

"None of you know the hardships of A soldiers life ..."
Service of the Connecticut Regiments of Maj. Gen. Alexander McDougall's Division, 1777-1778

John U. Rees

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Appendix

"Diary of Surgeon Albigece Waldo, of the Connecticut Line"
(1st Connecticut Regiment, Huntington's Brigade)

Bibliography

This compilation, as it now stands, is meant give readers a basic framework for knowledge of the activities of the Connecticut regiments from summer 1777, through the Philadelphia Campaign and Valley Forge winter, the ensuing June 1778 Monmouth Campaign, and subsequent events ending in January 1779 just after a mutiny of troops from Brig. Gen. Jedediah Huntington's Connecticut Brigade in their winter camp at Redding in their home state.

Several soldiers help to tell the tale. Surgeon's Mate Jonathan Todd was with the 7th Connecticut Regiment for only one year, but during his brief term of service wrote a remarkable series of letters, providing invaluable insights on events of 1777, major and minor. Capt. Paul Brigham, 4th Connecticut, nicely supplements Todd's account with his several diaries, covering the period from late May 1777 to early September 1778. And Brig. Gen. Samuel Parsons contributes his accounts of activities during the 1778-1779 autumn and winter. Gaps in the narrative may be filled in by a reading of 8th Connecticut soldier Joseph Plumb Martin's memoir, published under the title *Private Yankee Doodle*. Portions are quoted below, but Martin's charming and candid account is too lengthy to do justice to here, and required reading for anyone interested in the life and times of a Revolutionary common soldier or the Continental Army.

"I am ... Packing up my baggage in order to March"

Service on the North River, and Movement into Pennsylvania, May to September 1777

We will begin with the makeup of the two brigades containing Connecticut regiments that served with Gen. George Washington's army during the autumn Philadelphia campaign and 1777-78 Valley Forge cantonment.

October 1777 to July 1778

Maj. Gen. Alexander McDougall's Division

Brig. Gen. James Varnum's Brigade

4th Connecticut Col. John Durkee (Capt. Paul Brigham)
8th Connecticut Col. John Chandler (Pvt. Joseph Martin)
1st Rhode Island Col. Christopher Greene
2nd Rhode Island Col. Israel Angell

Brig. Gen. Jedediah Huntington's Brigade

1st Connecticut Lt. Col. Samuel Prentiss
2nd Connecticut Col. Charles Webb (until March 1778)
5th Connecticut Col. Philip Bradley
7th Connecticut Col. Heman Swift (Surg. Mate Jonathan Todd)

The first of Jonathan Todd's extant letters was not written until early September 1777, so we turn to Captain Brigham's earliest diary, a manuscript fragment, to learn of the Connecticut troops doing that summer. This first segment details a time of uncertainty, marching and countermarching:

May 28th 1777. Set out from home with about 20 men to Go and Join the Regt. at Danbury or Peekskill / I went as far as Hartford Staid the 1[s]t night
on ye 29th I went as far as Farmington Took Breakfast 2d[a]y went with my Party as far as Southington where I Left my men to Com on after me and I went on to Waterbury where I Staid all night
on ye 30th I went on to Newtown to Colo. Chambers Staid all night

on ye 31st my men arived about the middle of the Day when the Colo. Saw Fit to Send me as far as Danbury where I Staid until the 14th of June when he ordered me with Capt. [Samuel] Mattack Lt [Daniel] Burns [Barnes] and Lt [David] Judson [all of the 8th Connecticut] to Proceed with about 150 men to Peekskill / after about 2 Days march we Arived Soon Found our Regt was in General McDougals Brigade / Recd. orders from B[rigade]. Major Plat where to Get Cover for the Men for that night

on ye 16th [June] I went to the General Early in the morning and Recd orders to Proceed with our men and Join Capt [Stephen] Brown [4th Connecticut, killed at Fort Mifflin on 15 November 1777] who was at the Church with the first Detachment of the Regt. / Paraded our men and marched them to the Grand Parade where we Recd. Direction from Capt Brown how to Proceed and having Joined his Party our men occupied the Church / Drew our Tents Kettles and other Utensils on ye 18th and Spent the Day in Pi[t]ching our Tents and som other affairs

on ye 19th I was much out of Health By Reason of a Bad Cold / had orders to Be Ready to March into the Jersies Got Ready and marchd to Kings Ferry Crossd and Incamped on the Heights Near the Stores / this Evening Major Hart overtook us as he had Been Gone home a few Days

on ye morning of the 20th had orders to march and saw the Rest of the Brigade who ware about 4 miles on the Road / after we Came up with Them we Began our march for Pumpton / Durkees [4th Connecticut] Chandlers [8th Regiment] and [Col. Philip Van] Courtlants [2nd New York] Regts and one Company of the Train of artillery / the Brigade marched as far as [illegible] and Incampd in the Morning of the 21st [June 1777] Proceedd on our march and marchd 2 miles Below Pumpton Church had a Very hard march. Incampd a Little Southwest of a Large Brook on Level Ground ...

on ye 22d – Sunday this Day our State Stores Come up with us I Bought Some Rum Sugar Cheese &c which was Very agreeable to us / had orders to Lye Still on ye 23d / Last night Was Exceeding Rainy had a [illegible] morning / in the afternoon it was Clear ...

The captain's account of the rest of the summer, continued in a second diary, recounts a time when the main army monitored the enemy in New Jersey, and tried to determine their next move:

June 23d, 1777. Struck tents about 4 o'clock p.m. and began our march back again for Peekskill. Marched back as far as the church and encamped.

June 24. Colonel Courtland had two men whipped 100 stripes for stealing, each one of which was drummed out of camp.

June 25. Began our march for the river. I was so much unwell that I got a horse and rode on before the Brigade. Had a sick day, but by night the brigade came to the ferry, where we encamped that night.

June 26th. Crossed the [Hudson] river. The Brigade marched to the Grand Parade and stayed that night, but I stayed behind with Captain Mattocks at the landing. [On this day an action was fought at Short Hills, New Jersey, between Maj. Gen. William Alexander, Lord Stirling's Dvision and elements of Gen. Sir William Howe's army.]

On the 27th the brigade marched and encamped on a high hill one mile above Captain Drake's battery. I remained so much unwell that I got liberty to go one mile out of Camp to Mr. Graylocks', where I stayed 7 or 8 days. Mr. Sill stayed with me.

July 4th. I went into camp and found we had orders to be mustered.

On the 5th I went after the Judge Advocate to come and swear a number of men that had not taken the oath. Lt. Brigham [possibly Thomas Bingham, 8th Connecticut] arrived with some men that belonged to my company.

July 9th. This day heard that the enemy had got possession of Ticonderoga. Last night being dark and rainy, 2 prisoners made their escape from the Provost Guard where Captain Mattocks

had command.

12th. To our grief the bad news of our defeat at the Northwest was confirmed. This day Col. Chandler joined the regt.

Sunday, 13th. News came that our army was retreated to Fort Edward without a tent to cover them.

14th. I went down as far as Peekskill, and when I returned I learned that Paul Haradon was dead. He was the second man that I have lost out of my Company.

15th. This day Engn [Simeon] House [1st Connecticut] came to see me and informed me that my family were well. Had intelligence that Gen. Washington was at Pompton with a considerable part of his Army.

16th. This day the Regt. exercised, and as Capt. [Joseph] Mansfield's Company [6th Connecticut Regiment] was exercising, one of their field pieces accidentally [exploded]. The fire caught one man's powder box and blew him up and burnt him very much.

July 17th. I saw at guard mounting a negro whipped 100 stripes for aiding and assisting the enemy—in driving off cattle to them. Likewise heard that our troops at Fort Stanwix had taken a great number of prisoners. In the p. m., went on the Grand Parade and saw Cols. [Samuel] Wylye's [3rd Connecticut] and Demming's [?] Regts. manoeuvre.

18th. On the Grand Parade I saw 3 men whipped each a hundred lashes for desertion. In the p.m., the Regt. was reviewed by Gen. McDougal and I thought made a very good appearance.

19th This morning I went down to Gen. Varnum's headquarters, to carry a report to Maj. Hoyt. In the evening I was warned on guard.

20th. I went on Grand Parade and from thence with my guard to the church near King's Ferry, where I relieved Maj. [Jonathan] Johnston [5th Connecticut]. This day [Maj. Gen. William Alexander] Lord Sterling's Division crossed the river and went up towards Peekskill.

21st. After I was relieved I marched home. Rec'd a letter from my family informing me they were all well. [Maj.] Gen. [John] Sullivan's Division crossed the river this evening and encamped on the Grand Parade.

23d. Lord Sterling had a man hanged as a spy at Peekskill Landing.

25th. Visited the sick in the hospital and the prisoners in the Provost Guard.

27th. Last night Saml Allen of my Company died.

28th. News from New York that the enemy had gone from there on some expedition.

30th. Had Paul Haradon's clothing appraised and delivered to his brother, David H. Had orders to be ready to cross the river next day. Rec'd some shirts for my Company.

31st. Sent our baggage across the river. Rec'd some want's.

Aug. 1st. Capt. [Jedediah] Hide [4th Connecticut] and Lt. [?] Adams were discharged the service.

Aug. 2d. Sent our sick to the hospital and prepared to march. Toward night we marched as far as Verplanks and pitched our tents very late in the evening.

Aug. 3d. Got ready as soon as possible and crossed the river. Marched about 4 miles but the rain stopped our further march.

On the 4th had counter orders and began our march back—crossed the river again. A flag of truce from New York arrived as our troops were crossing, to obtain a pardon for Edward Palmer, who was to be executed this day. Returned back and encamped on our old ground. I went up to the hospital to visit the sick—had a wet night.

Aug. 5th. I went back to Verplanks to see how Joseph Kingsbury did, as he was left behind. Found he was a little better.

Aug. 6th. The camp was visited this morning by Gen. McDougal. About 11 o'clock I went with a number of our officers to a fine dinner at Capt. Hart's. Returned at evening. The officers were requested to send their pretensions for rank.

Aug. 7th. Visited the sick in the hospital.

Aug. 8th. The whole Army went to Gallows Hill to the execution of Edward Palmer. The militia came in to join the army here.

Aug. 9th. Went to the hospital to visit the sick. Ensign [Joshua] Tilden [8th Connecticut] taken sick. I went out whortleberrying—got caught in a sudden shower and much wet.

Aug. 10th. Got Ensign Tilden out of camp.

Aug. 11th. Went on Grand Parade. Saw 2 men whipped for desertion, and one pardoned for sleeping on his post. Went to Gen. McDougal's to swear to Pay Rolls; in the afternoon on fatigue.

Aug. 12th. This day the first Regtl. Court Martial was held that ever was held in the Regiment. Some whipping followed.

Surgeon's Mate Todd wrote two letters for September, the first while still in camp at Peekskill, and the second undated note after Major General McDougall's division of Connecticut and Rhode Island troops were ordered to join the army near Philadelphia.

Camp at Peeks Kill 7th Sepr. AD 1777

Honour'd Father

Nothing Material has happened this day - Last Night A soldier Rec'd 40 Lashes I went out of Curiosity to see him Punished but believe it will be the Last that I shall go out of my way to see as the sight was Very Disagreeable to me - I attended meeting this day - Our Chaplain is a Young [man] - Mr. Fenn - I Bled [Lt.]Col. [Josiah] Starr [7th Connecticut] & one soldier My Returns is 21 to Day

Monday 8th. Forenoon did my Tour of duty 22 Unfit for duty, after Noon Walked up to the Continental Village 4 Miles to draw some Medicines got A good supply for Present Use Also an Order from Dr. [Eustice?] D[eputy].S[urgeon].G[eneral]. for some Rice, Molasses, Oatmeal, & Vinengar - On my way to the Village came across Capt [Stephen] Hall [7th Connecticut] at No. 2 he was this day Capt of the Provost Guard / he Invited me to go into the Guard house - I saw there A striking Instance of human Depravity. A poor Wretch Chaind in Irons, Guarded on Every side with Fix'd Bayonets sentenced to be Executed in the morning at Nine O'clock - & yet [he] Appeard to have but Very little Concern if any about A Future state. He was A Tory Robber. Another soldier Confind in [the] same [--] for Endeavouring to [hit or kill] his Officer to be shot at the same time he Appears Very Penitent - About A dozen others Under Confinement some have been whipt 100 Lashes & sentenced on board the ships - The British soldiers in our Army that have deserted from the regulars are all musterd and Inlisted in one Corps during the war & are to be sent to Georgia they have 30 dollars bounty & £ 30 Pounds pr. year for the support of A wife If any they have

Tuesday 9th The Regt. holds Considerable Healthy Cap.t [Aaron] Stevens [7th Connecticut] Came in Last night I Expected A Letter but was Disappointed / to Morrow Morning Leut. [Caleb] Baldwin [7th Connecticut] sets off I hope when he returns to have a Letter from you, the Whole Army has been drawn up to day on Gallows Hill to see the Execution of the two Above Mentiond Prisoners, but they were disappointed - After the Guards were Call'd out & the men Blind folded they were Reprived, I was Extremely glad to hear it if it will reform them any as I hope it will - we hear nothing from the Enemy / by the Latest accounts from the Southward The two Armies were about 2 Miles distant one from the other / if you think it worth your Trouble to keep the Letters I send will be A Journal of the most Remarkable Event that happen

Sr. I am &c

Jonth. Todd Jnr.

[Postscript] so much Confusion cant write with any accuracy, Drums Fifes &c always going

[Todd's letter with several missing pages, September 1777, left-hand margin tattered]

... inform such A long & Tedious journey & Fortitude & resolution [to] surmount Every Obstacle that Presents itself / I have this great [con]solation that altho I shall be A great distance from my near dear Friends, I shall be no farther off from my maker who will be Infinitely Better to me in time of Trouble than All Earthly [--] If I put my Trust in him.

Coll. [Josiah] Starr [7th Connecticut Regiment] Retur[n]'d this afternoon from our Brigade that March'd into Jersey & gave orders that the Camp Equipage & all that are able to march [continue] onward to Philadelphia. he left Col. [Heman] Swift [7th Connecticut] about 30 miles in Jersey [he informs?] that the Enemy that Landed at Taupan [Tappen] were Apprised of Genll. McDougalls arriving with the division that went from here, they retreated & [embarked] on board the ships after Plundering Considerable.

[I] Rec'd your Letter, Together with [--] other things for which I an very [grateful?]. I am Extremely glad to hear you are all well hope that [-- --] to you all. I am now Packing up my baggage in order to March [to] Philadelphia - it seems Like setting out A new to Cross the North [Hudson] River [--] ... Intend to keep up my spirits as well as [possible?] I hope that I shan't forget the advice of my Friends tho I shall [be a] great distance from them / I hope I shall not forget [the God] that made & still preserves me - The News from the southward [is] disagreeable - What my fate is God only knows but I have this Comfort the Cause I am Engagd in is a just one & A cause that [God will?] Bless - # I could not Get my Warrant dated Farther back [than] ye 4th of August cant draw any wages till October - I would have [you] tell Griswoud to get my horse fat & well shod & ride him down [to] Philadelphia or where Ever our Regt. is - I wish I had him now I [--] as live rather wear out my little hores to wear out myself I Expect [I should?] before I Reach Philadelphia / I would have you send by Lieut ... [the rest of the letter is tattered and illegible]

P.S. I dont Know as it is Possible to get A great Coat here / what I can Get further southward dont know would have you try.

Perhaps it is appropriate at this point to consider the instruments and equipment a regimental surgeon and surgeon's mate was expected to have on hand for treating wounds. The appended return not only lists surgical equipage, but also shows the poor state of supply in early 1776. It is hoped Jonathan Todd was better prepared for his autumn 1777 field service.

“Report of the several Returns made by the different Regimental Surgeons, of their Instruments & Bandages. Lint, Rags, Medicines, &c. agreeable to the Genl. Orders of feb: 25 1776. to this day. N.B. All the Instruments are private property. Some have made no Return.”

| <u>Surgeons Names</u> | <u>Regiments</u> | <u>Amputating Instruments</u> | <u>Pocket Do.</u> | <u>Lancets</u> | <u>Crooked Needles</u> | <u>Bandages & Linen</u> | <u>Lint</u> | <u>Turniquets</u> | <u>Knives</u> |
|-----------------------|------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------|----------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------|-------------------|------------------|
| John Homans S. | Col. Sargents | 1 Set | 1 Case | 2 Cases | 2 Cases | 40 Bandages | | | 1 Case |
| Silas Holmes – Mate | 16 th | | | | | 48 | 1 [lb?] 24 | | |
| James Freeland S | Learns | | 1 Do. | | | 10 | 1 | | |
| Asaph Fletcher S | Col. Robersons | | 1 Do. | | | | ½ | | |
| Wm. Rossater Mate | Col Webbs | | 1 | | 1 Do. | | | | |
| Wm Eutis S | Col Knox | 1 Do. | 1 | | 1 Do. | 96 | | | |
| Caleb G. Adams S | Col. Poors | 1 Do. Bad | 1 | 1 Do. | 1 Do. | 16 | | | |
| David Townshend S | Col. Whitcombs | | 1 Do. | | 1 Do. | 30 | ½ | | 1 Do. |
| Eliphalet Downs S | Col. Greatons | | | | | 16 | ½ | | 3 pr. of forceps |
| Isaac Spafford S | Col Nixons | 1 | 1 | | 1 Do. | 6 | | | |
| Wm. Magaw S | Col. Hands | 1 | 1 | | | | 1 | | |
| Elisha Story S | Col. Littles | | 1 | | | 32 & 29 ½ Sheets | | | |
| Elisha Perkins S | Col. Douglas | | 1 | | | | | | |
| John Spalding S | | | | | | 20 | | | |
| Saml. Adams S | Col. Phinneys | | 1 | | | 8 Yds. of linnen | | | |
| Lemuel Cushing S | 23 Reg | | 1 | | 1 | 80 | ½ | | |
| John Hart S | Col. Prescott | | 1 | | 1 | 30 | | | |
| Wm Prentice Mate | Col. Wards | | | | | 100 | 3 | | |
| Jon Adams Mate | Col. Reads | | | | | 30 | ½ | | |
| Thomas Welch S | Col. Hutchinson | | 2 | | 1 | 48 | 1 | | |
| Josiah Lord S | Col Smiths | | 2 | | | 24, 6 ½ sheets | | | |
| Joseph Joslyn S | Col. Varnums | 1 | 1 | | 1 | 200 | 3 | | |
| John Pitcher | Col. Bonds | | 1 | | 1 | 15 | ½ | | |
| Mr. Green | | | 1 | | | 18 | | | |
| | Col. Hutchcocks | I have lost the return | | | | | | | |
| | | 6 sets | 21 Cases | 2 Cases | 859 bandages & abt | | | 24 | 2 Cases |
| | | | | | 100 old sheets. | | | | |
| | | | | | abt 12 lb. of lint | | | | |

[All regiments noted to have “but few” medicines, except Hand’s (Dr. Magaw) which had “A good supply.”]

John Morgan

On the above I would remark that many of the Surgeons have paid no Attention to the Genl. orders, by neglecting to bring in their Returns – That in general they are but miserably supplied with Instruments, Bandages, Lint, Rags, &c. - & much worse with Medicines, some having None at all or next to None –

A Return of the Surgeons & Mates of B.G. Sullivans Brigade, examined agreeable to Orders &c

Isaac Spofford S[urgeon]: of Col. Nixons approved

Caleb G. Adams S of Col. Poors Do – but means to quit his Place

Mr. Green of _____ both sick – therefore not yet examined

Mr. Goss of Starks |

Mr. Parker _____ Mates - approved

Nathl Breed |

Nathl Burnap Mate Not qualified

one Mate declines Examination but his name is not come to hand. John Morgan

I have not had liesure to make out a List of Inst[ruments]: Bandages, Meds, necessary for each Regt. but shall at first Leasure I have given Directions in what Manner the Hospit[al] Surgeons are to assist the Reg. Surgeons at Roxbury ...

Caption for Map 1. (below)

Area of operations for Brig. Gens. James Varnum and Jedediah Huntington brigades, Maj. Gen. Alexander McDougall's Division, during the 1777 operations around Philadelphia, and the 1778 Monmouth Campaign. Detail from map of the Middle Colonies and Quebec, Lester J. Cappon, ed., *Atlas of Early American History - The Revolutionary Era 1760-1790* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), 4



“God Grant I may Always be Preserv'd ...”
The Battle of Germantown and Schuylkill Expedition, October 1777

McDougall's Division joined Washington's army in time to take part in the 4 October attack on British forces posted at and near Germantown, on the northern outskirts of Philadelphia. The battle was a hard fought affair, resulting in an American defeat, due as much to an overly ambitious battle plan and fog as to the fighting qualities of the opposing Crown forces. As a surgeon following the line of battle, Jonathan Todd gives a good ground-level view of the battle, including some of the action's salient features, such as fog and the back and forth nature of the affair. He ends by telling of the troops' high morale, being “determin'd to see it out this fall.”

Head Quarters, Skippack 28 Miles N.W. from Philadelphia 6th Octr 1777

Honord Father

After A Fatiguing March of 13 days We Ariv'd at about 21 Miles distant from Philadelphia here we Lay in the woods one Night Next day was order'd 4 Further on Towards Philadelphia where we Lay 2 days in the Woods, when we were order'd (about 6 oclock PM.) to advance & Attack the Enemy, at Germantown 7 Miles from Philadelphia the Whole Army March'd About 10 Miles in the Night without so Much as speaking A Loud word / just at day we arriv'd within 1 Mile from Town Where we form'd & the Attack began on their Right by Genll [John] Sullivan The Attack was made with great Spirit & Bravery. When the Enemy soon gave way our division was on the Left they began the attack / Immediately after we drove the Enemy 2 or 3 Miles & Killd many of the Enemy their whole force was Nearly Collected I supp[ose]d - the Morning was very foggy which was a great disadvantage to us we could scarce know our men from the Enemy - The Engagement Lasted Obstinate 4 hours when we had orders to retreat / in the beginning of the Engagement we Took 80 Prisoners & 11 Field Pieces but Lost the Field Pieces again - We sav'd all our own / the Number [of men] we Lost Cannot Yet Ascertain nor the Loss the Enemy sustain'd is not Yet Known but I believe the Loss was Considerable on both sides - I suppose A hotter fire was Never known both of small Arms & Field Pieces. The Battle was Very Generall it begun 25 Minutes after 5 & Lasted till 25 after 9 oclock Saturday ye 4 Oct. - Genll. Maxwell [actually Francis Nash of North Carolina] died Sunday Morning of the Wounds he Rec'd - Our Regt. far'd as well as any & shew'd as much Obedience to Order[s] / We lost 4 or 5 & had 4 Wounded Viz. Capt. [Theodore] Woodbridges Compy. 2 one shot thro the shoulder & one thro the Arm. Capt. [Albert] Chapmans Compy. 1 shot thro the thigh - Capt [Titus] Watsons 1 in the Arm / Capt. [Stephen] Hall's one slightly wounded in the Neck / Capts. Hall & [Aaron] Steven's Companies far'd Well - the other Regts in the division far'd much wors than we did. G[?] Colo. [Philip] Bradly [5th Connecticut] has 67 Men Missing

I am Pretty well got over the Fatigue of the Battle - I hope that I may have A right sence of the distinguishing goodness of god in sparing my life & limbs when so many fell in the Action - God Grant I may Always be Preserv'd when in the like danger or any other - I followed the Regt. to the Field where the smoke was so thick that I could not see a man 3 Rods [16.5 yards] - I dressd 17 or 18 Men. Wounded in different Parts I Extracted 4 balls by cutting in the oposite side from where they went in - I should Innevitably have fallen into the Enemies hands had not the Paymaster Lent me his horse to Ride down to the Attack. I was so Fatigued with marching all night & day without Eating that I could scarcely Walk. my cloths are all Blood [and] have none Clean to Put on as our baggage is gone upto Bethel[ehem, Pennsylvania] - I hope by the Next opportunity to give A mor Particular Account - The Enemy advanc'd nine miles this way - We are now Preparing for another Battle our Army are in good spirits and are determin'd to see it out this fall - I hope you wont Fail to write Every oppertunity - You none of you know the hardships of A soldiers life - much more the

shock it Give to Human Nature to hear such an Incessant fire & see [--] such Large Columns of smoke & fire & see Garments Rolld in Blood - I Hope I may be suffer'd to return [and] recount the many favors the Almighty has shown me - Give my duty to my Mother and sincere love to brothers & sisters - My Duty to Uncle & Aunt To Dr. Gales Family & tell him I hope to Give A more Correct Account pr. Osborn Stevens

I am Sr. your Obedient son,
J. Todd Jnr.



Private soldier of the 4th Connecticut Regiment as he would have appeared during the 1777 Philadelphia campaign.

(Photo courtesy of the recreated Corps of Sappers and Miners.)

<http://www.thecorpsofsappersandminers.org/Site/Welcome.html>

In his next letter Todd repeats J.P. Martin's mentions of poor and unvaried rations during the campaign, and corroborates Martin's account of a frustrated expedition against the enemy in late October. That affair resulted in two overnight marches, several crossings of the Schuylkill River, and a humorous incident associated with the doling out of a whiskey ration. (Todd's recounting of the expedition is in bold type below.)

Camp Church's Hill 12 Miles N.W.
Philadelphia 9th Nov 1777

Honour'd Father

I Gladly Embrace Every Opportunity to inform you of our situation - have Lately heard that Lieut. [Henry] Hill [1st Connecticut] of Say-Brook is to set off in the morning for home - have not at this time Leisure to scrawl over more than a foot or two square of Paper - Would inform you that I have wonderfully Endur'd the fatigues that of Late I have been requir'd to Endure - Would Give you A General Account of our Method of Living &c. Not to discourage others from Engaging in such A Cause as this nor that I would Murnur or Repine at my fate - but just for the Information of those that Indulge themselves in the downy Lap of Ease during the Present Crisis & Let them know what Soldiers do to Earn their 40s[hillings]. pr. Month - Since we Crossd the North River which is Now 2 Months we have drawn No other Provision than Fresh Beef & Flower - Salt we draw but Little not half Enough to season the Beef / Our Flower we Wet with Water & Roll it in dirt & Ashes to bake it in a Horrible Manner - Sauce [i.e., green leafy vegetables] is not to be Purchased without an Exorbitant price & then not half a supply - We scarce Tarry 2 days in A Place move so often we cant scarce get Straw to Sleep on tho' the Weather is Cold - Notwithstanding all those hardships our soldiers do their duty Cheerfully - A great Unanimity Prevails thr'o the Army - **On the 21st. Ult were ordered to Leave our Tents standing & to March at 6 oclock / we marched Westward to the SchuylKill which we forded about 11 oclock P.M. & Marched about 6 Miles South towards Philadelphia (in Pursuit of about 1500 Hessians which Lay Encampt about 2 miles from Philadelphia on the Opposite side of SchuylKill) when we were ordered to return. we forded the River about 4 A.M. on our Return - I suppose the Reason of our returning was that our force was not tho't sufficient - However the Next day were ordered off again with a Large Party forded the River again about 10 Oclock P.M. March'd all Night arriv'd at their Encampment about the dawn of day but too Late [as] the Rogues had Fled in the Night to the City & taken up their Bridge / we Burnt their Huts &c when we got nigh their Encampment our men were drawn up with a much Expectation of Action as tho' it had really Begun - Never was more Calmness & firmness seen in Troops - altho' the[y] Expectd no Quarters if they fell into the Enemy and they marched with Undauntd resolution to attack their Lines - our Troops were drawn up on a Battallion of A mile in Length supported by solid Colums & Field Pieces / they made a very Martial appearance - Altho we did not accomplish the Errant we went upon We taught Brittain that we Could Ford Rivers & march Night after Night & Endure hardships & Fatigues Equal [to] her [own?] Troops or Mercenaries - we Return'd that day & Forded the River again about 7 oclock PM & returnd to Camp about 10 oclock - For 2 days & 2 Nights we Marched almost constantly Neither Eat nor Slept Except A Little Fresh Beef some had in their Packs which they Eat as they Marched - one Pretty Material Circumstance of the SchulyKill Voyage I had Like to Omitted whilst we were in sight of the City their seem'd A heavy Canonade below at the Fort soon after a Terrible Explosion was heard & a Cloud of smoke arose which we soon found to Prove a 64 gun ship A Frigate of Georges Blown up by our Fireships / I would go on to describe the SchuylKill [-- -- --] you may find it trifling - it is A River 40 Rods [approximately 220 yards] wide & from 3 to 3 1/2 feet deep / the Water Runs Very Rapid - those Nights we Forded it were by far the severest we have had this Year the Ground was froze hard & Flow Ice to be found in some Places - how the soldiers stand it seems a Mystery / tho't I should half Froze altho' I Rode over the River - some of the men fell down all under water as it was dark & [a] stonny Bottom - the men forded the River with A Cheerfullness & Alacrity that would have Reflected the Greatest Honor on the Most Veteran Troops / Thro the Divine Interposition the Wet &**

Fatigues scarcely depriv'd one of us of health Which I Esteem a great Favor & Near A Miracle - I sprained my ankle A Little Owing to the hard march but it is nigh well - my situation this Year is Vastly different from Last - Last fall I Enjoyed the Blessings of Peace, Plenty, Safety, Ease &c [I] did not know what it was to march in the Night - Ford Rivers - Live in the Noise of Cannon & other warlike Instruments Go an Hungred [sic] or Eat what I call very ordinary Food [and] sleep on the Ground - we are now Encamp't on an Hill which we have Picqueted Round - I with Pleasure Congratulate you on the Victory obtain'd over the Colo. of the Queen's Light dragoons & hope that providence will so smile on our Arms that I shall be Able soon to Give you some Good Account [of] Sr. Wm [Howe] / Am sure we want nothing but men to do it for him with A Blessing on our side - was he in England situated as He is here not A man would be left in his Army in a weeks time - the Inhabitants here are neither Whig or Tory or any thing Else they are An Illiterate set of People very Unpolished mostly of the German Extract, Far Below my Expectation, A Few Excepted who live nigher the Capitol which are mostly Quakers [and] Consequently Neuter - the Country is a Miserable Barren soil, Very Little stock Except Horses ... butter is A Dol. pr. lb. other Commodities in Proportion - I wait Impatient Now for Stevens hope then to hear you all Enjoy Health I very much want to Get A Furlow this winter but dont much Expect to / Hope He who rules all things will so order it that I shall return in Peace & Repose with you all in his Goodness & Loving Kindness - the Lord hath Hitherto Preserv'd me when in danger [I] Trust he is still able to do it - Lastly my Hearty Prayer is that A Reformation may be Conspicuous & Peace be restord to this once happy Land - My duty with my Best Regards to Mother Love to all my Brothers & Sisters, duty to Uncle & Aunt - Tell Martha she has yet Got A Brother Besides those at home ...

P.S. you need not trouble yourselves about Clothes otherwise than send my Breeches pr. Stevens as I wrote

The highlighted section of Todd's letter above compliments Martin's account of the same incident, included here in its entirety:

About this time information was received at headquarters that a considerable body of British troops were advanced and encamped on the western side of the river Schuylkill, near the lower bridge, two or three miles from Philadelphia. Forces were immediately put in requisition to rout them from thence. Our brigade was ordered off, with some detachments from other parts of the army. We marched from camp just before night as light troops, light in everything, especially in eatables. We marched to a place called Barren Hill, about twelve or fifteen miles from the city. From here, about ten o'clock in the evening, we forded the Schuylkill where the river, including a bare gravelly island, or flat, which we crossed, was about forty rods wide, as near as I could judge, and the water about to the waist. It was quite a cool night, in the month of October; the water which we spattered on to our clothes froze as we passed the river. Many of the young and small soldiers fell while in the water and were completely drenched. We, however, got over and marched two or three miles on a dreary road, for that part of the country, surrounded by high hills and thick woods. All of a sudden we were ordered to halt. We were, to appearance, in an unfrequented road, cold and wet to our middles, and half starved. We were sorry to be stopped from traveling, as exercise kept us warm in some degree. We endeavored to kindle fires, but were ordered by the officers immediately to extinguish them, which was done by all except one, which having been kindled in a hollow tree could not be put out. I got so near to this that I could just see it between the men's legs, which was all the benefit that I derived from it.

We lay there freezing, about two hours, and then were ordered to fall in and march back again. About an hour before day we dashed through the river again, at the same place at which we had crossed the preceding evening, and I can assure the reader that neither the water nor weather had

become one degree warmer than it was then.

We went on the Barren Hill again, where we lay all the day, waiting, as it appeared, for reinforcements, which arrived and joined us towards night. We drew a day's ration of beef and flour, what was called a pound of each. The flour, perhaps, was not far from its nominal weight, but the beef was, as it always was in such cases, and indeed in all others in the army, not more than three fourths of a pound, and that, at the best, half bone. . . . After I had satisfied my hunger, I lay down upon the ground and slept till within about half n hour of sunset. When I awoke I was turned quite about; I thought it was morning instead of evening. However, I was soon convinced of my error, and the sun had the good manners to wheel about and put himself in his proper position again.

Just at dark, the reinforcements having arrived and all things being put in order, we marched again, and about nine or ten o'clock we tried the waters of the Schuylkill once more, at the same place where we crossed the preceding night. It was not so cold as it was then and the crossing was not so tedious, but it was bad enough at this time.

We marched slowly the remainder of the night. At the dawn of day we found ourselves in the neighborhood of the enemy. I mean in the neighborhood of where they had been, for when we were about to spring the net, we discovered that the birds had flown and there was not one on the bed. There was a British guard at a little distance from the bridge, upon the opposite side of the river. They turned out to do us honor and sent off an express to the city to inform their friends that the Yankees had come to pay them a visit, but they were so unmannerly as to take no notice of us. . . . We had nothing to do now but to return as we vame. Accordingly, we marched off slowly, hoping the enemy would think better of it and follow us, for we were loath to return without seeing them. However, they kept to themselves and we went on. I was hungry, tired and sleepy. About noon we halted an hour or two, and I went a little way into the fields, where I found a black walnut tree with plenty of nuts under it. These nuts are very nutritious, and I cracked and ate of the till I was satisfied.

We marched again. In the course of the afternoon, I somewhere procured about half a dozen turnips, which I carried all the way to camp in my hand, so much did we value anything that we could get to eat. About sunseting we again waded the Schuylkill, at a ford a little higher up the river. The river was not so wide here as at the former place, but the water was deeper . . . to the breast. When we crossed it had become dark, we met the quartermasters, who had come out to meet us with wagons and hogsheads of whiskey, thinking, perhaps, that we might take cold by being so much exposed in the cold water . . . The casks were unheaded, and the quartermaster sergeants stood in the wagons and dealt out the liquor to the platoons, each platoon halting as it came up, till served. The intention . . . was to give each man a gill of liquor [pronounced "jill"; four fluid ounces, equivalent to one-half cup or one quarter of a pint], but measuring it out by gills was tedious, so it was dealt out to us in pint measures, with directions to divide a pint between four men. But as it was dark and the actions of the men could not be well seen by those who served out the liquor, each one drank as much as he pleased; some, perhaps, half a gill, some a gill, and as many as chose it drained the pint.

We again moved on for the camp, distant about five miles. We had not proceeded far before we entered a lane fenced on either side with rails, in which was a . . . puddle. The fence was taken down on one side of the road, to enable us to pass round the water. It was what was called a five-rail fence, only the two upper rails of which were taken out; here was fun. We had been on the march since we had drank the whiskey just long enough for the liquor to assume its height of operations; our stomachs being empty the whiskey took rank hold and the poor brain fared accordingly. When the men came to the fence, not being able, many or most of them, to keep a regular balance between head and heels, they would pile themselves up on each side . . . swearing and hallooing, some losing their arms [weapons], some their hats, some their shoes, and some themselves. Had the enemy come upon us at this time, there would have been an action worth recording. But they did not, and we,

that is, such as could, arrived in camp about midnight, where “those who had remained with the stuff” had made up some comfortable fires for our accommodation.

Considering that Martin’s narrative of the frustrated mission was written some forty-five years after the event, it is fascinating that so many details and place names are extremely accurate when compared with contemporary accounts. Here then are additional narratives of the operation, giving us a more complete picture of its inception, the march and related events, and the participated units.

From headquarters in Whitpain Township, General Washington wrote Pennsylvania militia General James Potter,

Monday night, nine O’Clock, October 20, 1777.

Sir: As I understand that the Party of the Enemy, that crossed Schuylkill last night, are intended as a covering party to a Convoy of provisions that is expected up from Chester, I am determined to intercept them if possible upon their return. For this purpose, [Maj.] Genl. [Nathanael] Greene will march with a party this Evening, and I desire that you will hold yourself in readiness to join him with the Troops under your Command. If you should be above Minor Meeting House, you will immediately fall down to that place and there wait for General Green; but if you should be between Minor and Derby, you may wait upon your Ground, only sending an Officer to meet Genl. Greene at Minor Meeting and to conduct him to you. You will keep scouts constantly out upon the Road, to know whether the convoy has passed Derby upon its return, and you are to order your parties to stop every person going towards Chester, to prevent intelligence. You will also keep parties upon the Roads leading from the middle and from Grays Ferries, lest any more Troops should come over.

This initial plan was disrupted, the commander-in-chief writing again the next day,

Head Quarters, October 21, 1777 ... Owing to the Rain last night and the prospect, that it might be of long continuance, the Detachment which I wrote you about was prevented marching. One is now in motion for the same purpose. I wish you to obtain the best information you possibly can, respecting the Convoy that went to Chester, and to find out whether it has returned. That the object we have in view, may be facilitated, and the Detachment may not be liable to be intercepted, You will have all the Roads leading over Schuylkill properly waylaid and secured, to prevent the Enemy from receiving intelligence of their movement. The Road also to Province Island should be attended to, lest they should get intelligence thro' that channel by the Tories and disaffected. I need not suggest to you the propriety of secrecy on this occasion. You will know that much depends upon it. If from your scouts or any other authentic advices, you find that the Convoy has returned to Philadelphia, you will immediately send to Genl. McDougall who commands the Detachment, that he not continue his march. He will pass Schuylkill at Reese App Edward's Ford, or be on the Route leading to it. Should the Convoy not have returned, some prudent, intelligent Officers from your Brigade, should be dispatched to meet the Genl. at the Ford, that he may know how and where to form a junction with you. It will be also necessary to procure, two or three well affected Country Gentlemen or Farmers, acquainted with the Country to join him there, for the purpose of conducting him by the necessary Routs.

Colonel Elias Dayton, 3rd New Jersey Regiment, left this detailed description of ensuing events and tells us that Maj. Gen. William Alexander, Lord Stirling’s Division of New Jersey and Pennsylvania troops, also participated:

[Whitpain] Township, 16 miles from Philadelphia, October 22d. - At three o'clock in the afternoon we marched with about 3000 men under the command of General McDugle, with the design to attack a party of the enemy said to consist of two thousand men, who were supposed to be an escort for a 100 wagon loads of provisions and ammunition expected from Wilmington. We began to ford the Schuylkill at 10 o'clock at night. After crossing it, we marched about three miles, when it was discovered the enemy did not advance any further than Darby, at which place they halted a few hours and returned and posted their right wing on the Schuylkill; the left up the Darby road 1 1/2 miles. Several small works was thrown up to secure the left from being surprised.

In consequence of this intelligence, after remaining about three hours very cold and uncomfortable, we recrossed at the same place and marched about two miles to Barren Hill Church, struck up fires in the woods, eat some victuals, and spent the whole day in eating and sleeping, many of the men being barefooted, and the night by far the coldest this season. I was much distressed on their account, and they complained much of the hardship. In the evening of the 23d we were joined by a detachment of 500 men from the main army, with orders to make a second attempt upon the King's troops. We crossed the same ford as before about 11 o'clock at night, marched about two miles to Meriam Meeting House, and halted until after three o'clock, when the whole party was ordered to march and attack the enemy in their posts precisely fifteen minutes after five o'clock. Gen. [William] Maxwell's Brigade was to attack the left flank, General [Thomas] Conway the next in their front and to the left of Maxwell, General Huntingdon next to Conway, and General Vernon [Varnum] on the enemy's right, on or very near the Schuylkill.* In this order we marched forward and got to the place where the enemy was expected just as the sun rose, but to our very great astonishment and mortification the enemy had in the preceding night moved all over into Philadelphia, and broken up the bridge which they had over the Schuylkill; and so very private were they in moving off that the inhabitants that lived within one hundred yards of their lines knew nothing of their flight. They had begun to build two or three redoubts, and to throw up lines of a considerable extent. They had completed a number of very good huts, built of rails, hay and sods, which were set on fire by our people, although it was contrary to my opinion, as both the hay and rails might have been of use to the distressed inhabitants. We were ordered with the first and third Jersey regiments to surround the house of one Bartow on the banks of the Schuylkill. In this house it was expected we should find a number of Hessians and Highlanders, but they had gone the night before. At this place I had a full view of Ft. Mifflin, or Mud Island; three large ships of the enemy lay before it; two appeared to be at anchor [actually run aground], the third frequently put about and fired her broadsides by turns. I took particular notice of the number of shots fired at this attack, and found they fired six a minute for six hours. During the time I was looking on, our people in the fort seemed quite easy, and very seldom fired a single shot. The firing from the shipping began about 6 o'clock in the morning, and about 12 o'clock one of the largest ships [the *Augusta*] blew up. At this time our troops were halted to refresh near Meriam Meeting House; the explosion was almost equal to an earthquake, and from the prodigious cloud of smoke seen immediately to ascend into the air, every one concluded a ship was destroyed. On our march, about 2 1/2 hours after the first, we heard a second explosion, and saw the smoke ascend as at first, which we saw and [--] with much satisfaction, as we assured ourselves a second ship was destroyed.

* Viz. (right) British line (left)

{Schuyl.} Varnum, Huntingdon, Conway, Maxwell
(left) American line (right)

Washington acknowledged the troops' efforts in general orders for 24 October:

Altho' the enterprize under General McDougall proved fruitless, by reason that the enemy had abandoned the post intended to have been attacked, yet the Commander in Chief deems his thanks due to the officers and men, detached for that service, who two nights successively, crossed and recrossed the Schuylkill, and to those also, under Generals Sullivan and Greene, who were designed to facilitate General McDougall's operation, for the fortitude and chearfulness with which they went thro' the night marches and fatigues, which occurred in the expedition.

**“So small A Garrison never attaind Greater achievements ...”
Forts Mifflin and Mercer, and Maneuvers in New Jersey, November 1777**

As Private J.P. Martin wrote, “Soon after this affair [the marching and countermarching across the Schuylkill in late October 1777] our two Connecticut regiments [Durkee’s 4th and Chandler’s 8th] ... were ordered off to defend the forts on the Delaware River, below the city [Philadelphia].” He referred to Fort Mercer, on the New Jersey side of the river, and Fort Mifflin, on Mud Island, near the Pennsylvania shore. Fort Mercer had been attacked by a force of German troops on October 22nd, the assault being repulsed by the garrison of Rhode Island troops.

Col. Israel Angell’s 2nd Rhode Island Regiment, Varnum’s Brigade, had been one of those assigned to defend Fort Mercer in early October. Angell noted the arrival of the rest of the brigade in early November: “2nd [November 1777] This Day General Varnum Arived in Camp, and 200 of his Brigade that Came with him Come to fort Mercer about 8 oClock in the Evening. The Remainder part of the Detachment went to woodbury.” Some portion of the 4th Connecticut crossed to Fort Mifflin and served there during the siege, as evidenced by the 19th century pension deposition of Private Jared Hinckley and a note in Heitman’s register of Revolutionary officers that 4th Regiment Capt. Stephen Brown was killed at Mifflin on 15 November, one day before the fort was evacuated. As Private Martin testified, elements of the 8th Connecticut also fought at Mifflin. (See Martin, *Private Yankee Doodle*, 80-95.)

Following are several accounts of the siege by men serving under Varnum, plus two descriptions of the aftermath by British officers. First, Sgt. Jeremiah Greenman of the 2nd Rhode Island noted that on the same day the 4th and 8th Connecticut Regiments reached the vicinity of Fort Mercer, “Genl. Varnum’s Brigade with about eleven hundred men went about 3 miles below this fort.” That contingent likely contained some companies of the two newly arrived regiments, and the Rhode Island units, along with a force of New Jersey militia. Next follows Col. Angell’s recounting of the siege:

10th [November 1777] -- This day the Enemy Opened five new Batteries on fort Mifflin, which played briskly During the whole day, and the Evening until nine oClock, but did no great Dammage.

11th -- The Bombarding and Cannonading begun early this morning, at nine oClock this morning, a Shocking Accident happened in our fort at Red Banks, our french Enginear burst one of our Guns, an Eighteen Pounder, and killed one Benjamin Ross belonging to Colo. Greens Regt. and wounded Ten more men ... in the length of this day I believe there has ben Six hundred Shott and Shells fired at fort Mifflin. Capt. Treet of the Artillery was killd and Two or three more. About

Eight oClock in the Evening there was a firing of Cannon and Small Arms, occasioned by Some Vessels running by fort Mifflin of the Enemys.

12 -- the cannonading and Bumbarding Still Continues very heavey on fort mifflin, and Remained So during the day. General Varnom ordered a battery erected down the River about two miles from Red banks against the English Ships which was fired upon the whole Day by the English Ships. I believe not less than Eight hundred Shott have bin fired at the Battery this Day. in Yesterdays Jornal I mentioned three men being killd [at Fort Mifflin] but am Sinc informed it was five.

13th -- the Seige of fort mifflin Still Continues as Sevear as it has bin any time before, though we had but one man killed and three wounded this day. the Siege Continues night and Day.

14th -- this Morning the Seig was hotter than it had bin before as the Enemy brought a Large floating Battery out of the Schyulkill, but She was Soon Silenced, by our fort, and Sunk, also a two Gun Battery they had Erected on the Shore was Soon Silenced. we had four men killd and wounded at Fort mifflin this day. Major [Simeon] Thayer went over to fort mifflin last night to take the Command of that post. the french Enginear burst a 24 pounder in the fort at Red Banks this afternoon, in proving her. he had no more judgment than to put in 20 pounds of powder and two wads and two balls.

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

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

17th -- Colo. Greene has this Day wrote to his Excellency [i.e., General Washington] Representing the State of our Garrison as the garrison Appears to be of little Consequence Since fort Mifflin is lost. our fleet is all on the wing up to timber Creek. we are a fortifying with all possible Speed against the River, as we Expect an attack Soon.

18th -- There has bin a great Movement of the Enemy to day at Schyulkill ferry[,] province Island, and mud Island. at billings port they have bin burning All the Buildings but what their Design is Cannot be Easily known. this Afternoon General Knox Came to our Garrison from head quarters with Genl. St. Clair and one or two more frenchmen. there was a movement of the Enemy at billings port this aftrenoon.

Nov. 19th -- By intelligence Rec^d. last night from two Deserters from billingsport we Expected to be attackt this morning, but it was my opinon that they was Sent out with a design to Decoy us and put us to flight that they might git off them Selves with Safty. our Sittuation was Such that had we ben beseigd with a Superior force the Garrison must have fallen a Sacrifice, as they might attack us by Land and water at one and the Same time, and we Could have no Retreat, and the post being of no Consequence to us. Since the Enemy had gotten a pass by water to philadelphia

we thought proper to avacuate the post [Red Bank] and by the Inteligence from the Deserters we thought we Should not be able to Save the Stors. So marcht of[f] the troops leaving a Sufficent number behinde that in Case the Enemy Should advance to destroy the maggazien and Stores the Greatest part of the troops went as far as haddenfield. Two hundred of the troops went back to Red Banks to git off the Stores as the Enemy did not Advance on them. I went this morning as far as hadenfield, there Rested my Self then went on to morris town Then I mett L^t. [Elias] Thomson of Col Greens Reg^t with Cloathing for our troops and I tarried there that night.

20th -- I tarried in Mors town untill twelve oClock as there was five men left in the meeting hous belonging to the Servis and no officer with them. The men Extreemly bad wounded, I procured a waggon to Carry them to Burlington. There left them in the hospital and got lodging for my Self at Mr. Levi Murrils, I have heard nothing from the army Except that General Huntingtons Brigad Crost at dunk ferry as a Reinforcement for the troops at Red Banks.

Conditions inside Fort Mifflin after its occupation attested to the tenacity of the defense. On November 16th, "At ½ past seven ... a boat with some [British] sailors landed at the Fort on Mud Island and took down the rebel colors." Sir William Howe's secretary Ambrose Serle noted of the sight, "nothing surely was ever so torn and riven by cannon-Balls. A more dismal Picture of Ruin can scarce be conceived," while Capt. John Andre, Maj. Gen. Charles Grey's aide-de-camp, recorded "every gun [was] dismounted, and a great many dead bodies were found, scarce covered in the trous de loups or ditches." Lt. Loftus Cliffe, 46th Regiment, passed the fort on the 16th,

and such ruin would amaze you, that a Man should be left alive in it, indeed they must have suffered greatly in it for I am told that when our People came on it, it was one clot of Blood; every Corner containes Limbs Skin & Gutts. Is supposed they lost 70 men in it; the few that were in it must have been brave fellows ...

Prior to November 20th, McDougall's Division had yet to operate as a single entity, with the composite units stationed on both sides of the Delaware River. According to Surgeon Todd's accounting, Huntington's Brigade, along with the 4th and 8th Connecticut Regiments, marched from Peekskill on 18 September, joining Washington's army on October 1st. The Connecticut regiments then participated in the Battle of Germantown on 4 October. The 4th and 8th Regiments marched for the river forts on October 24th or 25th, arriving in time for elements of both units to participate in the siege of Fort Mifflin. The 1st and 2nd Rhode Island Regiments under General Varnum did not cross the North (Hudson) River at King's Ferry until 30 September, reaching Bucks County, Pennsylvania, on October 7th. Still in Bucks County, they were ordered to Fort Mercer, where they arrived on the 11th.

As noted by Colonel Angell, the day after the evacuation of Red Bank Huntington's Division had crossed the Delaware at Dunk's Ferry, between Bristol, Pennsylvania and Burlington, New Jersey, on their way to join General Varnum. Huntington's men marched in advance of Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene's Division, on their way to oppose a force of 8,000 troops under Lt. Gen. Charles Earl Cornwallis, which landed at Billingsport, south of Red Bank, on 18-19 November. Greene wrote General Varnum for information from the Jersey side of the river:

Burlington 12 oClock Nov 21, 1777

Sir I make no doubt are acquainted with the marching of the troops of my division. I am at a loss respecting your situation, the condition of Fort Mercer, or the operations of the Enemy in the Jerseys. A report prevails here this morning that Fort Mercer is evacuated and the fleet below

burnt. You please to inform me as to the truth of the reports, where you are, where the enemy is, and where you think a junction of our forces can be easiest form'd, and also if you think an attack can be made upon the enemy with a prospect of success. General Glovers Brigade are on their march to join us and Morgans Corps of rangers. General Huntington's Brigade I immagin will be with you today.

Varnum's troops were then at Mount Holly, ten miles southeast of Burlington, while Cornwallis's soldiers completed the destruction of Fort Mercer.

General Greene hoped to pit his 7,500 man detachment against the British before they crossed to Philadelphia, and finalized his plans for the event:

... The Following is the order of Battle.

General Varnums and General Huntingtons Brigades form the Right wing, General Varnums Brigade on the right of the wing, Huntingtons on the left. The right wing is to be commanded by General Varnum. General Muhlenbergs and General Weedons Brigades form the left wing. General Muhlenbergs the left of the left wing and General Weedons the right of the left wing. General Muhlenberg commands the left wing.

General Glovers Brigade forms the second line. Colo Haits and Colo Hathaway's militia form upon the right flank. Colo Ellis militia and Morgans light Corps cover the left flank. In posting the officers in the Regiment the Officers are to posted with their men without regard to rank, there being great Inconveniency resulting in action by the officers being remov'd from their own men.

In marching to action the Brigades are to march in Regimental columns. The officers leading the Regimental columns are to take special care in advancing that they preserve their proper distances from each other so as to be able to form the line if necessary. A Company to be Detached as an advance Guard to the Heads of the Columns. The Reserves to the wings to march in Columns in the rear of the center of each Brigade and to be in readiness to Join for the Support of either Brigades or to act separately for the Support of the Brigades from which they were detach'd.

The Second line to march in Regimental columns in the rear of the center of the first line, about four hundred yards, ready to support any part that should be hard prest.

The Artillery to be immediately under the direction of the Commanding officers of the Brigades to march and take post where they direct. The Militia and light troops are to endeavour to gain the flanks of the Enemy, but more especially to prevent them from gaining ours.

Despite these plans, at 4 P.M. on November 25th, Greene notified the commander-in-chief, "This moment received intelligence the enemy are embarking from Gloucester and crossing over to Philadelphia." Washington, thinking the British intended to concentrate their forces and attack while his army was divided, ordered General Greene's detachment to return to Pennsylvania as quickly as possible.

Following a gap in his surviving diaries, Captain Brigham continues his narrative in mid-November after participating in events at Forts Mercer and Mifflin,

On ye 20th [November 1777] I went on [guard] at the G[enerals] Quarters ... all ye Tro[o]ps paraded [at] 4 o'Clock

On ye morn [of the 21st] there was Considerable fireing / this morning we marched to mount halle [Mount Holly, N.J.] where we arrived about 2 or 3 o'Clock and found G Huntington Brigade in Town / I was Relieved from my Guard about 7 o'Clock.

The 7th Connecticut did not arrive in time to take part in the actions at the forts, but Surgeon's

Mate Todd still had tidings of the campaign to pass on to his father.

Camp Mount Holly N. Jersey 21.st Nov.r 1777

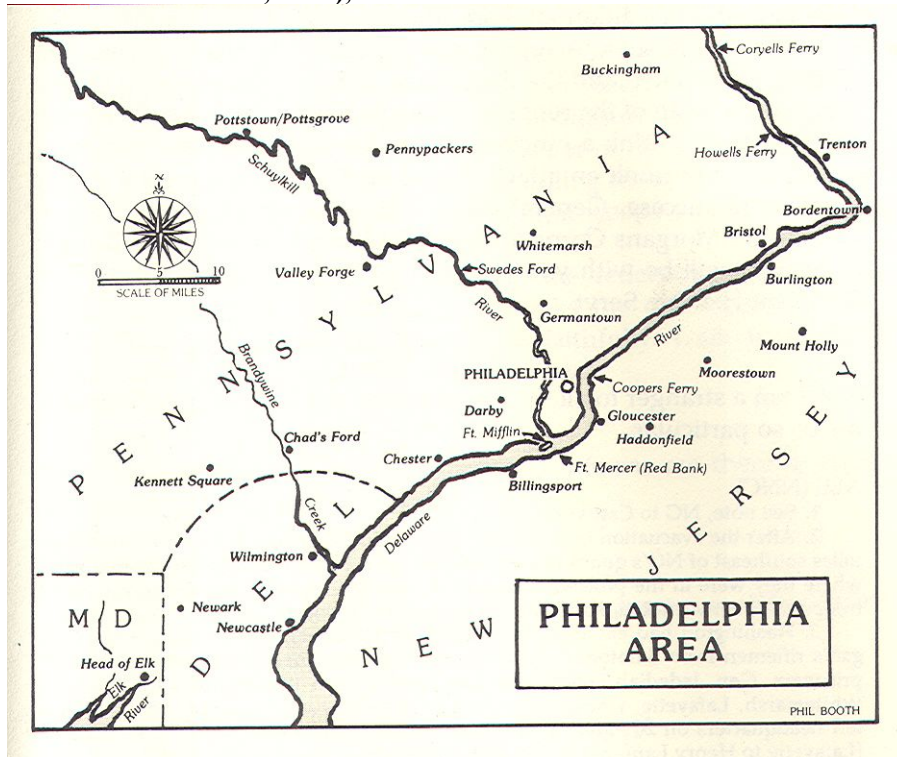
Honour'd Father

I Rec'd Yours pr. Mr. Stevens Which Gives me Great satisfaction to hear You are all Enjoying the Blessing of health - I had not heard from you so Long was Afraid to hear - Thanks be to God he Continues many Blessings in our Family Yet - Since my Last pr. Lt. Hill [Henry Hill, 1st Connecticut?] of Pochaug [?] have nothing very Material Thro' the Divine Blessing I have recovered from my Late Indisposition & now Enjoy Health Even beyond my Expectation Considering my being Harrass'd about so much & the Inclement Season - I sincerely Thank You & my mother for the jacket stockings &c Which I have duly Rec'd - I wrote by Mr. Fenn Informing you of the Recpt of the Great coat &c which I again thank you for I shoud have suffer'd for the want of it & mittens / Am Very sorry that Letter Miscarried as it Contain'd some Intelligence Mr. Fenn was a going to Stratford - Am Extremely sorry you could not send my Breeches as those I now have are almost worn out Expect to Buy some if I can - would have Mr. Jocelin sell my watch if he Can for 50 Dollars & you dont have an opportunity to [--] it to me - Dr. [Isaac] Swift [surgeon, 7th Connecticut] will likely go home soon when he returns Expect if my Health & life is spard to Get a Furlow Perhaps in February - As to the Propriety of [surgeon's] mates Going to Battle I believe it is Proper - the Invalads are sent off to the Hospital - as to Money have scarce any have never Rec'd but 30 Dollars of the Paymaster have more than an 100 due / the Paymaster is now Absent - whilst the money is in his hans its safe - Since my Last we had one man shot thro the head & one Taken [prisoner] as they were out on a scouting Party they belongd to Capt. [Titus] Watsons Compy [of] our Regt. A Striking Instance of the Danger soldiers are always in - I am thankfull we have Left Pennsylvania - Yesterday we came from head Quarters & Passd the Delaware at Dunks Ferry 12 Miles above Philadelphia & A little below Burlington we were a going to Red Bank but heard the fort was Evacuated - Fort Mifflin was Evacuated after standing all [Sir William] Hows Cannon more then 5 weeks - Perhaps so small A Garrison never attaind Greater achievements than that did / 5 Batteries 2 sloops & one ship or rather Floating battery which had Got above the Chevaux De Frize Fird for six days Constantly on the Fort before our People Evacuated it / three times they were repulsd as they Attempted to storm it many of their men fell - they got in the Tops & Rigging of the ship in order to fire - from whence they were shot off[f] Like Squirrels - The fort was so damaged & the Cannon dismounted that the fort was tho't no Longer Tenable / on Saturday they Evacuated it saving the Stored & some Cannon - We Lost About 100 men in Killd & wounded - some fine Officers from Connecticut & some men - Amongst the Slain are Capt. Brewer [possibly Stephen Brown] of Durkee's [4th Connecticut Regiment] & Capt. [Nathan] Stoddard [killed 15 November] of Chandlers [8th Connecticut] / the Former was a Gentleman of my Acquaintance & A Very worthy and brave man - we heard this morning fort Mercer was Evacuated I Suppose it Could not be held after the other was Given up - hear there are a Number of Troops Landed on this side Expect A battle with them soon the Lord Give us Victory & Grant that Peace may be Restord - the Lord Prepare us all for what we have to go thr'o in this Life & Prepare us for an Eternal World of Rest - is the Prayer of your Dutifull Son

Jonth Todd

Caption for Map 2. (below)

Map of Pennsylvania and New Jersey where Washington's army, including the troops of McDougall's Division, faced the British army under Gen. Sir William Howe from August 1777 to June 1778. Richard K. Showman, ed., *The Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, vol. II (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), 201.



“Nothing to cover us But ye heavens ...”

The Whitemarsh Encampment and Early Days at Valley Forge, December 1777

In the meantime, the Connecticut and Rhode Island regiments which had occupied or supported the river forts were on their way back to the main army, now in a fortified position at Whitemarsh, Pennsylvania. Captain Brigham's narrative continues:

on 22 Lay Still in Quarters Col Morgans Regt came into Town [Mount Holly, New Jersey] / I went to See the Iron works and Sliting mill ...

on monday 24th worked all Day upon pay Rolls and muster Rolls had orders to be Ready to march on ye morning of 25th Very Pleasent for the Time of year / our Boys [servants] Bought a Chease and Gave ten Dollars one half and half a Quarter which was £3:3:9 / had orders to wait for further orders about marching I went out of Town to an old Hermit that had Lived 24 years in the woods with[out?] any [fire] as he Informed me / his Beard was about 4 Inches Long and Somwhat Gray as he was 64 years old / as I was Returning I Gave one Six of a Doller for one Dozen of Poor apples / about Sundown our Briggade was ordered to march and marched / this night I Lay cold

on ye morning of ye 26th Expectd to move our Tents and Bagage after our Troups But we waited

for orders all Day / I Lo[d]ged in Town this night

on ye 27th Expected our Troups Back again they ariveed about Sundown Esqr [Patten?] and mr Brewster ariveed with a Quantity of Cloathing for Coventry men / I went on ye Provost Guard and had the Care of 20 Prisoners

On ye 28th marched to Burlington [New Jersey] and Crossed ye [Delaware] River to Bristol [Pennsylvania] / about Dusk had orders and marched to folearends [Four Lanes End, present-day Langhorne, Pennsylvania] where I Tarried with my Guard our Tro[o]ps ware in ye woods without any Tents and it was a Stormy night with hail and Rain Exceeding Bad for ye Poor men

on ye 29th a Stormy Day I Lay Still all Day with my Guard / our Brigade marched before Break of Day in ye midst of ye Storm / I heard this Evening that the Enemy had Got within 3 miles of Burlington and our Bagage had not Got over

On Sunday 30th I marched with my Guard Very Early and come and marched to Crooked Billet and from thence about 3 miles and Staid all night

on ye 1 Day of December marched my Guard Very Early to Head Qr [at White Marsh] and Got Instructions and then Delivered them into ye Provost and Took a [illegible] for them then [came and?] ... Joined the Re[giment] ... [pagenote states "The captain made the following entry in his diary for December 1, 1779: "this Day Complets 2 years Since our Brigade arived at White Marsh Hill where we Joined the Grand Army again after we had Left Forts Mifflin and Mercer ..."] [Entries for several days missing due to torn page]

On ye 5th about 4 o'Clock the whole Camp was alarmd and Regit out until Sun an [h]our high / the alarm Continued all Day our Tents and Bagage was Sent of[f] and we continued all Day and night in our huts / some Scarmishing happed this Day / Very Cold and Tedious it was

on ye 6th [pleasant?] and Still Cold ...

[Entries for several days missing due to torn page]

... And I Slept Quite Comfortable Turned out Early and Expected to Come to a General Action Early on ye morn of ye 8th But ye Day Passed until Evening and no action

on the 9th it was Reported that ye Enemy was Gone into philadelphia at Day Break / I went to See their [fires] But could Discover none – Cold and winday this Day / I went out of Camp and Got me a Diner / had a cold night

on ye 10th Clear and Cold / made me a new hut and Did not Enjoy it all night for we had orders to be Ready to march at 4 o'clock in ye morning / this Day I had the [intelligence] that Jephura Titus was Dead and had ben Some Days [actually Titus, an eight-month levy, was discharged on 1 January 1778]

on ye 11th was up at 3 o'Clock and a Cold morning it was / the whole army was on ye move this morning and part of our army crossed Schuylkill [River] and found ye Enemy there and we Could not Pass / Some of ye Miletia that had Got acrost ware [made] Prisoners / our Brigade Lo[d]ged in a wood about 15 miles from ye City / I and my Company had nothing But ye heavens for our Covering this Cold frezeing night

on ye 12 a Pleasent morning But Clouded up and Looked Likely for a Storm / Ens [Joshua] Tilden [8th Connecticut] Got Liberty to Leave ye Service / Toward night it began to Storm with Snow and Continued Snowing all night / ye army Crossed ye River / Sergt Merrifield came into Camp this Day and Brought a man to Take his Place [[Abraham Merryfield was in Captain Brigham's company. Connecticut soldiers could hire a substitute to obtain a discharge or temporary release from service.]

Sunday 14th Expectd to march Early But Did not march

monday the 15th Lay out and nothing to cover us But ye heavens for 4 nights Together / I went out of Camp about 2 miles / had orders to march at 1 o Clock

on Tuesday 16th morning Lay Cold Last nigt had a Rainy Day and Did not march / had a uncomfortable Day and Lay on ye wet Ground / had News that Part of Capt Tammange

[Talmadge's?] Compy was Taken by ye Enemy Light Hors
 wensday 17th wet and Bad for ye men / Last night Some have fits and Some Cholicks Lying on ye
 wet Ground / Bought a mare of Colo to Ride home / Expected to march this Day But Did not
 On ye 18th Being the Continental Thanksgiveing Lay Still and Did not march / it Still continued
 Rainy and Dull weather / I kept Thanksgiving without Eateing any Bread all Day our Beaf was Poor
 and no Sauce and allowance Very Short
 On ye 19th Last night it Cleared of[f] / Cold this morning / Loaded our Tents and prepared to
 march at a moments Warning / about 9 o'Clo[ck] marched Through ye mud 5 or 6 miles and Picked
 our Tents / I went a Little out of ye Road and Staid all night
 on ye 20th went into Camp it was Cold and Clear / Provisions Very Poor and Scarce / not Enough
 to Seport the men

Just after reaching Valley Forge on the 19th, Jonathan Todd penned a small note, perhaps an unfinished letter, with some jottings and interesting military commands on it; the last were perhaps distracted scribbling, but the phrases likely echo officers' directives given on the parade ground or in the field:

Valley Forge one Mile West [of the] SchuyllKill
 20 Northwest [of] Philadelphia Decr. 20th 1777

Jack Srout Returnd from Philadelphia Yesterday Where he has been With a Flagg and
 Informs that the Enemy Have Gone into Barracks for [the] Winter. Likewise Genll. Howe
 Calls our Encampment Log Town -

Your heads up! Your Peices Dressed!

Yesterday afternoon Yesterday [illegible word]
 Yesterday is Gone forever

Close Your Ranks!
 Frome the right & Left wings
 form Battallion! March!
 Grenadiers Front!
 Light Infantry form!

Captain Brigham's diary:

on ye 21th Last night I had a Sick night / Pleasent for ye Time of year
 on ye 22th Still Continued not well / the Doctr advised me to Go out of Camp to Se if I could not
 Recrute my health / I traveld almost all Day before I could fined any Where that I Could Tarry / at
 Last I Got a Place at one George Veslars
 On Tuesday 23d I took a Vommit which made me Sick Enough / Clouday and Looked Likely for
 Snow all Day
 on ye 24th Last night it cleared of[f] / Cold and Clear / Sent Conant [Sawyer, Brigham's brother-
 in-law and private soldier in his company] into Camp this morning / he Came out to Se me a Little
 before night and Returned Back again
 On ye 25th Clouday and Cold / Christmas we have This Day / Cannon ware heard This morning /
 Towards night it began to Snow But it Snowed But Little / in ye Evening there Came an officer and

Took up his Lo[d]gings at my Lanlords that had Ben in ye Russian Service 4 years and a half a Garman By Birth who Gave me a Cosiderable acount of the war with the Turks

In one of two letters Todd wrote from Valley Forge he tells of a "Continental Thanksgiving," the difficulties of hut building, clothing issues, and the death of a black soldier in his regiment.

Camp Valley Forge one Mile West of SchuylKill &
20 [miles] NW of Philadelphia 25th Decr. 1777

Honour'd Father

I write now pr. Mr. Elisha Crane who came to Camp Yesterday - He Bro't A Letter from My Honour'd Master Doctor [Benjamin] Gale, but none from you, for which Am Sorry, Likely you did not Know of his Coming - Since I wrote you pr. Ensn. [Gershom] Willcox [Sherburne's Additional Regiment] have nothing Remarkable - but Just to inform that I am Hearty for which I desire to return hearty Thanks to my Great Benefactor - I know If I put my Trust in him I shall be Protected in all times of Danger - Can assure you that I never saw A Christmas when I had no other Covering than Tow Cloth before - On the Day appointed for the Continental Thanksgiving We drew 1/2 Gill of Rice pr. man which with Beef & Flower were the dainties of our Feast - We are now about to build Hutts for shelter this winter Expect in A Few days to be Comfortable, tho we have nothing Convenient to work with - Axes are Very scarce - the Adjutant, Q.M. Chaplain, Paymaster, & 2 Doctors all are to live in one Hutt / we have but one Dull ax to build A Logg Hutt When it will be done know Not - I hear that yesterday our Out Parties took 13 Light Horse & 10 Dragoons - Our soldiers are now well Cloathed & in good spirits alth'o they have been almost Naked & Very scarce allow'd for Provisions. 2 Days we were without Entirely - but now we have a plenty from Connecticut - Connecticut hath done beyond Account as to Clothing[*] - hope that selfish & Oppressive spirit is abating amongst you - Would not have you sending Leather breeches as I wrote for - but hope you wont forget my shirt and watch by no means - should be glad of A handkerchief but dont much Expect it - I would have daddy have my Leather breeches - I have got a New Pair of Leather Breeches & shoes I have A plenty - Dr. Swift went home Last Sunday upon A furlow of 35 Days - When he Returns [it is] probable I can have A furlow for A short time - shall try for one if the Weather is not too bad - God grant that we may all Endure with Patience Whatever is assigned us here & At Last be Rec'd to A World of bliss - My Love to all Friends - I Remain Your Son -

Jonathan Todd

26th Decr. Since Writing Yesterday - Jethro A Negro from Guilford belonging to Capt. [Stephen] Halls Compy. Died in his Tent the first man that hath died in Camp belonging to our Regt.

(* Note: Other state's regiments did not fare so well. The men of the New Jersey Brigade began the year in a ragged and ill-clad condition. As Capt. William Gifford of the 3rd Regiment wrote on 24 January from "Camp at Valley Forge": "... I fancy we may give up our Notions of Jersey & Content ourselves in these Wigwams this winter / We have a large Army in every respect fit ... for Action, Tho' some are very bare for Clothes, I wish with all my heart our State wou'd make better Provision for our Brigade, respecting Clothing & other necessaries than they do, if they had any Idea of the hardships we have & do undergo, they Certainly wou'd do more ... than they do. I assure you Sir we have had a very severe Campaign of it, since we came in this State." William Gifford to Benjamin Holme, Camp at Valley Forge, 24 January 1778, Revolutionary War Documents, New Jersey Historical Society.)

Captain Brigham, 4th Connecticut, related daily events in the early days at the Valley Forge

winter camp, until his furlough home on January 18th:

on ye 26th Clowday and Cold / I went into Camp This Day and Returned Towards Evening / it Began to Storm before I Got home
on ye 27th it Stormed all night / Clowday and Dull weather this Day
on Sunday 28th Last night it Snowd and Still Continued to Storm all Day / I scarcely went 40 Rods from the house
on ye 29th Last night it Cleared of[f] / Very Cold / I went into Camp this [day] and Sufferd much with ye Cold before I Got home to my Q[uartern]s / we had a most Severe Cold night for ye Time of year ...
[Nondescript entries for the 30th and 31st omitted]
on ye 1st of January [1778] I went into Camp Returnd at Evening ...
on ye 3rd finished my Pay and Muster Roll for December
on ye 4th Being Sunday I went into Camp / our Regt was mustered [inspected] / I went out of Camp and Tarried all night
on ye 5th I went into Camp Early and began work upon my House
on ye 6th worked all Day upon my hut / 4 officers went for furlows this Day
on ye 7th worked on my hut
on ye 8th Spent all Day over halling Cloathing accounts [per] orders [informed?] that a Soldier in 2 [Pennsylvania?] Battallion is to Suffer Death
on ye 9th went on a G[eneral] Court Martial and Towards night went of[f] camp as far as my old friend [Alexanders]
on ye 10th a fine Pleasent Coll[d] morning / Set out for Camp arived in Camp found Ensn [Jackson?: probably Nathan Jackson of Capt. David Smith's company] under Arest
Sunday 11th Very snowy Day as I almost Ever Saw
on ye 12th Very Pleasent Day as almost you will See for the Time of year / I aplied for a furlow and was Denied / a Sergt whiped one hundred Lashes on ye Naked Back
on ye 13th Last night was Very Cold and frezeing night
on 14th I went out of Camp 5 miles and Returned at Evening
on 15 I went on fatigue at the New Bridge and it was Exceding Cold Day
on the 16th Last night was Cold / Sergt Mitchell Came out of Philadelphia and Informd that our Prisoners Suffered Very much
on 17th Very Stormy Day / I again aplied for a furlow as there was 2 capt's appointd in our Regt yesterday / did not obtain [it]
on 18th Very Stormy yesterday and Last night / This morning I obtained a furlow / Clear and Cold in ye afternoon / Set out and Crossed Schuy'l Kil and went as far as [Haffilfingers?]

“This is a very Different Spirit in the Army ...”

Wintering Over at Valley Forge and Spring Training, January to June 1778

Only two letters remain from Jonathan Todd's stint in the Continental Army; he, too, received a furlough for a home visit, but, as attested in his final missive, some time afterwards he requested and was granted a discharge due to ill health.

Camp Valley Forge 19th January 1778
Honourd Father

I gladly Embrace one more opportunity to write - I think I may well be Excus'd for my writing such a Multiplicity of Letters as I Am Very sure that I have Rec'd no Letter from home since I Rec'd

one pr. Mr. Stevens at Mount Holly - Am sure with Little Trouble You would find very Convenient Opportunities ... I have to Inform you that by Gods goodness I Enjoy good Health - & have a Comfortable Competency of Necessary Clothing - have Shoes, Breeches, Woolen Stockings, Coarse shirts &c Enough - Since I have Removed to our hutt which was the 4th Jany. have Enjoy'd myself well - Except being throug'd with Business Occasiond Partly by the Regts. growing more Sickly & Partly by D[oc]tor]. Swifts Absence - I will Give you A Description of Our hutt which is built Nearly after the same Model as the Others - it is 18 Feet Long & 16 broad two Rooms & two Chimneys at Opposite Corners of the house - The Floor is made of split Loggs as is the Partition & Door the Whole of it was made with one Poor ax & no other Tool - we were not more than a fortnight in raising of it altho Never more than three men Work'd at once - the Roof is not the best in Wet weather - but Very good in dry - it is made of split slabs Cover'd with Turf & Earth - Our Inside work is not Yet Completed - - - I have bo't me half of A Horse - Which I keep for the Boys to Procur[e] sauce [i.e. leafy green vegetables] with &c - Live Very well -hope when Dr. Swift Returns to be Able to Get A Furlough - Whether I can or Not am uncertain as We are order'd to Inoculate our men Immediately - there is now in our Regt 104 that have not had the Small Pox - If I cant Get Leave of Absence this winter Intend to Leave the service in the spring - Want you should write me how times are with you & whether I could Probably Get Business Near home - The Physical Department is the most disagreeable of any in the Army - must be at the Call of Everyone & hear so many Groans & be so Ill Provided for to Relieve the distressd - beef & Flour is the only Provision the sick are allowed - Many of our men have died at Various Hospitals - Wm. Nettleton died Lately at Bethlehem his Brother (the Bearer) heard he was sick [and] came to see him [but] was too Late he was dead - hope the Many Deaths that Happen Around us may serve to Prepare us all for a dying Hour - I have nothing of News to Write - scarcely Worthy of Notice - Congress have Allow'd us one months Wages Extraordinary for our activity in Building Hutts - Yesterday I heard Howe sent a Quantity of Cloathing & Money to his men that were Prisoners at Lancaster his mony happend to be Continental Genl. Washington sent the Money Back & Informd W[illiam]. Howe that they must have hard money - As he was Obligd to send hard money into Philadelphia - Corpl. Cole of our Regt Who was Taken in Novr. Last Am Informd died Lately in Prison Owing to his being treated so severely - the Man that made his Escape Inform'd that before he died he was so hungry as to Eat off the Ends of his Fingers & to begin to Knaw his shoulders - Will the World believe that Britons are so Abandon'd to all Humanity - I very much Want to see you all - hope the Length of time will make our Meeting so much the sweeter - Hope if we are all no more to meet on Earth we may be Prepar'd to meet in an Eternal World of Rest - Where there is joy forEver - - - - - hope you Will Procure me Cloth for A suit of White Cloths want it shoud be of the finest Cloth Well dressd Would be glad to have some Lining Procur'd Either bot or homespun ...

your Obedient Son

J Todd jnr.

Guilford in Connecticut March 1778

Sir. I had Leave of absence from Camp by Doctor Hutchinson some time since, was then in a Low & Weak state of Health, since that time have been Unable to Walk abroad & Part of the time Confin'd to my bed - Am Advis'd by the most skillfull Physicians to apply for a Discharge from the Army - Am Necessitated to do it as I find my Health so much Impair'd that I think I cant Possibly Endure the Winter of Living in Camp Nor be of any service to the Publick - Sr. if you think Proper to Grant me A Dismission I Desire you to Deliver it to the bearer Mr. Daggett who will Forward it to me - had I been healthy [I] should not have been Averse to the service but as I have been for some Months in [a] Valitudinary [i.e. weak or sickly] state of health & at Present not Likely to

Recover soon - [I] think it was Ingenious to solicit A Discharge than to take the Publick's Money without being Able to Do service - [I] shall If my health Ever Permits be Ever Ready to serve my Country ...

Jonathan Todd
Surgns. Mate to Colo. Swift's
Regt. Genl. Huntingns. Brig.

To John Cochran Esq.
Surgn. & Physn. Genll.

[Postscript]

Sr. Dr. Jonth. Todd servd an Apprenticeship under my Tuition for almost five years. Always knew him to be of a slender Constitution - his health is so much impair'd by the Last Campain that I think it highly Imprudent for him to join the Regt. again if you think proper to Discharge him.

B[enjamin].G[ale].M.D.

Captain Brigham returned to camp on 13 March, and in addition to camp activities, he recounts the introduction of a new manual of discipline and maneuver in the army:

[Returning home from furlough in Connecticut ...]

on ye 13 [March] arived in Camp
on ye 14th Delivered in my furrow
on 15th Sunday Lt Inslee [Frederick Gotthold Enslin, Malcolm's Additional Regiment] was Brake and Drumd out of Camp By all the Drums and Fifes in the army / Some thing curious
on re march 16th nothing
on 17th 18th 19th obtained Leave for Lt Bingham to Resgd [resign] his Commission
on the 20th Lt Brown and Conant Sawyer obtained furlows
on the 21st I had a Billet to Dine with Ge[neral] Vernum / Very Cold and windy
Sunday 22d I acompanied Lt Brown out of Camp as far as Haffelfingers and Sold him my hors / Lt wells and Lieut Andrews obtained [leave] to Resine their Commissions and Set out for home
on 23rd I Got my things and Return'd to camp
on 24th Began to [Exercise?] heard that G[eneral William] Smallwood [commanding the Maryland Division] had Ben atacked in his Lines at wilmington [Delaware] and [proved] to[o] hard for the Enemy -
on ye 25 of march Cloudy Dull weather in the Evening / I had Some Company to welcome me to Camp Capt [Samuel] Sanford [8th Connecticut] arived in Camp --
on the 26th I went on Command at the Gulf mill / Clouday Rainy Day / found very [good?] Quarters at mr. Jones
on ye 27th Clear and Coll[d] / one Deserter Came to our Guards this Day and two Last night to Reading the Last Evening
on ye 28 Day Very Pleasent and Warm / I was officer of the Day
on Sunday 29 Very Stormy Day of Rain and Snow as had ben the whole winter
ye 30 Stormy Sloppy Day / uncomfortable Day / Had an alarm this Evening
on 31 of march [fair?] weather But Raw Cold / the Enemy Come out Every Day by the Best Intelgence
on ye 1 Day of April Very Pleasent Weather nothing metinable happened this Day
on ye 2 Day Rainy and wet / at Evening it Thundered and Raind Exedingly hard and Some Lite Snow before morning and Cold

on ye 3d Very Clare and Cold
on ye 4th Some Stormy But Before night clear and Cold / Was Relivd [of duty at the Gulph] and
Returnd to Camp
on Sunday 5th Clear and Cold / went on the Grand Parade and Saw the Barron [de Steuben]
meneuver the Guards
Sunday also went to head Quarters and Saw the Ge[eneral]s Life Guard Exercise / [Maj.] G1
[Charles] Lee arived at Head Quarters this Day {Lee had been captured in December 1776, and
held in New York by the British since.]

The single most important American military manual of the war was Maj. Gen. Friedrich Wilhelm de Steuben's standardized manual of discipline, introduced at Valley Forge in late March 1778, published in 1779. Steuben's system did not appreciably simplify the largely ornamental manual of arms, but did introduce set marching rates and uniform tactical formations, for the first time allowing Continental regiments to work as a unified battlefield force. The efficacy of the new system was made evident at Barren Hill (20 May 1778) and again at the Battle of Monmouth.

Ens. George Ewing, 3rd New Jersey Regiment, documented the introduction of Steuben's new manual of drill in Brig. Gen. William Maxwell's Brigade.

7 [April 1778] This forenoon the Brigade went thro the Manouvers under the direction of Baron Stubun | the step is about half way betwixt Slow and Quick time an easy and natural step and I think much better than the former | the Manual also is altered by his direction there are but ten words of command which are as follows

- 1 Poise Firelock
- 2 Shoulder Firelock
- 3 Present Arms
- 4 Fix Bayonet
- 5 Unfix Bayonet
- 6 Load Firelock
- 7 Make Ready
- 8 Present
- 9 Fire
- 10 Order Firelock

On 15 May Capt. Ezra Selden, 1st Connecticut Regiment, gave his impression of the new discipline:

Our Army is at present very busy and intent upon a New mode of Exercise Pointed by Major General Baron Stuben from Poland. His knowledge in Discipline is very great, his method of maneuvering is very Difficult; but mostly satisfactory, he never informs what is to be Done in future; but gives Lessons and we Practice untill he gives new Directions; he allows no musick while we are maneuvering, or does he ever allow us to be steping upon our Posts, but at the word march to step right off and allways with the left foot. Our manuel Exercise as yet continues the same - excepting in the Charging the Bayonet.

Some units not present in camp received their initial instruction in the new discipline much later. The 2nd Regiment of Maxwell's New Jersey brigade had been serving in their home state since mid-March. Maj. Joseph Bloomfield, 3rd New Jersey, noted that the 1st Jersey Regiment and

Forman's Additional Regiment joined the 2nd Regiment early in the month of June at Mount Holly. Bloomfield wrote that while the British still held Philadelphia "We kept large commands on the lines below Haddenfield, Moores-Town &c. which were relieved weekly." Throughout this time, in his position as Brigade Inspector, he was "Engaged ... in Exercising the Brigade & introducing the Baron de Steubens Instructions." Major Bloomfield called the new discipline "the Prussian Exercise." This new system may have been taught to the New Jersey militia at the same time the major was "introducing the Baron de Steubens Instructions" to the reunited Jersey Brigade in early June of 1778. In Brig. Gen. Philemon Dickinson's Jersey militia order book the entry for June 1st stated, "The Officers commanding Battalions will appoint their regimental Parades, on which they will exercise their Men, Morning & Afternoon & practice them in Wheeling, marching, advancing in Columns, & quick fireings ..."

Other organizations further afield likely had to wait longer to learn the new manual, but units at West Point were possibly the exception to the rule. On 14 May 1778, Congress appointed the Chevalier Noirmont de la Neuville, Sr., brigadier general and inspector of the Northern army under Maj. Gen. Horatio Gates, with his son of the same name being made assistant inspector. Neuville headed north immediately, likely with a manuscript copy of the new manual, Q.M. Sgt. Simon Giffin, Webb's Additional Regiment, noting from West Point,

Friday 5th June [1778] This morning turned out by gun fier went down to the store after Flower & back to the Back [bake] house after Bread When I came back I had to turn out the featigue Parteyes and the Quarter Gard / at 3 in the after newn turned out the Regt to Exercise the New way Taught by the French Fuselear ...

Munday 15 [June 1778] ... this after newen we had all the men that had been larning the French Exercise form a line of Battel and Fierd by Platones and sub Devisions and by Grand Devisions and by the whol Battalion & I think I never heard a beater fier in my life they fierd 19 Rounds Pr man and had at each end of the Betalion thear was a Grase hopper as they caled for they are s small brass feld pece that a man may tack on his back and Ceary aney whare but they Run a pon a Caregege - - -

Col. Angell's 2nd Rhode Island Regiment was present at Valley Forge when Steuben's manual was introduced, but Sgt. Jeremiah Greenman still wrote in spring 1779,

S[unday] 4 [April 1779] to T[hursday] 22. Continuing in Warren [Rhode Island] / we hear the enemy is defeated at Carrolina we soon expect to have the campa'n open / we exercise the prusan way left of[f] the 64th. [manual] intirely ...

While continuing the daily activities of military life, training in the new exercise also went on, and the army celebrated the important news of an alliance with France.

on 6th Pleasent Clear / Spent Some Time in writeing [riding?] on the Grand Parade in the morning / Saw Gl [Charles] Lee There with a Number of Ge[neral] officers

on ye 7th Exercisd the forenoon and afternoon as [usual?] / Lt [Buell?] arived in Camp from Bethlehem

on ye 8th I was officer of the Day ... to Insoect the Brigade / al the huts and the alleys and the Hospitals / I found a Number Sick in the Rhode iland Hos[pita]l and Col angel come to Vissit Them who Informed me that Capt flag [Ebenezer Flagg, 1st Rhode Island] had Lost 13 men out of his company [since] January 1st about 3 months and 8 Days

on ye 9th I went to [George] Veslars and Braugh[t] home my Cheet / I Saw the G[eneral]s Guard

Exercise

on ye 10th I went on fatigue and had a french man to Direct our works
on ye 11th Rainy and [lowery?] Day
On Sunday 12 more Clear and Pleasent
on ye 13th Pleasent / went on a Court Martial / at Evening had 2 men whipd in the Brigade
on ye 14th went on the Grand Parade this morn [and] Exercisd / this Day went over the River
on ye 15 went over the [Schuylkill] River in order to have a pair of Boots made / Last night was a
Stormy night with Thunder and Rain a[s] almost I ever knew / on ye Road over the River as I went
to mr Robertsons to get my Boots I saw 2 young mourning Doves in the nests on the fence
on ye 16th Continued Stormy and Clowdy / the Expected [Cartel, i.e., exchange of prisoners] is
not Like to Take Place
on ye 17th Aprl Clear and Cool and windy / Cold for the Season
on ye 18th Rainy Clowdy Cold
Sunday 19th Clear and Plea[sant] / at Evening the weather Changd Very Sudden with the most
Volent Gusts of wind Like a Huricane
on Monday [April] 20th Cold march winds I went out of Camp as far as the Commasary of
Prisoners where I Saw Peach and Plum Trees all in the Bloom / the news Confirmd of Bill Howe
[General Sir William Howe] Going Home
on ye 21st [clear] and Coll[d] this morning
on 22d Pleasent / it Being fast Day our Brigade and G Hunttons [Brig. Gen. Jedediah Huntington]
and G Knox [Brig. Gen. Henry Knox] B[rigade] of Artilery assembled and was Entertaned By a
Discorce [from] mr Ellis [the Rev. John Ellis, chaplain of Huntington's Brigade]
on ye 23rd Very Cold and windy
on ye 24th Cold
on ye 25 went out as far a[s] Alexanders this [day?] / went to the Provost Guard / a man Taken up
as a Spy
on 26 Sunday Very Pleasent Day / I heard of a Great fire that had ben at new york / Likewise of
the Loss of one sub[altern] and 30 men Taken near the Enemy Lines
On ye 27 Pleasent weather
on ye 28 recd a Letter from Lt Brown / heard a Smart Cannonade
29 and 30 nothing material
I may / Clowday Dull weather / I was not well and Took a [vomit] / heard some agreable news
from france
May 2 Day Pleasent weather
3d Pleasent Sunday / had [preaching] all Day / had Very agreable news from mr [Daines?;
possibly Silas Deane] as ambassador to the Court of france
on 4th Pleasent weather
on 5th fine weather
on ye 6th This Day was Set a Part for a Day of Rejoiceing an acount of the Court of france
acknowledgeing the American States as Independt and [forming] an [alliance] with Them –
on ye 7 – 8 – 9 nothing meteriel
Sunday 10 / mr [Israel] Evins [chaplain to the New Hampshire Brigade] Preached to the Division
/ his Excellency attended with the Lady washington
11th 12 and 13 Pleasent weather and agreable news / I Spend all the [---] [subsistence] Rolls
on ye 14 went to [---] mills out of Camp to the audators and made oath to my Subsistance Roll
on ye 15 Exercised in the forenoon / in the afternoon the whole Brigad went in Platoons to wash
in the River

Connecticut Captain Selden wrote home the same day with news from camp:

Valley Forge, May 15, 1778.

Agreeable to your desires I do myself the honor of writing you, though nothing material occurs.

The welcome news which Mr. Dean brought us from Europe gave great Joy to our army. his Excellency Directed three Feu de Joys, one for ye Thirteen United States. One for France and One for other Friendly European powers. After dismissing the Soldiery He Directed the Assembling of the Officers of the whole army and entertained them with as good a Dinner as could under our Situation in the Field be provided, after which they were served with wine &c. At the same time his Excellency gave the Toasts which were Proclaimed by his Aid de Camp who ascended a high step or that purpose; after a sufficient merriment his Excellency retired, Desiring the Officers to be very attentive to their Duty as the Intelligence which he had required it ...the Enemy are about leaving Philadelphia. Inhabitance & Deserters inform that they have their Heavy Artillery on Board their Shiping, reports also are that they will attack us Prior to their leaving the City. Reports are Reports. Genl. Howe has not sailed for England unless within 3 or 4 Days. Our Incampment is strongly fortified and Picquetted, I have no suspicions that we shall be attacked in Quarters.

This is a very Different Spirit in the Army to what their was when I left it, the Troops considerably well Cloathed, But then the Cloathing which they have lately Received, is such as ought to have been worn last winter, not the Summer.

[Brig.] Gen. [Lachlan] McIntosh is appointed to the Command of Fort Pit and the Back settlements &c.

I am content should they remove almost any General Except his Excellency... even Congress are not aware of the Confidence The Army Places in him or motions would never have been made for Gates to take the Command....

In these next diary entries Captain Brigham narrates the final days of the Valley Forge camp, as the army prepares for a summer campaign. He also tells of the march of a detachment led by Maj. Gen. the Marquis de Lafayette, which crossed the Schuylkill River, and took post at Barren Hill. Lafayette's force was nearly outflanked and cut off by an overwhelming British force, but timely intelligence, hard marching, and good discipline enabled his men to escape the trap.

on 16 Very hot weather

Sunday 17th a Large Detachment of 300 men to march to[morrow] mornng 5 oclock under the Commd of Marquis Delleet [Lafayette] / the Chief new[s] for Some Day has Ben about the Enemys Leaveing Philedelphia

18 this morning the above mentioned Detachment marchd / half Pay is Established [for officers] by [Congress] 7 years after the War is [over]

On ye 19 Doctr Howe [Solomon Howe, surgeon's mate, 8th Connecticut Regiment; died 10 June 1778] is Very Sick

on 20th went This morn to Doctr Cockrans Quarts [John Cochran, physician and surgeon-general of the Middle Department] after Some wine for Doctr Howe / Before I got [home?] the Camp was alarmed / the Enemy Came out Very Strong / our Detachment under the Commd of the marquis fleed across the [Schuylkill] River [at Barren Hill] and Escaped

on 21 Very pleasent and hot / I went to ye Commasary of Prisoners – Doctr Howe Grows

Exceding Low

On 22 Very Cool morning

on 23 – 13 [deserters came] in this Day / wrote home by Denis parker

Sunday 24 hot and Dry weather / Capt Davis Came into Camp / he had made his Escape out [of] Philedelphia Prison / made a Vissit this Evening to capt [Stephen Betts, 2nd Connecticut] / was warned on a courts martial of the Line

on 25th Doctr Howes Life Still Despared of / I went to ye audators and Got an order for my Subsistence

on 26 had a fine [rain] Shower / Recd my money

On ye 27th Rainy Last night / went on a B[rigade] Court martial

on 28 Exercised this Day / william [Belcher?; possibly a musician in the 8th Connecticut] whiped one hundred [stripes]

on 29 went on the Bridge [guard]

On 30 had orders to march at 3 o'Clock to morrow

on 31 Was not well / Doctr [Howe] Carried out of Camp [--]

on June 1 – 2d Rainy Dull weather / I was Very much [unwell]

on 3d our Devision Paraded Expecting to march But had Counter orders / Doctr Howe Died This Day after a Violent and [distressing?] fit of Sickness 24 Day of the Putried feaver

on 4 Day Doctr Howe was Very Decently Buryed under arms

on the 5 I Rode out of Camp 4 miles to Col [Churry?]

on ye 6th had a Sick night Last night

on Sunday 7th Clowday Dull weather and a Very Rainy Day / on ye 4th there was one Shanks Hanged as a Spy from the [--] Howes army

on [--] ye 8 Very Pleasent and Growing Season / made a Vissit to Se[e] Lt [Jackson?] Majr [Joseph Hait] and Capt [David] Smith [both of the 8th Connecticut] / Dined at Col. [Churry?] this Day

on ye 9th Last night Very Coll[d] But Clear and Pleasent / this morning went into Camp / this Day Doctr Howes Cloathing was Sold – the whole army Expect to more to morrow

on ye 10th I Rode about 4 miles to Se[e] Capt [Nehemiah] Rice [adjutant, 8th Connecticut] and then Rode [to] our Brigade as they ware incamping about one mile from the Bridge / the whole army was on the move a Little in front of the front line and incamped

on ye 11th a Very Pleasent morn / I Rode out with Col Churry and Mrs Churry to Col Thompsons and as far as head Quarters and Returned at Evening

on ye 12th we have the certainty of the Commisoners [a British Peace Commission headed by the Earl of Carlisle] Being arived and that their [proposals] are sent to Congress / went into Camp / Little or no news

Saturday 13th June / Pleasent fine weather / I went into Camp Little or no news

Sunday 14th Pleasant Day / went as far as mr mcfarlands / Little or no news

On ye 15th as I went into Camp I saw Serjt [Joel] Johns of Colo Bradleys [5th Connecticut] Regt who had been exchangd the Day before [Johns had been captured at Germantown on 4 October 1777] / he informd me that John Green and John Babcock [both in Brigham's company, and also captured at Germantown] ware both Dead and that they Died in the winter / the whole army ware Remindd to be in Readiness to march in this Days orders / by the Best accounts the Enemy are Chiefly over the [Jersies] Side [of the Delaware River, across from Phildelphia] and will Soon Take their Route to New york

on ye 16th Very Pleasent Growing Season / Rode with Col a Cross the Schuykill to Camp / Took a View of the front Line Dined at Col Frazers and then Crossed the Bridge to our own incampment and then home / Recd a Letter from Lt [Bryant] Brown [5th Connecticut, home on furlough since March 1778]

on the 17th went Erly to Camp and then to Head Quarters and obtained a Discharge for Lt Brown and then Returnd home / had an Exceeding hot Day

on ye 18th [June 1778] Exceeding hot night / I Settled my Bill which was 14 Dollars and Set out for Camp / I herd the Enemy had Left Philedelphia which Provd True / G[eneral Charles] Lees Devison marchd 4 or 5 miles and Encamped

**“Sixty three bullet holes were made through the colours ...”
Summer Campaign and the Battle of Monmouth, June 1778**

Captain Brigham’s information regarding British movements was correct. On 18 June 1778, newly appointed Crown commander Lt. Gen. Sir Henry Clinton ferried the last troops remaining in Philadelphia across the Delaware River into New Jersey. The British army, including camp followers, a train of 1,300 wagons and hundreds of pack horses, commenced marching across New Jersey towards New York City. While Brig. Gen. William Maxwell’s New Jersey brigade, with a militia contingent from the state, harassed the enemy as it moved northeast, General Washington’s main force left Valley Forge on a course to intercept them.

on ye 19th I Loged at Col Churrys / Set out in the morn / Came up with the Brigade about 2 o’Clock / the whole Devison Pitched Tents / Something Rainy Towards night

on ye 20th Struk Tents at 3 o’Clok this morn and marched and Crossed ... the Delaware at Carrels [Coryells] Ferry, across the Delaware River [present-day New Hope, Pennsylvania/Lambertville, New Jersey] / marchd about 3 or 4 miles Piche Tents

on ye 21th Struck Tents at 3 Clock / begand our march But Soon had orders to Turn Back and incamped on our old Ground / His Excellency Crossed the River yesterday

on 22d the Enemy [at] mount Holly [New Jersey] yesterday / Rainy night / Last night Recd a Letter and 2 Shirts from home.

on 23d marched Early for Princes town [New Jersey] / Stopd short about 6 miles [at Hopewell, New Jersey] / the army Took Different Routes. / accounts warn that the Enemy Ware Between Trent[on] & Bourden town [New Jersey] our army Lay Still this night

on ye 24th Lay Still this morn and our Baggage Came / [we] heard that the Enemy had filed of[f] to the Right and ware making their way towards Woodbridge

on the 25th marched and Left Princetown on our Right / made a halt at Kingstown the Marqus [Lafayette] and G[eneral Anthony] Wayne went out with a Detachment - Exceeding hot this Day / Lay out all This night / marched Early in the morn

on ye 26 Exceeding hot this Day Som Thunder and Rain. By the Best Inteligence the Enemy are making their way to the Hook [Sandy Hook] / [Brig. Gen. William] Woodfords and Varnums Brigades Began their march towards Munmouth / marchd 5 or 6 miles Lay out in an [orchard] on Ground Slept Very well with only my Great Coat

on ye 27th Began our march a Little Before Sunrise / on this march we suffer much for Water to Drink / Came within about 6 miles of the Enimy where we spent the Rest of the Day / Exceeding Sharp Thunder and Liting and Som Rain at night

Sunday 28th Began our march Very Early / had a hot Day many faint By the way Side / We marchd down as far as Munmouth where we Manuavred the Enemy Back 2 miles where we had a Smart Clash / Lost But a [few men] But the Enemy Saw fit to Retreat / I with Every Body Else was overcome with the heat.

Many Connecticut men served in Maj. Gen. Charles Lee’s Advance Force in the morning action at Monmouth , either in Varnum’s Brigade, or with the detachments of picked men commanded by

Brigadier Generals Charles Scott and Anthony Wayne. That afternoon Col. Joseph Cilley's provisional battalion advanced against British forces on the Sutphin Farm; Pvt. J.P. Martin attested to the fact that some numbers of Connecticut soldiers also served with Cilley. (See Martin, *Private Yankee Doodle*, 128-131)

Varnum's Brigade consisted of approximately 350 men, likely formed in two battalions, one consisting of the combined 1st and 2nd Rhode Island regiments, the other of the under strength 4th and 8th Connecticut regiments. General Huntington's Connecticut brigade (comprising the 1st and 5th Regiments, and the 2nd and 7th Regiments, also formed in two battalions for field service) marched towards Monmouth Courthouse with Washington's main force. The reason for combining the Connecticut regiments can be understood from numbers gleaned from the 28 June 1778 army return:

| <u>Brigade</u> | <u>Cols.</u> | <u>Lt. Cols.</u> | <u>Majors</u> | <u>Captains</u> | <u>Subalterns</u> | <u>Sgts</u> | <u>Rank and File</u> |
|---|--------------|------------------|---------------|-----------------|-------------------|-------------|-----------------------------|
| | | | | | | | <u>Present Fit for Duty</u> |
| Huntington (1 st & 5 th , 2 nd & 7 th Composite Connecticut Regiments) | 2 | 2 | 3 | 14 | 22 | 80 | 509 |

The absence of numbers of men picked for service in several provisional battalions of Lee's Advance Force in part explains the skeletal nature of Huntington's four regiments. Huntington's Brigade belonged to the army's Right Wing, commanded by Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene. While other elements of the Right Wing moved to occupy Comb's Hill, General Huntington was positioned with the Left Wing on Perrine Hill, the main American position for the afternoon. There they saw no direct combat, but likely experienced some casualties from British long-range artillery fire.

Main Line, Perrine Hill

Maj. Gen. William Alexander, Lord Stirling, *Left Wing Commander*
 (?) 2nd Pennsylvania Brigade - *Left Wing* unit
 "Late Conway's" Brigade (largely Pennsylvania) - *Left Wing* unit
 Glover's Brigade (Massachusetts) - *Left Wing* unit
 (?) Learned's Brigade (Massachusetts) - *Left Wing* unit
 Huntington's Brigade (Connecticut) - *Right Wing* unit
 Artillery (10 to 12 cannon, likely 6 and 4 pounders)
 Brig. Gen. Henry Knox
 Proctor's Artillery and other detachments

A full and complete narrative of the Connecticut soldiers' services at the Battle of Monmouth is not possible in this venue, but appended are several accounts outlining some of their experiences. Col. Joseph Cilley, commander of one of the picked battalions in Brig. Gen. Charles Scott's detachment of Lee's force, told a friend of the advance from Valley Forge, the morning battle, and his fight on the Sutphin Farm in the afternoon:

... I left Valley Forge the 18th of June, with the right wing of the army, under the command of General Lee, in pursuit of the enemy, who left Philadelphia the [18th]. The whole of our army pursued, with His Excellency, General Washington. Crossed the Delaware at a ferry called Corell's, where it was thought best to send out several parties to harass the enemy's rear. General Scott was sent first, with 1600 men picked from the whole army, in order to watch the enemy's motion. I was

ordered on this party, soon after it was thought best to give the enemy battle, General Lee was sent on this errand. He called in General Scott – in short, he had 5,000 Continental troops, besides a number of militia. On the 28th of June he was ordered to attack the enemy with his party, and that General Washington with his whole army would support him. We were at a small town called Englishtown, about 4 miles from Monmouth Court House, where the enemy lay. We begun our march before sunrise, proceeded toward the field of battle; came to the plain; the enemy gave way; seemed to be in great confusion, without making any opposition, except some scattering musketry and a few field pieces playing on both sides at long shot, when, to my great surprise, I saw the right wing of our party giving way in great confusion. There was a morass in our rear; I thought whether it was not intended to cross that, in order to take better ground. There was a wood in the rear of the party I was with. We were ordered to cross and form in that wood, where we lay some time. The enemy observing this, halted, came to the right about, and pursued us about two miles, when General Washington came up, ordered our party to make a stand to check the enemy, whilst the army could form, which was done almost immediately. The severest cannonading ensued as ever was in America. Our men behaved with great fortitude. The cannonading lasted between two and three hours. I was in the front line of our army, in the left wing. His excellency ordered me to take the battalion that I then commanded, consisting of 350 rank and file, detailed from Poor's, Glover's, Patterson's. Larnard's and Varnum's brigades, with Lieutenant Colonel Dearborn and Major Thair [Thayer] (who were with me) to go and see what I could do with the enemy's right wing, which was formed in an orchard in our front. Marched on toward them until I came within about forty rods, when I ordered my battalion to form the line of battle, which was done. The enemy began a scattering fire. I ordered my men to advance, which they did in good order. When the enemy saw that we were determined to push close on them, they gave way and took post in a scout of wood and gave me a very heavy fire, under the cover of several pieces of artillery. I advanced within a few rods, give them a heavy fire, which put them in confusion. They run off. I killed a number on the field. Took between twenty and thirty prisoners. Should have pursued further, but the extreme heat of the weather was such that several of my men died with the heat. We took possession of the field. Found left on the field about three hundred of the enemy's dead, with several officers [Cilley's accounting of casualties is greatly exaggerated]. Amongst them was Colonel Moneton [Monckton], who commanded the first battalion of Grenadiers. They retreated that night about eleven in great confusion. Left at the Court House five wounded officers and about forty soldiers. We should have pursued, but our army were so overcome with the heat that the General thought not advisable to pursue. Desertions till continue from the enemy at the least confusion. Their army is weakened two thousand five hundred since they left Philadelphia. I think [Lt. Gen. Sir Henry] Clinton is brought himself into a fine hobble. He has now a strong French fleet in his front and General Washington in his rear. I think we shall Burgoyne him in a few weeks, which God grant may be the case. ... N.B. General Lee's behaviour is now on trial for his conduct. How it will turn out is uncertain. It is my opinion that if he had behaved well we should have destroyed the major part of Clinton's army.

Lt. Ichabod Spencer, of Capt. Eliphalet Holmes company, 1st Connecticut Regiment, was either in the hedgerow rearguard action, which occurred at the end of the morning retreat, or with Cilley's detachment at the Sutphin Farm; in either event he experienced intense combat. In his 1820 deposition, he recalled,

I was in the battle of Monmouth as second Lieutenant and performed the duties of a standard bearer – I was in an active part of the engagement – two of the Guard belonging to the colours were killed – Sixty three bullet holes were made through the colours I carried and one through my hat ...

Another Connecticut soldier, Cornelius Hamlin of Capt. Woodbridge's company, 7th regiment, noted in his pension account,

at the Battle of Monmouth being much fatigued by marching all night before, and entering the field with Genl Lee at break of Day, and the excessive heat ... together with the smoke of the battle ... almost suffocated me, and exhausted me so far that it caused a Discharge of blood from my Lungs, those discharges of blood followed me whenever I was much fatigued, but my Ambition and Love of my Country prompted me to do my Duty for the most part untill the Winter of 1780 my bleeding from the Lungs increased & I became unable to do military Duty ...

Hamlin recalled in a July 1820 deposition, "tho' only a corporal I commanded a platoon in which 10 out of 16 were killed." Given the known Connecticut dead, his recollection of casualties is faulty.

Brigadier General Huntington wrote his father two days after the battle:

Hond. Sir I have furloughed a sergeant on Purpose to ease your & the Peoples Anxiety concerning the Action of last Sunday the 28th. ... our advanced Parties began the Attack on the Enemys Rear near Freehold Church ... between Ten & Eleven oClock in the Morning & fought retreating to about One when our main Body came up & formed & immediately detached Parties to save the Retreat – the Enemy thought proper to halt & very soon to retire with great Precipitation – they were pursued till almost Night with much Slaughter ... Nothing could exceed the Bravery & good Conduct which our Troops exhibited it was a new & very pleasing Sight to see our Columns regularly marching up to Action & the proud British Grenadiers & light Infantry the Choice of their Army scampering before them – Col Durkee [with Varnum's Brigade under Lee] had both Hands wounded – I don't know of any other Officer wounded or any killed belonging to Connecticut ... they can't say we sculked in the Bushes & fought like Indians – our Troops met them in the Open field ...

Sgt. Enos Barnes, of Capt. Joseph Wright's company, 5th Connecticut Regiment, described the position of Huntington's Brigade on Perrine Hill, and the battle's aftermath.

... we came up with them at a place called Monmouth on the 28th. of June. Immediately forming the line of battle and soon a warm and severe engagement Commenced which lasted some hours our men keeping up the fire with all the heroic spirit imaginable. The line of battle was formed thrice. A front line was formed in order to begin the attack, with a brigade upon the right and left flanks about sixty yards in rear of the line which was to guard the flanks provided the enemy should throw their flanks beyond ours. There was two field pieces with each brigade besides the grand park of artillery that lay about the center of the front line that lay upon a rise of ground that overlooked the ground where they British lay. A rear line was formed about one hundred yards in the rear of the park of artillery to guard that provided the enemy should make an attempt to force their way to take it. In this well guarded condition we fought them 'till they began to retreat leaving their dead and wounded on the field. We then pursued them with martial courage 'till night came on which obliged us to quit the pursuit, lying down in the field amongst the dead where we slept very comfortably that night being very much overcome with the fatigues of the day. Next morning we expected to attack them again but the enemy ... thought proper to make their escape that night and make the best of their way into New York. Next morning we found the enemy was fled our next business was to gather the dead together in order to bury them which we did going about in wagons, loading them up bringing them together and burying about twelve or fourteen in [a] whole, and after we had got them all buried we received orders to march

steering our course towards King's Ferry crossing over and going down to White Plains and there we pitched our tents.

NOTE - For a more comprehensive narrative of the main army's march from Valley Forge to Freehold, New Jersey, and the Battle of Monmouth, see:

John U. Rees, "**Reach Coryels ferry. Encamp on the Pennsylvania side.': The Monmouth Campaign Delaware River Crossing,**" *History in the Making* (The Newsletter of the New Hope Historical Society), vol. 4, no. 4 (December 2006), 1-12.

Rees, "**What is this you have been about to day?': The New Jersey Brigade at the Battle of Monmouth**" <http://revwar75.com/library/rees/monmouth/MonmouthToc.htm>

Narrative

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5. "The day was so excessively hot ...": Lee's Retreat
6. "They answered him with three cheers ...": Washington Recovers the Day
7. "The Action was Exceedingly warm and well Maintained ...": Infantry Fighting at the Point of Woods, Hedge-row, and Parsonage
8. "The finest musick, I Ever heard.": Afternoon Artillery Duel, and Cilley's Attack on the 42nd Regiment
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Appendices

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 - B. "The whole army moved towards the Delaware ...": Continental Army March from Valley Forge to Englishtown, N.J., 18 to 27 June 1778
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 - I. "They answered him with three cheers ...": New Jersey Common Soldiers' Pension Depositions
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 - K. "Jun 29th, Buried the Dead ...": Casualties in the Battle of Monmouth
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 - N. "General Wayne's detachment is almost starving.": Provisioning Washington's Army on the March, June 1778
 - O. "The canopy of heaven for our tent": Soldiers' Shelter on Campaign, June 1778
- (Not posted) "Exceeding Hot & water is scarce ...": Monmouth Campaign Weather, 15 June to 7 July, 1778
-

“The Troops of the whole line will exercise and manoeuvre ...”
The March to New York and the White Plains Encampment, July to September 1778

Captain Brigham’s account picks up the day after the Battle of Monmouth:

on ye 29 Very hot morning / I went to Vissit the woundd / was not well By Reason of Being
[over] heat[ed]

on ye 30th / By the Best Inteligence the Enemy Lost near 300 Killed and mortally wounded / had
orders to march at 2 o'clock to morrow morn

on 1st of July marchd Early this morn Exceeding hot I was So much not well That I Could not
march with the Brigade / went a Little out of the Rode [when] I Saw a yoke of oxen yoked up and
on a Cart with Bridle Bits in Eatch of their mouths and Leading Rains [i.e., reins] So as to Ride in
the Cart and Guide Them / in the Cool of the Evening I came up with the Regt at Spottwood

on ye 2d Day we marched to Brunswick where there was marks of the Enemys By Distroying the
Town Very much / our Devision Crossed the [Raritan] River and Encampd on the Heigths on the N,
East Side of the River

on ye 3d Rainy Dull weather the army Lay Still in order to [Clean?] / a General Court Martial Set
This Day in order to Try Majr G[eneral] Lee – had Inteligenc That the Enemy had Sailed for New
York

on ye 4th had orders for a feu da joy / I went to the PMG [paymaster general] this morning and
Stopt at Head Quarters / in the afternoon had a famous fu de joy the whole army Paraded fired
thre[e] Rounds Eatch 4 Times 13 Cannon

Reverend William Van Horne recounted in more detail the events of late June and July from
Kakeat, New York, 13 July 1778:

The Brigade to w[hi]c[h] I joined is Gen'l Glovers of Massachusetts, where more attention is
paid to the formalities of Religion than among our own. But as to the Essence, of it too little is to
be found in either. We are, tho on a march in the practice of attending Evening prayer daily,
w[hi]c[h] is more than has been introduced among the southern troops & is so much the more
agreeable ... You have undoubtedly been informed t[ha]t Gen'l Lee was on trial for his conduct.
the Gen's Court Martial met on the 4th of this Instant & proceeded to examination of Witnesses
on the first Charge. Disobedience of Orders in not attacking the Enemy. on the 5th they met
again; were soon after ordered to Morris Town, from thence to Camp at Paramus where we
expect they are now on that business. the result of the Court will be communicated when known.

On the 4th Instant our Troops announced our Independence by a Few De Joy. On the South,
elevated & beautiful Bank of Raritan [River], the troops with green boughs in their hats were
paraded in two Lines. His Excellency's Guards on the right, next 13 pieces of artillery, then 10 or
twelve Brigades with a piece of Artillery on the right & in the Center of each, composed the front
Line extending a very Considerable Distance. The rear line consisting of about half as many
Brigades, disposed in the Same Order about 150 yards distant, formed the disposition of the
whole Army. His Excellency having viewed the Whole and given the proper Orders returned to
his Quarters on the other side of the river opposite the right wing of the front line, which were on
an Eminence commanding a prospect of the Whole, & having ascended to a Balcony on the top
of the House & the Signal being given, 13 Cannon were fired. then followed a running discharge
of Cannon & Musquetry from the right to left, & continued from the left of the rear to the Right
of the same & then a formal Huzza. The whole was performed three times & the troops brought
off[f] without an accident. The Consideration of the late defeat of the Enemy & divine providence
having removed the gloom that seamed to shade our Independence invited the Festivity. The

beautiful Position of the troops, the Serenity of the air & the approaching Evening, & the columns of smoke arising from the Musquetry and Cannon so judiciously disposed all contributed to exhibit one of the grandest Scenes I ever beheld.

On the next morning the left Wing of the army marched under the Command of Major Gen'l Baron De Kalb, & have continued marching about 8 or ten miles per day on an average ever since, except one Day in w[hi]c[h] we rested. The March has proved salutary to the troops. the pleasing cheerfulness of the Inhabitants, to provide for the army, gradual & Easy Day marches, & favorable weather have contributed much to our Advantage. Health & good spirits are very generally enjoyed.

The right wing w[hi]c[h] formed the Second Column advanced the next Day [6 July] & took the Ground in the same Day we left it at Quibble town & have continued so to do generally during the march. The Rear line w[hi]c[h] constitutes the third Column is also Advancing as near to the Second as Convenient. the first Column left this place this morning & crosses North river at Kings Ferry this Day [13 July]. Nothing further remarkable on the march has occurred to me.

As to News we have but little. The Brittish are chiefly on Staten Island by report. A ship of War is up the North river as far as Tarry town where the River forms a basin almost; being so much wider than in other Parts. With her is a tender, Gally, &c. We hear also by two gentlemen from York that the Tory inhabitants of Philadelphia [who] fled to New York arrived in great Confusion for want of places to dispose of their families and Effects.⁶⁶

Captain Brigham continues with his recounting of the daily occurrences and responsibilities of a company officer. He ends this portion of his diary with his regiment's assignment to General Parson's Connecticut Brigade.

on 5th Sunday went out of Camp and Dined had a fine Diner / had orders to march at 3 o'Clock to morrow morning

on ye 6th marchd This morning about 10 miles to a Place Called the [Scotch] Plains had a Good Day to march in

on ye 7th Began our march Early and By 12 o'Clock arived at Springfield a Small Village

on ye 8th marched Early This morning 7 miles to Newark mountain and Connecticut Farms a Very Good Country / made a halt then marched about 5 miles to a Place about 2 miles Back of 2d River [Passaic, New Jersey]

on ye 9th had orders to Ly Still This Day / was warned to attend a G[eneral] Court Martial at Col [Richard Kidder] Meads Quarters [aide to General Washington] / Very warm weather / went out of Camp on a hill where I had a View of New-york Staten Ileand and North River

on ye 10th marchd this morning and Crossed Pasaic River to Statendam

on ye 11th marchd to Paramas 10 miles / Exceeding hot and Showery

on Sunday ye 12th Lay Still the 2d Line Cam up with us / went out of Camp and Dined / had Inteligenc that the Enemy was Thought would Leave New york Soon

on ye 13th Som thing Cool / made our muster Rolls in order to be musterd to morrow

on ye 14th marchd to [Kakaatt; i.e., Kakiat, New York] a fine Cool Day to march. I saw mr Standley

on ye 15th arrived at Haverstraw [New York] Staid all night

on ye 16th Struck Tents Early Crossed the [Kings] ferry and Encampd on Vanplank [Verplanck's] flat this Day / Capt [Samuel] Mattocks arrived and Lt [Ephraim] Kimberly [both of the 8th Connecticut] and [Private] Robert Laine [4th Connecticut]

on ye 17th Dotr [David] Holmes [surgeon, 8th Connecticut] arived in Camp / at 4 o'clock PM Struck our Tents and marchd as far as Peeks Kill on a high hill about half a mile from the Landing

on ye 18th marchd about 14 miles to Crater Bridge / Major Hait went home
 Sunday 19th Drew Cloathing of mr [Commissary] Little and delivered To my Company
 on ye 20th had orders Last Evening To march Early This morning / Began our march from Crater
 Bridge marchd about 10 or 12 miles and incampd on high Good Ground / all the way was [strung]
 with Cherries fine and Ripe
 on ye 21st fine Good weather / mr Morey arived in Camp this morning / Mr Cushman arived in
 Camp / I wrote home By him / had orders This Day to Join G[eneral] Parsons Brigd
 on ye 22nd made Preparations to march this morn and marchd Down to white Plains [New York]
 and Joined G[eneral] Parsons Brigade

General orders on the 19th recorded the army's movement towards their new camp at White Plains:

Head Quarters, Delavan's House [Crompond, New York], July 19, 1778.

The whole of the Left Wing under the Command of Major General De Kalb except Malcom's and Spencer's Regiments are to march tomorrow morning at two o'Clock for the White Plains: Baron Steuben with the Right Wing, Angell's Regiment and the Regt. commanded by Lieutt. Colo. [John] Park [Patton's Additional Regiment] excepted are to follow in an hour after; These Divisions may arrive within the distance of from one to five miles of the present Camp at the plains as Water and Ground will admit but not enter 'till a new Camp can be formed, a disposition for the whole made, and some Alteration in the present Brigades take place.

Malcom's and the Regiment commanded by Lieutenant Colo. Parke are to march early tomorrow for the Fort at West-Point on Hudson's River; Spencer's will take Post at Kings-Ferry and Angell's with Glover's Brigade (when it comes up) are to wait at Croton Bridge for further orders.

After the second Line of the Army under the Marquis De la Fayette have crossed the River the Quarter Master General will remove the Boats except such as are necessary for ordinary Purposes from Kings Ferry to and above the Forts in the Highlands.

Three days later the two Connecticut regiments (4th and 8th) that had been with Varnum's Brigade since autumn 1777 were placed under Brig. Gen. Samuel Parsons with two other units from the same state. That brigade was then combined with Huntington's Brigade in a single division under Major General McDougall, as follows:

July 1778

Maj. Gen. Alexander McDougall's Division

Brig. Gen. Samuel Parson's Brigade

3rd Connecticut, Col. Samuel Wyllys

4th Connecticut, Col. John Durkee

6th Connecticut, Col. Return Jonathan Meigs

8th Connecticut, late Chandler

Brig. Gen. Jedediah Huntington's Brigade

1st Connecticut, Col. Josiah Starr

2nd Connecticut, Col. Zebulon Butler

5th Connecticut, Col. Philip Bradley

7th Connecticut, Col. Heman Swift

Washington's army now settled in at White Plains, to watch the British in and around New York City and await the outcome of events elsewhere. Captain Brigham continues,

On ye 23 was mustered / major [Joseph] Hait [8th Connecticut] arived in Camp
on 24th the whole army D[r]awn [up] on the heights above the [White] Plains / had Some Shirts
Come for the officers
on the 25th Drew Some Cloathing for my Company / Sent Some Small Things home By mr
Morey
Sunday 26th Capt [David] Smith [8th Connecticut] arived in Camp
on ye 27th Joseph Doubleday [a private in Brigham's company] went home on a furlough / at
Evening had a fine [Seting] at the Majors markee and a Drink of Good wine
on ye 28th a Cloudy morning / went over to the State Store in the afternoon / went out to
[Whortleburying] / hard Thunder and Rain at Evening and in the night
on ye 29th Very Pleasent hot morning
on ye 30th hot weather / it was Reportd that the Enemy had Sent a Reinforcement to Newport
[Rhode Island]
on ye 31st Very hot with Thunder and Rain / one [Green?; perhaps meaning new] Cont[inental]
officer Brought in a Prisoner / a Large Detachment went out this Day / Eight men Condemed to Die
By this Days [orders?]

Following the initial introduction of Steuben's new discipline in April, and prior to that exercise being codified in print, there were many details yet to be worked out. Here, among other matters, the commander-in-chief attempts to standardize some of the common duties:

Head Quarters, White Plains, Saturday, August 1, 1778. ... When the guards are ordered to march off the Brigade Major is to see that they all step off at the same instant with their left feet and the Officers of Platoons will be particularly attentive that the step is afterwards preserved: As the Platoons pass in Review before the Major General or Officer Commanding the Parade the men are to hold up their heads and look full in their Face.

No Officer who has Regimentals is to mount guard in any other dress, and when men are warned for guard they are to be directed to come on with clean hands and faces, hairs combed and powdered, and are to appear in all respects as decent and solderlike as circumstances will permit.

Brigade Majors and Adjutants will recollect that it is an indispensible part of their duty to attend to this and see that the mens Arms Ammunition and Accoutrements are continually in the best order.

The Major General of the day thro' the Field Officers will have a careful Inspection made into these several matters and where there appears to be any deficiency will call the Brigade Majors and Adjutants to account on the spot, and either reprimand arrest or acquit as circumstances shall warrant; These are to be considered as standing orders which it is expected all officers and soldiers will be made acquainted with and punctually observe.

The whole Army to be under Arms tomorrow morning at five o'Clock precisely with their Tents struck and rolled up and their Packs slung; further orders will then be given by the Adjutant General.

The Troops of the whole line will exercise and manoeuvre on the Principles heretofore established for the Main Army twice a day from five to seven in the morning and from five to seven in the Evening. The Brigade Inspectors will perform the duties of their Office as heretofore directed by the order of the 15th. of June last.

Colo. [William] Davies will superintend the Right Wing and three Brigades on the Right of the second line. Lieutenant Colonel [John] Brooks will superintend the Left Wing and two Brigades on the left of the second Line, conformable to the spirit of the same order.

During the army's time at White Plains General Washington was concerned with keeping Crown forces confined on Manhattan, Staten, and Long Islands, restricting their efforts at procuring food and forage outside their lines, and gaining intelligence of their intentions. As recounted by Captain Brigham, detachments of line troops were used for these purposes, but on August 9th a light infantry force was formed under Virginia Brig. Gen. Charles Scott, using picked men taken from all the brigades present with the main army. Lt. Col. Isaac Sherman, 2nd Connecticut Regiment, was one of the field officers appointed to a light battalion, and numbers of Connecticut enlisted men were also chosen for the service.

on ye 1st of August another Detachment marched this morning / our People had a Small Brush with [the] Enemy / another Detachment in the afternoon

on Sunday 2d had a Sarch Throughout the Army for to find Some Stolen Goods / the whole Brigade assembled in the afternoon and had a Sermon Deliverd by mr [Timothy] Dwight [chaplain of Parson's Brigade]

on ye 3d Very hot / Capt [Samuel] Mattocks [8th Connecticut] Came in and the whole Detachment / we made out our muster Rolls

on ye 4th the Brigade was musterd / Thunder and Rain / was warned to Go on Detachment / Got on Grand Parade about 6 o Clock marched a Little Before Dark / marched about 3 miles and Lay all night in an old field

on ye 5th Began our march about Sun Rise / marched about 4 or 5 miles then halted Some Time then moved on within one mile of mile Square [a small area on the Bronx River between present-day Yonkers and Mount Vernon] and Lay all the afternoon / a Little Before Sundown we marchd Back about a mile and [a] half made a Little halt then marchd about a mile and one half on a Very high Hill and Lay all night / had a Pleasant night

on ye 6th a fine Clear Morning / Began our march Sun about an hour and half high / went Down to mile Square and then filed off[f] to the Left and a halt on the Same Ground that we occupied the Day Before / at Evening we marched Back and Lo[d]ged on the Same Ground that we Lo[d]ged on the night Before

on ye 7th marched To Camp / this Day two Hessian officers Deserted and Came out To our guards

on ye 8th I went out of Camp as far as mr Yong and Breakfast with mr [Frisselle?] / after I Got into Camp again made out my muster Rolls / Exceeding hot weather

Sund[ay] ye 9th had orders This Day to Draught 3 Battalions of Light Troops to Be under the Command of G[eneral] [Charles] Scot to Keep Near the Enemies Lines. this Day Thunder and Showers and [--] had as hard a Shower as I Ever Knew / it Gave us a most Teribl Washing

on ye 10th Clowday and Dull weather

on ye 11th Still Continued Cool and Clowdy / went on the Grand Parade / this morning went to Genl Parsons and Swore to my Muster Rolls. in the afternoon I Took a Vommit

on ye 12th Very Cool and a high wind / Last night and this morning I had Liberty to Go home / I sit out for home was Gone 17 Day and Returned on the 29th / had Some hot weather while I was Gone as I Ever knew

Sunday 30th attended Publick worship

on Monday 31th Exercised / made our [muster] Rolls / sergant Lommis [Eleazer Loomis of Brigham's company] Came into Camp

on the 1 september was Mustered / finished our Muster Rolls / heard our People had Left Rhode Island and That our Troops at the Lines had a Scrape with the Enemy and Lost Several men
 on ye 2d had Inteligence that G[eneral] Sullivan had not Left Rhode illand / I Took a walk as far as the Park of Arteliry
 on ye 3d Very Cool Last night / nothing Meterial This Day
 on ye 4th Cold Last night / I went as far as [Marannicks? Llikely Mamaroneck, Westchester County, N.Y.] to Get Some Camp Stools made / on my Return I heard That Genl Sullivan had Got Safe of[f] the Ileand [Rhode Island]

Captain Brigham's published diary ends with the 4 September entry, but he continued in service, transferring to the 5th Connecticut in January 1781, and retiring that same April. The Connecticut regiments of McDougall's Division continued with the main army at White Plains, and while detachments from the line regiments still performed some special duties, on the whole the newly formed Light Infantry Corps took the lead in interdicting enemy forays and gathering intelligence.

“The Enemy are upon the eve of some general and important move.”
The Fredericksburgh Camp and Shifting Commanders, September to October 1778

Three days after Captain Brigham's last diary entry, New Yorker Alexander McDougall was given a new divisional command, and his former division was assigned to Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln.

Head Quarters, White Plains, Monday, September 7, 1778.
 Parole Halesworth. Countersigns Harlow, Heden.

For the present and until the Circumstances of the Army will admit of a more perfect Arrangement it is to be divided and commanded as follows, viz: Woodford's, Muhlenberg's and Scott's Brigades by Major General Putnam; Poor's, Late Larned's and Paterson's by Major General Gates; Wayne's, 2nd. Pennsylvania and Clintons by Major General Lord Stirling; Parsons's and Huntingtons Brigades by Major General Lincoln; Smallwood's and 2nd. Maryland by Major General Baron De Kalb; Nixon's and North-Carolina by Major General McDougall.

September 1778

Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln's Division

Brig. Gen. Samuel Parson's Brigade

3rd Connecticut, Col. Samuel Wyllys
 4th Connecticut, Col. John Durkee
 6th Connecticut, Col. Return Jonathan Meigs
 8th Connecticut, Col. Giles Russell

Brig. Gen. Jedediah Huntington's Brigade

1st Connecticut, Col. Josiah Starr
 2nd Connecticut, Col. Zebulon Butler
 5th Connecticut, Col. Philip Bradley
 7th Connecticut, Col. Heman Swift

In early September General Washington decided to move his headquarters and base of operations to Fredericksburgh, New York, on the eastern border, adjoining Connecticut. Washington spelled out his reasons for the move to Connecticut Governor Jonathan Trumbull a month after the new position was taken up:

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 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 patroles 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 ... 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.

At the same time the commander-in-chief discussed with Lord Stirling the limitations of small detachments operating near the enemy and their main object, typical of operations during the summer and autumn of 1778.

[12 October 1778] 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.

Orders for 15 September 1778 gave directions for the move from White Plains:

- 1st. The whole Army will march tomorrow morning at seven o'Clock. The General will beat at five the troop at six and the march at seven precisely.
- 2nd. The baggage will precede the troops the first day, Provision and Forage Waggons going in front.
- 3rd. The Park of Artillery will march with the second Line between Parsons's and Clinton's Brigades.
- 4th. The Commander in Chief's baggage with the Baggage of all the General, Staff and Flying Hospital are also to march with the second line in the order which will be particularly pointed out by the Quarter Master General.
- 5th. The Quarter Master and Commissary General will divide the Stores in their respective departments to the several Columns which will lead the Columns of Baggage.
- 6th. Colo. [Elisha] Sheldon [2nd Continental Light Dragoons] with all the Cavalry on the East Side of the North River will join [the light infantry under] General Scott.
- 7th. The Quarter Master General will give the particular Order of march to be observed by each Division.
- 8th. The Troops are to be furnish'd with three days bread.

On the same date Washington's headquarters sent marching instructions to divisional commanders. To Lord Stirling,

Sir: You are tomorrow morning at the hour appointed for marching; with the second Line, to take the route by Doctor Daytons at North Castle, Elijah Hunters at Bedford, second Bridge over Croton River, Lt. Samuel Halts [Hair or Haight, Westchester County militia], Capt. Browns [Andrew Brown, also Westchester militia], and Wilsons Tavern to Fredericksburg; if any better road can be pointed out, that will not be liable to the objection of interfering with the Columns commanded by Generals De Kalb and McDougal, you will pursue it in preference. Baron De Kalbs division will separate from Genl. McDougals [Massachusetts brigade] at Croton Bridge, from which place it will begin to communicate with yours and continue to do so, till it joins you at Fredericksburg where it will be under your Command.

You will send for and consult Majr. [Joseph] Strang and Capt [Samuel] Delavan [both Westchester County militia], on a proper position for the second Line and Genl. De Kalb's Division to Encamp in. In the choice of it regard is to be had to two capital objects; first, a communication with the North River, and facility of supporting our defences there; secondly, a farther move Eastward, if any enterprises of the Enemy should render it necessary to oppose them in that quarter; some degree of attention is likewise to be paid to the convenience of pasture and forage.

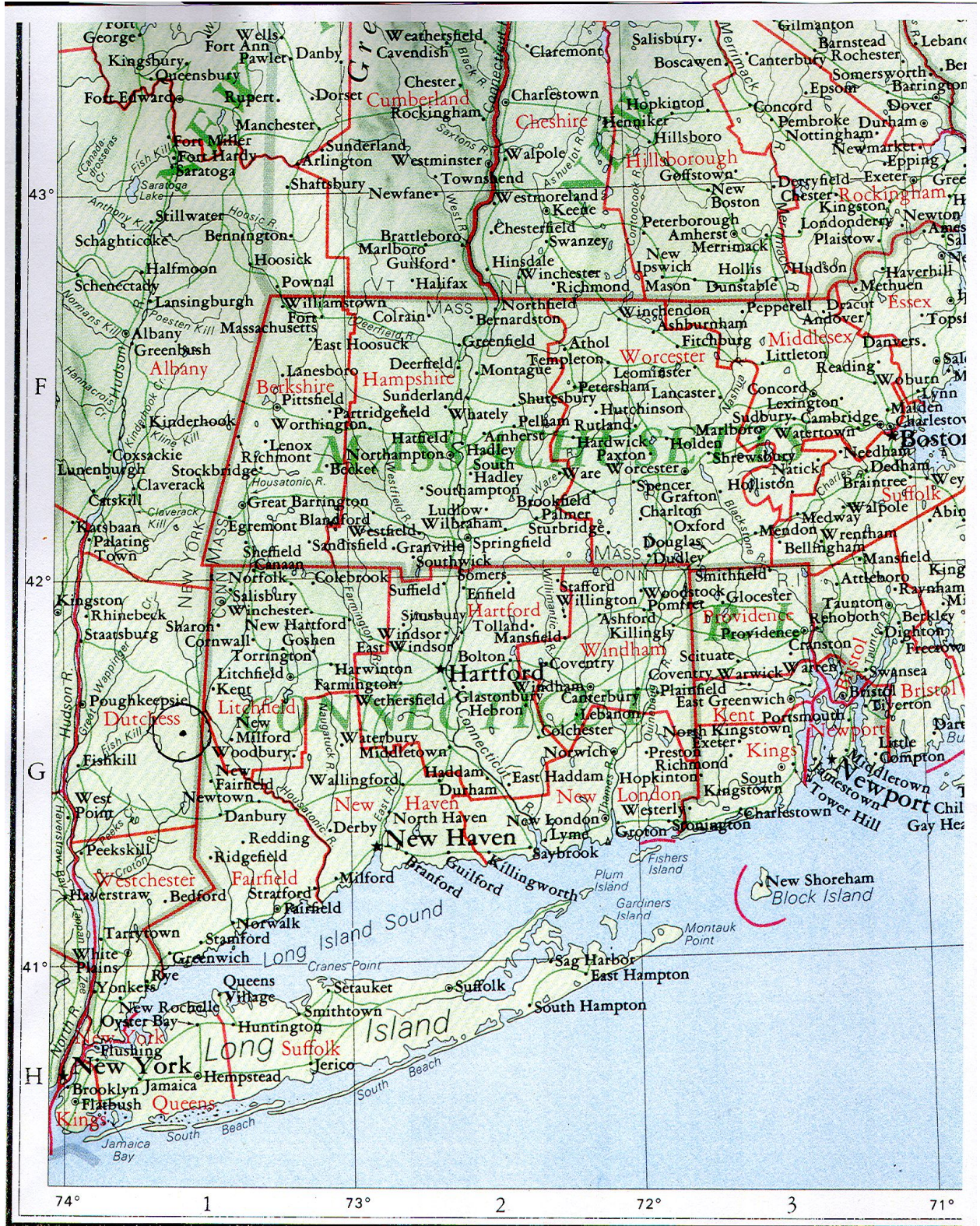
With respect to this latter article I am farther to desire that it may be spared as much as possible on the immediate communication between Boston and Fishkills, that there may be a sufficient stock reserved for the benefit of the travelling Teams.

The Park of Artillery is to move with your line, between the Brigades of Parsons [of Lincoln's Division] and Clinton [of Stirling's Division]. All the baggage of the General Staff is for the first day to march in front of your Column, in the particular order that will be communicated to you by the Quarter Master General.

You are to march by the left regulating your order of march, by the principles established in a General order of the 1st. June, and by another of this day...

Caption for Map 3. (below)

General area of operations, summer and autumn of 1778 and winter 1778-1779, for the Connecticut brigades of Brig. Gens. Samuel Parsons and Jediaiah Huntington. White Plains, New York, headquarters for Washington's army from 20 July 1778 to 16 September 1778, is shown. The Fredericksburgh camp (20 September 1778 to 26 November 1778) is marked by the circled point just west of Milford Connecticut. Fredericksburg was not a town per se, but an area in New York near the Connecticut border which today comprises the communities of Pawling, Patterson, Holmes, Carmel and Kent. Detail from map of New England and Quebec, Lester J. Cappon, ed., *Atlas of Early American History - The Revolutionary Era 1760-1790* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), 2



Fredericksburgh was situated just east of the Appalachian Mountains, then a sparsely settled farming area containing the present-day communities of Pawling, Patterson, Holmes, Carmel and Kent. Washington's headquarters were located in the John Kane house, still standing today.

On the 19th Washington informed General Sullivan from West Point, "The army is in motion to Fredericksburg and its neighbourhood; we shall there be in a more favourable position to give you assistance should the war take an Eastern direction or to take care of ourselves should the enemy meditate an attempt on the main army, or the defences on the North river." Four days later he brought Congress up to date:

Head Quarters near Fredericksburg, September 23, 1778 ...

The Army marched from White plains on the 16th Inst. and is now encamped in different places. Three Brigades, composing the Virginia Troops, part of the right wing, under the command of Genl. Putnam, are at Robinson's near West point and two Brigades more, composing the remainder, are with Baron de Kalb at Fish Kill plains, about 10 miles from the Town on the road leading to Sharon. The second line with Lord Stirling [including Lincoln's two Connecticut brigades] is in the vicinity of Fredericksburg; and the whole of the left wing at Danbury, under the command of General Gates. These several posts appear to be the best we can occupy in the present doubtful state of things, as they have relation to the support of West point, in case of an attack in that Quarter and are also on the communication to the Eastward, if the Enemy point their operations that way. Besides these dispositions, Genl. Scot with a Light corps remains below, in the Country about Kings street.

On 2 October Washington informed Benjamin Lincoln,

I wish you and General McDougal, to whom I have written upon the subject, to send a fatigue party from your Divisions on the Road from Fredericksburg by New Milford, Woodbury and Waterbury to Farmington, for the purpose of repairing it. This will facilitate our movement if we proceed to the Eastward. Genl. McDougal will only furnish for the fatigue from Nixon's Brigade, as I may find it necessary to make a different disposition of the Carolina Troops [in fact the North Carolina brigade were badly off for want of shoes and may not have been able to do the road work]. The party must be supplied with provision from time to time as they want, as I wish them to continue, till they have gone over the whole tract of road I have mentioned, unless some circumstances cast up to make their rejoining their Corps necessary. I would also wish you to send on the above Rout as far as the Rough road continues your Quarter Master or some Intelligent Officer, to mark the different Stages proper for the halting of Troops, which may march from your Camp. You will be pleased to direct him to be particular in his observations, and to note the distances, with all the accuracy he can. ... The Enemy, from the last accounts were at the liberty pole, and at the New bridge near Hackensac[k]. Foraging seems to have been the principal object of their coming out.

The Lincoln next day received word of his assignment to another department:

Dear Sir: You will perceive by the inclosed Copy of a Resolution which came to hand last night, that Congress have determined on measures for securing Charles Town [South Carolina], in case the Enemy should form an expedition against it, and have appointed you to command there. I have nothing to add upon the subject, except my assurance that you will have, as you have had upon all occasions, my warmest wishes for your success and happiness. You will receive your

Instructions from Congress when you have an Opportunity of seeing them. I am, etc.

The 25 September Congressional resolve directed that Lincoln take command in the Southern Department "and repair immediately to Charleston, S.C." Divisional command of Parson's and Huntington's brigades was transferred to General McDougall. McDougall's command now included the two Connecticut brigades, plus Nixon's Massachusetts brigade. The North Carolina brigade, formerly under McDougall, seems to have been reassigned. In any event Col. Thomas Clark's North Carolinians were not mentioned in subsequent orders for McDougall's division, and on 12 November Clark's two regiments were ordered to march for "Smiths Clove for the security of that pass, and as a reinforcement to West Point, in case of necessity ..." In mid-November they were ordered to Paramus, New Jersey, their post over the ensuing winter.

October 1778

Maj. Gen. Alexander McDougall's Division

Brig. Gen. Samuel Parson's Brigade

3rd Connecticut, Col. Samuel Wyllys

4th Connecticut, Col. John Durkee

6th Connecticut, Col. Return Jonathan Meigs

8th Connecticut, Col. Giles Russell

Brig. Gen. Jedediah Huntington's Brigade

1st Connecticut, Col. Josiah Starr

2nd Connecticut, Col. Zebulon Butler

5th Connecticut, Col. Philip Bradley

7th Connecticut, Col. Heman Swift

Brig. Gen. John Nixon's Brigade

5th Massachusetts, Col. Rufus Putnam

6th Massachusetts, Col. Thomas Nixon

Wood's Massachusetts [Militia] Levies, Co. Ezra Wood

"Their countrymen would ... conclude the Devil was in them ..."

McDougall's Division Takes Post in Connecticut, October and November 1778

On 22 October 1778 McDougall's troops were directed to march into Connecticut.

Head Quarters, Fredericksburgh ... Nixon's, Huntington's and Parsons' Brigades are to march at seven o'Clock tomorrow morning from the Left under the Command of Major Genl. MacDougall. The Quarter Master General will give the Route.

The first Connecticut Regiment to be stationed at Danbury to guard the Stores now there 'till further orders.

General McDougall received a clarification the next day. "You are immediately to proceed with the brigade of Nixon, Parsons, and Huntington, by the route which will be delivered to you by the Quarter Master General, as far as Hartford, where you will wait for farther orders."

Washington also notified Admiral Charles Hector, Comte d'Estaing, commanding the French fleet repairing and refitting at Boston, of the move:

October 22, 1778. Sir: Since I had the honor of writing to Your Excellency yesterday, I have received some further accounts ... They confirm the sailing of the British fleet which lay at the Hook [Sandy Hook, New Jersey]. I confide most in the account from Lord Stirling with respect to the number. You will observe it is said they sailed towards the eastward; but Your Excellency will be sensible that nothing particular can be infered from this circumstance, as the wind with which they went out naturally gave them that course, 'till they had cleared the land, whatever might be their ultimate destination. Though I am still of opinion, it is most probable this detachment is designed for the West Indies; yet my unwillingness to leave any thing to chance, that depends on me, in which the interest of the common cause is essentially concerned, has determined me to order three additional brigades to begin their march tomorrow Morning towards Connecticut River.

Maj. Gen. Horatio Gates was at Hartford, and Washington apprised him of the latest news as of October 24th:

Sir: A fleet of about one hundred and sixty sail, supposed to contain 7, or 8,000 men having left the Hook the 19th. and early the 20th., I, Yesterday morning put three Brigades, Nixon's, Parsons and Huntington's in March, under Major General McDougal to join you at Hartford. You will be pleased to open a correspondence with Generals Heath and Sullivan, in order to obtain from them instant information of the Enemy's arrival off the coast, should their destination be, for the Eastward; and on certain advice of this event, you will proceed immediately, with the two divisions, in the most expeditious manner towards the quarter which seems to be threatened, and in order to march as light as possible, you will leave all the baggage you can dispense with behind. You will at the same time communicate the intelligence you receive to me, without a moments delay.

The difficulty we shall find in supporting Troops far Eastward, with respect to the Article of Flour, makes it prudent, you should not advance further, than where you now are, except it be really necessary. You will therefore not move, unless appearances shall make it pretty certain, that the body of the fleet above mentioned is on the Coast. I think it probable that if the Troops should be destin'd elsewhere, the ships of war will even in that case, appear before Boston, to keep the French squadron in harbour, till the Fleet of transports get a sufficient distance on their way. This, however, I mean only as a caution and shall confide in your judgment, that you are neither too fast, nor too slow.

McDougal's troops reached New Milford on 25 October, where they were halted by express. Division orders for the day following noted,

Camp New Milford, October 26, 1778

His Excellency, the Commander-in-Chief, has directed the troops to remain here until further orders, and be in readiness to march at the shortest notice as circumstances shall require. While the Division is reposed, two days bread will be on store continually- baked.

Three days later, Congress received word from the commander-in-chief on matters as they stood in regard to British intentions and American troop movements:

Head Quarters near Fredericksburg, October 29, 1778.

Sir: Yesterday forenoon I had the honor to receive your favor of the 23d Inst., with a Resolution of Congress of the preceding day, appointing Major General Gates to command in the

Eastern district. A copy of the Resolution was immediately forwarded to him at Hartford, with a request that he would repair to Boston in compliance with it. Your Excellency's letter to him, was also dispatched by the same Express.

The Letter which I had the honor to write you on the 22d and 23d Inst. will have advised Congress before this comes to hand, of the Troops I put in motion upon the embarkation and supposed sailing of a large Detachment of the Enemy from New York, and that this was dictated by a principle of caution, as it was possible the Enemy might have in view, an Enterprise against Boston and the French Squadron. Their advance was never intended to be farther than Connecticut river, unless the operations of Sr Henry Clinton should make it necessary; in which case it was my intention to hurry to Boston myself, as Congress will perceive by the Copies of my Letters to Genls. Heath and Sullivan, which I take the liberty to inclose, and to advance other Detachments. It was also equally my intention, founded in the necessity of the case and on the immense expence and difficulties that would attend the subsisting of these Troops, to recall them, the moment I should be satisfied the Enemy were not going upon an Eastern expedition. It so happened, that when the advices of the Enemy's sailing from New York were contradicted by Others, which I was obliged to consider as authentic, the Brigades of Nixon, Parsons and Huntington, which formed the second division of the Troops which had been put in motion, had not proceeded beyond New Milford, where they were halted and yet remain waiting events. I shall be extremely happy if my views in these instances, accord with the sentiments of Congress; and I would fain persuade myself, that from their knowledge of the scarcity of flour, or at least of the enormous expenditures and almost insuperable difficulties attending the purchase and transportation of it, they will think them prudent, and as having a strict regard to public oeconomy.

McDougall's Division camped at Second Hill, Connecticut, about four miles from New Milford. They remained there until ordered to Danbury on November 17th. McDougall's letters from the 3rd to 9 November are headed "Camp Second Hill," and his troops remained there when he left to visit his family at Hartford on the 10th. While McDougall's division was at Second Hill, he complained of being kept "in a disagreeable state of suspense, out of the route of the Post and every intelligence which can be relied on, and with no great society, Generals Parsons and Huntington not being with their brigades."

Despite his vexation, General McDougall humorously noted his Connecticut soldiers' behavior on the march in their home state compared to their conduct in other regions

[To New York Governor George Clinton, 5 November 1778] ... They had been so wantonly destructive of fences and other property on the march that I determined to end it and issued very explicit and stringent orders for the purpose—orders which the officers in Huntington's brigade in conversation with me, with very grave faces observed, were exceedingly proper and necessary and must be obeyed; for they were now going among their own people who would think the Devil had got into the army if these prudent orders were violated. You may be sure I concurred with them and added, that I would personally have no trouble with the transgressors, but should turn them over to the civil authorities to be dealt with. The consequence has been that not a single panel of fence has been burned on the march or since we encamped. The truth is, they are much in awe of the civil authorities and fear for their reputation at home. Their countrymen would indeed conclude the Devil was in them if they had conducted as they have done in the army and in other places.

On 8 November the commander-in-chief wrote McDougall with some prescience,

Your reasoning as to the improbability of the Enemy's operating to the Eastward was very strong, and your views of the difficulties that would attend the quartering of the Whole Army on this side the North River, are certainly well founded and coincide much with my own.

I think Colo. Putnam had better send for the Cloathing of his Regiment, as the want of it tho' but a very short time may be attended with bad consequences to the Men. With respect to furloughs to privates, I have granted none, and it is contrary to my intention that any should be given, till matters are more decided and some general system adopted for the purpose. I will take into consideration the mending of the Roads which you mention. If you have not moved towards Woodbury, you may as well remain where you are if you can do it with any conveniency, as a few days must point conclusively to the post your Troops must take.

In a reply the day after McDougall noted, "The two Connecticut Brigades are still on this ground & will probably be well supplied for a few Days. Nixon's is advanced to Woodbury, seven miles from hence."

General Parsons in the meanwhile had been absent on personal business, but trying lobby for his troops to stay near home, writing Washington from Middletown on 29 October,

... I find my affairs will require my continuing in this State most of the ensuing winter. Since I hear nothing from Congress, I imagine my resignation is laid by with other papers. If any troops are quartered within this State, I shall be much obliged by your Excellency ordering my brigade for this purpose. I wish to be with the troops under my command, and, should they be quartered in this State, I could attend to the settlement of my own affairs without neglecting the duties of my office. I propose to be at Camp next week if the troops do not sooner move this way.

On November 16th he wrote from Horseneck, near Long Island Sound,

I am obliged to continue a few days longer on the sea coast before returning to camp. Small parties of the enemy exceedingly distress the inhabitants in this vicinity. If a brigade could be posted near the coast, it would be of great service. Fifteen hundred to two thousand men would be sufficient.

Three days previously, General McDougall left camp for home, and, with Parsons also absent, command of the division fell to General Huntington. On the 17th McDougall's Division received orders to move nearer the Sound, Washington writing the general, "You [will] be pleased to march immediately with your Division to Danbury, where you will be met by further Orders." Division orders for the next day passed on the news:

Camp Second Hill, November 18, 1778

The division marches to morrow (Thursday) for Danbury. The *generals* beats at four o'clock and the *troop* at five, when the march will begin. General Nixon's brigade goes by the new bridge through Newtown. Invalids are to be sent forward this day under careful officers. Parsons' brigade leads, marching by the right and advances a sufficient van-guard. Huntington's brigade furnishes a rear-guard under the command of a vigilant officer to pick up all stragglers. The wagons follow the brigade to which they belong. Each brigade will have a field officer or captain to superintend the order of march and correct all abuses on the spot. The Forage Masters, as soon as they have completed their duty on the old ground, will go forward and, make provision. Provisions for the troops are to be drawn immediately and dressed for Thursday and Friday at least. All the guards are to carry their own packs. One sentinel to each baggage wagon is sufficient.

The following day the order was partly rescinded,

Head Qurs., November 19, 1778.

Sir: If you should not have reached Danbury or very near it with the division before this gets to hand, you will be pleased to halt the two Connecticut Brigades where this shall find you 'till further orders. General Nixon will still proceed to Danbury, as was at first intended. In this case you will inform me where the two Brigades halt. But if you should be very near Danbury with the division, you will continue your march to that place.

On the 20th Nixon's Massachusetts brigade was ordered to Continental Village, and in a letter the same day Washington set in train the concentration of several brigades at Danbury, writing Israel Putnam,

Head Quarters, Fredericksburgh, November 20, 1778.

Dear Sir: You are upon the Receipt hereof to proceed to Danbury with General Poors Brigade and send on General Pattersons and Learneds by the most direct Route to Fishkills. Should Genl. Poors, agreeable to my orders of yesterday, have marched on towards Fishkill, you will be pleased to countermand them and turn them back to Danbury. The two Connecticut Brigades are also ordered to Danbury, at which place you are to wait further orders. Desire Genl. Patterson to proceed with the two Massachusetts Brigades as expeditiously as possible to Fishkills.

McDougall's Division, minus Nixon's Brigade, stayed in camp at Danbury, but was split on the 22nd when Parson's Brigade was ordered to Fredericksburgh, with Col. Samuel Wyllys, 3rd Connecticut, commanding in General Parson's absence.

Camp near Danbury, November 21st, 1778.

In consequence of orders received from Headquarters, General Parsons' brigade will march tomorrow morning at seven o'clock. No baggage will be carried except tents and cooking utensils; the chests and other heavy baggage will be left under a proper guard at Mr. Starrs, as the brigade is likely to return in a few days. No straw will be burned on any account. The *generale* will beat at six o'clock, the *troop* at seven, when the march will begin. The commanding officers of regiments will see that no more tents are carried than sufficient to cover the men they march. Those men that are least able to march will be left behind as a baggage guard.

The brigade reached Fredericksburgh on the 23rd, when Col. Wyllys issued the following order:

The commanding officer of the brigade directs the commanding officers of the regiments and companies, respectively to pay attention to the men that they are comfortable in their tents; that the rolls are called punctually and all the men accounted for. That no injury is done to the inhabitants by burning fences and carrying off hay without the knowledge of the Quartermaster.

One likely reason for moving Parson's troops to army headquarters was the following order:

Head Quarters, Fredericksburgh, Tuesday, November 24, 1778 ... The Pennsylvania line and Park of Artillery are to march tomorrow morning nine o'Clock; The Stores and Baggage of the Flying Hospital and General Staff to move with them.

The departure of the Pennsylvanians left only General James Clinton's Brigade at Fredericksburgh, so more troops must have been needed to cover headquarters and any stores still on hand. During its week-long stay Parson's Brigade had little to do besides routine camp duties. General Washington left for New Jersey on November 28th, and Parson's men left for the return march to Connecticut on December 1st.

While they were absent, another change in divisional command had been implemented on the 24th, when Washington informed Alexander McDougall,

Sir You will forthwith proceed to the Highlands and take the command there – All the posts on the North River from Poughkeepsie, inclusively, downwards, will be comprehended within the limits of your command. The troops under you will consist of three Massachusetts brigades, Nixon's, Patterson's, and Larned's and the Garrison of West Point.

Maj. Gen. Israel Putnam was now placed in charge of McDougall's former division, with the addition of Brig. Gen. Enoch Poor's brigade. Washington wrote Putnam on November 25th,

I am well pleased with your Orders to Genl. Poor to proceed immediately to Danbury, and to Colo. [Ezra] Badlam [2nd Massachusetts Regiment] for escorting in his room the Rear divisions of the Convention troops to Fish Kill ... Your instructions do not mention the manner, in which the three Brigades under your command are to be quartered; but wishing the Army to be as little burthensome as possible to the Inhabitants of the Country, and that the Troops composing it's several divisions may lie compactly together, in order to their greater security, and better discipline and government, It is my desire that they should hut themselves as they did last Winter at Valley forge, where ever they can. This will be done by the divisions which quarter on the West side of Hudsons River, and I persuade myself that you and all the Officers with you will give proper attention to the manner of constructing the Huts. There were several last winter at Valley forge, which by the care of the Officers were not only comfortable but commodious, and in which the Men lived exceedingly well and preserved their health. These are considerations very important, and I have only to add, the sooner the Troops can be fixed the better.

That missive was followed two days later by official notification of Putnam's new command, and his instructions for the winter.

Head Quarters at Fredericksburg, November 27, 1778.

Sir: You are appointed to the command of the Brigades of Poor, Parsons and Huntington which are to be quartered this Winter at Danbury.

You will keep a succession of small parties down towards the enemy's lines, mostly towards the Sound as Genl. Mcdougall will guard the North River to watch their motions, prevent small parties from penetrating too great a distance into the Country, and to gain any intelligence which may be collected: But the Officers are to be charged in the most express manner, not to meddle with or bring off any Cattle, or Horses, [unless they should be found driving into the Enemys lines; or in eminent danger of being taken by them; in either of which cases they may be brought off but are not to be considered as the private property of the Party; but delivered to the Commissary and Quarter Master for the use, of the Public] who are to pay the owners when brought off to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy, nor are they to take any other kind of property from any persons under pretence of its belonging to Tories.

You are not on any account to suffer persons, Inhabitants of the United States to go within the enemy's lines without they produce a written licence from the Governor or Civil Authority of the

State to which they belong [agreeably to a mode pointed out by Congress.]

As many inconveniencies arise from Flags of Truce being sent from a variety of Quarters, you are desired, if applications are made to you on that subject, to refer them to [me unless such application is made by the Governor, or the Executive power of the State in which you are, in that case the request is to be complied with in the first Instance.]

No small parties are by any means to be permitted to go upon Long Island. The most shameful abuses have been committed [and injurious consequences arisen] from such parties, who make no discrimination between the inhabitants, many of whom, altho' obliged to remain there, are well affected to our Cause. Should there be any necessity of sending particular Officers over for intelligence, [you must make choice of such as you can be responsible for, that the end may be answered.] Nevertheless should the enemy, by advancing a party upon the Island to any considerable distance from the main Body, put themselves in such a situation as to afford a prospect of making a stroke at them with success, I would not mean by the foregoing to prevent such an enterprise from taking place. Even in that case, the Officer commanding should be charged to attend to his military object solely, and not, by suffering his Men to run up and down after plunder, lose any advantage which he might have gained.

If the Enemy make a demonstration of acting upon the North River [and] you [shd.] receive information [thereof] from General Mcdougall; [A Brigade] of the troops at Danbury are to proceed immediately towards the posts in the Highlands [and another held in readiness to follow, or act otherwise as circumstances may require.] They may probably at the same time make a move as if towards Danbury: but it will in my opinion be only to create a diversion in favor of their real design upon the Highlands, the loss of which would be of the utmost consequence [to the United States] while Danbury is no [more an] object [than Bedford or any other little Village.]

As the good order and discipline of the Troops during the Winter will depend upon a proper number of Officers being constantly in Quarters with the Men, you will, in granting Furloughs endeavour to observe the following Regulations as near as possible.

No Regiment to be without two Field Officers at one time but in extraordinary Cases.

No Company to be without two Commissioned Officers at a time but in like Cases.

No Regiment to have more than twenty Men upon Furlough at a time, that Number to be proportioned among the Companies.

When the Weather will permit, you are to see that the Brigade Inspectors attend to the Manoeuvre and discipline of their respective Brigades upon the plan introduced the last Campaign.

You are to take every measure to prevent and severely punish marauding or any insult to the persons or destruction of the property of the inhabitants by the Soldiery. Particular attention is to be paid to keeping a stock of Fire Wood which will take off every pretence for consuming Fences or out Houses. As soon as the Brigades have fixed upon their Ground for hutting and have drawn the timber necessary for building, the Quarter Master is to be directed to send away as many draught and other Horses as can possibly be spared. They are to be sent to such places as are out of the communication between the North River and Boston, that they may not consume the forage necessary for the teams transporting provision and Stores.

General Washington then informed Congress of his plans and dispositions for the winter of 1778-79:

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, November 27, 1778 ...

I have the pleasure to inform Congress that the whole Army` one Brigade and the light Corps excepted is now in motion to the places of the respective cantonments for Winter Quarters. I

have thought it prudent to delay this event, a while, to give time for the Convention Troops to make some progress in crossing the North river, to prevent a possibility of accident. The third division passes this day and if no unexpected interruption happens, the whole will be over the 30th instant. When their passage is completed, the remaining Troops kept in the field will immediately retire to quarters.

The disposition of Winter quarters is as follows: Nine Brigades will be stationed on the West side of Hudson's River, exclusive of the Garrison of West point, one of which, the North Carolina Brigade will be near Smiths Clove for the security of that pass, and as a reinforcement to West Point, in case of necessity; another, the Jersey Brigade will be at Elizabeth Town to cover the lower part of Jersey, and the other seven, consisting of the Virginia, Maryland, Delaware and Pennsylvania Troops will be at middle Brook. Six Brigades will be left on the East side of the River, and at West Point, three of which, of the Massachusetts Troops, will be stationed for the immediate defence of the Highlands, one at West Point in addition to the Garrison already there, and the other two at Fishkill and the Continental Village, the remaining three Brigades, composed of the New Hampshire and Connecticut Troops and Hazens Regiment, will be Posted in the vicinity of Danbury, for the protection of the Country lying along the Sound, to cover our Magazines lying on Connecticut River and to aid the Highlands, on any serious movement of the Enemy that way. The Park of Artillery will be at Pluckemin. The Cavalry will be disposed of thus, Blands Regiment at Winchester in Virginia; Baylors at Frederick or Hagar's Town in Maryland. Moylans at Lancaster in Pennsylvania and Sheldons at Derham in Connecticut. Lee's Corps will be with that part of the Army which is in the Jerseys, acting on the advanced posts.

This comprehends the general distribution of the Army, except Clinton's Brigade of New York Troops Pulaski's Corps and some detached regiments and Corps, stationed at Albany and at different parts of the frontier, of which Congress have been already particularly advised. Genl. Putnam will command at Danbury, Genl. McDougal at the Highlands, and my own quarters will be in the Jerseys, in the neighbourhood of Middle Brook.

This disposition appeared to me best calculated to conciliate, as far as possible, these several objects: the protection of the country, the security of the important posts in the Highlands, the safety, discipline and easy subsistence of the army. To have kept the Troops in a collected state would have increased infinitely the expence and difficulty of subsisting them, both with respect to forage and provisions. To have divided them into smaller cantonments, would have made it far less practicable to maintain order and discipline among them, and would have put them less in a condition to controul and prevent offensive operations on the side of the Enemy, or to assemble to take advantage of any favourable opening, which their future situation may offer, should they be obliged to weaken themselves by further detachments, so far as to invite an enterprise against them.

November 1778 to March 1779

Maj. Gen. Israel Putnam's Division

Brig. Gen. Samuel Parson's Brigade

3rd Connecticut, Col. Samuel Wyllys

4th Connecticut, Col. John Durkee

6th Connecticut, Col. Return Jonathan Meigs

8th Connecticut, late Chandler

Brig. Gen. Jedediah Huntington's Brigade

1st Connecticut, Col. Josiah Starr

2nd Connecticut, Col. Zebulon Butler

5th Connecticut, Col. Philip Bradley

7th Connecticut, Col. Heman Swift

Brig. Gen. Enoch Poor's Brigade

2nd Canadian, Col. Moses Hazen

1st New Hampshire, Col. Joseph Cilley

2nd New Hampshire, Lt. Col. George Reid

3rd New Hampshire, Col. Alexander Scammell

**“Grievances ... Justly complained of by your Soldiers ...”
The Connecticut Line Winter Camp, December 1778 to January 1779**

On the third day after leaving Fredericksburgh Parson's Brigade was in the vicinity of Redding, Connecticut, where General Putnam had decided to quarter his division for the winter. According to Charles S. Hall in his *Life and Letters of Samuel Holden Parsons*, “Early in November, General Putnam had fixed upon three sites for the proposed camps, one for each of the two Connecticut brigades and one for Hazen's regiment and Poor's New Hampshire brigade. The site for Parsons' camp was well located on what was known as Redding Ridge and convenient both to wood and running water.” Brigade orders for 4 December stipulated hut construction and camp layout:

The huts are to be built 14 by 16 between joints with logs duftailed together; the door towards the brook at one end and the chimney at the other; the square of the hut must be six feet high at least before the roof comes on; the gable ends must be contracted until they come to a proper point; the ribs of the roof serving to form the roof proper for shingling. The huts to be built in two rows with eight feet distance between them, agreeable to our present mode of encamping. Col. Wyllys' regiment to occupy 28 rods in front; Col. Meigs' regiment 30; the other two regiments 15 rods each; the Quartermaster of each regiment must be particularly careful to see the ground properly staked out for each hut to be built on. The officer's huts of each regiment must be built in a regular line at about 16 feet distance from the rear line of the soldiers. The Quartermasters of the several regiments of the brigade will run lines and mark trees between the grounds both in front and rear of their respective regiments, so as to secure the wood and timber properly belonging to each. An officer of each regiment must be appointed to superintend the hutting of the regiment to which he belongs. The brigade Quartermaster will make an equal

distribution of tools and utensils necessary for hutting. Major Smith will superintend the hutting of the whole brigade and see that the foregoing order is particularly attended to.

Again according to Charles Hall, "General Parsons established his headquarters on Redding Ridge and, about the middle of the month, moved his family there to a house on the main road not far from the Episcopal Church. The location proved so satisfactory that he continued to reside there until December, 1781, when he removed to Middletown."

The troops having reached their appointed ground and begun building huts, General Putnam informed Washington from "Camp at Reading Decemr. 17th. 1778. ... The Troops here have at this time got their Hutts in good forwardness, notwithstanding the interruptions they have met with from a succession of bad weather they have already began to remove into them and will I hope in the course of a few days be comfortably cover'd. ..." The same day Putnam wrote another note to General Washington, largely discussing clothing, but beginning with another reference to soldiers' shelter.

Camp Reading Decr. 23rd. 1778

Dear Sir ... I have receiv'd and issued a General Order of the 14th. respecting the mode of hutting, altho I had given previous direction to construct them in the manner then pointed out, and had it not been for the badness of the Roads, by this time, boards and shingles would have been procured sufficient to compleat them.

The commander-in-chief's 14 December orders regarding hut construction were as follows:

Head Quarters, Camp Middle Brook, Monday, December 14, 1778 ...

Much of the sickness among the Troops seems to have been occasioned by the improper method adopted in forming many of the Hutts last Winter; Some being sunk in the ground and others covered with Earth; To avoid consequences of a similar nature as far as in our power from occuring again, The Commander in Chief directs, that all the officers on the ground see that their men observe the Instructions of the Quarter Master General in the formation of their huts. That they be roofed with boards, slabs or large shingles; That the men be not suffered to dig into the ground (except so far as to level the surface) or to cover their huts with earth or turf.

The officers will likewise see that their men erect bunks or births to keep them off the ground and proper conveniencies in their huts for the purpose of preserving their Arms and Accoutrements from being damaged.

Much of the minutia of military life during the Redding Camp has been lost to us, but some of General Parson's brigade orders for the period have been passed down. On 17 December General Putnam directed that changes be made in the divisional and brigade staff:

Quartermaster [Simeon] Belding of the First Connecticut Brigade, is appointed Quartermaster of Division and is to do that duty till further orders.

David Humphreys Esq., late Brigade Major to General Parsons is appointed Aid-de-Camp to Major General Putnam till further orders and is to be regarded and obeyed as such.

Captain [Henry] Champion is to do the duty of Brigade Major to Brigadier General Parsons till further orders and is to be obeyed accordingly.

Lieut. [David] Judson of the Eighth Connecticut Regiment, is appointed Quartermaster to General Parsons' brigade till further orders.

Concerns soon arose regarding supplies of food and clothing, items that would soon be the

focus of discontent among the Connecticut troops. On 27 December Parsons' orders addressed shortfalls in provisioning:

The General of the brigade informs the officers and soldiers that he has used every possible method to supply flour or bread to the brigade. Although a sufficiency of every article necessary is at Danbury, the weather has been so extreme that it is impossible for teams to pass to that place. Every measure is taken to supply flour, rum, salt and every necessary to morrow, at which time, if a quantity sufficient comes in, all past allowances shall be made up. The General, therefore, desires for the honor of this corps and their own personal reputation, the soldiery, under the special circumstances caused by the severity of the season, will make themselves contented to that time.

Two days later he announced, "The General desirous of contributing so far as in his power towards the happiness of his brigade, orders that half a pint of rum or brandy be delivered to each officer and soldier to morrow."

In the meantime Parsons had written his former commander General McDougall, at West Point.

[27 December 1778] ... The flour for supplying the troops here is expected from North River, and no liberty has been granted for removing forage from the westward to this Post, but we procure our supplies eastward and southward. I suppose the forage in the country between us and Peekskill, especially near the roads, should not be removed, but remain to supply the travel. I hope I was not understood to fault the vigilance of your guards. I have never had any reason to call that in question. I have heard since mine of the 9th, that the militia of New York are at North Castle; if their numbers are sufficient with a small guard at Bedford to guard the stores and those establishing at Round Hill and Horseneck, they will be pretty good security for that part of the country. I have lately been to Sawpits and the vicinity. I believe our guard may be posted securely where they may send parties of observation to White Plains and on the East River road.

I am concerned how we shall maintain our guards. Unless some new measures are adopted, the whole of the flour must be furnished from York State, and although Mr. Leak lives in the midst of a flour country at Bedford, by some unaccountable neglect he does not supply flour even for the guard at Bedford, but he and others have, in a number of instances, seized the flour going to Horseneck, for the guards there. This must be prevented or our guards cannot be subsisted.

With flour in short supply in New England, Putnam's Division had to rely on New York shipments. On January 2nd General Parsons complained to Governor Clinton that some citizens of his state were blocking the commodity from crossing into Connecticut:

I have this moment arrived here [Greenwich] to give some orders respecting the guards in this quarter, and to my surprise, I find the Bedford Junto still refuses to suffer flour to come on to this Post. Are we to be sacrificed, or is there a fixed design to sacrifice the officers commanding in this division? The troops must be withdrawn unless some measures can be taken to furnish flour here without such constant interruptions as we have experienced in this quarter. I know your Excellency is incapable of being accessory to these purposes, but I believe there were never so many artifices made use of to render it impossible to keep our guards and do our duty. I beg your Excellency's interposition, and that such orders may be given as will prevent this evil. I received your Excellency's answer respecting Scudder. I believe him brave and thought him honest, but must beg your particular direction in this matter.

He wrote General McDougall in the same vein:

Horseneck, January 5, 1779 ... I have ordered my guards to guard the road leading from King Street to White Plains and all avenues to the Sound. Some are advanced so far as Purchase Street and Rye. The patrol is ordered to Mamaroneck to morrow. I think we shall be obliged to withdraw our guards from there, however, for want of provisions. Many objections to the passing Continental flour through Bedford are made by the authorities.

In mid-December General Putnam was also concerned with supplies of food reaching the British on Manhattan and Long Islands, writing Washington on interdicting the flow:

Camp at Reading Decemr. 17th. 1778. ... From the East to the North river since the removal of the light troops from Bedford a large space of country has been laid open to the Enemy to furnish them with provisions equal to their Exigencies. By the efficacy of [?] Corn and the ardent Zeal of their friends to promote their Interest I am well inform'd several hundred head of fat cattle have been drove into the Enemies lines, besides a large number of swine, not less than forty or fifty in a drove, as an officer who was the lines with a flagg can testify from ocular demonstration – And to remove the wonder as to how so large quantities of provision can be furnish'd from such an exhausted Country, your Excellency will please to consider, that the Inhabitants near the Enemies lines purchase and drive from one stage to another whatever stock they please, till they get them within the Enemies immediate power, and upon their being plunder'd by the Enemy (as they say) a new supply is to be obtain'd in the same manner and for the same purpose. The fact however is the Markets in New York were scarcely ever better supply'd nor for a long time for so moderate prices. Beef has fallen from half a crown to two shillings and sixteen pence pr pound.

Upon these representations which were made to me from the best Authority, from the plentiful supplies constantly received from the Country I have consulted the Brigadiers under my Command on the subject of sending small parties down towards the Enemies lines, to prevent those practices, to repulse any of their small parties which might penetrate too far into the Country, and to obtain whatever intelligence may be collected ...

The commander-in-chief responded nine days later.

Philadelphia, December 26, 1778.

Dear Sir: I recd. your favr. of the 17th. at this place, at which I shall remain but a few days and then return to Middle Brook. I am pleased to think that your troops will have been covered before this severe Weather. ...I have not a Copy of your instructions with me, but if my memory serves me, I was as full in my directions respecting the conduct of Officers who shall be sent upon the lines as I possibly can be. The Officer must determine from all circumstances, whether Cattle or any species of provision found near the lines are in danger of falling into the hands of the Enemy, or are carried there with an intent to supply them. If it is thought necessary to bring them off, they must be reported and disposed of as directed by your instructions. I was very particular upon that Head, because I know that great Acts of injustice have been committed by Officers, under pretence that provision and other kinds of property were intended for the Use of the Enemy. I would recommend the bringing off as much Forage as possible but I would not advise the destruction of what we cannot remove. I think your plan of sending out a large party under the command of a Field Officer and making detachments from thence, a good one; and if you and General Mcdougall can agree upon a cooperation of your parties I think many advantages will result from the measure. You may agree upon the mode of effecting this, between yourselves.

Soon afterwards a detachment was sent against the British, probably as a result of the foregoing discussion. Eighth Connecticut Corporal Joseph Martin had been absent serving with Brig. Gen. Charles Scott's Light Infantry Corps during the summer and autumn of 1778, and rejoined his regiment in December at Redding, Connecticut. He recalled the end of the year events in his 1830 memoirs:

We arrived at reading about Christmas or a little before, and prepared to build huts for our winter quarters. And now came on the time again between grass and hay, that is, the winter campaign of starving. We had not long been under the command of General Putnam, before the old gentleman heard, or fancied he heard, that a party of the enemy were out somewhere 'down below.' We were alarmed about midnight, and as cold a night as need be, and marched off to find the enemy, if he could be found. We marched all the remaining part of the night and all the forenoon of the next day, and when we came where they were, they were not there at all at all, as the Irishman said. We now had nothing more to do but to return as we came, which we immediately set about.

We marched back to Bedford, near the encamping ground I had just left [when serving with Scott's Light Corps]. We were conducted into our bedroom, a large wood, by our landlords, the officers, and left to our repose, while the officers stowed themselves away snugly in the houses of the village, about half a mile distant. We struck us up fires and lay down to rest our weary bones, all but our jawbones, they had nothing to weary them. About midnight it began to rain, which soon put out all our fires, and by three or four o'clock it came down in torrents. There *we* were, but where our careful officers were, or what had become of them we knew not, nor did we much care. The men began to squib off their pieces in derision of the officers, supposing they were somewhere amongst us, and careless of our condition; but none of them appearing, the men began firing louder and louder, till they had brought it almost to a running fire. At the dawn, the officers, having, I suppose, heard the firing, came running from their warm, dry beds, almost out of breath, exclaiming, 'Poor fellows! Are you not almost dead?' We might have been for aught they knew or cared. However, they marched us off to the village, wet as drowned rats, put us into the houses, where we remained till the afternoon and dried ourselves.

It cleared off towards night and about sundown we marched for camp, which was about twenty miles distant. We marched till sometime in the evening when we were ordered to get into the houses, under the care of the noncommissioned officers, the commissioned officers having again taken care of themselves at an early hour of the night. Myself and ten or fifteen others of our company, being under the charge of our orderly sergeant, could not get any quarters, as the people at every house made some excuse, which he thought all true. We kept pushing on till we had got three or four miles in advance of the troops. We then concluded to try for lodgings no longer, but to make the best of our way to camp, which we did, and arrived there in the latter part of the night. I had nothing to do but to endeavor to get a little rest, for I had no cooking, although I should have been very glad to have had it to do.

The rest of the troops arrived in the course of the day, and at night, I think, we got a little something to eat, but if we did not, I know what I got by the jaunt, for I got a pleurisy which laid me up for some time. When I got so well as to work I assisted in building our winter huts. We got them in such a state of readiness that we moved into them about New Year's Day. The reader may take my word, if he pleases, when I tell him we had nothing extraordinary, either of eatables or drinkables, to keep a new year or housewarming.

Martin also wrote of unrest in his regiment in January 1779, but little of those particular events have been recorded elsewhere. The best documented incident at the Redding Camp occurred in Huntington's brigade on December 30th, 1778. The catalysts were deficiencies in food and

clothing supply. The following petition (cited as being recorded in Captain Nathaniel Webb's Order Book, 4th Connecticut Regiment) was purportedly sent by the officer corps to Connecticut Governor Jonathan Trumbull prior to the December mutiny; it is included here as its content and claims ring true in light of the known facts:

Camp Reading, December 27th, 1778

Petition to his Excellency Gov. Trumbull. May it please your Excellency. The Sense of Importance of opposing with Force, ye attempts of Great Britain to enslave our Country, induces us to lay before your Excellency the Condition of that Part of ye Army raised from the State of Connecticut & ye great Danger of their disbanding & returning to their several Homes.

They have may it please your Excellency been promised a Blanket, & other Clothing annually from ye Continent & a Blanket from ye State every year, for each non-commissioned Officer & Soldier, those Promises have not been complied with, so far from it, that although we have not, one half ye Quota of Men this State was to raise, we assure you not less than four hundred are to this Day totally destitute, & no one has received two Blankets according to Contract, nor has more than one half of the Clothing promises ever been received or any compensation made for ye deficiency, that when they have Coats they are without Breeches, & when they are supplied with Shoes, they have neither Stockings nor Shirts, & at this Inclement Season many of our Men are suffering for want of Blankets, Shirts, Breeches, Shoes & Stockings, & some are destitute of Coats & Waistcoats.

The increasing Price of every necessary [necessity] and Convenience of Life, is another Grievance most [unreadable] experienced by ye Soldiery in their Marches, & in other Situations, they are necessitated to purchase Provisions and Vegetables when in Camp. The Prices now asked for one Meal is from three to eight Shillings. Turnips from two to three Dollars per Bushel & other Vegetables in proportion, that a Soldiers month Pay is consumed in about three days in furnishing himself with necessaries not supplied by the Public. - These are Grievances very greatly and Justly complained of by your Soldiers, & Officers of every Rank are Sharers in the Consequences of these Evils.

An expectation of Redress has retained ye Soldiery hitherto, but Desertions Daily increase & unless that Justice which is their due is done, We assure your Excellency we fear it will not be in our Power to retain them. We have ye greatest Reason to believe they will wait ye Event only of their Petition at ye Adj. Assembly, & should that Assembly arise without doing them Justice in ye past depredation of ye Currency, we are convinced ye greater part of ye Soldiery will desert.

We assure your Excellency we have & shall continue to appease every discontent which has ye remotest Tendency to produce Mutiny & Desertion or any other Act prejudicial to ye Service & we have ye Satisfaction to believe we posses ye Love & Affection of ye Soldiery & that they are not desirous to forsake us or ye Cause of their Country.

But it may please your Excellency they are naked in [a] severe Winter, they are hungry & have no Money ... We have furnished our Agent with a Calculation, founded on ye best Evidence in our power, that being adopted by our Assembly will in our Opinion quiet our Troops & that nothing short will give them Satisfaction.

Historian Charles Hall nicely describes the Connecticut soldiers' mood that December:

When the troops went into winter quarters, they were in no very happy frame of mind. Badly fed, badly clothed, and, worse than all, unable to assist their impoverished families with the nearly worthless currency in which they were paid, they soon, with leisure to meditate on their wrongs, began to exhibit a mutinous spirit. Parsons was able to keep his own brigade quiet, but the Second, commanded by General Huntington, resolved to march to Hartford and in person

demand a redress of grievances of the Legislature then in session. The brigade was already under arms and ready to march (Dec. 30, 1778) when Putnam rode down to their quarters, and, addressing them kindly but firmly, persuaded them to return to their duty.

Just a week earlier, General Parsons, had written Washington concerning clothing deficiencies:

Camp Redding, December 23d, 1778 ... When I last conversed with your Excellency on the subject of clothing for my brigade, I received your assurances I should have my rateable proportion of the blankets, shirts, and other small clothing for my brigade according to a return then given in, since which time I have received no article of any kind. I am sure the great multiplicity of business in which your Excellency is engaged must have occasioned our misfortune in this matter, for I cannot persuade myself 'tis your Excellency's intention to deny us those supplies which we have the faith of the Continent pledged to deliver, and nothing, I believe, could have induced your Excellency to have given the order for the whole remaining quantity of blankets &c., without permitting my brigade to be served with any part, but your not recollecting the state of those troops. We did receive your Excellency's order to Major Bigelow to furnish coats, wescoats and breeches for the soldiers, and esteemed it a favor, but in this also we have been unfortunate, for so many other orders had been given as to take away so great a part of the cloth that the remainder proved very insufficient for the purpose. I have inclosed a return of the clothing received and wanting. I believe I have eight hundred men who are totally destitute, and many of them never had a blanket since their enlistment. The clothing has not yet arrived at Danbury and cannot proceed till the carting is better than at present, which leaves time to acquaint your Excellency with the effect of this order and to request directions that the five hundred remaining blankets may be detained for the use of my troops, and so many shirts and stockings as your Excellency shall find to be our part of the whole which has been furnished this year for the troops. I have not the least doubt of your Excellency's intentions to do equal justice among the troops; this justice we have not yet had. When other troops have received blankets nearly sufficient for them, we have not yet had one third part. If the blankets now ordered forward cannot be delivered to my troops, I beg your Excellency's directions to Major Bigelow to purchase a further quantity for that particular purpose, that we may at least have some distant prospect of receiving some benefit from the public promises so often made us.

Israel Putnam's 17 December letter to Washington also mentioned problems with clothing supplies. Following the 30 December mutiny the commander-in-chief somewhat belatedly felt compelled to address the matter.

Head Quarters, Philadelphia, January 8, 1779.

Dear Sir: I am duly favoured with your letter of the 23d. december, accompanied by one from General Parsons, which I cannot but consider as containing some insinuations of the most delicate nature; I am the more surprized at them as his knowledge of circumstances and the agency he had in bringing about the measure, which is now made a subject of complaint gave me reason to expect he would have discountenanced any dissatisfaction which might have been excited on account of it. All the troops of the States have ever experienced an equal share of my attention and if those of Connecticut have not fared so well as others, in the late distribution of cloathing to the army, at the same time, that I should be truly sorry for it. I am conscious, that it has not proceeded from my having made any injurious discrimination to their prejudice. With respect to their having been referred to Major Bigelow for their uniforms, and not having received their proportion of the imported cloathing; this was done in consequence of a particular application from several of their officers, who informed me, it was the earnest desire of those

troops, to be cloathed out of the supplies provided by Major Bigelow, and that this mode would be infinitely preferred to their being placed upon a common footing with the other troops, and furnished out of the imported stock. Indeed this manner of supplying them was insisted on as a matter of right, on the merit of some particular pains which had been taken by the State of Connecticut and the officers of that State to assist in procuring and preparing the materials in Major Bigelows hands. In compliance with repeated importunities supported by this plea, in which General Parsons was principally zealous, and as I foresaw no inconvenience that would accrue to the other troops, I consented that the Connecticut regiments should depend on Major Bigelow for their supply instead of taking their chance with the rest of the army in the imported cloathing. The decided preference given to this mode was certainly founded on the prospect of some peculiar advantages that would attend it, and the event proving different from what was expected, could not be a sufficient reason for departing from it. It is an unfortunate circumstance, if Major Bigelows cloathing did not happen to be of so good a quality as the French cloathing; but it might have been better, and if it had been, the troops in question would certainly have reaped the benefit and would not have relinquished their claim in favour of others.

The complaint, among other things extends to Blankets. Orders have been already given and at a very early period for a supply of that article. If I mistake not, I remember two successively given to General Parsons [and for those of the largest and best quality, the latter parcels being of so small a kind, that it took two of one sort, and four of another to make one of full size, and besides this a deficiency of two or three thousand was found upon the whole quantity short of the Invoices.] I cannot, where I now am, ascertain the number, but I have always entertained an idea there was a full allowance made in proportion to the wants of the army and the quantity in the public possession. The fact is, that the whole supply was very inadequate to the deficiency and that the troops in general have only received about one half of the defective number. If the Connecticut troops are in a worse predicament, and you will forward me an exact return of what they have and what they want, they shall be put in the same situation with the other parts of the army. General Parsons mentions a return in his letter; but he does not enclose it.

As to the smaller articles of shirts, Stockings and shoes, I do not recollect what has been done. But if the Connecticut troops have not received their proportion, they may do it by applying with proper returns to the Clothier at Fish Kill, to whom I have written the enclosed for that purpose. The troops in General have had orders for a shirt and a pair of stockings per man for the whole, and a pair of shoes, for each that wanted it. The application in the present case is to be made by the same rule; but it is to be understood, that this supply is only to be drawn, if it has not already been done.

The Idea of appropriating the cloathing in the hands of Major Bigelow, to the use of the Connecticut troops exclusively appears to me to be carried much too far: Major Bigelow was [either] employed by the continent to purchase [or had the purchases taken of his hands by Congress] of course [they] ought to be thrown in a common stock for the benefit of the army at large, and not confined to the troops of a particular state. On this principle, the materials in his possession have been ordered into the Continental store at Fish Kill, [as a central place and for the common benefit.] It could not however have been my intention to deprive the Connecticut troops of their proper share. They will stand precisely upon the same ground as all others.

The following week General Washington attempted to address the apparel problems of General Huntington's troops, informing that officer,

Philadelphia, January 14, 1779.

Sir: Col. [Isaac] Sherman [lieutenant colonel-commandant, 8th Connecticut Regiment], who will deliver you this, informs me, that his Regiment has not received a supply of cloathing of any

kind. I have not my papers by me and therefore cannot refer to what I wrote you from Fredericksburgh on the subject of cloathing for your Brigade. But if I recollect right, it was that it might be furnished out of the imported cloathing; provided you would engage to have all the new cloathing otherwise received, returned into the public hands. This proposition I am still willing to adhere to, with respect to Col. Sherman's Regiment or any other in a like predicament. In making it I rely upon your impartial regard to the general good of the public service, and I am persuaded you will not wish to derive any advantages to your Brigade more than are shared in common with every other part of the army. With this persuasion, I have written to Mr. Mesom, directing him on your return, to furnish the whole or any part of your Brigade with new uniforms on the principle I have mentioned. I hope however, it may not be necessary to make use of this allowance more than for Col. Sherman's regiment, as the Col seems to think the other regiments have been already supplied from Major Bigelow. I am not certain whether there be any of the French cloathing remaining on the Eastside of the River; if not you will be pleased to forward returns to me and an order shall be given for them from the store at Middle Brook. You will also send proper officers to receive them.

The same day he wrote Deputy Clothier General Measam, "I have authorized General Huntington to draw either as much of the new imported Cloathing as will supply his present deficiency, or the full quantity for his whole brigade ... You will therefore ... furnish him agreeably thereto ..."

Four days later General Washington finally acknowledged the rebellion of Huntington's Brigade:

Head Quarters, Philadelphia, January 18, 1779.

Dear Sir: I have before me your favor. dated thro' a mistake the 31st Inst: and one of the 8th. [actually Putnam's letter of 5 January 1779 in which he recommended pardoning the ringleaders of the 30 December 1778 mutiny]

The mutiny of the Soldiers in Huntington's brigade was on its first appearance of a very alarming nature, but I am in hopes from the success with which your spirited exertions were attended in dispersing them, that there is no danger of farther commotion.

The Conduct which a Commanding Officer is to observe, in cases of this kind in general, is to use every means for discovering the Authors of the mischief, to inflict instant punishment on them, and reclaim the rest by Clemency. The impression made on the minds of the multitude by the terror of the example, and their inability to take any resolution when deprived of their Ringleaders, are a sufficient Security against farther attempts. Humanity and Policy unite in prescribing such limits to Capital Punishments, when the Crime has been so general. With respect to the application in the present instance, and the doubt which arises from the foundation of Complaints which the men have, it is to be observed that their mode of pursuing Redress, is of so dangerous a tendency as to call for the exercise of wholesome Severity; and tho' the circumstances may require it, to be tempered with more lenity than in ordinary cases, such a subversion of discipline and Subordination cannot be passed unpunished. You will be best able to judge, from the degree of culpability of those in confinement, what measures ought to be taken respecting them, if there are any proper subjects for execution among them, it is to be regretted that the matter has suffered any delay.

If the same causes should unluckily give birth to any future mutiny, the conduct abovementioned must be pursued; the severest and most summary example must be made of the Leaders, while a representation is made to the rest, in firm and at the same time conciliatory Language.: That no measure compatible with our present circumstances is omitted for providing them, that Mutiny will not only be ineffectual in procuring a Remedy, but involve consequences

infinitely worse than the evil complain'd of.

Instructions have been given to the Clothier to leave a proportion of Clothing at Springfield and Fishkill for the Troops on the East Side of Hudsons River; you will therefore know where to address your orders for such of the smaller articles of Clothg. as the Troops under yr commd may have real occasion for, but as our resources are so inadequate to our wants, I must insist that you grant no orders where the necessity and equity of the distribution are not manifest.

Eventually, General Parsons felt compelled to counter the commander-in-chief's assertions regarding his 23 December missive, writing on February 3rd,

Dear General - I am this day favored by General Putnam with a sight of your Excellency's letter to him of the 8th of January. I am sorry to find my intentions have been so much mistaken as to impress your Excellency with an opinion so very distant from my thoughts. I have reviewed my letter of the 23d of December, and cannot satisfy myself that anything like injustice or partiality in your Excellency's attention to the troops of the different States is in the most distant manner suggested. I am certain I never entertained a sentiment of the kind, and am fully persuaded that, however unfortunate the troops of my brigade have been in the article of clothing, they never had an idea their misfortune arose from any undue preference given to the troops of other States. I had your Excellency's order for 400 blankets for my brigade, which we received; another order for the same number was given, one hundred of which were for my brigade and 300 for General Huntington's. These are all we have received from the Public and I believe were the full share we ought to have received at that time, very few having then arrived; and if 500 is the proportion my brigade ought to receive the whole, I am still contented. That they have not received the quantity of any one article of clothing promised by Congress is a fact, but I believe they are no more discontented than any other troops under their circumstances, would have been. Their discontent has never shown itself in riots or mutinies; they have complained and were almost naked, but have never shown an inclination to leave the service or commit any disorders in consequence. This has not been the case with other brigades. When they have complained, mine were quiet; when they were guilty of riots and disorders, mine were silent and orderly in Camp. Under the circumstances I feel myself particularly unfortunate in being thought the author of disorders and tumults which have arisen in brigades with which I had no connection, and of promoting uneasiness in my own. I am conscious I do not justly deserve the imputation; and no officer who has the honor to serve under your Excellency's command, has more exerted himself on every occasion to prevent disturbances of every kind in Camp; but it has often been my misfortune to have been suspected of transactions I never thought of. I hope I may without offense assure your Excellency we have not had the necessary clothing the Continent promised us. We do not—we never did—impute this to any partiality in your Excellency, but the order given on Major Bigelow for coats, wescoats and breeches for my brigade and for General Huntington's, was at a time when the cloths had been taken from that store by the troops under General Gates' command, though then unknown to your Excellency and to me, and a sufficiency did not remain to complete their outside clothing. I know I then thought it a favor to receive the order, and it would have been so if the cloths had remained there, but no order was ever given upon Major Bigelow for anything but coats, wescoats and breeches.

The First Regiment from Connecticut has been completed with outside clothing; the Fifth and Seventh have had cloth nearly sufficient for the purpose. This is not the case with my brigade, though I believe they now have cloth nearly sufficient for coats and a great proportion of their wescoats; of this they do not complain; of breeches or overalls they are very deficient; in shirts and stockings they have very few. . . . Whatever opinions may be entertained of my conduct or intentions, I hope never justly to deserve your Excellency's displeasure.

In the end clothing for the Connecticut Line in 1778 and 1779 remained a hodge-podge from several sources, including a small number of the French uniforms issued to the rest of Washington's army in November and December of 1778. (For details, see Matthew Keagle, "Captain Andrew Fitch's 4th Company of the 4th Connecticut Regiment, 1777-81: History and Material Culture (Lebanon Historical Society, May 2008), 28 pages; "Clothing," 7-17.)

There were no real recriminations emanating from the rebellion among Huntington's troops. No solid redress for the soldiers' protests followed, either in apparel or provisions. Evidence Brigadier General Parsons' complaint of continuing problems with procuring foodstuff in his note to New York Governor Clinton on 2 January 1779, "the Bedford Junto still refuses to suffer flour to come to this post. Are we to be sacrificed . . .?" The situation seemed to continue after that, given Corporal Martin's recollection of that winter, "We got settled in our winter quarters at the commencement of the new year and went on in our old Continental line of starving and freezing. We now and then got a little bad bread and salt beef (I believe chiefly horse-beef, for it was generally thought to be such at the time). The month of January was very stormy, a good deal of snow fell, and in such weather it was a mere chance if we got anything at all to eat."

We will close this brief history of the Connecticut Division with a sampling of General Putnam's orders during the first full month in the Redding Camp, referencing food and enemy incursions:

January 12, 1779. Complaints have been made that the inhabitants have suffered great injury by the loss of sheep, poultry and many other articles since the troops have been stationed at this place. The General cannot suppress his indignation that any of the soldiers under his command should be guilty of such wanton, scandalous conduct. Every precaution, he flatters himself, will be taken by the officers to put a stop to such licentious practices and to punish severely the authors of them.

January 26, 1779. The General has received such information as induces him to believe it highly probable the enemy will soon make an excursion into the country after cattle and other provisions; he desires, therefore, that everything should be in readiness to make a sudden exertion to check their progress and frustrate their designs.

January, 27, 1779. Should the enemy advance into the country, the signal for an alarm will be the discharging three pieces of artillery at a minutes distance, from the Second Connecticut Brigade, which will be answered in the same manner from General Poor's brigade &c. The Commissary will follow the brigade with the provisions and a sufficient quantity of spirits, that there may not be a moments delay, as everything will probably depend on the rapidity of the movement.

Putnam's Division remained at Redding until early to mid-spring 1779, the units departing over a space of two months. The New Hampshire Brigade moved to the Hudson Highlands on 27 March, with the 2nd Canadian Regiment marching for Springfield, Massachusetts, the same day. Huntington's Brigade left on May 1st, their destination being Peekskill, New York. Parson's Connecticut Brigade was the last to go, marching towards the Hudson Highlands on 27 May 1779.

For an overview and further information regarding the 1778-79 Redding winter camp, see:
“Putnam’s 1778-79 Encampment,” Putnam Memorial State Park (World Wide Web),
<http://putnampark.org/putnam-park-history-1778.htm>

“Undisturbed 1778-1779 Patriot Encampment Site Disclosed,” The Connecticut Society of the Sons of
the American Revolution, (World Wide Web),
http://www.connecticutsar.org/articles/redding_site.htm
