

"We ... got ourselves cleverly settled for the night ..."
Soldiers' Shelter on Campaign During the War for Independence

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"How hard is the soldier's lott who's least danger is in the field of action? Fighting happens seldom, but fatigue, hunger, cold & heat are constantly varying his distress."
Surgeon Jabez Campfield, Spencer's Additional Regt., 4 August 1779.⁴¹

Part VI.

"We built up housan of branchis & leavs ..."
Continental Army Brush Shelters, 1778-1782

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"15 [August] we ware ordered to march all the forces to the lines ... Just at knight we did Encamp in a whatelbury [whortleberry] Plain & 1 mild & half off the lines & I feel very much unwell then I got one more bottle of Rum Slep[t] in the Bushes

16 [August] was Cloudy & we built us a Bush hut and I feel Some better & Just at knight Jesse John & I was Drawed out to go to intrenching and we went in about 3 Quarters of a mild of the Enemy and built a fourt ..."

Joseph Joslin, Jr., Connecticut militia, Rhode Island, August 1778.⁴²

"I took quart[er]s. under a huckel bury buch ...": The Monmouth Campaign, June 1778.
American soldiers built brush campaign shelters only intermittently during the five years following Valley Forge, with one notable exception, that being one full month in summer 1780 when Washington's army was in the field without tents.

The Valley Forge camp ended in mid-June 1778 when General Washington received word that the British army, now commanded by Lt. Gen. Sir Henry Clinton, had evacuated Philadelphia after a nine-month occupation. Massachusetts Surgeon Samuel Adams recorded the Continental army's progress as it pursued the enemy across New Jersey. Adams also noted the army's divestment of baggage, leaving the troops devoid of ready shelter.

[June] 18th Th: fair & very hot – the enemy this morning left Philadelphia, crossed the Delaware into N. Jersey & our Army recd. orders to March ...
 19th F: Cloudy some rain – our whole Army marched from their camp at the Valley towards Coryells ferry ...
 20th S: very rainey P.M. – the Army encamped at Night near Doyle's Town in Bucks County ...
 21st Sabb: Cloudy very hot – part of the Army crossed the Delaware at Coryells Ferry ...
 22nd M: Cloudy some rain – the remainder of the Army crossed the Ferry ...
 23rd T: Cloudy – the Army marched on to Hopewell left our Tents & heavy baggage in the rear & slept the Night in an Ammunition waggon.
 24th W: fair – the Army remained in [Hopewell] except a Detachment of light troops sent off under Genl. Scott ...
 25th Th: fair & hot – the Army Marched on halted at Kingstown from 12 o'clock till sunsett, then marched again halted about 12 at Night at a place called Long Bridge – this day a large detachment sent forward under the command of the Marquis de la Fayette ...
 26th F: fair & light showers with thunder – the Army proceeded on to Cranbury – a detachment sent off under Gen'l Lee ...⁴³

Given the speed of the pursuit it is not surprising to find only two mentions of soldiers building brush shelters. Bernardus Swartwout was a gentleman volunteer with the 2nd New York Regiment; he belonged to a "detachment ... ordered out to act as light infantry ... in the Brigade commanded by Gen. Scott & Regt: under Col. [Joseph] Cilley of New Hampshire."⁴⁴

On 24 June Scott's light troops marched "till very late at night, then halt[ed] in the woods three or four miles west of Princeton." Swartwout recorded the detachment's progress towards Monmouth Courthouse:

[25 June] The Horn blowed (a substitute for a drum in the [light] infantry corps) we marched about four miles—halted & put ourselves in a fighting position—the enemy were close by—we moved to Allentown and halted for the day.

[26 June] At the sound of the horn we marched eight miles and halted, owing to a heavy shower of rain which lasted some time—After it abated marched two miles and halted in a wood.

[27 June] Early this morning, at the sound of the horn we marched three miles and were ordered back to our old ground, then filed off in a bye road, on the left flank of the enemy—marched within one mile of English Town and made brush huts.⁴⁵

Joseph Martin also served under General Scott in Colonel Cilley's provisional battalion. He recalled that while in pursuit of the enemy he and his comrades "passed through Princeton and encamped on the open fields for the night, the canopy of heaven for our tent" (this was on 24 June). On the night of the 26th the American light troops "turned into a new ploughed field, and I laid down between two furrows and slept as sweet as though I had laid upon a bed of down." The next day Martin and his fellow soldiers arrived at "a place called Englishtown. It was uncommonly hot weather and we put up booths to protect us from the heat of the sun, which was almost insupportable. Whether we lay here one or two nights I do not remember ... We were early in the morning [of the day of the Battle of Monmouth] mustered out and ordered to leave all our baggage

under the care of a guard (our baggage was trifling), taking only our blankets and provisions (our provisions were less), and prepare for immediate march and action."⁴⁶

Sgt. Jeremiah Greenman, [by now an ensign in the 2d Rhode Island, also] was also part of Lee's Advance force and detailed the movement across New Jersey:

[16 to 18 June] ... this day [the 17th] we hear that the enemy is left philidelphia ... last night about twelve OClock att the beet of the Genl. struck our tents / marcht about 4 milds [on the 18th] & incampt in a large field.

[19 June] ... marcht fore or five milds ... halted about one oClock & piched our tents ...

[20 June] ... marcht a bout 7 milds & made a halt ... then pushed on in the rain / Crost the diliware / pushed on about 5 milds to Amwell ware we piched our tents in a large field ...

[21 June] this morn att the beet of the Genl struck our tents, march about a mild then was order'd to march back in to the field ware we incampt ware we continued all day ... very hott whether ...

[22 June] Continuing in amwell / wraining wether ...

[23 June] this morn started from amwell ... marcht about ten milds & stopt [at] hopewill ... we marcht in to a field ware we fixed our arms, & lay on the Ground in the field / misty wraining wether.

[24 June] ... Continuing in hope will ...

[25 June] this morn the Genl beet / we peraded the Rijt. & slung our packs [and] marcht ... very hot sultry wether ... att Sun down marcht into a field ware we grounded our arms & order'd to stay by them ... then marcht 5 milds and halted in a flax field ...

[26 June] ... pushed on 6 milds as far as a small town cal'd Crambury ... hear we stayed three owers ... our Division was order'd forrid under the Command of Genl Lee / we went about 6 milds & made a halt / Sum very heavy Shower of wrain & Thundr.

[27 June] this morn turn'd out from among the wett grass ... pushed on 6 milds near Englishtown ... [after some further marching and halting] we marcht half a mild into a Meadow ... whare I took quart[er]s. under a huckel bury buch. for it was very hot indeed / in the Night it wrain'd & cold.

[28 June, Battle of Monmouth] ... after We retreated [at the end of the day] we went back to the ground ware we left in the morning att English town ...

Greenman makes no mention at all of brush huts, only that he slept in tents, lay on the ground, or "under a huckel bury buch." Following the Monmouth battle, it was not until 2 July that he recorded that "our bagage came to us / we pitched our tents."⁴⁷

Ebenezer Wild's regiment marched with the main body of Washington's army after the light troops went ahead en route to Monmouth Courthouse; he also made no mention of brush shelters. On 23 June, the day before Brigadier General Charles Scott's division was detached, Wild noted, "Our tents did not come up this night, but what little time we had to sleep we slept in the open field, which was from 11 o'clk at night till 4 in the morning." The main body of troops lay still on the 24th, but were up early on the day after leaving "all our tents standing & our heavy baggage behind us." Later that day, long after sundown, Wild and his comrades halted and slept "in the road all night." On June 26th it rained till late in the evening, after which "we took our lodgings in the road without anything to cover us, or anything to lodge on but the wet ground ..." On the night of 27 June "We lay in the open field"; the Battle of Monmouth began on the morning of the following day.⁴⁸

"Found the regiment lying in bush huts ...": Continental Troops on Campaign, 1779–1780. In 1779 we see further use of brush constructs, again on a relatively small scale. Massachusetts lieutenant Benjamin Gilbert was serving in the Hudson highlands in late spring of that year. At the end of May British forces moving upriver threatened the fortified posts at Kings Ferry, just north of Tappan Bay. Gilbert tells of various moves and countermoves, and the overnight accommodations afforded the soldiers.

[May] the 31 ... The [British] Shipping appeared in sight this Morning and Came & plaid [i.e., fired] upon the Block House. Our Brigade Marched to the Village and staid all Night in the Continental Barn.

June the 1st ... In the after noon our Regt Marched up towards fish Kill and slept in the Wood without any Cover. [On this date the British captured Stony Point and, just across the river, Fort Lafayette on Verplanks Point.]

[June] the 2nd We lay in the Bush all day and herd that the British had taken the Block House ... and Landed all their Army on Verplancks Point & Incampd their.

[June] the 3 At 1 oClock AM Genl. Parsons Brigade came & Joined us. Then we was Alarmd and Posted our selves in the Bush. At Night six Hundred York Militia Joined us. The Reglars came to Gallows Hill till the shipping came against fort Montgomeria. After Dark our Brigade Marched [over the] west point Road allmost to the ferry & lay in the bush.

[June] the 4th I gatherd Weekly Returns ...

[June] the 5th We lay in the bush all day. We had orders in the after noon to be silent from Evening Roll to 3 oClock in the Morning in which time the men are to be under Arms till sun rise.

[June] the 6th Sunday. I went down to the Baggage Waggon and got some Cloaths Washt.

[June] the 7th Fair weather. Then built a bush hut to dwell in. [Fair weather also for the 8th.]

[June] the 9th Covered our Hut with Bark. At Night it Rained and I got Very Wet by Reason of the Huts not Turning the Rain.

It is interesting to note that another soldier wrote of covering huts with bark: in June 1780 Ensign Greenman noted "peal'd the Bark off the Treas & built very Comfortable Housan"; after moving to another location at the beginning of July he described building "up housen out of the Barks of the Treas ... our housen leak in such a maner that we was obliged to spread our blancoats in the Ro[o]m of [i.e., in place of] tents ..." So much for the efficacy of brush shelters in rainy weather.⁴⁹

Gilbert's regiment remained in place until 20 June; it was not until 14 June that "Serjt. Wing moved our tent to camp." Two days later Lieutenant Gilbert made a curious journal entry: "I histed our tent with Brush and Moved down into it. In the after noon it Rained." Perhaps "histed" meant covering the tent with brush, wood, or straw for extra protection against inclement weather.⁵⁰

During Maj. Gen. John Sullivan's 1779 punitive expedition against the Iroquois in Pennsylvania and New York only two soldiers referred to makeshift shelters, and those were built en route to, and at, the army's pre-campaign staging areas. On the "March from Eleazabeth Town to the Back Woods" Sgt. Thomas Roberts, Spencer's Additional Regiment, wrote on 2 June that his unit was "Incamped in our Hutes at the north Branch" of the Rariton River in New Jersey. Slightly more than a week later 1st New Jersey lieutenant William Barton noted, "Went on again for our destined place [Wyoming, Pa.], and arrived 11 o'clock A.M.: found the regiment lying in bush huts on the bank of

the river Susquehannah." Barton's regiment had been at Wyoming since 4 June, likely sleeping in huts much of the time; the unit's baggage (including tents) reached Wyoming on the 12th.⁵¹

At year's end most of Washington's army prepared to enter winter camp near Morristown, New Jersey. Massachusetts Surgeon James Thacher told of harsh weather conditions and the makeshift structures the troops resided in at the beginning of the century's worst winter.

[December 1779] Our brigade left Danbury on the 5th instant. It snowed all the afternoon, and we took shelter in the woods at Cortland's manor. Having no other shelter than bushes thrown together, we passed a very cold, uncomfortable night. Marched the next day through a deep snow, and took lodgings at night in private houses at Crompond; marched again the next day early, crossed the Hudson at King's ferry, and proceeded twenty miles, it being late at night before our men could all find accommodations in the scattering houses and barns on the road ... We marched to Pompton on the 9th, and on the 14th reached this wilderness, about three miles from Morristown, where we are to build log-huts for winter-quarters. Our baggage is left in the rear, for want of wagons to transport it. The snow on the ground is about two feet deep, and weather extremely cold; the soldiers are destitute of both tents and blankets ... Our only defence against the inclemency of the weather, consists of brush-wood thrown together.⁵²

Thacher went on to relate that while building their winter huts the troops suffered severely, possibly sleeping in brush shelters all the while: "... notwithstanding large fires, we can scarcely keep from freezing. In addition to other sufferings, the whole army has been for seven or eight days entirely destitute of the staff of life; our only food is miserable fresh beef, without bread, salt, or vegetables."⁵³

After a trying winter, with weather much worse than that of the fabled Valley Forge camp, Washington's troops undoubtedly looked forward to balmy temperatures, despite the uncertain military situation. While the conflict's focus had shifted to the southern states in 1779, the King's forces still garrisoned New York city, Long and Staten Islands, making occasional forays against their surrounding enemies. In June 1780 Lt. Gen. Wilhelm von Knyphausen moved his British and German troops into New Jersey in an attempt to draw out and defeat Continental forces in the area. Ensign Greenman left a detailed record of the invasion and ensuing battles; he also chronicled the shelters soldiers found or built to supply the place of absent tentage. This was the second and final time of the war that a large contingent of Washington's army housed themselves in brush huts for an extended period.

W[ednesday] 7. [June 1780] ... orders to hold our Selvs in Readyness to march in a Moments Warning as we are informed the Enemy landed at Elesebeth Town / about ten oClock AM we marched from the Left ... proceeded on towards the Enemy as far as Short Hills near Spring Field in Sight of the Enemy where we halted & formed the Line, where we continu'd in the wrain all Night.

T[hursday] 8. ... [Greenman was] detached [with] a Platoon to discover [the enemy's] movements ... [leaving them for a short time he] return'd to where I left the Detachment / found they had marched off / Proceeded on after them to Conaticut farms where I overtook, & continued in an orchard all Night.

F[riday] 9. ... pushed on to Short Hills where I join'd my regt. & continued all Night ...

S[unday] 11. Continuing near Springfield on the advance Post-

T[uesday] 13. ... moved our Quarters about a Quarter of Mile on a hill where we built up a bush housen & continued 'till Eleven oClock when it began to wrain at which we took post in sum housan and Barns nigh [at] hand-⁵⁴

From 14 to 24 June (the day after the Connecticut Farms battle) Greenman's regiment remained at their "Quarters near Vaux Hall Road."

S[unday] 25. this morning ... the Regt. paraded to join the Brigade ... came to Rockaway bridge ... & took post by the Sid[e] of the River under an Oak-

M[onday] 26. this morn marched at 3 oClock ... came to Ramapo [and joined the main army] / hear we built Bush housen & continued all Night where the Ratle Snake was very Plenty.

T[hursday] 27 to F[riday] 30. Continuing in Rammapo wood until ye 1st. July - in which time we suffered grately for Provision & wrain'g, at which we peal'd the Bark off the Treas & built very Comfortable housan- ordered to march ...

S[aturday] 1. [July] ... came to Pacaness [Preakness] where continued all Night & built up bush housan.

S[unday] 2. Continuing in Pracaniss Woods / very heavey wrain.

M[onday] 3 to S[aturday] 8. Continuing in Precaness woods 'till Satturday the 8 in which time we built up housen out of the Barks of the Treas ... our housen leak in such a maner that we was obliged to spread our blancoats in the Rom of tents ...

S[unday] 9. this morn marched from the Woods about half a Mile where we pitched our Tents on a very pleasant hill, after laying without tents from the 7th June-⁵⁵

Ensign Greenman's mention of bark covering for huts is particularly interesting in light of the 17 June 1780 orders in which the General Washington notes that the

stripping bark of Trees indiscriminately greatly destroys Timber and of course is of great prejudice to the proprietors who are well disposed to accommodate the Troops whenever they can; The General directs that no more Bark be got in the way lately practis'd on any pretence whatever, but that each Brigade send a Waggon or two with a fatigue Party to Mr. Timothy Whitehead in the rear of General Stark brigade, who will point out Timber which will afford bark and without Injury to the Owners.⁵⁶

In August the American commander-in-chief recounted his troops' extensive use of brush shelters earlier that summer: "Our Army before now has been almost a whole Campaign without

Tents. And this spring were from the 6th. of June till sometime in July, without a single one for either Officers or men (making use of bush Bowers) as a substitute." Greenman's diary shows that the aforementioned structures were in fact brush huts rather than bowers. A few weeks later General Washington discussed the lack of shelter for militia arriving at West Point, recommending "that those Men, who cannot be accommodated in the Barracks and Bomb Proofs of the Redoubts, should immediately set about making themselves cover of Bark and Boughs, [Washington added optimistically] which may be made with some little pains more comfortable than Tents."⁵⁷

Ensign Greenman's only other 1780 mention of temporary shelter occurred in early October at Orange Town, New York: "this day went on the Brigade Guard / very Stormy & Nothing but a hut made of bows [boughs] to keep ... the rain & wind from me ..." Greenman and his comrades continued to use tents (more or less) until the end of October when "our Men moved into the Barracks [at West Point] / No Barracks being for the officers, we moved our Marques under the Lee of fort Clinton, where we built fire places and sealed it within boards which made it very comfortable ..." The Rhode Island troops later moved their winter quarters to Robinson's Mills where Ensign Greenman wrote on 15 December that "the Regt's huts all most compleated, except the officers who lived in their Marques."⁵⁸

Considering the war's shifting focus from north to south it is fitting that the final 1780 reference to makeshift huts concerns American forces near Hillsboro, North Carolina. The southern army under Maj. Gen. Horatio Gates had suffered a disastrous defeat at Camden, South Carolina, on 16 August 1780. The army's remnants were gathered at Hillsboro shortly thereafter, remaining there without tents and suffering shortages of other supplies until later that autumn. Given their need for some kind of shelter Gates's troops built their own with materials at hand. Evidently the owner of the farm where they camped was unhappy with his temporary tenants. On 16 October Lieutenant John Lynn, 6th Maryland, wrote to the farmer, Thomas Burke,

I am surpris'd and concern'd to hear ... that my conduct when at your farm has been so misrepresented that you consider it as an injury and an offence. ... Genl. Smallwood issued a Brigade Order for the Quarter Master to procure Straw and Corn Tops for Covering our Huts, and parties were appointed for bringing those Articles to Camp. I was ordered to take command of one of those parties, and went by direction of the Q.Master to get Corn Tops in a Field. I was forbid executing my command by a man calling himself your Overseer ... Feeling the delicacy of my Situation, I tho't I acted with discretion in dismissing him with a rebuke, giving him my name and saying I wo'd be answerable to his master if called upon.⁵⁹

The outcome of this affair is not known, but Burke likely never received the redress he sought.

Harking back to the Crown forces, earlier that summer South Carolina militia colonel Richard Winn noted brush huts being used by a mixed contingent of British regular and provincial troops. Winn wrote that at the Battle of Hanging Rock (6 August 1780) American forces attacked "the British camp which we found in an open old field ... The British immediately commenced firing from behind some bush tents."⁶⁰

"Pine huts," "Huts of rails," and "Bush Tents": Virginia and the Carolinas, 1781–1782.
Seventeen–eighty–one was a crucial, but not culminating, year in the War for Independence. While Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene opposed Lord Cornwallis's forces in North Carolina, in early January British General Benedict Arnold led a force up the James River on a mission to destroy military stores and interdict reinforcements for Greene's small army. Zachariah Mills, a Virginia militiaman, was called out to oppose the invaders, marching with his company westward to the Virginia peninsula. For a short time during their stay they built and slept in brush huts. Mills left the following account

1781, Thurs.d 11 Jan.y Set out from home on the march of the January Invasion.
Mund[ay]. 15.th ab.t 11 Oclock got to Richmond
Wens.d 17t.th Afternoon set of[f] for W.msBurg ...
Mund[ay] 22[nd.] afternoon set out from W.msBurg marched to York that night
23 [January] ab.t 11 Oclock set off from there marched to the half way House [between
Wiiliamsburg and York] that day & Built Pine huts & Encamped ther till Thursday night
25[th] an Alarm att 3 hours before day p[a]raded at half W[ay].House stayed there till day
with wet feet & [very?] Cold
26[th.] marched our comp.y to Mallorys ab.t 5 m[ile].s below Camp
27.th ab.t 1 Oclock an Alarm Marched from there to half Way house Stayed there till day &
then to the Bush tents Stayed there aday or two then to W.m Roberson a Suspected Citizen,
Stayed there 2 Nights then to the Bush huts, Stay there till Fryday 5.th Feb. came that night to
York Town
6.th [February] came from there to W.msBurg & Stayed there till Thursd. 1.st March Col
Innis called the Cap.ts tog[ethe]r. & told them we were to be discharged from here [on the]
Sat[ur].d[ay] Following⁶¹

Maj. Joseph Graham, North Carolina Partisan Rangers, also wrote of American militia building makeshift huts. In describing an action that took place below the "Newcomb River" in North Carolina, probably in summer 1782, Graham recounted, "we encamped at a place called Seven Creeks, not far from the South Carolina line. It had rained in the day, and was cold; the night was cloudy, and sometimes it was dropping. From some old houses the men had taken clapboards to make a kind of tent for shelter." A party of local Loyalists learned of their presence and attacked; after penetrating the American pickets a "single gun was first fired, which made an alarm, but before the men had time to rise, a full volley was discharged on the camp. In the tent of boards, under which Captain Caruthers and six men lay, it appeared next morning ten balls had gone through, none more than five feet high; but when the fire came, his men had not got on their feet, and only one was wounded. A young Dutchman of Lieutenant Monroe's command, was lying with his head on a flat pumpkin for a pillow; two balls went through his pumpkin, but escaped him."⁶²

A larger American contingent used makeshift shelters intermittently during that summer and autumn. In February three provisional light infantry battalions, formed from Washington's army, marched south commanded by the Marquis de Lafayette to oppose Arnold's Virginia operations. Three Pennsylvania line battalions under Brig. Gen. Anthony Wayne, slated to join Lafayette's forces, reached Virginia in June.⁶³

From May to July 1781 Lafayette's troops played cat and mouse with Lord Cornwallis's British forces in Virginia. On 5 May Massachusetts officer Benjamin Gilbert wrote that "After a very

fatiguing march we have arrived at this place and are Quartered in a piece of pine woods, nothing better than the topmost boughs [i.e. boughs], to cover us from the inclemency of season," the tents having been left in Baltimore. Often when in the enemy's immediate proximity, or due to the need for swift movements, the American detachment sent their heavy baggage to the rear, relying on makeshift shelters or doing without any covering at all; even when the baggage was present some units experienced tent shortages.⁶⁴

While tents were absent for forty–five of the sixty–five days Lafayette's force was in the enemy's proximity, brush huts and other temporary constructs were mentioned only five times. Lt. Ebenezer Wild recorded several shelter types used by the officers and men of Col. Joseph Vose's Light Battalion after a twenty–two day period without tents:

30th. [June] Built bowries and remained on this ground all day ... Our tents and baggage arrived at this place.

Sunday 1st July, 1781. Marched at daylight, and halted at 9 o'clk on a large plain near York river, where we built bush huts (the weather being exceeding warm).

2d. Marched at daylight, and passing by Bird's, turned out of the road ... into the woods to form an ambuscade for a party of the enemy's horse ... But unfortunately they discovered our manoeuvre and made their escape; after which we marched out of the woods and built some bowries, which we lay in till 3 o'clk, when we marched again back to the place we left at daylight this morning.

3d. Marched at 6 o'clk A.M. and proceeded 4 miles, and halted in a field ... where we pitched what tents we had left (the greater part of them being lost).

5th. [July] Marched at eight o'clk A.M., and proceeded half a mile below Bird's, where we halted & built bowries ... At five o'clk we marched one mile further, halted, and built huts. At nine in the evening the troops marched again ...⁶⁵

Given that Vose's Battalion had lost most of their canvas shelters, brush huts were probably used in conjunction with the remaining tents, a rare, though occasional, occurrence. Lafayette's force started out with supplies "allowing seven men one common tent, and four captains & subalterns one horseman's tent. If there be three officers to a company six will have but one horseman's tent." It was not until after the culmination of the Yorktown operations that losses incurred during the campaign were made good, Ebenezer Wild noting on 23 October, "The light Infantry have this day been furnished with common tents (which were taken from the enemy)."⁶⁶

Two Pennsylvania officers corroborated brush hut use by Wayne's contingent of Lafayette's troops, though in a single instance and on a day when Lieutenant Wild of the light infantry merely related having "halted in the woods." Pennsylvanian William McDowell noted on 16 June, "Took up the line of march at Day brake, made a short day's march of six miles, being much fatigued. This day built a fine brush Hutt ..." On the same date Captain John Davis wrote "[we] proceeded Six miles, where we wash'd & rested ourselves the day, at this place we built an agreeable Bush house ..." Davis also told of leaving all the tents behind on June 14th while William Feltman noted being ordered to "strike our tents" on 24 June; Vose's men had been divested of their tents on June 9th.⁶⁷

In August and early September, while awaiting reinforcements from the north, Lafayette's troops countermarched towards Richmond; Wayne's Pennsylvanians crossed to the James River's southern bank at Westover Plantation while the provisional light infantry battalions remained behind on the Peninsula. Learning that French forces were at Jamestown both detachments marched towards that

island leaving their tents behind. The Pennsylvania battalions recrossed the James River on 3 September, rendezvousing with the light troops near Williamsburg. In the absence of tentage the American troops found other forms of covering, including makeshift shelters. Pennsylvania lieutenant John Tilden told of events and shelter used at the time:

September 3.— About 9 o'clock A.M. we begin to cross James river leaving our tents standing. ... We march in the afternoon to Green Springs ... through a heavy rain, where we remain all night.[On this day Lieutenant Feltman noted "In the evening we marched for the Green Springs, and there lay that night without tent or any other shelter."]

September 4.— The Line marched at 6 o'clock A.M. down to Williamsburg ... Quarter our men this night in the College.

September 5.— We retire one mile from town ... where we remain all night ... [Captain Davis wrote this same day "lay on our Arms near town in a thicket of woods."]

September 6.— ... march five miles ... to Burwell's Mills, and tarry there all night.

September 7.— This morning, immediately after the parade was dismissed from roll call, we were alarmed by ... firing ... [sometime during this day or the day before the soldiers built brush shelters; see next entry] Remain here all night (as usual) without any kind of bedding; very watchful, expecting the enemy.

September 8.— The troops parade at reveille, expecting the enemy ... but no appearance of them we retire to our bush huts. At 8 o'clock we march and form a junction with our allies, and the Marquis's troops, the [light] infantry on the right, we in the centre, and the French on the left. We build bush huts in regular manner, on very dusty and uneven ground.

September 9. ... Our tents and baggage arrive this day.⁶⁸

Lieutenant Wild recounted the movements of Vose's Light Battalion during the same period:

2d. [September, 1781] Sunday. ... At daylight we began our march and proceeded about 8 miles, halted and pitched our tents in a field near Dyerscon [Diascund] creek, where we halted till 3 o'clk P.M., at which time we began our march again, leaving our tents and baggage ... halted near Chichohomny Church ...

3d. Began our march at daylight ... halted near Green Springs ... [marched three miles towards Williamsburg] where we remained the remaining part of the day ...

4th. ... About 8 o'clk the Light Infantry marched ... Halted in field about 3 miles below [the town], where we continued till sundown; then marched back towards Williamsburg again.

5th. Built booths and lay still all day. The enemy have retired into York ...

6th. At 3 o'clk A.M. we paraded & marched about 4 miles, and halted in a field ... where we continued about two hours; then paraded and marched back to our booths. After halting about three hours ... we marched to Williamsburg, and passing through the town, halted on a plain west of the College, where we arrived at 3 o'clk P.M.

7th. ... Lay still all day ...

8th. ... At seven [A.M.] the French army ... arrived and encamped on a plain about half a mile N. from Williamsburg; after which we moved and encamped on their right ...

9th. ... the Light Infantry and the Pennsylvania Regiments were reviewed by the Marquises Lafatte & St. Simon [the troops remained in the same camp overnight] ...

10th. [September] About 11 o'clk A.M. our tents and baggage arrived which we left at Dyerscon Creek.⁶⁹

In November 1781 the Pennsylvania regiments were sent to reinforce Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene's army in South Carolina where the British still held the port of Charleston. At journey's end Lt. John Bell Tilden wrote in his journal, "*January 4.* [1782]– Arrive at headquarters Round O [South Carolina] at noon ... Five hundred and nine miles since we left Richmond"⁷⁰ Several officers recounted their continued movements and the shelters they used (the passages below are from Lieutenant Tilden, unless otherwise noted):

January 8.– March at 8 o'clock, pass Pond Pond Church ... cross the Edisto at Parker's Ferry, join Colonel Laurens five miles from the ferry and build huts of rails which we cover with straw.

January 9.– Make an addition to our hut; very bad off for want of furniture ... Dispatch two of our valets to head quarters.

January 10.– Spend the day in reading Spanish novels. Our valets arrive this afternoon – bring tents which relieve us very much.

January 12.– Take a ride this morning to Jacksonburg where I found our lads under marching orders ... return to my command, which I find have also received marching orders ... halt after marching nine miles ... Just preparing for a sleep when we received orders to march immediately, so at 2 o'clock we marched rapidly for Stono river. After marching 'till daylight, through mud and water up to ye creek, find it impassable to pass on to James Island, which was our design ...

January 13.– Move up two miles from ye river, lay in ye woods all day and eat potatoes. Our boys not coming down with our bedclothes, we pass the night horridly, it dropping a little rain and very cold. [Lieutenant William McDowell wrote this day, "lay upon our arms all day. The weather now cold and disagreeable, and not tents or baggage ..."]

January 14.– Our boys bring down something to eat and we remain on our ground 'till sunset when we march to Stono ferry, 2 miles, and lay in the woods without any covering – very cold and pass the night a few degrees worse than ye last. [Lieutenant McDowell: "This day we built a brush hutt to shelter us from the cold."]

[On "*Jan. 16th, '82*" Lieutenant Feltman noted "This morning, at sunrise, the whole army took up the line of march, for Jacksonborough, it was thought; but to our great mortification, we found we were disappointed, and encamped in the woods near Mr. Frazer's farm, and about four miles from Jacksonborough; lay in the woods without our tents. Very cool this day ..."]

January 17.– March ... to Drayton's Cow Pens ... ye mess take possession of ye dwelling house and live pretty tolerably. [Feltman, "This day our mess built a brush hut for ourselves to shelter us from the weather. (To be sure, and a poor substitute it is.) ..."]⁷¹

William Feltman continues the narrative:

Jan. 19th '82. ... Very heavy firing yesterday morning– cannon and small arms. The firing was at General Greene and his party of Horse, who were within one mile of Charleston, reconnoitering, &c.

Jan. 20th '82. This morning Lt. Doyle and self went to the borough, where our heavy baggage was left, to get some clean clothes, &c. ...

Jan. 23d '82. ... This evening our baggage arrived from camp.⁷²

A week and a half later the Pennsylvania troops were once more on the move, again in very trying conditions. Lieutenant Tilden:

February 3. ... The troops are under marching orders.

February 4. ... March at 10 o'clock A.M. to Cainacres; the road excessively bad. Build our huts near Mr. Warrens ...

February 8.— March at 3 o'clock P.M. 4 miles; lay out in the rain covered with a great coat, and sleep tolerable.

February 9.— March at daylight, 12 miles through mud and water up to our knees, and return a different road, equally as bad, to the ground we left this morning ...

February 13. ... join the army ... [at] Pond Pond.⁷³

General Greene's army remained at Pon Pon, South Carolina until 22 March when they moved near Stono Church, where Lt. Tilden noted on the 23d, "This being good ground, we expected to remain here some time, therefore began to build chimneys to our tents. Orders in the evening to march at 9 o'clock tomorrow, a great mortification to some of us who went to the trouble to make brick chimneys which we got from Stono Church." (Lieutenant Feltman described the structure he and his tentmates built as "a very elegant brick chimney.") On the 24th the troops marched and encamped "one mile from ye Cross Roads and two from Beacon's [Bacon's] bridge." The next day orders for the 1st Pennsylvania (Provisional) Battalion directed "One officer of a Compy. (at least) will superintend the building the brush Hutts, they will be rais'd in the manner of Tents, in order to establish uniformity, and none to be built in front of the ground laid out for that purpose by the soldiers ..." The activities of 26 March were related by William Feltman: "This day was very busily employed by both officers and soldiers, in building huts, raising tents, cleaning the encampment, &c." A week later General Greene ordered from "Near Bacons bridge ... that no boards or planks be taken by any part of the Army for the purpose of building Hutts, except such as the Q[uar]ter Master shall point out."⁷⁴

With the coming of spring Greene's southern army was largely sedentary, their camps more settled; this state of affairs continued until British forces evacuated Charleston in December 1782.

"Return of Camp Equipage": More on Tents. To round out this study of campaign shelter we will look at tentage available to the army in 1780 and 1782 and try to discern some late-war trends. A "Return of Marquees and Tents in the Q[uar]ter M[aste]r. Genl. Department," dated 1 March 1780, notes numbers and condition of tents at various repositories under the auspices of Deputy Quarter Master General Udney Hay. Listed as fit for service were four marquees, one hundred forty nine horseman's tents, four wall tents, one thousand seven hundred fifty common tents, eighty four bell tents, and seven "Hospital Tents." Repairable were one marquee, forty nine horseman's tents, twelve wall tents, and three hundred eighty two common tents. Condemned articles totaled five horseman's tents, three wall tents, and one hundred forty common tents. The largest numbers were held at Fishkill and Fishkill landing, with smaller quantities at Newburg, West Point, Continental Village, and Kings Ferry.⁷⁵

Five days later another return was generated listing the "Tents in possession of James Abeel, Esqr. D.Q.Mr.G." Abeel noted as "Repaired and fit for service," twenty five horseman's tents, six wall tents, one hundred thirty two bell tents, and three hundred and four common tents. One hundred seventeen horseman's tents, twenty six wall tents, and one thousand and twenty common tents were repairable. Listed as "Rotten and condemned" were five marquees, twelve wall tents, eleven

horseman's tents, and five hundred eighty seven common tents. James Abeel remarked on the bottom of this document, "The Tents we repair will serve one Campaign, as I have given orders to repair none but such as will serve a Campaign. The above Tents have been delivered and received [into storage] from the Army."⁷⁶

To provide a context for the above returns let us look at records for two tent types from other periods of the war. Spring 1777 saw one of the first attempts to address American officers' campaign housing on a large scale. From Morristown, General Washington wrote Brig. Gen. Alexander McDougall on 25 April, "I am so well convinced of the Justice of your remark upon the necessity of Officers being constantly in the Field with their Men, that I shall order a Sufficient Number of Horseman's Tents or small Marque[e]s for the Officers, they will then have no excuse for absence, except want of Health." While British army company and regimental officers likely continued to use small marquee tents throughout the American Revolution, horseman's tents remained the preferred shelter for Continental Army officers below field grade after 1777. It is also interesting to note that in 1779–80 bell tents, used to house firearms, were present in relatively large numbers. Bell tents were often superfluous items in an army facing supply difficulties; in 1781 they were being sacrificed to repair other tentage, "the whole of them if wanted for that purpose."⁷⁷

Moving ahead two years, we see further evidence that large numbers of French tents were used by Continental regiments late in the war. The French tents used by Armand's Legion in 1782 were said to hold nine men; this agrees with Lewis Lochee's statement that in "the French and German service, each tent serves for seven or eight men, and sometimes even for nine." Those listed in 1782 return (below) were described as having an eight–man capacity.⁷⁸

The 12 August 1782 "Return of Camp Equipage" gave the tents actually on hand, as well as numbers wanting to complete in several brigades and small units of Washington's main army. The various units listed were: 1st, 2d, and 3d Massachusetts Brigades; 1st and 2d Connecticut Brigades; the New York and New Jersey Brigades; and the 10th Massachusetts Regiment, Colonel Crane's 3rd Artillery Regiment, Moodie's Artillery Company, and the Corps of Sappers and Miners. Most commands had standard common tents as well as French tents to house the enlisted men. All units had more of the former tent than the latter; the 2d Massachusetts Brigade was typical, with ninety–nine common tents holding six soldiers each and eighty–three French tents with an eight–man capacity.⁷⁹ (For further discussion of French tents see *MC&H*, vol. 49, no. 3 (Fall 1997), 105–106.)

Finally, one point in the first part of this series needs clarification and correction (see *MC&H*, 49, 3 (Fall 1997), 103). Figure 6 shows a British cavalry tent, while Figure 7 pictures an end view of an American horseman's tent. These are actually two different tent types. Lochee noted that British tents "for the private men ... are large enough to lodge 5 men," the "*standard poles* ... are about 6 feet high" and the "*ridge pole* ... is about 7 feet long"; these tents were six or seven feet wide. He also stated that while those "are the dimensions for the infantry: those for the cavalry are of the same form, but more spacious, especially behind, to contain the fire arms, accoutrements, saddles, bridles, &c." Cavalry tents also held five men. In calculating the ground needed for two rows of soldiers' tents Mr. Lochee stated that "the length of a tent is 9 feet"; he thus allows two feet for the extension or "bell" for equipment storage at the rear of the tent. He also notes under camps for cavalry that the depth needed "for pitching a horseman's tent" is three yards, i.e., the length of cavalry tents is also nine feet, the difference being a more commodious storage area at the rear. Here is where the intermixing of terms poses a problem. Lochee uses both "cavalry tent" and "horseman's tent" to

describe what is essentially a slightly larger soldier's tent. Continental Army horseman's tents were actually larger, rectangular in shape, with three to four foot vertical walls at the sides.⁸⁰

Conclusion: Analysis of little-known details can sometimes refute faulty notions of the past. In this case, as regards makeshift shelters, it was the Continental Army that proved the most conventional. British commanders' frequent reliance on wigwams to house their troops is just one example of the resourcefulness and flexibility displayed by Crown forces in America. British commanders very early on adapted clothing, equipment, and tactical formations to American conditions, a penchant for innovation instigated by hard-won experience during the Seven Years' War in the colonies. In this same vein, Revolutionary War makeshift shelters emulated those built by British and Provincial troops in the 1750's and 60's.⁸¹

The conditions that influenced shelters used by campaigning Revolutionary armies have been examined, along with various kinds of coverings issued to or constructed by soldiers. Both sides preferred to house their men in tents, but buildings, watercraft, and soldier-built vernacular architecture all played a role when the need and opportunity arose. There *were* differences between the opposing armies, the most striking being extensive British use of brush or plank wigwams on numerous occasions. Only rarely did a large portion of the American army use makeshift shelters for an extended period, the exceptions being the Whitmarsh/Gulph Mills camps in late 1777, the summer 1780 encampments in and around Springfield, New Jersey, and possibly Gen. Horatio Gates' southern army encampment at Hillsboro, North Carolina, in autumn 1780.

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Endnotes

(Continued from Part V)

41. Journal of Surgeon Jabez Campfield, Spencer's Additional Regiment, 4 August 1779, *Journals of the Military Expedition of Major General John Sullivan Against the Six Nations of Indians in 1779* (Glendale, N.Y.: Benchmark Publishing Co., Inc., 1970), 53.
42. Joseph Joslin, Jr., "Journal of Joseph Joslin, Jr., of South Killingly, a Teamster in the Continental Service, March 1777–August 1778," *Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society*, vol. 7 (1899), 367.
43. "Samuel Adams's Private Miscellaneous Diary Ann: Dom: 1778. Kept partly in the Town of Dorchester and partly in his Excellency General Washington's Camp at Valley Forge, White Plains, Fredericksburgh, &c ...," Samuel Adams [surgeon] Diaries, Manuscript Division, New York Public Library.
44. 24 June 1778, Diary of Bernardus Swartwout, 2nd New York Regiment, 10 November 1777–9 June 1783, Bernardus Swartwout Papers, New-York Historical Society.
45. 24–27 June 1778, *ibid.*

46. Martin, *Private Yankee Doodle*, 124–125.
47. Bray and Bushnell, *Diary of a Common Soldier*, 119–122.
48. "Journal of Ebenezer Wild," *PMHS*, 109.
49. Rebecca Symmes, ed., *A Citizen–Soldier of the American Revolution: The Diary of Benjamin Gilbert in Massachusetts and New York* (Cooperstown, N.Y.: New York State Historical Assoc., 1980), 51–52.
50. Symmes, *Diary of Benjamin Gilbert*, 52.
51. "May 29th 1779. Marched [from Elizabethtown, New Jersey] to Samptown and there halted that night.
30th. Marched through Quibble town and Bound Brook Middle Brook and quartered at the Branch of Rariton.
June 2d. Incamped in our Huts at the north Branch
3d. Marched through Reading town to Pittsburgh and Incamped"
Journal of Sergeant Thomas Roberts, Spencer's Additional Regiment, 2 June 1779, *Journals of Sullivan's Expedition, 1779*, 240. 8 June 1779: "... set out to join the regiment then at Wyoming: arrived at Easton the same evening where I found the second and third Jersey Regiments and one company of our Regiment which was left behind to take care of the baggage belonging to it, and was the next day to proceed with it on horses to Wyoming." Journal of Lieut. William Barton, 1st New Jersey Regiment, 12 June 1779, *ibid.*, 3. William S. Stryker, *General Maxwell's Brigade of the New Jersey Continental Line in the Expedition Against the Indians in the Year 1779* (Trenton: The W.S. Sharp Printing Co., 1885), 13–14.
52. James Thacher, *Military Journal of the American Revolution* (Hartford, Ct. 1862), 180–181.
53. *Ibid.*, 181.
54. Bray and Bushnell, *Diary of a Common Soldier*, 172–174.
55. General orders, 17 June 1780, Fitzpatrick, *GW*, vol. 19 (1937), 19–20.
56. Bray and Bushnell, *Diary of a Common Soldier*, 174–176.
57. George Washington to Thomas Blanch, 24 August 1780, and Washington to Benedict Arnold, 8 August 1780, Fitzpatrick, *GW*, 19 (1937), 341–342, 433–434.
58. Bray and Bushnell, *Diary of a Common Soldier*, 183–189.
59. Walter Clark, ed., *The State Records of North Carolina*, XV, 1780–1781 (Wilmington, N.C., 1993), 120.
60. Samuel C. Williams, ed., "General Richard Winn's Notes – 1780," *South Carolina Historical & Genealogical Magazine*, XLIII (1942), 211.
61. Diary/Account Book of Zachariah Mills, Virginia militia, 1781, Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty – Land – Warrant Application Files, National Archives Microfilm Publication M804, reel 1736.
62. William A. Graham, *General Joseph Graham and His Papers on North Carolina Revolutionary History* (Raleigh: Edwards & Broughton, 1904), 371–372. Graham noted that the Loyalist commander, "Colonel Gainey, who commanded the Tories in South Carolina, between the Waccamaw, Pee Dee and Drowning Creek ... was at this time under a truce with General Marion ..." The action that brought about the "truce" may have occurred on 3 June 1782 in Marion County, S.C., where "Gen. Francis Marion at the head of N.C. and S.C. militia attacked Maj. Micajah Ganey's Loyalists, who sued for peace and disbanded." Howard H. Peckham, *The Toll of*

Independence: Engagements & Battle Casualties of the American Revolution (Chicago and London: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1974), 96.

63. Lafayette's provisional light battalions were comprised as follows: Lieutenant Ebenezer Wild, Morristown, New Jersey, 26 February 1781, "After making about five miles were joined by five companies from the N. Jersey line, which completes us 3 Regiments. The first is composed of the eight first companies of the Masstts line, and commanded by Col Vose; the two remaining companies from the Masstts line, with five from Connecticut and one from Rhode Island, formed another commanded by Lieut. Col. Gimatt; the 3d [regiment] is formed of the [five] Jersey companies, with two from N. Hampshire and one from Genl Hazen's Regiment, and is commanded by Lieut. Barber." "Journal of Ebenezer Wild," *PMHS*, 131. See also, Washington to William Heath, 17 February 1781, Fitzpatrick, *WGW*, 21 (1937), 234. Lafayette to Arthur St. Clair, 27 February 1781, "The Detachment of Arnold is Our object. The Gentleman is Blockaded By the french, and their Naval Assistance Has Been Requested. His Excellency Has Given to Me A detachment Mostly Under the Denomination of Light Infantry and Composed of 1200 Men Rank in file." Stanley J. Idzerda, ed., *Lafayette in the Age of the American Revolution – Selected Letters and Papers, 1776–1790*, III (Ithaca, N.Y. and London: Cornell Univ. Press, 1980), 350.

The makeup of Wayne's Provisional Pennsylvania brigade, May to July 1781, was as follows: 8 April 1781, "First Detachment of the Pennsylvania Line," as ordered by Major General Arthur St. Clair. Each regiment was to furnish:

1st Regiment	5 companies
2nd "	3 "
3rd "	2 "
4th "	4 "
5th "	6 "
6th "	4 "

Total "24 Companies to form three Battalions of 320 Rank and File each"

960 rank and file
 52 sergeants
 32 musicians
 1044

The brigade's artillery was to consist of four pieces with four captains, four captain–lieutenants, four sergeants, four corporals, eight bombardiers, and forty matrosses.

Papers of the Continental Congress, reel 160, p. 375.

A 12 July 1781 "Return of the Pennsylvania Brigade of Foot" listed three provisional battalions as follows:

	Total Rank & File	Rank & File <u>Present, fit for duty</u>
1st Battalion, Colonel Stewart	248	142
2nd Battalion, Colonel Butler	237	184
3rd Battalion, Colonel Humpton	295	214
Totals	830	542

Because of casualties at the Battle of Green Springs, 26 June 1781, the contingent was reorganized and reduced to two battalions in late July. Anthony Wayne to Washington, 16 July 1781 (enclosure, 12 July 1781, Humpton, brigade return), Washington Papers, series 4, reel 78. For more on Lafayette's 1781 Campaign and the troops involved see, John U. Rees, "'The multitude of women': An Examination of the Numbers of Female Camp Followers with the Continental Army," *The Brigade Dispatch* (Journal of the Brigade of the American Revolution), XXIII, no. 4 (Autumn 1992), 9–15; XXIV, no. 1 (Winter 1993), 6–9, and:

John U. Rees, "'Their presence Here ... Has Saved this State ...': Continental Provisional Battalions with Lafayette in Virginia, 1781"

Part 1. "'This Detachment is Extremely Good ...': The Light Battalions Move South"

"'The Fire of the Light Infantry ... checked the Enemy's Progress ...':

Light Battalion Composition and Service"

A. "'Ill founded jealousies, and groundless suspicions.'" 'Unrest in the Light Battalions"

B. "'The Cloathing you ... long ago Sent to the light infantry is not Yet Arrived.' : Apparel and Equipment"

The Brigade Dispatch, vol. XXXVI, no. 2 (Autumn 2006), 2–23.

(World Wide Web, <http://revwar75.com/library/rees/light.htm>)

Part 2. "'Almost all old soldiers, and well disciplined ...':

Brigadier General Anthony Wayne's 1781 Pennsylvania Provisional Battalions"

A. "'I fear it is now too late ...': The Pennsylvania Line Mutiny, January 1781

The Brigade Dispatch, vol. XXXVII, no. 2 (Summer 2007), 2–19.

Part 3. B. "'Our Regiments are yet but very small ...': Settling with the Troops and Rebuilding the Line

The Brigade Dispatch, vol. XXXVII, no. 4 (Winter 2007), 2–15.

Part 4. C. "'The whole Line ... behaved in a most orderly manner.'": Organizing and

Disciplining the Pennsylvania Provisional Battalions for the 1781 Campaign

The Brigade Dispatch, vol. XXXVIII, no. 1 (Spring 2008), 2–21.

64. Gilbert to John Soule, 5 May 1781, from Bottom Bridge, Virginia (a crossing on the Chickahominy River, east of Richmond), May 5, 1781, John Shy, ed., *Winding Down – The Revolutionary War Letters of Lieutenant Benjamin Gilbert of Massachusetts, 1780–1783* (Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 1989), 41–42.

65. "Journal of Ebenezer Wild," *PMHS*, 142–143.

66. Timothy Pickering to George Washington, 18 February 1781, Washington Papers, series 4, reel 75. The Marquis de Lafayette, "Memorandum on Orders for the March," New Windsor, 18 February 1781, "... 12 Horsemen tents and 60 Common tents will set off to morrow for Pompton. At Morristown we will take 10 horsemen tents and 150 common tents. Those will Be carried from here in three close[d] waggons ..." Idzerda, *Lafayette Papers*, III, 329–330. "Journal of Ebenezer Wild," *PMHS*, 156.

67. Ibid., 141. "Journal of Lieut. William McDowell of the First Penn'a. Regiment, in the Southern Campaign. 1781–1782," John Blair Linn and William H. Egle, *Pennsylvania in the War of the Revolution, Battalions and Line 1775–1783*, II (Harrisburg, Pa., 1880), 298. "Journal of Captain John Davis," *PMHB*, 292. "Diary of the Pennsylvania Line. May 26, 1781 – April 25, 1782," *Pennsylvania in the War of the Revolution*, II, 680. The foregoing "Diary" includes the journals of

both Captain Joseph McClellan and Lieutenant William Feltman. Captain McClellan left the army on 13 June 1781.

There is some discrepancy between the accounts of General Wayne's Pennsylvania detachment and that of Lieutenant Wild, Vose's Light Battalion. The differences may be explained by the fact that though both organizations served under Lafayette, they often operated under their own immediate commanders, in different locales, and in slightly differing circumstances.

Pennsylvania Narratives

Capt. John Davis:

4 June, "we left our baggage & sick [at Goose Creek] proceeded through a low country ... encamp'd at the red house ..."

5 June, "proceeded 12 miles ... lay out without any kind of shelter."

11 June, "encamp'd"

12 June, "encamp'd"

13 June, "Troops continued in their encamp't this day."

14 June, "At his place we left all our Tents."

30 June, tents returned.

Capt. Joseph McClellan:

3 June, encamped near Leesburg, Virginia, "where the officers left all their heavy baggage with part of their tents."

7 June, severe thunderstorm, heavy rain "Ran through all the tents ..."

Lt. William Feltman:

24 June, "we received orders to strike our tents, which we did ..."

30 June, "Our tents came to us this evening."

Vose's Light Battalion

Data gleaned from Lt. Ebenezer Wild's diary:

(Tentage available for shelter)

20 April left tents and heavy baggage

6 May tents returned

(Tentage available for shelter)

8 May tents sent back into the country

11 May tents returned

(Tentage available for shelter)

26 May tents sent back into the country

2 June tents returned

(Tentage available for shelter)

9 June left tents on the ground

30 June tents returned

(Tentage available for shelter)

1 September left tents and baggage

10 September tents returned

(Tentage available for shelter)

68. "Extracts From the Journal of Lieutenant John Bell Tilden, Second Pennsylvania Line, 1781–1782," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History & Biography*, 19 (1895), 55–56 (hereafter cited as

- "Journal of Lieutenant John Bell Tilden," *PMHB*). "Diary of the Pennsylvania Line," *Pennsylvania in the War of the Revolution*, II, 687. "Journal of Captain John Davis," *PMHB*, 299.
69. "Journal of Ebenezer Wild," *PMHS*, 149–150.
70. 4 November 1781: "Orders for Penna. & Maryland troops to march tomorrow for South Carolina." (anonymous), "Itinerary of the Pennsylvania Line From Pennsylvania to South Carolina, 1781–1782," *PMHB*, 36 (1912), 286.
71. "Journal of Lieutenant John Bell Tilden," *PMHB*, 218–220. "Journal of Lieut. William McDowell," *Pennsylvania in the War of the Revolution*, II, 298–299. "Diary of the Pennsylvania Line," *Pennsylvania in the War of the Revolution*, II, 713–714.
72. *Ibid.*, 714–715.
73. "Journal of Lieutenant John Bell Tilden," *PMHB*, 218–220.
74. *Ibid.*, 222–223; "Diary of the Pennsylvania Line," *Pennsylvania in the War of the Revolution*, 721; 1st Pennsylvania (Provisional) Battalion Order Book, 13 March 1782 – 12 May 1782, vol. 58, target 8 24–25, Numbered Record Books Concerning Military Operations and Service, Pay and Settlement Accounts, and Supplies in the War Department Collection of Revolutionary War Records, (National Archives Microfilm Publication M853, reel 9) U.S. War Department Collection of Revolutionary War Records, Record Group 93, National Archives, Washington.
75. Udney Hay, D.Q.M.G., "Return of Marquees and Tents in the Q[uar]te[r]. M[aste]r. Genl. Department," 1 March 1780, Miscellaneous Numbered Records (The Manuscript File) in the War Department Collection of Revolutionary War Records 1775–1790's, no. 27344 (National Archives Microfilm Publication M859, reel 94) U.S. War Department Collection of Revolutionary War Records, Record Group 93, National Archives, Washington.
76. "Tents in possession of James Abeel, Esqr. D.Q.Mr.G.," 6 March 1780, *ibid.*, reel 94, no. 27344.
77. Washington to Alexander McDougall, 25 April 1777, Fitzpatrick, *WW*, 7 (1932), 466. Richard [Platt?] to Mr. Forman, 26 May 1781, vol. 127, 41, Numbered Record Books Concerning Military Operations and Service, Pay and Settlement Accounts, and Supplies in the War Department Collection of Revolutionary War Records, (National Archives Microfilm Publication M853, reel 26) U.S. War Department Collection of Revolutionary War Records, Record Group 93, National Archives, Washington.
78. Lewis Lochee, *An Essay on Castrametation* (London, 1778), 1.
79. Hugh Hughes, New York state deputy quartermaster general, "Return of Camp Equipage," 12 August 1782, Misc. Nod. Records, NA, reel 94, no. 27352. The final page of this document gives the optimum "Allowance of Camp Equipage" as follows:
- Brigadier or Colonel Commandant, 1 marquee, 1 officer's tent,
 2 common tents, 4 camp kettles, 2 canteens, 1 axe.
- Brigade Major, 1 officer's tent, 1 camp kettle, 1 canteen.
- Brigade Quarter Master, 1 officer's tent, 1 camp kettle,
 1 canteen, 1 axe.
- Wagon Conductor, 1 common tent, 1 camp kettle, 1 canteen, 1 axe.
- Forage Master, 1 common tent, 1 camp kettle, 1 canteen.
- Conductor of Military Stores, 1 common tent, 1 camp kettle,
 1 canteen.
- Field Officer of each Regiment, 1 marquee, 1 officer's tent,
 1 common tents, 3 camp kettles, 3 canteens, 1 axe.

Staff Officers of each Regiment, 3 officer's tents,
3 camp kettles, 4 canteens, 1 axe.
Officers of each Company, 1 officer's tent, 2 camp kettles,
3 canteens.
Officers' Servants of each Regiment, 1 common tent.
Non Commissioned Staff of each Regiment, 2 common tents,
4 knapsacks, 2 camp kettles, 4 canteens.
Non Commissioned Officers and Privates each, 1 knapsack,
1 canteen.
Each six Men, 1 common tent, 1 camp kettle.
Each Company, 1 axe.
Each Artillery Company, 2 officer's tents.

80. Lochee, *An Essay on Castrametation*, 1–2, 20, 38.

81. Examples of British army innovation during the War for Independence include adapting soldiers' clothing for rugged campaign conditions, supplying bags with camp kettles to ease the burden of cooking utensils, the adoption of two-rank open formations from 1776 to 1783, and tactical use of light infantry; British commanders were also the first to divest their armies of heavy baggage and rely on makeshift constructs to shelter large numbers of troops. By comparison, American forces seemed wed to their tents and baggage for much of the war, did not adopt a two-rank formation until 1777, and continued to use closed formations for line battalions until 1782. See, William W. Burke and Linnea M. Bass, "Preparing a British Unit for Service in America: The Brigade of Foot Guards, 1776," *Military Collector & Historian*, XLVII, no. 1 (Spring 1995), 2–11; James L. Kochan and George C. Woodbridge, "Uniform of the 40th Foot Light Infantry Company, 1777," *The Brigade Dispatch*, XXI, no. 2 (Summer 1990), 8–10; John U. Rees, "'To subsist an Army well ...': Soldiers' Cooking Equipment, Provisions, and Food Preparation During the American War for Independence," *Military Collector & Historian*, 53, no. 1 (Spring 2001), 10, 16–18. For the differing formations used by British and American troops, see Colonel John Mercer's account of the Battle of Greenspring, 6 July 1781, Gaillard Hunt, *Fragments of Revolutionary History. Being hitherto unpublished writings of the men of the American Revolution ...* (Brooklyn, N.Y., 1892), 50–51; Johann Ewald's description of American troops in 1782 in *Diary of the American War – A Hessian Journal*, Joseph P. Tustin, ed. and trans. (New Haven and London: Yale Univ. Press, 1979), 340. British troops fought in two ranks, with open files, usually eighteen inches apart, starting in 1776: General Sir William Howe's orders, Boston, 29 February 1776: "Reg[imen]ts ... are always to have their Files 18 Inches distant from each other, which they will take care to practice for the future, being the Order in w[hi]ch they are to Engage the Enemy." Benjamin Franklin Stevens, ed., *General Sir William Howe's Orderly Book, at Charlestown, Boston and Halifax, June 17 1775 to 1776 26 May* (Kennikat Press: Port Washington, N.Y. and London, 1970), 222. For evidence of German officers' skepticism of using open formations, see, Rodney Atwood, *The Hessians: Mercenaries from Hesse-Kassel in the American Revolution* (Cambridge, London, New York, etc.: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1980), 61, 82.