able to begin our operations before the Enemy are reinforced are too obvious to need recapitulating and I have therefore wrote, in the most pressing Manner, to every State to endeavour to send their quota of Men as nearly compleat and as early as possible. The Regiment of your State is at present with Genl. Smallwood at Wilmington, and you will therefore be pleased to apply to him for a Return, from which you will see the deficiency in point of Numbers. If you should not have already adopted some mode of raising your Men, I think you will find it in vain to attempt to do it by any other means than those of drafting. I am told the State of Pennsylvania have passed a law to draft their Men; I have not seen it, but I am convinced, if the practice was universal that the people would not Complain.

It has been recommended by Congress to every State, to Cloath their own quota of Troops, as far as they may be able, and make it a continental Charge. I am certain that, with

45. Of Delaware.

proper exertions, it may be done by the middle and northern States, very nearly by their own internal Manufacture; but lest that should not be sufficient, the Continental agents will continue to import and purchase from private Adventurers all kinds of Goods proper for the use of the Army.

Considering the many impediments that lay in the way of foreign importations we ought to put as little dependance as possible upon that source, especially for the Articles of Shoes and Stockings, of which there is the greatest consumption and for the want of a regular supply of which our Soldiers suffer amazingly.

I shall be glad to hear from you, as soon as convenient upon the above Subjects and have the honour, etc.⁴⁶

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, January 20, 1778.

Sir: I have the honor of your several favors of the 9th, 12th, 13th, 14th and 15th instant. I am pleased to find that your legislature have fixed a price circumscribing the avarice of your farmers, who like their neighbours are endeavouring to take every advantage of the necessities of the Army. I have mentioned to Mr. Commissary Blaine⁶⁵ what you say respecting Wilson's⁶⁶ not having employed a Sufficient Number of Mills in his district. He will write to him and order him to

46. The draft is in the writing of Teach Tilghman.

65. Col. Ephraim Blaine.

66. Robert Wilson, Deputy Commissary General of Purchases.

extend his business. I have also desired him to direct his Deputies in the Monmouth district, to purchase up that produce first which lays nearest the Coast. I am in hopes, that by the Activity of Genl. Ellis, who I am much pleased to find has superseded Newcomb, the Trade carried on from Jersey to Philadelphia will be put a stop to.

When I fixed the Head Quarters of the Army at Morris Town last Winter, I found Capt. Kennedy there, who I considered as a State Prisoner, but judging it improper that he should remain there,

and finding that it would be more agreeable to him to remove to his own Farm, I agreed that he should go thither and took a parole from him, stipulating, to the best of my memory, as I have not the parole by me, that he should remain quietly there. I considered him then as I do now a State prisoner, and therefore do not think I have any right to interfere in the matter.

I am sorry that Troup has found means to escape to the Enemy, especially as he has confessed, by an account published by himself, that he was in Jersey upon a villainous design when taken. When you sent him down to me, I ordered a Court Martial to try him, but no sufficient evidence appeared to the Court to convict him. He lay in our provost Guard and was marched backwards and forward, till he was naked and almost eaten up with Filth and Vermin. Mr. Boudinot taking compassion upon his sufferings desired I would deliver him up to him, engaging either to detain him as a prisoner or to set him at liberty upon

his taking the Oaths to the State, which he offered to do. I was induced to permit this, as I saw no chance of bringing him to a final trial, and he was perishing by inches. In what manner he made his escape I do not know.

I hope as you have got notice of a design against you, that you will be able to counterplot your Enemies and that they may fall into the snare which they intend for you. I am, etc.⁶⁷

P.S. I am making proper use of the hints given in yours of the 9th.⁶⁸

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, January 20, 1778.

Sir: I last night received a Letter from Colo. Dayton, informing me, that John and Baker Hendricks, and John Meeker had been apprehended upon a supposition of carrying on an illegal Correspondence with the Enemy, as they had been several times upon Staten Island and that they were to be tried for their lives in consequence.

In justice to these Men I am bound to take this earliest opportunity of informing you that they were employed by Colo. Dayton last Summer to procure intelligence of the movements of the Enemy

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

68. Livingston's letter of January 9 speaks of employing as a spy one Morseiles [sic], who was being urged by the British to establish a line of secret intelligence for them. This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

while upon Staten Island, for which purpose I granted them passports, allowing them to carry small quantities of Provision, and to bring back a few Goods the better to cover their real designs. Colo Dayton acquaints me that they executed their trust faithfully; this I very well remember, that what intelligence he communicated to me and which he says, came principally thro' them, was generally confirmed by the Event. Upon these Considerations I hope you will put a stop to the prosecution, unless other matters appear against them. You must be well convinced, that it is indispensibly necessary to make use of these means to procure intelligence. The persons employed must bear the suspicion of being thought inimical, and it is not in their powers to assert their innocence, because that would get abroad and destroy the confidence which the Enemy puts in them. I have the honour, etc.⁶⁹

To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, January 24, 1778.

Sir: I am honoured with yours of the 14th instant and am much obliged for your promised attention to the compleating of your Regiments, and I hope your exertions will be attended with the desired success. I am also to thank you for your care in providing Cloathing for your Troops. If the Coats should not be cut out before

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

this reaches you, instead of the usual Regimental Coat, I would recommend a garment of the pattern of the Sailors Sea Jacket, this sets close to the body and by buttoning double over the breast, adds much to the Warmth of the Soldier. There may be a small cape and cuff of a different colour to distinguish the Corps. I have consulted most of the Officers of the Army and they all seem to think that this kind of Coat will be much the best, at least till we can fall upon means of procuring full supplies of complete Uniforms. As the Overall is much preferable to Breeches, I would recommend as many of them as possible. We cannot spare Taylors to go from hence, therefore if you cannot get all the Clothes readily made up, I think you had better send part of the Cloth here with all kinds of necessary trimmings and the Regimental Taylors will soon make them up under the inspection of their Officers.

The Transports that have lately arrived at Rhode Island went from Philadelphia; they were empty, and were taken away by Lord Howe to secure them during the Winter, as the Port of Philadelphia was so crowded that had any part of the fleet taken fire the whole would probably have been consumed.

Nothing has been wanting upon my part, to procure the release of our prisoners upon just and equitable terms.⁹⁷ Congress are fully possessed of all the Letters that have ever passed between Genl Howe and myself, upon the subject of exchange and they have been pleased to approve of the Steps I have from time to time taken. If they should think it most conducive to the general Good, to settle this unhappy dispute upon his terms, I shall most cheerfully acquiesce, for nothing can be more distressing to me, than

97. At this point in the draft the following is crossed out: "To submit to the unjust claims of General Howe, would relieve those at present in captivity; but it would in my opinion afford him too much encouragement, if he should ever again get a large number of our men in his possession, first to reduce them to death's door, and then turn them out upon parole in such a condition that few would ever reach home and none ever recover."

to receive daily applications from the friends of those in captivity and not have it in my power to afford them redress. I am, &ca.⁹⁸

To JAMES[?] NOURSE

Valley Forge, January 30, 1778.

Sir: By a letter from Genl. Lee of the 30th Ulto. which came to hand the 26th instant, he seems to be anxious about the state of his farm and affairs and requests me “to recommend the care of them to you and Mr. White.” I have taken the earliest opportunity to inform you of his desires on these subjects, and have no doubt but you will render him every service in your power. I am happy to acquaint you, that though he is still a prisoner, his condition is comfortable, being on parole in the City of New York and treated with much Civility. It is highly probable that he will soon be enlarged under that restriction, as Major Genl Prescott is ordered to be sent in for that purpose on the same terms. I am, &c.⁴⁵

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

45. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The same letter was sent to Alexander White at Winchester, Va.

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, February 2, 1778.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your favour of the 26th Ulto.

The recent detection of the wicked design⁵⁹ you mention gives me the most sensible pleasure; and I earnestly hope you may be alike successful in discovering and disappointing every attempt that may be projected against you, either by your open or concealed enemies. It is a tax, however, severe, which all those must pay, who are called to eminent stations of trust, not only to be held up

as conspicuous marks to the enmity of the Public adversaries to their country, but to the malice of secret traitors and the *envious intrigues* of false friends and factions.⁶⁰

I am obliged to you for the interest you take in the affair of the two Hendricks and Meeker;⁶¹ and I have no doubt that the measures adopted, are, considering all things, best.

You are pleased to intimate, that you would take pleasure in recommending, at the approaching Session of your Assembly, any hints from me respecting the Army, by which your State can advance the general interest; I should be happy in offering any such in my power; but, as there is now in Camp a Committee of Congress to confer with me at large, on the measures proper to be adopted in every respect for the benefit of the Army, whatever shall be thought necessary to this end, will of course be communicated

59. To assassinate Livingston.

60. In the draft the following has been crossed out: "It is easy to bear the first, and even the devices of private enemies whose ill will only arises from their common hatred to the cause we are engaged in, are to me tolerable; yet, I confess, I cannot help feeling the most painful sensations, whenever I have reason to believe I am the object of persecution to men who are embarked in the same general interest, and whose friendship my heart does not reproach me with ever having done any thing to forfeit. But with many, it is a sufficient cause to hate and wish the ruin of a man, because he has been happy enough to be the object of *his Country's* favour."

61. John and Baker Hendricks and John Meeker, spies of Colonel Dayton in the summer of 1777. (See Washington's letter to Governor William Livingston, Jan. 20, 1778, *ante*.)

to you by Congress. I have the honor, etc.⁶²

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, February 4, 1778.

Sir: Brigr. Genl. Count Polaski informs me, that there are three Troops of Jersey Horse who would enter into the Continental Service for a short time, if they could obtain your Excellency's consent. They will be a very great relief to our Horse, if they can be spared and will answer another very valuable purpose. We find that our common Dragoons are not proof against the bribes offered to them, by the people who are constantly carrying provision to the City of Philadelphia, so that instead of cutting off the intercourse, they encourage it, by suffering many to pass who pay them for it. If it is agreeable to you, that the Horse above mentioned should be taken into the service, be pleased to signify it to me by a line. I have the honor, etc.⁷⁰

62. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

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

To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL

Valley Forge, February 6, 1778.

Sir: I must take the liberty of addressing you on a subject, which, tho' out of your sphere, I am fully persuaded will have every possible attention in your power to give. It is the alarming situation of this Army on account of Provision. I shall not undertake, minutely to investigate the causes of this, but there is the strongest reason to believe, that its existence cannot be of long duration, unless more constant, regular and larger supplies of the meat kind are furnished, than have been for some time past. We have been once on the brink of a dissolution in the course of the present year, for want of this Article, and our Condition now is but little better. What is still more distressing, I am assured by Colo. Blaine, Deputy Purchasing Commissary in the Middle district, comprehending the States of Jersey, Pennsylvania and Maryland, that they are nearly exhausted in this instance; and that the most vigorous and active exertions on his part will not procure more than sufficient to supply the Army during this Month, if so long. This being the case, and as any relief that can be obtained from

the more Southern States, will be but partial, trifling and of a day, we must turn our views to the Eastward, and lay our account of support from thence. Without it we cannot but disband. I must therefore Sir, entreat you in the most earnest terms and by that zeal

which has so eminently distinguished your Character in the present arduous struggle, to give every countenance to the person or persons employed in the purchasing line in your State, and to urge them to the most vigorous efforts to forward supplies of Cattle from time to time, and thereby prevent such a Melancholy and alarming Catastrophe. As I observed before, this subject is rather out of your Province, yet I know your wishes to promote the Service, in every possible degree, will render any apology unnecessary, and that the bare state of facts will be admitted as a full and ample justification for the trouble it is like to occasion you. I have the honor, etc.⁷³

To PRESIDENT THOMAS WHARTON, JUNIOR

Head Qurs. Valley Forge, February 10, 1778.

Sir: I have been honoured with your favours of the 15th. and 22d Ulto., with the several public Acts referred to inclosed. I most sincerely wish, *that* for compleating your quota, of Men, may be found adequate to the purpose, but I very much doubt it. I have ordered two proper Officers, from every Regiment belonging to your State, to repair to Lancaster and take their recruiting instructions from you.

73. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

I observe that the State have appointed Colo. Francis Johnson⁹⁹ to receive and distribute the Cloathing collected by the Commissioners. That Gentleman has not been able to do duty for some time, on account of his health; he is not in Camp at present, and I do not find that he is expected, I therefore most earnestly desire, that some other may be appointed, and that what Cloathing is collected may be immediately sent down. Genl. Wayne brought a tolerable supply for the two Brigades under his command, but the 3d, 6th, 9th, 12th and 13th. Regiments are in great distress,

and are the more uneasy and discontented, as they see their companions are provided for. Colo. Lutterloh Dy. Qr. Master General, informs me that he found a considerable quantity collected at Reading, waiting for an order to be sent forward. This being the particular property of your State, I did not think myself at liberty to interfere with it, but I hope you will immediately order it to Camp. It may come down by Water and save the labour and Expence of Waggons.

It certainly was never expected or intended, that the States should furnish their Officers with such Cloathing as was demanded of yours. The recommendation of Congress is, that each State should furnish their Officers and Men with proper (by which I understand decent and substantial) Cloathing, at a price in proportion to their pay, and that the loss which will arise between the first cost and the price at which it may be charged upon delivery, shall be defrayed by the Continent at large.

Inclosed you have the return of the Commissioned

99. Col. Francis Johnston, of the Fifth Pennsylvania Regiment.

and Staff Officers of your State. You will observe that there are many promotions and vacancies to fill up. I put a stop to them until the new arrangement of the Army, now under consideration, shall be compleated. I have the honour &c.¹

To PRESIDENT THOMAS WHARTON, JUNIOR

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, February 12, 1778.

Sir: I have the honor of yours of the 7th. instant, which is fully answered by mine of the 10th.

When the Winter Quarters of the Army were arranged, it was agreed between Genl. Armstrong and myself that the Militia of this State should cover the Country between the Schuylkill and Delaware, in order to prevent the incursions of small parties of the Enemy and to cut off the intercourse between the City and Country. The number of Militia, fixed upon for this purpose, were one

thousand, which Genl. Armstrong promised should be regularly kept up. Upon the appointment of Genl. Lacey, Genl. Potter, who had been long from home, gave up the command to him. As I have not the pleasure of knowing Genl. Lacey I will not undertake to say whether the little that has been done since Genl. Potter's departure has been owing to

1. In the writing of Tench Tilghman. The draft by Tilghman, is also in the *Washington Papers*.

any want of activity in him, or whether he has not been furnished with the stipulated number of men; but this is a fact, that they have by some means or other dwindled away to nothing, and there are no guards within twenty Miles of the City, on the East Side of Schuylkill, but a few patrols of Light Horse, who being unsupported by Foot, dare not go near the Enemy's lines. Owing to this, the intercourse of all the Country between Schuylkill and Delaware, is as open and uninterrupted as ever it was, and must continue so, unless a sufficient number of Militia are immediately ordered out. The continental Troops, much worn down with the fatigues of the Campaign, building themselves houses and fortifying their Camp, are unable to do more duty than they now have to perform on this side of the River, especially as many of them cannot leave their Quarters for want of Cloathing.

I hope, from this state of facts, that you will immediately order out, at least the number of Men stipulated by Genl. Armstrong; and if possible, some hundreds more, for the purpose of forming the most advanced guards, as we find the Continental Troops (especially those who are not Natives) are very apt to desert from the pickets. I have the honour, etc.

P.S. Since writing the above, I have recd a Letter from General Lacey dated at Warwick in Bucks County, in which he informs me that his numbers are reduced to between 60 and 100.⁷

7. In the writing of Tench Tilghman. From a photostat of the original kindly furnished by Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, of New York.

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Valley Forge, February 14, 1778.

Sir: I do myself the honour of transmitting you a letter from the Committee of Congress now here. These Gentlemen have represented the distress of the Army for want of provision so fully and in so just a light, that I shall forbear to trouble you with further observations upon the subject. I shall only observe, that if the picture they have drawn is imperfect it is because the colourings are not sufficiently strong. It does not exceed our real situation. From your zeal and earnest wishes to promote the service, I am firmly convinced we shall have every relief in your power to give. I should have troubled you before on this interesting and alarming business had I not supposed Congress the proper body to have been informed, and that the means of relief should be under their direction. Not to mention our distresses the last Campaign and that we were supplied from hand to mouth and frequently not at all, from the day Mr. Trumbull left the Commissary department. This is the second time, in the course of the present year, that we have been on the point of a dissolution, and I know not whether the melancholy event may not take place.

The subject of Horses too, is so fully explained by the Committee, that it is needless for me to enlarge on that head. The advantages derived from a respectable Cavalry will

strike you at once, and I have the most entire confidence, that you will with pleasure afford any aid in your power to promote our views in this instance.¹⁷ I have the honor etc.¹⁸

To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, February 16, 1778.

Dear Sir: It is with great reluctance, I trouble you on a subject, which does not properly fall within your province; but it is a subject that occasions me more distress, than I have felt, since the commencement of the war; and which loudly demands the most zealous exertions of every person of weight and authority, who is interested in the success of our affairs. I mean the present dreadful situation of the army for want of provisions, and the miserable prospects before us, with respect

to futurity. It is more alarming than you will probably conceive, for, to form a just idea, it were necessary to be on the spot. For some days past, there has been little less, than a famine in camp. A part of the army has been a week, without any kind of flesh, and the rest three or four days. Naked and starving as they are, we cannot enough admire the incomparable patience and fidelity of the soldiery, that they have

17. *Cf.* Washington's letter to Gov. Thomas Johnson, Feb. 16, 1778, *post.*

18. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

not been ere this excited by their sufferings, to a general mutiny and dispersion. Strong symptoms, however, of discontent have appeared in particular instances; and nothing but the most active efforts every where can long avert so shocking a catastrophe.

Our present sufferings are not all. There is no foundation laid for any adequate relief hereafter. All the magazines provided in the States of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland, and all the immediate additional supplies they seem capable of affording, will not be sufficient to support the army more than a month longer, if so long. Very little has been done to the Eastward, and as little to the Southward; and whatever we have a right to expect from those quarters, must necessarily be very remote; and is indeed more precarious, than could be wished. When the forementioned supplies are exhausted, what a terrible crisis must ensue, unless all the energy of the Continent is exerted to provide a timely remedy?

Impressed with this idea, I am, on my part, putting every engine to work, that I can possibly think of, to prevent the fatal consequences, we have so great reason to apprehend. I am calling upon all those, whose stations and influence enable them to contribute their aid upon so important an occasion; and from your well known zeal, I expect every thing within the compass of your power, and that the abilities and resources of the state over which you preside, will admit. I am sensible of the disadvantages it labours under, from having been so long the scene of war, and

that it must be exceedingly drained by the great demands to which it has been subject. But, tho' you may not be able to contribute materially to our relief, you can perhaps do something towards it; and any assistance, however trifling in itself, will be of great moment at so critical a juncture, and will conduce to keeping the army together till the Commissary's department can be put upon a better footing, and effectual measures concerted to secure a permanent and competent supply. What methods you can take, you will be the best judge of; but, if you can devise any means to procure a quantity of cattle, or other kind of flesh, for the use of this army, to be at camp in the course of a month, you will render a most essential service to the common cause.³² I have the honor etc.³³

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, February 16, 1778.

Sir: I had the honor of writing to you a day or two ago, and transmitting a letter from the committee of Congress now at camp, containing a representation of the present alarming distress of the army for want of provisions; They press upon us with such increasing violence, and threaten such fatal consequences, unless

32. Brig. Gen. James Mitchell Varnum's letter to Major General Greene (Feb. 12, 1778) presents a vivid picture of conditions at Valley Forge:

“The Situation of the Camp is such,” wrote Varnum, “that in all human probability the Army must soon dissolve. Many of the Troops are destitute of Meat, and are several Days in Arrear. The Horses are dying for want of Forage. The Country in the Vicinity of the Camp is exhausted. There cannot be a moral Certainty of bettering our Circumstances, while we continue here. What Consequences have we rationally to expect? Our Desertions are astonishingly great; the Love of Freedom, which once animated the Breasts of those born in the Country, is controlling by Hunger, the keenest of Necessities. If we consider the Relation in which we stand to the Troops, we cannot reconcile their Sufferings to the Sentiments of honest men. No political Consideration can justify the Measure. There is no local Object of so much moment, as to conceal the Obligations which bind us to them.

Should a blind Attachment to a preconcerted plan fatally disaffect, and in the End force the army to Mutiny, then will the same Country, which now applauds our Hermitage, curse our Insensibility.

“I have from the Beginning view'd this Situation with Horror! It is unparalleled in the History of Mankind to establish Winter Quarters in a Country wasted, and without a single Magazine. We now only feel some of the Effects, which Reason from the beginning taught us to expect as inevitable. My Freedom upon this occasion may be offensive; I should be unhappy, but Duty obliges me to speak without Reserve. My own Conscience will approve the Deed, when some may perhaps look back with Regret, to the Time, when the Evil in Extreme might have been prevented. There is no Alternative, but immediately to remove the Army to places where they can be supplied, unless effectual Remedies can be applied upon the Spot, which I believe every Gentleman of the Army thinks impracticable.”

Varnum's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

33. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

the most vigorous measures be pursued to effect an immediate remedy, that I have thought proper to send Mr. Tilghman, in case any accident should have happened to those letters, to give you a just picture of our situation, and with your aid and concurrence to take the most effectual methods for procuring us a speedy though temporary relief, from the magazines which have been established in your state. I have the honor etc.³³

To GOVERNOR THOMAS JOHNSON

Camp, Valley Forge, February 16, 1778.

Sir: I do myself the honour of transmitting you the inclosed Letter from a Committee of Congress now here.³⁴ These Gentlemen have represented the distress of the Army for want of Provision so fully and in so just a light, that I shall forbear to trouble you with many observations upon the subject. I shall only add, if the picture they have drawn is imperfect, it is because the colouring

is not sufficiently strong. It does not exceed our real situation, nor will it be easy to give you an adequate idea of it.

The only public Stores of the meat kind, that I can hear of in your State, lie at the Head of Elk. I have sent an active

33. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

34. The letter from the committee of Congress was signed by Francis Dana, Nathaniel Folsom, John Harvie, and Gouverneur Morris. It was dated February 16:

“We have the Honor to compose a Committee of Congress appointed to confer with the General upon the Officers of the Army and with him to concert Measures for opening the Campaign with Vigor and Activity. During the Progress of this important Business the critical Situation of the Army on the Store of Provisions hath filled our Minds with Apprehension and Alarm, fed by daily Supplies and even those uncertain we have to fear a total Want. Some Brigades have not tasted Flesh in four Days and the Evil great as it is seems rather to increase than diminish. The Commissioners inform us that they have not only met with great Difficulties in Purchasing Provisions in your State but that they cannot even transport what they have purchased for the Want of Waggons and the like. Whether these Apologies are justly founded we will not presume to say but this is certain that upon an early Transportation of large Quantities of Provisions to this Camp from the State you preside over the very Existence of our Army depends. Let us then intreat you Sir to exert the full Influence of your Abilities to forward such Supplies as may have been already brought up and also to obtain by such Measures as you may think most adequate to that Purpose as much as can be spared by the Inhabitants from their own particular Consumption.”

This letter is in the Maryland Historical Society.

Officer there to day, and hope with the assistance of Mr. Hollingsworth, who resides there, that in the course of a few days they will be transported to Camp. But, should this be the case, the quantity is so small that it will afford but a very short and temporary relief, nor can I find from the most

minute inquiry, that the Magazines of this kind, when drawn together and aided by the supplies of Cattle the Commissary expects to get, will be more than sufficient to support the Army longer than this Month. After, our prospect of support from him seems to be at an end, or at least it will be extremely precarious.

From this view of Matters and foreseeing the fatal and alarming consequences that will necessarily attend a dissolution or dispersion of the Army, I must take the liberty of soliciting your good Offices, and to request your exertions to prevent as far as possible, so melancholy a catastrophe, by having forwarded to Camp, all the Provisions of the meat kind that may be in your power. I know not what resources Maryland may have in this instance; but perhaps, thro' your means and influence, we may derive no inconsiderable Supplies. Not to mention our distresses during the active part of the last Campaign and that our Operations were then much retarded. This is the second time in the present year, that we have been on the verge of a dissolution on this account.

I am sensible, Sir, I have addressed you upon a subject out of your Province; But I am assured your zeal for

the service and wishes to promote it, where possible, will indulge me with an apology, especially when I add, that my application is the result of the most painful and pressing necessity. I have the honour etc.³⁵

[MD. H. S.]

To HENRY HOLLINGSWORTH

Valley Forge, February 16, 1778.

Sir: I am under the painful necessity of informing you, that the situation of the Army is most critical and alarming for want of Provision, especially of the Meat kind. The Troops have not had supplies of the latter for four days and many of them have been much longer without. I have sent Captn. Lee to forward from the Head of Elk and Dover, all the provisions, that may be at either of those places,

as expeditiously as possible, and I must entreat you, Sir, to give all the assistance, in your power, to promote this very important and interesting Work. I am etc.

P.S. I need not mention to you the Delicacy of this subject and the propriety of Secrecy.³¹

35. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

31. The copy is in the writing of Richard Varick. A draft, by Hamilton, is also in the *Washington Papers*.

ADDRESS TO THE INHABITANTS OF NEW JERSEY, PENNSYLVANIA, MARYLAND, AND VIRGINIA

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, February 18, 1778.

Friends Countrymen and Fellow Citizens After three Campaigns, during which the brave Subjects of these States have contended, not unsuccessfully, with one of the most powerful Kingdoms upon Earth, we now find ourselves at least upon a level with our opponents; and there is the best reason to believe, Efforts adequate to the abilities of this country would enable us speedily to conclude the War and to secure the invaluable Blessings of Peace, Liberty and Safety. With this view, it is in Contemplation, at the opening of the next Campaign, to assemble a force sufficient, not barely to cover the Country from a repetition of those depredations which it hath already suffered, but also to operate offensively and strike some decisive Blow.

In the Prosecution of this object, it is to be feared that so large an Army may suffer for the want of Provisions. The Distance between this and the Eastern States, whence considerable Supplies of Flesh have been hitherto drawn, will necessarily render those supplies extremely precarious; And unless the virtuous Yeomanry of the States of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware Maryland and Virginia, will exert themselves to prepare Cattle for the use of the Army during the Months of May, June and July next, great difficulties may arise in the course of the Campaign. It is therefore recommended to the

Inhabitants of those States, to put up and feed immediately as many of their Stock Cattle, as they can spare, so as that they may be driven to this Army within that period. A bountiful price will be given and the proprietors may assure themselves, that they will render a most essential service to the illustrious Cause of their Country, and contribute, in a great degree, to shorten this bloody Contest. But should there be any so insensible to the common Interest, as not to exert themselves upon these generous principles; the private interest of those, whose situation makes them liable to become immediate subjects to the Enemy's incursions, should prompt them at least to a measure, which is calculated to save their property from plunder; their families from insult, and their own persons from abuse, hopeless confinement, or perhaps a violent death.⁴⁹

49. The draft is in the writing of Governor Morris, with a few changes in that of Alexander Hamilton.

To GOVERNOR PATRICK HENRY

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, February 19, 1778.

Sir: The melancholy prospect before us, with respect to supplies of provisions, induces me, reluctantly to trouble you

on a subject, which does not naturally fall within the circle of your attention.

The situation of the Commissary's department and of the army, in consequence, is more deplorable, than you can easily imagine. We have frequently suffered temporary want and great inconveniences, and for several days past, we have experienced little less than a famine in camp; and have had much cause to dread a general mutiny and dispersion. Our future prospects are, if possible, still worse: The magazines laid up, as far as my information reaches, are insignificant, totally incompetent to our necessities, and from every appearance, there has been heretofore so astonishing a deficiency in providing, that unless the most vigorous and effectual measures are at

once, every where adopted, the language is not too strong to declare, that we shall not be able to make another campaign.

To what causes this is to be attributed; whether to an ill-timed and too general revolution in the department, in the midst of a campaign, to its being placed in improper hands, or to a diminution of resources and increased difficulties in the means of procuring, or to a combination of all these circumstances. I shall not undertake to decide. We have to lament that our affairs are so situated, and it is incumbent upon us, to employ our utmost efforts to ward off the ruin such a situation of things threatens. We have it in our power to do it; but our greatest activity and the fullest exertion of our resources, are requisite.

I am earnestly requesting the aid of the executive authority of those States, whence our supplies are drawn; and in pursuance of this intention, I address myself to you; convinced that our alarming distresses will engage your most serious consideration; and that the full force of that zeal and vigour you have manifested upon every other occasion, will now operate for our relief, in a matter that so nearly affects the very existence of our contest. What methods you have it in your power to embrace for this purpose, your own judgment will best suggest; the substance of my present request, is, that you will contribute your assistance to turning all the supplies your State can afford, more than are sufficient for the subsistence of its inhabitants, into a channel of supplies for the army, in such a way as will appear to you most effectual; and at the same time to forwarding the means of transportation, from a defect in which we suffer great embarrassments.

I am duly honoured with your favour of the 28th of last month. The method of paying the additional state bounty. that appears to me most eligible is that of sending the money to Camp, with a temporary paymaster, to be issued on Warrants from me, agreeable to muster rolls and abstracts, authenticated in the same manner as practiced in other cases. Any other mode, however, that may be deemed more convenient, will be perfectly agreeable to me.

I submit it to consideration, whether it might not be advisable for your Excellency, to issue a notification to those Soldiers, who have been reinlisted and permitted to go home on

furlough, that on their return to Camp, they will receive the additional bounty, as prescribed by the Act of Assembly. As most of them engaged before the Act took place or was announced, the bounty may be put upon the footing of a reward for past services. This notification may have an influence in making them more faithful and punctual in returning to Camp at the expiration of their furloughs. I have the honor, etc.⁵⁵

To VICE PRESIDENT GEORGE READ

Head Quarters, February 21, 1778.

Sir: Your favour of the 5th instant inclosing a copy of a Letter from you to Genl Smallwood dated the 26th Ulto. and the substance of his answer, did not reach me till the day before yesterday.

It gives me great concern to find that the Legislature of your State⁷⁷ has not taken timely and effectual means for completing the Battalion belonging to it. However desirable the mode of voluntary enlistments might be, if it offered any adequate prospect of success, our circumstances evidently demand measures of more prompt and certain execution; it is incumbent therefore upon your Legislative body, as a duty which they owe both to their own State and the Continent at large, to pursue with

55. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

77. Delaware.

energy the method of drafting which has been successfully practised in other States. Indeed, I expect, that you will shortly be called upon by Congress for this purpose. The property of the Clothing taken in the prize Sloop, will I presume be determined by certain Resolutions of Congress, Copies of which were sent to Genl Smallwood in order to settle a dispute of a similar nature. But however this matter may be decided, you ought undoubtedly to secure a sufficient quantity of this necessary article to supply the wants of the Delaware Battalion. I am totally ignorant of any interruption having been given by the Military, to the election of Representatives in your State. It

is much to be lamented that at a Season when our affairs demand the most perfect harmony and greatest Vigour in all publick proceedings, there should be any languor, occasioned by divisions, your efforts cannot be better employed than in conciliating the discordant parties and restoring Union.

The representations against the Commissaries of Purchases, I fear are too well founded; such orders shall be given to the principal of the Department for this district, as will, I hope, in some degree remedy the evils complained of. I have the honour etc.⁷⁸

78. The draft is in the writing of John Laurens. The letter sent, which is also in the writing of Laurens, is dated February 22. It is owned by Hon. Richard S. Rodney, Wilmington, Del., and is mutilated.

To SOUTHY SIMPSON

Head Quarters, February 21, 1778.

Sir: I receiv'd your favour by Major Sneed.⁸¹ Your request to suffer the drafts in that part of the Country to remain there,⁸² is an indulgence, I am sorry to say, I cannot with the least propriety consent to; and am persuaded, when you have weighed the matter in your own mind, you will be of opinion with me. Many parts of this Continent, as to their situation and circumstances, resemble yours, and fixing the precedent with you, would inevitably afford sufficient cause for those to make the like application. Many other arguments may be used; but trusting that you will readily give up the idea, I shall omit them; returning you my sincere thanks for the warm manner in which you express your anxiety to serve the cause. I am, etc.⁸³

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, February 22, 1778.

Sir: Your favour of the 16th. instant came duly to hand. I cannot but be highly sensible of the fresh proofs given, of

81. Maj. Thomas Snead, of the Eleventh Virginia Regiment. He resigned in March, 1778.

82. Simpson was in Virginia. He had been a member of the House of Burgesses in 1770. His letter is not found in the *Washington Papers*.

83. The draft is in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.

that zeal which yourself in particular, and the State of New Jersey in general, have so uniformly manifested in the common cause, and of the polite regard you have in repeated instances shewn to my applications. I lament the additional load of business heaped upon you from the sources you mention, and earnestly hope, that painful experience will teach us so to correct our former mistakes and reform past abuses, as to lighten the burden of those whole time and attention are devoted to the execution of their duty and the service of the public.

I feel with you the absolute necessity of calling forth the united efforts of these states, to relieve our wants, and prevent in future a renewal of our distresses; and the impossibility of answering these purposes by partial exertions. Nothing on my part has been or will be omitted, that may in the least tend to put our affairs upon this only footing, on which they can have any stability or success.

I shall be obliged to your Excellency to send immediately to camp the troop of horse you can spare. I have the honour, etc.

P.S. In terms similar to those addressed to you in my late letters, have I called upon Connecticut, New York, Maryland and Virginia, for aid in these our days of distress; but nothing less than a change in the system can effect a radical cure of the evils we labor under at present.⁸⁴

84. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

To PRESIDENT THOMAS WHARTON, JUNIOR

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, February 23, 1778.

Sir: I have the honor of yours of the 17th instant. The Militia from the westward, who had been detained by the badness of the weather, have arrived at Genl Lacey's Camp, and those from Northampton have, I hope, come in by this time. Their presence had become exceedingly necessary, as the insolence of the disaffected in Philadelphia and Bucks Counties had arisen to a very alarming Height. They have seized and carried off a number of respectable inhabitants in those Counties, and such Officers of the Army as fell in their way; among others, Major Murray⁸⁷ of the 13th Pennsylvania Regt. who was at Newtown with his family. What adds to the misfortune, is, that they carried off near 2000 Yards of Cloth, which had been collected in the County and was making up for the Regiment. In the last paragraph of your Letter, you say that the Clothing coming to Camp is for the 3d, 6th, 9th and 12th Battalions, as you expected that the 13th. would be otherwise supplied. You probably had the Cloth at Newtown in view when you wrote, but that being lost, you will undoubtedly make proper provision for that Regiment.

I am exceedingly sorry to hear that a difference between the Officers and Men of the Continental troops and those of the Militia should damp the exertions of the latter. It has

87. Maj. Francis Murray. He was captured on February 21; exchanged in December, 1780, and did not return to the Army.

been my constant endeavour, since I have had the honour to command the forces of the united States, to prevent all animosities and jealousies between the troops of different States, whether regular or Militia, by exercising the most impartial line of Conduct towards all. I very well know, that, except there is a mutual confidence and good understanding between all the component parts of an Army, that the service must be manifestly injured, and therefore you may depend that I will take particular care, when the Army takes the field in the Spring and when we shall, more than

probably, be obliged to call upon the Militia to act in conjunction with us, to endeavour to remove the causes of Complaint.

I hope the unhappy dispute that arose at the Sign of the Compass, between a few Officers of the Continental Army and the Militia, will rather be looked upon as an accidental matter, than the effect of a general and fixed hatred between those two bodies of Men embarked in the same cause, and who ought to afford a mutual support to each other and to turn their Arms against the common Enemy, rather than upon one another. I also hope, that all prejudice upon the part of the Country may be laid aside upon this occasion, and the most impartial inquiry made into this matter.

Inclosed you have a Copy of a representation sent to me by Captns. Scull, Patterson and Wilson, in behalf of themselves and the Officers sent to superintend the recruiting service. As they mean to address the Legislature upon the same subject, I take it for granted that they will explain themselves more fully, and point out

the reasons for demanding a greater Sum than allowed in the recruiting instructions. As the expence of riding about the Country, at this time, is very heavy and certain, and the chance of procuring recruits very uncertain, perhaps they may think a reasonable allowance per day, a more equitable mode.

I shall have another Officer appointed in the room of Lieut. Hammond⁸⁸ and four more for the County of Philadelphia and two for the County of Bucks. The blank instructions shall be properly filled up for them. I have the honour, etc.⁸⁹

To VICE PRESIDENT GEORGE READ

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, February 26, 1778.

Sir: Capt. Lee and several Officers, who are sent to apprehend Deserters, inform me, that there are numbers of disaffected Persons in your State, who make a practice of harbouring those people. They are encouraged to do this, knowing there is at present no law to punish this crime, which is

most pernicious to the service. I have for this reason taken the liberty to address the Legislature of your State through you, and I hope you will use your influence with them to endeavour to procure a law adequate to the remedy of this abuse. The necessity is so

88. Lieut. Benjamin Hammond, of the Eleventh Pennsylvania Regiment. He had been killed Feb. 20, 1778.

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

evident that I trust they will not hesitate to do it. If such a law can be procured, it will add much to the utility of it to have it done speedily, because Officers are now waiting, who would carry it immediately into execution and the men brought into the field by the opening of the Campaign. I am informed, that there are not less than three hundred deserters in your three Counties. I hope you will afford Capt. Lee all necessary assistance and countenance in the execution of the Business which he is upon, in doing which you will render essential service to the public cause and confer an obligation upon, sir, etc.¹⁴

To JOHN CORYELL

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, March 1, 1778.

Sir: I am very anxious to have all the continental Flat Boats below Trenton carried up the River, as far as Easton or near it that they may be intirely out of the enemy's reach. I have desired the Gentlemen of the Navy Board to order Commodore Hazlewood to collect all those and carry them up, as far as Trenton and when he has got them there to let you know it. I shall therefore be exceedingly obliged to you, if you will collect a proper number of hands, who are used to carry Boats thro' the Falls and go down for them when you have notice. Or if you do not receive such notice in a few

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

days, the Men may as well go down to Bordentown where the boats are and bring them up from thence. There are a number of Cannon and some Stores there which I want carried to a place of safety. If you think the Boats can be taken thro' the falls with the Cannon in them, it will save much expence and secure them perfectly. You are to apply to Messrs. Hopkinson and Wharton of the Continental Navy Board at Bordentown, for the Cannon, if they can be carried up in the Boats.

I see, by a Letter of yours to Colo. Lutterloh, that you want Money for these purposes. You may hire the Men for doing this Service upon an assurance of their being paid the moment it is performed. And you will therefore make out the account when you have finished, and apply directly to me for the Money, when it shall be paid with thanks. I am &c.⁸

To THE PENNSYLVANIA NAVY BOARD

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, March 2, 1778.

Gentlemen: As the Gallies can now be of no service in the River, and the enemy have it in their power to get them into their possession, with all their cannon and stores, I beg leave strongly to recommend it to the Board, without delay,

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

to evacuate them of their cannon and stores; and removing these to a place of security, in some interior part of the country, to carry the Gallies up into some of the creeks and have them sunk. If there should be any other vessels, belonging to the state in the river, I would mean to comprehend them; and if there should be any stores at Bordentown, or other places on the river, these also ought to be removed to a place of safety. We can reap no advantage from keeping the Gallies, cannon and stores in such an exposed situation; and if they should fall into the hands of the enemy, which they would in all probability do, the gallies would be useful to them, and the cannon and stores would be no inconsiderable loss to us. I am etc.¹⁶

To PRESIDENT THOMAS WHARTON, JUNIOR

Valley Forge, March 7, 1778.

Sir: There is nothing I have more at Heart, than to discharge the great duties incumbent on me with the strictest Attention to the Ease and Convenience of the People. Every Instance, therefore, of Hardship or Oppression, exercised by the Officers of any Department under my immediate Controul gives me the most sensible Concern and should be immediately punished, if Complaints were properly made and supported. That there has been some

16. In the writing of Alexander Hamilton, from a photostat of the original.

Foundation for such Complaints and that they have affected the Service I cannot doubt from the great Delay and Backwardness of the People in forwarding Supplies and affording the Means of Transportation. Until the late Waggon Law of this State was passed, there being no Means of procuring the Service of the Inhabitants but by military Compulsion Quarter Masters and Commissaries from the Necessity of the Case seem to have been justified in impressing, tho' in many Instances perhaps it has been done with Circumstances of Terror and Hardship which they ought to have avoided. But when the Legislature had, by Law, made an Arrangement and put this important Service under the Care of their own Officers, it was my full Determination by every Means in my Power to support the Law that had passed and avail myself of the Resources of the State, in the Mode pointed out under a full Confidence that the Wisdom and Forecast which had marked out such a Plan would be accompanied with proportionate Zeal and Efficacy to carry it into Execution. Perhaps, Sir, I am not sufficiently informed to judge properly where the present defect lays and therefore avoid imputing Blame to any but I would wish you and the Gentlemen in Authority with you to be assured that nothing would give me more Satisfaction than to see the Powers of the Government so effectual for the Supply and Accomodation of the Army as to take away not only the Necessity but even Pretence of using any other than the ordinary civil Authority. Give me leave further to remark that the Army seems to have a peculiar

Claim to the Exertions of the Gentlemen of this State to make its present situation as convenient as possible as it was greatly owing to their Apprehensions and Anxieties expressed in a Memorial to Congress that the present position was had when with unparallel'd Patience they have gone thro' a severe and inclement Winter, unprovided with any of those Conveniences and Comforts which are usually the Soldiers Lot, after the Duty of the Field is over.

This will be delivered you by the Depy. Qur. Master [Lutterloh]⁶³ whose Expectations of Waggon's for the Transportation of Supplies to Camp, as well as ordinary Camp duty have [by no means] been so fully answered as he expected. To what cause this Disappointment is owing you will doubtless discover upon Conference with him and if it shall appear to proceed from the Misconduct of any Officer accountable to me I beg you will furnish me with Proof of such Mal-practice that I may apply a suitable Remedy: But if our Difficulties flow from a defective Execution of the Law of the State I trust your publick Spirit and Regard to the great Cause in which we are engaged will induce you to strengthen what may be found weak and quicken what may be found languid and sluggish.

The Necessities of the Service, Sir, are great the Duty required I acknowledge is burthensome and difficult at this inclement Season but it cannot be dispensed with. The Army and the Country have a mutual Dependence upon each other and it is of the last Importance that their several Duties should be so regulated and enforced as to produce not only the greatest Harmony

63. Henry Emanuel Lutterloh.

and good Understanding but the truest Happiness and Comfort to each. Depending therefore upon a due and early Attention to this important Business and promising myself no small Relief from our present Difficulties. I remain, etc.

P.S. Since writing the foregoing I have received a Letter from Colo. Gibson at Lancaster, dated the 2d Instr. extract of which with his order to the Qt. Mr. and the answer I inclose to shew how much

we are distressed even in small matters but our sufferings in Camp for want of Forage and Waggon is beyond all description.⁶⁴

To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, March 12, 1778.

Dear Sir: I am honoured with yours of the 5th. instant and cannot sufficiently express my thanks for your attention to my letter of the 16th of Febry. I have the pleasure to inform you, that by the exertions of our Friends in different quarters, the Army has been pretty well supplied since, and I hope will continue to be so, if proper steps are taken by the present Commissaries, or if there should be a change for the better in that capital department. There is however one thing that I fear it is too late to remedy and that is the neglect of curing Salt provision in season, to the

64. The draft is in the writing of Joseph Reed. The words in brackets and the P.S. are in the writing of Washington.

want of a proper quantity of which, in hot weather, I attribute the prevalency of fluxes and other disorders in our Army. There are complaints from every quarter of the remissness of payment in the Commissary and Qur. Masters departments, whether this is owing to the misapplication of Public Money or whether the departments have not been properly supported by the Treasury I will not undertake to determine as none of their accounts either go thro' my hands or are subject to my inspection. A change is taking place in the Qur. Master's and I hope if the Gentleman, who is in nomination, accepts that there will be a considerable reform.

The Letter which you desired Doctor Cochran to inquire about came safely to my hands. The hints which you were pleased to give of mismanagement in the North River command came also from several other hands, and did not a little embarrass me, as they contain charges rather resulting from want of judgment, than any real intention to do wrong. It is much to be lamented, that we should have Officers of so high Rank as to intitle them to claim seperate Commands, with so moderate a share of Abilities to direct them in the execution of those Commands. You may however rest

assured that proper steps are taking to introduce [if the general course of service will admit], a Gentleman who I hope will better answer the public end and be fully agreeable to the State of New York in particular. I hope you will in the mean time continue to afford General Parsons every assistance, by your advice in the execution of the necessary Works and by rendering him what aids he may

call for from your Government. I have the honour, etc.⁶

To ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, March 12, 1778.

Dear Sir: I should have answered your favour of the 14th January before this time, had I not have been daily in hopes that I should have been able to have given you a satisfactory account of a change of Men and measures in the North River department. It has not been an easy matter, to find a just pretence for removing an Officer from his command, where his misconduct rather appears to result from Want of Capacity, than from any real intention of doing wrong; and it is, therefore, as you observe, to be lamented, that he cannot see his own defects and make an honourable retreat from a station in which he only exposes his own weakness.

Proper measures are taking to carry on the inquiry into the loss of Fort Montgomery, agreeable to the direction of Congress; and it is more than probable, from what I have heard, that the issue of that inquiry will afford just grounds for a removal of Genl. P—,⁷ but, whether it does or not, the prejudices of all

6. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman. The words in brackets were inserted by Washington.

7. Maj. Gen. Israel Putnam.

ranks in that Quarter against him are so great, that he must at all events be prevented from returning.⁸ I hope to introduce a Gentleman in his place [if the genl. course of service will admit of it] who will be perfectly agreeable to the State and to the Public. In the mean time, I trust that Genl. Parsons will do every thing in his power to carry on the Works, which, from his last accounts, are in more forwardness than I expected.

I wish all the men on the upper part of the River had been drawn down to the Highlands, instead of being kept to carry on an expedition, in which I never was consulted, but which I saw from the begining could never succeed, from a variety of reasons, which it would be needless to give you or any man acquainted with the State of the Country thro' which it was to have passed. Those, who were most sanguine, I fancy, now see the impracticability of it.

Peekskill and the neighbouring posts were, by a Resolve of Congress, included in the Northern department, and the care of carrying on the Works put under the direction of the Officer commanding in that district. Genl Gates being, soon after the Resolve, called to the Board of War, he had no opportunity of doing any thing towards it. Whether there will be any alteration in the extent of the command this Campaign, I cannot tell; but, if it falls again into that department, more immediately under my particular command, you may depend that all the attention due to Posts so important shall be paid to them. I am &c.⁹

8. Livingston had written (January 14) to Washington that popular opinion in New York and the neighboring States, as well as in the Army, ran strongly against Putnam, who was then in his sixtieth year and unable to render the military services demanded of him by the important command he then filled.

9. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman. The words in brackets are in the writing of Washington.

To THE COMMISSIONERS OF INDIAN AFFAIRS¹⁶

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, March 13, 1778.

Gentlemen: You will perceive, by the inclosed Copy of a Resolve of Congress, that I am impowered to employ a body of four hundred Indians, if they can be procured upon proper terms. Divesting them of the Savage customs exercised in their Wars against each other, I think they may be made of excellent use, as scouts and light troops, mixed with our own Parties. I propose to raise about one half the number among the Southern and the remainder among the Northern Indians. I have sent Colo Nathl. Gist, who is well acquainted with the Cherokees and their Allies, to bring as many as he can from thence, and I must depend upon you to employ suitable persons to procure the stipulated number or as near as may be from the Northern tribes. The terms made with them should be such as you think we can comply with, and persons well acquainted with their language, manners and Customs and who have gained an influence over them should accompany them. The Oneidas have manifested the strongest attachment to us throughout this dispute and I therefore suppose, if any can be procured, they will be most numerous. Their Missionary Mr. Kirkland seemed to have an uncommon ascendancy over that tribe and I should therefore be glad to see him accompany them. If the Indians can be procured, I

16. Philip Schuyler, James Duane, and Volkert Pieterse Douw were Commissioners of Indian Affairs for the Northern Department. They sat at Albany, N.Y.

would choose to have them here by the opening of the Campaign, and therefore they should be engaged as soon as possible as there is not more time between this and the Middle of May than will be necessary to settle the business with them and to March from their Country to the Army. I am not without hopes that this will reach you before the treaty which is to be held, breaks up. If it should, you will have an Opportunity of knowing their sentiments, of which I shall be glad to be informed, as soon as possible.¹⁷ I have the honour etc.¹⁸

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, March 14, 1778.

Sir: I have the honour of yours of the 2d instant; and I can assure you, I feel myself very sensibly affected by the strenuous manner in which you express the public regard of the State and your personal friendship towards me. I only desire to be the object of both, while in your good opinion and that of the Publick, I continue to merit them.

We seem hitherto to have mistaken each other, in respect to the Troop of light Horse. I did not mean to inlist them in the Continental Service, but only to engage them for a few Months, while the Continental Horse were recruiting, upon the same terms that I engaged the Morris County Horse last Winter. It will be

17. Regarding the employment of Indians, Sparks prints the following footnote in volume 5 of his *Writings of Washington*:

“A short time before Congress passed the resolve conferring the authority described above the subject had been vehemently discussed in the British Parliament (February 6) on a motion of Mr. Burke to call for the papers which had passed between the ministry and the generals commanding in America relative to the military employment of Indians. The act was denounced as criminal, and the ministers were censured with much asperity by the prominent opposition members for abetting and approving it. Mr. Burke said: ‘No proof whatever had been given of the Americans having attempted offensive alliances with any one tribe of savages; whereas the imperfect papers now before that House demonstrated, that the King's ministers had negotiated and obtained such alliances from one end of the continent of America to the other; that the Americans had actually made a treaty on the footing of neutrality with the famous Five Nations, which the King's ministers had bribed them to violate, and to act offensively against the colonies; that no attempt had been made in a single instance on the part of the King's ministers to procure a neutrality; that if the fact had been, that the Americans had actually employed those savages, yet the difference of employing them against armed and trained soldiers, embodied and encamped, and employing them against the unarmed and defenceless men, women, and children of a country, dispersed in their houses, was manifest, and left those, who attempted so inhuman and unequal a retaliation, without excuse.’

“Lord George Germain spoke in reply, and justified the conduct of the administration. He said ‘the matter lay within a very narrow compass; the Indians would not have remained idle spectators; the very arguments used by the honorable gentleman, who made the motion, were so many proofs that they would not. Besides, the rebels, by their emissaries, had made frequent applications to the Indians to side with them, the Virginians particularly; and he said, that some Indians were employed at Boston in the rebel army. Now taking the disposition of the Indians, with the applications made to them by the colonies, it amounted to a clear, indisputable proposition, that either they would have served against us, or that we must have employed them.’ Lord North said, on the same side, ‘that, in respect to the employment of Indians, he looked upon it as bad, but unavoidable.’

“Governor Pownall, who had resided long in America and understood the Indian character perfectly, was of the same opinion. He proposed a scheme of his own. ‘I know,’ said he, ‘and therefore speak directly, that the idea of an Indian neutrality is nonsense; delusive, dangerous nonsense. If both we and the Americans were agreed to observe a strict neutrality in not employing them, they would then plunder and scalp both parties indiscriminately on both sides. Although this is my opinion, founded on the knowledge and experience I have had in these matters, yet I am persuaded, that if we and the Americans would come to some stipulation, or convention, that we would mutually and in a spirit of good faith not suffer the Indians to intermeddle, but consider and act against them as enemies, whenever they did execute hostilities against any of the British nation, whether English or Americans, all this horrid business might be prevented, or at least in a great measure restrained.’ Governor Pownall enlarged upon his scheme and even offered to proceed himself to Congress, if duly authorized, and use his endeavors with that body to carry it into effect.”

(See Almon's *Parliamentary Register*, vol. viii, pp. 349, 353, 357.)

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

expected that they provide their own Horses, Arms and Accoutrements and be paid accordingly. If Capt Arnold²⁴ will come into the Service upon the above terms, I will immediately take him into employ.

I am exceedingly glad to hear of the reform you have already made in the Quarter Masters and Commissary's department at Princeton and doubt not, but if you pursue the same line of Conduct thro' the other Posts, that the public will not only save an immense Sum of Money, but be better served, for these Supernumeraries, [are] like useless Wheels in a Machine, they only clog and perplex the more essential parts.

It is impossible to devise any other mode of disposing of deserters, than to let them go at large among us, provided there is no particular cause of suspicion against them. To confine them would effectually put a stop to a drain which weakens the Enemy more in the course of a year than you would imagine.

I am pleased with the favourable account which you give of Count Pulaski's Conduct while at Trenton. He is a Gentleman of great activity and unquestionable bravery, and only wants a fuller knowledge of our language and Customs, to make him a valuable Officer. I am &c.²⁵

24. Of the Morris County, N.J., Horse.

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

To PRESIDENT JAMES BOWDOIN

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, March 17, 1778.

Sir: It gives me inexpressible concern to have repeated information from the best Authority, that the Committees of the different Towns and districts in your State, hire deserters from Genl. Burgoyne's Army, and employ them as substitutes, to excuse the personal service of the Inhabitants. I need not enlarge upon the danger of substituting as Soldiers, men who have given a glaring proof of a

treacherous disposition, and who are bound to us by no motives of attachment, to Citizens, in whom the ties of Country, kindred, and some times property, are so many securities for their fidelity. The evils, with which this measure is pregnant, are obvious, and of such a serious nature, as makes it necessary not only to stop the farther progress of it, but likewise to apply a retrospective Remedy, and, if possible, annul it, as far as it has been carried into effect. Unless this is done, although you may be amused for the present with the flattering idea of speedily completing your Battalions, they will be found at, or before, the opening of the Campaign, reduced, by the defection of every British Soldier, to their original weak condition, and the accumulated bounties of the Continent and the State will have been fruitlessly sacrificed. Indeed, Mr. Burgoyne could hardly, if he were consulted, suggest a more effectual plan for plundering us of so much Money, reinforcing Mr. Howe with so many Men, and

preventing us from recruiting a certain number of Regiments, to say nothing of the additional losses which may be dreaded, in desertions among the native Soldiers, from the contagion of ill example, and the arts of seduction, which it is more than probable will be put in practice. This matter demands your immediate attention, and I flatter myself, that on a due consideration of the mischiefs which must inevitably flow from the pernicious practice, remonstrated against, you will not delay the application of the most extensive and efficacious remedy.⁵² I have the honour, etc.⁵³

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, March 19, 1778.

Dear Sir: I yesterday received information from Genl Smallwood at Wilmington, that a number of Vessels, mostly Sloops and Schooners, had gone down the Bay with Troops on Board, their destination uncertain. Several deserters this day inform me, that the number of Men embarked are four Regiments of British which are at most 1000. We have had it reported from different quarters that an expedition was in agitation to destroy the Salt Works upon the Coast, and as the size of the Vessels, mentioned by Genl. Smallwood,

52. In answer to this appeal the Massachusetts Legislature passed resolves (Apr. 23, 1778) regulating the enlistment of recruits, which Washington acknowledged May 19, 1778.

53. The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

is calculated to run into the Inlets, I am apprehensive that may be their plan. Or perhaps it may be to collect Forage and Cattle in Salem, Cumberland and Cape May Counties. I have thought it my duty to give you this information, that you may order the Militia contiguous to the Sea Coast, and those upon the Delaware to be in readiness and to give them countenance and support. I have ordered Colo. Shreve's Regiment to march immediately to Jersey. I hope the Militia will resort to Colo. Shreve, with the same alacrity, that they did to Genl Wayne; if they do, I am convinced that a larger Body than what are embarked may be repulsed. I have the honour, etc.⁷²

To GOVERNOR THOMAS JOHNSON

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, March 21, 1778.

Sir: I do myself the honour to inclose you a representation, made to me by Mr. Chaloner Deputy Commissary of Purchases, upon the difficulty, under your present law, of procuring Waggon to bring the public Stores of provision collected at the Head of Elk and Middletown in your State. The State of Pennsylvania has been already exceedingly harrassed in providing teams, as we have drawn our Horses and Waggon almost totally from them since the commencement of this dispute. I would therefore wish, that you would

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

lay this matter before your legislature, and endeavour to procure an amendment to the law, whereby a mode may be fallen upon to obtain a sufficient number of Waggon to bring forward the Stores at the places above mentioned and in the neighbourhood of them. Governor Livingston lately did us the favour to procure a law of the State of Jersey vesting him and the Council with powers to impress any number of Waggon, to supply the Army, in cases of great emergency, and I assure

you that is truly the case now. If we do not establish Magazines in Camp and near it before our Reinforcements arrive, it will be impossible to subsist our force when collected.

I have to acknowledge the receipt of yours some little time ago, informing me of the steps you had taken to procure us a supply of provision. I sincerely thank you, and hope I shall find the same readiness in you to assist us with Carriages. As one of the Gentlemen in the Commissary department will wait upon you with this, he will inform you of the number wanting at present. I have the honour etc.⁹⁴

[M.D.H.S.]

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Valley Forge, March 25, 1778.

Sir: I have been duly honored with your Excellency's favors

94. In the writing of Tench Tilghman.

of the 14th, 18th and 21st instant.

I am sorry to find, that the few Troops with Colonel Foreman, have become a subject of uneasiness. They are ordered to join Colo. Shreve's Regiment for the present and to Act with him. Colo. Foreman, five or Six Weeks since, transmitted thro' my hands a Memorial to Congress, respecting his Salt Works, offering a contract for the proceeds, and requesting some Continental Troops for their protection. I expected they would have decided on the matter, soon after it was submitted, and consented that the Troops with him might remain there till their determination was had. I imagined, at the same time, that the Works which were the object of the Memorial, would derive some security from the party being placed there, that others not too remote, might be benefited by it in some degree; as a knowledge of Troops being in that quarter might prevent small detachments of the Enemy making attempts against them.

I have written to Colo. Moylan upon the subject of quartering the Horse at proper places, and desired him to consult you on the occasion. So far, Sir, from viewing your Sentiments in this or in any instance, as an obtrusion, I hold myself much obliged by them. However, tho' Gloucester and Salem Counties have considerable quantities of Forage, I fear the Horse will be too much exposed there, and if they were not captured, that the duty they would be obliged to perform, would prevent their recruiting and becoming fit for Service against the Campaign opens, which is an object of infinite importance. I am told, that Springfield, not far from

Mount Holly, can accomodate many of them with great ease. I have directed Colo Moylan to give a strict attention to their conduct and to prevent, as far as possible, every species of irregularity, which I trust he will do.

It was unnecessary to offer an apology for committing to my care your Letters for Congress and Colo. Blaine. I shall always be happy to forward your dispatches Colo. Blaine is not in Camp, nor do I know where he is, having been out some time, after Provision.

I thank you for your trouble in taking Eliza. Chatham's deposition.⁵² Her name will not be disclosed. I have other depositions in my possession, nearly the same in substance, and which do not say more for General Howe's humanity.

I am much concerned, that it is not in my power to afford further aid for checking the incursions of the Enemy in Jersey. The situation of this Army will not admit the smallest detachments to be made from it. Indeed were it much better than what it is, it would be hardly practicable to give relief, as the Enemy, from local circumstances, would always be able either to withdraw or reinforce their parties. It is our misfortune not to have a sufficient Force on foot, either for the purposes of offence or defence, and the fatal policy of short inlistments, like an evil genius, is now prosecuting us and marring all our operations. I have the honour, etc.⁵³

52. Elizabeth Chatham's deposition was on the treatment of American prisoners in Philadelphia by the British.

53. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, March 25, 1778.

Dr. Sir: I have strong reasons to suspect a Mr. Bankson, late a Captain of Marines in our service, of being in the employ of the enemy as a Spy. His family lives at Princeton. We have nothing against him that amounts to proof, and to seize him at present would answer no end; but to put it out of our power to detect and punish him. It were to be wished, your Excellency, without discovering our suspicions could fall upon some method to have him well watched, and, if possible, find out something to ascertain the fact. He is lately from Philadelphia and has offered me his services in that way, as he proposes to return in a few days, taking this Camp in his way. If in the mean time any circumstance should arise within your knowledge you will be pleased to transmit it to me. I am etc.⁵⁴

ADDRESS TO THE INHABITANTS OF VIRGINIA

Head Quarters, March 26, 1778.

The bearer Mr. Johnston Smith being sent by Major Genl. Greene Qur Master General to the Continental Army to provide Horses, Waggon and such other things, as are necessary for the Quarter Master General's department, I have the fullest hopes

54. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton and Robert Hanson Harrison.

that every person, well affected to their Country, and who wish well to the Noble cause in which we are embarked, will cheerfully supply him with what he may want, for which they will be amply

and regularly paid. I address myself particularly to my Countrymen of Virginia, because Mr. Smith proposes to confine his purchases principally to the Counties of Hampshire, Berkely, Frederick, Dunmore, Augusta, Loudoun and Fauquier. I have ever experienced the greatest kindness and readiness to assist from the good people of every State in which the Chance of War has placed me, and I hope that those of that State, to which I have the honour to belong will not be behind hand with their neighbours in paying an attention to my requests in making which I am solely influenced by a desire to advance the general interest.⁶¹

To ABRAHAM HITE

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, March 26, 1778.

Sir: Major General Greene, having been lately appointed to the Office of Quarter Master General of the Army, has desired me to make him acquainted with some Gentlemen of the State of Virginia, of influence in their own and the adjacent Counties. I have

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

taken the liberty to mention you to him among others. He proposes to send Mr. Johnston Smith into your Quarter of the State, to purchase and hire Horses and Waggon and to transact such other business as belongs to the department. I shall esteem it as a favour conferred upon me and a service rendered to the public, if you will give Mr Smith or any other person sent by General Greene, every assistance in your power towards the speedy execution of the business. When I assure you that much of the Success of the ensuing Campaign depends upon the Strength of the Quarter Master Genls. department, I am convinced that your zeal for the public good will influence you not only to exert yourself but to stimulate your Neighbours to contribute cheerfully to the supply of what is necessary, and for which they will be amply and regularly paid. I am &ca.⁶²

To GOVERNOR RICHARD CASWELL⁸⁰

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, March 28, 1778.

Sir: I have been this day honoured with yours of the 15th

62. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman. The same letter was sent to Thomas Rutherford, Sampson Matthews, and Francis Peyton, all of Virginia.

80. Of North Carolina.

Febry. and am pleased to hear that you have found an Opportunity of purchasing a quantity of Cloathing for the Troops of your State, which I beg may be forwarded as quick as possible, not to the Clothier General but to Brigr. Genl McIntosh who Commands the North Carolina Troops. My reason for desiring is, that the Troops of your State will by these means be sure of having the whole appropriated to their particular use; but if it goes into the hands of the Clothier General it will get mixt with the general mass of Continental Cloathing, and may be delivered out to the troops of other States. I would not have you wait to have the Cloathing made up in Carolina. If it comes on in pieces as far as Lancaster, it may be made up there in such garments as are most wanted. I am also exceedingly glad to hear, that you have made a purchase of Salt provision very little of which, to what ought to have been, has been put up to the Northward, owing to neglect or mismanagement in the Commissary's department. I beg you will not discontinue your purchases of Salt meat, if it is in your power to extend them, for I am certain we shall have occasion for it.

I hope some means have been fallen upon before this time for the Completion of the Battalions of your State. Whether it be by drafting or recruiting, I desire that the men may be sent forward, as fast as they are raised, always under the charge of a commissioned Officer. They need not wait for inoculation as they can conveniently go through the disorder in or near Camp, and the Men will not have a long March to

perform after their recovery, which has always proved more destructive than the Small pox itself.

There is every appearance of General Howe's drawing reinforcements from New York and Rhode Island, and I very much fear he will be in a condition to take the field before we are prepared for him. I have wrote pressingly to every State to forward on their Levies without loss of time and I am certain that the same zeal which has ever actuated you when your Country wanted your assistance will be exerted upon this occasion. I am etc.

P.S. I have desired the Cloth to be sent forward, upon a supposition that it will be difficult to get it made up in Carolina. But if it can be done speedily it will be as well or better. If made with you, be pleased to order the Cloathes to be made large.⁸¹

To THE REVEREND JOHN ETTWEIN⁸²

Head Quarters, March 28, 1778.

Sir: I have received your letter of the 25th instant by the hands of Mr. Hasse, setting forth the Injury which will be done to the inhabitants of Letiz,⁸³ by establishing a general Hospital there. I need not explain to you, how necessary establishments of this kind

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

82. Moravian minister at Bethlehem, Pa.

83. Lititz, Pa.

are to the welfare of the Army, and you must be sensible that they can be placed no where, without occasioning inconvenience to some set of people or other; at the same time, it is ever my wish and aim to effect the public good, with as little sacrifice as possible of individual interests. Doctor Shippen is intrusted with the arrangement and distribution of all Hospitals. I am persuaded he will not exert the powers vested in him, unnecessarily to the prejudice of your Society; however it will

be proper to acquaint him with the circumstances of the People in whose favour you remonstrate, and you may, if you please, communicate to him the contents of this letter. I am etc.⁸⁴

To PRESIDENT JAMES BOWDOIN

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, March 31, 1778.

Sir: The evil which I apprehended from the inlistment of Deserters, as pointed out in my letter of the 17th inst., has already made its appearance. One of the Colonels informs me, that every British Deserter sent to his Regiment, except one, is already gone off. One of these people, a few nights ago, took off a light horse with his accoutrements from an advanced picket. I hope upon this proof of the infidelity of the above described class, that a total

84. The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

stop will be put to the hiring them. It is now prohibited by an express Resolve of Congress, passed a few weeks ago.

I hope, before this reaches you, that part of your Levies are upon their March to join the Regiments to which they are allotted. Genl. Howe is beginning to draw his reinforcements together and I can with truth assure you, that if he begins his operations before there is an addition made to our present force, that we shall not be able to make that stand which is expected from us. I hope this short, but true State of facts, will induce you to exert yourselves to the utmost to forward the recruits. Such as are not inoculated, need not be detained for that purpose as it may be done conveniently in and near the Camp, and these two great advantages will result from it, that we shall have the service of the patients upon an emergency and they will not have a long March to perform after their recovery, which often debilitates them the remainder of the Campaign and is more fatal than the disorder itself.

I have no doubt but proper care will be taken, to procure Clothing for the Men before the march, or to have it sent forward, that it may be ready for them upon their arrival. I hope a due attention will

also be paid to keeping up a sufficient quantity of Cloathing, that the Soldiers may never be reduced to want and nakedness. Not only a loss from Sickness, follows the want of covering, but desertion to a very great degree. I am astonished, considering the sufferings the men have undergone, that more of them have not left us. I have &ca.¹⁴

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

To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, March 31, 1778.

Sir: It is some time since I have been honoured with a letter from you. The sole reason of my taking up your attention at this time is to lay before you a short state of our present situation, the apparent views of the Enemy, and from thence to shew the absolute necessity which there is for drawing our force together, as quick as possible, and being able to take the Field before the Enemy are in a condition to begin their operations. Notwithstanding the Orders I had given last year to have all the Recruits inoculated, I found upon examination, that between three and four thousand Men had not had the Small Pox; that disorder began to make its appearance in Camp, and to avoid its spreading in the natural way, the whole were immediately inoculated. They have gone thro' with uncommon success, but are not yet sufficiently recovered to do duty. All the Men of the Eastern Regiments, who are drafted for eight and twelve months, were discharged in the Winter and their places have not yet been filled up. Seven of the Virginia Regiments had been inlisted for two Years, and their time of Service expiring, about two Months ago, they were discharged likewise. Full two thousand Men belonging to the different States are returned unfit for duty for want of cloathing and must consequently be deducted from the effective list, from which also are to be taken the Sick present and

in Hospital. From the above you may form a pretty just estimation of our present force, I mean with which we should be able to look the Enemy in the face.

General Howe has already drawn a body of Men, said to be 2500, from New York, and several accounts from Rhode Island speak confidently of the intended evacuation of New Port, which I suppose, if it takes place, is also to reinforce Philadelphia. These things indicate the intention of an early movement on the part of the Enemy and indeed if they have the least penetration, or have profited by past experience, they must know, that an early Campaign upon their part will be highly advantageous to them. Had they attacked us last spring in the Neighbourhood of Morris Town before our Levies joined, they would undoubtedly have routed us, and perhaps have hindered us from making a junction of any consequence during the remainder of the Campaign.

After the foregoing, little need be said to convince you of the absolute necessity of sending forward your Levies with the greatest expedition. They are wanted now to enable us to act merely on the defensive; but would the States exert themselves and send such a body of Men into the Field before the Enemy are fully reinforced, as would enable us to act upon the offensive, such advantages might be taken of them in their present situation, and such posts occupied as would reduce them to the greatest distress. We may be assured, that notwithstanding the severe blow which great Britain met with in the loss of Burgoyne's Army, that she will exert herself most strenuously

to repair her Credit this Campaign. It is plain, that France is playing a politic game. Enjoying all the advantages of our Commerce without the expence of War. It will probably end in a rupture between the two Courts, but perhaps not so speedily as some imagine.

Such of the Levies as have not been innoculated need not be detained upon that account. We have found it more convenient to inoculate them in and near Camp. They can be of service in case of an emergency, and are not to be subjected to a long march immediately upon their recovery, which has always been much more fatal than the disorder.

Among the Troops returned unfit for duty for want of Cloathing, none of your State are included. The care of your Legislature, in providing cloathing and necessaries of all kinds for their Men, is highly laudable, and reflects the greatest honour upon their patriotism and humanity.

I wrote to you the 6th Ulto. upon our then want of Provision, to which hav[ing] received [no] answer, [I am doubtful of the Letters getting to hand.] We have been since better supplied, and as I am informed that Mr. Wadsworth has accepted of the Commissary department, I hope that we shall do better in future. I am etc.¹⁵

15. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman. The words in brackets are in the writing of Washington.

To THOMAS McKEAN²²

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, April 1, 1778.

Sir: I was yesterday favd. with your letter of the 13th March. I should be ready to afford every probable means of procuring honest testimony, to the two persons now under confinement for passing counterfeit Continental Money. But it cannot be supposed that General Howe would permit persons to come out of Philadelphia to give evidence in a matter, which by being traced fairly back would fix the issuing counterfeit Money upon some of his own party. A thing which he has affected to treat as not having the least foundation in truth. Besides I very much doubt whether he would not consider the suffering persons to come out to give evidence in our Courts, as in some measure acknowledging their authority and jurisdiction, which he has ever cautiously avoided.

Upon the whole Sir, I think it will be to no purpose to send in for the evidences required, who, if they were permitted to come out would only endeavour to make it appear that the prisoners did not know the money was counterfeit; Whether they did or did not I should suppose the jury will be able to determine from Circumstances. I am etc.²¹

[H.S.P.]

22. Chief Justice of Pennsylvania.

21. In the writing of Tench Tilghman.

To PRESIDENT THOMAS WHARTON, JUNIOR

Head Quarters, April 5, 1778.

Sir: I take the liberty to inclose you a Letter to me from Mrs. Mary Pemberton,⁵⁸ requesting a passport for some waggons to be sent out, with articles for the use of her husband and others, who are now in confinement. As the persons concerned are prisoners of the state I did not think proper to comply with her request. I have assured her that I would transmit her letter to you, and did not doubt, but her application would meet with your ready concurrence. If you will be pleased to send the passports required to me, I will convey it by a flagg. The letter mentions one or more waggons: I dare say, you will extend the indulgence, as far as may be requisite and consistent with propriety. I have the honour, etc.⁵⁹

To MRS. MARY PEMBERTON

Head Quarters, April 5, 1778.

Madam: It would give me pleasure to oblige you by granting the passport you desire; but as those for whose benefit it is

58. Wife of Israel Pemberton. Her letter to Washington, dated Mar. 31, 1778, was in the Pennsylvania archives at Harrisburg in 1848. According to it, the Quaker prisoners were held at Winchester, Va.

59. In the writing of Alexander Hamilton. From a photostat of the original in the possession of Mrs. Ray Spear, Washington, D.C., to whom the editor is indebted.

intended, are prisoners of the State, I do not think myself at liberty to do it. I shall, however, transmit your letter to Governor Wharton and interest myself for the success on its contents. I have no doubt an application of such a nature will meet with his most cheerful concurrence. I am, etc.⁶⁰

To PRESIDENT THOMAS WHARTON, JUNIOR

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, April 6, 1778.

Sir: Mrs. Jones, Mrs. Pleasants and two other Ladies, connected with the Quakers confined at Winchester in Virginia, waited upon me this day for permission to pass to York Town, to endeavour to obtain the release of their Friends. As they were admitted by the Officer at the advanced picket to come within the Camp, I thought it safer to suffer them to proceed, than to oblige them to return immediately to the City. You will judge of the propriety of permitting them to proceed further than Lancaster; but from appearances, I imagine their request may be safely granted. As they seem much distressed, humanity pleads strongly in their behalf. I have the honour etc.⁶⁶

60. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

66. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman. The original, also in Tilghman's writing, was in the Pennsylvania archives at Harrisburg in 1848.

To PRESIDENT THOMAS WHARTON, JUNIOR

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, April 10, 1778.

Sir: I have the honor of yours of the 6th inclosing a passport for the Waggon with Stores for the Prisoners at Winchester,⁹⁰ which I immediately forwarded to Mrs. Pemberton.

I beg leave to introduce Major General Greene to you, who is lately appointed Quarter Master General. Upon looking carefully over the late law of this State, for regulating the providing of Waggon for the Service, he has found out some parts which he conceives might be amended so as more fully

to answer the valuable purposes intended. He will lay the wished amendments before you and the Council for your consideration, and if you think with him that the Service will be benefitted by them, I have no doubt but you will recommend them to the Assembly, at the opening of the next Session.

There is a Grievance complained of by many people, inhabitants of this State, who attend the Army in Continental employ as Qr. Masters, Waggon Masters, Teamsters, &c. They are called upon to do duty in the Militia, and if they do not appear are fined to the Amount of their substitute money. This they conceive to be very hard upon them, as they are in the service of the States and ought to be as much exempted as Officers or Soldiers. General Greene will represent this matter fully to you and point

90. The draft gives Lancaster.

out an equitable mode of redress. He is interested in the matter, as the Persons who complain generally belong to his department. I have the honour etc.⁹¹

[H.S.P.]

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, April 11, 1778.

Dr. Sir: I have the honour of yours of the 4th instant. If Capt. Arnold⁶ makes so many difficulties before he comes into the field, he will perhaps find more after he has entered, and I therefore would rather have him drop the scheme than take it up unwillingly.

Mr. Boudinot is at present at Newtown with the Commissioners, but I will send him that part of your letter which respects the illicit trade carried on under the Sanction of his flag Boats with provision and desire him to remedy the evil in the manner you point out. I will also desire him to remove the Prisoners of War from your Jails.

A Resolve of Congress, passed the 4th Inst., empowering me to call for 5000 Militia from the States of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Jersey. I would not wish to distress the States, but when there is an absolute necessity; but from the present

91. In the writing of Tench Tilghman.

6. Capt. Jacob(?) Arnold. of the Morris County, N.J., Light Horse.

poor prospect of an early reinforcement to the Continental Army, I fear I shall be obliged to make the demand. If I do, I am confident that your State, notwithstanding their former exertions will contribute their quota. I am &c.⁷

To PRESIDENT THOMAS WHARTON, JUNIOR

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, April 11, 1778.

Sir: I do myself the honour to inclose you a Resolve of Congress of the 4th instant empowering me to call for 5000 Militia from the States of Pennsylvania, Maryland and New Jersey. Much as the Army stands in need of Reinforcements, I would not wish to call upon the States for their Militia, in great numbers before there is an absolute necessity. I shall therefore only make a demand at present from Pennsylvania, of one thousand effective Rank and File including those at present in service under the command of General Lacey. I inclose you Copy of his Return of the 6th. instant for your Government. I wish this Body of one thousand Men to be sent into the field as expeditiously and for as long a time as possible. If they cannot be ordered out for a longer term than the tour prescribed by the law, I hope care will be taken to replace them regularly as their services expire.

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

I have the honour etc.

P.S. Colo. Gibson informs me, that if the Militia would mount the Guards at Lancaster, he could send forward a considerable number of continental Troops. Be pleased to apply to him and know what number will be necessary, which may be considered as part of the 1000. above demanded.⁸

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, April 14, 1778.

Dear Sir: I am honoured with yours of the 9th. inclosing a petition from a number of respectable inhabitants of the lower Counties of your State. I wish it were in my power, immediately to afford them that relief and protection which they look for, but you know I can only make detachments from the Army, proportioned to the strength of the main body. I have ordered the few men of Colo. Forman's Regiment who are here, to join Colo. Shreve, which will make a small addition to his force, and it is my intention, if I can do it consistent with the safety of the Army, to send over another of the Jersey Regiments; but as this is a matter of great uncertainty, and will depend intirely upon my reinforcements; I would not wish that the people should count upon it. A few hundred Continental Troops,

8. In the writing of Tench Tilghman.

quiet the minds and give satisfaction to the people of the Country; but considered in the true light, they rather do more harm than good. They draw over the attention of the Enemy, and not being able to resist them, are obliged to fly and leave the Country at the Mercy of the foe. But, as I said before, the people do not view things in the same light, and therefore they must be indulged, tho' to their detriment. If four or five hundred Militia could be kept together, they, in conjunction with Colo Shreve's Troops, would cover the Country from incursions of small parties of the Enemy and would oblige them, if they moved at all, to do it in larger numbers than they choose to risque across the Delaware, except to accomplish some matter of great importance.

I think Col Mawhood's²⁰ Summons with proper comments upon it, and the barbarities really subsequent to it should be published. Colo. Hand's²¹ Answer does him and the Officers and Men under his Command great honour.

Mr. Boudinot has taken charge of the prisoners sent over, and has promised to have proper Steps taken to prevent the private trade carried on by the persons going in the Flag Boats. I have the honour etc.²²

20. Col. Charles Mawhood, of the Seventeenth Foot, British Army. He summoned the New Jersey Militia at Quinton's Bridge to lay down their arms, disperse, and return home, on which he would reembark his detachment and pay for all the cattle, forage, etc., he had seized. If the militia refused to disperse, Mawhood would arm the Tories and lay waste the country. He then listed the names of 17 of the Jersey inhabitants "as will be the first Objects to feel the Vengeance of the british nation." A copy of Mawhood's summons is in the *Washington Papers*, under date of Mar. 21, 1778.

21. Col. Elijah Hand, of the New Jersey Militia. His answer to Mawhood is not found in the *Washington Papers*.

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

To PRESIDENT THOMAS WHARTON, JUNIOR

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, April 17, 1778.

Sir: I have long been convinced that one great cause of the backwardness of the people to supply us with Articles in the Qr. Masters and Commissary's departments, has been owing to the imprudent choice of deputies in those departments, who have not only personally abused the inhabitants, but have defrauded them of great part of their dues. So glaring an instance, of one of those improper appointments, has lately presented itself to me, that I thought it my duty to take the deputation away from the person to prevent his doing mischief, and as he was empowered to act by Mr.

Thomas Edwards the Commissioner of Lancaster County, I thought it highly expedient to give you information of it, with the Character of Patrick Maguire, the person named in the inclosed extensive Commission. He was hired about twelve months ago, to act as Steward in my family, in which station he continued untill a few weeks past, when I was obliged to dismiss him. [and I have the greatest reason to believe, that during the whole time of his employ, he took every opportunity of defrauding me]⁴² He is given to liquor, and where he dares take the liberty, very insolent. He is totally unacquainted with the Country, or with the quality or value of the Articles wanted, and yet, you will pleased to observe, by his powers, that he is unlimited as to quantity, quality or price. He must have been a stranger

42. The clause in brackets is in the draft but not in the letter sent.

to Mr. Edwards, as he had but lately come from Ireland when I hired him. I hope you will attribute this representation of facts to the true motive, which is, my desire of delivering the people from the oppression which they have too long laboured under, by being harassed and abused by persons of Mr. Maguire's stamp. I have the honour, etc.

P.S. I have received yours of the 13th Instant.⁴³

To GOVERNOR PATRICK HENRY

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, April 19, 1778.

Dear Sir: I have the honor of yours of the first inst. informing me of the appointment of Mr. Hawkins, to the Office of purchasing Commissary in the State of Virginia. I have heard so good an account of his Character that I hope the most salutary effects will ensue. I hold myself infinitely obliged to the Legislature for the ready attention which they paid to my representation of the wants of the Army and to you, for the strenuous manner in which you have recommended to the people an observance of my request for fattening Cattle.

Congress have just made a change in the Commissary General's department by the appointment of Mr. Jeremiah Wadsworth of Connecticut, in the room of Mr. Buchanan.⁶² Mr.

43. In the writing of Tench Tilghman; the draft, dated Apr. 15, 1778, in the writing of Tilghman, is also in the *Washington Papers*.

62. William Buchanan.

Wadsworth is a man of most extensive influence in the Eastern States, has a thorough knowledge of the resources of those States, and possesses that most useful quality of great activity and address in business. I shall take the first opportunity of acquainting him with your appointment of Mr. Hawkins, that he may co-operate with him.

I have consulted Mr. Blaine⁶³ the purchasing Commissary in this district upon the Subject of your letter. He advises that no Cattle be immediately sent forward but those fit for present use or in tolerable good order, as he observes, that it is almost impossible to fatten poor Cattle in any reasonable time after being drove a great distance. Such as are purchased in a part of the Country, which does not afford pasture, must of necessity be drove on; but those that the purchasers can provide for, had better be kept thro' the Summer and drove on in or about September, when there is plenty of grass upon the Road. Mr. Blaine recommends two Routes for the poor Cattle. The upper by Winchester, Red House, Watkins's Ferry and Carlisle. Mr. James Smith near Carlisle will provide for them. The other across Potowmack and thro' Frederick's Town. Mr. George Murdoch of Frederick Town will provide pasture for those brought that way. But he begs Mr. Hawkins may be pressed to send forward the Beef and Cattle as expeditiously as possible.

If the Money to pay the additional bounty to the reinlisted Men comes to my hands it shall be properly disposed of. I have the honour, etc.⁶⁴

63. Col. Ephraim Blaine.

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

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, April 22, 1778.

Dear Sir: Inclosed I transmit you a Philadelphia Paper, containing the draught of two Bills introduced into Parliament by Lord North, and his speech upon the occasion.⁸³ Their authenticity in Philadelphia is not questioned, and I have not the smallest doubt, but there will be some overtures made us similar, or nearly so, to the propositions held forth in the draughts. You will see their aim is, under offers of peace, to divide and disunite us; and unless their views are early investigated and exposed in a Striking manner and in various Shapes by able Pens, I fear they will be but too successful, and that they will give a very unhappy, if not a ruinous, cast to our affairs. It appears to me, that we have every possible motive to urge us to exertion. If they are still for War, and of which there can be no doubt, since they are straining every sinew and nerve to levy troops, it behoves us to be prepared. If for peace, our preparations are equally essential, as they will enable us to treat with honour, dignity and, I trust, to freedom. There are many important concessions in the speech and which I hope will be improved to our advantage. If your leisure will possibly permit, I should be happy that the whole should be discussed by your Pen. I am, etc.

83. A copy of the *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Apr. 24, 1778), containing Lord North's speech on his conciliatory motion, draft of a bill declaring the intentions of Parliament concerning the exercise of the right of imposing taxes in America, and the draft of a bill to appoint peace commissioners is in the *Washington Papers*.

Dear Sir: After I had inclosed the foregoing letter, and when I was just about to dispatch it by Express, I received your favours of the 17th and 20th inst. with Governor Tryon's Letters, both of the same import. I inclose you a Copy. The inclosures alluded to are the draughts of the two Bills. Can you conceive any thing equal to the Shifts and Stratagems of the British Ministry? If we conduct our affairs with firmness and wisdom, we must do well. The Resolution, so called in

Towhe's Paper, must be an arrant forgery,⁸⁴ as I never had the least intimation of it; and to suppose such a one could have passed, is to suppose almost the existence of an impossibility. The forgery is calculated for the most wicked purposes, to excite an opposition in the people to the Measures for drafting and to render them ineffectual. There is nothing the Enemy will not attempt to carry their ends.

The only proceedings of Congress, for drafting, that I have seen, were passed the 26th Feby. and are a recommendation to the several States—

To fill up their respective Regiments by drafts from the Militia to serve 9 Months after they appear at the places appointed for their Rendezvous, dischargeable before the end of that Period, in proportion as recruits, inlisted for three Years or during the War, may join the Regiments in which they are.

What a contrast between these proceedings and the Forgery! I shall transmit the paper to Congress immediately, that they may pursue proper steps for counteracting this wicked, infernal publication.

84. In the *Philadelphia Evening Post*, published by Benjamin Towne. These spurious resolves of Congress were also published in Gaine's *New York Gazette* Mar. 9, 1778.

As these propositions and the Speech of Lord North must be founded in the despair of the Nation of succeeding against us, or from a rupture in Europe that has actually happened or that certainly will, would it not be good Policy to avail ourselves of the occasion and for the several States to hold out Pardon &c to all delinquents returning by a Certain day? It appears to me, upon a short Consideration of the matter, that such a measure would detach the Tories from the Enemy, and give them a further shock. I am etc.⁸⁵

To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, April 24, 1778.

Dear Sir: In the affair of Princetown the winter before last, a box was taken from the enemy, which by appearances was supposed to contain a quantity of hard money. It was put into a small ammunition cart, on the spur of the occasion and has ever since disappeared. I am informed there were some suspicions at the time against one Crane,⁹⁴ a Capt. Lieutenant in the artillery, who it was imagined had converted the box and its contents to his own use.

The inclosed letter to Mr. Hamilton, gives some

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

94. Capt.-Lieut. Joseph Crane(?), of Knox's Continental Artillery.

reason to believe those suspicions were not without foundation; and if any method could be fallen upon to detect the villainy and recover the money, or some equivalent for it, it would not be amiss.

I am not able to give you any clew to the discovery further than to refer you to Mr. Kip⁹⁵ whom I have desired to communicate to you all the information he may be possessed of on the subject.

Crane it seems lives in Orange County, within your government. I am, etc.⁹⁶

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Valley Forge, April 26, 1778.

Sir: I received yesterday your favour of the 15th Instr. with the papers alluded to.

Your reasoning upon the subject of Deserters attending Flags, is certainly right, and not to be disputed. Their appearing in that character is an additional crime, and it is the practice of War, in such instances, founded in principles of common reason and the delicacy of truces, to execute them immediately. This is the custom in general cases. How far the circumstances, which attended the enlistment of Job Hetfield,¹⁵ require a discrimination in his favor, is a point, perhaps, of some difficulty. I find by inquiry,

95. In the draft Kip is stated to be a deputy quartermaster general at Pompton, N. J., but this was crossed off.

96. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

15. The name was Hatfield, many members of this family being notorious Tories.

of General Maxwell, that he was inlisted and Sworn; but yet, that there was a sort of coercion, which might distinguish it from an act perfectly free and voluntary. Upon the whole, I think, his detention and confinement justifiable, which I would prefer to capital punishment. At the same time, you will permit me to observe, that, from the expediency of Flags and the necessity of such an intercourse between Waring Powers, it is the constant usage for the party detaining, executing, &c. to inform the other side of the reasons.

I am sorry, I do not recollect the mode suggested by the Committee, for paying for the Horses. None of the Gentn. are now here, and therefore I shall take the earliest occasion to transmit an extract of your letter to Congress and to forward you their Answer. It is certain without Money things go on heavily if they go on at all.

As the Season for Action is fast advancing and it is necessary for me, in forming plans, either offensive or defensive, to know, with some degree of certainty, what succours might be obtained from the Country in any emergency, I request that you will inform me, as soon as you can, what number of *well armed* Militia (I say well armed, because the Continent cannot supply them) Jersey could afford, if called upon? How long they might be retained in service, and how soon drawn into the Field after requisition. I would wish the estimate to be as accurate, as you can well make it, and if imperfect in

any instance, that it should rather fall short of the Number that may be obtained, than exceed. I do not mean by this, to relinquish my hopes of your filling your Battalions, and I trust the Legislature

will no longer defer Measures necessary for effecting so important and interesting a Work. It is our misfortune never to have our forces in the Field, till the Enemy have received their reinforcements.

I have taken the freedom to commit to your care a letter for Major Genl. Tryon, which you will be pleased to send by a Flag to Staten Island, or to such other post; as you may deem most proper. I transmit you a Copy of our Correspondence, which, on his part, is pretty Similar, it is probable, to His addresses to your Officers. Determined that I should get some of his obliging letters, he made out a first, a Second and a third, all of the same tenor and date. I am persuaded you will be under some difficulty, which to admire most, his impertinence, or his folly. I am etc.¹⁶

To PRESIDENT THOMAS WHARTON, JUNIOR

Head Quarters, April 26, 1778.

Sir: The Season for action is advancing very fast, and

16. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

it is highly necessary for me, in forming any plans, * *¹⁷ It is of very great importance, that your estimate should be well considered, that the experiment may not disappoint any expectations or projects which may be formed in consequence. I have the honour etc.

P.S. Be so good also, as to let me know in how short a time after requisition is made, they could be drawn into the field.¹⁸

To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Valley Forge, April 30, 1778.

Dear Sir: On Monday I received your favor of the 22d Inst.

I should be extremely sorry if the incursions you apprehend, should take place. From the defeats and disappointments

17. The omitted portion is identical with that part of Washington's letter to Gov. William Livingston relating to the same matter, the same date as this letter, *q. v.*

18. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton and John Laurens.

the Indians met with the last campaign, when pushed on and supported by a formidable regular Army, we had reason to hope, that they would remain peaceable, at least for some time. However, there is no reasoning with precision from the past to the future conduct of these people. Their own disposition to ravage, with the artifices of the Enemy may possibly induce them to commit some outrages in order to alarm and divert a part of our force, from the points at which it will be materially wanted. I have not seen the Resolution which you mention, but I imagine Genl. Gates, who is to command immediately the whole northern department, will dispose of the Troops acting there, in such way, as the exigency of affairs may seem most to require. Securing the north river is an object of the first magnitude and appears to be a principal one in the opinion of Congress, yet his instructions extend to the protection of the northern and Western frontiers of the State against any ravages that may be attempted. I expect him here in a Day or two, when I shall communicate to him your apprehensions. This proceeding may be placed to the account of our generosity, but it certainly cannot to that of policy or our true interest. It appears to me, that no period in this contest has demanded our exertions equal to the present one. Upon every rational principle, we should have, if possible, more than a respectable Army on foot. Britain is setting every engine to work against us. She means to try us by force and by fraud, and in proportion to our abilities in the field, will be our success in resisting both. I am, etc.³⁵

35. In the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.

To GOVERNOR THOMAS JOHNSON

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, May 4, 1778.

Sir: Congress having by a Resolve of the 26th February last annexed the German Battalion to the State of Maryland, and no means having been yet taken to compleat it: I have thought proper to dispatch Capt. Hubley to receive information from you, in what manner the Officers shall proceed to recruit. Upon his return, I will send off a proper number of Officers, either to receive directions from you, or to proceed immediately to such parts of the State as you shall appoint. In the latter case, you will be pleased to furnish me with the necessary instructions, and inform me to whom the Officers are to apply for money to pay the State Bounty &c. I have the honor etc.⁷⁶

[M.D.H.S.]

To PRESIDENT THOMAS WHARTON, JUNIOR

Head Quarters, May 11, 1778.

Sir: I have been duly honoured with your favor of the 5th. It is matter of regret, that the want of arms and the

76. In the writing of Tench Tilghman.

other causes you assign, afford but an unpromising prospect as to the number of militia which might be drawn out from this State, on any emergency.

The Quarter Master's and Commissary's departments are still far behind hand, not having yet had time to recover from the disordered and defective State, in which they have been for a considerable time past. This circumstance and the imperfect success, which has hitherto attended the business of drafting and recruiting in the different states, and consequently the slow manner, in which the reinforcements for the Continental army, come in, will necessarily obstruct and retard our operations. As I am fully sensible of the disadvantages that accrue from drawing the farmers and tradesmen from their respective employments; especially at this season, I should by all means

wish to avoid it, as far as the good of the service will possibly permit. But at the same time, that the militia ought not to be called into service a moment sooner, than their presence in the field is essentially requisite; it is highly necessary that we should be prepared for events, and so order matters that the whole force of the militia, might on any sudden exigency, be immediately drawn forth in aid of the Continental troops, whether it were for the purposes of defence or offence. I therefore beg leave to recommend that some plan may be digested, for holding the militia in constant readiness to take the field, when called upon, in the most expeditious manner, and at the shortest notice.

The situation, however, of the Continental army

is not such, that we can dispense altogether with the services of the militia for ordinary duty. I must still request the exertions of the State to keep up a body between the Delaware and Schuylkill for the security of the country, consisting of not less than 400 men. These I shall aid with detachments of Continental troops.

Whatever present inconveniences may attend the disuse of substitution, I am persuaded it will be salutary, if persevered in. The use of it is certainly a very great impediment to the growth of the Continental army, the filling which ought to be the first object of our attention. For the same reason that I disapprove the practice of substitution, I should not wish to see the project of raising state Regiments for a short term of service, adopted. This service would be preferred to a more permanent one by a number of persons, who would be willing to engage in the latter, if there was no alternative. I have the honour etc.³

To GOVERNOR THOMAS JOHNSON

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, May 11, 1778.

Dr. Sir: I was some little time past empowered by Congress to call for 5000 Militia from the States of Jersey,

3. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

Pennsylvania and Maryland. This Resolve was, I believe, occasioned by a report, which has proved groundless, that the Enemy intended suddenly to evacuate Rhode [Island] to draw part of their force from New York, and attack this Army, before its expected reinforcements arrived. Finding no immediate occasion for the Militia, I forbore to make the requisitions, except in a very small degree from New Jersey and Pennsylvania.

I know it is a very favourite scheme with many, not acquainted with the Situation of our Magazines, and the deranged state of the two capital departments of Commissary and Qr. Mr. Genl. which have not yet [resumed a proper tone] to draw together a great body of Militia in addition to our continental force and make an attack upon the Enemy in Philadelphia. [However much a measure of this kind is to be wished two capital obstacles render it totally ineligible at present; the want of Provisions (or means of transportation) and the uncertainty both with respect to time and numbers, of obtaining the Recruits for the Continental Regiments.] The new Commissary General is exerting himself, and I hope, with the generous aids which the States are giving him, that when grass fed Cattle come in, we shall be able to victual a very considerable force, should a fair opportunity offer of making a capital Blow against the Enemy. [But till these happen,] you will plainly perceive that it would be fruitless to call out the militia; it would be consumptive of public stores, and disheartening to the people; who, finding nothing done upon their first tour of duty, would

perhaps come out very unwillingly when there is real occasion for their Services. Abstracted from all these is a consideration of equal if not greater magnitude, which is the immense loss suffered by drawing out the farmer and tradesman [until the momt. of necessity arrives.] I would therefore wish you to hold up an idea that the Services of the Militia may probably be wanted and endeavour to have a plan digested, by which a given Number may be drawn out armed, accoutred and ready for the field upon the shortest [possible] notice. Something upon the plan of the minute Battalions and Companies formed at the commencement of this war might answer the end.

I need not point out to you the many advantages that will result from having the Continental Battalions compleated and I therefore hope that you will persevere until yours are filled either by recruits or Draughts. I have the honour etc.⁴

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, May 12, 1778.

Dear Sir: I was a few days ago honoured with yours, informing me of the probable strength of Militia which might

4. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman. The words in brackets were inserted by Washington.

be collected in your State, if called upon. This was a piece of information which I wanted more for my guidance in future, than for any sudden plan. There are several matters, which render the drawing together a large body of forces, just at this time, impracticable: The deranged state of the Commissary and Quarter Masters Generals' departments, with which you are well acquainted, are sufficient obstacles. Every thing is doing, to put the Qur. Mastership upon a proper and respectable footing; and I hope the New Commissary Genl., with the assistance of the States, will be able to make such arrangements, that we shall, some time hence, be able to victual a very considerable body of Men, should any advantagious prospects, from drawing them together, present themselves. We know but little yet of the intentions of the Enemy, or their expectations in respect to reinforcements; and, therefore, cannot determine whether an offensive or defensive plan is to be adopted by us. I would, therefore, wish, that some plan might be digested for calling out a given number of Militia, should there be occasion, armed and accoutred and, in every respect, ready for the field upon the shortest notice. Perhaps some thing similar to the Minute Companies, which were instituted at the commencement of this War might answer the purpose.

The late visit of the Enemy to Bordentown, has fully verified my predictions of what would be the fate of the Frigates and other Vessels there. As soon as the Enemy had gotten full possession of the River, I urged the Gentn. of the Navy Board to Scuttle and sink the Frigates immediately. They objected to

sinking them at that time, but said they would have them ballasted and ready to sink upon the approach of the Enemy. I then wrote them, that as they might depend the attack would be sudden, so they would find that those intrusted with the execution of the Business would not be able to effect it before the Enemy had possession of the Vessels. The event has proved it. Had Hulks of such bulk been sunk, it would have taken a considerable time and much labour to have weighed them. Upon the first intimation of the design, I detached Genl. Maxwell with a strong party to endeavour to prevent it; but the mischief was done by the time he reached the Cross Roads, and the Enemy had returned again. I am &c.²⁴

To PRESIDENT THOMAS WHARTON, JUNIOR

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, May 14, 1778.

Sir: General Wayne this day showed me a letter from Lt. Colo. Bayard,⁴² in which he informed him, that he had agreeable to order procured near three hundred Bayonets, which were fitted to Muskets, and was just preparing to send them down, when they were stopped by the executive Council, who alledged that they had positive orders from me to reserve all the Arms, belonging to the State, for the Militia, who are to be called out soon. There must be some

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

42. Lieut. Col. Stephen Bayard, of the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment. He was transferred to the Sixth Pennsylvania Regiment in January, 1778, and to the Third Pennsylvania Regiment in January, 1783; served to November, 1783.

mistake in this, because I never gave any such order in possitive terms, but yet I would wish to see every State have their Arms collected and in readiness. If the Muskets to which the Bayonets are fitted, happen to belong particularly to the State, Mr. Henry can easily replace them with a like number of Continental, a great quantity of which he will have to repair. I have written to him to do so; should this be the case. I should therefore be exceedingly glad to have the Arms, which were got ready by Colo. Bayard, sent down as quick as possible, as Genl Wayne's division really wants them. I am &c.⁴³

To GOVERNOR PATRICK HENRY

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, May 16, 1778.

My dear Sir: I had the pleasure of receiving to day your letter of the 8th of April Ultimo; and am much obliged to the Governor and Council for their agreeable present. It is now on its way from the head of Elk; When it arrives I make no doubt, but it will find us in a humour to do it all manner of justice. I rejoice with you most heartily upon our recent good news, the ratification and public acknowledgement of our alliance with France and our still further prospect of friendship and alliance with other foreign powers. I am, etc.⁵⁷

43. The draft is m the writing of Tench Tilghman.

57. The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

To GOVERNOR THOMAS JOHNSON

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, May 17, 1778.

My dear sir: From a number of concurring circumstances there is reason to believe that the enemy mean to evacuate Philadelphia. It is necessary therefore to draw together as great a force as can be provided for, with the utmost expedition. But as several of our outposts, covering magazines and the like, cannot be recalled without a body of Militia to act in their room, I am obliged to request

of the neighbouring States a reinforcement for this and other purposes. The requisition of Congress extends to 5000 Militia from the Jersey, Pennsylvania and Maryland.

A large compact body of regulars are wanted, and several valuable intentions to be attended to at the same time. General Smallwood who lays at Willmington, covers a quantity of Stores at the Head of Elk. If he is withdrawn, the enemy may destroy our magazines in that place. I would imagine that five hundred militia of your State would be a sufficient security, and proper restraint upon the enemy on that quarter. I would therefore beg of you to embody and send forward five hundred of your militia equipped, and the most contiguous to the Head of Elk. You may probably find it most convenient to send them by companies. The most expeditious way is certainly the best. And the sooner they get to the Head of Elk, the sooner shall I

have it in my power to recall the Garrison from Willmington and complete such a body of Continental troops as may enable me to act according to conjunctures.

I rely on your particular assistance on this critical occasion, and am, etc.⁶⁴

[MD.H.S.]

To PRESIDENT JEREMIAH POWELL⁶

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, May 19, 1778.

Sir: Two days ago, I had the honor to receive your favour of the 25th Ulto. with the Resolutions alluded to.

I sincerely wish the drafts determined to be furnished by the several States were with the Army. It has ever been our misfortune not to be in a condition to avail ourselves of circumstances, which, otherwise, might have been most favourable. However, I trust, in the end, all will be well. There is yet a call for our most strenuous and prudent exertions.

I am happy to see the precautions the Court have taken to prevent the inlisting of deserters or Prisoners of War. No practice has been more impolitic, nor injurious, in proportion to its extent. But few of the former have proved faithful, and I believe there is not a single instance where the latter have

64. The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

6. Of the Massachusetts Council.

not deserted, when they had an opportunity. The inlisting of Prisoners or Soldiers in the circumstances of those of Mr. Burgoyne's Army, is far less justifiable than inlisting Deserters; in as much as they are not under the smallest anxiety or fear of any consequences, that will attend their return; but, on the Contrary, have every Reason to conclude, that their desertion will be considered as a meritorious act worthy of applause and a strong manifestation of their attachment to the service of their Prince. Measures more effectual, tho' far less expensive, could not be easily adopted by us, to reinforce the Enemy with the whole of the Army, included in the Convention of Saratoga, than permitting the Troops to inlist among us. Of a detachment of Sixty in this predicament, which marched to join Colo. Henley's Regiment only twelve or thirteen reached Camp. Part of the remainder made their escape, and the residue formed a Plan for the same purpose, mutinied and are now in prison. I am determined, where any are *recruited*, to call the Officers to an account, and to make them answer for the consequences resulting from their desertion as far as possible.

From a variety of concurring circumstances, it would appear, that the Enemy mean to evacuate Philadelphia and are preparing to embark. I cannot learn with certainty the cause; However it is probable, if the event happens, it will be in consequence of the changes which have, and which are likely to take place in Europe. The objects of their future

operations are also unknown, but from the intelligence received, New York is supposed the place of their first destination. It is said that Houses are preparing there for their reception, and particularly for many families in Philadelphia, who have been their fast Adherents. Indeed, if there is a War

between France and Britain, and which seems inevitable, Philadelphia is an ineligible situation for the Army under Sir Win. Howe or, perhaps, Sir Henry Clinton.

Before I conclude, I beg leave to return you my warmest thanks for your kind wishes, and request that you will present my best respects to the Honble. Council. I have the Honour, etc.⁷

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, May 21, 1778.

Dr. Sir: I thank you for your two favors of the 17th Inst., which came to hand yesterday.

I had heard before, that Houses were preparing in New York, and from a variety of concurring circumstances, it would seem that the Enemy mean to evacuate Philadelphia and make that their Rendezvous, at least in the first instance. The event only can determine the authenticity of the information;

7. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

but added to the reports on this head, Philadelphia certainly appears to be an ineligible situation for them, in case of a War between them and France.

The person who brought the Letters is employed in our service. So is the Man *now* for whom, I presume, you took him; nevertheless, I am not the less indebted for your attention and cautious notice.

I have the pleasure to inform you that Two Ships with Cloathing from France on account of the States, have arrived at Portsmouth and Cape Ann. Others, from which they had parted, are looked for Hourly. With great regard and esteem, I am etc.²¹

To GOVERNOR PATRICK HENRY

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, May 23, 1778.

Sir: I take the liberty to transmit you a Return of the Drafts and Substitutes from the State of Virginia, which have joined the Army.⁴³ By this you will perceive how far short we are at this time in the reinforcements expected; and what is still more unfortunate, I cannot learn from any information, I have been able to obtain upon the subject, from gentlemen who have travelled on most of the Routes leading

21. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

43. According to a return dated May 23, 1778, in the writing of Tench Tilghman, 716 drafts and substitutes from Virginia had joined the army; 42 had deserted and 41 had been left on the road. This return is in the *Washington Papers*.

from the State, that there are any more, or at best, that the number following is exceedingly small. The Return is not so correct and particular as I could wish it, and therefore I have directed another to be made, which will specify the Counties from whence these Drafts and Substitutes came and shew their respective deficiencies. This I will transmit by the next Opportunity. None of the drafts made under the first Law are comprehended in the present return, nor can I ascertain what number of them ever reached Camp. I believe it was very inconsiderable and trifling. However it shall be fixed and forwarded. It pains me much to trouble you upon so disagreeable a subject, and nothing but duty and the necessity of the case, could have induced me to do it. There is certainly something wrong, the drafts do not come on, and our condition is but very little better, from any new aids we have received, than it was before.

Besides the deficiency in the reinforcements expected from Virginia, there is another circumstance which has chagrined me much; I mean the resignations of her Officers. I can not account for it, but so it is, that they have taken the lead far before all others in this instance, and have severely shocked their line. It is difficult to conceive the confusion and the injury, which have flowed from this unhappy practice and from the long extraordinary absence of many others. The inclosed list will

shew you, that I have but too much reason for being chagrined, and I know, Sir, that your concern will not be

less than mine. I have the honor, etc.⁴⁴

To GOVERNOR NICHOLAS COOKE

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, May 26, 1778.

Sir: On the 15th of April I received your Letter of the 31st of March, accompanied by Capt. Chace's and two for Lord Howe.

When the Letters came to hand Lord Howe was not at Philadelphia, nor did I hear of his arrival for some time after. This and the intervention of other circumstances prevented me sending the Letters addressed to him and my intercession in favor of Mr. Chace, as early as I would have wished. I have just obtained his Lordships answer, which tho' not explicit that Mr. Chace shall be released, yet affords grounds to hope that it will be the case. For your more perfect information upon the subject, I take the liberty to transmit you a Copy of my Letter and his Answer, which you will be pleased to communicate to Captain Chace.

I congratulate you sincerely on the events which have taken place in Europe in our favor. The alliance with France is extremely interesting, and a war, which it would

44. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

seem is inevitable, would or ought to give a most happy tone to all our Affairs.

From a variety of concurring circumstances it would appear, that the Enemy mean to evacuate Philadelphia. It is said they have embarked part of their baggage and Cannon and are still employed. Their destination in the first instance in case of an evacuation, it is generally conjectured

will be New York. It is certain Philadelphia, if there is a War with France, is not the most eligible situation for them. I have the honour, etc.⁶⁹

To VICE PRESIDENT GEORGE BRYAN⁹⁴

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, May 28, 1778.

Sir: I received your favor of the 23d instant, and sincerely condole with the Council and State on the loss of so worthy a citizen and president.⁹⁵

I thank you exceedingly for your assurances of cooperation whenever circumstances of public honor or safety make it necessary.

As yet I have had no official information of the Marquis De la Fayette's appointment as Ambassador

69. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

94. Of Pennsylvania.

95. President Thomas Wharton, jr.

from the Court of France to the United States of North America. But when I am advised of such an event, I shall take a pleasure in giving the Council previous notice of his departure from the army. I am, etc.

P.S.⁹⁶ Before I received your letter of the 27st instant, I had determined on all necessary measures in case of the enemies evacuating Philadelphia, for the preservation of private property and the protection of the Citizens of every denomination. I would beg leave to recommend it to the civil

authority of the Commonwealth to fix itself as soon as possible in the City. Till then the Council may be assured of my endeavours and attention to the peace, safety and good order of the place.⁹⁷

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM GREENE⁴

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, May 29, 1778.

Sir: I was this day honoured with your favor of the 15th. Instant.

I congratulate you on your appointment of chief magistrate, and shall confide in your exertions when necessary, in completing a contest that has engaged the abilities of so many great and good Men. I am &c.⁵

96. The P.S. is dated May 29.

97. In the writing of James McHenry. From the original in the collection of Judge E. A. Armstrong, of Princeton, N. J.

4. Of Rhode Island.

5. The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Valley Forge, May 29, 1778.

Dear Sir: Some days ago I received your favor of the 8th. Inst. and am much obliged by the measures you have taken to recover the Box.⁶

I am happy to find by a Letter from General Schuyler of the 22d, which came to hand last night, that the Indian Nations, which had discovered an unfriendly disposition, seem to be well affected, and to afford grounds to hope for a friendly alliance between us. If this can be effected, or we can

only keep them from falling upon our Frontiers it will be a fortunate circumstance; as we may not only then employ nearly the whole of the Continental Force wherever Sr. Henry Clinton's movements require it, but also derive greater aid from the Militia in cases of exigency. Our Treaty and alliance with France when well understood by them, I am persuaded, will have a favourable influence on their conduct.

That the Enemy mean to evacuate Philadelphia, is almost reduced to a certainty. It is as much so as an event can be that is contingent. Their baggage and Stores are nearly, if not all embarked, and from our intelligence, there is reason to conclude, that many days will not elapse before they abandon it. All accounts concur, that New York will be the place

6. Sparks states that this box was taken from the British at the Battle of Princeton and was supposed to contain hard money. It disappeared and the officer suspected of knowing something about it was in the State of New York.

of their first destination. Whether they will move by Sea or Land cannot be ascertained; but the weight of circumstances is in favour of the latter. I have sent a Brigade to Jersey, which, with the Militia I expect will collect under General Dickinson, I hope will give them some small annoyance. More cannot be done. If the States had furnished their Quota of Men, or any thing like it, and the great departments of Quarter Master and Commissary had not been in a State almost of inextricable confusion, a more favourable opportunity could not have presented itself for giving the troops in Philadelphia a decisive stroke. After the Enemy have passed thro' Jersey, if that should be their Route, or embarked, the Brigade, which is there, is ordered to proceed with all possible expedition to Newburg, and the Main body, if not the whole, of this Army, will move immediately after the same way. This I mention for your *own* information.

I thank you much, for your exertions to compleat your Batallions. Colo. Malcom's Regiment will proceed with the rest of the Army and will then have an opportunity of recruiting. I am etc.⁷

7. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

To GOVERNOR PATRICK HENRY

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, May 30, 1778.

Dr. Sir: In my last of the 23d Inst. I inclosed you the best ascertained account of the draughts and Substitutes obtained from the State of Virginia, which could be procured at that time. I have since discriminated and classed the Recruits from each County, as draughted under the old and new law, that have joined me and now send you an exact return.

I have the pleasure to inform you that our prospects of regaining Philadelphia still continue; our information bringing it down to almost a certainty. But it is not easy to determine whether they design to march thro' the Jersey or go by water to New York. The former opinion is supported by several considerations. Their waggons are still retained, their cavalry provided for such a purpose and the horses of Citizens impressed. Reports also agree, that they have not Transports sufficient for their Troops. However every thing points to their speedily evacuating the City. I am etc.³⁵

35. The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, May 31, 1778.

Dear Sir: I do myself the honour to inclose you a letter which Mr Morris sent open for my inspection. I shall only add, that the mode of promotion which he points out, is exactly conformable to the rule established by a Board of General Officers on the 29th October last. It is absolutely necessary that some fixed principles should be settled for regulating promotions, and it would be attended

by the most happy consequences, could all the States adopt one and the same Rule. I am, etc.⁴²

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, June 1, 1778.

Dear Sir: I am honoured with yours of the 23d and 29th Ultimo. The person who delivered me your letter of the 17th, was one of our hired Expresses. He is now out upon duty, but when he returns I will inquire how he came by the letter. The Christian name of Bankson, who I begged the favor of you to keep an eye upon, is Jacob,¹ but as I am now satisfied concerning him, you need not trouble yourself further in the matter.

Upon an application from General Dickenson, about ten days ago, I sent him over 2000 weight of Musket Ball, which was all the lead in Camp and indeed more than could be well spared considering the scarcity of that Article. If any can be procured in Jersey at any rate, I would recommend your doing it without loss of time.

I am glad to hear that your Militia are in spirits and I make no doubt but they will give the Enemy as much trouble as they possibly can, should they march through Jersey. Could their intentions be certainly known, or could I detach from this Army,

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

1. Jacob Bankson was one of Washington's spies.

without exposing our Baggage, Stores, Artillery and Sick, of whom we have a considerable number just recovering from the small pox, I would throw a greater continental force into Jersey, than is at present there: But to weaken ourselves at present by detaching, would be extremely dangerous. The Enemy have all their effective foot, their Cavalry and Field Artillery on this side the Delaware, and although I am certain that they intend to evacuate, either by land or Water, I am as certain that they would not miss an opportunity of giving us a parting Blow. A very little time must discover their true intentions. I am &c.²

To JONATHAN LAWRENCE⁴⁸

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, June 6, 1778.

Sir: I am this day favd. with yours of Yesterday. What Men are now upon their way to Easton may be sent from thence to join their Regiments now here. Those that remain in the State may, as you advise, be delivered as they are collected to Colo. Dubois's Regiment. That Regiment was much reduced by the loss it sustained at the Storm of Fort Montgomery and Col Gansevoort's which is at Fort Schuyler is very full. I am, etc.

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

48. One of the New York Commissioners for completing the New York battalions.

85. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Qurs. in Jersey, near Coryel's, June 21, 1778.

Dear Sir: I am now arrived myself on the East side of the Delaware, and the main body of the Army on the other, from whence it will cross as soon as possible. This would have been effected in part to day, had it not been for the rain and the very doubtful appearance of the morning, which prevented the Troops from moving till it was late. The Afternoon will be employed in

passing the Artillery and such Baggage as can be got over. I should have written you before upon the subject of our advance, had I not been extremely occupied in putting matters in train for it, and had I not supposed you would have received regular intelligence from General Dickinson respecting it, with whom I have corresponded, as having the military direction of the Militia. I have only to add that I shall be exceedingly happy in your information from time to time of the Enemy's movements, and in your sentiments of their probable operations and routs. I have the Honor etc.⁸⁵

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, near Brunswick, July 4, 1778.

Dr. Sir: I had the honor to inform you on the ground of action of the advantage over the enemy on the 28th Ultimo. I could not then be particular in their killed, as the burying parties were not come in. They have returned 245 killed. Besides the enemy left behind them at Monmouth Court house, 4 wounded officers, and 40 privates exclusive of those we took on the field of battle. The prisoners taken since the

enemy entered the Jersey amount to about 100.

Our loss considering the severity and sharpness of the different contentions is very inconsiderable. We have 60 rank and file killed and 133 wounded. Not knowing where to find you the letter alluded to above⁹³ could not be sent. I have now the honour to inclose it and am, etc.⁹⁴

To GOVERNOR PATRICK HENRY

Head Quarters, Brunswick, July 4, 1778.

Dear Sir: I take the earliest opportunity of congratulating you on the success of our Arms over the British on the 28th June near Monmouth Court House. I have in a letter to Congress, given a very particular account of the Manœuvres of both Armies preceding the action, and of the Action itself; and this will be published I must take the liberty of referring you to it for the matter at large. The Enemy left 245 dead upon the Field and 4 Officers among whom was Colo. Monkton of the Grenadiers, the above were buried by us, but we found, besides, several Graves and burying holes in which they had deposited their dead before they were obliged to quit the Ground. Our loss amounted to 60 Rank and file killed and 130 Wounded. We lost but two Officers of Rank Lt. Colo. Bonner

93. This letter from Washington to Livingston (June 28) is not found in the *Washington Papers*.

94. The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

of Pennsylvania and Major Dickenson of the 1st Virginia Regt. The former of those Gentlemen is unknown to you, but the latter ought much to be regretted by his friends and Countrymen as he possessed every qualification to render him eminent in the Military line. Capt. Fauntleroy of the 5th was unfortunately killed by a random Cannon Ball. We made upwards of one hundred prisoners while the enemy remained within our reach, but desertions since they left Philadelphia have been prodigious, I think I may, without exaggeration assert, that they will lose near one thousand Men in this way before they quit Jersey, and that their Army will be diminished two thousand by killed wounded, desertions and fatigue. I have the Honor &c.⁹⁵

To JOHN CLEVES SYMMES⁷

Paramus, July 10, 1778.

Sir: I recd. yours of the 8th. instant near this place, and am extremely sorry to hear of the melancholly stroke that has fallen upon the Wyoming settlement. I have lately made a very considerable detachment from this Army to go to Fort Pitt, to quell the Indian disturbances in that quarter, and from the loss of Men in the late Action near Monmouth and the

95. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilgham.

7. One of the justices of the supreme court of New Jersey and at Minisink, N.Y., on this date.

numbers that have fallen down thro' fatigue in the excessive heat, I could not, but in a case of the greatest emergency, spare any more. What I shall therefore advise at present, is for you and the Gentlemen in your Neighbourhood to gain the most exact intelligence of the Enemy's Number, Situation and intention. I am of opinion that now they have struck the meditated Blow they will retire and not attempt to penetrate the Country, but should they seem seriously to persist, I will, upon hearing from you again, afford what force I can to give them a check. In the mean time all

possible opposition should be given by the Militia remaining above. I shall discharge those on service below. I am, &c.⁸

To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Head Quarters, Paramus, July 11, 1778.

Dear Sir: The first division of the Army moved from hence this morning, about four Miles, to give room to the second. They will reach Kakiate¹⁵ to morrow evening, and the North River the next day. I shall halt the remainder hereabouts a few days, to refresh the Men. I am yet undetermined as to the expediency of throwing the Army immediately over the North River. I will state my reasons for hesitating, and shall beg to hear your sentiments upon the matter.

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

15. New Hempstead, Queens County, N. Y.

Upon conversing with the Qr. Mr. and Commissary General and Commissary of Forage, upon the prospect of supplies, they all agree, that the Army can be much more easily subsisted upon the West, than upon the East side of the River. The Country on this side is more plentiful in regard to Forage: And Flour, which is the Article for which we shall be most likely to be distressed, coming from the Southward, will have a shorter transportation, and consequently the supply more easily kept up. We are besides in a Country devoted to the Enemy, and gleaning it, takes so much from them. Was this the only point to be determined, there would not remain a moments doubt; but the principal matter to be considered, is, (upon a supposition that the Enemy mean to operate up the North River) whether the Army, being all, or part upon this side the River, can afford a sufficient and timely support to the posts, should they put such a design in execution.

Upon this point then, Sir, I request your full and candid opinion. You are well acquainted with the condition of the posts, and know what opposition they are at present capable of making, when sufficiently manned, which ought in my opinion to be immediately done. After that, you will please

to take into consideration, whether any, and what advantages may be derived from the Army's being upon the East side of the River, and if there, what position would be most eligible. The neighbourhood of the white plains, after leaving sufficient Garrisons in our Rear, strikes me at present. We know the strength of the Ground, and we cover a considerable extent of Country, and draw the forage which would otherwise fall into the hands of the Enemy.

In forming your opinion, be pleased to advert to the necessity of keeping our force pretty much collected, for which side soever you may determine: For should the Enemy find us disjointed, they may throw the whole of theirs upon part of ours, and, by their shipping, keep us from making a junction.

In determining the above, you are to take it for granted that we can, should it be deemed most expedient, support the Army upon the East, tho' it will be with infinitely more difficulty than upon the West side of the River.

By the latest accounts from New York, it does not seem probable that the Enemy will operate any where suddenly. They have been much harrassed and deranged by their march thro' Jersey, and are at present encamped upon Long, Staten and New York Islands. We have this day a rumor that a French Fleet has been seen off the Coast, and that the English is preparing to sail from New York in pursuit of them. But it is but a Rumor. I have the Honor, etc.

P.S. I have just read a letter from General Arnold at Philada. in which is the following.

An Express is arrived to Congress from France by the way of Boston with intelligence, that on the 15th. of April a French Fleet sailed from Toulon consisting of 12 sail of the line, 7 frigates and 4 xbecks,¹⁶ which we may hourly expect to arrive in this Chesapeak Bay. Admiral Keppel¹⁷ sailed the 24th. April from St. Helens with 11 sail of the line.

The above fully corroborates the account from New York. But I do not know that it ought to be made public yet, I mean as to numbers.¹⁸

[M.L.]

To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL

[Paramus, July 14, 1778.]

Sir: I last night received a letter from Congress,

16. Xebec.

17. Augustus, Viscount Keppel, admiral and commander in chief, British Navy in North America.

18. In the writing of Tench Tilghman.

informing me of the arrival of a French fleet, on our coast; extracts of which I have the honor to inclose. In addition to that information, I have received intelligence of tolerable authenticity to day of its arrival off the Hook. Every thing we can do to aid and cooperate with this fleet, is of the greatest importance. Accounts from New York speak of a Cork fleet which is momentarily expected there, for the safety of which the Enemy are extremely alarmed. It is probable that this fleet, to avoid the French fleet, will be directed to take its course through the sound; if this should be the case, it might answer the most valuable consequences, were the Eastern states to collect beforehand all the frigates and armed vessels they can get together for the purpose, at some convenient place, for interrupting their passage that way. If the whole, or any considerable part of the Cork fleet could be taken or destroyed, it would be a fatal blow to the British army, which it is supposed at this time has but a very small stock of Provisions on hand. Should the project I have now suggested, appear to you eligible, I beg the favour of you to transmit copies of it, and the inclosed extracts to the neighbouring States, and endeavour to engage their concurrence. I have the honor etc.

P.S. From the nature of the River even small armed Boats may be useful as the frigates cannot protect the transports.⁴⁰

40. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

To JOHN CLEVES SYMMES

Camp Paramus, July 14, 1778.

Sir: I received your letter of the 10th Inst. dated at the Minisnick.

The Militia who were on service down upon the sound, have been discharged and are since ordered by the Governor to your support and assistance.

But I flatter myself, from the face of intelligence that the indians are now returning to their homes, which will render assistance from this quarter unnecessary, could it be spared at present. I am etc.³⁸

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM GREENE⁵³

Head Quarters, Haverstraw, July 18, 1778.

Sir: I have the pleasure to congratulate you on the arrival of a French Fleet at Sandy Hook under the Command of Admiral Count d'Estaing for the purpose of cooperation with the American forces.

Accounts from New York speak of a Cork fleet which is hourly expected, and for whose safety the Enemy are extremely alarmed. It

38. The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

53. Of Rhode Island.

is probable that this fleet, as well as other Vessels to avoid the Count d'Estaing's will be directed to take its course thro' the Sound. If this should be the case, it might answer the most valuable intentions, were the Eastern States to collect immediately all their frigates and privateers to rendezvous at some convenient place for intercepting their passage that way. Could the whole or any considerable part of this fleet be taken or destroyed, it would be a fatal blow to the british army, which it is supposed, at this time has but a small stock of provisions on hand. I would therefore beg leave to recommend and urge the matter to your particular consideration, as a thing of the utmost importance to our cause at this critical conjuncture from the proper execution of which we might derive the most solid advantages. I am, etc.⁵⁴

To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL

Head Quarters, Haverstraw, July 18, 1778.

Sir: I did myself the honor to transmit you, a few clays ago, the accounts which I had then received the Arrival

54. The draft is in the writing of James McHenry. The same letter was sent to Jeremiah Powell, president of the Massachusetts Council.

of a french Fleet upon the Coast. I soon after had the pleasure of receiving a letter from the Admiral Count D'Estaing, dated off Sandy Hook, where he now lies with twelve sail of the line and four Frigates. The British Fleet are within the Hook. I am so fully convinced of the advantages that will result from having all our Frigates, privateers and armed Vessels of every kind cruising off the East End of Long Island, that I have taken the liberty of mentioning it again, to you, and have wrote to the same effect to the States of Rhode Island and Massachusetts. The British Fleet awed by the French will be obliged to keep together, which will afford the noblest opportunity to our cruisers to pick up whatever is inward bound. I have the honor, etc.

P.S. You will oblige me by forwarding the letters for Genl. Sullivan, Govt. Greene and the president of Massachusetts by a fresh Express.⁵⁵

To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Head Quarters, White Plains, July 21, 1778.

Sir: I have been favd. with yours of yesterday, and soon after, Genl. Gates transmitted me letters from Colonel Ethan Allen to Genl. Stark and himself upon the same subject.⁷³ I plainly perceive that this matter is likely to be productive of a serious dispute between the State of New York and the Inhabitants of Vermont, and therefore I

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

73. Gates's letter, dated July 13, 1778, and Stark's, dated July 10, 1778, are in the *Washington Papers*. Allen's letter is not found therein. (See Washington's letter to the President of Congress, July 22, 1778, *post.*)

do not choose to give any determination. I shall transmit the whole proceedings to Congress, and desire their decision. In the mean time I have ordered the prisoners to be returned to Fort Arnold where they are to remain, in an easy confinement, under the care of Colo. Malcom the commanding Officer. I am &c.⁷⁴

To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL

Head Quarters, White Plains, July 22, 1778.

Sir: I was yesterday honoured with yours of the 18th and thank you for the Steps you have taken to carry, my requests into execution. I must make an apology for not informing you, in particular, of our success at Monmouth on the 28th last Month. The multiplicity of Affairs then upon my hands prevented me from writing but to Congress and Genl. Gates, and I expected that the intelligence

would have reached you through the latter Channel. You must before this time have seen my public letter which contains a full account of the action.

The intention of the Count D'Estaign was to have entered the Harbour of New York, but unluckily there is not Sufficient draught of Water to admit Vessels of the Rate of his line of Battle ships. He has therefore determined to operate against

74. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman. This letter was printed in the *Magazine of American History*, vol. vii, p. 135, as of the year 1777, and was stated to be in the New York State Library, by Doctor Toner.

Rhode Island to which place he has sailed 'ere this. I have made as large a detachment from the Army, as circumstances would admit of, to co-operate with him. The Admiral will probably be able to land some force, but our principal dependence must be on our own troops and on the rapidity with which they are collected and operate. I had, upon a presumption that this expedition would take place, desired General Sullivan to draw together five thousand Men from the states of Connecticut, Rhode Island. and Massachusetts, in consequence of a Resolve of Congress on the 11th inst. I am convinced that you will be so well satisfied of the importance of the object in view, as to exert yourself to turn out the force of your state upon the occasion. I would go more largely into the matter, had I not an opportunity of referring you to Lt. Colo. Laurens one of my Aids who I am sending Express to Genl. Sullivan.

I am exceedingly sorry to hear of the illness of your son Colo Joseph Trumbull,⁹⁷ whose recovery I hope is not so much to be despaired of as you seem to apprehend. I have the honor, etc.⁹⁸

To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Head Quarters, White Plains, July 23, 1778.

Dear Sir: I was last night favoured with yours communicating

97. He died July 23, 1778.

98. The draft is in the writing of Teach Tilghman and James McHenry.

the distressing Accounts of the Ravages of the Indians upon the frontier of this State. I wish it were in my power to afford an adequate relief, but as you are well acquainted with our force, and what we have to oppose, I am certain you will think that I have done all in my power. Colo. Butler having shifted his ground before my orders got to his hands, has been the occasion of some delay, he is however to go this day up to New Windsor by water, where he will meet Capt. Posey. They will take their Orders from you and march from thence wherever you may direct. Immediately upon the Rect. of yours I gave orders to Colo. Graham's State Regt., to march to New Windsor, there to take Orders from you. But they were unluckily with other troops covering a large forage in the lower part of the County. However that no time may be lost I have directed the Qur. Mr Genl. to send for Craft to be ready at Tarry town to take them in, against they return from the foraging party.

Be pleased to forward the inclosed to Genl Schuyler and oblige etc.²²

To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL

Head Quarters, White Plains, July 28, 1778.

Sir: I was this morning honoured with yours of the 25th.

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

I think you need be under no apprehensions for the safety of your Coast, while the Count D'Estaing's Squadron lays off the Harbour of Newport, as the Enemy will have sufficient upon their hands to prevent their carrying on a predatory war. I took the liberty of suggesting to the Count the advantage of sending a ship of force down the sound to prevent the Enemy's reinforcing thro' Hell Gate. But whether he will incline to divide his fleet in that manner I cannot say. I am well aware of the inconveniency of drawing out the Militia at this time, but I am in hopes that the importance of

the object, and I think I may say the moral certainty of Success, if the enterprise is supported with spirit, will outweigh every other consideration. Besides, the time of service will probably be but short, as the expedition will either be immediately determined in our favor, or must be laid aside.

It is impossible for me to spare larger detachments from this Army than I have already done, as the Enemy in and about New York are superior in Force to our main Body; should they reinforce Rhode Island I shall do so of Course.

I sincerely condole with you on the death of your worthy son Colo. Joseph Trumbull, whose exertions in the Cause of his Country, while he continued in a public Character, will reflect honor upon his Memory, and for whom, when living, I entertained a most cordial regard. I am etc.⁵⁸

58. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman. It varies in the minor particulars of capitalization and punctuation from the printed text in the *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, 5th Series.

To JOHN BROWN

Head Quarters, White Plains, July 28, 1778.

Sir: I had a few days ago the pleasure of receiving yours of the 9th instant. The Butt of Wine has not yet arrived, but I doubt not, when it does, that it will answer your recommendation. Permit me to return you my thanks for the generosity of your present, and to express my wishes, that Fortune may continue to be as indulgent to you as she has hitherto been. I am &c.⁵⁹

To PRESIDENT JEREMIAH POWELL AND THE COUNCIL OF MASSACHUSETTS

Head Quarters, White Plains, July 31, 1778.

Sir: About Nine hundred of the Nine Months Men from the State of Massachusetts have joined the Army, and have been attached to Nixons, Paterson's, and late Learned's Brigades. As Glovers has

yet had no proportion, I desire that three hundred of those yet to come on, may be ordered to stop at Providence and join that Brigade, which will make it equal to the others.

It is my intention to proportion all these Recruits among the Brigades of your State, that they may be

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

upon a level, but they claim a right of choice to join which they please, which right they say is founded upon the law for raising them. As I have not a Copy of this law, I shall be glad to be furnished with one, that I may regulate myself according to the Terms of it. I am &c.⁷⁸

To PRESIDENT JEREMIAH POWELL

Head Quarters, August 2, 1778.

Sir: As General Glover's brigade has been detached to Rhode Island and is intended to operate against the Enemy in that Quarter, I take the liberty to request, that such recruits of your State, as have not marched, may proceed and join him. This will not only be the means of placing them in a way to render service, but will prevent the trouble and fatigue of a long march at this season. The Recruits here will join your Brigades that remain with this Army. I have the honor etc.⁸⁶

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

86. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL

Head Qurs. White Plains, August 8, 1778.

Sir: The fleet at Rhode Island under the Count D'Estaing suffers many inconveniences in the procuring of water. I could wish in case it can be any ways effected that vessels may be sent

forward immediately from New London with a proper supply. From the situation of his squadron with respect to water it is a measure which if undertaken and executed with alacrity cannot fail of being of the utmost consequence to the Count. It may prevent also accidents of a very alarming nature in case he is obliged to put to sea. You will therefore I hope take the matter into consideration and give it that attention which its importance demands. I am etc.³⁴

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, White Plains, August 11, 1778.

Dear Sir: I was favoured with yours of the 7th Inst. this morning.

34. The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

You will perceive by the inclosure from Colo. Biddle the Forage Master General to the army the prices that have been given for hay in the different States, and that the proper measures will be used to exempt Somerset County from her proportion of forage.

The last accounts from Rhode Island was of the 6th. with the news of the enemy's destroying several of their frigates upon the approach of two of the Count D'Estaings ships to give them battle.⁸⁵ I am etc.⁸⁶

To WILLIAM PATERSON¹²

York State, White Plains, August 13, 1778.

Sir: You will perceive by the Inclosed Copy of the proceedings of Congress, that they have appointed you, to assist and co-operate with the Judge Advocate¹³ in conducting the Trial of the General Officers, who were in the Northern department, when Tyconderoga and Mount Independence were evacuated.¹⁴ I think it proper to inform you, that a General Court Martial will

sit at this place on Monday the 24th Inst., to try Major General St. Clair, who is one of the Officers under this description.¹⁵ I am etc.¹⁶

85. See Washington's letter to the President of Congress, Aug. 13, 1778, *post*.

86. The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

12. Attorney General of New Jersey.

13. Lieut. Col. John Lawrence, jr.

14. Paterson declined the appointment.

15. On August 14 Washington sent a line to Major General Schuyler, notifying him of the above date of the court-martial. This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

16. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. This same letter was sent also to Jonathan Dickinson Sergeant, who also declined the appointment.

To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Head Quarters, August 28, 1778.

Dr. Sir: By a Letter received this day from Colo. Malcom, I learn that the time of service for which the militia in the Highlands is engaged, is very near expiring. I am to request you will be pleased to order out a relief from 500 to 1000 as expeditiously as possible. Besides the call for them to carry on the defences of the River, there is at this juncture an additional necessity for their services. Matters seem to be drawing to a crisis with the enemy and there is every appearance of their speedily making some very important movement. From various concurring accounts they seem to be in a general fermentation. They have been some days past embarking cannon on board their transports taking in forage &c. and yesterday an hundred and forty sail fell down to the Hook. There

is no small motion of vessels on the sound, and among their troops on Long Island. It is difficult to ascertain what these appearances indicate; but it is our duty to be at all points prepared.

I am sorry to inform you that the French fleet left Rhode Island bound to Boston the instant. Our troops were still on the Island and of course in a very precarious situation. The reasons for this conduct were, the damage suffered in the late storm, the apprehension of Byron's being on the Coast and the orders of the french King, that in case of misfortune or a

superior naval force, the fleet was immediately to repair to Boston, as a secure port and a place of rendezvous for any reinforcement which should be sent.

Different opinions will be entertained on the propriety of the measure; but we ought all to concur in giving it the most favourable colouring to the people. It should be ascribed to necessity resulting from the injury sustained by the storm.

If we solve the present movements of the enemy by this circumstance, one of these two solutions will appear not improbable; either that they mean to seize the opportunity for quitting the Continent, or have a superior fleet in the east and by transferring the principal seat of the War to the Eastward, intend to operate conjointly with their sea and land force for the destruction of the French fleet.

If the latter should be their intention, We must proceed Eastward, and there will be the more need of militia to reinforce the Highland Garrisons. It is also possible some enterprise against this army may be in view, in that case succours of militia are equally essential. If your Excellency, besides ordering out the number I have mentioned, could make any dispositions which might facilitate calling out the general body of the militia on any sudden emergency, it would be a desirable circumstance. I have the honor, etc.¹²

12. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

To GOVERNOR THOMAS JOHNSON

Head Quarters, White Plains, August 29, 1778.

Sir: I am honored with yours of the 12th inst. I very highly approve of the determination of your Council to reinlist the nine month's men at this period; if it is left undone, until the time of their service is near expiring, it will be almost impossible to re-engage them. I some time ago, pointed out to Congress the expediency of adopting this measure but as yet have not received their Answer. The money supplied by the Board of treasury to the Pay Master General is barely sufficient to pay the monthly abstracts of the Army, and to defray other contingent expences; I therefore have it not in my power to advance the state Bounty of 40 dollars, out of the military Chest: Indeed I should not be authorised to advance it, without the special order of Congress, did the state of the Chest allow it. I have the Honor &c.²⁴

To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Head Quarters, White Plains, September 1, 1778.

Dr. Sir: I am extremely sorry that it is in my power to inform you, that a Captain Colson⁵¹ of the 5th Virginia Regiment a few

24. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman and Robert Hanson Harrison.

Captain De Vallehais (Valnais), aide to Col. Mottin de la Bahne, Inspector General of Cavalry, wrote to Washington for a certificate of service. As La Balme had never entered upon his inspectorship duties the Commander in Chief expressed surprise at the request. "I shall ever be ready to give testimonials of the merit of officers, where their services have come under my own observation; but it is not to be imagined that I should sit down and write certificates for Gentlemen who have afforded me no opportunities of approving their conduct." Washington to De Vallehais, Aug. 30, 1778. The letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

51. Capt. Samuel Colston (Colson). Heitman records him as retired Sept. 14, 1778.

days ago, violently wounded a Mr. Vantassel⁵² of this State, of which he died in a little time after. The moment I was apprized of it, I directed a Letter to be written and sent to Genl. Muhlenburg, to whose Brigade he belonged, to have him secured, in order that he might be delivered to the Civil Magistrate, in case the wound should prove mortal, as you will perceive by the inclosed copy. I have reason to believe that every exertion was used on the part of the General, to have him apprehended; but he was not able to effect it, as he kept himself out of the way, according to report, from the time he gave the wound and went off, most probably, the instant he got intelligence that Mr. Vantassel was dead. Mr. Colson is a native of Virginia, but whether he is gone there, or to some Seaport, to procure a passage to the West Indies, where it is said he has a Brother, seems to be a matter of doubt. I do not know the causes, which led to this unhappy accident; but I wish he could have been taken, that he might receive a regular and proper trial, in the ordinary course of Justice. If you shall think it requisite, I will chearfully join you in any expedient, or pursue any you may point out, to recover and put him into the hands of the civil authority.

My last advices from Rhode Island, were of the 29th Ulto. General Sullivan informs me, by Letter of that date, that he had retreated the preceding night to the North end of the Island. That the Enemy pursued him, and the next day a warm action ensued, which lasted an Hour, in which our

52. Van Tassel. His first name is blank in the index to the *Clinton Papers*, New York State Library.

people obliged them to quit the Field in disorder, and with precipitation. When he wrote, he could not ascertain the loss on either side, but says it was considerable. It was a very interesting event, and I sincerely hope the next accounts I have, will announce that he and his Troops are again on the Continent. The Count D'Estaing's fleet has got to Boston. I am, etc.⁵³

[N.Y.P.L.]

To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL

Head Quarters, September 6, 1778.

Dr. Sir: I had the Satisfaction of your two favors

53. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

both of the 27th ulto.

The Battalions of Colonel Enos⁹³ and McClellan's⁹⁴ I am informed by Col Malcom who commands at West Point were in readiness to return before the receipt of your letter; and I suppose they are now on their way home.

The violent gale which dissipated the two fleets when on the point of engaging, and the withdrawing of the Count D'Estaing to Boston may appear to us as real misfortunes; but with you I consider storms and victory under the direction of a wise providence who no doubt directs them for the best of purposes, and to bring round the greatest degree of happiness to the greatest number of his people.

I feel with you for the unfortunate frontiers, exposed to all the inroads of an enemy, whose natural barbarity in war has been increased by the arts and influence of a civilized nation.⁹⁵

I had early ordered for the defence of the Inhabitants, Col Hartley's regiment, Colo. Butler's, Colo Aldens with the remains of Morgan's rifle corps. These, I believe, have been of considerable service. But I am unhappy in not having it in my power to afford them a more complete and sufficient security from this army, for the purposes you mention of carrying the war into the enemy's country. It is of the utmost importance to maintain the force now in the field and even to increase it if possible. However, as soon as circumstances will admit of putting a more

93. Col. Roger Enos.

94. Col. Samuel McClellan, of a Connecticut Militia regiment.

95. Trumbull's interest was the Connecticut lands in Pennsylvania which were considered Connecticut's frontier.

comprehensive plan into execution, I shall be ready to give it all the furtherance in my power. I am etc.⁹⁶

To DOCTOR NICHOLAS WAY⁹⁷

Head Quarters, White Plains, September 6, 1778.

Sir: In the Brig Symmetry, taken in the course of the last Winter at Wilmington, there were several Medical manuscripts, belonging to a Mr. Boyce,⁹⁸ Surgeon of the 15th British Regiment.

96. The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

97. Of Wilmington, Del.

98. Robert Boyes.

For these Mr. Boyce applied to me and obtained my promise that they should be returned. I am now much concerned to find, that after so much time has elapsed and after his politeness in consenting that they might be copied, that they have not been sent him and that there are some difficulties made against doing it. I am told the Manuscripts are at present in your hands; If it is the case Sir, I must request the favor of you to transmit them either to me or to General Smallwood by the first safe conveyance, that they may be sent to New York by a flag. I am etc.⁹⁹

99. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

CIRCULAR TO GOVERNORS⁹

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, September 22, 1778.

Sir: I do myself the honor of transmitting you copies of two letters from Colo. Biddle¹⁰ and Charles Pettit¹¹ Esq. upon the subject of forage. The representations of these gentlemen are so full and so well founded respecting the difficulties that attend the getting of this important article, from the reluctance of the holders to part with it, and the enormous and exorbitant prices they demand for it, that I shall not trouble you with any observations upon the occasion. However I think it necessary to add, that unless some effectual means can be devised by which the army may be supplied with forage, with more certainty, and on terms much more moderate than it is at present, it will be impossible for it to exist long. What the means will be I shall not attempt to point out; for I confess the subject appears to me to be involved in great intricacy; and I am the less inclined to enter upon it, from a perfect conviction that you and the other branches of your legislature will be forward to adopt every expedient that shall seem calculated

9. This circular was sent to President Jeremiah Powell, of the Massachusetts Council; Vice President George Bryan, of Pennsylvania; and Govs. William Greene, of Rhode Island; Jonathan Trumbull, of Connecticut; George Clinton, of New York; and William Livingston, of New Jersey. The P.S. was sent only to Powell, Trumbull, and Greene.

10. Col. Clement Biddle, Commissary General of Forage of the Continental Army.

11. Charles Pettit, Deputy Quartermaster General.

to afford the smallest relief in this interesting and essential point. I have the honor, etc.

P.S. The rates of Waggonage and Cartage also call for the interposition of the Legislature. They are now exorbitant in the extreme.¹²

To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, September 25, 1778.

Dear Sir: I have been honoured with yours of the 20th. and 24th. instants; the latter by Mr. Herkimer,⁴³ who gives a melancholy account of the distresses of the Inhabitants at the German Flatts. To defend an extensive frontier against the incursions of Indians and the Banditti under Butler⁴⁴ and Brant⁴⁵ is next to impossible;

12. In the writing of James McHenry; the draft is in that of Robert Hanson Harrison.

43. Henry Herkimer, of Tryon County, N. Y.

44. Walter Butler, who was a lieutenant colonel of British Provincial troops.

45. Joseph Brant (Mohawk chief, "Thayendanega").

but still if you think the addition of another Regiment, ill as I can spare it, or a change of position in the troops that are already upon the Frontier, will answer any good purpose, I will cheerfully comply.⁴⁶

From every account, the enemy are upon the Eve of some important move. Whether a total evacuation of New York will take place I cannot determine, but from a variety of intelligence, preparations are making for a considerable embarkation. The uncertainty of the intentions of the enemy who have their principal force collected at New York, renders it impossible for me to give that assistance to the frontier which I could wish, and which I might do were their views fully unfolded.

When the army came up from the plains, we brought up three Inhabitants of the County of West Chester detected in first inticing our soldiers to desert and then offering to conduct them to the Enemy. I have not punished them by martial law, because I did not know but the Civil might take

cognizance of them. They are now in confinement, and if you think proper that they should be delivered to the Civil power it shall be done. I am &c.⁴⁷

To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Fishkill, October 2, 1778.

Dear Sir: Capt. Machin³⁰ has been employed since the year

46. At this point the draft has the following crossed out: "I am far from being satisfied myself with the present command to the Northward, but some peculiar circumstances render it very difficult to effect a change without introducing a good deal of uneasiness and confusion in the Army should Genl. Stark be called down to it. You are, I dare say, acquainted with his Resolution to obey no Officer, now a Brigadier, who was a junior Colonel, and from his promotion, not taking place in course, there are several in that situation. He has for that reason been generally employed in some separate command. I know but of one way to remedy the evil at present, which is, to get the best information possible, from Gentlemen well acquainted with the Country, of what would be the proper measures to be pursued, and then direct Genl. Stark to have them carried into Execution. If you will favr. me with your sentiments upon the subject, you will oblige me, as I confess myself entirely ignorant of the situation and circumstances of the part of the Country which at present demands assistance."

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

30. Capt.-Lieut. Thomas Machin, of the Second Continental Artillery. He had been wounded at Fort Montgomery, N.Y., in October, 1777; promoted to captain in August, 1780; served to June, 1783; later served as captain, Twenty-ninth United States Infantry.

1776 in the engineering Branch without coming to any regular settlement for his Services. He does not chuse to fix any price himself, and I am really ignorant of what is just and proper. You have been a witness of a good deal of his work and he is willing to submit the matter to your

decision. Capt. Machin holds a Commission in the Artillery, and has besides an account of his extra Expences in transacting his Business. The sum therefore to be ascertained is what he is intitled to above his pay of an Officer of Artillery, and an allowance for extra Expences.³¹ I am &c.³²

To THE PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE AND THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF DELEGATES OF MARYLAND

Head Quarters, October 5, 1778.

Gentlemen: Among the various disputes upon the subject of Rank in the Army, there have not been found any more difficult to settle than the claims of this nature in the Maryland line. These have been matter of employment for a Board of General Officers for several days, and, after all their care and assiduity, I fear no arrangement that they can make, will prove intirely satisfactory. There is one point, about which the Board and myself have doubts,

31. Clinton replied (October 3) that Machin's services in fixing the chain across the Hudson and sinking the cheveaux de frises had been of great value; that he "frequently endangered his Health by working in the Water when it was floating with Ice." Clinton's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

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

Viz. the construction and extent of the powers with which the Assembly were pleased to honor me, by their Resolution of the II of April 1778, transmitted in a Letter of the 18th of the same month. Neither they nor I know with the precision we could wish, whether the Resolution meant to confer powers for changing the appointment of any Officer made by the Assembly, by adding or taking away a grade, where it might appear right; or whether it only intended to authorise an alteration in the instance of precedence among those of similar rank, where it should be found, that mistakes had taken place in that respect. Satisfaction in these points may effect the decision of the Board, and make a material difference in the arrangement. I shall be happy to receive such Answer, as you may think proper to honor me with, by the earliest opportunity, as nothing will contribute more to the

service, than a speedy and final conclusion of the disputes upon this head. I made some attempts in the course of last year to have them adjusted, but without effect. I have the Honor etc.⁵⁸

58. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, Fishkill, October 5, 1778.

Sir: I had the honor of receiving your Excellency's favor

of the 21st. Sepr. this morning. By what means it has been so long delayed, I cannot conceive.

The conduct of Crowel⁵⁹ appears to me to have forfeited the protection he derived from the flag and to justify in point of right the detention of his person and the confiscation of the Vessel and her effects. The obligation of a flag is reciprocal. On the one hand it ought to be inviolable, when conducted agreeable to the rules of War and honor, and on the other any fraud or deceit committed under its sanction is doubly criminal, and the Laws and practice of nations will authorize inflicting a Punishment proportioned to the crime. How far it may be proper to make use of the right in particular cases is a question of policy and must be determined by circumstances.

I shall relate to your Excellency an affair that happened last Campaign, which bears a remote analogy to the present. a passport was obtain'd from Genl. Howe to send a flag Boat laden with Provisions, for the use of our prisoners in Philadelphia. Robinson⁶⁰ was announced as the intended master and the passport given in his name. He went with the Boat accordingly, and Capt. Galt⁶¹ accompanied him in the capacity of a Seaman. Both these Gentlemen belonging to the navy at the time, though not in actual employ, General Howe had them seized and thrown into close confinement, for appearing in an assumed and disguised character. The fairness of this proceeding with respect to Robinson could not well be vindicated; but with respect

59. Crowel, whose Christian name was not given, was a New Jerseyman, who had turned loyalist. He attempted to carry a load of flour back to New York City.

60. Capt. Isaiah Robinson.

61. Capt. Nathaniel Gait.

to Gait was justifiable. My interposition in their favor could with difficulty prevent their meeting with a still severer punishment. The vessel however and her cargo were unmolested.

There is indeed a wide difference between the two cases; in one, the crime, supposed or real, consisted only in a slight ambiguity of conduct in the commander of the Boat, and a little personal concealment in another individual, under his command; in the other it extended to a felonious commerce in which the Vessel itself was made immediately instrumental. In this, there was Villainy, in that there was only indiscretion.

I should think at all events, Crowel should be imprisoned for a time and the articles he attempted to smuggle, converted to the benefit of the Captors. It will be a necessary piece of ceremony, which I dare say, will occur, to give the Enemy notice of the affair, and the measures taken in consequence.

To prevent similar abuses hereafter, from the practice of sending flag Boats, to places where we have no posts, I shall direct General Maxwell to write to the commanding Officer at Staten Island, assigning the places at which their boats will be received, and forbidding their being sent to any other without special licence. Should you wish at any time to change the established channels, you will only have to intimate your wish to Genl. Maxwell. I have the honor, etc.

P.S. Your Excellency's letter of the 14th Sept. was handed me some days since; but in the hurry of business mislaid. Capt. Costiger's⁶² situation, being on parole would make it improper to take any steps in the affair, in which he is suspected to be concerned. My intention was to have had him exchanged; but there has been some mistake in executing it.⁶³

To GOVERNOR PATRICK HENRY

Head Quarters, near Fredericksburg, October 7, 1778.

Sir: On the 23d and 30th May, I did myself the Honor to transmit to your Excellency Returns of the troops of Virginia. By the conveyance now offered me by Colo. Wood, I inclose another, comprehending their State on the 30th. Ulto. Your Excellency and the Honorable Assembly which I am informed is about to sit, will perceive from this, how far deficient the Troops are, in the Quota assigned the state. Their present amount would not be great, supposing every man mentioned in the Return were in the Field; but a large deduction is to be made from it, on account of the columns of Sick. It is highly probable, that many under this description particularly that of Sick absent, are actually dead, others unfit for service and that several who have recovered, have deserted. Besides this, I find by a Return which I have just obtained, that there are Seven Hundred and Ninety Six, Drafts

62. Capt. Louis J. Costigan. Crowel brought him and his family from New York City to Brunswick, N. J.

63. The draft is in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.

and Others, whose term of service will expire in the course of the ensuing Winter.

I thought it expedient to advise your Excellency of the above facts, that you and the Assembly may adopt such measures, for providing Recruits or Drafts for the next Campaign, as may be judged proper. What these measures will be, will be with you and the Assembly to determine; but I will take the liberty to suggest it, as my opinion, that it will be well for the States in general, to give the raising of Men the earliest consideration; and to pursue such speedy and vigorous means, as will place our Army upon a respectable footing. I have been exerting myself to have the Drafts inlisted and the Old Soldiers reengaged, who are on the point of being discharged, for the usual bounty allowed by Congress; but my attempts as yet have been without any or with but very inconsiderable success. Besides the Continental bounty I have offered the Virginians, in this predicament, on the

part of the State, a further bounty of Twenty Dollars pr. Man, the ballance remaining in my hands of the Money deposited by their Delagates in Congress last Spring, being sufficient for the purpose; but this has proved no temptation.

If deficiencies and the expiration of the service of Troops in the course of the Winter, were peculiar to Virginia, I should not be so much concerned, tho' that I confess would be a circumstance of no small mortification; but when I know that they are not, that the Enemy are still with us, in respectable, I may add, formidable

force; and that another Campaign may take place, I feel very much interested in our pursuing measures that will make us equal to all events, and the establishing of our Independence. I cannot say with precision, that we shall have occasion the next year to employ a large Army, as the designs of the Enemy and their future system of conduct are intirely unknown; but from their remaining so long, and the approach of Winter, it would seem, tho' there have been flattering appearances to the contrary, that they do not mean to leave the Continent. But, be this as it may, it will be wise in the States to provide for every contingency, and we may reasonably conclude, if they determine to try the event of Another Campaign, that they will act with vigor; and by centering the force they now have, independent of any other aid or augmentation, they may make it a very serious, and a very important one. From these considerations, I am induced to hope, that we shall not relax on our part, but on the contrary that we shall use every prudent and practicable exertion, to put ourselves in a good posture of defence. If this is done, we shall be prepared for War, and if Britain should relinquish her ideas of conquest and withdraw her Armies, it will be easy to cease our efforts, and to disband our Levies.

I would also inform your Excellency, that the Virginia Regiments, in the Continental line, have lately undergone a reform and are now reduced to Eleven. This measure, the Committee of Arrangement appointed by Congress, deemed it

expedient to adopt, as some of them were not larger than a Company or two in point of Effectives. There may be many other matters respecting the Virginia Troops, in which you may wish

satisfaction, and which do not occur to me at this time. If there are, I must take the liberty of referring you to Colo. Wood, who will be able to give the furthest information. I have the Honor, etc.⁸⁸

To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Fishkill, October 8, 1778.

Dear Sir: I received yours of yesterday inclosing a letter from Genl. Nixon and a deposition respecting the abuse of several inhabitants of the State by some Officers of the Army. I shall immediately order the Officers to be secured untill civil process shall issue against them.²

A flag Boat was standing up the River yesterday with directions to proceed as far as Fishkill landing, to take off the family and effects of Mr. Cuyler³ of Albany. As I understood from Mr. Cuyler, when he went into New York himself, that his family and effects were not to be permitted to go down untill he had cleared up some matters respecting the exchange of himself and Major Lush,⁴ I

88. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

On October 7 Washington had written briefly to Brig. Gert. Charles Scott requesting information as to “the number of flat bottom boats, the number of transports, and vessels of force in the river as well as their exact situation. We should know all these things without any doubt or uncertainty because we may do it without exposing the observers to any great danger.” This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

2. “An outrage has been committed on some inhabitants of this State by a Lieut. Henderson, Marshal B. Ball and Ensn. Smith as appears from a deposition in the hands of the bearer of this letter. As these officers are of your command, you will be pleased to direct them under immediate

confinement to remain so till the civil power can take place.”— *Washington to Malcom*, Oct. 8, 1778 This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

3. Abraham Cuyler.

4. Maj. Stephen Lush, aide to Governor Clinton. He had been taken prisoner at Fort Montgomery, N. Y., in October, 1777.

ordered the Boat to be stopped below West Point. If it is proper that Mr. Cuyler's effects should be sent to him, be pleased to direct them to be carried from Fishkill to the Boat below West Point, as there are many good reasons why the persons on board of her should not have an opportunity of coming further up and viewing the Works.

I send you by the Express a number of packets directed for your Excellency, the House of Assembly and the different Officers of Government, they came out yesterday by a Flag and contain a Manifesto and proclamation,⁵ by the British Commissioners, of a very extraordinary Nature. I have the honor, etc.

P.S. Be pleased to write a line to Genl. Putnam if the Boat is to return with Mr. Cuylers effects. That he may take off the Guard. I shall return to Fredericksburg this Afternoon if the weather is good, at which place I shall be happy to receive your favr.⁶

To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, October 11, 1778.

Dear Sir: I am honoured with yours of the 9th. inclosing a Resolution of your legislature directing two Companies of Colo. Enos's Regiment to be stationed at Greenwich. I cannot but express my fears that they will be in danger, except they act as a kind of

5. The Proclamation and Manifesto of Oct. 3, 1778. A broadside of this is in the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress.

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

On October 8 Washington wrote briefly to Lord Stirling that Congress by a resolve of September 30 had ordered Pulaski's corps and all the Continental troops in the vicinity of Philadelphia to Princeton. Stirling was requested by Washington to issue the necessary instructions and to order all the detachments then at Princeton to join their commands.

Also on this same date (October 8) Washington wrote to Col. William Malcom. granting permission for the supernumerary officers of Col. Enoch Poor's regiment to return to their homes and to Col. John Beatty, Commissary General of Prisoners, requesting a "detail state of the wants and condition of the prisoners with the enemy, the better to enable me to represent their case and real sufferings to Congress." This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

patrole. The light Corps of the Army under General Scott affords as much cover to that part of the Country as it is possible for me to give in our present situation. It is so near to Kingsbridge, at which the Enemy keep a very considerable force, that to post a Body of troops there, out of supporting distance, would be an invitation to the enemy to come out and certain destruction to the Men. Strong patrols from the advanced Corps go as far down as they can consistent with safety, and prevent the Enemy from doing more than taking off some forage or Cattle if they fall in their way.²⁹ This is an inconvenience that those who lay near the enemy's lines must, from the nature of things, unavoidably submit to. From every information the Enemy are upon the eve of some general and important move. Many think that they mean to evacuate New York totally. If they do this, the most likely place of operation, if they remain upon the Continent, will be against Boston, for the purpose of destroying the french fleet in that Harbour. To be prepared to throw in the most timely assistance, should such an event take place, was the reason of my withdrawing the Army from the White Plains and taking the present position. The expediency of this move, naturally exposed the south West quarter of your State, somewhat more than when we lay lower down; but I am in hopes

that the inhabitants have not suffered much from the Ravages of the Enemy as our advanced Corps have been very alert, and have kept them pretty much within bounds except when they come out in great force. I have the honour etc.³⁰

29. On October 12 Washington wrote to Lord Stirling: “As your Lordship's force is very unequal to that of the Enemy, I would not wish you to remain so near them as to intice them to aim a blow at you. Keeping their foragers from extending themselves far from their main Body is your object and all that can be expected in your circumstances.” This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

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

To THE MAGISTRATES AND SELECTMEN OF NORWALK

Head Quarters, October 15, 1778.

Gentlemen: I this morning received your application,⁶⁶ and I can assure, that I am sorry any individual of the army should have violated the rights of a citizen, or that an officer should insult the authority of the State in an instance where it seems to have been particularly concerned.

66. The application from the magistrates of Norwalk, Conn., is dated Oct. 13, 1778, and is in the *Washington Papers*.

But that this matter may be brought to a legal issue, I inclose you a letter to General Scott who commands near Bedford, directing him to deliver over to any civil officer the soldier which you had in arrest. I have also ordered Capt. Stoddard⁶⁷ to this place that his conduct may be inquired into; you will send the evidence against him here. I am, etc.⁶⁸

To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, October 16, 1778.

Dear Sir: I am fard. with yours of the 15th. containing the disagreeable account of the further ravages committed by the Indians. I will immediately order one Regiment to be held ready for the frontier service, and if, upon making a general arrangement of the Army, I find that more can be spared, I will make an addition to the number. As I am unacquainted with the direction of Anaquaga,⁷⁹ I shall be obliged by your Excellency's informing me immediately by Express to what place the troops from hence shall march, in order to meet and cooperate with those already to the Northward. Colo Butler marched the begining of this month with an intent to strike some of the places of rendezvous of the enemy upon the North West frontier. I have not heard whether he has had any success; but

67. Capt. Josiah Stoddard, of the Second Continental Dragoons.

68. The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

79. Anaquaga (Onoquaga, Oquaga, Unaquaga), N. Y. Clinton's reply (October 17) stated that Anaquaga was on the Susquehanna nearly west of Kingston, in Ulster County. There were practicable routes from Minisink, Rochester (in Ulster County), and Kingston, but the best was from Schoharie. This was the route taken by Col. William Butler. Clinton's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

by a letter from General Stark I find that the Oneida's had destroyed the settlement of Unadilla and Butter Nuts and brought off some prisoners. I shall be guided by your better Judgment in the directions to be given to the Officer who will command this expedition, and I shall therefore be glad to have your advice in the fullest manner, as to the Route, the proper places to lodge supplies, the easiest method of procuring them and any other matters which you may judge necessary for the execution of the plan. I am &c.⁸⁰

To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Head Quarters, October 17, 1778.

Sir: I had the honour of writing to your Excellency yesterday, requesting your advice on the proposed expedition against Anaquaga. I have given Col. Cortland orders to get his regiment well clad and prepared without delay, for this purpose, and to wait upon you himself to consult you fully upon the most expeditious mode of proceeding and the previous measures proper to be taken.² If the troops already to the Northward, and which by my last accounts were marching towards Unadilla, [under the Comd.of Lt. Colo. Butlar] can form a junction with this regiment in time [and with a proper degree of safety] it will be a desirable

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

2. Washington wrote again to Governor Clinton (October 18) repeating this information and promising an inquiry into Ezra L'Hommedieu's complaint to Clinton that Captain Leavenworth had plundered inhabitants of the east end of Long Island of their horses and cattle. L'Hommedieu's letter to Clinton, of Oct. 16, 1778, and Washington's letter to Clinton, of Oct. 18, 1778, are in the *Washington Papers*.

circumstance. I shall be glad of your opinion on this point and at what place the junction could be most safely and conveniently formed. If this cannot be done, they may possibly still co-operate and form a diversion favourable to the enterprise against Anaquaga, by directing a stroke upon some other quarter; on this point also I request your Excellency's sentiments.

You will no doubt, give directions in time to have the Militia, who are to assist in this business, ready, and will appoint a place of rendezvous where they will join the Continental troops I must beg the favour of you to concert with Colo. Cortlandt the necessary arrangements for providing the supplies of provisions, which will be wanted, the proper repositories, the means of transportation and such other matters as will occur to you upon the subject and measures shall be immediately taken accordingly.

I fear the articles of cloathing may be the occasion of some delay with respect to the troops already to the Northward; their distressed situation and the approaching cold season, make a supply

indispensible in an expedition of this nature. I have ordered cloathing for them to be forwarded with all dispatch from Springfield to Albany; but before it can reach them a great deal of time must unavoidably be lost.

Col. Van Shaicks regiment will shortly set out, to relieve the Garrison at Fort Schuyler; if this Regiment could be employed on the expedition and in time to answer this other purpose, it would be manifestly advantageous. If this cannot

be the case, can any use be made of Gansevoort's regiment after it is relieved?

I am sorry to give you so much trouble in this affair; but your superior knowledge of the frontier and of the country in general [and the means you have at present of information] will plead my excuse. I have the honor etc.³

3. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton. The parts in brackets were added by Washington.

To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, October 19, 1778.

Dear Sir: I last evening received the inclosed from Congress with a Request that I would take measures for carrying the plan recommended by Colo. Hartley into execution. The advices which I have just received from different quarters bear the strongest Marks of an immediate evacuation of New York.³³

These considerations induce me, should it be deemed expedient, to make an addition to Colo. Cortlands command by sending up the whole of Genl. Clintons Brigade, except Van Schaicks Regt. which is to relieve Gansevoorts at Fort Schuyler. In that case Genl. Clinton would go with his Brigade. I do not know the situation of Chemung, the place which Colo. Hartley advises to be possessed by us, and cannot therefore say, whether the same Body of men which are to be

employed upon the Anaquaga expedition, could afterwards break up the settlement at Chemung. I shall send General Hand to take command at Albany in the room of General Stark who goes to Rhode Island. Perhaps by enlarging our force in the manner I have before mentioned, we may be enabled to carry on our operations upon the frontier upon a more extensive plan, by forming one expedition under the immediate command of Genl. Clinton and another under Genl. Hand or Colo. Butler composed of the troops already to the Northward. That there may be a more

33. At this point the following is crossed off in the draft: "The precise destination of the enemy is yet unknown, but as a considerable detachment is, from every account, intended for the West Indies, the remainder, should they incline to operate to the Eastward, will be inadequate to our force and that of the Militia."

free and full communication upon this subject I have desired Genl. Clinton, Genl. Hand and Colo. Cortland to wait upon you. As your Legislature are now sitting, there must be Gentlemen from every part of the State well acquainted with the frontier, the different Routes the resources of the Country and many matters conducive to the conduct and success of such an expedition.

After having made the proper use of Colo. Hartley's letter be pleased to return it to me, as I have not a Copy. I am etc.

P.S. Be pleased to forward the inclosed to Genl. Stark by the earliest conveyance.³⁴

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

To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, October 21, 1778.

Dear Sir: It is of the utmost importance that we should be thoroughly acquainted with the resources of this State in regard to Flour. Can it be procured in any considerable quantity, it will not only save the immense expence that arises upon the transportation from Jersey, Pennsylvania and

Maryland, but it will enable us to lay up suitable Magazines, which I fear we shall not be able to establish notwithstanding the utmost exertions of the Quarter Masters and Commissaries while the distance of carriage is so great. It now takes our whole strength of teams to bring forward the daily consumption of the Army, [and should we move with any part of the Army further to the Eastward, this difficulty will be increased.]

Could the scrutiny into the remaining quantities of Wheat and Flour be made by persons vested with proper authority by the legislature, it would add much to the ease of executing such a plan and to the precision of the enquiry. I would therefore request the favr. of your Excellency to lay the proposal before your Assembly, and endeavour to obtain the nomination of a suitable person in each district or township producing Wheat and Flour throughout the State, to procure as exact a return as possible of what remains of either, in the hands of every person within his district. As this will be for the general advantage, I do

not think the State should bear the expence of the enquiry. I will therefore engage for the payment of such Wages, as shall be, by the Assembly, deemed adequate to the trouble. If this law can be procured the sooner it can be carried into execution the better. Both the Quarter Master and Commissary General are anxious to know what they may depend upon with certainty in this Quarter.

I am informed by the Quarter Master Genl. that there has been a necessity of erecting public Buildings at convenient places for the reception of provisions and Stores upon the lands of private persons within this State; and that in some instances the proprietors of the land have undertaken to pull them down. If this is suffered, the public will be put to the greatest inconvenience and loss. I could wish this were remedied by the intervention of the legislature. A proper compensation might be made for the use of the Ground, and the Buildings become the property of the proprietor when no longer wanted by the public. I am &c.⁶⁶

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, Fredericksburgh, October 22, 1778.

Dear Sir: I have been favoured with your Letter of the 13th. Instant.⁷⁰

66. In the writing of Tench Tilghman. From the collection of Judge E.A. Armstrong, Princeton, N.J. The portion in brackets is in Washington's writing in the draft, which is also by Tilghman. On Judge Armstrong's original, Governor Clinton has drafted his reply of November 1, forwarding an act of the New York Legislature of October 31, to more effectually provide flour, meal, and wheat for the army. Clinton suggested sending 4,000 or 5,000 bushels of salt into the State to exchange for grain and flour and also an investigation of the practices of the commissaries of purchases. Clinton's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

On October 21 Washington wrote briefly, also, to Comte D'Estaing, sending the latest reports of the British movements and his congratulations on the capture of the island of Dominica by France.

Also, on this same day (October 21) Washington wrote to the President of Congress approving the request of the Chevalier Mauduit Duplessis for leave to return to France, which Congress granted November 3, at the same time conferring upon Duplessis the brevet of colonel of artillery and a grant of £250 to meet his expenses in coming to America and returning to France.

70. Livingston's letter states that he had been called upon by a resolve of the Congress of Oct. 6, 1778, to obtain the facts, under oath, of the massacre of Colonel Baylor's Dragoons by the British: "The President in his Letter inclosing the resolve says that if the bayonetting in cold blood should be proved he apprehends suitable retaliation will immediately follow a refusal of satisfaction." Livingston's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

I must refer you for the particular circumstances attending the surprise of Colonel Baylors Regiment to those officers and men who made their escape and, who are now in the Jersey. Those persons also in whose houses the Dragoons were quartered may be able to assist in your report to Congress. And should any deserters have come from the party concerned in the attack their

evidence may have its consideration. Lord Stirling can inform you on this subject to whom I have written for that purpose. I am etc.⁷¹

To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, October 23, 1778.

Sir: By the inclosed Resolution you will find the determination of Congress to remove the Troops of the Convention from the State of Massachusetts to Charlottesville in Virginia, should not the conditions therein required have been complied with I have directed Genl Heath should it be found necessary, to put those troops in motion as quick as possible, as the Season is already ready far advanced, and the distance, from the place of their present Cantonments to that of their destination, very considerable. I propose, as the most speedy way of forwarding the prisoners, that each State shall furnish a guard of Militia through its own Boundaries, and

71. The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

Carriages to transport their Baggage. Should they move I have desired Genl. Heath to give you notice when they will march from their present quarters, and by what Route, that you may have due time to order a proper escort; and I mention the matter to you at this early period, that you make such provision for their passage through Connecticut, as you may think necessary. I have the honor, etc.⁹²

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

To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, November 2, 1778.

Dear Sir: I am honored with yours of yesterday inclosing an Act of the legislature of your state empowering the Commissary, under certain restrictions to seize all Wheat, Flour or Meal in the

hands of Foresters, or Wheat of the year 1777 and years preceding. I have, immediately in the absence of the Commy. Genl., transmitted this salutary law to the Asst. Commy. General who is with the Army, that he may without loss of time, proceed to put it into execution.

I have also recd. the report of the Senate, setting forth their suspicions of the real-practices of some of the deputies in the Commissary's office, and recommending an inquiry into their conduct. I am exceedingly obliged for the hint, and every thing shall be done on my part, towards endeavouring to discover so pernicious a system of villainy. However, before I take any steps in the matter, I shall be glad, if possible, to be furnished with some clue tending to fix the matter upon some person or persons. If the inquiry is set on foot in a general and vague manner, perhaps those who are really guilty may contrive means to perplex their accounts and cloak their villainy in such a manner that it will be difficult to detect them. I shall be obliged by being furnished with any lights you may be able to throw upon the

foregoing, as early as possible, and the more secretly it is done the better, for obvious Reasons.

Our accounts from New York are various and perplexing. They however all agree in this, that a very considerable body of troops have been embarked, and were laying at the Hook the 30th of last month. Whether the embarkation was finished, or whether it would end in a total evacuation, I cannot, notwithstanding every endeavour, determine. It is the general opinion of the officers nearest upon the lines, that the evacuation will be total, but they can only form their conjectures from the accounts of deserters and people coming from the City, who are often deceived by appearances. The season is so far advanced, that the fleet will never lay long in their present situation. When they have sailed (if they do not all go off together) the remainder must make such preparations and dispositions as will plainly indicate whether they intend to winter in New York. I am &c.

P.S. The deputy Commy. informs me that he had before the Rect. of yours ordered some salt into the Country for the purposes you mention,⁸¹ and that upon your recommendation he will increase the Quantity.⁸²

81. Clinton suggested that the Continental commissaries trade salt for flour, and Washington wrote (November 2) to Royal Flint: “you will consider this proposition and gave your sentiments on its expediency.”

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

To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, November 5, 1778.

Dear Sir: I shall be exceedingly obliged to you for information, either from your own knowledge or that of others, whether there is a possibility of marching a Body of troops from the head of Susquehannah, across the Country to Niagara. Among many other Routes pointed out for carrying the War into the Indian Country,

when circumstances will permit, the above has been mentioned as one. The distance appears upon the Map, to be shorter than almost by any other way, but I have my doubts of the practicability of the march, never having heard of any road or passage leading to the lakes through that quarter, I mean for a body of Men with necessary Baggage and Stores. I shall be glad of your answer upon the above as soon as possible, as I want to form an opinion from a comparative view of the most accurate accounts. The particular advantages to be derived from the above mentioned Route would consist in the opportunity of destroying several Indian settlements in the way, and of avoiding Lake Ontario upon which the Enemy have a naval force. I am &c.⁹⁸

To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, November 7, 1778.

Sir: I am honoured by yours of the 28th. I had, previous to the receipt of it, determined upon such a disposition of the troops for the Winter, as will serve the purposes you mention. As soon as the

intentions of the enemy are more clearly known, I shall fix upon the places of cantonment and assign the troops to their respective stations. A Fleet of upwards of 100 sail left the

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

On this same day (November 5) Washington wrote again to Governor Clinton “that the inhabitants of Minisink are under apprehensions of another visit from the Enemy” and that he had ordered the Second New York Regiment to march to such place as Clinton should direct.

“You will march as expeditiously as possible to the place appointed, and upon your arrival take such measures for your own security and the safety of the Country as shall seem most proper to answer both purposes. I wish you success.”— *Washington to Col. Philip Van Cortlandt*, Nov. 5, 1778. This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

Hook on the morning of the 3d, supposed to be bound to the West Indies. I cannot ascertain the number of troops on board. Whether a further embarkation from New York is to take place this fall, I am not able yet to determine, but as we have spies upon their motions I expect soon to learn that they are preparing for it. I am &c.¹⁵

To NATHANIEL TRACY⁵⁵

Head Quarters, November 12, 1778.

Sir: It was not till the return of Major Gibbs from the Eastward, that I discovered how much the cheerfulness of my table was owing to you. The pipe of Wine, which you sent me, was till then, mistaken for a purchase of the commissary; but notwithstanding its goodness, there still remained enough to remember the sender. I beg you may accept my thanks, and am etc.⁵⁶

To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, 8 o'Clock P.M., November 18, 1778.

Dear Sir: I have this moment recd. your Excellency's favour

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

55. Agent for Continental armed vessels at Newburyport, Mass.

56. The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

of yesterday, containing the disagreeable account of the destruction of Cherry Valley settlement, the loss of Fort Alden, and of Colonel Alden's Regiment. Upon the first intimation of the seige of the Fort, which I received from Genl. Hand by letter of the 13th,¹¹ I directed Brigr. Genl. James Clinton to march immediately to Albany with the two remaining Regiments of his Brigade, to act as circumstances might require. Count Pulaski's Legion consisting of 250 Horse and Foot is at Minisink and I have ordered two other Corps of about 250 more to the same place. Colo. Cortland is, with his Regiment, in the neighbourhood of Rochester. I mention these particulars to your Excellency, that you may, if you find it expedient to form any offensive plans, command the assistance of those troops either to cooperate with or make a diversion in favr. of those to the Northward.

If you proceed yourself to the Frontier I wish you every success, as I am etc.

P.S. You will find, by my instructions to Genl. Hand that I have recommended some offensive operations if they can be undertaken.¹²

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, November 18, 1778.

Dear Sir: I have your Excellency's favor of the 7th. It will

11. Brigadier General Hand had written also on the 10th, but this letter was delayed in transmission.

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

always be my wish, whenever it is in my power, to afford protection to every part of the State of New Jersey by means of the Continental Army, as I would ever avoid calling out the Militia but upon exigencies. The lower part of the County of Bergen must from its situation remain exposed to the Enemy while they keep a garrison in New York; but when I come to make the Cantonments in Jersey,¹³ I will, if it can be done with safety, make such a disposition of part of the troops as will answer the purposes you mention. I have ordered Count Pulaski's Legion and several other Corps to the neighbourhood of Minisink, which I hope will quiet the apprehensions and afford protection to the Inhabitants of the Western Frontier of your State and that of New York. I am etc.¹²

To GOVERNOR PATRICK HENRY

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, November 23, 1778.

Dear Sir: I have been honrd. with yours of the 23d October, inclosing an extract of an Act of the State of Virginia for recruiting the Continental Army. The Bounties and other encouragements offered by this Act are so liberal that I think if Men cannot be induced to inlist on such terms, it will be in vain to think of offering any thing higher. I have transmitted a Copy to each of the

13. For winter quarters.

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

Officers commanding the three Virginia Brigades, but have not yet heard whether it has had any influence upon the Men.

I have upwards of twenty thousand dollars in my hands belonging to the state, the Ballance of Money which was deposited last Spring, to pay such as would reinlist upon a Bounty of twenty dollars. I shall apply that money as far as it will go, to the payment of the Bounties offered by the late Act, should I be called upon by the Officers. Should that be expended I will call upon Mr.

Morse.⁸⁸ Agent to the state, as you direct, and I shall be very happy should the success of recruiting be such as to oblige me to draw upon your Delagates in Congress for a further Sum. I am &c.⁸⁹

To THE PRESIDENT OF THE MASSACHUSETTS COUNCIL⁵³

Head Quarters, November 27, 1778.

Sir: I was honored with your letter of the 21st. Inst. to day.

It would have given me great pleasure, had the evacuation of New York, and the condition of our affairs coincided with the wishes of the Council to have a detachment of the army at Boston. But the Enemy still remain in New York, and their late conduct seems to evidence a determination to continue

88. Capt. John Moss (Morse), Virginia agent.

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

53. Jeremiah Powell.

in that place, at least during the winter.

Before receiving your favor the cantonments of the troops had been determined on and the army in actual motion towards its different posts on both sides of the Hudson.

The Council will readily perceive that the present state of things in this quarter, would not authorise a seperation very far eastward, of any considerable part of this army. It would be a matter of the utmost difficulty and embarrasment, if not totally impracticable to supply any body of men with provisions at this season at Boston; besides the immense accumulation of public debt, which must arise from a land transportation was the measure in other respects advisable or consistent with our views and circumstances. I have the honor etc.⁵⁴

54. The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Paramus, December 7, 1778.

Dear Sir: I returned to this place from Elizabeth Town upon hearing that that the Enemy had gone up the North River in considerable force. Their ships proceeded as far as Kings ferry, at which place they landed a few men and burnt a small House upon the Wharf. The Boats and stores of every kind had been removed upon the first appearance of the ships. I do not know what was their true design; but they yesterday fell down again, without making any further attempts.

I have information thro' a Channel which has seldom deceived me, that the enemy shortly intend to make a forage upon the Monmouth coast. The distance of any Continental troops from that quarter, and the necessity they are under of employing every moment in providing covering for the Winter, obliges me to desire your Excellency to give orders to the

Militia in that County to remove the stock near the Coast, and to have a particular Regard to the Houses of the disaffected, who always have previous notice of the designs of the Enemy and lay up stores of provision that they may be at hand when they make a descent. By doing this they screen themselves from the charge of having voluntarily contributed. I shall set out tomorrow for Middle Brook at which place I shall be happy to receive your Excellency's favrs. I am, etc.¹⁵

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

To GEORGE EMLÉN

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, December 13, 1778.

Sir: I recd your favr. of the 20th. November, respecting the damage done to your farm by the Army in the Fall 1777,²³ and am [not a little surpd.] that General Mifflin should refer you to me [when]

he well knows that [this is a business clearly within the line of the Quarter Masters department, and that every Acct. of the kind is to be settled by him, up to the date of General Greene's appointment to that Office in March 1778. For such purposes as these it was, I thought, the late Sum was put into his hands. I am sorry you should have delay and difficulties to encounter, and that I am obliged to refer you back to the only Gentn. whose proper business it is to settle with you.] Be pleased to make my Compliments to Mrs. Emlen. I am&c.²⁴

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, Middle brook, December 16, 1778.

Dear Sir: Till now I have not had a moments time to reply to your Excellency's several favors of the 12th, 14th & 15th Inst.

23. Washington occupied the Emlen house, near Whitemarsh church, about 12 miles north of Philadelphia, from Nov. 3 to Dec. 11, 1777. A part of the left wing of the Army encamped directly in the rear of the house.

“I applied to General Mifflin the late Quarter Master General, Respecting the damages done by the Army, on my Plantation, last winter in Wood and Fencing; who tells me he can do nothing in it, And advised me to write to your Excellency concerning it....I dont expect the present high prices of Wood and Rails, but shall be satisfied with a moderate Valuation.”— *Emlen to Washington*, Nov. 20, 1778. Emlen's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

24. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman. The portions in brackets are in the writing of Washington.

I find every disposition not only to afford security to the people of Monmouth, and lessen the duty of their militia; but, to prevent the illicit trade and correspondence complained of between the disaffected in that County, and the City of New York, could it be affected by any part of this army, consistent with that general plan which has been adopted for its cantonments.

Your Excellency will observe, that I have already distributed largely for the security of this state, and that the safety of its inhabitants has been a particular consideration; But it is impossible to include every place. Besides the detaching to the westward there is a brigade stationed at Bergen to cover the Country in that quarter. Should I venture on any further detachments from this part of the army it might very much endanger the whole. Small and unsupported cantonments might become objects with the enemy, and I should not have it in my power to give any essential service to the State at large or a serious opposition to the enemy should they shew themselves in force during the winter. I should also too much endanger the Stores.

As to the allotment of any particular corps of the cavalry for this purpose, they have all gone into quarters, and have long since had the necessary provision of forage established at those places; but besides this, absolute rest from ordinary fatigue is indispensable that the horse may be in condition to act the ensuing campaign, as well as to have their accoutrements repaired.

I agree with your Excellency in opinion, that all persons of the enemy, captured under the circumstances as stated in your letter of the 14th⁵¹ should be considered as prisoners to this particular State; and as such exchangeable by this State, for its own particular inhabitants in confinement or captivity with the enemy. I have the honor etc.⁵²

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, December 17, 1778.

Sir: To prevent as far as possible the intercourse between the inhabitants of these States and the enemy in New York, I have given positive orders to Genl. Maxwell, who commands at Elizabeth Town, to permit no persons being inhabitants of or coming from any of the States to pass to Staten Island or New York without permission has been first obtained from their respective Governors or legislative Authorities. This will relieve the commanding Officer from the difficulty which he must otherwise be under of discriminating between ill designing persons and those who are proper to be

intrusted within the Enemy's lines. But as too frequent passage of Flag Boats is attended with many inconveniences, I could wish, that as many as possible, of those who obtain leave,

51. Livingston's letter of December 14 is not found in the *Washington Papers*; but from his letter of December 21 the persons in question were those in a British ship which stranded on the Jersey coast.

52. The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

might be sent at one time. For instance, if it shall be determined that Boats will only be permitted to pass the first of every Month (except in extraordinary cases) they may suit their business to that time and attend accordingly. If you approve of the above plan be pleased to signify your concurrence, and I will give orders to Genl. Maxwell to carry it into execution. I am the more desirous of failing upon some such mode as the foregoing, as, when I was lately at Elizabeth Town, I found the intercourse so common that it alarmed and gave umbrage to the well affected in that neighbourhood. I have the honor etc.⁵⁹

To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, December 19, 1778.

Dear Sir: I am honored with Your Excellency's favour of the 12th instant; including the copies of two letters relative to the disposition of the troops on the East side of the North River, and the quartering of Colo. Sheldon's regiment of dragoons.

There is nothing I have more at heart than the ease and security of every part of the Country and its inhabitants;

59. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman. This same letter was sent to President Joseph Reed, of Pennsylvania.

and I wish Your Excellency to believe, that in the present distribution of the army, I have consulted these objects, to the best of my judgment, as far as could be done, consistent with a due attention to other objects too essential to be neglected. You are sensible, sir, that in military operations, there are many partial evils which must be submitted to, to attain the principal end to which they are directed. However desirable the protection of those parts of the country most contiguous to the enemy, and the convenience of the inhabitants, in general; these are sometimes obliged to give place to other considerations of greater magnitude. The present disposition of the troops, after a full consideration of every circumstance, has been thought best calculated to unite the greatest number of advantages, with the fewest disadvantages. To enter into a detail of the reasons on which it has been formed, would be giving your Excellency unnecessary trouble. I shall only therefore observe, that the easy subsistence and accommodation of the troops; their discipline and security, and the facility of collecting them to the principal points of defence, which require they should be as little dispersed as possible, and the protection and convenience of the country and the inhabitants, have all been endeavoured to be provided for, as far as they could be reconciled to each other and to the general situation of our affairs at this period.

The great desire I feel to comply with your Excellency's wishes on every occasion, makes it painful to me, that, in the present case I do not think it would be advancive of the service

to make these changes in the disposition of the troops, which your transmitting the letter from Cols. Enos and Meade seems to indicate would be agreeable to you. I should not be without apprehensions for the safety of the Brigades themselves, stationed where they propose. The detaching one so far from the Highland posts would lessen the security of those important places, an unequal portion of duty would be thrown upon the advanced Brigades, and the discipline of the whole would be injured by adding to the dispersion. The directions I have given to Generals Putnam and McDougall to keep a succession of parties constantly advanced towards the enemy's lines, from the Sound to the North River, without being liable to the same disadvantages will pretty effectually answer the same end. If this has not yet been done, it is I suppose to be ascribed to the troops having been hitherto employed in covering themselves for the Winter.

With respect to the proposal for dividing Colo. Sheldon's regiment and sending a part of it to Wallingford or Middleton; this arrangement would interfere with a general principle, essential to order and discipline, to which I have strictly adhered, the keeping every corps in a collected state. It has been with great reluctance that I have even separated the different regiments of cavalry from each other; but the impossibility of subsisting and accommodating them in one body, puts me under the necessity of making a division of this kind. To carry it further would be ruinous to this useful part of the army.

And I do not apprehend that the regiment in question could be removed to any other place where it could be equally well provided, in a collective state with forage and quarters, without being attended with the same inconveniences, as at Durham. This place was pointed out as the most commodious, by the Quarter Master General, in his arrangements for cantonning the army: and as I have received a very favourable account of the situation of the regiment in point of accommodation, from Col Sheldon himself, this is an additional motive to wish its continuance where it is.

With the most perfect respect and esteem etc.⁸⁷

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, December 21, 1778.

Sir: In my passage, through Elizabeth Town, a certain Hatfield¹⁴ was seized by my order and committed to Jail, in consequence of an intercepted letter to him from New York, supposed by the initials to be from one Hilton, which clearly shews that Hatfield is concerned in a treasonable connexion and intercourse with the writer. The letter is not now in my possession; nor do I precisely recollect the contents, but from that and from other circumstances I think it appeared, that Hatfield, abusing a permit he had received

87. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

14. John Smith Hatfield (Hetfield).

from Lord Stirling, was going to the enemy with a vessel laden with flour, in which he was pressed by his correspondent to bring as many hands as he could, which is conjectured were wanted to man a privateer. I believe there is no doubt of Hatfield's guilt; though I do not know how far the evidence against him may amount to legal proof. I directed Lord Stirling to endeavour to make all the discoveries he could, and to deliver Hatfield with all the information he had collected respecting him to the civil magistrate. What progress he has made in his inquiries I know not; but I have now desired General Maxwell without further delay to turn Hatfield over to the civil power. The vessel was also seized at the same time and is now at Middle Town point, to be disposed of as the law shall direct.

I thought it best to bring the matter under Your Excellency's notice, as I am convinced that you will not suffer it to pass without a proper investigation; and it is certainly of the greatest moment, that practices of this nature should be rigidly scrutinized and severely punished. General Maxwell will execute any directions you shall be pleased to give him in the affair, and Lord Stirling will communicate all the information of which he is possessed. I have the honor etc.¹⁵

15. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

To PRESIDENT JOSEPH REED

Philadelphia, December 27, 1778.

Sir: I have had the Honor to receive Your Excellencys Letter of Yesterday, and I am extremely sorry that it is not in my power to inform the Council, with precision, in the several points of their inquiry. The State supplies of Cloathing hitherto sent to Camp, have been but small and partial. These, I believe, have been generally issued by Officers appointed by the respective states, and conformably to their instructions. It is probable the Genl. Officers of their line have had some direction in the matter, to promote a fair and proper distribution. I am equally at a loss as to the

prices, at which the goods have been furnished; but have heard that they were moderate and reasonable; nor can I tell what allowances have been made the issuing Officers. I would take the liberty to add that there is a Gentleman now in the City, a Mr. Moss,²³ who has some Stores under his care from Virginia for the use of her Troops. It is more than probable, if your Excellency and the Council should judge it material, that you may without difficulty derive from him information both of the manner and the terms on which the delivery of the Articles in his hands is conducted. I have the Honor etc.²⁴

23. Capt. John Moss, Virginia agent for stores.

24. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Philadelphia, December 29, 1778.

Dear Sir: I received your favor of the 18th Inst. and am sorry for the accident that has happened to Mr McDowell.³⁴ Whether his Barn was destroyed thro' design or otherwise does not alter the injury as to him, and he seems equally intitled to reparation in either case. I do not know, however, that I am authorised to direct it to be made, and therefore shall be under the necessity of submitting the matter to Congress for their decision and direction. This I am the more inclined to do, that they may settle some principle, by which relief may be given to Others, if any such there are or may be, in similar circumstances. I am etc.³⁵

To WILLIAM DUER

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, February 21, 1778.

Sir: I am favoured with yours of the 16th instant communicating the intelligence you had received respecting the scheme of investing this camp and cutting off its supplies. Your being unacquainted

34. James McDowell, of "Little Britain," Ulster County, N. Y. His barn was burned by the Convention troops.

35. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

with our present position and the circumstance you mention of an intimation from General St. Clair of the possibility of such an event, very naturally occasioned Biddle's⁷⁹ insinuations to make the impression it did on your mind. But it is a project, which appears to me totally impracticable with the enemys present force, or even with one much greater; and I believe the experiment will hardly be made. The extensive line or rather circle they must occupy, to keep up the communication from post to post, necessary to intercept our intercourse with the country, would so divide and string out their force, that they would be very little able to defend themselves at any given point and would expose themselves to ruin in case of an attack from us. I am inclined to believe you must be under some misapprehension, with respect to General St. Clairs observations; and that he alluded to something else than an investiture. I am, etc.

P. S. We have one bridge nearly completed. Defects in the Qur. Masters department have delayed it hitherto.⁸⁰

To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, March 17, 1778.

Dear Sir: I am favoured with yours of the 8th. instant inclosing a letter from you to Congress upon the Subject of Affairs in the

79. Duer had written: "I esteem it my Duty to inform you that a certain Mr. John Biddle has lately gone into the Enemy, who has an Exact Draft of your Camp; before he went in he told a Person confidentially that he could put the Enemy in a Way of investing it in such a Manner as to cut off your Communication with the Country, and thereby prevent the Supply of Provisions &ca." Biddle

was a deputy quarter-master who deserted to the enemy. He was a native of Bucks County and Duer said was an excellent draftsman. Duer's letter is in the *Washington Paper's*.

80. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

North River Department. I agree perfectly with you as to the propriety of drawing every man down the River, except the Garrison of Fort Schuyler and have backed your opinion forcibly with my own.

I cannot think it was the intention of Congress to make the command of the Forts independent of that of the Department, or that it would be proper to assign any certain number of Men to the defence of those posts, they are so materially connected with the others in the neighbourhood, that it must be supposed that the commander of the Department would find himself so much interested in their security, that he would always allow them a full proportion of his general Force. It may be said, this has not been the case heretofore, but as I have appointed Genl. McDougall to take the command, I hope matters will assume a more pleasing aspect.

In obedience to the Resolve of Congress of the 28th November last, I have appointed Genl. McDougall, General Huntington and Colo. Wigglesworth to make inquiry into the causes of the loss of Forts Montgomery and Clinton; the two latter will set out to morrow or next day and I imagine will proceed to business about the first of next month. I am &ca.⁵⁵

55. The copy is in the writing of Richard Varick.

To PRESIDENT CAESAR RODNEY

Head Quarters, Philadelphia, January 19, 1779.

Sir: The Quarter master General has represented to me, that our resources in point of forage will not, with the greatest œconomy and management satisfy the demands of the Army, unless the Cavalry of Count Pulaski's Legion is removed to some position where it will interfere less with the

general supply. The Counties of Kent and Sussex in your state, he thinks will be able to maintain this Corps, with less inconvenience to the Country, than any other place within a reasonable distance. I am therefore to request Your Excellency will give Mr. Quarter Master Wade, who is charged with this business, proper authority to canton these troops in the most advantageous manner. At the same time that I would have them to be so disposed

as to be secure of a sufficient supply and not too much scattered for the preservation of discipline. I would wish them to be as little burthensome to the Inhabitants as possible.

Your Excellency's Countenance and support to Mr. Wade, will conciliate these desirable ends, and in full assurance of your granting them, I remain etc.³⁵

35. The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Head Quarters, Philadelphia, January 25, 1779.

Dear Sir: Your favr. of the 29th Decemr. only reached me a few days ago. I shall lay that part of your Excellency's letter, which respects the payment of those supplies which you were under the necessity of taking out of the regular line, after the loss of the Highland posts, before Congress, it not being in my power to order the present Quarter Master and Commissary Genl. to discharge accounts prior to their appointments.

I fancy there must have been some mistake in the report of General Rheidhesels⁴⁹ intention to spend the Winter at Wall Kiln, as he never made any such request and has sometime ago past thro' this State on his way to Virginia. I have the honor etc.⁵⁰

To JOSEPH WEBB⁶⁰

Philadelphia, January 27, 1779.

Sir: I have your favr. of the 18th instant accompanied by one from Mr. Barrel⁶¹ owner of the Privateer Vengeance. It gives me pleasure that the success of this Vessel has put it in your power to

49. Maj. Gen. Frederich Adolph, Baron von Riedesel, German allied troops, British Army.

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

60. Of Wethersfield, Conn.

61. Joseph Barrell, of Boston, Mass., a brother-in-law of Lieutenant Colonel Webb. His letter to Washington, dated Jan. 10, 1779, and Webb's letter of Jan. 18, 1779, are in the *Washington Papers*.

make an attempt to procure the Exchange of your Brother Colo. Saml. Webb.⁶² If you can effect it for any of the Gentlemen captured in the Eagle packet, I shall not have the least objection, as I apprehend the owners of the privateer have a right, in disposing of their prisoners, to give a preference to their Friends.

You will oblige me by transmitting a list of the Officers taken, with an attested Copy of the obligation entered into by the British Consul, that I may be enabled, in a proper manner, to make a demand of an equal number of our Officers of equal Rank, after your Brother has been released. Should any objections be made on the part of Sir Henry Clinton to complying with the Obligation entered into by the Consul be pleased to furnish me with a copy of them. I am &c.⁶³

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, Philadelphia, January 31, 1779.

Dear Sir: I have had the honor of receiving your Excellency's two letters of the 9th and 15th inst. As the deserters of the Convention Troops apprehended in Jersey, cannot at present be conveniently

disposed of, I must entreat that measures may be taken for Securing them, 'till orders can be given for their Removal.

62. Lieut. Col. Samuel Blatchley Webb.

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

With regard to the two whose evidence you think will serve to convict the seducers of the party, there can be no objection to their being detained till that end is answered.

The request of Your Excellency and the Council founded on the scarcity of forage has been anticipated by my orders to send from Camp into the neighbouring States Horses of every denomination that are not indispensable in Winter Quarters. No Corps of Cavalry remains in Jersey except Major Lee's, which is quartered in the lower part of the Country where the Quarter Master informed me there would be a sufficient supply of forage with least inconvenience to the Inhabitants.

In the hurry of Affairs I omitted informing your Excellency that I had ordered a party under Colo. North⁷⁹ into Monmouth County with a view of restraining the Malpractices which prevailed there, this measure may lighten the service of the Militia, as the party may supply the place of so many who wd be otherwise employed on that duty. I have the honor etc.⁸⁰

To GOVERNOR PATRICK HENRY

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, February 7, 1779.

Dear Sir: I had the honor of receiving yours of the 9th ulto.

79. Lieut. Col. Caleb North, of the Ninth Pennsylvania Regiment. He was transferred to the Second Pennsylvania Regiment in January, 1781, and retired in January, 1783.

80. The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

A description of Washington, written in January, 1779, by Johann Konrad Döhla, a soldier in the Brandenburg-Anspach Regiment of the German Allies of Britain, is interesting. Döhla had been a schoolmaster. His original diary, which contains this description, is in the *Bayerische Staatsarchiv*, Bamberg; a photograph of this part of it is in the Library of Congress, which may be translated as follows:

“The great General Washington is of medium but stately size soldierly countenance, and although he is advanced in years, that is, over 50, still he is in good blooming health, in his whole demeanor very reserved and cautious, of few words and likes solitude rather than great gatherings.... He often visits.... his field and camp posts quite alone and converses often with a sentry.... He is not in the least proud and haughty, speaks often more kindly and more friendly to a sentry than to a staff officer. With strangers he is reserved even when they are recommended to him by Congress. All negligence in duty he punishes severely, but to the recruits he is kind and indulgent, until they thoroughly understand the drill and war articles.... He is soft hearted and very seldom and then not willingly is present at military punishments.... Brave actions are by him immediately rewarded. He is very humane towards the prisoners who fall into his hands and looks after their care as best he can.... He is also married and has a pretty wife....”

while at Philada. from whence I returned two days ago. I have not yet had an opportunity of consulting the Officers of the Virginia line upon the most proper and agreeable mode of carrying the Act of the State, intended for their benefit and that of the troops, into execution; but I myself am at present of opinion that the Six Months pay allotted to the privates had better be paid out in some kind of necessaries or applied to the use of their families than paid into their own hands. I will however inform you the moment I obtain their opinions, and at the same time make you the Return of those entitled to the State Bounty.

I will take care to appoint either a General or Field Officer to superintend the recruiting service in Virginia, but it will not be in my power to give him authority to liquidate or settle any old accounts between the State and Continent. I have the honor etc.⁹⁶

To PRESIDENT JOSEPH REED

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, February 9, 1779.

Sir: I have the honor of your Excellency's favr. of the 5th. instant¹¹ inclosing sundry Resolves of the Executive Council respecting the Conduct of Major General Arnold during his command

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

11. Neither Reed's letter nor the resolves of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, which were dated Feb. 3, 1779, are now found in the *Washington Papers*.

in the City of Philada. Previous to the Rect. of your letter, General Arnold, who had arrived at Head Quarters the day before, had shewn me a letter from the Council to him accompanied by a Copy of the same Resolves, in which they advise him that a Copy was also laid before Congress.¹² This relieved me from some doubts which arose in my mind respecting the line of conduct, which the Council might expect me to pursue. For as the matter is before Congress, that Honble. Body will no doubt decide upon the measures proper to be taken in the Affair.

I should have replied to yours of the 19th January respecting Colo. Atlees claim to rank before I left Philada. had I not understood by a paper which was afterwards put into my hands, that the Delegates of Pennsylvania were instructed by the Council to represent the matter to Congress.

I have a high opinion of Colo. Atlees merit and abilities as an Officer, but I do not see how he can be at this time promoted to the Rank of Brigadier. As the State have only two Brigades in the Field they of course will only require two Brigadiers. They already have one, General Wayne, supposing

General Hand to be out of the question, to supply the place of the other, Colonels Magaw and Irvine being senior Officers have both superior pretentions to Colonel Atlee. If in the captivity of Colo. Magaw it is thought necessary to fill the place with another, Colo. Irvine will by right of seniority be the person. I have the honor etc.¹³

12. These resolves are not now found among the *Papers of the Continental Congress*. This action of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania resulted from Arnold's handling of the application of a Miss Levy for a passport to go into New York City, which affronted the Council and seems to have brought matters to a head in the conflict of authority between Arnold, as military commandant in Philadelphia, and the civil power. Miss Levy was involved in the coil of charges against David Franks and the Council charged Arnold with indecency and disrespect toward it. It is only fair to Arnold to call attention to Washington's criticism of the Supreme Executive Council's laxity in the matter of granting passports to women to enter New York City, in his letter of Feb. 12, 1779, to President Joseph Reed, *q. v.*

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

To PRESIDENT JOSEPH REED

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, February 12, 1779.

Sir: In my last I omitted to answer what part of your Excellency's letter of the 5th. inst. respecting Capt. Campbells proposal of attempting to bring off our Officers prisoners on parole upon Long Island. Was the measure justifiable, of which I have my doubts, it would in my opinion be impolitic. We could not hope to be compleately successfull, and strict confinement would certainly be the fate of all those who remained or who may hereafter fall into the enemy's hands.

I have good reason to suspect that many persons (Women particularly) who obtain leave from the Executive Council to go and come to and from New York under pretence of visiting their Friends, have, in fact, no other Business but that of bringing out Goods to trade with. Some have been detected within a few days and their Goods confiscated, by a law of the State of Jersey, to the

Captors. To avoid the disagreeable necessity of seizing the property of individuals, and to put a stop to a Commerce which creates a great deal of uneasiness among the well affected inhabitants, I shall be obliged to you for inquiring well into the circumstances of those who apply for passes, and if their applications appear so well grounded as to obtain them, caution them against bringing out any kind of Goods, as they will most certainly fall into the hands of the Guards posted

upon every Road in order to cut off this pernicious communication, which is contrary to Resolve of Congress and possitive laws of this State. The property has been only hitherto confiscated, but there will, if the practice is persisted in, be a necessity of inflicting a punishment upon the persons of those who knowingly and so repeatedly violate the Laws. If, as is urged by some, it is good policy to get Goods out of New York by any means, let the license be general; but in the present situation of things, I cannot, consistent with my feelings and my duty suffer those only to reap the Benefit of a trade, who from their peculiar characters can gain admittance within the Enemy's Lines. I have the honor &c.⁵⁰

To GOVERNOR PATRICK HENRY

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, February 13, 1779.

Sir: Agreeable to a stipulation between Sir Henry Clinton and myself I have granted passports for the three following Vessels: the Ship Polly, Reed, Master; the Brig Lady Howe, Steady, Mas'- and Schooner Genl. Phillips, Hare, Master, all laden with Cloathing and Stores for the Troops of the Convention at Charlotteville and the British prisoners of War at Fort Frederick, to proceed to Hampton Road in Virginia, and there take your Excellency's orders for discharging their Cargoes at such place as you shall deem proper, having in view

50. In the writing of Tench Tilghman. This letter is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, no. 69, vol. 2, fol. 129.

the convenience of transporting the Stores to Charlotteville.

I thought it most prudent to oblige the ships to come to in Hampton Road, and take your directions, not knowing into what port it would be most proper to admit them. I have informed Sir Henry Clinton that orders shall, if possible, meet the Ships at Hampton, that they may not be unnecessarily detained in the Road, be pleased therefore to have them lodged there, should my letter reach you before the ships arrive. I have the honor &c.

P.S. Should these Vessels after discharging their Cargoes return directly to New York, be pleased to grant them passports for that purpose. If they do not return to New York, they should be allowed a protection until they have cleared our Coasts to a reasonable distance.⁵⁶

To PRESIDENT JOSEPH REED

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, February 27, 1779.

Dear Sir: It is very probable, that necessity or choice, may induce us, to undertake some offensive operations against the Indians this summer, in case the situation of affairs on the Seaboard admit of any thing of this kind. At all events it will be necessary to obtain such information of the country and the avenues leading into it, as may be advantageously applied under favourable circumstances.

I have been told by Charles Stuart⁸² Esqr., Comy. Genl. of Issues, that

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

82. Charles Stewart.

the State of Pennsylvania is in possession of actual surveys of the waters of Susquehannah, and the distances of the different branches across to the Alleghany river. As a knowledge of these particulars may be of use in giving preference to certain routes or in forming a plan of operations I shall be obliged to you for the papers alluded to and as soon as the conveniency will permit.

I need not mention to you the obtaining them in a manner the least liable to produce ideas of the purpose for which they are wanted. I am etc.⁸³

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, April 15, 1778.

Dr Sir: Some little time ago, one Samuel Carter an Inhabitant of the State of New Jersey was taken in Arms on the side of the Enemy by a party of Colo. Shreve's. The Colonel summoned a General Court Martial and tried one Seeds a deserter from the Continental Army and Carter. He sent the sentences of the Court to me for approbation, but as it was illegally constituted, I was under the necessity of disapproving the sentences for that reason; but that Seeds, who was a proper object to make an example of, might not escape, I sent Colo. Shreve a Commission to constitute a Court for his trial,

83. The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

but desired him to deliver Carter to the Civil Authority of the State, as I knew they had Laws fully competent to the punishment of offenders of such a nature. You will learn from the inclosed extract of Colo. Shreve's letter, what was his reason for trying Carter a second time by law Martial, and by the Copy of the proceedings of the Court, upon what grounds they condemned him. I have not yet approved or disapproved the sentence, because I am not fully satisfied of the legality of trying an inhabitant of any State by Military Law, when the Civil authority of that State has made provision for the punishment of persons taking Arms with the Enemy. A Resolve of Congress, passed the 8th October last and extended to the 10th instant, gave me power of trying all persons, taken within thirty Miles of the Head Quarters of the Army, carrying Provision to the Enemy, acting as Spies or Pilots for them, or any ways assisting them. Under this Resolve, the Court convicted Carter. I imagine this Resolve was passed with an intent to operate principally in Pennsylvania, where, as you know, the Civil Authority is extremely weak. I shall be happy to have your opinion upon this subject. I have the honour, etc.

P.S. I have just received yours of the 11th respecting Moss,³⁵ I would only mean to shield him from harm, upon a supposition that he had been no further concerned in going to the Enemy than to serve us; But if he has been playing the double part and his Villainy can be proved, he ought not to be screened. I know nothing more of his Sister than what he himself reported. She was never employed directly by us.³⁶

35. Moss (possibly John Morse) was reported to have acted as a spy for the Americans.

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