



MAJOR GENERAL JOHN SULLIVAN,

*A distinguished OFFICER in the CONTINENTAL ARMY*

*Published as the Act directs 22 Aug 1776 by Tho' Hart*

LETTERS *and* PAPERS

*of*

*Major-General* JOHN SULLIVAN

CONTINENTAL ARMY

EDITED BY

OTIS G. HAMMOND

*Director of the New Hampshire Historical Society*

VOLUME ONE

1771-1777

[COLLECTIONS OF THE  
NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
VOLUME 13]

CONCORD, NEW HAMPSHIRE  
NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

1930



1139049

## PREFACE

The correspondence and papers of Major-General John Sullivan of the Continental Army have been collected from all accessible sources throughout the United States. The foundation of this collection is a body of about five hundred original letters in the vaults of the New Hampshire Historical Society, and such original documents as are preserved in the archives of the state. Copies of all the Sullivan correspondence in the Library of Congress were obtained, and the archives of other states and the collections of historical societies and institutional libraries in which it seemed possible that material might be found were carefully searched. Undoubtedly some Sullivan letters exist in private possession, but it has been, of course, impossible to enter this field. However, the amount of material thus lost to publication is small, and probably not of vital importance.

The Sullivan papers are published by the New Hampshire Historical Society as a very important contribution of original material to the true and detailed history of the War of the Revolution, much of which has been heretofore inaccessible to students and writers of that event. Another purpose of this work is to correct errors of certain narrative historians whose works have had wide circulation and frequent citation and quotation. Bancroft could see no good in Sullivan, and judged him solely by his misfortunes, giving no consideration to his military successes or abilities. Other writers, even as late as Lodge, have followed Bancroft in that respect apparently without consulting the original material then accessible to their use.

It is not our purpose to argue the merits of Gen. Sullivan in this work. That has been done by Thomas C. Amory in his *Military Services and Public Life of Major-General John Sullivan*, published in 1868, and readily available in most of the important historical libraries of the country. In the same libraries will be found the works of Bancroft, Lodge, and other well known historians. Amory's analysis of Gen. Sullivan's career is excellent, but his book is lacking in many original documents which help to prove his contention, although he undoubtedly used all that were then available.

It is, therefore, an object of this publication to collect and present all the correspondence and papers of Gen. Sullivan, so far as it has been possible to find them, without argument, editing, or annotation, in order that the future student of American history may, from the incontestible evidence of contemporary original documents, arrive at a fair and unprejudiced opinion of the merits and abilities of Gen. Sullivan in war and in peace.

It must be borne in mind that Sullivan had two bitter and inveterate enemies, Major John Taylor of Col. Moses Hazen's regiment, whose charges resulted in a court of inquiry into Gen. Sullivan's conduct of the attack on Staten Island, and Thomas Burke, member of the Continental Congress from North Carolina, who alleged that the failure of the battle of Brandywine was largely due to Sullivan's lack of the military judgment and ability to be expected in an officer of his high rank. The court of inquiry disagreed with Major Taylor on all points, reprimanded him for his unfounded statements, and gave Gen. Sullivan high praise, which was followed by the commendation and thanks of Congress. The failure to achieve a complete success in this attack proved due to the stupidity or disloyalty of a guide employed to conduct Gen. Smallwood's brigade to the position ordered by Gen. Sullivan.

As to Burke's charges that Sullivan, among other errors, sent to Gen. Washington false information of the movements of the enemy, Washington himself stated that Major Speare, who brought this report to Gen. Sullivan, was an officer whose rank, intelligence, and knowledge of the country entitled him to credence, and that Sullivan would have been guilty of a serious military error had he not forwarded this report to the commander-in-chief. Washington's letter on this point appears on p. 541 of this volume. The reasons for the hostility of Burke and Major Taylor are not apparent in these papers.

Gen. Sullivan was not without faults. He was temperamental, jealous, and extremely sensitive, which, with his activity and ambition, caused him to imagine frequent military slights and offences which did not exist. How much of this super-sensitiveness was due to his ill health is a matter worthy of consideration. Washington, himself, severely scolded him for this self-inflicted torture in a letter of March 15, 1777, p. 328 of this volume. But Washington was great enough to overlook these faults of temperament, and to see and appreciate the worth of the officer and the man. It should be sufficient for Gen. Sullivan's reputation that through all the war and the following period of civil adjustment he held Washington's firm, constant and sincere trust and personal friendship, as will be shown by the papers in this and the succeeding volumes.

As an introductory sketch of the life of Gen. Sullivan we cannot do better than to reprint the able biographical address of Rev. Alonzo H. Quint, D.D., delivered on the occasion of the dedica-

tion of the monument erected by the state in front of the old Sullivan homestead in Durham Sept. 27, 1894.

The location of the original of each document printed herein is indicated below the title. Without giving in this introduction a long list of all the sources of material acquired we wish to indicate our sincere appreciation of the courteous assistance received from all these institutional librarians and custodians of public archives in the various states. Without their help this collection would have been meager indeed. Mr. Richard Coe of Durham generously gave us the use of his private collection of Sullivan papers, now deposited in the archives of this Society, which supplied many valuable connecting links tending to clarify the meaning of documents acquired from other sources.

These papers are presented to the public in the confidence that thereby the reputation of Gen. Sullivan as one of the ablest general officers of the army will be established for all time. The true character of a military officer is best shown by the judgment of his fellow officers, both in war and in peace.

OTIS G. HAMMOND.



## CATALOGUE OF DOCUMENTS

Adams, Major Daniel J.		
Testimony, Court of Inquiry . . . . .		520
Adams, John.		
Letter to Gen. Sullivan June 23, 1776 . . . . .		259
	Feb. 22, 1777 . . . . .	324
	June 3, 1777 . . . . .	366
Allen, William.		
Letter to Gen. Sullivan July 1, 1773 . . . . .		43
Antil, Lieut. Col. Edward.		
Letter to Gen. Sullivan June 13, 1776 . . . . .		234, 254
Armstrong, T. F.		
Statement, Court of Inquiry, Sept. 6, 1777 . . . . .		509
Arnold, Gen. Benedict.		
Letter to Gen. Sullivan June 5, 1776 . . . . .		223
	June 11, 1776 . . . . .	231
	June 13, 1776 . . . . .	237
	June 16, 1776 . . . . .	242
	June 1, 1777 . . . . .	355
	June 9, 1777 . . . . .	376
Artillery Officers.		
Letter to Gen. Sullivan Oct. 27, 1777 . . . . .		564
Baylor, G.		
Letter to Gen. Sullivan Jan. 15, 1776 . . . . .		163
Bedel, Col. Timothy.		
Letter to Gen. Sullivan June 12, 1776 . . . . .		232
Brown, Lieut. Josiah.		
Letter to Gen. Sullivan Sept. 16, 1775 . . . . .		88
Brown, Ensign Richard.		
Letter to Gen. Sullivan Sept. 18, 1775 . . . . .		89
Burke, Thomas.		
Letter to Gen. Sullivan Oct. 12, 1777 . . . . .		534
Caldwell, James.		
Letter to Gen. Charles Lee Dec. 12, 1776 . . . . .		302
	Gen. Sullivan Feb. 23, 1777 . . . . .	325
Campbell, Col. Donald.		
Letter to Gen. Sullivan July 4, 1776 . . . . .		280
Chambers, Capt. Benjamin.		
Statement, Court of Inquiry, Oct. 11, 1777 . . . . .		490
Chase, Samuel.		
Letter to Gen. Sullivan Oct. 23, 1776 . . . . .		300
	Dec. 24, 1776 . . . . .	306
Church, Dr. Benjamin.		
Petition against, 1775 . . . . .		85
Letter to Gen. Sullivan Sept. 14, 1775 . . . . .		87

Cilley, Col. Joseph.	
Letter to Gen. Sullivan Aug. 19, 1775 . . . . .	77
Clinton, Gov. George.	
Letter to Gen. Sullivan July 17, 1777 . . . . .	416
Congress, Continental.	
Resolve July 7, 1777 . . . . .	407
Sept. 14, 1777 . . . . .	452
Oct. 20, 1777 . . . . .	540
Vote Sept. 16, 1777 . . . . .	452
Conway, Gen. Thomas.	
Statement, Court of Inquiry, Sept. 20, 1777 . . . . .	555
Cosden, Capt. Jesse.	
Letter to Gen. Sullivan June 11, 1777 . . . . .	382
Court of Inquiry.	
Proceedings, Oct. 10, 1777 . . . . .	482
Findings, Oct. 12, 1777 . . . . .	531
Dandridge, Col.	
Return of Strength . . . . .	353
Dayton, Col. Elias.	
Letter to Gen. Sullivan May 19, 1776 . . . . .	207
De Borre, Gen. Prudhomme.	
Letter to . . . . . June 9, 1777 . . . . .	378
Instructions to, June 10, 1777 . . . . .	378
Delaware Detachment.	
Return of Strength May 31, 1777 . . . . .	349
June 7, 1777 . . . . .	377
Delaware Officers.	
Letter to Gen. Sullivan . . . . .	553
Dugan, J.	
Letter to Gen. Sullivan June 5, 1776 . . . . .	216
Durant, Dr. Edward.	
Letter to Gen. Sullivan Nov. 5, 1775 . . . . .	125
Dyer, Eliphalet.	
Letter to Gen. Sullivan Oct. 11, 1777 . . . . .	532
Oct. 23, 1777 . . . . .	540
Edwards, Major Enoch.	
Letter to Gen. Sullivan Oct. 23, 1777 . . . . .	563
Erskine, Lieut. John.	
Letter to Gen. Sullivan Oct. 7, 1777 . . . . .	480
No date . . . . .	553
Eustace, Major John S.	
Letter to Gen. Sullivan Nov. 19, 1776 . . . . .	301
Statement, Court of Inquiry, Sept. 6, 1777 . . . . .	515
Finance, Plan of . . . . .	157
Fitzgerald, Lieut. Col. John.	
Letter to Gen. Sullivan, 1776 . . . . .	307
Jan. 28, 1777 . . . . .	315
May 25, 1777 . . . . .	343
Nov. 15, 1777 . . . . .	579
No date . . . . .	609

Flower, Col. Benjamin.		
Letter to Gen. Sullivan	May 23, 1777 . . . . .	342
	June 5, 1777 . . . . .	371
Foreman, Col. David.		
Letter to Gen. Sullivan	June 3, 1777 . . . . .	365
Frazer, John G.		
Letter to Gen. Sullivan	Dec. 11, 1775 . . . . .	141
	Dec. 30, 1775 . . . . .	155
Gates, Gen. Horatio.		
Letter to Gen. Sullivan	Oct. 23, 1775 . . . . .	113
	Oct. 30, 1775 . . . . .	120
	Nov. 9, 1775 . . . . .	128
	Dec. 24, 1775 . . . . .	154
	Dec. 29, 1775 . . . . .	155
Gilman, Col. David.		
Letter to Gen. Sullivan	Feb. 17, 1777 . . . . .	323
Goodridge, Samuel.		
Report on Col. Mansfield's Barracks	Aug. 15, 1775 . . . . .	76
Greene, Gen. Nathaniel.		
Letter to Gen. Sullivan	Sept. 23, 1775 . . . . .	89
	May 24, 1777 . . . . .	343
	May 31, 1777 . . . . .	348
	June 24, 1777 . . . . .	400
Gunby, Col. John.		
Letter to Gen. Sullivan . . . . .		552
Hamilton, Lieut. Col. Alexander.		
Letter to Gen. Sullivan	June 4, 1777 . . . . .	370
	July 7, 1777 . . . . .	407
	Sept. 21, 1777 . . . . .	556
Hancock, John.		
Letter to Gen. Sullivan	Aug. 10, 1776 . . . . .	293
Harrison, Lieut. Col. Robert H.		
Letter to Gen. Sullivan	Jan. 23, 1776 . . . . .	175
	Feb. 9, 1776 . . . . .	181
	June 11, 1777 . . . . .	380
	June 12, 1777 . . . . .	383
Hartley, Lieut. Col. Thomas.		
Letter to Gen. Sullivan	Aug. 21, 1776 . . . . .	295
Haverhill, N. H., Committee of Safety.		
Letter to Gen. Sullivan	July 22, 1776 . . . . .	289
Hawkins, Lieut. Col. John.		
Letter to Gen. Sullivan	Jan. 7, 1777 . . . . .	307
Hazen, Col. Moses.		
Letter to Gen. Sullivan	June 5, 1776 . . . . .	223
	June 13, 1776 . . . . .	240
	Sept. 11, 1777 . . . . .	555
	Dec. 1, 1777 . . . . .	592
Hillsborough County, N. H., Committee of Safety.		
Letter to Gen. Sullivan	July 19, 1775 . . . . .	68

Howe, Gen. William.	
Letter to Gen. Sullivan Aug. 30, 1776 . . . . .	299
Hurd, John.	
Letter to Gen. Sullivan July 13, 1776 . . . . .	285
Lafayette, Marquis.	
Letter to Gen. Sullivan Nov. 1, 1777 . . . . .	564
Laurens, John.	
Letter to Gen. Sullivan Sept. 21, 1777 . . . . .	556
Lee, Gen. Charles.	
Letter to Gen. Sullivan July 24, 1775 . . . . .	70
Lee, Capt. Henry.	
Letter to Gen. Sullivan Oct. 8, 1777 . . . . .	480
Lee, Serjt. William.	
Request for Promotion of, Aug. 10, 1775 . . . . .	74
Livingston, Gov. William.	
Letter to Gen. Sullivan Aug. 16, 1777 . . . . .	430
Aug. 19, 1777 . . . . .	433
Livius, Peter.	
Letter to Gen. Sullivan June 2, 1777 . . . . .	355
Lux, George.	
Letter to Gen. Sullivan Aug. 22, 1776 . . . . .	297
McDougall, Gen. Alexander.	
Letter to Gen. Sullivan Nov. 17, 1774 . . . . .	49
Oct. 22, 1775 . . . . .	112
Macomb, James.	
Letter to Gen. Sullivan . . . . .	608
Maryland Regiment.	
Return of Strength July 19, 1777 . . . . .	417
Maryland 2d Regiment, Officers.	
Letter to Gen. Sullivan Oct. 13, 1777 . . . . .	559
Maryland 3d Regiment, Officers.	
Letter to Gen. Sullivan Oct. 13, 1777 . . . . .	561
Maryland 5th Regiment, Officers.	
Letter to Gen. Sullivan Oct. 14, 1777 . . . . .	562
Maryland 6th Regiment, Officers.	
Letter to Gen. Sullivan Oct. 11, 1777 . . . . .	558
Massachusetts Legislature.	
Respecting Gen. Sullivan April 18, 1777 . . . . .	330
Maxwell, Gen. William.	
Letter to Gen. Washington Nov. 23, 1777 . . . . .	580
Meade, Lieut. Col. Richard K.	
Letter to Gen. Sullivan June 23, 1777 . . . . .	399
Mifflin, Gen. Thomas.	
Letter to Gen. Sullivan June 12, 1777 . . . . .	386
Monitor.	
Reply to Gen. Sullivan March 17, 1775 . . . . .	55
Morris, Major Lewis, Jr.	
Statement, Court of Inquiry, Sept. 6, 1777 . . . . .	512

Moylan, Col. Stephen.	
Letter to Gen. Sullivan Jan. 27, 1776.....	177
New Hampshire Committee of Safety.	
Letter to Gen. Sullivan and John Langdon July 8, 1775	65
Aug. 24, 1775.....	78
Sept. 28, 1775.....	92
Oct. 10, 1775.....	107
Oct. 27, 1775.....	116
New Hampshire Grants.	
Letter to Gen. Sullivan.....	269
New Hampshire Provincial Congress.	
Letter to Gen. Sullivan and John Langdon May 23, 1775.....	62
Newbury, Vt., Committee of Safety.	
Letter to Gen. Sullivan July 22, 1776.....	289
Officers, Artillery.	
Letter to Gen. Sullivan Oct. 27, 1777.....	564
Officers, Delaware Regiment.	
Letter to Gen. Sullivan.....	553
Officers, Field.	
Letter to Gen. Sullivan July 8, 1776.....	282
Officers, Hazen's Regiment.	
Letter to Gen. Sullivan.....	554
Officers, Maryland 2d Regiment.	
Letter to Gen. Sullivan Oct. 13, 1777.....	559
Officers, Maryland 3d Regiment.	
Letter to Gen. Sullivan Oct. 13, 1777.....	561
Officers, Maryland 5th Regiment.	
Letter to Gen. Sullivan Oct. 14, 1777.....	562
Officers, Maryland 6th Regiment.	
Letter to Gen. Sullivan Oct. 11, 1777.....	558
Officers.	
Protest to Congress Dec. 31, 1777.....	606
Ogden, Col. Matthias.	
Letter to Gen. Sullivan, 1777.....	459
O'Hara, Capt. Henry.	
Letter to Gen. Sullivan Aug. 12, 1777.....	428
Parison, Capt.	
Certificate April 30, 1777.....	331
Parker, J.	
Letter to Gen. Sullivan Jan. 18, 1777.....	312
Pickering, Col. Timothy.	
Letter to Gen. Sullivan July 24, 1777.....	418
Aug. 17, 1777.....	433
Pierce, William, Jr.	
Letter to Gen. Sullivan Nov. 8, 1777.....	571
Pinckney, Col. Charles C.	
Statement, Court of Inquiry, Sept. 24, 1777.....	557

Price, Col. Thomas.	
Testimony, Court of Inquiry . . . . .	519
Putnam, Gen. Israel.	
Letter to Gen. Sullivan July 8, 1777 . . . . .	410
July 25, 1777 . . . . .	418, 419
Return of Strength May 3, 1777 . . . . .	335
May 10, 1777 . . . . .	338
Reed, Major James.	
Statement, Court of Inquiry, Oct. 11, 1777 . . . . .	492
Reed, Col. Joseph.	
Letter to Gen. Sullivan Jan. 10, 1777 . . . . .	309
Richardson, Col. William.	
Letter to Gen. Sullivan Oct. 13, 1777 . . . . .	560
Roby, James.	
Letter to Gen. Sullivan Oct. 27, 1773 . . . . .	43
Rush, Dr. Benjamin.	
Letter to Gen. Sullivan June 6, 1777 . . . . .	372
St. Clair, Gen. Arthur.	
Letter to Gen. Sullivan Aug. 30, 1777 . . . . .	446
Scammell, Col. Alexander.	
Letter to Gen. Sullivan May 3, 1775 . . . . .	58
Oct. 24, 1775 . . . . .	114
Feb. 18, 1776 . . . . .	184
Schuyler, Gen. Philip.	
Letter to Commander of Army in Canada June 4, 1776	215
Commissioners of Congress in Canada May	
28, 1776 . . . . .	210
Gen. Israel Putnam May 22, 1777 . . . . .	341
Gen. Sullivan May 13, 1776 . . . . .	198
May 14, 1776 . . . . .	199
June 13, 1776 . . . . .	235
June 17, 1776 . . . . .	248
June 20, 1776 . . . . .	255
June 25, 1776 . . . . .	264
July 7, 1776 . . . . .	281
Sherburne, Major Edward.	
Statement, Court of Inquiry, Sept. 6, 1777 . . . . .	495
Shippen, Dr. William, Jr.	
Letter to Gen. Sullivan May 29, 1777 . . . . .	346
Skinner, Gen. Cortlandt.	
Orders Feb. 12, 1777 . . . . .	316
Smallwood, Gen. William.	
Letter to Gen. Sullivan Sept. 7, 1777 . . . . .	501
Testimony, Court of Inquiry . . . . .	502
Smith, Lieut. James.	
Receipt Jan. 16, 1776 . . . . .	163
Stark, Col. John.	
"Confession" . . . . .	165

Stark, Col. John, <i>cont.</i>	
Letter to Gen. Sullivan April 25, 1776 . . . . .	192
Volunteers in Regiment of, Oct. 8, 1775 . . . . .	106
Stark, William.	
Letter to Gen. Sullivan Jan. 30, 1776 . . . . .	178
Stephen, Gen. Adam.	
Letter to Gen. Sullivan June 1, 1777 . . . . .	352
June 4, 1777 . . . . .	369
Sept. 20, 1777 . . . . .	455
Sterrett, Major William.	
Letter to Gen. Sullivan Oct. 17, 1777 . . . . .	563
Testimony, Court of Inquiry . . . . .	525
Stirling, Gen. Lord.	
Letter to Gen. Sullivan June 24, 1777 . . . . .	401
June 27, 1777 . . . . .	402
Summary, Court of Inquiry . . . . .	528
Stone, Col. John H.	
Letter to Gen. Sullivan May 19, 1777 . . . . .	337
Sullivan, Capt. Ebenezer.	
Letter to Gen. Sullivan Aug. 14, 1776 . . . . .	293
June 6, 1777 . . . . .	373
Sullivan, James.	
Letter to Gen. Sullivan Jan. 30, 1772 . . . . .	41
Dec. 6, 1775 . . . . .	137
Sept. 3, 1777 . . . . .	446
Sullivan, Gen. John.	
Address to the People, Dec. 24, 1774 . . . . .	50
Court of Inquiry on, Oct. 10, 1777 . . . . .	482
Letter to John Adams Dec. 21, 1775 . . . . .	151
May 4, 1776 . . . . .	194
Sept. 28, 1777 . . . . .	470
Nov. 10, 1777 . . . . .	577
Lieut. Col. Edward Antil Aug. 16, 1777 . . . . .	431
Gen. Benedict Arnold May 31, 1777 . . . . .	350
Josiah Bartlett Sept. 4, 1775 . . . . .	80
Oct. 4, 1775 . . . . .	97
Rev. Jeremy Belknap April 4, 1777 . . . . .	330
Thomas Burke Oct. 27, 1777 . . . . .	565
Alpheus Chesley Jan. 19, 1776 . . . . .	173
Gov. George Clinton July 17, 1777 . . . . .	415
Daniel Coe Dec. 6, 1776 . . . . .	301
Committee of Congress May 27, 1775 . . . . .	64
Col. Elias Dayton May 17, 1776 . . . . .	204
Nathaniel Folsom Nov. 24, 1774 . . . . .	49
Daniel Fowle March 4, 1775 . . . . .	53
Gen. Horatio Gates Aug. 20, 1775 . . . . .	78
Jan. 17, 1776 . . . . .	163
Col. Hall May 22, 1777 . . . . .	340
John Hancock June 1, 1776 . . . . .	212

Sullivan, Gen. John, *cont.*

Letter to John Hancock	July 2, 1776	274
	Aug. 5, 1776	290
	Dec. 22, 1776	305
	June 2, 1777	360
	June 3, 1777	368
	July 1, 1777	403
	Aug. —, 1777	420
	Aug. 25, 1777	443
	Sept. 27, 1777	460
	Oct. 6, 1777	475
	Oct. 17, 1777	537
	Oct. 25, 1777	547
Gen. William Heath, no date		300
	Dec. 14, 1776	304
	May 1, 1777	332
	Nov. 22, 1777	579
Hillsborough Co., N. H., Com. of Safety		
Aug. 10, 1775		73
Col. Hoisington	July 3, 1776	279
Gen. William Howe	Aug. 30, 1776	299
John Langdon	Sept. 5, 1774	47
	Sept. 4, 1775	80
	Oct. 4, 1775	97
	Nov. 5, 1777	567
	Nov. 9, 1777	572
Henry Laurens	Nov. 11, 1777	578
Monitor	March 31, 1775	57
N. H. Committee of Safety	July 19, 1775	69
	Aug. 5, 1775	72
	Aug. 29, 1775	79
	Sept. 23, 1775	90
	Sept. 29, 1775	96
	Oct. 4, 1775	100
	Oct. 18, 1775	110
	Oct. 26, 1775	115
	Nov. 30, 1775	129, 133
	Dec. 2, 1775	134
	Dec. 3, 1775	135
	Dec. 8, 1775	140
	Dec. 24, 1775	153
	Mar. 14, 1776	186
	May 1, 1777	332
	May 5, 1777	334
N. H. General Assembly,	no date	156
	Jan. 17, 1776	164, 165
	Jan. 18, 1776	169
	Jan. 20, 1776	173
	Jan. 26, 1776	176

Sullivan, Gen. John, *cont.*

Letter to N. H. General Assembly	Mar. 24, 1776. . .	188
	Mar. 20, 1777. . .	329
N. H. Provincial Congress	May 22, 1775. . .	61
	Nov. 1, 1775. . .	123
Newmarket, N. H., Selectmen	March 22, 1774	44
Powers and Willis, 1777. . . . .		472
Col. Joseph Reed	Sept. 5, 1775. . . . .	83
Gen. Philip Schuyler	Aug. 5, 1775. . . . .	71
	May 10, 1776. . . . .	197
	May 16, 1776. . . . .	200
	May 18, 1776. . . . .	207
	May 25, 1776. . . . .	209
	May 27, 1776. . . . .	210
	June 7, 1776. . . . .	224
	June 12, 1776. . . . .	234
	June 19, 1776. . . . .	250
	June 22, 1776. . . . .	257
	June 25, 1776. . . . .	267
	July 2, 1776. . . . .	271
	July 6, 1776. . . . .	280
	Aug. 5, 1776. . . . .	290
Gov. Jonathan Trumbull	Aug. 2, 1775. . . . .	71
	Aug. 14, 1775. . . . .	76
John Waldron	Jan. 19, 1776. . . . .	173
Capt. Wallingford	Oct. 15, 1771. . . . .	39
Gen. George Washington	Aug. 2, 1775. . . . .	70
	. . . . . 1775. . . . .	103
	Oct. 14, 1775. . . . .	108
	Oct. 29, 1775. . . . .	117
	Nov. 29, 1775. . . . .	129
	Mar. 22, 1776. . . . .	187
	May 10, 1776. . . . .	197
	May 14, 1776. . . . .	199
	May 16, 1776. . . . .	202
	May 18, 1776. . . . .	205
	June 3, 1776. . . . .	214
	June 5, 1776. . . . .	217
	June 7, 1776. . . . .	226
	June 8, 1776. . . . .	226
	June 24, 1776. . . . .	261
	June 25, 1776. . . . .	265
	July 2, 1776. . . . .	277
	Aug. 23, 1776. . . . .	298
	Feb. 9, 1777. . . . .	315
	Feb. 13, 1777. . . . .	320
	Feb. 14, 1777. . . . .	322
	Mar. 9, 1777. . . . .	326
	May 25, 1777. . . . .	344

Sullivan, Gen. John, *cont.*

Letter to Gen. George Washington	June 19, 1777 . . . . .	394
	June 28, 1777 . . . . .	403
	July 2, 1777 . . . . .	404
	July 5, 1777 . . . . .	404
	July 10, 1777 . . . . .	413
	July 11, 1777 . . . . .	414
	Aug. 7, 1777 . . . . .	423
	Aug. 12, 1777 . . . . .	428
	Aug. 24, 1777 . . . . .	437, 442
	Sept. 11, 1777 . . . . .	451
	No date . . . . .	453
	Oct. 6, 1777 . . . . .	478
	Nov. 23, 1777 . . . . .	580
	Nov. 24, 1777 . . . . .	583
	Nov. 25, 1777 . . . . .	584
	Dec. —, 1777 . . . . .	590
	Dec. 1, 1777 . . . . .	593
	Dec. 4, 1777 . . . . .	597
	Dec. 26, 1777 . . . . .	602
	Dec. 27, 1777 . . . . .	604
	Dec. 30, 1777 . . . . .	605
Meshech Weare	Dec. 12, 1775 . . . . .	141
	Feb. 13, 1777 . . . . .	317
	June 12, 1777 . . . . .	387
	Oct. 25, 1777 . . . . .	542
Joshua Wentworth	Feb. 21, 1774 . . . . .	44
Message to Army	July 8, 1776 . . . . .	284
Officers Recommended	Nov., 1775 . . . . .	133
Order of Battle . . . . .		448
Order of March . . . . .		449
Orders	Nov. 1, 1775 . . . . .	120
	Mar. 13, 1776 . . . . .	185
	Dec. 11, 1776 . . . . .	302
	June 21, 1777 . . . . .	396
	July 8, 1777 . . . . .	409
Plan of Attack . . . . .		398
Return of Strength	Feb. 3, 1776 . . . . .	180
	Feb. 17, 1776 . . . . .	182
	June 1, 1777 . . . . .	354
Sweers, Cornelius.		
Letter to Gen. Sullivan	May 23, 1777 . . . . .	342
	June 1, 1777 . . . . .	352
Taylor, Major John.		
Letter to Col. Moses Hazen	Aug. 24, 1777 . . . . .	485
	Gen. Sullivan May 31, 1777 . . . . .	351
Statement, Court of Inquiry . . . . .		488
Tilghman, Lieut. Col. Tench.		
Letter to Gen. Sullivan	May 30, 1777 . . . . .	347

Tilghman, Lieut. Col. Tench, <i>cont.</i>	
Letter to Gen. Sullivan	June 11, 1777 . . . . . 382
	June 14, 1777 . . . . . 390
	June 18, 1777 . . . . . 393
	June 21, 1777 . . . . . 395
	July 9, 1777 . . . . . 412
Tucker, Josiah.	
Letter to Gen. Sullivan	Nov. 14, 1772 . . . . . 42
Van Emburgh, Major John.	
Letter to Gen. Sullivan	June 12, 1777 . . . . . 386, 387
Varnum, Gen. James M.	
Letter to Gen. Sullivan	Sept. 24, 1775 . . . . . 92
Vaughan, Major Joseph.	
Testimony, Court of Inquiry . . . . .	523
Washington, Gen. George.	
Letter to ———	May 29, 1777 . . . . . 345
Congress	June 17, 1776 . . . . . 247
Gen. John Sullivan	Oct. 5, 1775 . . . . . 102
	Nov. 5, 1775 . . . . . 124
	Nov. 7, 1775 . . . . . 127
	Dec. 8, 1775 . . . . . 140
	Jan. 10, 1776 . . . . . 162
	Feb. 19, 1776 . . . . . 184
	April 1, 1776 . . . . . 192
	May 17, 1776 . . . . . 204
	June 13, 1776 . . . . . 239
	June 16, 1776 . . . . . 243
	Dec. 15, 1776 . . . . . 305
	Jan. 28, 1777 . . . . . 314
	Mar. 15, 1777 . . . . . 328
	June 7, 1777 . . . . . 374
	June 11, 1777 . . . . . 381
	June 12, 1777 . . . . . 385
	June 14, 1777 . . . . . 389
	June 15, 1777 . . . . . 390
	June 17, 1777 . . . . . 392
	June 21, 1777 . . . . . 395
	June 23, 1777 . . . . . 399
	July 6, 1777 . . . . . 406
	July 7, 1777 . . . . . 408
	July 9, 1777 . . . . . 411
	July 16, 1777 . . . . . 414
	July 22, 1777 . . . . . 418
	Aug. 3, 1777 . . . . . 423
	Aug. 14, 1777 . . . . . 429
	Aug. 22, 1777 . . . . . 436
	Aug. 27, 1777 . . . . . 445
	No date . . . . . 450
	Sept. 20, 1777 . . . . . 453, 454

Washington, Gen. George, <i>cont.</i>	
Letter to Gen. John Sullivan Sept. 23, 1777.....	456
Oct. 24, 1777.....	541
Wayne, Gen. Anthony.	
Letter to Gen. George Washington Nov. 23, 1777.....	580
Whipple, William.	
Letter to Gen. Sullivan Dec. 5, 1775.....	136
Whitemarsh Guard.	
Report Nov. 11, 1777.....	578
Wilkinson, Capt. James.	
Letter to Gen. Sullivan Jan. 22, 1776.....	174
Willcox, Major William.	
Letter to Gen. Sullivan Sept. 25, 1777.....	457

## JOHN SULLIVAN.

---

In the month of June, 1777, Peter Livius, a royalist refugee, then chief justice of Quebec, but who had been chief justice of the Province of New Hampshire under the King, wrote thus to John Sullivan:—

“You were the first man in active rebellion, and drew with you the province you live in. You will be one of the first sacrifices to the resentment and justice of government. Your family will be ruined, and you must die with ignominy.”

To the man thus truthfully designated as the man who, in all the American provinces, was the first to take up arms against the King, New Hampshire now erects this monument of native granite. It is fitting that the state should thus commemorate the service of men who, in times of great crises, and especially in the crises of national life, distinguished themselves by sagacious foresight and heroic deeds. It is well that there should be monuments which shall inspire young men with love of country and the spirit of self sacrifice. It is particularly fortunate that the construction of this monument should not have been delayed beyond the first year in which the State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts should have been established in this place. With

the erection of noble buildings for the living instructors, the state erects a silent instructor of patriotism for its young men and women. Nor is it to be forgotten that the munificent gift to this college, for which the testator had carefully invested his accumulated wealth, was made by a grandson of a distinguished civilian who, residing here, made his counsel and his work influential in the independence of this state. Ebenezer Thompson and John Sullivan were colleague deputies from Durham in the first revolutionary provincial assembly of New Hampshire. The former was soon made secretary of the province in place of the royalist official removed from his office, and he held that position from 1775 to the year 1786, was one of the council for five years, from 1776 to 1781, and was one of the committee of safety appointed by the province, to which were given almost despotic powers during the war; was twice appointed a delegate to Congress, but was compelled to decline on account of his health; was a member of the constitutional convention of 1791-2, and he held the office of judge for fifteen years.

#### HONORS PAID BY NEW YORK.

The erection of this monument was too long delayed. It will be a hundred years next January since the bold and gallant soldier, the wise and far-sighted statesman, was buried on yonder height where the trees overshadow his grave. New Hampshire has lost its first opportunity. Fifteen years ago the people of New York dwelling in the great valleys where the Iroquois had lived, and from which they had desolated with tomahawk and fire the frontier settlements, held four celebrations, at four different places, in commemoration of the work done by Major-General John Sullivan and his gallant forces just one hundred years before. One of

these four celebrations was at Geneseo and one at Aurora. At a third place, Waterloo, was erected a small monument bearing the name of Sullivan. The fourth and principal celebration was on the battle ground of Newtown. Here the day was honored by the presence of the governor of New York, the governor of Pennsylvania, and the governor of New Hampshire, each with his military staff. Gen. William T. Sherman was there with his appropriate staff. "I come here," he said, "as a representative of the army of the United States," of which he was then, under the President, the head. It was estimated, as is given in the beautiful volume wherein the State of New York gathered all the proceedings and all available ancient reports and diaries, and in which it placed opposite the title-page an engraving of John Sullivan, that fifty thousand people were present on the occasion. The inscription upon the fine monument then dedicated, standing on Sullivan Hill, designates the service of Major-General John Sullivan, and with that mentions the names of his four brigadiers, among which is the name of Enoch Poor of New Hampshire, who there gallantly led the three New Hampshire regiments of the Continental line, commanded by their noble colonels, in the decisive act of the battle.

#### NEW HAMPSHIRE'S HEROIC NAMES.

New Hampshire furnished in the Revolution a wonderful line of colonels, both in its regular regiments and in those specially raised for particular service. What state gave to its entire quota such names as Stark, Reed, and Poor at the very beginning of the war? Of their successors find Scammell, who went from John Sullivan's law office a hundred rods from this spot, to become adjutant-general of the entire army of the

Revolution; Henry Dearborn, who became a major-general and Secretary of War; the gallant Joseph Cilley, George Reid, Nathan Hale, Timothy Bedel, — such and others were on the list of New Hampshire colonels. Nor should Winborn Adams be forgotten, who went from yonder dwelling house, and fell at Bemis Heights while commanding the Second New Hampshire. Nor can the names of patriots like Weare, Langdon, Bartlett, Whipple, Folsom, Wentworth of Somersworth, Thornton, Wingate, Gilman, Belknap, and Livermore be left to silence. Honors to all the brave leaders, many of whom I cannot now name, will come in due time. That we honor one to-day is no disparagement to the memory of others.

#### THE MONUMENT.

But for this particular occasion we can only ask the question “What were the public services of John Sullivan which entitle him to this recognition?” To this question scarcely an outline can be given in reply. But such an outline at least is appropriate, as the times of the Revolution grow dim in the past. So far as his services are concerned this monument has the eloquence of silence. It gives no items of public service. It indulges in no eulogistic epithets. This is right. It simply says, “John Sullivan, born Feb. 17, 1740; died Jan. 23, 1795.” It is enough.

#### BIRTH.

He was a son of New Hampshire. The encyclopedias even now almost universally record him as a native of Berwick in Maine. It is a mistake. In my boyhood Michael Read, an aged citizen of Dover, whose clear mind was filled with traditions which he gave to me, insisted that John Sullivan was born in Somersworth,

part of old Dover, in a winter when the father had brought his family across the river during a term of service as teacher. I found this tradition verified by a statement in the *New Hampshire Gazette* of March 10, 1787. In the political campaign a hand bill had objected to Sullivan's election to the presidency of the state on the two grounds that he was a soldier and born outside of New Hampshire. To the latter objection the reply was made, "Surely this collector of public intelligence has not consulted all the people in this state, or he would have found out that President Sullivan was born in Somersworth, in the county of Strafford." New Hampshire should keep the enrolment of its own son.

The son of a poor teacher<sup>1</sup> exiled from his native land, but who, educated upon the continent, was familiar with five languages; son also of a mother who, when asked why she came to this country, replied "I came here to raise up governors", (and two of her sons and one great-grandson became governors of states);<sup>2</sup> trained by this father, especially in classical literature, dependent upon his own efforts, reading law in an almost menial position in the family of the eminent lawyer, Samuel Livermore of Portsmouth, marrying at the age of twenty, settling as a lawyer in this place, and Dec. 19, 1764, purchasing from the heirs of Dr. Samuel Adams yonder premises which Parson Hugh Adams, father of Samuel, had purchased of Joseph Burnham Aug. 7, 1717, where Sullivan made his home during his whole life; brilliant, versatile, energetic, eloquent,

<sup>1</sup> May 20, 1723, Master "Sullefund" was chosen one of the two teachers of the town of Dover, at £30 salary per year.

<sup>2</sup> John Sullivan was governor of New Hampshire; James Sullivan was governor of Massachusetts; and Samuel Wells, born in Durham, was governor of Maine. The brilliant lawyer John S. Wells, a native of Durham and brother of Samuel, was attorney-general and a member of the United States Senate.

he speedily achieved success at the bar as an advocate, and by his active enterprise in establishing mills fast accumulated property. But the oppressive measures of the British ministry found in him a bold opponent. I cannot but think that much of his dislike of British administration was born with him. He was the descendant of a line which had for many generations been despoiled of their possessions, outraged in their consciences as to the worship of God, subject to the bloody and murderous assaults of the English government. He was of the O'Sullivans of the southwestern part of Ireland, near Bantry Bay, to whom the name of England was justly a synonym for merciless tyranny and bloody despotism. He could trace his ancestry to holders of castles levelled by the English invader, and to worshippers whose natural rights had been denied. His grandfather, Major Philip O'Sullivan, had been a soldier in the defence of Limerick, the last place in Ireland to submit to William III, and on its fall had chosen liberty in exile in France, where he died, rather than submit to forswear himself at home. His father, Owen, taken by that father as a babe to France, had when attaining manhood gone back to Ireland, but speedily found that the oppression of the English government would give him no peace except at the cost of slavery. I am sure that John Sullivan, son of Irish exiles, had hereditary insight into what British tyranny might, if unresisted, exact from Americans. Nor was there any doubt of his sympathies prior to the outbreak of war. "Your approbation of my conduct while at the bar," he wrote to the committee of safety of Hillsborough County Aug. 10, 1775, "acting in defence of an injured people against the arbitrary tools of government gives me the highest satisfaction."

## THE FIRST ACT OF REBELLION.

This monument declares that the powder seized from Fort William and Mary Dec. 14, 1774, was stored in the cellar of the meeting-house which once stood upon this spot. That powder was brought here by John Sullivan and, under his lead, Alexander Scammell, Eleazer Bennett, John Demeritt, Ebenezer Thompson, and their associates whom he summoned for the purpose. Whoever may have been present on the two days of that seizure, it was to this event that Livius referred when he wrote to Sullivan "you were the first man in active rebellion." "Major John Sullivan and Capt. John Langdon," wrote Belknap, "distinguished themselves as leaders in this affair." Adams, in his Annals of Portsmouth, who could consult contemporaries of the event, said it occurred "under the direction of Major John Sullivan and Capt. John Langdon." These men had received their commissions two years before in the Second N. H. Militia, where Sullivan had earlier been a captain.

"When I returned from Congress in 1774," wrote Sullivan some years later, "and saw the order of the British King and Council prohibiting military stores being sent to this country, I took the alarm, clearly perceived the designs of the British ministry, and wrote several pieces upon the necessity of securing military stores, which pieces were published in several papers." Sullivan, bold and intrepid, then an active member of the Continental Congress and, well known throughout the province by his leadership at the bar, had great influence. The seizure of the munitions at the fort, though sudden at last, was doubtless not without previous thought. The result of this act was momentous. It was the first act of armed rebellion. It preceded

Concord and Lexington by four months of time. The captors of the fort entered it against the fire of field pieces and muskets, openly and in broad daylight. They pulled down the royal flag, the first time in American history. They gave three cheers in honor of their success. They carried off a hundred barrels of powder, some light guns and small arms, which, under the care of Sullivan, were taken up the river now flowing in your sight, but then covered with thick winter ice, through which a pathway had to be cut. "Men on guard at Durham" wrote Belknap December 21, in his diary not printed.

This audacity had its effect in England. It was the reply to the King's proclamation. It so irritated that monarch that thoughts of conciliation were at once ended. In this province the governor issued threatening proclamations. He dismissed the offending major and captain from their posts in the militia. In answer to this edict all persons in Durham holding civil or military stations under the governor assembled at yonder tavern, moved across this little green, and here publicly burned their commissions and insignia of office. Sullivan, in the public prints, boldly defended the seizure. Here he also raised a company of eighty-three men, which he, being an ardent lover of military exercises, proceeded to drill for the coming conflict. The powder stored upon this spot, and that in the safe custody of Capt. John Demeritt at his home in Madbury, was taken by that person in his ox-cart to Cambridge, as directed by Sullivan, where it arrived just in season to be dealt out to the troops at Bunker Hill.

#### IN THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS.

But Sullivan had already entered the national life. On the twenty-first day of July, 1774, the convention

of New Hampshire deputies, which was a voluntary body direct from the people, in which he represented the town of Durham, appointed him and Colonel Nathaniel Folsom delegates to the Continental Congress which was to meet at Philadelphia, and he was reappointed Jan. 25, 1775. He was thus the first person ever chosen to represent New Hampshire in Congress. Of the signs of his activity and usefulness in this station I will present but two instances. In the first Congress he was placed immediately upon two important committees. The most important was that upon the grievances of the people, of which he was chairman. "The committee of violations of rights," says John Adams in his diary, "reported a set of articles which were drawn by Mr. John Sullivan of New Hampshire, and these two declarations, the one of rights and the other of violations, which are printed in the journals of Congress for 1774, were two years afterwards recapitulated in the Declaration of Independence on the 4th of July, 1776." New Hampshire has perhaps not remembered that the bold hand and the legal training of John Sullivan are in the immortal Declaration of Independence.

The other important position which he took was in favor of the establishment of state governments in 1775. John Adams recites his own opinion as expressed to Congress:

"That this could be done only by conventions of representatives chosen by the people in the several colonies in the most exact proportions. That it was my opinion that Congress ought now to recommend to the people of every colony to call such conventions immediately, and set up governments of their own under their own authority, for the people were the source of all authority and origin of all power. These were new,

strange, and terrible doctrines to the greatest part of the members, but not a very small number heard them with apparent pleasure, and none more than Mr. John Rutledge of South Carolina and Mr. John Sullivan of New Hampshire.”

Again he writes:

“Mr. Sullivan was fully agreed with me in the necessity of instituting governments, and he seconded me very handsomely in supporting the argument in Congress. . . . Not long after this Mr. John Rutledge returned to South Carolina, and Mr. Sullivan went with General Washington to Cambridge, so that I lost two of my able coadjutors. But we soon found the benefit of their co-operation at a distance.

“On Wednesday, Oct. 18, the delegates from New Hampshire laid before the Congress a part of the instructions delivered to them by their colony. . . . This instruction might have been obtained by Mr. Langdon or Mr. Whipple, but I always supposed it was General Sullivan who suggested the measure, because he left Congress with a stronger impression upon his mind of the importance of it than I ever observed in either of the others.”

A state government was not long after established; it became a fact in January, 1776, and although General Sullivan was then in the field his advice was sought in the formation of the constitution, and his influence felt. New Hampshire thus again took the lead. It was the first of the provinces to establish a state government. In our time it looks as if this must have been an easy task. But the patriot founders encountered great obstacles. The sentiment was not all one way. When in January, 1775, a son was born to Gov. John Wentworth, the grandmother of the child wrote to a friend “Had a young prince been born there could not have

been more rejoicing. The ships fired their guns. All the gentlemen of the town and from the King's ships came the next day to pay their compliments. The ladies followed." The rejoicings continued for a week. Such was still the feeling of certain classes in Portsmouth toward the representative of royalty. Even in January, 1776, when the convention of deputies was in session at Exeter, and considering the propriety of establishing a legislature, a legal meeting of the freeholders of Portsmouth, including more than two hundred persons, unanimously remonstrated against such hasty and untimely action as practically meaning independence. A writer in the same month in the *New Hampshire Gazette* says of "independency", "It is a monster of so horrid mien as to be hated needs but to be seen."

But Sullivan felt no hesitation. While he was in the trenches around Boston he wrote to John Adams Dec. 21, 1775, urging a declaration of independence. His language is impassioned: "Let me ask if we have anything to hope from the mercy of His Majesty or his Ministers? Have we any encouragement from the people of Great Britain? Could they exert themselves more if we had shaken off the yoke and declared ourselves independent? Why, then, in God's name, is it not done? Whence arises this spirit of moderation, — this want of decision? Do the members of your respectable body think that the enemy will throw their shot and shells with more force than at present? Do they think the fate of Charlestown or Falmouth might have been worse, or the King's Proclamation more severe, if we had openly declared war? Could they have treated our prisoners worse if we were in open and avowed rebellion than they do now?"

## THE SOLDIER.

John Sullivan's service in the field began with his appointment as brigadier-general June 22, 1775. He left Congress immediately and reported to Washington at Cambridge. From that date he devoted himself to his country in war with a bravery sometimes almost reckless, with a faithfulness unchallenged, and with military qualities recognized by Washington as being of a high order.

It must be remembered that the battles of the Revolution were in most instances temporary defeats. Our forces were often merely raw levies, owing to the folly of Congress and its ignorance of the art of war. We were in many cases outnumbered, and outnumbered by soldiers thoroughly disciplined and well supplied with munitions of war. Against all these evils Washington had to contend. It was his patience, his sagacity, his love of country which succeeded. In the few victories achieved we generally had the advantage of numbers. After Stark, with his independent New Hampshire command, had crushed the British detachment at Bennington, an ordinary second lieutenant — such were the superior numbers and position — could not have failed to capture Burgoyne. Yorktown was a victory because our army had become disciplined, and the French forces co-operated with Washington's strategy. The British nation became weary of a costly war, and conceded our independence.

This occasion scarcely allows more than a catalogue of services rendered and campaigns endured.

He was stationed at Winter Hill, on the left of the American line of investment, in the siege of Boston. He superintended works of fortification. He was twice sent to the Piscataqua to provide for fortifying and

defending its harbors. There he built defensive works, and there he left Col. Joshua Wingate of Stratham in charge, with troops which New Hampshire furnished. When, late in 1775, the Connecticut troops refused to remain longer, and ruin seemed imminent, it was imperative that Washington should have five thousand recruits, and that commander appealed to Sullivan to procure two thousand men from New Hampshire. Sullivan came home and, with the noble co-operation of the patriots in authority, in ten days secured the whole number and marched them to Massachusetts. In a single week Capt. John Waldron of Dover, who had come back with Sullivan for the purpose, enlisted six hundred men and became their colonel.

#### IN CANADA.

When the enemy had been driven from Boston March 17, 1776, General Sullivan, with Washington's approval, was assigned to our army in Canada. When he reached it, it was in a pitiable condition. The brave Montgomery had been killed in the useless attack upon Quebec. Major-Gen. John Thomas had been placed in command by Congress. He had felt it necessary to give up hope of success with his then force. General Thomas, after withdrawing from the advanced positions, soon died, and shortly after General Sullivan arrived with some additional troops, and at once necessarily took command. At first he was somewhat sanguine. He reinforced St. Clair, who was near Three Rivers, where he had been ordered by Sullivan's temporary predecessor, but the movement was useless. Burgoyne was arriving with reinforcements. Carleton had an effective force of ten thousand men, admirably disciplined and well supplied with munitions of war, while Sullivan had but seven thousand, half of whom

were prostrated by disease. "The Americans," says Bancroft, "were in imminent danger of being cut off and utterly destroyed." From this position, with the enemy only two hours distant, Sullivan extricated his little army with admirable skill. Not a sick man was left behind nor a spade lost from his equipment. When on the 12th of July, 1776, he relinquished the command, his field officers presented to him an address which mentioned with gratitude his unwearied labor, his tender care of the sick, and their esteem for the skill which he had exhibited. "It is to you," they said, "we owe our safety." They speak of him as the one who "upon the late trying occasion has comforted, supported and protected the shattered remains of a debilitated army." Among those who signed this address were John Stark, Enoch Poor, James Reed, Anthony Wayne, and Arthur St. Clair.

The opinion of Washington as to Sullivan's qualifications was asked by Congress in view of contemplated promotions. Washington replied June 17, 1776, in the most frank manner. He said, from his own knowledge, that Sullivan was "active, spirited, and zealously attached to the cause." "That he does not want abilities, many members of Congress can testify"; that he had a "little tincture of vanity"; that he had limited experience, like all of "us," but that justice required him to acknowledge Sullivan's "genius." Aug. 9, 1776, he was appointed major-general, and joined Washington in New York.

#### ON LONG ISLAND.

He was assigned to duty on Long Island, not far from New York, under General Greene, and assisted in the erection of defences. General Greene being taken sick, General Putnam was assigned to command, with

Sullivan and Lord Stirling as subordinates. The battle which took place Aug. 27 could have had but one result. A line of defence extending six miles, against an enemy numbering at least four to one, whose generals were Howe, Cornwallis, and Clinton, could not be maintained by General Putnam. Sullivan's bravery was conspicuous, but both he and Lord Stirling were taken prisoners.

Exchanged soon after, Sullivan was assigned to the force under the command of Charles Lee. When that erratic officer, who had been steadily disobeying the orders of Washington to join him, was taken prisoner through his own folly, Sullivan immediately took command, and instantly proceeded to join the commander-in-chief. His arrival enabled Washington to make that brilliant movement upon Trenton Dec. 26, 1776, which so revived the hopes of the discouraged patriots.

#### TRENTON.

The Delaware was crossed, and a rapid march of nine or ten miles followed, making fifteen in all. Sullivan was in command of the right wing, and Greene, with Washington present, in command of the left. The march was in a storm of snow and sleet. Sullivan sent word to Washington that the ammunition was thoroughly wet, and asked his intentions. "Use the bayonet," was the reply. This precisely suited the ardent nature of Sullivan. He dashed into Trenton, with John Stark in advance, overpowering all opposition, and disposing his troops in such a manner as to prevent any escape on the right. Greene's co-operation took care of the left and the Hessians were captured.

#### PRINCETON.

Eight days after this brilliant success, while Washington was on a projected march to Brunswick, occurred

the affair at Princeton, in which Sullivan drove two British regiments, one of which had taken refuge in the college. "While the 17th [British] was engaging those troops [a large force of Southern militia]," wrote Sullivan to Meshech Weare Feb. 13, 1777, "six hundred Yankees had the town to take against the 40th and 55th regiments, which they did without loss, owing to the manner of attack. Nearly two hundred of the enemy were taken in the pursuit."

Sullivan was stationed for a while at Princeton. In June, 1777, he divined the purpose of Howe, who was at Brunswick, to get between Washington and himself and capture his force. Howe was already on the march when Sullivan defeated that purpose by rapidly moving across the Delaware.

#### STATEN ISLAND.

After months of strategic movements or of patient waiting by Washington, Sullivan was at Hanover, checking as far as possible the petty annoyances of the enemy. In August he determined upon an expedition to Staten Island, twenty miles distant, occupied to some extent by British troops and Tories, from which frequent forays had been made. Crossing in the night of the twenty-first, the descent, which was at first successful, did not prove effective. He took some prisoners but he lost more. In answer to complaints made by personal adversaries, he demanded and eventually secured a court of inquiry. The court, consisting of Lord Stirling, Generals MacDougall and Knox, Colonel Spencer, and Colonel Clark, unanimously reported Oct. 12, "That the expedition against the enemy on Staten Island was eligible, and promised great advantage to the cause of America; that it was well concerted and the orders for the execution proper;

and would have succeeded, with reputation to the general and his troops, had it not in some measure been rendered abortive by accidents which were out of the power of the general to foresee or prevent." And that "General Sullivan's conduct in planning and executing the expedition was such that, in the opinion of this court, he deserves the approbation of the country and not its censure." Congress thereupon resolved that the result, so honorable to General Sullivan, was highly pleasing to themselves, and that the opinion of the court should be published in justification of that officer.

#### THE BRANDYWINE.

At the Brandywine, Sept. 11, Sullivan, commanding the right wing, was not able to oppose successfully the British advance. Washington, with far inferior forces, was endeavoring to defeat, or at least delay, the British movement upon Philadelphia. Sullivan was ordered to occupy certain eligible ground, taking command of three divisions. Intelligence first received of the enemy's movements, and upon which Washington acted, was contradicted by later reports, brought in by reliable officers. The original report as to the place of crossing by the British was in accordance with the opinion which Sullivan had given to Washington as to the movement which the enemy ought to make. But, as was his duty, he immediately communicated the second report to Washington, who was within twenty minutes' ride, and asked instructions. Washington ordered a temporary suspension. He subsequently declared that Sullivan would have failed in his duty if he had acted otherwise. The original information, however, was again confirmed, and Sullivan made the new front required. His position was isolated and without supports. It was the common story of American forces,

many of them raw troops, outnumbered three to one by the disciplined forces of Britain led by such generals as Cornwallis and Howe. Some parts of the American line gave way, but as quickly did Sullivan, if failing to rally them, place himself in other divisions. More than once were the British driven back from the well chosen position. Sullivan's activity and skill were everywhere visible. "His uniform bravery, coolness and intrepidity," wrote one of Lord Stirling's staff, "both in the heat of battle, rallying and forming the troops when broke from their ranks, appeared to me to be truly consistent with, or rather exceeded, any idea I had ever of the greatest soldier." For an hour and a half his troops held the high ground, and at sunset some hours later, although retreating, they were still holding the enemy, until relieved by Washington. The British lost nearly six hundred men.

Upon the representations of a Congressman inimical to General Sullivan who had ridden out toward the battle, Congress in a moment of anger, and without the slightest examination, ordered Sullivan's suspension from command. To this vote Washington returned a curt, sharp remonstrance. He knew that Sullivan had not failed in his duty. Congress, upon a statement of facts, rescinded its order, with but two dissenting votes. It is worthy of note that the Congressman who thus maligned a brave soldier was subsequently, while governor of a southern state, taken prisoner by the British, being allowed certain liberties on parole, broke that parole, and that the people of his state, at the next election, on that account defeated him.

#### GERMANTOWN.

The battle at Germantown occurred Oct. 4, 1777. General Sullivan here led two divisions, and succeeded

in the attack committed to him, driving the enemy from their positions. The failure of divisions upon his left, however, made it eventually necessary for the commander-in-chief to order a retreat. It is sufficient to notice that in his report to Congress Washington says, "In justice to General Sullivan and the whole right wing of the army, whose conduct I had an opportunity of observing, as they acted immediately under my eye, I have the pleasure to inform you that both officers and men behaved with a degree of gallantry that did them the highest honor."

#### RHODE ISLAND.

General Sullivan passed the winter in the sufferings of Valley Forge, but on the 17th of April, 1778, he was assigned to command of the operations in Rhode Island, most of which was then held by the British, who occupied a strongly fortified position at Newport. It was expected that, in time, with the co-operation of the French fleet under d'Estaing, who could also furnish a land force of four thousand men, Newport could be reduced. General Sullivan's headquarters were at first at Providence. In the course of the season additional troops were sent to him, militia called in, and special enlistments made in which New Hampshire did its part. This gave him a force of ten thousand men, in two divisions respectively under Greene and Lafayette.

"Nothing can give me more pleasure," wrote Lafayette in advance, "than to go under your orders; and it is with the greatest happiness that I see my wishes on that point entirely satisfied. I both love and esteem you; therefore the moment we shall fight together will be extremely pleasant and agreeable to me."

The French fleet came, but it departed; it came back, but it sailed away. A strong English fleet came to

Newport, and the two fleets looked at each other but did not fight.

The disappointment to the Americans was intense. Sullivan moved to within two miles of Newport, but its strong works plainly defied capture. He fell back to Butt's Hill and made sufficient entrenchments. The enemy followed, and attacked Sullivan on the 29th of August. The action was declared by Lafayette to be one of the most hotly contested during the war. The Americans numbered but five thousand, of whom only fifteen hundred had ever been under fire. The number of the forces was about equal. British vessels fired upon Sullivan's lines to cover an intended flank movement, but were driven off by the sharp fire of Sullivan's guns, which took position for the purpose. The British tried to turn the flanks of the Americans, but in vain. They made repeated charges, always to be driven back. Sullivan's watchful eye was upon every part of the contest, and he moved battalions where their support was needed. In addition to early cannonading the battle lasted seven hours. The British then gave up the contest. History says that they lost one thousand men in that engagement. It was a brilliant success for the American arms.

With the advice of his officers Sullivan fell back, and without disturbance, to the northern end of the island, and eventually crossed over to the mainland. His forces were diminishing by the departure of the militia. His evacuation was in perfect order. He left nothing of his equipment behind, nor any sick or wounded. Criticism has failed to find any reasonable cause of complaint against Sullivan's military operations here; it has found nothing except his rather impulsive expressions of disgust at the failure of the French admiral. But he was of Irish blood.

Samuel Adams wrote of this campaign as follows:

“General Sullivan behaved as usual with bravery . . . This unforeseen and unavoidable accident left him too much inferior to the British squadron to run the risk with any degree of prudence. Our cause is not dishonored, though we did not succeed to our wishes.”

On the 9th of September it was resolved by Congress “that the retreat made by Major-General Sullivan, with the troops under his command, from Rhode Island was prudent, timely, and well conducted, and that Congress highly approves the same,” and “that the thanks of Congress be given to Major-General Sullivan, and to the officers and troops under his command, for their fortitude and bravery displayed in the action of August 29, in which they repulsed the British forces and maintained the field.” The thanks of the legislature of New Hampshire were also presented to him, and President Weare, in communicating the vote, wrote, “It is with particular pleasure, sir, that I enclose to you a copy of the vote of the General Court of this your native state, by which you will see the sense the people here have of your merit and good conduct in that important command.” The General Assembly of Rhode Island also subsequently gave its thanks in warm and glowing language.

### THE IROQUOIS.

General Sullivan remained in command at Rhode Island until the following spring. Then came his assignment to the work of chastising the Indians in the Susquehanna valley, and of dealing a blow at their power which would guard the frontier settlements from such atrocities as had befallen Wyoming in the preceding year. British soldiers, Tories and Indians were in combination. The British government was employ-

ing the savages in this infamous warfare. Congress directed Washington to provide for the work of chastisement. The orders were severe; the country was to be laid waste. General Sullivan was given four brigades, with artillery and riflemen. After much trouble in obtaining from the Congressional Board of Supplies suitable rations, he marched into the heart of the Indian country. In General Poor's New Hampshire brigade were the First, Second, and Third regiments, commanded respectively by Col. Joseph Cilley, Lieut.-Col. George Reid, and Lieut.-Col. Henry Dearborn. The march was skilfully managed. Gen. N. P. Banks once said to me, regarding a disastrous expedition, "I did not suppose that I had to tell an educated general that he ought to throw out flankers." General Sullivan understood his work. On the 29th of August, 1779, his scouts reported the existence of a somewhat disguised defensive work. He waited no longer than to ascertain its exact character, for the moment keeping the enemy busy by skirmishers' fire. Defences had been constructed on elevated ground in the gap, the right protected by a river, the left by a mountain, with a deep brook in front of the work.

The force of Indians, Tories and British soldiers within, under command of the Indian, Joseph Brant, and the infamous Col. John Butler, has been estimated at from twelve to fifteen hundred. They comprised the available force of the five nations who had resolved here to make their stand. Sullivan decided promptly upon his plan of action. He placed his artillery along the centre, well supported by infantry, but the guns were to hold their fire till the proper signal. The New Hampshire brigade, supported by Clinton's, was to take the hill upon the enemy's left and turn their flank. The plan was carried out. The New Hampshire brigade had

to pass through a morass, and then fight its way up the hill, which was strongly held by the Indians, who availed themselves of every tree. The riflemen on the flank fired, but Poor's brigade used Sullivan's favorite weapon — the bayonet. The enemy attempted to turn the right of the attacking column, but was promptly met. The hill was carried, and the combined fire of artillery and musketry in front and flank broke the enemy. How great was their loss was never known, beside the few dead which they left upon the field. Their wounded, at least, had been taken away, but the bloody evidences of serious loss were visible. Pursuit was made for several miles. One of our own severely wounded was Major Benjamin Titcomb of Dover.

Sullivan carried out his orders throughout that country. Not a fruit tree nor a corn stalk was left standing. Immense quantities of supplies were destroyed. Not a roof-tree was left from the Genesee valley to the Susquehanna. Some writers have condemned this severity, but they forget the murders of Wyoming. "Washington gave General Sullivan orders," said Gen. W. T. Sherman, "to come here and punish the Six Nations for their cruel massacre in the valley of the Wyoming, and to make it so severe that it would not occur again. And he did so. General Sullivan obeyed his orders like a man and like a soldier, and the result was, from that time forward, your people settled up these beautiful valleys."

Upon receiving the report of the expedition General Washington wrote to Congress, "I congratulate Congress on his (General Sullivan's) having completed so effectually the destruction of the whole of the towns and settlements of the hostile Indians in so short a time and with so inconsiderable a loss of men." He wrote to Lafayette rejoicing that the tribes had had "proofs that

Great Britain cannot protect them, and it is in our power to chastise them." Washington also officially "congratulated the army on the complete and full success of Major-General Sullivan and the troops under his command against the Senecas and other tribes of the Six Nations, as a just and necessary punishment for their wanton depredations, their unparalleled and innumerable cruelties, and their deafness to all entreaties." Congress, Oct. 14, 1779, adopted strong resolutions of thanks to General Washington for ordering, and to General Sullivan and his brave officers and soldiers for effectually executing the expedition.

#### RESIGNATION.

This was General Sullivan's last military service. On the 9th of November, 1779, he tendered his resignation to Congress, which was accepted Nov. 30. He gave as the reason the impairment of his health and the advice of physicians. It is not unlikely, however, that ill-treatment which he had received from Congress and its boards may have made his position far from agreeable. Perhaps, also, the almost absolute destitution of his family affected him. He had told his agent early in the war not to demand moneys due him which were out upon interest, because it might work hardship. With small pay, and that in a depreciated currency, he had used up his earlier accumulations in the support of his family and himself. "I have not clothes sufficient for another campaign," he wrote nearly two years before, "nor will my pay enable me to purchase." His resignation was accepted three weeks after it was given, although a large minority desired to substitute leave of absence, which was prevented by the votes of Pennsylvania and Virginia. A vote was passed presenting him the thanks of Congress for his services.

General Sullivan had violent enemies in Congress. It was perhaps partly due to his impulsive freedom of speech, which was natural in view of his own temperament and of the frequent inefficiency of that body. Soldiers do not often like civilian management of military affairs, and especially of campaigns. It was nothing to his discredit that some of these men disliked him. Many of them had tried to drive from the army General Greene, than whom no one made a more brilliant record. A large number were inimical to Washington himself, whose military ability John Adams sharply disparaged. I am not sure but that sectional differences affected Sullivan's position. There were at that period boasts which have been familiar within this generation. Sullivan was not the man to endure imputations upon New England courage. "I have been much pleased to see a day approaching," he wrote to Meshech Weare Feb. 13, 1777, "to try the difference between Yankee cowardice and southern valor. The day, or rather the days, have arrived." He insisted that the northern troops were the strength of the army. "All the general officers allow them to be the best of troops. The southern officers and soldiers allow it in time of danger, but not at all other times." The same spirit was not absent from Congress.

Perhaps some members of Congress had not forgotten that Generals Sullivan, Greene, and Knox had once sent a memorial to Congress regarding the expected placing over them of a Frenchman who was not considered competent, and that the demand of Congress that Washington should require an apology for its insulted dignity had been silently ignored.

But Washington, to whom Sullivan had always been an attached and faithful friend, expressed his feelings

and opinions in a letter to Sullivan, when he was about to leave the service:

“I flatter myself it is unnecessary for me to repeat to you how high a place you hold in my esteem. The confidence you have experienced, and the manner in which you have been employed on several important occasions testify the value I set upon your military qualifications and the regret I must feel that circumstances have deprived the army of your services. The pleasure I shall always take in an interchange of good offices in whatever station you may hereafter be placed will be the best confirmation of the personal regard with which I have been and am, very sincerely and truly, dear sir,” etc.

With the record of John Sullivan's services before us it seems strange that any historian should deny his military capacity. One writer has, however, done so. An examination of his work shows that his bitter prejudices are not confined to Sullivan alone. Reasonless partisanship is the habit of his mind. So far as Sullivan is concerned it would be easy to show that the writer in question omits to give him credit for military service when it seems to have required an effort to avoid it; that when two interpretations are possible he invariably chooses the unfavorable one; and that he makes statements as to military action which can be prevented from being stigmatized as untruths only by attributing them to an obvious incapacity to understand military principles. The work of that writer exhibits equal power in gorgeous rhetoric and unbounded vituperation.

A careful observer of Sullivan's military career will find that he was a proficient student in military science and in the history of war; that he was passionately fond of military exercise, in the simple parts of which he was well versed in his youth; that he came to exhibit a

thorough knowledge of what was required, not only in marches and in fortifications, but also in the selection of positions for battle and in the disposition of troops to meet the demand of the hour; that he was fearless of danger and inspired enthusiasm among his men; that upon the field he never lost presence of mind or readiness of command, nor promptness in movements to meet instant emergencies; and that he was entrusted by Washington with independent operations of a high order. In fact I believe we find but one instance of any battle in which Washington was personally with Sullivan's division. When a real history of the War of the Revolution shall be written Sullivan's position as a soldier will not depend upon high-sounding phrases of partisan and inflated prejudice. It will justify the opinion of George Washington.

#### IN CONGRESS AGAIN.

The state had need of him. In the spring of 1780 the president of the council and the speaker of the house were appointed to wait upon him and give the congratulations of the General Court at his safe return and recovery of health, and also "give him the thanks for his good services." It followed this expression by appointing him, June 28, a delegate to Congress. When he thus entered Congress with the warm friendship of Washington it might have been a moment of exultation. But he was too magnanimous and patriotic to cherish grudges. Experienced, able and active, he was remarkably useful. In November, 1780, he was on a committee to draft an urgent appeal to the several states for renewed help to the cause. In consultation with Washington he succeeded in carrying through a reorganization of the army departments, the system of promotions, and the establishment of honorable positions for

veteran officers, being chairman of the committee to consult with Washington upon this important subject. He procured the rescinding of all rules which allowed others than the commander-in-chief or heads of departments to grant furloughs. He was on the committee to discuss the question of clothing for the soldiers. He was chairman of the committee which, in 1781, having full power in connection with Washington, removed the difficulties with the Pennsylvania line which threatened the destruction of the army. He favored giving greatly increased powers to the commander-in-chief as a military necessity. He favored a well-disciplined army, on long terms of enlistment. He aided in having his old comrade, General Greene, sent to command in the south. He supported the great change by which single secretaries or ministers were substituted for clumsy Congressional boards, in the case of foreign relations, finance, and war, and against the strenuous opposition of Samuel Adams, a member of one of the boards. When the minister of finance was to be chosen he proposed to Washington the name of Alexander Hamilton for his opinion. Washington replied, speaking in high terms of Mr. Hamilton in general, but saying that he had not conversed with that gentleman on questions of finance. When the election took place General Sullivan wrote to Washington, "After I wrote, I found the eyes of Congress turned upon Robert Morris as financier. I did not, therefore, nominate Colonel Hamilton, as I foresaw it would be a vain attempt." But when Washington became President he at once verified Sullivan's instinct by placing Hamilton at the head of the treasury. General Sullivan was chairman of the finance committee, and he sustained Morris in the creation of a national bank, of which gold and silver should be the basis. He helped frame also an act for the redemption

of the depreciated currency at a fixed ratio. This committee had to consider the whole condition of the finances, and recommend a reorganization of the system. Its reports were generally accepted. He was on the committee which considered the whole question of the western lands, the cession of which began while he was in Congress. Early in 1781 he was upon a committee "to devise ways and means to carry on the present campaign." He favored trusting the eminent commissioners who were appointed to negotiate a peace, without strict instructions. Such were some of the services rendered during his continuance in Congress, from which he retired by his own act.

#### OFFICIAL LIFE AT HOME.

Returning from necessity to professional life, General Sullivan was still called to office. He was appointed attorney-general June 24, 1782, and held the office until he declined a re-election in February, 1786, being in that year a candidate for another office, to which he was elected. It is remarkable that his distinguished son, George Sullivan, who also was sent to Congress, held the same office for twenty-one years, and that John Sullivan, son of George, an equally brilliant orator, was also attorney-general for thirteen years, dying in office. In 1782 he was delegate from Durham to the constitutional convention, which was in existence from 1781 to 1783, and whose third attempt to make a constitution satisfactory to the people was successful.

In 1781-82 there were many signs of trouble in the towns bordering on or near to the Connecticut River. New Hampshire had exercised jurisdiction over those towns, and the legislature voted to raise one thousand men for the purpose of enforcing its claims; and Jan. 11, 1782, it appointed General Sullivan to command

this force. It does not appear that anything more became needed than the authority of the courts, which was finally established. The crisis, perhaps, came at Keene in October of that year, when the firmness of the court and the marked power of Sullivan (then holding the office of attorney-general) over men were completely successful. Doubtless his influence over many of his old companions in arms had much to do with the result when he assumed the old sword, which he was now entitled again to wear, by virtue of the vote of the General Court, as recorded by Plumer.

In 1783 Gen. Sullivan was made the first president of the New Hampshire branch of the Cincinnati, of which Washington was president-general. He was the first Grand Master of the New Hampshire Grand Lodge of Free Masons, chosen July 8, 1789, having been received in St. John's Lodge, Portsmouth, N. H., March 19, 1767, and made a master mason Dec. 28, 1768.

In 1784 he was appointed major-general of the militia, and served until he became president. He entered into the duties of this office with great energy, issued an address to the people in behalf of an active interest in developing the system, and published a volume of regulations for the forces of the state; and he took frequent occasion to review the different corps.

In 1785 he was a member of the assembly from Durham. He was speaker of the house in that year, and also a member of the council, which offices were then not incompatible. His participation in legislation is found in almost every measure of importance. Impost duties, post roads, taxes, military organization, the relation of the state to the general government, the revision of laws are some of the subjects in which he helped to shape legislation.

In 1786 he was again chosen speaker, but served only

two days, as he was chosen president of the state, as the governor was then designated, and thus became "captain-general, commander-in-chief, and admiral" of the army and navy of New Hampshire, titles which, I believe, His Excellency still bears.

It was during this first year of his administration that an insurrectionary spirit showed itself in New Hampshire, coincident with what was called Shays's rebellion in Massachusetts. There were undoubtedly distressed conditions among the people. The exhaustion caused by the War of the Revolution had not ceased. The consequences of the terribly depreciated continental currency necessarily affected the public welfare for many years. President Sullivan had, as chairman of the finance committee in Congress, regarded gold and silver as the necessary basis of all currency. But whether so or not it was his duty to preserve public order. Classes of people bitterly complained. "The public securities," they said, "were engrossed by rich speculators, and the poor were distressed for the means of paying their taxes and their private debts. The cry for paper money was incessant." Such was the record of Jeremy Belknap. "They raised a cry for paper money, an equal distribution of property, and a release from debt." When the legislature was in session at Exeter Sept. 20, 1785, a tolerably well organized company of several hundred armed men surrounded the building where the legislature was in session, to coerce that body into compliance with their demands. As many as pleased entered the house, and demanded action according to their request. The president, who in those days presided over the council, which was practically the senate, explained the situation in a calm and dignified speech, and informed the mob that no action whatever would be taken under such an attempt

to coerce. Toward night the legislature requested President Sullivan to provide for its defence and liberty. Samuel Adams, son of Colonel Winborn Adams, who had been a lieutenant under General Sullivan in his Iroquois campaign, was now one of his military staff. When morning dawned it found several companies of militia infantry, a squadron of cavalry, and some light artillery drawn up in proper order for action. The insurgents, at first threatening to resist, were dispersed by a section of the light horsemen. Some of the leaders were arrested and bound over to appear in court. The policy of the president, however, having maintained the laws, secured lenity, and all the misguided men were eventually discharged. "Our General Sullivan," wrote Belknap, in one of his letters, "behaved with great prudence, firmness, and despatch, and success crowned his exertions."

General Sullivan was again chosen president in 1787. It was during this year of administration that he wrote to Belknap as follows:—

"The credit of the state, which has been sunk to the lowest mark, has now arisen to a height almost beyond conception. Our deranged finances are restored to order; and orders upon our treasury now pass equal with silver and gold. This, sir, was owing to some acts which I procured to be passed, but not without great opposition, the good effects of which are now sensibly felt and begin to be universally acknowledged."

At the election in 1788 there was no choice of president by the people, and John Langdon, who had previously been a candidate, was chosen by the senate. General Sullivan, however, represented Durham in the assembly, and was unanimously chosen speaker. The loss of the higher office had also been far more than made up by his choice to still another, and perhaps the

fact of the second influenced the people to divide their honors.

### THE RATIFICATION OF THE CONSTITUTION.

On the 13th of February, 1788, a convention of deputies met at Exeter to consider whether New Hampshire would ratify the proposed constitution of the United States. It was a meeting of vast importance. The hopes and fears as to the adoption of that constitution had been alternating in many states. In that convention John Sullivan represented the town of Durham, and he was chosen its president.

“The convention, when assembled to the amount of one hundred,” wrote Sullivan in a private letter, “stood thus, seventy against and thirty for the new constitution. However, the good cause gained ground, and when we adjourned I think that a majority was in favor; but as about thirty who were bound by instruction to vote against the plan had, through the preaching of Doctor Langdon and others, become real converts, it was thought best to have an adjournment that they might go home and obtain liberty to act their own judgment, and I doubt not but it will then be received by a large majority.”

Mr. Joseph B. Walker, in his history of the North Church in Concord, where was held its second session, well says that the “Federal trio,” John Sullivan, John Langdon, and Samuel Livermore, could not be equalled by any other three members of the convention. He gives to Mr. Livermore, then chief justice, the credit, and doubtless correctly, of being the most powerful man in argument upon the floor. The personal character and sound judgment of Mr. Langdon, who was soon to be sent to the United States Senate and become the first presiding officer of that body, must have given him a

strong influence. To General Sullivan's enthusiastic intensity of purpose was doubtless added his skill in public address and his remarkable ability in political administration. When, after reassembling, the vote was carried June 21, 1788, fifty-seven in favor to forty-seven against, it was seen that each of these men had been indispensable. But General Knox, then Secretary of War, wrote to Sullivan from New York: "Your friends attribute much of the success in your state to your unremitting exertions, and hope that your country will eminently reward your patriotism."

To sit in that chair and declare that vote, carried so largely by his own personal influence, might almost be regarded as the crowning privilege of the life of John Sullivan. To make the new constitution operative required the assent of nine states. There were division and doubt in many parts of the land. If the proposal should fail the country would be thrown back into the helplessness of the old confederation. But New Hampshire, in which had been the first armed resistance to the King of Great Britain, and which had been the first of the provinces to establish a state government, now made the ninth state. By that act the constitution was made operative, and the United States came into being. No mind could then have prophesied the future growth, prosperity, and glory of the great republic. But it was a sublime moment when that vote was declared. John Sullivan may have been pardoned if the words of Livius, in 1777, had come back to his mind: "You were the first man in active rebellion, and drew with you the province you live in. You will be one of the first sacrifices to the resentment and justice of government." And now he was privileged to declare, as the chosen leader of New Hampshire, the **one** specific vote which created a nation.

## FURTHER OFFICIAL LIFE.

At the first election for President of the United States General Sullivan was chosen one of the electors for the State of New Hampshire. He had thus the privilege of casting his vote for his old commander in the field, whom he had always loved, and who had always trusted him.

1139049

At the next election, that of 1789, he was again chosen president of the state. He served during his year, and at its close the legislature appointed a committee "to return the thanks of the General Court to his Excellency President Sullivan for his services while President of this State."<sup>1</sup>

But before the expiration of the year President Washington had appointed him the first judge of the United States District Court of New Hampshire. The personal letter of Washington, dated Sept. 30, 1789, enclosing the commission, says, "In my nomination of persons to fill office in the judicial department I have been guided by the importance of the object, considering it of the first magnitude, and the pillar upon which our political fabric must rest. I have endeavored to bring into the high offices of its administration such characters as will give stability and dignity to our national government."

Such was Washington's estimate of John Sullivan.

He died in this his last public office, but he had not long been upon the bench when his health began to fail. The old hardships had left their impress. Not only did his physical strength decay, but his mental powers also failed. The president, however, would not have him removed from office, although for two or three years he was unable to attend to its duties.

<sup>1</sup> Harvard College conferred upon him the degree of Master of Arts in 1780, and Dartmouth that of Doctor of Laws in 1789.

I would gladly recall traditions which have floated down through the century, of John Sullivan's dashing boldness and almost personal recklessness in the field, which won the admiration of his soldiers, such as have come to us from the ancestors who served in the army of the Revolution, — as did four of mine; of the often brilliancy in speech which perhaps came with his Irish blood; of his generous and even lavish kindness to those who were in need; of his fidelity to his friends; of the personal magnetism which swayed men, and especially the common people. But these things do not come into the purpose for which I gratefully acknowledge the honor given to me by the governor and council of our state.

#### DEATH.

On the 23d of January, 1795, he died in his home on yonder terraced slope which reaches down to the river, where he loved to see the ebb and flow of the tides which went and came at the will of the ocean.

It was a hundred years ago, but where we stand has a double history. Two hundred years ago, in a warm morning of July 18, 1694, the musket and the tomahawk of the savage did its deadly work around these falls and up and down the sides of this now tranquil river. Sorrow and anguish were in almost every home, for on that terrible day nearly one hundred persons had been killed within the sound of a musket shot from where we stand, or led into hopeless captivity in Canada. Such was the discipline which prepared the generations here for the stern war of the Revolution.

On yonder beautiful height, within the stone wall and its iron gate, in the family burying ground which lies in the rich mowing land are various graves. Inscriptions mark the resting place of the emigrant, who lived to the

age of one hundred and four, and of his wife Margery. But there are also found the simple stones which stand at the graves of John Sullivan and Lydia, his wife. These stones are amply sufficient for their purpose. But our state needed to erect its own memorial to the patriot, soldier, and statesman. It has wisely placed that memorial where youth shall see it, and upon the spot connected by its history with the opening of the War of the Revolution. The state has delayed for nearly one hundred years, but if, as tradition says, the burial in that winter day was so quiet and simple that people wondered, the governor, who is in the line which follows, now comes in the name of the state, and by its order, to express the love and honor in which New Hampshire has always held the memory of John Sullivan.



LETTERS AND PAPERS  
OF  
MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN SULLIVAN

---

[*John Sullivan to Capt. Wallingford, Oct. 15, 1771.*]

[Boston Public Library.]

Durham October 15<sup>th</sup> 1771

*Sir* I hear that there is Some Expression in the Reasons of appeal filed by me in behalf of your mother which give you some offence which I Declare I never meant however great the provocation might be which I Received. The provocation I beg Leave to mention which is as follows Namely when you applied to me at Deacon Leightons & I Refused Your money, I then told you that I would wait on Mrs. Wallingford the Next Day & get her to Consent to what you then Said you Desired which was to Take a Joint Administration with her which I accordingly did & persuaded her to Consent & you not being at Home I Left word with your Lady to Desire you to appear at Portsm<sup>o</sup> on the Fryday then next which you absolutely refused. all this I did at your Request & she (Mrs. Wallingford) well knows that I neither received fee or Reward for my Trouble and I have received no money from her Even to this Day Except a Trifle to pay the Cost of appealing &c which I told her I did not receive as a fee but would Account with her for it when I had paid the Charges out of the Same — now Sir please to Consider whether putting me upon Such an Errand and Leaving me to be Laugh<sup>d</sup> at for Thus being Imposed upon was not a very great affront but Notwithstanding all this I never

had any Thought of Returning the affront Nor is there one word in the Reason of Appeal that Looks Like it. Indeed it is there said that you had not Capacity to Transact the Necessary Business in Selling your fathers Estate which cant possibly be understood as want of Natural abilities or Capacity by any person acquainted with the English Language for why do we Ever add the word Natural to the word Capacity. Surely it must be to Convey Some Idea that the word Capacity alone would not as for Instance to Say that a man has not Capacity to do a Certain thing or Transact a Certain piece of Business Implies only an unacquaintedness with it. But if we mean to Reflect upon his natural powers of Mind we say he has not a Natural Capacity for it. I should not take it as an affront if any person was to Say that I had not Capacity to Rule a Nation or Command an Army in Time of Battle Though perhaps some have Acted in both Stations to whom Nature has not been more Liberal in her gifts than She has been to me nor should I look upon it as any Reflection upon my Natural Capacity for not having turned my thoughts on Either of those subjects or having practised myself in Either. I cannot well properly be Said to be Capable of Acting in Either but if a person was to say that I had not Natural Capacity to Act in Either Station I would then Reflect on my Natural powers of mind nor can you possibly suppose it as a Reflection if I was to say you have not Capacity to preach a Sermon or plead Law although I well know there are many who do both whose natural powers are not superiour to yours. if you will only Consult Doctor Tillotson You will find he uses the word in the Same Sense as the word Qualified is used & to Convey the Same Idea. Cole in his Latin Dictionary under the word Capax from which the word Capacity is Derived

says it means a man's understanding a thing well — he I suppose understood both Latin & English. So unless there be Some persons who understand English better than the best English writers To Convince me to the Contrary I shall Suppose that the Word there used only Implies that you are not in every Respect Qualified to Settle the Affairs of the Estate without calling in assistance & I doubt not you are well Convinced of that your Self & if the word there used will not bear this Construction I Confess I am Mistaken in my English & have not at present Capacity to Discover where the Error Lies. I hope Sir you will See by what I have said on the Subject that no affront was Intended for Every thing of that Sort was Ever the aversion of Sir your Humble Servant.

---

[*James Sullivan to John Sullivan, Jan. 30, 1772. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, Coe Collection, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Biddeford January 30th 1772

*Sir* In this time when your Clients flock like the Bees to their Cell (and I hope come stored with honey for the same) it may be impertinent to send you a Letter without money yet Necessity urges this to your Hand — In times past there was a Grant made to Sir Firdenando Gorges of the Province of Main who afterwards Conveyed to one Usher who Sold to the Province of Massachusetts Bay so that each Inhabitant of the Province became a Tenant in Common of the Lands. Lately a Number of Gentleman Raked up and shook the Dust of ages from an Indian Deed and Claim that Large Tract of Province Land up Saco River sufficient for twelve Townships by Virtue of the Indian Deed before

mentioned their Title is not worth one single rush — but the question is whether if any Inhabitant of the Province (as they are Tenants in Common should get into possession of any of the Lands) the others could oust them or bring any other Action than a Petition which can never be Supported because they know not each Individuals part myself and six others are Intending to Inclose 7000 acres of land immediately your opinion by the next post will greatly oblige

pleas to get an answer from Bryant to my Letter and send with yours —

[Addressed] To John Sullivan Esq<sup>r</sup> at Durham

---

[*Josiah Tucker to John Sullivan, Nov. 14, 1772. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, Coe Collection, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Gouldsborrough 14th November 1772

*Sir* The Bearer M<sup>r</sup> Davis waits on you in my Behalf to be Inform'd Concerning Lands Granted by this Province & not Confirm'd by his Majesty — One Question is weather any Person can put another off after four Years Quiet Possession by attaching said Land as the Property of a Person who was neither a Proprieter Himself, Nor had a Deed from any of them that is on Record, Likewise Suppose I Buy a Parsell of Marsh of one of the Proprietors by a Quit Clause Deed & any Time after Possession the Same or any other Person Trespasses by Cutting Hay or otherwise, weather I have a Right of Action & further to know weather You or your Brother James will attend Pownaborrough Court & Speak to the Case —

M<sup>r</sup> Davis will Informe you more perticularly & I am to Desire you would Committ your advise to writing & send it by him.

[Addressed] To John Sullivan Esq<sup>r</sup> Attorney at Law at Durham Falls on Piscataqua-River

---

[*William Allen to John Sullivan, July 1, 1773. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, Coe Collection, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Newmarket July 1, 1773

*My Dear Sir* — My Business leading me to Newbury-Port I intended paying you a visit, but m<sup>r</sup> Chiswell informing me you was from Home I am returning to Boston where my Business Calls me much. I must desire you to write me by the Next Post respecting my affair and when it will be proper for me to Come down.

---

[*James Roby to John Sullivan, Oct. 27, 1773. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, Coe Collection, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

S<sup>r</sup> I intended to sent Down to you by m<sup>r</sup> Atherton or M<sup>r</sup> Holland but they Dont Neither of them Come Down to the Next Court So I take this Oppertunity to Let you no that I would be Exceeding Glad to Come and Live with you if you will take me S<sup>r</sup> I Should be Verry glad if you will be So Kind As to Send me up a Few Lines weather you will take me or now and upon what terms you will take me S<sup>r</sup> I Cant Pay you the

money Down but if you will Send me up word How  
you will take me I will Do the Best I Can —

Dunstable Octob<sup>r</sup> the 27<sup>th</sup> 1773

Sir you told me when I Saw you at your mill that you  
would give me an answer the Next Court

---

[*John Sullivan to Joshua Wentworth, Feb. 21, 1774.  
Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Durham Feb<sup>y</sup> 21<sup>st</sup> 1774

*Sir* I rec<sup>d</sup> the favour of M<sup>r</sup> Gray by your young man  
I Shall Draw on you an order to Send the goods In-  
tended for M<sup>r</sup> Odiorne beg you not to Let any persons  
know but they are mine as I fear they may be attached  
as M<sup>r</sup> Odiorne's Estate I am now going to mount my  
horse hope you will Excuse haste & believe me to be  
Dear Sir your most obed<sup>t</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

[Addressed] M<sup>r</sup> Joshua Wentworth Merchant at  
Portsmouth

---

[*John Sullivan to the Selectmen of Newmarket, N. H.,  
March 22, 1774. Letter Signed.*]

[Massachusetts Historical Society.]

Durham March 22<sup>d</sup> 1774

*Gentlemen,* The time for chusing our Representa-  
tives being at Hand beg you will excuse my troubling  
you with a hint of an impending evil now threatning  
this Province and which nothing is so likely to prevent  
as the care and vigilance of those persons that may be  
chosen to represent us the year ensuing — The danger  
I fear is a Chief Justice appointed from home with a

Salary from the Crown, and a Commission during the King's pleasure to Lord it over us so long as an Arbitrary Ministry shall be pleased with his arbitrary conduct. This detestable Office is solicited by Peter Livius Esq<sup>r</sup> and it is more than probable he will succeed — If so our chief executive magistrate will be on a footing quite different from any in England or here, and on such a one as must be destructive of every principle of English Liberty — I know that the Judges in England are maintained by the Crown but their Commissions are during their good behaviour — No Arbitrary Minister or deluded Prince has it in his power to supercede their Commissions while their behaviour in Office will bear a Constitutional examination — But when the living of the Judge is in the power of the Ministry must it not be his peculiar care to warp and turn the Law ever in favor of the prerogative if the Ministry request it, otherwise the pleasure ceases, and his living is lost — so jealous were the Inhabitants of the respectable Province of the Massachusetts Bay that their Chief Justice was Impeach'd by the Commons upon his accepting a Salary to support him in a Commission constitutionally made out by the Governor & Council. I know it may be said that they are a Chartered, & We a Kings Government, but I confess I know but little difference between them and us — they indeed had a Charter in Writing, which could be only a confirmation of those Liberties which the God of nature had given them before, And we were equally intitled to them if not reduced to Writing: Our forefathers suffered equally with them in subdueing this Country — The savage Enemy never enquired whether the intended victim lived in a Charter'd or a Kings Government Until the fatal Messenger of Death taught him the danger of his situation — The Gentlemen of Massachusetts are

intituled to have Justice administred by persons who are under no Temptation to swerve from the Laws of their Country and pray are not all Mankind by Nature intituled to the same, even if written Charters had never been thought of — every person of discernment must see that all possible methods are taken to Bribe the Civil Law Courts to infringe on the Liberty of the subject — several Acts of Parliament hold out a Bribe to the Judge in this manner viz if you give Judgment against the Subject you shall have such a share of the thing in controversy but if not you are to have nothing — Pray is not this a most shocking Temptation to pervert Justice and what rational Hope can the Subject have of a fair tryal in these Courts thus bribed to give Judgment against him, but if once the Common Law Courts are infected with the same disease, what will become of the inherent liberties of the Subject — the name of Liberty will be as little regarded here as it now is in Portugal the place of our intended Chief Justices Nativity — Thus Gentlemen I have shortly hinted at the dangers and difficulties that await us — I now beg leave to point out a remedy against those evils — Which in my humble opinion is to instruct our Representatives to address his Majesty — Humbly to thank him for continuing to us our present Governor and for dismissing the Petition of the said Peter Livius which was maliciously contrived to foment Discord and Divisions in this Government; and humbly to request him that the said Livius may not be appointed to any Office in this Government. And if this once is done I flatter my self no other person unless Born as he was, where Liberty had ceased to reign will ever solicit the post upon that Footing — I know that in the last House an Address was refused, because the proceedings were not laid before the House in form. But I think it enough that it has

become a matter of Public Notoriety that the petition is dismissed and the Governor is continued — And no person in the Province except those who would rejoice at the annihilation of our Liberties, but must be pleased with the event — I am ever willing that Representatives should act their own Will and pleasure in all Cases where they are not particularly instructed — But when the liberties of their Constituents are in danger, and they give them particular Instructions how to Act, they are and ought to be bound thereby — And no person worthy of the Birth would wish to act different from the General Voice of his Constituents in so important a matter — You will please to Note that the Governor can have no Interest in this matter he is already established but it is the Liberty of the People that is now in jeopardy — Gentlemen I must intreat you not to think that I have the most distant thought of setting myself up as Dictator, or that I think myself more capable of judging in those matters than many of my fellow Citizens but at the same time hope that I may be allowed without offence to offer my sentiments in common with other Individuals for the good of the Community, which if agreeable will doubtless be accepted, and if not will be rejected —

---

[*John Sullivan to John Langdon, Sept. 5, 1774.*]

[Letters by Josiah Bartlett, William Whipple, and Others, p. 5.]

Philadelphia, Septem'r 5th, 1774.

*Sir.* Your favor came safe to hand by Mr. Wharton am much obliged for the seasonable hint you have given respecting masts. I should gladly give you an account of our proceedings but am under obligations of Secrecy, Except with respect to the general non Importation &

non Exportation the former to take place on the first of Decem'r next, the latter in September following. We have selected those Acts which we determine to have a Repeal of or forever restrain our Trade from Great Britain, Ireland & the West Indies among which acts is the Canada Bill in my opinion the most dangerous to American Liberties among the whole train for when we reflect on the Dangerous Situation the Colonies were in at the Commencement of the Late War with a number of those Canadians on their Backs who were Assisted by Powerful Indian Nations Determined to extirpate the Race of Protestants from America to make way for their own Cursed Religions so Dangerous to the State & favorable to Despotisms & Contemplate that by the late Act their Territory is so far extended as to include by far the greater part of North America: that this will be a City of Refuge for Roman Catholicks who will ever appear in favor of Prerogative of the Crown backed by an abandoned Minister, aided by the whole force of Great Britains & assisted by the same Indian Nations, we must suppose our Situation to be Infinitely more Dangerous now than it was then for while we are engaged with the Canadians on our Frontiers our Seaports must yield to the ministerial fleet & the Army if they once prevail no man must expect Safety until he professes that Holy Religion which our Sovereign has been pledged to establish. I am certain that no God may as well exist in the universe as those two Religions where the Papists have the power to extirpate the profession of the other. We can easily discover the designs of the Act & are determined to Counteract it in all events. I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you in a few days after this Letter comes to hand & give you a particular account of our proceedings in the interim.

[At this time Sullivan was in Philadelphia as a

delegate from New Hampshire to the Continental Congress.]

---

[*Alexander McDougall to John Sullivan, Nov. 17, 1774. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

New York Nov<sup>r</sup> 17<sup>th</sup> 1774.

*Sir*/ I hope this will find you released from the fears and apprehensions you labored under when you left this City; and enjoying that Felicity with your Family which your attendance on the Public business deprived you of. I should long ere now have wrote you the state of your Servants health, but the Symptoms of his disorder were So unfavourable that I could not give you any decisive intelligence. He has had the Pox very severe, and full, and was farr from being out of danger; But I have now the pleasure to inform you, that his disorder hath taken a favourable turn, and he is now in the opinion of the Doctors out of Danger; And I believe in 15 days hence if an opportunity offers he will be in a Condition to leave this, on his return home. The Friends of Liberty are daily increasing and there is no doubt but the Resolutions of the Congress will be religiously observed here.

---

[*John Sullivan to Nathaniel Folsom, Nov. 24, 1774.*]

[Boston Public Library.]

Durham Novemb<sup>r</sup> 24<sup>th</sup> 1774

*Sir* I this moment received a hint that the people of Portsmouth Expect you & me to come into Town Together on Tuesday morning for which purpose I will meet you at Foulsons in Greenland precisely at nine of Clock & proceed to Town with you according to their request

[*Address to the People, Dec. 24, 1774.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

*To the Inhabitants of British America.*

*Friends and Countrymen* At a time, when Ministerial Tyrants Threaten a people with the Total Loss of their Liberties; Supineness and Inattention on their part will render that Ruin which their Enemies have designed for them unavoidable. A striking Instance of this we have in the History of the Carthaginians: That brave people notwithstanding they had Surrendered up three hundred Hostages to the Romans upon a promise of being Restored to their former Liberties; found themselves Instantly Invaded by the Roman Army. Roused by this unexpected procedure; they sent Deputies to know the Occasion of this Extraordinary Manuvre. They were told That they must Deliver up all their Arms to the Romans and then they should peaceably Injoy their Liberties up on their Compliance with this Requisition; Marcius (one of the Roman Consuls) thus addressed them; “we are well pleased with these first Instances of your obedience and Therefore cannot help Congratulating you upon them; I have now but one thing more to require of you in the name of the Roman people: I will therefore without further preamble plainly Declare to you an Order on which the safety of your Republick the preservation of your Goods your Lives and Liberties depend. Rome Requires that you abandon your City which we are Comanded to Level with the Ground; you may build yourselves another where you please provided it be Ten miles from the Sea and without walls or fortifications, a little Courage and Resolution will Get the better of the affection which attaches us to Old habitations and is founded more in habit than in Reason.” The Consternation of the Carthaginian

Deputies at hearing this Horrid Treacherous Speech is Not to be Expressed. Some Swooned away, others burst forth into Cries and Lamentations; nor were even the Roman Soldiers, who were present, unmoved at the affecting scene. “These sudden fits (said the Base, Inhumane Consuls) will wear off by Degrees. Time & Necessity Teaches the most unfortunate, to bear their Calamities with patience; The Carthaginians when they recover their senses will Choose to Obey.”

Although the Carthaginians, after this made a noble and Manly Resistance yet the surrender of their Arms, proved the Destruction of that City, which had so often Contended with Rome, for the Empire of the world.

Equally Inexcusable with the Carthaginians will the Americans be, if they suffer the Tyrants who are Endeavouring to Enslave them to possess themselves of all their Forts Castles ammunition and warlike stores; what reason can be given by them, for such Cowardly and Pusillanimous Conduct? Perhaps it may be said that “there yet remains Some Gleam of hope, that the British Ministry may do us Justice; Restore us to our Liberties; and Repeal those oppressive acts which now hang over America: and was this even probable it would hardly Justify such a Conduct. But what foundation have we for such hope? If this be the Intention of the Ministry, is a formidable Fleet and numerous Army necessary to Bring it about? could they not have given up their plan for Enslaving America without Siezing all the strong Holds on the Continent? Upon all the Arms and Ammunition? and without soliciting and finally obtaining an order to prohibit the Importation of warlike stores into the Colonies? Does this Speak the Language of peace and Reconciliation: or does it not Rather Speak that of war Tumult and Desolation? And shall we like the Carthaginians peaceably surrender our arms to our

Enemies in hopes of obtaining in Return the Liberties we have so long Contended for? Be not Deceived my Countrymen, should the Ministry ever prevail upon you to make that Base and Infamous surrender they will then tell you in the Language of the Haughty and Inhumane Marcius, what those Liberties are, which they will in future suffer you to Injoy: and Endeavour to perswade you that when you have recovered your Sences you will Choose to obey. Is it possible that any person among us thinks of making a Submission to the Several powers which now Claim a Right to Rule over us? if so Let him take a view of the situation he and his American Brethren must then be in: We all acknowledge our submission to the authority of our provincial Legislature in the same manner as the people in Great Britain acknowledge the power of Parliament over them; because the assemblies here and Parliament there are Composed in part of persons Elected by the people & who are liable for any misconduct to be Excluded by them from ever acting again as their Representatives and where the people have this Constitutional Check upon their Rulers; Slavery can never be Introduced." But (says the famous m<sup>r</sup> Lock) whenever a power Exists in a state over which the people have no Controul, the people are Compleatly Inslaved; if this be the Case what shall we say to the Claim of parliament to Legislate for us in all Cases whatsoever? To the Mandates of a Minister of State, which so often have superseded the Laws of the Colony Legislatures although assented to by his Majesty? or to the Late order of the King & Councill prohibiting the Importation of warlike stores into the Colonies? & who by the same Colour of Right, may whenever they please prohibit the Importation of any or even Every other article? These are undoubtedly Such powers as we have no Check upon

or Controul over, powers Similar to those which have spread Tyranny and Oppression over three quarters of the Globe: & if we Tamely submit to their authority, will soon Accomplish that slavery which they have Long been Endeavouring to bring upon America.

I am far from wishing Hostilities to Commence on the part of America. But still hope that no person will, at this Important Crisis be unprepared to act in his own Defence; should he by necessity be Driven thereto, and I must here beg Leave to Recommend to the Consideration of the people on this Continent whether when we are by an Arbitrary Decree prohibited the having arms & Ammunition by Importation we have not, by the Law of self preservation a right to Sieze upon those within our power in Order to Defend the Liberties which God and Nature have given to us; Especially at this time when several of the Colonies are Involved in a Dangerous war with the Indians and must if this Inhumane order has the Designed Effect fall a prey to those Savage Barbarians who have so often Deluged this Land in Blood.

New Hampshire }  
December 24<sup>th</sup> 1774 }

A WATCHMAN.

---

[*John Sullivan to Daniel Fowle, March 4, 1775.*]

[*New Hampshire Gazette, Portsmouth, March 10, 1775.*]

*Mr. Fowle.* Whereas some evil-minded and malicious Persons have asserted that a Number of People in the Town of Durham are about forming themselves into a Company, in order to throw off all Obedience to the Militia Officers, and set at Defiance the Laws of the Government — I desire you to publish the Articles of Inlistment in your next Paper, that the Public may

judge how little Foundation there is for so scandalous a Report. The Articles are as follows;

“We the Subscribers do hereby agree to form ourselves into a Company, and meet at Durham Falls on every Monday Afternoon for 6 Months next coming, to acquaint ourselves with the Military Art, and instruct each other in the various Manoeuvres and Evolutions which are necessary for Infantry in Time of Battle: — We also agree to appear each Time well furnished with Arms and Ammunition: And at our first Meeting to nominate and appoint the several Officers who are to preside over us for the first Month, and then proceed to appoint others for the next Month, always avoiding to re-elect any that have served until all the others have gone through their Tour of Duty as Officers: — And at any Muster or Field Day we shall hold ourselves obliged to incorporate with the respective Companies to which we belong, and yield all due Obedience to the proper Officers of the Militia appointed by the CAPTAIN GENERAL: and endeavor to instruct those who are undisciplined in the best Manner we are able.”

Signed by Eighty-two reputable Inhabitants.

This is an exact Copy of the Articles which any Person that yet remains in Doubt may be satisfied of by applying to me and viewing the Original, a Sight of which may at any time be had; and was there nothing more illegal and injurious in a late Paper signed by several Persons in this Province, I believe the Signers would not take so much Pains in keeping it from the public View. But whatever may be the purport of that, I rejoice in laying the Contents of this before the People, that they may judge whether it has the least Appearance of an illegal Combination, or whether on the contrary it does not appear to be a well concerted Plan to promote and in-

courage the Military Art. I flatter myself that even Malice itself could not adjudge this to be an unjustifiable Measure, or suggest that any part of it looks like Treason or Rebellion; and I can account for the scandalous Report concerning it in no other Way but by supposing that these Defamers expected (according to the Custom of this Day) to be rewarded for their Slander by some Posts of Honor or Profit.

Durham, March 4th, 1775.

---

[*Reply to Sullivan by "Monitor."*]

[New Hampshire Gazette, Portsmouth, March 17, 1775.]

*Mr. Fowle.* In a publication in your last Paper under the Signature of Mr. Sullivan, we have been favoured with a Copy of an Engagement, entered into by a Number of People, to meet at Durham Falls, (*Durham Falls indeed*) once a Week for the space of six Months to come, in order to acquire Military Skill under Officers to be appointed by themselves monthly.

As this is a Matter of Public Concern, I shall beg Permission, Mr. Printer, through the Channel of your Paper, to lay some Animadversions before the Public upon it, which I think it would be unpardonable to neglect.

In the first Place the Appointment of all Military Officers, whether for a Day, a Week or a Month, is the sole Right of the King, or of those deriving Authority from him, and (to treat the Matter in the most moderate Terms) it is a very improper Step for any Body of Men, to assume that Power to themselves upon any Occasion or Pretence whatsoever.

The Laws of the Province require the Militia to be drawn forth to learn the Military Exercise four Times a Year, and no more; Mr. Sullivan may probably tell us,

that this new modelled Company does not come under this Limitation, yet I presume he will not deny but that the Meeting of any Part of the Militia, and these People declare themselves, to belong to it, any otherwise than the Law directs, is at least an Evasion, if not a direct Violation of the Law, both which ought to be equally avoided.

The Town of Durham by having Eighty two of it's Inhabitants employed, one Day in a Week (for we cannot suppose they will mind any other Business on those Days) for six Months, in military Exercises instead of their Husbandry, will sustain a Damage of £327 L. M. computing the Loss of their Labour only at half a Dollar a Day for each Person. Supposing now that all the Men in the Province fit to bear Arms, which may be reasonably calculated at 14,000, should catch this military Ardor, as most Infections are catching, and according to the Tendency of this Plan, follow the Example of Durham, it would, after Durham fashion, occasion a Damage of £54,000 L. M. to the Province. A pretty Tax truly for a new Country! Whatever Reason Mr. Sullivan may have to rejoice in thus leading on the People to their own Damage, I am sure the Province would have abundant Reason, not to rejoice in his Rejoicing, but to regret their own Folly; & it is well known that many are at this Day in the like Predicament on Account of some past Transactions amongst us. I hope therefore the People will judge for themselves, and avoid incurring a Damage to the Province, which no doubt the Legislature had in Contemplation to prevent by limiting the Times of training the Militia to four Days in a Year.

Moreover this extraordinary Spirit to acquire the Use of Arms, at a juncture when the Noise of civil Discord begins to roar in our Neighbourhood, marks strongly a Disposition to employ our Arms against the

Power and Authority we ought to support and defend, every Appearance of which should be avoided with the utmost Caution and Circumspection.

As I wish not, Mr. Printer, to trespass too much on your Indulgence, I shall for the present only take Notice, that though Sullivan plainly discovers the Durham Plan to be a Child of his own, yet I still hope he will upon Reflection, have Candor enough to acknowledge the Deformities of his BABY, and take it in good part in me to advise him to abandon the System he hath for some Time past been engaged in; a System manifestly tending to bring Calamity and Distress upon the good People of this once happy Province.

MONITOR.

---

[*Sullivan's Reply to Monitor.*]

[New Hampshire Gazette, Portsmouth, March 31, 1775.]

*Mr. Printer:* In your Paper of the 17th inst. I observed a Piece signed by a Person who calls himself Monitor, full of ill-natured Reflections upon an Agreement entered into by a Number of Persons in Durham, to assemble once a Week for the Space of six Months, to instruct each other in the military Art. The feeble attempt of this scurrilous Writer, to display his Wit in the former & latter part of his nonsensical Piece, can deserve nothing but Contempt and Ridicule.

His Assertion, that a Number of Persons assembling for the Purpose of instructing each other in the Art of War, and appointing Persons to give the Words of Command, interferes with the Royal Prerogative in the Appointment of Officers, and amounts to an Evasion, if not a Violation of the Province Laws, fully demonstrates his Ignorance, both of the Law and the Constitution.

The curious Calculation he makes of the Loss New

Hampshire must sustain, if the same military Ardor (which he ignorantly calls an Infection) should prevail throughout the Province, merits the Ridicule of all Mankind.

I am surprised, that this curious Calculation (while his Hand was in) did not inform us of the amazing Loss this Government sustains by devoting a seventh Part of the Time to religious Exercises; and endeavour to convince us, that as our Cloathing costs a large Sum, it would be best to go naked.

After which, I should be glad to know from him, if we were to lay down our Arms, and make the infamous Submission he contends for; how much Money we should be able to earn in a Day, and how much of our Earnings we should be able to keep in our Pockets.

I hope the Public will excuse my not giving a more serious and particular Answer to the Production of a distempered Brain, as that might make him wise in his own Conceit, and induce this nonsensical Scribbler to think himself a Person of some Consequence.

I shall conclude with reminding him, "that a Shoe Maker never ought to go beyond his Last."

---

[*Alexander Scammell to John Sullivan, May 3, 1775. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

May 3, 1775

*Hon<sup>d</sup> Sir.* Your Leaving New Hampshire at a time when your Presence was so extremely necessary, to cherish the glorious Ardor, which you have been so nobly instrumental in inspiring us with; spread a general Gloom in Durham, and in some measure damp'd the spirit of Liberty through the Province, & nothing but the important Business in which you are embark'd,

would induce us to dispense with absence with any degree of Patience, or Resignation. But when the horrid Din of civil Carnage surpriz'd us on the 20<sup>th</sup> of April the universal Cry was, O if Major Sullivan was here! I wish to God Major Sullivan was here! Ran through the distres'd multitude. April Court which was then setting adjourn'd immediately. To Arms, To Arms, was breath'd forth in sympathetick Groans. I went express for Boston by desire of the congressional Committee then sitting at Durham, proceeded as far as Bradford where I obtain'd credible Information that Evening, next Morning arrived at Exeter, where the Provincial Congress was assembling with all possible haste. There reported what Intelligence I had gain'd — that the American army at Cambridge, Woborn, & Charlestown, was in more need of Provision than men. That 50,000 had assembled in 36 Hours, & that the Regulars who had retreated from Concord had encamp'd on Bunkers Hill in Charlestown. The Congress upon this Report resolv'd that Durham Company then at Exeter (arm'd complete for an Engagement, with a Weeks Provision) should return home, & keep themselves in constant Readiness, all the men being gone from the westward, & Southward of Newmarket, & men of war expected hourly into Portsmouth; It was with the greatest difficulty your Durham Souldiers were prevail'd upon to return. Six or seven Expresses arriv'd at Durham the Night after our Return, some desiring us to march to Kittery, some to Hampton, some to Ipswich, &c which places they said sundry men of war were ravaging. The whole Country was in a continual Alarm. But suspecting that the Marines at Portsmouth might take advantage of the Confusion we were then in, And pay Durham a Visit, we thought proper to stand ready to give them a warm Reception. And supposing that your

house & Family would be the first mark of their Vengeance, Although I had been express the whole Night before, I kept guard to defend your family, & Substance to the last drop of my Blood. Master Smith being under the same Apprehension did actually lay in Ambush behind a Warehouse, & come very near sinking a fishing Boat anchor'd off in the River which he suppos'd heap'd full of Marines — Men, women, & Children were engag'd Day & Night in preparing for the worst — Many Towns in this Province have enlisted minute men & keep them under Pay; & the Congress before this had actually rais'd an Army of Observation had they not waited for the General Court which sits tomorrow; in order to raise as much money as they can to pay of their Army when rais'd. I am extremely mortify'd that I am unable to join the army at Cambridge, But as I am honor'd with the management of your Business, which cant possibly be neglected; The Ties of Duty & Gratitude induces me to suppress every wish that may militate against your Interest. Your Family are all in health & desire their Tender Love & Duty to you. The Particulars of the Skirmish between the Regulars & Americans will long before this reach you. In Longing Expectation your safe & happy & speedy Return is hoped for by all your friends, But by none more sincerely than  
Your Dutiful Humble Ser<sup>t</sup>

P S Please to excuse Inaccuracy, as I am oblig'd to conclude in the greatest haste. We have heard from you no otherwise than by Cap<sup>t</sup> Langdon's of the 13 of April  
Portsmouth May 3, 1775.

[Addressed] On the Grand American Congress. To John Sullivan Esq<sup>r</sup> at Philadelphia or New York.

[Scammell was at this time studying law in Sullivan's office.]

[*John Sullivan and John Langdon to the New Hampshire Provincial Congress, May 22, 1775. In Handwriting of John Sullivan.*]

[New Hampshire Archives, Revolution, vol. 1, p. 157.]

Philadelphia May 22<sup>d</sup> 1775

*Gent* we Take this Early opportunity of Inform<sup>g</sup> you by Capt Partridge that The Congress upon hearing of The Forts at Ticondaroga & Crown Point being Siezed by the people of New England to prevent General Carlton with his Canadians & Indians Taking possession of them to annoy our Frontiers & finding by about Thirty Indian Chiefs now in Philadelphia as well as by persons Sent to Sound the Dispositions of the Several Indian Nations that Such a Design is Really on foot & that Guy Johnson the Superintendent for Indian affairs has Really Endeavoured to persuade the Indians to Enter into a war with us & that many other Steps have been Taken by a Bloody minded & Cruel ministry to Induce those Hereditary Enemies of America to fall upon & Butcher its Inhabitants we Say upon Those Things appearing to the Congress they have ordered the above Forts to be Demolished & The warlike Stores to be Removed & another Fort Erected and maintained at the Lower part of Lake George if the Committee of New York shall Think it necessary & to Call upon all the New England Governments to give assistance if Required by New York. We Earnestly Entreat you for the Honor of the Province if Such a Requisition is made to give them Every possible assistance to preserve our people from the Incursions of a barbarous & Savage Enemy — we are Sorry Gentlemen that Honor will not permit us to give you the Least Information Respecting our proceedings — we can only say That all the Colonies are firmly united & are preparing for the worst — we

hope That you will In Imitation of the other Colonies proceed to Choose your officers & Establish your militia upon The new Plan which has been adopted by Every Colony upon the Continent — we shall bring with us Governor Wentworths Letters to Lord Dartmouth for 12 months past that you may Judge whether he is your friend as he pretends or whether he is not Rather your Inveterate Enemy.

P. S we Earnestly Entreat you to prevent our General Court from making any application to Great Britain for Redress of Grievances as that would Draw the Resentment of all America upon our Province it being agreed that no one shall make terms without the advice & Consent of the whole.

To the Provincial Committee of New Hampshire

---

*[New Hampshire Provincial Congress to John Sullivan and John Langdon, May 23, 1775. Original Draft Unsigned.]*

[New Hampshire Archives, Revolution, vol. 1, p. 169.]

*To the honourable John Sullivan & John Langdon Esqrs  
Members, for the Colony of new Hampshire, of the  
Continental Congress.*

*Gentlemen* Altho it is painful to us have occasion to realise the Necessity of deciding by the Sword the present Controversy with Great Britain — yet we trust you will hear with satisfaction that in the fullest representative body this Province ever had, it was unanimously voted to raise a Body of men for the purposes of general Defence: As we conclude you have been already sufficiently apprised of the hostile Conduct of the army under general Gage. We can assure you that the whole

Colony seems to be of one heart & one Soul; so that even those who had been formerly inactive are now soberly awake & active. The Blood of their Brethren has roused them. We would have desired to have consulted y<sup>e</sup> general Congress, if time had allowd, before we had taken such an important step as raising a military Force: but the Case seem'd too plain to be doubted, & too urgent to be delayed. We have resolved to raise forthwith 2000 men. How shall we pay them, you are sensible must now be our Question. We trust, as you know the state of the Colony, that you will enter into the full Importance of the Question. We desire you will do your utmost to forward some Plan in which we may be able to discharge our engagements. We must, gentlemen, press you on this article. The little Cash we ever had, is by one means or another almost entirely drain'd of. Tho most are ready to say yy are willing to expend one half if they may secure the oth<sup>r</sup>, yet we seem to have no method left but bartering For we dont find y<sup>t</sup> we can borrow unless we issue a paper Currency ourselves or have y<sup>e</sup> Benefit a Currency on a general Plan, or can borrow in some of y<sup>e</sup> other Colonies —

With regard to what is further necessary to regulate the general Policy of the Colonies — you will find our Situation, & Views, so far as we have formed any, in our inclosed Letter to the Congress. — you may rely upon it that if any general Regulations are thought necessary or best we shall be ready to receive the same & govern ourselves accordingly.

Gentlemen we commit ourselves & you, the honourable Body of which you are members, & the Cause of Liberty & justice thro America & y<sup>e</sup> world to the all directing Mind & Subscribe with much Esteem your most Obed<sup>t</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

Exeter 23<sup>d</sup> May 1775

[Unsigned.]

*[John Sullivan and John Langdon to a Committee of Congress, May 27, 1775.]*

[Letters of Members of the Continental Congress, vol. 1, p. 101.]

The Delegate[s] from New Hampshire beg Leave To Inform the Committee That Two of the Principal Towns in That Colony viz Portsmouth and New Castle are Situate on Piscataway River near the Entrance of The Harbour and are much Exposed To Naval Attacks: That Those Towns are about five Miles Distance from Each other: Portsmouth The Capital, Lying Farthest up the River and not Quite So much Exposed as New Castle which Lies at The Entrance Defended only by a Fort Capable of Mounting about Thirty pieces of Cannon on The Rampart; but The Fortifications are Extremely weak.

That to Defend the Entrance of The Harbour against a Naval Force would be Extremely Difficult, if not Impracticable. That Batteries might be Erected between Those Towns which with Booms, Chains etc. might possibly Secure Portsmouth from Such attack.

That to Defend the Pass and Secure The Retreat of the Inhabitants will require at Least Fifteen hundred Men. But as they have a well Regulated Militia in That Neighbourhood which may Suddenly be Called Together for that purpose, They are of opinion That there will be no necessity of Enlisting men at the Continental Expence Especially as The Militia will Readily agree to Serve in Turn for the Defence of Those places. They beg Leave further to Inform the Committee That There are Sixteen Regiments of Foot and Two of Horse in That Colony. The Foot amounting in the whole to upward of Sixteen Thousand Effective men, Tolerably well provided with Arms and Ammunition. That the number of Horse is uncertain and Those but Ill provided.

That great Numbers of these Foot Soldiers have been in Actual Service and That out of those they are Ready to Raise and Send to Serve in Massachusetts So many as the Committee Shall please to order.

That the Number of their Inhabitants are very uncertain as persons are Continually Emigrating from Other Colonies and Settling in that more than in any other of The Northern Colonies.

That The persons Thus Emigrating are Extremely poor for which Reason The wealth of the Province bears no proportion to the number of Inhabitants. with Respect to the amount of their Exports and Imports no accurate account can be given as the officers of the Customs have Long Since Refused to Suffer the Books to be Inspected.

[Endorsed] N. 2. State of New Hampshire as delivered by their delegates May 27, 1775.

---

*[New Hampshire Committee of Safety to Gen. Sullivan and John Langdon, July 8, 1775.]*

[Letters of Josiah Bartlett, William Whipple, and Others, p. 11.]

In Committee of Safety,

Exeter, the 8th of July, 1775.

*Gentlemen:* — The Congress of this Colony adjourned yesterday to the 22d of next Month, having delegated their Power to this Committee during their recess, to provide for the Publick Safety. In a former letter the Congress Informed you that this Colony chose Deputies who met on the 17th of May last at Exeter in Congress and voted to raise Two Thousand Men for the Common defence of the Colonies, which men have some time been raised and put under the care of Nathaniel Folsom, Esqr., who was appointed a Major General under the

Commander in Chief of the American forces and joined the Army before Boston, except Two Companys for the Guard of our Sea Coast for the present.

The news from Canada of their Hostile preparations (an account of which from Connecticut and by Mr. Dean Missionary from Canada, we expect will reach you before this) have so alarmed the inland Frontiers that the Congress have ordered Three Companys of Sixty men each to be raised & posted there for their defence. The cost of raising and supporting so many men you will readily see to be a difficult task for so small a Colony without any money to begin with. We have wrote to you & the Congress several times on the situation of our Affairs but not receiving any directions we have Emitted Ten Thousand Pounds in Notes of hand on the Credit of this Colony payable at different periods with Six per Cent Interest, and have ordered Ten Thousand Pounds more to be forthwith Emitted for supplying the present Exegencies of the Colony. Some Resolve of the American Congress giving such Notes a Currency would be of great service. We are greatly concerned for Gun Powder as we have scarce any except what was taken from the Fort last Winter, a considerable part of which has been sent to the Army before Boston and the Western Frontiers. We hope some plan is laid for bringing some in to the Southern Colonies as New England is so watched that there is but little hope of getting it here. The Ships of War & Cutters previous to the first of this Month seized all Vessells Laden with Provisions, Salt or Molasses which has much distressed the Eastern Parts, but not discouraged them. They have destroyed Fort William & Mary and carried off the Cannon to Boston. However Eight large pieces have been Bro't from Jerry Point some time ago, and some of them have been

mounted and are now pointed against the Town of Boston.

We are anxious to know the result of your deliberations in order to conduct the affairs of this Colony, which at this time is in some confusion, the people not suffering things to proceed in their former manner.

The General Court has met here, and has not & we believe will not proceed to publick Business.

We desire you as often as opportunity will permit to write to the Congress or this Committee at Exeter and inform us from time to time as much of the affairs of the publick as is permitted, in particular the directions of the Congress concerning the providing for & paying the Army raised for the Common Defence.

On the 12th of June last Coll. John Fenton who was chosen a Member of the General Court by virtue of the King or rather Governors Writ without the consent of the Assembly, made his appearance in the House, (tho' he had for some time before kept on board the Man of War in the Harbour.) The House took into consideration his Election & vacated his Seat. Soon after the People of the Town greatly exasperated at his Conduct obliged him to surrender, tho' he had taken shelter in the Governors House and our Congress have since confined him. The Governor & his family went off that evening to Capt. Cochrans under the Protection of the Man of War where they still remain.

The publick Records being thought unsafe at Portsmouth have by order of the Congress been Removed to Exeter except the Books of Charters which the Secretary says the Governor has in Possession. A Committee from Congress have demanded and received of George Jaffrey Esq. fifteen Hundred Pounds of the Publick Money in his hands.

By order of the Committee of Safety I am with great truth & regard your very Humble Servt.

Wm. Whipple, Cha'n P. T.

P. S. The Congress at their first meeting chose the Hon. Matthew Thornton Esqr. their President who we Esteem to be zealous and earnestly devoted to the service of his Country.

---

[*Committee of Safety of Hillsborough County, N. H., to Gen. Sullivan, July 19, 1775.*]

[American Archives, 4th Series, vol. 2, p. 1689.]

*To the Honourable John Sullivan, Esquire, Brigadier-General of the Continental Army:*

*Sir:* The Committee of Safety for the County of Hillsborough, in the Colony of New-Hampshire, having in contemplation the great services you lately rendered the Country in your civil capacity, and the great abilities you then exerted at the bar in their defence, at a time when the people were most cruelly oppressed by the tools of Government, pray leave to address and congratulate you on your appointment to the rank of Brigadier-General — an appointment which, as it distinguishes your merit, so at the same time it reflects honour upon, and shews the penetrating discernment of those truly eminent patriots from whom you received it, and of whom are composed the Continental Congress. Nor are we less sanguine in our expectations of the high advantages which must result (under God) to the publick, by your military skill and courage, as you have been indefatigable in attaining the first, and have given a recent instance of the latter, to your great honour and reputation, in depriving our enemies of the means of annoying us at Castle William and Mary, and at the

same time furnishing us with materials to defend our invaluable rights and privileges.

This, Sir, must be ever had in remembrance, and (amongst the actions of others, our heroes of 1775) handed down to the latest posterity. That the Almighty may direct your counsels, be with you in the day of battle, and that you may be preserved as a pattern to this people for many years to come, is our fervent prayer.

Per order:

July 19, 1775.

Matthew Patten

Chairman

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to the New Hampshire Committee of Safety, July 19, 1775. Letter Signed.*]

[New Hampshire Archives, Revolution, vol. 2, p. 49.]

Medford July 19<sup>th</sup> 1775

*Gentlemen* As we have no matters Regulated in manner Ordered by the Congress as yet I can Give no Exact Account of the state of our affairs Till that Time — We are in Great want of Bayonets for our Men. I would Intreat you to send some of Different Sizes & a person who understands fixing them to the Guns — I am sorry to Inform you that the New Hampshire forces are without a Chaplain when the Continental Congress have voted pay for a Chaplain in each Regiment. Our men are Obliged to attend prayers with the Rhode Island Regiment & when they assemble the Concourse is so great that few of them Can hear a word that is said — It being Essentially Necessary in an Army to keep up Devine worship I doubt not you will send a Chaplain to Each Regiment —

I must Remind you that it is absolutely Necessary for us to have some Beds for Our sick men Many

having Died already for want of Comfortable Beds to Lie upon — I therefore Intreat that you would Buy up & Send us Beds with some Stuff to Make Cotts or Hammocks

We also are in Great Need of Guns & Blankets several having been Lost in the Late Engagement and Several others not fit for Service

---

[*Gen. Charles Lee to Gen. Sullivan, July 24, 1775. Autograph Note, Not Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Cambridge July ye 24<sup>th</sup> [1775] 2 o clock p-m

General Lee begs Gen. Sullivan will get as much Work as possible out of the men this day — if They cannot all work on the face of the Citadel — let 'em deepen & widen the ditch of the flank and rear faces and heighten the parapet all round —

P S for God's sake finish and strengthen the abbatis

[Addressed] G— Sullivan Winter Hill

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to Gen. Washington, Aug. 2, 1775. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Washington Papers, Library of Congress.]

Winter Hill August 2<sup>d</sup> 1775

May it Please your Excellency

I have Examined into the State of The Ammunition in my Department & find Remaining in the magazine of the Powder Supplied from New Hampshire 19 Barrels of 100 w<sup>t</sup> Each. Scarcely any Balls & no flints Except what the Soldiers are possess<sup>d</sup> of: They are in General well Provided with amunition for one Ingagement — we have 50 Rounds of Cartridges to Each Cannon

That is mounted which is all the ammunition in the Brigade assigned To your Excellenceys most obed<sup>t</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to Gov. Jonathan Trumbull of Connecticut, Aug. 2, 1775. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Connecticut Archives.]

Winter Hill August 2<sup>d</sup> 1775

*Worthy Sir* I this moment Received Information that one Cap<sup>t</sup> Hall of Medford is soliciting The office of Commissary to my Brigade: I rece<sup>d</sup> This Information from Some of my officers who are very uneasy at the appearance of such an appointment & assign Reasons against it which weigh much with me & I Doubt not will with you. I must Therefore Intreat you not to proceed farther in the affair untill I Can do myself The honour of waiting upon you which I hope to do This afternoon or Tomorrow morning. Sir I am (in Extreme haste) your most obedient Servant

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to Gen. Philip Schuyler, Aug. 5, 1775. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[New York Public Library.]

Winter Hill August 5<sup>th</sup> 1775

*Much Respected Sir* The Colony of New Hampshire Raised Three Companies in order to Defend Their Frontiers previous to The Determination of the Congress for Raising & Stationing five Thousand men in the western Department under your Command. Those three Companies are at or Near Cohass & would gladly Join your Army as they can have no necessity of tarrying any Longer where they now are — They are very good men well officered & Exceedingly well found with Arms & Ammunition — our army here is Compleatly

full & unless you Let them Join your Army they must be Dismiss<sup>d</sup>. I Shall take it as a peculiar favour if you will please to order them to Join the Army under your Command — General Washington Says he cannot Employ them unless you will Consent to take them.

P: S: I can write you nothing new our Enemies fear to Come out though we Endeavour in Every way to aggravate them. I hope Soon to hear of your Immortalizing yourself by taking possession of all Canada.

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to the New Hampshire Committee of Safety, Aug. 5, 1775. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[New Hampshire Archives, Revolution, vol. 2, p. 60.]

Winter Hill Aug<sup>t</sup> 5<sup>th</sup> 1775

*Honble Gentlemen* By order of General Washington I Send Major Cilley to Wait on you upon a matter that requires the utmost Secrecy & Dispatch — General Washington has wrote you (I Suppose) fully upon the Subject but we all rely upon your prudence in keeping the Contents of his & mine a profound Secret — we had a General Councill The Day before yesterday & to our great Surprize we found That we have not powder Enough in the whole Army to furnish half a pound a man Exclusive of what the people have in their horns & Cartridge Boxes — This Shocking Situation we are Reduced to by The Mass<sup>a</sup> Committee making a return to General Washington of 485 Quarter Casks on his Arrival which he Supposed was then on hand but to his Surprise he found that was what was provided Last winter & that there is now on hand but 38 Barrells which with all the powder in the other magazines will not furnish half a pound per man — the General was So Struck that he did not utter a word for half an hour.

Every one Else was Equally Surprized. Messengers are Dispatched to all the Southern Colonies to Draw in the Publick Stocks & I must Entreat you to forget al Colony Distinctions. Consider a Continental Army Devoted to Destruction unless Immediately supplied & Send us at Least 20 Barrells of powder with all possible Speed — Should this matter Take air before a Supply arrives our Army is ruined. You Gentlemen will need no words from me to Induce an Immediate Compliance with this Request. You can have no necessity of the Powder in the Country — there is not the most Distant probability or Even possibility of an Attack upon you.

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to the Committee of Safety of Hillsborough County, Aug. 10, 1775.*]

[American Archives, vol. 2, p. 1689.]

*To the Honourable the Committee of Safety for the County of Hillsborough:*

*Gentlemen:* Your polite congratulatory Address upon my appointment to the rank of Brigadier-General in the American Army demands my most sincere and cordial thanks. Your approbation of my conduct while at the bar, acting in defence of an injured people against the arbitrary tools of Government, gives me the highest satisfaction.

The favourable opinion which you have formed of my courage and military skill must alone be a sufficient inducement for me to exert myself at this important day, and, if possible, prevent you from being disappointed in your expectations. It gives me great pleasure to find that so respectable a number of the worthy sons of freedom in the Colony to which I belong have so publicly given their approbation of my

conduct in assisting to secure the warlike stores at Fort William and Mary, and thereby preventing those evils which must have resulted from our enemies having the possession of them. That the important office you sustain may be ever held by such worthy patriots who, while they so nobly exert themselves in defence of our common liberties, are endeavouring to strengthen the hands of others, is, gentlemen, the earnest prayer of your most obedient servant,

Camp at Winter Hill, August 10, 1775.

---

[*Request for the Promotion of Sergeant William Lee, Aug. 10, 1775.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Winter Hill August y<sup>e</sup> 10<sup>th</sup> 1775

*To His Excellency Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington*

May it Please your Excellency —

where as your Excellency was Pleased in the orders of yesterday to Signify your Excellency<sup>s</sup> will and Pleasure to have the Names of those Gentlemen who Behaved them Selves More Valiant bold & brave then Common in the Late Engagement on Bunkard Hill in Charlestown and as their are vacancies in the Several Regiments that your Excellency would use your Indeavour to have them Commissioned, if they are not Commissioned or Promoted if they are Provided their Good Conduct be Sufficiently Evidenced —

we therefore Begg that wee whose names are here unto Subscribed May Lay before your Excellency the Conduct and undaunted Courage of William Lee of Colo. Reeds Reg<sup>t</sup> who Did Service in the Late Engagement on Said Bunkard Hill, the Said William Lee, he not onley fought well him Self but Give Good Advice

to the men, to Place them Selves in Right order and to Stand their Ground well, the said William Lee belonging to Cap<sup>t</sup> Spauldins Company in Colo. Reeds Regiment, and is the first or orderly Serjeant of Cap<sup>t</sup> Spauldings Company and as their is A Vacancie in the Same Company by A Lieut. Death it is Desired for the Ensign to take his Place, & Serjeant Lee take y<sup>e</sup> Ensigns or Second Lieut. this is Desired by the Subscribers if your Excellency See<sup>s</sup> fit to Grant it

Levi Spaulding Cap<sup>t</sup>

Thomas Boffe Ensign belonging to Cap<sup>t</sup> Spaulding

William Roby Ensign belonging to Cap<sup>t</sup> Walker

Will <sup>m</sup> Campbell	Samuel Currier
Samuel Hutchinson	John osgood
Benjamin Dike	Robert Glover
Joshua Chase	John Walker
Simeon finch	Robert Wilkins
Samuel Leeman	Thomas Harday
John Johnson	James Campbell
Isaac Peabody	James Pemberton
Isaac Carkin	James Phillips
Will <sup>m</sup> Tuck	Will <sup>m</sup> Sterret
Will <sup>m</sup> Brown	Samuel Lowel
Joseph Elinwood	John Row
Andrew Bayley	Ezra Dutton
Timothy m <sup>c</sup> intire	Epheraim How
Richard Gooman	Richard Hughes
Jacob Dutton	Nathaniel Batchelder
Samuel Stiles	Isaac Cowen
Isaac Starns	Benjamin Starns
Epheraim Smith	Epheraim Rolf

[Addressed] To His Excellency Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington

[The names of the three officers and Campbell, Currier, Hutchinson, Osgood, Dike, Glover, Chase, and

Walker are in signature, those following being in the same handwriting.]

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to Gov. Jonathan Trumbull of Connecticut, Aug. 14, 1775. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Connecticut Archives.]

Winter Hill Aug<sup>t</sup> 14<sup>th</sup> 1775

*Much Respected Sir* I find The milk is Stopped from great part of my Brigade owing to The price being altered from Three Coppers to two & a half in Consequence of which was obliged to Dismiss part of my Fatigue men who were Totally unprovided with Breakfast beg you would point out Some way for our being Supplied. The Bearer will Inform you of the objections made by those who Sell which I think have some weight. Sir I am (in Extreme haste) your most obed<sup>t</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

---

[*Report on Col. Mansfield's Barracks, Aug. 15, 1775.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

I have collected from the Best materials Possible the State of the Barracks Boards & Nails, Intrenching Tools &c in General Sullivans Brigade Col. Mansfields Regiment and find there hath been Purchased for the use of s<sup>d</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> Since they have been in Camp about 40 m of Boards and about 40 m Nails

all the Hutts (or Barracks) at this time for S<sup>d</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> incompleat Four hutts on Prospect hill now Standing & there to remain a Quantity of 8<sup>d</sup> nails in my hands — having no invoice cant ascertain the Quantity no Intrenching Tools in the Regiment about 18½ m. board now on Winter hill in Pile

No Carpenters Tools in the Regiment but what is  
Private Property —

Camp on Winter Hill      Sam<sup>l</sup> Goodridge Q<sup>r</sup> Mas<sup>r</sup>

Aug<sup>st</sup> 15: 1775

N: B: This is the best Return I am able to make  
having never been ordered nor Applied to, to Purchase  
any boards or nails except the above mentioned in  
my hands, & Some Dd —

S. Goodridge Q. M.

---

[*Major Joseph Cilley to Gen. Sullivan, Aug. 19, 1775.  
Letter Signed.*]

[Revolution Collection, Library of Congress.]

*To the Honourable Brigadier Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan Esq<sup>r</sup>*

Pursuant to your Hon<sup>rs</sup> Orders I waited on the  
Committee of Safety of New Hampshire, and Informed  
them of our want of Powder, Whereupon they Im-  
mediately dispatch'd A Waggon of 12 Barrels of  
Powder, To the Camp on Winter Hill, Likewise said  
Committee gave me orders to Several Select Men, In  
Several Towns in New Hampshire, with whom the  
Powder was Lodged Which was taken Last Winter  
from Fort William and Mary, to take an Exact acc<sup>t</sup> Of  
What is Now in their Custody, and Request them  
forthwith to Convey the Whole of the Powder to Col<sup>o</sup>  
Nicholas Gilman in Exeter — Whereupon I went  
According to Orders, and found Eight Barrels, which  
I sent to the Custody of Colonel Gilman — Tuesday  
Last I Waited on said Committee, which Inform'd Me  
that they heard there was a full supply of Powder at  
Head Quarters — and they would Wait on Your Hon-  
ours Orders, And assured me if there was more Wanted,  
they Would Send it as quick as Possibly they Could —

Camp on Winter Hill Aug<sup>t</sup> 19, 1775

[*Gen. Sullivan to Gen. Horatio Gates, Aug. 20, 1775. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Washington Papers, Library of Congress.]

Winter Hill Aug<sup>t</sup> 20th 1775

*Dear Sir* I requested Cap<sup>t</sup> Hatch to make me a Return of the number of men at Malden with the State of their Ammunition in Consequence of which I received the Inclosed Return — as this post is a very Dangerous one I think the men ought to have good arms & Sixty Rounds Each of which they Seem at present very Deficient — beg you to order Arms & Ammunition to make up the Defect & Send it per Bearer. I will See it Conveyed to Malden as Soon as possible.

---

[*New Hampshire Committee of Safety to Gen. Sullivan, Aug. 24, 1775.*]

[New Hampshire Archives, Revolution, vol. 2, p. 73.]

In Committee of Safety Aug. 24, 1775

*Sir* We have sent down a man to endeavour to gain a little further Acquaintance with the best method of constructing Carriages for Cannon. We should be glad, Sir, if you would be kind enough to introduce him to those Persons & things that will forward him in his Business: — & to whatever you judge may help an ingenious man to be useful to us — We hope he may have a full opportunity of viewing whatever will conduce to this purpose.

By some late Intelligence we have great reason to fear that Portsmouth is in danger. We beg to know whither some Powder cant be spared — If possible let us know whither we cant have 50 or 100 Barrells — If we cant have Powder, Sir, we mean immediately to erect some fortifications to defend the Harbour.

The Powder Sent to the army, to our Frontiers, distributed among the People & Perhaps by some ill management has reduced our Stores to about 8 or 10 Barrels at most — So that any Quantity that can be Spared us will be Acceptable tho much less than the above Quantity tho' we could wish that as we intend Imediately to Erect a considerable Fortification to Guard our Harbour

[Endorsed] Cobby of a Letter to Brig<sup>r</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan  
Aug<sup>t</sup> 24 1775

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to the New Hampshire Committee of Safety, Aug. 29, 1775. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[New Hampshire Archives, Revolution, vol. 2, p. 75.]

Camp on Winter Hill July [Aug.] 29<sup>th</sup> 1775

*Gentlemen* it gives me pain to Think That I have So Long Delayed the Gentleman you Sent to me but I must refer you to him for an Excuse on that head. Shall only hint That he Came on Saturday morning when I was preparing to take possession of the Plow<sup>d</sup> Hill near the Enemys Incampment at Charlestown. This was done on Saturday night & on Sunday morn<sup>g</sup> a heavy Cannonading Ensued which Lasted through the whole Day. The Floating Batteries & an armed vessel attempting to Come up & Enfilade us as I Expected I opened a Battery which I had prepared on purpose Cut away the Sloops Foresail made her Shear off Wounded one Float<sup>g</sup> Battery & Sunk another. Yesterday they Sent Round a man of war to Mistick River Draw<sup>d</sup> their forces from Boston formed a Long Column & prepared to Come out but finding our Readiness to receive them Declined the Combat. Last Even<sup>g</sup> they began to Throw Bombs but have as yet done no Damage — their Cannon has been more Successful having killed three or four. The Command of

our forces was assigned to me which I hope will apologize for my Delaying Cap<sup>t</sup> Hobbs — I have shown him those Cannon which are best mounted with us & given him the Best advice in my power — The powder you write for Gentlemen it is impossible to obtain at present as we have had but Six Tuns from the Southward which is but half a pound per man for our army & what we had before was a Shock<sup>s</sup> Store — we hope for Some Every Day & as Soon as possible after its arrival you shall be supplied by y<sup>r</sup> very Humb<sup>l</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to John Langdon and Josiah Bartlett, Sept. 4, 1775.*]

[Letters by Josiah Bartlett, William Whipple and Others, p. 21.]

Camp on Winter Hill, Septem<sup>r</sup> 4th, 1775.

*Gentlemen*, as you are about to join your Bretheren of the Continental Congress I must beg leave to Lay some matters before you & Through you before the Congress for their consideration. The first thing I would Recommend is a Collection of all the powder in the Southern Department That can possibly be procured. I will venture to assert & pledge myself for the performance That with a sufficient stock of powder for our Cannon we could put an end to the war in three weeks; but the State of our powder is Shocking; we dare not use our Cannon Lest we should lose the advantage of our Small Arms; before the last Powder arrived from the Southward we were really in Distress, & the Six tons which then arrived would furnish each man with Little more than half a pound. I wish this matter might be well Considered & as much powder forwarded as possible, for believe me Gentlemen The Victory is ours as soon as we are furnished with ammunition — another matter I beg you to Lay before the Congress

which is respecting Mr. Alexander Scammell, my Brigade Major appointed by myself but not confirmed by the Congress; he is a worthy good officer, & I as well as the whole Brigade & Command most Earnestly Entreat he may be Confirmed in the office — another matter is that of the appointment of a Quarter Master to each Brigade [regiment] to Act under Major Mifflin as Quarter Master of this Brigade. You will at one view see the necessity of this as the Quarter Master of each Brigade [regiment] is Confined to procuring provisions, wood, boards, forage, provender, &c. for their own Regiments, but we often want Timber for Bridges, Carriages, &c.; we also often want Tools procured, wood to make handles for them, and ten thousand other things too Tedious to mention which does not properly belong to the Department of the Regimental Quarter Masters, & which would give Infernal Trouble to the Quarter Master General to provide. He has therefore suffered one Mr. James Gray to act under him for my Brigade; he Discharges the office with great Integrity & I only wish he may be Continued & a Quantum meniel allowed for his Trouble.

There is yet a matter of much greater Importance which I must entreat the Congress to take under their Consideration, which is the Regulation of our Hospital, which if continued under the present Regulation I greatly fear will if it does not Ruin the present Army prevent another being raised in America — when I first came here I found our Army very Sickly, the Sick but ill provided with necessaries. I with great trouble got the Hospital for my Brigade well Regulated. Soon after Dr. Church's appointment he ordered all the Sick to be removed to the Hospital at Cambridge with every article I had provided for them. This filled them with such fearful apprehensions that more than half of them

refused to go, Declaring they would rather Die where they were, and under the care of those Physicians they were acquainted with, than be removed from their friends under the care of Physicians they never saw. I found it vain to attempt Reasoning them out of those Sentiments, but Dr. Church gave orders to the Commissary not to supply them with one article, & ordered all the persons unfit for duty to be removed to Cambridge, paying no regard to the Regimental Surgeons, and Refused to supply them with Medicine, & even with Bandages to Dress the Wounded, but ordered in case of any person being wounded he should be sent to be dressed at Cambridge at three or four miles Distance, which has Compleatly put our Regimental Surgeons out of Employ & raised such a Clamor among officers and soldiers That I know not what will be the Consequence. All those persons who have been sick Declare they will never enlist again, & those who have not been so are nearly in the same opinion. They are now about Petitioning General Washington. The Surgeons of the Army have had several meetings, but what will be the event time alone will discover. I must beg Leave to say that I never read or heard of such a regulation in an Army. I have ever understood That they have a grand Hospital for Capital wounds & Disorders & Infirmaries & flying Hospitals for those that are Slightly wounded or Indisposed. However that may be I am certain that a removal of every person that is indisposed or Slightly wounded to the grand Hospital at several miles Distance will never be submitted to. You well know the prejudice of our people in favor of their own Physicians. The Terrible Ideas they form to themselves of an hospital Regulated by Strangers where there is scarce a face they know, & in order to bring them there they are even Denied a little meal to work a Cathartic,

Throw off a Disorder, or mutton to make them broth or any other thing, so that they must even in Case of a Common Cold go to the Hospital, or have nothing to take except Salt Beef and pork. I must beg that some method may be taken to Quench the growing flame already at too great a height. I would humbly Recommend an Hospital to each Brigade, and some person of intelligence to Superintend each. Doctor Hall Jackson, who is now with me, was Superintendent of mine & gave great satisfaction. I need not say any thing to you of his great abilities as a Surgeon & Physician, & though he has out of Tenderness to his Countrymen attended the Army at his own Expense, Dressed the wounded & Treated the Sick he has had no appointment but others have preferred whole Regiments of which could not serve the Army so much in Dressing the wounded or performing Chyrurgical operations. I wish for the good of the Army he might have some appointment, & if agreeable that he might be Chief or Superintending Surgeon to my Brigade. I know Doctor Church complains of those Regimental Hospitals as having been very expensive, which the Regimental Surgeons Deny, & say he cannot prove the assertion. How that is I cannot say, but am very certain that good Brigade Surgeons may assist in preventing extraordinary expence as well as Doctor Church or any other person, & give great satisfaction to both Officers & Soldiers in the Army.

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to Col. Joseph Reed, Sept. 5, 1775. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Washington Papers, Library of Congress.]

Winter Hill Septem<sup>r</sup> 5<sup>th</sup> 1775

*Dear Sir* agreeable to General Washingtons Commands I Inclose an Account of the Spears in my Brigade

Exclusive of Twenty in the Floating Battery at Medford & Sixty now Lying at the Smiths Shop Lately finished.

[Col. Reed was military secretary to Gen. Washington.]

---

[*Officers' Petition against Dr. Benjamin Church. No Date.*]

[Sullivan Papers, Coe Collection, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

*To the Honorable Brigadier Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan*

Relying on your Honors well known Benevolence, Sympathy, Humanity, and Indulgence we Presume to humbly Petition in behalf of our Neighbours, Brethren, acquaintances and fellow Soldiers, now Languishing and Repining In sick Beds, (some we fear but poorly acommodated) far distant from their friends, and Cut off from the Inspection of their officers, who are nearly interested in the health, Contentment and Happiness of their Soldiers. Alth<sup>o</sup> We have assumed the Livery of Soldiers, and Glory in the Character, whilst we are so peculiarly happy as to Serve in the Glorious Common Cause under your Honors Command, Yet we are not lost to the feelings of Humanity And that Sympathy which the Sufferings of our fellow men Irresistably Inspire —

When we first Engaged in the service, and Enlisted our Men, in reciprocation of their promissing Obedience We Solemnly Engag'd our utmost exertion for, and Constant attention to, their safety, their Comfort, and Satisfaction. The aged Parents, the loveing Wife, and Tender Offspring, with parting tears Confided their Children, their Consorts, and Parents to our care and

Protection. We Plighted our Honors, for the truly important Trust, and thereby soothed their Griefs — But Alas — when our Men most need the Care of their officers, when Dispirited with Excrutiating diseases, They must be Halled away by Cart loads; far distant from our Camps And Exposed to the inclemency of the Weather, in a manner Derogatory to humane nature. The bare thoughts of being removed from the presence of friends, will naturally damp the spirit of A man, in the perfect Enjoyment of Health, but much more so the spirits of Men Struggling with diseases scarcely supportable. The thoughts of being so far Removed when sick, fill our men with the most fearful apprehensions, so that to Them Death, Or being moved to Cambridge Hospital, are almost equally Elligible. We know not where Many of our men already moved there are placed. We Can't learn whether they are dead, or Better — Their friends in the Country grow uneasy, and will very soon Stigmatize us with Breach of Trust — The frequent Alarms from & our near approach to the Enemy, Renders it unsafe for us to go ourselves Or send any Person to know the state of our sick, and therefore they must lay Immur'd amongst strang<sup>rs</sup> Without even the Consolation of A friend, so absolutely necessary to Chear their drooping Spirits. If we are unhappily and Suddenly seized with the most dangerous Symptoms, we must be immediately mov'd to Cambridge Hospital, or expire unassisted by medicines, or Medicinal Art, for we are not allow'd Brigade Hospitals, nor can we be sufficiently supplied with proper necessaries for the Sick. Our Surgeon and Physician Generals Conduct is to us unaccountable. Must the addition of General Entitle him to Dispose Whole Battalions of sick and Wounded in Rank & File, that they may Make their Exits, Into a future unknown state like Soldiers?

Must the Wounded tho' far Distant, Mangled Lacerated and Bleeding by the Hostile Ball be Carried to Cambridge To Suffer Amputation, when their Blood has Deserted their Empty Veins; and nothing but the Painful Operation is necessary to put a Period to Life. Must those unfortunate, who have suffered Amputation, Disconsolate in the Loss of A Limb, and Fainting Through Loss of Blood, be Hall'd In Obedience to Church's Cruel order to Cambridge Hospital to Breathe their last When a Quiet Repose in their own Camps, attended by their own Surgeons, would have Soon Recover'd them? Are The Dolorous Groans of the Disconsolate, agreeable to any human Ear? That they should be still Increas'd by Dragging our sick under the aforesaid Circumstances In Waggon Loads to Cambridge? Humanity shudders at the Prospect. It would be Incredible Had not Stubborn facts Evinced the Contrary. We Beg leave further to add, That, Our men thus Treated, have till this Period, been tenderly foster'd in the arms of Plenty, and Chearfully supplied with the necessaries of Life, amongst their Friends and Acquaintance, Consequently such unusual hardships Must Eventually prove fatal to many of them, and we Presume detrimental to the Service — We are furnish'd with surgeons of approved Skill, and Integrity, and with a Gentleman Who has Generously at the Request of many of the Gentlemen of the Province to which he belongs and satisfaction of the officers in this Brigade Voluntarily served as Surgeon, and Physician, Whose Character is too well known to need a Recommendation — We therefore Intereat Your Honor Would Intercede in our Behalf and use Your Influence with his Excellency General Washington Or Elsewhere as to your Honor, Seems meet, That our sick belonging to your Brigade, may be taken care of, in a Brigade

Hospital near by, and that the Doctors belonging to your Brigade May be Supplied with proper Medicines, and Hospital Stores, which we Presume would be greatly Conducive to the Health and Contentment of your officers and Soldiers, and Really beneficial to the Service —

And Your Petitioners as in Duty Bound will ever Pray —

James Reed Coll.  
 Israel Gilman Le<sup>t</sup> Colon  
 Isaac Wyman L<sup>t</sup> Coll  
 John M<sup>c</sup>Duffee Leu<sup>t</sup> Col<sup>o</sup>  
 Jo<sup>s</sup> Cilley Major  
 Enoch Poor Col<sup>o</sup>  
 Israel Hutchinson Le<sup>t</sup> Col  
 Eph<sup>m</sup> Doolittle Col<sup>1</sup>

[Dr. Church, director and chief physician of the hospital, was dismissed from the service Nov. 7, 1775, and lost at sea May 1, 1776.]

---

[*Dr. Benjamin Church to Gen. Sullivan, Sept. 14, 1775.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Doctor Church presents his most respectful Compliments to General Sullivan and most heartily felicitates himself on receiving so honorary a Testimonial of General Sullivan's Approbation as He met with the last Evening at Head Quarters. The Doctor esteems himself peculiarly happy that the undeserv'd Prejudice against him is so totally remov'd, which from frequent Intimations, He was apprehensive had possessed the General's Mind. He flatters himself that his whole Conduct during the present unhappy Contest will bear

the strictest Scrutiny a Regard to Place, Popularity or the more detestable Motive of Avarice never influenc'd his Conduct in Publick Life — The sole Object of his Pursuit, the first Wish of his Heart was ever the Salvation of his Country

The Doctor nevertheless in justice to himself, and with Respect to the Man who behind the Curtain has influenced and took the Lead in the Opposition to him must declare, that altho' He cou'd never stoop to act the Parrasite, play the Buffoon, or become the Herald of his own Eminence in his Profession, would feel the Indignation of conscious Merit shou'd He put in Competition with the Person who vainly endeavours to supplant him —

American Hospital 14<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1775

---

[*Lieut. Josiah Brown to Gen. Sullivan, Sept. 16, 1775. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Washington Papers, Library of Congress.]

*To His Excelency Bri<sup>r</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan*

*Honored Sur* the Gent<sup>n</sup> Committee of in Spection of the Town of New Ipswich Has Send to me to git the opinion of your Excelency of the 9 Articel of the Continentel Asociation Espeshilly those Sentances but will Sell the Saim at the Rates we have ben Respectively Accustomed to Do for Twelve months Last Past and if any Vender of goods or Marchendies Shall Sel Such goods on hire Tarms or Shall in any Manner or by any Device What So Ever Voiolate or Depart from this agreament — all so of the 13<sup>th</sup> article.

and Wheather a Countys Committy has a Rite to Restore Ane one when a Townes Committy Has upon good Evidence Published him and Wheather a Voyolator

of the Association has a write to an apeal from the  
Judgment of one Committy to any other Committy

If your Excelency Sees fit to Give your Opinion you  
Will oblige the Gent<sup>n</sup> Committy and me

Sep<sup>r</sup> y<sup>e</sup> 16, 1775

---

[*Ensign Richard Brown to Gen. Sullivan, Sept. 18, 1775. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Washington Papers, Library of Congress.]

*To the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Brigadier Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan Esq<sup>r</sup>*

May it Please your Honor

My Indisposition of Body rendering me unfit to  
discharge my Duty, and render that Service to my  
Country, as I sincerely desire, and should think myself  
happy in performing under your Honor's Command  
did Health permit.

I therefore humbly request a Discharge from the  
Army; and beg leave (with all possible submission to  
your Honors Judgment & Pleasure) to recommend one  
Joseph Huntoon, as a Gentleman extremely well  
calculated to supply my place as Ensign in the Company  
to which I belong, and very agreable to the Regiment,  
& y<sup>r</sup> Petitioner as in Duty bound will ever Pray &c

Camp on Winter Hill Sept<sup>r</sup> 18 1775

---

[*Gen. Nathaniel Greene to Gen. Sullivan, Sept. 23, 1775. Autograph Letter, Unsigned.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Prospect Hill Sept 23, 1775

General Greene returns his Compliments to General  
Sullivan and begs leave to Acquaint him As he was on

Court Martial on Thursday he cannot tell how it happend so few fatiguemen went from Prospect compar'd with those from Winter Hill — Major Bon was order'd to furnish any number General Sullivan order'd, Yesterday an Equal number with the Winter Hill Troops was order'd down and if they did not go it was unbeknown to the General. There shall be a large party of fatiguemen orderd to work to Day — should be glad a proper detail of duty between the two Brigades might take place and include the Guards of both Hills and all the fatigue men on duty — General Greene hopes General Sullivan dont suggest he has the least desire of Screening the troops under his command from the least part of duty, equal with those under the command of General Sullivan — it is his intention to furnish upon equal terms

N B excuse the badness of the writing it is so Cold cannot feel the pen

[Addressed] To General Sullivan on Winter Hill

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to the New Hampshire Committee of Safety, Sept. 23, 1775. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[New Hampshire Archives, Revolution, vol. 2, p. 87.]

Winter Hill Septem<sup>r</sup> 23<sup>d</sup> 1775

*Much Respected Gentlemen* — I am Sorry to Inform you that your Troops from New Hampshire have more Reason to Complain & Actually do Complain more than any other Troops in the Army — General Washington gave it out in orders that all the Troops Should be paid up to the fourth of August — all the other Colonies have Complied Though not Strictly oblinded thereto by the original Contract & why New Hampshire Should Refuse I can by no means Conceive as the men must be paid Sooner or Later & as the money now

Emitted is not on Interest it can make no Difference to the Province whether they are paid now or two months hence but to the men the Difference is very great as their Families are in Immediate necessity and can by no means do without it — all the money you advance to make your Troops Comfortable will be Repaid by the Congress & therefore can be no Disadvantage to you — I wish you were acquainted with the Complaints & murmurings of your Troops. They have Long been kept out of their Blankets & Now are kept out of their Coats. They have Long been Exposed to the weather without Coats or Blankets — The officers who bore their Expences here have never received any pay. The Committee here Seem to have been Employed the whole time in Riding back & forth to bring Small Sums of money to pay part of the Soldiers to make the others mutinous & uneasy — This Gentlemen has been the Case respecting those Troops which I venture to pronounce the very best in the army. Gentlemen I am Sure that there must have been a great Defect somewhere — where it is or to whom you will Impute the Iniquity time alone must Discover — it must be allowed that Suffering the New Hampshire Troops to Remain in So wretched a Situation for such a Length of time will never Redound to the Credit of the Colony or have the Least Tendency to Enable us to Raise another Army after this is Disbanded but the Reverse — I must therefore as a friend to the Continent in General & the Colony in particular beg & Intreat you to Send Some trusty persons here with money Sufficient to pay off the men in order to have them as Comfortable as the nature of the Service will admit & you will thereby much assist the Common Cause of America and particularly oblige Gentlemen your most obed<sup>t</sup> Humble Serv<sup>t</sup>

[*Col. James M. Varnum to Gen. Sullivan, Sept. 24, 1775. Autograph Note, Unsigned.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Colonel Varnum begs Liberty to present his Compliments to his Honor General Sullivan, & informs him that, when the Invalids came to relieve him on Plow'd Hill Thursday Night last, he gave the most particular Directions to Col<sup>o</sup> Woodbridge, & the Lieu<sup>t</sup> Colonel in what manner to dispose of the Detachment, where to place every Centry, Sent Cap<sup>t</sup> Martindale with two Capts of that party, showed them where to place the out Picket; And in fine, had they Sense to comprehend & Resolution to execute the plainest Orders, your Honor would not have been troubled by them, upon that Head, which I've been learnt you was, by Col<sup>o</sup> Starkes. The Col<sup>o</sup> is extremely sorry that General Sullivan should have had any Reason to suspect him of Neglect of Duty, & hopes this will be sufficient to remove any unjust Impressions —

Prospect Hill 24<sup>th</sup> Sept<sup>r</sup> 1775

Honble General Sullivan Winter Hill

[*New Hampshire Committee of Safety to Gen. Sullivan, Sept. 28, 1775. Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Committee of Safety Exeter Sep<sup>r</sup> 28<sup>th</sup> 1775

S<sup>r</sup> Yours of the 23<sup>d</sup> Instant we this moment rec<sup>d</sup> and in answer thereto must observe we are equally sorry with you that the New Hampshire Troops complain, or have occasion for Complaint. The Cause we think obvious —

When our Congress raised their Troops they promised

them one Months pay as soon as it could be emitted — & the Remainder when they should be disbanded. The latter end of July last a Sub Committee from this waited on General Washington to get Information from him what was further expected from the Colony towards supplying & paying our Troops — who reported that the General told them he every day expected the Appointment of a Commissary General, & that as soon as That took place he should take Charge of the whole Army as continental, & provide for & (as they understood him) pay their whole Wages except the first Months which this Colony had advanced: Upon which Report our Congress voted to emit such a Sum of Money as they judged sufficient to pay for supplying our Troops & some other Contingencies until the Commissary general took Charge of them, & then adjourned to the last Day of October next.

This Committee never had an Idea that it would be expected from the Colony to pay the Troops any more Wages nor ever received the most distant Hint of the Kind from any Person whomsoever, until Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington lately made a Requisition for the Payment of *one* Months Wages to those Soldiers of this Colony who were going to Quebec with Col<sup>o</sup> Arnold, who by the way would have peaceably accepted one Months Pay agreeable to the Requisition had it not been for your P. S. to Ichabod Rollins Esq<sup>r</sup> “that those who had not been paid up to the Month of August ought to be paid *immediately*” which they saw & utterly refused to proceed without being paid accordingly, whereby we were obliged to pay them *two* months Wages instead of the *one* Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington had required —

Previous to this we had sent two of this Committee to wait upon Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington & to enquire into some Matters relating to the Army — “who report that

when they arrived at the Camp they were told Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington had given it out in general Orders that the Troops should be paid by their Respective Colonies up to August; & that our Soldiers had been told they might daily expect this Colony to send the money for that Purpose” — which surprized them very much, as it does all of us, that the Soldiers should be made to expect what the Colony was ignorant of & could not possibly perform. They waited on Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington & conversed with him on the Subject, he inform’d them that Connecticut & one other Colony (which they suppose was Rhode Island) had desired him not to pay their Troops, and that General Sullivan had told him New Hampshire could *as well pay their Troops as not*, which was the Occasion of his giving said Orders, at a Time the Military Chest was almost empty & the money long expected from Philadelphia was not arrived That the Massachusetts Troops had beside the monthly pay advanced received but one Months Wages & that out of the Continental Money —

As to the Blankets we always understood that there was only a few but were Supplied *long ago*, & those few we supposed the Officers (as there was a constant intercourse had received from the Selectmen of their respective Towns, the way directed by our Congress. —

Ichabod Rollins Esq<sup>r</sup> one of our Committee of Supplies had Orders in July last to provide an hundred Coats for those Persons who lost their Cloaths at Charlestown Battle, and previous to the Reception of Y<sup>rs</sup> we had provided for the Payment of their whole Loss, which was as early as the Circumstances of the Colony would admit of —

And now S<sup>r</sup> upon this State of Facts, which we aver to be just, we would ask where the “great Defect” has been & to whom the Uneasiness of the Troops ought to

be imputed — whether as Circumstances turnd up the Colony could have done more, unless they could have divined into the Determinations & consequent Expectations in & about the Camp?

Certainly if it became requisite for the Colony to have paid up their Troops to the fourth of august it was necessary they should have been notified thereof in order that they might have made the Provision needful before the Soldiers were encouraged to expect the immediate Payment thereof —

However we are zealous of doing every thing in our Power necessary for the Good of our Troops the army & the important Cause in which we are engaged but until a Vote of Congress for striking off more Money we shall be unable to advance any for the Payment of Wages — we having scarcely enough to pay for the Coats promised them, the loss at Bunkers Hill & which on Monday last we ordered to be immediately paid — which with a Months Wages that Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington assured our Committee he would pay as soon as he received the Money from Philadelphia (which he daily expected) will answer their present necessities until our Congress meets, the last of october next, & shall order money to be struck off which we expect they then will to Settle the Rolls to the fourth of August —

And in the meantime we hope the officers of the several Regiments will endeavour to keep & maintain Quiet & Harmony in their respective Corps, rather than raise Difficulties themselves, & then instill them into their Men

In behalf of the Committee I am S<sup>r</sup> Y<sup>r</sup> Humble Serv<sup>t</sup>  
Matthew Thornton Chairman

[*Gen. Sullivan to the New Hampshire Committee of Safety, Sept. 29, 1775. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[New Hampshire Archives, Revolution, Vol. 2, p. 89.]

Winter Hill Septem<sup>r</sup> 29 1775

*Much Respected Gentlemen* I Inclose you a Petition of the Field officers in your Regiments for Blank Commissions which if agreeable to you you will please to Send by the Bearer Lieu<sup>t</sup> Leavit but if not I shall Send you the names of those Recommended that you may fill up the vacancies as you think proper —

Gentlemen I am in Extreme haste with Due Respect  
y<sup>r</sup> most obed<sup>t</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

[Enclosure.]

[American Archives, 4th Series, vol. 3, p. 842.]

*To the Honourable the Committee of Safety for the Province of New Hampshire:*

We, the Field-Officers of the several New Hampshire Regiments stationed at Winter-Hill, beg leave to suggest that, among the New-Hampshire as well as the other Forces, vacancies are frequently occurring; to fill up which we are obliged to take the method of applying to the Province for an appointment before we can have those vacancies filled up, which not only gives great trouble, and creates expense, but sometimes leaves the Companies in some measure unofficered. To prevent which, as we have a Brigadier-General who we persuade ourselves will endeavour to put in such persons, to fill up those vacancies, as will be most agreeable to the Troops in general, we entreat that he may be supplied with a number of blank commissions for all officers under the degree of a Field-Officer, having particular regard to the sentiments of the officers in the Regiment where such an appointment is to be made; and your petitioners will ever pray, &c.

John Stark, Col.

Israel Gilman, Lt. Col.

Enoch Poor, Col.

John McDuffee, Lt. Col.

James Reed, Col.

Joseph Cilley, Major.

Isaac Wyman, Col.

September 29, 1775.

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to Josiah Bartlett and John Langdon, Oct. 4, 1775.*]

[Letters by Josiah Bartlett, William Whipple and Others, p. 34.]

Winter Hill, October 4th, 1775.

*Gentlemen:* — You will by this Post Receive Intelligence from head-Quarters of Dr. Church's having been detected in holding a Treasonable Correspondence with the Enemy — his Behaviour Towards our Sick & wounded long since Convinced me that he either was void of humanity and Judgment, or that he was Determined by untimely Removals & Neglect of Duty to Let all those under his care breathe their Last within the walls of his Detestable General Hospital — his Conduct with respect to my Brigade has been very regular, for he has Regularly Killed most or all those he has taken from us. I will mention Two Instances of the wounded: one was the well known instance of Mr. Simpson, who was shot in the foot — an amputation was necessary — Doctor Jackson, who every one must allow to be Infinitely his Superior, was there, & had every thing prepared to take off the Limb — Doctor Church happened to come in — forbid him to proceed & ordered the man to be sent to the Hospital — he went home himself — Eat his Dinner — Drank his Glass — then went to meet the wounded voluntier who, by Loss of Blood, The Tearing and Lacerating his flesh

by the Fractured Bone had become happy by growing Insensible of his Pain — Jackson had foretold this, but Church Determining to Kill the man *Secundem Artem*, called his Subs around him — assigns each one his post, and then requests Jackson to take off the Limb — he Refused, Informing them that the only reason was that the Man's life could not be saved by amputating the Limb or by any other methods, & agreeable to his predictions the Man Died on the Second day. The other was an instance of a man in my Brigade who, while we were throwing up our last Redoubts, was wounded in the Leg — Dr. Jackson was by — said his Leg must be taken off, but he did not dare to do it till Church was sent for — he sent down two of his Subs, who Complimented Jackson with the Liberty of using the Saw — one of them was to cut the flesh — the other to take up the Arteries. The first failed, leaving some of the muscles untouched, & the other would not if left to himself have taken up the Arteries till the man had Bled to Death — Jackson was obliged to take the knife from one & the needle from the other — performed the operation — Drest the man & tended him three Days — every symptom was favourable & Doubtless the man would have soon Recovered, but on the Fourth day Doctor Church sent for him & ordered him to the Hospital. Jackson told them that the fourth being the Day on which the Inflammation was at the highest he would assuredly die if removed — he was not regarded — the man was removed & died accordingly. I could give you more instances, but hope the Inclosed Copy of a Petition presented to me by the Field Officers in my Brigade will suffice to show their & my sence of the Hospital proceedings.

I now entreat you, Gentlemen, to solicit an appointment for Dr. Jackson, in whom every Officer & Soldier

has great Confidence, & whose skill is even acknowledged by Dr. Church himself — many valuable lives may Depend upon this appointment. Sure I am that I could more boldly enter the field if so able a Surgeon as Jackson was at hand to dress the wounds which perchance I might receive.

P. S. — I have called the General Hospital a most Detestable one. I will now assign my reasons: in the first place — it is detested by every person seeming to have an aversion to it — in the second place every person must allow that has the least acquaintance with such matters that a number of Sick persons being brought together in one hospital will Render the Air so putrid that it will not only be pernicious to the Neighbouring Inhabitants but must prove Fatal to the Patients themselves — another reason is that the Soldiers are Taken from among their friends and acquaintances & put among persons with whom they have no sort of Acquaintance & under Physicians they never saw.

I most sincerely wish we had hospitals for the several Brigades or one for two adjoining Brigades or in such case a Trusty Person might have been appointed to Inspect each Hospital, an emulation would have been raised to bring in their accounts as low as possible & to exceed each other in the care of their Patients. The Regimental Surgeons could take the whole business upon them & prevent the enormous expense of an Inspector General with a vast number of others unconnected with the Regiments & who endeavour to Render useless the Regimental Surgeons who by the way are to be paid whether they act or not: add to this that Patients are even more Likely to recover under the care of Physicians in whom they have Confidence than a stranger even though his skill should exceed the other —

[*Gen. Sullivan to the New Hampshire Committee of Safety, Oct. 4, 1775. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[New Hampshire Archives, Revolution, vol. 2, p. 95.]

Winter Hill october 4<sup>th</sup> 1775

*Gentlemen* Your favour of the 28<sup>th</sup> ultimo is now before me. I am Extremely Sorry that you have had Such unexpected Trouble about the New Hampshire forces — I am well apprized of your original Contract & Suppose there would not have been any Difficulty had it not arisen from the adoption of the Army by the Continent & the General orders for the Colonies to pay their Troops up to the 4<sup>th</sup> of Aug<sup>t</sup> — which the other Colonies Complying with & New Hampshire neglecting Caused the uneasiness among the Soldiers — I Suppose The orders were not Seasonably made known to you which perhaps may be in Some measure my fault but as you had a Committee then on the Spot and it being more peculiarly their Province to acquaint you I Left it with them Especially as my hurry would Scarcely permit me to write a Line — I know Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington thought of paying them off with Continental money but that not Coming to hand he found a failure of his promise in orders would be Inevitable unless Some of the Colonies Could advance the money for their Troops — he applied to me — I told him I Supposed our Colony could do it as well as not as it would Eventually be only Exchanging your money for Continental money — he also required that The Several Colonies Should Clear off with their men up to the 4<sup>th</sup> of Aug<sup>t</sup> & after that the Continent was to pay them & Reimburse the Colonies. This occasioned the Post Script in my Letter in favour of those who went with Col<sup>o</sup> Arnold & Sure I am that no Difficulty could arise in this as the money Carries no Interest & you are to receive Continental money for all

you advance. Therefor I might well be Excused in Telling Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington that New Hampshire could & would as willingly do it as Conecticut & Rhode Island. You ask me where the Great Defect has been. I never Said it Laid with you but that there was a Defect Somewhere & I think you have without my assistance been pleased to point it out — You Say that the General orders were not made known to you which Surely the Committee ought to have done & had I Suspected they would have been Deficient in their Duty should amidst the hurry & Confusion I then was in have done it myself —

You Say that you understood there was only a few Blankets in Arrear which not being the Case the persons in whom you Confided must have been Deficient in giving you proper Information

You Say that M<sup>r</sup> Rollins had orders in July Last to provide a hundred Coats — this was not done nor had that attention been paid to your orders which you might reasonably Expect —

I hope therefore you Gentlemen will readily agree with me that there was a Defect Somewhere & without my assistance find out where to place it — I should be Extremely Sorry to have it Thought I meant to Censure or Condemn so Respectable a Body as the Committee of Safety. I suppose it my Duty to write facts as they are. I shall thereby do Justice to you & acquit myself of the Charge of Indolence & inattention

I am Sorry to find you have So Just a foundation for hinting that Some of the officers raise Difficulties themselves & then Instill them into the minds of the men. I believe that is too often the Case but from whatever Source these Difficulties spring The Trouble to me and Dishonor to the Troops & Consequently to the Province is Equally the Same. I Shall use my Endeavours to

make the Terms you propose in your Letter as agreeable as possible to the men & Spare no pains in Endeavouring to keep the Troops from Troubleing you with Complaints

---

[*Questions, Gen. Washington to Gen. Sullivan, Oct. 5, 1775. Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Head Quarters Cambridge 5 Oct<sup>r</sup> 1775

*Sir* In a Letter from the General Congress, dated 26<sup>th</sup> Sept<sup>r</sup>, Information on the following Points is requir'd.

1 What Number of Men are Sufficient for a Winters Campaign?

2 Can the pay of the privates be reduced, & how much?

What Rations should be allowed The Men?

3 What Regulations are further necessary for the Government of the Forces?

To the above Queries of the Congress, I have to Add several of My Own, upon which I also request your Opinion, viz:

4 For how long a time ought the Men in the present Army (should we set about enlisting them) be engaged?

5 What Method would you recommend, as most Eligible to Cloath a New rais'd Army with a proper degree of Decency, & regularity? would you advise it to be done by the Continent? In that Case, would you lower the Mens Wages, & make no Deduction for Cloathing? or let it stand, & make stoppages? and how much a Month?

6 As there appears to be great irregularity in the manner of Paying the Men, & much Discontent has prevaild upon that Account, in what Manner, and at

what fix'd Periods, would you Advise it to be done, under a new Establishment?

7 What Sized Regiments would you recommend under this Establishment? that is, how many Men to a Company, how many Companies to a Regiment, & how Officer'd?

8 Is there any Method, by which the best of the present Officers in this Army can be chosen, without impeding the Inlistment of the Men, by such Choice, & preference? Under any compleat Establishment, even if all the Privates in the Army were engaged again, many of the present Officers must be discharged, as there is an Over proportion — of Course we ought to Retain the best.

Your close attention to the foregoing points against Monday ten O Clock, at which time I shall expect to see you at this place, will much Oblige.

[Addressed] On continental Service To Brigadier General Sullivan on Winter Hill

---

[*Gen. Sullivan's Answers to Gen. Washington's Questions. Rough Draft in Handwriting of Gen. Sullivan.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Questions proposed by his Excellency General Washington with answer thereto by his very Humble Servant  
Jn<sup>o</sup> Sullivan

Q what number of men are Sufficient for a winters Campaign

Answer 18148 arranged in the following order viz

Reg<sup>ts</sup> } at Roxbury 2 Brigades 5 Reg-  
10 } iments each 698 men in a  
Reg<sup>t</sup> all officers Included

6980

4	at Winter Hill in 1 Brigade	2792
4	at Prospect Hill 1 Brigade	2792
8	Reg <sup>ts</sup> at Cambridge one of which to be Stationed at Chelsea & Malden 2 Brigades	5584
	Total	<u>18148</u>

Q Can the pay of the Privates be Reduced and how much —

Answer an attempt to Reduce the wages at this time will probably prevent the Raising of another Army & when it is Considered that the Men in General find their own Arms & all find their own Cloathing & Enlist without a Bounty I cannot Suppose the wages unreasonable

Question what Rations Shall be allowed the men

Ans<sup>r</sup> The Same as at present — only fixing a price on Each Article that the men may have their money weekly In Lieu of those Articles which the Commissary cannot furnish

Quest<sup>n</sup> What Regulations are further necessary for the Government of the Forces —

Question for how Long a Time ought the men in the present Army be Ingaged

Answer as the Army is principally Composed of Husbandmen & Their Business Comes on about the first of April None of those would Incline to Enlist for a Longer time as Tarrying one month Longer would as Effectually Defeat the Farming Business for the year Ensueing as If they were to Engage for a year & as an Army May Easily be Engaged before that time for the Ensueing Summer I recommend that they be Enlisted for the first of april & no Longer

Question what methods would you Recommend as most Eligible to Cloath a New Army with a proper

Degree of Decency & Regularity would you advise it to be Done by the Continent — In that Case would you Lower the mens wages & make no Deduction for Cloathing or Let it Stand & make Stoppages & how much a month

Ans<sup>r</sup> The wages ought to Stand & if a uniform be agreed on the men Should have Liberty to procure it for themselves provided they do it Seasonably & to the Acceptance of their officers but as many of them will not be able to do this the Continent Should provide for those and Stop it out of their wages — The Same method ought to be pursued if Common Cloathing only is required as many of them will be unable to procure the necessary Articles —

Question as there appears to be great Irregularity in the manner of paying the men & much Discontent has prevailed upon that Account — in what manner & at what Periods would you advise it to be Done under a New Establishment

Answer As Some New Recruits must be Raised and as those Recruits will not probably have money to provide themselves for the Campaign & as no Bounty money is to be given them I Recommend that They receive one months Advance wages & the Residue at the Expiration of their Term —

what Sized Regiments would you Recommend under this Establishment viz how many men to a Company how many Companies to a Regt & how officered

Answer Ten Companies to a Regiment Two of which to be light Infantry Sixty four men to a Company Including Seargents & Corporals, which will give 60 Corporals & Privates to Each Company or Subdivision & 30 to Each Platoon — The officers 1 Captain 1 Lieut & 1 Ensign

Question is there any method by which the Best of

the present officers in the Army can be Chosen without Imped<sup>s</sup> the Enlistment of the men by Such Choice & preference

Answer I think the officers in my Brigade who are most averse to Doing Duty & Lest able to Endure Fatigue having Signified their Intention to Leave the Service & the Best officers Inclining to Tarry — I am of opinion that the most Worthy & Resolute officers in the whole Army will Incline to Tarry which will Superse-  
de the Necessity of Selecting the Best for the winter Campaign —

but in Case more than is Requisite Should Incline to Tarry when the Names of the whole are given in Some method may be hit upon to get rid of those Supernu-  
mary officers without Impeding the Inlistment of the men I therefore advise that the Generals of Brigades give in the names of those officers who Incline to Tarry in the Service as Soon as may be

---

[*Volunteers in Col. John Stark's Regiment, Oct. 8, 1775.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

An acc<sup>t</sup> of the Men who are willing to continue in the Service of the United Colonies during the Winter from Col<sup>o</sup> Stark's Reg<sup>t</sup> Oct<sup>r</sup> 8<sup>th</sup> 1775

Captain George Reeds Comp <sup>y</sup>	27
Cap <sup>t</sup> Daniel Moor	40
Gordon Hutchins	30
Elisha Woodbury	37
Tho <sup>s</sup> McLaughlin	32
John Hale	13
Sam <sup>l</sup> Richards	7
Aaron Kinsman	18

Joshua Abbott	25
Henry Dearborn	32
	<hr/>
Total	229

[*New Hampshire Committee of Safety to Gen. Sullivan, Oct. 10, 1775.*]

[American Archives, 4th Series, vol. 3, p. 1007.]

Exeter, October 10, 1775.

*Sir:* We have received yours of the 29th ultimo, enclosing a petition of the Field-Officers to have blanks sent down for commissions, to fill up vacancies, &c.; and if we were authorized by the Congress, would comply without delay. But this Committee were particularly instructed to make out commissions for the Troops, and no liberty to delegate that power. We are sensible that the officers of the Army are more capable of judging of fit persons to be promoted to offices, than the Committee, who have not had the opportunity of knowing how they have behaved in other stations. But, as they are not authorized to do otherwise, must desire a list of the vacancies, with the time that they became vacant, and the names of those persons pitched upon to fill them, sent up; and the Committee will endeavour to send down commissions as soon as possible.

Please to communicate this to the several New Hampshire Colonels.

[*Return of Strength, Oct. 14, 1775.*]

[Sullivan Papers, Coe Collection, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Camp on Winter Hill October 14, 1775

Privates present fit for Duty in Gen <sup>l</sup> Sullivan's Brigade		1458	
Col. Webb's Reg <sup>t</sup>		445	
		<hr/>	1903
Picquet on Ploughed Hill	500		
Main Guard	30		
Q <sup>r</sup> Guards	80		
Overstav'd for Servants, Teamsters, Camp cully men, tenders on Masons, & Wood cutters & <sup>c</sup> & <sup>c</sup>		336	
		<hr/>	996
Fatigue men to work on the Barracks	200		1196
		<hr/>	<hr/>
			707

[*Gen. Sullivan to Gen. Washington, Oct. 14, 1775. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Washington Papers, Library of Congress.]

Winter Hill October 14th 1775

*Much Respected Sir* I have Reviewed the Palefaced Corps in my Brigade & find The Persons named in the Inclosed List Totally unfit for Duty at present have been So for a Long time & are Likely to Remain So During this Campaign Except Those to whose names I had added a Quere whose Disorders may possibly be Removed before the End of the Campaign — with respect to those your Excellency will act as your wisdom Shall Direct — with Respect to all the others I beg Leave to Say that the Sooner they are Discharged The Sooner will the Continent be free from the unnecessary Charge of maintaining them here —

A List of Invalids in General Sullivan's Brigade, who are unfit for Service and Recommended for Discharges

Regiments	Mens Names	Companies
Colonel Reeds	James Cochran Isaac Johnson Joshua Farr Waitstill Field William Grove	Captain Thomas's Cap <sup>t</sup> Marcy's Cap <sup>t</sup> Whitcombs D <sup>o</sup> Cap <sup>t</sup> Hutchinson's
Colonel Nixons	Ebenezer Plase Moses Learned Reuben Daniel John Tucker John Welch Samuel Downing	Cap <sup>t</sup> McCobb's Cap <sup>t</sup> Drury's Late Cap <sup>t</sup> Moore's D <sup>o</sup> Cap <sup>t</sup> Gleason's D <sup>o</sup>
Colonel Starks	William Cloide Quere Jeremiah Connor William Perry Stephen Parsons Reuben Abbott	Cap <sup>t</sup> Reed's Cap <sup>t</sup> Dearborn's Cap <sup>t</sup> Woodbury's D <sup>o</sup> Cap <sup>t</sup> Abbotts
Col <sup>o</sup> Poors	John Lane Aaron Page Elisha Prescott James Beal Nathaniel Perkins Josiah Durgan Jonathan Smith Daniel Gale James Thompson Thomas Fuller Jonathan Dudley Jonathan Weeks Nicholas Wiggins Jeremy Mason Samuel Nudd John Rawlins Nathan Foss Andrew Anderson Elijah Oates John Smith Sanborn Q Joshua Grant Q Abraham Libby	Cap <sup>t</sup> Row's D <sup>o</sup> D <sup>o</sup> D <sup>o</sup> Cap <sup>t</sup> Wentworth's D <sup>o</sup> Cap <sup>t</sup> Clough's D <sup>o</sup> Cap <sup>t</sup> Adams's Cap <sup>t</sup> Tilton's D <sup>o</sup> D <sup>o</sup> Cap <sup>t</sup> Shortridge's D <sup>o</sup> D <sup>o</sup> D <sup>o</sup> Cap <sup>t</sup> Titcomb's D <sup>o</sup> D <sup>o</sup> D <sup>o</sup> D <sup>o</sup>
late Colonel Mansfield	Benjamin Brown Quere Newhall Wilson Benjamin Peave Q James Evaeth Daniel Shildon George Dunwell Edward Hulon William Rowell	Late Cap <sup>t</sup> Leavitt's Cap <sup>t</sup> Newhall's Cap <sup>t</sup> Richardson's D <sup>o</sup> D <sup>o</sup> Cap <sup>t</sup> Putnam's D <sup>o</sup> D <sup>o</sup> D <sup>o</sup>

Regiments	Mens Names	Companies
Colonel Doolittle	Richard Collins Q	D <sup>o</sup>
	James Savage Q	D <sup>o</sup>
	William Wilkins Q	Princ's
	Thomas Thoyt	D <sup>o</sup>
	Israel Putnam	D <sup>o</sup>
	Joseph Bell	Cap <sup>t</sup> Baker's
	William Newman	D <sup>o</sup>
	Seth Dean	Cap <sup>t</sup> Holman's
	Jeremiah Thare	Cap <sup>t</sup> Capron
	Nehemiah Thare	D <sup>o</sup>
	David Shearman	D <sup>o</sup>
	Daniel Peters	D <sup>o</sup>
	Joseph Loydd	D <sup>o</sup>
Julius Ellis	D <sup>o</sup>	

Winter Hill October the 14<sup>th</sup> 1775.

Jn<sup>o</sup> Sullivan B G

[*Gen. Sullivan to the New Hampshire Committee of Safety, Oct. 18, 1775. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[New Hampshire Archives, Revolution, vol. 2, p. 133–139.]

Winter Hill October 18th 1775

*Gentlemen* agreeable to your request I Inclose you a List of vacancies in the New Hamps<sup>r</sup> Regiments with the names of the persons Recommended to fill them — beg you to fill up the Commissions & forward them as Soon as possible to

Gentlemen your very Humble Serv<sup>t</sup>

P: S as Col<sup>o</sup> Stark & Col<sup>o</sup> Reed have not Mentioned when the vacancies happened beg you to Leave me to put in the Dates which I think you may venture to do Though I am fully Convinced of the Justice of your observation viz that you have no authority to Delegate the power of making out Commissions

[Enclosures.]

the vacant Commissions in Coll Reeds Regiment with the names of those persons recommended to Receive said Commissions a Lieutenant wanting in Capt Spaldings Company the Person Recommended to supply said vacancy is George Aldrich now Ensign in Capt Hindsis Company altho said Aldrich hath not Received his Ensigns Commission — an Ajdant vacant Stephen Peobedy Recommended to Receive the Ajdanci who hath Ever Don the Duty — an Ensigny vacant in Capt Hutchinses Company the person Recommended is Richard Coughlan Sajorant major to fill up said vacancy and William Hawkens who Distinguished himself in the Battal at Bunker Hill the 17 of June Last to supply the place of an Ensign in Capt Hindsis Company in Lue of the above named Aldrich —

So the mater is George Aldrich Lieut Richard Coughlan and William Hawkens Ensigns Stephen Peobedy Ajdant

[Signature torn off.]

Camp october the 18, 1775

In Capt. Reed's Company, Lieutenancy vacant; Ensign James Anderson recommended to said vacancy, and Robert Barnet for an Ensign in said Company. Ensigny vacant in Capt. Kinsman's Company; Sam<sup>l</sup> Bradford recommended to said Vacancy. Ensigny vacant in Capt. Abbot's Company; Abiel Chandler recommended to be commissioned as Ensign in said company from the first establishment of the Reg<sup>t</sup>

John Stark

Camp on Winter Hill Oct<sup>r</sup> 18, 1775

[Original missing from the archives. Printed in N. H. Provincial Papers, vol. 7, p. 627.]

Ensign Thomas Lyford to a Lieutenancy in Capt. Tilton's Company, vacated Sept. 20. Joseph Huntoon to be Ensign in said Comp<sup>y</sup> vacated Aug<sup>st</sup> 27<sup>th</sup>. Lieut. Thomas Leavitt to succeed the late Capt. Elkins discharged Aug<sup>st</sup> 20<sup>th</sup>. Ensign Nath<sup>l</sup> Thwing to succeed Lieut. Leavitt, and James Wedgwood to succeed Ensign Brown of said Comp<sup>y</sup> discharged Sept. 20<sup>th</sup>.

William Rowell to be Ensign in Capt. Clough's Comp<sup>y</sup> to succeed Ensign Lyford, vacated 20<sup>th</sup> Sept. Richard Weare to be Ensign in Capt. Rowe's Comp<sup>y</sup>, Commission vacated Sept<sup>r</sup> 3<sup>d</sup>, Enoch Chase to be Ensign in Capt. Titcomb's Comp<sup>y</sup>, comm<sup>n</sup> vacated Sept. 1<sup>st</sup>. Thomas Chandler to succeed Ensign Thwing in Capt. Shortridge's Comp<sup>y</sup> vacated 20<sup>th</sup> August.

Enoch Poor

[Original missing from the archives. Printed in N. H. Provincial Papers, vol. 7, p. 628.]

---

[*Col. Alexander McDougall to Gen. Sullivan, Oct. 22, 1775. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

New York octo<sup>r</sup> 22<sup>d</sup> 1775

*Sir.* We impatiently wait for intelligence from St John's; and have not had any from thence to be relyed on, since September; nor since the Batteries were opened against it. The Viper Sloop of war, has aped the Piratical conduct of the Ministerial Ships to the Eastward, by taking several of our vessels inward bound, without so much as the least Colour of their having Violated any of the acts of Trade. Nothing can more clearly manifest the absurdity, and injustice of the Present measures against this distressed country than the violations of

those acts which they contend ought to bind the Americans, and which they come to enforce against them, by every artifice their wicked Hearts can suggest. Will a God of Justice suffer such matchless wickedness to pass with impunity? Surely he will not. This will be delivered to you by M<sup>r</sup> Richard Ray of this place, who I beg leave to introduce to you. He goes to the Eastward to see the Camp. If your attention to the Public Service, will permit you to shew him the Civilities due to a Gentleman and a stranger, they will be gratefully acknowledged as done to Sir Your Humble servant

[Addressed] Brigadier General John Sullivan Esquire  
in the Continental Service at the Camp Cambridge  
By M<sup>r</sup> Ray.

---

[*Gen. Horatio Gates to Gen. Sullivan, Oct. 23, 1775.  
Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Head Q<sup>rs</sup> 23<sup>d</sup> October 1775.

*Sir* This will be presented to your Hands by a first Lieutenant of Colonel Thompsons Battallion of Riffle Men, who has under His Command a party of experienced Riffle Men, whom The General thinks you might dispose of to Advantage, should the Enemy attempt to sett fire to The Town of Portsmouth, as he is inform'd the Entrance of the harbour is Narrow, & much Comanded by High Ground & Rocks, The Officer is directed to wait your Commands the moment he arrives at Portsmouth.

[Addressed] To Brigadier General Sullivan Comanding The Forces of The United Colonies at Portsmouth

[Major Alexander Scammell to Gen. Sullivan, Oct. 24, 1775. Autograph Letter Signed.]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Camp on Winter Hill Oct<sup>r</sup> 24 1775

Dear Hon<sup>d</sup> Sir—Your Brigade is almost a Caput Mortuum & Their Countenances fallen, Providence to prevent my seeing their gloomy Aspects, has turn'd the Relicts of my Disentery into my Eyes, so that I am almost Blind. Gen<sup>l</sup> Gates has never been here since your Departure. Gen<sup>l</sup> Green urges the Augmentation of Winter Hill Picquet; I urge your Orders to go on with the usual Details, and by that means have avoided his Request. He declares he will lay it before Gen<sup>l</sup> Lee. But I hope Gen<sup>l</sup> Lee will go for Rhode Island before he will have an Opportunity. The Enemy have been very peaceable since you left us; waiting perhaps in silent Expectation to hear the success of their diabolical Piratical Emisaries. I hope they wont hear of your Absence till your Return least they attempt our Line: As a body without a leader they can fully depend on will be at best but a dispirited Number —

We impatiently waite to hear of your Success. We rest assur'd that all human Efforts will be made use of to oppose the ministerial Butchers, since you preside. May Heaven succeed and prosper your Endeavors, preserve your Life from the Hostile Balls, your Health from any sad accident, and return you in Safety to your many sincere Friends & very Humble Serv<sup>t</sup>

P S. Please to make my Compliments to Major Scilly — I long to be with you. The News of the Camp (perhaps the Lye of the Day) is, that The King of France offers us two & twenty Sail of the Line if we desire it.

[Addressed] To The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Brigdiar Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan Esq<sup>r</sup> at Portsmouth.

[*Gen. Sullivan to the New Hampshire Committee of Safety, Oct. 26, 1775. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[New Hampshire Archives, Revolution, vol. 2, p. 151.]

*To the Honourable the Committee of Safety for the Province of New Hampshire*

Humbly Shews John Sullivan That General Washington Sent him to Portsmouth in this Province To Take the Command of the forces here to Repel any attacks upon this or any other Seaport in this Quarter & has Since Sent Some small force from the army to assist in Such Defence. That he in Consequence of the Directions given him has Summoned in a part of the militia with whose assistance he has Thrown up Some works in this & the Province of Main for Defence of Piscataway Harbour & taken Such Steps as appeared to him necessary for the Defence of Portsmouth & has Compleated it as far as the Lenght of time since his arrival would admit — But finds that the Fleet Destined to Destroy this Port has proceeded to Boston whereupon the militia begins to Return to their Respective Homes Leaving the works unfurnished not as yet Defencible & without Guards Sufficient to prevent your Forts & Towns being Taken or Destroyed by Surprize — he Humbly apprehends that at Least one thousand men Exclusive of Two hundred artillery men ought to be Raised & Stationed at New Castle Pierces & Seaveys Islands for Some Short Space of time with proper officers appointed to Command in Each Department with proper officers to Command the Companies Stationed in Each — he begs your advice on the affair & that you would Inform him what is necessary to be further Done & that you would Let him know as Soon as may be whether you apprehend it necessary for him or the Riffle men & Artillery men Sent him from the Army to

Tarry any Longer That he may Conduct himself accordingly & begs Leave to assure you that whatever you Direct or advise to Shall be Chearfully Complied with by y<sup>r</sup> most obed<sup>t</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

---

[*New Hampshire Committee of Safety to Gen. Sullivan, Oct. 27, 1775. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

In Committee of Safety October 27<sup>th</sup> 1775.

S<sup>r</sup> This Committee in Consequence of your Representation are deeply impressed with Gratitude to Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington for his early Attention & Kindness to this Colony in sending you with some Forces to protect their Metropolis from the threatned Invasion, & hope the same generous Disposition will induce him to continue his Assistance while our Danger remains —

The Number of Men you propose to have raised for our present Defence, we have considered of, & judge it necessary the Number of Matrosses be augmented to two Hundred And that Eight Hundred Men more be enlisted for fifteen Days, to Guard the several necessary Posts & Passes, & shall give Orders for compleating the same —

Col<sup>o</sup> Joshua Wingate, Lieut Col<sup>o</sup> Jonathan Burnam, & Major James Hacket are appointed by the Congress of this Colony Field Officers of a Regiment of Minute Men & commissioned. We have therefore directed them to take Command according to their several Stations —

We have requested William Knight & Joshua Wentworth Esq<sup>rs</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup> William Pearne, Cap<sup>t</sup> Thomas Thompson, and Supply Clap, or any three of them, to procure & fix a sufficient Number of Vessels a little

above the Boom in order to hinder the Passage of our Enemys Ships up the River —

We expect Sir, while you are permitted to tarry you will employ the Troops here, & such as shall come in, in such a Manner as you shall judge necessary in preparing for, & making the best Defence Circumstances will allow of, observing all the Frugality & Oeconomy the great Object of Defence will admit of — & on all Matters of Consequence where Time will permit, to consult the Congress of this Colony or this Committee —

The fixing a Cable to strengthen the Boom as you proposed (considering the Time it will require to prepare it, & the great Expence thereof, & the Importance of the Boom & Ships) we think may be omitted

In Behalf of the Committee I am with great Esteem  
Sr Y<sup>r</sup> Ob<sup>t</sup> H Serv<sup>t</sup>

Matthew Thornton Chrmn

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to Gen. Washington, Oct. 29, 1775. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Washington Papers, Library of Congress.]

Portsmouth October 29th 1775

*May it please your Excellency —*

I arrived here in about twenty four hours after I Left you — have Collected Powder So as to make up near thirty Barrels & have Since been preparing to Set an Example to the other Seaports by Setting the Fleet at Defiance — upon my arrival I was Surprized to find that the Boom So much Talked of was not prepared; That the Bridge Intended for Crossing from the main to the Island whereon stands the Principal Fort (Called Fort Washington) had nothing more done than one Pier Sunk; That there was not a foot of the Parapet over

which a man might fire or Even See his Enemy; that the Embrazures at the Foot were Horizontal as well as the Top of the Parapet & in Short not a moments Defence Could be made or anoyance given to the Enemy Either with Cannon or Small Arms — I Immediately Collected a number of Gondalows moored them head & Stern Laid pieces from one to the other & Plank across & Soon Compleated the Bridge. I then Turned my attention to the Boom & in two Days got it across but found it could not Stand the Rapidity of the Tide, it Soon Broke & we have again Fixed it so that I hope it may hold, but Lest it should Deceive us I have taken a number of Ships & moored them above with a great Quantity of Combustable matter in them & shall Tommorrow have them Chained together & in Case The Boom Should give way Set those vessels in Flames. I have also a great Number of fire Rafts ready to Let Loose upon them. I have altered the works & I trust made them fit for Defence & I Doubt not will in two or three Days more be Compleatly prepared. I am Extremely thankful to your Excellency for the Riffle men Sent to our assistance — it has Indeed filled our people with Gratitude and That my Coming Down was Equally agreeable your Excellency will See by the Inclosed Letter from their Committee of Safety —

I have seen Some men that were on board the Fleet after the Destruction of Falmouth. Cap<sup>t</sup> Mowat Shew his orders which were to Burn all the Seaports East of Boston; when he Departed from Falmouth he told them that he must go to Boston & Take a Recruit of [illegible] &c & then would visit Portsmouth. I Expect him Dailey but in Case he does not arrive in a few Days shall Despair of his Coming. I must beg y<sup>r</sup> Excellency to give me Intelligence of any movement of their Ships with any orders you may think proper with

Respect to my Conduct while here. I shall give the Earliest Intelligence of any thing material

P S I Inclose a Letter Sent from the Eastward which was Inclosed in one to me signed by one Major Goodwin of Pownalborough— That Infernal Crew of Toreys who have Laughed at the Congress Despised the friends to Liberty Endeavoured to Prevent the fortifying this harbour & Strove to hurt the Credit of the Continental money & are yet Endeavouring it walk the Streets here with Impunity & will with a Sneer Tell The people in the Streets that all our Liberty Poles will Soon be Converted into Gallows<sup>s</sup> — I must Intreat y<sup>r</sup> Excellency to give Some Directions what to do with those persons as I am fully Convinced that if an Engagement was to happen they would with their own hands Set fire to the Town Expecting a reward from the ministry for Such hellish Service. Some who have for a Long time Employed themselves in Ridiculing and Discouraging those who were Endeavouring to Save the Town have now Turned upon me & are flying from one Street to another proclaim<sup>g</sup> that you gave me no authority or Licence to take ships to Secure the Entrance of the harbour or did any thing more than Send me here to See the Town Reduced to ashes if our Enemies thought proper. Sir I shall wait your Directions Respecting those villains & see that they are Strictly Complied with by y<sup>r</sup> Excellencys most obed<sup>t</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

[*Gen. Horatio Gates to Gen. Sullivan, Oct. 30, 1775. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[New Hampshire Archives, Revolution, vol. 2, p. 169.]

Head Quarters 30<sup>th</sup> October 1775

*Sir* His Excellency General Washington directs me to acquaint that, it is necessary for the publick Service that you be at Cambridge Wednesday Night, as The Vessells that were expected at Portsmouth, are said to be return'd to Boston. I apprehend they have laid aside their design upon portsmouth for the present. The General is now confident, from your Vigilance, that the Enemy can only meet with disgrace, should they dare to make their Appearance before that Town.

---

[*Gen. Sullivan's Orders, Nov. 1, 1775.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Head Quarters at Portsmouth Nov<sup>r</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> 1775

General Sullivan being called to Head quarters upon business of Great Importance, takes this oppertunity to return his thanks to the Several Officers and Soilders that have appeared under his command, for the cherfullness and alacrity they have Shewn in Compleating the works for defence of this Harbour The industry of the officers and men has fully convinced him of their disposition to defend and maintain them for the good of their Country —

The General is deeply impressed with gratitude to the Committee of Safety for the great assistance they have Given him —

as the General expects to return in four or five days, he thinks nessesary to give the following orders subject however to any Regulation and alterations by the

Provincial Convention, or Committee of Safety (Viz<sup>t</sup>) Col<sup>o</sup> Wingate to have the chief Command and keep his Station at Seavye's Island, untill he shall find necessary upon the Prospect of an Engagement to take Some other Station—Col<sup>o</sup> Burnam to retain the Command of Pierce's Island — Majer Hackett being appointed next in Command to Col<sup>o</sup> Burnam is to be considered and obeyd as Such, and is to take his Station at Great Island, and to Command there Col<sup>o</sup> Cutts to retain his Command at Kittery Point and to Receive his orders from Col<sup>o</sup> Wingate — the Riflemen to keep their Station at New-Castle till further orders —

Cap<sup>t</sup> Dearing is to imploy a Sufficiant number of hands and Compleat the Carriages at Kittery Point as soon as may be —

The Soldiers are to be assembled at the Parapat and go through the Parapat fireings at least once a day M<sup>r</sup> Palfrey aid de Camp to General Lee, who generously offers to tarry with and assist the Troops in this Quarter till General Sullivan returnes, is to be obeyed and respected as an officer of Distinction, and the General Requires the officers and Soldiers, to treat and Respect him agreeable to the importance of his Station in the army.

Col<sup>o</sup> Wingate is desired to call upon Doct<sup>r</sup> Hall Jackson to lay out a Redoubt upon the Summet of the Hill upon the North part of Great Island, who will mark out the same agreeable to the directions given him.

the works already began are to be compleated as soon as possible on Each Island as well as on Kittery Point —

the Gentleman who have the care of the Ships are intreated to moore them as soon as possible, & unless a Boom should be thought best, to sink three vessells in the narrow against Gunnerson's House, if the Boom is prefered, they are to provide two Fire Ships to lay above

the Boom, and a small brestwork on each end of the boom, of about Sixty feet in Length, with two flanks running off at right angle of about fifteen feet each and open in the Rear are to be thrown up —

The fire Rafts are to be placed in the following manner — (Viz<sup>t</sup>) two at Adams's Wherehouse two at the parting of the tide below the boom — two near the Western end of the boom — and four above the boom as near as the tide will admit and the Residue above the town —

In case a boom Should be thrown across crooked lane Channel, the General recommends two fire Rafts to be placed just above in addition to the ships and these to be taken from them Recommended to be placed above the town a Return of the number of the officers and men are to be made to the Congress as soon as possible by Col<sup>o</sup> Wingate —

Cap<sup>t</sup> Hodgdon with his company is to join the forces at Kittery Point immediately

The Redoubt which is to be thrown up is to have a Re-entring angle in the middle of each Curtain in Order to flank the Enemy of which Doct<sup>r</sup> Jackson is to take notice

The artillery officers now here required to assist in laying out and Compleating the works.

A large number of boats should be collected and kept at Peirces Island — partly above & partly below the boom in order to transport the men to Such Places as may be thought Necessary

The Fire Bucketts Ought to be Sent for and kept within the town to extinguish any houses that may be Set on Fire by the Enemy

In case the fleet should appear in Sight, the General recommands that Suspected persons be Desired to quit the town immediately, and upon refusal to be confind

As the barbarity of our Cruel and invetirate enemies has in many instances exceded that of the more Savage Barbarians, as they have fully proved that neither the tears of the aged or the cries of the Tender infant can have the least effect upon them, as Havock and Destruction Seemes to give them Pleasure and deducing to ashes the most Elegant and populous towns fills them with Delight — we can have nothing to hope but from heaven and the Sword

The General therefore calls upon his Distressed Countrymen, and Conjures them in the name of amarica, by the Duty they owe to their God, their country, and them self, to quit themselves like men to meet those melicious enemies with a becomming fortitude inspired with a just resentment deal to them that Destruction which their unnatural and Cruel Conduct so justly merits

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to the New Hampshire Provincial Congress, Nov. 1, 1775. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[New Hampshire Archives, Revolution, vol. 2, p. 175.]

Portsmouth Novem<sup>r</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> 1775

*Much Respected Gentlemen* I Inclose you a Letter from head Quarters Calling for my presence Immediately — M<sup>r</sup> Palfrey Tells me that he Doubts not I may return in two or three Days & by what he has Communicated I am Convinced that I must return in a very Short time. I am well Satisfied that my presence can by no means be Dispensed with at head Q<sup>rs</sup>. I am Sorry the Call was So Sudden as to prevent my Seeing the works Compleated & the army formed: That you may know how far I have proceeded I have Directed the orderly Book to be Transmitted to you with a Return of the men in the Several Departments: I also Inclose you a

Return of the Stores in Each Fort with what is wanting to make a proper Defence That you may know the State of your Forts. I Shall Leave the artillery officers & men here with the Company of Riffle men till my Return which will be as Sudden as possible

P S I also Inclose the Barrack masters Return

[Enclosure is the letter from Gen. Gates dated Oct. 30, 1775.]

---

[*Gen. Washington to Gen. Sullivan, Nov. 5, 1775. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Cambridge Nov<sup>r</sup> 5<sup>th</sup> 1775

*Sir.* At a time when some of our Sea port Towns are cruelly and Wantonly laid in Ashes; and Ruin & Devastation denounced against others — When the Arms are demanded of the Inhabitants, and Hostages required (in effect) to surrender their Liberties — When General Howe by Proclamation, under the threat of Military Execution, has forbid the Inhabitants of Boston to leave the Town without his permission, first had and obtaind in writing — when by another proclamation he strictly forbids any person's bringing out of that place more than Five pounds Sterl<sup>g</sup> of their property in Specie, because truely the Ministerial Army under his Command may be injured by it — and when by a third Proclamation (after leaving the Inhabitants no alternative) he calls upon them to take Arms under Officers of his appointing, 'tis evident, that the most Tyrannical, & cruel system is adopted for the destruction of the rights and liberties of this Continent, that ever disgraced the most despotick Ministry; and ought to be opposed by every means in our power

I therefore desire, that you will delay no time in causing the Seizure of every Officer of Government at Portsmouth who have given pregnant proofs of their unfriendly disposition to the cause we are Ingaged In; and when you have secured them, take the opinion of the Provincial Congress, or Committee of safety in what manner to dispose of them in that Government — I do not mean that they should be kept in close confinement<sup>t</sup> — If either of those bodies should incline to send them to any of the Interior Towns upon their Parole not to leave them till released, it will meet with my concurrence

For the present, I shall avoid giving you the like order in respect to the Tories in Portsmouth; but the day is not far of when they will meet with this, or a worse fate if there is not a considerable reformation in their conduct — of this they may be assured —

---

[*Dr. Edward Durant to Gen. Sullivan, Nov. 5, 1775. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Massachusetts Historical Society.]

Washington Hospital Nov<sup>r</sup> 5<sup>th</sup> 1775

Sir/ According to your Desire I send you the Certificate relating to my Connection with the 19<sup>th</sup> Regiment; I have certified my Resignation to have been made on the 19<sup>th</sup> of August, and never once thought of drawing Pay for any longer Time; you will therefore suppose that I was much surprized at the suggestion, of an Intention of Fraud contained in the Letter which I received from your Honor; It gave me not a little Pain, that I should be suspected of the most distant View of defrauding any Person whatever; I trust I am actuated by higher Principles, than those of Sordid Avarice &

Self Interest; I only intreat that I may receive my Just Due, and this, Justice to myself and Family, constrain me to; When your Honor has more particularly informed yourself concerning the Matter, I am confident you will acquit me of any dishonest Intentions, and believe that those have done me the greatest Injustice, who have intimated any thing of this kind to you. I doubt not you will find Occasion to stigmatize those (if any such there be; who have Misinformed your Honor) with the opprobrious Epithet which they would fix upon me; The Absurdity of the supposition, that I should entertain a Thought of receiving Pay, in two different Capacities, as a Regimental Surgeon, and as a Mate at the Hospital, will upon mature Consideration, be sufficient to convince you of the unreasonableness of their Allegation; Pray make strict Inquisition into the Matter, and the farther Information you obtain, the more thoroughly will you be able to ascertain my Innocence — I have for some time been about to solicit a Discharge for my Son from the Army, but have not hitherto had an opportunity, and should be much Obligated by your Indulgence in this Matter — I will wait upon your Honor for it, as soon as is convenient. I wished to have conversed with you to Day more freely upon the Subject of your Letter, but as you was engaged, had not opportunity, and therefore to do Justice to my Character, I have taken the freedom to write to you upon it.

[*Gen. Washington's Orders to Gen. Sullivan, Nov. 7, 1775. Document Signed.*]

[Washington Papers, Library of Congress.]

*Orders for Brigadier General Sullivan Given at Head Quarters November 7<sup>th</sup> 1775*

You are to proceed Immediately to Portsmouth in New Hampshire and Compleat the works already began to Secure that and the other Towns at the Entrance of Piscataway River from any attacks by Ships of War — for this purpose you are to fix Ships and fire Rafts in such places as you find most Convenient to prevent the Enemy from passing up the River. As great Calamities and Distresses are brought upon our Seaport Towns through the Malicious endeavours and false representations of many persons holding Commissions under the Crown, who are not Content with bringing destruction upon some of our principal Towns are yet using every art that Malice can devise to Reduce others to the same unhappy State in hopes by such diabolical and Cruel conduct to please an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Ministry and to receive from them in return a Continuance of such places and pensions as they now hold at the Expence of the Blood and Treasure of this distress'd Continent, You are therefore, Immediately upon your arrival in that province to Sieze such persons as hold Commissions under the Crown and are acting as open and avow'd Enemies to their Country and hold them as hostages for the Security of those Towns which our Ministerial Enemies threaten to Invade. In case any attack should be made upon Portsmouth or other Seaports in that Quarter you are Immediately to collect such force as can be raised to repel the Invasion and at all Hazards prevent the Enemy from Landing and taking possession of any ports in that Quarter — When

you have Completed the works at Portsmouth and Secured the passage of the River there You are to Return without delay to the Army — unless you find the Enemy are about to make an Immediate attack upon that or the Neighbouring Towns. — the above is rather to be considered as matters of advice than orders; as I do not conceive myself authorizd to Involve the Continent in any Expence for the defence of Portsmouth, or other place out of the Line of the great American defence; particular Colonies being called upon by the Congress to prepare for their own Internal security —

Given under my hand the day & year above

G<sup>o</sup> Washington

---

[*Gen. Horatio Gates to Gen. Sullivan, Nov. 9, 1775. Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Head Q<sup>rs</sup> 9<sup>th</sup> November 1775

*Sir* I send you by His Excellencys Orders a Number of Recommendations of Gentleman who have served with Credit, & reputation, during the Course of this Campaign several of whom have also much merit from their Former Services. you will please to have their several Claims consider'd, & direct them to [be] rewarded in the properest and most convenient manner

You will remember M<sup>r</sup> Ogden & M<sup>r</sup> Burr Volunteers

[Addressed] To Brigadier General Sullivan Winter-Hill

[*Gen. Sullivan to Gen. Washington, Nov. 29, 1775. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Washington Papers, Library of Congress.]

Winter Hill Novem<sup>r</sup> 29<sup>th</sup> 1775

*May it please your Excellency*

The bearer hereof (Ensign Zebulon Drew) of Cap<sup>t</sup> Adams Company in Col<sup>o</sup> Poors Regiment has been for a Long Time Troubled with a painful Disorder which not only prevents him from Doing Duty at present but renders it impossible for him to do any further Service during this Campaign & very Improbable whether he will Ever be able to Serve in the field in future. I therefore beg Leave to Recommend him to your Excellency for a Discharge from the Army:

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to the New Hampshire Committee of Safety, Nov. 30, 1775. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[New Hampshire Archives, Revolution, vol. 2, p. 235.]

W: Hill Novem<sup>r</sup> 30<sup>th</sup> 1775

*Gentlemen* Since I Saw you Last I find that George Jaffrey Esq<sup>r</sup> has assisted much in fixing the works to Defend our Harbour—That being the Case I am Clearly of opinion that he ought not in Justice to be Deemed an Enemy to his Country or treated as such. I therefore Consent that he remain at his own House in Portsmouth if agreeable to you.

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to the New Hampshire Committee of Safety, Nov. 30, 1775. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[New Hampshire Archives, Revolution, vol. 2, p. 223.]

Winter Hill Nov<sup>r</sup> 30<sup>th</sup> 1775

*Gentlemen* — I have by Command of his Excellency General Washington to Inform you That the Connecti-

cut forces (Deaf to the Entreaties of their own as well as all other officers & Regardless of the Contempt with which their own Government Threatens to Treat them upon their Return) have absolutely Refused to Tarry till the first Day of January but will Quit the Lines on the 6th of Decem<sup>r</sup>. They have Deceived us & their officers by pretending there would be no Difficulty with them till they have got So near the Close of their term & now to their Eternal Infamy Demand a Bounty to Induce them to Tarry only the three weeks. This is Such an Insult to Every American that we are Determined to Release them at the Expiration of their Term at all hazards & find ourselves obliged Immediately to Supply their place with Troops from New Hampshire & Massachusetts Bay — The Number Required from you is thirty one Companies of Sixty four men in a Company Including a Captain two Subalterns three Sergeants & three Corporals which makes 55 privates Each. The whole number officers & men amounts to 1984. The Terms of their Enlistment are as follows Each Company to march as Soon as full — they are to be provided with Arms ammunition & Each a good Blanket

To prevent any Difficulty in passing muster here if they are mustered by Such person or persons as you may appoint there will be no necessity of their being mustered here nor is it to be Done —

Their pay is to Commence on the Day they march & from that time they are to receive the price of their Rations in Cash — they are therefore to take provisions to Last them on the Road — in Case any or the whole of them could not do this if the province or the Several Towns will supply them the Accounts together with what you may be at in Raising them will be Instantly paid —

They are to Serve to the 15 of Jan<sup>y</sup> next if Required —

Their pay to be as other Continental Troops no field officers to be Sent: The Captains & Subalterns to be appointed & Commissioned by you for the Continental Service & the Soldiers to Engage in the Continental Service under the Command of General Washington for the term afores<sup>d</sup> if Required. None to be admitted unless on the Spot by the 10th of Decem<sup>r</sup> & will be Joyfully received as much Sooner as possible — they will also be paid for their Return home —

The above are the terms & I Earnestly Intreat you for the Honour of New Hampshire to Show the world your attachment to the noble Cause. Let the worthless Sons of Connecticut know That the other Colonies will not Suffer our Lines to be given up or our Country destroyed nor the Sons of New Hampshire (Like those parsimonious wretches want to be Bribed into the preservation of their Liberties). I hope the Eager speed with which the New Hampshire forces will march to take possession of and Defend our Lines will Evince to the world their Love of Liberty & Regard to their Country — as you find the Business Requires Such Infinite haste I must Intreat you not to give Sleep to your Eyes or Slumber to your Eyelids till the troops are on their march — I have Sent M<sup>r</sup> Sherburne who will wait your Commands & forward such orders as you may think proper to give — in Case ammunition cannot be had for all we must Contrive to Supply those who are Destitute here —

We hereby Enlist ourselves as Soldiers to Serve in the Continental Army under the Command of his Excellency General Washington untill the 15<sup>th</sup> Day of January next unless Sooner Discharged with Capt A being the Captain appointed over us — we promise Obedience to all our Superiour officers & to be Subject to the Rules

& Regulations of the Continental Army untill the time above mentioned & to be paid at the rate of forty shillings per month from the time of our march to the time of our Return

I Recommend the foregoing as the form of Enlistment with Such alterations & amendments as you may think proper —

all the troops you Send are to be under my Immediate Command & Joined to my Brigade —

I mentioned to the General the Encouragement you gave upon the Questions I proposed to you by his order & Informed him that you offered to Send those men already raised in Case they were needed — which gave him great pleasure — and as there is no preperations making to attack you & the Season is So far advanced I can See no Difficulty in Dismissing them — I should have been much Rejoiced to have had Col<sup>o</sup> Wingate Burnum & Hacket at their head as Field officers — but the Committee from Mass<sup>a</sup> General Court & the Councill of General officers have Determined the Contrary — it would however give me the greatest pleasure to See those Gentlemen preferring the Interest of their Country to the title or Rank of office & Each of them to Lead a Company on to the Lines — this would So much add to the Exalted opinion I already have of them that I should during their Stay here treat & Respect them as officers of the highest Rank —

I Recommend that all the arms in the Store at Portsmouth be Delivered out & if Captain Turner Inclines to Come that his Company be augmented to the number proposed & they be furnish<sup>d</sup> with them

As this is merely a Continental matter you need not wait for a full Committee — the voice of two or three will be sufficient though the assistance of the whole may possibly be necessary. I promise in behalf of Gen<sup>l</sup>

Washington that the Act of any number will be Deemed valid & the officers & Soldiers received & paid accordingly

N B the Soldiers are to be paid off the moment they are Discharged before they Quit the Ground —

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to the New Hampshire Committee of Safety, Nov. 30, 1775. Letter Signed.*]

[New Hampshire Archives, Revolution, vol. 2, p. 233.]

Winter Hill Nov<sup>r</sup> 30<sup>th</sup> 1775

*Dear Sirs* General Washington has sent to New Hamps<sup>re</sup> for 31 Companies to take Possession of and Defend our lines in Room of the Connecticut Forces, who most Scandalously refuse to Tarry to the first of January. I must therefore intreat your utmost exertions to forward the Raising those Companies, Lest the Enemy should take the Advantage of their Absence and force our Lines — As the Connecticut Forces will at all Events leave us at or Before the Tenth of next month, Pray call upon every True friend to his Country, to assist with Heart and Hand in Raising and sending forward those Companies As soon as Possible —

Gen<sup>t</sup> I am in Extreme Haste Your most obedient Servant —

---

[*Officers Recommended by Gen. Sullivan, Nov., 1775. Autograph Document Signed.*]

[New Hampshire Archives, Revolution, vol. 2, p. 231.]

Captains

all those at Portsmouth being Eight in number To march Immediately — Those Companies may be Divided into two & then Some persons added So as to

make the number in which Case I Recommend Cap<sup>t</sup> Yeaton to Command a Company —

I Recommend as Captains the following persons viz

Cap<sup>t</sup> James Hill of New Market —

Cap<sup>t</sup> Cutting Celley of Nottingham —

Cap<sup>t</sup> David Place of Rochester —

Cap<sup>t</sup> Alpheus Chesley of Durham —

Cap<sup>t</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> Waldron of Dover —

Lieu<sup>t</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> Ward Gilman of Exeter

Cap<sup>t</sup> Mark Wiggin of Stratham

Lieut Jn<sup>o</sup> Hill of Barrington

Cap<sup>t</sup> James Sheperd of Canterbury

Cap<sup>t</sup> George Turner & Captain George Jerry Osborne both of Portsmouth

In the upper part of the Province & at Chester & Londonderry I am not Acquainted. You will think of proper persons & if those named are not agreeable you will please to appoint others —

in Case there is a want of officers & men & as you are not Confined to Province you may if you think best Send to Captain Thomas Hodsdon of Berwick who had a Company at Portsm<sup>o</sup> when I was there first he will Soon Raise and bring on a Company. There is also one Cap<sup>t</sup> Jon<sup>a</sup> Hambleton would Soon Raise and march another.

P S I would [not] be understood to Confine it to all or Even any of the above persons if you think best to appoint others

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to the New Hampshire Committee of Safety, Dec. 2, 1775. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[New Hampshire Archives, Revolution, vol. 2, p. 241.]

Winter Hill Decem<sup>r</sup> 2<sup>d</sup> 1775

*Gentlemen* I Take this oportunity to Inform you That The Connecticut Forces not only Determine To Quit

our Lines at the Expiration of their Term but to their Eternal Infamy Endeavoured to Leave us yesterday which was five Days before their time Expired — we Can therefore have no hope of their Tarrying after the 6th — half General Putnams Reg<sup>t</sup> is now under Guard — the people who have Escaped from Boston Inform us that the Enemy are fully Acquainted with our Situation & will probably take advantage of it — For Heavens Sake Dispatch your Forces as Soon as Possible —

P:S Captain Odiorne the Bearer hereof Says he thinks he can Raise a number of men to march Immediately — if So Should recommend him but this is more properly your Province

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to the New Hampshire Committee of Safety, Dec. 3, 1775. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[New Hampshire Archives, Revolution, vol. 2, p. 255.]

Winter Hill Decem<sup>r</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> 1775

*Much Respected Gentlemen* Notwithstanding Every method has been taken to keep the Connecticut Forces on The Ground till Relief could be had from the Country The Cowardly Traitors begin to Leave us in Companies & Regiments & That Even Six or 7 Days before their Time is Expired — what has possessed these vile Poltroons Remains yet a Secret — we have Sent Hand Bills Similar to the one Enclosed before them on the Road & I trust they will have the Designed Effect — a Gentleman from Boston was here Last Ev<sup>g</sup> Says the Enemy are by some means or other fully acquainted with our Situation & he fears much they will Take advantage of it — I Entreat you Gentlemen to Spare no pains in forwarding the march of your Troops as much may Depend on their speedy arrival.

[*William Whipple to Gen. Sullivan, Dec. 5, 1775. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

In Committee of Safety Dec<sup>r</sup> 5<sup>th</sup> 1775

S<sup>r</sup> Upon M<sup>r</sup> Sherburne's arrival on friday evening Expresses went which brot the Committee together on Saturday in the forenoon they immediately proceeded with the utmost Diligence to raise the Companies requested — Sent off Expresses to the County of Hillsborough to Concord &c as well as to the Neighbouring Towns with a considerable Number of enlisting Orders & Letters to Gentlemen of the greatest Influence requesting their Vigorous Exertions in the Affair, but have no returns from the Distant Parts — We have had many obstacles to encounter which we did not expect & have spent most of the Time Day & Night since we met in endeavouring to surmount them. None of the Troops here would enlist before they were paid for their Time here until the last Establishment — No pay Rolls were made out before — We have had near twenty to examine & pay, and a great Part to draw over & calculate, which took up a great deal of our Time — Many demanded pay for the Time since the last Enlistment which we were obliged to comply with — Another great Difficulty was that but three, out of four Commissioned Officers could be admitted into the Companies proposed & Many clamoured highly because no Field Officers were to go — alledging they should be commanded by Field Officers from other Colonies, which they would not submit to — Several Accounts were current, of Naval Preparations making at Boston supposed for this Port, which caused many to think we should be left naked if our Troops were sent hence; & encouraged the Officers & Soldiers to expect to be continued here if they did not enlist.

However, after Struggling with all these & many more Difficulties we have so far prevailed as to get several Companies filled up Cap<sup>ts</sup> Bakers Copps Elkins Clark & Webster from the Troops here we expect will be on their March to Day & tomorrow — Cap<sup>t</sup> Mark Wiggin of Stratham we hear has raised a Company & is ready to March — Several more Companies are forward Cap<sup>t</sup> Denbo of Lee listed near 30 Men here & went home to recruit on Sunday — we think there is a good prospect of near half the Companies you asked for being seasonably in, from this Part of the Colony — we hope the people on the western part of the Government will exert themselves — a few more than thirty One Orders have been given out as we thot Some would fail — Strict orders have been given every one to be at the Camp by the 10<sup>th</sup> Inst<sup>t</sup> — however it is probable as the time was so short some will be later — if they should in that Case be sent back it will hurt the Cause greatly We Shall continue our most Strenuous Efforts to forward the Men — Col<sup>o</sup> Burnam has to his great honour Exerted himself greatly in this Matter his Influence has increased the enlistment very much he is now going forward to hasten & Muster the Companies & accompany them to the Camp — We recommend him to Y<sup>r</sup> Notice as a Person very deserving especially for his extra<sup>y</sup> Zeal in this Maneuvre

In behalf of the Committee I am Y<sup>r</sup> Ob<sup>t</sup> H Serv<sup>t</sup>  
W<sup>m</sup> Whipple

---

[*James Sullivan to Gen. Sullivan, Dec. 6, 1775. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Watertown December 6th 1775

*Dear Sir* I this Evening Received Your important Letter by Maj<sup>r</sup> Scammell have Just returned from a

Conference with Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington on the subject matter of it — as to our paying our Troops to the first of August by Lunar months it was our engagement with them to do it when we inlisted them and we can by no means go from it but I believe we shall be content to make it a Provincial Charge rather than have uneasiness with the other Colonies —

I am uneasy at the Backwardness of our men to Engage in the Ensuing Campaign, and there will be nothing left undone that our Court has in its power to do in order to facilitate the raising a new army — I have been this Evening drawing a plan to lay before our Court in the morning it is yet incorrect but you have here a Copy of it —

“The prevailing uneasiness in the army seems to arise more from a disposition in the soldiers to rule, & their opinion of their own importance than any unjustness in their pay or Treatment — this if long subsisting will daily obtain in their minds and have the most probable tendency to break up the Army and therefore should be rooted out as soon as possible — but as some of the Persons who now Command as Subalterns were lately Neighbors to and on a Level with the privates they command — and as the Soldiery in this Country are by no means all dependant on the Army for a Living this must be done with the greatest Delicacy —

The paying our Soldiers by Lunar months or giving them a bounty will so much Enhance the Expence of War that the Southern Colonies who bear a great part of the Expence and share none of the profits of the Campaign may prove discontented and destroy that Union which now So happily Subsists — if this Colony should pay the Extraordinary Expence of Lunar months out of its own Treasury or should bid a bounty at its own

Expence the Troops of the other New England Colonies would as they are in the same service Expect the same advantage and leave the service unless they have it

if all the New England Governments should bid a bounty or pay the Extraordinary Charge of Lunar months out of their own Treasuries the soldiery by gaining this demand would soon make another and have from this condescension of Government such Evidence of their own importance as would induce them to suppose that all their demands must be immediately complied with —

if therefore some measure can be hit upon to convince the soldiers now in the Camp that an army can be raised without them they will readily enlist for the Ensuing Campaign —

The Colony of the Massachusetts Bay is to raise Sixteen Regiments — as the having so many of the Inhabitants of the Colony in good Wages in the present state of our affairs is a great priviledge it should be held up so to the people as an Inducement to them to Engage — it might be Expedient therefore for the General Court to apportion accord'g to the Tax Bill of the present Year the Number of privates each Town is intitled to have in pay in the Army — which each Town should be ordered to furnish at the Lines upon or before the first Day of January next enlisted accord'g to the Continental Establishment of the Army preference being given by each Town to such of their Inhabitants as have been in the Camp this year provided they are enlisted upon the Twentieth Day of December Instant."

if any part or all of this plan is wrong you will give me your opinion thereon as soon as may be that it may be altered —

[*Gen. Washington to Gen. Sullivan, Dec. 8, 1775. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Cambridge 8<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 1775.

*Sir*, The Intention of yesterday's order, respecting the Review of the Connecticut Troops, is only to afford a good opportunity of making choice of such of their arms as shall be found fit for the use of the New Army

I am not without my fear that if they are appriz'd of the Intention, some of the best arms will be Secreted; for this reason I desire you will say nothing of the matter till the Regiment (in your Brigade) is paraded, and then, in Company with the Field Officers of it, make choice of all the arms that are good, taking the names of the Proprietors of them that they may be lodged, valued, and paid for agreeable to the Several Order of the 23<sup>d</sup> ult<sup>o</sup>.

[Addressed] To Brigadier Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan Winter-Hill

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to the New Hampshire Committee of Safety, Dec. 8, 1775. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[New Hampshire Archives, Revolution, vol. 2, p. 271.]

Winter Hill Decem<sup>r</sup> 8<sup>th</sup> 1775

*Much Respected Gentlemen* Your favour Signed by Col<sup>o</sup> Whipple is now before me but previous to the Receipt Thereof Common fame with his usual Readiness had proclaimed your vigorous Exertions & The noble Spirit of your people. General Washington & all the other officers are Extremely pleased & bestow the highest Encomiums on you & your Troops freely acknowledging that New Hampshire forces for Bravery & Resolution far Surpasses the other Colonies & that

no Province discovers So much zeal in the Common Cause. Though I wish y<sup>r</sup> Troops may all arrive before the 10<sup>th</sup> Instant yet none will be refused on Account of their being a few Days Later. I applaud Col<sup>o</sup> Burnums zeal & shall show him Every Mark of Esteem in my favour

---

[*John G. Frazer to Gen. Sullivan, Dec. 11, 1775. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Revolution Collection, Library of Congress.]

Medford, Dec<sup>r</sup> 11<sup>th</sup> 1775

*Sir* The Captain that I put in Hams House has given himself some unnessary airs he will stay where he pleases & do what he pleases, my orders are by Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington to send Eight companys to Cambridge to go in the Barracks that Gen<sup>l</sup> Putnams Connecticut Men leave, which I shall obey (and direct that number their) if they will not follow my directions, I cannot help it and shall not make any other provision for them — I want Hams House, and the Butchers to take in any company that may be, be nighted at Mistick —

P S. I want your Waggon to remove the armorys from Mistick to the Hill to Day.

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to Meshech Weare, Dec. 12, 1775. Letter Signed.*]

[New Hampshire Miscellaneous Papers, vol. 3, Library of Congress.]

Winter Hill December 12<sup>th</sup> 1775

*Dear Sr* Tho' continually involved in those Difficulties which necessarily attend a Military Life, I can by no Means forget the Duty I owe to that Province,

whose generous Favours I have so largely shared, and whose Marks of Esteem I have so often experienced. — Being deeply impressed with Gratitude to that truly patriotic Colony, and fully sensible that the remaining Part of my Life, ought to be devoted to the Interest of my Country in General, & to that Province in particular; I have stolen a few Moments from the busy Scene of War, to offer you my Thoughts upon a Matter which I deem essential to the future Welfare of my truly spirited, & deserving Brethren within that government.

I hear that the continental Congress has given our Province a Power to assume Government; but the Contents of their Letter to the provincial Congress having never transpired, & my Friends of the continental Congress, having never informed me but in general Terms, that we had Liberty to assume government; I must conclude that Liberty is given to set up, and establish a new Form of government. For as we were properly a Kings Government before, the giving us a Power to assume Government, would be giving us a Licence to assume a Form of Government which we could never obtain. — Taking it therefore for granted that the Congress has given us Liberty to set up that Form of Government which will best answer the true End & Design of Government; I shall beg leave to offer you my Thoughts upon the subject, leaving you to make such use of them as your wisdom shall direct. — And as my Ideas of Government may in some Measure differ from many others, I shall beg leave to premise some few Particulars agreeable to my Sentiments upon this Matter —

And in the first Place would observe, that all Government is, or ought to be instituted for the Good of the People, and that Form of Government is most perfect where that Design is most nearly and effectually an-

swered. 2<sup>ly</sup> That Government which admits of contrary, or clashing Interests, is imperfect, and must work its own Ruin. — When ever one Branch has gained a Power sufficient to over-rule or destroy the other; and the adding a third, with a Seperate & distinct Interest, in Immitation of the Brittish Constitution, so much celebrated, by those who understand nothing of it, is only like two contending Powers, calling in a third, (which is unconnected in Interest) to keep the other two in Awe, till it can gain Power sufficient to destroy them both. And I may almost venture to prophesy, that the Period is now at Hand, when the Brittish Nation will too late discover the Defects of their much boasted Constitution, and the Ruin of that Empire evince to the World the Folly and Danger of establishing a government consisting of different Branches, having Seperate and distinct Interests. — 3<sup>ly</sup> That no Danger can arise to a state from giving the People a free & full Voice in their own Government, and that what are called the Prerogatives of the Crown, or Checks upon the Licentiousness of the People, are only the Children of ambitious, or designing Men, no such Thing being Necessary. — For tho many States have been overturned, by the Rage and Violence of the People, yet that Spirit of Rage has ever been awakened in the first Place, by the Misconduct of their Rulers, and tho often carried to the most dangerous Heights, is so far from being owing to too much Power being lodged in the Hand of the People, that it is clearly owing to their having too small, & their Rulers too extensive a Power. —

Thus we find Rome enjoyed its Liberties, till their Dictators and others were cloathed with Powers unknown before (at least in that state) and made in some Sort independent of the People. And to this Authority,

so inconsiderately given, should be charged all the Tumults at Rome, and the final Ruin of that Empire. The incontrollable Power so much sought after by designing Men, made use of to enslave the People, & either bring about that Event or raises the just Indignation of the People, to exterpate the Tyrant thus seeking their Ruin. — And it sometimes happens that this Resentment is so far carried by the Fury of an enraged Populace, as totally to destroy the Remains of Government, and leave them in a State of Anarchy and Confusion; & too often have designing Persons taken Advantage of this Confusion, & establish Tyranny in its Place. — I am well convinced that People are too fond of their Ease and Quiet to rise up in Rebellion against government, unless where the Tyranny of their Rulers becomes intolerable, and their Fondness for government must clearly appear from their so often submitting to one Tyrant after they had exterpated another, rather than live in a State of Anarchy & Confusion. —

I would therefore advise to such a Form of Government as would admit of but one Object to be kept in View, both by the Governor, & Governed, namely the Good of the whole. — That one Interest should unite the several governing Branches, & that the frequent Choice of the Rulers, by the People, should operate as a Check upon their Conduct, & remind them that a new Election would soon Honor them for their good Conduct, or Disgrace them for betraying the Trust reposed in them. — I by no Means object to a Governor, but would have him freely appointed by the People, & dependent upon them, & his Appointment not to continue for a long Time, unless reelected; at most not exceeding three years; & this Appointment to be made by the Freeholders in Person, not by their Representa-

tives, as that would be putting too dangerous a Power into their Hands, & possibly a Majority of designing Men, might elect a Person to answer their own particular Purposes, to the great Emolument of those Individuals, & opposition of their fellow Subjects; whereas we can never suppose the People to have any Thing but the true End of Government (viz their own Good) in View, unless we suppose them Idiots, or self-Murderors. — I am likewise much in Favor of a Counsel & House of Representatives, but would have them likewise chosen by the People, & by no Means for a longer Time than three Years. — And this Mode of choosing, would effectually destroy that pernicious Power of Governors, negating Counsellors, invented only to empower designing Governors to throw aside those Persons, who they found would not join them in enslaving the People. — The late Conduct of Bernard and Hutchinson and the present unhappy state of the Province I am now in, are striking Witnesses of the Justice of this Observation, nor can I see the least Reason for a Governors having Power to negative a Speaker of the House. — I would have some Rule established, for deeming that Person incapable of holding either of the above Offices, that should either before or after his Election, bribe or treat the Voters, with intent either to procure an Election, or Reward the Electors for having chosen him. — The Accusation if against the Governor, to be tryed by both Houses, & if against either of the Members, by the Governor & the other Members of both Houses, he having only a Vote equal to any other Member, and in Case Judgement should pass against the new elected Governor, the old one to remain till a new Election can be had. — And in Case he should be the same Person formerly elected, the President of the Counsel to supply his Place, till a new Election can be made, which Presi-

dent should be appointed by free Vote of the Members of Counsel at their first Meeting. —

The infamous Practice of bribing People in great Britain to sell their Votes, & consequently their Liberties must show the Danger of permitting so pernicious a Practice to be introduced into our Constitution, to prevent which, & to guard against the undue Influence of Persons in Power over Voters.—I would recommend the Pensylvanian Method (viz) that every vote should be rolled up, sealed, & on the Back thereof be noted, that it is a vote for a Governor, which should be deposited in a Box prepared for the Purpose, and a vote for Counsellors, & Representatives sealed up, noted on the Back, brought in as aforesaid, & deposited in separate Boxes, provided for that Purpose. — That all Voters having once given their Votes should pass out, & Care be taken that they should not come in again till the voting is over. — Or if thought more expedient to let the Clark of the Meeting have a perfect List of all Voters, with three Columns, ruled against the Names, one marked for a Governor, one for Counsellors, & one for Representatives. — And when a Person brings in a Vote for one, a Mark to be made against his Name in that Column. — And if he brings in for all three at the same Time, a Mark to be made in each Column, which I think would effectually prevent any Fraud in Voting. — The Representatives Box to be examined in Meeting, & the Election declar'd, those votes given for a Governor, & the Counsel to be sealed up by the Clark, & forwarded by him, to the Capital of the Province, where all the votes being had together, a sworn Committee should examine the whole, & declare the Election. This Method, tho' it may appear somewhat troublesome, will not turn out so on Tryal, & is the most effectual Method to secure the Freedom of Voting, & prevent

every species of Fraud and Connivance. — Any Persons who offer themselves as Candidates for any Births, may agreeable to the Method practiced in Pensylvania, publish their Design in the News Papers, or communicate it in any other Method they may think proper; or leave the People, to find out Persons of Merit and nominate for themselves. — All civil Officers should be appointed by the three Branches, and all Military Officers by the Governor and Counsel, & never superceded in Commission, but by the same Power which created them. — All Laws negatived by the Governor if revived afterwards & passed by a new House and Counsel to be assented to by him, at all Events, as it would be unreasonable to suppose two Houses of Representatives, & two sets of Counsellors possessed of less wisdom, or to be less Understanding of the true Interest of y<sup>e</sup> People, than a single Person, & that after having a long Time to consider upon the Matter, & consult their Constituents thereon.

And here I must beg leave to observe, that however high other Peoples Notions of Government may run, & however much they may be dispos'd to worship a Creature of their own Creation, I can by no Means consent to lodge too much Power in the Hands of one Person, or suffering an Interest in Government to exist seperate from that of the People, or any Man to hold an Office for the Execution of which he is not in some way or other answerable to those People, to whom he owes his political Existence. — Time will not permit me to go more largely into the Subject, but must leave you to weigh those [illegible] & make such Improvements thereon as your wisdom shall direct. — And tho' my Notions of Government are something Singular, yet I think this Plan will be an Improvement upon the Connecticut Constitution (by far the happiest I

know) where I have suppos'd Defect in that Constitution, I have taken the Freedom to borrow from that of Pennsylvania, & other chartered Governments to supply it, & in some Instances, have added my own Thoughts, which if they have Force of Reason in them, they will have their Weight, if they should not appear to be founded in Reason, I must beg you to excuse my giving you this Trouble, as I sincerely aim to promote the welfare of that Colony, to which I wish the most lasting Happiness.

P S Though I have mentioned three years I am much in favor of Annual Elections

---

[*Gen. Horatio Gates to Gen. Sullivan, Dec. 12, 1775. Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Head Q<sup>rs</sup> 12<sup>th</sup> December 1775

*Sir* I have received His Excellencys Orders in Answer to your Letter by The Bearer; You have his permission to deliver the Connecticut Arms, to such of the Militia as are in want of Arms, taking proper receipts, & making proper persons Accountable for the redelivery; —

[Addressed] To Brig<sup>r</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan at Winter hill

---

[*Major Robert Rogers to Gen. Sullivan, Dec. 17, 1775. Unsigned.*]

[Sullivan Papers, Coe Collection, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Major Rogers presents his respectful Compliments to Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan, & is very thankful for his politeness to

him since his arrival at Medford — & as he is very anxious to finish the settlement of his own private affairs with the greatest Expedition — dont doubt but that Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan will take the earliest Opportunity this Morning of acquainting his Excellency General Washington of the impossibility of there being any truth in the Report of the two Men to M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock — Reports of that nature he is confident will be look'd on as wicked and designing for it cannot be supposed that Major Rogers could derogate one tittle from his Parole of honour given at Philadelphia.

Major Rogers prays for his Excell<sup>ys</sup> permit to proceed on his private Business without delay, & wishes to wait on Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan to thank him personally before he goes, and will be oblig'd to him for an Answer to this Card —  
Medford Sunday Morn' 17 Dec<sup>r</sup> 1775

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to Gen. Washington, Dec. 17, 1775.*]

[American Archives, 4th Series, vol. 4, p. 300.]

Camp on Winter-Hill, December 17, 1775.

*Much respected General:* Agreeably to your order have again waited on Major Rogers, and strictly examined him. Have seen his several permits, and think them genuine, and in every respect agreeably to the copy sent you. He says he left New York about the 10th of October, being ill with the fever and ague, was ten days in getting to Albany; that there, and at the place called Stone Rabba, he tarried ten days more; he then passed through Hoosuck, Standford, Draper, and Hinsdale in his way to his brother who lives in Kent; he was three days in performing this route, and tarried with his brother five or six days more; he was then three days in going to Westminster, and in his way passed through by

Dartmouth College, and saw Mr. Wheelock; from thence he went to his farm in Pennicook, where he tarried six or eight days; from thence he went to Newbury, and from thence to Portsmouth, and after tarrying there some few days laid his permit before the Committee of Safety. He owns every thing in Mr. Wheelock's letter, except that of his having been in Canada, which he warmly denies, and says he can prove the route he took, and prove himself to have been in the several towns at or near the days he has mentioned. I asked him why he came to the camps, as he had no business with any particular persons, and had no inclination to offer his services in the American cause, to which he replied that he had voluntarily waited upon the Committees of several Colonies, as he thought it a piece of respect due to them, and would probably prevent his being suspected and treated as a person unfriendly to us; that he likewise thought it his duty to wait on your Excellency, and acquaint you with the situation of his affairs, and if he could to obtain your license to travel unmolested.

These, sir, are the facts as handed to me by him. What may be his secret designs I am unable to say, and what steps are most proper to be taken respecting him your Excellency can best judge. I am far from thinking that he has been in Canada, but as he was once Governour of Michilimackinack it is possible he may have a commission to take that command, and stir up the Indians against us, and only waits for an opportunity to get there, for which reason I would advise, lest some blame might be laid upon your Excellency in future, not to give him any other permit, but let him avail himself of those he has, and should he prove a traitor let the blame center upon those who enlarged him. I beg pardon for intruding my opinion.

[*Gen. Sullivan to John Adams, Dec. 21, 1775.*]

[Amory's Life of Sullivan, p. 21.]

Camp on Winter Hill, Dec. 21, 1775.

*Dear Sir* — Did not the hurry of our affairs prevent, I should often write you respecting the state of our army; but it has been my fortune to be employed almost night and day. When I had Winter Hill nearly completed, I was ordered to Ploughed Hill, where for a long time I was almost day and night in fortifying. Twice have I been ordered to the Eastward, to fortify and defend Piscataway Harbour; but unfortunately was obliged to return without an opportunity of proving the works I had taken so much pains to construct. This being over, I was called upon to raise 2000 Troops from New Hampshire, and bring them on the lines in ten days; this I undertook, and was happy enough to perform; otherwise the desertion of the Connecticut Troops might have proved fatal to us: I might add that 3000 from your Colony arrived at the same time to supply the defect. This, with the other necessary business in my Department, has so far engaged my time and attention that I hope you will not require an apology for my not writing. I have now many things to write, but must content myself with mentioning a few of them at present, and leave the residue to another opportunity. I will in the first place inform you that we have possession of almost every advantageous post round Boston, from whence we might, with great ease, burn or destroy the town, was it not that we fail in a very trifling matter, namely, we have no powder to do it with. However, as we have a sufficiency for our small arms, we are not without hope to become masters of the town. Old Boreas and Jack Frost are now at work building a bridge over all the rivers and bays, which once com-

pleted, we take possession of the town, or perish in the attempt. I have the greatest reason to believe I shall be saved, for my faith is very strong. I have liberty to take possession of your house. Mrs. Adams was kind enough to honor me a visit the other day in company with a number of other ladies and the Rev. Mr. Smith. She gave me power to enter and take possession. There is nothing now wanting but your consent, which I shall wait for till the Bridge is completed; and, unless given before that time, shall make a forcible entry, and leave you to bring your action. I hope in less than three weeks to write you from Boston.

The prisoners taken in our privateer are sent to England for trial, and so is Col. Allen. This is poor encouragement for our people to engage in the service when the prisoners of the enemy are treated with so much humanity and respect, and the law of retaliation not put in force against them. I know you have published a declaration of that sort; but I never knew a man to feel the weight of chains and imprisonment by mere declarations on paper; and, believe me, till their barbarous use of our prisoners is retaliated, we shall be miserable. Let me ask if we have anything to hope from the mercy of His Majesty or his Ministers? Have we any encouragement from the people in Great Britain? Could they exert themselves more if we had shaken off the yoke and declared ourselves independent? Why, then, in God's name, is it not done? Whence arises this spirit of moderation — this want of decision? Do the members of your respectable body think that the enemy will throw their shot and shells with more force than at present? Do they think the fate of Charlestown or Falmouth might have been worse, or the King's Proclamation more severe, if we had openly declared war? Could they have treated our prisoners worse if

we were in open and avowed rebellion, than they now do?

Why, then, do we call ourselves freemen, and act the part of timid slaves? I don't apply this to you — I know you too well to suspect your firmness and resolution. But let me beg of you to use those talents I know you possess to destroy that spirit of moderation which has almost ruined, and, if not speedily rooted out, will prove the final overthrow of America. That spirit gave them possession of Boston, lost us all our arms and ammunition, and now causes our brothers which have fallen into their hands to be treated like rebels. But enough of this. I feel too sensibly to write more upon this subject. I beg you to make my most respectful compliments to Mr. Hancock and your brother delegates, also to Col. Lee and those worthy brethren who laboured with us in the vineyard, when I had the honor to be with you in the Senate. You may venture to assure them that when an opportunity presents, if I should not have courage enough to fight myself, I should do all in my power to encourage others.

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to the New Hampshire Committee of Safety, Dec. 24, 1775. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[New Hampshire Archives, Revolution, vol. 2, p. 307.]

Camp on Winter Hill Decem<sup>r</sup> 24<sup>th</sup> 1775

*Much Esteemed Gentlemen* I do myself The Honour of Transmitting you by Col<sup>o</sup> Burnum a Return of The Militia Sent by you from New Hampshire. The Troops are Exceeding good their Spirit much applauded and your vigorous Exertions in procuring & Sending them So Seasonably meets with a Just Reward namely The Thanks of the whole Army — Col<sup>o</sup> Burnum would have

Returned Some Time Since but one Company did not arrive till yesterday & he could not return till he had mustered them — he has been much Engaged in Taking Care of The Troops & has been of Singular Service to them & me. I wish you to make him up in your Bill & forward the Same for payment before the time of Enlistment is Expired.

---

[*Gen. Horatio Gates to Gen. Sullivan, Dec. 24, 1775. Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Head Quarters 24<sup>th</sup> December 1775.

*Sir* In Obedience to His Excellency The Generals directions, I am to desire you will acquaint him, if you do not think, from the Weather, the information of The Deserter you sent this morning to Cambridge, and all other circumstances, that this Night, will be likely to prove favourable to the enterprize you mention'd yesterday to The General. if that is your Opinion, it will be previously necessary for you to come, & communicate the whole of your Plan to The General, & receive His Orders thereupon; at Gun firing, it will be necessary to Acquaint The Generals Putnam, Heath, & Greene, with your intention, that no unnecessary Alarm may Create Confusion, but, that everything may be conducted in a Soldierlike manner to Succour, Sustain, & if necessary Cover The Retreat of your Party.

P. S. It is not necessary for you to come to Head Q<sup>rs</sup> unless you choose it; but be carefull to acquaint The Other Generals with your Intention. —

[Addressed] To Brigadier General Sullivan Winter-Hill

[*Gen. Horatio Gates to Gen. Sullivan, Dec. 29, 1775. Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Head Quarters Fryday Night Eight  
O'Clock 29<sup>th</sup> December 1775

*Sir* I am commanded by His Excellency General Washington to acquaint you, that he is just inform'd that you propose to execute the Project tonight, which by some mischance was delay'd last night; if no intelligence of your intention has already reach'd the Enemy, there is no doubt they were sufficiently inform'd by the Firing; by the Tracts this morning they discover'd in the Snow, & other circumstances, that they are acquainted with your Design. His Excellency therefore Orders me to say, you had better wait a more Favorable Opportunity when the Absence of the Moon, the light afforded by the Snow, and Weather more suitable to prevent discovery, correspond, to give Success to your undertaking;

[Addressed] To Brigadier Gen. Sullivan Winter Hill

[*John G. Frazer to Gen. Sullivan, Dec. 30, 1775. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[ Revolution Collection, Library of Congress. ]

Medford, Dec<sup>r</sup> 30<sup>th</sup> 1775.

*Sir* Cap<sup>t</sup> Yeaton, and Cap<sup>t</sup> Reynolds are in Houses very convenient to the Lotts of Wood I have bought upon Blanchards point near Mystick River

If they and their men cou'd be releived from all other Duty, wou'd be sufficient to cut the whole of the wood there in a fortnight.

[*Gen. Sullivan to the Assembly of New Hampshire. Letter Signed.*]

[New Hampshire Miscellaneous Papers, vol. 3, Library of Congress.]

*To the Honourable the General Assembly of the State of New Hampshire.*

May it please your Honors

On the 22<sup>d</sup> Instant Col<sup>o</sup> Cutt of Kittery presented me with an Account of Wages of Men & provisions purchased for them, when they were Call'd in by the Committee of Portsmouth to Secure and Defend the Harbour of Piscataway against the Threat'ned Invasion of Captain Mowatt and desired my Advice how the Money might be come at. I told him that I was totally Ignorant about the Proportion between the Two States respecting the Fortifying & Defending the Harbour; But that I would beg of You to hit upon some Method of Adjusting the matter, that the men might be paid, or at Least know Who to Call upon — I am fully sensible that New-Hampshire has done more than their share toward Fortifying the Harbour unless Massachusetts is to be Intirely Exempted. Yet as the most dangerous Consiquences must arise from Calling men into the Field and not paying them & as a more alarming Call may require men to attend at the same Places, I wish the Two Courts might settle some proportion and Adjust the Former Expence agreeable thereto — I have not the Least doubt but Congress will Allow either or both the States the whole Expence they were at, at such a Time when the Principal of self preservation Call'd for such a procedure — This has to the Southern Colonies been repeatedly allow'd and I can see no reason why their defence should be more attended to than that of the Northern States —

It would be unpardonable in me to Entertain Suspicions of any of the Members of the General Assembly of this State after their having shewn me that respect & paid me those Honors which must Forever demand my warmest Acknowledgments & best Services; Yet I hope to be Excused when in order to take off any suspicions that might Lay upon the minds of the members respecting those mens being calld in by me I assert that they Came in Consiquence of a letter or Letters from the Committee of Safety for Portsmouth before my arrival all I did was to Employ them in the best manner after they appear'd on the Ground. I can with truth affirm that I feel myself no otherwise Engaged in the matter than to Obtain some kind of settlement that may Adjust the present and Prevent future disputes —

---

[*Endorsed "Plan of Finance." No Date or Signature.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

An Association of the Virtuous and Patriotic Citizens of the 13 united states to raise a Revenue on a Permanent Basis to be Under the direction of Congress — and to be Employed in the most frugal manner for Carrying on the War — by enabling the States to draw forth their resources of Men, Provisions, cloathing and Usefull American Manufactures.

1 We do respectively agree to Subscribe as a loan to Congress on the faith of the United States and to be deposited in the treasury thereof all the Specie we are possessed of in Gold, Silver, & Copper and all the Gold or Silver Plate of whatsoever kind whether Household Buttons or Buckles watches Excepted And that we will not Use or Sufferd to be Used in our Houses or families any Utensil of Gold Silver or Copper, whose place can

be. Supplied with Iron or other Substitute in Metal Glass or Earthen Ware

2 We do agree that all the Gold Silver and Copper thus Subscribed, shall be immediately paid In to the treasurer or Such persons as are appointed by Congress in the Several States to receive them either in Specie or Bullion — and that the Coin of whatever specie shall be received at the Current Price — and the Bullion ad Valorem as the Same Shall be fixd by Congress in . . . . .  
 ₤ ounce and so in proportion — and that for every Hundred Dollars Subscribed & paid in a douceur of five dollars shall be allowed and so in proportion to the Original Subscriber — and the ninety five dollars so subscribed shall be deemed and taken as 100 to be entered to his credit — and to be by him or his agent transferable at the Bank of the United States — and that the Person so subscribing shall Annually or half yearly receive five per Cent, or  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ₤ Ct as his Interest or dividend of the Said loan to be paid him or his lawful attorney punctually on the day tis due without fee or discount in Gold Silver or Copper Coin, of equal value to the Said Sum of five Per Cent.

3 We will at all times and in all places do every thing in our power to Support the Credit of the Said fund and discountenance and disclose every attempt either of open or Secret Enemies to Injure or prejudice it or its interests or to depreciate the Value of the notes Issued on its Credit —

Terms for Embarking Such loans in Specie or Bullion Gold Silver or Copper as shall be Subscribed and Paid in to the Continental treasury

#### TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION

1 Each Subscriber shall receive a douceur of five Per cent or in that proportion for all Sums Subscribed

or 95 Dollars Subscribd and paid in shall intitle the Subscriber to hold Stock of 100 doll<sup>s</sup> which shall be transferable for that Sum — the Principal if required to be made good in seven years from the last payment of the Sum subscribed

2<sup>d</sup> The Subscribers who shall pay in the first twenty thousand dollars from the States of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Pensylvania & Virginia shall receive a Douceur additional of one p<sup>r</sup> C<sup>t</sup> — From Maryland, Jersey N Carolina for the first 10,000 N: Hampshire Rhode Island, N Yorke, Delaware, South Carolina, & Georgia

3 Each Subscriber shall pay his Subscription into the Hands of Such persons as shall be appointed by each state to receive the same within one month after his Subscription and in such case the Interest to Commence from the date of the Subscription and after . . . . day of . . . . . within three Weeks and after . . . . day of . . . . . within fourteen days in the first of which latter cases the Interest to Commence one week before the Subscription in the last fourteen days, that every Holder of Stock who shall pay down his Subscription shall have Credit for one fortnight in the Interest for so doing

4<sup>th</sup> That the Interest of Six  $\text{p}^r$  C<sup>t</sup> shall be allowed to the Holder of stock for every Hundred dollars which interest shall be paid at two half yearly dividends punctually if demanded — or other wise shall be carried to the C<sup>r</sup> of the Principal and a Bank Note given to the Holder in Lieu thereof which shall bear date the day tis Issued and may pass Current but not be redeemable untill the next half yearly day — & that one weekes grace shall be allowd the Bank in payments of dividends, and one week the lender to apply for his half yearly & two for his yearly dividend of Interest

5<sup>th</sup> That all Specie and Bullion coming into the treasury of the United states shall remain there and be Coind into Coins such as Congress shall direct to be valued & worth the 1<sup>st</sup> denomination 6 — the next 3/ the next 1/6 — the next 9<sup>d</sup> the next 4½ and the Copper into coins of 1<sup>d</sup> & ½ or sixty & 120<sup>th</sup> parts of a dollar — the Gold Coins into 1<sup>st</sup> denomination 2 doll<sup>s</sup> the 2<sup>d</sup> — to 3 dols — the 3<sup>d</sup> — 4 doll<sup>s</sup>

6<sup>th</sup> That when weighed and Enterd in the treasury books — Bank notes shall be struck correspondent to each denomination of Gold and Silver Coin — and of Copper Coin as low as one penny and no lower which shall be signed Numberd and Chequed at the Gen<sup>l</sup> Bank — And the Aggregate of the Bank Stock in Specie divided & sent to Boston Philadelphia Richmond & untill Chas Town is again repossess'd by us to N<sup>o</sup> Carolina together with the Cheques and notes the Notes of Georgia & South Carolina & N. C. made payable at the Southern Bank but negotiable at all — those of Virginia & Maryland at the Virginia Bank — those of Delaware Jersey Pensylvania & N York at the Pensylvania Bank — and those of Connecticut Rhode Island, Massachusets & N. Hampshire at the Boston Bank

7<sup>th</sup> That such notes may have as free a Currency as possible and not liable to any exceptions while in Circulation that all the Banks be impowerd to take up such as are presented that shall be worn, torn or otherwise Injured so that they may be certainly distinguishd not to be Counterfeits, and that the Holders of them shall be indemnified with new ones of the same denomination for such as can be proved to be lost by any accident where gold & Silver would not have be liable to be lost by the same in the Judgement of the directors of the Bank before whom the case shall be stated by the party claiming and their Judgment given in writing

8<sup>th</sup> That notes Issued for all sums under one Dollar shall be redeemable at the Bank in five years from the date of their Issue and all notes above that Sum for any Corresponding Sum in Specie shall be redeemable in Seven years after Such Issue in Gold Silver & Copper Coins.

9<sup>th</sup> That all Banks be allowed . . . . . ¢ cent for negotiating all Exchanges of notes from the Bank of one district to that of another, — and . . . . . ¢ Cent for draughts from one district to another for Specie

10<sup>th</sup> That one tenth Part of the Aggregate fund be kept always in specie of each Bank for the Purpose of drawing & redrawing and that one Bank never draw on another for Specie unless they receive Specie in Value of their draught — and to prevent danger from a Run for which said 10<sup>th</sup> no correspond<sup>g</sup> notes shall Issue

11 That one or more directors be chosen in each state and their names returnd to Congress, who shall be by Congress appointed to Superintend and direct the affairs of the Bank, to hold weekly monthly and Quarterly boards, to Inspect the Conduct of the Officers of the Bank to Settle all disputes, to adjust the Exchanges, to report the State of the Bank to Congress to point out the Channels of Negotiation to represent to Congress what are the properest funds for supporting and Continuing the Bank on a Permanent footing, and to choose out of their Number one to send to the Seat of Congress to hold Quarterly or half yearly General Boards

12 that all Notes of the Old Emission shall be redeemed at the Said Bank with Bank notes funded and redeemable as by this plan at 40 for one ad valorem and that the notes of the new Emission pass and be received at the Bank at the Value which Congress has affixd to them they being Issued on funds arising from taxes in Specie laid by the Several States

13 That All the Continental Quota of taxes be paid into the Bank as fast as tis Collected — notes Issued thereon of the same tenor of other Bank notes only for the purpose of Redeeming and destroying the notes of the new emission

---

[*Gen. Washington to Gen. Sullivan, Jan. 10, 1776. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Cambridge 10<sup>th</sup> Jan: 1776

*D<sup>r</sup> Sir*, In looking over the list of Officers in your Brigade, I find the whole compleated, except in one Instance, without paying the least regard to the order w<sup>ch</sup> directed, that no Person should be Inserted that was not in the first arrangement, otherwise than by recommendation —

I also find, in the Regimental Returns of our Strength, in your Brigade, several matters that need explanation — to wit — a number of Men on Command — and in Col<sup>o</sup> Poors last return the whole number of his Regiment consists but of 277 Men whereas by the different weekly returns which he has given there appears to have been Inlisted 511 Men. — In like manner, by the different weekly Returns our whole Number of Recruits ought to am<sup>t</sup> to about 10,500 Men, whereas by the Regimental Returns of Saturday (which were only compleated last night) they stand at 8212, and but 5582 of these returnd present, fit for duty — These things are so alarming, & stand so much in need of explanation that I must desire you to take a Ride to head Quarters & see if they can be accounted for — Major Scammel & Col<sup>o</sup> Poor may be necessary also in the illucidation of some of these points

If you were to come to Dinner, I should be glad of your Company.

[Addressed] To Brigad<sup>r</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan Winter Hill

---

[*G. Baylor to Gen. Sullivan, Jan. 15, 1776. Autograph Note Signed.*]

[Revolutionary Collection, Library of Congress.]

Mr Baylors Compliments to General Sullivan, and am sorry, to have put him to so much trouble, had General Sullivan been as particular in his first Billet, Mr Baylor would of dispatched his business sooner

Money Advanced to Cap<sup>t</sup> John Drew, for those who stay £39-12

Cap<sup>t</sup> Drew has Charged himself with £40-10

G: Baylor

---

[*Lieut. James Smith's Receipt, Jan. 16, 1776. In Handwriting of Gen. Sullivan.*]

[Revolutionary Collection, Library of Congress.]

Winter Hill Jan<sup>y</sup> 16th 1776

Received of Brigadier General Sullivan three pounds four shillings & two pence half penny for the Travel & wages of Samuel Goff of Captain Martins Company of Militia being the only person in Said Company who refuses to Tarry till the first day of February next

James Smith Lieut.

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to Gen. Horatio Gates, Jan. 17, 1776. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Washington Papers, Library of Congress.]

Winter Hill Jan<sup>y</sup> 17<sup>th</sup> 1776

*Dear Sir* I Inclose you a Letter from Some Gentlemen at Newbury Port for Some Cannon Shot which beg you

to Lay before the General & If you please Inform him that There are a great Number of Those Shot which I Sent from New Hampshire to Medford which have Never been called for or taken into Account — if its agreeable to his Excellency I will Spare a part of those to the Gentlemen to Enable them to fix out the Privatier they are about otherwise Shall not — beg an answer p<sup>r</sup> Bearer.

[Note.] 30-6<sup>1b</sup> 90-4. Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan was desired to spare the shot

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to the New Hampshire General Court, Jan. 17, 1776.*]

[American Archives, 4th Series, vol. 4, p. 709.]

I was favoured with your letter respecting the affair of Colonel Stark and Colonel Hobart, which I immediately laid before the General. He showed me your letter to him, with a copy of Colonel Hobart's to you; and a trial would immediately have taken place, but Colonel Stark was gone into the country recruiting. He is now returned, and a Court of Inquiry will sit upon him tomorrow or next day.

You may depend that, notwithstanding I esteem Stark as a worthy, good officer, I will do everything in my power to punish any insult he may have been guilty of offering to the Colony.

I repeatedly told Colonel Hobart the evening after the affair happened, when I found him and Stark together at my house on my return from Head-Quarters, that I would confine Stark immediately if he desired it, and even his whole regiment if necessary, but he chose to omit it.

[*Endorsed "Starks Confession." Rough Draft, In Handwriting of Gen. Sullivan. Not Dated or Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Whereas On the 30th Day of Decem<sup>r</sup> Last Some persons belonging to my Regiment, without order or warrant from me for So doing proceeded under arms from their Barracks on Winter Hill to the Lodgeing of Sam<sup>l</sup> Hobart Esq<sup>r</sup> at Medford & there assaulted & Took him prisoner & brought him to my Encampment at Winter Hill and I being at that time much perplexed with Business & not knowing the many aggravated Circumstances attending Said assault & not Considering at that time the Dangerous Tendency of Such an Insult offered to him while in the Execution of his office as paymaster of the Troops from the Colony of New Hampshire Neglected to Confine & punish those offenders but being before wearied with their Complaints for want of pay & much perplexed with other Business hastily & Inconsiderately Threw out Some warm & Illiberal Reflections upon Some of the members of the Congress in that Colony for which I am Sincerely Sorry and heartily ask their forgiveness and beg Leave to assure them that those reflections proceeded only from heat & passion & not from any Settled Design to Slander or Defame them

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to the New Hampshire General Court, Jan. 17, 1776. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[New Hampshire Archives, Revolution, vol. 3, p. 63.]

Winter Hill Jan<sup>y</sup> 17<sup>th</sup> 1776

*Much Respected Gentlemen* I Inclose you a Letter from General Washington requesting Two Regiments of men from New Hampshire To keep on the Lines till the

first of April next Each Regim<sup>t</sup> to Consist of Eight Companies. Those Companies to Consist of one Captain Two Lieu<sup>ts</sup> one Ensign four Sergeants four Corporals one Drummer one Fifer and Seventy Six privates — all to be on the Lines by the first of February next. I need not Inform you of the necessity we are under as our making the Requisition is Sufficient Evidence of That. I can venture to assure you that our force now on the Lines Including the Militia does not amount to 12000 although the Continental Congress ordered 22000 — The people in General Seem to have an Aversion To a Campaign of 12 months. Though I presume they will be forward Enough to Enlist for two months Especially as the time will Expire Sufficiently Early for them to Look after their Spring work. The Encouragement is to be a penny p<sup>r</sup> mile travel in & out & the Same wages as the Rest of the Army — I have had much Trouble to keep fair weather with your militia Lately Sent. I had to Supply many with arms & to give my obligations for Ammunition which I dealt out to them Individually took Receipts & must receive it in from them & Return it into the Store to Redeem my obligations but This was not all. The Congress had neglected to Send along money the military Chest was Empty & the Soldiers Complaining aloud for want of Cash as well Those who were about to Leave us as those who agreed to Tarry on the Lines one Fortnight Longer. I at the Generals request Drew up Enlistments & gave to the Captains to try their men & after tryal they Returned 75 men only. This alarmed me much & I feared that our Province would Loose that Credit which they by their Conduct have So Justly Deserved to Save which & to prevent the Lines from being Deserted I procured money Sufficient to pay 3 Dollars p<sup>r</sup> man to those who would Tarry the 15 Days Required — I then had them

Drawn up & Endeavoured Every way to Induce them to tarry & finally prevailed on all but about 350 who were Determined to Quit us at all Events — These worthless Scoundrels Though willing to Sacrifice their Liberties could not Suffer the Least Delay of payment for their Service — they had heard the Continental Chest was Empty and could by no means be brought to believe there was any thing Less than a Contrivance to Cheat them of their wages. I well knew that General Washington had promised me they Should be paid off when the time was Expired. I promised the Same to the Committee of Safety & they to the men by which means I well knew the Committee who had done Every thing that men could do toward Sending them would be Censured & Condemned to prevent which & to do all in my power for the honour of the Governm<sup>t</sup> I Borrowed the money from more than 20 persons & paid off all those who were going home & shall do the same by the others when their Time is out — Though it pleases me to find our men Tarry all to 350 & So far Exceed the Inhabitants of other Colonies in their zeal & spirit yet it gives me pain to Inform you that not near half the Mass<sup>a</sup> militia could be prevailed upon to Tarry & many of them went off one Day before their time was out. To prevent Delay with our men I made up most of the 31 pay Rolls with my own hands as Some went from Each Company & with the assistance of Maj<sup>r</sup> Scammell & M<sup>r</sup> Sherburne paid them all off between Day Break & 12 of Clock & hope they have Returned Contented —

I must now Entreat you Gentlemen to Exert yourselves in forwarding the forces wrote for by the General. Mass<sup>a</sup> has agreed to furnish Seven Regiments Connecticut four & hope our two will be on the Spot as Soon as theirs. Rhode Island being continually Surrounded by ships of war can furnish none. Connecticut over &

above the four Regiments has Sent 1500 men to Guard New York So that our proportion is by no means Extravagant — I have hit upon an Expedient of Raising one of the Regiments here which I hope will prove agreeable viz as There are now 31 Companies here already officered by you I am about to Select 11 officers three of which to be field officers & Eight to be Captains of Companies. Those Captains to Chuse Subalterns from Different Companies & in that way I hope to Compleat one of the Regiments proposed. This will in great measure Facilitate the Raising the other Reg<sup>t</sup> & Secure men upon the Lines Though yours Should not arrive in Season. I cannot but promise myself your approbation of this measure if I Should find a probability of being Disappointed in this attempt shall Send an Express to you Immediately — but am well Convinced it will succeed.

I would in the appointment of officers beg Leave to Recommend men who will do Credit to the Government — I have a very high opinion of the field officers you appointed to Guard the Harbour of Pescataway — if they are not needed there I Should be fond of them here but This I Leave to your wisdom & Discretion

I was favoured with your Letter respecting the affair of Col<sup>o</sup> Stark & Col<sup>o</sup> Hubbard [Hobart] which I Immediately Laid before the General — he shew me your Letter to him with a Copy of Col<sup>o</sup> Hubbards to you & a Tryal would Immediately have taken place but Col<sup>o</sup> Stark was gone into the Country recruiting — he is now Returned & a Court of Enquiry will Set upon him Tomorrow or next Day — you may Depend that notwithstanding I Esteem Stark as a worthy good officer I will do Every thing in my power to punish any Insult he may have been guilty of offering to the Colony — I repeatedly told Col<sup>o</sup> Hubbard the Ev<sup>s</sup> after this affair

happened when I found him & Stark together at my house on my Return from Head Quarters that I would Censure Stark Immediately if he Desired it & Even his whole Regiment if necessary but he Chose to omit it — I have thought of an Expedient to Save the money to the Colony at all Events which is this viz for the General Court to give notice in all the news papers that a number of Bills of Such a Date namely Nov<sup>r</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> numbered from 2771 To 2825 were stolen & That any persons possessed of those numbers should forward them to the Receiver General within one month to be Exchanged for Silver With a proper Account how he came by the Bill or Bills & if not Sent in by that time never to be redeemed in future for which purpose an Act should be passed & if the Thief Should have parted with any of this money (which by the way is not probable) the matter being fresh you may trace it up to his Door — but if (as is by far the most probable) he should have Delayed to pass it for fear of Discovery it must Die in his hands & the Province not Loose a farthing. This method Gentlemen I beg Leave to Recommend for the Interest of the Colony Let the Tryal here turn as it may. I beg you to Excuse my freedom.

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to the New Hampshire General Assembly, Jan. 18, 1776. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[New Hampshire Archives, Revolution, vol. 3, p. 70.]

Winter Hill Jan<sup>y</sup> 18<sup>th</sup> 1776

*Much Esteemed Gentlemen* — it is with the most Sensible pain I Sit Down to write you the Malencholy Tidings of our Army<sup>s</sup> being Defeated at Quebec on the 31 of Decem<sup>r</sup> with the Loss of 150 killed & wounded (according to the best Accounts we can collect) & be-

tween three & four hundred Taken prisoners — among the Latter are a number of our Intrepid New Hampshire Friends who marched from here with Col<sup>o</sup> Arnold. The whole of his party Except himself & Some few that retired with him when he was wounded are Either Killed or Taken prisoners: The Brave the Intrepid but Alas Too unfortunate General Montgomery Fell and with his Departing Spirit, Courage & Resolution forsook the Troops he Commanded — he Attacked the Lower Town of Quebec at The point Diamond — on the opposite side Col<sup>o</sup> Arnold with his party attacked a place Called La Roche & after an hours Engagement carried a Two gun Battery with the Loss of about 20 killed & wounded. They then attacked a Second Battery & Carried it Sword in hand but gaining the Second Battery proved their Defeat for by possessing themselves of that they advanced beyond Palace Gate that Leads from the upper Town to the Lower from which the Enemy Immediately Issued & falling on their Rear Drove them into the Lower Town from whence they could not Escape as the Enemy were possessed of the passage through which they Entered and on the opposite Side the unfortunate Montgomerys party were Defeated & had Retired So that the victors Turning Round to oppose brought the Small but Brave & Resolute party between two Fires. They Took possession of the Lower Town about 7 in the morning & though Exposed to a fire in front & Rear as I mentioned as also to a fire in Flank from the upper Town They bravely Maintained their Ground till night when Despairing of Succour & growing weary of slaughter they Surrendered themselves prisoners of war. The Brave Montgomery with his Aid de Camp were killed the first fire & I believe that Struck Such a Damp on his party that Little more was Done by them — Col<sup>o</sup> Livingston with his

party of Canadians made a Feigned Attack on the upper Town to favour the Real attacks on the Lower but This was Extremely ill Executed — You will Soon hear more particularly about the matter and how the whole Country is in motion to assist our friends there — all the people west of Springfield are gone — Col<sup>o</sup> Warner with his Green Mountain Boys marched Immediately to Join the party which they had Left by being (as they thought) ill used by General Montgomery — you will find by the Inclosed Letter that the General Council have Determined that a Regiment from Each of the Frontiers of New Hamp<sup>r</sup> Mass<sup>a</sup> and Connecticut are to march with all possible Expedition to Secure our Conquests & if possible retrieve the honour of the American Arms. This Resolution Induced us to Release one of the Regiments wrote for in my Last to Serve here two months & Instead thereof for New Hampshire to furnish one here & one for Canada Enlisted for twelve months. I have a prospect of Raising one for this place from among the Recruits here in the manner I formerly mentioned So you need give yourselves no other Trouble about that but advancing upon the Credit of the Continent a months pay advance which beg you to do. The party going for Canada I suppose General Washington has Called upon you to furnish them with money &c — upon my Soul it gives me pain to find that our Continental Chest is So often Empty & that parsimony & Indolence which has Destroyed So many powerful States is but Too Likely to Destroy ours — To this alone was owing that Fatal Defeat at Quebec as the Deceasd Montgomerys Letters will fully show for he Seemed to prophecy his Defeat from the want of money to pay off the Troops. I have Selected officers for the Regiment to be Stationed here as I mentioned Cap<sup>t</sup> Waldron Chesley & Place to

take the Command as field officers & have taken Some of the best Captains & Subalterns. I Should rejoice if Cap<sup>t</sup> Mooney would in Conjunction with the Bearer Lieu<sup>t</sup> Clough & two Subalterns appointed by you or them undertake to bring in a Company — The Residue I can furnish myself without giving you any trouble Except what I mention — with Respect to the Reg<sup>t</sup> bound to Canada you will Excuse my Suggesting the Necessity of Raising that in the western parts of the Colony. Col<sup>o</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Stark now happens to be in Camp & Says he can undoubtedly Raise the men — he is well Acquainted with the Country and with the nature of such a march. I would therefore for the good of the Service beg Leave to Recommend him unless you have Some other person more Suitable in view — I have Directed him to wait on your Honours & Receive your Commands. Captain John Parker who was here Some Days Since was Soliciting Licence from General Washington & myself to Raise four or five Companies & march to Canada — we knowing of no necessity therefor refused him — perhaps he may now be of Some advantage in Raising men but many among you know the man & his Communications — all these hints I throw out for the good of the Service. I have no particular person in view barely for his own Sake. The good of my Country is what I mean to promote — where I mistake the proper means to attain that Desirable End you will please to Correct me as an Ignorant offender and believe me to be (as I really am) a True friend to my Country.

The General has Inclosed you Copies of most of the Important Letters from Canada

P S My Extreme hurry will I hope apologize for Incorrectness

[*Gen. Sullivan to John Waldron and Alpheus Chesley. Jan. 19, 1776. Copy.*]

[New Hampshire Archives, Revolution, vol. 3, p. 61.]

*To John Waldron & Alpheus Chesley Esqrs*

a requisition being made upon the Colony of New Hampshire for a regiment of men Consisting of Seven hundred & Twenty Eight Including all officers I have after Consulting with his Excellency Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington Thought proper to Raise and officer a Regiment out of the officers & Soldiers Lately Come in from that Colony to remain in the Continental Service untill the first day of April next — I have named Eight Captains & have nominated you the Said John Waldron as Chief Co<sup>l</sup> of Said regiment & you the said Alpheus Chesley as Lieut<sup>t</sup> Co<sup>l</sup> thereof & have wrote to the Gen<sup>l</sup> Assembly upon the measure I have adopted & requested them to furnish one months pay advance for said regiment upon the Credit of the Continent — you are therefore requested Immediately to repair to the Gen<sup>l</sup> Assembly wait on them with my Compliments & these orders, receive their Commands & Immediately proceed to Compleat the Regiment Proposed, & Return to head Quarters by the first day of February next, you will please to pay Strict Obedience to the Commands of that assembly & on all Occations give Notice of your Proceedings to your Hum<sup>l</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

Winter Hill Jan<sup>y</sup> 19<sup>th</sup> 1776 —

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to the New Hampshire General Assembly, Jan. 20, 1776. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[New Hampshire Archives, Revolution, vol. 3, p. 82.]

Winter Hill Jan<sup>y</sup> 20<sup>th</sup> 1776

May it please your Honours —

The Bearer hereof Mr Adjutant Peabody of Col<sup>o</sup> Reeds Regiment Earnestly Desiring to go to the Relief

of our Distressed Brethren in Canada — I beg Leave to Recommend him to the office of a Second Lieutenant & Adjutant in the Reg<sup>t</sup> bound there which office he has voluntarily Resigned here & Cheerfully undertakes the fatigues of a Long march to Relieve our worthy friends at Quebeck. I can assure you that he has Ever behaved well and been highly Esteemed here as well for his Conduct in the Common Business of his office as for his Courage & Intrepidity at Bunkers Hill — any favour you will please to Show him Shall be gratefully acknowledged by your much oblided Humble Serv<sup>t</sup>.

---

[*Capt. James Wilkinson to Gen. Sullivan, Jan. 22, 1776. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Monday Eve Jan<sup>y</sup> 22<sup>nd</sup> 76

*Sir* In consequence of your Friendly proposal yesterday I have waited on General Gates. He is pleased with your Intentions and will readily afford me every assistance in His Power, but thinks it necessary that you should mention the affair to Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington, who He makes no doubt will assent to your request. If I have the Honor of being established in your Brigade, I shall particularly study the execution of my Duty, and ardently endeavour to introduce that Friendly intercourse between the Northern & Southern Gentlemen which is truly essential to our common Interests — I beg an excuse for this Scral.

N B As this is the only Idle time which I expect to enjoy whilst I continue in the Army I apply it in gratifying a Curiosity I entertain of seeing Cape Ann, for which place I purpose seting out early Tomorrow Morning

[*Lieut.-Col. Robert H. Harrison to Gen. Sullivan, Jan. 23, 1776. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Cambridge Jan<sup>y</sup> 23, 1776

*Sir* I have it in command from his Excellency to Inform you, that General Gates handed him your Letter of the 22 Inst<sup>t</sup> containing a Gross estimate of the pay, you supposed would be due the New Hampshire militia, when the time they are engaged for shall expire.

His Excellency says that he cannot possibly give a Warrant on this Estimate, & that each Captain must make out a particular List of their respective companies, noticing the time when any of their men Inlisted in the Regiments (If that shall have been the case), and on the other side an abstract of the pay due. — there is a necessity for this, because the List & Abstract are vouchers for, & the foundation of the Warrant annexed to them — the Time when any of the men Inlisted in the Regiments must be mentioned & pay only drawn till then, as they will be from thence Included in the Regimental Abstracts.

Having made out Lists & Abstracts in this way, the Captains will give Credit for the money they have received.

It is also necessary that each Captain should Subjoin an Affidavit to the foot of his Abstract, similar to the Copy Inclosed. This mode has been & will be invariably pursued respecting the militia of this Colony. It is necessary & founded on the difference between the Regiments which continue in Service, & the militia which do not — In the Abstracts for the pay of the former, an affidavit is not material, because, If there should be any mistake or error in them, It may & can

be discovered & rectified at a future day; It is otherwise as to the Latter: after they are gone, this cannot be done, & therefore their Abstracts should have some degree of Authenticity; not that any Intentional mistakes are apprehended to be made, but that the public may be satisfied.

When the Lists & Abstracts are made out in the manner directed & the time of their Engagement expired, his Excellency will give the proper Warrants for payment. he would not have no objection to giving them sooner, If he was not fearfull that some of them might go off after receiving their pay.

[Lieut. Col. Harrison was aide-de-camp to Gen. Washington, and his military secretary from May 16, 1776, to March 25, 1781.]

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to the New Hampshire General Assembly, Jan. 26, 1776.*]

[New Hampshire Archives, Revolution.]

Winter Hill, Jan<sup>y</sup> 26<sup>th</sup> 1776

May it please your Honours —

I have this Day had the pleasure of seeing the worthy Gentlemen you were pleased to appoint as a Committee. They relieved me much when they informed That you had Voted to advance the money for the new Regiment and that you approved of my plan for Raising it; which by Informations rec<sup>d</sup> before I thought was not the case. I had not time before, nor have I even now to assign all the Reasons for such an attempt — one weighty Reason was that all the new Troops that came in are bound to pay a Tax to the climate by sickness; this the present Militia have gone through & therefore will much better endure the severities of the next cam-

paign. I hope to have a great part of the Regiment from those, but least a deficiency should happen I obtained leave to Furlough some officers for the purpose of enlisting some in the Country. I have now no doubt upon my mind about compleating the Regiment by the time, Since you have been kind enough to advance the months pay. This money I entreat you to put into the hands of Major Coffin that he may forward it to Waldron & Chesley as soon as possible, and I will be answerable for the Disbursement. After the Regiment is on the ground shall send you a List of the men & officers and beg you to grant the Commissions, and in this & every other matter shall chearfully acquiesce in your Determinations & exert myself to obey any of your commands.

[Original missing from the archives. Printed in N. H. Provincial Papers, vol. 7, p. 55.]

---

[*Stephen Moylan to Gen. Sullivan, Jan. 27, 1776. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Washington Papers, Library of Congress.]

*Sir* I have it in Command from his Excellency to desire you will send him an account of the distribution of the 5,682 dollars, to be particular in the Sum given to each Company, that when they bring in their pay abstracts he may compare the Sum they give credit for, with that they have received —

His Excellency is informed that you had ordered 215 stand of arms from Newbury to Portsmouth he would be glad to know what is become of them & how he may procure them for this Camp.

Cambridge 27<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> 1776

[Col. Moylan was at this time muster-master general of the Continental Army.]

[*William Stark to Gen. Sullivan, Jan. 30, 1776. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, Coe Collection, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Dunbarton Jen<sup>y</sup> 30<sup>th</sup> 1776

*Hon<sup>ble</sup> and ever to be Regarded Sir* I wrote a Line from Exeter in a great hurey Informing you of my Defaite on your Honours Recommendation which I must Confess I was much Desturbed at when I wrote not so much on my own Disapointment and being slighted as the ill nature and Jealous Disposion that these sons of Admiration shewed towards the Brave Generals of the army as taking upon them selves the rights of these grand Pattreats who Look upon them selves the sate of wisdom So that althow I saw with my Eyes and heard with my Ears the unwearied figetainges and Deep Concern you had for the Publick Good By these Heros in Consait over turned and Dispised as not being there seamming therefor it shall not stand so that it is not the man of Courige or Expairence nor Caritore that stands any Chance the more for being thought so by the Generals no it must be the son of Moll Beddel who Could not find a man in the Country to Lend him a Surname Kind Heaven may not this war be thought unneatueral by me who was ever singled out for a solder and Corted to go in to my Countrys Service in all formor wars that was in my Day and now Cannot not be employed altho Recommended by the Best of Generals I entred in the servise of the Bay government the first Cappratoon war and continued the whole of it in there Servise and Chiefly it was my fourten to be Stationed in the fruntears of New Hampshire at that time Clamed by s<sup>d</sup> Bay & had many near riskuse for my Life in Battle and all semenly in favour

of Hampshire but Payed by the Bay the last war was employed by George the second Payed by him and served all round s<sup>d</sup> Hampshire I have had the Honnour to serve in the above time with them that was Called the Best of Commander and generals and I Can Say that I never had one Repromand in at Least 10 or 12 years actual Service have offen had the Honner to Receave Thankes even from the Brave General Wolfe who I was ever near his Person in all his wars in America as well as other Commanders of worth And altho I have as it were been in some mesure a gaurd to Hampshire in all the before wars I never have had one peney of there Pay nor one Bite of there Bread to this Day I have Brought Large Sums of money in to the Province and have large Possessions and hevey Rates to Pay at this time and must Say I Love the Province and all good men in it it is the Land of my netivity shall I stay and Bare the Scorn Teamly or shall I go and Seek Bread elsewhere is the great Questen I have many Sons growing and have been studeing to have them all settled here and good Farms for them all This is against me had I nothing to Louse nor nothing to Fight for I might Stand Some Chance to be Employed I must Say that I am Sorrey for the Disapointment of maney men of the Best Carritors in these Parts that had a mind to go with me to Queback that will not go with M<sup>r</sup> Beddel I have no Dobt had I been appointed I would have had as good a Regement as any in the Army to have gon with me and as yet I cannot hardly make them Belive I am Superseeded but I hope Queback this time will be Taken by unexparienced men which was not the Cace of the formor taking it to my knowlidge But what need I worey your Honnours Pations with my grevances I only Pray that you Do not exparince many more ingreatudes by the same men befor all is

over with every other good man that is in the army so I remain a sincair Friend to all good Solders with you & every sincair Friend to the Country althow at Present I am under the Disegriebale nessesity to stay at home when it appearieth to me that I am more wanted then ever I was when called From Dear Sir your ever respected Friend wating to Serve you

[Addressed] To the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Genneral Sullivan at Camp near Winter Hill

[William Stark was an elder brother of Gen. John Stark, and saw extensive and arduous service in the colonial wars. In 1775 he applied for the command of one of the New Hampshire regiments, but without success. In his resentment and indignation he went to New York in 1776 and accepted a colonel's commission in the British army. His service was brief, for he was soon afterwards killed by a fall from his horse.]

---

[*Strength of Gen. Sullivan's Brigade, Feb. 3, 1776.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Medford 3<sup>d</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 1776

A Return of the Number of Men In B Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivans Brig<sup>d</sup> last Thursday & Fryday Viz<sup>t</sup>

Col <sup>o</sup> Nixons Reg <sup>t</sup>	444 Men
Col <sup>o</sup> Baldwins d <sup>o</sup>	331
Cap <sup>t</sup> Hatch's of Col <sup>o</sup> Bonds d <sup>o</sup>	85
Cap <sup>t</sup> Miller of d <sup>o</sup> Thompsons d <sup>o</sup>	82

Wood Cutters

Cap <sup>t</sup> Francis's Party	21
Lieu <sup>t</sup> Hills d <sup>o</sup>	26
Lieu <sup>t</sup> Cutters d <sup>o</sup>	10
Ens <sup>n</sup> Nichols d <sup>o</sup>	22

Lieu <sup>t</sup> Bizzel's	d <sup>o</sup>	28
Lieu <sup>t</sup> Andros	d <sup>o</sup>	10
Lieu <sup>t</sup> Collins	d <sup>o</sup>	14

## Fryday

Col <sup>o</sup> Reeds Reg <sup>t</sup>		444
Col <sup>o</sup> Starks	d <sup>o</sup>	404
Col <sup>o</sup> Poors	d <sup>o</sup>	553
B M Scammels Mess		5
Armourers		4
Smiths		11
Mr Gray		2

Total 2496 Men

This may Certify that y<sup>e</sup> Above Numb<sup>r</sup> of Men as Anex'd drew Provisions from my Store last Thursday & Fryday

Att<sup>t</sup> Moses Emerson

[Addressed] To The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Brigad<sup>r</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan  
Camp

[*Lieut. Col. Robert H. Harrison to Gen. Sullivan, Feb. 9, 1776. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Washington Papers, Library of Congress.]

Cambridge Feby 9, 1776

*Sir* I am commanded by his Excellency to acknowledge the receipt of your favour of this Evening, and to Inform you, that he would not wish an attempt to be made to bring off the Guard which you mention, 'till he has seen you, for particular reasons which he will then communicate.

[Strength of Gen. Sullivan's Brigade, Feb. 17, 1776.]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

RETURN OF WINTER HILL BRIGADE CAMP FEB'y 17<sup>th</sup> 1776.

Distributions	Commission'd Officers						Staff				Noncomm <sup>d</sup>			Effective Rank & File						Wanting to Complete				Since last Return			
	Colo	Lt Colo	Majr	Cpts	Lts	Ensn	Chaplains	Adjts	Qr M <sup>rs</sup>	Surgn <sup>s</sup>	Mates	Serjts	Corps	D & F	present fit for Duty	Sick present	Sick absent	On Command	On Furlough	Total	Serjts	D & F	R & F	Inlisted	Dead	Discharg <sup>d</sup>	Deserted
Col <sup>o</sup> Reed	1	1	1	5	12	5	—	1	1	1	1	27	—	14	303	55	4	10	—	372	5	2	268	7	3	—	—
Col <sup>o</sup> Nixon	—	1	1	5	10	6	—	1	1	1	—	22	—	12	320	47	13	40	2	422	3	1	218	6	—	—	1
Col <sup>o</sup> Starks	1	1	1	7	14	8	—	1	1	—	—	21	—	13	269	42	3	101	5	425	3	3	215	10	—	—	1
Col <sup>o</sup> Poor	1	1	1	8	15	8	—	1	1	1	1	29	—	15	362	84	11	48	2	507	—	1	133	11	—	—	8
Total	3	4	4	25	51	27	—	4	4	4	3	99	—	54	1254	222	36	199	9	1726	11	7	834	34	3	—	10

*For Detail and Roster*

Distributions	Col <sup>o</sup>	L <sup>t</sup> Col <sup>o</sup>	Maj <sup>r</sup>	Cp <sup>ts</sup>	Subs	Serj <sup>ts</sup>	Corp <sup>ls</sup>	D & F	Privates
Total	3	4	4	24	72	99	92	52	950

*To the Honble Brigadier Genl Sullivan Esqr*

ALXDR SCAMMELL B Major

RETURN OF COL<sup>o</sup> WALDRON'S REG<sup>t</sup> OF MILITIA, FEB<sup>y</sup> 17<sup>th</sup> 1776.

Distributions	Colonel	L <sup>t</sup> Col <sup>o</sup>	Major	Cp <sup>ts</sup>	L <sup>ts</sup>	Ensigns	Chap <sup>ln</sup>	Adj <sup>t</sup>	Q M <sup>r</sup>	Surgeon	Mate	Serj <sup>ts</sup>	Corp <sup>ls</sup>	D & F	Privates fit for Duty	Sick present	Sick Absent	On Command	On Furlough	Total	Serj <sup>ts</sup>	Corp <sup>ls</sup>	Rk & File	Enlisted	Dead	Discharg <sup>d</sup>	Deserted
	1	1	1	7	12	7	—	1	1	1	1	25	—	8	383	26	1	50	—	470							

[Major Alexander Scammell to Gen. Sullivan, Feb. 18, 1776. Autograph Letter Signed.]

[Revolution Collection, Library of Congress.]

To the Honb<sup>le</sup> Brigadier Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan Esq<sup>r</sup>

I am desired by several Officers to mention the following Complaints to Y<sup>r</sup> Honor.

1<sup>stly</sup> That Card paying prevails to a very great Degree amongst the Officers in your Brigade by which example the Soldiers practice it very generally — Both on Guard, and in their Barracks.

2<sup>ndly</sup> That many of the Commissiond Officers are extremely dilatory in turning out to their Alarm Posts, or upon field Days and seem to be lost to all sense of Ambition and Emulation —

3 That some of the Soldiers in the standing Army sell their Guns, and then draw others or the same out of the Store, and many sell their arms to the Militia.

4<sup>th</sup> That many Officers are absent from Camp without Leave, and at particular times scarcely a commissiond Officer in some Reg<sup>ts</sup>.

Feb<sup>y</sup> 18<sup>th</sup> 1776.

---

[Gen. Washington to Gen. Sullivan, Feb. 19, 1776. Autograph Letter Signed.]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Cambridge Feb<sup>y</sup> 19<sup>th</sup> 1776

D<sup>r</sup> Sir, I am a little surprizd, and concern'd to hear of your moving to Col<sup>o</sup> Royals House — I thought you knew, that I had made a point of bringing Gene<sup>l</sup> Lee from thence on Acc<sup>t</sup> of the distance from his Line of Command — at least that he should not sleep there — The same reasons holding good with respect to yourself, I should be glad if you could get some place nearer,

as I think it too hazardous to trust the left wing of our Army without a General Officer upon the spot in cases of immergency. — I do not wish you to return to your old House — any other tolerably convenient will satisfy me, and I am sure be pleasing to yourself, as I know you would not easily forgive yourself if any thing wrong sh<sup>d</sup> happen for want of your presence on any sudden call. —

---

[*Orders for the Day, March 13, 1776. Draft.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Head Quarters March 13<sup>th</sup> 1776

Parole

Countersign

Brigadier for the Day Gen<sup>l</sup> Heath field Officers of the Day Col<sup>o</sup> Poor and Col<sup>o</sup> Patterson

A Gen<sup>l</sup> Court Martial to Set tomorrow Morning at 10 oClock, all Evidences and persons Concerned to attend the Court —

The Riffle Reg<sup>t</sup> under the Command of L<sup>t</sup> Col<sup>o</sup> Hand and the three Companies under the Command of Cap<sup>t</sup> Stephenson are to be Ready to March tomorrow Morning at 10 o'Clock a Copsy of their Rout, with their orders, will be Deliver'd to L<sup>t</sup> Col<sup>o</sup> Hand and Cap<sup>t</sup> Stephenson this afternoon —

As the Ministerial Troops in Boston, both from Information and Appearance are preparing to Evacuate that Town, The Gen<sup>l</sup> Expressly orders that Neither officers, nor Soldiers presume to go into Boston without [permission] from the Gen<sup>l</sup> or Chief at Cambridge, or the Commanding Gen<sup>l</sup> at Roxbury, as the Enemy Malitious Assiduity, have Spread the Infections of the Small Pox throug all the parts of the Town. Nothing but the utmost Caution on our Part Can prevent that fatal

Disease from Spreading through the Army and Country, to the Infinite Detriments of both His Excellency Expressly Command every officer to pay the exactest obedience to this order —

If upon the retreat of the Enemy any person whatever is Detected in Pilliaging he may be assured the Severest punishment will be his Lot. The unhappy Inhabitants of that Distressed Town have already Suffered too Heavily from the Iron Hand of oppression —

Their Countrymen Surely will not be Base Enough to Add to their Misfortunes —

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to the New Hampshire Committee of Safety, March 14, 1776. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[New Hampshire Archives, Revolution, vol. 3, p. 184.]

Winter Hill March 14<sup>th</sup> 1776

*Gentlemen* I Inclose you a List of the Regiment under Col<sup>o</sup> Waldron with the Arrangement of the officers — & Desire you to forward the Commissions as Soon as possible — I have the Satisfaction to Inform you that Col<sup>o</sup> Waldrons was the first Compleat Regiment on the Spot is by far the Largest & best that Came from Either Colony — his Excellency Consented to keeping the nine Companies Rather than break them — They are allowed by all who do duty with them to be Excellent officers and Soldiers always willing to do their duty with the utmost Cheerfulness — they are Quiet peaceable and obed<sup>t</sup> and though much Fault was found with my proceedings in Selecting the officers I must now take the Liberty of Boasting of my Judgment in the Choice & can call the whole Brigade to witness in my favour — I hope Gentlemen The Cruel and ungenerous Reflections upon my conduct Thrown out by Some persons

among you did not proceed from that Envious Disposition which too often proves the Destruction of an Infant State Strugling for Freedom — I Sincerely wish that those Zealots who thought I had taken too much upon myself had Exerted themselves to fill up the Canada Regiment with as many good men as I have got in this & not have Left us to Lament the want of assistance to our Distressed friends in Canada & to view with Concern a Regiment not half Compleated which ought to have marched three weeks ago — I am now ordered To march for New York in a few Days — those persons will then have no more fear of the Destruction of their Liberties from a person who has Spent more money undergone more Fatigue and oftener Risqued his Life than any other person in your Province & all this to Secure that Freedom which those Gentlemen would perswade the world I am Endeavouring to Destroy — Gentlemen I wish your Colony all possible happiness & would do Every thing in the power of man to Serve its Freedom & Even feel a Disposition to Serve those few Inveterate foes of mine that yet Remain among you & Convince them that no person would do more in the Cause of Freedom than your most obed<sup>t</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>.

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to Gen. Washington, March 22, 1776. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Washington Papers, Library of Congress.]

Winter Hill March 22<sup>d</sup> 1776

May it please y<sup>r</sup> Excellency —

being Desired by Cap<sup>t</sup> Miller Late of Col<sup>o</sup> Doolittle's Reg<sup>t</sup> to Certify in his favour to Your Excellency I can only Say that he Acted as Cap<sup>t</sup> in That Regiment till the 26 of Nov<sup>r</sup> then by vote of the Reg<sup>t</sup> (as I was In-

formed) he Acted as major — I never knew or heard he had a Commission for that purpose till he Informed me of it yesterday. I well remember he gave in his name among the Captains To tarry the present Campaign with a note annexed that he would Tarry (if promoted) which necessarily Lead me to think he never had a majors Commission. I never heard of Captain Millers neglecting his Duty in any Respect — nor have I ever heard as I Recollect any thing to his advantage or Disadvantage in the Brigade — This is may it please your Excellency all that can with truth be Certified by y<sup>r</sup> Exc<sup>ya</sup> most obed<sup>t</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>.

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to the New Hampshire General Assembly, March 24, 1776. Letter Signed.*]

[New Hampshire Archives, Revolution, vol. 3, p. 218.]

Winter Hill March 24<sup>th</sup> 1776

*Honourable Gentlemen* I have an Account presented me by Cap<sup>t</sup> Tilton agreeable to the Direction of General Foulson for payment of £17.12.6 it Consists of Six Articles One Bill is £9. 10s for boarding Artillery men sent from the Army to Your Assistance and remain'd there three Weeks without Wages and was Carried there and brought back at my Expence. The next is £2. 10s 11<sup>d</sup> for major Cilley's Expences, he was by the Committee of Safety appointed & Detain'd as Muster-master for Your Troops & I supposed you would make no Difficulty in paying his Expence. The next is £1.11ss for Expence of M<sup>r</sup> Nath<sup>l</sup> Macclintock appointed my Aid de Camp while present and Remain'd as a Volentier with Your forces (at the request of your Commanding Officer) when I was Absent and was very useful to him and his bill if paid would not Amount to the wages of a

Private Soldier for the Time he Tarried. The next bill is for 17s 9<sup>d</sup> Expence of the Captain of the Riffle-men sent there without my knowledge or Consent with a Company to Assist You if Necessary —

To Crown the whole is a bill of 4s 6<sup>d</sup> Expended in Securing the Toreys in Your Capital when the Enemy Appear'd off Your Harbour, when I was at head Quarters and know nothing of the matter — This Gentlemen is a State of the Account handed me for payment & which I am ready to pay in case you think that a Single Article ought to be paid by me —

Gentlemen I am extremely sorry to find a person pretending so much Patriotism as M<sup>r</sup> Folsom does ever Striving to give me pain and uneasiness and this without the least provocation on my part — every day do I hear of his Insulting and Abusive Language such as he well knows he dare not use if I was present. Every step he takes is pregnant with Malice against me & I am Sorry to hear his Malicious endeavours have but too great weight on some other minds and by means of that I am daily censured in Your Cabinet and for what I know not — I now appeal to You all & Call upon you to give one Instance where I have made money at the Expence of my Country or where I have usurped a greater Power than was at first delegated to me. What Relations have I promoted or what parts of my Family have I Enriched which of my former Friends have I promoted or which of my former Enemies have I persecuted with unrelenting fury — No Gentlemen my Motives are of a Different kind — no private Friendship or private Quarrels shall take hold of my publick Conduct — I call Heaven & Earth to Witness that thus far the good of my Country has been my only Aim — This I have Endeavour'd to evince by my Conduct. Consider Gentlemen what Sums of Money I have already expended &

how many days I have hailed Clad with new & Threatening dangers to my Life — How have I Refrained from the seat of Domestick happiness & Confined by my Country's Cause at a Distance heard the fatal Tidings of Sickness & Death in my own Family while I was Contemplating my own dangers here — Can all this be Gentlemen and Yet I not be in Earnest & shall he who Basks in the Sunshine of Malice and Sleeps Securely in the Bed of Revenge Set my own Friends my Fathers in political Life against me — Let Gratitude Let pity Forbid it and Let the Heavenly Justice take hold on the Wretch whose sordid soul could never Harbour a Thought but that of Gratifying his own Malicious Disposition or bringing about his own promotion — I most earnestly pray that heaven may Judge between us And reward him that is Insincere with disgrace & Infamy — I know Gentlemen that some of you thought it a great Stretch of power in me to select Officers for a New Regiment out of those you sent before. Let the Inclosed paper witness the Justice of the Choice and the Confidence General Washington has placed in the field Officers of that Regiment by Trusting them with the most Important posts (never before Entrusted to Militia Regiments) witness in favour of my Judgment. Sure I am that those persons have not in private life been my Intimate Friends. Nay some of them my most Inveterate foes, but I wish we all Could leave our private Resentments in Our Closets when we are Acting in publick Capacities and Consider only the Means of promoting our Country's Good —

Surely by my having the Choice of Thirty one Set of Officers who had been under My Immediate Inspection I could have a much Better Oppertunity of Selecting Eight good ones than You who were not here and Could not know how they behaved. I made the Choice and

the Officers have done honour to themselves & the Province and Differ Exceedingly from some of the Captains Sent here before who Could neither Sign a Return or Give a Receipt for the money they Received at Head Quarters but by Making their Marks. Now let me ask what power I have gained to myself by this procedure or what could I have in view but the Credit of the Province & the Good of the service — have I added to my Own Interest or Gratified myself by assuming a power & laying a foundation to Destroy the Liberties of my Countrymen. I well know that Mr Foulson and some others have Censured my Conduct at Portsmouth for no other Reason but because they were not at the Head of Affairs themselves. I well know that the fatigues I went through and the Large Sum I expended were not matters of sufficient Inducement in themselves to Draw me into the Measures of which these Malicious persons Complain — I must Observe that when they Feel Motives Similar to those which Actuated me at that Time Malice will cease to reign in their Bosom & Envy Learn to be Silent. I am sorry to hear Gentlemen that some Gentlemen have moved in Your house for my being Reimbursed the Expence I was at in Coming to assist Your Capital — I find myself obliged thus publickly to assure you that this was done without my knowledge or Consent and to assert that I never hinted to any person that I expected a thing of the sort. I sensibly feel my Obligation to those Gentlemen who actuated by motives of Justice & Humanity made the Motion without my knowledge or Consent but at the Same time must beg leave to assure them that the loss of Interest and fatigues of War are what I expect nothing in Return for except seeing My Country freed from Slavery and those worthy Gentlemen and their posterity Enjoying the Sweets of peace and freedom —

Gentlemen I beg pardon for the Length of this Letter & that you will Excuse any Expression which may proceed from a mind Conscious of having been basely Injured.

P S I must again Entreat you to forward the Commissions for the Regiment

---

[*Gen. Washington to Gen. Sullivan, April 1, 1776.*]

[American Archives, 4th Series, vol. 5, p. 758.]

Cambridge, April 1, 1776.

*Dear Sir:* Enclosed you have a copy of a letter I received from Governour Cooke, to the contents of which I refer you.

General Greene will march with his Brigade this day for Providence, and if I find that the enemy are at Rhode Island I will soon join him. Governour Cooke will forward this to you, and will inform you whether this alarm is well founded or not. If it is you must repair to Providence with the troops under your command. If it is not you will proceed on your march to New York.

---

[*Col. John Stark and Others to Gen. Sullivan, April 25, 1776.*]

[American Archives, 4th Series, vol. 5, p. 1073.]

*To Brigadier General Sullivan.*

We, the subscribers, Colonels of the Regiments in your Honour's Brigade, beg liberty to show that the love of freedom, founded upon rational principles and an abhorrence of the measures of Administration in Great Britain tending to involve these Colonies in the

worst of slavery, were our principal motives for engaging in the present service. We wish to answer the end for which we were appointed.

We are fully persuaded that nothing can be more pleasing to his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, or more conducive to a successful campaign than due subordination, and an exact discipline in the Army; but these cannot exist where rank is unequally supported. We humbly conceive that the provision made for the support of Field Officers is very inadequate to that of any other. The rations are nominally generous, and was the allowance in money equal to the real prices we are obliged to pay for the articles of living, we could not complain on that head; but, in truth, the whole amount of ration money will not defray the expenses of horse-keeping. The wages added to the rations will not support us with decency; yet we have families at home whom humanity and the sacred mandates of Heaven excite us to regard, and whom we cannot involve in ruin and misery. It is true we can march with packs, in common with private soldiers; we can lodge upon the ground in our blankets, and furnish a table, spread under the open canopy, with meat, bread, and water; in short, we must divest ourselves of the character of gentlemen, and dishonour the rank we sustain. Frugality, founded upon a prudent economy, is eligible in all Governments, but frugality, the basis whereof is parsimony, will ever defeat the very designs of Government.

We are willing, in common with our countrymen, to share the burdens of war, but we cannot investigate the reason why we should be greater sufferers than others, unless it is because we are continually exposed to hardships, fatigue, and danger.

We labour under several disadvantages, which are our

being obliged to the Quartermaster General for articles of clothing when the risk of deaths, desertions, &c., may involve us in debts (without receiving any consideration but the trouble of business that does not belong to our Department) which will render us bankrupts to the Continent unless we receive some kind of indemnity. Upon the whole, we are not desirous of reaping any particular advantages from the distressed situation of our injured country; we expect to feel a part in all its calamities, but are anxious to be considered as officers supporting the character of gentlemen.

Should our complaints appear real we doubt not but your Honour's wisdom, prudence, and justice will excite you to make such representations to the Commander-in-Chief as will obtain redress.

We are, sir, in due respect, your most obedient, humble servants.

John Stark, Colonel.

John Nixon, Colonel.

Charles Webb, Colonel.

James Reed, Colonel.

New York, April 25, 1776.

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to John Adams, May 4, 1776.*]

[History of the Rise, Progress, and Establishment of the Independence of the United States of America, William Gordon, vol. 2, p. 269.]

Soon after I received your letter I sent for Col. Sears, Mr. John Smith, and some others whom I knew to be staunch, to spend an evening with me, that I might converse with them upon the subject [supposed to be that of taking up government]. It would not do to show your letter, or even hint that I had received it, but an

opportunity for introducing the subject soon offered. A captain of my guard came and reported that the Committee of Safety had sent some persons to the main guard who had no complaint lodged against them. I immediately sent to the committee, and they sent a sub-committee to wait upon me. I asked them what charge they had to lay against the prisoners. They informed me one was a collector who had not accounted for the money he had collected, and had abused their congress. The others were in for different crimes. I told them that I could by no means consent to have free citizens subjected to trials by court martial. They must try them by proper courts, if such there were, and if not the offenders must run at large till necessity obliged them to constitute the proper courts. This opened the door for me, and I took advantage of it. The sub-committee thanked me for my care over the liberties of their fellow-citizens, and owned the necessity of taking up government. Sears, Smith, &c., were strongly of that opinion, and all went home perfectly satisfied, and without suspecting the conversation was anything more than accidental. The next day Greene and I were ordered to the jail to see some prisoners of war. There I found some persons in for robbery and one for murder. As I found I had good success in the beginning I determined to keep on, and frequently took occasion to mention the great difficulty which must attend their present state; that it would be tyrannical to execute those persons without a trial; to try and execute them by process in the name of a king with whom we were at war would be absurd; and if neither of these methods were taken they must, whether guilty or not, suffer perpetual imprisonment. The argument took effect, and even Tories themselves acknowledged it was best to take up government till reconciliation

should take place. This doctrine pleased me well, for I knew if government was once assumed, upon whatever motives, they would find that the Rubicon was passed, and that they could never return to their ancient form. I then, by the advice of my privy council, drew up a piece purporting a petition to the Committee of Safety to request leave from the Continental Congress to take up government. This piece I enclose you, and, though badly wrote, it steers so directly between Whigism and Toryism that no person can tell whether it was drawn by a Whig or Tory. My privy council informed me that it had the desired effect; the Whigs were fond of it because if it took effect their point was carried, and no retreat could ever take place; the Tories were fond of it because it held up the d ——— d reconciliation they were seeking after. Being well informed of my success, I thought it time to sound our colonel [thought to be M<sup>c</sup>Dougall]. I sent for him. We conversed freely upon the matter of taking up government. He owned the necessity of it, and said it would be carried into execution at all events at the meeting of their convention. He informed me that almost every person began to see the necessity, and that the instructions then drawing up for their delegates mentioned nothing about effecting a reconciliation, but to protect and defend America. When I found him in the true way to happiness I dismissed him, and attacked others; to Tories I pointed the evils attending their present state; to Whigs I held up the advantage of seizing the precious moment. I soon found my party increase with surprizing rapidity.

[This letter is anonymous in Gordon's History, but is ascribed to Gen. Sullivan by the editor of the Works of John Adams, and is here included on that authority. See letter, Adams to Sullivan, June 23, 1776, in that publication, vol. 9, p. 407.]

[*Gen. Sullivan to Gen. Philip Schuyler, May 10, 1776. Autograph Note.*]

[New York Public Library.]

Albany May 10<sup>th</sup> 1776

General Sullivan presents his most Respectful Compliments To The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Major General Schuyler Informs him That all the Regiments in his Brigade Except Stark & Reed<sup>s</sup> Drew their pay at New York for the Month of April. The Abstracts for that months pay has been presented him he has Examined & finds them Right & begs General Schuyler to grant warrants that they may Receive their pay here previous to their marching —

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to Gen. Washington, May 10, 1776. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Washington Papers, Library of Congress.]

Albany May 10<sup>th</sup> 1776

*Much Respected General* — after a voyage of four Days I arrived at this place where I found Starks & Reeds Regiments who had by order of General Schuyler been Detained here for Boats none of which were then in Readiness for the Troops —

General Schuyler arrived here on the Evening of the Eighth Instant. I waited on him Immediately — he Informed that the Coming of So many Troops was So unexpected that he had not Batteaus to Carry them across the Lakes but the Carpenters being Diligently Employed we found our Selves able to Dispatch Reeds Reg<sup>t</sup> this Day. Starks marches tomorrow windt on Monday Irwin on Tuesday Dayton on wednesday and Waine on Thursday (if he comes up) — the General In-

forms that by the 21<sup>st</sup> Inst (& not before) the Rear of the Brigade may Embark on lake Champlain & the whole may by the first of June arrive in Quebeck —

The post arrived from thence this Day Informs that an Express arrived at Montreal the moment he Left it Informing that our people had burnt the Lower Town of Quebeck & made a Breach in the upper Town. I hear that General Thomson with part of his Brigade has arrived there. I shall do Every thing in my power to Join them immediately and nothing shall Delay me but want of Boats. I Shall Send a Return of my Brigade tomorrow.

---

[*Gen. Philip Schuyler to Gen. Sullivan, May 13, 1776.*]

[American Archives, 4th Series, vol. 6, p. 449.]

Fort George, May 13, 1776

*Dear Sir:* You will see by the enclosed (which after perusal you will seal and instantly forward) the dreadful situation of our troops in Canada. Agreeable to the request of the Commissioners I have ordered your brigade to halt, as you will see by the orders which Captain Wendall carries. I wish you to march such of your brigade as may still be at Albany, except about two hundred men, to any convenient place a few miles on this side, where they may supply themselves with fuel, to save the immoderate expense their stay at Albany will occasion.

Pray visit the corps that are gone on, and give all the assistance possible to forward the provisions.

P. S. As many of the intrenching tools are at Half Moon or Stillwater, I wish the troops that have left Albany could be employed in repairing the roads.

[*Gen. Philip Schuyler to Gen. Sullivan, May 14, 1776.*]

[American Archives, 4th Series, vol. 6, p. 641.]

Saratoga, May 14, 1776.

*Dear Sir:* Some time ago an information on oath was lodged with me against Sir John Johnson, charging him with hostile intentions against us; this has since been confirmed by further information from persons whom I am not at liberty to name.

Judge Duer, who has taken one of the examinations and was present at another, will inform you more particularly. This has induced the enclosed order to Colonel Dayton, whom I beg you will detach with three hundred of his most alert men, to execute this business, and to order the Commissary General to furnish him with six days provision, and carriages to convey it, and to prepare to send more if there should be occasion. It is necessary that Sir John Johnson should not be apprized of their real design, and I have therefore written him on the subject of moving the Highlanders from Tryon County, which you will please to peruse, seal, and send to him by express the soonest possible.

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to Gen. Washington, May 14, 1776. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Washington Papers, Library of Congress.]

Albany May 14<sup>th</sup> 1776

*Dear General* I This moment received from Gen<sup>l</sup> Schuyler the Inclosed malencholy Account from Canada in Consequence of which I am ordered to tarry with my Brigade till the provisions are Sent over — So that my Departure from this place which was to take place tomorrow will not happen — all the Brigade Except

Dayton & Waine are gone on. Dayton was to have march<sup>d</sup> tomorrow morn<sup>g</sup> & Waine with his part of a Reg<sup>t</sup> on the next Day — I am anxious to go forward but cannot go beyond my orders nor Dare I attempt to Return to York. I must Content myself to remain in the Center of Security till our provisions are pass'd over the Lake when perhaps it will be too Late to assist our Distress<sup>d</sup> friends in Canada — I Shall do Every thing in my power to assist in forwarding the provisions & Shall follow them as Soon as possible. I Inclose your Ex<sup>v</sup> a Copy of Gen<sup>l</sup> Schuylers Letter to me which must be my Direction till I have Some Directions from your Excellency —

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to Gen. Schuyler, May 16, 1776. Autographed Letter Signed.*]

[New York Public Library.]

Still water May 16<sup>th</sup> 1776

*Dear General* upon the Receipt of your favor on the 14 Inst<sup>t</sup> at Even<sup>g</sup> I Enquired into the State of the Batteaus found many of them at the wharf but Batteau men were not to be found. I Immediately Draughted from Daytons & Waines Reg<sup>t</sup> a number who Loaded the Boats Set off by 12 of Clock Landed the Provisions at half moon & were returning yesterday morning. I have ordered them to be plying between Albany & Half moon night & Day. I have also made application to the Committee of Albany to Collect a Number of waggons to pass on Loaded to the Lake. I then Rode up to half Moon myself where I found near three hundred Barrells on the Beach & no Teams to bring them on. I wrote to Col<sup>o</sup> Yates to Collect as many waggons as possible. I Saw a number of waggoners and

Desired them to Employ themselves night & Day in forwarding the Provisions — Doctor Mancius of albany Informed me of two persons namely Wynecoop & Tenyke at New City who Could furnish a number of waggons as I could not See Col<sup>o</sup> Yates I ventured to Send for them to Come over and assist. I then Rode up here & found that the provisions did not come on fast Enough Even to Employ the very Small number of Batteaus in this place. I have ordered Col<sup>o</sup> Windes To Draught a number of Batteau men from his Reg<sup>t</sup> to assist in Transport<sup>s</sup> the Provisions & I hope by this means to make two trips Every 24 hours between this & Saratoga Falls. I have ordered one third part of Each Reg<sup>t</sup> to be Employd from Day to Day in mending the Roads between This & half Moon. I have wrote for Col<sup>o</sup> Starks to Employ themselves in mending the Roads above & beg you to order Col<sup>o</sup> Reeds to be Employed in the Same way. I am Convinced that Every thing Depends on our forwarding the provisions & following ourselves with all our force as Soon as possible — I Shall now Return to Albany to forward matters there. I must take the Liberty of Entreating you to Run the venture of Constructing more Batteaus at Every part of the River — This Step Congress must approve under the present Circumstances — Should there be a want of Carpenters I can Supply Sufficient from my Brigade. assure yourself Dear General that nothing Shall be want<sup>s</sup> on my part to promote the important Service we are Engaged in — I Should have come forward to have rec<sup>d</sup> your Commands but knowing that my presence at half Moon & Albany will be of advantage must beg to Receive your Commands on paper till I can have the pleasure of waiting on you in person.

[*Gen. Sullivan to Gen. Washington, May 16, 1776.  
Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Washington Papers, Library of Congress.]

Albany May 16<sup>th</sup> 1776

*My Dear General* I this moment Returned from Still water where I have been To give Some Directions about Conveying the provisions forward to our Troops in Canada — immediately upon the Receipt of The Letters which I forwarded to your Excellency I Draughted a number of men for the Batteaus from the Regiments here being well Convinced that the men appointed for that purpose would not in a year Carry forward provisions Enough to Last our Troops a month. I sent off all the Batteaus to half moon (the night the Express arrived) well Loaded with Pork — our men th<sup>o</sup> unacquainted with the River carried up the Batteaus & Returned again Early in the morning. I had them immediately Loaded & Sent off again — when I had ordered them Constantly to make two trips in 24 hours I thought best to proceed up the River to See whether it went from thence without being Delayed by the Indolence of Such Rascally Batteau men & waggoners as we are Cursed with in this City. When I arrived at half moon (about twelve miles from hence) Early on the 15 Ins<sup>t</sup> to my Surprize I found three hundred Barrels (which I had Sent forward) Lying on the Beach without any teams to Carry them to Still water — about twelve miles further I Enquired for the waggon master & was Informed he was at his own House about Six miles off. I Immediately wrote him of the necessity of his Exerting himself at this time. I heard of Some waggons ready to Enter the Service at New City. I immediately ordered the Commissary there to send for & Employ them — I then proceeded

the same Day to Still water — there I found Some Batteaus Setting off with one oar and a paddle. Some indeed had neither Some of them making one trip to Saratoga Falls in a Day & Some but one in two Days Though the Distance is but Sixteen miles & the water not half so Rapid as between this & half moon. I immediately Draughted a number of water men from Col<sup>o</sup> Windes Regiment for the Batteaus ordered a party to make proper oars & Paddles and with the assistance of the overseer there Contrived matters So that two trips may be made in twenty four hours (at Least Double the number they have heretofore made). I wrote an account of the steps I had taken to General Schuyler and on my Return this Day was happy to find the waggoners formerly Employed in the Service Exerting themselves with a number of new ones who had Joined them in a manner Really astonishing. I met in twelve miles Riding a hundred & thirty Barrells of Pork in waggons many of which were Doubtless at Still water by 12 of the Clock and I Doubt not Double the number will go on tomorrow and I Shall do Every thing in my power to Encrease the number from Day to Day till the provisions are gone when I hope to follow with all possible Expedition to assist our friends in Canada. I Laid the matter before the Committee here who were kind Enough to Collect a number of Strong waggons to go through to Lake George without any water Carriage at all — I find now that we have Sent off great Part of our Pork & in two Days more we shall have none to Send unless it arrives from New York — your Excellency will give Such Directions about this matter as you may think proper — assure yourself my Dear General that nothing Shall be wanting on my part to forward the Business here.

[*Gen. Washington to Gen. Sullivan, May 17, 1776.*]

[American Archives, 4th Series, vol. 6, p. 490.]

New York, May 17, 1776.

*Sir:* Your favour of the 14th instant I received this morning, and am exceedingly sorry for the sad reverse of fortune in our affairs in Canada. They are rather alarming, but I hope our vigorous exertions will be attended with success, notwithstanding the present unpromising appearances, and that we shall yet acquire and maintain possession of that country, so important to us in the present contest.

I have transmitted the intelligence to Congress with your orders from General Schuyler, whose direction you must follow until I send you their determination or my commands to the contrary.

[*Gen. Sullivan to Col. Elias Dayton, May 17, 1776.*]

[American Archives, 4th Series, vol. 6, p. 493.]

Albany, May 17, 1776.

*Sir:* In your march from this to Tryon County and at that place every method must be used to prevent the soldiers from firing their pieces, insulting the inhabitants, or doing any act of rudeness whatsoever. A strict silence must be observed by the men at all times. When you are arrived and have seized Sir John Johnson you are to seize the following persons, or either of them which you may find at his house, namely: James Grey, John Munroe, Thomas Swords, Captain McAlpine, Hugh Munro, Mr. Clyde of Stillwater, Isaac Mann of Stillwater, or either of his sons, Joseph Anderson or Samuel Anderson.

Your men are frequently to be cautioned against

offering any insult or abuse to the Indians, as one act of rudeness in a soldier might involve America in a dangerous war with a savage enemy.

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to Gen. Washington, May 18, 1776. Letter Signed.*]

[Washington Papers, Library of Congress.]

Albany May 18<sup>th</sup> 1776

May it Please your Excellency

I Cannot but Esteem it my Duty to Inform your Excellency of the Horrid abuse to the publick by Keeping up the Two Regiments of Vanscoit [Van Schaick] & Winckoop. Those Regiments are said to be in this Quarter, but upon the strictest Enquiry, can be found no where. Col<sup>o</sup> Vanscoit is here himself but has never furnished a man for guard or any Other Duty Since my Arrival. I have been applied to by L<sup>t</sup> Col<sup>o</sup> Courtland of Winckoop's Regiment, for pay for Two Companies. I enquired where they were he Said in Tryon County to Keep the Torys in Awe, he at the Same time told me, that they had not now, nor have they ever had any arms or Ammunition. I Suppose they have been Employed on their Farms all the Year, and I believe that is the Case with the Principle part of the Two Regiments. I Called on Col<sup>o</sup> Courtland for a Return, which being Incompleat I return'd it to him again. I found in Some Companies not a man present fit for Duty or Sick present, in Some there was Eleven in others Less. I desir'd him to make out the Number on Command & Where, which he is now about a Copy of which Return I Shall forward to Your Excellency. I Should take the Same Steps with Col<sup>o</sup> Vanscoit, but am order'd to March as we have Convey'd forward a

Sufficiency of Provisions for the Relief of our Army in Canada, my Brigade is now on their March for the Lake, Stark & Reed I Suppose will pass Lake George Tomorrow, Winds the Day after, Irvin & Wayne on Tuesday or Wednesday — Col<sup>o</sup> Dayton with three hundred of his Men Set off yesterday for Tryon County & will not Return under Six days. I Shall Leave orders for him to follow on as Soon as possible with that Detachment & the rest of his Regiment, which I have ordered to Remain here till his Return, to Assist in forwarding the Provisions &c. Every kind of abuse is practis'd here, that men long Versed in Villany could Devise —

I found at Still water a Number of Barrells of Pork that the Waggoners had Taped & Drawn off the Pickle to Lighten their Teams. This Pork must Enevitably be Ruin'd before it can reach Canada, as Gen<sup>l</sup> Schuyler was Absent I Order'd the Commissary not to Receive any Such from the Waggoners, & the Commissary at half moon not to receive out of the Boats or Deliver out such to the Waggoners. I order'd the Waggoners not to Receive any such as it would Eventually be thrown on their hands. I then Directed the Commis-sary here not to Send any Barrels forward that had lost the Pickle, which would be only taking up Batteaus & Waggoners to Cary Provisions which when brought to Canada Could not be Eaten. By this Step I hope to prevent any further fraud in the Waggoners who (it appears) Learnt this piece of Skill in the Last War for which Some of them were . . . . . and I hope Some of them may Share the Same fate again

The Application I made to the Committee here for Teams to pass on Loaded to Lake George is of great Advantage, for it makes an Addition of near Two Hundred Barrels a day more than we could have for-

warded by Water Carriage, which will afford an ample Supply to our Army, unless the Stores here Should be Exhausted which will Soon be the Case, if we are not Supplied from below. I hope that Matter will be thought of & Remedied in Season.

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to Gen. Schuyler, May 18, 1776. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[New York Public Library.]

Albany May 18<sup>th</sup> 1776

*Much Esteemed General* I rece<sup>d</sup> your favour Respecting the Expedition to Tryon County & with Consent of the Committee Dispatched Col<sup>o</sup> Drayton with 300 men yesterday. I also Rec<sup>d</sup> your favour Respecting Sending forward the Troops & have given orders accordingly. This Days Rain will Delay us till Tomorrow as Soon as I can get them off Shall proceed to Join you at Lake George.

---

[*Col. Elias Dayton to Gen. Sullivan, May 19, 1776.*]

[American Archives, 4th Series, vol. 6, p. 511.]

Johnstown, May 19, 1776.

*Sir:* I arrived at this town about five o'clock this day, and immediately sent Major Barber and one of the Committee of Tryon County with a letter to Sir John Johnson, informing him that I had arrived with a body of troops to guard the Highlanders to Albany, and desired that he would fix a time for their assembling. When these gentlemen came to Johnson Hall they were informed by Lady Johnson that Sir John Johnson had received General Schuyler's letter by the express; that he had consulted the Highlanders upon

the contents, and that they had unanimously resolved not to deliver themselves as prisoners, but to go another way, and that Sir John Johnson had determined to go with them. She added that if they were pursued they were determined to make an opposition, and had it in their power in some measure. As this makes a total alteration in our expedition I have thought advisable to send you immediate notice by express to receive further orders in this matter. I have likewise despatched an express to the German Flats in order to alarm the people, and to know whether Sir John Johnson has taken that route.

The Commissioners who went to inform the Indians of the march of our troops have returned from the Castle, and acquaint us that the old Sachems are peaceable and well-affected, but about thirty Indians who are attached to Sir John have just marched armed to Johnson Hall. Whether they are gone to assist Sir John (who may possibly not be gone from his house) or whether to join a body of other people I cannot say.

Whilst I am writing this another party of twenty five Indians have passed another way into the town. In this situation of affairs I have thought it advisable to take every precaution to prevent surprise till I hear further from you. Tomorrow morning I shall send proper persons into the settlement to see whether the Highlanders are in reality gone off, and to discover, if possible, what force Sir John can collect. If you think proper to pursue any vigorous measures in order to apprehend these persons we shall immediately want a further supply of provisions and powder &c.

To the Hon. John Sullivan at Albany.

[*Gen. Sullivan to Gen. Schuyler, May 25, 1776. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[New York Public Library.]

Ticonderoga May 25<sup>th</sup> 1776

*Much Respected General* I arrived here on the Same Day I Left you at about five of Clock in the afternoon. Though we had not a Breath of wind Except ag<sup>t</sup> us till we got within Six miles of the Landing. I found that Col<sup>o</sup> Wind had arrived but a few hours before us having had a Strong head wind all the Day he Left us though the wind was South at Fort George. This was undoubtedly the Case as the Quarter Master here tells me they had a Strong northwesterly wind all that Day — This prevents me from being So Expeditious as I Expected as we had to wait till Col<sup>o</sup> Wind got his Baggage over. The Teams here are Extremely weak but the Quarter Master is a very Industrious person & gives us all the Dispatch in his power. I hope to get as far as ticonderoga Fort to Day & Early in the morning of tomorrow Set off for S<sup>t</sup> Johns — I have Since I Left you Recollected that I gave a Rec<sup>t</sup> for all the tents Sent up with a promise to Deliver them in Canada. I would therefore take it as a favour if you would please to forward them to me with your Directions how to Distribute them. I would urge the necessity of ordering them forward as Soon as possible as I hear our men in Canada are prodigiously Scattered for want of them.

[*Gen. Sullivan to Gen. Schuyler, May 27, 1776. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[New York Public Library.]

Ticonderoga May 27<sup>th</sup> 1776

*Dr Sir* M<sup>r</sup> David Henry Commissary for St Johns has this moment Landed & Informs that the Eighth Regiment Joined by a Number of Canadians and Indians attacked Colo Beadle [Bedel] at the Cedars & have Cut him & his party off. Major Sherburne of Colo Pattersons Regiment with a hundred men went to assist them Engaged & Drove four hundred of the Enemy Some Miles but they being Joined by a Number of Canadians & Indians making the whole amount to about a Thous<sup>d</sup> Renewed the fight and Cutt off Sherburn & his party to a man — The Same Party attacked the Canawaga Indians Defeated them and killd Sixty. The Canawaga Indians have Sent an Express to our army Demanding assistance & threatning if they had not immediate Relief to Join the Enemy. This being a true State of facts I beg you would Send Col<sup>o</sup> Dayton with his Regiment on as fast as possible. I beg you to write General Washington for more troops & that you would please to order the armed vessels here to Sail to the other End of the Lake immediately to keep Command of the water. I am this moment Embarking at this place the weakness of the Teams & badness of the weather has prevented our getting the Boats across as Soon as we Expected.

---

[*Gen. Schuyler to the Commissioners of Congress in Canada, May 28, 1776. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Fort George May 28<sup>th</sup> 1776

*Gentlemen* I was just now honored with your Favor

of the 17<sup>th</sup> Inst. I hope that before this the greater part of the provision I have sent from hence is arrived in Canada, and that you have a Sufficiency for twenty or twenty five Days, which I hope to keep up provided it is sent in sufficient Quantities from New York; that I can get Troops to convey it, and that I am not obliged to appear before a Court Martial to answer a Charge of High Treason against me by the Committee of King's District, founded on the affidavids of persons that are not to be named — I am informed that one of the Charges against me is, that I am sending all the provisions in this Country to Canada, with a view that it may fall into the Enemy's Hands.

Altho' I could find Materials at this place for building such a Gundalo, as the two I caused to be constructed last Year, yet I cannot in less than a Fort-night begin one on Lake Champlain, and if finished ever so soon it will be too late to get down the Rapids of Chamblé, as the water will be too low — The Row Galley we took from the Enemy last Year might be converted into one, and I shall immediately order her to S<sup>t</sup> John's: indeed I had ordered her there some Time ago, with the Shot Shells Cannon &c but she could not go for want of Sails, a Difficulty now obviated. I have transmitted a Copy of your Letter to General Washington.

I wish you to hint to the commanding officers the Necessity of sending me regular Returns.

D<sup>r</sup> Franklin and M<sup>r</sup> Carroll left Albany on Wednesday last in my Chariot, which they are to take down to New York.

[*Gen. Sullivan to John Hancock, June 1, 1776. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Continental Congress Papers, No. 160, Library of Congress.]

St Johns June 1<sup>st</sup> 1776

*Much Esteemed Sir* I must beg Leave to Inform Congress that I arrived here Last Evening with my Brigade Except Col<sup>o</sup> Draytons & part of Col<sup>o</sup> Waines Regiment The former of which was by order of General Schuyler Sent to Tryon County. The Latter I hear are Detained at New York I know not for what Length of time — upon my arrival I was Informed that General Thomas was Down with the Small Pox without the Least prospect of a Recovery. General Worster is here with his Baggage Returning to Conecticut by means of which the Command Devolves upon me. I have done Every thing I possibly could in the time to get Information of the true State of affairs — and can in a word Inform you that no one thing is Right. Every thing is in the utmost Confusion & almost Every one Frightened at they know not what — The Report is that General Carlton has advanced to Three Rivers & the Ships are Coming up the River St Lawrence other persons who have Come from Eighty miles below Quebeck Declare that there is no appearance of Men or Ships on this Side that City & for my own part I am fully convinced That the Latter Report is true — however that may be I am Surprized that an Army Should Live in Continual fear of & Even Retreat before an Enemy which no person among them has Seen. I think they might at Least have ventured Some persons in whom they could Confide to view them from the neighbouring heighths & give some account of their numbers & movements but nothing of this kind is Done: I Shall Set out Early Tomorrow for Montreal & will proceed till I can find with Certainty

where the Enemy is & what they are about. I find the Lower & Some of the higher Class of French people in our favour and fear much that we are about to Leave them a Captain of the Militia this Day waited on me by Desire as he Says of three Parishes which offer to turn out Six hundred men to assist us & furnish them with arms & provisions they Complain that we have Slighted their repeated offers to Join us how this is I cannot pretend to Determine. I have Requested this officer to meet me at Chamblee in the morning & I think if I find the men in Earnest I may with as much propriety Employ them on our Side as Carlton does the Indians on his — I Shall however Endeavour to Encourage this Disposition & make the best advantages of it I can — I am Extremely Sorry to Inform you that from the officers whose Business it was to give Congress the True State of matters Congress has not as I believe received any thing like it. This I conclude from the Repeated Letters Sent to Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington giving the most favourable Accounts & promising a Speedy Reduction of Quebeck when there was not Even a probability of it & the Army with which this was to be done had Dwindled into a Mobb without Even the form of order or Regularity. The Consequence of which we have Experienced by the Infamous Retreat from Quebeck & the Still more Scandalous Surrender of the Post at the Cedars for the Particulars of which I Refer you to the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Commissioners now upon their Return to Philadelphia. I Shall Immediately appoint a Court of Inquiry upon Col<sup>o</sup> Beadle & Major Butterfield & Transmit Congress the Result. I Shall do Every thing in my power to Rectify the Disorders & get the army into Some kind of Regularity — I find no proper Commissary appointed & the publick Stores Left to the mercies of Searjeants and other persons who are Guilty of

Every kind of fraud the Regiments Sent here are Torn & Divided into Numerous parts Scattered from one End of the Country to another this method besides its being highly Impolitick will Ever prevent the officers from making proper Returns of their men & naturally Destroys that Subordination which Ever ought to be kept up in an army — There has been no Return of warlike Stores Sent here & the powder Sent from time to time I am Informed has been greatly Diminished & no persons can tell how — To give you a full account of what I have already Learnt would take a volume. I must therefore beg Leave to Refer you to the honourable Commissioners who will give you full Information on the Subject — I Shall immediately after I find out where General Carlton with his formidable force is and what they are about give you the Earliest Information.

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to Gen. Washington, June 3, 1776. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Washington Papers, Library of Congress.]

Chamblee June 3<sup>d</sup> 1776

*My dear General* I had wrote a Letter to Congress & Expected to have the honour of writing one to you before the Commissioners Departed but as I found them going off before I could possibly finish one to you I Sealed that & beg<sup>d</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Chase to Desire y<sup>r</sup> Excellency to open & read it which Contained the purport of what I Intended to write y<sup>r</sup> Excellency — I have Since that been to Montreal & find almost Every person agreed to Depart without Ever Seeing the Enemy — Gen<sup>l</sup> Thomson writes that about Eight hundred of the Enemy have arrived at three Rivers 45 miles below Sorell where he is. This he has by Report only. I find that

all the heavy baggage is Sent away with the Intrenching tools &c — on that account I have ordered them back & am this moment Embarking for Sorell where I hope to arrive by Day Break & meet them with all the force I can make. I am far from fearing 800 men against Such a force as I can muster. I have Desired all the General officers to be with me there who Seem well Satisfied to go on — want of time prevents my writing more fully on the State of affairs here at present which I Shall not forget to do as Soon as possible.

---

[*Gen. Schuyler to the Commander of the Army in Canada, June 4, 1776. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Tyconderoga June 4<sup>th</sup> 1776.

*Dr Sir* You will before this reaches you have received the Resolutions of Congress, which I transmitted you by Cap<sup>t</sup> Hicks, and altho' I make no Doubt but that agreeable to their order every Foot of Ground will be disputed with the Enemy: yet as you may be under the Necessity of retreating, I wish you to take Measures for bringing away from Montreal all the Goods you possibly can, and especially all the Nails giving a Receipt therefore and pledging the Faith of the Colonies for the payment.

I am informed that it has been recommended by the Hon'ble Commissioners of Congress to seize and send into the Colonies, all such persons as have been notoriously disaffected to them; a Measure which appears to me absolutely necessary for the preservation of such of our Friends as are or may fall into the Enemy's Hands in the Course of this Contest.

I was in Hopes that Flour would have been procured

in Canada in sufficient Quantities for the army; but learning from officers that came down, that you were in great Distress for the Want of that article, I immediately ordered a Quantity from Albany. Upwards of one hundred Barrels leave this to Day and you will henceforth have a daily Supply, but as the Garrison here is too weak to keep up the Communication — You must send up as many Batteaus as you possibly can.

Please to send all the prisoners that are in Canada either upon their parole or otherwise to this place to be forwarded to Albany.

The very heavy Expence as well as the Difficulty of procuring provisions for your army should induce the greatest Care of that important article — I have issued orders of the 26<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup>, which if strictly complied with will have the most salutary Consequences — please to issue them — I have no Copy with me, but M<sup>r</sup> Swart has of whom you can get them.

General Thomas or officer commanding the Army in Canada

---

[*J. Duggan to Gen. Sullivan, June 5, 1776. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Washington Papers, Library of Congress.]

S<sup>t</sup> Tours June 5<sup>th</sup> 1776

*Hon<sup>ble</sup> Sir*, I Beg leave to introduce the Bearer Theordore Chartrer to your honour, as an honest, worthy Man & well attach'd to the Cause, he has great influence amongst the Canadians & Indians & was your honor to give him authority would raise one or two hundred men directly & march down to Sorell to join the Army — the men by his information are daily deserting from Col<sup>l</sup> Hazen, & should be unfortunate he has reason to think they would be against us & that

there is some foul play going on there — I should be much obliged to your Honor for an answer. As to myself I think I cannot consistent with my Character as a man of honor take upon me any Commission to raise Men untill that unjust aspersion on my Character by Col. Hazen is clear'd up. I apply'd to his honor Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington for a Court of Inquiry to inspect into my Conduct & notwithstanding the Gen<sup>ls</sup> order I could not get him to attend the said Court to make good his accusations against me — The Bearer by order of Gen<sup>l</sup> Woedkle drew provisions at Chamblee while the Gen<sup>l</sup> stay'd there but as soon as the Gen<sup>l</sup> was gone he was depriv'd of that Priviledge as he is a Man that by his good Conduct & behaviour is very deserving of that benefit — what Col Hazens reasons were for not obeying the Gen<sup>ls</sup> order I cannot tell.

As to my Character from the first of the war I should be much obliged to your honor to enquire of any Person who Knows me, particularly Col Campbell, till that point respecting Coll Hazens accusations is cleared up I cannot in honor & common decency take any part in the present affair. I beg leave to acquaint your honor that there is 1000 £ stg offered for my head by Gen<sup>l</sup> Charleton. I promised your honor to return to Sorrell to day, but the extream hurry of business here at present will deprive me of that honor to day, but will if possible wait on your honor tomorrow

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to Gen. Washington, June 5, 1776. Letter Signed.*]

[Washington Papers, Library of Congress.]

Sorrell June 5<sup>th</sup> 1776

*Dear General* I have the pleasure to Inform you that I arriv'd here at a very Critical Moment with my

Brigade. Gen<sup>l</sup> Thompson was Left with but very few men to Defend this Important post. The Troops being Scatter'd about in a most Shocking manner. I had Issued orders for all the well men to follow me as upon Departure of Gen<sup>l</sup> Worster & the Death of General Thomas the Command Devolved on me; having given those Orders I proceeded with the Troops I brought with me to Join General Thompson, who was in the greatest Distress as Gen<sup>l</sup> Carltons Fleet had pass'd the Sorrell & was Coming up the River with a fair wind as was Reported on all Quarters — a Retreat Seem'd in all parts to be agreed on, & the heavy Baggage & most of the Artillery was Remov'd to S<sup>t</sup> Johns & Chamblee. This Caused the French men to Curse our Cowardice & Lament their Folly in favouring a Cause which we had so poorly Defended, but upon my Coming with a Large Force ordering all the Troops to follow & the Cannons to be Return'd, I found Joy in every Countenance Except some very few Tories, it Really was very affecting to See the Banks of the Sorrell Lined with men Women & Children Leaping & Clapping their hands for Joy to See me Arrive, it gave no Less Joy to Gen<sup>l</sup> Thompson who Seem'd to be Wholly forsaken & Left to fight against unequal Force or Retreat before them — upon my Arrival I was Surpriz'd to hear that notwithstanding all we have read about the Sorrell our people had not thrown up as much Work as I Could do with a Hundred men in Two days & that Extremely ill done — there was three Cannon & three only mounted in all the Works. I Set all the men at Work & have this Day almost Inclosed the Encampment and Compleated a Battery on the north Side of the river w<sup>th</sup> 3 Cannons. General Thompson Says & I believe with great Truth that more Work was done here this day than has been in Canada Since the Surrender of S<sup>t</sup> Johns —

June the 6<sup>th</sup> 1776

This Morning Two Expresses Arrived from three Rivers which were Sent to Observe the Motions of the Enemy, one of them was a Friendly Canadian who Lived at Three Rivers & pass'd among the fleet, the Other one of our own Officers. They agree that the Number of vessels are as follows one Ship one Brigg & Eight Sloops & Schooners. They both Say that the Troops there amount to no more than Three Hundred who are Intrenching themselves at the Three Rivers. I have Detached General Thompson with about Two Thousand of our best Troops to Attack them, a Copy of his Orders are Inclosed which hope will be Approved by your Excellency — Our Affairs here have taken a Strange turn Since our Arrival. The Canadians are Flocking by Hundreds to take a part with us. I am giving them Commissions Agreeable to the Inclosed Form, which I hope will not be thought an unnecessary assumption of Power. I really find most of them Exceeding friendly. I have Sent out for Carts Teams &c. They have come in with the greatest Chearfullness & what gives Still greater Evidence of their Friendship is that they have Voluntarily Offer'd to Supply us with what Wheat, flour &c we want & ask nothing in return but Certificates — they begin to Complain against their Priests & wish them to be Secured. I Shall however Touch this String with great Tenderness at present as I know their Sacerdotal Influence. I really find by the present Behaviour of the Canadians that the Only reason of their Disaffection was because our Exertions were so feeble that they doubted much of our Success & even of our Ability to protect them, but the face of our affairs seem now to be Changed & in the Midst of our pleasing prospects an Express arrives from Gen<sup>l</sup> Schuyler with Sixteen Hundred & Sixty two pounds one

Shilling & three pence Pennsylvania Currency in Specie, with the Spirited Resolves of Congress. This gave new Life to our Canadian Friends & added Spirit to our Troops. I was Extreemely happy to find that I have Anticipated the Wishes of Congress — & had thro' every Embarrasment pressed downward toward the Important posts they wished for, it was my fixed Determination to gain post at Dischambeau which I mean to Fortify so as to make it inaccessible. This Commands the Channel, Secures the Country Destroys the Communication & Affords a Safe Retreat, if we are Oblidg'd to make one. Gen<sup>l</sup> Thompson was Embarking for that purpose when the Resolves Arrived. The Ships are now above that place but if General Thompson Succeeds at three Rivers, I will Soon Remove the Ships below Richlieu falls & after that Approach Toward Quebeck as fast as possible & according to the present appearance of Affairs may Exceed in Number the Hannoverians &c which we are threatned with. I have no Doubt of the General Attachment of the Canadians, though I Suppose some unprincipled Wretches among them will Always appear against us, but a vast Majority will be for us & perhaps as many according to their Numbers are Really in our favour as in Some other Colonies upon the Continent, many of them are with General Thompson in this Expedition & great numbers are here Ready Equipped waiting my Orders. I may Venture to Assure you & the Congress that I can in a few days Reduce the Army to order & with the Assistance of a Kind providence put a new face to our Affairs here, which a few days Since Seem'd almost impossible. General Thompson & the Baron De Woodkle have done every thing in their power to Assist me — Gen<sup>l</sup> Arnold has not Join'd me being as you may see by his Letter which I Inclose you much Engaged at

Montreal upon Affairs of Importance. This post at Lachine which he Mentions I can by no means Consent to Afford such a Large Body of men to Defend against a petty Number of Savages Little Less than a Mobb. I have therefore order'd a Small Fortification to be thrown up by Col<sup>o</sup> De haas party Consisting of about Nine Hundred men & made Inaccessable at Least to Savages & Garrison'd it with Two Hundred men the rest to Return to me as all our Opperations ought to be Down the River where if we are Successful the Insurrection there will Die of Course. I have Order'd a months Provision to be Lodged there Lest an Excuse of surrendering for want of provisions before we can Relieve it, Should take place as at the Cedars. I Dont think it a post of any Great Importance or Interest to any in our Rear, Except S<sup>t</sup> Johns & Chamblee which will ever Secure our Retreat, & to these I will pay particular attention. I hope D<sup>r</sup> General to give you in a few Days Some Agreeable Intelligence.

P S I Shall Soon Obtain proper Returns of our Scattered Army, & will forward them with Return of Stores &c after which you may Expect them Weekly. I have for your Diversion Enclosed you one which is Similar to what the Other Colonels must make if call'd upon

I also Inclose your Excellency a Letter from Col. Dugan. I have appointed a Court of Enquiry to Enquire into the accusation against him. I am Informed by General Thomson M<sup>r</sup> Bonfield & others that the accusation is false — & that he is an Exceeding useful man — he has at my request Since he wrote the above Letter Raised & armed upward of 200 men for us.

as I have not time to write the Congress beg y<sup>r</sup> Excellency to forward them a Copy of This

[Enclosure.]

Instructions for Gen<sup>l</sup> Thompson

*Dr Sir* / You are to March as Soon as possible with Col<sup>o</sup> Irvins & Col<sup>o</sup> Waines Regiments together with those of Col<sup>o</sup> St Clair now Remaining at this place, & Join Col<sup>o</sup> St Clair at Nicholett & take Command of the Whole party, & unless you find the Number of the Enemy at Three Rivers to be Such as would render an Attack upon them Hazardous you are to Cross the River at the most Convenient place you can & attack them, you will pay particular attention to the preservation of your Batteaus, Keeping them at a Convenient Distance above the Shipping which Lays at or near the Three Rivers. I would by no means advise to an Attack if the prospect of Success is not much in your favour, as a Defeat of your party at this time might prove the Total Loss of this Country. Sir as I have (without flattery) the highest opinion of the Bravery & good Conduct of Yourself & the Officers you Command, I forbear attempting particular Instructions, being well Assur'd that Neither prudence nor Resolution will be Wanting to answer the great purpose we have in View. I have the highest Opinion of the Bravery & Resolution of the Troops you Command & Doubt not but under the Direction of a kind providence you will Open the way for our Recovering that Ground which former Troops have so Shamefully Lost — wishing you the Greatest Success & Safety.

Sorrell June 6<sup>th</sup> 1776 —

[*Col. Moses Hazen to Gen. Sullivan, June 5, 1776. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Revolution Collection, Library of Congress.]

Chamblee 5<sup>th</sup> June 1776

*Sir* I now forward the Several Detachments of Col<sup>o</sup> Porters, Burrels, Maxwells & 1<sup>st</sup> & 2<sup>d</sup> Battallion of Pensylvinian Regiments Consisting of About 160 men Effective, with Eighty one Barrels pork — I have likewise agreeable to General Thompsons orders, Sent down the men who came to Chamblee with the pork under Ensign Calkins of Col<sup>o</sup> Burrels Regiment who I have put in arrest

Col<sup>o</sup> Starks Regiment will be here this Day shall endeavour to forward them with all possible Dispatch by which opportunity I hope to Send forward the Gunde-lows

Cap<sup>t</sup> Hicks goes down by this opportunity with a sum of hard Cash. I beg you will please to order a little part of it for the Distress'd families of the soldiers of my Regiment who were promised to be paid Regularly in hard cash, But they have not Received exclusive of my own advances, their Bounty. I am very apprehensive that there will a number of them leave the Service unless I should be able to obtain a little hard Specie for them

There is a quantity of artillery stores arrived here last evening from Sorrel, what is to be done with it. I beg your orders with Respect thereof.

---

[*Gen. Benedict Arnold to Gen. Sullivan, June 5, 1776.*]

[Correspondence of the American Revolution, Sparks, vol. 1, p. 524.]

Montreal, 5 June, 1776.

*Dear General,* I have complied with your orders, as far as in my power, respecting the destination of the troops.

I intended setting off this day for Sorel, but have been much hindered by taking the goods in town. Every possible obstacle has been thrown in my way. However, I shall secure many articles much wanted by the army. Yesterday, Colonel Dehaas, with his detachment, set off for Sorel. Last night and this morning I have received intelligence of four or five hundred savages and Canadians being on the Island, with the intention of attacking our post at La Chine; and as the garrison is so weak we can spare few men from it, I have thought proper to order Colonel Dehaas to return. I think it absolutely necessary some effectual methods should be taken with the savages immediately, or we shall be obliged to keep up a large force here. I shall be continually harassed with them. This affair will prevent my joining you at Sorel as soon as I could wish. It will not be in my power to take an account of the goods, and send them off, these three days.

I believe the enemy below will not advance very suddenly. I make no doubt you will have time to prepare for them, and that we shall be reënforced in time to secure this part of the country. I have ordered Colonel Bedel, his Major, and Captain Young, to Sorel for their trial.


An express arrived here from Three Rivers yesterday. I must refer you to General Thompson for the advice he brought. We have only two pieces of cannon here, and no matrosses.

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to Gen. Schuyler, June 7, 1776. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[New York Public Library.]

Sorell June 7<sup>th</sup> 1776

*Dear General* Not having time to write you fully I Refer you  to the Inclosed papers which beg you to

peruse Seal & forward p<sup>r</sup> Express as Soon as possible

[Enclosure]

Instructions for Gen<sup>l</sup> Thompson

*Dr Sir/* You are to March as Soon as possible with Col<sup>o</sup> Irvin's & Col<sup>o</sup> Waine's Regiments together with those of Col<sup>o</sup> St Clair now Remaining at this place, & Join Col<sup>o</sup> St Clair at Nicholett & take Command of the Whole party, & unless you find the Number of the Enemy at Three Rivers to be Such as would render an Attack upon them Hazardous you are to Cross the River, at the most Convenient place you can & attack them, you will pay particular attention to the preservation of your Batteaus, Keeping them at a Convenient Distance above the Shipping which Lays at or near the Three Rivers. I would by no means advise to an Attack if the prospect of Success is not much in your favour, as a Defeat of your party at this time might prove the Total Loss of this Country. Sir as I have (without flattery) the highest Opinion of the Bravery & good Conduct of Yourself & the Officers you Command, I forbear attempting particular Instructions, being well Assured that Neither prudence nor Resolution will be Wanting to answer the great purpose we have in View. I have the highest Opinion of the Bravery & Resolution of the Troops you Command & Doubt not but under the Direction of a kind providence you will Open the way for our Recovering that Ground which former Troops have so Shamefully Lost wishing you the Greatest Success & Safety,

Sorrell June 6<sup>th</sup> 1776 —

[*Gen. Sullivan to Gen. Washington, June 7, 1776. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 152, Vol. 2, Library of Congress.]

Sorell June 7<sup>th</sup> 1776

*Dr General* after having as I think given you a Just Representation of our affairs in Canada which I Dare Say Every person here will witness to I must beg you to Excuse my giving you the Trouble of one Petition which is That if it be possible for your Excellency or General Lee to come here that it might be done. Though I Suppose General Lee cannot be Spared where he is I am well perswaded that Canada would be ours from the moment of y<sup>r</sup> Excellency's arrival but in Case neither of you can come to take the Command I beg That if any other officer is Sent to take it That I may have Leave to Return as I am well Convinced that the Same disorder & Confusion which has almost Ruined our Army here would again Take place & Compleat its Destruction which I should not wish to See. This Confusion & Disorder your Excellency Discovered in Some Degree on your arrival at Cambridge — And if y<sup>r</sup> Excellency or General Lee cannot Come to take the Command we that are on the Spot will undertake to keep possession of the Ground we have & keep advancing our posts till we have by the assistance of heaven Compleated the wishes of Congress & fulfilled the Desires of your Excellency.

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to Gen. Washington, June 8, 1776. Letter Signed.*]

[Washington Papers, Library of Congress.]

Sorrell June 8<sup>th</sup> 1776.

*Dear General* At three Quarters after 11 of Clock forenoon I received a Letter from Gen<sup>l</sup> Thompson of

Which the Inclosed is a Copy. I find that he proceeded in the Manner proposed & made his Attack on the Troops at three Rivers at Day light for at that time a very heavy Cannonading began which lasted with Some Intervals to Twelve of Clock — it is now near one P. M. — the firing has Ceased, Except Some Irregular firing with Cannon, at a Considerable Distance of time one from the Other — at Eight of Clock a very heavy firing of Small Arms was heard Even here at the Distance of Forty five miles. The Distance might have Render'd it Doubtful had not the Boats down the Bay which have Since Arrived Confirm'd it, & Declared they Distinctly heard the Small Arms for a Long time. I am almost Certain that Victory has Declared in our favour, as y<sup>e</sup> Irregular firing of the Cannon for Such a Length of time after the Small arms Ceased, Shows that our Men are in possession of the Ground. I should Immediately Set off to Join General Thompson with Col<sup>o</sup> Dehaas Detachment, but by Some Strange kind of Conduct in General Arnold Directly Contrary to repeated Orders, he has Kept that Detachment dancing between this & Montreal ever Since my Arrival. Some of the Officers this moment Arrived, Inform that he Let them come within Eighteen Miles of this place, & order'd them back again, he has now permitted them to pass to Chamblee, & I Expect them here this Evening, When I Shall Immediately Sett off with them to Join General Thompson. I am now inform'd by M<sup>r</sup> M<sup>c</sup>Carty that Gen<sup>l</sup> Arnold has abandon'd Montreal, & gone to Chamblee with all the Troops. I hope this Report is not Just, as the Step must be in Every light Imprudent & Injudicious, it Leaves that Quarter intirely without a Check & gives our Enemies Liberty to Assemble & form any Mischievous designs they please without interruption. I hear that the report at Montreal

Yesterday was that the Enemy had pass'd us at the Sorrell & were passing up the River, this gave the Alarms & Caused them to abandon the City. I wish it may not prove true, but as it is so much of a piece with former Conduct, I cant help giving some degree of Credit to it. Notwithstanding the Weakness of this post Occasion'd by the Strange Delay of Col<sup>o</sup> De Haas, I have Sent Col<sup>o</sup> Wind with his Regiment to Reinforce General Thompson. This I did this Morning at Eight of Clock. They Join'd him before now I trust. I hope Soon to follow with more force to Maintain the Ground which I dare Say our Troops have won, we hear no firing now Except a few Cannon at a great Distance of time between Sometimes half an hour Space at least. This with many other Circumstances induce me to believe our Troops are Victorious. I am Anxious to know the Event which God grant may be Fortunate, however if our party have been or Should be Defeated, I am Determin'd not to Leave Canada, but to make Vigilance & Industry Supply the want of Numbers. I am Determin'd to fortify & Secure the most Important posts, & hold them as long as one Stone is Left upon another — it is a Serious truth that our Army is Extremely weak. Col<sup>o</sup> Greaton is with me without a Single man all under Innoculation, Col<sup>o</sup> Bond with all his Regim<sup>t</sup> in the Same Situation, Col<sup>o</sup> Patterson has Six only, Col<sup>o</sup> Stark about forty, Col<sup>o</sup> Reeds & Col<sup>o</sup> Poors nearly in the Same Situation. Poor is at St Johns, Reed at Chamblee, Col<sup>o</sup> Russells Return I Sent in my Last, & the other Regiments are most of them in the Same Situation, for this Colony it Seems has been of Late Considered as the General Hospital of America. The party with General Thompson & that with Col<sup>o</sup> Dehaas Contains the flower of our Army at Present. Some Regiments are nearly out of the Small pox & will

be fit for Duty in a few days, our Numbers will be daily increasing. I should however Rejoice to See General Green here with his Brigade, if he can be Spared from New York.

June 12<sup>th</sup> 1776

I Could not close the foregoing Letter till I could get Some Certain Intelligence of General Thompson & his party, most of which after being Unfortunatly repulsed, are now Return'd but the Gen<sup>l</sup> himself with Col<sup>o</sup> Irvin Doct<sup>r</sup> M<sup>o</sup>Kenzie M<sup>r</sup> Currie M<sup>r</sup> Burd M<sup>r</sup> Edy & Parson M<sup>o</sup>Colley have unluckily fallen into the hands of our Enemies, a flagg has Arrived this night for their Baggage by which he writes that he & the Other Gentlemen are treated with the greatest politeness by Gen<sup>l</sup> Burgoyne who Commands at Three Rivers — The Officers Suppose they had about Twenty five Killed & we find Missing in the whole about a Hundred & fifty, Some of which we Expect in yet, as Some have arrived this Evening & Say more will be in. The Gen<sup>l</sup> was taken after the Retreat by Some Canadian Militia Summon'd in by Carlton. I have also a number which I have Summon'd in to take part with us under Command of the Baron De Woodkle — our people Say that the Canadians were in General very kind to them upon their Retreat & gave them every Assistance in their power. The Unfortunate Defeat of General Thompson & his Detachment happen'd in this Manner Viz. the Repeated accounts from three rivers of the Smallness of their Numbers Induced Gen<sup>l</sup> Thompson to Detach Col<sup>o</sup> St Clair to attack them with Seven Hundred men before my Arrival. This not having being put in Execution & S<sup>t</sup> Clair remaining at Nichollet & the Account of their Weakness being Confirmed The Gen<sup>l</sup> Solicited the Liberty of attacking

them, which I granted giving ord<sup>rs</sup> which I inclosed in my Last, he Crossed from Nichollet to three Rivers in the night but being Lead into a Morass by his Guide was Obliged to return back near Two Miles, in which time y<sup>e</sup> day Broke he was Discover'd, The Ships began to Cannonade & Continued while he Marched thro' a Swamp which took near an hour & a half. The people came up to the Attack, but unlucky for them Twenty five Vessels had Arrived that night with Troops which they Landed while he Marched on & being well prepared gave them so Warm a Reception that the Troops Soon Broke & quitted the Ground; the Cannonading & all the firing after that was a Meer random firing, which answered very Little purpose — when they found our Troops began to give way, they Detach'd a party of Six hundred by the Side of the River to attack them in flank & to Secure our Batteaus. The Batteaus were preserved by Major Wood who brought them Off. One Batteau only was taken with four Barrels of powder & Nothing Else on Board. The men Escaped. This D<sup>r</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> is a State of this Unfortunate Enterprize — what you will hear next I Cannot Say. I am every Moment Inform'd of the Vast number of the Enemy which have arrived. Some Indeed Say that great Number have Arrived from England & all the Troops from Halifax: this I do not believe but I apprehend their numbers are now very Great. I have here only Two thous<sup>d</sup> five hundred & thirty three Rank & file, most of the Officers Seem Discourag'd & of Course their men. I am Employ'd day & night in fortifying & Securing my Camp, & am Determin'd to hold it as Long as a person will Stick by me. I have heard nothing Of Col<sup>o</sup> Daytons or the Residue of Col<sup>o</sup> Waynes Regim<sup>t</sup> or of the Others Order'd here. Sure I am that they are much wanted. There is Some Regim<sup>ts</sup>

all down in the Small pox not a Single man fit for duty. This will be remedied in time unless the Enemy make a Sudden push which Indeed we Expect every hour if so we must with the Numbers we have Sustain their Efforts. & I hope Repulse them.

P. S. Our Old Friend Col<sup>o</sup> Louie of the Caughnawagas has this moment arrived Express from that tribe Says all the Indian Tribes have made peace even the Canasadugas & those tribes which join'd Cap<sup>t</sup> Foster at the Cedars except the Roundocks, these have Refus'd in Councill & Declare They will take arms for the king and have Sent to Gen<sup>l</sup> Carlton to Let him Know it. This tribe Consists of Fifty Warriors only. The Caughnawagas & other tribes Desire that we Should Send up Some force which they will Join with to Exterpate them. This they would do themselves, but are apprehensive that Some few french through the Influence of their priests will Join them. Indeed I can but Illy Spare the force but it is a Matter of Too much Importance to be Neglected. I must therefore Send Some force under the Command of an Experienc'd Officer.

---

[*Gen. Benedict Arnold to Gen. Sullivan, June 11, 1776. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Montreal June 11<sup>th</sup> 1776 —

*Dear General* I wrote you this morning Via Chamble and Inclosed, Sundry Papers, respecting the Affair at the Cedars, & the Officers sent down under Arrest. I have Just received the Inclosed Letter from D<sup>r</sup> Stringer, which is of so much Importance I have Sent of the bearer with it, that you may give Such Directions in time as you may think best. I think it will be prudent

to remove the Sick and Wounded who are not likely to be servicable soon to Ile Aux Noix, together with the Stores, Medicines and some Tents & Boats — The Goods which I seized here for the Use of the Army I Sent to S<sup>t</sup> Johns, by Major Scotts having them are some Plundered & the rest in the greatest Confusion & Disorder. Nothing is yet done to the Works at S<sup>t</sup> Johns. I have only three hundred Men here & One hundred & fifty at La Chine, great Part of Whom I expect will have the Small Pox in a few days — I intend going to Chamble & S<sup>t</sup> Johns early in the Morning & shall return As soon as possible. — M<sup>r</sup> Tucker is this Minute Arived here from Chamble & tells a Confused Storey of an engagement between General Thompson & a Superior force of the enemy, & that both Armies retired the Enemy to three Rivers & our Troops to Borthier. I wait with great Anxiety to know the truth of this Matter —

P S. I have borrowed Several Sums of hard Money, & should be glad of Four or five hundred Pounds If you can Spare it, will it not be best to give Our Paper Money a Currency by Declaring those Enemies who refuse it, unless Some Such method is taken the Poor Soldiers Receive no benefit from their Pay & Starve in the midst of Plenty with their Pockets full of money.

[Addressed] (On Publick Service) The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Brigadier General Sullivan at Sorell p<sup>r</sup> Express

---

[*Col. Timothy Bedel to Gen. Sullivan, June 12, 1776. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Misc. Mss., New York Historical Society.]

Saint Ours 12<sup>th</sup> June 1776

*Sir/* I have this Moment rec<sup>d</sup> a Message from Caughnawaga and from the Indians above, that one of our

most friendly Indians that was taken Prisoner last Year fell in Company as he was returning from his Hunt with Carleton's Nephew at the Three Rivers last Fryday, who told the Indian that all the Bostonian Indians at Caughnawaga and elsewhere in Canada wou'd immediately be hanged as there were people in every Castle that Informed them who is here against the King, also the same Indian met four Indians of the Roundock Tribe who were going [illegible] with Letters from the Priests & the chief of the French to Gen<sup>l</sup> Carleton, the Letters was to know at what Time they shou'd be ready, and whether they must go and fight against the Indians for America, or the Troops, or Enter the Frontiers. I have also rec<sup>d</sup> a number of Letters before from the Tribes but at this time was unwilling to Trouble your Honour shall be glad of your Answer in this Affair so that I may be able to give the Indians an Answer. I have sent one with this who speaks English and can give you information of affairs — The Indians are very uneasy not knowing what to do as nobody gives them encouragem<sup>t</sup> to take up Arms in our behalf, and they are Solicited every day on the King's part — Last year General Montgomery gave me the Charge of the Indians in these parts which I took Care of to his & their Satisfaction without the least Complaint on either Side — I was Ordered by General Arnold to attend their last meeting, but the same day the Meeting was held I was by his Orders put under Arrest, since that I have been sent for five or six Times, and finding they grow so uneasy I think it my duty to let your Honour know the Situation of Affairs, tho' I am not in a Capacity to Act at present in those Affairs — I beg you won't take it Amiss at my writing on this Subject, shall be glad to know whether Col<sup>o</sup>: Hazen has sent in his Evidence in regard to my Affair —

In Regard to Indian Affairs Colo: De Ors and Colo: Williams can give you more information — Your Compliance with a Line to inform me of the happy news of being soon brought to a Tryal, which will then be some hopes of a speedy release from my Confinement, will for Ever Oblige.

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to Gen. Schuyler, June 12, 1776. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[New York Public Library.]

Sorell June 12<sup>th</sup> 1776

*Dear General* by the Inclosed you will See our Situation our Enemies multiply upon our hands & we have few to oppose them. I believe the whole Force intended for Canada is arrived with Burgoyne at their head. I now think only of a glorious Death or a victory obtained against Superiour numbers. I hear nothing of the other Troops Designed for this place not Even those of my Brigade which Staid behind at which am much Surprized Especially when I Reflect that Every kind of notice has been given of the Infirm State of our Army here.

---

[*Col. Edward Antil to Gen. Sullivan, June 13, 1776.*]

[American Archives, 4th Series, vol. 6, p. 1106.]

Chambly, June 13, 1776.

*Worthy Sir:* You have doubtless ere this received a line from General Arnold acquainting you of his having sent me on a tour to Chambly (this place) to endeavour to collect a proper return of the troops at each post. I have done my utmost, but have not yet finished owing to the scattered situation of our men for twenty

miles in length; as soon as done I shall wait upon you. There are about fifteen hundred at St. Johns, and upwards of twelve hundred here, very few indeed fit for duty.

The loss of Deschambault, I am clear, has lost us the Province. A prudent retreat, I presume, under our present situation, is our only plan. If they should get possession of our boats, of which I am apprehensive, I think they may be at Crown Point before us. This, General, is a bold observation — excuse my freedom. I have lived ten years in the country of their operations, and have seen their manoeuvres; depend upon it they don't retard their operations for nothing; they are meditating a plan they will soon attempt to put into execution. Secure our water carriage on Lake Champlain and we turn the tables upon them, and I think we can meet them there upon advantageous terms. I once more beg your excuse in a hurry. Accept my simple opinion; if it serves you I am happy; if not, throw them by.

---

[*Gen. Philip Schuyler to Gen. Sullivan, June 13, 1776. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Albany June 13<sup>th</sup> 1776

*Dear General* Your Favor of the 6<sup>th</sup> inclosing Dispatches for his Excellency General Washington, I received about six Yesterday Afternoon, they came in a lucky Moment to relieve Us from the Anxiety We had been thrown into by a Letter from General Arnold of the same Date received two Hours before, and which I had just inclosed in one of mine to General Washington and was on the Point of sending off by Express, when Your Comforting Letter came to Hand. —

I am extremely happy to find that the Chaos & Confusion which has reigned so triumphant in our Army to the great Disgrace of our Arms, are on the Point of being expelled & that Good Order with All Its Beauties & Train of Never failing good Consequences is on the Point of being Established. —

We already owe You much My Dear General & hope our Debt will daily Encrease. —

Inclose You two Resolutions of Congress, I have not much Hopes that Either will have the happy Effects Congress Expects. — If the Militia will come at all, they will, unless they have had the small Pox, only weaken rather than strengthen your Army. I wish Troops had been sent into Canada and the Militia Employed at New York. Should any come up they will be immediately sent on to You, and that no Delay may be Occasioned by drawing the Batteaus over the Carrying Place at the North End of Lake George, I have ordered all the Batteaus to Tyconderoga, that they may be sent to Skenesborough by the Time the Militia may arrive there, or to St<sup>t</sup> Johns if You should want them, which I now hope You will not. The Number is about One hundred & twenty. —

I am this Day to meet M<sup>r</sup> Dowse & M<sup>r</sup> Edwards My Colleague Commissioners of Indian Affairs When We shall try to fall upon some Measures for engaging the Indians in our Cause, altho I have not the least Hopes of Success, As the few Friends we have amongst them are threatned by the Others, who are actually Collecting at Oswego with an Intent to fall on our Frontiers, the Account of which brought Me down here. I have sent Colo: Dayton and his Regiment to the German Flatts, where a Body of Militia is also Collected and am preparing with Secrecy to take Post at the Place where Fort Stanwix formerly stood. —

Shoes, Shirts & such Necessaries as can be procured are now Collecting & will be immediately sent up to You. —

Four or five French Merchant ships are arrived at New York and We expect more will soon be in. It is imagined that France & Spain will attack Portugal. If so It will be a fine Diversion in our Favor. —

---

[*Gen. Benedict Arnold to Gen. Sullivan, June 13, 1776. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Chamble June 13<sup>th</sup> 1776 —

*Dr General* I went to St Johns Yesterday where I found every thing in the greatest Confusion, Not one Stroke done to fortify the Camp, the engineer a perfect Sott, at that & this Place near three thousand Sick. I have given orders that the Sick Draw only half rations in future. I have Ordered Colonel Antell to St Johns & an Abette & Lines to be imediately begun to Inclose the two old Forts & an Encampment Sufficient to hold Six Thousand Men. I am Fully of Opinion Not one minute ought to be lost in Securing our retreat & Saving our heavy Cannon & Baggage & Provisions. the enemy will neaver attack you at Sorell, their Force is doubtless much Superior to ours, & we have no Advice of any reinforcement. shall we sacrafice the few men we have by Endeavring to keep Possession of a small Part of the Country which can be of little or no Service to us. the junction of the Canadians with the Colonies, an object which brought us into this Country is now at an End let us quit them & Secure our own Country before it is too late, there will be more honour in making a Safe retreat, than hazarding a Battle, against such Supe-

riority which will Doubtless be Attended with the Loss of Men, Artillery &c. and the only Pass to our Country. these Arguments are not Urged by fear for my Personal Safety. I am content to be the last man who quits this Country and fall so, that my Country rise — but let us not Fall all together. the Goods I Seized in Montreal & Sent to Chamble Under the Care of Major Scott have been broke open Plundered & huddled together in the greatest Confusion. they were taken in such a hurry it was Impossible to take a particular Acco<sup>t</sup> of them, each Mans Name was marked On his Packages when Major Scott Arived at Chamble he received your Positive Order to repair to Sorell. the Guard was ordered to return & the Goods to be Delivered Colonel Hazen to be Stored. He refused receiving or takeing any care of them, by which Means & Major Scott's being Ordered away the Goods have bin opened & plundered I believe to a large Amount. it is impossible for me to Distinguish each mans Goods or ever Settle with the Proprietors. the Goods are D<sup>d</sup> to M<sup>r</sup> McCarthey. this is not the first or last Order Colonel Hazen has disobeyed. I think him a Man of too much Consequence for the Post he is in. I am giving him Orders to send directly to S<sup>t</sup> Johns all the heavy Cannon, Shott, Powder, Battoes, Valuable Stores, & the Sick. I go to Montreal Emmediately & beg to have your Orders as soon as possible For my future Conduct.

P S. If you should think Proper to retire to S<sup>t</sup> Johns will It not be best to order a Number of Carts to be ready here from all the Neighbouring Parishes & enforce your Order by sending a number of Armed Men to Secure them.

P S. I have borrowed Several Sums of hard Money. I should be glad of Four or five hundred Pounds If you can Spare it, will it not be best to give Our Paper Money

a Currency by Declaring those Enemies who refuse it, unless Some Such method is taken the Poor Soldiers Receive no benefit from their Pay & Starve in the Midst of Plenty with their Pockets full of Money.

[Addressed] On Publick Service The Hon<sup>b<sup>le</sup></sup> Brigadier General Sullivan at Sorell

---

[*Gen. Washington to Gen. Sullivan, June 13, 1776.*]

[American Archives, 4th Series, vol. 6, p. 839.]

New York, June 13, 1776.

*Dear Sir:* Having received intelligence of the unfortunate death of General Thomas, occasioned by the small pox he had taken, the command of the Army in Canada devolves on you. I am, therefore, to request your most strenuous exertions to retrieve our circumstances in that quarter from the melancholy situation they are now in, and for performing the arduous task of bringing order out of confusion. I confess there is more room for enterprise and activity than I could wish, but then you will remember that you and your colleagues will be entitled to the grateful thanks of your country in proportion to the services you render.

Being extremely hurried in sending dispatches to Congress and General Schuyler, I have not time to write you so fully as I could wish, and therefore shall only add my request that you from time to time make me regular returns of the strength of the Army, military stores, and every material occurrence, and wishing you and your brothers, under the direction of a gracious Providence, to lead your arms to conquest and victory.

[*Col. Moses Hazen to Gen. Sullivan, June 13, 1776. Letter Signed.*]

[New York Public Library.]

Chamblee June 13<sup>th</sup> 1776

*Dear Sir* Inclosed you have a Copy of a Letter which I have rec<sup>d</sup> from General Arnold, it Contains as I conceive an undeserved reflection, as I am very Conscious of having done my duty in every respect. But if otherwise I am equally unworthy the Honour which the Congress has Confer'd on me as Unfit for the Service of my Country. I must therefore beg you will please to order as Soon as the Service will Admit a Court of Enquiry or a Court Martial as you may think fit to determine the Matter. Inclosed you also have the Copy of an order of yesterday which I have put into Execution. The Officers General think it Cruel & the Soldiers murmur Greatly —

There has been within these few days a Considerable Desertion from S<sup>t</sup> Johns Chamblee & I believe some from your Camp, they go off as I am told through the Woods on each side the Lake, & it is not possible for us to prevent those who Chuse to undertake Such a fatiguing Journey —

I am Sorry to See the Disagreeable Situation which we are now in, a Safe retreat to the Otherside Lake Champlain is the only Point in my opinion to be attended to, as we have Irrevocably lost the only chance we ever had of Maintaining our Ground in Canada, & that by our Neglect, Viz Fortifying the pass at Dechambault in the proper time which would have Secured to us the Navigation of the River S<sup>t</sup> Lawrence down to that place an advantage added to the protection we Should have given, & in Consequence the Assistance which we might have had from at least Seven Eights of

Canada — would have Enabled us to have withstood any force that the British Ministry could have sent against us. Sorrel is Calculated by nature as a proper place in our Situation for the Encampment of our main Body, in order to Watch the Motions of our Enemys only, art will Scarcely make any Difference in that place for if you fortify the Enemy will know it, & in that case leave you in your fortifications, go past your post & proceed Directly to Chamblee & S<sup>t</sup> Johns — you must not Consider them as being in an Enemy's Country, but on the Contrary Suppose it to be our own case. Dont Rely on any real Assistance from the Canadians which you are Collecting together. I know them well, be Assured that in our present Situation they will leave us in the Hour of Difficulty; look into your own Distressed Dissatisfied & undisciplined army —

The Congress has promised them what is out of your power to perform, what have we Expect from a Handfull of such men, against the well known best Troops in the world — I dread the Consequence of their Delays, you will find it is not without a Plan, which they will by and by attempt to Execute, if they Succeed your army will be cut to pieces, for Gods sake order the Necessary precaution to be Immediately taken to Secure your retreat, there is no time to Loose, as this is not to be done in a Moment. I was Yesterday at S<sup>t</sup> Johns, not a Batteau at that place only half a Dozen fit for Service here. S<sup>t</sup> Johns is almost naked of Artillery, we have at last got Some pieces fit for Service. Shall they be sent on to you or back to S<sup>t</sup> Johns, please to order. I beg you will pardon the freedom which I have taken on this Occasion in Transmitting to you my Opinion in the present Critical Situation of Publick Affairs in Canada, which I Should not have ventur'd done had not I first Obtain'd your Leave for that purpose.

[*Gen. Benedict Arnold to Gen. Sullivan, June 16, 1776. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

St Johns June 16 1776

*Dear Sir* I have this minute received a Letter from Gen<sup>l</sup> Schuyler advising me the Battoes which I wrote might be sent over the Lake, are Detained for the Purpose of bringing a Number of the Militia who Are Ordered into this Country. I suppose He has wrote you fully on the matter. We have ab<sup>t</sup> Nine hundred Bb<sup>l</sup> Pork & eighty Ditto of Flour here. the Sloop & Schooner are Arived at the Ile Mole with a considerable quantity — the Schooner is Loaded with Dry Goods, Shott, Shells, &c. I believe it will be best to Send her away directly. nothing is yet Done to fortify our Camp. I think it requires imediate Attention. I intended going to Chamble In the morning, but expect to have the pleasure Seeing you here, where I think we are Secure At Present

[Addressed] To the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Brigadier Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan Chamble

[*Gen. Benedict Arnold to Gen. Sullivan, June 16, 1776. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

La prairie June 16, 1776 11<sup>o</sup>Clock A M

*Dear Sir* I received your Letter from Sorell of the 11<sup>th</sup> Ins<sup>t</sup> a 3<sup>o</sup>Clock — previous to which I had destroyed the houses &c, in the morning I sent Capt Wilkinson Express to you. a 3<sup>o</sup>Clock he met the enemy at Varane, & narrowly escaped being taken, a 5<sup>o</sup>Clock he arrived at Montreal. a 7 P M I embarked the Whole

Garrison in 11 Battoes & got safe over the rain made it 7 o'clock before Carts could be procured at Layescelle & Laprarie to Carry the Sick & Baggage, the whole are safe here with some Rum, Molasses, Wine &c Seized at Montreal the Salt could not be got over. we have destroyed All the Battoes & will Break down all the Bridges in our rear. expect to be at St Johns a 5 o'clock this evening. we have thirty boats which I will Send to Chamble as soon as they are Discharged of their Loading — Four or five of the Enemies Vessells are as high as Vouche or Varane. Our People Saw their Troops At the Latter & a Frenchman from Montreal Says they mounted Guard there last Night. The Number of the enemy is very considerable. No Particular Acco<sup>t</sup> has been received of their Movements —

[Addressed] On Publick Service To The Hon<sup>ble</sup>  
Brigadier General Sullivan Chamble

---

[*Gen. Washington to Gen. Sullivan, June 16, 1776.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

New York June 16 1776

*Dear Sir* I was favoured with yours of the 5<sup>th</sup> & 6<sup>th</sup> Inst<sup>t</sup> by Express yesterday evening from Gen<sup>l</sup> Schuyler, and am exceedingly happy on account of the agreeable and Interesting Intelligence It contains. — Before It came to hand, I almost dreaded to hear from Canada, as my advices seemed to promise nothing favourable, but rather our farther misfortunes — But I am now hopefull that our affairs from the confused, distracted and allmost forlorn state in which you found them, will emerge, and assume an aspect of order and success — I am convinced that many of our misfortunes are to be attributed to a want of discipline and a proper regard

to the conduct of the Soldiery — hence It was, and our feeble efforts to protect the Canadians, that they had almost joined and taken part against us — As you are fully apprized of this, and conceive them well disposed towards us, with confidence I trust, that you will take every step to conciliate and secure their friendship — If this can be effected, and of which you seem to have no doubt, I see no Objection to our Indulging a hope, that this Country of such Importance in the present controversy, may yet be added to, and complete our Union. I confess this Interesting work is now more difficult, than what It would have been heretofore, had matters been properly conducted, but yet I flatter myself, may be accomplished by a wise, prudent and animated behavior in the Officers and men engaged in It, especially If assisted by the friendly disposition of the Inhabitants. I think every mark of friendship and favor should be shewn them to encourage their zeal and attachment to our cause, and from which, If they once heartily embark we shall derive innumerable benefits.

Your conduct in pushing & securing posts low down the Country is certainly judicious & of the utmost advantage — For the farther down we can take posts and maintain them, the greater will our possession of the Country be, observing at the same time, that a safe retreat should be left in case you should be ever obliged to abandon them by a Superior force. I am hopefull and shall anxiously wait to hear of Gen<sup>l</sup> Thompson's making a successful attack upon the party Intrenching at the three Rivers — their defeat will be of the most essential service — It will chagrine them and disconcert their Schemes on the one hand, and animate our men & give life to our Canadian Friends on the other, and efface from their minds the unfavourable impressions our late

conduct has made — It will be of material consequence in your advances down the Country; to secure the several Important posts as you goe, at which you may in case you should be Obliged to decline the main Object you have in view make vigorous & successfull stand in your retreat — I concur with you in opinion in thinking It not of material moment to keep a very large number of men at Lachine or at the upper posts — there should be no more than will be necessary to repel such attacks and attempts as may be made by the Savages and the regular Troops above you, allowing for such a number of disaffected Canadians as may join them — but then there should be a sufficient number for that purpose, as our further misfortunes there might be of the most pernicious consequence — If they can be maintained the disaffected above will dwindle away, and the Insurrection promise nothing disastrous. It is impossible for me at this distance and not acquainted with the situation of affairs as well as you are, who are on the Spot, to give any particular directions for your conduct and operations. I therefore have only to request that you with your Officers will in every instance, pursue such measures as the exigency of our affairs may seem to require, and as to you shall appear most likely to advance and promote the Interest and happiness of your Country — The return which you mention to have inclosed was not in your Letter, you probably thro hurry forgot to put it in, or Gen<sup>l</sup> Schuyler may have omitted it when in his hands — I wrote you on the 13 Inst on this Subject, and must again enjoin a particular attention to this part of your duty, It being of the utmost importance to be frequently certified of our whole strength and Stores. In compliance with your request I shall transmit a Copy of your letter to Congress by tomorrows post — It will give them sensible

pleasure and such as they had no good reason to expect, at least so soon.

I have Inclosed you an Extract of a Letter from Gen<sup>l</sup> Ward — from the capture mentioned in It, there is reason to expect the other Transports that sailed with her, are not far off the Coasts —

In regard to your giving Commissions, It is a measure that I can neither approve or disapprove, having no authority to act in this Instance myself — The propriety [remainder missing, completed from Force's American Archives, vol. 6, p. 927.] of it must depend upon the powers and practice of your predecessors in command. If they had none it will be judged of, most probably, by the good or bad consequences it may produce. Congress, from your letter, will see you have exercised such a power, and when they write you will either confirm or refuse it in all probability.

Lest you should conceive that I do not think La Chine or the Cedars posts of importance, and whose defence are not very material, I must here add that I esteem them of much consequence; but only mean that more men need not be employed than what will be equal to any probable attack that may be made against them.

I would observe, before I have done, that it is my most earnest request that harmony, a good understanding, and free communication of sentiments may prevail and be preserved between the Generals and Field Officers — particularly the former. Nothing can produce greater benefits than this, nor tend more to promote your military operations; whereas history and observation do sufficiently evince (they abound with numberless examples) the fatal consequences which have ever resulted from distrusts, jealousy, and disagreements among officers of these ranks. Wishing, therefore, your counsels and efforts to be founded in a

happy union, and to meet the smiles of a kind Providence.

P. S. Knowing your great zeal for the cause of your country and desire to render her every possible service, I must caution you not to put too much to the hazard in your exertions to establish her rights, and to receive with a proper degree of caution the professions the Canadians may make; they have the character of an ingenuous, artful people, and very capable of finesse and cunning. Therefore my advice is that you put not too much in their power, but seem to trust them rather than do it too far. I would also have you to keep all your posts, as you go, well secured, to guard against any treacherous conduct.

---

[*Gen. Washington's Opinion of Gen. Sullivan. Letter to Congress, June 17, 1776.*]

[American Archives, 4th Series, vol. 6, p. 937.]

New York, June 17, 1776.

*Sir:* The enclosed came to my hands as a private letter from General Sullivan. As a private letter I lay it before Congress. The tendency (for it requires no explanation) will account for the contrast between it and the letter of General Arnold.

That the former is aiming at the command in Canada is obvious; whether he merits it or not is a matter to be considered, and that it may be considered with propriety I think it my duty to observe as of my own knowledge that he is active, spirited, and zealously attached to the cause. That he does not want abilities many members of Congress, as well as myself, can testify, but he has his wants, and he has his foibles. The latter are manifested in a little tincture of vanity

and in an over-desire of being popular, which now and then leads him into some embarrassments. His wants are common to us all — the want of experience to move upon a large scale, for the limited and contracted knowledge which any of us have in military matters stands in very little stead, and is greatly overbalanced by sound judgment and some knowledge of men and books, especially when accompanied by an enterprising genius, which I must do General Sullivan the justice to say I think he possesses. But as the security of Canada is of the last importance to the well-being of these Colonies, I should like to know the sentiments of Congress respecting the nomination of any officer to that command. The character I have drawn of General Sullivan is just, according to my ideas of him. Congress will be pleased, therefore, to determine upon the propriety of continuing him in Canada or sending another, as they shall see fit. Whether General Sullivan knew of the promotion of General Gates (at the time of his writing) and that he had quitted the department he left him in when he marched his brigade from hence to Canada, I cannot undertake to say, nor can I determine whether his wish to be recalled would be changed by it if he did.

To the President of Congress.

---

[*Gen. Philip Schuyler to Gen. Sullivan, June 17, 1776. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Albany June 17<sup>th</sup> 1776.

*Dear General* Inclose You a Letter from his Excellency General Washington, which arrived last Night. Yours to him of the 5<sup>th</sup> & 6 had not Yet come to Hand, as It left this on the 12<sup>th</sup> at Night. —

Major Sherburne having informed Me that It was your Request that the Prisoners should be sent back I immediately gave the Orders, but as I Yesterday received Letters from the Commanding Officers at Tyconderoga and Fort George that Numbers of them had deserted, I suspect that very few will join You; 15 fit for Duty of Bedels were only left at the former Place on the 10<sup>th</sup> instant and twenty of Burrels went off in a Body from Fort George a few Days ago and are not Yet apprehended. —

The following is an Extract of His Excellency's Letter to me of the 13<sup>th</sup> instant "If the Accounts of Colo: "Bedels & Major Butterfields Conduct be true they "have certainly acted a Part deserving the most "Exemplary Notice. I hope You will take proper "Measures and have Good Courts appointed to bring "them & Every Other Officer that has been or shall be "Guilty of Malconduct to Tryal that they may be "punished according to their Offences. Our Misfortunes at the Cedars were occasioned as It is said "entirely by their base & Cowardly Behaviour & "cannot be ascribed to any Other Cause."

General Montgomery on a similar Occasion conceived that he was not authorized to order the sentence of a General Court Martial to be put into Execution where any one was Capittally Convicted, the Departm<sup>t</sup> being under my Command, I accordingly sent him an Order to do It whenever he should think It necessary. General Wooster had the like Order. I conceived that I should be justified in delegating that Power Especially as Delay in Executions when immediate Examples be Necessary, may have dangerous Consequences. —

I do therefore request that if any Officer or soldier in Canada should be Capittally convicted that You will Issue Warrants to the proper Officers for Carrying the

Sentence into Execution, Unless You shall Judge It proper to Extend Mercy; But if any Doubts arise in your Mind on the Propriety of doing this, You will please to transmit me all the Proceedings of the Court Martial, that being Enabled to judge, I may give the Necessary Orders. —

Intelligence from Various Quarters seem to Confirm the Report that the French King has protested against the sending foreign Troops to America. We ought not however to make any Dependance on It, least It should be thrown out to make Us remiss in our defensive Preparations. —

I am anxious to learn the Event of the Expedition under the Command of General Thompson. I hope It will be a happy one. —

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to Gen. Philip Schuyler, June 19, 1776. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[New York Public Library.]

Isle au Noix June 19<sup>th</sup> 1776

*Dear General* by a Strange Reverse of fortune we are Driven to the Sad Necessity of Abandoning Canada. I had the most Sanguine hopes of Collecting our Army together & Driving the Enemy below Deshambeau in which I Doubt not I Should have Succeeded had not Burgoyne with a Strong party arrived in Canada & Reached the three Rivers the night before our people made the unfortunate Attack upon that place under General Thomson. The particulars of this Engagement I have not before had in my power to give you. I find our Loss to amount to about a hundred & fifty. Col<sup>o</sup> Waine Sustained the greatest As his men began the Attack & behaved with great Bravery as did the Col<sup>o</sup>

himself in Short all the officers behaved with great Spirit Except Some few of Low Rank & had not the Number of the Enemy been So Superiour I Doubt not the point would have been carried in which case I Should have pushed for Deschambeau which if Secured would have given us the Command of the Country but this Defeat Convinced us that we arrived too Late for the important purpose. I had in mind however to hold Sorell as it Seemed the pleasure of Congress — but after Taking unwearied pains to fortify that post & to collect the main body of the Army to Defend it I found but 2500 at that place & about a Thousand more at the other garrisons most of the Latter being under inoculation and those Regiments which had not the Small pox Expecting Every Day to be taken Down with it, at the Same time the British fleet to Amount of thirty Six had advanced into the Lake very near us & Sixty Six Lay at three Rivers. the Encampment of the Enemy was to appearance very Large & Every account proved their numbers to be Exceedingly Superiour to ours. The Canadians too as far as the Enemy advanced was obliged to take Arms or be Destroyed. in this State of affairs I was much Embarrassed yet was Determined to hold my ground at all hazards but to my great mortification I found myself at the head of a Dispirited Army filled with horror at the thought of Seeing their Enemy, indeed I was much Surprized to See the Scattered Remains of this Army. when I had them Collected together the Small pox famine & Disorder had rendered them almost Lifeless. The flight from before Quebeck the fate of those at the Cedars & the Total Loss of Sherburn party had before my arrival with my Brigade Destroyed all Spirit among these troops but upon our Arrival their Spirit Seemed to return but when they found this party Defeated & the Number of the Enemy

Increasing I found a great panick Again taking place among both officers & Soldiers. I had no Less I believe than forty officers who beg<sup>d</sup> Leave to Resign their Commissions upon the most trivial pretences & this Even Extended to field officers. The prevailing opinion was that the Enemy instead of attacking our works would get round us & cut off our Communication with the upper country & Destroy our Retreat. This indeed they had Compleatly in their power as we had not force to Dislodge them — I Soon found that however Strongly I might fortify Sorell my men would in general Leave me upon appearance of the Enemy. in This State of affairs I called a Council of all the field officers with the Baron De Woedkle & they were almost unanimously for Quitting the ground. General Arnold was not present but his opinion you have as well as that of Col<sup>o</sup> Hazens & Col<sup>o</sup> Antells in the Inclosed Letters — I Then immediately Decamped taking with us Every Article Even to a Spade. The Enemy having a fair wind was at our works in an hour after we Left them. our Guard at Bertier not coming in at the time they were ordered were met by the Enemy forced to Leave nine Batteaus & take to Chamblee by Land. this was all the Loss we Sustained. we retreated as far as Chamblee, this port not being Tenable we removed our Batteaus over the Rapids with all the Baggage & Stores Except three pieces of Cannon which were too heavy to bring over the Rapids & indeed they were but bad pieces of ordinance at best. I Then proceeded to S<sup>t</sup> Johns where Every [man] arrived in Safety. We Burnt the Garrison at Chamblee with the Gondaloes & vessels there Leaving nothing but ruin behind us in the fort. we pulled up all the Bridges in our way to S<sup>t</sup> Johns. General Arnold did the Same in the other Road from Montreal from which place he made a very prudent & Judicious retreat with

an Enemy Close at his heels. when we got to S<sup>t</sup> Johns another Council was held where it was unanimously agreed that to attempt holding S<sup>t</sup> Johns would be to Expose the whole Army to Inevitable Ruin as our Communication might Easily be cut off & the whole Army fall a Sacrifice previous to this I received the Resolves of Congress for Six thousand militia which I Laid before the Council. they were all of opinion that this would rather weaken than strenghten our Army & further that they could not possibly arrive in Season to Save us from a powerful army Close at our heels. They were fully of opinion that in the present unhealthy State of the Army it would be best to remove to Crown point fortify that post & Build armed vessels to Secure the navigation of the Lake. upon this we immediately strip<sup>d</sup> the Garrison of Every article Took our Batteaus & retreated to this Island. farther than this I could not go without your or General Washingtons orders or the Directions of Congress. I therefore Send on the Sick the Looks & Numbers of which will present you with the most Dismal Spectacle Ever furnished from one army in This Quarter of the Globe: I have Sent on General Arnold to give Directions at Crown point & Receive your orders. The men who are fit for Duty I Shall Retain here ready to Execute any orders you will please to Communicate —

There D<sup>r</sup> General I have given you a correct account of my unfortunate Campaign — Claiming no merit Except in making a Safe & Regular retreat & although Driven to it by inevitable Necessity (as the grand post was Lost before my arrival & put beyond my power to regain) & although it was before an Army much more powerful than mine yet I am Sufficiently mortified & Sincerely wish I had never Seen this fatal Country unless I had arrived in Season to have Done Some good

to my Country—& answered the Expectations of Congress  
 P. S. I beg you to [illegible] Regiment is —  
 as I dont write to General Washington or the Con-  
 gress I beg you to forward a Copy of this Letter

[Enclosure.]

[*Lieut. Col. Edward Antil to Gen. Sullivan, June 13, 1776. Copy.*]

Chamblee June 13<sup>th</sup> 1776

*Worthy Sir* You have doubtless e'er this rec<sup>d</sup> a line from General Arnold Acquainting you with his having sent me a Tour to Chamblee this place to Endeavour to Collect a proper return of the Troops at each post. I have done my utmost but have not yet finished, Owing to the Scatter'd Situation of our men for Twenty miles in Length as Soon as done I shall wait upon you. I can in Gen<sup>l</sup> Terms Acquaint you there are about fifteen Hundred at St<sup>t</sup> Johns & upwards of Twelve here very few Indeed fit for Duty. The Loss of Dechambault I am Clear has Lost us the Province a prudent retreat I presume under our present Situation is our only plan, if they Should get Possession of our Boats I am Apprehensive they will (I think they may) be at Crown Point before us. This Gen<sup>l</sup> is a bold Observation. Excuse my freedom. I have Lived Ten Years in the Country the . . . . . of the Opperations have seen their Maneu- vours. depend upon it they dont Retard their Opperations for nothing, they are Meditating a plan that they will Soon attempt to put in Execution. Secure our water Carriage on Lake Champlain & we turn the Tables upon them & I think we can meet them there, upon Advantageous Terms. I once more beg your Excuse in a hurry Accept my Simple Opinion if it Serves you I am happy if not throw it by.

[Enclosure.]

[*Col. Moses Hazen to Gen. Sullivan, June 13, 1776.*  
*Copy printed ante.*]

[Enclosure.]

[*Gen. Benedict Arnold to Gen. Sullivan, June 13, 1776.*  
*Copy printed ante.*]

---

[*Gen. Philip Schuyler to Gen. Sullivan, June 20, 1776.*  
*Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Albany June 20<sup>th</sup> 1776 1 °Clock P. M.

*Dear General* Your Dispatches arrived at a Quarter past Eleven this morning — I very Sincerely deplore the disagreeable Situation of You and our army in Canada, and Altho. I apprehend Your Magnanimous Spirit, Yet I cannot by any means Approve that you should Think only of a Glorious death or a Victory Obtained against Superior Numbers, these Sentiments should take place when every other resource is cut off and when a defeat may not be attended with Desicive Consequence against us; the Evacuation of Canada will Certainly be Attended with many disagreeable ones, but will not the Totall Destruction of our army and a Consequent loss of the Country be attended with those Infinitely more Fatal, surely it will. I only mention that the enemy will in that Case be Able to penetrate into the Colonies by the way of the Lakes, not so if our army retreats in safety; Every Effort of theirs to accomplish it at Least for this Campaign will prove In Effectual, but should they even be able to advance to the most Southern extreme of the Lakes, our army with reinforcements from Militia will there stop their

progress. I am therefore of opinion if it should be still in your power when you receive this, that you ought not to remain any Longer at Sorrell, than you have a prospect of retreating with safety, and that the Better to Secure your retreat every Batteau as I have Formerly Observed which you can possibly spare ought to be sent without the Least Delay to S<sup>t</sup> Johns. I think I am fully Authorized to give this opinion from what you say of the strength of the Enemy in Your Letter to his Ex: Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington and me, and I have informed his Excellency, that I would give You the above advice.

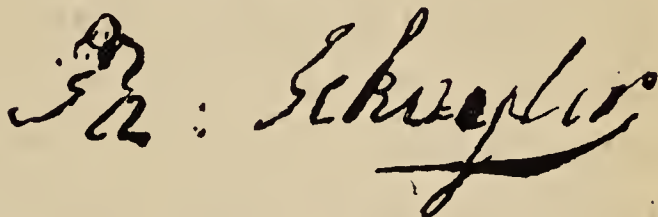
Col<sup>o</sup> Dayton is in Tryon County we shall I Believe have our hands full in that Quarter. I am preparing every thing to take post at Fort Stanwix, and to repel the threatened Invasion of the Mohawk River. —

No part of Col<sup>o</sup> Waynes is as yet Arrived here, nor any of the Militia ordered by the resolution of Congress which I Transmitted you on the 12<sup>th</sup> inst: —

I have ordered Col<sup>o</sup> Wynkoop to send all the Batteaus he can to S<sup>t</sup> Johns agreeable to General Arnolds and Col<sup>o</sup> Poors request Signified in their Letters of the 13<sup>th</sup> Inst: this will deprive me from Forwarding the Militia, but if you should not want the Batteaus I Intreat you to order them Back to Ticonderoga under the Command of an Active officer and as many others as you can spare that the Militia may be sent on without Delay — Please to make my Compliments to Major Scammell, the Few Blank Commissions I have, are at Fort George and I will order one to be Forwarded to you to be Filled up for him. The Ague which now Attacks me every Day with the Utmost Violence has Considerably reduced me and a few fits more unless they become more Moderate will render me Equally unfit to think or Act — God Bless you and may Heaven

smile propitious on your Endeavours, I am Dear Sir  
 With the best wishes for your Health and Happiness  
 Your

Obedient Humb<sup>l</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>



The above was signed by Gen<sup>l</sup> Schuyler when he had a fit of the Ague on him.

Rich<sup>d</sup> Varick Sec<sup>y</sup>

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to Gen. Philip Schuyler, June 22, 1776.  
 Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[New York Public Library.]

Isle Au Noix June 22<sup>d</sup> 1776

*Dear General* before this Comes to hand you will have Received mine by General Arnold acquaint<sup>e</sup> you with our Retreat to this place — your favour of the 17 Instant Inclosing his Excellenceys Letter came to hand This Even<sup>g</sup>. I am much oblidge<sup>d</sup> for the power you have been pleased to Delegate to me of which I Shall make a proper use ag<sup>t</sup> the persons you mention provided their Crime turns out as I apprehend, they are now under tryal & I Trust the Result will be known Tomorrow. This Cowardly affair together with the want of Discipline & that Infernal Disorder (the Small Pox) has Ruined our Army: believe me Dear General that when I ordered the Sick people from hence to Crown point many Regiments were oblidge<sup>d</sup> to apply for men to be Draughted from other Regiments to Row them away they not having well men Enough for that purpose. Those that remain here owing to their fatigue &

want of fresh provisions are Daily Dropping off Like the Isrealites before the Destroying angel. The officers to a man are Calling aloud to go on to Crown point to fortify there & Recruit the Army. I am for my own part now Convinced that this Step must be taken or the army will be Lost not by the Enemy but by Sick-ness. I have this Day viewed Windmill point & Point au Fer & think that Garrisons at Either or both these places would be useless. The Former being a Low Sunken piece of Ground & the River So wide that Cannon cannot Command it. The Latter is three miles from this point & there the River is Still wider. So if Garrisons were at these places the Enemy might pass Either by water or Land without Regarding them — I had four Boats in Company with me on my Return two of which Dropd astern & the people went on Shore. I heard a firing about two or three miles astern but could not guess what it was. I have Since Learned that the people were attacked by the Indians & the Batteaus taken. I cannot give full Credence to this at present as I think the firing must have been further off, however as the Batteaus have not yet arrived I have Sent a party after them & shall Soon know The Truth of this report — this afternoon before my Return a party of officers & men who had carelessly ventured to a French house about half a mile below this Island without their Arms were attacked by a party of Indians & two Canadians who killed & Took Seven officers & four or five privates — we find these fellows have Lined our shores to watch our Batteaus. I shall take care to guard them well & am now Sending off a Strong party of Riffle men to Scourge the Rascals for their Insolence. Col<sup>o</sup> Wain with a party follow<sup>d</sup> those who attacked & killed the officers but could not overtake them he Recovered the Batteaus & five Dead Bodies Scalp<sup>d</sup> & mangled in a

Shocking manner. I Shall give you the particulars as Soon as it can be Done with Certainty.

---

[*John Adams to Gen. Sullivan, June 23, 1776.*]

[Works of John Adams, 1856, vol. 9, p. 407.]

Philadelphia, 23 June, 1776.

Your agreeable favor of May 4th has lain by me unanswered till now. The relation of your negotiations at New York in order to convince the people of the utility and necessity of instituting a new government is very entertaining, and if you had remained there a few weeks longer I conjecture you would have effected a change in the politics of that region. Is it deceit or simple dulness in the people of that colony which occasions their eccentric and retrograde politics?

Your late letter from Sorel gave us here many agreeable feelings. We had read nothing but the doleful, the dismal, and the horrible from Canada for a long time.

The surrender of the Cedars appears to have been a most infamous piece of cowardice. The officer, if he has nothing to say for himself more than I can think of, deserves the most infamous death. It is the first stain upon American arms. May immortal disgrace attend his name and character! I wish, however, that he alone had been worthy of blame. We have thrown away Canada in a most scandalous manner. Pray did not opening the trade to the upper country, and letting loose the tories, bring upon us so many disasters? For God's sake explain to me the causes of our miscarriages in that province. Let us know the truth, which has too long been hidden from us. All the military affairs in that province have been in great confusion, and we have never had any proper returns or regular

information from thence. There is now a corps of officers who will certainly act with more system and more precision, and more spirit. Pray make us acquainted with every thing that is wanted, whether men, money, arms, ammunition, clothing, tents, barracks, forage, medicines, or whatever else. Keep us constantly informed; give us line upon line.

I fear there is a chain of toryism extending from Canada through New York and New Jersey into Pennsylvania, which conducts misrepresentation and false information, and makes impression here upon credulous, unsuspecting, ignorant whigs. I wish it may not have for its object treasons and conspiracies of a deeper die.

There is a young gentleman\* bred at college and the bar, an excellent soldier, a good scholar, and a virtuous man in your brigade, who deserves a station far above that in which he stands, that of adjutant to Colonel Greaton's regiment. Any notice you may take of him will be gratefully acknowledged by me as well as him. Pray let me know the state of the small-pox, an enemy which we have more cause to fear than any other. Is it among our troops? Is it among the Canadians? I mean the inhabitants of the country. Can no effectual means be used to annihilate the infection? Cannot it be kept out of the army? The New England militia will be of no use, if they come in ever so great numbers, if that distemper is to seize them as soon as they arrive.

\* Nathan Rice, a student in Mr. Adams's office.

[*Gen. Sullivan to Gen. Washington, June 24, 1776.  
Letter Signed.*]

[Washington Papers, Library of Congress.]

Isle Au Noix June 24<sup>th</sup> 1776

*My Dear General* It is with the greatest pain I inform you that after our retreat from Canada to this place, of which I have given your Excellency an acct thro' General Schuyler, & after I had Determin'd to make a Stand here Till I receiv'd your Excellencys order, That I find myself under an Absolute Necessity of quitting this Island for a place more healthy. Otherwise the Army will never be able to return, As one fortnight longer in this place will not leave us well men Enough to Carry off the Sick, Exclusive of the publick Stores, Which I preserv'd thus far. The Raging of the Small Pox deprives us of whole Regiments in the Course of a few days, By their being taken down with that Cruel disorder. But this is not all, the Camp Disorder Rages to such a degree that of the Regiments remaining from Twenty to Sixty in each Are taken down in a day, and we have nothing to give them but Salt Pork Flour & the Poisonous water of this Lake. I have therefore Determin'd with the unanimous voice of the Officers to remove to Isle Le Mott a place much more healthy than this where I have some hope we Shall preserve the health of the few men we have till some order is taken Respecting our future Movements. I think it would be by far the Best to remove to Crown Point, Fortify that, Build Row gallies to Command the Lakes, & by Scout- ing parties to defend our Frontiers, As the Savages have already begun upon us. They have made two attacks upon our men, Kill'd & taken near Twenty, among which are seven Officers. These officers went on Shore unarm'd when I was gone to Reconnoitre Point

Au Fer. The other party went on Shore at River Lecol to Buy Milk. They were in Boats Loaded with flour, which they brought off, But had Some men kill'd. The whole of our Loss of Kill'd & taken amount to about Twenty. This happen'd in both cases for want of that care which Should ever be taken in an Enemys Country. I hope it will be a warning to our people in future. I hear from all Quarters that the Enemy are very Numerous in Canada. Their Shiping is also Numerous, & it cant be Doubted that all the Canadians, & all the Indians in this Quarter, Will be Compell'd to bear Arms against us. This I know they would gladly have avoided, But finding that we are not able to afford them that protection we promised, They are Oblidged to make their peace in the best manner they can. I think it is now past a Doubt that the Neglect & inattention to this departm<sup>t</sup> has not only lost us Canada, But Involv'd us in a war with all the Blacks & whites in this Quarter, & to Check their progress, I know of no better Method than to Secure the Important posts of Ticonderoga & Crown point, & by building a number of arm'd Vessels, Command the Lakes, Otherwise the forces now in Canada, Will be brought down upon us as quick as Possible, having nothing now to oppose them in that Colony — They have a number of Batteaus fram'd Which they brought from three Rivers. They will Doubtless Construct Some Arm'd Vessels, & then Endeavour to penetrate the Country Toward New York: This I am perswaded They will attempt, But am Sure they can never Effect, Unless we neglect to Secure the important posts now in our power. I have wrote General Schuyler & wait with impatience for his answer, As I know that no time ought to be Lost in fortifying this place or Crown Point. If I attempt to fortify here & afterward am order'd to leave it, I Shall

Strengthen the Enemy by preparing a work for them, Which I would not Willingly do. If I am to tarry & fortify here, I should be glad to know it as soon as possible, That I may put the order in Execution, but I must Say that unless our men grow much more healthy, Our army here will be no kind of Check upon the Enemy, After remaining in this Low marsh for a few weeks Longer. I Inclose your Excellency a Gen<sup>l</sup> Return drawn from the returns made the day before yesterday, Since which I Suppose near a Quarter part have been taken down with the Camp Disorder. This however Incredible it may Seem is a real fact. For Instance Colonel Waine has Sixty out of One hundred & Thirty eight taken down Since, Col<sup>o</sup> De Haas & all his Field Officers with a number of his men, are since taken down. This Seems to Run thro' the whole, no Corps being Exempt from it. I am Shock'd to relate but much more to See this Dreadful Havock among the Troops —

I inclose your Excellency a Return of the Ordinance & Stores at S<sup>t</sup> Johns on the 12<sup>th</sup> Instant. The whole could not in our Confus'd State be procur'd. As to the Provisions, as Some are on Board the Arm'd Vessels, Some at this place & Some at Isle Le Mott (which were never brought further down) I can make no Accurate Return at present. I will have one made as Soon as possible & forward it, And Send Regular Returns in future. I dont despair of getting the Army yet into some kind of order & Regulation, but I must Confess, That it is a Work of time & trouble, as order & Regularity Seem to have been Strangers in this Northern Army —

I Rec<sup>d</sup> your Excellencys favour of the 13<sup>th</sup> Instant am Extremely Sorry it was not in my power to fullfil your Excellencys wishes, By Leading on our troops to Victory. The Reasons for my not being able has Doubtless long since reached you in my Letters, Giving

an Acc<sup>t</sup> of the Strength of the Enemy The Weakness of our army, & the unhappy defeat of Gen<sup>l</sup> Thompson at three rivers — As also of the Result of our Councils of War, in Canada. I think we Shall Secure all the publick Stores & Baggage of the Army, & Secure our retreat with very little Loss. Whether we Shall have well men Enough to Carry them on, I much doubt if we dont remove Quickly, unless Heaven is pleas'd to restore health to this Wretched Army, Now perhaps the most pitiful one that ever was form'd.

There is no return of Col<sup>o</sup> Patterson's Regim<sup>t</sup>, As he has but five men here fit for Duty, Which I this Day order'd to Crown Point, To Join the Rest of the Regiment, which are all Sick there. You may Assure yourself my Dear Gen<sup>l</sup> that Nothing shall be Wanting on my part, to restore order among the Troops here, & to recover their Health. As also to throw every Stumbling Block in the way of the Enemy that Lays in the power of Your Excellencys Most Affectionate humble Servant

---

[*Gen. Philip Schuyler to Gen. Sullivan, June 25, 1776. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Albany June 25<sup>th</sup> 1776 5 o Clock A. M.

*Dear General* Near twelve last Night I was favored with Your Letter of the 19<sup>th</sup> by General Arnold.

Painful as the Evacuation of Canada is to me Yet a Retreat without Loss greatly Alleviates that Pain Not only because It reflects Honor upon You, but that I have now a Confident hope, that by recruiting Your Army and keeping a Naval Superiority on the Lake we shall be able to prevent the Enemy from penetrating into the Inhabited Part of the Colonies. —

I have written his Excellency General Washington that I wish You had Complied with the Opinion of Your Council of War and retreated as far South as Crown Point, Because I fear the greatest Embarrassments in sending on supplies, as the Enemy may throw themselves between You & the Broad Part of the Lake, & greatly incommode if not totally Obstruct the Passage of Batteaus or any Vessels we have, by Batteries of small Cannon, by Wall Pieces & Even Musquetry, That if I had not thought the Danger of remaining at Isle aux Noix too great to admit of the Delay of knowing his Pleasure with Regard to a further Retreat, I should not have presumed to Order It. — I am Dear General so far at least in Sentiment with your Council of War, that I think & wish You to retire at least into the Broad Part of Lake Champlain, perhaps Point au Fere, or Isle au Motte might be thought Eligible Places until General Washington's Pleasure can be known. — But should you retire to Crown Point, It may be proper to keep all the Armed Vessels & some Batteaus with swivels fixed upon them to Cruize about Isle au Motte & prevent any Attempts the Enemy may make to harass the settlements on the East Side of the Lake.

I momentarily Expect some dispatches from G: Washington when I shall write you again

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to Gen. Washington, June 25, 1776. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Washington Papers, Library of Congress.]

June 25<sup>th</sup> 1776

*Dear General* This morning at Day break I rece'd your Excellenceys favour of the 16 Instant — am Extremely mortified to find that Every thing here has

Turned out Contrary to my Expectations & your Excellency's wishes. This was not owing to my being Deceived with Respect to the Enemy on the ground at the time I wrote but to the Sudden arrival of Such a number under General Burgoyne the night before the battle of Three Rivers of which I have given a full & perfect account in former Letters — I am Conscious of having Done Every thing in my power to gain the ground our Troops had Lost & to Secure the Retreat of the Army when I found our point could not be carried. I Imagine that General Schuyler forgot to Inclose the Return as I think it went from me at the time but I am not Clear whether it did not go in a Seperate Letter. I Dare Say it has Reached you before this. I now Enclose another which wish Safe to hand & hope to have a more Compleat & perfect one in a few Days which I shall forward to your Excellency —

I am well Convinced of the necessity of a good understanding being kept up among the officers of the Army. This has been remarkably the Case Since my arrival. I have not Seen an Instance to the Contrary Except Some few Reflections which Seemed to take place between the northern & Southern Troops which I hope I have Sufficiently Cured by calling upon the officers of Every Corps & requesting them to Surpress a Thing which if Continued must weaken if not Destroy the army — they all agreed to Join heartily in putting an End to this Dangerous behaviour among the troops which I am Convinced they did as I have heard nothing of it Since & find that Harmony takes place among the troops in a Surprizing manner — in all our Difficulties there Seemed a unanimity of Sentiment among all the officers. Indeed I have not known the Least Dispute among them — the unfortunate General Thomson the Baron De Woedkle & myself

were at Sorell. Never did greater harmony and friendship Exist. General Arnold was at Montreal & kept up the most friendly Intercourse & correspondence with us & we with him — it is true I thought the keeping Colo. De Haas from Sorell was wrong but only supposed it an Error in Judgment as I did that of his keeping the forces in too great numbers at the posts up Country. This I communicated to him in the most friendly manner which he Accounted for in a way that Convinced me that he Acted not without Some foundation Though I Think it would have been better had it not been Done — assure yourself my Dear General that I will Exert myself in Cultivating Harmony & friendship among both officers & Soldiers in the army.

P: S: The Brigade Major & adjutant of the Day have this moment informed me that while they were parading the main Guard four men Drop<sup>d</sup> Down under Arms & appeared Like Dead men. I am almost Distracted with the thought of Loosing So many men as Daily go off by Sickness. I shall to Day remove from this Infectious place to Isle Le Mott which I Should have done before now had not too many of our Batteaus gone forward with the Sick to Crown Point.

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to Gen. Philip Schuyler, June 25, 1776. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[New York Public Library.]

Isle au Noix June 25<sup>th</sup> 1776

*Much Respected General* I this morning at Day break Rece<sup>d</sup> your favor p<sup>r</sup> Express am happy to find that I have anticipated your order by abandoning Sorell & retiring to this place when I found I could no Longer hold possession of a Country So Effectually Lost by

neglecting to take possession of Duchambeau in Season. I once flattered myself that I Should be able to regain that important post but the arrival of So Superiour a force at the Critical moment put it beyond my power. I have given you a full account of all our misfortunes in former Letters as I always Shall write Through you to the Congress & to his Excellency (that you may have the Earliest Information). I now Enclose a Letter to General Washington which after you have perused you will please to Seal & forward as Quick as possible. This Letter being So full will prevent my Troubling you with a Long Epistle. I wish to add one thing which is That you would please to Consider whether operations ought not to be carried on by us as well on Lake Ontario as on Lake Champlain. This you will please to write me upon when you have weighed the matter if it Deserve your attention — I Inclose a return of our Decayed & Decaying Army. Heaven Seems at present to frown upon us in this Quarter & take off those by pestilence who have Escaped the Sword. I am happy to find that we have Secured a Retreat which few of our friends who knew our Circumstances Expected & that almost without any Loss of the publick Stores. You Seem in the most polite & Delicate manner to Disapprove of my Resolution of Embracing a glorious Death or obtaining a victory against Superiour force: but I beg you my Dear General to Consider That I had then the Resolutions or orders of Congress before me to Dispute Every Inch of ground with the Enemy that I had before the most pleasing hopes of Regaining the ground we had before Lost & that the Sudden arrival of the Kings Troops at an untimely time blasted all my hopes & threatned not only the Loss of Canada and Destruction of our Frontiers but the Junction of their northern army with one which they might Send up Hudsons

River. I foresaw what Evils must flow from our abandoning this Country & being not well Convinced that their numbers were So vastly Superiour to ours as I now find they were I took the Resolution hoping to hold my ground till relief could be Sent but finding I could by no means make head against Such amazing odds I afterwards took the Resolution of saving the Army under my Command a thing which I Shall Ever be mindful of while I have the Charge of Troops. Yet I must Confess that could my own Life have Saved a Retreat So fatal in its consequences to my Country I would willingly have Resigned it. That heaven may bless you My Dear General Restore you to health & Enable you again to assist your Country in this Critical Dispute is the fervent prayer of y<sup>r</sup> most obed<sup>t</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

P: S I Should be glad of the Commission You mention when it Suits —

[Addressed] on Publick Service The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Major General Schuyler at Albany p<sup>r</sup> Express

I beg a Copy of this may be forwarded to his Excellency

---

[*New Hampshire Grants to Gen. Sullivan.*]

[*American Archives, 4th Series, Vol. 6, p. 1218.*]

*To the Honourable John Sullivan, Brigadier-General in the Northern Department.*

May it please your Honour:

We, the inhabitants of the New Hampshire Grants, being appointed a Committee by the several Towns in this District, beg leave to address your Honour in behalf of our constituents and ourselves. We are greatly alarmed at the retreat of our Army out of Canada, and the news of the savages killing a number of our men on

the west side of Lake Champlain, in consequence of which events the frontier settlements are removing their families into the country; but the inhabitants thus removing being greatly desirous that the frontier settlements should be protected, and anxious to return and secure their crops, we earnestly beg and entreat your Honour to send a guard to Onion River, or some other place which your Honour shall think most advantageous to the Army and inhabitants. We are much alarmed on account of our unhappy situation, and would express our great concern for the invaded liberties of the Colonies in general. We have a number of good woodsmen, well acquainted with firearms, and should your Honour in your wisdom think proper and give leave, we would immediately raise a battalion of effective men for the defence of the United Colonies, and the frontiers of New Hampshire Grants in particular. And likewise earnestly desire that your Honour would give orders that our frontier towns, which are destitute, may be supplied with ammunition as your Honour shall think proper.

We, the subscribers, have appointed Colonel Thomas Chittenden and Captain Herman Allen to present this Memorial to your Honour and to act in our behalf.

Joseph Woodward	Charles Brewster
Josiah Bowker	Thomas Tuttle
Zebulon Mead	Thomas Rice
John Smith	Elkanah Cook
Jonathan Faucett	Joseph Smith
Heber Allen	John Smith, 2d.
James Claghorn	William Post

Committees of Safety for several Towns in the New Hampshire Grants.

[*Gen. Sullivan to Gen. Philip Schuyler, July 2, 1776.*]

[From original retained copy in possession of the American Antiquarian Society.]

German Flats, July 2, 1776

*Dear Sir:* Major Barber will be able to give you any particular information you may desire with respect to our situation. Inclosed you have a return of my Regiment. A more particular account of Capt. Seviere & Capt. McKains, Companies than that sent a few days ago, cannot yet be obtained. The greater part of the 75 draughts from this County are now come, under Capt. Eisenlord. They are not supplied with Guns nor other things necessary. And if Guns can be furnished from Albany, perhaps it may be better than to [take] them from the Militia here, especially as the Com [torn] are preparing 300 men according to your order. And the whole Militia may be called to action.

I have the pleasure to inform you that the party I sent to Oswego were there last Thursday — That they could not discover any signs of warlike preparations. There were not any vessels upon the Lake, not any men in the Fort, except one or two families of strolling Indians from Onandago & they could not discover any tracks. The Gates of the Fort stand open. You have also here with a Letter from Oneida in answer to yours sent them. All we can see or hear from the Indians as yet is peace & the manifestations of friendship.

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to Gen. Philip Schuyler, July 2, 1776. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[New York Historical Society.]

Crown point July 2<sup>d</sup> 1776

*Dear General* I arrived here Last night at Eleven of Clock with the whole army Except about Six hundred

which I left to Guard & assist the armed vessels one of which is already arrived the others I Expect Every Hour as we saw them near by Last Evening. it gave me great pleasure to find by your Letter that this movement is not Disagreeable to you. I Really was forced to it to Save an Army already but too near being Ruined by Sickness. I found that I could by no means Supply two Set of hands to Relieve Each other in Rowing the Batteaus to this place. I am now Seperating the Sick from the well and Shall keep those that are well Constantly at work in fortifying this place as I Deem it of the utmost importance — I have wrote by Col<sup>o</sup> allen (who I beg leave to Recommend to you as a faithful good & brave officer) for a person who understands building Row Gallies Similar to those made in Philadelphia. I think those kind of vessels necessary in the Lake as they Sail & Row Exceeding well. we Shall I fear be in great want of Boards. I am trying to Saw as much as possible in the mill near here. we have no oxen for halling timber which is much wanted. I think it much best to Buy the oxen & Employ our own men to work them. I have purchased Some Oak timber for the purpose of building from onion River. I am now Sending to Otter Creek for About thirty thousand of Boards & to onion River for the Timber. I should be much oblidgeed for your advice & Direction about the number & built of the vessels, & if you think the method I propose not Right you will please to Erase it from my Letter to the Congress which I Inclose for your perusal as also that to General Washington — The officers & Soldiers under my Command Seem to think with me that this place must Soon be fortified & never given up. they are all agreed to make a vigorous Stand here & Defend this Key to their Country at all hazards. I am Extremely pleased to find those Sentiments So univer-

sally prevail. I Inclose you an application from the Inhabitants in & about onion River. Col<sup>o</sup> Warner offers to Raise a Regiment for their Defence if I would permit but this being too great a Stretch of power I refused but Least they Should Suffer for want of a Due attention being paid to their Circumstances I have ordered Col<sup>o</sup> Wind with a party of a hundred & fifty who Dare not come into Camp on Account of the Small pox to take post there till your pleasure can be known & if necessary that of the Congress — I must beg you to forward Some Soap for the use of the army who are now as Lousey as the D-v-l for want. I would also beg for peas Beans or Some kind of Sauce to Eat with their meat if it can be procured. I think a Quantity of Provision for a Considerable Length of time for the Garrison ought to be immediately forwarded here — as I think the Enemy are called upon by good policy to follow us as Soon as possible. what they will do for Batteaus or what progress they can make in Building them I cant Tell: I Sent a Trusty officer with four men to S<sup>t</sup> Johns & Chamblee. he Returned yesterday & reports that there are a hundred & fifty tents at S<sup>t</sup> Johns twenty five at S<sup>t</sup> Rays & fifteen at Chamblee. That there is no Boats at S<sup>t</sup> Johns & only one Batteau & one Canoe at Chamblee & that the Regulars are very Busy in fortifying at S<sup>t</sup> Johns. This Seems to Look as though they were rather afraid of an Attack from us than of making one in this Quarter however I think no time is to be Lost on our Side in making preparations to Receive them. I Shall Employ Every moment of my time in making preparations to render us masters of the Lake.

D<sup>r</sup> General Since writing the within I have thought best to alter my plan of Sending Col<sup>o</sup> Winde to onion River and have Sent Lieu<sup>t</sup> Col<sup>o</sup> Wait with about Two hundred of his men. These men can Saw Boards &

Plank & Send them over here which will be an amazing advantage to us. They can at the Same time protect the Inhabitants by Scouting parties being well acquainted with the Country & well acquainted with Saw mills

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to John Hancock, July 2, 1776. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Continental Congress Papers, No. 160, Library of Congress.]

Crown Point July 2<sup>d</sup> 1776

*Much Respected Sir* I beg Leave to Inform Congress of the unhappy State of Our Northern Army which arrived here Last Evening from Isle Le mott; after Evacuating S<sup>t</sup> Johns I thought best to make a Stand at Isle au Noix till we could have Some Direction from Congress or the Commander in Chief. This I knew would afford an opportunity to our frontier Inhabitants to Remove with their Effects to Some place of Safety (which they have in General Done we have given them Every assistance in our power for that purpose) The amazing number of our men Taken Down by Sickness at that unhealthy Spot obliged us to Remove to Isle Le Mott & from thence to this place to give you a particular account of the miserable State of our Troops there & the numbers which Daily kept Dropping into their Beds and Graves would rather Seem Like The effect of Immagination than a history of facts — I beg Leave to Suggest That This must be owing to The Troops Living So Long upon Salt provision & having nothing to Drink but the poisonous waters of the Lake. I am now in hopes as this is a healthy Spot and as the Country affords good Spring water that we Shall Soon find the Army regain their health — and that we Shall be able to

make an Effectual Stand at this place. I have ordered all the Sick to be removed at a Distance from the other troops That the Sight of Such pitiful objects may not Dispirit the Rest. I Shall do Every thing in my power to preserve The health of the Army & Reduce the troops to some kind of order — I am now about fortifying this post which I think may in a short time be made strong Enough to Baffle all the attempts of our Enemies — I Think that a number of Row Gallies upon the Lake upon the Construction of those at Philadelphia will be of great advantage. I am now preparing timber for that purpose & beg Congress would Send a workman from Philadelphia that understands Constructing them — A few of those vessels in Conjunction with those we already have must Effectually give us the Command of the Lake & prevent the Enemy from penetrating the Country —

I Inclose a Petition from the Inhabitants about onion River for Protection. Col<sup>o</sup> Warner offers to Raise a Regiment to protect that Quarter. This I could not Consent to as I have no Such authority but beg Leave to recommend it to Congress as those men are much better Calculated for the purpose than any others as they have Such a Thorough knowledge of the Country: I have Sent Col<sup>o</sup> Winde with a hundred & fifty men to take post there till the pleasure of Congress can be known. The Reason of my Sending a Chief Col<sup>o</sup> with So Small a Detachment is because he cannot Do Duty here for fear of the small pox — this is also the Case with most of the men who are with him. I beg Congress to Send me Some Directions about the Defence of the frontiers & building armed vessels here. Every order Shall be Complied with as Soon as received. I have Sent Several times back to Discover the motions of the Enemy a Lieu<sup>t</sup> who went off with four men has Just returned he

Counted the number of Tents at S<sup>t</sup> Johns & found them about a hundred & fifty he found twenty five at S<sup>t</sup> Rays & fifteen at Chamblee he sent off two of his men from S<sup>t</sup> Johns to give Information but they have not arrived he tarried two Days Longer about S<sup>t</sup> Johns & Chamblee & then Returned through the woods to masisque Bay he found their track at masisque River but could Discover nothing of the men — I Apprehend that the Indians have Entrapped them — This Lieut could not Discover but two Boats at those places and I think it must take them So Long to Construct vessels to Transport an Army over this Lake that we Shall by that time be very ready to receive them. I am Determined however not to Loose a moment in Securing this important post in the best manner possible as I am Convinced that the Loss of this place would be next to Loosing the Country —

I beg Leave my Dear Sir to assure you & the honourable Congress that I never had an Idea of pain Equal to that which I felt at the Evacuation of Canada. I hope Congress will not attribute it to my Timidity or want of Resolution. I must Refer you to Col<sup>o</sup> Allen for the particular Reasons which oblided us to abandon that Country. I beg Leave to recommend him to you as an Intelligent brave and Active officer & one who will give you a perfect account of the miserable State of our Army in Canada — & what is their present Situation. I Shall feel myself Extremely happy if Congress Should be Satisfied with the Steps I have Taken it is Seldom that an officer can Claim any merit from a Retreat & I am far from Laying in a Claim of the kind yet it gives me Some Satisfaction That with all our Disadvantages we Saved the whole of the Publick Stores the Baggage of the army & Left not one of our Sick behind us — This I hope will at Least Convince Congress that we did not

retreat in hurry & Confusion. The fatigue we had to Save our Batteaus Cannon &c and get them over the Rapids was beyond any thing that Ever I went through — and what was never done by an army in our Situation before & what for my own part I never wish to attempt again — I must beg Congress to give Some Directions about the Redemption of General Thompson Col<sup>o</sup> Irvin and Some other officers who have fallen into the hands of the Enemy — opposite the Isle au noix Cap<sup>t</sup> M<sup>c</sup>Clean Lieut<sup>s</sup> M<sup>c</sup>Ferran M<sup>c</sup>Allester & Hogg of Col<sup>o</sup> Irvins Regiment were taken prisoners by the Indians & are now I apprehend at Quebeck — I wish Congress would Consent to an Exchange of prisoners if they should I will send a flagg Immediately to S<sup>t</sup> Johns to Treat upon the Subject

I beg Leave to assure you and the Congress That nothing on my part Shall be wanting to prevent the Enemy from penetrating the Country in this Quarter

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to Gen. Washington, July 2, 1776. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Washington Papers, Library of Congress.]

Crown Point July 2<sup>d</sup> 1776

*My Dear General* I have from time to time Endeavoured to give your Excellency the Earliest Intelligence of our movements in this Quarter but the Distance is So great that we are under necessity of making many without having your Excellencys advice; in my Last I mentioned that I Should remain with the army at Isle au Noix till your Excellenceys pleasure Could be known. This I Supposed would Serve to Cover & protect the Inhabitants Settled by the Lake till they could Remove with their Effects & at the Same time give us

an opportunity of Receiving Your Excellencys Directions where to make a stand — but unfortunately Sickness of almost Every kind Siezed both officers & men to Such a Degree that I was forced to Leave that unhealthy place & retire to This where I hope the army will soon Recruit — we have I think Secured Every thing Even to an ax Except three Cannon at Chamblee & those not very good — we have taken one out of the Lake a fine twelve pounder which in part makes up our Loss. I am now fortifying this place & will Endeavour to have it as Strong as possible & fix as many Galleys to Command the Lake as I can. I have sent for Some person Acquainted with those Constructed at Philadelphia that we may have Some of that Build if it is agreeable to your Excellency; I have wrote General Schuyler for his advice which hope Soon to Receive — in the Interim I Shall be procuring as much timber & boards as possible. I hear that a number of Militia are ordered here. I dont think them necessary at present but should they be Sent I wish it might be such as have had the Small pox as there is no avoiding it in our Camp — as the Air is pure at this place & the army can have fresh provisions & good water I hope they will Soon Recruit — if they Should Sure I am that we shall have Enough to fortify & hold this place & at the Same time Command the Lake; a Lieu<sup>t</sup> which I sent to Reconnoitre at S<sup>t</sup> Johns & Chamblee has Returned and Says that he Counted about a hundred & fifty tents at S<sup>t</sup> Johns twenty five at S<sup>t</sup> Rays & fifteen at Chamblee. That the Regulars are very Busy in fortifying at S<sup>t</sup> John's — he Saw no Boats Except a Canoe & one Batteau at Chamblee — he Dispatched two of his men from S<sup>t</sup> Johns to give me Intelligence who have not Since been heard of. I fear the Indians have Entrapped them.

In my Rout I have given Every assistance in my

power to remove the frontier Inhabitants with their Effects & have ordered Col<sup>o</sup> Winde with a hundred & fifty men to take post at onion River to guard there till I could have y<sup>r</sup> Excellenceys & General Schuylers opinion. I have Sent Congress a written application from these Inhabitants for assistance. Doubtless they will make some order upon it which I hope will be that Col<sup>o</sup> Warner of the Green Mountains shall raise men for that purpose as I think those men much better calculated to Defend that part of the Country than any others — I Shall now be able to make your Excellency a proper return of men & Stores which shall be immediately forwarded—

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to Col. Hoisington, July 3, 1776. Copy.*]

[New Hampshire Archives, Revolution, vol. 4, p. 55.]

Crown Point July 3<sup>d</sup> 1776

*D<sup>r</sup> Sir* I this moment rec<sup>d</sup> y<sup>r</sup> favor of the 28<sup>th</sup> Ult<sup>o</sup> — am much oblig'd by y<sup>r</sup> kind offer of Assistance, but have the pleasure to inform you that at present our Army weak & reduc'd by Sickness as it is, will be fully sufficient to oppose any force w<sup>ch</sup> may be sent against us at present; I am well convinc'd that the Enemy have neither Boats to transport any Army, nor armed Vessells upon the Lake to defend themselves against Us, for w<sup>ch</sup> reason I suppose they will be very Careful about making any Attempt upon us at present, perhaps some future day we may find ourselves under the necessity of embracing your generous offer — in the mean time beg you & those friendly Americans to hold yourselves in readiness either to defend yourselves, or repair to this place as Occasion may require —

[*Col. Donald Campbell to Gen. Sullivan, July 4, 1776. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Revolution Collection, Library of Congress.]

*Sir* An Assistant to me as Deputy Quarter Master General in this District being very Necessary for the Good of the Service I presume to recommend Capt<sup>n</sup> Udny Hay of Col. Hazens as a fitt person Capable of the Duty of an Assistant Dep<sup>y</sup> Q<sup>r</sup> M<sup>r</sup> General to which I shall be happy if he may be Approved of & Appointed as such from the 1 July he having Acted as Such for the Time with much Zeal & Activity.

Crown Point 4<sup>th</sup> July 1776

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to Gen. Philip Schuyler, July 6, 1776. Letter Signed.*]

[New York Public Library.]

Crown Point July 6<sup>th</sup> 1776

*Dear General/* The Command of the Army in Canada having Unexpectedly Devolv'd on me, I with Reluctance Accepted the Arduous Task, & however Unsuccessful I may have been in my Attempts, Yet I may Venture to Say that the Ill Success never happen'd by my Rashness Imprudence or Cowardice. I must beg leave further to add that I am not Conscious in any one Instance Since I was honoured with a Commission from Congress that I have Neglected or Refused my duty; For the truth of which I appeal to the Candour of those Officers with whom I have had the pleasure to Serve. I readily Confess that I ever was desirous of some Officer of Superiour Rank to Relieve me from the Disagreeable Command, & Should with pleasure have remaind in the Army & Served under him. But Congress having thought proper to Supercede me, By Appointing Gen-

eral Gates (who had not by the Rank they were pleased formerly to Confer on us the Same pretensions as myself), I can Construe this in no other Light, but by Supposing Congress were Apprehensive that I was not Equal to the trust, They were pleas'd to repose in me. If this be the Case, I am bound in Justice to my Country to Relinquish a command to which I am not Equal. If this was not the foundation, & they had not Such an Opinion of me, Surely my Honour Calls upon me to Leave the Service, after a person is put in over me without any Impeachment of my Conduct. I Should not have the Least Objection to being Comanded by General Gates. I have no personal Objections to him, and would willing have Served under him, had he in the first Instance held a Commission Superior to the one Congress was pleased to honour me with. But this not being the Case, & the procedure so Strong an Implication against my Conduct or abilities I must beg leave to quit this department with my Family & Baggage, as I cannot with Honour act in future, & Shall as Soon as possible repair to Congress, & Petition for Leave to Resign my Commission. This Indulgence Dear General, Shall ever be Acknowledged by Your most Obedient Servant.

---

[*Gen. Philip Schuyler to Gen. Sullivan, July 7, 1776.*]

[American Archives, 5th Series, vol. 1, p. 235.]

Crown Point, July 7, 1776.

*Dear Sir:* Your letter of yesterday's date was delivered me this morning.

The merits of the reasons which induce you to ask leave of absence from the Army I would not by any means wish to enter into. It is, however, a justice I

owe you to declare that your conduct since the command of the Army in Canada devolved on you has been perfectly agreeable to me, and that every manoeuvre of yours, as far as they have come to my knowledge, and I am capable of judging, has been conducted with a prudence and discernment that leave your character as an officer unimpeached.

Although I most sincerely wish you to remain with the Army, yet as I wish to evince the utmost tenderness to the feelings of every gentleman who conceives himself injured, I cannot withhold my consent to your waiting on the Commander-in-Chief with such gentlemen of your suite as you choose should follow you.

---

*[Address of Field Officers to Gen. Sullivan, July 8, 1776.]*

[New Hampshire Gazette or Exeter Morning Chronicle, Aug. 3, 1776.]

*To the Honorable John Sullivan, Esq; Brigadier General late commanding the Army of the United Colonies in Canada.*

The humble Address of the Field Officers, late under his command.

We, the Field Officers, of the several Regiments now composing the army of the United colonies in the Northern department, having been informed of your Honour's intended departure from hence, esteem it would be unpardonable in us, should we forego this opportunity of rendering the homage due to Him, who upon the late trying occasion, has comforted, supported, and protected, the shattered remains of a debilitated army; and, with unwearied care, watchfulness & attention, has landed the public stores of every kind, without

the least diminution, safe at this place. It is to you, Sir, the public are indebted, for the preservation of their property in Canada. It is to you we owe our safety thus far. Your humanity will call forth the silent tear, and grateful ejaculation of the sick; your universal impartiality will force the applause of the wearied soldier. Permit us, then, worthy Sir, to take our leave, wishing you every happiness and success, your most sanguine inclinations can suggest, or our most fervent prayers procure.

(Signed) John Moore, Moses Hazen, Ed. Antil, Joseph Cilley, John McDuffee, Thomas Poor, Enoch Poor, J. Alden, Charles Burrel, Matthew Ogden, Seth Reed, Joseph Vose, Nathan Fuller, John Stark, John Patterson, William Bond, James Reed, Ar. St. Clair, Wm. De Haas, John Greateon, Israel Shreve, William Maxwell, David Rhea, Jotham Loring, Elisha Porter, Abner Morgan, Antho. Wayne.

Crown-Point, 8th July, 1776.

[*Gen. Sullivan's Reply.*]

*To the Field Officers of the several Regiments composing the Northern Army.*

*Gentlemen.* Your polite and friendly Address, presented at this hour of my departure from the army, demands my most cordial thanks. The favourable opinion you are pleased to entertain of my exertions, in protecting and supporting our distressed army in Canada, gives me the highest satisfaction.

If the public are in any measure indebted to me for the preservation of their property in Canada, or the army for its safety thus far, your generosity in voluntarily giving your testimony thereto, at this time, evinces that generous spirit which I have ever found you to possess. The debilitated state of our army ren-

dered the task of saving it, extremely arduous, and had not your zeal and activity seconded my endeavours, it must have become impossible. Duty to my country demanded that humanity to the sick, and impartiality to the soldiers, which you are pleased so politely to mention; it gives me the most sensible pleasure, to find my conduct in this respect, meets with the approbation of officers so truly deserving.

Gentlemen, I deeply deplore the necessity I am under of quitting this department, and most sincerely wish, that I could with honour, have remained to share with you the fortune of the campaign; yet, give me leave to assure you, that wherever fortune may place me in the future, whether the alarm of war may summon me again to the field, or domestic affairs call me to private life, your safety and success I shall deem inseparable from my own. — That an indulgent Heaven may grant you success equal to your merits, reward your toil with the conquest of your unnatural Enemies, & in due time, return you, crowned with Laurels, to your respective Families, shall be my most earnest Prayer.

Crown-Point, 8th July, 1776.

---

[*Gen. Sullivan's Message to His Army, July 8, 1776. Copy.*]

[New York Public Library.]

General Sullivan finding himself under a Necessity of Leaving the Army, Embraces this Opportunity of Returning his Sincere thanks to the Officers & Soldiers lately under his Command, for their Unparalleled Exertions in Securing the retreat of this army, & Saving the publick Stores in Canada. The Cheerfulness with which his Commands have been received, & the Alacrity

with which they have been Obeyed Demand his most Gratefull Acknowledgments. He Sincerely wishes them a prosperous Campaign & that their Success in future Operations may equal their Merit —

[Endorsed] Crown point July 8, 1776. Gen<sup>l</sup> John Sullivan's note to Gen<sup>l</sup> Schuyler

---

[*John Hurd to Gen. Sullivan, July 13, 1776. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Gates Papers, New York Historical Society.]

Haverhill (Cohoos) 13<sup>th</sup> July 1776

*Sir* The Bearer of this Capt: Sam<sup>l</sup> Paine having made a voluntary offer of his Service to go on a Scout towards Canada for the Good of the common Cause, I embrace the Opport<sup>y</sup> of paying my Respects to you from this part of the Country & to acquaint you something of our present critical Situation —

I was at Exeter about ten days agoe attending the public Business, when we were alarm'd with repeated Acco<sup>ts</sup> of the ill Success of our Forces in Canada — that the Army under your Command having dismantled the Fortress S<sup>t</sup> John had retreated to Isle du Noix, & from thence were going over the Lake with all Expedition to Crown point, w<sup>ch</sup> of Course left the N<sup>o</sup> West parts of New Hampshire Colony open to the Incursions of the Enemy, & defenceless — This News with the exaggerated Acco<sup>ts</sup> of the numerous ministerial Army lately arrivd at Quebec struck such a Consternation & panic into our people settled along upon Connecticut River, that they immediately begun to pluck up Stakes & remove with their Effects & Live Stock from the Upper & lower Coho'os to the Interior Country — Those who determin'd to remain here, set about

building Fortifications of some sort, for the Defence of their Women & Children, and a considerable Number of Familys live now in Garrison, having quitted their plantations & risque the Loss of the near Harvests, tho' the finest appearance of Crops, to their great Damage — my own Family (the better part) I met half way on the Road as I was returning here, where I left them, & came on to encourage the people in this Quarter what I could — Our Assembly having in Consequence of very pressing Letters from the Continental Congress resolv'd upon raising two Battalions of 750 Men Each to march into Canada for your Reinforcement, & for y<sup>r</sup> greater Expedition determin'd to draught the men proportionally from the several Regiments of Militia, giving at the same time a Bounty of £7.18/ besides a months Advance Wages for Encouragement — They have also determin'd upon raising 200 Men particularly for the Defence of this part of the Colony, to be kept on Ranging Duty between Connecticut River and Lake Champlain and towards the Head of Connecticut River — In w<sup>ch</sup> Quarter we are most exposd, while your Army is stationd at Crown point — This Sir, you must be sensible of, that I need but hint it — You are also acquainted of the new Road w<sup>ch</sup> was opening under Care of Col<sup>o</sup> Bayley from Coho's on a N<sup>o</sup> West Course to Messisque Bay & thence to S<sup>t</sup> John by particular Direction from Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington, On w<sup>ch</sup> Road there was upwards fifty persons employd, & had got near thirty Miles throu' when this News reachd here, upon w<sup>ch</sup> Col<sup>o</sup> Bayley desisted & calld off his Workmen — I take the Liberty to inclose you a Sketch of this Road from a plan first draughted by M<sup>r</sup> Metcalf, w<sup>ch</sup> if you have not seen, I thou<sup>t</sup> might be of some service, & if otherwise your politeness, I trust. will excuse the Trouble —

You will please to give Capt Paine such Advice & Directions respecting the Scout, as you may think best — We shall be anxiously expecting his Return, that We may know better what we have to depend upon; and if the Multiplicity of y<sup>r</sup> affairs will admit of a few minutes time, I shall think myself much honored by a Line from you —

P S: I have had the pleasure to see a copy of y<sup>r</sup> Letter from Crown point of 3<sup>d</sup> Inst<sup>t</sup> to Col<sup>o</sup> Hoisington, & to observe, tho' your Army was much weaken'd with Sickness, you was not apprehensive of any immediate Danger from the Enemy — they having no Vessells of Force on the Lake, nor Boats in readiness for transporting — our greatest danger we fear at present is, from small Skulking partys of Canadians or Indians shoud they take up the Hatchet against us — yet we have this good Circumstance in our favour — The S<sup>t</sup> Francis Tribe & Caghniwaga have still some of their Children at Dartmouth College under D<sup>r</sup> Wheelocks Tuition — w<sup>ch</sup> one would think they will certainly remove before they begin Hostilities —

July 14<sup>th</sup> Since writing the above I have seen a Letter from Capt Ira Allen on Onion River by one of our Scouts, in w<sup>ch</sup> he writes, that Col<sup>o</sup> Waite by your orders was station'd there with 200 Men & that he expected there woud be a Line of Block Forts from that River to Connect<sup>t</sup> River — This may answer a good purpose, but will not be sufficient — the Northern parts of our Colony will still be expos'd, our Settlements extending 70 Miles on this River above the lower Coho's & it appears to us here, that Nothing but the Enemys Ignorance of the Country & our weak Situation, or their want of men prevents 'em from forcing their way into these parts, the Consequence of w<sup>ch</sup> (shoud such a plan take place as recommended by the notorious M<sup>r</sup> Brush) you can easily conjecture —

*[Extract of a Letter from an Officer at Fort George to an Officer in New York, July 14, 1776.]*

[New Hampshire Gazette or Exeter Morning Chronicle, Aug. 3, 1776.]

I never knew the fatigues of a campaign until I arrived at Canada. The most shocking scene that ever appeared in a camp, were constantly exhibited to view. When General Sullivan arrived in Canada, the army was torn in pieces, by sickness, and other unaccountable occurrences. A whole Regiment was not to be found together: General Sullivan, with his usual activity and alertness, collected together, a debilitated dispirited army; tried the strength of the enemy, who were at least four to one, and performed one of the most remarkable Retreats that was ever known. No person, who was not present, can conceive a tenth part of the difficulties attending it; the enemy at our heels, 3000 of our men sick of the Small Pox, those who were most healthy, like so many walking apparitions. All our baggage, stores and artillery, to be removed, officers as well as men, all employed in hauling cannon, &c. Our batteaus loaded, were all moved up the rapids 6 miles one hundred of them were towed by our poor wearied men, up to their armpits in water. This was performed in one day and a half; our sick & baggage all safely landed at St. John's, and from thence to Crown-Point, with the Loss of only three cannon, which were but poor ones. All this was accomplished, through the amazing exertions of Gen. Sullivan, who performed what appeared to be almost impossible to have been done by mortal Man! He is now on his way to New-York.

[*Newbury, Vt., and Haverhill, N. H., Committees of Safety to Gen. Sullivan, July 22, 1776. Letter Signed.*]

[Gates Papers, New York Historical Society.]

22 July 1776

*Sir* The Bearer of this Mons<sup>r</sup> Traverie having come over to this part of the Country from the Parish of S<sup>t</sup> Francois by a tedious Journey, claiming our protection, as being in danger of suffering there by his Attachment to the general Cause of American Liberty, and having serv'd a Captain of Militia in the s<sup>d</sup> Parish, under Commission of Captain Goforth while commanding a party at Trois Riviers, as appears by his papers, by which, and the Account he gives of himself, we think him an honest man, & have shown him all the Civility in our power, at the same time taking the most prudent, & cautious Method of conveying him thro' the Country, to the Head Quarters of our Northern Army, where he exprest his Desire of going, having been known to Major General Sullivan & several Officers of our American Army, that he might give the best Intelligence he could — We hope for your Approbation in our Conduct and with our warmest Wishes for the Success of our Army under your Command, remain very respectfully

Your most hum<sup>l</sup> Serv<sup>ts</sup>

Reuben Foster { Chairmen of the Com<sup>s</sup>  
James Bayly { of Newbury & Haverhill

Newbury (Coho'os) 23<sup>d</sup> July 1776 —

To the Honble Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan or The Commander in Chief of the Continental Army at Crown point

[*Gen. Sullivan to Gen. Schuyler, Aug. 5, 1776. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[New York Public Library.]

New York Aug<sup>t</sup> 5<sup>th</sup> 1776

*Dear General* I am ordered by Congress to Remain at New York. I . . . . to order waggons to Remove my . . . . Baggage with that of major Scammell as Soon as possible I think . . . . will be Sufficient if Major Scammell should want a Horse I beg you will Supply one

P S as General Washington gives me this opportunity p<sup>r</sup> Express I Cannot Send a horse to maj<sup>r</sup> Scammell Therefore beg you to furnish one

[*Gen. Sullivan to John Hancock, Aug. 5, 1776. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Continental Congress Papers, No. 160, Library of Congress.]

New York August 5<sup>th</sup> 1776

*Much Esteemed Sir* My Sincere Regard To my Country will I hope apologize for my Troubleing Congress with an Account of our Situation at New York — we have at This place Long Island Governours Island & Kings Bridge Including the Lame The halt & the Blind between Sixteen & Seventeen Thous<sup>d</sup> men: on The New Jersey Shore they have between Three & four Thousand within two or three Days have arrived About one hundred of The Enemys Ships with Troops which we have Seen march up & Encamp on Staten Island. Doubtless the Remainder will be here in a few Days when I Suppose they will have at Least Twenty Thousand (perhaps Twenty five) Two Thousand of Those with Some of their shipping will be Sufficient to Guard their Baggage & with Eighteen Thousand they may

make An attack; if on Long Island we have only Six Broken Reg<sup>ts</sup> to oppose them if at Kings Bridge a much Less number if They attempt the City we can meet them with Little more than one Third of Their number as our army is very Sickley which must Reduce our numbers Some Thousands (at Least two or Three) Those on Governors Island & Long Island cant Leave their posts to come to our assistance & Should Long Island be attacked (which Indeed I think most probable) There will be much Difficulty & Delay in affording them Seasonable Relief on account of our great want of proper Boats & the time which will be Taken up in Embarking & Disembarking Such a Number of Troops as may be found necessary — The Troops at Kingsbridge will be at fourteen miles Distance from the place of Action & cannot possibly be at Either of These posts till the Action is over & from New Jersey no Relief can be Expected as Boats are wanting to Transport their men across the water & Even if they had Boats The Ships will Doubtless be posted in Such a manner as to Intercept their passage & Even if that was not the Case most of those Troops are nearly a Days march from us & cannot possibly be here in Season to give us any assistance — from This State of The matter it must appear that we can at no point meet them with much more than a Third of Their Numbers: Too great a Disparity of numbers to Risque The Fate of America upon. I am far from being anxious for my own Safety. I well know that numbers will be no protection to my person but numbers may save The Countrys; I know Congress has ordered men but they are not arrived or Likely to arrive — I therefore most heartily Recommend to Congress to fall upon Some method of Sending a number of men Immediately to This place Sufficient to meet the Enemy upon more Equal Terms

and give at once the Decisive Blow — This I apprehend will be a means of Shortning the war Insuring Success & will Doubtless prove Cheapest in the End — I have not as yet any post assigned me or Brigade to Command. The General Says he will do it as Soon as possible — I hope Congress will Excuse This Freedom as I think it necessary to give them Every Information that appears of importance & did not This appear to me in That Light I should not have given them the Trouble

P. S. I know Congress are not pleased with Complaining Letters & I am far from being pleased with writing them: but when our all is at stake I think it will admit of Some Excuse if nothing more is Done than barely to give a True State of Facts in order that they may provide in Season a Remedy for Each Defect — it must be allowed That nothing is more True than That he who would make a good Defence must provide himself in Season with Every necessary for that purpose —

Mr Livingston has just Informed us of the Death of the prussian General — our Six Gallies have made an attack upon The Phenix & Rose. The Engagement Lasted near two hours. The Batteries having fired away their Ammunition Returned to Kings Bridge we have about four killed & Some few wounded we cant Learn what Damage the Ships Sustained. Several Shots went through them — one of our Batteries was Hulled thirteen times, another five or Six — The Damage is Inconsiderable

---

[Sullivan was commissioned Major-General Aug. 9, 1776.]

[*John Hancock, President of Congress, to Gen. Sullivan and Others, Aug. 10, 1776.*]

[American Archives, 5th Series, vol. 1, p. 883.]

Philadelphia, August 10, 1776.

*Sir:* The Congress having yesterday been pleased to appoint you a Major-General in the Army of the American States, I do myself the pleasure to enclose your commission. Confident of your zeal and attachment to the liberties of America, I am persuaded you will do everything to merit the honour your country has now conferred on you.

To Major-General William Heath.

Same to Major-General Joseph Spencer, to Major-General John Sullivan, and to Major-General Nathaniel Greene.

N.B. They are to take rank according to the order in which they stand.

---

[*Ebenezer Sullivan to Gen. Sullivan, Aug. 14, 1776. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Continental Congress Papers, No. 78, vol. 10, p. 49, Library of Congress.]

Montreal August 14<sup>th</sup> 1776

*Dear Sir* I am permitted by his Excellency which is a favour I did not expect to obtain to inform You that I am well As are the Other hostages that are with me —

I am much surprised to hear that the Congress instead of Redeeming Us according to the Cartail have not only Refused To do it but have Demanded Cap<sup>t</sup> Forster to be Delivered up to Answer his Conduct in what they are pleased to term the Massacree of the Ceaders —

I would fain flatter myself that the Congress would

never have thought of Such unheard of proceedings had they not had a false Representation of the Matter. —

Do not think I am under any Constraint when I say and Call that god who must Judge of the truth to Witness that not a man living Could have Used more humanity than Cap<sup>t</sup> Forster did after the Surrender of the party I belonged to, and whoever Says to the Contrary let his station in life be what it will he's an enemy to peace and a falacious Disturber of mankind. —

What Reason they can give for not Redeeming us I Can not Conceive if they are Wrongly informed that the affair of the Ceaders was a Massacree why Dont they Rather fulfill the Cartail than let their hostages Remain in the hands of a merciless enemy: or do they Regard their Troops only while the heavens Make them Victorious.

Were we in the hands of a Rigorous power (as they would intemate) have they not every Colour of Justice after so enormous a breach of faith Loadened with Chains to Cast us into some horred place and tell us to languish out our Days Under a Sentance past by our own people. — If they say there is some hidden Reason in the System of Politics why we should not be Redeemed I answer that it is a hidden Reason far beyond the Reach of policy to find out. — For Could they Suppose it policy to Distress his Majesty's Troops by Retaining Such a number of men from them it would not only be the breach of their faith that would threaten them for Consider the Number of prisoners already in the hands of the British army and also Consider the Chance of war that may Yet throw greater Numbers into their hands: and will people Rest Content when they find their own Rulers Willing to let them Remain prisoners in the hands of what themselves Term (tho' unjustly) a merciless people? or will they Not fired with

Resentment for Such inhumane treatment take arms to Suppress the power that Regards them no longer than while their blood is Spilling in their Service. —

If this which appears too Probable should happen Consider whether those persons will not be followed by a Number of their friends which must Naturely make a great Devision in the Colonies — then take a View of great Britain and her allies pouncing on you and let the most Sanguine expecter in America then Judge how long the Colonies thus Divided can Stand the fury of the Combat. —

I know your influence has been great and for that Reason have wrote that you may if possiable yet prevent America from being branded with the name of injustice. —

If you Suspect I write this for the sake of getting my own Liberty your Suspicion wrongs me 'tis not my own Confinement but the breach of a Treaty (which even Savages have ever held Sacred) that Causes me to Write. —

You'll be so kind as to convey the enclosed to my wife and if ever I had so much of your love as to Demand any favour of you let this be the time that I may implore your assistance for my Distressed wife and helpless orphans — may god grant I may once more see them Till when I am Your affectionate Brother —

---

[*Lieut. Col. Thomas Hartley to Gen. Sullivan, Aug. 21, 1776. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society]

Crown Point august the 21<sup>st</sup> 1776

*Dr General* When I parted with you to go on Command to Cumberland Head, I little expected that you

would so soon leave us. My Surprise was great on my Return to find you were gone Part of the Troops marched away and the rest ordered to Ticondaroga. I really have always considered this as a Post of great Consequence. The works were in ruins, but they might have been repaired before this. 5000 Men in my opinion, would have manned them and Stopped the Enemy here had they attempted to advance. Wiser Councils have fixed on Ticondaroga — That Place is made very strong, great attention has been paid to the Fleet it is now truly respectable — It goes down the Lake to Morrow under General arnold — I make no Doubt but it will prevent the Enemy from coming up this Year unless some extraordinary Disaster should happen to it.

There is a considerable Number of Indians and Canadians with the Regulars at the Isle Noix. I expect some of them will be paying me a visit here in a few Days. I am preparing to entertain them.

The Sixth Battalion has always remained here, as we expected every Day almost to go up to Ticondaroga, as the whole Army was to be removed there therefore did not throw up any works till a few Days ago. I thought it would be very necessary that my Camp should be secured. I fixed on an Eminence, on the East Side of the Point and have made some very strong Intrenchments on the Land Side, and shall throw up some works on the Side next the water, which will secure us against Surprise and a few Pieces of artillery, if I can find them, would cover our Retreat should the Main Body of the Enemy approach. The General has been pleased to approve of my Intrenching and directed me to stay here —

My Men are got in good Spirits and seem very well contented at their present Station.

I should apprehend that some Troops should be con-

tinued on this Point till Spring, when the Place should be fortified strongly. Should the Enemy get Possession of it very bad Consequences will follow—A Regiment of the Eastern Troops might come here when my Regiment leaves it.

General Gates is reforming the army and is very successful. He pursues the same Plan I have heard you speak of to keep of the Small Pox.

Should any Thing extraordinary happen in this Quarter you may expect that I will trouble you now and then unless I find it disagreeable to you.

---

[*George Lux to Gen. Sullivan, Aug. 22, 1776. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Massachusetts Historical Society.]

Baltimore 22 August [1776.]

*My Dear Sir* I sincerely congratulate you upon your Appointment of Major General, which . . . good Opinion of Congress, and is a convincing Proof that . . . Conduct in Canada has met with Satisfaction. . . . had been in my Power to have served the Campaign . . . in Canada, but Parents are very unwilling to part . . . only Children—The Fondness of my Parents detained . . . home, when my Inclination called me to the . . . I presumed to recommend D<sup>r</sup> M<sup>c</sup>Dowell, & Cap<sup>t</sup> . . . Irwins Regiment to your Notice, when you com . . . Canada, and should be glad to hear from them, especially M<sup>r</sup> M<sup>c</sup>Dowell, & whether he is advanced in the . . . which only he is calculated to work—

As from Experience I know, that you . . . when it is in your Power to . . . treat Gentlemen . . . the Hospitality due to them, I presume to reco . . . to

your Notice Major Jones, a Gentleman of this . . . whom you will find worthy of your Acquaintance . . . do himself the Pleasure of waiting upon you, & . . . bring any Letter, you may please to honour me with —

Our Friend Pat: Henry Esq<sup>r</sup> is now Gov<sup>r</sup> of Virginia . . . I have the Pleasure to inform you, that he discharges his Office with the Integrity & Ability natural to him —

My best Compl<sup>ts</sup> to my old friend D<sup>r</sup> Jackson, & to Cap<sup>t</sup> Wilkinson of this Province, who is an old Acquaintance of mine, & I hear, is Aid de Camp to you —

P. S. I hear that our Maryland Battalion is under your command; I therefore take the Liberty of introducing to your Acquaintance Cap<sup>t</sup> Smith, who has been brought up with me, & you will find has a great Military Turn. Any Civilities you may confer on him, & any officer he may introduce to you, shall be gratefully ack . . . by

[Addressed] The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Major General Sullivan at New York favor of Major Jones

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to Gen. Washington, Aug. 23, 1776.*]

[American Archives, 5th Series, vol. 1, p. 1136.]

Long Island, August 23, 1776.

*Dear General:* This afternoon the enemy formed and attempted to pass the road by Bedford. A smart fire between them and the riflemen ensued. The officer sent off for a reinforcement, which I ordered immediately. A number of musketry came up to the assistance of the riflemen, whose fire, with that of our field pieces, caused a retreat of the enemy. Our men followed them to the house of Judge Lefferts (where a number of them had taken lodgings) drove them out, and burnt the

house and a number of other buildings contiguous. They think they killed a number, and as evidence of it they produce three officers' hangers, a carbine, and one dead body, with a considerable sum of money in pocket. I have ordered a party out for prisoners to-night. We have driven them half a mile from their former station. These things argue well for us, and I hope are so many preludes to a general victory.

---

[Sullivan and Lord Stirling were taken prisoners on Long Island Aug. 27, 1776. Sullivan was exchanged in December, 1776.]

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to Lord Howe, Aug. 30, 1776.*]

[Journals of the Continental Congress, vol. 5, p. 731.]

New York, 30<sup>th</sup> of August, 1776.

*My Lord.* — agreeable to your Lordships Request I have conversed with General Washington, who says that he has no power to Treat upon the Subject your Lordship mentioned, but has not the least objection to my going to Philadelphia to Inform Congress of what your Lordship has been pleased to Communicate to me upon the Subject. I shall wait your Lordships further Direction.

---

[*Lord Howe to Gen. Sullivan, Aug. 30, 1776. Letter Signed.*]

[Revolution Collection, Library of Congress.]

Eagle 30<sup>th</sup> August 1776

*Sir* Understanding by Your Letter that the only doubt of the propriety of your going to Philadelphia is,

by your Conversation with General Washington, removed, I do not see occasion to give You farther trouble, but to recommend the prosecuting of your Journey as You were pleased on that Condition to propose —

---

[*Samuel Chase to Gen. Sullivan, Oct. 23, 1776. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Annapolis Oct. 23<sup>rd</sup> 1776

*Dear Sir.* After congratulating you on your Return to your Station in our Army, I beg you to resume your Correspondence with Me, and to give any Intelligence, by which I may serve You, in Army or Country.

I am in the greatest Anxiety for the Success of the military, and therefore hope you will gratify my Enquiry into the Numbers, State and Condition of the Troops. —

I am now engaged in framing a Government for this state.

I beg to be remembered most respectfully to Lord Sterling.

[Addressed] The Hon<sup>ble</sup> John Sullivan Esq<sup>r</sup> Major General of the Continental Army Head Quarters New-York

[Samuel Chase was a signer of the Declaration of Independence from Maryland, and was at this time a member of the Continental Congress from that state.]

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to Gen. William Heath. Letter Signed.*]

[Massachusetts Historical Society.]

*Sir* I have altered my Rout to Easton where I now intend to cross Delaware if possible this night as I have

inteligence of a large Body of the Enemy being about twenty miles yesterday afternoon on my left they may possibly intercept Your March therefore would advise You take no Notice of my line of March here but follow the Straitest direction to Easton this I am informed is from Morris Town to Black River thence to or near Hacketts Town from thence to Easton is I am told a good road to facilitate your March

[Addressed] On public Service to Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Heath at Morris Town or wherever he is.

---

*[Major John S. Eustace to Gen. Sullivan, Nov. 19, 1776. Autograph Letter Signed.]*

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Head Quarters North Castle 19<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> 1776.

*Sir* I am directed by General Lee to request (as he is going this morning to the Salt pits) that you will act in his stead 'till he returns and give the necessary Orders for your Division.

In any thing respecting Tories that you will act according to your own Discretion

---

*[Gen. Sullivan to Daniel Coe, Dec. 6, 1776.]*

[American Archives, 5th Series, vol. 3, p. 1095.]

Cakiact, December 6, 1776.

I beg that you will assemble the Militia of the district of Cakiact, with their arms, accoutrements, blankets, and three days' provisions, and order them to join General Lee at Morristown as soon as possible.

To Daniel Coe, Esq., Chairman of the Committee

[*Gen. Sullivan's Orders, Dec. 11, 1776. Rough Draft in His Handwriting.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

General Sullivans orders Decem<sup>r</sup> 11<sup>th</sup> 1776

The whole Army to Strike their Tents Tomorrow morning at half past Seven & to parade in order to march by Eight

Hitchcocks Brigade to march in front Col<sup>o</sup> Glover in The Center & Col<sup>o</sup> Seargents in the Rear

The waggons to march between the Centre & Rear Brigade

General M<sup>c</sup>Dougles Brigade is annexed to Col<sup>o</sup> Seargents & to be Commanded by him till further order —

The Same order of march to be observed as yesterday

The adjutants Immediately to make proper Returns of the Troops to the Brigade Majors & they to the Deputy adjutants General

In Case an Attack should be attempted by the Enemy in our front Hitchcocks & Glovers Brigade is to form the first Line Hitchcock on the Right & Glover on the Left Seargent to form a Second Line in the Rear & parade the Baggage Waggons in a Line in his front

[*James Caldwell to Gen. Charles Lee, Dec. 12, 1776. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Turkey Dec<sup>r</sup> 12, 1776.

*Dr Sir,* I thank you for your favour from Basking Ridge of this morning, & intended to do myself the honour to wait upon you & set out for that purpose, but found my horse woud not perform the journey with

sufficient expedition, & cannot procure another here. And indeed I find this the best place to observe the enemies motions. From sundry persons who have been upon the road between Brunswick & Princeton I learn the Army has very generally marched forward — Indeed all except Guards at the several Posts. Yesterday they sent a reinforcement to Eliz. Town from Amboy of near one thousand. Some say the whole at Eliz. Town are about 1000, others say 1500. They are carrying off the Hay from Eliz. Town to N York. At N. York there are but about 500 men left — at Fort Lee it is said a Battalion of the Scotch. At Hackensack & from thence to Eliz. Town none. I believe E. Town is their strongest Post as they were afraid of our militia, who have taken off many of the most active Tories, Made some Prisoners & among others shot their english foriage master so that he is either mortally or very illy wounded. A Company of our militia went last night to Woodbridge & brot off the drove of Stock the Enemy had collected there consisting of about 400 Cattle & 200 Sheep. Most of those Cattle are only fit for stock. Col<sup>o</sup> Ford begs your directions what to do with them. I advised that those not fit to kill should be sold, recording the marks, that Whig owners might receive the money for which they sell respectively. It will cost more than the value of them to keep them in a flock. They are drove up the Country to be out of the Enemys way, & the Colonel will follow your directions as to the disposition of them.

At a Council of the Field Officers this morning a majority of them advised to remove the Brigade of militia back again to Chatham. For which they assigned these reasons — Many of the militia, rather fond of plunder & adventure, kept a continual scouting which kept out so many detached parties that the body was

weakened — And the enemy being now stronger at Eliz. Town than they are they tho't they woud better serve the Cause by lying at Chatham till the expected Army approaches for their support.

Col<sup>o</sup> Ford also desires your directions with respect to the arms, horses or other property taken with any of the Enemy. The parties who take them think themselves entitled to these things.

I inclose you some examinations. Col<sup>o</sup> Ford thinks from the Circumstances of the Wagons taken up at Brunswick to go empty to Trenton that the Enemy Intended to retreat, I hope their retreat will be guarded against. I have very much suspected as soon as our whole Army is over the River they will return to reduce this Province leaving only part of their Army at the River to prevent ours returning till they have plundered us at their pleasure.

I have sent you Jacob Winants & 2 or 3 more light Horse in Whom you depend

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to Gen. William Heath, Dec. 14, 1776. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Heath Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, vol. 2, p. 157.]

German Town Decem<sup>r</sup> 14<sup>th</sup> 1776

*Dr General* I must beg you to hasten your March as fast as possible as Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington writes in the most pressing manner for our Troops to Come on

[Addressed] The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Major General Heath on his March

[*Gen. Washington to Gen. Sullivan, Dec. 15, 1776.*]

[American Archives, 5th Series, vol. 3 p. 1232.]

Head Quarters at Keith's, December 15th, 1776.

*Dear Sir:* About one o'clock today I received your letter of the 13th, and sincerely regret with you the unhappy fate of General Lee. I know his feelings upon the occasion, and I know the loss our country must sustain in his captivity. The event has happened, and I refer you to the several letters which I had wrote him, and to one which now goes to Lord Stirling, and to my Lord himself, who I presume is with you, and who was fully possessed of my ideas when he left me for the measures you and he may judge necessary to adopt.

[Gen. Charles Lee was taken prisoner at Baskenridge Dec. 13, 1776, and exchanged May 6, 1778.]

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to John Hancock, Dec. 22, 1776. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Continental Congress Papers, No. 160, Library of Congress.]

Wrights Town Decem<sup>r</sup> 22<sup>d</sup> 1776

*Much Respected Sir* I beg Leave to Introduce to your Excellencys notice & acquaintance the Bearer Cap<sup>t</sup> Verlejou he has been with us Some months & has Ever Discovered himself to be the Gentleman & Soldier at the time Gen<sup>l</sup> Lee was taken he acted with the greatest Bravery & Resolution — & had the whole that were there acted with the Same Spirit our Country would not have Experienced the Loss of So worthy an officer as General Lee — I beg your Excellency and the Congress to take Such notice of him as a man of his merit Deserves

[*Samuel Chase to Gen. Sullivan, Dec. 24, 1776. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Annapolis, Dec<sup>r</sup> 24, 1776.

*Dear Sir* — I thank You for your Letter of the 12<sup>th</sup> November, which I received a few Days before the Congress left Philadelphia. I shall with pleasure continue our former Correspondence, and wish it was in my Power to communicate to You any Thing worthy of your Notice. Our Intelligence from our Army will be sooner known to You than to Congress, and I wish You could drop Me a Line to gratify my anxiety and to stop false Reports.

I perfectly agree with You as to the Impropriety of our military System. The several States will for ever be influenced by local Attachments, & I am convinced the Nomination to office will in many Instances be very injudicious. If We expect to succeed in the present war, We must change our Mode of Conduct. The Business of the Congress must be placed in different Hands, distinct & precise Departments ought to be established, & a Gentleman of the Military must be of the Board of War.

Our advices from Paris are flattering. I hope America will never submit to the Tyrant of Britain. I declare as an Individual I would rather become a Subject of France, but I am afraid all my Countrymen are not of my stubborn Temper. The sullen unrelenting Monarch of Britain should never lord it over Me. — I despise, I hate, and wish to destroy him, and all such Tyrants. — I forbear to add I feel my Indignation wise.

[*Lieut. Col. John Fitzgerald to Gen. Sullivan, 1776. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Morris Town Sund<sup>y</sup> Even<sup>g</sup> half past two

*Dear Sir* Your Favor of this date is just come to hand, his Excell<sup>y</sup> is glad you rec'd the Letter you mention — In the Order sent you respecting the Removal of the Mill Stones, The General would have you understand that he means those principally w'ch are within com'and of the Enemy, Giving you a Discretionary Power to leave as many as you think absolutely necessary for the immediate use of the Inhabitants — & If any Flour should be made which is not wanted on this Acco<sup>t</sup>, that you would have it immediately brought out of the Enemy's reach

---

[*Lieut. Col. John Hawkins Stone to Gen. Sullivan, Jan. 7, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Baltimore Jan<sup>y</sup> 7th 1777.

*Dear General* — After a painful and tedious journey I arrived in this City on the 1<sup>st</sup> Inst. and with the assistance of an eminent Physician and the good nursing of my friends I find myself recovering but so slow that I am afraid I shall not be able either to be of much service this winter in forwarding the recruiting Service or to take the field early next spring, as my whole leg, knee &c continues very rigid and painful — I am happy to hear of the great capture made by your division they will, I hope, reap the benefit of it, and be much more comfortable than they otherwise wou'd have been — they were in great need of cloathes —

A L<sup>t</sup> Charles Croxall of Col<sup>o</sup> Hartley's Regiment who was made prisoner on the night that Gen<sup>l</sup> Wayne was *surprized* being very ill in Philadelphia and his father and mother elderly and very worthy people being extremely unhappy about their Son, have applied to me to assist them in getting him out either upon parole or being exchanged, but as I know the latter cannot be immediately accomplished — and to save this young Gentleman's life as well as his distracted parents, I have (from the friendship you have been pleased to express for me) taken the liberty to beg if an opportunity offers that you wou'd endeavour to get L<sup>t</sup> Croxall released. Gen<sup>l</sup> Howe has said that he wou'd send out officer for officer on parole. — I wish most heartily a Cartel wou'd be settled it is extremely hard upon our poor fellows to languish in goal for years and at last expire in the most miserable Manner — the dispute at present between us and our infernal enemies is reduced to something more than 300 men, had we not better give up this point 'tho unjust than loose more than 3000 brave men who have given up every other consideration for the good of their Country — I saw a return from Gen<sup>l</sup> Howe Dec<sup>r</sup> 76 when he enumerated 4400 prisoners, examine his present returns, how few of those remain, it is really a melancholy reflection — if my most earnest prayers, if I have any interest or friendship with you, I must beg you to reflect on this great calamity which our army labours under, and from an experience of your humanity, I know you will use your influence to bring about an exchange — we have at this time near 12000 prisoners of the enemy the expense of maintaining them, ought to be one consideration — I have not a word of news, only that the Assembly of this state are using their utmost exertions to compleat their Regiments, to do this,

each soldier is to be allowed 30 Dollars a good suit of Cloathes and fifty acres of land, besides what the Continent allows — I hope under these circumstances we shall be able to send our Regiments in the field next spring compleat and well found — whenever an idle moment happens that you are disengaged from the important duties of your station I shall wish and be happy to have the honor of a line from you —

Mr. George Lux, at whose fathers I Quarter, desires me to make his respectful compliments to you

[Addressed] The Hon'ble Major General Sullivan  
Camp —

---

[*Col. Joseph Reed to Gen. Sullivan, Jan. 10, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

M<sup>r</sup> Tenercks on Raritan River  
Jan<sup>r</sup> 10, 1777 4 °Clock P. M.

*My dear General.* I just now have Advice from Amboy the Person left it yesterday between 11 & 12 °Clock. — They called their Numbers 4000 but thinks there were but 2000 — no entrenchment there — he turnd off at Bonhams Town saw no Troops on the Road nor there; but heard there were 1000 Highlanders at Piscataway. There were some small Vessels which lay at Amboy when this Person went into it (last Sunday) these Vessels received the Baggage of some Hessian Regiments who they said were going to York Island where they expected an Attack — That a Number of Hessians (does not know how many) went on board while he was there & remain'd there when he came away. That a Number of Waggons were discharged when he was lodging their Baggage at the Houses in

Town — He has since heard that all the Waggon's were discharged except four to each Regiment — He heard the Major say that next Spring they would march thro the Country — he was present when an Officer came to Col Maud to inquire what should be done with the Baggage & how they stood about Quarters — he said he did not know nothing was determined — The Officer ask'd if the Baggage should go to New York the Col. said no — it should go over to Staten Island he expected & there it would be safe — On Wednesday this Person saw a Number of Waggon's going to Brunswick for Baggage —

There is a great Scarcity of Fuel at Amboy burning the Fences for a considerable Distance round — Gen Howe is yet at New York — Hay was very plenty when this Person first came to Amboy but very scarce when he came away. — From their Conversation they seem'd to think they could do nothing this Winter but in the Spring would have a large Reinforcement — All the Baggage goes upon the great Post Road. —

He thinks there is a Scarcity of Provisions among them — he met Horses loaded with Hay going from Woodbridge to Amboy. He also met about 20 Waggon's loaded with Wood going into Town — A great many Men lay out in the open Air there not being sufficient Covering. —

Their Regiment from Amboy lays about 2 Miles from Town where that Road falls into the great Post Road — The light Horse patrols at Night & come in, in the Morning in considerable Parties —

This Person is of Opinion that a few light Troops might do them great Mischief on the Road between Bonham Town & Amboy which is very unguarded. —

There has been another Fire at Amboy which burnt three Houses — He observed their Horses both Bag-

gage & Artillery — they are very poor in no Condition for a Journey.

I now have a Person with me who left Brunswick last Evening at Sunset — he says that the Enemy have built 2 Redoubts at Brunswick one on the left Side of the Post Road on a Ridge between the Woods & French's Barn — the other on the Right of the Road as you go into Town about half Way between the Fork of the Road which goes to the lower End of the Town & the Barracks — does not think there are 1000 Men in the Town all Hessians they have 12 field Pieces on the Height near the Barracks — Provisions very scarce among them — no Hay but Salt Hay. This Person thinks they are in no Condition for a March their Horses being in very bad Condition. He saw Skinner, Cochran &c. who were very inquisitive about the State of our Army its Numbers &c. this Person told him our Army was 8000 Men Skinner said then we will give them a Brush. They keep no Guards in the Day but at a small Distance from the Town. — By their Conversation finds them in great Confusion & apprehension of an Attack from us which they say will be a sudden one. This Person thinks they mean to stand their Ground at Brunswick & Amboy but not proceed farther till Spring when they said they would have Reinforcements —

M<sup>r</sup> Freeleyheisen sent this Person in & said he would wait on your Excell<sup>y</sup> today so that I need not be more particular having given you the Substance of his Information —

I should be glad Col. Butler might come as soon as he can. I have heard nothing of him as yet — This Person says that Skinner inquired very particularly after me & said perhaps they might serve me as they did Lee. — I shall write you as soon as I get farther Information

As my present Station would take Col. Butlers Party too far from the Road which I think he ought to harass I left Directions for 100 of his Men to join Col. Winds for the above Purpose — the other 50 to be with me —

---

[*J. Parker to Gen. Sullivan, Jan. 18, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Col<sup>o</sup> Wines quarters Near Quibble Town Jan<sup>y</sup> 18<sup>th</sup> 77  
*Dear General* I left Turkey meeting house yesterday Morning with intention to stop at Quibble Town and refresh my Men One hundred and Ten in Number exclusive of Officers, about half a Mile from the Town I met a Lady and Gentleman from Brunswick landing, who had obtained a permit from Col<sup>o</sup> Scott of the Light Infantry to pass the Guards expecting them to return as their Goods &c were in his possession, but they assured me they did not mean to return, and expressed much happiness at being Freed even with the loss of their Furniture; they informed me that a Battalion of Light Infantry and four Companies of Grenadiers were to be at Quibble Town in a few hours, in order to rout the Rebels who they were informed were to be there that day. I directly sent to Col<sup>o</sup> Wines desiring him to Join me, a few minutes after I rec<sup>d</sup> a note from him informing me that his men were much fatigued and unable to be servicable but would join me in a few hours. I then struck out on the Right of Quibble Town, in order to fall in betwixt Brunswick landing and Bown Brook but was discovered by Two Tories on horseback who instantly set out towards the Enemy who form'd an ambuscade, near a Field which I was

compelled to cross, discovered my party found my Number, a party directly pushed out in Front, and two large parties on each of my Flanks. prudence directed me to order a retreat to a Wood betwixt us and the Mountain, the Enemy pursued us, I kept them up In the retreat as well as possible, remaining in the Rear, and ordered them to halt, in the Woods to no purpose, except to a few who kept by me and Continued a scattering fire, which I am well informed, ended in the death of 3 or 4 of the Enemy one of which was the officer, who led them on — Two of my men were shott by me one of which instantly expired, the other will die of his Wounds three of the men stoped in a barn, and were taken by Tories, two of which has since escaped. 4 or 5 have lost their guns and the most of them threw of their Haversacks. I got to the Mountain with 88 out of my hundred and Ten, those except the Three which we lost, I suppose is with you before this. from the Mountain I went to Bown Brook in order to refresh my soldiers, and from there retired to this place. I shall send back those men which are unfixed besides those that have returnd of their own accord, and keep about 60, and remain in this Neighborhood a few days, in which I believe is more Tories than the Jerseys can produce beside —

The Party of the Enemy which came up yesterday was betwixt 6 & 700 men under the Comm<sup>d</sup> of Br: Gen<sup>l</sup> Matthews, with a Field piece, they did no farther mischief than before related. they are expected again this day. Col<sup>o</sup> Wines, Cap<sup>t</sup> Phillips and my party will make up about 200 men, as I am informd some of Cap<sup>t</sup> Philips party went back on hearing of the Guns where they were I know not as I have not seen them since they left Chatham, but am inform'd they are in the Neighbourhood — The Enemy send out no party

now under a Battalion, if they continue traveling this way 4 or 500 good men well managed might gall them

A disagreeable subject produces a long letter.

[Addressed] To The Honorable Major General Sullivan ☉ favor Cap<sup>t</sup> Randall

---

[*Gen. Washington to Gen. Sullivan, Jan. 28, 1777.*]

[Writings of George Washington, Ford, vol. 5, p. 208.]

Morristown, 28 January, 1777.

*Dear Sir,* The express delivered to me your favor this evening. Ignorant as I am of the ground which you occupy at the Scotch Plains, I cannot positively determine whether it is tenable or not. However, let me recommend to you to consider maturely whether the advantages that may accrue from your neighborhood to the enemy can balance the consequences that must result from your being driven from it. It's true your being posted so near them will save your scouts a few miles marching. You have also a better chance of receiving good and early intelligence of their movements; but it is as true that they may and will most certainly very soon discover your real numbers, and what will follow your being attacked I have already mentioned in mine of this date. Consult Generals Maxwell and Stephen, lay my letters to you on this head before them, view your continuance there in every point of light, and if you determine that the service may be benefitted by remaining where you are I have no objections to your stay. Upon my word, I think it a manœuvre of the last consequence, and am not without any fears about its success. You will assuredly be attacked in a few days if they have any spirit left. Knowing your strength they will do it with a force that

will command success, for it will be out of my power to relieve you in time. Should you determine to remove remember to give it the air of some manœuvre, that the enemy may be at a loss what to think of it.

---

[*Lieut. Col. John Fitzgerald to Gen. Sullivan, Jan. 28, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Morris Town Jan<sup>y</sup> 28<sup>th</sup> 1777

*Dear Sir* Your Favor of Yesterday came to hand about 12 last Night — I have it in command from his Excell<sup>y</sup> to Inform you that he never intended to Stop any of the little Family Mills, nor those which we can have in our power, but that any Flour made at them which was not immediately necessary should be remov'd — Also to request that you will expedite things as much as possible for the Court Martial, as his Excell<sup>y</sup> wishes it not to be any longer delay'd — Col<sup>o</sup> Weedon begs he may have Notice when things are nearly ready — It will be necessary for you & the other Gen<sup>ls</sup> on out Posts to keep an Accurate List of those who bring in their Protections

P S You'll please let Gen<sup>ls</sup> Maxwell & Stephens know the Necessity of Keeping a List

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to Gen. Washington, Feb. 9, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Washington Papers, Library of Congress.]

Chatham Feb<sup>y</sup> 9<sup>th</sup> 1777

*Dear General* My Disorder has not abated but has Really weakened me So much that I am totally unable to wait on y<sup>r</sup> Exc<sup>y</sup> to Day — with Respect to the Small

pox my opinion is that the only way to get Rid of it is Immediately to Send all Infected persons to Some Back Town where an hospital Should be Erected; to this place Should Every person be Sent if the Symptoms of the Disorder appear on him — at this place Innoculation Should be allowed & Such Detachments of the Army Sent there from time to time for Innoculation as the Service will allow of.

---

[*Endorsed "orders, Whites Farm," Feb. 12, 1777.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

12<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 1777. —

#### Standing Orders

The Rolls to be Called every Morning at 8 OClock; and Evening at sun setting. —

Dayly reports to be made every morning by 11 OClock of the Occurrences of the night. — And the State of every Company, when provisions are drawn. —

At Roll calling the Arms to be Examined; that they are clean & in good order, those that are not Clean &c. reported, that the person negligent may be punished; That their Ammunition be Examined, and see there is no waste. —

There is to be alway one days provision ready Dressed; Upon an Order to March there will be no Delay admitted for want of provisions. —

Attention and Care of the Men is Commendable and praise worthy, but a familiarity that will lessen the Authority of the officers is to be Avoided, it is therefore Expected that no officer will Eat or drink with his Men, or play at any games with them; any officers acting ag<sup>t</sup> this order, will not be Countenanced, but removed from the Regiment as unworthy to hold a Commission. —

Wood is to be Cutt and brought to the Quarters at stated times and with an Escort to Cover the Cutters & Waggon. —

No officer or Soldier is to go without the Centrys but by orders, on pain of being punished for Disobedience.

Cleanliness & orderly & properly dressing of provisions is Necessary to the health of the Men, therefore the officers of the several Companies, are to be Carefull that their Men, Wash, Shave, and keep themselves as Clean as possible, that they dress their Victuals with Care, and Eat their Meals at such hours as the Commanding Officer at the Post shall direct —

The men not upon Duty are to be under Arms every fair Day and duly Exercised in arms, Marching, Loading and firing well, to be attended to principally. —

The peice of Ordinance is to be placed on such ground as will be most likely to Annoy the Enemy, and be in the least Danger of falling into their hands, of which the Commanding officer at the post will best Judge. As artillery men Cannot be had, a Sufficient Number must be exercised to fire and manage the Gun, & Care used in spunging, to have the touchhole well stoped during the spunging, to prevent Accidents.

In case of a real attack let the gun be fired twice, the second shot three minutes after the first

Cort<sup>d</sup> Skinner  
Brigr Gen<sup>l</sup> &c

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to Meshech Weare, Feb. 13, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[New Hampshire Archives, Revolution, vol. 6, p. 163.]

Chatham Feb<sup>y</sup> 13<sup>th</sup> 1777

*Hon<sup>d</sup> & much Respected Sir* Your favor of the 14 Decem<sup>r</sup> Never Reached me till about a week past

Since which I have had no time to answer it — All the Gentlemen officers appointed for the New Army are Long Since Departed on the Recruiting Business otherwise I Should gladly have Complied with your Request by Sending them off & supplying them with money. There would have been no Difficulty in Supplying Col<sup>o</sup> Scammell with the money had he been on the spot when your Letter arrived

Your Committee appointed four Captains at white plains — they Said they could Enlist a number of men out of their old Companies if they had the money — I with Some Difficulty Borrowed the money as there was orders not for any to be Drawn out of the Chest Except by warr<sup>t</sup> from the Commander in Chief who was then in Pensylvania however by advice of your Committee & by the assistance of General Lee I obtained the money giving my Rec<sup>t</sup> to be Accountable — The whole amount was 6880 Dollars viz 720 to Each of the four Captains. I paid to Captains Scott Gilman & Robinson & took their Receipts in behalf of the State. The other Captain was absent. I desired Captain Gilman to take the money & Convey to him — he thought best for him not to Risque it but promised to Send the other Captain to me but our perpetual Hurry & Constant marchings I Suppose prevented—my hurry at Morristown & Sudden Removal to the advance post prevented my attending to it while Cap<sup>t</sup> Gilman was here and The Misfortune is that I have Intirely forgot the mans name so that it is out of my power to tell whether he is at Home or Here or whether he is Dead or alive. I am So far Removed from the New Hampshire Troops & So Constantly Employd that I have as yet had no opportunity to forward it to your state whose property it is — Cap<sup>t</sup> Dearborn is now here. I will Endeavor to forward it by him with the Receipts which

you will be kind Enough to keep for my Security & that of the State — he will Set out in about a week —

I hope Dear Sir the assembly of our state will pardon me for not writing them often of the state of affairs in the Army of our victories & Defeats advances and Retreats but I have many things to alledge in Excuse. I dont Recollect that I am a Letter In Debt to the assembly (or one of its members) as none of them Except yourself have Ever honoured me with a Line — all of yours I think I have punctually answered — I have Ever been So full of Business that I could not find time to write but still I have a more weighty Reason which is that I cannot give an account of a victory or Defeat where I was an Actor without Saying Something for or against myself & I have a great Aversion to writing against myself & to write in favor would be Evidence of a very Suspicious Kind. Indeed I always had an aversion to fighting upon paper for I have never yet found a man well versed in that kind of fighting That would practice any other — perhaps you may want to know how your men (the yankees) Fight. I tell you Exceeding well when they have proper officers. I have been much pleased to See a Day approaching to try the Difference between yankee Cowardice & Southern valor. The Day has or Rather the Days have arrived and all The General officers allowed & do allow that the yankee Cowardice assumes the shape of True valor in the field & The Southern valor appears to be a Composition of Boasting & Conceit. General Washington made no Scruple to say publickly that the Remains of the Eastern Regiments were the strength of his army though their numbers were Comparatively Speaking but Small — he calls them in front when the Enemy are there — he Sends them to the Rear when the Enemy Threaten that way — all the General officers

allow them to be the best of Troops. The Southern officers and Soldiers allow it in time of Danger but not at all other times. Believe me Sir the yankees took Trent Town before the other Troops knew any thing of the matter more than that there was an Engagement & what will Still surprize you more The Line that attacked the Town Consisted but of Eight hundred yankees & there was 1600 Hessians to oppose them — at Prince Town when the 17<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> had thrown 3500 Southern Militia into the utmost Confusion a Regiment of yankees Restored the Day. (This General Mifflin Confessed to me though the Philadelphia papers tell us a Different Story — it Seems to have been Quite forgot that while the 17<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> was Ingaging those Troops that 600 yankees had the Town to take ag<sup>t</sup> the 40<sup>th</sup> & 55<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>ts</sup> which they did without Loss owing to the manner of attack — but Enough of this. I dont wish to Reflect but beg Leave to assure you that Newspapers & Even Letters dont always Speak the Truth — you may venture to assure your friends that no men fight better or write worse than the yankees of which this Letter will be good Evidence.

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to Gen. Washington, Feb. 13, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Washington Papers, Library of Congress.]

Chatham Feb<sup>y</sup> 13<sup>th</sup> 1777

*Much Respected General* I Recollect once to have Read That on the Fatal Ides of March when Cesar was going to the Capitol Artimidorus presented him with a paper Containing These words “Cesar Beware of Brutus: Take Heed of Cassius, come not near Casca, have an Eye to Cinna; Trust not Tribonius; Brutus

Loves thee not. These men have all but one mind and That is bent ag<sup>t</sup> Cesar — if Thou art not Immortal Look about Thee; Security gives way to Conspiracy” — This writing Artimidorus Desired him to read Instantly but he Delayed & was assassinated with this paper (by him unread) in his Pocket — the Reading of which might have Saved him. I am as far from Superstition & have as Little faith in the Intrails of a Bird as any man. Dreams have never Regulated my Conduct — yet for Some Reasons I wish your Excellency would be prevailed on not to go much to the Eastward of Morris Town particularly about the neighbourhood of M<sup>r</sup> Sam<sup>l</sup> Ogdens. The Eastern parts are Inhabited by Tories & no Troops of ours in that Quarter — a plan to Entrap might be Easily Laid & very Easily Carried into Execution. I would not wish to make you Act Different from what your own Reason would Dictate if in my power but The people fear for you & they Seem to feel the Danger to which their Country would be Exposed Should Such an Event take place (which heaven forbid). I am not Credulous perhaps not Enough So & yet I fear Events — believe me great Sir There is more weight in the unanimous voice & opinion of all The people than there could be in those Dreams & prodigies which Even Staggered Cesars Resolution & made him once Determine not to appear in the Senate — forgive me Dear Sir when I Say That wisdom may Sometimes be Consumed in Confidence & The noble Spirit which knows no fear may be the best assistant to its Enemies for Compleat<sup>s</sup> its Ruin for as Said the paper (which might have Saved Cesar) “Security gives way to Conspiracy.” I can Scarcely Account for my fears nor can I prove what I Really believe which is that you have many Enemies around you which if opportunity would permit

would Readily assist to Entrap your Exc<sup>y</sup> and Leave a wretched Army to Lament the Loss of That Leader who has been their only Support. Dear General if I have gone too far Impute it to my zeal for my Country & regard for your Safety.

P: S I wish not to Show Ingratitude to the Family of the ogdens by Suspicions — they have Ever treated me in the most open Generous manner & I cant help believing the one with whom you Live is Sincere. I Doubt of Samuel. I believe you will Soon have a Deposition proving that old M<sup>r</sup> Ogden of New York was possess<sup>d</sup> of y<sup>r</sup> Proclamation before it was published here. This will prove a Correspondence

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to Gen. Washington, Feb. 14, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Washington Papers, Library of Congress.]

Chatham Feb<sup>y</sup> 14<sup>th</sup> 1777

*Dear General* I am Informed by Letter from the president of the Councill of New Hampshire Informing That that State Sensible of Col<sup>o</sup> Scammells merit appointed him Col<sup>o</sup> of one of their Regiments though he was from another State. I conclude therefore that as This appointment was Accepted by him before your Exc<sup>ys</sup> orders could have Reached him & as the (Infamous New England) Bounty will be an Inducement to the Soldiers he will hold that appointment. Your Exc<sup>y</sup> will therefore please to Supply officers to that Regiment of Such persons as your wisdom Shall Direct.

[*Col. David Gilman to Gen. Sullivan, Feb. 17, 1777.  
Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Revolution Collection, Library of Congress.]

Peeks Hill Feb<sup>y</sup> y<sup>e</sup> 17<sup>th</sup> 1777

*Honored Sr* when I Recollect the Small acquaintance Together with the great Respect I have for you I Cannot with a good Conscience Return to the State of New Hampshire, without Presenting my best Compliments to you, with a short Detail of my winters Campaign, when I was appointed To the Command of this Reg<sup>t</sup> I Excepted the Comand Big with Expectation of Joyning your Honors Division. I arrived here the foure part of Jenewary, with the Regiment and as good boys as Ever Left that State all Desirous of Joyning the active army. I applyed to general Heath, for orders he told me I must Remain here for the Presant, he soon Left the Command to general m<sup>c</sup>Dougall. I applyed to him several times for Liberty to Joyn your Honour, but with out success, and finelly was oblided to Content my self with obeying my supearer officer and Doing my Duty — but I Can assure you Sr I have been Presant with you in mind although absent in body, the mens Times Expires the first Day of march, which gives me pain that good men should travel such a great Distance through Coald & Snow for so Short a time. — I have wrote to general washington Respecting the mens wages. Should be glad you would Interpose in that matter, my Reg<sup>t</sup> Lives scattered all over the State, and will Labour under great Disadvantages if they Cant Draw their wages before they Leave this Place — I Shall add no more but wish your Honour Prosperity and great Success in the Insuing Campaign. Hoping all Enemies To the american Liberty may flee before their arms

and that the Standard of freedom may be arected in  
america Nevermore to be Removed

P: S: pray give my Compliments to maj<sup>r</sup> Sherburne

---

[*John Adams to Gen. Sullivan, Feb. 22, 1777.*]

[Works of John Adams, 1856, vol. 1, p. 258.]

I had this evening the pleasure of your favor of the 14<sup>th</sup>, and a great pleasure it was, as it was an evidence that my old friends were beginning to recollect me. I have been so long absent that I seemed to have lost all my correspondents in the army. It would be at all times an obligation upon me to hear of the motions of the armies, and of our prosperous or adverse situations, of our good or ill success.

The account you give of the good behavior of our countrymen is very pleasing to me, but it is equally so to hear of the good behavior of the troops of any other State in the Union. It is good behavior that I wish to hear of, and it is quite immaterial to me where the officer or man was born, or where he lives, provided he behaves ill. The sordid prejudices which are carefully fomented, and the malicious slanders which are industriously propagated, I both despise and detest, if contempt and hatred can exist together.

In truth, my old friend, I wish to hear, more than I do, of the vigilance, activity, enterprise, and valor of some of our New England generals, as well as others. What is the army at Providence about? What is become of the army at Peekskill or on the White Plains? What numbers have they? Are we to go on forever in this way, maintaining vast armies in idleness, and losing the fairest opportunity that ever offered of destroying an enemy completely in our power? We

have no returns of any army. We know not what force is on foot anywhere. Yet we have reason to believe that our constituents are paying for a very great force.

Posterity will never blame the men. They will lay all their censures upon the general officers. All history has done so, and future historians will do the same. The general officers, if they understand themselves and have a suitable code of military laws, will make a good army if you give them human nature only to work upon. It behooves you all, then, to look out. I do not mean this as a censure but as a stimulus. I hope to hear from you often, and wishing you as many laurels as you please I remain your friend.

---

[*James Caldwell to Gen. Sullivan, Feb. 23, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, Coe Collection, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Springfield Feb. 23, 1777.

*Sir*, As soon as the Doctor could get the sick and wounded ready they were sent off. The Doctors mind is so agitated about his family, by the number of the Enemy moving, that he could not make the despatch he otherwise would, nor deliver such a return as he ought. Such as it is I enclose. Some of the sick requested to walk — the others ride in Waggon.

One of the Waldeckers, earnestly requests to stay with me & I am as earnest to keep him, he is so good a Waiter. Another carries with Doctor Dayton. These will do duty that otherwise must be done by Soldiers, & is so much saved — And if the enemy should approach we shall take care to keep them out of the way. M<sup>r</sup> Tyler a Fuller will wait upon you to sollicite for

another Waldeck, who works with him at his Trade. In this way he can really serve the Country very usefully But all this is submitted to you. My Waldeck earnest wishes to take the oaths to the State & to be considered as a subject. I believe this is the request of most of them, & in the present state of the Country we need such labourers.

P. S. I have been to second River, & had so probable an acc<sup>t</sup> of the Grain at Pacts Mills, that I have ordered 50 Waggon<sup>s</sup> to bring it off. There are several other stores over the River kept in readiness for the enemy when the Ice is cleared off.

[Addressed] The Honourable General Sullivan Chatham

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to Gen. Washington, March 9, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Washington Papers, Library of Congress.]

Peaks Hill March 9<sup>th</sup> 1777

*My Dear General* I have called on General M<sup>c</sup>Dougle & Informed him Confidentially of the State of our Army — he Says there is about 600 Continental Troops here with two Mass<sup>a</sup> Militia Reg<sup>ts</sup> — he is of opinion that The Continental Troops here Should be Sent forward & that this State Should Garrison this post, for which purpose he will call on M<sup>r</sup> Jay and consult with him upon the most Effectual Measures to bring it About —

D<sup>r</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> Since I Left the Army I have been Informed that Gen<sup>l</sup> S<sup>t</sup> Clair is to take the Command at Ticondaroga the Ensueing Campaign. Though I never wish to Complain I cant help The Disagreeable feeling So Common to mankind when they find themselves

Slighted & Neglected — when I had Completed the Disagreeable retreat from Canada I was Superseaded with Circumstances of Indignity Since which & before Every Major General Except myself have had the Honor of Commanding posts Seperated from the main Army. Gen<sup>l</sup> Putnam has Commanded at New York and Philadelphia, Gen<sup>l</sup> Gates at Tycondaroga & Philadelphia, Gen<sup>l</sup> Green in the Jersies when the Army was at New York, Gen<sup>l</sup> Spenser at Rhode Island, & Gen<sup>l</sup> Heath, The Forces in this State. I have never yet been Thought worthy to Entrust with the Command of a Seperate post. I have felt those things most Sensibly & wish to know to what it is owing — if it be to my want of prudence Resolution or whatever other cause I wish to know it That I may Rid the Continent of an officer who is unworthy to Trust with command. I once had the Command in Canada by an Act of Providence & Even malice itself cannot Censure my conduct. I was Soon Deprived of the Command & Rewarded with Disgrace for Saving the Army & Stores in that Country. I know that Ticonderoga will become an Important object with the Enemy. They must Try for it & therefore he that has the Command there will have the post of Honor — I do therefore Humbly claim it as my Right & as the first Seperate post Entrusted to my care — And cannot Think of the Command being given to a younger officer without Conceiving myself a Second Time Treated with neglect which I well know my conduct has not Deserved —

I wish your Excellency to forward me a Line by the Post upon this Subject which will be gratefully Acknowledged by y<sup>r</sup> Excellenceys most obed<sup>t</sup> Servant

[*Gen. Washington to Gen. Sullivan, March 15, 1777.*]

[Writings of George Washington, Ford, vol. 5, p. 289.]

Morristown, 15, March, 1777.

Do not, my dear General Sullivan, torment yourself any longer with imaginary slights, and involve others in the perplexities you feel on that score. No other officer of rank in the whole army has so often conceived himself neglected, slighted, and ill treated as you have done, and none I am sure has had less cause than yourself to entertain such ideas. Mere accidents, things which have occurred in the common course of service, have been considered by you as designed affronts. But pray, Sir, in what respect did General Greene's late command at Fort Lee differ from his present command at Baskenridge, or from yours at Chatham? And what kind of separate command had General Putnam at New York? I never heard of any except his commanding there ten days before my arrival from Boston, and one day after I had left it for Haerlem Heights, as senior officer. In like manner at Philadelphia, how did his command there differ from the one he has at Princeton, and wherein does either vary from yours at Chatham? Are there any peculiar emoluments or honors to be reaped in the one case and not in the other? No. Why, then, these unreasonable, these unjustifiable suspicions? Suspicious which can answer no other end than to poison your own happiness and add vexation to that of others. General Heath, it is true, was ordered to Peekskill, so was General Spencer, by the mere chapter of accidents (being almost in the country), to Providence, to watch the motions of the fleet then hovering in the Sound. What followed after to either or both was more the effect of chance than design.

Your ideas and mine respecting separate commands

have but little analogy. I know of but one separate command, properly so called, and that is in the Northern Department, and General Sullivan, General S<sup>t</sup> Clair, or any other general officer at Ticonderoga will be considered in no other light, whilst there is a superior officer in the department, than if they were placed at Chatham, Baskenridge, or Princeton. But I have not time to dwell upon subjects of this kind. In quitting it I shall do it with an earnest exhortation that you will not suffer yourself to be teased with evils that only exist in the imagination, and with slights that have no existence at all, keeping in mind, at the same time, that if distant armies are to be formed there are several gentlemen before you in point of rank who have a right to claim a preference.

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to the New Hampshire General Assembly, March 20, 1777. Letter Signed.*]

[New Hampshire Archives, Misc. Rev. Doc., vol. 5, p. 94.]

*To the Honourable the General Assembly of the State of New Hampshire —*

May it please your Honours Since my Arrival in this State I find that the Soldiers Already Enlisted for the Ensuing Campaign are Detained for want of Arms Cloathing &c. I well Know the Necessity of their Immedeately Repairing to Tyconderoga & that Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington has given Express orders for their Marching to that post to Secure it against the Attempt of the Enemy: as I Know of no other way for Equiping them for their March I beg leave to Recommend to Your Honours to make application to Col<sup>o</sup> Langdon for so many Arms Blankets &c as will be Necessary to Equip Your Troops for their march & that they be marched

off as soon as possible as Col<sup>o</sup> Langdon has now in his Hands a Sufficiency of those Articles which arrived in the last French Ship I make no Doubt of his Readiness to Comply with your Honours Request Especially when he Considers that if the affair Should be delayed till order Can be Received from Congress this delay might in all probability prove the loss of that Important post without answering any one Valuable purpose as Congress must Eventually order those articles into the Hands of the Troops who are now Destitute. I am Fully Sensible that Congress & the Commander in Cheif will approve of the measure as Essentially Necessary.

Durham 20<sup>th</sup> of March 1777

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to Rev. Jeremy Belknap, April 4, 1777. Autograph Note.*]

[Belknap Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, vol. 1, p. 85.]

General Sullivan presents his most Respectful Compliments to the Rev<sup>d</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Belknap most Sincerely Thanks him for his friendly wishes & good opinion will See the Letter Delivered agreeable to M<sup>r</sup> Belknaps Request

Would think himself highly honoured by a visit from M<sup>r</sup> Belknap and Lady before his Departure if their Business & health will admit

Tuesday April 4<sup>th</sup> 1777

---

[*Massachusetts Legislature Respecting Gen. Sullivan, April 18, 1777.*]

[Massachusetts Archives, vol. 137, p. 157.]

The Committee of both Houses to whom the letter from the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Meshech Weare Esq<sup>r</sup> was referred, had

prepared a resolve expressing the concurrence of this Court in the measure by him proposed, and a draught of a letter to Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington signifying the united desires of the state of New Hampshire & this State, that Major General Sullivan might be appointed to the command of the Northern Army: but before they had an opportunity of reporting received information that General Gates was appointed to that command, and was actually on his way to Ticonderoga — This the Committee are of opinion must supercede the intended application to his Excell<sup>y</sup> General Washington And that it will be proper by a letter from the president of the Council to the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Meshech Weare Esq<sup>r</sup> to inform him of the facts abovemention'd, & the opinion of this court that it would now be improper to make the application proposed all which is Humbly Submitted

Moses Gill  $\text{P}$  order.

In Council April 17, 1777 Read & Accepted Sent down for Concurrence

Jn<sup>o</sup> Avery dep<sup>y</sup> Sec<sup>y</sup>

in the House of Representatives April 18: 1777  
Read and Concurred

Sam<sup>l</sup> Freeman Speak P T

---

[*Certificate of Capt. Parison, April 30, 1777. Translation.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

April 30, 1777

I, Captain of the corps of the Royal Artillery of France, at present in the service of the United Colonies, certify that the herein-mentioned Felix Boucher, nineteen years of age, native of Laføre of Picardy, in France, parish of St. Montain, has been in my service from October 20, 1775 until this day, and has served

me with fidelity and intelligence, and his conduct has been without reproach; in witness whereof I have given him this present certificate for his use and service. Signed at Boston, this 30<sup>th</sup> of April, 1777.

Parison  
Captain of Artillery.

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to Gen. William Heath, May 1, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Heath Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, vol. 4, p. 117.]

Boston May 1<sup>st</sup> 1777

*Dear General* I have Taken a French Servant & have agreed with Col<sup>o</sup> Sproul to bring him on but as it will be Some time before he can Set off beg the favor of you to keep him at your House till the Col<sup>o</sup> Calls for him he is So well Recommended that you may Depend on his Honestey.

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to the New Hampshire Committee of Safety, May 1, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[New Hampshire Archives, Revolution, vol. 6, p. 324.]

Boston May 1<sup>st</sup> 1777

*Gentlemen* I do myself the Honor of Inclosing you a Conecticut Paper in which you have an Account of the Destruction of our Stores at Danbury; I have yet Some hopes That The Account is Premature. I Examined The Post & have Read Letters from Several Gentlemen in that Quarter. They all say that they hear & believe that Danbury is Destroyed but dont Say how they Received the Information or why they believe the Report; It may possibly Turn our [way] Like The Accounts Received at the Time of Lexington

Battle. I pray God it may — our stores at This Place were five Thousand Barrels Flour Two Thousand Pork twelve hundred Suits of Cloathes & a small number of Small Arms — we have no Account That any of These were Removed on the approach of the Enemy Though the Enemy Landed Fryday Even<sup>g</sup> & did not march till Saturday morning & had 27 miles to march Directly into the Country in a most Shocking Rough Road nor does any Account tell us that they Received the Least opposition Though Col<sup>o</sup> Huntington in his Letter (which I have Seen) Says y<sup>t</sup> not more than a Thousand Landed. I am fully perswaded we have not yet got a Right Account of The matter — The first Certain Account I meet on the Road Shall Transmit to you. I have ever been of Opinion That the Campaign would open in favor of Gen<sup>l</sup> How; as we Ever find in Ancient as well as Modern times that The State which had its Force Raised And in The Field would in the First of the Season make its advantages against Those who had their Troops to Raise & Send in — we have a Flying Report here That Carltons Boats have been Discovered at Split Rock about 40 mile from Ticondaroga & That there is only 1500 Effective men There — The assembly of this State have ordered 1500 men from the County of Hampshire to Reinforce That Post — I most Earnestly Recommend that you order all your officers & men already Raised to march Immediately Leaving only one Subaltern from Each Company to Remain and finish the Recruiting Business. General Waine Complains (& I think with Justice) That he has men sent him without proper officers & That the Field officers . . . . . in General at Home & few arrive there Except . . . . . & Some Few Captains — Should an attack be made the want of The proper officers would be most Sensibly

Felt. I have Recommended General Heath to Send for The Field Pieces & Forward them on to the Army — he Sends off a Person this Day with Cash to Defray the Expense of Transporting. Should there be a Difficulty in procuring Teams beg you would give him Every assistance in your power as The Artillery is much wanted in the army. I must beg the favor of The Committee or assembly of our State to give me the Earliest notice of any Extraordinary occurrence in the State. Should we attack be meditated against you or a movement made that shall Indicate such a manœuvre you may Depend on the Earliest notice from Your Honors most obed<sup>t</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to the New Hampshire Committee of Safety, May 5, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[New Hampshire Archives, Revolution, vol. 6, p. 364.]

Hartford May 5<sup>th</sup> 1777

In my Last from Boston I promised y<sup>r</sup> Honors to give you an account of the affair at Danbury as Soon as I could acquaint myself with the facts. Indeed I then hoped That the whole was false as I could by no means account for 2000 men Landing & marching 27 miles & Returning without molestation; but I find it is True almost in all its parts. The facts are These viz. 2000 men under the Command of Sir W<sup>m</sup> Erskine assisted by Governor Tryon & Governor Brown Landed Six miles West of Fairfield Fryday & on Saturday morn<sup>g</sup> by two of Clock marched for Danbury reached it by four of Clock afternoon Burned 26 Houses Destroyed 1700 Tents 1600 B<sup>ls</sup> Pork & Beef 500 D<sup>o</sup> flour 2000 Bushels of oats & Cloathing for 500 men — they Tarried there till Sunday afternoon with-



out opposition and then marched for Fish Kill to Destroy the stores there — They Siezed upon & Drove with them all The Cattle found in their way: Soon after they Left Danbury they were met & attacked by a party of Militia. General Worster attacked their Flank with a Small party & was mortally wounded & is Since Dead; The peoples assembling caused them to Change their Rout & make for their Ships. Gen<sup>l</sup> Arnold met them with another party in Front but could make but Little Impression upon them — we took 25 prisoners Killed forty & wounded Some but know not how many — we had about 20 Killed & wounded. The Enemy were glad to Leave all their Cattle and Take To their Ships as Fast as possible — You will Doubtless be Surprized at the Enemys not meeting with an Earlier opposition but the People account for it in this way viz. Danbury & all the other Towns of this State next New York are principally Inhabited by Tories. The whigs as Soon as they Saw the Enemy on their march attempted to Ride off & alarm the Country but were Stop<sup>d</sup> & Confined by this Infernal Race —

I think this procedure with that of Col<sup>o</sup> Williams & his party to Destroy the Stores at Fish Kill and Albany ought to make us think Seriously of getting Rid of Those Paricides. I know that Tenderness & Humanity are God like virtues but may by being Improperly Exercised Degenerate into the most Destructive vices — we have too long treated these ungenerous animals with Lenity & they in Return have used Every art to Destroy us. They are now Rearing their Heads in Every part of the Continent. Let us therefore Like men Determined to be free Throw aside our False mercy our Impious Humanity & Clear the Country of all who will not Join Heartily with us — pray Dont Let us Excuse

those neutral Gentry that Say they are friends but act not with us. These are the Persons most to be feared — do they not act ag<sup>t</sup> us under the Rose? — pray who is it that gives the Enemy Intelligence? — who Counterfeit our money? — who Raise the Price of Goods to Distress the Country? — who Sets your Regulating Bills at Defiance & Laughs at your authority: one answer will Serve to all Those Queries — it is the neutral Gentry. The most Dangerous of all the Humane Race. But I must beg pardon for Stepping out of my Department. I hope my zeal for the Country will be a sufficient Apology —

I this moment hear that 3000 of the Enemy have come out ag<sup>t</sup> General Washington but were repuls<sup>d</sup> with Loss. 50 Commiss<sup>d</sup> officers & 500 privates have been made Prisoners by our Army. I wish it may be true —

---

[*Col. John Hawkins Stone to Gen. Sullivan, May 19, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Revolution Collection, Library of Congress.]

Kingston May 19th 1777 —

*Sir.* In your orders of yesterday each Reg<sup>t</sup> was to furnish a Capt<sup>n</sup> for a Court of inquiry, there is but one Capt<sup>n</sup> at this place who is not on duty and he was only relieved this morning, so that its impossible for us to furnish any — the duty at this place is hard on the officers, our Guards are extensive considering our numbers — if the troops at Prince Town cou'd take the Mill Guard which they have done till within these few days and which wou'd not be more than their proportion of duty it wou'd make us much more compact and our duty lighter — As it now stands we are scattered in

[Return of Strength of Gen. Putnam's Division, May 10, 1777.]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

A RETURN OF THE DIVISION OF THE ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES UNDER COMMAND OF MAJOR GEN<sup>l</sup> PUTNAM  
PRINCETON MAY 10<sup>th</sup> 1777 —

Detachments	Officers present											Rank & file						Alterations since last return						
	Commissioned					Staff						Non Comm <sup>d</sup>		Effectives						Inlisted	Dead	Discharged	Deserted	
	Colonels	L <sup>t</sup> Colonels	Majors	Captains	Subalterns	Chaplains	Adjutants	Q <sup>r</sup> Masters	Pay Masters	Surgeons	Mates	Sergeants	Drums & fifes	Present fit for duty	Sick Present	Sick Absent	On Command	On Furlough	Total					
Col. Hazen Batt <sup>a</sup> .....	1	1	1	8	12		1	1		1	1	23	17	337	39		8	1	385					
9 <sup>th</sup> Penn <sup>a</sup> Batt <sup>a</sup> .....			1	2	6			1				15	3	110	8	7	30	1	156					
Delaware Batt <sup>a</sup> .....				2						1	1	8	2	70	3	4	4		81					4
4 <sup>th</sup> Mary <sup>d</sup> Batt <sup>a</sup> .....			1	1	9						1	14	4	167	16	11	2		196					
Total.....	1	3	13	27		1	1	1	1	1	3	60	26	684	66	22	44	2	818					4



such a manner that we can be of no other use than that of alarming the other posts, if the enemy approach — I have been stationed at this place for near a week without the least order for regulating my Conduct, and as I think, and dare say you will think it necessary, that the line of conduct I am to pursue shou'd be pointed out, I shall esteem it a particular favor if you will be pleased to give me such instructions in writing as you may think proper.

We have four different passes to Guard and their is still one left unguarded, which I think of consequence, its the road that the most part of our deserters take and where, I am informed, many of the inhabitants who are disaffected pass to go to Prince Town &c —

---

[*Gen. Sullivan's Instructions to Col. Hall, May 22, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Head Quarters May 22<sup>a</sup> 1777

*Dear Sir* As you Command The Detachment which marches this Evening I would Recommend That you Detach the Same Fifty men Destined to Support our Scouting party To Secure The Roads & Sienze all passengers before your Main Body arrives —

Your Parties ought to Receive their Instructions & be assigned to their Several officers before they begin their march that Each party may march Directly on to their own Ground without Noise or Tumult or without Halting to Parade near the Lines —

No time must be Lost on the march as it is necessary that your men Arrive at the place of Destination before Daylight & also that they may have time to Rest and Refresh themselves

The parties you place out as Sentries to observe the Enemy Secure passengers & prevent Desertions among your own people must Lay on their Bellies & have Some Signals to give upon Discovery of the Enemy or other matter of Importance —

Give Strict orders against Lighting fires making the Least Noise & Even against the mens attempting to Rise up without orders —

Let Some Signals be agreed on That Each party may know when to begin the attack So that it may be as Sudden as possible & as nearly Executed to the Plan agreed on as may be —

Charge your men not to fire till ordered but to advance with Celerity & Resolution which alone will Insure you that Success So Earnestly Desired by y<sup>r</sup> obed<sup>t</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

---

[*Gen. Philip Schuyler to Gen. Israel Putnam, May 22, 1777. Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Philadelphia May 22<sup>d</sup> 1777.

*Dr Sir* I am informed that M<sup>rs</sup> Greaton, who had the permission of Congress to go into New York accompanied by Colonel Mucclevain, has taken with her James Fisher of this City, a notorious Tory, and one capable of giving much Information to the Enemy — Should he come to prince-Town you will please to give Directions to have him apprehended and sent under Guard to Philadelphia and to prevent him from passing our Lines at some other place. I wish you to give Notice to the respective officers commanding the Out posts and order them to secure him.

[*Cornelius Sweers to Gen. Sullivan, May 23, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Revolution Collection, Library of Congress.]

Philad<sup>a</sup> 23<sup>d</sup> May 1777 —

*Hon<sup>d</sup> Sir* I am directed by Col. Flower, to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter dated yesterday, desiring that a quantity of Ammunition might be sent to you immediately, which is accordingly done, agreeable to your Honor's Order. — I am to assure you likewise, that Cartridges in future, shall be made after your directions.

[Cornelius Sweers was Deputy Commissary General of Military Stores.]

[*Col. Benjamin Flower to Gen. Sullivan, May 23, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Revolution Collection, Library of Congress.]

Philad<sup>a</sup> 23<sup>d</sup> May 1777 —

*Hon<sup>d</sup> Sir*, Sarjeant George Smith of the 10<sup>th</sup> Pennsylvania Regiment has the Conduct of Four Waggon's loaded with Ammunition &<sup>ca</sup> for your Post, agreeable to orders from yourself and Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Putnam, return of which I have inclosed, and have given him instructions to deliver them accordingly. —

With respect to the Arms you complain of, that the Troops have been supply'd with, and which your Honor says are totally unfit for service, feel myself bound in duty to assure you, that such Arms were never deliver'd from me; as I have a publick Armourer who examines all Arms deliver'd into my Store before they are delivered to the Troops, therefore have too much reason to believe, that the Troops from carelessness and neglect of their officers, have ren<sup>d</sup> them unfit for service

on their march, by throwing them into their Waggon, instead of Carrying them. — however, if the officers will suffer their Men to receive Arms unfit for service, its their faults and not mine, but your honor may be assured, I will take every method in my power to prevent such abuse in future, for its with the greatest difficulty I can procure Arms &c<sup>a</sup> for the Troops in the Service of the united States, and unless the officers to whose care they are entrusted, takes a proper method to preserve them, we shall soon be destitute of them.

[Col. Flower was Commissary General of Military Stores.]

---

[*Gen. Nathaniel Greene to Gen. Sullivan, May 24, 1777.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Boundbrook May 24<sup>th</sup> 1777

*Dear Sir* I just now rec<sup>d</sup> a letter from his Excellency with yours to him inclosed, wherein you desire that Col<sup>o</sup> Hazens Reg<sup>t</sup> may continue with you in the room of the German Reg<sup>t</sup> I have not the least objection to the exchange as it may conduce to the good of the service & be satisfactory to all parties: you will therefore please to keep Col<sup>o</sup> Hazens reg<sup>t</sup> with you. I shall give the necessary orders to Baron Arends

[Addressed] The Honble Maj<sup>r</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan Prince Town

---

[*Lieut. Col. John Fitzgerald to Gen. Sullivan, May 25, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Washington Papers, Library of Congress.]

*Dear Sir* Mess<sup>rs</sup> Dan<sup>l</sup> & Sam Hughes of Maryland

having made application to head quarters respecting a Number of servants belonging to them, who have run away & Inlisted in our service — the Forge & Furnace belonging to these Gent<sup>n</sup> are employ'd in the service of the Public, it will therefore be a Loss to us should their servants be detain'd. The Resolve of Congress only recommends it to the states to allow servants & apprentices to be enlisted — His Excellency is of Opinion that the Runaways out [ought] to be restored or, at least, that a satisfactory Recompence should be made to their Masters

The Bearer waits on you in order to get one of the above mention'd fellows who is in Col<sup>o</sup> Antills Regiment

Your giving him satisfaction & Dispatch will particularly Oblige Your mo Obed<sup>t</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

25<sup>th</sup> May 1777

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to Gen. Washington, May 25, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Washington Papers, Library of Congress.]

Princeton May 25<sup>th</sup> 1777

*Dear General* This morning General Morris with his Son Jacob Honoured me with a visit & Informed that Gen<sup>l</sup> Mifflin had appointed Jacob one of his Deputies & that he might take this Department if agreeable to me provided your Excellencys assent could be obtained; he being Desireous of this Department begs me to write your Excellency & Solicit your assent which if your Excellency will please to grant will much oblidge your Excellencys most obed<sup>t</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

[*Gen. Washington's Letter, May 29, 1777. Address Missing. Letter Signed, Postscript in Autograph.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Head Quarters Morris Town

May 29<sup>th</sup> 1777

*Sir* I received your favour of this date. — It is of the greatest moment that the motions of the enemy on the quarter you mention, should be narrowly watched; and every step they take known to me as early as possible. — I am strongly apprehensive they will shortly push for Philadelphia by water, and the counteracting their scheme will intirely depend upon my having instant intelligence of every thing they do towards it. — For this purpose you will concert a plan with Col: Foreman, or the Commanding officer that way, to keep a careful eye upon them, and communicate the minutest proceeding. — You had better ingage some of the inhabitants, whose attachment you can be sure of to watch them and bring express whatever they discover to you, which you will take care to forward with all speed to me. — I recommend this mode in preference to employing light horse men; because those inhabitants will know the country better than they, and may be more depended upon than perhaps many of them. — I am informed a great part of Col Moylan's men have been raised in the city of Philadelphia, and are foreigners and of the most vagrant kind. — These men should not be employed for special purpose, where their fidelity would be eminently required. —

I wrote to you this morning, desiring you would make all detachments of men, Waggon, or any thing else pass by a rout different from the usual, where they will be in the greatest danger of being intercepted — They must be made to take a more Western course, as I

am well informed a party of the enemy's light horse have been as far as Somerset Court House, and no doubt they will have parties frequently scouring that way. — I repeat this lest my letter should have miscarried, and because, I have it much at heart that a practice should be immediately discontinued, which without a miracle, must be attended with ill consequences —

P S. I beg of you to inform M<sup>r</sup> Custis if he comes by the way of Princeton, that it is my desire that he go around instead of coming the usual Road to this place.

---

[*Dr. William Shippen, Jr., to Gen. Sullivan, May 29, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Revolution Collection, Library of Congress.]

*Dr Sir* I am favor'd with yours of the 27<sup>th</sup> Inst<sup>t</sup> & beg leave to observe that the inconvenience or danger of moving any sick from your division to Trenton, will be vastly less than will arise from establishing a separate Hospital at Princeton. — The danger will be less when we consider that it is expressly ordered by the Congress, that every sick Soldier shall be sent to a continental Hospital, as soon as any other diet or lodging becomes necessary for him, than what is allowed to all Soldiers. — All Regimental Hospitals are absolutely forbid by Congress too, which puts it out of my power to comply with your order in favor of D<sup>r</sup> Ridgeley's requisition. — The sick of the 4<sup>th</sup> Maryland & every other Batallion in your division as soon as they are proper subjects for an Hospital must be sent to the Hospital at Trenton where no cost or pains is spared to make them happy & comfortable. All sudden accidents or wounds will be taken care of by D<sup>r</sup> Cochran, in a branch of his flying Hospital, as soon as he can erect one on your side y<sup>e</sup> Rariton. Wishing you success against our common enemy

General Hospital, May 29, 1777.

[*Lieut. Col. Tench Tilghman to Gen. Sullivan, May 30, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Camp at Middle Brook 30<sup>th</sup> May 1777

*Dear Sir* The inclosed intelligence was transmitted to his Excellency Yesterday. It comes from a person of undoubted credibility and much intrusted by the Enemy. Altho' there is no doubt that he has been informed of all that he reports, yet it is more than probable that it is thrown out to cover some other design. Perhaps they may think that while they amuse us by threatning an attack upon our Camp, they may find an opportunity of making a hasty march to Delaware thro' your Quarters. His Excellency therefore desires that you will endeavour to keep some persons in the Neighbourhood of Brunswic in pay, who will contrive to give you the earliest intelligence of any move either towards you, or from Brunswic towards us. If you can get intelligent persons to venture in they can inform you of what is doing and by comparing their Accounts with the enclosed you may judge of the Truth. In your letter to Col<sup>o</sup> Harrison you desire a Warrant for the Execution of a Deserter but you do not mention his Name. If the proceedings of the Court Martial by which he was condemned have not been transmitted, please to forward them by the Return of the Horseman.

Gen<sup>l</sup> Parsons gives us an account of a clever little expedition that has been planned and executed (without the loss of a Man killed or wounded) against a parcel of the Enemy's Vessels that were loading with Forage at a place calld Sag Harbour upon the East End of Long Island. They destroyed 12 sail of Brigs and Sloops, one of them an armed Vessel with twelve Guns. They had on Board 120 Tons pressed Hay — Oats, Corn and other Forage Ten Hhds of Rum and a quantity of Merchandize.

We made 90 prisoners and killed six. They are of Delancey's Brigade. Col<sup>o</sup> Meigs commanded this little party of 130 Men — If the Enemy intended any move by Water this loss of Forage at this Season will knock them up — My Compliments to the Gentlemen of your Family.

P. S. The Officer at the advanced picket nearest Brunswic this Moment sends word that the Enemy this Morning struck all their Tents —

[Addressed] On public Service. To The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Maj: Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan at Princetown

[Lieut. Col. Tilghman was Aide-de-Camp and military secretary to Gen. Washington.]

---

[*Gen. Nathaniel Greene to Gen. Sullivan, May 31, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Camp Middle Brook May 31, 1777

*Dear Sir* Inclosed are two Letters for your Brigadiers you will please to deliver them.

The Philistines are upon thee Samson take care of thyself. The Enemy are destroying their Works at Amboy, and reinforcing Brunswick — they threaten to attack us here, they are welcome if they please. If they are bound to Philadelphia, I think they will endeavor to Steal a march upon us, and either leave you to the right or make an attack upon you and give you a royal rout. I am going to view Millstone this afternoon to establish a Guard there of Horse & foot — God bless you adieu —

[Addressed] The Hon<sup>ble</sup> General Sullivan at Princetown



[*Gen. Sullivan to Gen. Benedict Arnold, May 31, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Continental Congress Papers, No. 160, Library of Congress.]

Princeton May 31 1777

*Dear General* we have in this Quarter Collected the following Intelligence viz That two Brigades Sailed from New York for Amboy on the 27 Instant. That Those with the Detachments from Rhode Island Landed at Amboy & marched for Brunswick that 300 waggons have been brought from Staten Island to the Same place. They are about to abandon New York Bonam Town & Piscataway Collect their whole force at Brunswick and march Somewhere whether toward Philadelphia or to attack General Washington is uncertain — from their Sending Round their new Constructed vessels I am apprehensive the former is their Intention (Though they give out that They will make a Sudden & violent Attack upon General Washingtons Camp) a person who Left Amboy on the 29 Says the Enemy had Left that place & marched for Brunswick not Leaving a man behind. I have Sent to know the Truth of this —

I hear there are 700 militia at Bristol pray what advantage can they be to our Army if Attacked or for what purpose are they kept there — please to Communicate the Contents of this Letter to Congress. I should be very Deficient in my Duty if I omitted to mention the necessity of our keeping up a free & Constant Communication while we remain at our present Post

[*Major John Taylor to Gen. Sullivan, May 31, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, Coe Collection, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Honr<sup>d</sup> S<sup>r</sup> The Troops have arrived at this Post; But have brought no Camp Equipage, we can do very well if we had kettles to cook with — I have applied to a Gentleman to go to Amboy. I believe he will do it, and another is bound to Brunswick. — There are Troops yet Amboy, as I am informed by Horse from So. Amboy. — it is also reported that the Troops formerly stationed there are marched on towards Brunswick; and the Reinforcement from Rhodeisland taken possession of the Ground. — A woman has come from N York who brings an account that a ship is prepared for Gen<sup>l</sup> Howe to sail to Philad<sup>a</sup> not much dependence to be put upon what she says; Our Horsemen last Evening observed a large number of Tents standing at Brunswick; this morning early very few, about 10 o'clock they were all standing again. — I have got some Iron, steel, and a few Dry goods from the store at Spotswood, not so many dry goods as I expected, they have been concealed by the people living near that place. —

Cranberry may 31, 1777

Permit the Horseman to pass to Princeton. —

John Taylor Maj<sup>r</sup>  
2<sup>d</sup> Batt. Md. Mili.

Cranberry may 31 1777 —

[Addressed] Honrb<sup>l</sup> Maj<sup>r</sup> Genr<sup>l</sup> Sullivan Princeton

[*Cornelius Sweers to Gen. Sullivan, June 1, 1777.  
Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Revolution Collection, Library of Congress.]

Philad<sup>a</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> June 1777 —

*Hon<sup>d</sup> Sir*, Yours of yesterday ☉ Express is now before me, and am desired by Col. Flower to inform you, that the Cartridges together with the other articles you wrote for the 27<sup>th</sup> Ult<sup>o</sup> shall be sent you immediately. It is not in our power to supply you with Muskets at present, as all the new ones have been issued out to the Troops passing thro' this, and the old ones in hands to be repair'd, are likewise dealt out as they are finish'd; however, we expect a supply from below every moment, as soon as they come up, you shall be furnish'd agreeable to your orders. — Your honor may be assured, the Army shall want for nothing in our Line and power to furnish. — Hope soon to have such a supply of Military Stores, as to enable us to comply with all orders from the Army at a moment's warning. —

Col: Flower thinks it expedient that there should be one Conductor Military Stores to each division of the Army, and if you will be kind enough to recommend a suitable person for that purpose, he will send him a Warrant to act in that capacity, in order that you may in future be eased of that trouble.

---

[*Gen. Adam Stephen to Gen. Sullivan, June 1, 1777.  
Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Camp at Middle Brook June 1<sup>st</sup> 1777

*My Dear General*, I am informed that the Troops are arrived from Rhode Island — That Gen<sup>l</sup> Howe intended a Vigorous Attack on Us before he left New

York. I am uncertain whether he Continues in the Same Mind —

We Shall get Languid here — The Enemy are in possession of a fine Country, well Supplyd w<sup>t</sup> green lamb, Veal, Beef, Mutton & pretty girls —

My Sentiments are to form Companies of L<sup>t</sup> Infantry & let them & the Rifflemen under Active Officers keep Constantly in their Skirts —

When you reconnoitred them L<sup>d</sup> Cornwallis & Gen<sup>l</sup> Grant lookd at you & knew it to be Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan a friend of mine present, asked why they did not send a body of L<sup>t</sup> Horse after you. Oh! dam him, Says they, He has a Body of Infantry in the Woods —

Let me hear from you when Convenient.

CAPT DANDRIDG<sup>s</sup> RETURN OF HIS TROOP OF HORSE

Commissioned Officers			Staff Officers	Non Commissioned officers					Privates					Horses				
Capts	Lieut	Cornet	Surgeons mate	Q <sup>r</sup> master Serj <sup>t</sup>	Serjeant	Corporals	Trumpeter	Farrier	Present fit for Duty	Sick Present	D <sup>o</sup> Absent	On Command	On Furlough	Total	Present fit for Service	Unfit for service	On Command	Total
1	1	1	1	1	1	4	1		14	2		5		27	26	2	5	28

ARTILLERY

Capt	Capt L <sup>t</sup>	1 <sup>st</sup> L <sup>t</sup>	2 <sup>d</sup> L <sup>t</sup>	Serjeants	Corporals	Bombadiers	Gunner	Drums & fifes	matrosses	Total	Inlisted	Dead	Discharg'd	Deserted
1	1	1	2	4	4	4	4		29	50				

[Return of Gen. Sullivan's Division June 1, 1777.]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

A RETURN OF THE DIVISION OF THE ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES UNDER THE COMMAND OF MAJ<sup>r</sup> GEN<sup>l</sup> SULLIVAN —  
PRINCETON JUNE 1<sup>st</sup> 1777 —

Regiments	Officers Present—											Rank & File						Alterations since Last Return						
	Commissioned					Staff						Non Commis:		Effective										
	Colos	L <sup>t</sup> Colos	Maj <sup>rs</sup>	Capt.	Subaltern	Chaplains	Adj <sup>ts</sup>	Q <sup>r</sup> Masters	Paymasters	Surgeons	Mates	Serjants	Drums & Fifes	Present fit for Duty	Sick Present	Sick Absent	On Command		On Furlough	Total	Inlisted	Dead	Discharg'd	Deserted
Col <sup>o</sup> Hazens Regt.....	1	1	8	12		1	1		1	1	1	28	18	337	69		7		413					
D. Batt <sup>l</sup> .....			2	5		1	1		1	1	1	15	6	87	4	6	4		101					
1 <sup>st</sup> mary <sup>nd</sup> Regt.....	1	1	6	11		1	1			2	28	13	279	40	6	18			343	1			2	
2 mary <sup>nd</sup> Regt.....			1	9			1			1	10	6	105	7	19	6			137					
3 <sup>th</sup> Mary <sup>nd</sup> Regt.....			2	7		1		1	1	1	15	4	171	12	1	2			186					
4 <sup>th</sup> mary <sup>nd</sup> Regt.....	1	1	2	10		1	1		1	1	22	6	200	15	2	1			218					
6 <sup>th</sup> mary <sup>nd</sup> Regt.....	1	1	2	8		1	1			1	18	7	167	15	21	6			209			1	4	
Total.....	3	4	23	62		5	6	1	4	8	136	60	1346	162	55	44			1607	1	1	1	6	

[*Gen. Benedict Arnold to Gen. Sullivan, June 1, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Philad<sup>a</sup> June 1<sup>st</sup> 1777

*Dear Sir* Your favour of yesterday I received last Night, & sent it directly to the President of Congress. — I make no doubt the Enemy will soon open the Campaign, by Attacking our Army. I think there is no probability of their being so imprudent, as to March for Philad<sup>a</sup> & leave Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington in their Rear, their Ships will doubtless be sent into the Delaware to make a Feint, if not real Attack. —

The Troops are dispatch'd from hence with all possible Expedition, after receiving their Arms, & Cloth<sup>s</sup>, ab<sup>t</sup> five hundred are here at Present who will leave Town in a day or two, others are coming in from One to Two hundred a day — I have had no returns of the Militia at Bristol am told there is not Near the Number Ordered I doubt if the Enemy will Intirely Abandon New York. — I make no doubt of receiving, regular intelligence from you of every matter of importance, if any thing Turns up here you may expect the Earliest Advice — Boats & Men will be ready at or Near Trentown, on the Shortest Notice.

[Addressed] On Publick Service Hon<sup>ble</sup> Major General Sullivan Commanding at Princetown  $\text{P}$  Express

[*Tory Propaganda Sent to Gen. Sullivan, June 2, 1777. Contemporary Copy.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

*Sir*, I have long desired to write my mind to you, on a Matter of the very greatest Importance to you; but

the unhappy Situation of Things have rendered all Intercourse very difficult, and has hitherto prevented me. I now find a Man is to be sent for a very different purpose to you, by him I shall contrive to get this Letter to you, a Person having undertaken to put it in Place of that which was designed to be carried to you. You know me very well, and are acquainted with many Circumstances of my Life, and have seen me in very trying Situations that might perhaps have been some Excuse, yet I am sure you never knew me guilty of any ungentlemanly action. I remind you of this to convince you that you may safely trust what I say to you, as coming from a Person who has never trifled with any Man. You know better than I do the Situation of your Congress, and the Confusion there is among you, and the Ruin that impends; you have felt how unequal the Forces of your own People are to withstand the Power of Great-Britain; and for foreign Assistance I need not tell you how precarious and deceitful it must be. France and Spain know they cannot embark in your Quarrel, without the greatest Danger of Great-Britain turning suddenly against and taking Possession of their Colonies, with so great a Force already collected and in America, besides their Fears of raising Views of Independance in their own Colonies to which they are much disposed. But why should I enlarge on this Subject. I am sure you know the futility of all hopes of effectual foreign Assistance, and that these hopes have been thrown out only to keep up the Spirits of the deluded common People, you therefore will not suffer yourself to be deluded by them; the most you can expect from Foreigners is, that they will help at the Expence of your Countrymens Blood, and Happiness, to keep up a Dispute that will ruin you and distress Great-Britain. It is not the Interest of France and Spain that

America should be independant; but if it were possible you could entertain any Thoughts that the Hopes of effectual foreign Assistance were well grounded, you cannot but know that such Assistance must now arrive too late; the last Campaign was almost consumed before the English Army could get collected, and in a Position to act in America; but now the Campaign is just opening, the whole Army in the greatest Health and Spirits, plentifully provided with every Thing, most earnest in the Cause I do assure you, well acquainted with the Country, and placed so as to act briskly with the greatest Efficacy; a few Months will therefore probably decide the Contest; you must either fight or fly; and in either Case, Ruin seems inevitable. You was the first Man in active Rebellion, and drew with you the Province you live in; what Hope, what Expectation can you have? You will be one of the first Sacrifices to the Resentment and Justice of Government, your Family will be ruined, and you must die with ignominy; or if you should be so happy as to escape, you will drag along a tedious Life of Poverty, Misery and continual apprehensions in a foreign Land. Now, Sullivan, I have a Method to propose to you, if you have Resolution and Courage for it, that will save you and your Family, and Estate, from this imminent Destruction; it is in plain English to tread back the Steps you have already taken, and to do for a real essential Service to your King and Country, in assisting to re-establish public Tranquility and lawful Government. You know I will not deceive you. Every one who will exert himself for Government will be received, and I do assure you firmly upon my Honour I am empowered to engage particularly with you, that it shall be the Case with you, if you will sincerely endeavour to deserve your Pardon. It is not desired

of you to declare yourself immediately, nor indeed to Declare yourself at all, until you can dispose Matters so as to bring the Province with you, in order to which you Should as much as possible, under different Pretences, contrive to send every Man out of the Province from whom you apprehend Difficulty, and to keep at Home all those who are friendly to Government or desirous of Peace, in the mean while endeavour to give me all the material Intelligence you can collect (and you can get the best) or if you find it most convenient you can convey it to General Burgoyne, and by your using my Name he will know whom it comes from without your mentioning your own Name, and as soon as you find you can do it with Efficacy, and Success, declare yourself, and you will find Assistance you very little expect in restoring the Province to lawful Government. If you do not choose to undertake this another will, and if you continue obstinate on the Ground you are now on, you may depend upon it, you will suddenly find it fail, and burst under you, like the springing of a Mine. What I recommend to you is not only prudent, safe and necessary, it is right, it is honourable: That you early embarked in the Rebellion is true, perhaps you mistook the popular Delusion for the Cause of your Country (as many others did who have returned to their Duty) and you engaged in it warmly, but when you found your Error, you earnestly returned, you saved the Province you had engaged for from Devastation and Ruin, and you rendered most essential Services to your King and Country, for which I engage my Word to you, you will receive Pardon, you will secure your Estate, and be further amply rewarded. Your past Conduct has been unworthy, your Return will be Praiseworthy. What is all this Expence of human Life for; these Deluges of human Blood, run<sup>s</sup> probably

only to set afloat some lawless despotic Tyrant in the Room of our lawful King. I conceive you must be surrounded with Embarrassments; you may perhaps find Difficulty in getting a Letter to me; possibly the Fellow who carries this to you may be fit to be trusted; he thinks indeed he carries you a very different Letter from this, and I suppose will be frightened a good deal when he finds the change that has been put upon him, and that I am in possession of the Letter he was intended to carry — yet I have understood he has a Family here, and will I suppose wish to return, and knows well enough it is in my Power to procure him Pardon and Reward, and I imagine he thinks (as I trust most People do) that I am never forgetful of a man who does any Thing to oblige me, you will consider how far you may trust him, how far it is prudent to do it, and you can sound him, and see whether he wishes to return, and whether he is likely to answer the purpose, and if you think proper you may engage to him, that I will protect him, and reward him if he brings me safely a Letter from you. I could say a great deal more on this Subject, but I must close my Letter lest it should be too late. Be sincere and steady and give me an Occasion to show myself.

Your sincere Friend

\* \* \* \* \*

Montreal, 2<sup>nd</sup> June, 1777.

This Letter was taken out of a Canteen with a false Bottom, by General Schuyler, at Fort Edward, this 16<sup>th</sup> Day of June, in the Presence of us the Subscribers.

Benjamin Hicks, Capt.

Henry B. Livingston, Aide Camp  
to Major-General Schuyler.

John W. Wendell, Capt.

John Lansing, jun<sup>r</sup> Sec<sup>y</sup> to  
Major General Schuyler.

I certify upon Honour that this Letter was taken out of a Canteen, which I delivered to General Schuyler, which Canteen I received from Col. Van Dyck, who seperated Part of the Wire from the false Bottom; to see whether it was the Canteen I was sent for, and who after taking out this Letter and letting out some Rum returned it into the Canteen without breaking the Seals. June 16, 1777.

Bar. J. V. Walkenburgh, Lieut.

[At the place of signature is written in pencil the name "Livius." The letter is supposed to have been written by Peter Livius, formerly of Portsmouth, N. H., a proscribed Loyalist. He was appointed chief justice in Canada May 31, 1777, and served until 1786, when he went to England, where he died July 23, 1795.]

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to John Hancock, June 2, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Continental Congress Papers, No. 160, Library of Congress.]

Princeton June 2<sup>d</sup> 1777

*May it please your Excellency*

Having Collected Some Interesting Intelligence from the Enemy I beg Leave to Lay the Same before Congress —

A Deserter from the Enemy who Left them on Saturday night 12 of Clock Says; "That when he came off  
 "there were two Batt<sup>s</sup> Less in Brunswick than at any  
 "time Since their Retreat from Trenton he had heard of  
 "two Brigades coming to Reinforce them at Brunswick  
 "but they had not arrived: That the women the Sick &  
 "the wounded were all ordered off from Brunswick to  
 "New York (This I have heard from sundry other per-  
 "sons who have been at York & Brunswick) He Says

“That they have Received Some waggons Lately from  
 “Long Island of which they had not a Sufficiency before  
 “& immediately upon their arrival two waggons were  
 “ordered to Each Company — he Says there were two  
 “Batt<sup>s</sup> Grenadiers two of Hessians and two of Infantry  
 “with Some few of Skinners Corps at Brunswick on this  
 “Side the Rariton: That the Grenadiers were very weak  
 “Some Companies not hav<sup>g</sup> more than Fourteen men:  
 “that they think our army very numerous & Expect an  
 “attack Every night; are not Suffered to undress and  
 “that the New Bridge was made to Secure their Re-  
 “treat; he Says the Camp Talk is that they will try for  
 “Philadelphia as Soon as the Reinforcement arrives —  
 “That a number of Flat Bottomed Boats Lay in a Cove  
 “on the East Side the Rariton three or four miles below  
 “Brunswick (This is Confirmed by Major Taylor who  
 “Says he saw the Boats) General Grant has been very  
 “Ill Since his Horse was killed under him That the  
 “Hessians Die very fast, he has seen fifteen Buried in a  
 “Day. They die Chiefly with the Scurvey (This is Con-  
 “firmed by a Hessian Deserter at my Quarters)”

There is another person one Captain Smallwood Re-  
 lated as he Says to General Smallwood who was taken  
 by a British Ship of War, near the Island of Bermuda  
 he was only a passenger on Board the vessel Therefore  
 not Confined or considered as a Prisoner but Sent to  
 New York, where he remained among his Friends three  
 months: As he had married a wife from that City, whose  
 family Remains there he could Learn from them Every  
 movement of the Enemy & Even the British officers  
 Conversed with him & before him without the Least  
 Reserve he walked the Streets & wharves Every Day  
 & viewed all their Preparations without Restraint he  
 Left New York on Fryday Last in a Small Sloop which  
 Sailed with Soldiers to Reinforce Brunswick the vessel

anchored below Brunswick Saturday night when he Took the Boat & made his Escape —

He Says “That fifteen Transports and Three men of  
 “war arrived at The Hook This Day week; The Trans-  
 “ports had about a hundred & thirty or forty men Each  
 “he saw them Land & Counted them he Conversed  
 “with the officers & Soldiers who Told him that twenty  
 “Transports & three Ships of war made up the fleet.  
 “That five of the Transports had Separated themselves  
 “from the Fleet in the Passage; That many of the  
 “Soldiers were Foreigners but wore the British uniform  
 “They appeared to be all Raw Troops had a great num-  
 “ber of Boys among them They all Landed & Encamped  
 “Back of the City of New York Except four Small Sloop  
 “Loads Sent on to Brunswick in one of which he Sailed  
 “himself — he Says that the Troops from Rhode Island  
 “came through the Sound & Landed Back of the City  
 “& are Encamped there he Saw them march up there  
 “were about Seven hundred of them; he Says the  
 “Enemy are Drawing off their Troops from Kingsbridge  
 “& Sending them to Staten Island; he Confirms the  
 “Account of the Heavy Baggage Sick &c being Sent  
 “from Brunswick to York — he Saw them Landed: He  
 “Says The Common Talk is that they shall Try for  
 “Philadelphia but whether by water or Land or both is  
 “uncertain. The officers & Torey Inhabitants are much  
 “Discouraged & Seem to Despair of the Countrys being  
 “Conquered & the Refugees are Exceeding unhappy  
 “and Say they never Expect to Return to their former  
 “Habitations: he adds that near a Quarter of the Re-  
 “cruits were Sick of the Scurvey & were Sent to the  
 “Hospital. The officers Told him That it would be a  
 “Long time before another Fleet could Sail with Troops  
 “as the Recruits had not come in but they were collect-  
 “ing them in Scotland & Ireland; he Says the Flat

“Bottom<sup>d</sup> Boats on Rariton in New York are all Loaded  
 “on wheels for what purpose he knows not many Trans-  
 “ports are preparing to receive Troops twenty are fixed  
 “for the Light Horse Each of which would hold twenty  
 “Horses That they have been a month preparing the  
 “Transports (The Same Account I have from another  
 “person who Left New York about a week Since) he  
 “Says the officers Lately arrived Informed him that  
 “General Burgoine with another Fleet had Sailed for  
 “Quebeck he Confirms the Report of their having Lost  
 “their Fleet at the East End of Long Island & adds that  
 “the officers told him their Loss in the Danbury affair  
 “was about three hundred but Gov<sup>r</sup> Tryon is not Dead”  
 — I take the Liberty of Inclosing you Copy of a letter  
 from Major Taylor containing Some Intelligence. —

By other persons I find that the Boats at Brunswick  
 are all Loaded being Ten in number. That the Torey  
 Inhabitants have all removed to New York & that the  
 British officers Declare they Shall remain in Brunswick  
 but four or five Days Longer & have Invited persons  
 who Supplied them with Eggs &c to come in & take the  
 Small articles which they could not carry off — I forgot  
 to mention that Captain Smallwood Contradicts the  
 Report of the new Constructed vessels having Sailed he  
 Says there was but one vessel Cut Down & he was on  
 board her the Day before he Left York; they Informed  
 him She would be ready to Sail in Six Days. I Suppose  
 Some Large vessels Deeply Loaded might be mistaken  
 by our people for Such vessels — I am Just Informed  
 by Letter from good Authority that the Enemy are  
 Demolishing their works at Amboy & Drawing Their  
 Troops toward Brunswick —

From the above Accounts it is clear that The Enemy  
 are about removing from the Jersies immediately but  
 for what place or in what manner no Judgment Can be

formed with Certainty from their Maneuvres. The Removing Troops from Kingsbridge to Staten Island Demolishing Amboy & Reinforcing Brunswick Shows an Intention to move by Land (at Least part of their Troops) & keeping most of the Recruits & the Troops from Rhode Island Still at New York Indicates a Design to move partly by water & partly by Land but then the fixing up Transports to Receive Light Horse cannot be Easily accounted for as in a march Through the Country Light Horse would be Essentially necessary. The Having the Pontons Loaded on wheels in the City of New York is Equally Difficult to be accounted for — The Dividing their force by Sending part by water & part by Land Seems to Hazard the Loss of the whole & would be in them a most Injudicious Step. I know of but one way to Reconcile those Seemingly Contradictory proceedings; which is that They Design To make for Philadelphia in the following manner viz The Troops at Brunswick The Landing & the places thereabout with the Loaded Pontons will move for Philadelphia by way of Cranbury, & proceed Either to Burdettown & Cross the River there or march on to the Ground opposite Philadelphia the Troops at New York to come in Transports & Land at South Amboy & proceed at the Same time for the Same Place & form a Junction in their Rout; This march they will Endeavor to Steal in the night & by that means avoid an Attack from General Washingtons army till they arrive to the place of their Destinations compell him to Quit his present Post & Draw him to Such Ground as they Choose & Compell him to give them Battle. The Boats in the River to Drop Down assist in Landing the Troops & then be Loaded for the March; Those at New York will be brought forward with their Carriages & Landed also at South Amboy which when Joined with the others at

Burdentown will form the Bridge Compleat — The Transports Said to be for the Light Horse may only be Designed for General officers aid De Camps & publick officers — This I think will account for the Sending Troops to Staten Island keeping the Boats partly in the River partly at Brunswick & partly at New York. The Troops from Rhode Island England & from New York may come forward in the Transports & the men of war pass up the Deleware the Same time the necessary Baggage for the Troops will be Sent from New York by water that the Troops may not be Encumbered with it; They will abandon all their posts in the Jersies this will account for Sending off the Baggage & for the Tory Inhabitants Quitting Brunswick & Even for their anxiety, & fully accounts for their Sending off their Sick & wounded to a place of Safety: This is but Conjecture the Event will Soon prove whether Right or wrong. I hope we Shall give them Some Soldierly Salutes before they reach Philadelphia.

---

[*Col. David Forman to Gen. Sullivan, June 3, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Washington Papers, Library of Congress.]

*Dear Sir* Enclosed you have the Examination of Robert Ireland a Native of Scotland, and an Inhabitant of this place — the Man from his Character and Conduct is friendly to our Cause — he fell into the Enemies hands last Winter at the Time the Enemy penetrated this state — they have Since Employed him as a shoer to the British Horse — his Wife & Family are in my hands — the Fellow has been kept so Closely Employed as to prevent his making any Valuable Discoveries — his Examination I herewith Inclose — after he Landed

he Came to me in a private Manner and Declared his Willingness to Continue, although he had rec<sup>d</sup> but a part of his Wages — During his Examination I was Informed that by being with them he had gained the intire Confidence of Several Soldiers and was so generally known as a horse shoer y<sup>t</sup> he Could pass unsuspected amongst the Troops — As he informed me the Horses ware all Newly Shod we drew the Conclusion that he might return and have a further oportunity of Making Discoveries — I therefore Proposed his returning on the plan of geting inteligence — he agreed to it — the Copy of his Oath I herewith Enclose — I had him Conducted by an officer beyond all the Guards Last Night and is gone off by the Way of the Hook —

His Wife and Family being in my hands will be at all Times a proper Check on him — to keep him Honest — the Acc<sup>t</sup> he gives of the Number of Ships Said to Contain the Ten Thousand Troops I know to be True as far as it relates the ships

But he agrees it is impossable they Could Contain so many —

Trenton Falls 3<sup>d</sup> June 1777 —

---

[*John Adams to Gen. Sullivan, June 3, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Revolution Collection, Library of Congress.]

Philadelphia June 3 1777

*Dear Sir* I regret with you the Loss of Coll Stark, of whose Experience and Bravery, I have often heard the best accounts. I know not the Man: but Some Gentlemen represented him, as unusual in Abilities to the high Command of a General officer. I am extremely sorry to learn that you have been So great a Sufferer in the Loss

of your Baggage &c upon Several occasions. But in answer to your first Question I can only say, that Congress have hitherto refused to grant any Compensation to Sufferers of any Kind. — Falmouth and Charlestown have both petitioned and been civilly refused. Several officers Widows, in deplorable Circumstances, have petitioned and been refused. Several other officers, have applied and been refused particularly Lord Sterling. — So that I can give you but cold comfort, respecting your Losses. As to your Second Question, I can give no positive Answer, how Congress consider your Post. The Resolve of Congress in Words, extends only to a Major General commanding in a Seperate Department: But I believe General Gates was allowed for his Table under it, and I see no Reason why you Should not.

What shall I say, about raising the Pay of General officers? our Revenue! sir, our Revenue! What will become of it, and of us? — With the Greatest objects in View that any society ever beheld: the greatest Evil to be avoided, and the greatest good to be obtained: with the fairest Prospect for success that a fond, Sanguine Imagination could wish, we are in the utmost danger of Ruin, by a Failure in our Finances.

June 8. This Moment I had yours of this days date put into my Hand. I am ashamed, that I had not answered your other Letter before: But my Apology for it, is ill Health, which has obliged me to devote my Mornings and Evenings to Exercise and Relaxation.

The Information you give me, that Desertions from the Enemy are plentiful, gives me Pleasure: but the Resolution of the Militia to turn out and assist you, gives me much more. Nothing however contributes so much to my Happiness, as the account I hear, that Discipline, order, Subordination, Cleanliness, Health and Spirits are so rapidly increasing in our Army. All

depends upon this. This will surely conduct Us to Honour, Glory, and Tryumph: as the Reverse would certainly end in our Disgrace and Ruin. There are two other Things upon which our Prosperity depends. The one is the Reputation of our Loan offices, and the other is the Resolution of the Assemblies to proceed to tax the People, as deep as they can bare, if Men who have Money can be persuaded to lend it to the Public: and if the assemblies can be convinced of the Necessity of proceeding to tax their Constituents: and if the People can be convinced of this Sacred Truth, that it is their Interest to pay high Taxes: we shall be able to avoid emitting more Money, and to sustain the Credit of that already out. But, if not, our Money will be a Bubble, and we shall be involved in terrible Distress. — We shall not lose the Cause, for we will carry on the War, by Barter: we will call in all the Plate: We will march out all at once, and crush the snakes in their Nest: we will do any Thing, rather than fail: But we shall be put to a great deal of Confusion and Perplexity. — We have no News. shall always be happy to learn News from you, especially if it be good.

[Col. John Stark had resigned the command of the 1st New Hampshire Regiment, Continental Army, March 23, 1777.]

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to John Hancock, June 3, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Continental Congress Papers, No. 160, Library of Congress.]

Princeton June 3<sup>d</sup> 1777

*Much Respected Sir* Having been made acquainted with a Late Resolve of Congress appointing one Chaplain only to a Brigade — I beg Leave to mention to Congress Some Facts which I apprehend They were not

Acquainted with at the Time of passing the Resolve —

When I Left New England most if not all the Regiments were supplied with Chaplains many of whom were So attached to the Service That when they found their Congregations averse to their going in the Army they obtained a Dismission Surrendering their Livings Rather than Quit a Cause they were So warmly & had been So Long Ingaged in. I know not whether Chaplains were So generally Engaged to the Southern Regiments but Doubtless many were — will Congress Pardon me if I ask whether it will not be Extremely hard for those Gentlemen when they have with great Expence & Fatigue Travelled Several Hundred miles to the post assigned to their Regiments to find that they must return Home without Employment in the Army & Some of them without a prospect of any at the places they Left. I hope Congress will pardon This Freedom & believe me to be no further Interested in this matter than what Justice Dictates. I beg Leave to observe that I am fully Sensible that such a Resolve if passed at an Earlier period (before the Chaplains were Engaged) would have been of great advantage to the army.

P. S 10 of Clock A: M: This moment two Deserters from the British Light Infantry came in they Left Brunswick one of Clock this morning & Confirm the accounts I have had of the Pontons being Loaded Baggage Sent off &c but Say no Reinforcement has yet got up to Brunswick.

---

[*Gen. Adam Stephen to Gen. Sullivan, June 4, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

*My Dear General*, I receivd the real pleasure of yours, & thank you for your Condolence. Sympathy in distress, divides the grief, & alleviates the Misfortune —

I know as little of the reason of our present disposition as General Sullivan does — Yea, they were so polite as to order the troops under my Command off the lines without my knowledge — It happend at the Same time that I was Concerting an Attack on the Enemys Camp near Amboy — They moved out 1½ mile from Amboy & encampd on the height, & I wanted to get about their house before they got Settled, or had all movd out of town — I solace my Self, by Pope's Maxim, "What ever is, is best." The Same person who advisd another grand affair, I take to be the Author of this — I would not have moved from M-t-n unless the motion of the Enemy had Compelld me, untill I had it in my power to make the day of my Movem<sup>t</sup> memorable in the Annals of America

Health & Success Attend You My D<sup>r</sup> General  
Camp in the Mountains June 4<sup>th</sup> 1777

---

[*Lieut. Col. Alexander Hamilton to Gen. Sullivan, June 4, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Head Quarters Camp at Middle Brook June 4<sup>th</sup> 1777

*Sir* His Excellency has received your favour of this Day — In answer to it he commands me to inform you that though he is exceedingly happy to hear such an animation prevails among the inhabitants, yet he can by no means, consent to put arms in their hands — This article is too much wanted for the Continental army to be spared to the militia, and experience has taught us, that there has been infinite abuse and misapplication of the public arms when confided to them. — As to ammunition, The General has no objection that a small quantity should be given them, provided it be lodged

with their officers, who are to be accountable, for its being devoted to the uses intended.

[Addressed] (on public service) The Honorable Major General Sullivan Princeton

[Hamilton was at this time serving Gen. Washington as his principal aide-de-camp.]

---

[*Col. Benjamin Flower to Gen. Sullivan, June 5, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Revolution Collection, Library of Congress.]

Philad<sup>a</sup> 5<sup>th</sup> June 1777 — 5 O'clock A. M.

*Hon<sup>d</sup> Sir* I have this moment received your Honors Letter & Express Ordering 30,000 Musket Cartridges to be sent you Immediately for the use of the Militia — it shall be comply'd with instantly — and sent with all possible dispatch

I observe your Honor says it cant be above two days before the Enemy will march, by the preparation they are making, and hope the want of Amunition will not be the means of looseing this City.

I shall ever lament as the greatest misfortune of my Life, that the want of Cartridges or anything else when cal'd for in my Department should be the means of looseing this city — and your Honor may rest assur'd that every Order for any kind of Millitary Stores, that is in our possession or can Possibly be procur'd shall allways be attended to with the strictest punctuality — I have a propper sence of the necessity of keeping up a propper supply of everything necessary for the defence of a Soldier —

The demand there has been on me for every sort of Millitary Stores since I came to this City has been immense — I have employ'd every Person I could get in

the different Branches necessary for the Field and have endeavour'd to keep up an ample supply —

I have Orderd the Commissary of Amunition (who I have sent for & is now with me) to send you immediately 50,000 Cartridges of different sises — as they are for the Millitia — 3,000 Flints &  $\frac{1}{2}$  Barrel of powder for rifles &c least the Quantity orderd should not be sufficient —

The sundries orderd for Cap<sup>t</sup> Swards Company of Artillery will be sent with the Amunition, or such of them as can be procur'd — the Buck shott moulds I am affraid cannot be sent by this oppertunity — the Brass Founder has disappointed us but as soon as they can be had shall be sent, the Amunition &c shall go off in two or three hours, and I hope will arrive safe before the Enemy move; should they attempt it I hope as you observe it may be a warm rout to them — and that our . . . Officers and men may teach them to pluck their *Lawrels with Caution*.

P. S. Should there be any motion of the Enemy this way soon shall be much oblige to your Honor to apprise me of it by the Express that comes that I may be able to take propper Steps for the moveing of the Millitary Stores

I am glad the Amunition &c has safe arriv'd — on y<sup>e</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> Ins<sup>t</sup> sent from here or y<sup>e</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> ☞ your Order —

[Addressed] (public service) Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan At Princetown

---

[*Dr. Benjamin Rush to Gen. Sullivan, June 6, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Revolution Collection, Library of Congress.]

*Sir* I made a complaint some time ago to Gen<sup>l</sup> Schuyler of an assault being made upon my Servant by

two officers under your command viz: a Major Sullivan & a certain Tho<sup>s</sup> Jones a deputy commissary at Bristol, which complaint was transmitted by Gen<sup>l</sup> Schuylers order to you thro' the hands of Gen<sup>l</sup> Arnold. As Sullivan was in town a few days ago, I suspect no inquiry has been made into his crime. I beg Sir you would immediately order a court of inquiry to be held upon their conduct. The honor of our Army, as well as the injury done to me require it. My servant was nearly murdered, & I fear will never recover the use of his hands from the wounds he received from them. —

Your immediate Attention to this request will much Oblige your most Hble Serv<sup>t</sup>

Philad<sup>a</sup> June 6<sup>th</sup> 1777

---

[*Capt. Ebenezer Sullivan to Gen. Sullivan, June 6, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Washington Papers, Library of Congress.]

Boston June 6<sup>th</sup> 77

*Dear Sir* I this day arrived in Town to see if I could hear any thing concerning my redemption which gives me great Uneasiness As I am confident the enemy will recall me if not redeemed.

I have made sundry applications to the General Court of this state, to consider my Losses; but all to no purpose. I this day applied to Gen<sup>l</sup> Heath for a Warrant for my wages, but he declined giving any after March last: he says he'll immediately write Gen. Washington, which I suppose will reach him about the time you receive this. Whether my wages are to go on or not pray be so kind as to see his Excellency upon the matter — The losses I sustained, together with being deprived of liberty to engage into any business has all ready

rendered my Circumstances much worse than I think my services merited. I pray they may not be made worse. You'll be kind enough to see his Excellency on the matter & write me by the Post; as will his Excellency Gen<sup>l</sup> Heath. I ardently wish to be in the service of my Country while there is something to be done. Pray use y<sup>r</sup> influence with his Excellency to hasten my redemption. I think I have not deserved to be slighted & Trust I shall not, when it lays in his Excell<sup>ys</sup> power with prudence to help me, if you'll only be kind enough to make mention of me. As it cannot be expected the fatigues of his important business can give him leisure to think of every one that wishes to hazard their lives for him. Col. Holland was yesterday taken up in this town. Eighty Two Hessian Troops are taken on board a transport from Hesse Bound to America & carried into safe port at the Eastward. Perhaps you'll hear this and all the news in this Part before you receive this except the agreeable news of y<sup>r</sup> Ladys & families health whom I left well two days ago.

[Capt. Ebenezer Sullivan, a brother of Gen. Sullivan, was taken prisoner at the Cedars May 20, 1776, and was not exchanged until 1778.]

---

[*Gen. Washington to Gen. Sullivan, June 7, 1777. Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Head Quarters Middle Brook 7<sup>th</sup> June 1777

*Dear Sir* I have yours of the 5<sup>th</sup>. I agree with you that Col<sup>o</sup> Blands Men being natives are more to be depended upon than Col<sup>o</sup> Moylans, but the Virginia Regiment of Horse has been so detached the whole Winter, that I could not deny Col<sup>o</sup> Bland his request to draw them to-

gether that they may be properly equipped, which they have never yet been. In point of opportunities of deserting there is full as much if not more here than from princeton, for the Moment you leave the Mountain, the Country is intirely open to all the Enemy's posts from Brunswic to Amboy. By paying off the Troops and keeping them well supplied with provisions &c<sup>a</sup> desertions have become much less frequent. A Story has got into our Camp which has a happy effect. It is that the East India Comp<sup>y</sup> purchase all deserters of the Crown and send them out. It is believed by the Soldiers here and I wish you could circulate it in your Quarter. This should be done seemingly with indifference, drop it at table before the Servants. Desertion from the Enemy has prevailed much of late, for some days past, we have had four or five  $\text{P}$  day. By Letters from Gen<sup>l</sup> Gates I learn that the Alarm of the Enemy's approach to Ticonderoga was groundless. A Deserter from the 37<sup>th</sup> this morning says that yesterday orders were given for his Reg<sup>t</sup> and ten more to hold themselves in readiness to embark from Amboy. And that the Inhabitants of Amboy, Brunswic &c<sup>a</sup> capable of bearing Arms were ordered to garrison New York. How true these things are a little time will shew —

P. S. An intelligent person who left New York the 5<sup>th</sup> says many Vessels were fitted up for Horses and that some were embarked. That the Transports were prepared for Troops and that some that were to go on Board had come over from Staten Island. If so the Fleet is near sailing, therefore desire Gen<sup>l</sup> Forman to keep a look out and when they leave the Hook see which way they stand —

Yours of this date just come to hand. As M<sup>rs</sup> Funk is at princeton it is a pity to prevent her going further, if therefore she appears an honest well meaning Woman

you may let her go on. Another Deserter confirms the Acc<sup>t</sup> of the order to embark — If you write to Gen<sup>l</sup> Arnold be kind enough to desire him not to permit any more Ladies to go towards New York just now.

[Addressed] To The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Maj<sup>r</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan at Princetown ☉ Light Horseman.

---

[*Gen. Benedict Arnold to Gen. Sullivan, June 9, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Philadelphia 9<sup>th</sup> June 1777

*Dear General* I had the Pleasure of your Favor of 7<sup>th</sup> June, deliver'd to me yesterday, and am happy to find so much Alacrity and readiness in the Jersey Malitia to turn out in defence of their Country. —

Your Precautions with Respect to retarding the March of the Enemy and the Signals necessary for alarming the Country, in my Opinion are wise, and every step shall be taken on my Part, for the Purpose of retarding their coming this Way.

I shall also be prepar'd as well as posible for their Reception if they do come. General Mifflin is every minute expected in Town, with whom I shall concert Measures, for the more effectually rendering all their Schemes abortive.

I have nothing of Consequence to communicate to you from this Quarter except the arrival of some ships from France in South Carolina laden with Goods &c — No alarm from below — I must conclude with wishing you every Success you can hope for

[Addressed] On Public Service The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Major General Sullivan Prince-Town



[*Gen. De Borre, June 9, 1777. Address Missing. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Kingstown le 9 Juin 1777

*Sir* I visited this morning the guard called Jones taverns of fifty men commanded by a Captain & a Lieutenant. I find this guard Who is in the second or third Line was exactly a guard of communication & only to warn & not to fight by consequence as my brigade is very small & with much ado she furnish to the guard & necessary Detachment I have reduced this guard to thirty men commanded by a captain & a Lieutenant & I Detached a Corporal with eight men before a quarter of a mile who will be Kept up by the patrols of the Captain guard.

---

[*Instructions to Gen. Prudhomme De Borre, June 10, 1777.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

*Brigadier General De Borre* —

*Sir* While You Command at your present Post you are to Observe the following Instructions viz —

In case you find the Enemy are advancing towards you, Your Sick, and all your Baggage are to be sent on the safest, and least exposed Road to Coryells Ferry. Your Tents are also to be immediately struck and sent with the Baggage, You are to order proper Guards over the Waggons of those Men who are least able to bear fatigue — The Remainder of your Troops being paraded at their proper Parades You are to Detach from them parties under the Command of proper Officers to harrass and Annoy the Enemy in their march — You are by no means to advance with your whole Brigade to

meet them, as from an inferiority of Numbers a Defeat would be inevitable — The Officers who command the Parties sent to harrass the Enemy, are to be strictly ordered to take particular care not to suffer their Parties to be surrounded — They are to sieze upon & dispute with the Enemy every advantagious pass where it may be done without hazarding the whole party; at every place where the Roads are Blocked, the Enemy should be annoyed as much as possible to prevent their removing the Incumbrances — This will inevitably delay them, and give time for the other parts of the Army to come up, & for the Melitia to fall on their Flanks — On the first Intelligence you may receive of the Enemys advancing you are to give me notice for which purpose I have ordered a party of Light Horse to attend you — If you should be compelled to retreat, you<sup>ll</sup> direct to those Routs which will enable Your Troops, to gain the Hill Country, and prevent the Enemys Cutting off your Retreat — you will please to peruse the Orders, given by me to Col<sup>o</sup> Hall and Col<sup>o</sup> Stone which may be of some advantage to you — But as the state of this Division of the Army is much Altered since the Date of those Orders, You will vary from them in such Instances as your prudence shall direct. Should you find the Enemy indeavouring to get between you & the Hill Country, you are instantly to order a Retreat by such ways as will least expose your men to the Enemys fire — Every Assistance in my power shall be afforded you from this Quarter, on the first Notice of the Enemys Approach; You will be particularly attentive to Maneuvring your Troops & see that their Arms and Accoutrements are in good order, and that they are constantly supplied with Amunition — Your own prudence & experience will prompt You to have an Eye to the Cleanliness of your Troops in their Camp, and in their Dress —

I have such confidence in your military abilities Activity & prudence, that I shall leave all other Matters to be regulated by your own judgment and Experience — given at Head Quarters in Princeton, the 10 Day of June 1777 —

---

[*Lieut. Col. Robert H. Harrison to Gen. Sullivan, June 11, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Middle Brook June 11<sup>th</sup> 1777

12 OClock at Night

*Dr Sir* I am commanded by his Excellency to inform you, that we were this moment advised by a person sent down towards Bonam Town today, that Gen<sup>l</sup> Howe came from Amboy to Brunswick this Evening with a number of Troops — Waggon & a few pieces of Artillery. This information was communicated to our Agent & Friend, by several Women which he saw at Metuchin, and whose Husbands are now in the hands of the Enemy. They had been at Bonam Town & saw the last of the Troops pass by about Four oClock. The Troops there had orders to have Seven days provision cooked against Night, and they heard Several officers tell the people there, who had gone into them for protection, they wished they could move to some place of security, for that all their Troops would evacuate that Post & Staten Island; They were busily employed in dressing their provision, and they understood they were to join the other forces to Night at Brunswick, from whence they were to push for Delaware immediately or early tomorrow morning. This Intelligence, his Excellency thought it expedient to transmit to you — and he wishes you to have every thing in such a situa-

tion, that they may be moved on the earliest notice out of the Enemy's way & that you will do All in your power to impede & annoy their march whenever they attempt the Enterprize till we can come up with 'em. The Gen<sup>l</sup> has ordered the most likely place to be pitched on here, from which Signals may be given of their moving — they will be such as have been mentioned — but it is uncertain whether they will be as discoverable as your's from the situation — You will give the earliest advices of any Approach &c.

The inclosed Letter is left open for your perusal, which his Excellency desires you will Seal & forward immediately by Express.

[Addressed] To The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan at Prince Town

[Lieut. Col. Harrison was military secretary to Gen. Washington May 16, 1776, to March 25, 1781.]

---

[*Gen. Washington to Gen. Sullivan, June 11, 1777. Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Head Quarters Middle Brook 11<sup>th</sup> June 1777

*Dear Sir* I have yours of yesterday with Colonel Formans letter inclosed. If the Ships that went out are intended for Delaware Bay, the Troops at Brunswic and Amboy will either follow immediately by Sea or wait till they hear of their arrival in the Bay and then make a sudden march to meet them. The Flag upon the Tree was seen yesterday, but if you will hoist it about half way up the Body, it will be more distinct.

If there was any firing yesterday between Brunswic and Amboy, it was the Enemy exercising which they frequently do.

Be pleased to keep a good look out upon the land side that if they move that way we may endeavour to come up with them.

P. S. Be pleased to write to Gen<sup>l</sup> Mifflin and desire him to give you notice if the Ships arrive in Delaware.

---

[*Capt. Jesse Cosden to Gen. Sullivan, June 11, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Revolution Collection, Library of Congress.]

Grigs Town June 11: 1777

*Sir* I saw A Letter from you to Cap<sup>t</sup> Henry where in you Stiled him Comanding Officer at Grigstown. I am an Older Oficer than he is and Belonging to the Same Battalion and Stationed at Grigs Town with him which I think is two much for A man of Spirit to be Comanded by A Younger Officer in Comission than himself but I do not Suppose that you Did Know which of us was Eldest — I never Desire more than my Rank and that I have an Undoubted Right to Neither should I think a man fit to have A Commission that would not Contend for his Rank

*Sir* I Should be glad if you would send in an Answer to the Above Lines

---

[*Lieut. Col. Tench Tilghman to Gen. Sullivan, June 11, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Washington Papers, Library of Congress.]

Head Quarters Middle Brook 11<sup>th</sup> June 1777

*Dear Sir:* The paymaster General desires that you would order all the Regimental paymasters in your division to attend him the day after tomorrow at 10 OClock

in the morning to receive instructions relative to making out their pay Rolls agreeable to the new establishment, each to bring paper with them to copy them—

---

[*Lieut. Col. Robert H. Harrison to Gen. Sullivan, June 12, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Head Quarters Middle Brook June 12, 1777 ½ after 10  
P M

*Dr Sir* His Excellency was favoured with Yours of today. The Intelligence contained in it, agrees nearly with that which I transmitted last night.

I have it in command to inform you, that in a Council of Gen<sup>l</sup> Officers held this Evening, among other points, your situation was taken into consideration. After the matter was viewed & examined by the Maps of the Country &c., It was concluded by the Board, that you are not so secure at your Present post as could be wished. Many reasons were urged or rather suggested, tending to shew, that the Enemy might attempt to get on your Left & effect it. As such an Event would probably be attended with pernicious, not to say fatal consequences, The Council advise “That you take post on the High Grounds of Rocky Hill near the Bridge at the Two Mills over Milstone called Rocky Hill Bridge, unless you are certain you can always make a safe & secure retreat towards the Mountains from where you are.” It appeared to them on consideration of the matter, that the post advised, will have every advantage the present has, without being subject to the same Inconveniences. From that you will be as well able to cover the Road leading immediately from the Bridge to Penny Town, and also will be secure in your retreat to join the Main Body of the Army.

His Excellency desires you'll not forget the charge in your Instructions. You are by no means to risk a General Engagement. All he expects and all he wishes, is, that you will harrass the Enemy by incessant parties when they attempt to march thro the Country. — He would have your Baggage & Artillery sent off on the first notice of their Approach as he would not have either hazarded, he says the Artillery will be in imminent danger of being lost, should it be used & that he considers it entirely unnecessary as the advantages expected from your force are from their acting altogether as Light Troops.

As their is the strongest reason to believe, that the Enemy are on the point of moving, His Excellency thinks it will be right for you to assemble & embody the militia immediately. — they cannot in his Opinion be collected too soon or in too great numbers. Those under Col<sup>o</sup> Reed at Borden Town or in that Neighbourhood, he requests you to call upon directly & to add 'em to your force. He also desires that Col<sup>o</sup> Moylan will forthwith order all his Horse from Philadelphia or else where to join him — Armed or not — he conceives they will be in great demand.

There is one thing more which he requests, which is, that you will prevail upon the well affected part of the Inhabitants to ride constantly to him with intelligence after you hear the Enemy are moving, as it may have a most happy effect & may enable him to take proper advantage of their situation. I will be done wishing you much Happiness & Success.

[Addressed] The Hon<sup>b<sup>le</sup></sup> Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan at Princetown

Head Q<sup>rs</sup> Middle Brook June 12<sup>th</sup> 1777

Permit the Bearer to go to Princetown

Rob H Harrison Sec<sup>y</sup>

[*Gen. Washington to Gen. Sullivan, June 12, 1777.  
Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Head Quarters Middle Brook 12<sup>th</sup> June 1777

*Dear Sir* Yours of yesterday evening was delivered to me early this Morning. Every account confirms the certainty of the Enemy's intention to move by land, and I think it will from appearances take place in a very short time.

Gov<sup>r</sup> Livingston, in a letter of the 9<sup>th</sup> instant informs me that he has ordered the Militia of Gloucester, Salem and Cumberland to assemble at Mount Holly and that Col<sup>o</sup> Bowes Reed was to assemble his Reg<sup>t</sup> at Borden Town.

As I think these Troops are much out of the way at either of the above places, you had better order them to Cranbury or that Neighbourhood, they will then be ready to join you if the Enemy move intirely upon the direct prinetown Road, or to oppose a Column should they advance one from South Amboy. Or if you think any other disposition of them more proper you will please to make it.

I am glad to find you have established your Signals to reach Philad<sup>a</sup>. You will take Care to keep your patrols as near Brunswic as possible that you may have the earliest Notice of the Enemy's Approach.

[Addressed] The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan at Prinetown —

Head Quarters Middle Brook 12 June 1777

Permit the Bearer to pass to Prinetown

Tench Tilghman

[*Gen. Thomas Mifflin to Gen. Sullivan, June 12, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Revolution Collection, Library of Congress.]

Philad<sup>a</sup> 12<sup>th</sup> June 1777 — 8 o Clock P M

*Dear General* I have this Minute receivd your Favor and with pleasure inform you that every Citizen of Philad<sup>a</sup> fit to bear Arms will be ready to turn out To Morrow to your Assistance — I will give you the earliest Notice of any Ships making their Appearance in our Bay. — The Gentlemen who went to you to continue the Signals to this place have not yet returned; so that I shall be at some Loss to receive the Signal in proper Time — I have sent off several guns to Bristol for that purpose and as General Arnold will sett off this Even<sup>g</sup> or To Morrow for that place to take Charge of the Troops there I shall depend on his giving me the earliest Notice of the Approach of the Enemy. I wish to be with you in good Season & am with affect.

---

[*Major John Van Emburgh to Gen. Sullivan, June 12, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Revolution Collection, Library of Congress.]

Cranbury June 12<sup>th</sup> 1777

*Sir* Richard Myler who says he belongs to the 9<sup>th</sup> Pennsylvania Battallion & Cap<sup>t</sup> Erwins Company, Taken this morning by our Scout near the Enemys Lines about 2 miles from Bruns'k Says the Picket was Attacked Last night at 2 O'Clock at Millstone; That he was ordered after firing his Piece to Pursue the Enemy & that he Lost his Way & got on our main Road Leading to Brunswick from this place —

He is now sent on to Princeton under Guard —

Nothing from Amboy & Brunswick this Instant by our horse — They say all is Very Still at both places —

I have thought Proper to make you a Return of the State of men at Present with us Which have Inclosed & can Acquaint the General that we have given fresh directions to the Militia at home who seem preparing themselves Chearfully for the Summons of an Alarm —

P. S. Shall be glad of the General Instructions how we are to dispose of our selves or Rather what Rout we are to take on the Different Movements of the Enemy

---

[*Major John Van Emburgh to Gen. Sullivan, June 12, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Massachusetts Historical Society.]

Cranbury Inn June 12<sup>th</sup> 1777 —

*Sir* We have received yours of this morning & shall take every step in our Power, agreeable to your Instructions, have dispatched fresh orders to the Officers at our Out Posts & Cautioned the Militia at home that they be particularly Attentive —

[Addressed] To The Hon<sup>le</sup> Maj<sup>r</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan  
Princeton

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to Meshech Weare, June 12, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[New Hampshire Archives, Revolution, vol. 7, p. 103.]

Head Quarters Princeton June 12<sup>th</sup> 1777

*Much Esteemed Sir* permit me in the Language of Addison to Inform you That Tomorrow will be the great the Important Day big with the Fate of *Britain and America*: General How has arrived with the whole

Strength of his Army at Brunswick & Marches for Philadelphia Tomorrow or perhaps this night — he has Seven Days provision Cook<sup>d</sup> his Pontons Loaded his out Posts Evacuated & all his army Collected at Brunswick ready to march — he is Determined to have Philadelphia or perish in the attempt. (heaven grant the Latter may be his Fate) my Division of the army Consisting of Sixteen hundred men is stationed on the Side & General Washington with the Residue of the army is at Bound Brook on the other side Brunswick So it Seems M<sup>r</sup> Howe and myself must once more meet upon unequal terms but I Shall have the Honor if I conquer & Suffer no Disgrace if I am Beaten provided I behave well with the Troops I have. I am in great Hopes we Shall Embarrass him till General Washington Comes up & then I think his fate is Certain. The Game is Truly Interesting but we must play it. If we Conquer Howe is Ruined past Relief but if he Conquers with great Loss on his Side his fate will only be removed to a more Distant period but his Destruction is Certain — on our Side we have Every prospect of Retreiving our Misfortune (should we be Defeated) & of Revenging our Disgrace upon a weakened Subject — perhaps when you read this the account of the Battle may be before you — & I pray God it may be Such as you could wish whether my fate be to fall or to Survive I hope Heaven will Enable me to fulfill the promises I have made my Country

[*Gen. Washington to Gen. Sullivan, June 14, 1777.  
Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Head Quarters Middle Brook  
14<sup>th</sup> June 1777, 7 O Clock P. M.

*Dear Sir* I am fav<sup>d</sup> with yours of this morning. Upon considering your Situation, the General Officers are of opinion, that while you remain upon their left Flank of the Enemy it is always in their Power by pushing briskly towards the Delaware to cut you off from joining this Army or perhaps of crossing the River. But if you cross their Front and get upon their right Flank you can always form a junction with this Army to which you will be a very considerable addition. The Opinion therefore is that you should immediately upon the Receipt of this begin your march and reach Fleming Town as soon as possible, upon your arrival you will view the Ground and post yourself on that which is most advantagious. You will take all your Baggage with you and when you take post keep it still upon your Right where the Country grows very strong. Keep out small parties of Militia and your own Troops to reconnoitre and endeavour if possible to learn the Strength of the other Columns and how far they are advanced. Endeavour to draw the Militia together. Our Move must depend intirely upon that of the Enemy. We have parties near them to give us the earliest Notice of their Motions and we shall intirely disincumber ourselves of Baggage can harrass their Flanks and Rear or make a more general attack if we find an Opportunity.

From the information of a deserter Gen<sup>l</sup> Howe and L<sup>d</sup> Cornwallis are with the Army at Somerset and we therefore conclude that is their main Body. After reading the inclosed be pleased to forward it immediately to Coryels Ferry —

[*Lieut. Col. Tench Tilghman to Gen. Sullivan, June 14, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Washington Papers, Library of Congress.]

Head Quarters Middle Brook 14 June 1777

*Dear General* His Excellency wrote to you a few hours ago, but lest some Accident should happen to the Express he desires me to give you the Substance. The Enemy have advanced this morning as far as Van Ests Mill. They had some skirmishing with Col<sup>o</sup> Morgans Rifle Men and have halted and taken post upon a high piece of Ground. The Number said to be 2000. Accounts say that their main Body have marched by the Brunswic Road towards princetown but by not seeing your signals or hearing from you it seems improbable. You will therefore please immediately upon the Receipt of this dispatch a trusty fast Express with an Acc<sup>t</sup> of Matters in your Quarter.

P. S. You will please to call in as many militia as you can assemble for you may be assured this move indicates a general one —

---

[*Gen. Washington to Gen. Sullivan, June 15, 1777. Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Head Quarters Middle Brook 15<sup>th</sup> June 1777.

*Dear Sir* I have both your fav<sup>s</sup> of this day, by the last of which I find that you had arrived at Fleming town, and am happy to hear that the Militia join you in such Numbers, and are in so good Spirits. I would have you leave your Artillery and Baggage upon some secure and strong Ground under a proper Guard, and move with the remainder of your force to some place between

Verbrykes Mill on Neshanack and the North Point of the Sowerland Hills; in this Situation you will have it in your power to harrass the Rear and left Flank of the Enemy, while we oppose them upon their Front and Right. If, notwithstanding this, they are determined to push forward, always cross them and keep upon their right Flank, by which means you join this Army at pleasure. I have desired you to leave your Artillery near Fleming town, supposing it would incumber you, but if you think it will be servicable to you, and you can support it, I refer it to your Judgment to take or leave it. You will take care to agree with some person, (if you have no Commissary with you) to keep you supplied with provisions, which you may draw from your Rear as wanted.

As soon as you arrive at your post be pleased to let me know that I may govern myself. If there is any move, you will probably know it very soon, if it is towards Delaware, advise me of it that I may follow upon their Rear. If back to Brunswic, you shall know it, that you may do the same.

It will be well to keep trusty and intelligent persons constantly scouring the Country towards Princetown & Cranbury, lest while they shew the Column at Somerset, they may advance others lower down.

Altho I have mentioned a particular place I would by no means confine you to it. Upon viewing the Ground you may find some other near it more advantagious, in that Case, take the strongest post. Endeavour constantly to cut off or drive in their advanced posts upon their main Body.

P. S. Near the point of Sowerland Hills is Gerritsons Tavern about a Mile from which the Enemy have a picket

[*Gen. Washington to Gen. Sullivan, June 17, 1777.  
Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Head Quarters Middle Brook  
17<sup>th</sup> June 1777. 3 oClock.

*Dear Sir* I have both your fav<sup>s</sup> of this Morning. The Enemy last night sent off all their spare Baggage and Women to Brunswic, and the deserters say are preparing for some move, none more probable than an attempt upon this post. Considering the extent of the Ground we have to defend, we want force to make a proper resistance. You will therefore immediately upon the Rec<sup>t</sup> of this detach one thousand Continental Troops and one thousand Militia under such officers as you think proper, with orders to proceed till they arrive at Steels Gap near Steels Tavern which is about two Miles from hence. They will there receive orders where to encamp. As an encouragement to the Militia, let them know that whatever Baggage or Spirits of any kind they can take from the Enemy shall be appropriated to their Benefit. A party a few days ago took a Waggon between Amboy and Brunswic, so valuable, that the Sale amounted to 1700 dollars. It contained officers linen and other Cloaths —

Besides keeping out scouting parties endeavour to get some of the Militia Officers, who are acquainted upon the princetown & Cranbury Roads, to go and try to engage some of the Inhabitants to keep a good look out and watch if the Enemy advance upon either of these Roads in large Bodies with Cannon & Waggon. They need not notice small light scouting Parties. What ever intelligence they gain let them send it immediately to you. To establish Signals between your post and this will be of the utmost consequence. To try the Experi-

ment, if you will kindle a Fire this evening upon some part of the Sourland Hills nearest to y<sup>r</sup> Incamp<sup>t</sup> we will, if we discover it, answer it by Fires from Steels Gap and Waynes Gap, you may then inform us which is most conspicuous to you. Waynes Gap will be most easterly. I have sent you one of my Glasses by the Bearer, it is a pretty good one. Gen<sup>l</sup> Arnold writes me word that he sent four Waggon load of Cartridges to Flemingtown, be pleased to forward them immediately here.

Another of yours just came to hand

---

[*Lieut. Col. Tench Tilghman to Gen. Sullivan, June 18, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Washington Papers, Library of Congress.]

Head Quarters Middle Brook 18 June 1777

*Dear Sir* Yours from Garrisons Tavern reached his Excellency about Midnight. Gen<sup>l</sup> D'Borre reached Steels Gap about three this morning. You need send on no more Troops either continental or Militia at present. Before this detachment was called off from you the Matter was well considered, and it was determined, upon the information rec<sup>d</sup> that the Enemy having neither Baggage, Tents nor Boats with them, that they could not intend at present to make their push for the River, and that the most probable cause of their coming out was to attempt a Coup de Main upon this Army, which, if Gen<sup>l</sup> Howe leaves in his Rear, and attempts to cross Delaware, will certainly give him the finishing Blow. Your Fire was plainly discovered and this day a signal for mutual information will be fixed upon. I imagine what you call the grand Picquet is the Post at Somerset Court House, which is not only naturally

strong, but they have been fortifying several days. His Excellency thinks you had better employ yourself upon their Rear by small parties, than attempt a stroke of any magnitude upon the wing next to you which is composed of their best Troops.

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to Gen. Washington, June 19, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Washington Papers, Library of Congress.]

Sourland Hills June 19<sup>th</sup> 1777

*My Dear General* I am honoured with your Exc<sup>ys</sup> favor of this Day. Shall Send on M<sup>r</sup> Burr as Directed. I have Inquired of General Forman — he knows of no Captain Wetherby. There is a person of that name at Shrewsbury who had orders To Enlist Troops for the British Service — he Enlisted Some & was Detected & put in Irons by Gen<sup>l</sup> Stephen Last Summer where he remained, till about 6 weeks Since when the Gen<sup>l</sup> assembly of this State Released him — perhaps he may Since that have undertaken the Business y<sup>r</sup> Exc<sup>y</sup> mentions — The Enemy have Certainly Left Millstone. I am falling Down toward the post Road as fast as possible to Harrass them if they attempt that Rout.

P. S Y<sup>r</sup> Exc<sup>y</sup> will please to Consider That I am very weak & wish to be Reinforced

The Enemys Rout is for Brunswick Burning Houses Barns &c in their Rout — many of my parties have been in Somerset — The Enemy abandoned it Little after Sunrise — probably they may Turn off for Philadelphia —

[*Gen. Washington to Gen. Sullivan, June 21, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

June 21<sup>st</sup> 1777

*D<sup>r</sup> Sir* From every information lately received, there is reason to believe the Enemy are evacuating Brunswick by sending One Brigade after Another. It is said they are transporting their baggage both by Land & Water to Amboy with the greatest Industry. If this fact be true, I should suppose it highly expedient that you should detach a Number of Militia well acquainted with the Country South of Amboy, if you have any such, to take post along the River at & near what are called the Roundabouts. If they go there and the Enemy are conveying their Horses down the River, which I believe is the case, I am persuaded by a spirited exertion and a vigilant conduct, they will intercept and possess themselves of a great part of it. This is a matter of considerable importance to effect, and which not only interests them greatly, but will much distress the Enemy. If there are Militia who are fit for the business, proper parties cannot be too early sent down. You will take the subject immediately into consideration, that such measures may be pursued as the circumstances of the Militia may seem to point out.

Saturday June 21<sup>st</sup> 1777

---

[*Lieut. Col. Tench Tilghman to Gen. Sullivan, June 21, 1777. Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Head Quarters Middle Brook 21<sup>st</sup> June 1777

*Dear Sir* Yours of this morning is come to hand. His Excellency desires that when the remainder of your division joins you, you will leave your Baggage in your

Rear and advance towards Brunswic as if with intent to fall upon it, take a good post and keep out Scouts that the Enemy may not advance upon you unperceived.

Gen<sup>l</sup> Maxwell has gone down this Afternoon upon their Flank between Brunswic & Amboy with 1500 Men, which with some other Movements that will be concerted will look like a general Attack, and in the Situation which they now are will not fail of disconcerting them a gooddeal. When you leave Rocky Hill leave word where you are gone, and when you take post inform his Excellency where it is. I wish you success

[Addressed] To The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Maj<sup>r</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan at Rocky Hill

---

*[Orders for an Attack on Brunswick, June 21, 1777. Draft in Gen. Sullivan's Handwriting.]*

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

To . . . . .

*Sir* you are to proceed with The Troops assembled in the Neighbourhood of Somersett & Schanks Mills Down The Middle Bush Road Toward Raritan Landing you are To halt one mile on this Side the Landing Picket where you are to Select one hundred men under good officers which you are to Divide Equally & place them in front of the whole; you are to move on with your Troops So as to Reach the open Ground where the Enemys Picket is posted precisely at Two of Clock in the morning you are Instantly to Detach these two parties one to the Right & the other to the Left on a very Quick march to Surround & take the Picket the Light Horse of your Devision are as Soon as the parties have got a Breast of the picket or Sooner if you find the parties are Discovered to Gallop up full Speed & assist in Securing the Picket Guard you are in the mean time to push Briskly on with your main Body to Sup-

port them — after having Secured or Dispersed the Picket Guard you are to Rush on Toward the Town of Brunswick keeping the Artillery men with their matches & port Fires in front with your advance Guard and attack the Troops Stationed there while The artillery men Set fire to all the Buildings they can get at The other Divisions on the Right will have orders to make a Like attack there at the Same Instant — You must have a party under good officers to Defend the Bridge & prevent the Enemys passing it to Secure the Town and Support The Troops There— Should you meet so Strong an opposition that you can by no means accomplish the Business in your Quarter you must keep up a fire to amuse the Enemy till you find whether the Division on the Right is Successful or not which you may know by the Firing Ceasing & no Houses being Seen on Fire. You are to take Every method to Kill or Captivate the Troops in Brunswick before they can be Reinforced from the other Side the Rariton. When you Retreat Either from Choice after having accomplished the Business or being Compelled So to do by the Enemy you are Retreat in the Same way you march Down taking care to place men in Ambush at the Entrance of the wood till your main Body has passed on two or Three miles — Should you hear a firing in the Rear you must Conclude the Enemy are in pursuit of you & will therefore place Small ambuscades in Every convenient place as you march along which will Soon make the Enemy weary of the pursuit. The Strictest Silence is to be observed on your march & the utmost Expedition in Executing the Plan

Given at Head Quarters at Rockey Hill June 21<sup>st</sup> 1777

Jn<sup>o</sup> Sullivan M G

[Endorsed] Orders General & division w<sup>th</sup> Private Instructions cont<sup>s</sup> those from Howe's & Skinner's to the Provincials, under their Command —

[*Plan of Attack, in Gen. Sullivan's Handwriting.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

To . . . . .

*Sir* You are To proceed with your Brigade & what other Troops may be Sent to Join you So as to Reach Jones<sup>s</sup> Tavern at the Time it begins to grow Dark from thence you are to march (after having arranged your Troops). Down the Princeton Road you are to halt Them in The wood about one mile from the Enemys Picket (which Stands in the mile Run) you are there to Select a hundred Brave men under the Command of the most Resolute officers — & Divide Them into Two Equal parts & place them in front of your advance Guard — you are to march on So as to be on the Heighth on the Side the mile Run precisely at Two of Clock in the morning you are then Instantly to Detach those parties one to the Right & the other to the Left in order to surround the Picket Stationed by the Enemy in the mile Run as Soon as they have got nearly abreast with the Picket or are Discovered by the Enemy The Light Horse of your Division are to Gallop up full Speed to Assist in Securing the Guard your main Body are to march briskly up to Support them — as Soon as you have Secured or Dispersed the Guard you are to march Quickly on & attack The Town of Brunswick The artillery men with the matches & port fires are to be in front with your advance Guard ready to Set on fire all the Buildings they can come at with as much Expedition as possible The other Division on the Right will at the Same Instant Attack The Town on

[Remainder missing.]

[*Gen. Washington to Gen. Sullivan, June 23, 1777. Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Head Quarters Middle Brook 23<sup>d</sup> June 1777.

*Dear Sir* I have yours of this Morning with one from Gen<sup>l</sup> Maxwell to Gen<sup>l</sup> Green inclosed. The Weather is still so unfavourable that I have no thoughts of putting the Army in Motion till tomorrow Morning at 4 OClock provided it is fair. Except some very considerable advantage will be gained by your marching this Evening, I would not have you turn out the Men, for without Tents, they, their Arms and Ammunition would suffer much. But you must judge from Circumstances, and act accordingly —

[Addressed] The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan at Brunswic

[*Lieut. Col. Richard K. Meade to Gen. Sullivan, June 23, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Head Quarters 23<sup>d</sup> June 1777

*Sir* Your note arrived safe; & I am to inform you that his Excellency did not intend the Troops shou'd March in the rain, and pleas'd you stop'd them; those here had similar orders. You are requested to have those under you in readiness to March as soon as the weather will permit, & in the meantime keep out small parties of observation, and fall on ev'ry other method of obtaining the best intelligence of the Enemies situation both at Amboy, & the Island. His Excellency desires you will keep up a constant correspondence with My Lord Sterling.

P. S as soon as you are in Marching order his Excel-

lency desires to be informed, as you are not to move untill you hear from him

[Addressed] (on Public service) Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan at Brunswick

---

[*Gen. Nathaniel Greene, June 24, 1777. Address Missing. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Camp at Middle Brook June 24 1777

*Dear Sir* Inclosed is a charge exhibited against Major Stewart of the 2<sup>d</sup> Maryland Regiment — I know nothing of the young Gentleman — Col Palfrey came to me and complained he had been greatly abused by the Major and that the Major was abuseing and insulting the Inhabitants and encourageing his Soldiers to Plunder the People indiscriminately — I was under a necessity of attending to the Colonels complaint and sent my Aide de Camp to execute the order which he did in the politest manner but the Major insulted him and abusd all the General Officers of the Army — The Young Gentleman from the heat and confusion of the day may have acted very indiscreetly which he may condemn in a sober hour — he wrote me a letter demanding an explanation of his crime Publishing himself as a man of fortune and a Gentleman of Liberal Education and insisting upon an immediate tryal. If the Young Gentleman thinks his being a man of fortune or having a liberal education authorises him to insult and abuse People with impunity — he will find himself mistaken — the more liberal a Gentlemans education the more polished his manners should be — he that dont behave with decency & propriety must take the consequences upon himself — for my part I know nothing of the

matter — You know Col Palfrey and that he is a very civil Gentleman — The Major must make satisfaction to the injured or risque the consequences of a tryal — I am very sorry when any thing of this sort happens in the Army because it is always productive of some bad consequences and never no good ones —

---

[*Lord Stirling to Gen. Sullivan, June 24, 1777. Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Edgars, Ash Swamp June 24<sup>th</sup> 1777 7 °Clock

*Dear Sir* This part of the Army was under Arms by 4 °Clock and Assembled, they are now getting their Breakfasts, and will be Ready to move on the shortest notice. I think it will be much the best, that General Sullivan with his Column, should proceed by Piscataway towards Bonum Town, that the Column from Camp should proceed by Samp Town towards Matutchin meeting House, and that this Column should proceed to the Hills, Just behind Wood Bridge, we shall then be Connected and near enough to form and Act together; — If your Excellency Approves this, you will be pleased to Communicate your determination —

The Accounts of the Situation of the Enemy Are Various, their Encampment of their left towards Raratan river is Certainly very close and extensive, and their Appears a Considerable Number of men in their whole front; Yet a man Just come in from Staten Island, says the Inhabitants Assure him, that several Thousands of the Enemy have passed over to that Isle, and Marched to Princes Bay where they are Embarking.

Would it not be well to Order a body of Troops to possess the Heights of Bergen, we might then with certainty know the Motions of the Enemy's Fleet. —

General Heard Assures me that that by his Intelligence, the Enemy still have a very extensive Camp on the South Side of the road from Amboy to Brunswick —

The Above is a Copy of a Letter I have this moment sent to General Washington

[Addressed] To The Honourable Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan Brunswick

---

[*Lord Stirling to Gen. Sullivan, June 27, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Pingleys 8 °Clock June 27, 1777

*My Dear General* I have pushed on to this place & have made the Several Arrangements Agreed upon; On seeing the Inclosed intelligence which I have Just Received I have Ordered, Cookes Regiment (now at Quibble Town) to find out the Enemy, & lay Close upon their flanks to give them all the Annoyance possible, and if they can find out Colonel Morgans Corps, to Act in Concert with them. —

As General Greens Division by the Arrangement made this Afternoon, is to sustain the right of the Front, I believe our disposition will be perfect, and only wants a Number of small parties of Observation to be sent out from thence, to Gain Intelligence of the Movements of the Enemy — I shall do the same upon the left — Nothing further Occurs to me at present that may be Necessary — Excepting, if possible to have Gen<sup>l</sup> Scotts Brigade Supplied with provision this Night

If he should fall in with me in the Morning I will Send him all I can —

[*Rank of Col. Moylan, June 28, 1777. In Autograph of Gen. Sullivan.*]

[Washington Papers, Library of Congress.]

Camp at Middle Brook June 28<sup>th</sup> 1777

*May it Please your Excellency*

In obedience to your Excellencys order we have met and Considered The Pretensions of Col<sup>o</sup> Moylan and Col<sup>o</sup> Bland to Rank in The Army of The United American States; and beg Leave to Report That we are unanimously of opinion That Col<sup>o</sup> Moylan is Instituted to Rank in the Army before Col<sup>o</sup> Bland; which is Humbly Submitted to your Excellency by your Excellencys most obed<sup>t</sup> Servant.

Jn<sup>o</sup> Sullivan M G  
Nath<sup>l</sup> Greene M G  
Adam Stephen M G

To his Excellency General Washington

[*Gen. Sullivan to John Hancock, July 1, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Continental Congress Papers, No. 160, Library of Congress.]

Camp at Middle Brook July 1<sup>st</sup> 1777

*Dear Sir* I am Informed That Mons<sup>r</sup> De Coudray has Lately been appointed by Congress a major General of Artillery with order That his Rank Shall Take place from the first Day of August Last if This Report be True I Shall be under the Disagreeable necessity of Quitting the Service. I therefore beg the favor of a Line from you Informing whether the Report has any foundation & if it has That you would please to Inclose me a permit to Retire.

[*Gen. Sullivan to Gen. Washington, July 2, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Washington Papers, Library of Congress.]

Lincoln Gap July 2<sup>d</sup> 1777

*My dear General* I do myself The Honor to Inclose y<sup>r</sup> Excellency Copy of my Brother's Letter & beg your Excellencys Influence to Relieve him if possible from the amazing Difficulties his Late Capture has thrown him into — if firmness in the Field or patience under the Insults of his Savage Captors would Render him . . . of your Excellencys notice witnesses would not be wanting to prove both — but I fear Some Resolves of Congress work him an Injury.

[See letter of Capt. Ebenezer Sullivan June 6, 1777.]

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to Gen. Washington, July 5, 1777. Copy.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Pompton July 5<sup>th</sup> 1777

*My Dear General* I do myself the honor to inclose y<sup>r</sup> Excellency copy of a letter from D<sup>r</sup> Cochran to me, with a copy of my answer: As the Doctors lett<sup>r</sup> was founded on the complaint I sent y<sup>r</sup> Excellency; I esteem it my duty to make it known to y<sup>r</sup> Excellency when complaints are made to me I must take notice of them: or I must not — if the former is the case I must insist upon his letter being an insult of the most dangerous tendency: If the latter is the case I should be glad to know it that I may know how to conduct in future The complaint of Hazen & Hall was made to me early when my division was on its march I had neither time or Authority to appoint a court: I at their request wrote y<sup>r</sup> Excell<sup>y</sup> supposing proper orders would be given & the

sick which we were then sending a second time, wou'd be properly taken care of. If Sir an Insult of this kind is to be suffered by a Maj<sup>r</sup> General for attending to & forwarding the complaint of two field officers, commanding Reg<sup>ts</sup> I should wish to resign my commission that I may not by any inconsiderate act disgrace the rank of myself & other General officers: I would not trouble y<sup>r</sup> Excellency with this matter did it not appear to me a matter of importance to others as well as myself. Since my Arrival from N England I agreed to meet an officer of inferior rank at a place & time he was pleased to appoint for doing what he upon the spot acknowledged was strictly my duty; for this I was blamed by officers of my own rank & I expect that the subalterns & serj<sup>ts</sup> will next call me to account for disapproving their conduct. I am by no means an enemy to duels I most Sincerely wish that Congress had encouraged instead of prohibiting them but it is a Question well worth consideration? whether if I forward a complaint against a Surgeon of the General Hospital I must fight all the sons of Esculapius in Course or bear their insults. If this is to be the case I wish to be dismissd from the business of my office that I may have the more leisure on hand for the purpose & stand in such a line as may not disgrace myself or others nor be accused of establishing a precedent in our army unknown to others & which wou'd effectually destroy all distinctions of rank & superiority in Commission. I am exceding easy what steps M<sup>r</sup> Cochran may think proper to pursue or any others that think themselves injur'd by my conduct I am allways prepared to Defend myself against Personal Attacks but I think this an insult of such a kind as deserves a publick decision & therefore take the freedom to apply to y<sup>r</sup> Excellency for that purpose.

[*Gen. Washington to Gen. Sullivan, July 6, 1777.*]

[Writings of George Washington, Ford, vol. 5, p. 468.]

Morris Town, 6 July, 1777.

*Dear Sir,* Since I had the pleasure of seeing you some of the officers have been suggesting a plan for cutting off the enemy's post at Bergen, which they seem to think could be easily effected. As it may be in your power to collect certain information of the strength, &c., of that guard, which I understand consists of new levies, I would refer the matter entirely to your consideration & discretion, wishing that if your accounts are such as would promise a tolerable certainty of success you would make the attempt. I need not mention to you that the most profound secrecy is necessary upon every occasion of this nature, & very particularly on this, as two minutes notice would give them an opportunity of withdrawing across the causeway, where it would be impossible for you to get at them. To prevent this a small party should be dispatched before the rest by some different route, which should occupy the post near Bergen, by which means every intelligence might be kept from them, no soul being allowed to go in. Should this enterprize appear so feasible as to risque it I shall expect soon to hear from you. You will observe to march your troops at such hours as will prevent their being hurt by the excessive heat of the weather.

It will be prudent at all events to send a party of 2 or 300 men somewhere beyond Hackensack under a cautious, active officer, from which small parties may be sent up to Fort Lee and along the North River to observe every motion of the enemy about New York by land or water — two or three light dragoons should be with them to convey every necessary intelligence to you in order that I may be apprised as early as possible.

[*Resolve of Congress, July 7, 1777.*]

[Journals of the Continental Congress, vol. 8, p. 537.]

Congress resumed the consideration of the letters from Generals Sullivan, Greene, and Knox, all dated the 1 July; Whereupon Congress came to the following unanimous resolution:

That the president transmit to General Washington copies of the letters from Generals Sullivan, Greene, and Knox to Congress, with directions to him to let those officers know that Congress consider the said letters as an attempt to influence their decisions, and an invasion of the liberties of the people, and indicating a want of confidence in the justice of Congress; that it is expected by Congress the said officers will make proper acknowledgments for an interference of so dangerous a tendency; but if any of those officers are unwilling to serve their country under the authority of Congress they shall be at liberty to resign their commissions and retire.

---

[*Lieut. Col. Alexander Hamilton, July 7, 1777. Address Missing. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Head Quarters Morris Town July 7<sup>th</sup> 1777

*Sir*, You will be pleased to forward the inclosed to General Putnam with all expedition, as it is of importance they should not be delayed — By His Excellency's desire, I wrote to you a day or two ago requesting that a Capt M<sup>c</sup>Connel & a waggon master who had taken a horse from some inhabitants abused and confined them, should be sent to Head Quarters to have an examination into their conduct.

I am ordered to make mention of it again, and to repeat the General's desire that they may be sent as before directed. — He wishes to correct and discountenance such abuses by taking proper measures with those who commit them —

---

[*Gen. Washington to Gen. Sullivan, July 7, 1777. Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Head Quarters Morris Town 7<sup>th</sup> July 1777

*Dear Sir* I have yours of the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup>. I am sorry that any misunderstanding between you and Doctor Cochran should have gone to such disagreeable lengths. When your first letter of complaint was put into my hands, Doc<sup>r</sup> Shippen the director General was standing by me. I delivered it immediately to him as it belonged to his department and never heard more of the matter till I received your last. As I would have every Officer properly supported in his Rank, I can point out no better manner of adjusting this Matter than submitting the whole to a Court of enquiry. Col<sup>o</sup> Hazen will not be back from Philad<sup>a</sup> before the 12<sup>th</sup> and as he is one of the Gentlemen upon whose information your complaint is grounded, I suppose you would not incline to bring the enquiry on before he returns. But if you chuse to do it sooner I have no objection. If this matter, in my hurry of Business, slips my Memory, I beg you will remind me.

By Advices from Staten Island and N York it seems as if the Enemy were preparing for a longer Voyage than up the North River, but such appearances should not lull our Vigilance upon that Quarter.

Altho' the Road leading from the Clove to Fort Montgomery is not passable in its present State, would

it not be worth while to repair it in such a Manner that Troops and light Artillery might travel it, while the heavier Carriages went higher up? Of this you will be a better judge when you have seen the Road and consulted Gen<sup>l</sup> Geo: Clinton who is perfectly acquainted with the Country.

P. S. Yours dated the 5<sup>th</sup> but I suppose meant for the 6<sup>th</sup> is come to hand —

[Addressed] On public Service To The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan at Pompton

---

[*Orders for the Day, July 8, 1777. Partly in Gen. Sullivan's Handwriting.*]

[Sullivan Papers, Coe Collection, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Head Quarters Pompton July 8<sup>th</sup> 1777

Parole                      1 Countersign                      2<sup>d</sup> D<sup>o</sup>

Field officer of the Day tomorrow from

Adj<sup>t</sup> of D<sup>o</sup> to morrow from

The officers Commanding the Several Regiments to See That necessaries are provided for their Sick & proper Bills kept & presented to the General That he may order payment —

As Little Spirits remains on hand for the Division the Commissary is not to Issue any more Except to Fatigue & Scouting parties till further orders

The whole Division to parade at four of Clock This afternoon for Exercise

A General Court Martial to Sit Tomorrow morning To Try Such persons as may be brought before them  
[The foregoing is in Gen. Sullivan's hand.]

Ensign James (arrested by Cap<sup>t</sup> Ridgely) for neglect of duty & disobedience of orders tried by a Gen. Court

Martial whereof Col<sup>o</sup> Gunby was President the Court were of opinion that Ensign James is not guilty of the charge exhibited against him and think he ought to be releas'd immediately The Gen<sup>l</sup> approves the sentence & orders him to be released Accordingly. L<sup>t</sup> Lee (arrested by Major Taylor) for disobedience of orders: The Court are of opinion that L<sup>t</sup> Lee is Guilty of a breech of Maj<sup>r</sup> Taylors orders and that he ought to be reprimanded by the Commanding officer of the Reg<sup>t</sup> in the Presence of the officers belonging to the Regiment: The Gen<sup>l</sup> Approves the sentence and orders it to take Place tomorrow morning — Lieu<sup>t</sup> Erskine (arrested by Gen. De Borre) for striking a Waggoner. The Court having examined the Evidences are unanimously of opinion that M<sup>r</sup> Erskine ought to be acquitted from his arrest immediately: The Gen<sup>l</sup> approves the Sentence & orders him to be released from his Arrest immediately.

Tis requested that Gen<sup>l</sup> De Borre's Brigade Major make a return of the strength of that Brigade to Head Quarters as soon as possible

G: Orders The General Court Martial whereof Col: Price is President to sit tomorrow to try Cap<sup>t</sup> Vernijou of the Light Horse (arrested by Col. Stone) for disobedience of orders and insulting him in the execution of his duty

---

[*Gen. Israel Putnam to Gen. Sullivan, July 8, 1777. Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Peeks Kill July 8<sup>th</sup> 1777

*Dear General* The frequent Complaints of the Inhabitants of Tapan and the Neighborhood of that place of the Incurtions of the Enemy, and the Depredations

by them Committed seems to Render a Guard Necessary near the River, to protect them from the Danger of the Decents of small parties from the Enemy's Ships in the River — and in the present state of the Enemy it is very Necessary that parties of Observation should be advanced near the sides of the River, who may be able to give the earliest Information of any movement they may make this way — I therefore desire you to send a Body of men under the Command of a prudent Judicious officer to Aniack or Tapan for the before mentioned purposes — With orders to advance forward small parties as far as may be done with safety to make Discovery of the Enemy's motions and give the Earliest Information thereof, in Case the Enemy should Come up the River the Guard may safely Retreat either to you or this Post — Provision may be had for the party's at Aniack

[Addressed] (on public Service) The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan Pumpton fav<sup>d</sup> by M<sup>r</sup> Winter

---

[*Gen. Washington to Gen. Sullivan, July 9, 1777. Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Head Quarters Morris Town 9<sup>th</sup> July 1777

*Dear Sir* Upon reconsidering the propriety of your crossing the River immediately, it has been determined by a great majority of the General Officers, that as the Enemy have not yet embarked any of their Light Troops and do not seem prepared to move suddenly, you should halt in the Clove, take possession of the most advantagious Grounds and there wait till we see, more clearly the Enemy's intentions. If you have any Tools with you, you may as well throw up some slight

Works that will make the passages in those strong defiles still more defensible. Perhaps you will have marched beyond the Clove before this reaches you, but I am in hopes that you will not, as I should be sorry that the Troops should be harrassed more than is needful.

[Addressed] To The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan on his March to Peekskill

---

[*Lieut. Col. Tench Tilghman to Gen. Sullivan, July 9, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Head Quarters Morris Town 9 July 1777

*Sir* The Express that went up to you yesterday with orders to march to Peekskill returned this Morning and only brought a Letter from you to Col<sup>o</sup> Hamilton in which no notice is taken of your having rec<sup>d</sup> the order of march. Lest some Mistake should have happened I annex the order which you are to comply with if it is not already done. As the dispute between Cap<sup>t</sup> M<sup>c</sup>Connel and the Countryman is settled you need not send him down.

Head Quarters Morris Town 8<sup>th</sup> July 1777

*Dear Sir* In consequence of advices this day rec<sup>d</sup> from Albany tho' not directly from Gen<sup>l</sup> Schuyler, I find the Enemy had approached Ticonderoga and had taken post at Mount Hope. This account comes by Express from Col<sup>o</sup> Trumbulls Brother and therefore cannot be doubted. I expect every Moment to have the particulars from Gen<sup>l</sup> Schuyler.

If the North River is Gen<sup>l</sup> How's next attempt he will be sudden and Vigorous and it is therefore thought expedient that you should move on with your division and cross the North River as speedily as possible.

You will therefore march tomorrow Morning and endeavor to contract your Baggage into as small a Compass as possible to avoid the trouble of carrying Carriages across the River. I shall replace your division with another. Give Gen<sup>l</sup> Putnam information of your approach that he may have Boats ready for you.

Yrs &c

G: W:

Copy.

[Addressed] To The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan at Pompton ☿ Express.

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to Gen. Washington, July 10, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Washington Papers, Library of Congress.]

Ramapo Clove July 10<sup>th</sup> 1777

*D<sup>r</sup> General* previous to Receiving y<sup>r</sup> Exc<sup>ys</sup> favor Informing that a Court of Inquiry Should Determine the matter Respecting the Camps made by Hazen & Hall I had in order to find out the Truth of the affair appointed a Court of Inquiry the Result of which I do my Self the Honor to Inclose your Excellency — you Can from this Easily Discover whether there was any foundation for the Complaint. I did not Call upon y<sup>r</sup> Exc<sup>y</sup> Supposing a Tryal was immediately to be had but as I was acting officially in making the Complaint I thought it a Duty I owed to the publick to have a publick Decision which would clear up my publick Character Justify the official act I had Done & Leave Doctor Cochran (if he pleased) to pursue those frightful Steps he mentioned. I by no means Complained of those Steps as the Insult. The Calling upon me to unsay what I had said in an official way was what I

Deemed an Insult & what I wish to Resent in a publick manner.

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to Gen. Washington, July 11, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Washington Papers, Library of Congress.]

Ramapough Clove 11<sup>th</sup> July 1777

*Dear General* upon Seeing Some Cloathing pass by here & knowing that my men are in a wretched Condition for Cloaths both officers & Soldiers & that we are always too far Detached from the Main Army to Draw I Ran the venture to Stop Some Riffle Frocks Some Shirts & three pieces of Cloath which Q<sup>r</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Sheriff Sias Sent a Rece<sup>t</sup> for to the Cloathier Gen<sup>l</sup> & will Deal them out if y<sup>r</sup> Exc<sup>y</sup> approves our having them if not we will forward them to Head Quarters as Soon as y<sup>r</sup> Excellenceys pleasure is known — The militia here are Desirous of being Dismissed for a Season & beg to know y<sup>r</sup> Exc<sup>ys</sup> pleasure. They want to Secure their Harvest but will Turn out on the first Alarm.

---

[*Gen. Washington to Gen. Sullivan, July 16, 1777. In Col. Tilghman's Handwriting.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Head Quarters Clove 16 July 1777

9 O'Clock P. M.

*Dear Sir* I imagine you have, in consequence of former orders, crossed the North River, but if it should not be totally effected when this reaches you, I beg it may be done as soon as possible, for from some advices in the Course of this day, it seems as if the Enemy were mov-

ing their shipping from the watering place up towards New York, some have already gone up as far as Dob's Ferry.

From my present opinion of Matters, the posts you should occupy, in Case of the Enemy's approach, should be those in the Rear of Peekskill, but as I am in a manner a Stranger to the Ground, I must refer you to the Advice of Gen<sup>l</sup> Putnam and Gov<sup>r</sup> Clinton, both of whom, the latter in particular, are well acquainted with the most advantagious passages. I shall remain here with the main Body of the Army till I see with more certainty whether Gen<sup>l</sup> Howe does or does not really intend to move up the North River.

His Excellency having gone to rest before this was ready for signing I take the liberty to subscribe

[Addressed] On public Service To the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan at New Windsor

If Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan has crossed the River to [be] forwarded after him —

G. Washington

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to Gov. George Clinton of New York, July 17, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[State Historical Society of Wisconsin.]

Fish Kills July 17<sup>th</sup> 1777

*Dear Sir* I received a Letter to Day from his Excellency Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington, desiring me to move my Division down, and encamp them in the Rear of Peeks Kill. As I am entirely unacquainted with the Ground the Gen<sup>l</sup> directed me to advise with you which will be the most proper and advantageous Place. I should therefore be obliged to you for your Directions, that I may

send my Quarter Master forward to lay out the Encampment.

[Addressed] His Excellency George Clinton Esq<sup>r</sup>  
Governor of the State of N. York at Fort Montgomery

---

[*Gov. George Clinton of New York to Gen. Sullivan, July 17, 1777.*]

[Public Papers of George Clinton, vol. 2, p. 120.]

July 17, 1777. Fort Montgomery.

*Dear Sir,* I am favoured with yours of yesterday, but being intirely unacquainted with the Situation of the Troops at Peek's Kill under Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Putnam, and not so well acquainted with the different Passes on that Side of the River as I coud wish, I am unable to advise you where to encamp your Troops. It is my Opinion that to prevent loss of Time it woud be most advisable for you to move down to York Post Road with your Troops; in the Mean Time to consult Gen<sup>ls</sup> Putnam & McDougal who are not only well acquainted with the Ground but the Posts occupied by the Troops already in that Quarter & will therefore be able to point out the most proper Spot for you to encamp on.

P. S. On second Thought I believe it will be most advisable for your Troops to continue where they now are 'till you can consult the Gen<sup>l</sup> Officers at Peek's Kill, as perhaps a Post move Easterly than where the above Road leads will be thought best & more agreable to the General Orders as being in the Rear of Peeks Kill.



[*Gen. Washington to Gen. Sullivan, July 22, 1777, Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Head Quarters Clove 22<sup>d</sup> July 1777

*Dear Sir* The greatest part of the Fleet have fallen down from the Narrows, but we have not been able to Discover whether they have gone out to Sea. As your remaining upon the East Side of the River will depend upon the Course the Fleet steers should they go out, you will hold your division ready to move at a Moments warning.

[Addressed] Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan at Peekskill.

---

[*Col. Timothy Pickering to Gen. Sullivan, July 24, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

H<sup>d</sup> Q<sup>rs</sup> Ramapaugh July 24 1777

*Sir*, His Excellency the Commander in Chief is very uneasy because returns of the divisions & brigades are not regularly made, weekly. You will be pleased to direct that a return be made of your division as soon as possible & to be regularly continued. I can find no return of your division but one made before I arrived in camp.

---

[*Gen. Israel Putnam to Gen. Sullivan, July 25, 1777. Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Head Qu<sup>rs</sup> Peekskill July 25<sup>th</sup> 1777

*Dear Sir* Just received orders from Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington for your & L-d Sterlings Divisions to march to Phila-

delphia — with the inclosed orders directing the manner in which it is to be performed — last evening Came here a man from New York who was betruſted with a letter from Gen<sup>l</sup> Howe to Gen<sup>l</sup> Burgoine Sewed in the fold of his Coat — in which letter Gen<sup>l</sup> Howe ſays he will Cooperate with Burgoine — expects that the demonſtrations he is making to the Southward, will have its effect, when at the ſame time he deſigns to go to B-n — — this letter with the acc<sup>t</sup> the bearer of it gave I diſpatched laſt night about Eleven oClock to Gen<sup>l</sup> Waſhington Shall expect a return as Soon as poſſible I expect you will immediately prepare for the march — & Submit it to you whether it will be adviſeable to march before Some thing further, in answer to my laſt, as the Gen<sup>l</sup> had not received that when theſe Came away.

---

[*Gen. Israel Putnam to Gen. Sullivan, July 25, 1777. Letter Signed.*]

[Revolution Collection, Library of Congress.]

Head Quarters Peek's Kill July 25<sup>th</sup> 1777

*Dear General* — I have this moment had an Expreſs from Gen<sup>l</sup> Waſhington, in answer to that I Sent off Laſt night and alluded to this morning in my Letter to you — he Says there could not be a more convincing Proof to him that they were going to the Southward and urges that you Cross the River & march to Join him without a moments delay — Lord Sterling has already Cross'd and I truſt you will Loose no time in following him —

P. S. if you Recollect an Indian that I Left with you at Princeton — I under ſtand by Col. Antill that he is Still with you — he is the Property of a Gentleman and

was taken Prisoner with two negroes for which I gave a Receipt and am now accountable for him — the two negroes I have Delivered up & took a Rec<sup>t</sup> for the Indian I expect you will send to me before you march —

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to John Hancock, Aug., 1777. Letter Signed.*]

[Continental Congress Papers, No. 160, Library of Congress.]

#### Hanover in New Jersey

*Worthy Sir* I hope Congress will pardon my petitioning them in behalf of my Brother (Capt<sup>n</sup> Sullivan) who was hostage for the performance of the Articles of Treaty between Gen<sup>l</sup> Arnold & Capt<sup>n</sup> Foster at the cedars. If we may believe his commanding Officer Col<sup>o</sup> Sherburne he behaved with the utmost bravery & for a long time was the means of securing the party on their retreat, & was the last who surrendered to the Enemy, he then voluntarily became an hostage for the redemption of a number of our Troops & during his stay with the Enemy suffered incredible Insults & hardships, he was sent home on his promise to remain a true prisoner & return again when called for. Upon his arrival here he found that he had not only lost his Advantage of promotion in the army, but that a resolve of Congress prevented him of demanding pay; Though under his present circumstances he can neither joyn the Army, or with any propriety enter upon any other business, as he knows not the hour when he will be called for. This must be sensibly felt by a person who is conscious to himself, of having exerted himself to the utmost in behalf of his Country. I am sensible of his Error in writing a Letter to me from Canada in which he said some things very imprudently respecting Congress, but I doubt not

congress will generously make allowance for his Situation; at the time he wrote He could only know that Congress had refused to accept the Articles of Capitulation: he knew nothing of Gen<sup>l</sup> Arnold's power, nor could he know the Reasons of Congress for refusing to ratify the Agreement. All that he could possibly learn was from his Enemies who painted things in the most aggravated Light. He was conscious of his having freely & cheerfully suffered from the inhumane Savages & from the more inhumane Britons every thing that man could endure. He well knew it was no misconduct of his that brought him into that wretched Situation, & looking upon himself as a prisoner for Life in the hands of Enemies whose Barbarity he had often experienced, forsaken by his Country which he had so faithfully served, & that without the least Shadow of Reason on the part of Congress, as he was made to believe, & having no friend to hint to him the reasons why he was not to be redeemed, I say under these Circumstances & with those feelings which must necessarily arise from such Treatment he wrote that imprudent Letter under the Eye of M<sup>r</sup> Burgoine in Whose power he then was & whose prisoner he thought he must ever remain And can that be a Reason sufficient when properly considered & when proper allowances are made to cut off a young Officer whose bravery & Activity have been equalled by few & exceeded by none? I speak thus freely of his bravery, because I know his commanding officer has informed Congress & his excellency General Washington of it in full had he said any thing against Congress or the American cause through fear of his Enemies I should not attempt to speak or write a Word in his favor: but upon Col<sup>o</sup> Sherburne's parting with him & leaving him to his Savage Masters his last request to him was to inform me that all this he would suffer with cheerfulness

& even lay down his life to serve his country. But when he was taught to believe that his country had given him up to the Mercy of those inhumane Butchers, then it was that Passion took place of reason & produced a Letter which rejoiced his Enemies & distressed his Friends; now fully sensible of his Error he begs me to write in his favor to Congress. And if Congress could consistent with their own Interest & honour do something to serve him I shou'd esteem it among the first of those favors they have so generously confer'd upon me. I freely confess that tho' his good conduct in the Army as well as the ties of Blood endear him to me as a Brother yet when I consider that he is thus deprived of every thing he expected in the Army & remains liable to be called for to return to those Barbarians when they please to call and realize the Situation of his Mind under those circumstances had he met the Death he so bravely courted in the field of Battle, it would have given me less pain. I hope Congress will contrive some way of restoring him to the Community, & of reimbursing him for the losses of Money & other Articles which he has sustained, An Account of which with the proof he is ready to lay before Congress. I also entreat Congress to forgive the Imprudence in his Letter, & to continue his pay while he remains in his present Situation. And also to reserve for him that rank in the Army which he might have had if not held as Hostage for the fulfilment of the Articles of capitulation

[Endorsed] rec<sup>d</sup> Aug. 28

[*Gen. Washington to Gen. Sullivan, Aug. 3, 1777.  
Letter Signed.*

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Head Quarters Philadelphia 3<sup>rd</sup> August 1777

*Dear Sir* By Express last Night from Cape May, we are informed that the Enemy's Fleet were seen again after they first disappeared, from whence, some people conclude that their going off, was to gain more sea Room to weather the Shoals of Cape May; and that they will still come up Delaware: Under this uncertainty (as it is terrible to march and counter-march the Troops at this season) you are desired to halt upon the most convenient, and healthy Ground; near to the place where this shall overtake you. If you receive intelligence, which you can certainly depend upon, that the Enemy's Fleet have gone into the Hook, or are upon the Coast of New England, you are then to move on to Peeks Kill without waiting any orders from me; if you are to come forward, I shall send you an Express.  
I. . . . .

[The remainder of this letter has been cut off.]

[Addressed] (On public service) The hon<sup>ble</sup> Major General Sullivan On his march to German Town ☉  
Express

[*Gen. Sullivan to Gen. Washington, Aug. 7, 1777.  
Autograph Letter Signed.*

[Washington Papers, Library of Congress.]

Hanover August 7<sup>th</sup> 1777

*Dear General* I Joined my Division Three Days Since but am Exceeding weak & what is Still more afflicting I am Extremely apprehensive that I shall never

perfectly Recover Doct<sup>r</sup> Jones says that my Excessive Fatigue has So much Injured The whole nervous System that nothing but a Long Continuation of the Cold Bath accompanied with a Strict Regimen can Restore me to a perfect State of Health — all Solid Food & all Drink Except water must be abstained from. Spirits I must never again use but with the greatest Caution (if at all) as he Conceives that the free use of them has in great measure assisted in bringing on my Complaint & if continued will always have the Same Effect. This being the fourth time I have Bled he apprehends That the Bleeding has almost become habitual & will (if not prevented in the above mentioned manner) prove Fatal. I will however do all in my power to perform my Duty in the Division So Long as my new mode of Living will afford me strength sufficient for the purpose —

General De Borre has presented me with the Several orders Rec<sup>d</sup> from y<sup>r</sup> Exc<sup>y</sup> by the Last of which I am to Tarry here till further orders. I am fully of opinion that the want of Shoes & want of money to pay the Troops will multiply Desertions among us Daily — we are always So Distant from the Stores that we cannot without the greatest Difficulty get a Supply & our men are mostly Barefoot though they have Done more marching than any other Division in the Army. I wish Some method might be adopted to make their pay more regular & their Supply of Cloathing more Certain — I Inclose your Excellency Copy of a Sentence ag<sup>t</sup> Major Mullin — The President of the Court Martial Desires me to Inform you that The Court did by no means think he ought to be Cashired but They apprehended that the articles of war had not Left it at their Election. Therefore they worded the Sentence in Such a manner as to show that it was by the articles of war

& not by their opinion he must be Cashired. Your Excellency will do therein as you think best —

I have this morning four Deserters from New York — they left the Heighth of Harlam on Tuesday night — from them I have the following particulars viz That Gov<sup>r</sup> Tryon with four Thous<sup>d</sup> Troops is at & about Kings bridge — he has the 23<sup>d</sup> & 35<sup>th</sup> Regiments. The Rest are Hessians & Tories belonging to Delancy &c — the 26<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> to which they belong together with the 7<sup>th</sup> & one Hessian Regiment of 2 Batt<sup>s</sup> Lay at Harlam Heighth — the British 300 strong Each & the Hessians near 700 — the 38<sup>th</sup> & 45<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>ts</sup> are in York City — That General Skinner with the 52<sup>d</sup> Regiment & his own Corp is on Staten Island — That there are Some few British Troops on Long Island but they know not what Corp — That General Pigot had gone to take the Command at Rhode Island in the Room of Gen<sup>l</sup> Prescott — That the Fleet which Sailed from York Consisted of about 200 Sail — That they Learnt by the officers Servants that they heard their masters Say that the Fleet would only Show itself off Delaware Long Enough to Draw our Troops there & then return & proceed up North River to Join General Burgoine who they Expected would by that time be in possession of Albany. They Say that the afternoon before they came off there were Salute Guns firing at the Hook almost the whole afternoon — they know not the Reason but it was Conjectured the fleet was Returning (this is by no means probable) — They say that there was a Current Report about Town & Even published in the papers that there was an Insurrection in the north of Ireland & that the British Troops were obliged to Retire from thence. That Cap<sup>t</sup> Manly was taken by the Rainbow ship of war a 40 Gun ship & brought into New York three Days before they came off —

They add that there were only Seven Ships of war went with their Fleet — the Rest Lay at York. This Sir is all the Intelligence they bring —

Now Dear General I have a matter to Say before your Excellency Respecting John Murphy & Daniel Brown who are under Sentence of Death which appears to me merits Consideration — when your Excell<sup>y</sup> was pleased to permit me to pardon one at the Gallows I made out one for John Murphy, a Servant of Major Stewart who had Ever Sustained a Good Character & did not belong to the army but had for a Long time been his body serv<sup>t</sup> — the major was much affected at his approaching fate & Declared he could always Trust him with untold Gold; as nothing was said Respecting the other I thought it best to make out the pardon for him which I Delivered to the major who was Field officer of the Day & had the Division drawn out to See the Execution. I Enjoined Secrecy upon him & ordered Brown to be first hanged & Murphy in ten minutes afterward & secretly ordered the pardon to be Read Just before the Ten minutes was Expired. This I thought was strictly Complying with your Excellencys orders & using The power your Excellency was pleased to Invest me with in the most Equitable manner but a few minutes before the time for Execution Col<sup>o</sup> Gunby came Riding from the place Designed for Execution & Informed me that Brown the other prisoner was Certainly Innocent that he had that Day Inquired fully his Character which he had neglected before that he found it not only without Blemish but Remarkable for Sobriety & faithfulness — That his penitent behaviour at the Gallows his Speeches to the Soldiers his Solem protestations of Innocence Convinced Every officer present that there was Some Mistake in the Sentence. Doctor Montgomery the Clergyman who

frequently visited him Says that he is so Convinced of his Innocence as not to have a Doubt Remaining — he says when his Conduct proved that he had not the Least prospect of Life he often appealed to Heaven for his Innocence. This occasioned me to Reprieve them for a few Days. I Sent for the president of the Court Martial who Informed me that he was fully persuaded that the Court would not have adjudged the Evidence against him Sufficient had they not been at that time So Irritated with the Licentiousness of the Division — the man himself has uniformly Declared that he heard the man of the House Crying murder, That he ran up to the Door to assist, Saw two men Run off & the man of the House Siezed him supposing him to be an accomplice & I am most firmly of the opinion from the best Information I can Collect. Stewarts Servant was at the Door Acknowledges he was Drunk but Took nothing — Now to withdraw the pardon from him & Extend it to the other would be Such an alteration as would affect Major Stewart much and Deprive him of a Servant who has Ever been faithful & Honest & To Execute the other I fear would be punishing an Innocent person. I Therefore Take the Freedom at the Special request of all the Field officers of the Division to Implore your Exc<sup>ys</sup> Clemency toward the unhappy prisoners — all the officers agree that the Scene which took place at the time they were to have been Executed had a great Effect upon the Soldiery which their behaviour has Since shown. Th<sup>o</sup> it has not wrought a Thorough reformation I may venture to Say they have mended much. Every method Shall be used to make this Act of Clemency of y<sup>r</sup> Exc<sup>y</sup> to operate to Surpress & not Incourage Such practices; if Severity must be used much fitter objects may present themselves but none who are fitter objects of Mercey —

[*Capt. Henry O'Hara to Gen. Sullivan, Aug. 12, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Revolution Collection, Library of Congress.]

Camp Hanover 12<sup>th</sup> aug<sup>t</sup> 1777

*Respected Sir* I would inform your honor, that I Joined the Regem<sup>t</sup> with a view of a Settlement. I am here with all my Accounts, Expecting to have a Settlement. M<sup>r</sup> Chinn the paymaster of Our Regem<sup>t</sup> refuses paying me any Acco<sup>ts</sup> against my Company without a receipt from Every individual of them which is not in my power to get as Some of them are at present in the different Hospitals Viz Fort Town Provincetown Pompton & Fishkill likewise some of them dead & Some deserters. I would further inform your Honor that Neither myself or Company did not receive any pay from the Continent Since last January, and as I was obliged to be the Chief part of the Time on a separate Command & that it was the first of may before I was order<sup>d</sup> to Join the Regem<sup>t</sup>, I was therefore Obliged (in order to Keep my men from Deserting) to act as paymaster and as I could Draw no publick money was obliged to Advance them Money which I assure you on my honor I am obliged to pay at the rate of £7 <sup>8</sup>/<sub>10</sub> cent. I can be qualified to my acco<sup>ts</sup> And likewise can prove my acco<sup>t</sup> against Each — I would Esteem it a particular favour, if your honour would please to order me payment to Such as I can prove my acco<sup>t</sup>

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to Gen. Washington, Aug. 12, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Washington Papers, Library of Congress.]

Hanover August 12<sup>th</sup> 1777

*My dear General* I had the Honor yesterday of receiving your Exc<sup>ys</sup> favor of the 10<sup>th</sup> Instant — am happy

to Learn that The army is on its march this way as I have Long been of opinion that New England is the object of Mr Howe — I Shall use Every method to get what Intelligence I can from the places you mention. I feel myself under the most Sensible obligations to your Excellency for your Lenity to the prisoners I mentioned & am happy to find my Division fast Re-forming in their manners. I communicated your Excellenceys Sentiments respecting Major Mullen to him & General De Borre. Mullen Stands ready to make any Concessions but De Borre is Inflexible — he will by no means Consent to his Coming again into his Family. I Suppose in the Letter which accompanies this he has Expressed himself fully. I have done Every thing in my power to bring about a reconciliation but find it Impossible. Gen<sup>l</sup> Deboore urges Mullens want of Learning to keep Details as one potent reason ag<sup>t</sup> him. Indeed I think he is much better Qualified for Some other office Than that of Brigade Major tho I by no means think this has the most weight in the Generals Breast.

---

[*Gen. Washington to Gen. Sullivan, Aug. 14, 1777. Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Camp Bucks County 14<sup>th</sup> Aug<sup>t</sup> 1777

*Dear Sir* I this morning rec<sup>d</sup> yours of the 12<sup>th</sup> at the same time one from Gen<sup>l</sup> Borre, by which I find Major Mullen's Behaviour has been so exceptionable that no concessions can make any amends. I am therefore obliged to confirm the Sentence of the Court Martial.

Upon a supposition that the Enemy has gone to the Eastward, I was upon my march further Northward,

but an Express overtook me at this place, with an account that they were seen upon the 7<sup>th</sup> instant off Sinepuxent between the Capes of Delaware and Chesapeake bearing to the Southward. They were seen again upon the 8<sup>th</sup> nearly in the same situation. Upon this Advice I have halted till I hear something further. In mine to you of the 10<sup>th</sup> you were directed to issue orders to the Paymasters of your division to come on with their Abstracts ready certified that they might be paid off to the last of July. The Gentleman who wrote the letter mistook my meaning and I signed it in a hurry. My meaning was that the Troops should be paid off for the Month of June, and that the Abstracts for the Month of July should be lodged with the Paymas<sup>r</sup> General, there to remain till General Orders directed the July pay to be called for. You will therefore please to let the Paymasters know how the matter stands. I shall give the Adjutant General orders to let you know when the pay for the Month of July is to be drawn.

[Addressed] On public Service To Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan at Hanover near Morris Town.

---

[*Gov. William Livingston of New Jersey to Gen. Sullivan, Aug. 16, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Morris Town 16 August 1777

*Dear Sir* As I am told that several parties of continental Troops frequently pass thro' your Quarters to General Washington, & take this place in their way, which they pass without my knowledge, but I suppose make it a rule to call upon you; I should be obliged to you for directing the next party to call on me in order

to guard Lieu<sup>t</sup> Troop to General Washingtons head Quarters as it is exceeding difficult to procure proper guards for that purpose in this place —

[Addressed] To Major General Sullivan At Head Quarters Hannover

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to Lieut. Col. Edward Antil, Aug. 16, 1777. Copy.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Head Quarters Hanover August 16<sup>th</sup> 1777.

*Sir.* I am exceedingly surprised at y<sup>r</sup> letter of this day: w<sup>ch</sup> whether calculated to insult or not may but be determined by the General Tenor of y<sup>r</sup> Conduct: You Say you suppose James M<sup>c</sup>Coy will Join Cap<sup>t</sup> Seward. Had I time & disposition I should for this piece of condescension return you my thanks: I have upon finding you have kept him confin'd 18 Hours, after you promis'd to release him, sent you a positive order to send him to my Quarters, which if not immediately complied with, I shall assume the power of putting you in Arrest — You say the matter of Right you cannot give up, and desire me to state the matter to his Ex<sup>y</sup> for his opinion: This would betray such an ignorance of Military Matters in Gen<sup>l</sup> & of my own Authority in Particular that I should not chuse to bear the severity of his answer I have no Objection to y<sup>r</sup> debating it y<sup>r</sup>self & taking the chance of his Answer to the Quest<sup>n</sup> properly stated, but you need not send to him for an answer to it as stated by you. I am clearly of Opinion that the Commanding officer of the Div<sup>n</sup> cannot order a man (inlisted in a regiment during the war) to join another & remain with it during the rest of the Time but pray who inform'd you that the

man was to be annexed to Cap<sup>t</sup> Seward during the war? Surely I did not: But you may say, that I did not inform you of the Contrary, to w<sup>ch</sup> I answer; that I did not chuse it — which requires no great degree of Sagacity, to find out that an Order of mine, given in the manner you mention might be superceeded by the Comm<sup>r</sup> in Chief; or by any officer that may take the command of the Division — Perhaps I may be removed tomorrow, to some other Division the commanding officer of this may undoubtedly alter every regulation I have made in it. I mean he may (by his own authority) without consulting Col. Antill or any other Persons. But the true Quest<sup>n</sup> is, whether I can order a man from y<sup>r</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> to join the Artillery without informing any Person how long I mean he shall remain there? & whether I cannot keep him there so long as I command the division, unless the Comm<sup>r</sup> in chief orders the contrary: An Officer who is puzzled to answer this Quest<sup>n</sup> must give every military man a poor opinion of his Knowledge in military matters; as every one knows that no army can exist without it forms a perfect despotism & ev<sup>ry</sup> person who enters it (except the Comm<sup>r</sup> in chief) agrees to Sacrifice his natural Liberties for a season to secure peace to the state & freedom to his fellow Citizens: But my patience will not suffer me to say more on this Subject: I now give you fair warning not to say anything more to me upon the Subject or to discourse of it in the Division; as I am determined not to have my Authority call'd in Question & if I ever hear that it is, as I shall undoubtedly give a Specimen of my power with respect to Cap<sup>t</sup> Parmely I shall appoint a court martial to try him when I please & then either approve or disapprove the sentence as I think proper & if he or you or any other officer think themselves aggrieved by my Con-

duct, You may petition the Comm<sup>r</sup> in Chief, who alone can give you redress by removing you or me from the Division or by punishing me if I have abused my Power, the extent of which I think I have not now to learn.

An exact Copy

Eustace A. D. Camp

[*Col. Timothy Pickering to Gen. Sullivan, Aug. 17, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Head Quarters near the Cross Roads in  
Pennsylvania, August 17, 1777.

*Sir* His Excellency Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington earnestly desires that regular weekly returns may be made of every division & corps of the army. I rec<sup>d</sup> a return of your division dated the 7<sup>th</sup> instant, but it shewed only the force of each brigade: The Commander in Chief wishes to have the returns more particular; and that the strength of each regiment may also appear in the returns. You will be pleased to give your orders accordingly.

[*Gov. William Livingston of New Jersey to Gen. Sullivan, Aug. 19, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Morris Town 19 Aug<sup>t</sup> 1777

*Dear Sir* I have sufficient Evidence to believe that a constant Communication and commercial Intercourse has for a considerable time past, been held by many of the County of Essex. That those communications have

been principally supported by means of Flaggs & Passports obtained from divers officers of the Army belonging to the united States, who for some time past have been stationed at Elizabeth Town, Newark, & other places in that Neighbourhood.

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

It is made capital by an Act of our Legislature for any Subject of this state to go into the Enemy's Lines with a Passport from any officer under the Rank of a Brigadier General of the continental Army or of our militia, or of the Governor of this state.

To prevent the further abuse of those Flags by the officers of our militia, I have given the strictest orders, and issued a Proclamation for the Purpose. I have also represented the Matter to his Excellency General Washington, that he may take such measure to discour-

tenance the Practice in the officers under his Command as he shall think best calculated to answer the End.

I am credibly informed that no Person is guilty of a greater Prostitution of Passports than Doctor Barnet a Captain of Horse, who is not a little suspected of Disaffection. He is at all Events a very improper person to be trusted with blank Flaggs, (as I am told he is) being much addicted to strong drink, & having very little Discretion when sober.

If he has any of those blanks from you, I hope you will caution him against using them for the future but upon the most important occasion, & indeed I believe it was not the Intent of our Law that the persons thereby authorized to grant Passports should delegate that Power to any other, it being a personal Trust reposed in them, who from their stations the Law presumed would always use it with Prudence — I do not pretend that our Legislature supposed that the officers of the Army of the united States wanted any Authority from them to grant Flaggs, but they have made it felony for the Subjects of this state to go with any other than the Act has appointed, which they had a right to do, and consequently any inferior officer granting them, thereby deludes the person into a capital Crime —

You will excuse my earnestness on this Subject as I am a daily witness of the inexpressible mischiefs resulting from the Abuse I complain of.

[Addressed] To Major General Sullivan At Hannover

[*Gen. Washington to Gen. Sullivan, Aug. 22, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Neshamin Camp, Bucks County,

Aug. 22: 1777 Sunset

*D<sup>r</sup> Sir* By an Express this minute come to hand from Congress, we are informed, General How's Fleet is arrived in Chesepeak Bay and are high up in the North East part of It. I have inclosed a Copy of the dispatches upon the Subject, to which I refer you. You will immediately march with your Division and join this Army, proceeding with all convenient expedition, but not in such a manner as to injure the Troops. You will cross the Delaware at Coriels Ferry and avoid Philadelphia in your March down; you will be under a necessity of passing near It, but I would wish you not to halt so near it, that the Troops can straggle into the City.

P. S. The Inclosed Letter for Col<sup>o</sup> Dayton, you will send him by Express —

I was this day favoured with Two of Your Letters. The Subject respecting your Brother, Capt<sup>n</sup> Sullivan, is now before Congress. Two or three days ago, I referred it to them a Second Time.

[Addressed] On public service To Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan at Camp near Morris Town

[Enclosure.]

*Sir*, I embrace the earliest moment of giving you the most authentic account of the Enemies fleet & their motions since their Arrival in Chesapeak Bay — the fleet arrived this Morning between the hours of seven & eight O'Clock off Swan Island, which lies directly between Rockhall & the River Potapseco and dropt

anchor — from the best information we have been able to procure their Number is upward of 100 sail. It is uncertain as the tide is strong ebb whether they intend to Baltimore or further up the Bay; their Number is continually encreasing; there are a great number of Cattle which I am afraid must fall into the Enemy's hands —

50 Minutes past 4 P. M. This moment rec<sup>d</sup> a Letter from a Gentleman of veracity & attachment to the Country from Swan Point 2 O'Clock P. M., he had just then returned from viewing the fleet, which he is certain is near 200 in number. He says they all came to against Swan Point about 1 O'Clock P. M. and is certain they will land on this Shore to Night or tomorrow morning as they are near the Land; there is a Number of small Craft around them and they seem crowded with Men — Cannon are continually firing at Baltimore — Our Militia is in a very disordered State, Our Law relating to it is not yet executed. Nothing but speedy Relief from Congress can save us —

I am Your humble Serv<sup>t</sup>

William Bordley

August 21, 4 O'Clock P. M.

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to Gen. Washington, Aug. 24, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Washington Papers, Library of Congress.]

Hanover August 24th 1777

*Dear General* The Enemy having made a Descent upon Woodbridge from Staten Island & Taken about twelve of the Inhabitants and a hundred head of Cattle I Thought it would not be amiss to make Reprisals. I was Sensible that the Least movement of my Troops

that way would alarm the Disaffected who would Soon Communicate it to Staten Island. I therefore gave out That I had received orders to march toward Philadelphia & ordered my Troops to march the 21<sup>st</sup> Instant at Two of Clock P.M. for Elizabeth Town Taking only those who were the most active & best able to Endure a march. I ordered Col<sup>o</sup> Ogden with his & Col<sup>o</sup> Dayton's Regiment (Col<sup>o</sup> Dayton being absent) to march opposite old Blazing Star Ferry where they were to be Joined by a hundred of the Jersey militia — he was to Cross from thence So as to Land up the Fresh Kill & Surround Col<sup>o</sup> Lawrence's Reg<sup>t</sup> which Lay at the Ferry — he was then to march across So as to cutt off the Retreat of Col<sup>o</sup> Duncans & Col<sup>o</sup> Allens Regiments & in Case he found their Force too great for him he was to take an advantageous post & hold them in play till Reinforced by me. My Troops were to Cross at Halseys point & one Division to Attack Colo Buskirk who Lay at the Dutch Church near Decker's Ferry & the other Division to proceed to the New Blazing Star to Attack Col<sup>o</sup> Bartons Regiment Each Division Leaving a Regiment at the Fork of the Road to Cover the partys Destined to the attack — when we had Compleated the Rout of those Regiments we were to proceed toward the old Blazing Star to Pick up Such parties as might Escape Col<sup>o</sup> Ogden and form a Junction with him to Compleat the Reduction of the Regiments Commanded by Duncan Lawrence & Allen if it remained to be done on our arrival — in pursuance of this plan both Divisions Crossed over before Day without any Discovery & marched to the Posts assigned them. Col<sup>o</sup> Ogden with his party got Round Lawrence before Day Light & after Day we heard his firing which was Severe but Lasted a very Little Time. The Col<sup>o</sup> Charged them at once which put an End to their opposition — he as well

as his officers behaved with great Prudence as well as Bravery. Several of his officers who Distinguished themselves more particularly he Desired me to mention to your Excellency: but receiving your Excellencys orders Last Evening I Instantly repaired to this place to prepare for marching which prevented me from ascertaining their names. I will Take the Freedom to mention them to your Excellency as Soon as I see the Col<sup>o</sup> & obtain their names — while this was Doing in that Quarter General Smallwood marched with his Division to attack Col<sup>o</sup> Buskirk where he found the 52<sup>d</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> British Incamped with Buskirks Reg<sup>t</sup>. This was Quite Contrary to all the Intelligence we had received — he however Endeavoured to throw himself between them & their Forts & bring them to Action but being Deceived by his Guide they Ran off across a Bridge Leaving the British Standard behind them with all their Stores Tents &c — he Destroyed the Tents Burnt Six of their vessels Took a Large Quantity of Baggage arms &c. Some of the officers were so much Frightened as to Run off without their Cloathes which were Secured. General De Borres Brigade marched Down to Attack Col<sup>o</sup> Barton who Drew up his men & after firing a few Shot Ran off Toward the Ferry — we followed them very Close but unfortunately Several Boats Laid at the Ferry which they Took & Rowed off, Some to the Jersey Shore & Some into Cricks where we could not Come at them — we however secured the Col<sup>o</sup> with a number of his men to the amount I think of 40 — we Took a Considerable number of Arms Blankets & hats as also a Considerable Quantity of Baggage — we then march<sup>d</sup> up to form our Junction with Col<sup>o</sup> Ogden who we found had Taken Lawrence with three Captains one Lieu<sup>t</sup> 2 Ensigns & eighty Privates with a Large Quantity of Stores & a Sloop

Loaded — the Several parties Took a great number of Horses & Cattle — when I was at the New Blazing Star I Sent off a Searjant with Two men to order the Boatmen to Bring up the Boats with the mens Packs to the old Blazing Star Ferry but they having Seen the Sloop taken by Col<sup>o</sup> Ogden under Sail Coming up the Sound Supposed it a Tender & Run the Boats up into the River which prevented the messenger from Finding them — we had at the old Blazing Star but three Boats — my Troops had marched fifty one miles & Crossed a ferry from Two of Clock afternoon of the preceeding Day to Twelve that Day besides the amazing Fatigue they had in Running through Marshes & woods to Secure prisoners & Cattle & being Disappointed of provisions I found it necessary to Cross the River as Quick as possible as I saw the Enemy might take advantage by attacking my Rear. This Being a Difficulty I could by no means avoid unless by Expedition in Crossing my Troops I began it immediately & had almost accomplished it when I Discovered the Enemy in full march to attack the Rear — they had Carefully kept out of Sight till they found most of our troops had Crossed & then had the Resolution to march up to attack our Rear Guard of a hundred men Comanded by Majors Taillard & Steward but they Soon found that Disparity of numbers could not Intimmidate those Brave officers & men for though they had Collected the whole Force of the Island Consisting of the 52<sup>d</sup> & part of the 57th British Two Reg<sup>ts</sup> of Anspanchers one of . . . & part of Seven Reg<sup>ts</sup> New Recruits the Brave Little force Drew up upon an Eminence Reserved their Fire till they were near up to them then gave them So well Directed a Fire that they broke & Run in the utmost Confusion — our party after giving them Several Fires retired to another Eminence from which they repulsed

them Several times & then retired to another which they held against the utmost Efforts of the Large Body till their ammuniti<sup>o</sup>n was totally Expended. I had Drawn up the Troops on this side to annoy the Enemy in Flank while I Sent over two Boats to bring them off but the Boatmen were so frightened by their Field pieces that they would not Cross Though I ordered our people from this Shore to fire upon them to Drive them over they Rowed out in the middle of the Sound & could not be prevailed upon to come to one side or the other. The officers Seeing this Thought proper to Surrender with about forty men. The Rest made their Escape Some by Swimming & others by going to Amboy where I Sent to provide a Boat for them. This would have been all our Loss had not the Enemy picked up a number of Straglers who notwithstanding the vigilance of their officers found means to get out of Their Ranks & Fall in the Rear. M<sup>r</sup> Skinner Sent a Flag to me yesterday proposing an Exchange of prisoners & Inclosed a List of those taken by them Consisting of three majors viz Steward Taillard & Woodson one Captain 3 Lieu<sup>ts</sup> 2 Ensigns one Surgeon & a hundred twenty Seven privates So that in Prisoners they have nearly Ballanced the accounts with us — we have taken two Lieu<sup>t</sup> Col<sup>o</sup> Commodants 3 Captains two Lieu<sup>t</sup> 2 Ensigns 1 Surgeon one Searj<sup>nt</sup> Major 4 Searj<sup>nts</sup> 2 Corporals 2 Drum & Fife & about 130 privates — they in their Late Incur<sup>sions</sup> Took twelve whigs — we have Taken twenty Eight Tories — we had about ten men killed and fifteen wounded two of which Dangerously — among the former is Captain Heron of Col<sup>o</sup> Hazens Reg<sup>t</sup> whose bravery could Scarcely be parrelled. I have not been able to ascertain the Number of Killed & wounded of the Enemy. I hear it is very great & from my own observation I think in the Course of the Day They must

have had at Least four hundred killed & wounded & among the wounded are Col<sup>o</sup> Duncan & Col<sup>o</sup> Barnes both mortally besides the Loss of their vessels Stores Baggage Arms Tents &c and also A Large Quantity of Hay they had Collected which we Destroyed.

Much Credit is Due to both officers & Soldiers for their Conduct Through the whole of the Expedition — their Silence in passing over the Sound & on their march their Eagerness to Engage & their patience under Fatigue Exceeds Description — the Enemy were So Sensible of this that they did not dare to Look them in the face till they found but a Small number could act the others being prevented by the River from punishing their Insolence & Even from this Little party they found a resistance Seldom Equalled & never Exceeded by any Troops — this the officer who came with the Flag was candid Enough to acknowledge. I have Consented to the Exchange — hope your Excellency will approve it out of Regard to the Bravery of the officers & Soldiers of the party Engaged who cannot well be Distinguished from the others who were Captured by their own Imprudence.

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to Gen. Washington, Aug. 24, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Washington Papers, Library of Congress.]

Hanover 24<sup>th</sup> Aug<sup>t</sup> 1777

*Dear General* I have to Inform y<sup>r</sup> Excellency that Col<sup>o</sup> Antill gave us the Slip Day before yesterday & went over to the Enemy — his Brother officers Say they have Long Since Suspected his Intentions from the whole Tenor of his Conduct — I found a Number of papers of Intelligence among the Baggage of the officers

which Shall take Care to forward to y<sup>r</sup> Excellency as Soon as Sorted — among the Rest is a paper of Information from the Quakers at their yearly meeting at Spank Town held the 19th Instant giving an Account of Our Army where it Lay & the force in the Several Departments — I Shall march tomorrow & Join y<sup>r</sup> Exc<sup>y</sup> with all possible Expedition. I hope y<sup>r</sup> Exc<sup>y</sup> will Defer beating Howes Army that my Division may have a share of the honor

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to John Hancock, Aug. 25, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Continental Congress Papers, No. 160, Library of Congress.]

Hanover August 25<sup>th</sup> 1777

*Dear Sir* Among the Baggage Taken on Staten Island the 2<sup>n</sup><sup>d</sup> Instant I find a Number of Important papers a Copy of these I Inclose for the Perusal of Congress — The one from the yearly meeting at Spank Town held the 19th Ins<sup>t</sup> I think worthy the attention of Congress. I have often heard that the Quakers at their meetings Collected Intelligence & forwarded to the Enemy. This I made no Difficulty in beleiving as it Exactly Corresponded with the whole Tenor of their Conduct — but The paper Referred to puts it beyond Doubt in my mind — if this be the Case That those people under pretence of worshipping the Deity Employ their time in Collecting Intelligence for the Enemy I will venture to pronounce them the most Dangerous Enemies America knows & Such as have it in their power to Distress the Country more than all the Collected Force of Britain while they are themselves in no kind of Danger being always Covered with that Hypocritical Cloak of Religion under which they have with Im-

punity So Long Acted the part of Inveterate Enemies to their Country. Congress will pardon me when I give it as my opinion that This Extensive Continent can never be Defended while Such a Channel of Intelligence is open to the Enemy an Army Equal to those Raised by the Princes of persia would not be Sufficient to guard Every part against the Attacks of an Army So Inconsiderable as M<sup>r</sup> Howe<sup>s</sup> if he always knew where to Strike with Safety our only Security Lays in his not knowing where to Strike with Certainty; but if Those persons are Suffered to meet & give Information he can be at no Loss — for at Those meetings they have persons from almost Every State & almost Every County on the Continent. Each one knows the weakness of the part he comes from, knows what Troops are in motion & what in Garrison & how Situated So that by Comparing accounts and Summing up the whole they have the whole force of the Continent before them at one view — This being Communicated to the Enemy they know where to make their attacks with a moral Certainty of Success — To prevent this in future I think worthy the attention of the Guardians of American Freedom — I have a great aversion to Interfering with the Religious principles of any Set of men but when we find That their Religious meetings are Prostituted to the Base purposes of betraying their Country Every principle of Policy & the Laws of Self preservation Dictate That Those pernicious meetings Should not be Suffered in future at Least while we are at war with a people whose cause They Espouse & to whom they openly profess the most Sincere friendship.

P S The other paper I think I Shall Soon be able to Discover to Congress the Author

[*Gen. Washington to Gen. Sullivan, Aug. 27, 1777.*]

[Writings of George Washington, Ford, vol. 6, p. 54.]

Wilmington, 27 August, 1777.

*Sir*, I have received your two favors, both of the 24th, informing me of the particulars of an expedition you have lately made to Staten Island. It is unfortunate that an affair which had so prosperous a beginning should have terminated so disagreeably as in a great measure to defeat the good consequences that might have attended it. I am, however, glad to hear that the officers and men distinguished themselves by their good behavior, and if there are any who behaved more remarkably well than others I should be happy to take all the notice of them, consistent with propriety, that their conduct may appear to merit. I am not sufficiently acquainted with circumstances to form a certain judgment of what might have been expected from this expedition, but from the view I have of them, and from your own representation of the matter, the situation of the enemy seems to have been such as afforded an opportunity of reaping much more decisive advantages than were in fact gained.

As your division must no doubt have been greatly harrassed in this movement their health might be very much injured by pressing them too hard in their march to join me. I would, therefore, wish you to spare them as much as may be necessary to avoid that inconvenience; at the same time there ought to be no delay but what a proper attention to the health and accommodation of the men really demands.

[*Gen. Arthur St. Clair to Gen. Sullivan, Aug. 30, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Philadelphia Aug<sup>t</sup> 30<sup>th</sup> 1777

*Sir* I have seen your Letter to M<sup>r</sup> Loudon prefatory to that of M<sup>r</sup> Livius to you.— Various have been the Sentiments with respect to the concluding Paragraph, but it has been generally supposed to contain an Insinuation that the Officer to whom the Defence of Tyconderoga was committed was not Trustworthy, and intended to convey that Idea. — I would not wish to misunderstand it, nor to put a forced Construction upon it — it is therefore left to yourself to explain, and that Explanation, whatever it is, I expect you will be good enough to send me by the Bearer. The Gentleman is one of my Aids de Camp and will wait for it.

---

[*James Sullivan to Gen. Sullivan, Sept. 3, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Boston 3<sup>d</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup> 1777

*My Dear General* I have just heard of your descent upon Staten Island and am glad to hear that you have returned in safety — your good Lady & Family are well I have heard constantly that you are in an ill state of health, but that by a Strict Regimen you are mending

I inclose you two or three papers theres not much in them but they may serve as a moments amusement — a Ship arrived yesterday with 12,900 Bushels of salt & other goods taken by the Tyrannicide a Massachusetts Brig several of our public Vessels have arrived within this Day or two from France and Spain with Cloathing

Tents and arms one has 10,000 Stg of Duch Cordage &c — the stores imported by the Massachusetts Board of War are immense — the ship first mentioned had papers as late as the 6th June they are now before me but not within my power to send — Lord North assured the house that the Army in america has Succeeded well “several Provinces being reduced to their allegiance and many others ready to submit” the lies wrote to them from officers and tories are really Surprising they have not the least doubt that we are already Conquered — the Earl of Chatham on the 29 of may made a motion for a petition to his majesty to Settle the american dispute but it was made in Such a manner as would Show that unless we would accede to their proposals they were ruined — it was rejected by a Large Majority.

the inclosed Strictures were written before S<sup>t</sup> Clair was arrested and were intended for the press but upon a determination to try these officers that matter subsided you will take them as they are and I wish that there was no foundation for them. We are at a loss to know or determine what is truth respecting Tyconderoga Schuylers Letter to N York Convention says that St Clair had 5000 men in health well armed Cloathed and a plenty of provisions to Congress he writes that the army was then naked and unarmed — officers differ in their accounts and all is doubt and uncertainty —

You know that you are armed the N Hampshire Troops 4000 stand Compleat went from Massachusetts there with Cloathing packs and other necessaries our Council are preparing a state of our Supplies to Lay before Congress where by it will appear to demonstra- tion that the Northern Generals have much abused us

## [Order of Battle.]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]



The order of Battle is to be agreeable to the above plan — Morgans Rifle Corps is to form upon the left of the Maryland Militia — & Weebs Reg<sup>t</sup> upon the right of the Pens<sup>a</sup> Militia — These Corps & the Militia (who are to act in Detachments, and not in a solid or compact Body) are to skirmish & harrass the Enemy as much as possible taking expecial care to gain their flank & Rear if possible —

Blands & Baylors Reg<sup>ts</sup> of Light Dragoons are to be annexed to the Right wing & by smal Detachments to

watch the movements of the Enemy — Give intelligence thereof and see that the Enemy do not gain our Flanks without their knowledg —

Moylands & Sheldons Reg<sup>ts</sup> are to be annexed to the Left wing for the same purpose —

The Horse are to draw up in the Intervals between the Continental & Militia upon the Right & Left of each Wing —

The Park of Artillery to be Divided between the Wings in the Rear of the front Line —

---

[*Order of March. In Handwriting of Gen. Sullivan.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

*To his Excellency General Washington Commander in Chief of The American Army —*

Pursuant to your Excellencys orders we have Considered upon a proper order of March for the Army in Crossing The Schulkil & Recommend That the Troops march in the Following order viz

1<sup>st</sup> Maryland Brigade

2<sup>d</sup> D<sup>o</sup>

1<sup>st</sup> Pensylvania

2<sup>d</sup> D<sup>o</sup>

Poor

Maxwell

Conway

Woodford

Scott

Huntington

Varnum

North Carolinians

Glover

Learned

Patterson  
 Weeden  
 Mulenburg  
 Maryland Militia

The Baggage Stores and Park of Artillery to Cross at Sweeds Ford Setting off at Least two Hours before the Army marches — The Baggage to march in the following order viz — 1<sup>st</sup> Quarter-masters Stores 2<sup>dly</sup> Commiss<sup>y</sup>s Stores 3<sup>dly</sup> The Baggage of the Respective Brigades in the Same order as the Troops march: The whole to be preceded by the Artillery Park & attended by The Artificers of the Army one Brigade to Cross before the Army & pass down Some miles towards the Enemy on the other Side Schullkill & take post on the Road Leading from the middle Ferry between The Enemy & the Main Army Two Covering parties of five hundred men Each to pass Down the Ridge Road & German Town Roads to watch the motions of the Enemy one Regiment of Horse to go with Each of these parties The other two Regiments to march in Front of the main Army

---

[*Orders to Gen. Sullivan.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Lord Sterlings Division to move on to Westfield Gap & Observe the Motions of the Enemy, & in case they move more Northerly this Division is to move paralell to them, so as to secure the passes farther on the left

Gen<sup>l</sup> Parsons & Gen<sup>l</sup> Varnum's Brigades are to take post near the scotch plain Gap & brown Town Gap, & be in such position as to Guard these two passes & in the case above if Lord Sterling is oblig'd to move further to the left, they are to follow him & possess the Ground he leaves

Gen<sup>l</sup> Lincoln's Division is to take post at the two Gaps leading from Quibble Town over the Mountain, Guard the Hills there & move to the left in case of the above necessity for it

Gen<sup>l</sup> Stephen will order Gen<sup>l</sup> Woodfords Brigade to Guard the Passes & Hills from Quibble town Gap to the Right of this Camp as far as Steel's Gap & farther if necessary

Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan's Division as they are farthest advanced, will take post in the Center of the Rear of Lord Stirlings & Gen<sup>l</sup> Parsons & move on Paralell with them & sustain them

Gen<sup>l</sup> Green will take Post in the Center of the Rear of Gen<sup>l</sup> Lincoln's & Gen<sup>l</sup> Stephen's & move on Paralell with them & sustain them

This order to be executed immediately on the receipt of it. Tents & baggage to be left behind.

Tim. Pickering Adj't Gen<sup>l</sup>

[Addressed] To The Hon'ble Major General Sullivan

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to Gen. Washington, Sept. 11, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Washington Papers, Library of Congress.]

Brintons Ford Sep<sup>r</sup> 11<sup>th</sup> 1777

*D<sup>r</sup> General* Since I Sent you the message by Major Morris I Saw Major Joseph Spear of the Militia who Came This morning from a Tavern Called Martins on the Forks of Brandywine — he Came from thence to Welches Tavern & heard nothing of the Enemy about the Forks of the Brandywine & is Confident they are not in that Quarter So that Col<sup>o</sup> Hazens Information must be wrong. I have Sent to that Quarter to know whether there is any foundation for the Report & shall give y<sup>r</sup> Exc<sup>y</sup> the Earliest Information.

[*Resolve of Congress Sept. 14, 1777.*]

[Journals of the Continental Congress, vol. 8, p. 742.]

*Resolved* That General Sullivan be recalled from the army until the enquiry heretofore ordered into his conduct shall be duly made.

[*Action of Congress Sept. 16, 1777.*]

[Journals of the Continental Congress, vol. 8, p. 749.]

Congress took into consideration the letter of 15 from General Washington: Whereupon it was moved

“That the execution of the resolution of Congress for the recall of General Sullivan from the army in the present critical situation of affairs be left to the discretion of General Washington until further orders:”  
Whereupon

An amendment was offered by way of addition in the following words: “And that Congress submit to the discretion of General Washington whether it would not be adviseable to place the Maryland and Delaware troops under the command of some other major general, it being at the request of the delegates of those states?”

The question put on the amendment:

*New Hampshire,* Mr. Folsom, no.

*Massachusetts Bay,* Mr. S. Adams, no.

J. Adams, no.

Gerry, no.

Lovell, no.

*Rhode Island,* Mr. Marchant, no.

*Connecticut,* Mr. Dyer, no.

Williams, no.

Law, no.

*New Jersey,* Mr. Elmer, no.

<i>Pennsylvania,</i>	Mr. Morris, no. Roberdeau, no.
<i>Delaware,</i>	Mr. Reed, ay.
<i>Maryland,</i>	Mr. Chase, ay. W. Smith, ay.
<i>Virginia,</i>	Mr. Harrison, no. Jones, no. R. H. Lee, no.
<i>North Carolina,</i>	Mr. Burke, no. Penn, no.
<i>South Carolina,</i>	Mr. Laurens, no.
<i>Georgia,</i>	Mr. Walton, no. Brownson, ay.

So it passed in the negative.

The question was put on the original motion and agreed to.

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to Gen. Washington, no date. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society]

*Dear General* Col<sup>o</sup> Bland has this moment Sent me word that the Enemy are in the Rear of my Right about two miles Coming Down — there is he Says about two Brigades of them.

2 of Clock p m

he also Says he Saw a Dust Rise back in the Country for above an hour

---

[*Gen. Washington to Gen. Sullivan, Sept. 20, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Camp near Fatland Ford 20<sup>th</sup> Sept<sup>r</sup> 1777.

*Dr Sir,* In answer to your fav<sup>r</sup> and request of yesterday, I wish it was in my power to give you the compleat

satisfaction you desire — but how is it possible? — I saw nothing of the disposition you had made, not getting up till the action was, in a manner over; & then, employed in hurrying on a reinforcement, and looking out a fresh ground to form the Troops on, which, by this time, were beginning to give way. —

To certifie what I have heard this, or that officer say, respecting your conduct, could answer no valuable purpose, nor the end you have in view — Some have condemn'd your disposition tho time perhaps w<sup>d</sup> not allow a better but none have accused you of want of bravery, & exertion, that I have heard of.

---

[*Gen. Washington to Gen. Sullivan, Sept. 20, 1777. Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Near Fatland Ford 20<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup> 1777

*Dear Sir* As it seems most probable to me that the Enemy will ford the River upon our Right, I desire you will immediately send parties to break up those Obstructions in the landing places of all the Fords from Richardsons at least as high as Parkers where we crossed yesterday. Advise the officers who superintend, not to neglect such as the Country people tell them are difficult, because at such places the Enemy will be most likely to pass, thinking we shall pay least attention to them. Let a Subaltern and twelve Men constantly remain at each of Fords to give Notice of the approach of the Enemy, and besides these keep a small party or two under proper officers upon the left Wing of the Enemy, to see that they do not steal a march upon our right. Any other precautions that seem, in your opinion,

best calculated to prevent a surprise you will please to put in practice.

P. S. Col<sup>o</sup> Moylan will keep parties of Horse constantly over the River —

[Addressed] To Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan near Richardsons Ford.

---

[*Gen. Adam Stephen to Gen. Sullivan, Sept. 20, 1777. Copy.*]

[Weare Papers, N. H. Historical Society, vol. 4, p. 39.]

Camp near Flatland Ford Sept<sup>r</sup> 20 1777 —

*Dear Sir*, I am astonished, at a Report in Camp, whispering, that you are Suspended, by a Resolve of Congress; and That your Intention is to resign. — It is alarming to me, and I suppose to ev'ry Officer of Spirit, & Reputation: — If the Congress have taken upon themselves to suspend you; they seem to have forgotten from whence the present Evil, partly, Originated; Namely the Determination of British Government, to Condemn Americans without being heard —

I would rejoice to see that August Assembly Command respect from all the Nations of the Earth; But this is only to be Obtained by a steady, & Uniform Conduct, keeping constantly in View the Principles, on which we set out. — It is said that it is for your Behaviour on Staten Island, or at the Battle of Brandywine by what I hear from the Officers on the Island with you. — The descent on the Island was a well conducted Enterprize, and does you Credit — Had the boats got over in time, the last trip, it would have been perfectly compleat — Supposing your Conduct blameable — You were to be tryed, & Arrested by a General C<sup>t</sup> Martial

King George the 2nd who was a great Officer, did not take upon him to suspend Lord George Sackville, who was sent home under Arrest by Prince Ferdinand, and tried at the Horse Guards — At the Action near Birmingham Meeting House; I was with you when it began, and found you as compos'd as I have seen you when passing an Evening at Chatham in last January.

I was then two Months, under your immediate Command, when you procur'd the best Intelligence of any in the Army, & I had an opportunity of Observing your Coolness, when the Enemy came out against us near Benam Town, at Prospect Hill, and upon the whole I assure you without flattery, to which I am a Stranger, There is not a Major General in the Army, under whose Command, or with whose Assistance, I would Conduct an Enterprize, sooner, than Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan's. Pray let me know matters by the bearer, and do not entertain a thought of resigning: Consider what the state of New Hampshire would say of your Resignation, whose brave Militia under Gen<sup>l</sup> Stark have lately so eminently distinguished themselves. —

P. S. You talk of resigning, General; reflect on your noble Retreat from Canada, which does you, & the Officers Concern'd, the greatest Honour — I scarcely know a retreat that is superior it exceeds Marshall Broglios from Prague —

---

[*Gen. Washington to Gen. Sullivan, Sept. 23, 1777. Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

*Dear Sir* I have just receiv'd your Letter requesting a Court of Enquiry to morrow or next day which I most readily agree to provided the Situation of the

Army renders it practicable, but this I much doubt as I think it highly probable we shall March some distance to morrow

Head Q<sup>rs</sup> Tuesday Even<sup>g</sup> 23<sup>d</sup> Sept<sup>r</sup> 1777 —

[Addressed] The Hon'ble Major General Sullivan  
New Hanover

---

[*Major William Willcocks to Gen. Sullivan, Sept. 25, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Revolution Collection, Library of Congress.]

Camp New Hanover Sep<sup>r</sup> 25<sup>th</sup> 1777.

*Sir*, Your letter of the 24<sup>th</sup> instant has deprived me of the pleasure of doing an unsolicited favor, for antecedent to the reception of it, I had determined, so far as my influence, and knowledge of facts enabled me, to rescue your reputation, from the undeserved calumny thrown upon it by the captious and ungenerous multitude. And to convince you, that my declarations are entirely uninfluenced by any thing which has passed between us, since the day of action, I have the further satisfaction to assure you, that in retiring from the field, I more than once expressed the highest sense of your personal bravery, and great activity in rallying the troops.

With respect to the management of the army, you must be sensible, it was out of my province to know, by whom it was determined, and of course, on whose shoulders, the censure, if any was incurr'd, ought to fall. But this circumstance may undoubtedly be ascertained from Lord Sterling, and the other General officers in the fight. As your Division took its place in the line, — after you had seen them, I always supposed it to have been the result of counsel. The Enemy by

good luck, or perhaps policy, made their attack before the intended disposition of your Division, which in my opinion was remarkably advantageous, could be carried into execution. It was therefore rather to be considered as unfortunate, than ill judged, and not to be laid at the door of any particular officer. But Sir, whatever turn the scale of history (by the by let me digress to observe that the Victory was ours, and the Ground the enemy's) whether accident, or design, — like the antient usage of the Jews, some sacrifice must be made to the people, and it is not less frequent, than to be lamented, that in the military department, the man who may have embarked every thing in the common bottom, and bravely, but without success, defended in person his Country's cause, is more liable to become the Victim, than the fortunate coward, or the clamorous pretender.

The place which I have the honor to hold in the army naturally gave me, the best opportunity of observing the behavior of every General officer, in the center of the line, and to my great concern, I saw you and my Lord Sterling, with General Conway, from the commencement of the action, untill you were deserted almost by every man, ride from right to left encouraging and driving the soldiers to their duty, till the enemy were pouring a severe fire on both flanks and pressing on with charged Bayonets in front. Some time before this I thought you had exceeded the bounds both of Prudence and courage.

Be assured Sir, that I claim little merit in the above narration, for I defy any man who was a witness of your conduct to gainsay it. Whatever others may say must be the effect of Caprice, or ungenerous prepossessions.

[*Col. Matthias Ogden to Gen. Sullivan. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

*Dear Sir/* As you are in my opinion verry unjustly censured for your conduct respecting the Statten Island expedition, I cannot in justice to you, or the publick service, omit presenting you with my narrative of the affair which if you please, you may make publick — I do not mean to call in question the proceeding of the honorable Congress. I doubt not they have been imposed on by a misrepresentation of facts, other wise they would not have ordered a court of enquiry; I am certain it is not their intention to injure the character of an Officer for not being successfull — The plan ordered by you after consulting those Gentlemen (in whom you could confide,) that were best acquainted with the Island & the situation of the enemy was this — That Generals Smallwood & D<sup>e</sup> Borre should cross at Halsteads point, the former to attack Buskirk at the Dutch Church & the latter Barton, at New Blazing Star — I was to cross at the old Blazing Star with the first & third Jersey Reg<sup>ts</sup> & a part of the Militia & attack the Reg<sup>ts</sup> of Lawrence, Dongan, & Allen — which if I found an overmatch. I was to take post on advantageous ground & wait untill I was supported by a Reg<sup>t</sup> from Gen<sup>l</sup> D Borre which Reg<sup>t</sup> in case I drove the enemy were to head them & pick up the stragglers — one Reg<sup>t</sup> from Gen<sup>l</sup> Smallwood was to be left for the same purpose at the Cross Road above, & to take up those that should excape Gen<sup>l</sup> De Borre, after which the whole of your Division was to join, & march to where I had crossed & where you were to recross —

This Plan to me appeared well concerted & perfectly consistent, the Officers on my part, performed every

duty required, or expected, they routed the enemy & made many of them Prisoners, with very little loss — how far the Officers of your division executed their part I cannot pretend to say, tho this I am certain of — that the loss of most of the men was owing to the carelessness of the Officers commanding platoons in suffering their men to fall out of their places, those that were last with the rear guard sold themselves dear and their being exposed was unavoidable —

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to John Hancock, Sept. 27, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Continental Congress Papers, No. 160, Library of Congress.]

Camp on Perkeomi September 27<sup>th</sup> 1777

*Much Esteemed Sir* I have Long been Soliciting for a Court of Inquirey into my Conduct in the Expedition against Staten Island. I had applied to the Commander in Chief for one before I knew Congress had ordered it But Such has been the State of our Army that I have not been able to obtain one, & know not when I Shall have it in my power — I however take the Freedom to Transmit Congress Copies of the Testimonies I mean to Lay before the Court which beg Congress to peruse & they can be at no Loss what must be the Result of an Impartial Court. I have also Inclosed a Copy of Major Taylors Infamous Letter Read in Congress which when Compared with the Inclosed Testimonies Congress will find false in all its parts — I must Confess it gave me much pain when I found that the Infamous Letters of two or three Disaffected & Mutinous & worthless officers Should have So much weight with Congress as to Induce them to order a Court of Inquiry upon me & publish to the world that they had So

done which must at Least Show forth a Strong Suspicion of Guilt or misconduct. I am however happy in the assurance that the Evidence will Remove Every Suspicion from the minds of the members of Congress & from the Court if Ever I Should be happy Enough to obtain one & I Shall take the proper Steps to Remove the Effects from the minds of Americans at Large —

I was Ever at a Loss to find what great Evil happened from this Expedition unless a Spirit of Enterprize is Deemed a fault if So I think it will need but few Resolves of Congress to Destroy what remains of it in our army. In this Expedition we Landed on an Island possessed by the Enemy put to Rout Six Regiments Killed wounded & made prisoners at Least four or five hundred of the Enemy vanquished Every party that Collected against us Destroyed them Large Quantities of Stores took one vessel & Destroyed Six or Seven more took a Considerable number of Arms Blankets &c with many Cattle Horses &c marched victorious Through the Island & in the whole Course of the Day Lost not more than a hundred & fifty men most of which were Lost by the imprudence of themselves & officers. Some few Indeed were Lost by Cross accidents which no human Foresight Could have prevented — whether Congress will take any Steps against persons who have thus Scandalously Imposed their Falsehoods upon them I Shall not Inquire. I find it necessary for me to take the proper Steps to do myself Justice which I know the Impartial part of mankind will Justify — I was Still more astonished to find that upon the vague Report of a Single person who pretends to know all about the Late Battle of Brandywine (Though I am Confident he Saw but Little of it) Congress Should Suddenly pass a Resolve to Suspend me

from the Service which Resolve was afterward Rescinded: If the Reputation of General officers is thus to be Sported with upon Every vague & Idle Report Those who Set Less by their Reputation than myself must Continue in the Service — Nothing can be more mortifying in a man who is Conscious of having Done Every thing in his power for the good of his Country has wasted his Strength & often Exposed his Life in the Service of it Than to find the Representatives Thereof Instead of Bestowing on him the Reward of his Services Loading him with Blame Infamy & Reproaches upon the false Representations of a Single Person who Don Quixot Like pranced at a Distance from the fight & felt as Little of the Severity of the Engagement as he knows about the Disposition of our Troops or that of the Enemy — I Inclose Congress the Testimonys of those brave & Experienced officers who with me Endured the Hottest of the Enemys fire & have a Right to know at Least as much about the matter as this Self applauding Hero who could Gallop his Horse with a Better Grace at a Mile Distance from the Enemy Than in that Close fire which the person he Condemns Endured with a firmness he knows nothing of.—I have never Endeavoured to Establish my Reputation by my own pen or have I, according to the modern Custom Employed others for the purpose nor have I adopted The Still more Infamous method of Raising my own Reputation by Destroying that of others — I have always Contented myself with a Consciousness of having Done my Duty with faithfulness — but being Constrained to Say Something at this time Respecting the Late Battle & Some other matters I hope Congress will Look upon it rather as the Effect of necessity than any Desire of making a merit of my Service. — I never yet have pretended that

my Disposition in the Late Battle was perfect. I know it was very far from it but this I will venture to affirm & appeal for proof to the Inclosed Testimonies it was the best that time would allow me to make — at half past Two I Received orders to march with my Division to Join & take Command of that & Two others to oppose the Enemy who were coming Down on the Right flank of our army. I neither knew where the Enemy were or what Rout the other Two Divisions were to take & of course could not Determine where I Should form a Junction with them. I began my march in five minutes after I Received my orders & had not marched a mile when I met Col<sup>o</sup> Hazen with his Regiment which had been Stationed at a Ford three miles above me who Informed that the Enemy were Close upon his Heels & that I might Depend that the principal part of the British army were there: alth<sup>o</sup> I knew the Reports Sent to head Quarters made them but two Brigades as I knew Col<sup>o</sup> Hazen to be an old officer & a good Judge of Numbers I gave Credence to his Report in preference to the Intelligence before Received while I was Conversing with Col<sup>o</sup> Hazen & our Troops Still upon their march the Enemy headed us in the Road about forty Rods from our advance Guard. I then found it necessary to turn off to the Right to form & to get nearer to the other two Divisions which I that moment Discovered Drawn up on an Eminence both in the Rear & to the Right of the place I then was at. I ordered Col<sup>o</sup> Hazens Regiment to pass a Hollow way File off to the Right & face to Cover the artillery while it was passing the Same Hollow way, the Rest of the Troops followed in the Rear to assist in Covering the Artillery the Enemy Seeing this did not press on but gave me time to form my Division on an advantageous Height in a Line with the other Divisions but almost

half a mile to the Left. I then rode up to Consult the other General officers who upon receiving Information that the Enemy were Endeavouring to out Flank us on the Right were unanimously of opinion that my Division Should be brought in to Join the others & that the whole Should Incline further to the Right to prevent our being out flanked but while my Division was marching out & before it was possible for them to form to advantage The Enemy pressed on with Rapidity & attacked them which threw them into Some kind of Confusion. I had taken post myself in the Centre with the artillery & ordered it to play briskly to Stop the progress of the Enemy & give the Broken Troops time to Rally & form in the Rear of where I was with the artillery. I sent off four Aid De Camps for this purpose & went myself But all in vain no Sooner did I form one party but that which I had before formed would Run off & Even at times when I though on Horseback and in front of them apprehended no Danger. I then left them to be Rallied if possible by their own officers & my aid De Camp & Repaired to the Hill where our artillery was which by this time began to feel the Effects of the Enemy's fire. This Hill Com-manded both the Right & Left of our Line & if carried by the Enemy I knew would Instantly bring on a Total Rout & make a Retreat very Difficult. I therefore Determined to hold it as Long as possible to give Lord Sterlings & General Stephen's Divisions which yet Stood firm as much assistance from the artillery as possible & to give Colo Hazens Daytons & Ogdens Regiments which Still Stood firm on our Left the Same advantage & to Cover the Broken Troops of my Division & give them an opportunity to Rally & come to our assistance which Some of them did & others could not by their officers be brought to do any thing but fly:

The Enemy Soon began to bend their principal force against the Hill & the fire was Close & heavy for a Long time & Soon became General. Lord Sterling & General Conway with their Aid De Camps were with me on the Hill & Exerted themselves beyond Description to keep up the Troops: five times did the Enemy drive our Troops from the Hill & as often was it Regained & the Summit often Disputed almost muzzle to muzzle how far I had a hand in this & whether I Endured the Hottest of the Enemys Fire I Chearfully Submit to the Gentlemen who were with me — The General fire of the Line Lasted an hour & forty minutes Fifty one minutes of which the Hill was Disputed almost Muzzle to Muzzle in Such a manner that General Conway who has Seen much Service Says he never Saw So Close & Severe a fire — on the Right where General Stephen was it was Long & Severe & on the Left Considerable — when we found the Right & Left oppressed by Numbers & giving way in all Quarters we were oblinded to Abandon the Hill we had So Long contended for but not till we had almost Covered the Ground between that & Breminham meeting House with The Dead Bodies of the Enemy — when I found that victory was on the Side of the Enemy I thought it my Duty to prevent as much as possible the Injurious Consequences of a Defeat for which purpose I rallied my Troops on Every advantageous piece of Ground to Retard their pursuit & give them Fresh opposition how far I Exerted myself in this Congress will readily See by Consulting the Inclosed Testimonies: The Last partys that I assisted to Rally & post against them was between Sunset & Dark by this means the Enemy were So much Fatigued that they Suffered our whole army with their artillery Baggage &c to pass off without Molestation & without attempting to pursue us a step

— I wish Congress to Consider the many Disadvantages I Laboured under on that Day — It is necessary in Every action that the Commanding officer Should have a perfect knowledge of the number & Situation of the Enemy the Rout they are pursueing The Ground he is to Draw up his Troops on as well as that where the Enemy are formed & that he have Sufficient time to view & Examine the Position of the Enemy & to Draw up his Troops in Such a manner as to Counteract their Designs: all of which were wanting we had Intelligence only of Two Brigades against us when in fact it was the whole Strength of the British Army Commanded by General Howe & Lord Cornwallis. They met us unexpectedly & in order of Battle & Attacked us before we had time to form & upon Ground we had never before Seen under these Disadvantages & against Those unequal numbers we maintained our Ground an hour & forty minutes & by giving fresh opposition on Every Ground that would admit we kept them at Bay from Three of Clock till after Sunset; what more could be Expected from between three & four Thous<sup>d</sup> Troops against the Chief part of the British Army — I would now beg Leave to ask this warlike Son of Achilles who has Censured my Conduct whether it is proper for the Best officer in the world to make a perfect Disposition of Three Divisions of Troops to Receive an Enemy vastly Superiour in numbers already formed and advancing in order of Battle when he has not time upon the Swiftest Horse to Ride from the Right to the Left of the Line before he is attacked — But I need not Dwell upon this matter till Some future period may furnish me with a more proper opportunity.

I now beg Congress to Consider whether my Services in Political & military Life have Deserved So ill as to Render me Liable upon vague Reports & private opin-

ions to have my Character Stigmatized by Resolves against me — Though I have never yet wrote or Said any thing in favor of myself I am Compelled for once to alter my Conduct. My Political Character is well known in most parts of America & the part I have taken in the present Dispute — I am Exceeding happy that in the Military Line I have witnesses of all my Conduct — Let the Commander in Chief Declare who it was that Supplied Cannon Arms & Ammunition to the Army when they were almost Destitute at Cambridge, and who brought in Troops to Guard the Lines when they were almost Deserted & who by his Influence prevailed upon them to Tarry Six weeks after their Term was Expired — To The officers I had the Honor to Command on winter Hill I appeal whether I was not a means of Inducing their men to Enlist for the Second Campaign & whether During the whole Time I was there I did not Chearfully brave Every Danger That could arise from the Severe Cannonnade & Bombardment of the Enemy. To The officers of the Canada Army Let me appeal for the Truth of my having found on my arrival in that Quarter a most miserable army flying off by hundreds & Leaving behind them all their Sick & all the publick Stores which had been Sent into that Quarter. These I Speedily Collected & having Joined my own forces made an Effort to penetrate into the Country but the unfortunate arrival of Ten Thousand British Troops put it out of my power — I had Then To make a Retreat with five Thousand Sick & two Thousand two hundred & fifty well men & to Secure the publick Stores Scattered Through The Country. This was Done in the face of a veteran Army Commanded by a Brave & Experienced officer. The Sick & the publick Stores were not only Saved but all the Mills Timber & Boards were Destroyed which pre-

vented the Enemy from Reducing Ticonderoga to the Same unhappy Situation the Last year which they have done this how far I was Active in Conducting this retreat which even our Enemies have applauded Let the address of the worthy officers in the Army presented at my Departure from them Declare. In the Attack upon Trenton in December Last I appeal to all the officers in the Three Brigades Commanded by General St Clair General Glover & Commodant Sergeant whether I did not Enter The Town at the Head of my Troops & whether my Disposition was not the most perfect that could be Devised for Carrying The Town & preventing Escapes & whether with my Division I did not Carry the Town before we Received any assistance — To the Commander in Chief & to The Same officers I again appeal whether I did not by my Influence prevail on their Troops to Tarry Six weeks after the first day of Jan<sup>y</sup> which in my opinion went far Toward Saving America & whether at the attack on Princeton I was not in the Front of my Line when the Enemy began their fire upon us & whether they Ever Saw me in the Least Endeavour to Skreen myself from the Enemys fire — For the Battle of Long Island I appeal to Major Wells & the other officers who were with me whether any person Could have Exposed himself more or made a Longer Resistance with Such a handful of Troops against So great an Army — I have been in most of the firing of Cannon & Musquetry Since the war began. The officers I have been in action with are well known. I have now publickly Called upon them & Cheerfully Submit my Reputation as an officer & as a Soldier to Their Candid Testimonies being Confident not one of them will or Can Condemn Either my Courage or my Conduct —

Formerly in our army there was a Desire of the offi-

cers & Soldiers to be under my Command my present Division furnishes me with Some few officers who Correspond with members of Congress & not only Act against me themselves but Influence their friends and Congress to do the Same — It is an observation of one of the wisest of men that no person can Stand before Envy and I am Determined not to make the Rash attempt: my Reputation & my freedom I hold Dear but if I Loose the former the Latter becomes of no Importance. I therefore Rather than Run the venture to Combat against the Envy of Some Malicious officers in the Army when Cherished & Supported by the Influence of their Too Credulous Correspondents in Congress must as Soon as the Court of Inquiry have Sat & given their opinion beg Leave to Retire from the Army while my Reputation is Secure. This will afford me an opportunity of Doing Justice to my Reputation & Laying my Conduct with the Evidence of it before the publick & Enable me to take the proper Steps against those who without Color or foundation have Endeavoured to Ruin one who has Ever Shown himself one of the warmest friends to American Freedom. I beg Congress will not Suppose This to proceed from Disaffection but from necessity that I may Quit a place where I have more to fear than I could possibly have from the most powerful Enemy — If Congress grant me Liberty to Retire I Shall give in my Resignation to the Commander in Chief when the Court of Inquiry have Sat & given their Judgment if it is against me when a Court Martial gives final Judgment unless that Should Likewise be against me but I Cannot think that Congress after Examining the Evidence will be at a Loss to know what the Result of Either Court must be.

P S I could add many more Testimonies to the Above but if the Testimonies of So many officers of the first

Rank who were Eye Witnesses of my conduct are not Sufficient I know not what Number would answer

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to John Adams, Sept. 28, 1777.*]

[Amory's Life of Sullivan, p. 54.]

Camp on Perkiomy, Sept. 28, 1777.

*Dear Sir* — Far from addressing you in the language of friendship, and desiring your assistance as a friend, I call upon you as a friend to justice and mankind, begging you to acquaint yourself, and make Congress acquainted, with the evidence I have enclosed the President, relative to my conduct. They ought to take time to view, examine, and consider it. They have censured and condemned me without evidence; will they not acquit me upon the clearest testimony? The greatest and the only favor I request from you is, that if, by the evidence, there appears the least fault in my conduct, you will join with the rest against me, to complete that ruin which some members of Congress have long been striving to bring about; but if, on the contrary, you find that it is the person who has silently borne the burthen of the war, has endured the hottest of almost every fire, and braved every danger for his country's good, that Congress has been censoring and resolving against, then, Sir, call upon Congress to do me justice, and restore me that reputation which they have in some degree deprived me of. Should I fail in this, I am determined to quit the service, and employ my tongue, my pen, and every other engine that may be found necessary, to save my reputation. I am now fortifying myself for the purpose. I am well known in America, and exceeding well in the army. The officers who have served with me are worthy, as they are numer-

ous. They will, they must, join with me to exclaim against unjust and ungenerous returns for faithful and laborious service, let them proceed from what quarter they will. No wall can be so sacred as to screen from public censure the persons who, from private views, would ruin the reputation of the faithful patriot and brave soldier. It is the dignity of America, not the dignity of Congress, we are fighting to support. Treat us justly, reward us for our services, and don't let our characters suffer from every idle report. Pray examine the evidence I have sent to the President, and then determine, with your usual candor, whether the resolves against me were not premature; whether I have not a right to complain; and whether Congress ought not, in justice, to restore me that reputation which they have deprived me of. Why am I singled out as the only person for a court of inquiry, and by a resolve, afterwards rescinded, to be suspended from the service. A fleet was lost on Champlain Lake, the army in Canada ruined, Fort Washington and Fort Lee sacrificed: no courts of inquiry were thought necessary. General Parsons made an attempt on Long Island the same day I went to Staten Island. He had only one regiment to contend with; no re-enforcements could possibly come against him: yet he was repulsed, with loss. I had many regiments to contend with; routed all I came across; did them much mischief. Yet no court of inquiry is ordered upon him. I am the butt against which all the darts are levelled. How does this read? How will it sound when ringing in the public ear? But forgive me for this warmth. I know that, as a friend, you will make the proper allowances for my feeling. I rely upon your exertions to bring Congress to do justice to your much injured friend and humble servant.

[*Gen. Sullivan on the Battle of Brandywine. Draft in Handwriting of Gen. Sullivan.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

*To. Messieurs Powars & Willis Printers in Boston:*

*Gentlemen* — perhaps nothing has a greater Tendency to Impose upon the publick & do Injustice to mankind Than The Frequent publications of Extracts from Anonymous writers whose Sole aim Seems to be to please & Flatter one particular Corps in which they have Some Connections & to Detract from the Merit of all others: I have frequently known those writers in their Descriptions of Battles muster up a Race of Heroes Superior in number & virtue to Those Enumerated by Homer, Among Troops who unfortunately had no part in the action & sometimes among those who Ran away upon Receiving the first fire from the Enemy — I observe in your paper of the 2<sup>d</sup> of October you have published Extracts of a Letter from a Gentleman of Distinction in Philadelphia to his Friend in Boston Dated September 15th 1777 Respecting the Battle on Brandywine which is perhaps as Replete with misrepresentation as any yet published as I was a Spectator in this action I Shall Point out some of them: he Says Sterlings & Stephens Divisions were Sent on to Sustain the Attack on the right & Sullivans to Reinforce them. This was So far from being the Case that the Three Divisions were ordered to meet & attack the Enemy at the Same time. Sullivans division did not take too Large a Circuit as he Suggests but went on to meet the Enemy agreeable to their orders & were obliged to fall back upon finding that the other Divisions which proceeded by Different Routs had taken ground & formed half a mile to the Rear of where that Division had advanced they were under a

necessity of falling back & Filing off to the Right in order to form a Junction with the other Troops & before this could be compleated They were attacked & Thrown into Confusion from which they never fully Recovered. he then goes on to Say that the Brigades which Composed Greenes & Wains Divisions particularly Weedens & Woodfords behaved admirably, unfortunately for the writer Woodfords Brigade forms no part of Greens or Wains Divisions but belongs to Stephens Division & was Ingaged on the Right where the Gentleman Seems to be Totally Ignorant of Every thing that passed. Weedens Brigade was the only part of Greens Division which was Ingaged. They Sustained a heavy fire for near 20 minutes when they were posted (about Sunset) to Cover the Retreat of our Army & had it not been for this the Retreat must have been attended with great Loss but the Gentleman ought to Recollect that those Troops were posted there by one of the principal Commanders of the Maryland Troops who he is pleased to hint behaved So ill on that Day without the Direction of any other officer — he then goes on to Say that the Marylanders gained no great Credit. it Seems by his own Account They could Suffer no great Disgrace for he Says they were Attacked in Rising a Hill & before they had time to form by the whole Force of the Enemy. if This was the Case they could not be much Disgraced by Retreating as they were Less than a Thousand in Number & of Course no match for the whole British Army Even if they had been formed to receive them. in this Relation The Gentleman Seems by Accident to have Stumbled nearly upon the Truth but The manner he has Adopted to Stigmatize those Troops & their principal Commanders is as far from being Generous as his Letter is from being True: perhaps the Late Battle at Germantown has fully Convinced the world

that Those principal Commanders do not want Skill or the Troops Sufficient Bravery to do what no other Troops have done Since the war Commenced — In another part of the Letter he Says that at the time the Enemy attacked us on the Right the party which had possession of the Heights opposite Chads Ford attempted to pass it but were attacked by General Maxwell who again obliged them to Retreat with the Loss of Thirty men. This is a great mistake; it was General Wains Division which opposed but did not prevent their passing Chads Ford when the firing began on the Right & there it was that Major Burk got killed & not on the Right with General Greens Division as the Gentleman Supposes. what happened between General Maxwell & the Enemy was in the fore part of the Day before any firing began on the Right. Though this anonymous writer boasts of being at one time within Quarter of a mile of the Enemy he Certainly was not near Enough to Distinguish what Corps were Engaged therefore the preference he gives to Some over others can have but little weight Especially as he has never mentioned a Corps which remarkably Distinguished themselves. I mean Lord Sterlings Division & particularly Conways Brigade. Wain behaved Exceedingly Brave but their Bravery was Shown in a very Different Quarter from that where the Gentleman Supposes. Weedens Brigade did themselves Honor but I cant recollect any other regiments that remarkably Distinguished themselves above the Rest & Sure I am their officers do not pretend to it. So far as Respects the Artillery & French officers the Gentleman is Exceeding Right, they Did Discover great Bravery. The Last Hero that he brings upon the Stage Shines So Exceeding well by his own Light That no man Stands Less in need of Borrowed Lustre. perhaps nothing can

be more Disgustful to a man of his modesty than The Panagyrick this writer has bestowed on him — Thus Gentlemen have I pointed out A number of Egregious mistakes in the Letter Referred to & Trust it will Serve as a hint to those who in future undertake to give Descriptions of Battles to Acquaint themselves well with the facts before they make the attempt. whenever this Gentleman Shall think proper to Support the Facts Contained in his Letter & affix his name to the performance he Shall then See the Evidence to prove his mistakes with my name affixed to the answer. untill that time I Shall pass by the name of

Candidus

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to John Hancock, President of Congress, Oct. 6, 1777. Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Camp at Perkiominy October 6<sup>th</sup> 1777.

*Dear Sir* Since writing the letter which accompanies this, I have had no opportunity of forwarding my papers to congress & beg Leave to trouble Congress with Some remarks upon the severe & I think very unjust censure cast upon me respecting the intelligence sent by me to Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington the day of the Battle on Brandywine: I wish only to acquaint Congress with the facts: It was ever my opinion that the enemy wou'd come round on our Right flank. This opinion I often gave the general. I wrote him that morning that it was clearly my opinion: I sent him two messages to the same purpose in the forenoon & the very first intelligence I received, that they were actually coming that way, I instantly communicated to him: After which the Gen<sup>l</sup> sent me word to cross the Brandewine with my

Division & attack the enemy's left while the army crossed below me to attack their Right; this I was preparing to do, when Major Spear came to me & inform'd that he was from the upper country, that he had come in the Road, where the enemy must have passed to attack our right & that there was not the least appearance of them in that Q<sup>r</sup> & added that Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington had sent him out for the purpose of discovering whether the enemy were in that Q<sup>r</sup>. The account was confirmed by a Serjeant Tucker of the L. Horse, sent by me on purpose to make discoveries & had passed on as he said to Lancaster road. This intelligence did by no means alter my opinion w<sup>ch</sup> was founded not upon any knowledge I had of the facts but upon an apprehension that Gen<sup>l</sup> Howe would take that advantage which any good officer in his situation would have done. I considered however that if my opinion or the intelligence I had sent the Gen<sup>l</sup> had brought him into a plan of attacking the enemy on the advantageous heights, they were posses'd of & a defeat shou'd follow, that I shou'd be justly censur'd for withholding from him part of the intelligence I had receiv'd & thereby brought on the defeat of our army; I therefore set down & wrote Major Spear's account, from his own mouth & forwarded it to his Exc<sup>y</sup> by a Light Horseman & order'd the major to follow himself. I never made a comment or gave my opinion upon the matter. Col. Harrison member from Virginia is posses'd of a copy of the letter as the Generals Aid-de-Camps inform me. I beg Congress to see it & then judge whether I cou'd have been excused for withholding that intelligence merely because my opinion did not coincide with the declaration. Had the General crossed over; left his own advantageous post (where I considered to oppose an enemy in front) & found the whole british army well posted in his front & his Army

put to the rout having a river unfordable in rear, except in one or two places & most of his troops pushed into it, which must inevitably have been the case if he was defeated: I say if this had all hap'ne'd (w'ch was at least possible & he had afterwards found out that I had received & withheld the intelligence, which might have prevented this misfortune & demanded my reasons I believe I never shou'd have been able to give on which wou'd be Satisfactory to him to congress or to the world.

I know it to be part of my duty to give him every intelligence I received without withholding any part of it, because it does not coincide with my own opinion, and I as well know it is exceeding hard to be censured for doing my duty, which has been too much the case with me since I have been in the Army —

I must beg leave to make an Observation upon the latter part of Colonel Prices testimony respecting the Staten Island Expedition, he gave it as his opinion, that one Brigade should have recrossed where we Cross<sup>d</sup> in the morning — when it is known That Gen<sup>l</sup> Smallwood had Retreated two miles & a half from the fork of the Road that Leads there in order to form a Junction with me; that part of the Enemy kept Even with us all the way & the Residue followed in his Rear that they were between him & the ferry & on his flank if he had been Sent Back — it requires no great Share of military knowledge to See the madness of Seperating my force & Sending one part to be first Sacrificed that the other might afterwards be cut to Pieces with the greatest Ease. I must add to this that a Tender lay near that Place which in Ten Minutes might have been completely possessed of the Place we had crossed at and have prevented all possibility of passing. What must have been the fate of this Brigade if I had ordered them over in that Place and marched the other off at the

Distance of eight Miles, may easily be conceived I have even conceived it dangerous when it remains doubtful whether the whole Force under an officer's Command is capable to combat and vanquish the Enemy, to divide his Force and send them by different routs and put it in the Power of the Enemy to follow either Party with an Assurance of their own superiority of Numbers and the certainty of the Inferiority of the Party they wish to destroy. I have been thus particular because I know some of my officers have censured my Conduct because I did not adopt the Plan mentioned by Col<sup>o</sup> Price. I hope congress will excuse the Length of my Letter as they will not in Future be troubled with many Letters from your most obedient Serv<sup>t</sup>

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to Gen. Washington, Oct. 6, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Washington Papers, Library of Congress.]

Camp at Perkeomi October 6<sup>th</sup> 1777

*My Dear General* Some matters Calling off your Excellencys attention After you had mentioned Something of my Resignation prevented my giving your Exc<sup>y</sup> Satisfaction on that head. I therefore take the Freedom to Trouble you with a Line on the Subject. I freely Confess that nothing gives me more pain than to think of abandoning a Commander who has Studied to make me and all others as Happy as the nature of the Service would admit Especially when he Expresses his Desire for me to remain with him, but I am Extremely Sorry to Say that a party have Risen up against me in Congress who Industriously manage their Business with Such Success that Every Report against me is believed & all those in my favor Discredited or Construed away. The Best meant actions are Construed

into a want of Judgment & if Ever they hear a person Speak of my having a Common Share of Bravery they Construe it into madness — I wish for nothing after my Reputation is Lost. I have yet preserved it through Life & can by no means Risque it Longer in Such hands: any thing that your Excellency could ask it would be out of my power to Deny Except Risquing the Loss of my Reputation. Even my Life (I can with truth Say) I would risque to save or to oblige y<sup>r</sup> Exc<sup>y</sup> but if my Reputation is Lost my Life would become Disagreeable. The Freedom of my Country would only Serve to aggravate my misfortune when I Reflected That Though my Country was free the Loss of my Reputation had rendered me Incapable to Serve it, & had Lost me the Esteem of my Countrymen — To prevent These Evils I have Sent to Congress a Long Letter of Complaint respecting The Treatment I have received. I have Inclosed them the Evidence of those actions they have Condemned me for & begged Leave to Retire from the Army — This I suppose they will grant and though it is my Earnest Desire to Quit the Service I Sincerely Lament my being forced into the Measure. I am sensible That Reports have been Spread ag<sup>t</sup> me in the Country where I have Ever Resided (with as much Credit & Influence as any person there). Those Reports will Soon become too Deeply Rooted to be Eradicated unless I fall upon Some measure to save myself which I cannot do in the manner I would wish while in the Service. Congress have without Colour publickly Censured me and proclaimed it to the world & such has been my misfortune that no Court of Enquiry has yet sat to acquit me from the Charge — I know y<sup>r</sup> Excell<sup>y</sup> has not had it in your power as yet But the Delay is very Injurious to me. Every Day it is Delayed Renders it more necessary

for me to Quit the Service & Remove those prejudices which Daily gain strength — perhaps Congress when they read my letter to Examine the Evidence Inclosed & afterward See the Result of a Court of Inquiry in my favor may think proper to publish to the world that the suggestions against me were without foundation & the proceedings against me premature — if They do I have no objection to remaining in the Service but if they Refuse necessity will force me to Convince the world of my own Innocence & their Error in order to which I must Leave the Service however Disagreeable to me it may be. This Resolution I beg y<sup>r</sup> Exc<sup>y</sup> to Consider as procceding not from Choice but necessity

---

[*Lieut. John Erskine to Gen. Sullivan, Oct. 7, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Revolution Collection, Library of Congress.]

*Sir* Ever since the Time I had the pleasure to consider myself an Officer in your Division I have had the greatest reason to think you took pleasure in rendering every service in your power to all the Officers under you, and make no doubt but that you would share an equal degree of satisfaction in the preferment of any of them. —

I have now in my offer a Birth Superior to that which I hold at present, & hopes that this will be a Sufficient reason for my now offering you the resignation of a Lieutenancy in Col. Hazen's Reg<sup>t</sup> & in your Division.  
Oct<sup>r</sup>. 7<sup>th</sup> 1777.

---

[*Capt. Henry Lee to Gen. Sullivan, Oct. 8, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Revolution Collection, Library of Congress.]

*Sir/* Since I wrote last which was . . . . clock, the conduct of the enemy has been somewhat mysterious —

I am not certain, but I have some reason to suspect, that they have since my last let<sup>r</sup> relanded some of their troops in Amboy — This is not a certainty — They have a camp about half a mile up the sound on Amboy side — There is another camp along the . . . . river, of wig-warms & huts, which contains all the men to be seen left at Amboy — I judge their number to be about two thousand — Their ships are drawn up in a line with these encampments to co-operate with the land forces in making an opposition, or to cover their retreat — Should your army advance on the enemy, their situation will enable them to harrass your flanks much, & their number of boats will readily throw over men from the island to oppose you in front — Indeed they may throw over any number they please from Staten island on your left — In the . . . . would wish you would suspend any movement, till the morning — Should it appear to us, that every thing is safe, we can manifest it to your honor by a signal in the morning of the same sort as before — On accurate examination we find they have demolished only that part of their different forts, as may when in our hands molest themselves — Their boats are constantly engaged sometimes with loads of men & sometimes of baggage — At one period, as I before mentioned they appeared to be bringing soldiers back again — Their lights are uncommonly numerous this night — I should be happy to have the receipt of my let<sup>r</sup> acknowledged, as I am alway uneasy, till, I know of its getting to hand —

South-Amboy — 8 O'clock

[*Court of Inquiry, Oct. 10, 1777. Papers and Proceedings. Copies.*]

[New Hampshire Archives, Revolutionary War Rolls, vol. 11, pp. 137-154.]

At a Court of Enquiry held by Order of his Excellency General Washington, to Examine into The Conduct of Major General Sullivan, in the Expedition Commanded by him to Staten Island, in the month of August last, held in Camp at the House of Christian Stouffer, in the County of Philadelphia, the fourth day of August 1777

Present.

Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Lord Sterling President

Brigadier Generals M<sup>c</sup>Dougal

Knox

Colonels Spencer

Clark

Ordered that the General Order for the Holding this Court be Entered on the minuets of this Court, and is as follows.

A Court of enquiry Consisting of four Members, and Major General Lord Sterling President, to set at 12 O'Clock to day at the Presidents Quarters, & examine into the Conduct of Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan, in the Expedition, Commanded by him to Staten Island, in the month of August last. Major Taylor, & others, who can give Information of this matter, are to Attend; But if the Court see cause to postpone the examination for want of Evidences, (after hearing what Major Taylor has to urge upon that head) they are to do it accordingly —

Head Quarters Octo<sup>r</sup> 10th 1777

Tim: Pickering A: G

Members Major Gen<sup>l</sup> L<sup>d</sup> Sterling President Gen<sup>l</sup> McDougal, Gen<sup>l</sup> Knox Col<sup>o</sup> Spencer — Col<sup>o</sup> Clark

Ordered that Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan, and Major Taylor be notified, that Court is setting, and that their attendance is requested.

at half past one P: M Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan Attended, having been detained by the funeral of Major White —

Major Taylor appears at the Court, about half past 3 O'clock P: M, and asserting that his evidences were not ready the Court adjourned 'till tomorrow morning 8 O'clock to meet at the same Place. —

October 11<sup>th</sup> 1777 —

The Court met according to Adjournment, present as before. Major Taylor delivers to the Court, a written Narration of the Expedition to Staten Island, which is in the following Words, in the Papers Marked A. Major Taylor being asked, whether he knew any other Person, who can Corroborate the fact mentioned in his Narrative, said Col<sup>o</sup> Hall, the Elder, Col<sup>o</sup> Stone L<sup>t</sup> Col<sup>o</sup> Smith, Major Forrest, all of whom are Absent from the Camp & Major Read Captain Chambers, who are in Camp.

General Sullivan said, that in Order to expedite the Business, and prevent delay, he admit that if the Gent<sup>n</sup> mentioned now to be absent, were all present, would each of them deliver in a paper similar, to the one delivered in by Major Taylor —

Cap<sup>t</sup> Chambers attending was called upon & gave the Testimony Contained in the Paper Markd B. Major Reed attending was called upon, & gave the Testimony Contained in the Paper Mark'd C. General Sullivan then began his Account of the Expedition, in Course of which, he produced the Written Testimony of the following Persons Viz<sup>t</sup>

Major Sherburne	D	General Smallwood	Marked E
M <sup>r</sup> Armstrong	F	Major Morris	G
Major Eustace	H	Col <sup>o</sup> Price's	I

Major Adams      K      Major Vaughan      L.  
 Major Sterrett    M

He also produced Col<sup>o</sup> Ogden who declared, that he had the afternoon before by General Sullivan been made acquainted with the Plan of the Expedition and that he had approved of it; that it is opinion, that the Enemy had it in their Power whenever our Troops, should attempt to retreat, to fall on our Rear, as there was not boats sufficient to take off the Troops, but at several trips. Col<sup>o</sup> Ramsey also appeared, his Account in general was very similar to the Papers D E F & G, but adds that the Confusion at the Church, mention'd by Cap<sup>t</sup> Chambers, was nothing but the men getting a Drink of Water, by Gen<sup>l</sup> Smallwood's leave, & that Major Woodson was appointed to, & did superintend the Reimbarkation of the Troops, in the retreat, & that he being in the Second Regiment of the first Brigade, which passed, & saw Major Woodson, active in the Service —

Major Morris, & Doct<sup>r</sup> Armstrong being further examined Declare That no Horse belonging to Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan, or any of his family was carried over to Staten Island, and therefore that it became necessary to get Horses on the Island, to mount the General & his Aid de Camp, which was accordingly done; but those Horses were left on the Island, Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan having ordered, that not any Horse should be brought from the Island, untill all the men were sent Off, That this Order was Obey'd in ev'ry Instance in Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan's family, excepting one, which was a Horse of Major Eustace, sent off by mistake of the officer Conducting the Embarkation. They likewise declare, that immediately after their Return from Staten Island, Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan took ev'ry measure necessary to furnish his Troops with provision, & to refresh them, and for this purpose Ordered the

whole of his Troops to assemble at Elizabeth Town, that Gen<sup>l</sup> Smallwood with his Brigade, did actually go to Elizabeth Town, and was there furnished with Provisions, but that General Borre contrary to his positive Orders, did march off towards Chatham, on hearing of which, Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan expressed his displeasure, and immediately sent Orders to Gen<sup>l</sup> De Borre to halt his Troops at Springfield, where plenty of Provisions were provided for him, that Gen<sup>l</sup> De Borre, instead of Obeying his Orders, sent word back, that his Troops were on their March, and that they should go to Chatham, and that this was the Reason why the March of that Brigade, was so greatly prolonged before they were refreshed.

The Court adjourned 'till to morrow morning 9 O'clock.

October 12<sup>th</sup> 1777 —

The Court met according to adjournment, & proceeded to examine the written Evidences, in support of the Charge, and in expulation of Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan, and comparing them together, and after having spent some hours therein, came to the following Opinion which is the Paper N signed by the members

Stirling  
 Alex<sup>r</sup> McDougall  
 Henry Knox  
 Oliver Spencer  
 T. Clarke

[*Major John Taylor to Col. Moses Hazen, Aug. 24, 1777, Giving His Account of the Staten Island Expedition. Copy.*]

Hanover Aug<sup>t</sup> 24th 1777 —

*Dear Col<sup>o</sup>* I am this moment return'd from an Expedition to Staten Island, the Issue of which, has been rather

unfortunate. On thursday last we marched from Hanover, at 4 O'clock P: M, & continued our march, with little, or no Intermission to Halsteads point, where we arrived at 3 O'clock in the morning, having marched 22 Miles, we immediately began to cross the Sound, but there being only 5 Boats, we did not all get over 'till near Sun rise; Col<sup>o</sup> Ogden had crossed at the Old Blazing Starr, with about 500 men the same morning, whose men, & the separated Brigades of our Division attacked Three different parts of the Enemy, before Six. Each Attack proved Successfull — Col<sup>o</sup> Ogden, who had got over by day break, compleatly surprized the Enemy, killed a few, & made One Hundred Prisoners. — De Borres Brigade, which Sullivan Commanded in Person, killed about 5, & made 30 Prisoners. General Smallwood had very little fortune in getting Prisoners, The Enemy having got Intelligence of his coming early enough to scramble off. — Thus matters stood, at 9 when our two Brigades joined again, and marched off to the Old Blazing Starr, to recross, when Ogden, & his party had Crossed, and returned. The Main body of the Enemy were then discovered, to be lurking on our flanks, but evidently with no Intention of coming to Action. We marched on to the Old Blazing Starr, & began to Cross, but before we had got all our men over, the Enemy came up, & attacked our Rear of about 150 who were on that side. Our people behaved bravely, several times drove the Enemy from the Charge, but all their Ammunition being gone, they dispersed; some swam the River, and the rest were taken. We lost but very few men, except the Prisoners, but the Enemy must have had at least 100 Killed and Wounded, among the Prisoners were Col<sup>o</sup> Antill, Major Woodson, Major Stewart, Major Tilliard, & Matt Duffey — Cap<sup>tn</sup> Herron L<sup>t</sup> Campbell, L<sup>t</sup> Anderson, & Ensign Lee, were

not mentioned in a flag which they sent out, proposing an Exchange from thence I conjecture they are killed. Col<sup>o</sup> Antill was not with the List of those who wished to be Exchanged, and the Officers said he did not chuse to return — The Misfortunes which attended the Expedition, were numerous & ruinous. I will if possible, enumerate them. It was unfortunate, that the march of near 30 miles, before we began to Attack should fatigue our Men. It was unfortunate that instead of returning by the way we Crossed, which was short, we should march 10 miles further to the Starr, which made the Number of miles from our Camp, with our maneaveurs on the Island at least 40: It was very unfortunate that we continued to march without halting, by which means we had a Rear of 6 miles. It was unfortunate that we observed no Order in our Retreat, That every Soldier should be allowed to Plunder, & get straggled all over the Island. It was unfortunate, that we did not Attack the Main body of the Enemy, who evidently acknowledged our Superiority by avoiding us, and as Evidently discovered their intention of Attacking our Rear, by hovering on our Flanks. It was very unfortunate that only about 30 Light Infantry of our Regiment composed the Rear by which means, all the Officers of Herons Company, were lost, and the rest knowing the Situation, and having no Waggon, could not bring off the Sick, it was unfortunate, that Orders were sent to the upper Ferrys to have the boats brought down, by two private Soldiers, which coming through an improper Channel was consequently disobeyed. It was very unfortunate that no Officers were appointed to superintend the Embarkation, and disembarkation of our Troops in the 4 boats, which Ogden had, by which means as much time was lost in the delay on the other side, as would have secured a safe Passage; for that which was every

man's business was attended to, by no one. It was unfortunate, that many Plundered Horses were brought Over, which produced much delay. It was very unfortunate we had no Cannon & that we marched down into the Marsh opposite the Enemy, where two of our Men had their brains knocked Out, with their Field Pieces. It was very unfortunate that we had nothing to Eat for near 43 hours, and were Marching for most of that time, which did such Injury to the Troops, that at one time yesterday De Borres Brigade could not Muster above 40 Men. My Arithemetick will not serve for the whole enumeration. I will therefore halt here. By the Enemies Return they have 130 Prisoners of ours; but you may be Assured, we shall not get off under 200. Several Field Officers & Commanders fell into our Hands, and the General talks of an Exchange — Figure to your Self, the Situation we are in; Then hear that We are to march, in two, or three days to the Southward, and wish but do not hope to see many of us come forward — I wish my Dear Col<sup>o</sup> you could join us, your presence is absolutely necessary to reclaim the Order which we have been gradually loosing ever since you left us. I am so much fatigued, that I am wholly unable to write to M<sup>r</sup> Penn. I should therefore be obliged to You to show this Letter, and tell him further, that if Congress do not make an Enquiry into this Affair, They will not do their Duty to their Constituents —

[*Major Taylor's Statement. Document A.*]

Major Taylor (1) That about sunset at Hanover, the day before General Sullivan's Division marched of for Staten Island, orders were given them to draw three days Provision of Salt Meat if to be had, and parade with their Blankets and Provision cooked at twelve O'clock the next day; the Provisions could not be ob-

tained untill the next day, & then fresh only were issued; (2) the troops marched of about three O'clock down to Halsteads point, halting about fifteen minutes at Chatham and about half an Hour near the point. (3) General De Borres Brigade had got over before sunrise and were marched off to attack Col<sup>o</sup> Barton, about this time there was a firing heard, supposed to be Col<sup>o</sup> Ogden. General De Borres Brigade attacked Col<sup>o</sup> Barton between 8 and 9, instantly dispersed his Party, and pursued him down to the new Blazing Star, from which place General Sullivan sent two soldiers in a Canoe, with a broken paddle, to the place where his Division had Crossed with orders for the Boats and waggons to proceed down to the old Blazing Star. (4) Near this place an Aide, M<sup>r</sup> Armstrong came to General Sullivan and informed him, that the enemy were endeavouring to surround the other Brigade near the cross roads, whither we were instantly ordered, and told by General Sullivan that we should have something to do; when the two Brigades met at the cross roads they were ordered towards the old Star, whither they marched in the utmost confusion, de Borres Brigade stopping only half an hour at Cuckolds Town, and marching again, before the rear guard came up, which consisted of about 30 or 40 light Infantry of Col<sup>o</sup> Hazens Reg<sup>t</sup> an anxiety for whose safety caused Major Taylor to apply to the General several times. (5) Much time was lost in returning from the Island, in consequence of no Officers being appointed to superintend the Embarcation & disembarkation of the Troops early enough, as much supposing the enemy to have appeared when they did as would have brought of the whole of the Men. (6) the men were scattered exceedingly for the purpose of plundering, to prevent which no orders were given in hearing of Major Taylor. (7) when the enemy appeared on the Island the troops on

this side were marched down in the Marsh, when two men were Kill'd with the enemys Cannon. (8) the troops marched on about eight Miles after they crossed, where they remained 'till sunrise, when De Borres Brigade Marched up to Chatham, in this round which consisted of about 60 or 70 Miles, the troops had no opportunity of refreshing themselves except one, and even at Chatham no Provision was made for them. (9) Major Taylor is of opinion that the march of twenty seven Miles — 22 with Blankets and three days Provision precedent to an Action is too much, that making such an Attack without carrying matters to an extremity, by which means a long and dangerous retreat became Necessary was ill advised — That if Colonel Ogdens firing commenced at sunrise, it was impossible for General Sullivan, who was twelve miles off, and had an Action to go through, to support him, that the way the Division came on the Island was most advisable to retreat by, because it was short, because a gut ran through the Marsh, which was crossed over a Boat by way of Bridge, which taken away would have prevented pursuit, & because the stragglers were likely to go that way.

John Taylor

*[Statement of Capt. Chambers. Document B.]*

October 11th 1777

Captain Benjamin Chambers, of Colonel Hazen's Regiment, says that the Brigade to which he belonged, marched from Hanover, in New Jersey about 3 P. M. the twenty first of August last, to Chatham; and halted there half an hour, from thence they marched within one mile of Elizabeth Town, leaving it on the left hand, there halted half an hour, where they found General

Smallwoods Brigade resting, from this they marched in the rear of General Smallwoods Brigade to Halstead's Point, and halted a little distance from it, as that Brigade was Crossing the Sound to Staten Island; soon after the Brigade, to which he belonged Crossed also, leaving their packs behind, but before they Crossed two Companies of light Infantry belonging to this Brigade were ordered out with a guide under him Captain Chambers, to take General Skinner, at his Quarters, when he got on the Island he was informed by one of Inhabitants that General Skinner had shifted his Quarters, upon this intelligence he was ordered to march with the said Companies of light Infantry as an advanced guard to General Smallwoods Brigade, till they arrived to the Dutch Church at the Mills where a British Regiment of foot and some new levies were posted, upon the advanced guard coming within 150 yards of the enemy they retired over a Bridge, and were pursued by the advanced guard 150 yards beyond it, the Brigade halted at the Bridge, immediately after he was ordered by General Smallwood to return to the Brigade, when the General ordered a Reg<sup>t</sup> to watch the motion of the enemy at the Bridge, the rest of the Brigade retired in a disorderly manner to the Church, where they Scattered to collect Clothes & Water out of the Neighbouring Houses, about one hundred yards distance, after a quarter of an hours rest and near the Church, he understood that General Smallwoods Brigade had retired on the same road they advanced, when he came near the forks of the road leading to the New Blazing Star, he heard some arms discharged in the rear, which induc'd him to halt his Men, soon after General Sullivan came to him on the Road from the New Blazing Star, and asked him what was the firing in the rear, he answered he thought it to be some of our own men who

were Drunk, upon which General Sullivan ordered him to halt there, to let the straglers pass by, and bring them up to the rear guard, which he accordingly did for an Hour — in this time a considerable number of Officers and Men came on and passed by him when he brought the Straglers to the rear Guards, he retired to join his Regiment which was just embarking when he came to the Old Blazing Star Ferry, he and his companys followed in the next Boat — when he got on the Jersey Side, General Sullivan asked him if he had seen any thing of the enemy, he replied in the Negative, the General then Asked him whether he had brought on all the straglers as he ordered him, he answered he had, all those who were able to walk, and Waggon were sent for the lame.

Benj Chambers

*[Statement of Major Reed. Document C.]*

Camp 11th October 1777

Previous to our setting out on the expedition, I myself was Indisposed having the Ague and Fever upon me, and lay in a House adjacent to the Camp, so that I know nothing of the orders given, or preparations made for the expedition we marched I think between three & four O Clock, P. M. and Proceeded to a small village the name of which I do not recollect, neither can I Ascertain the distance. We Halted there and our People grounded their Arms, when they received orders to march in fifteen minutes. I took the minutes from my Watch, but Observed it was thirty Minutes when they lifted their arms, we then proceeded to a place near Elizabeth Town where we Halted longer, our provision was ordered to be left there, when we marched down to the sound and began to throw over the troops, which

was not accomplished till near Sun rising. General Smallwoods Brigade was in Front and marched towards the uper end of the Island. General Sullivan with General De Borre's Brigade marched a different rout, when we had proceeded about a mile we heard Colonel Ogden at work towards the lower end of the Island, a few minutes after we saw some Horses in the Wood through which we marched, and one of General Sullivans Aids, told one of my people to go and catch one for the General, he went and caught one, we had not gone far before the Generals Aids had procured Horses for themselves, however we soon discovered some of Colonel Bartons People and I being in front the General ordered me to pursue, which I did untill I came within sight of their main Body where I waited for our People; when they came forward we advanced and the enemy thought proper to retreat in a very disorderly manner so that our People pursued them in several directions, when I came opposite to where they were drawn up, I found a Horse Saddled which I mounted, but being much fatigued, and knowing the enemy to be much inferour in Numbers, I followed no farther but went to the House where they randevouzed to take an Inventory of their Stores, which when I had done I joined the Brigade, they were then returning from their pursuite, and a great many of the Soldiers had Horses and Plunder of different kinds, we then set out the same road we had come, and in a short time met General Smallwoods Brigade, which turned about and the Division marched to the road that led from the uper end of the Island to the lower Blazing Star Ferry where contrary to my expectation they turned down, I then enquired of the Inhabitants how far it was to the Blazing Star they told me 9 miles, I observed General De Borre to be much fatigued, offered him the Horse I had, which he ac-

cepted. I had not marched far before I perceived my strength fail, so that I was Obliged to fall towards the rear where I saw our people in a scattered, disorderly and dangerous situation; I made use of every effort then in my power to curb the licentiousness, and stop the greedy grasp of our Soldiers, but found they had such a propensity to plunder that my exertions were ineffectual, however I proceeded to a small Village called Cuckolds Town, when I came there the troops were gone. I myself with a few others stayed there about fifteen Minutes, when I heard Cap<sup>t</sup> Heron of the Regiment to which I belong was Kill'd or made prisoner in our rear; Cap<sup>t</sup> Oldham and myself got horses and went back, we had not gone far before we met Cap<sup>t</sup> Chambers with the light Company of our Regiment. I ask'd him if there were any of our people behind, he said there were, we went on but soon discovered a party in a wood about a quarter of a mile from the road whom we took to be the enemy attempting to hang on our rear. I called back our light Company to skirmish with them till our Straggling rear should git out of the way, but finding them to be our own People sent them forward telling them their danger, we then went back about a mile and a half where we met some soldiers who said they were so overcome with hunger and fatigue that they could go no further, but we perswaided them to rise and hurried them on till we came within sight of Cuckolds Town when we left them and followed our Army, our People were then Scattered from that place to the ferry, at which place when I arrived our Regiment was Crossing over and I embarked and came over to this side, shortly after I came over, I saw the enemy appear. I took particular notice of the ground, which on this side did not command that on the other, but notwithstanding if we had had our Artillery considering

the timidity of those Green Coats, I thought we could prevent their coming forward before our People might get over

James Reed

[*Statement of Major Sherburne. Document D.*]

Camp near Newport 6<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup> 1777

On Wednesday the 19<sup>th</sup> of August 1777 I was advised by Major General Sullivan to write a note to the Brigadiers Smallwood & Deborre desiring them with their Brigades (such only as were able to endure a march) to Parade at Head Quarters at 12 O clock the next day with their knapsacks & two days Provisions Cook'd, leaving their Tents standing. On Thursday the 20<sup>th</sup> of August the General notified to his family to ride Giving out word that the Troops were to march to the Southward and he was himself agoing forward (now I have reason to suppose that the true intention of this move was made known to Gen<sup>l</sup> Smallwood the Evening before as he and Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan were in close Conference for some considerable time & I understood from the Gen<sup>l</sup> afterwards that the Troops had orders to march precisely at 12 O'clock). Agreeable to the Gen<sup>ls</sup> order his Aid followed him, he taking the Road leading to Morristown about 2 miles, when turning to the left we proceeded to Chatham & from thence to Elizabeth Town, where the Gen<sup>l</sup> calling his Aid de Camps let them into his Intentions, Informing them that the Troops were to be near the Town about Dark & that he had form'd a design to make a Desent on Staten Island, that he with his Division was to Embark from Halsteads point & make a landing on the Opposite shore, while Col: Ogden with his own & Col: Daytons Reg<sup>t</sup> with some Militia made a Landing from Old Blazing Star. The plan was then, that after the Troops had

made good their Land<sup>s</sup> Col: Ogden with his party was to surround L<sup>t</sup> Col. Lawrence and his party & lay still while light, & then make what prisoners he could, after which he was to attack Col<sup>s</sup> Duncan & Allen and then proceed down the sound in order to form a junction with General Sullivans Division. In the mean time Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan was to dispose of his Division in the following manner (to wit) after gaining the main post road from the marshes, Gen<sup>l</sup> Smallwood was to file off to the left, taking the Road leading to Dickers ferry where Baskirk was posted with his Reg<sup>t</sup> in order to surprize and make Prisoners as many as he could, in the mean time General Sullivan at the Head of Gen<sup>l</sup> Deborres Brigade was to file of to the right, & taking the Road leading to the new Blazing Star in order to surprize Col: Barton with his party after which he was to march back and cover Gen<sup>l</sup> Smallwoods retreat in case it should be necessary. Capt<sup>n</sup> Barnett with a party of the L<sup>t</sup> Infantry of Col: Hazens Reg<sup>t</sup> was to surprize Gen<sup>l</sup> Skinner who the Gen<sup>l</sup> understood kept at one Wards — the Gen<sup>l</sup> having told his Aid de Camps this in the presence of Col: Ogden & some other officers who he thought proper to call in, in order to consult with them about the Boats &c &c

Between the hours of Nine & Ten in the Evening word was brought that the Troops had Arriv'd, on which the General order'd them to refresh themselves and lay still untill further orders; to the best of my remembrance the two Brigades had orders to be at Halsteads point precisely at two OClock, at the hour appointed Gen<sup>l</sup> Smallwoods Brigade made its appearance, followed after by Gen<sup>l</sup> Deborre and his Brigade between two and three the Troops began their Embarkation; the Gen<sup>l</sup> in Person assisting in ordering the Boats and seeing them properly stowed & Requesting the officers & soldiers to

be silent as the success of the Expedition depended on their avoiding a Discovery; Gen<sup>l</sup> Smallwoods Brigade having got over, Gen<sup>l</sup> Deborres Brigade began their Embarkation the 3<sup>d</sup> boat of which General Sullivan and his Aid de Camps went over in, first giving the necessary orders to the Commanding Officers behind how to conduct themselves in getting his Troops over. I think from the time we began our Embarkation to the time we Completed it, did not exceed one and a half hours. The Troops from Halsteads point had to land on a marsh and then to march several mile crossing a small Creek before we could reach the main road, the Occasion of Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivans going over before all the Troops had got over, was in order to give General Smallwood his Directions & Rout, & to give Capt<sup>n</sup> Barnett his Command who was to surprize Skinner. Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan having given Gen<sup>l</sup> Smallwood his necessary order and a Pilot to conduct him & Barnett his order he sent them off, and Return'd to the marsh where waiting a few minutes Gen<sup>l</sup> Deborre hove in sight with his Brigade, all the part of them were Considerably in the rear. Gen<sup>l</sup> Deborre having got up & after waiting a few minutes for a Pilot who had gone to put the other Troops in the proper road as their Pilot was not acquainted with the road from off the marsh; after waiting a few minutes for him the Gen<sup>l</sup> order'd the Brigade to march we picking out the Road as well as we could untill the Pilot return'd who went with us afterwards, we proceeded on our march for several mile when we discovered part of the Enemy Flying; the General perceiving it orderd Col: Price to file off to the right with his Reg<sup>t</sup> in order to intercept the Enemies retreat after which the General Pushed on the Troops untill he discovered a Party of the Enemy Paraded in a Cornfield, the Troops were anxious to push on but the Gen<sup>l</sup>

thought proper to order a party to file off to the left in order to get on the Enemies right flank, they perceiving the Generals intention threw down their Arms and ran away, L<sup>t</sup> Col: Barton who commanded that party surrendered himself a prisoner of War as did a number of his men who could not effect their Escape. The Gen<sup>l</sup> understanding their was a party of the Enemy at the point he orderd his troops to push on which they did but to little purpose for the Enemy had made their Escape in Boats, we only taking a few that could not effect it, the General finding how matters stood, return'd with his Troops by the same Road that he went, in order to meet Col: Ogden with his party. As I understood from the Gen<sup>l</sup> that he had sent Major Eustace to Col: Ogden to hasten his march but Eustace returning very soon after reported to the General, that he could not procure a Boat to cross the Creek; but on the march the General was met by M<sup>r</sup> Armstrong (a voluntier with General Smallwood) with word from Gen<sup>l</sup> Smallwood that the Enemy were endeavoring to surround him and begg'd he would form a junction as soon as possible, upon which the Gen<sup>l</sup> pushed on with his Troops in order to effect it which he did within half a mile of the Crotch of the Road, one of which leads to Dickers Ferry, the other to the Old Blazing Star which the Gen<sup>l</sup> took in hopes of meeting Col: Ogden with his party but being disappointed he pushed for Cuckolds Town, half a mile the other side the General orderd me to direct Gen<sup>l</sup> Smallwood to take possession of the heights on the right & rest his men, he also orderd me to give the like orders to Gen<sup>l</sup> Deborre only he was to take the heights on the left; having made a halt for some considerable time (sufficient for the men to rest) the Gen<sup>l</sup> ordered the Troops to march having about 4 miles to march to the Old blazing Star, which when we

arriv'd at, the Gen<sup>l</sup> order'd me to post a Picquett upon the heights back of the Ferry for the security of our Embarkation which I did, consisting of one field Officer and one hundred men, in our way from Cuckolds town I remark'd to the General, that I perceiv'd a number of stragglers behind, some of which would not get up unless their was waggons sent for them, upon which the General orderd me to dispatch some waggons back for them which I did, and as I brought up the rear the last of any officer to Cuckolds town, I did not perceive any stragglers untill I discovered them about one quarter of a mile the other side of the Town upon the strength of which I told the Gen<sup>l</sup> as before mention'd; We begun our Embarkation — The Gen<sup>l</sup> orderd me to appoint some officer to superintend it, which I did Appointing a Major from Col: Hazens Reg<sup>t</sup> giving him his directions also desired him to appoint the Officers to Act with him — The Gen<sup>l</sup> tarried on the Island while Gen<sup>l</sup> Smallwoods Brigade Cross'd, he himself going in the first boat that cross'd with Gen<sup>l</sup> Deborres men in order to see that the boats were properly managed there, on the General's landing he orderd one of his Aid de Camps to tarry & see the boats off while he went up to the Troops that had Cross'd in order to dispatch some messenger for the Provisions that had not arriv'd agreeable to an order they had receiv'd *before*, to be at the Old Blazing Star that afternoon

The Troops having all got over excepting a very few beside the Pickett guard, & the Gen<sup>l</sup> from the opposite shore discovering the Enemy to heave in sight, orderd me down to the boats and see that they were double mann'd, I accordingly Obey'd the Gen<sup>ls</sup> order, double mann'd the boats & us'd my endeavour to get them off but was all in vain, two boats went off they never reach'd the opposite shore, being as I suppose, terrified by the

Enemies incessant fire from their Artillery & small Arms, the General finding how the matter stood on the marsh came down himself and used his Influence in getting the boats over even orderd the men to fire on them which they did but all in vain; all y<sup>e</sup> Arguments the threats & that the Gen<sup>l</sup> could make use of answerd to no purpose, the boats did not get over, but came ashore at the upper end of the marsh & left a small Pickett to defend themselves against an Enemy more than Twenty to one odds.

The Enemy finding how matters stood with our little party that was left as it were to their mercy pushed them to the utmost and were repuls'd with bravery that would do honour to veteran Troops, but being overpower'd with numbers & all their Ammunition being expended, those that did not chuse to surrender threw themselves in to the sound & swam over & many took to the woods & have since got over.

Quest<sup>n</sup>. Did you see the Gen<sup>l</sup> ride up & speak to the officer Command<sup>r</sup> the Rear guard after the Division had gain'd the main road & were passing on for Cuckolds Town.

Answer. I did.

Quest<sup>n</sup>. What was the Distance from thence to Cuckolds Town

answer. About four miles

Quest<sup>n</sup>. Did not the General give express orders that no Horses or Cattle shou'd be carried over till the Troops had all Cross'd

Answer. He did

Quest<sup>n</sup>. Did not you deliver those orders to the officer appointed to superintend the Embarkation, when he was appointed

Answer. I did

Quest<sup>n</sup>. Did the General give those orders as soon as he came to the Ferry

Answ<sup>r</sup>. He did

Quest<sup>n</sup>. Could Cannon have been used by us to Advantage in Covering the Crossing of the Troops

Answ<sup>r</sup>. They could not

Edw<sup>d</sup> Sherburne De A G

[*Gen. Smallwood to Gen. Sullivan, Sept. 7, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Continental Congress Papers, No. 160, Library of Congress.]

Swan Creek September 7<sup>th</sup> 1777

*Dr Sir* Its with much concern I hear your conduct is called in Question on the Expedition to Staten Island as I am conscious it is undeserved, & its to be lamented that Gentlemen who write, do not exercise more candour, Judgment and accuracy in representing facts, As I would fain hope the Gentlemen who you mention to have subjected your conduct to an inquiry, have erred thro Inadvertency, more than any settled design of injuring your Reputation, but in every instance unless our Prospects and success are very sanguine censure becomes very liberal and fashionable; & seems to be a tax which every Gen<sup>l</sup> Officer unavoidably yields to the Public, which too frequently censures without an impartial enquiry, or without making a proper allowance for events, which seldom succeed to expectation tho designs are ever so well concerted and executed, this is a poor Incouragement for a Person to risque his life Fortune & what is still more dear his Reputation

I have answered you Interrogatories to the best of my recollection, and am sorry I cannot be personally present, as many Incidents may cast up in point, in course of the Inquiry, which they have not, nor can I advert to at present, which might tend to set your Views and Conduct in a clearer light

[*Gen. Smallwood's Testimony. Document E.*]

INTERROGATORIES TO GEN<sup>1</sup> SMALLWOOD

Quest. Did Gen<sup>1</sup> Sullivan let you into the whole Plan of attacking Staten Island & take your opinion upon the Practicability of it previous to his Issuing orders for the Troops to prepare for marching.

Answer He did not as well as I can recollect. I received Gen<sup>1</sup> Sullivans orders thro Major Sherburn to draw out all such Soldiers in my Brigade as were able to stand a march & provide them with three days Provision (& Rum) Cook'd, & to Parade them at 12 O'Clock next day at his Quarters compleatly armed & accoutred to march with no other baggage, but Blankets, at the same time received his Billet, requiring my attendance on him immediately, which was comply'd with as soon as I had given the above orders, when he opened his design & took my opinion, & understood similar orders were sent to the other Brigade.

Quest. Was your opinion in favour of or against the attempt

Answer. Strongly in favour of it from an impression that it was advisable and Practicable.

Quest. Did he issue orders the Evening before the march for the Troops to draw Provision & have it Cook'd, & the troops to be in readiness to march at 12 O'Clock the next day

Answer. He Did.

Quest. Did you send him word by the Brigade Major in the morning, that your Troops would be ready to march by 11 O'Clock.

Answer. I Did.

Quest. How much nearer was Gen<sup>1</sup> Deborres Brigade encamped to the Commissarys stores than yours.

Answer. I think at least a mile & an half if not more.

Question Did the General give you orders to send off the Troops from Hanover, towards Elizabeth Town, at 12 O'Clock, by regiments Companies, or in such manner as you thought best to prevent the Suspicion of the Inhabitants, & to Rendezvous the back of Eliz<sup>th</sup> Town in the Evning—

Answer — Every order comprized, under the above Question he gave, except rendezvousing back of Elizabeth Town, which I did not recollect. However I Ordered the Troops to be halted there, & rode into Town to take his farther Orders, from which its probable, he might have given such Orders, notwithstanding I cannot remember it.

Question — Was it not your opinion, that if the Troops were moved towards Elizabeth Town, & halted, so as to proceed upon the Attack on a subsequent day, that it would be likely to Alarm the Enemy, & defeat our designs, & was not this the Reason, why we determined to do the whole in a day & night & the next morning

Answer — Ultimately it was, but I was of a different opinion, when the design was first communicated, lest the men should be too much fatigued, & not act with that Vigor & Alacrity, which is necessary in all Attacks of this nature, but for the Reasons above suggested on the Quest<sup>n</sup> waved my opinion, and the Attack was accordingly determined —

Question — What time did your Troops arrive at Elizabeth Town

Answer — About ten O'Clock at Night —

Question — At what time did your Troops begin to Embark

Answer — As near as I can recollect between 2 & 3 O'Clock in the morning

Question — Did Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan, immediately upon the

arrival of the Troops at Elizabeth Town give Orders, that they should sit down, Eat, & refresh themselves, & did not he leave them in that Situation, till you said it was time to move on —

Answer — He did —

Question — Did General Sullivan exert himself in Embarking the Troops, or not.

Answer — He did I think very much —

Question — Did you hear him frequently give Orders to Officers & Soldiers to keep together to be silent, & attentive, to the Commands of their superior Officers —

Answer — I did —

Question — Did he endeavour to Chear up the Soldiers, & promise them success, if they would be Silent, keep together, and attend to the Commands of their Officers —

Answer — He did

Question — Did he when your Brigade had Crossed pass over the Marsh on to the high Ground; give the word to be used, Furnish you with a Guide, give you your Directions, and order you to march on, and then return himself to bring up the other Brigade —

Answer — He did —

Question — Was his arrangement, on the Island agreeable to the Plan, which he had Consulted you upon —

Answer — As well as I can charge my memory, it was in ev'ry Instance, except his going with Gen<sup>l</sup> Deborres Brigade instead of mine, w<sup>ch</sup> he at first proposed, but from his ill State of Health, inform'd me he could not stand the fatigue, & urging it was more necessary to be with Deborre —

Question — Did your Guide deceive you, & was not he in your opinion the sole means of your failing, to entrap the Regm<sup>t</sup> at Dickers Fery —

Answer — He did, and am well assured, it was the Sole Cause of my not taking the British Regiment above Dongan's Mills, and the greatest part of Buskirks Regiments at the Dutch Church —

Question — Did you send M<sup>r</sup> Armstrong to inform Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan, that the Enemy were trying to get on your flanks, & you wished him to Join you, as soon as he conveniently could —

Answer — I directed M<sup>r</sup> Armstrong to inform Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan that the Enemy were endeavouring to Flank & get between us, that I should retreat in good Order, agreeable to the Plan concerted, that I should proceed to join him, but if he chose to join me, We should be able to fight, and give a good Account of them —

Question — When you met him, did you tell him, that the Men were so much fatigued, and the Enemy had so much time to Collect, that it would be at least doubtful, whether we should be an equal match, for them, without forming a Junction with Col<sup>o</sup> Ogden —

Answer — I did not as I remember, nor did I then, or have since thought such a measure would have been necessary —

Question — Had Col<sup>o</sup> Ogden recrossed with most of his troops, when we came to the Old Blazing Star.

Answer — I think (but can't be certain) he had crossed, but am sure most of his Troops had —

Question — Was not the Original Plan to form a Junction with Ogden —

Answer — It was —

Question — Did the Gen<sup>l</sup> form the troops in two Lines, near Cuckolds Town, and halt them & how long —

Answer — I do not remember the troops were formed, otherwise than in the Order of March, at or near Cuckolds Town, I recollect they were halted to

refresh in an Orchard by the Road between Cuckolds Town, and the Old Blazing Star —

Question — Did the Gen<sup>l</sup> immediately upon his Arrival at the Ferry, order that no more Horses should Cross until the men were all over, and appoint an Officer to Superintend the Embarkation —

Answer — Such Orders were repeatedly given, both by the General & myself —

Question — Did the General when he discovered a boat forsaken by the Boatmen on the opposite shore after the first Brigade had Cross'd, desire you to Cross with him —

Answer — He did.

Question — Did he, & you, put men in the boat & send her back.

Answer — We did, and found some difficulty in getting her off.

Question — Did he leave two of his Aid de Camps, to Superintend the Return of the boats from the Jersey shore —

Answer — I heard him give Orders, at least to one, if not two of his Aid de Camps to that purpose —

Question — Did he send a Third Aid de Camp to Order the boats to be double mann'd

Answer — I understand he did, but dont recollect I was present, at the delivery of such an Order, but I well remember that an Officer, or two besides the Aid de Camps &ca were sent on this Express purpose

Question — Do you know, or even suspect that Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan gave Liberty to the Soldiers to straggle over the Island, or to Plunder —

Answer — I neither know, or suspected either —

Questions — Did you on the Contrary hear him Exhort the soldiers to keep together & tell them, they would soon come to Action with the Enemy —

Answer — I heard him Exhort, and Order, the Soldiers to be kept in their Ranks, but dont recollect his telling them, they would soon come to Action —

Question — Do you think it would have been safe, to have lost time in Endeavouring to bring the Enemy to Action, which kept off your left flank, or could your troops fatigued as they were, have Compelled them to an Action, if they chose to avoid it —

Answer — I do not think it would have been adviseable to have lost time in endeavour<sup>s</sup> to bring y<sup>e</sup> Enemy to Action, nor do I think our troops, could have bro<sup>t</sup> them to it with<sup>t</sup> being much expos'd for I appreh<sup>d</sup> they would have retreated, to gain Advantage &ca —

Question — Was not the Rear Guard composed of a Party Selected in the Night, & put under the Command of Cap<sup>t</sup> Chambers, & Cap<sup>t</sup> Heron, to take Gen<sup>l</sup> Skinner —

Answer — Cap<sup>t</sup> Heron's Comp<sup>y</sup> I believe compos'd a part, and Chambers<sup>s</sup> might, but he is an Officer, I dont know, & therefore can't be certain whither it was his Comp<sup>y</sup> or not —

Question — If Captain Heron, & the other Officers Taken, or Killed near Dickers ferry had Obeyed your Orders, and marched with the Brigade, would there be any probability of their being taken —

Answer — I am certain they would not have been taken, and its probable not killed.

Question — Was it not thought adviseable, by yourself & the other Officers, when the Enemy appeared in sight, to march a Party down to the Water side, to annoy the Enemy in Flank by firing across the River —

Answer — I thought it might have a good Effect, Tho I did not expect it would annoy them much —

Question — If you had Cannon with you, would not the Marsh, on the Jersey Side, & the superiority of the

Ground, the Enemy were possessed of, on the other Side, have prevented you rising your Cannon to Effect, to Cover the Embarkation of the Party engaged with the Enemy —

Answer — I think in a great measure it would as the Distance would have been too great —

Question — Is it your opinion, that any of the misfortunes that happened to your Troops on Staten Island, were owing to the Carelessness, Inattention or Misconduct of General Sullivan —

Answer — It is not though I believe could the Design have been executed, on a subsequent day without the risque of Alarming the Enemy, when the men would have been fresh we should not have been subject to have lost so many —

N. B. — When you communicated your design of making a descent on the Island, my first Questions were, whither you could depend on your Intelligence, and having boats, you answer'd affirmatively. I then coincided with you, that it was practicable, and adviseable, and as well as I can recollect, proposed carrying our Cannon & giving the men, one Nights Respite, and making the Descent the next night, which opinions I readily waved, upon your acquainting me, that such was the Enemys communication, at, and in the Neighbourhood of Elizabeth Town, that they must inevitably discover our design, by delaying the Execution, and that Cannon would not avail, on an Expedition of such Secrecy, and dispatch, in short it was proposed to do every thing by Surprize and Bayonet

I am confident we should have got every man safe over with his Baggage, & a number of Cattle & Horses, which were drove to the Landing, had the boats come down Point Halseys Ferry, as they had been Ordered, and I have understood they were prevented by a sloop which was Taken, and in which the Prisoners were sent

over to Elizabeth Town, upon a supposition she was one of the Enemys Tenders —

Many have, and may suppose we had a force sufficient to have resisted them, without Artillery; would not the Event been Hazardous, even though we had been pretty sure, of this, when there was a fresh and fair Wind, which might have brought a Tender or two into The Sound, which must have prevented our Passage over —

Harford County ss

Swan Creek September the 7<sup>th</sup> 1777 I do hereby Certifie That Brigadier General Smallwood, read over, and made Oath to the truth of the above Answers, annexed to each of the aforegoing Questions, given the date above Written —

Joseph Cromwell

[*Mr. Armstrong's Statement. Document F.*]

Camp near New Port Sept<sup>r</sup> 6: 1777

On Thursday the 20<sup>th</sup> of August Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan's division marched from Hanover at 12 at Noon & halted between the hour of 9 & 10 at night half a mile west of Elizabeth Town — About 12 at night Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan having Previously ordered his Troops to join him at Halsteads Point, left his quarters & went to Eliz. Town in order to see that a sufficient number of Boats were provided to transport his Troops in an intended expedition against the British forces upon Staten Island — Near two in the morning the troops arrived at Halsteads point and immediately after began to embark. The Gen<sup>l</sup> shewed the utmost attention to the good order & activity in embarking & silence of the Troops, often telling them, by observing these he wou'd insure them success. Brigadier Smallwoods Brigade, in the rear of which the Generals Sullivan and Smallwood crossed, made the upland of the Island about  $\frac{1}{2}$  after 3 in the morning, & were immediately detached by Gen<sup>l</sup> Sulli-

van with a certain Cap<sup>t</sup> Dickey as Guide, to attack Lieu<sup>t</sup> Co<sup>1</sup> Buskarks Reg<sup>t</sup> of Jersey Volunteers Posted at the Dutch Church & Deckers ferry — I accompanied Gen<sup>1</sup> Smallwood as a volunteer and nothing cou'd have prevented this detachment from being as successful as the plan of the expedition entitled us, but the stupidity of our Guide, who instead of fulfilling the orders given him, by leading us between the enemy & their Forts so as to cut of their retreat & throw them between us and the troops immediately commanded by Gen<sup>1</sup> Sullivan, led us in front, where at the short distance of between a  $\frac{1}{4}$  &  $\frac{1}{2}$  of a  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a mile, we were exposed to the full view of the enemy — by this means Busksarks Reg<sup>t</sup> & a Regm<sup>t</sup> of British whose Colours we took had just time to make a precipitate retreat towards their forts which lay  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles distant. Gen<sup>1</sup> Smallwood took possession of their encampment, and while we were delay'd by burning some small vessells & destroying the stores & Forage which they left, the enemy appeared in a pretty numerous line of march evidently intending to Surround us on the right. General Smallwood immediately ordered a retreat, and dispatched me on Horseback to Gen<sup>1</sup> Sullivan requesting that he wou'd Join him, as the enemy appeared numerous and were endeavouring to Surround him — I found Gen<sup>1</sup> Sullivan near the New Star after Surprizing Lieu<sup>t</sup> Co<sup>10</sup> Barton, and taking him & some of his Regiment Prisoners — upon Delivering Brigadier Smallwoods message Gen<sup>1</sup> Sullivan ordered his troops to march for the road leading from Deckers ferry to Cuckolds Town in order to meet Gen<sup>1</sup> Smallwood; telling the Soldiers as he rode along the line of march; Now my lads we shall have some fun the Enemy are advancing & we must give them a drubbing —

Gen<sup>1</sup> Sullivan & Gen<sup>1</sup> Smallwood met near the fork

of the aforementioned road, & after halting a few minutes the division marched for Cuckolds Town where the troops halted a considerable time to refresh — we then made the old Star — I crossed with the last of Gen<sup>l</sup> Smallwoods Brigade, leaving the Generals upon the Island —

T F Armstrong volunteer  
in the expedition against  
Staten Island

Question/ What do you suppose the distance to be between the Fork of the road where the Troops made the small halt to where they made the second Halt near Cuckolds Town

Answer/ I have not enquired but think it about 4 or 5 miles.

Question. Did you discover that Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan shew any signs of fear or Confusion through the whole of the Expedition

Answer Upon honour I did not.

Quest. Did you tell Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan that you had seen the enemy, & there appeared to be a prodigious long string of them.

Answer I did.

Quest: Did the General to your knowledge give Liberty to the Soldiers to straggle & Plunder.

Answer To my knowledge he did not, and when a poor woman made Complaint to the General he promised her Redress if either the person or things cou'd be found.

Quest. Did you hear him desire the officers to keep their men together in order to receive the enemy.

Answer Yes.

Quest. Did you hear him often speak to the Soldiers & Request them to keep together & hold themselves in readiness to receive the enemy.

Answer I often heard the Gen<sup>l</sup> tell his troops to keep themselves in readiness, the enemy were advancing & we must fight them.

Quest. If the officers & soldiers of Gen<sup>l</sup> Smallwoods had obeyed the orders he gave them at Deckers ferry & came off with the Party wou'd there have been any Probability of any of his Party falling into the hands of the Enemy.

Answer No.

T. F. Armstrong

[*Major Morris's Statement. Document G.*]

Camp near New Port Sept<sup>r</sup> 6<sup>th</sup> 1777

Major General Sullivan having planned an Expedition against Staten Island, Ordered his Division, on the 20<sup>th</sup> Aug<sup>t</sup> last, to march to Elizabeth Town by Regiments; The General went forward himself, to make the necessary Preparations for the Embarkation and procure proper Guides, about 10 O'Clock in the Evening, the Divisions came into Town, and moved down to Halsteads Point, where they remain'd 'til 2 O'Clock in the morning, when General Smallwood's Brigade, began to Embark, and by day light the whole Division had compleatly crossed, during the Embarkation, the Gen<sup>l</sup> was extreamly active; evry Person must do him the Justice to acknowledge, that he was much more so, than they could have expected from an Invalid, which the Gen<sup>l</sup> certainly was at that Time — After General Smallwood's Brigade, had gained the up Land, Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan Order'd Gen<sup>l</sup> Smallwood to proceed with his Brigade to Decker's Ferry, and Attack Col<sup>o</sup> Buskierts Regm<sup>t</sup> ab<sup>t</sup> the same Time, the Gen<sup>l</sup> ordered Cap<sup>t</sup> Heron & Chambers, with a Party of L<sup>t</sup> Infantry which was detached the night before, from Col<sup>o</sup> Hazens Regm<sup>t</sup> to proceed to Gen<sup>l</sup> Skinner's Quart<sup>rs</sup> & endeavour to take

him Prisoner. This business being compleated, The Gen<sup>l</sup> sent me down to the shore to bring up Gen<sup>l</sup> De Borres Brigade, and return'd part of the way himself. When he gained the Upland, and the dispositions made, The Gen<sup>l</sup> took the Command himself of it in Person, & moved on to Attack Col<sup>o</sup> Bartons Regm<sup>t</sup> at the New Blazing Star. In our march for that Place, The Gen<sup>l</sup> frequently, ordered the soldiers to observe the strictest silence, & spirited them on to the Attack. Gen<sup>l</sup> Smallwood, who undoubtedly would have succeeded to our most Sanguine Expectations, if his Guide had not brought him in full front of the Enemy, instead of Conducting him to the Rear, this mistake gave them an opportunity to retreat to their Lines, upon the N<sup>o</sup> East point of the Island. Gen<sup>l</sup> Smallwood took four Prisoners burnt seven of their small Arm'd Vessels, & a Bagage of Forage. The Gen<sup>l</sup> understanding, that the Enemy from the Lines were endeavouring to head him, thought it most prudent, to form a Junction with Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan, which he effected near the New Star. Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan, having compleated his Business in the Quarter, took Col<sup>o</sup> Barton & about 30 of his men Prisoners, Ordered the Division to march for the Old Star. The Line of March being very irregular, The Gen<sup>l</sup> sent me forward to halt the Front, that he might put the Line in some kind of Order. The Gen<sup>l</sup> between the New Star & Cuckolds Town, was several times applied to, to halt their Division, but from the information the Gen<sup>l</sup> received of the Enemy's Intentions to head him, did not think it prudent to make a Halt, 'til he had pass'd Cuckold's Town about half a mile, where the Division halted. One Brigade advanced a little before the others. The troops being rested about an Hour, The Gen<sup>l</sup> ordered the Division to move on, upon their Arrival at the Old Star, the Embarkation of the Troops took place, and

was nearly compleated when the Enemy advanced, upon our Rear, consisting of about One hundred men, and took most of them Prisoners —

Lewis Morris A: D: C.

Question — When the Gen<sup>l</sup> arriv'd at the Ferry did he appoint an Officer to Superintend the Embarkation of the Troops, & gave possitive Orders, that no Horses or Cattle should be carried across, till the Troops were over —

Answer — I did not hear them Orders given, but from the Concurrent Testimonies of many, I have no doubt of its being the Case —

Question — When the Gen<sup>l</sup> cross'd over himself, did he in Person put a proper Crew of Hands, into the boats, send them over & leave you, & Major Eustace to superintend the return of the Boats —

Answer — The Crews were put in by himself, Major Eustace was appointed to Superintend the Embarkation, & I staid to Assist him —

Question — Could Cannon have been placed on the Jersey shore to advantage to cover the Crossing the Troops. —

Answer — The Marsh was so extensive, that they could not have answered that Purpose.

Question — Was General Sullivan in the Rear of the Division, when he sent you forward to Slacken the march of the Troops —

Answer — To the best of my knowledge, I think he was —

Question — Did you when you went forward, by his directions, desire the officers & soldiers to march in Order —

Answer — I did

Question — Did he forbid the soldiers Stragling & Plundering

Answer — I recollect that he did

Question What is the distance from the place, where he sent you forward to Cuckolds Town

Answer Three & half miles

Question — When Gen<sup>l</sup> Smallwood formed a Junction with Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan, did you hear Gen<sup>l</sup> Smallwood tell him, that the Enemy were nearly up to the Fork of the road by that time —

Answer — I recollect to have heard him say, that the Enemy were endeavouring to head him —

Question — What reply did Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan make —

Answer — We must Fight them —

Question — Did you hear Gen<sup>l</sup> Smallwood then tell him, that the Enemy had had so much time to Collect, & our Troops, were so much fatigued, that it would be a[t] least doubtful whether we should Drub them —

I recollect something of this, and clearly remember, that The Gen<sup>l</sup> replied, that this Neck (meaning the Neck, that the new Blazing Star, stands upon) was not a Post for him to maintain, & immediately Ordered the Division to march to the Old Star —

Lewis Morris A: D: C.—

[*Statement of Major Eustace. Document H.*]

Camp Near Newport Sept<sup>r</sup> 6, 1777

Orders being issued by Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan on the 20<sup>th</sup> of August for the Division to march at Twelve the next day for Eliza. Town, & to avoid any Suspicion arising of our Intention of landing on the Island it was generally supposed, & indeed reported that we were going to the Southward, nor did the General make his own family acquainted with it, till the next Evening. The Division arrived at Eliz<sup>a</sup> between Ten & Eleven after the General Supposed they were refreshed (for which he

had given orders on their arrival) He marched them down to Halsteads Point & began to embark: This was nearly Completed by day break. Gen<sup>l</sup> Smallwoods Brigade being first in the line of march were consequently first on the Island; Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan having given the necessary orders & instructions to Gen<sup>l</sup> Smallwood (after he had reached the high ground) he with the Guide (one Dickey) who was Provided for him at Eliza<sup>th</sup> Town Pursued the nearest rout for Dickers ferry & the Dutch Church, where Col<sup>o</sup> Buskarks Reg<sup>t</sup> was Stationed; Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan then dispatched his aid Major Morris to Superintend the embarkation of Deborres Brigade. This was shortly after Accomplished; when De Borres Brigade had Crossed the marsh; the Gen<sup>l</sup> making such disposition as he thought proper marched in Person with them to the forks of the Road, the left of which lead to the Dutch Church, and Deckers and was the road Gen<sup>l</sup> Smallwood had taken, the right to the new Star where Bartons Regiment was stationed, when the Gen<sup>l</sup> had nearly reach'd this, he was inform'd that the Greens were making their escape along the river side; I was immediately sent with orders to Col<sup>o</sup> Price whose Reg<sup>t</sup> formed the rear of the Brigade to file of to the right & intercept their retreat, which he partly effected & took a few prisoners; on our arrival at m<sup>r</sup> Barton Q<sup>r</sup> we found him as we expected with his Reg<sup>t</sup> ready to give us a warm reception. When Major Taylor with the advance Guard which he commanded were within three hundred Paces, they in the most Precipitate manner quitted the fence at which they were drawn up, without firing a shott at them. Their Brave Col<sup>o</sup> finding the probability of securing a retreat rather against him Surrendered himself a Prisoner of war, the Green coated party Consisted of about 50 a few of them were taken in the marsh, thro' which they endeavoured

to make their escape the others took to the Boats that were laying at the ferry stairs to which our men pursued them; The Gen<sup>l</sup> then dispatch'd a Canoe with orders to the person who had the Care of the Boats at Halsteads to send them immediately upon the old Star, when we had gone about half a mile from the ferry, the Gen<sup>l</sup> sent me back to the River with orders to Col<sup>o</sup> Ogden to join him immediately, but I was not able to procure a boat for that purpose. Doctor Armstrong (who had attended Gen<sup>l</sup> Smallwood that day as an Extra Brigade Major) came to Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan with an Account that the enemy (who from the stupidity of Dickey took the alarm as he brought them in full view at such a distance as gave them full time to prepare) and were endeavouring to surround him, & added that there was a very long string of them & begged Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan to join him as soon as possible: De Borres Brigade was immediately formed & with the Gen<sup>l</sup> march'd to the assistance of Smallwood; whom we met about a mile & an half on the road leading from the N. Star to Dickers ferry, the whole Division then marched a little beyond Cuckolds Town & halted in two lines on two advantagious heights for more than an hour: we then proceeded on to the Old Star ferry where we arrived at 12 o'Clock and found Col<sup>o</sup> M. Ogden & M<sup>r</sup> Barber Lieu<sup>t</sup> Co<sup>l</sup> of Daytons Corps whose regiments had just cross'd the river — we immediately began to cross (to Superintend which Major worden was appointed on that shore) Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan Gen<sup>l</sup> Smallwood & Gen<sup>l</sup> De Borre crossed in the rear of Smallwoods Brigade. I was ordered to superintend the Boats on this side the River in which Major Morris was polite enough to assist me, till it was Completed except the rear Guard and stragglers that were attacked by the Enemy.

Quest. Did Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan halt at the forks of that

Road leading from the new Blazing Star into the main road till the Division had passed him, except the rear Guard.

Ans<sup>r</sup> I remember Perfectly he did.

Quest. What was the distance from the fork to where the van Guard then stood.

Ans<sup>w</sup><sup>r</sup> Not more than three hundred or four hundred Paces

Quest: What was the distance from the fork to where the Troops halted near Cuckolds Town

Ans<sup>w</sup><sup>r</sup> One of the Inhabitants of whom I then enquired told me between four & five miles.

Quest: Did the Gen<sup>l</sup> send you forward between those places to inform the front that they marched too fast & to desire them to march slow & in good order.

Ans<sup>w</sup><sup>r</sup> Twice

Quest. Did you hear the Gen<sup>l</sup> desire the officers to keep their men together & in good order.

Ans<sup>w</sup><sup>r</sup> Frequently.

Quest. Did you hear him forbid plundering the Inhabitants

Ans<sup>w</sup><sup>r</sup> I was sent to the heights on the complaint of a poor woman who had been robb'd, with orders from the Gen<sup>l</sup> to have her goods return'd to her, & the person who had stolen them Confin'd.

Quest: Did you hear him exhort the Soldiers to keep together & be in readiness to receive the Enemy.

Ans<sup>w</sup><sup>r</sup> I did repeatedly as he rode thro' the line.

Quest. Did he after the enemy appeared come down on the marsh to the shore & endeavour to get the Boats across & remain there till the Pickett had Surrendered.

Ans<sup>w</sup><sup>r</sup> He did.

J S Eustace Aid de Camp  
Major General Lee

[*Col. Price's Testimony. Document I.*]INTERROGATIONS TO COL<sup>o</sup> PRICE

Quest<sup>n</sup>. Was you in the expedition of General Sullivan to Staten Island

Answer. I was

Quest<sup>n</sup>. Did he appear to be active and attentive in Getting over and Arranging his men

Answer. I think he was

Question. Was you in that Division which he Commanded in person

Answer. I Was

Question. Did he make Such Disposition as you thought most proper to intercept the enemy and prevent their Escaping —

Answer. I think he did.

Question. Did he after he had taken Col<sup>o</sup> Barton and some of his Regiment prisoners and was returning to Join General Smallwood desire you to keep your men Together and in proper order to receive the enemy

Answer. He did so and informed me he expected the enemy wou'd Attack General Smallwood by the time we cou'd Join him at the Cross Roads

Question. Do you Know Any thing of his giving permission to the Soldiers to Straggle over the Island to plunder —

Answer. Not to my Knowledge.

Question. Did the Regiment you commanded Bring up the rear of the Main body after the Junction was formed with General Smallwood —

Answer. They did.

Question. Did you Halt with your Regiment at Couckolds Town and how Long

Answer. They did but how long I can't tell as I was much fatigued and had Gen<sup>l</sup> De Borre's leave to go forward and Cross the Ferry —

Question. When the General arrived at the Old Star Ferry did he give positive orders that no horses or cattle shou'd be carried across till all the troops were over and appoint an officer to Superintend the Imbarkation

Answer. I was not present but I was told he did.

Question. When the enemy appeared in Sight did he go Down to the Shore and endeavour to get the Boats over & remain there till the rear picket had surrendered

Answer. I was not present.

Question. Cou'd cannon have been placed to advantage on the Jersey Shore to have covered the Crossing the Troops when the enemy were in possession of heights on the opposite Shore

Answer. The Heights on the Island Command the Jersey Shore at the old Star Ferry

Question. Is it your Opinion that any of the misfortunes that happened that day were Owing to the Carelessness Inattention or Misconduct of General Sullivan.

Answer. It is my Opinion Gen<sup>l</sup> Smallwoods Brigade Shou'd have recrossed the Sound at the place the Division Crossed at

Question. Did you discover any Signs of fear or Confusion in General Sullivan in the Course of the expedition.

Answer. Not the least.

Tho Price Col<sup>o</sup>  
2 Maryland Regim<sup>t</sup>

[*Major Adams's Testimony. Document K.*]

INTERROGATORIES TO MAJ<sup>r</sup> ADAMS —

Question. Was you in the expedition to Staten Island with General Sullivan

Answer. I was on the 20<sup>d</sup> of Septem<sup>r</sup> last.

Question. What Division was you in, was it the one Commanded by himself or the One Commanded by General Smallwood

Answer. The one commanded by General Smallwood

Question. Have you any reasons to doubt of General Smallwood taking or destroying the Troops at Dickers ferry if he had not been deceived by his Guide

Answer. Who General Smallwood was decieved by I do not know as I knew nothing of the plan or orders but certain it is if the party had been properly lead on or conducted the enemy at Dickers ferry must have fallen in our hands

Question. When he gave orders to his party to retire & form a Junction with General Sullivan woud there have been any probability of any of his officers or men being lost if those orders had been attended to

Answer. When he gave orders to retire if the whole of his party had marched off Together and had kept together, I believe neither officer nor man wou'd have been lost from the time he gave those orders till he formed a Junction with General Sullivan.

Question. When did General Smallwood form a Junction with General Sullivan

Answer. I do not know the hour of the day but as well as I recollect it was between the hours of 10 and 12 oClock A. M.

Question. How far was it from thence to Couckolds Town

Answer. As near as I can Judge, about four or five Miles

Question. Did the troops halt near Couckolds Town and how long.

Answer. The troops halted near Couckolds Town about one hour and a Quarter

Question. Did General Sullivan exert himself in embarking and arranging his troops

Answer. When the troops embarked for the Island I observed the greatest Attention and exertion paid by General Sullivan both to embark & keep proper order

Question. Did he enjoin order, Silence and Attention upon them frequently and assure them that the Success of the expedition depended upon it

Answer. At Sundry Times —

Question. Do you know any thing of his giving permission to the Soldiers to Straggle over the Island to plunder

Answer. I never heard General Sullivan give any Such permission

Question. When the General arrived at the Old Starr did he appoint any officer to Superintend the embarkation of the troops

Answer. I was not present when the officer was appointed, who Superintended the embarkation of the troops, but when our Regiment embarked, I found an officer on the wharff, who informed me he was appointed for that purpose.

Question. Did he give positive orders that no horses or Cattle shou'd be carried over till the troops had all Cross'd

Answer. I heard the Officer repeatedly give orders that no Horses Shoud be carried over the river untill the troops had got over

Question. When he Cross'd himself did he leave two of his Aid de Camps to Superintend the return of the Boats

Answer. I do not know

Question. When the enemy appeared in Sight did he go down to the Shore & endeavour to get the Boats over & remain there till the rear Picket had surrendered

Answer. When the rear Picket was attack'd, I was about one mile from the General with my Regim<sup>t</sup> But I rode down to the Shore when I discovered a number of men drawn up, on the Marsh and was inform'd Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan was with them —

Question. Cou'd cannon have been placed to advantage on the Jersey Shore to have covered the troops in Crossing when the enemy were possessed of the Heights on the opposite Shore —

Answer. As the Jersey Shore was much lower than the heights the enemy had possession of on the Island I think cannon wou'd have been but very little Service to our Troops —

Question. Did you while on the Island discover any signs of fear or Confusion in General Sullivan

Answer. To my knowledge I did not

Question. Is it your Opinion that any of the misfortunes that happen'd that day was Owing to the Carelessness inattention or misconduct of General Sullivan

Answer. The above Question I cannot be a Judge of, as I was often from the General in the course of the expedition and Knew Nothing of the plan that was laid to Execute the expedition —

Dan<sup>l</sup> J. Adams

[*Major Vaughan's Testimony, Document L.*]

#### INTERROGATORIES TO MAJOR VAUGHAN

Question. Was you in the Expedition with Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan to Staten Island —

Answer. Yes

Question. Did he appear to be active and attentive in giting over and Arranging his troops

Answer. Yes as active as it was possible for a man to be

Question. Was you in the Division Commanded by him or that Commanded by General Smallwood

Answer. In that Commanded by General Smallwood

Question. Have you any Reason to doubt of General Smallwoods taking or destroying the troops at Dickers Ferry, if he had not been deceived by his guide

Answer. I am of Opinion that If General Smallwood's Division had been taken in the rear instead of the Front of the enemy they must have fallen into our Hands, but what were the instructions given the guide, cannot say.

Question When he gave orders to his party to Retire & form a Junction with General Sullivan would there have been a Probability of any of his Officers & men being Lost if those orders had been Attended to.

Answer. I think they would not.

Question. At what time did General Smallwood form a Junction with General Sullivan.

Answer. Between the fork of the road and the New Blaizing Star, & I think about eleven OClock A. M.

Question. How far was it from Cuckolds Town.

Answer. About four Miles.

Question. Did the troops halt at Cuckolds Town & how long.

Answer. Yes near the Town, something better than an hour

Question. Did General Sullivan Enjoyn silence & order upon his Men and assure them that the success of the expedition depended on it

Answer. Yes.

Question. Do you know any thing of his giving permission to the Soldiers to straggle over the Island to plunder

Answer. No but positively ordered the contrary.

Question. When the General arrived at the old blazing Star did he appoint an officer to superintend the embarcation of the troops.

Answer. Yes Major Woodson was Appointed

Question. Did he give positive orders that no Horses or Cattle should be carried over till all the troops had Crossed.

Answer. Yes I understood from Major Woodson such were the orders.

Question. When he crossed himself, did he leave two of his Aid de Camps to superintend the return of the Boats.

Answer. I saw two of the Generals Aid de Camps on the Jersey side after the General had Crossed.

Question. When the enemy were in sight did he go down to the shore and endeavour to git over and remain there 'till the rear Picket had surrendered

Answer. Yes.

Question. Could Cannon have been placed to advantage on the Jersey shore to have covered our Troops in Crossing when the enemy were possessed of the Heights on the opposite Shore

Answer. I do not think Cannon could have been placed opposite the Picket to advantage, but that it might have been of Service about half a Mile below.

Question. Did you while on the Island Discover any signs of fear or confution in General Sullivan.

Answer. No not the least.

Question. Is it your opinion that any of the Misfortunes that happened that Day were owing to the Carelessness Inattention or Misconduct of General Sullivan.

Answer. No.

Joseph Vaughan M. D R

[*Major William Sterrett's Testimony. Document M.*]

#### INTERROGATORIES TO MAJOR STERETT

Ques<sup>n</sup>. Was you in the Expedition to Staten Island with Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan

Answer I was

Question What Division was you in, was it the one Commanded by himself, or the one commanded by General Smallwood

Answer In the one Commanded by General Smallwood

Question Have you any reasons to doubt of Gen<sup>l</sup> Smallwoods taking or destroying the Troops at Dickers ferry, if he had not been deceived by the guide.

Answer Had General Smallwoods Guide taken him another Road, I think there would have been a great probability of his making prisoners or destroying the Troops at Dickers ferry

Question When he gave orders to his party to return and form a junction with General Sullivan, wou'd there have been any Probability of any of his officers or men being lost, if those orders had been attended to

Answer. Had there been positive orders for the men not to plunder, and had the Troops not been almost incapable of marching owing to the Fatigues of the last night. In my Opinion few officers or men wou'd have been lost

Question. Where did Gen<sup>l</sup> Smallwood form a junction with Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan

Answer. On the Road to the New Star ferry, as well as I Recollect

Question. How far was it from thence to Cuckholds Town

Answer. I do not know the Distance

Question. Did the Troops halt near Cuckolds Town & how long

Answer. The Troops halted not far from Cuckolds Town, and about three Quarters of an hour

Question. Did General Sullivan exert himself in embarking and arranging his Troops

Answer. He did

Quest<sup>n</sup>. Did he enjoin Order, Silence, and Attention upon them frequently and assure them that the success of the Expedition depended upon it

Answ<sup>r</sup>. He did

Quest<sup>n</sup>. Do you know any thing of his giving permission to the soldiers to straggle over the Island to plunder

Answ<sup>r</sup>. I do not know that he did

Quest<sup>n</sup>. When the General Arriv'd at the Old Star, did he appoint an officer to superintend the Embarkation of the Troops

Answ<sup>r</sup>. I know that an officer superintended the Embarkation of the Troops

Quest<sup>n</sup>. Did he give positive orders that no Horses or Cattle should be carried over, till the Troops had all Cross'd

Answ<sup>r</sup>. I heard Major Woodson say, it was the Generals orders, that no Horses or Cattle should be carried Over, till the Troops had cross'd

Quest<sup>n</sup>. When he Cross'd himself, did he leave two of his Aid de Camps to superintend the Return of the Boats

Answ<sup>r</sup>. I cross'd with the Reg<sup>t</sup> before the General Cross'd therefore do not know that he left two of his aid de Camps to superintend the return of the Boats

Quest<sup>n</sup>. When the Enemy appeared in sight, did he go down to the shore and endeavour to get the boats Over and Remain there till the rear Picquett had surrendered

Answ<sup>r</sup>. Before the Enemy appeared, I march'd with the Reg<sup>t</sup> towards Spank Town, consequently I do not know that the Gen<sup>l</sup> went to the Landing

Quest<sup>n</sup>. Cou'd Cannon have been plac'd to Advantage on the Jersey shore to have coverd the Troops in Crossing when the Enemy were possess'd of the heights on the opposite shore

Answ<sup>r</sup>. In my Opinion Cannon cou'd not have been placed to Advantage at the Old Star, but at Halsteads Landing Cannon might have been of great service

Quest<sup>n</sup>. Did you while on the Island discover any signs of fear or Confusion in General Sullivan

Answ<sup>r</sup>. I did not

Quest<sup>n</sup>. Is it your Opinion that any of the misfortunes that happened that day, were owing to the Carelessness, Inattention or misconduct of General Sullivan

Answ<sup>r</sup>. In my Opinion General Sullivan made use of every exertion and was extremely anxious that the Troops shou'd cross from the Island as soon as possible, but I must impute our principal loss of that day to a neglect in not providing and disposing the boats properly for the security of the Retreat

[Not signed.]

[*The President's Summary.*]

On considering the several matters Alledg'd, and several Evidences as follows, it appears on the day of Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan's march from Hanover, that Provisions were ready, to be Issued to Gen<sup>l</sup> de Bores Brigade, in time to have enabled them to march, at the time appoint<sup>d</sup> by Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan, and that their not being ready, till three hours afterwards, must have been owing to the negligence of the Officers of that Brigade, for it appears, that De Bores Brigade Had their Provisions drawn the Evening before, & that Smallwood's Brigade which lay at a much greater distance from the Commissary's, had their Provisions & were ready to march an hour before the appointed time. It appears that Major Taylor must have been mistaken, as for the time allowed for halting the Troops, for it appears that at Chatham, they halted at least half an hour, and at least 3 hours more before

their Embarkation, in the Neighbourhood of Halsteads Point & Elizabeth Town, and had there been any fault in the March of the Troops, it could not have been owing to Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan, as he was gone forward to get the Boats ready, at the proposed places of Embarkation, that if the troops had not so much time to refresh as they ought to have, it was owing to Gen<sup>l</sup> De Bores Brigade delaying their march three hours after the Time they were Ordered. As to sending the two men in the Canoe, with a broken Paddle, to carry Orders for the boats, & Waggon to proceed to the Old Blazing Star, appears from the Evidence, that Antecedent Orders had been given, to the Officer, who had Charge of them, to proceed to the Old Blazing Star, On his hearing the Fire proceed that way, and that the stoppage of the boats, was not owing to the want of Orders, but to the appearance of a Sloop in which Col<sup>o</sup> Ogden sent off his Prisoners, and which was mistaken for one of the Enemys Tenders — It appears from the Evidence, that it would have been very improper, to have halted the Division until they came to Cuckolds Town, at which Place they halted a full Hour, and not half only as Maj<sup>r</sup> Taylor asserts — That the Stragling march was contrary to the Express Orders of Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan, deliv<sup>d</sup> by himself in Person, and by his Aids repeatedly — It also appears that the Light Infantry of Hazens, were only halted for the purpose of bringing up Stragglers to the Rear Guard, as Asserted — It appears by a number of Evidences that Major Woodson, was early appointed to superintend the reembarkation of the Troops, at the Old Blazing Star, and that he exerted himself much for that purpose — It also appears, that Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan appointed two of his Aids, to see that the boats returned with Expedition from the Jersey side — It appears in the fullest manner, from the Evidence That Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan gave

repeated Orders, in the most positive terms against Plunderings — That altho: two men were killed by the Enemys Artillery while on the Marsh In the Jersey's, still it appears to have been a proper measure to Station the Troops there, in Order to Cover the retreat of the Rear Guard, & that it had a good Effect, in checking the Enemy — It appears that after the return of the Troops from Staten Island, that Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan immediately took every measure necessary to furnish his Troops, with Provision, and to refresh them, and for this purpose, ordered the whole of his Troops to assemble at Elizabeth Town; That Gen<sup>l</sup> Smallwood, with his Brigade, did actually go to Elizabeth Town, and were there furnish'd with Provisions, but that Gen<sup>l</sup> Debores, contrary to his positive Orders, did march off towards Chatham; On hearing of which Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan expressed his displeasure, and immediately sent Orders to Gen<sup>l</sup> Debores to halt his Troops, at Springfield, where there were plenty of Provisions — That Gen<sup>l</sup> Debores instead of Obeying his Order, sent word back, That his troops were on the March, & that they should go to Chatham — & that was the reason why the March of that Brigade was so greatly prolonged before they were Refreshed —

It appears from the Evidences & Papers, That Major Taylors opinion is not founded in the best Information, and that he has been grossly mistaken in a number of Assential Particulars, of the Expedition — The above in answer to Major Taylors Evidence — Major Reed says that Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan's Aid de Camps, procured Horses in the Island, for the General & themselves — It appears from the Evidence that this was Assentially necessary — The General & his Aids not having carried their Horses over to the Island —

Sterling — President

[*Findings of the Court of Inquiry*]Camp at Toamensing October 12<sup>th</sup> 1777 —

At a Court of enquiry held at Major General Lord Sterlings Quarters by order of his Excellency General Washington to examine into the Conduct of Major General Sullivan in the expedition Commanded by him to Staten Island in the Month of August last

Present

Major General Lord Stirling President

Brigadier General McDougal

Brigadier General Knox

Colonel Spencer

Colonel Clark

} Members

The Court after having the evidences against the conduct of Major General Sullivan and those produced by him in his defence, and duly considering the Same are Unanimously of Opinion That the expedition against the enemy on Staten Island was eligible and promised Great advantages to the cause of America. That the expedition was well concerted, and the orders for the execution proper, and wou'd have Succeeded with reputation to the General and Troops under his command had it not in Some measure been rendered abortive by accidents which were out of the power of the General to foresee or prevent. That General Sullivan was particularly active in embarking the Troops to the Island and took every precaution in his power to bring them off. That he made early provision at Elizabeth Town for refreshing the Troops of his Division when they returned to Jersey, and that upon the Maturest consideration of the evidence in possession of this Court General Sullivan's conduct in planning and executing the expedition was such in the Opinion of this Court that he merits the approbation of his Country and not its censure. The Court therefore are Unani-

mously of Opinion that he ought to Stand honourably Acquitted of any unsoldier like Conduct in the expedition to Staten Island. —

Stirling  
 Alex. McDougal  
 Henry Knox  
 Oliver Spencer  
 T. Clark

---

[*Eliphalet Dyer to Gen. Sullivan, Oct. 11, 1777.*]

[Letters of Members of the Continental Congress, vol. 2, p. 517.]

York Town, Octob<sup>r</sup> 11<sup>th</sup> 1777

*Sir* I had the pleasure of hearing your letter read in Congress yesterday I was pleased with your manly Justification and Appeal, but as I had often rise[n] in Congress for your Vindication against the Unjust and Malign Calumny of your Enemies (which every good brave spirited and Virtuous man will have) I could not bare after you had often braved and defyed every danger from the Enemies of your Country you should prove a Coward when attacked by your personal ones of your own Country; sink under unjust reproach, and submit to the servile humiliating Terms of your Cruel foes, who have Attackd you with the poisonous darts of Calumny in order to effect the very purpose of your quitting the Army which in the Close of your letter you tamely yield to them. Sir, you that have braved every danger for the sake of your Country: are you afraid of the reproach of your dastardly foes who by and by if you boldly attack them and maintain your ground which you are well able to do must servilely hide themselves behind the Curtain and sink under your Superior Merit. Sir you are not alone, you have friends enough in Con-

gress and among your Countrymen who dare, and will support you against all their Malice and Envy which has already recoild in a great measure on their own heads and must soon terminate I dare say in their own Confusion. if you will only maintain your ground and boldly disdain to leave the field to the Triumph of your Enemies, all their Attacks will only tend to Illustrate your carracter and make your Virtues displayd in the Cause of your Country more and more Conspicuous. if I had time and it was proper in the way of a letter I could give you a satisfactory account how your Enemies prevailed to Induce Congress to come into those hasty resolves which touch you so terribly I know you must feel them and you ought to some of your friends I think yeilded too much and believe they thot for the publick good. Sch—ler and St—C—r<sup>1</sup> were continually brot on the stage, and no one but a N E—d<sup>2</sup> man could satisfye their resentments, and to have taken one of a low Carracter, would not answer their purpose. Wherefore as they were to be brot to a Court of Enquiry so must you, as they must be recalled till an Enquiry could be had, so must you or our Conduct must be deemed partial. this had an unhappy effect on some unwarry, and incautious the bate took, it catched in an unlucky hour, or I may say moment, and was as soon repented of by some. they were brot to their senses before the Genll letter come but that put it in their power to reverse the sudden decree a Court of Enquiry I dare say will Terminate much more to your honor than if your friend could have avoided it. but Sir Never Yield to the Enemies of your Country nor to the Malignity of your personal foes till, Providence, which I trust if you Continue and persevere in Virtue and the glorious cause

<sup>1</sup>Schuyler and St. Clair.

<sup>2</sup>New England.

in which your Engaged will give you a Compleat Victory over both, or if you must dye boldly die a martyr and not with the reproach of a suicide.

they begin to repent. Persevere.

a short line from you would be very acceptable and gratefully received.

---

[*Thomas Burke to Gen. Sullivan, Oct. 12, 1777.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

York Oct<sup>r</sup> 12<sup>th</sup> 1777

*Sir* I was present at the action of Brandiwine and saw and heard enough to convince me that the Fortune of the day was injured by Miscarriages where you Comanded.

I understood you were several days posted with the Command on the Right Wing, that you were Cautioned by the Commander in chief early in the day to be particularly attentive to the Enemy's Motions who he supposed would attempt to cross higher up the Creek and attack your Flank, that you were furnished with proper Troops for reconnotring, and yet you were so ill informed of the Enemy's motions that they came up at a time and by a rout which you did not expect. that you Convey'd Intelligence to the Commander in Chief which occasioned his Countermanding the Dispositions he had made for encountering them on the rout by which it afterwards appeared they were actually advancing. that when at length the mistake was discovered you brought up your own Division by an unnecessary Circuit of two Miles, and in the greatest disorder, from which they never recovered, but fled from the fire of the Enemy without resistance. that the miscarriages on that Wing made it Necessary to draw off a great part of the Strength from the Center which

exposed General Wayne to the Superiority of the Enemy. —

I heard Officers on the Field lamenting in the bitterest Terms that they were cursed with such a Command<sup>r</sup> and I overheard Numbers during the Retreat Complain of you as an Officer whose evil Conduct was forever productive of Misfortunes to the Army — From these Facts I concluded that your Duty as a General was not well performed. Otherwise the Enemy's motions on the Wing where you particularly Commanded would not have been unknown to you during great part of the day of action, nor could they have advanced by an unknown and unexpected rout, for you ought to have made yourself well acquainted with the Ground. Nor would you have brought up your Troops by an unnecessary Circuit and in disorder, which exposed them to be Surprised and broken.

I also concluded that the Troops under your Command had no Confidence in your Conduct, and from the many Accounts I had Officially received of your miscarriages, I conceived, and am still possessed of an Opinion that you have not sufficient Talents for your rank and office, tho I believe you have Strong dispositions to discharge your Duty well —

I consider it as one Essential part of my Duty to Attend to the Appointments of the Army, and where I perceive that any person so unqualified as I deem you to be has got into a Command, where Incompetence may be productive of disasters and disgrace, it is my Duty to Endeavour at removing him. In discharge of this I gave to Congress all the Information I was able, carefully distinguishing what I saw, what I heard, and from whom, as far as I was acquainted with persons. I urged your recall with all the force I could, and thought it, and still do think it necessary for the public good

because, in all your Enterprises and in every part of your Conduct, even as represented by yourself, you Seem to be void of Judgement and foresight in concerting, of deliberate Vigor in Executing, and of presence of mind under Accidents and Emergencies — and from these defects Seem to me to arise your repeated ill Success. —

These Seem to me to form the great Essentials of a Military Character — nor do I think you the only Officer in our army who is deficient in them — Nor were my Endeavours to free the army from Insufficient Officers intended to be Confined to you. I scarcely know your person, and was not conscious of any Injury from you. — for a particular Reason I should have had great pleasure in Justly forming a better Opinion of you, but no reason can induce me to overlook the defects of Officers on whom so much depends. Nor will any thing deter me from pursuing the measures Suggested by my own Judgement

I have now related every thing which I acted with relation to you in Congress together with my motives — I have Set down every Intelligence, and the Opinion I gave concerning you. What Hills you struggled for what fires you Sustained, I neither saw or heard of. Your personal Courage I meddled not with. I had no knowledge of it, and I was Cautious to Say nothing unjust or unnecessary. my objection to you is want of Sufficient Tallents, and I consider it as your misfortune, not fault. it is my Duty, as far as I can, to prevent its being the Misfortune of my Country.

The purpose of this Information is that you may Indubitably know I gave Congress all the Intelligence and Opinions Concerning you here set down, and then to ask you in direct Terms if you meant the disrespectful Expressions in your late Letter to Congress on the Sub-

ject of your Conduct at Brandiwine to be applied to me? If you did Sir I must inform you, you are mistaken in the matter Contained in those Expressions. my demeanor was entirely void of parade and Ostentation, and entirely Simple and attentive. I did not Gallop my Horse at all but when I attempted to rally some of your flying Troops. The manner of those Expressions which I suppose you meant for Wit and Sarcasm are as unbecoming the Soldier as the Gentleman, and Inconsistent with that plain and dignified Simplicity which ought to be the Stile of persons in either rank. Were quaint Witicisms my Tallent I should not

[The remainder of this letter is missing. Burke was a member of Congress from North Carolina.]

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to John Hancock, Oct. 17, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Continental Congress Papers, No. 160, Library of Congress.]

Camp on Metuchin Hill October 17<sup>th</sup> 1777

*Dear Sir* I do myself The Honor to Inclose Congress a Copy of The Result of The Court of Inquiry Respecting my Conduct on Staten Island — after perusing which & Examining The Evidence Sent by me in a former Letter Congress must be at Some Loss to know how it was possible for Lieu<sup>t</sup> Col<sup>o</sup> Smith & Major Taylor to write So warmly against me to their Friends in Congress when there was no Colour for it — I Shall now give Congress the Key to it & it will no Longer Remain a Mistery — on the 12th of August Last when my Troops Lay at Hanover Those Two Gentlemen attacked Major Sherburne (who acted as Dep<sup>y</sup> adj<sup>t</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup>) on the publick Parade before all the Soldiers about the Severity of the Duty Averring That there was no neces-

sity of Pickets or out Guards as we were in a friendly Country & the Enemy at Such a Distance. This was Said with heat on the one Side & Replied to with as much warmth on the other — I was much Surprized at hearing So Dangerous a Doctrine had been advanced by Field officers before the Soldiers of my Division — I knew it was an Established Rule among military men to use the Same precautions in a Friends Country as in an Enemys a Relaxation or neglect of Military Duty has proved the Destruction of many Armys. The Fate of Hanibal after his Troops had Tasted the Delights of Capua was a Striking Instance of The Evil Tendency which follows Those Neglects. I Therefore on the next Day Issued the orders to my Division which you have Inclosed — This matter being known Throughout the Division it was Easily perceived against whom The orders were pointed — This was by them Deemed unpardonable & Retaliation I Suppose Determined on but no opportunity offered till the affair of Staten Island. They immediately began to make a party against me in which they were warmly Seconded by The *valorous & Entrepid General De Borre* whose Sagacity first Discovered That the British Troops affixed Fishhooks to their Balls one of which (as he Informed General Conway) unfortunately wounded him in the Cheek as he was Running Away from the Enemy at Brandywine. I hear that he is now Soliciting to be made a Major General To which this important Discovery Together with his Military Conduct in General well Intitles him. This Sir was the foundation of all the Clamor Raised ag<sup>t</sup> me — but every Engine was Set at work to Raise a Report Throughout The Country That my officers in General were Dissatisfied with my Conduct. This Report Coming to the hearing of the officers They have met on this occasion and the Regiments have many of

them Delivered in & the others are making out papers Similar to the one you have Enclosed from Col<sup>o</sup> Fords Reg<sup>t</sup> — I believe Some few officers in Hazens Reg<sup>t</sup> will not do it but many of them have & Some Conclude by Saying that if they could be as happy with the Field officers of Col<sup>o</sup> Hazens Regiment as with me they would be as happy as they could wish —

I hope after my having Dealt thus openly with Congress & Laid Every thing before them the party who have Risen up against me will at Least be Sensible That they Injured me without Cause — I am happy That my Conduct in Military Life thus far will bear the Strictest Scrutiny & Every Enquiry into it will Redound to my Honor but I am far from Expecting this always to be the Case. I well know That I am in Common with the Rest of mankind Liable to Error and it must be a miracle if I Escape them all — at the Same time Though at a Distance from the Senate I know That there is a party who would Improve the first to work my Ruin. This was the only motive that Induced me to ask Leave to Retire from the Army it was not because I was weary of Serving my Country but to Secure my Reputation it is Exceeding hard for me to fight against the Enemy's of my Country & at the same time Combat with the very persons I am fighting for. The Last Action Took off half my family perhaps the next may Sweep the Residue and Involve me in their Fate & what is Still more Terrible to me my Reputation may unjustly perish by my Side. This Sir is a poor Encouragement to Sacrifice that Life which I have often ventured in my Countrys Cause & to Exchange Domestick Ease for the Dusty field of Mars. But as Every American Looks up to Congress for Justice I cannot perswade myself that Congress will Refuse Either to approve my Conduct publickly or grant me Leave to Retire from the army.

[*Resolve of Congress, Oct. 20, 1777.*]

[Journals of the Continental Congress, vol. 9, p. 822.]

*Resolved*, That the result of the court of enquiry into the expedition of Staten Island, so honourable to the character of General Sullivan, is highly pleasing to Congress, and that the opinion of the said court be published in justification of the injured character of that officer.

---

[*Eliphalet Dyer to Gen. Sullivan, Oct. 23, 1777.*]

[Letters of Members of the Continental Congress, vol. 2, p. 530.]

York Town Octob<sup>r</sup> 23<sup>d</sup> 1777

Dear Gen<sup>l</sup> . . . . The Gent<sup>n</sup> from N — H — re you mention,<sup>1</sup> am well persuaded has no very Cordial friendship for you. You know him and I need say no more, but in Justice to him I can say that on every Occasion wherein you have been Attacked in Congress he has thrown in his mite in your favour and given his Vote against every measure which has been proposed against you. but to Conclude you may rest Satisfied that you have obtained a Compleat Victory and Conquest over your Enemies in Congress (and those who have attacked you without) they now ware long faces, they hang their heads, they are mute, you will hear no farther from them; every attack that has been made upon you is now despised. Your friends not only rejoice but Triumph, all the malice of your Enemies is disarmed of its Sting and Venome therefore I trust you will pay no more regard to the barking tribe but, shine on; every attempt of detraction, instead of effecting its purpose, and design, has had a Contrary effect, and

<sup>1</sup> Nathaniel Folsom was at this time the only delegate from New Hampshire.

placed your merit in a more Conspicuous light, than if no attack had been made upon you. . . . .

---

[*Gen. Washington to Gen. Sullivan, Oct. 24, 1777.*  
*Copy Unsigned.*]

[Washington Papers, Library of Congress.]

Head Quarters October 24<sup>th</sup> 1777

*Dear Sir,* It ever has been, and I hope ever will be, a ruling principle with me, to endeavour to do impartial justice to every officer over whom I have the honor to preside. — I shall therefore, in answer to the quaeries contained in your letter of this date, readily declare —

That, although I ascribed the misfortune which happened to us on the 11th of September, principally to the information of Major Spear, transmitted to me by you; yet I never blamed you for conveying that intelligence. On the contrary, considering from whom, and in what manner it came to you, I should have thought you culpable in concealing it. The Major's rank, reputation and knowledge of the country gave him a full claim to credit and attention.

His intelligence was no doubt a most unfortunate circumstance; as it served to derange the disposition that had been determined on, in consequence of prior information of the enemy's attempt to turn and attack our right flank, which ultimately proving true, too little time was left us, after discovering its certainty, to form a new plan, and make adequate arrangements to prevent its success. Hence arose that hurry and consequent confusion which afterwards ensued. — But it was not your fault that the intelligence was eventually found to be erroneous.

With respect to your other quaere, whether your

being posted on the right was to guard that flank and if you had neglected it? I can only observe, that the obvious, if not declared purpose of your being there implied every necessary precaution for the security of that flank. — But it is at the same time to be remarked, that all the fords above Chads, which we were taught to apprehend danger from, were guarded by detachments from your division; and that we were led to believe by those whom we had reason to think well acquainted with the Country, that no ford above our picquets could be passed, without making a very circuitous march. —

Upon the whole then, no part of your conduct preceeding the action was, in my judgment, reprehensible. What happened on your march to the field of battle, your disposition there, and behaviour during the action, I can say nothing about, no part 'till the retreat commenced having come under my immediate observation. — I can only add therefore, that the whole tenor of your conduct, so far as I have had opportunities of judging, has been spirited and active.

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to Meshech Weare, Oct. 25, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[New Hampshire Archives, Revolution, vol. 8, p. 227.]

Camp at White Marsh October 25<sup>th</sup> 1777

*Much Esteemed Sir* I hope The Constant movement of our Army Since the Battle of Germantown will Apologize for my not having before given you a particular account of This unsuccessful affair — upon receiving Intelligence that part of the Enemys force was Detached for particular purposes & that their main army lay Encamped with their Left wing on the west Side of the Road Leading through German Town flanked by the

Hessian forces who were Encamped on the Schulkil & their Right on the East Side of the Road Extending to a wood about one mile from the Town with their Light Infantry Encamped in a Line in their Front within Less than Quarter of a mile of their Picket at Mount Airey — upon this Intelligence it was agreed in Council That we Should march the Night of the Third Instant & attack the Enemy in the following manner — my own & waines Division were to Compose the right wing which I had the Honor to Command. This wing was to be Sustained by the Corps De Reserve Composed of Nashes and Manuels Brigade Commanded by Major General Lord Sterling — the Right wing was to be flanked by Conways Brigade which Lead the Column. The whole of these marched Down the Skipback Road Leading over Chestnut Hill into German Town. General Armstrong with about a Thousand Pennsylvania Militia was to pass Down the Egypt Road which Runs near the Schulkill & attack the Hessians which Covered the Enemys Left Flank. The Left wing was Composed of Greens and Stephen's Division Commanded by Major General Green which were to march Down the York Road & attack the Enemys Right while The Troops I had The Honor to Command attacked their Left. General M<sup>c</sup>Dougles Brigade was to attack their Right Flank & Smallwoods Division & Foremans Brigade of militia were to march a further Circuit & Attack the Rear of their Right wing. The Reason of our Sending So many Troops to attack their right was because it was supposed That if This wing of the Enemy could be forced their army must have been pushed into the Sculkill or have been compelled to Surrender. Therefore Two Thirds of the Army at Least were Detached to oppose the Enemys Right. The attack was to begin on all Quarters at Day Break — our Army Left their

own Encampment at Metuchen Hill at nine in the Evening marched all night & at Day Break the Right wing arrived on Chesnut Hill when one Regiment from Conways Brigade & one from the 2<sup>d</sup> Maryland Brigade were Detached to Mount Airey followed by Conways Brigade to attack the Enemys Picket at Allen House — my own Division followed in the Rear of Conways & Wains Division in the Rear of mine — the Picket was soon attacked & were Suddenly reinforced by all their Light Infantry. This Compelled General Conway to form his Brigade to Sustain the attacking Regiments & to Repulse the Light Infantry — they maintained their ground with great Resolution till my Division was formed to support them — the Enemy Endeavoring to flank us on the Left I ordered Col<sup>o</sup> Fords Regiment to the other side the Road to Repulse them till General Wains Division arrived & upon finding that our Left wing (which had over four miles further to march than the Right had not arrived) I was obliged to form General Wains Division on the East of the Road to attack the Enemys Right. I then Directed General Conway to Draw off Such part of his Brigade as were formed in the Road & in front of our Right & fall into my Rear & file off to the Right to flank my Division but the morning being too Dark to Discover the Enemys movements & no Evidence being given of General Armstrongs arrival I was obliged to Send a Regiment from Wains & another from my own Division to keep the Enemy from Turning our Right. I also Detached Col<sup>o</sup> Moylands Regiment of Light Horse to watch their motions in that Quarter. This being Done my Division were ordered to advance which they Did with Such Resolution that the Enemys Light Infantry were soon Compelled to Leave the field & with it their Encampment. They However made a Stand at Every Fence wall & Ditch they passed which

were numerous — we were Compelled to Remove Every Fence as we past which Delayed us much in the pursuit — we were Soon after met by the Left wing of the British Army when a Severe Conflict Ensued but our men being ordered to march up with Sholdered arms they obeyed without Hesitation & the Enemy retired. I then Detached my Aid De Camp Major Morris to Inform his Excellency who was in the main Road that the Enemys Left wing had given way & to Desire him to order General Waine to advance against their Right— his Excellency immediately Detached part of the Reserve on my Right & part on the Left of the Road & Directed Wains Division to advance which they did with great Bravery & Rapidity; at Chews House a mile & a half from where the attack began Wains Division came abreast with mine & past Chews House while mine was advancing on the other side the main Road: Though the Enemy were Routed yet they took advantage of every yard House & Hedge in their retreat which kept up an Incessant fire Through the whole pursuit: at this time which was near an Hour & a Quarter after the attack began General Stephens Division fell in with Wains on our Left & Soon after the firing from General Greens was heard still farther to the Left. The Left wing of our Army was Delayed much by General Greens being oblided to Countermarch one of his Divisions before he could begin the attack as he found the Enemy were in a Situation very Different from what we had before been Told — the Enemy had Thrown a Large Body of Troops into Chews House which occasioned Maxwells Brigade to halt there with Some artillery to reduce them — this was found very Difficult as the House being Stone was almost impenetrable by Cannon & Sufficient proof against musketry. The Enemy Defended themselves with great Bravery &

annoyed our Troops much by their fire. This unfortunately Halted Many of our Troops & brought back General Wains Division who had advanced far beyond the House as they were apprehensive that The firing proceeded from the Enemys having Defeated my Division on the Right. This Totally uncovered the Left Flank of my Division who were Still advancing against the Enemies Left. The firing of General Greens Division was very Heavy for more than Quarter of an hour but then Decreased & Seemed to Draw further from us. I am not Sufficiently acquainted with the Facts to Determine with precision what was Done in that Quarter — a Regiment Commanded by Col<sup>o</sup> Mathews advanced with Rapidity near The Town but not being supported by Some other Regiments who were Stopped by a Breast work near Lucas's mills The brave Col<sup>o</sup> After having performed great feats of Bravery & being Dangerously wounded in Several places was obliged with about a hundred of his men to Surrender themselves prisoners of war — my Division with a Regiment of North Carolinians Commanded by Col<sup>o</sup> Armstrong & assisted by part of Conways Brigade having Driven the Enemy a mile & a half below Chews House & finding themselves unsupported by any other Troops Their Cartridges all Expended the force of the Enemy on the Right Collecting to the Left, to oppose them being alarmed by the firing at Chews House So far in their Rear & by the Cry of a Light Horse man on the Right that the Enemy had got round us & at the Same time Discovering Some Troops flying on our Right retired with as much precipitation as they had before advanced against Every effort of their officers to Rally them — when the Retreat took place they had been Engaged near three Hours which with the march of the Preceeding night rendered them almost unfit for fighting

or retreating — we however made a Safe retreat Though not a Regular one — we brought off all our Cannons & all our wounded — our Loss in this Action amount to Less than 700 mortly wounded. The Enemies by Accounts from their own officers to 2500 — I can only Say it must have been considerable — we Lost some valuable officers among which were the brave General Nash & my Two Aid De Camps Majors Sherburne & White whose singular Bravery must Ever do Honor to their memorys — our army Rendevouz<sup>d</sup> at Paulens Mills & Seem very Desirous of another Action. The misfortunes of this Day were principally owing to a Thick Fog which being rendered still more So by the Smoke of the Cannon & musketry prevented our Troops from Discovering the motions of the Enemy or Acting in Concert with Each other — I cannot help observing That with great Concern I saw our brave Commander Exposing himself to the hottest fire of the Enemy in such a manner that regard to my Country oblided me to ride to him & beg him to retire — he to gratify me & Some others withdrew a Small Distance but his anxiety for the fate of the Day Soon brought him up again where he remained till our Troops had retreated.

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to John Hancock, Oct. 25, 1777. Copy.*]

[New Hampshire Archives, Revolutionary War Rolls, vol. 11, p. 158.]

Camp near White Marsh Octo 25th 1777 —

*Much Esteemed Sir* In a Letter from Mr Burk, Member from N<sup>o</sup> Carolina dated the 12th Inst: he informs me that he has represented to Congress that I was posted with the Command on the Right Wing of our Army previous to the Battle of Brandywine —

2<sup>nd</sup> That I was early in the day cautioned by the Commander in Chief to be particularly attentive to the Enemy's motions, who he supposed would attempt to cross higher up the Creek: And that I was furnish'd with Light Troops for that purpose which I neglected, & suffered them to come upon me by a Rout I never expected —

3<sup>rd</sup> That I conveyed false Intelligence to the General, which caused him to Alter his dispositions, and brought on a defeat.

4<sup>th</sup> That when the mistake was at length discover'd, I brought up my Troops by a Circuitous March, and in a disorder from which they never recover'd —

5<sup>th</sup> That He heard my Officers lamenting in the bitterest terms, that they were cursed with such a Commander, whose evil Conduct was ever productive of misfortunes to the Army —

6<sup>th</sup> That my Troops, had no confidence in my Conduct. —

7<sup>th</sup> That I had not sufficient Talents for my Rank and Office, that I am void of Judgment & foresight in concerting of Deliberate vigor in Executing, and of presence of mind under Accidents & Emergencies, — from which has arisen my repeated ill Success —

As the Gentleman has been generous enough to acknowledge the several points he has urged against me, it becomes my duty to remove ev'ry impression from the minds of Congress which those assertions might have made, and I doubt not Congress will indulge me in it while I treat with Decency the Gentleman who informs me that as a Member of that Respectable Body he made the representations, as I wish freedom of speeches ever to be maintain'd in that August Assembly. I have the most sanguine hopes that the Person whose Conduct has been by mistake of a member misrepresented, may

have every opportunity of removing the prejudice which those representations may have made —

As to the first of those, it was so far from being true, that I was never sent to the Lower Ford, 'til the Ev'ning before the Action, this was called Brenton's Ford. I was ordered to take Post there, with my Main Body, to send a Guard to the next Ford, about a mile & half above me, another to Jones's Ford, One & half miles still higher up, and another to Buffenton's Ford, a mile above that, immediately upon my Arrival, I detached the Delaware Regiment to the first Ford, one Battallion of Hazens to Jones, & another to Buffentons — when I received those Orders, as I ever had been of opinion that the Enemy would endeavour to turn our Right, I enquired of His Excellency whether there were no Fords still higher up, to which, the persons who were then giving him information of the Country, replied there is none within twelve miles, the Roads leading to, & from which, are almost inaccessible — His Excellency also Observed, that all the Light Horse of the Army were Ordered on the right Wing to give Information, and of course I had no Orders, or even Hints to look at any other places, but those before mentiond, nor had I Light troops, or Light Horsemen furnished for the purpose, nor will any Person attempt to say it who knows the Facts. I had but four Light Horsemen, two of which I kept at the upper Fords, to bring me Intelligence, the others I kept to send Intelligence to Head Quarters — But to this Charge, as also to the Second & third, which the Gentleman has been pleased to Exhibit against me, I offer in opposition, His Excellencys Declaration Copy of which I enclosed, and Congress must soon see how void of foundation they are —

The fourth Article of Charge I have fully answered in my State of the Affair of Brandywine —

As to the fifth & Sixth Articles of Charge I can only say, that I think the Gentleman much mistaken, as all the officers present in my division have sign'd the Contrary, except part of the officers in Hazen's Regiment, the reason of which may easily be conceived. I take the opportunity of Inclosing a Copy of one from the third Maryland Regiment, but have not time to copy the Others, to forward them by this opportunity — I think the Gentleman had better taken more pains to inform himself before he made the representation, as I am confident he cannot find three in my Division that would wish to be from under my Command, not even the Writer of the Letter against me, who is every day expressing his sorrow for being the author of it. —

As to the seventh Article, I can only Observe that the Gentleman's Judgement is so far superior to all the Generals, & other Officers, with whom I have served, and his opportunities of forming an opinion respecting my Abilities so much greater, that I dare not attempt to contradict him, but leave him to enjoy what opinion of me He thinks proper — in addition to the Evidence already sent to Congress. I beg leave to enclose another from One of Lord Stirling's Aid De Camps, just now come to hand — I shall conclude with some few Remarks, respecting my being repeatedly unfortunate — I am but too well convinc'd that our Army have been unfortunate, and as I am always in Action with them, am compell'd to take my share of the misfortunes. Those who avoid being in actions, perhaps are less unfortunate than my Self. There has been but two Actions, in which the Main Army have been compleatly Victorious, and I think in those I had a principal Hand. I have never yet Engaged separate from the Army, except on Staten Island, and I can by no means perswade myself that this was any thing less than an advantageous

Victory, though not so compleat as I would wish, and even if it was not, the fault was not mine. —

I know it has been generally reported that I Commanded on Long Island, when the Actions happened there, this is by no means true; General Putnam had taken the Command from me four days before the Action. Lord Sterling Commanded the Main Body without the Lines. I was to have Commanded, under General Putnam within the Lines: I was uneasy about a Road through which I had often foretold the Enemy would come, but could not perswade others to be of my opinion. I went to the Hill near Flat Bush to reconitre the Enemy, & with a Piquett of Four Hundred Men was surrounded by the Enemy, who had advanced by the very Road I had foretold, and which I had paid Horsemen fifty Dollars for Patrolling by night while I had the Command, as I had not foot for the purpose, for which I was never reimbursed, as it was suppos'd unnecessary — What Resistance I made with those 400 Men against the British Army, I leave to the Officers who were with me to declare. Let it suffice for me to say the opposition of the small Party lasted from half past nine to twelve O'Clock — I challenge any Person to mention a single Instance of my being unfortunate, except in common with the Army: without them I have done nothing, except on Staten Island — I hope Congress will not deem my Scourging the Enemy & keeping them within their Lines, during the Course of last Winter with my Division alone unfortunate, or my bringing safely the Wretched Army out of Canada, which are the only separate Commands, I have ever had, where any thing important was to be done.

Then Sir I have endeavoured to refute all that this Gentleman has asserted concerning me, whether I have, or have not done, Congress will judge, if I have

removed every prejudice from their minds, which those groundless assertions have occasion'd I shall be happy — If not I must content my self with having endeavour'd to do it, by the most open, fair, and impartial State of facts, that I am capable of, & by giving ev'ry Evidence in support of them, that I could conceive was necessary —

P: S The reason of few Troops being on Long Island was because it was generally supposed, that the Enemys landing there was only a faint, to draw our Troops there, that they might more easily possess themselves of New York. I have often urged both by Word, & Writing, that as the Enemy had doubtless both these Objects in View, they would first try for Long Island, which Commanded the other, and then New York, (which was compleatly commanded by it) would fall of Course, But in this I was unhappy enough to differ from almost ev'ry Officer in the Army 'til the Event prov'd my Conjectures were just

---

[*Col. John Gunby to Gen. Sullivan. Copy.*]

[New Hampshire Archives, Revolutionary War Rolls, vol. 11, p. 174.]

*Dear General* From what has been said relative, to the Officers of your Division being much dissatisfied, with you, as their Commander, I take this method to Assure you, That I have consulted the Officers of my Regiment, whether any of them were dissatisfied, with being under your Command, they all assure me, they are not, that since they first joined the Division, they never have had the least reason to Censure any part of your Conduct, and would not wish to be Commanded by any one else in your Stead

[*Testimonial of Officers of the Delaware Regiment. Copy.*]

[New Hampshire Archives, Revolutionary War Rolls, vol. 11, p. 172.]

*Sir* Agreeable to your request, in the Order of this day informing the Officers of your Division, That you were inform'd, in the hearing of His Excellency, that the Officers were universally dissatisfied with your Command, and had no confidence in you, as an Officer —

We The Subscribers Officers in the Delaware Regiment, in Justice to you and Ourselves, do declare that we repose the highest Confidence in you, as an Officer, and are entirely satisfied with your Command, and do not wish you to be succeeded by any other.

John Patton Cap<sup>t</sup> Command<sup>t</sup>

Rob<sup>t</sup> Kirkwood Cap<sup>t</sup> Charles Kidd Ensign

John Corse Lieut D: Powell Cox Lieut D A

Geo. Purvis Lieut Jos: Horseman Ensign D R

Paul Luenonault D<sup>o</sup> John Rhodes Lieut D R

James Brattam D<sup>o</sup> David Hall j<sup>r</sup> Col<sup>o</sup>

Henry Duff D<sup>o</sup> Cha<sup>s</sup> Popple Col<sup>o</sup>

Caleb Brown D<sup>o</sup> John Vaughan Major

Jos: Wild D<sup>o</sup> Enoch Anderson Cap<sup>t</sup>

Ja<sup>s</sup> Marre Cap<sup>t</sup> John Learnvon Cap<sup>t</sup> D R

Ja<sup>s</sup> Campbell Ensign Reuben Gilder L<sup>t</sup> D R

Caleb Bennett D<sup>o</sup>

---

[*Lieut. John Erskine to Gen. Sullivan. Copy.*]

[New Hampshire Archives, Revolutionary War Rolls, vol. 11, p. 169.]

*Sir* I have just now been informed by Major Taylor, that you have been told by some Persons, that all the Officers of this Regiment, are very uneasy at being under

your Command, that you were desirous to know their minds on the subject —

I have only to Observe for my own part that if I could reconcile myself, as well to the Conduct of the Officers, with whom I am more immediately concern'd (I mean the Field Officers of Col<sup>o</sup> Hazens Regnt<sup>t</sup>) I could live in the Army as happy as I could wish —

---

[*Testimony of Officers of Col. Hazen's Regiment. Copy.*]

[New Hampshire Archives, Revolutionary War Rolls, vol. 11, p. 170.]

*Sir* — We the Subscribers, from a real sence of our duty to our Country, and in compliance with your Orders, of the 13<sup>th</sup> Instant Oct<sup>r</sup> with sincere Hearts, & without the least Reservation, declare while we have had the Honour, to be in your Division, have had no Reason to dislike your Conduct in Commanding the Division, nor did we either ever in Word or Deed, express the least dislike to your Conduct, but that we may still have the Honor, as well as the Satisfaction to be Commanded by one, who from the beginning of this Unnatural Contest, has so nobly distinguished himself in the Cause of his Country, is the Earnest Prayer of Hon<sup>d</sup> Sir Your Honours most devoted & very Humble Servants

Lyman Hitchcock Brig<sup>dr</sup> Major  
 of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Maryl<sup>d</sup> Brigade  
 Will<sup>m</sup> Munson Lieutenant  
 Palmer Cady — Ensign

[*Col. Moses Hazen to Gen. Sullivan, Sept. 11, 1777. Copy.*]

[New Hampshire Archives, Revolutionary War Rolls, vol. 11, p. 161.]

Jones Ford Sept<sup>r</sup> 11<sup>th</sup> 1777 —

*Sir*, I received your Letter of last Evening by the bearer of this; The officer and Party which I detach'd to reconitre the Enemy's Camp, returned last Evening at 11 O'Clock, and brought in with him Seventeen Head of Cattle, and twenty eight sheep taken from the Enemy about one mile from Welch's Tavern and Six miles from this Place, the Cattle were taken by Captains Patterson's & Chambers of the 12th P: R and delivered up to Ensign Fellows of my Regiment, who was at that time with his Party in sight, tho: not so near as to assist, nothing more new, all is quiet in this Quarter, shall wait your Orders with respect to the Cattle, and shall detain a Milch Cow, for a few days if you have no Objection, as there is 10 of them amongst the 17 mentioned —

---

[*Gen. Thomas Conway's Statement, Sept. 20, 1777. Copy.*]

[New Hampshire Archives, Revolutionary War Rolls, vol. 11, p. 162.]

I do hereby Certify, that on the 11<sup>th</sup> Sept<sup>r</sup> Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan, shewed all the Bravery, and Coolness, that can be expected, from a man of Honour, during the Action, and all the possible Activity after the rout to rally the Troops. Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan having come up with his division, when the Enemy was within half a mile of our front, the short time left to his troops in order to Form, was hardly sufficient, for well disciplined troops, and well exercised, and by no means sufficient for the

troops of this Army, who appear to me to maneuvre upon false Principles, and where I cannot discover as yet, The least notion of displaying Columns, and forming briskly upon all Emergencies. The Division of the Right had full time to form, the Ground upon which said Division was to draw up, was exceedingly favourable, and if part of the Division was not formed compleatly before the Engagement, The fault can not be imputed to Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan, who altho: he had a right to take the right of the Line, took the Left, in Order to save time, a proof that the Division of the Right, had full time to form. That Lord Sterlings Division, which was the next to it, was compleatly formed, when the Enemy appeared. This is my sincere Opinion, the true cause of the loss of the Battle cannot be known to all those who are acquainted with what passed that day, and two days before the Action. —

Given under my Hand at Flatland Camp the Twenty day of September 1777.

---

[*Alexander Hamilton and John Laurens to Gen. Sullivan, Sept. 21, 1777. Copy.*]

[New Hampshire Archives, Revolutionary War Rolls, vol. 11, p. 164.]

Head Quarters Sept 21: 1777

*Dear Sir* We have just received your favour of Yesterday, desiring from us a Testimony of your Conduct, so far as it fell under our Observation, the day of the Battle on the Brandywine.

As we had not the pleasure of seeing you in the fore part of that Action, when the Line at large was Engaged, We are unable from our own Knowledge, to say any thing of your Conduct at that time; — But we can chearfully testify in justice to your Reputation, that

when we had an opportunity of seeing you, it was in circumstances which did you Honour. — This was from the time you rode up, and joined Gen<sup>l</sup> Weedon's Brigade 'till your Horse was wounded. — You were employed in animating and encourageing the Men, to their duty, both by your Words and example; and in every Respect behaved, with becoming bravery, and Activity—

---

[*Col. Pinckney's Statement, Sept. 24, 1777. Copy.*]

[New Hampshire Archives, Revolutionary War Rolls, vol. 11, p. 159.]

Camp near Potsgrove Sept<sup>r</sup> 24: 1777 —

In Compliance with the Request of General Sullivan, that I would mention what I saw of his behaviour at the action of Brandywine on the 11<sup>th</sup> of this month, I declare when I saw him in the Engagement (which was in the Evening, about the time that General Weedon's Brigade, was brought up to the Right) He appeared to me to behave with the greatest Calmness, and Bravery: And at that time I had Occasion to Observe his Behaviour, as I was then with General Washington, and heard General Sullivan, tell him that all the Superior Officers of his Division had behaved exceedingly well, and after some other conversation with the General, General Sullivan turning to me, requested I would ride up to General Weedon, and desire him to halt Colonel Spottswoods & Col<sup>o</sup> Stephens's Regiments in the Plough'd Field, on our right, & form them there; which I did, & on my return I was informed that General Sullivan while I was delivering his Orders, had his Horse shot under him —

Charles Cotesworth Pinkney

Col<sup>o</sup> of the 1<sup>st</sup> Contin<sup>l</sup> Regim<sup>t</sup>  
of S<sup>o</sup> Carolina —

[*Testimonial of Officers of the Sixth Maryland Regiment, Oct. 11, 1777. Original Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Camp Oct<sup>o</sup> 11<sup>th</sup> 1777

*Sir*, It is with real regret we find ourselves constrained to refute a charge that has been falsely & Malicious propagated, that the Officers in your Division were dissatisfied with you as their Commander. Our Duty to ourselves & Justice to you, induce us to Declare that we have not the least desire to be removed from our present Commander, and if we were left to chuse for ourselves we are happy in saying we have our Choice, we can only lament that the clamour of a few individuals should be ushered into the World as the Eccho of the whole of your Division. We wish you to continue with us while the unhappy Times require it, and shall Ever be happy in meriting the attention you have shown us on every Occasion. And have the Honour of being sir with the Greatest Regard Your most Ob<sup>t</sup> Hble Sts

Benjamin Ford L<sup>t</sup> Col<sup>o</sup>

Rob<sup>t</sup> Harris Cap<sup>t</sup>

Alex<sup>r</sup> Trueman Cap<sup>t</sup>

John Ghiselin Cap<sup>t</sup>

Benj. Scott Li<sup>t</sup>

John J. Jacob L<sup>t</sup>

Micha<sup>l</sup> Dougherty L<sup>t</sup>

George Jacob Lieut

Edward Loyd Wailes Ensign

Owen Haymond Ensign

George Ireland L<sup>t</sup>

Charles Beaver Ensign

John Geoghegan Ensign

Rich<sup>d</sup> Donovan Adjut<sup>t</sup>

James Somerville Lieutenant

The above are all the officers at present in Camp the sentiments of those absent I know to be similar to ours.

B. Ford

---

[*Testimonial of Officers of the Second Maryland Regiment. Copy.*]

[New Hampshire Archives, Revolutionary War Rolls, vol. 11, p. 177.]

Division Orders Octr 13<sup>th</sup> 1777

The General is extreamly sorry to inform the Officers of his Division, that he was yesterday inform'd, in the hearing of the Commander in Chief, that the Officers of his Division, were universally disattisfied, with being under his Command, and had no Confidence in him as an Officer, and that they had declared it publickly in many Places, and at all opportunities — This report so injurious to them, if false, and to him if true, he wishes to have cleared up. He therefore desires every Commanding Officer to give him Candidly their Sentiments, upon this matter, he promises them, that if any considerable part of his Officers, are uneasy under his Command, he shall take it kind in them, to let him know it, and will immediately remove their difficulties by quitting the Division, the instant, he finds they wish for it — But if on the Contrary, the report has no foundation in Truth, he expects & desires them, to take the proper Steps to bear their Publick Testimony against it.

(Signed) Lewis Morris A: D: C

In answer to the above Orders, We the subscribers Officers, of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Maryland Regiment, now in Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan's Division, do declare, that we have not at any time, expressed any dissatisfaction, at being Comanded by him, neither have we a Wish, nor the least

desire, that the Division should be Commanded by any other Officer

Tho <sup>s</sup> Price Col <sup>o</sup>	John Gassaway Lieu <sup>t</sup>
Tho <sup>s</sup> Woolford L <sup>t</sup> Col <sup>o</sup>	James Ewing Lieutenant
Arch <sup>d</sup> Anderson Capt:	Hezekiah Foard Ensign
John Eccleston Cap <sup>t</sup>	W <sup>m</sup> Wheeler Ensign
Solomon Long Cap <sup>t</sup>	Jn <sup>o</sup> Hardman Lieut <sup>t</sup>
Lilburn Williams Lieu <sup>t</sup>	Benj <sup>a</sup> Price L <sup>t</sup>
E Dyer Lieutenant	

---

[*Col. William Richardson to Gen. Sullivan, Oct. 13, 1777. Copy.*]

[New Hampshire Archives, Revolutionary War Rolls, vol. 11, p. 167.]

Camp 13<sup>th</sup> October 1777

*Sir* It gives me Concern, that any Gentleman, should assert that the Officers in your Division, are universally dissatisfied under your Command, and I expect that upon Enquiry the Assertion will prove groundless; but be that as it may, I think my duty to Observe, that with respect to my self, & the Officers of my Regiment (except those of the two Companies, which have been with you this whole Campaign, & who I dare say will give their Candid Testimony upon this Occasion) it cannot effect us, as we have been with you but a few days — Not long enough to form any Judgement of your good, or bad Conduct, or to be pleased, or displeased, with you as a Commander. Suffice it to say, that so far as we have experienced, we rest very happy in our Situation, and wish not for a removal. —

As to myself Candor obliges me to Confess, that when I first joined the Army, my Wishes led me to be under General Green, they took rise from a personal Acquaint-

ance with the General, & the high opinion I had conceived of His Military Abilities — Not from any disrespect, or dislike to any other General Officer, most of whom, Yourself in particular were Strangers to me —

---

[*Testimonial of Officers of the Third Maryland Regiment, Oct. 13, 1777. Document Signed.*]

[Massachusetts Historical Society.]

Camp 13 Octo 1777

We the officers of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Maryland Regiment beg leave to Assure your Honour that so far from wishing you to be removed from your present Command, We esteem ourselves peculiarly fortunate in serving under you. Justice and Gratitude obliges us to acknowledge that we have ever found you attentive to the Complaints, and ready and willing to redress the Grievances, and supply the wants of both us and our Men, as far as fell within the line of your duty. And with respect to confidence in you as a Commander, we chearfully acknowledged that altho' we should be very unwilling to be esteemd Cowards Yet we deprecate the Day, when we shall be called upon to make an attack, in which We think you would be afraid to lead us on; or reduced to circumstances so intricate and difficult, that your prudence and knowledge would not be amply sufficient to extricate us. — Upon the whole Sir we are extreamly happy and pleased with our Present Situation. And our sincere wishes are that your life and Health may be long spared for a scourge to British Tyranny, and that we may act a part worth your approbation, and continue to be favor'd with that polite attention which we have hitherto experienced. —

We are Sir your very Hble Servants

Nat: Ramsay L<sup>t</sup> Col<sup>o</sup>  
 Jos: Marbury Capt<sup>n</sup>  
 Sam<sup>l</sup> Griffith Capt<sup>n</sup>  
 John Gists Captain  
 Jn<sup>o</sup> Smith Lieut  
 Sam<sup>l</sup> Jones Lieut  
 Horatio Clagett Lieut<sup>t</sup>  
 G Armstrong Lieut  
 John Toomy Lieut  
 W<sup>m</sup> Willmot 1<sup>st</sup> Lieut<sup>t</sup>  
 Peter Clark Lieut<sup>t</sup>  
 James Allison L<sup>t</sup>  
 Rich<sup>d</sup> Chenoweth L<sup>t</sup>  
 John James Ensign  
 Isaac Duvall Ensign  
 Samuel Farmer Ensign

---

[*Testimonial of Officers of the Fifth Maryland Regiment Oct. 14, 1777. Copy.*]

[New Hampshire Archives, Revolutionary War Rolls, vol. 11, p. 168.]

Camp 14<sup>th</sup> October 1777

We the subscribers (Officers belonging to the 5th Maryland Regiment) do hereby Certify, that We have been in Major General Sullivan's Division, ever since he Came down from the Peeks kiln, during which time, we Considered ourselves very happy, under his Command, Nor do we recollect ever to have dropped a disrespectfull Sentiment of him, or to have had the least Cause, to Censure his Conduct upon any Occasion whatever —

Jesse Cosden Cap<sup>t</sup>  
 Perry Benson Lieut<sup>t</sup>  
 Henry Truelock Ens<sup>n</sup>

[*Major William Sterrett to Gen. Sullivan, Oct. 17, 1777. Copy.*]

[New Hampshire Archives, Revolutionary War Rolls, vol. 11, p. 175.]

Camp October 17<sup>th</sup> 1777 —

*Sir* I must beg that you will Excuse me for my neglect in not informing you sooner, whether the officers of the First Maryland Regiment were satisfied or dissatisfied with being in the Division commanded by you. — I believe I have collected the Sense of most of them and can with pleasure inform you that they hitherto have been and still continue to be pleased under your Command, and many of them (when it was reported you was to leave the Division) said and earnestly wished to my Knowledge that you wou'd continue to Command it; These are also my Sentiments in the Matter.

---

[*Statement of Major Edwards, Oct. 23, 1777. Copy.*]

[New Hampshire Archives, Revolution, vol. 8, p. 215.]

October 23<sup>rd</sup> 1777

Since the Battle of Brandywine, I have been sorry to hear very Illiberal Complaints thrown out, against the Conduct of Major General Sullivan — As I was present during the Whole Action, and being Obliged from my Situation, with Lord Sterling, to be near Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan, of Course I had an opportunity of Discovering such Specimens of Courage as could not escape the attention of any one. 'Tis with great Pleasure as well as Justice to His Character, I can declare that his uniform bravery, Coolness, & Intrepidity, both in the Heat of Battle, rallying & forming the Troops when broke from their Ranks, appeared to me to be truely consistent with, or

rather exceeded any Idea I had ever of the greatest Soldier —

En<sup>o</sup> Edwards A: D: C  
To Major General Lord Sterling

---

[*Artillery Officers to Gen. Sullivan, Oct. 27, 1777. Copy.*]

[Sullivan Papers, Coe Collection, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Camp October 27<sup>th</sup> 1777.

*Sir* The other day to my no little surprize I saw in your honours Orders, a demand of the reasons why the Commissioned Officers so generally disliked you as commander of the Division &c — For my own part and the other subscribers hereto, being officers of Artillery under your command, never even heard any insinuations of the mal kind, but to the contrary thought you was generally beloved by the whole core. We however esteem ourselves much honoured & happy under you, and wou'd wish to be commanded by none other —

We remain with due respect your honours most Obedient & very Hum<sup>l</sup> Sert<sup>s</sup>

Thomas Seward Cap<sup>t</sup>

Thomas Dean Capt Lieut

Eli Parsons first D<sup>o</sup>

John Slewman Cap. Lieut.

Thomas Bailey 2<sup>d</sup> Lieut.

---

[*Lafayette to Gen. Sullivan, Nov. 1, 1777. Copy.*]

[New Hampshire Archives, Revolutionary War Rolls, vol. 11, p. 163.]

*Dear Sir* I would have been glad you had lett me known the form of the certificate you are wanting; such

a want seems to me so extraordinary after having seen you in the field, that I did not know how to express my being so sensible of your bravery as by telling you what every soldier who was with us that day, must be acquainted with — I did not answer directly to your request, because I was engaged in business with Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington — I will always do myself the greatest pleasure to pay a due justice to your merit, and desire your being no less convinced of my affection

Camp near White Marsh 1<sup>st</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> [1777.]

Tho' very far from thinking that Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan cou'd ever want a certificate however it is with the greatest pleasure, that according to his own desire, I repeat here how sensible I have been of his bravery at the affair of Brandywine the 11<sup>th</sup> Septem<sup>r</sup>. I can assure him, that such courage as he show'd that day will always deserve the praises of every one

The Marquis La Fayette

Major Gen<sup>l</sup> in the Army of  
the Unit<sup>d</sup> States of America

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to Thomas Burke, Oct. 27, 1777. Copy.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Camp near White marsh October 27<sup>th</sup> 1777.

*Sir* I received your polite favor of the 12<sup>th</sup> Inst<sup>t</sup> in consequence of which have enclosed in a letter to Congress certificates from the commander in Chief & the officers of my division; which totally contradict those points you have urged to congress & upon which you have formed so strenuous an opinion: If you are that candid person you intimate in some parts of y<sup>r</sup> letter & wish to be convinced of y<sup>r</sup> error, you may call on one of

y<sup>r</sup> coleagues for a copy of my last letter & the papers inclosed & you will have nothing left to support y<sup>r</sup> opinion but that prejudice which I think y<sup>r</sup> letter too plainly discovers —

As to y<sup>r</sup> opinion of my Military abilities, it can give me no uneasiness untill you give me better evidence of y<sup>r</sup> Capacity to judge in matters of this nature. If you have sett y<sup>r</sup>self upon clearing the army of officers, who are unequal to the Task: I have only to lament that some of the Judges furnished by my country are so competent.

Your peremptory demand of an explanation of my letter to congress, must be as peremptorily denied; so far as you are conscious the Garment suits I have no objection to your wearing it; that part which does not fit, you need not meddle with; but give me leave to assure you, it is not the Last thing I shall say against those who have meddled with my character: As to my being within y<sup>r</sup> reach; the fault must be your own, If I am not, perhaps no man in america is more easily found than myself & I can assure you with truth that when you appear in the character you Promise, no man will be more rejoic'd to see you than y<sup>r</sup> Hum: Serv<sup>t</sup>

---

[*Statement of the Battle of Germantown. Fragment Unsigned.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

*Sir* At present I am more enabled to give you an accurate account of the Battle at German Town, than I was the Day on which it was fought. Immediately after the hurry of an Action, it is not easy to ascertain the particulars of it: the various accounts from different quarters confuse, and render the whole imperfect.

When our Men first made the attack we had the most pleasing prospect before us. The plan was evidently good, & the compleat surprise given the Enemy promised a glorious victory. They were routed, pursued, and charged with fury: but, after flying before our Arms in the utmost confusion, for some distance into German Town, the fortune of the Day was turned against us, & we were compelled to yield the Laurels we had won. The circumstance of this misfortune was owing to the Enemy taking to a large stone House, and our Men attempting to surround it, were put to the rout by the prospect of being out-flanked. What part of the Army gave way, it is impossible to say: The report of General Sullivans Division being the first was groundless, as both the General and his Men were brave & active to the last.

As to the Virginia Line, I cannot in justice to the Officers & Men, point out any particular Honor to one, that was not due to another: and, from the very best information every Regiment that was engaged behaved well, and the Officers in general did their duty with credit. These are facts that I would wish to correct the mistakes of my first Letter.

[The remainder of this letter is missing.]

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to John Langdon, Nov. 5, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[New Hampshire Archives, Revolution, vol. 8, p. 243.]

Camp at whitemarsh November 5<sup>th</sup> 1777

*Much Esteemed Sir* when I Reflect on the many obligations I Lay under to the State of New Hampshire for having often Entrusted me with Every thing that Freeman hold Dear I canot Content myself without accounting to them for Every part of my Conduct &

Removing from their minds Every unfavorable Impression which The Tongue of Slander may have made — it is for this purpose I have taken the Freedom to Lay before the General assembly of that State all the Evidence Relative to my Conduct on Staten Island with the proceedings & Result of The Court of Inquiry. I have also Inclosed Copies of all my Letters to Congress both before & after the Tryal which will Render it unnecessary for me to make any Comments upon the Evidence or the usage I have Received. The papers Relative to this Tryal are numbered from one to Twenty Inklusively: The Tongue of Slander once Let Loose Seldom Seeks Repose — it attacked me again with Redoubled Fury after the Battle of Brandywine. This procured a vote of Congress to Suspend me from the Service which was reconsidered before I knew the former Resolution had Taken place. To Clear up this matter I Inclosed Congress the papers numbred from 20 to 30 which I apprehend fully Convinced them of the Injustice done me by The voice of Calumny — my Enemies not yet Satiated Represented to Congress my want of military abilities & the want of Confidence in my officers & Soldiers — this produced my fourth Letter to Congress Inclosing the papers numbred from 30 to 41. I think I did not Inclose the whole as they were not then all ready. These you will find Contain addresses from all the officers I have on the ground Except Some part of Hazens Regiment which may Easily be accounted for when it is known that Major Taylor Commands the Regiment — it will be found by the proceedings of the Court of Inquiry that Major Taylor moved for postponing the Inquiry for want of three absent witnesses viz Col<sup>o</sup> Hall Col<sup>o</sup> Stone & Major Forrest — as I knew this was only to work a Delay I granted him that if they were present they would Say the Same as himself

Though I knew that if they were present they would be material witnesses in my favor. Col<sup>o</sup> Hall has Since Returned to Camp & Says he could not attempt to Support his assertions & the other Gentlemen have Declared the Same to others — & I will Even venture to own myself guilty whenever he can procure Either of those Gentlemen to Corroborate his Testimony — under this Concession I went to Tryal & the Result was what the nature of the Evidence promised. I need make no Comment upon his Testimony — it need only be Compared with his Letter. The Difference in them plainly Shows how he was obliged to Depart from the Letter to prevent being Deleted but in this he did not Succeed as the proceedings of the Court fully Shows. If the Evidence I do myself the honor to Inclose the General assembly fully Convinces them of my having been attacked without Cause They will do me the greatest honor I could wish for in having them published with this Letter in Such manner as they may think proper. The Three Last papers numbred 42: 43: & 44 I would not wish to have published as they only Discover what I would willingly for the Sake of my Country Conceal from the world — however they may Show the motive which Induced Some persons to proceed against me — In my first Letter to Congress I have appealed to the officers who have formerly been under my immediate Command. I am happy in the Reflection that those officers Live in your Quarter many of them holding high military offices in the State of New Hampshire Massachusetts & Connecticut. To them I again appeal for the Justice of my assertions in my Letter to Congress. I beg that The Honourable assembly of New Hampshire for which I have So great Respect & to which I feel So many obligations will not think amiss of my requesting Congress to permit me to Retire from the army. The

Three Last papers will Convince them of the Reasons — I know by my own feelings & the History of Mankind That I am in Common with them Liable to many Errors & it must be miraculous if I Escape them all — & there remains no Doubt in my mind but the first Error must End in my Ruin. Though I have Satisfied Congress & the Court of Inquiry respecting my Conduct yet my Enemies have only Retired to Seek Some new advantage & the first Erroneous Step I take They will pursue with all the Cruel hate of prevailing Cowards till they have answered their purpose. This alone Induced me to make this request That I might never fall under the odium of that Country which I have Ever Strove to Support & maintain — to this request Congress have as yet given me no answer.

I cannot help observing That Though the Inclosed Testimonies make it Clear That when my own Division forsook me I Joined myself to the two Remaining Divisions & fought till I could not get a man to Stand by me Longer & when those also Retired I did not make that an Excuse for Quitting the field myself but immediately Took weedens Brigade to a proper post to Cover the Retreat of our Army — & with them fought till Night — in the Last action my Horse was Shot under me. Though this appears Clearly from the Testimony of Col<sup>os</sup> Pinkney Lawrens & Hamilton of Gen<sup>l</sup> Washingtons own Family & from Major Flureys Testimony as well as many others that I had the whole weight of the fire through the Day yet Congress voted to give the same Major Flurry a Horse ready accoutred in Lieu of a Continental Horse he had Shot under him for his Bravery & though I Lost the best Horse in America They have not taken the Least notice of it. This however Just would be too Severe to publish to the world at This time.

P S The paper n<sup>o</sup> 44 proves an Inattention which as in my Letters I have Studiously concealed it from Congress I wish to hide it from the world —

If the assembly Should do me the Honor to order my papers published you will oblige me much by adding the address of the Canada officers to me which may be found in the news papers of August or Septem<sup>r</sup> 1776.

[Addressed] on Publick Service The Hon<sup>ble</sup> John Langdon Esq<sup>r</sup> Speaker of the General Assembly In New Hampshire

---

[*William Pierce, Jr., to Gen. Sullivan, Nov. 8, 1777, Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

*Sir.* I called on you the last Evening, and promised myself the pleasure of settling our unfortunate difference, but I was obliged to retire previous to an interview. Your Letter I never received till yesterday, which prevented my calling on you at the appointed time. At present, I am under expectation of the Arrival of an Express from the Governor of Virginia, which I hear is coming down this Road, & renders it inconvenient for me to wait on you this afternoon. However, I hope the Letter I left with your aid de Camp will prove sufficient to wipe off any disagreeable impression which my publication may have made on the minds of the People without any further notice of it. I can assure you sir that I would not be conscious of offending one Man in the continental Army for the smiles of all the rest.

Your Division contains many valuable Acquaintances of mine & whose prosperity in Life I parrellel with my own. You may depend upon it I did not foresee the construction that has been put upon the paragraph in

my Letter respecting your Division, or it should have remained in embryo to this moment.

Nov<sup>r</sup> 8<sup>th</sup> 1777.

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to John Langdon, Nov. 9, 1777.*]

[*Pennsylvania Historical Society Bulletin, vol. 1, no. 8.*]

Camp at Whitemarsh, Nov. 9th, 1777

*Much Respected Sir,* — Since my last, enclosing you the evidence of my conduct, in the late actions of Staten Island and Brandywine, with the account of my conduct in general since I had the honour to serve in the army, I have been honoured with the enclosed resolve of Congress, and with a letter from the President, which I also enclose. This testimony of the approbation of that august assembly, must sufficiently repair the injuries my character has sustained by the malicious attacks that have been made upon it, especially when it is known that I laid before Congress all the evidence of my conduct, in the affair of Staten Island, as also the evidence upon every other point, that has been urged against me. This will supersede the necessity of publishing many of the papers, which I have taken the freedom to lay before the General Assembly of New Hampshire. I have therefore only to beg that the Court will do me the honour to examine the papers, and if they are clearly of opinion that I have been injured, they will, as a mark of their approbation of my conduct, order that the proceedings and results of the Court of Inquiry be published, with the letter from the President of the honourable Continental Congress, and with the resolution inclosed therein, and the certificate of his Excellency and the other officers, respecting my conduct at the battle of Brandywine, as also the addresses of the officers.

of my Division, with the address of the officers I had the honour to command in Canada; and that the whole may be accompanied by this letter. I am sorry to inform the honourable Assembly that my enemies, not content with having unjustly and even without the least colour, censured my conduct on Staten Island, proceed to urge against me the following points:

1st. That I was several days posted on the right wing of the army, previous to the battle of Brandywine.

2nd. That I was early in the day cautioned by the Commander-in-Chief to be particularly attentive to the enemy's motions, which he supposed would attempt to cross higher up the creek; and that I was furnished with light troops for that purpose, and that I suffered them to come upon me by a route I never expected.

3rd. That I conveyed false intelligence to the General, which caused them to alter his disposition, and brought on a defeat.

4thly. That when my mistake was at length discovered, I brought up my troops by a circuitous march, and in disorder from which they never recovered.

5thly. That my officers complained bitterly of my evil conduct, which was always productive of misfortunes to the army, and that they had lost all manner of confidence in me.

6thly. That I have not sufficient talents for my rank and office, which has been the source of my repeated misfortunes.

To the first, second, and third of these, I oppose the certificate of the Commander-in-Chief, who well knows, though I came upon the ground but the day before the action, that I had neither light troops to scour the country, or orders to watch higher up than the fords my troops possessed; which, when I received my orders, I heard the man who was giving a description of the coun-

try say, were the only fords within twelve miles of our army. And the light horse of our army were all ordered to the right of my post; and the enemy crossed far above where I had any orders to attend to.

To the fourth article I can only say that when I received orders to march, I marched in the most direct road for the enemy, and met them in a mile from the place where I had been before posted with my outguards flying before them. But for this and the rest of my conduct in the action, I refer the honorable Court to the testimonies respecting that battle.

The fifth article is so contrary to the testimonies before referred to, and to the unanimous declaration of my officers, that I would not wish to call it by the name it evidently deserves. The sixth article is also so flatly denied and contradicted by the officers I now have the honour to command, that I need say but little on the subject. But to remove every doubt on this head, you have the officers among you, with whom I had the honour to serve. There are a great number of them holding high military offices in the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, and Connecticut. I most cheerfully submit my reputation to their candid opinion.

I cannot help making some farther remarks upon the two last articles, as I am so much at a loss to know what misfortunes have been brought upon our army. It is well known that I was far from having a hand in the misfortunes that attended the loss of Fort Washington and Fort Lee. The destruction of the army in Canada I had no hand in. But if the written testimony of the officers is attended to, it will appear that I had a principal hand in saving the remains of it.

As to my repeated ill success and misfortunes, I will venture to repeat them as they are well known.

I had the misfortune to make the first advances

towards the enemy at Cambridge, and maintain my ground against all the cannonade and bombardment. I had the misfortune to save a wretched army and all the public stores, in Canada. I had the misfortune, on Long Island, with four hundred men, to combat with the greater part of the British army for near three hours, having been surrounded, by the enemy's coming by a route which I often predicted, and which I had previous to Gen. Putnam's coming over and taking the command from me, paid fifty dollars to horsemen to patrol. I was so persuaded of the enemy's coming the route, that I went to examine, and was surrounded by the British army, and after a long and severe engagement, was made prisoner. I had the misfortune to attack and carry Trenton with my division, before I received any kind of assistance, and to be selected to attack Princeton soon after, and left with my division to deal with the 40th and 55th regiments, while the rest of the army engaged and routed the 17th. I then had the misfortune to cover the retreat of our army before the enemy when they were close at our heels. I afterwards had the misfortune, with my division to cover the country from the enemy during the most of the winter, and to keep the enemy within their lines, though they were at least ten times my number. I had the misfortune on Staten Island to rout six regiments, kill and captivate a large number, and destroy their large quantities of stores, vessels, etc., and suffered the loss only of a hundred and fifty men, most of whom suffered by their own imprudence.

The enclosed testimonies will show you that at the battle of Brandywine I had the misfortune, after my own division was broke by being attacked before they were formed, to attach myself and take command of every other corps that would stand by me, to oppose the

enemy till night, and posted the troops myself, which so bravely covered the retreat of our army.

At Germantown, I had the misfortune to drive the enemy upwards of a mile with my own division before I received assistance, and after that through the day to have the severity of the action, and though the enemy made a stand at every wall and hedge and fence, we drove their left wing near three miles great part of the time, shouldered arms and charged bayonets. My division being at length left with part of Gen. Conway's brigade unsupported by any other troops, with scarcely a cartridge left, having in a severe fire of three hours, expended the whole, we were at length obliged to quit the field.

These, sir, are the misfortunes which have attended me in the army. I can recollect none that I have brought upon it, unless the providing them with arms, ammunition, &c., at Cambridge, or influencing men to enlist in the service, and others to remain after their terms were expired, may be denominated such. You have officers among you who know all the facts above mentioned, except the three last, and of these you have the evidence enclosed in my former letter. I readily agree that our army has been often unfortunate, and as I always fought with it, have shared in the general misfortunes. Perhaps those who carefully avoid action, have been less unfortunate, but I challenge any person to produce an instance of my being unfortunate or unsuccessful when I had the sole command. Those infamous detractors have charged me with misfortunes when I most violently opposed every measure that produced them. And lest this should not answer their purpose, they have charged me with evils that never existed. Perhaps I might enumerate instances where my services have been of great advantage to the army — but if I

have convinced the honourable Assembly that I have in no instance injured the army, I have no desire to make a merit of my services. I look upon everything I have done or can do, as a debt due from me to my country, and I can venture to assert that no man takes more pleasure in discharging his duty to his country than, dear sir, Your obedient servant,

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to John Adams, Nov. 10, 1777.*]

[*Amory's Life of Sullivan, p. 66.*]

Whitemarsh, Nov. 10, 1777.

Nothing has given me more uneasiness than to find General Conway is about leaving the army, on account of some French gentlemen, who were inferior in rank to him while they remained in their own country, being promoted over him. This, he says, was the only thing he guarded against in his agreement with Mr. Dean and with Congress; but is now so unhappy as to find, not only persons, who held inferior rank to him in France, promoted over his head, but some who held no rank at all in the French army.

I have been in two actions with General Conway, and am confident no man could behave better in action. His regulations in his brigade are much better than any in the army, and his knowledge of military matters in general, far exceeds any officer we have; and I must beg leave to observe, that it is worth the consideration of Congress to retain him.

P. S. — If the office of Inspector-General, with the rank of Major-General, was given him, I think our army would soon cut a different figure from what they now do.

[Gen. Conway was appointed Inspector-General, with the rank of Major-General, Dec. 13, 1777, and resigned April 28, 1778.]

[*Gen. Sullivan to Henry Laurens, Nov. 11, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Continental Congress Papers, No. 160, Library of Congress.]

Camp Whitemarsh Novem<sup>r</sup> 11<sup>th</sup> 1777

*Much Respected Sir* I was yesterday Honoured with your Favour of the 4<sup>th</sup> Instant Inclosing The Resolution of Congress Respecting my Conduct on Staten Island. I have not Language to Express my Gratitude to Congress for This Distinguished mark of their approbation of my Conduct & Resentment against my malicious accusers — The Polite manner Sir in which you have been pleased to Communicate The Sentiments of Congress to me has made Impressions upon my mind which Time can never Erase —

[*Report of Guard at Whitemarsh, Nov. 11, 1777.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

General Report of the Guards Whitemarsh Nov<sup>r</sup> 11<sup>th</sup> 1777.

Parole New Castle

C. Signs { Kent  
Sussex

	Cap	Subs	Serj	Corp	Priv	Vidette	Cent by Day	by Night
On the Right								
Barron Hill Church Pickett								
Detached from this Guard . . . . .	1	2	3	3	58	3	3	5
On Philadelphia Road . . . . .		1	1	1	16	1	3	4
On Germantown Road . . . . .			1	1	9		2	3
Flower Town Pickett . . . . .		1	1	1	14		4	4
Foot of Chesnut Hill (Capt. David Earl)								
On the Road and to the Left of Whitemarsh Church Two Picketts unreported								
On the Left								
Pickett at Peter Tysons on the Road leading to the Crooked Billet . . . . .		1	1	1	26	2	5	8
Pickett at Trump's Mill . . . . .		1	1	1	15		2	4

Pickett at Edge Hill, Martin's House

Ditto at Fishwater's Mill — Unreported

We visited the Guards once by Day and again by Night between the Hours of 10 & 4, found them alert & vigilant but rather awkward in receiving us, owing as they said, from their not being visited by the Rounds in the Night when before on Duty.

Levin Powell L<sup>t</sup> Col<sup>o</sup>

Josiah Harmar Major 3 P R

---

[*Lieut. Col. John Fitzgerald to Gen. Sullivan, Nov. 15, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, Coe Collection, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

*Sir* His Excellency has receiv'd your Letter respecting Captain Smith's Company — & would be glad to be inform'd whether it was entirely rais'd in Maryland, or if it is not in a great measure Composed of those who could be found belonging to Col<sup>o</sup> Rawlins's Regim<sup>t</sup>. either Marylanders or Virginians indiscriminately

Head Q<sup>rs</sup> 15<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> 1777

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to Gen. William Heath, Nov. 22, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Heath Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, vol. 7, p. 50.]

Camp White Marsh Novem<sup>r</sup> 22<sup>th</sup> 1777

*Dear General* I take the Freedom to Inclose you a Letter for Captain Sullivan which Incloses Some money ordered him by Congress for his past Suffering & Contains a Requisition for his immediate attendance in Camp. I beg you to forward the Same without Loss of time to Berwick in the County of York where he Lives. I can give you nothing new from this Quarter. Fort Mifflin after a Gallant resistance was Evacuated. Red Bank being no Longer an object of importance was

also Evacuated we have Sent a Sufficient Force to keep the Enemy from possessing themselves of the Jersey Shore without which they cannot be masters of the River or hold Philadelphia.

Pray Let the Express or person who carries it be Trust Worthy

The Distance from Boston is 75 miles —

[Addressed] on publick Service The Honourable Major General Heath Commanding at Boston Jn<sup>o</sup> Sullivan

---

*[Gens. Sullivan, Maxwell, and Wayne to Gen. Washington, Nov. 23, 1777. Document Signed.]*

[Washington Papers, Library of Congress.]

Camp at White Marsh Nov<sup>r</sup> 23<sup>d</sup> 1777

*To his Excellency General Washington Commander in Chief of the American Army.*

May it please your Excellency. We the Subscribers General Officers in the American Army, beg leave to represent, That we have severally been accus'd of unsoldierly Conduct, dangerous Neglect, and other Crimes, which, had they been prov'd, must have blacken'd our Character as Officers, and sunk us beneath the Reproaches of our Country. In Consequence of these malicious Accusations, Courts were appointed to examine into our Conduct. We patiently waited the respective Tryals, and each of us was honourably acquitted of the Charges brought against us. Since which, we have observ'd our malignant Accusers remaining in Office, without Reprimand, or Censure, triumphing at the trouble they have unjustly occasioned us, with impunity to themselves. Were we in the Character of private Gentlemen, we shou'd be at no loss what Steps

to pursue to obtain Redress — But when we consider ourselves as officers of Rank in the Army, bound to yield Obedience to every Article of War, & to punish disobedience in others, that Remedy which our own Feelings wou'd naturally suggest becomes not only derogatory to our Rank, and injurious to the Service, but w<sup>d</sup> inevitably involve us in that ruin which our malicious Accusers have hitherto fail'd to accomplish; for however Individuals may applaud, and the inconsiderate Populace admire an act of false Bravery; a Court sworn to regulate their Sentence by the Articles of War must condemn every Breach of them, or give the World Liberty to accuse them of Perjury — if therefore any Steps are taken by us to obtain personal Satisfaction, we see our ruin connected w<sup>th</sup> the first; We well know that in other Armies, a false Accuser is not only liable to be tried, and cashier'd, but such is the spirit of Resentment against him, that no officer will suffer him to keep Company, or serve with him. But with great Concern we see that in this Army, the Encouragement given to Inferior Officers to arraign the Conduct of their Superiors, has already gone but too far in destroying the small distinction which those Gentlemen have been pleased to make in their own minds, between themselves and Officers of the first Rank in the Service. We cannot help observing, that as we receive our Orders from your Excellency, and are accountable to you for the Execution, we apprehend, that any unsoldierly Behaviour, or general Breach of those Orders, ought in the first instance to be known to and reprehended by you. Inferior Officers may indeed discover Cowardice in their Commanding Officers in time of Action, and other particular faults, but it impossible for them to judge whether his Conduct is in general un-military, unless they are made acquainted with the

Orders he acts under; We are exceeding sorry to say that inferior officers, who neither know the Plan or the Orders we are to pursue, will undertake to give their opinions condemning those measures we are bound by our Orders to pursue, and by tacking to the charge Crimes which never existed but in their own imaginations, they will bring to tryal any Officer they please, & after he is honorably acquitted, they triumph in their injustice, and glory in the Perplexity they have given him. They know, if they are fortunate, their Purpose will be fully answer<sup>d</sup>, if not they have nothing to fear; we are fully convinced that unless some Remedy is found for this evil it will become necessary for every General officer to lay his Plans and Orders before all his commission<sup>d</sup> Officers, & perhaps even before the non-commissioned Officers, and ask their Approbation of the Measures he is about to pursue, or those who condemn the Plan will bring him to tryal for his Conduct & in addition compel him to answer for every matter he has been concern'd in during the Service. We are by no means against General Officers being made answerable in a proper way, but we insist that when the Accusers not only fail, but appear to have made a false and malicious Attack, some Punishment should be pointed out against them. The wisdom of common & civil Law has found this absolutely necessary, perhaps in the Army it may be found still more so, especially when it is considered that Inferiors in the Army have some temptation to remove their Superiors, to clear the Stage for their own advancement. Though our peculiar Situation compels us to apply to your Excellency to point out some mode of redress, we flatter ourselves that no Arguments can persuade you, that the want of Personal Bravery induces us to make this request. Respect for the Regulations of Congress, and regard for the Service of our

country are our only motives; We wou'd not wish while we remain Officers in the Army, to violate any of those Articles by which we and every Member of it ought to be govern'd, nor do we wish to put ourselves in a Situation to demand satisfaction, as Private Gentlemen, till we find the Regulations of our Army insufficient to afford us redress. Shou'd that unfortunately be the Case, we trust that when we make known to the Publick what Steps we have taken, the impartial Part of Mankind will justify us in reducing ourselves to that Situation which will enable us (without violating the Articles of War) to demand & take that Satisfaction as Private Gentlemen which as Officers we are unable to obtain —

We have the honor to be with much esteem, Your Excellency's most obedient servants,

Jn<sup>o</sup> Sullivan M Gen<sup>l</sup>  
 W<sup>m</sup> Maxwell B. G.  
 Ant<sup>y</sup> Wayne B. G.

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to Gen. Washington, Nov. 24, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Washington Papers, Library of Congress.]

Camp Whitemarsh Novem<sup>r</sup> 24<sup>th</sup> 1777

May it please your Excellency —

I do myself the Honor to Inclose you our arrangement of the field officers of Light Horse which the Board Directed me to forward — upon a Supposition that your Excellency would Call in their former Commissions & grant them De novo we Took the Liberty of Hinting At the Dates their Respective Commissions Should Bear — but if that is Disapprov<sup>d</sup> by your Excellency our opinion is that they Rank as arranged in the Inclosed List —

Should your Excellency Require to know the princi-

ples upon which we went we will Lay them before your Excellency when you please to Require it — In behalf of the Board I am your Excellencys most obed<sup>t</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>  
 Jn<sup>o</sup> Sullivan President

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to Gen. Washington, Nov. 25, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Washington Papers, Library of Congress.]

Camp Whitemarsh Novem<sup>r</sup> 25<sup>th</sup> 1777

*Dear General* Agreeable to y<sup>r</sup> order of Last Even<sup>g</sup> I have Cons<sup>d</sup> the practicability of making an attack upon the Enemy in Ph— & weighed its probable Consequence in Every view That occurred to me —

In order to Determine whether Such an attempt is Likely to Succeed it is necessary to Consider the Enemys Situation The manner of our making the attack on the Lines the mode of attack we must adopt for Carrying the City after we have made ourselves masters of their Lines & the probable method the Enemy may adopt to Render our Designs abortive. The Right of the Enemy is Secured by the Delaware their Left by Schuylkill & their Rear by the Junction of those Rivers. Their front is partly Secured by an Inaccessable Pond & the Residue by a Chain of Redoubts strengthened by abbatties in part & partly by Circular works — These Redoubts being 14 in number The attack upon them must be total or partial if the whole are to be attacked as works cannot be carried but by Columns. The attacking part of your force in Front must be Disposed in fourteen Columns to Carry 14 Redoubts manned with 100 men Each — after Carrying those they are to assume a Different Form to attack the City which will then be on their Left De-fended by 4600 men Even if we Suppose the Enemys

whole Force in Philadelphia to amount to no more than 6000. If a partial attack is made upon their Redoubts it must be on their Left for if their Right is attacked & carried those Redoubts which remain on their Left will with their field pieces play obliquely on the Rear of y<sup>r</sup> Troops while Forming & making the attack on the City. Should then their Left be attacked & carried & your Troops pass them & form agreeable to your most Sanguine Expectations & advance towards the City they will have A Chain of Redoubts on their Left the Schuylkill in their Rear the City & the Delaware in front & The Delaware & Schuylkill on their Right — when your Troops advance to the City in Line they will find the walls of Brick Houses opposed to 7 Eights of their Line. The upper stories of those Houses well filled by musqueteers & the main Streets by which alone they can penetrate filled with men Drawn across of Sufficient Depth to oppose any part of your Line that may come against them, & the whole Defended by a Train of artillery Surely superiour to any you can possibly bring against them, & this artillery being placed in front of the Houses makes no Interval in their Line & is Compleatly Covered by The Musqueteers occupying the upper Lofts of The Houses. This Disposition will oblige you once more to form Columns to penetrate the Streets in Doing which your Troops must the moment they enter the City Expect a Fire in front from the Troops opposed to them & on both Flanks from the Houses. These circumstances must occur to the party attacking in Front — how far they may be assisted by a party thrown into the City by water I will not Determine — if the party in front is Successful they may be Saved if not they are inevitably Lost — before we promise our Selves Success from this Stratagem it will be proper to Consider how far this plan will be Likely to be Discovered by the

Enemy in season to prevent its Effects — Every person who has attended to the noise made by a Fleet of Boats Rowing in the night must be sensible that they will be heard at Least two miles & the noise will Direct the Enemy where to make their opposition — it cannot be supposed that the enemy will be Stupid Enough to Let their whole Army Run to oppose them — they have alarm posts which they will repair to & Send a Sufficient number of the Reserve with field pieces to oppose or Entrap them — it will be far from having the Effect Designed by a Feint which answers no other purpose but to Induce the Enemy to Suppose your whole force being thrown to a point with an Intention to make your most vigorous effort there & by this means Draw them from the posts you wish to Carry — They will Easily know that you have not boats to Transport any Considerable part of your army to the City by water nor would it be prudent in you So to do — They will therefore Consider this as a Feint & Treat it Accordingly while they prepare to Receive your Real attack in Front which this Feint will Sufficiently announce to them — with Respect to the probability of Carrying the Lines & afterward the City Defended by an army almost Equal in Number to that part of yours which you can Expect anything from is what both reason & Experience Speaks Loudly against. I have Sometimes Read of Lines & partial Retrenchments being carried but in the Course of my Reading (which has not been Inconsiderable) I have never Read of a Chain of Redoubts Covering the whole Front of an army being carried (Even when they had not as in the present Case Rivers Covering Every other Side of them.) I cannot help observing that Some Gentlemen who think we can Easily carry those Redoubts Say that if we are Defeated we have a Strong & Secure Camp to Retreat to — how it can be

Supposed that a Camp without Lines or Redoubts can be better Defended by a Defeated army against a victorious one than Lines & Redoubts Can with Troops, against others upon Equal footing only is beyond my Conception. I know it is Said that these Redoubts are weak but it would be absurd to Suppose that the Redoubts they have been Laboring at Six weeks are not as perfect as those Thrown up by Peter the Great in one night which Defeated the best army in the world or equal to that Single Redoubt which Ruined the British Army at Bunkers Hill. M<sup>r</sup> Howe has never attempted a Redoubt Since but at Red Bank & was Defeated — he was Several Days with Double your numbers within musket Shot of y<sup>r</sup> Lines on Long Island & white plains & feared to attack you — he has no conception that Lines are So Easily carried but if in this he is mistaken all military writers agree that the attack of a village is the most Hazardous Enterprize in war & has Seldom been attended with Success — Experience has So far Convinced the King of Prussia that he is Determined never to attack another — if it be Said we must Reduce it by Cannonnade my answer is that this must be a work of time Especially as they have more Cannon & heavier mettle than we —

I know the world Expect Something from this army & our affairs call for it but no Caprice of the Giddy multitude Should induce us to Sacrifice the army — a Defeat will be So far from helping that in my opinion it would ruin our affairs. The Common people will Discover Howes Superiority to both our armies without Considering the advantages he had against them — those who have Sense Enough to Discover the Advantages he had against them will Condemn the attempt as unwarranted by Reason or Experience So that from Different views the Country will become universally

Discouraged which I fear will End in the Ruin of our Cause — upon the whole I think the most Certain method to retrieve our affairs to Strengthen our friends & Discourage our Enemies as well as to Establish the Currencey of our money will be to put this army in Such a Situation as will render it necessary for M<sup>r</sup> Howe to fight us or Loose his honor & the Confidence the people have in his Arms — once it is known that by avoiding you he acknowledges your Superiority in the field his very friends will Despise him for his weakness & Desert. Yours will be Encouraged & value your money at a high rate when Supported by those Arms which (this hitherto) arrogant Invader dare not attack — There is Still another mode of attack upon the Enemys Lines which is to pass your Columns between the Redoubts — if this should be attempted & the Enemy Should retire & Draw up in Rear of their works Leaving in them a Sufficient number to man them your Troops must advance under a Front & Two Flank Fires till they have passed the Redoubts when they will have an additional one in their Rear from the Redoubts they have passed & after Enduring all this they will have to attack the City under all the Disadvantages before mentioned in which if they are Successful they will do what no other Troops have Ever accomplished —

I know it is Said by Some that your Excellenceys Character & that of the whole army will Suffer if Something is not attempted as the Northern Army is called to our assistance. I am far from thinking so — But Let us Consider what foundation there can be for Censure — it is beyond a Question that General Howe has been much Superiour to you in numbers thr<sup>o</sup> the whole Campaign yet you have twice fought him & th<sup>o</sup> the field remained his the victory was yours — he to add to his Force & to get a Decisive Superiority over you in the

field called for a Reinforcement & you to Counteract him did the Same — you by this means became 13000 strong & he remains at Least twelve — if your additional Militia will make up for the want of Discipline in your young Troops I think it is all we can Expect — where then is this Superiority in numbers on your side which will warrant your making an attack So Likely to Compleat the Ruin of your Country, an attack condemned by Every military writer & unwarranted by Reason or Experience. Actions always take their Character from the Success that attend them & those Gentlemen who urge this matter to Save the Credit of the army Deceive themselves & you: for if you are unsuccessful the Credit of the army will be Destroyed & the Confidence of the people Lost beyond recovery & your own Character must Suffer — It has been urged that these works may be Carried by Surprize: I have Ever understood that works were Constructed to prevent a Surprize & never once Conceived it possible to Surprize & carry 14 redoubts especially when the Enemys first Line is Encamped in Front of them — it would be needless to give your Excellency instances of Such attempts upon Redoubts alone and upon unfortified villages being rendered abortive. Military Books are full of them — those writers tell us that a Single Stone House mill or Church if well Defended cannot be Reduced but by cannon — if this be true with respect to one a Regular Line of them opposed to your whole Front must be much more Difficult — what Success a Cannonade from Troops in the open field is Likely to have upon others Covered by a village & redoubts & possessed of a Superior Train of artillery requires no great Share of military knowledge to Determine. I have mentioned Some unfortunate attacks upon Redoubts that have Fallen within our own knowledge. I will at present

mention but two that have proved So upon villages not Defended by Lines or Redoubts — one was in Corsica the first Campaign made by the French ag<sup>t</sup> it where the whole French army were cut to pieces in Storming a Small village Defended by Paschal Paoli<sup>s</sup> Brother with a Handfull of Corsicans & at German Town one Stone House Snatched from us a victory which was almost Compleated — I am therefore Clearly of opinion that the attempt would be Hazardous & must End in Ruin to the army & to the American Cause but should y<sup>r</sup> Exce<sup>y</sup> think the attempt practicable I Shall Cheerfully give up my opinion & use every effort in my power to Carry it into Execution with Success.

---

[*Order of March, Dec. 1777. Document Signed.*]

[Washington Papers, Library of Congress.]

*To his Excellency Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington Commander in Chief of the American Army*

Pursuant to your Excellency's Orders We have consider'd upon a proper Order of March for the Army in crossing the Schukill & recommend that the Troops march in the following Order Viz. Part of Pennsylvania Militia under Potter first

1<sup>st</sup> Maryland Brigade

2<sup>d</sup>            d<sup>o</sup>            d<sup>o</sup>

1<sup>st</sup> Pennsylvania

2<sup>d</sup>            d<sup>o</sup>

Poor, Maxwell, Conway, Woodford, Scott, Huntingdon, Varnum, North Carolina, Glover, Learned, Patterson, Weedon, Muhlenberg, Maryland Militia Rifle Corps —

The Baggage Stores and Park of Artillery to cross at Sweeds Ford setting off at least two hours before the

Army marches — The Baggage to march in the following order Viz. 1<sup>st</sup> Quartermaster's Stores. 2<sup>dly</sup> Commissary's Stores. 3<sup>dly</sup> The Baggage of the respective Brigades in the same order as the Troops march: The whole to be preceded by the Artillery Park and attended by the Artificers of the Army — One Brigade to cross before the Army & pass down some Miles towards the Enemy on the other Side Schuylkill and take post on the Road leading from the middle Ferry between the Enemy and the main Army. Two covering Parties of five hundred Men each to pass down the Ridge Road & German Town Road to watch the Motions of the Enemy. One Regiment of Horse to go with each of those Parties. The other two Regiments to march in front of the main Army —

Jn<sup>o</sup> Sullivan  
in behalf of the whole

A party of one hundred men under the command of a Major to precede the Army after the rout is fixt, and repair the little foot bridges — and cover the wet places — the party to be furnished with Axes for that purpose.

The brigade that is to be sent into the Jerseys to serve as a covering party on this side the Schuylkill and if there is no intelligence that renders it necessary for them to cross the River to remain on this side until ordered into the Jerseys —

The first days march the head of the Column to reach the Lancaster road — the Engineers and Major General of the Day to examine the ground to encamp upon — to set off tomorrow morning if the army marches tomorrow

G — Potters militia to cross with the Army over the Schuylkill, but to recross it again when the Brigade of Continental troops leaves the ground to go into the

Jerseys — the whole of the Pennsylvania militia to act collectively between the Delaware and the Schuylkill — Head Quarters to be near or at the cross Roads — Guards to be established to cut of . . . . going into the City

The boats fitted for carriages to be brought to Wilmington on Carriages — the others to be carried to Easton.

The troops sent into the Jerseys to take post at Mount Holly —

The baggage to cross the River under the direction of the quarter Master at the most convenient fords to keep the back roads in the rear of the Army —

Ferries to be established with slideing roofs upon the Bethlehem plan — across the Schuylkill about twenty or thirty Miles above the City —

The following disposition to be made of the Horse — one Troop in the Jerseys the remainder of a Regiment to act with the Pennsylvania Militia — The rest of the light Horse to be with the Main Army on the other side of the Schuylkill —

The Army to march at four in the morning. —

---

[*Col. Moses Hazen to Gen. Sullivan, Dec. 1, 1777. Letter Signed.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Bethlehem Decem<sup>r</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> 1777

*Dear Sir* I have Sent to Camp 400 p<sup>r</sup> Shoes I wish, and have Desired Major Talor to have my own Regiment well Shod out of them, and the remainder to be Disposed of by your order in the Same Brigade if you think fit. The Bearer Ensign Fellows of my Regiment can find you Six or Seven hundred pairs more which

will Compleatly Shoe your Division. This information I Judge will be acceptable.

I am Sorry that I have been Detain'd So Long from Camp, the Phisitions here have me on their Hospital Books But as I find my Self much Better I Shall Desert, if they do not Soon give me a Discharge.

[Addressed] The Hon<sup>1<sup>e</sup></sup> John Sullivan Esq<sup>r</sup> Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Camp Head Quarters

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to Gen. Washington, Dec. 1, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Washington Papers, Library of Congress.]

Camp at Whitemarsh Decem<sup>r</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> 1777

*Dear General* Agreeable to your Excellency's Commands I have Considered upon the most Suitable place to Canton the Army During the winter. The Several places proposed in Council have their advantages and Disadvantages but that which has the Least objections ought to be fixed upon. The Intention of the Board is to take that Station which will answer best to Cover the Country Refresh the Troops & Discipline the Army & by adding to its numbers by Recruits & otherways prepare it to take the field with vigour Early in the Spring — in order to Determine what place will be most Likely to answer this purpose it will be proper to Consider the Several places proposed with the objections that may Justly be made to Each: The first is The great valley on the other side Schuylkill. There it is proposed to Hutt the army for the winter — the Second is to Canton The Troops in Wilmington & its neighbourhood. The Third is to Canton them from Lancaster to Reading —

The first place proposed will Cover the Country west

of Schuylkill provided Large Detachments are kept near the Schuylkill & on the Delaware to prevent the Enemy from making Inroads and Collecting Forage &c in the neighbourhood of Darby Chester & Wilmington but in Case the Enemy Should take post with a Large party at Wilmington you must Send a Force Superior to them to Attack them or move a Large part if not the whole of your Army near that place to prevent them from Foraging & Drawing provisions in which Case your Huts must be forsaken & of Course become useless — one great objection to Huts is that they are Exceeding unhealthy and are at Best but a miserable Shelter from the Inclemency of the weather — The mortality among the Hessians at Brunswick Last Spring as well as Common observation will Justify this assertion. Should you be able to Cover the west side of the Schuylkill by adopting this plan it must be by making a winters Campaign but it is to be Remembered at the Same time that you Leave Exposed the State of New Jersey and all That part of Pennsylvania which Lies on the East of Schuylkill and put it in the power of the Enemy to Render your Communications with the Eastern States across the Delaware very Difficult if not impracticable — The Second post proposed namely Wilmington & its Environs will not only Leave New Jersey & the Eastern part of Pennsylvania with most of your Hospitals & Stores Exposed but Even the western part of Pennsylvania will be in great Measure Exposed unless you keep a Force near the Schuylkill to prevent the Incursions of the Enemy. This will also occasion a winters Campaign without answering any other purpose but that of Covering part of Maryland & the Delaware States & your Situation will put it in the power of the Enemy Completely to Cut off your Communication with all the States East of Schuylkill — in addition to those Difficul-

ties There is another of great weight in my mind which is that Though it is not Easy to Surprize the post it is by no means Impracticable. This will necessarily Increase our out Guards & Pickets & make the Duty of the Soldiers Something Severe & to add to it m<sup>r</sup> Howe by a move of his army up the Schulkil toward y<sup>r</sup> stores may compel you to move y<sup>r</sup> army as often as he Chooses to repeat the movement. If therefore either of the before mentioned posts are taken a winters Campaign must be the Consequence. This in my opinion ought if possible to be Avoided. The most Warlike nations in the world both in Ancient & modern times have Endeavoured to avoid them Even when they had a Sufficiency of Cloathing for their Troops & were in Climate much more temperate than ours. Experience Convinced them that the gain was by no means Equal to the Loss and though in most Instances whole Provinces have been given up this Consideration has not been thought of Sufficient weight to keep Armies in the Field through the winter Season. The Situation of your Army will be Scarcely Tolerable if placed in the warmest Houses During the winter. The whole of them without watch Coats one half without Blankets & more than a Third without Shoes Stockings or Breeches & many of Them without Jackits. Indeed There are Some without Coats & not a few without Shirts. Even the officers in Sundry Instances are Destitute of proper Cloathing Some of them being almost naked — These Considerations Should Induce us to avoid a winters Campaign if it may be Done without the Greatest Inconveniencys — The Third place will Leave Exposed both The East & west side of Schulkill near the Enemy & at the same time Expose New Jersey — it will however Cover the Back part of the Country give opportunity of Recruiting & Disciplining your army & at the Same time furnish

Houses that will Supply the want of Comfortable Cloathing to your Troops & give you & your officers a proper opportunity of Turning your Thought to proper measures for Regulating your army & Enabling it to take the field with vigor in the Spring. To Secure the Country as much as possible one Brigade Should be placed in New Jersey for the militia to Collect to in Case of an Invasion & Scouting parties of the militia Should be Constantly near the Enemy to intercept Small parties from making inroads into that State — at Potsgrove or Reading in Pensylvania should also be another Brigade or Division for the same purpose & the militia of this State Should be Constantly Scouting near the Enemies Lines to keep them from foraging with impunity. This Disposition will Cover your Hospitals & Stores & keep open your Communications with all the States — Though you may in taking the above Situation be under a necessity of Removing Some Inhabitants who have fled from Philadelphia farther Back into the Country yet this is a much Less Evil than Exposing the army to be Ruined by the Inclemency of the Season & the want of Cloathing but this may in Some measure be Remedied as the Distance between you & the Enemy will permit you to Canton your Troops in Town Considerably Back of the Line which marks your Front — I know that there are also objections against this Disposition which have great weight among which is that of Leaving So much Country open to the Enemy but in Every view of the Subject I think this the Least Liable to objections — I cannot help giving it as my opinion if we are to make a winters Campaign & our force is Deemed Sufficient to Dispute the field with the Enemy after the seven Virginia Regiments Leave us, that Germantown will be the most proper place for the purpose — as that & Beggars Town will afford Cover for most of the Troops. The Several Roads Lead-

ing to it may Soon be fortified against a Surprize & Corps Selected to Defend the Houses which will Supply in great measure our want of numbers. The proximity of our Situation to the Enemy will keep them within Bounds & by keeping a strong party of Pennsylvania militia on the west of Schuylkill and of the Jersey militia on the East of Delaware their Incursions into the Country will be totally prevented — if a winters Campaign is to be Carried on this will be the most advantageous and Comfortable Quarters for the purpose — but if a winters Campaign is to be avoided The other is to be preferred for the Reasons before assigned. I know that both officers & Soldiers Dread a winters Campaign The prospect of which Induces our officers to Resign in Such numbers & prevents privates from Engaging in the Service — with respect to the part our Army takes previous to Retiring to winter Quarters I think it immaterial at present for if M<sup>r</sup> Howe Declines a general Action no situation we can Take Either on this or the other Side the Schuylkill will Compell him to fight us as he has the Delaware open to furnish him with Supplies and if he is Determined to bring on an Engagement he will Seek out the Army Let their Station be where it will —

D<sup>r</sup> General the above is Submitted with all Due Defference & Respect by your Excellencys most obed<sup>t</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to Gen. Washington, Dec. 4, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Washington Papers, Library of Congress.]

Camp Whitemarsh Decem<sup>r</sup> 4<sup>th</sup> 1777

*Dear General* Agreeable to your Excellencys Directions I have Considered upon the advisability of mak-

ing a winters Campaign and the practicability of making an attack upon Philadelphia with the aid of a Body of Militia to be Called in for that purpose — Though The attacking & carrying Philadelphia is an object much to be wished yet as the attempt carries with it an Idea of a winters Campaign I must give my opinion against it — when this motion was first made I was in favor of it but I was then taught to believe by those who pretended to have view<sup>d</sup> the Enemys Lines that their Redoubts were not Inclosed in Rear but my own Observation has since Convinced me of the Contrary, my own opinion as well as that of a Great majority of the General officers has been that an attack upon the Enemies Redoubts in Front & upon the City afterward would be Hazardous & must End in Ruin to the army; & as we find their Redoubts are Equally Strong in Rear The attempt will be Equally Dangerous — but if not altogether So it must at Least be attended with great Hazard — and in order to make the attempt your naked army must be kept in the field the greater part if not the whole of the winter. This in my opinion Should never be Done but where the object is of great importance and where there is a moral Certainty of obtaining the End in view — Even when an Army is properly cloathed against the Inclemency of the Season: but of your Army one third of them at Least are now Confined to their Cold Tents & unwholesome Hutts for want of Shoes Stockings & other Cloathing — a very Large number of them unable Longer to Endure the Severity of their Situation have retired (Sick) to the Hospitals or to Country Houses. The numbers which Daily fall Sick in Camp is Surprizing. They have neither Cloathes to keep them warm by Day or Blankets by night. Most of the officers are in the Same Situation. This it is which Induces So many of them to Resign —

many officers who have behaved with Credit have petitioned me for Leave to Retire for a Season or to Resign their Commissions & assigned as a Reason for not waiting on me that they were so naked they were ashamed to be Seen That Cloathing was not to be had & Even if it was Their wages would not Enable them to purchase. I have taken pains to Inquire from the most Sensible officers & have Conversed with Several General officers upon the alarming Spirit of Resignation which takes place in the Army & find they in General Say this: “that they and their men have been marching and “countermarching all the year — that they have “fought two General Actions besides Skirmishes — “that the Cloathes & shoes which they wore out has “amounted to their wages which Leaves their Families “to Suffer at home — That the Baggage they Sent to “Bethlehem has been mostly plundered & they have no “possible way of replacing it: That the price of articles “bears no proportion to their wages — they further “Say that their Rank has not been settled — that they “have been told from time to time that This Should be “Done when they Retired to winter Quarters of which “they See not the Least prospect & that while they have “Contentedly born all this they Daily See Congress “placing men over their heads without any Regard to “their Rank or Services.” Dear General I feel for you when I tell you that this is not the Language of a few officers of Inferiour Rank but of high & Low. Such a Disaffection I never could have conceived had not my inquiries Convinced me. I know it must give you pain as it is not in your power to Redress those grievances but Duty oblidges me to give the information. I am fully Convinced and fear the Event will prove that more than half your officers will Leave you in a month unless Some Remedy is found out to Quiet their minds & relieve their

Distresses — Under These circumstances a winters Campaign will in my opinion Dissolve the Army. I know it has been urged that the above Sad State of our affairs should induce us to Risque an Action as Soon as possible and I am myself fully of that opinion but can we Compell the Enemy to it if they Decline it — if m<sup>r</sup> Howe does not come to Attack us when we Lay So near him it is Evident he does not mean to fight us unless we attack his Lines — whoever would advise to this measure puts the fate of America upon the Toss of a Single Die without Reflecting upon the Dismal Situation our affairs must be in if unsuccessful in an attempt where there are at Least twenty Chances to one against us — to remedy those Evils as much as possible I must Sincerely Recommend that the army be removed immediately to winter Quarters — That Congress fall upon Some method of affording a proper Support to officers & Soldiers and that the Rank throughout the army be Settled & made known — That in Instances of Rank which give universal Dissatisfaction the Honor of a few individuals Should be Sacrificed to the good of the whole & Every method taken to Recruit the army Collect the Scattered Recover the Feeble & Discipline the whole in order to take the field with vigor Early in the Spring which may be by March or April & in the mean while an apparatus Should be collecting to sit down before Philadelphia in form So Early in the Spring as will Enable us by Regular approaches to carry the Town before a Reinforcement can arrive. A Body of Militia may (if tho<sup>t</sup> necessary) be Seasonably notified to Join us on the Day your Excellency may fix for opening the Campaign — I know it may be objected to this plan that During the winter we Leave a vast Tract of Country Exposed to the Enemy but this may be Said in all cases of taking winter Quarters. Every Army that

Retires to Winter Quarters must Leave Some Country Exposed & I think it much better to give them all Pennsylvania for the winter than to Ruin That Army which must Save America if Saved at all. If a winters Campaign is Carried on barely for the purpose of preventing the Enemy from Drawing provisions & Forage we Shall in my opinion be the greatest Sufferers — the Army cannot in a Little time Act but in the partizan way — Some of Col<sup>o</sup> Stewards Reg<sup>t</sup> will Soon Leave you — nine virginia Regiments must Soon go Home. The Drafts from Connecticut Leave you the first of January — this with what will be taken off by fatigue &c will Render M<sup>r</sup> Howe Superiour to you in the field through the winter & if our attention is taken up in carrying on a partizan winters Campaign you will have in the Spring the miserable remains of an Army worn out with Fatigue & totally unfit for any opperations. The King of prussia Speaking of winter Campaigns Says that no man having his Eyes open will carry on a winters Campaign unless he has Infinite objects in view — this he Says of winter Campaigns Generally but I believe if his opinion was taken upon an Armys Carrying one on under our Disadvantages he would adopt a Language Still more forceable; he Says good winter Quarters Are to give Tranquility to the minds of the Soldiers to Recruit your Army restore Constitutions reduced by Fatigue mend Carriages fill up your Regiments manœuvre your Troops Refresh your Horses make your arrangements & Lay your Plans for the Ensueing Campaign — all This is Essentially necessary for us at present to be About. I am therefore clearly of opinion that no time Should be Lost in taking the Troops to winter Quarters & that we should immediately fall upon Some method of giving Ease to our Soldiers & Satisfaction to our officers: unless this is Done & unless

all other Considerations give way to it I fear the Event of the next Campaign will prove That in Striving to do too much we have Ruined all. I am Confident that if the plan I propose is adopted we Shall be able in the Spring to take the field with an Army vastly Superiour to the Enemy Even if our new Recruits Should not be numerous — we have a vast number of Sick — many have Deserted to their own Homes — there are upward of a hundred Deserters from the Delaware Regiment only who are Secreted by the Tories — many other Regiments have almost an Equal proportion — these might all be collected in the winter and with the Sick which may return & Recruits which may be added our army will be able to take the field with great advantage in the Spring —

The above is with all Due Submission offered by Dear General your Excellenceys most obed<sup>t</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

P S The best mode I could Devise for Covering the Country I pointed out in my Last Therefore forbear to Repeat in this

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to Gen. Washington, Dec. 26, 1777.*]

[Correspondence of the American Revolution, Sparks, vol. 2, p. 63.]

Camp [Valley Forge], 26 December, 1777.

*Dear General*, Agreeably to your Excellency's directions, I have consulted some of the General Officers who I thought most capable of advising upon the proper steps to take in our present circumstances. They say that they can by no means advise for or against an attack. They are fully convinced that General Howe has his whole force with him; that, if your Excellency thinks your force sufficient to cope with his, they are

willing to risk their lives and fortunes with you in the attempt. They say, further, that General Howe is possessed of very strong grounds at present, and, even if he was not, he would have sufficient time to post himself strongly before you could reach him, as your army must have a march of two days before they could come to action. They think if an attack is made on his left with success, he can retreat with ease; if on his right, he must be ruined; but, should you fail in the latter, your army must be pushed into the Schuylkill.

They, upon the whole, think the attempt will be exceeding hazardous, and the success doubtful; that, if you fail, the people who are now so fond of censuring, will change their clamor, and censure you for not attacking him when he was within a mile of you, and your army more numerous and in better condition than at present. They say they are free for attacking him, if he, by his advances this way, shows an intention of attacking us; but cannot advise to marching the army to attack him where he now is, unless your Excellency is fully convinced of your superiority in numbers.

These are the sentiments of the gentlemen whom I have consulted, and, though I think they have much weight, I am so weary of the infernal clamor of the Pennsylvanians, that I am for satisfying them at all events, and risking every consequence in an action. Possibly we may be successful; if not, they may be satisfied, and even Congress itself may gain experience, and learn to censure with more caution. Possibly a defeat may have this good effect, and a victory will bring with it its own reward. I am, therefore, clearly for risking every consequence in an action, and, among others, most cheerfully, the life and fortune of Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

[*Gen. Sullivan to Gen. Washington, Dec. 27, 1777.  
Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Washington Papers, Library of Congress.]

Camp 27<sup>th</sup> Decem<sup>r</sup> 1777

*Dear General* When I undertook to Compleat the Bridge in So Short a Space I Expected Every article would be provided when I called but am unhappy to find that not one Single Article is provided in Season: I think the Safety and Convenience of the army Depends upon having it Compleated as Soon as possible: I was well Convinced that Six Days would be amply Sufficient for Doing the whole provided Every thing was in preparation: for So soon as a proper Crew can Cut hew & Frame one Pier So Soon might the whole with Different Crews be Done; provided there were proper Tools for the Business & proper hands Employed but The management of the present Bridge is really perplexing—it Took my people the first Day to try their axes—when they found them Break Surprisingly (as I Expected) they had no Grindstone provided till the Second Day near five of Clock. The men were that Day principally Employed in Building Hutts that they might be ready on the Ground for work—The next Day Some tools arrived but it was at Least a Days work for all my men to whet the Saws handle & Grind the Tools—the Carpenters with Tools from Bethlehem are not now arrived. I have been for two Days without Teams to hall the Timber to the place. Yesterday & this Day till two of Clock I have waited for waggons to hall Rocks—having now got the waggons I applied to the Marquis Le Fayette for Thirty men to Load & unload them tomorrow—he ordered them from Gen<sup>l</sup> Woodfords Brigade & the prospect I have of them may be Discovered by the enclosed note:

without a Captain & thirty men tomorrow I can do very Little therefore beg your Excellency to order them from Some Division. I have wrote a note to the adjutant General which I Suppose he has presented to your Excell<sup>y</sup> Desiring it may be published in orders that Each Brigade may furnish me with Such men as I call for as I can by no means tell till I See how forward the work is in the Evening what number of men will be necessary for the next Day & it will then be too Late to publish it in General orders — I am Exceeding Loath to give your Exc<sup>y</sup> Trouble & at the Same time am unwilling to be answerable for the Delay which those repeated Disappointments must occasion — The men I have with me have Done without Conveniences much more than could be Expected & will Soon Compleat the Business if they are properly Supplied — I might have mentioned That Some of the Brigades who were to furnish me with Carpenters Sent me Taylors who had never used an ax in their Lives; kept their good Carpenters at home to Build Hutts. The above I present as a protest to Exculpate me for not Doing the Bridge in Season & to Show that it will never be Done unless affairs are placed on a Different Footing.

P S The Captain & 30 men Should parade at Fat Land Ford tomorrow morning Eight of Clock

---

[*Gen. Sullivan to Gen. Washington, Dec. 30, 1777. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Washington Papers, Library of Congress.]

Camp Decem<sup>r</sup> 30<sup>th</sup> 1777

*Dear General* Several of the General officers of the Army have been with me This morning To Consult upon Some Measure to be pursued Respecting Some

Late promotions which have taken place To Their prejudice. They are about meeting to make a proper Representation of their Grievances to your Excellency and To Congress as Soon as may be in the Interim They beg your Excellency would Defer Anouncing in orders any promotions among the General officers which have Lately taken place in Congress.

---

[*Protest of General Officers to Congress, Dec. 31, 1777.*]

[Sullivan Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.]

Camp, Valley Forge 31<sup>st</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 1777.

*Sir* — As General Officers of the American Army we beg Liberty to represent, that, at a Period when the Affairs of our Country called for the utmost Exertion of every Friend, we chearfully embark'd in the Contest with Great Britain, and accepted such Commissions in the Army as Congress thought proper to confer upon us: Previous to our Appointments we had considered ourselves as Citizans of America, bound to espouse the common Cause, & to make every Sacrifice our Country could require, to defend its Liberties; But after we were called to the Field, not only the obligation of Citizans, but our Duty as soldiers bound us to risque our Lives and Fortunes to support the violated Rights of America. This we have chearfully and repeatedly done during the present Controversy; and expected in Return that while our Conduct in the Army gave no room for Censure, we should be supported in our respective Ranks, & receive those Promotions, which, in a regular Line, have ever taken place in well regulated armies But we are exceeding sorry to say, that in this Army no regular Line of Promotion has been observed. Promotions without any apparent Reason have taken place, which

reflect Disgrace & Dishonor upon us, & the same Irregularities have taken Place among Officers of inferior Rank, conferring undeserved Honor upon some, & reflecting unmerited Disgrace upon others. We were Unwilling to be the first who complain of those irregular Promotions, being fully sensible that Officers of inferior Rank were but too ready to leave the Service, rather than continue to suffer such Injuries and Indignities, daily heap'd upon them. But we now find that the Grievance has become intollerable both to them and us. Unprecedented and surprising Promotions are frequently taking Place in favor of Persons who have never distinguished themselves as Soldiers, And who have nothing more to boast of in the present Contest, than that they have modestly trumpeted their own Praise to Congress, have ventured to cross the Atlantic to seek that Bread in America, which they failed to obtain in their own Country, or have been the lucky Messengers of good News. We can assert with Truth, that the Officers of this Army have ever expressed their Satisfaction at the Promotion of Persons whose Merits were conspicuous. As Citizens we rejoiced at it, and as Soldiers we considered ourselves bound in Honor to acquiesce. We ever wish to see Congress vested with the Power of rewarding Merit; But as this, as well as all other Powers, is liable to be misapplied, we must consider it our Duty as Freemen to take the Liberty of complaining when such Misapplications take place. It is impossible that a person serving with us in the Army could have distinguish<sup>d</sup> himself as a Soldier, and this be unknown to us & the Commander in Chief, And continue a Secret to all the World, except to the Members of Congress: A Person therefore receiving a rapid Promotion over the Heads of worthy officers, when his Merit has never appeared to the officers who have

served with him, must give Disgust and Dissatisfaction. This we are exceeding sorry to say, is the Case in the Army at present. Officers who have served with Reputation from the Commencement of the War are daily retiring from the Service and leaving their Places to be filled by Persons whose inexperience promises but little, & whose want of Firmness may be discovered at a Time fatal to the Liberties of this Country. Our Duty as Soldiers and Citizens oblige us to inform Congress that we See Signs of the Dissolution of this Army, that fill us with Horror! We therefore, as Men who have embark'd all in the Cause of America, request Congress to appoint some Persons to inquire into the Grievances complained of; who may have power to regulate the Rank of the Army; Call in Commissions which have been prematurely granted, to fix the Rank of the Officers upon a proper Footing; & to settle a regular Line of Promotion, not to be departed from, but in Cases of extraordinary Merit, or upon great political Principles. Under this Exception, we are happy to mention the Marquis Le Fayette, whose Sacrifices to our Cause, and personal Merit highly deserve the Honor bestowed upon him. —

[Signatures cut off, only that of Gen. Enoch Poor remaining.]

---

[*James Macomb to Gen. Sullivan. No Date. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Revolution Collection, Library of Congress.]

*Sir* I hope you will pardon the freedom I take in acquainting you that, as I cannot procure a lodging in this Town, I shall be obliged to seek for one farther in the Country. I am therefore under the necessity of requesting your Directions in that respect. I mean

whether you intend my Parole to extend to the Township at large, or otherwise, if the first, I am inform'd 'twill be easy for me to get accomodations, if the last, shall be put to much inconvenience.

Permit me Sir to submit it to your superior Judgment how far it is consistent with the public good, (should I stand in a suspicious point of view,) for me to remain any Length of time in a Tavern, where it is almost impossible, how much soever I may wish to avoid the same, but that I may hear some circumstances, not altogether so proper for a person in my present Situation. I earnestly desire to be out of the way thereof, and if I am so happy as to obtain your Orders accordingly, will endeavour to fix on the most retired place I can find, there is a Gent<sup>n</sup> whose name is Robertson about 4 or 5 Miles distance from hence, that formerly corresponded with the House in which I am concern'd, to whom I propose making application to provide me with a Lodging in his Neighbourhood, should you think 'twill be my unfortunate Lot, to continue in this Country.

Morris Town Friday morning

---

[*Lieut. Col. John Fitzgerald to Gen. Sullivan. No Date. Autograph Letter Signed.*]

[Washington Papers, Library of Congress.]

Head Quarters near Thompson's Tavern Sunday  
Even<sup>g</sup> 8 O Clock

*Sir* By order of his Excellency I have to Inform you that this Army is about to March up the Road by which we came down & is not to Halt untill we get beyond that Road which leads from Parker's Ford into the Reading Road, beyond the Trapp — It is the Generals desire that you move on with your Division so as

to be nearly on a Line between us & the Schuylkill, leaving a small Pickett at each Fording Place as a party of Observation. Generals Maxwell & Potter are to March up & Join you

P S Before you leave your Encampment you will please make large Fires so that your March may be unexpected. You will also please give Notice to Col<sup>o</sup> Moylan that he may move in Concert

Since writing the within his Excellency desires me to mention to you, that you Order Major Jamison with a party of 12 or 15 Horse to Philad<sup>a</sup> very early in the morn<sup>g</sup> there to enquire for Col<sup>o</sup> Hamilton & give him what assistance he can on a Matter about which he is gone

Col<sup>o</sup> Hamilton will be found at the City Tavern —

# INDEX



## INDEX OF PLACES

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>Albany, N. Y. . . . . 149, 198<br/>           200, 201, 207, 211, 216, 271<br/>           336, 412, 425</p> <p>Amboy, N. J. . . . . 303, 309–<br/>           311, 348, 350, 351, 363, 364<br/>           370, 375, 380, 381, 387, 392<br/>           395, 396, 399, 402, 441, 481</p> <p>Aniack . . . . . 411</p> <p>Aurora, N. Y. . . . . 3</p><br><p>Baltimore, Md. . . . . 437</p> <p>Barrington, N. H. . . . . 134</p> <p>Barron Hill . . . . . 578</p> <p>Basking Ridge, N. J. . . . . 302<br/>           305, 328, 329</p> <p>Bedford, L. I. . . . . 298</p> <p>Beggarstown, Pa. . . . . 596</p> <p>Bemis Heights, N. Y. . . . . 4</p> <p>Bennington, Vt. . . . . 12</p> <p>Bergen, N. J. . . . . 401, 406</p> <p>Berthier, Quebec . . . . . 232, 252</p> <p>Berwick, Me. . . . . 4, 134, 579</p> <p>Bethlehem, Pa. . . . . 599, 604</p> <p>Birmingham Meeting<br/>           House . . . . . 456, 465</p> <p>Black River . . . . . 301</p> <p>Blanchard's Point . . . . . 155</p> <p>Blazing Star Ferry . . . . . 438, 440<br/>           459, 486, 489, 491–493, 495<br/>           496, 498, 499, 505, 506, 510<br/>           511, 513, 515–518, 520, 521<br/>           524, 526–529</p> <p>Bonhamtown, N. J. . . . . 309<br/>           310, 350, 380, 401, 456</p> <p>Bordentown, N. J. . . . . 364<br/>           365, 384, 385</p> <p>Boston, Mass. . . . . 11–13, 43<br/>           59, 66, 67, 79, 115, 118, 120<br/>           124, 135, 136, 151, 153, 160<br/>           185, 328, 334, 472, 580</p> <p>Bound Brook . . . . . 312, 313, 388</p> | <p>Bradford, Mass. . . . . 59</p> <p>Brandywine . . . . . 17, 451, 455<br/>           461, 472, 475, 534, 537, 538<br/>           547, 549, 556, 557, 563, 565<br/>           568, 572, 573, 575</p> <p>Brenton's Ford . . . . . 549</p> <p>Bristol, Pa. . . . . 350, 355, 373</p> <p>Browntown Gap . . . . . 450</p> <p>Brunswick, N. J. . . . . 15, 16, 303<br/>           304, 310–312, 347, 348, 350<br/>           351, 361–365, 369, 375, 380<br/>           381, 385–388, 390–392, 394–<br/>           398, 402, 594</p> <p>Buffington's Ford . . . . . 549</p> <p>Bunker Hill . . . . . 8, 59, 74, 95<br/>           111, 174, 587</p> <p>Butts Hill . . . . . 20</p><br><p>Cakiact . . . . . 301</p> <p>Cambridge, Mass. . . . . 8, 10, 12<br/>           59, 60, 81, 82, 85, 86, 104<br/>           120, 141, 154, 185, 226, 467<br/>           575, 576</p> <p>Canterbury, N. H. . . . . 134</p> <p>Cape Ann . . . . . 174</p> <p>Cape May . . . . . 423</p> <p>Cedars . . . . . 210, 213, 221, 231<br/>           246, 249, 251, 259, 293, 294<br/>           374, 420</p> <p>Chadds Ford . . . . . 474, 542</p> <p>Chambly, Quebec . . . . . 211, 213<br/>           217, 218, 221, 223, 227, 228<br/>           231, 232, 234, 238, 240–243<br/>           252, 254, 273, 276, 278</p> <p>Charleston, S. C. . . . . 160</p> <p>Charlestown, Mass. . . . . 11, 59, 74<br/>           79, 94, 152, 367</p> <p>Chatham, N. J. . . . . 303, 304<br/>           313, 328, 329, 456, 485, 489<br/>           490, 495, 528, 530</p> <p>Chelsea, Mass. . . . . 104</p> |
|--|---|

- Chesapeake Bay . . . . . 436  
 Chester, Del. . . . . 594  
 Chester, N. H. . . . . 134  
 Chestnut Hill . . . . . 543, 544, 578  
 Clove . . . . . 408, 411, 412  
 Concord, Mass. . . . . 8, 59  
 Concord, N. H. . . . . 136  
 (Penacook) . . . . . 150  
 Connecticut River 29, 285–287  
 Coös . . . . . 71, 285–287  
 Coryell's Ferry . . . . . 378, 389, 436  
 Cranbury, N. J. . . . . 364, 385  
 391, 392  
 Crown Point . . . . . 61, 235, 253  
 254, 257, 258, 261, 262, 264  
 265, 267, 285–288  
 Cuckold's Town, Staten  
 Island . . . . . 489, 494, 498–500  
 505, 506, 510, 511, 513, 515  
 517–519, 521, 524, 526, 529  
 Cumberland . . . . . 385  
 Cumberland Head . . . . . 295  
  
 Danbury, Conn. . . . . 332, 334  
 336, 363  
 Darby, Pa. . . . . 594  
 Dartmouth College . . . . . 150, 287  
 Deckers Ferry . . . . . 438, 496, 498  
 504, 507, 510, 512, 516, 517  
 521, 524, 526  
 Delaware Bay . . . . . 381  
 Delaware River . . . . . 15, 16, 300  
 355, 365, 380, 382, 389, 391  
 393, 423, 425, 436, 585, 592  
 594, 597  
 Deschambault, Quebec . . . . . 220  
 235, 240, 250, 251, 254, 268  
 Diamond Point . . . . . 170  
 Dobbs Ferry, N. Y. . . . . 415  
 Dongan's Mills . . . . . 505  
 Dover, N. H. . . . . 4, 5, 13  
 23, 134  
 Draper . . . . . 149  
 Durham, N. H. . . . . 5, 8, 9, 29  
 30, 32, 33, 53, 56–59, 134  
 Durham Falls . . . . . 54, 55  
 Dutch Church, Staten  
 Island . . . . . 438, 459, 491, 505  
 510, 516  
 Easton, Pa. . . . . 300, 301  
 Edge Hill . . . . . 578  
 Egypt Road . . . . . 543  
 Elizabeth, N. J. . . . . 303, 304, 434  
 438, 485, 490, 492, 495, 503  
 504, 508, 509, 512, 515, 516  
 529–531  
 Exeter, N. H. . . . . 31, 33, 59, 65  
 67, 77, 134, 285  
  
 Fairfield, Conn. . . . . 334  
 Falmouth, Me. . . . . 11, 118  
 152, 367  
 Fishkill, N. Y. . . . . 336, 428  
 Fishwater's Mill . . . . . 578  
 Flatbush, L. I. . . . . 551  
 Flemington, N. J. . . . . 389–391, 393  
 Flowertown . . . . . 578  
 Fort Edward . . . . . 359  
 Fort George . . . . . 209, 249, 256, 288  
 Fort Lee . . . . . 303, 328, 406  
 471, 574  
 Fort Mifflin . . . . . 579  
 Fort Montgomery . . . . . 408  
 Fort Stanwix . . . . . 236, 256  
 Fort Town . . . . . 428  
 Fort Washington . . . . . 117, 471, 574  
 Fort William and Mary . . . . . 7, 66  
 68, 74, 77  
  
 Geneseo, N. Y. . . . . 3  
 German Flats . . . . . 208, 236  
 Germantown, Pa. . . . . 18, 450  
 473, 542, 543, 566, 567, 576  
 578, 590, 591, 596  
 Gloucester, N. J. . . . . 385  
 Governor's Island . . . . . 290, 291  
 Great Island . . . . . 121  
 Greenland, N. H. . . . . 49  
 Griggstown, N. J. . . . . 382  
  
 Hackensack, N. J. . . . . 303, 406  
 Hackettstown, N. J. . . . . 301  
 Half Moon . . . . . 198, 200–203  
 Halifax, N. S. . . . . 230  
 Halstead's Point . . . . . 438, 459  
 486, 489, 491, 495–497, 508  
 509, 512, 516, 517, 528, 529

- |                             |                              |                         |                              |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|
| Hampton, N. H.....          | 59                           | Medford, Mass.....      | 71, 84, 149                  |
| Hanover, N. J.....          | 16, 486, 490                 |                         | 164, 165                     |
|                             | 503, 509, 528, 537           | Metuchen, N. J.....     | 380, 401                     |
| Harlem Heights.....         | 328, 425                     | Metuchen Hill.....      | 544                          |
| Haverhill, N. H.....        | 289                          | Middle Bush.....        | 396                          |
| Hinsdale, N. H.....         | 149                          | Millstone, N. J... ..   | 348, 383, 386                |
| Hoosick, N. Y.....          | 149                          |                         | 394                          |
| Hudson River.....           | 268                          | Missisquoi Bay.....     | 286                          |
|                             |                              | Mohawk River.....       | 256                          |
| Ipswich, Mass.....          | 59                           | Montreal, Quebec... ..  | 198, 212                     |
| Isle aux Noix, Quebec... .. | 232                          |                         | 214, 215, 221, 227, 238, 242 |
|                             | 265, 274, 277, 285, 296      |                         | 243, 252, 267                |
| Isle Lamotte, Vt.....       | 261, 263                     | Morristown, N. J.....   | 301, 318                     |
|                             | 265, 267, 274                |                         | 321, 495                     |
|                             |                              | Mount Airy.....         | 543, 544                     |
| Jerry's Point.....          | 66                           | Mount Holly, N. J.....  | 592                          |
| Jones's Ford.....           | 549                          | Mount Hope.....         | 412                          |
|                             |                              | Mystic River.....       | 79, 141, 155                 |
|                             |                              |                         |                              |
| Keene, N. H.....            | 30                           | Neshannock River.....   | 391                          |
| Kent.....                   | 149                          | New City, N. Y.....     | 201, 202                     |
| Kings Bridge, N. Y... ..    | 290-292                      | New Ipswich, N. H.....  | 88                           |
|                             | 362, 364, 425                | New York, N. Y.....     | 14, 149                      |
| Kittery, Me.....            | 59, 156                      |                         | 168, 180, 187, 197, 200, 203 |
| Kittery Point.....          | 121, 122                     |                         | 211, 229, 236, 237, 262, 290 |
|                             |                              |                         | 303, 310, 322, 327, 328, 341 |
| La Roche, Quebec.....       | 170                          |                         | 350-352, 355, 360-365, 375   |
| Lachine, Quebec.....        | 221, 224                     |                         | 376, 406, 408, 415, 419, 425 |
|                             | 232, 245, 246                |                         | 426, 552                     |
| Lake Champlain.....         | 198, 211                     | Newark, N. J.....       | 434                          |
|                             | 235, 240, 254, 265, 268, 270 | Newbury, Mass.....      | 150, 177                     |
|                             | 286, 471                     | Newbury, Vt.....        | 289                          |
| Lake George.....            | 61, 203, 206                 | Newburyport, Mass... .. | 43, 163                      |
|                             | 207, 236                     | Newcastle, N. H... ..   | 64, 115, 121                 |
| Lake Ontario.....           | 268                          | Newmarket, N. H... ..   | 44, 59, 134                  |
| Lancaster, Pa.....          | 591, 593                     | Newport, R. I.....      | 19, 20                       |
| Laprarie, Quebec.....       | 243                          | Newtown, N. Y.....      | 3                            |
| Layescelle, Quebec.....     | 243                          | Nicolet, Quebec... ..   | 222, 225, 229                |
| Lecol River.....            | 262                          |                         | 230                          |
| Lee, N. H.....              | 137                          | North River.....        | 406, 408, 412, 414           |
| Lexington, Mass.....        | 8, 332                       |                         | 415, 425                     |
| Londonderry, N. H.....      | 134                          | Nottingham, N. H.....   | 134                          |
| Long Island.....            | 14, 290, 291                 |                         |                              |
|                             | 299, 347, 361, 363, 425, 468 | Oneida, N. Y.....       | 271                          |
|                             | 471, 551, 552, 575, 587      | Onion River.....        | 270, 272, 279, 287           |
| Lucas's Mills.....          | 546                          | Onondaga, N. Y.....     | 271                          |
|                             |                              | Oswego, N. Y.....       | 236, 271                     |
| Madbury, N. H.....          | 8                            | Otter Creek.....        | 272                          |
| Malden, Mass.....           | 78, 104                      |                         |                              |

- Pact's Mills . . . . . 326  
Parker's Ford . . . . . 609  
Patapsco River . . . . . 436  
Paulen's Mills . . . . . 547  
Peekskill, N. Y. . . . . 324, 328  
412, 415, 416, 423, 562  
Peirce's Island . . . 115, 121, 122  
Penacook (Concord, N. H.) 150  
Pennytown . . . . . 383  
Philadelphia, Pa. . . . . 9, 17  
48, 61, 94, 95, 149, 160, 213  
272, 275, 278, 299, 306, 308  
327, 328, 341, 345, 348, 350  
351, 355, 361, 362, 364, 365  
384-386, 388, 394, 408, 418  
436, 438, 472, 578, 580, 584  
585, 596, 598, 600  
Piscataqua Harbor . . . . . 151  
156, 168  
Piscataqua River . . . 12, 64, 127  
Piscataway, N. J. . . . . 309  
350, 401  
Ploughed Hill . . . 79, 92, 108, 151  
Pompton, N. J. . . . . 417, 428  
Point au Fer . . . . . 258, 262  
Portsmouth, N. H. . . . . 5, 11  
39, 49, 59, 64, 67, 78, 113  
115, 118, 120, 125, 127-129  
132-134, 150, 156, 157, 177  
191, 360  
Potsgrove, Pa. . . . . 596  
Pownalborough, Me. . . 42, 119  
Prince's Bay . . . . . 401  
Princeton, N. J. . . . 15, 16, 303  
320, 328, 329, 337, 340, 341  
346, 351, 375, 384-386  
390-392, 398, 419, 468, 575  
Prospect Hill . . . 76, 90, 104, 456  
Providence, R. I. . . 19, 192, 324  
Provincetown . . . . . 428
- Quebec, Can. . . . 13, 93, 169-171  
174, 179, 198, 212, 213  
220, 251, 277, 285  
Quibbletown . . . . 312, 402, 451  
Quibbletown Gap . . . . . 451
- Raritan Landing . . . . . 396  
Raritan River . . . . 346, 361, 363  
397, 401  
Reading, Pa. . . . . 593, 596, 609  
Redbank, N. J. . . . . 579, 587  
Richlieu Falls . . . . . 220  
Richmond, Va. . . . . 160  
Rochester, N. H. . . . . 134  
Rockhall . . . . . 436  
Rocky Hill . . . . . 383, 396  
Roundabouts . . . . . 395  
Roxbury, Mass. . . . . 103, 185
- Saco River . . . . . 41  
Sag Harbor, N. Y. . . . . 347  
St. Francois, Quebec . . . . . 289  
St. Johns, Quebec 112, 209-211  
218, 221, 228, 232, 235-237  
240, 241, 243, 252-254  
256, 263, 273, 274, 276-278  
285, 286, 288  
St. Lawrence River . . . 212, 240  
St. Rays . . . . . 273, 276, 278  
Salem, N. J. . . . . 385  
Samptown . . . . . 401  
Saratoga Falls . . . . . 201, 203  
Schanks Mills . . . . . 396  
Schuylkill River . . . 449, 450, 543  
584, 585, 590-595, 597, 610  
Scotch Plain Gap . . . . . 450  
Scotch Plains, N. J. . . . . 314  
Seavey's Island . . . . . 115, 121  
Second River . . . . . 326  
Ships, *Phoenix* . . . . . 292  
*Rainbow* . . . . . 425  
*Rose* . . . . . 292  
*Tyrannicide* . . . . . 446  
*Viper* . . . . . 112  
Shrewsbury, N. J. . . . . 394  
Sinexpuxent . . . . . 430  
Skenesborough . . . . . 236  
Skipback Road . . . . . 543  
Somerset, N. J. . . . . 389, 391  
394, 396  
Somerset Court House . 346, 393  
Somersworth, N. H. . . . . 4, 5  
Sorel, Quebec . . . . 214, 216, 218  
223, 224, 228, 237, 238, 242  
251, 252, 256, 259, 267  
Sourland Hills . . . . . 391, 393

- |                        |                              |                         |                              |
|------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|
| South Amboy, N. J..... | 351                          | Ticonderoga.....        | 61, 209, 236                 |
|                        | 364, 385                     |                         | 249, 256, 262, 296, 326, 327 |
| Spanktown.....         | 443, 527                     |                         | 329, 331, 333, 375, 412, 446 |
| Split Rock.....        | 333                          |                         | 447, 468                     |
| Spotswood, N. J.....   | 351                          | Trenton, N. J.....      | 15, 304, 320                 |
| Springfield, N. J..... | 485, 530                     |                         | 346, 355, 360, 468, 575      |
| Stanford.....          | 149                          | Trump's Mill.....       | 578                          |
| Staten Island.....     | 16, 290, 310                 | Turkey Meeting House..  | 312                          |
|                        | 350, 362, 364, 365, 375, 380 |                         |                              |
|                        | 401, 408, 425, 437, 438, 443 | Valley Forge, Pa.....   | 19                           |
|                        | 445, 446, 460, 471, 477      | Varane, Quebec.....     | 242, 243                     |
|                        | 481-485, 488, 491, 495, 501  | Vouche, Quebec.....     | 243                          |
|                        | 502, 508, 509, 511, 512, 519 |                         |                              |
|                        | 520, 523, 525, 530-532, 537  | Waterloo, N. Y.....     | 3                            |
|                        | 538, 540, 550, 551, 568, 572 | Wayne's Gap.....        | 393                          |
|                        | 573, 578                     | Westfield Gap.....      | 450                          |
| Steele's Gap.....      | 392, 393, 451                | Westminster, Vt.....    | 149                          |
| Stillwater, N. Y.....  | 198                          | White Plains, N. Y..... | 324                          |
|                        | 202-204, 206                 | Whitemarsh, Pa.....     | 578                          |
| Stone Rabba.....       | 149                          | Wilmington, Del.....    | 592-594                      |
| Stratham, N. H...13,   | 134, 137                     | Windmill Point.....     | 258                          |
| Swan Island.....       | 436                          | Winter Hill.....        | 12, 76, 77, 90               |
| Swan Point.....        | 437                          |                         | 96, 104, 114, 151, 165, 467  |
| Swedes Ford.....       | 450, 590                     | Woburn, Mass.....       | 59                           |
|                        |                              | Woodbridge, N. J.....   | 303, 310                     |
| Tappan, N. Y.....      | 410, 411                     |                         | 401, 437                     |
| Three Rivers, Quebec.. | 13, 212                      | York Island.....        | 309                          |
|                        | 219, 220, 222, 224, 225, 227 | York Road.....          | 543                          |
|                        | 229, 230, 232, 233, 244, 250 | Yorktown, Va.....       | 12                           |
|                        | 251, 262, 264, 266, 289      |                         |                              |





- Blaney, James . . . . . 377  
 Boffe, Thomas . . . . . 75  
 Bond, William . . . . . 90, 180  
     228, 283  
 Bonfield, ——— . . . . . 221  
 Bordley, William . . . . . 437  
 Boucher, Felix . . . . . 331  
 Bowker, Josiah . . . . . 270  
 Bradford, Samuel . . . . . 111  
 Brant, Joseph . . . . . 22  
 Brattam, James . . . . . 553  
 Brewster, Charles . . . . . 270  
 Brown, Benjamin . . . . . 109  
     Caleb . . . . . 553  
     Daniel . . . . . 426  
     Ensign . . . . . 112  
     Governor . . . . . 334  
     Josiah . . . . . 88  
     Richard . . . . . 89  
     William . . . . . 75  
 Brownson, Nathan . . . . . 453  
 Brush, ——— . . . . . 287  
 Bryant, ——— . . . . . 42  
 Burgoyne, John . . . . . 12, 13, 229  
     234, 250, 266, 358, 363, 419  
     421, 425  
 Burke, Major . . . . . 474  
     Thomas . . . . . 453, 534  
     537, 547, 565  
 Burnham, Jonathan . . . . . 116  
     121, 132, 137, 141, 153  
     Joseph . . . . . 5  
 Burr, ——— . . . . . 128, 394  
 Burrall, Charles . . . . . 223, 249, 283  
 Buskirk, Colonel . . . . . 438, 439  
     459, 496, 505, 510, 512, 516  
 Butler, Colonel . . . . . 311, 312  
     John . . . . . 22  
 Butterfield, Isaac . . . . . 213, 249  
  
 Cady, Palmer . . . . . 554  
 Caldwell, James . . . . . 302, 325  
 Calkins, Reuben . . . . . 223  
 Campbell, Donald . . . . . 217, 280  
     James . . . . . 75, 553  
     Lieutenant . . . . . 486  
     William . . . . . 75  
 Capron, Oliver . . . . . 110  
 Carkin, Isaac . . . . . 75  
 Carleton, Guy . . . . . 13, 61, 212–214  
     217, 218, 229, 231, 233, 333  
 Carroll, ——— . . . . . 211  
 Chambers, Benjamin . . . . . 483  
     484, 490–492, 494, 507, 512  
     Stephen . . . . . 555  
 Chandler, Abiel . . . . . 111  
     Thomas . . . . . 112  
 Chartrer, Theodore . . . . . 216  
 Chase, ——— . . . . . 214  
     Enoch . . . . . 112  
     Joshua . . . . . 75  
     Samuel . . . . . 300, 306, 453  
 Chatham, Earl of . . . . . 447  
 Chenoweth, Richard . . . . . 562  
 Chesley, Alpheus . . . . . 134  
     171, 173, 177  
 Cheswell, ——— . . . . . 43  
 Chew, ——— . . . . . 545  
 Chinn, Edward . . . . . 428  
 Chittenden, Thomas . . . . . 270  
 Church, Benjamin . . . . . 81–84  
     86, 87, 97–99  
 Cilley, Cutting . . . . . 134  
     Joseph . . . . . 4, 22  
     72, 77, 87, 97, 114, 188, 283  
 Claggett, Horatio . . . . . 562  
 Clapp, Supply . . . . . 116  
 Clark, Captain . . . . . 137  
     Peter . . . . . 562  
     Thomas . . . . . 16, 482  
     485, 531, 532  
 Cleghorn, James . . . . . 270  
 Clinton, ——— . . . . . 22  
     George . . . . . 409, 415, 416  
     Henry . . . . . 15  
 Clough, Jeremiah . . . . . 109, 112  
     Lieutenant . . . . . 172  
 Clyde, ——— . . . . . 204  
     William . . . . . 109  
 Cochran, ——— . . . . . 311  
     Captain . . . . . 67  
     Daniel . . . . . 349  
     Doctor . . . . . 346, 404  
     405, 408, 413  
     James . . . . . 109  
 Coe, Daniel . . . . . 301  
 Coffin, Peter . . . . . 177  
 Collins, Lieutenant . . . . . 181

- |                               |                    |                                  |               |
|-------------------------------|--------------------|----------------------------------|---------------|
| Collins, Richard . . . . .    | 110                | Demeritt, John . . . . .         | 7, 8          |
| Connor, Jeremiah . . . . .    | 109                | Denbow, Captain . . . . .        | 137           |
| Conway, Thomas . . . . .      | 448, 449           | Dent, Hatch . . . . .            | 417           |
| 458, 465, 474, 543, 544, 546  |                    | De Woedtke, Frederick W. . . . . | 217           |
| 555, 576, 577, 590            |                    | 220, 229, 252, 266               |               |
| Cooke, — . . . . .            | 402                | Dickey, Captain . . . . .        | 510, 516, 517 |
| Elkanah . . . . .             | 270                | Dike, Benjamin . . . . .         | 75            |
| Nicholas . . . . .            | 192                | Dongan, Colonel . . . . .        | 459           |
| Copp, Captain . . . . .       | 137                | Donovan, Richard . . . . .       | 558           |
| Cornwallis, Lord . . . . .    | 15, 18             | Doolittle, Ephraim . . . . .     | 87            |
| 353, 389, 466                 |                    | 110, 187                         |               |
| Corse, John . . . . .         | 553                | Dougherty, Michael . . . . .     | 558           |
| Cosden, Jesse . . . . .       | 382, 417, 562      | Downing, Samuel . . . . .        | 109           |
| Coudray, Philip du . . . . .  | 403                | Dowse, — . . . . .               | 236           |
| Coughlin, Richard . . . . .   | 111                | Drew, John . . . . .             | 163           |
| Cowen, Isaac . . . . .        | 75                 | Zebulon . . . . .                | 129           |
| Cox, Daniel P. . . . .        | 553                | Drury, Thomas . . . . .          | 109           |
| Crawford, John . . . . .      | 377                | Dudley, Jonathan . . . . .       | 109           |
| Cromwell, Joseph . . . . .    | 509                | Duer, Judge . . . . .            | 199           |
| Croxall, Charles . . . . .    | 308                | Duff, Henry . . . . .            | 553           |
| Currie, — . . . . .           | 229                | Duffey, Matt . . . . .           | 486           |
| Currier, Samuel . . . . .     | 75                 | Dugan, Jeremiah . . . . .        | 216, 221      |
| Custis, — . . . . .           | 346                | Duncan, Colonel . . . . .        | 438, 442, 496 |
| Cutter, Lieutenant . . . . .  | 180                | Dunwell, George . . . . .        | 109           |
| Cutts, Colonel . . . . .      | 121, 156           | Durant, Edward . . . . .         | 125           |
|                               |                    | Durgin, Josiah . . . . .         | 109           |
| Dandridge, John . . . . .     | 353                | Dutton, Ezra . . . . .           | 75            |
| Daniell, Reuben . . . . .     | 109                | Jacob . . . . .                  | 75            |
| Dartmouth, Lord . . . . .     | 62                 | Duvall, Isaac . . . . .          | 562           |
| Davis, — . . . . .            | 42, 43             | Dyer, Edward . . . . .           | 560           |
| Dayton, Doctor . . . . .      | 325                | Elphalet . . . . .               | 452, 532, 540 |
| Elias . . . . .               | 197, 199, 200, 204 |                                  |               |
| 206, 207, 210, 212, 230, 236  |                    | Earle, David . . . . .           | 578           |
| 256, 436, 438, 464, 495, 517  |                    | Eccleston, John . . . . .        | 560           |
| Dean, — . . . . .             | 66, 577            | Eddy, — . . . . .                | 229           |
| Seth . . . . .                | 110                | Edwards, — . . . . .             | 236           |
| Thomas . . . . .              | 564                | Enoch . . . . .                  | 563, 564      |
| Dearborn, Henry . . . . .     | 4, 22              | Eisenlord, John . . . . .        | 271           |
| 107, 109, 318                 |                    | Elkins, Henry . . . . .          | 112, 137      |
| Dearing, Captain . . . . .    | 121                | Ellinwood, Joseph . . . . .      | 75            |
| De Borre, Prudhomme . . . . . | 378                | Ellis, Julius . . . . .          | 110           |
| 393, 410, 424, 429, 439, 459  |                    | Elmer, Jonathan . . . . .        | 452           |
| 485, 486, 488–490, 493        |                    | Emerson, Moses . . . . .         | 181           |
| 495–499, 502, 504, 513, 516   |                    | Erskine, John . . . . .          | 410, 480, 553 |
| 517, 519, 528–530, 538        |                    | William . . . . .                | 334           |
| De Haas, John P. . . . .      | 221                | Erwin, Joseph . . . . .          | 386           |
| 224, 227, 228, 234, 263, 267  |                    | Estaing, Count de . . . . .      | 19            |
| William . . . . .             | 283                | Eustace, John S. . . . .         | 301, 433      |
| Delancey, General . . . . .   | 348, 425           | 483, 484, 498, 514, 515, 518     |               |

Eveleth, James . . . . .	109	Geoghegan, John . . . . .	558
Ewing, James . . . . .	560	Gerritson, — . . . . .	391
Nathaniel . . . . .	417	Gerry, Elbridge . . . . .	452
Farmer, Samuel . . . . .	562	Ghiselin, John . . . . .	558
Farr, Joshua . . . . .	109	Gilder, Reuben . . . . .	553
Fawcett, Jonathan . . . . .	270	Gill, Moses . . . . .	331
Fellows, David . . . . .	555, 592	Gilman, Captain . . . . .	318
Fenton, John . . . . .	67	David . . . . .	323
Field, Waitstill . . . . .	109	Israel . . . . .	87, 97
Finch, Simeon . . . . .	75	John Ward . . . . .	134
Fisher, James . . . . .	341	Joseph . . . . .	4
Fitzgerald, John . . . . .	307, 315	Nicholas . . . . .	77
343, 579, 609		Gist, John . . . . .	562
Fleury, Francois L. de . . .	570	Gleason, Micajah . . . . .	109
Flower, Benjamin . . . . .	342, 343	Glover, John . . . . .	302, 448
352, 371		449, 468, 590	
Folsom, Nathaniel . . . . .	4, 9, 49	Robert . . . . .	75
65, 188, 191, 452, 540		Goffe, Samuel . . . . .	163
Ford, Benjamin . . . . .	558, 559	Goforth, Captain . . . . .	289
Hezekiah . . . . .	560	Goodridge, Samuel . . . . .	77
Jacob, Jr. . . . .	303, 304	Goodwin, Major . . . . .	119
539, 544		Gooman, Richard . . . . .	75
Joseph . . . . .	417	Gorges, Ferdinando . . . . .	41
Foreman, David . . . . .	345, 365	Grant, General . . . . .	353, 361
375, 381, 394, 543		Joshua . . . . .	109
Forrest, Thomas . . . . .	483, 568	Gray, — . . . . .	44, 181
Foss, Nathan . . . . .	109	James . . . . .	81, 204
Foster, Captain . . . . .	231, 293	Greaton, John . . . . .	228, 260, 283
294, 420		Mrs. . . . . .	341
Reuben . . . . .	289	Greene, Nathaniel . . . . .	14, 15
Fowle, Daniel . . . . .	53	19, 25, 28, 89, 90, 114, 154	
Francis, Captain . . . . .	180	192, 195, 229, 293, 327, 328	
Franklin, Doctor . . . . .	211	343, 348, 399, 400, 402, 403	
Frazer, John G. . . . .	141, 155	407, 448, 451, 473, 474, 543	
Freeman, Samuel . . . . .	331	545, 546, 560	
Frelinghuysen, — . . . . .	311	Griffith, Samuel . . . . .	562
French, — . . . . .	311	Grove, William . . . . .	109
Fuller, Nathan . . . . .	283	Gunby, John . . . . .	410, 426, 552
Thomas . . . . .	109	Gunnison, — . . . . .	121
Funk, Mrs. . . . . .	375		
Gage, Thomas . . . . .	62	Hackett, James . . . . .	116, 121, 132
Gale, Daniel . . . . .	109	Hale, John . . . . .	106
Garrison, — . . . . .	393	Nathan . . . . .	4
Gassaway, John . . . . .	560	Hall, Captain . . . . .	71
Gates, Horatio . . . . .	78	David, Jr. . . . .	340, 379
113, 114, 120, 124, 128, 148		404, 413, 483, 553, 568, 569	
154, 155, 163, 174, 175, 248		Ham, — . . . . .	141
281, 297, 327, 331, 367, 375		Hamilton, Alexander . . . . .	370
		371, 407, 412, 556, 570, 610	

- |                                |               |                                |               |
|--------------------------------|---------------|--------------------------------|---------------|
| Hamilton, Jonathan . . . . .   | 134           | Hoisington, Jacob . . . . .    | 279, 287      |
| Hancock, John . . . . .        | 153, 212, 274 | Holland, — . . . . .           | 43            |
| 290, 293, 305, 360, 368, 403   |               | Colonel . . . . .              | 374           |
| 420, 443, 460, 475, 537, 547   |               | Thomas . . . . .               | 349, 377      |
| Hand, Lieut. Colonel . . . . . | 185           | Holman, Captain . . . . .      | 110           |
| Hardman, John . . . . .        | 560           | Hosman, Joseph . . . . .       | 553           |
| Hardy, Thomas . . . . .        | 75            | Howe, Ephraim . . . . .        | 75            |
| Harmar, Josiah . . . . .       | 579           | William . . . . .              | 15, 16, 18    |
| Harris, Robert . . . . .       | 558           | 124, 299, 308, 310, 333, 351   |               |
| Harrison, Benjamin . . . . .   | 453, 476      | 352, 380, 387–389, 393, 397    |               |
| Robert H. . . . .              | 175, 176      | 412, 415, 419, 429, 436, 443   |               |
| 181, 347, 380, 381, 383, 384   |               | 444, 466, 476, 587, 588, 595   |               |
| Hartley, Thomas . . . . .      | 295, 308      | 597, 601–603                   |               |
| Harwood, Thomas . . . . .      | 417           | Hughes, Daniel . . . . .       | 343           |
| Hatch, Captain . . . . .       | 78, 180       | Richard . . . . .              | 75            |
| Hawkins, John . . . . .        | 307           | Samuel . . . . .               | 343           |
| William . . . . .              | 111           | Hulon, Edward . . . . .        | 109           |
| Hay, Udny . . . . .            | 280           | Huntington, Jedediah . . . . . | 333           |
| Haymond, Owen . . . . .        | 558           | 448, 449, 590                  |               |
| Hazen, Moses . . . . .         | 216, 217      | Huntoon, Joseph . . . . .      | 89, 112       |
| 223, 233, 238, 240, 252, 255   |               | Hurd, John . . . . .           | 285           |
| 280, 283, 335, 338, 343, 354   |               | Hutchins, Gordon . . . . .     | 106, 111      |
| 404, 408, 413, 441, 451, 463   |               | Hutchinson, Captain . . . . .  | 109           |
| 464, 480, 485, 489, 490, 496   |               | Israel . . . . .               | 87            |
| 499, 512, 529, 539, 549, 550   |               | Samuel . . . . .               | 75            |
| 554, 555, 568                  |               | Ireland, George . . . . .      | 558           |
| Hazzard, Cord . . . . .        | 349, 377      | Robert . . . . .               | 365           |
| Heard, Nathaniel . . . . .     | 402           | Irvine, William . . . . .      | 197, 206      |
| Heath, William . . . . .       | 154, 185      | 222, 225, 229, 277, 297        |               |
| 293, 300, 304, 323, 327, 328   |               | Jackson, Hall . . . . .        | 83, 97–99     |
| 332, 373, 374, 579             |               | 121, 122, 298                  |               |
| Henry, Captain . . . . .       | 382, 417      | Jacob, George . . . . .        | 558           |
| David . . . . .                | 210           | John J. . . . .                | 558           |
| Patrick . . . . .              | 298           | Jaffrey, George . . . . .      | 67, 129       |
| Heron, James G. . . . .        | 441, 486      | James, John . . . . .          | 409, 410, 562 |
| 487, 494, 507, 512             |               | Jameson, John . . . . .        | 610           |
| Hicks, Benjamin . . . . .      | 215, 223, 359 | Jay, — . . . . .               | 326           |
| Hill, James . . . . .          | 134           | Johnson, Guy . . . . .         | 61            |
| John . . . . .                 | 134           | Isaac . . . . .                | 109           |
| Lieutenant . . . . .           | 180           | John . . . . .                 | 75, 199       |
| Hinds, Jacob . . . . .         | 111           | 204, 207, 208                  |               |
| Hitchcock, Daniel . . . . .    | 302           | Jones, — . . . . .             | 398           |
| Lyman . . . . .                | 554           | Doctor . . . . .               | 424           |
| Hobart, Samuel . . . . .       | 164, 165      | Joseph . . . . .               | 453           |
| 168                            |               | Major . . . . .                | 298           |
| Hobbs, Captain . . . . .       | 80            | Samuel . . . . .               | 562           |
| Hodgdon, Caleb . . . . .       | 122           | Thomas . . . . .               | 373           |
| Thomas . . . . .               | 134           |                                |               |
| Hoge, John . . . . .           | 277           |                                |               |

- |                              |                               |                                 |                              |
|------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Kidd, Charles . . . . .      | 553                           | Long, Solomon . . . . .         | 560                          |
| Kinsman, Aaron . . . . .     | 106, 111                      | Loring, Jotham . . . . .        | 283                          |
| Kirkwood, Robert H. . . . .  | 349                           | Loudon, — . . . . .             | 446                          |
|                              | 377, 553                      | Lovell, James . . . . .         | 452                          |
| Knight, William . . . . .    | 116                           | Lowell, Samuel . . . . .        | 75                           |
| Knox, Henry . . . . .        | 16, 25, 34                    | Luenonault, Paul . . . . .      | 553                          |
|                              | 407, 482, 485, 531, 532       | Lux, George . . . . .           | 207, 309                     |
| Lafayette, Marquis . . . . . | 19, 20                        | Lyford, Thomas . . . . .        | 112                          |
|                              | 23, 564, 565, 604, 608        | McAllister, Abdiel . . . . .    | 277                          |
| Lane, John . . . . .         | 109                           | McAlpin, Captain . . . . .      | 204                          |
| Langdon, John . . . . .      | 4, 7, 10, 32                  | McCarty, — . . . . .            | 227, 238                     |
|                              | 33, 47, 60–62, 64, 65, 80, 97 | McClintock, Nathaniel . . . . . | 188                          |
|                              | 329, 330, 567, 572            | McCobb, Samuel . . . . .        | 109                          |
|                              | Samuel . . . . .              | McColley, — . . . . .           | 229                          |
|                              | 33                            | McConnell, Captain . . . . .    | 407, 412                     |
| Lansing, John, Jr. . . . .   | 359                           | McCoy, James . . . . .          | 431                          |
| Laurens, Henry . . . . .     | 453, 578                      | McDougall, Alexander . . . . .  | 16, 49                       |
|                              | John . . . . .                |                                 | 112, 196, 302, 323, 326, 416 |
|                              | 556, 570                      |                                 | 482, 485, 531, 532, 543      |
| Law, Richard . . . . .       | 452                           | McDowell, Doctor . . . . .      | 297                          |
| Lawrence, Colonel . . . . .  | 438, 439                      | McDuffee, John . . . . .        | 87, 97, 283                  |
|                              | 459, 496                      | McFerran, Samuel . . . . .      | 277                          |
| Learmonth, John . . . . .    | 349                           | McIntire, Timothy . . . . .     | 75                           |
|                              | 377, 553                      | McKean, Robert . . . . .        | 271                          |
| Learned, Ebenezer . . . . .  | 448                           | McKenzie, Doctor . . . . .      | 229                          |
|                              | 449, 590                      | McLaughlin, Thomas . . . . .    | 106                          |
|                              | Moses . . . . .               | McLean, Moses . . . . .         | 277                          |
|                              | 109                           | Macomb, James . . . . .         | 608                          |
| Leavitt, Moses . . . . .     | 96                            | Mancius, Doctor . . . . .       | 201                          |
|                              | Thomas . . . . .              | Manley, Captain . . . . .       | 425                          |
|                              | 109, 112                      | Mann, Isaac . . . . .           | 204                          |
| Lee, Charles . . . . .       | 15, 70, 114                   | Mansfield, John . . . . .       | 76, 109                      |
|                              | 121, 184, 226, 301, 302, 305  | Manuel, — . . . . .             | 543                          |
|                              | 311, 318, 518                 | Marbury, Joseph . . . . .       | 562                          |
|                              | Colonel . . . . .             | Marchant, Henry . . . . .       | 452                          |
|                              | 153                           | Marcy, John . . . . .           | 109                          |
|                              | Ensign . . . . .              | Marre, James . . . . .          | 553                          |
|                              | 486                           | Martin, — . . . . .             | 451, 578                     |
|                              | Henry . . . . .               |                                 | Captain . . . . .            |
|                              | 480                           |                                 | 163                          |
|                              | Lieutenant . . . . .          | Martindale, Sion . . . . .      | 92                           |
|                              | 410                           | Mason, Jeremy . . . . .         | 109                          |
|                              | Richard H. . . . .            | Matthews, General . . . . .     | 313                          |
|                              | 453                           |                                 | George . . . . .             |
|                              | William . . . . .             |                                 | 546                          |
|                              | 74, 75                        | Maud, Colonel . . . . .         | 310                          |
| Leeman, Samuel . . . . .     | 75                            | Maxwell, William . . . . .      | 223, 283                     |
| Lefferts, Judge . . . . .    | 298                           |                                 | 314, 315, 396, 399, 448, 449 |
| Leighton, Deacon . . . . .   | 39                            |                                 | 474, 545, 580, 583, 590, 610 |
| Libby, Abraham . . . . .     | 109                           | Mead, Richard K. . . . .        | 399                          |
| Lincoln, Benjamin . . . . .  | 451                           |                                 |                              |
| Livermore, Samuel . . . . .  | 4, 5, 33                      |                                 |                              |
| Livingston, — . . . . .      | 292                           |                                 |                              |
|                              | Henry B. . . . .              |                                 |                              |
|                              | 170, 359                      |                                 |                              |
|                              | William . . . . .             |                                 |                              |
|                              | 385, 430, 433                 |                                 |                              |
| Livius, Peter . . . . .      | 1, 7, 34, 45                  |                                 |                              |
|                              | 46, 360, 446                  |                                 |                              |
| Lloyd, Joseph . . . . .      | 110                           |                                 |                              |

- |                               |                    |                                 |               |
|-------------------------------|--------------------|---------------------------------|---------------|
| Mead, Zebulon . . . . .       | 270                | Ogden, Matthias . . . . .       | 438-440       |
| Meigs, Return J. . . . .      | 348                | 459, 464, 484, 486, 487, 489    |               |
| Metcalf, — . . . . .          | 286                | 490, 493, 495, 496, 498, 505    |               |
| Mifflin, Jonathan . . . . .   | 81                 | 517, 529                        |               |
| Thomas . . . . .              | 320, 344           | Samuel . . . . .                | 321, 322      |
| 376, 382, 386                 |                    | O'Hara, Henry . . . . .         | 428           |
| Miller, Jacob . . . . .       | 180, 187, 188      | Oldham, Edward . . . . .        | 494           |
| Monroe, Hugh . . . . .        | 204                | Osborne, George Jerry . . . . . | 134           |
| John . . . . .                | 204                | Osgood, John . . . . .          | 75            |
| Montgomery, Doctor . . . . .  | 426                | Page, Aaron . . . . .           | 109           |
| Richard . . . . .             | 13, 170, 171       | Paine, Samuel . . . . .         | 285, 287      |
| 233, 249                      |                    | Palfrey, William . . . . .      | 121, 123      |
| Mooney, Hercules . . . . .    | 172                | 400, 401                        |               |
| Moore, Captain . . . . .      | 349, 377           | Parison, Captain . . . . .      | 331, 332      |
| Daniel . . . . .              | 106                | Parker, — . . . . .             | 454           |
| David . . . . .               | 109                | J. . . . .                      | 312           |
| John . . . . .                | 283                | John . . . . .                  | 172           |
| Morgan, Abner . . . . .       | 283                | Parmelee, Jeremiah . . . . .    | 432           |
| Daniel . . . . .              | 390, 402, 448      | Parsons, Eli . . . . .          | 564           |
| Morris, General . . . . .     | 344                | Samuel H. . . . .               | 347, 450      |
| Jacob . . . . .               | 344                | 451, 471                        |               |
| Lewis, Jr. . . . .            | 451, 483           | Stephen . . . . .               | 109           |
| 484, 512, 514-517, 545, 559   |                    | Patten, John . . . . .          | 349, 377      |
| Robert . . . . .              | 28, 453            | 553                             |               |
| Mowatt, Captain . . . . .     | 118, 156           | Matthew . . . . .               | 69            |
| Moylan, Stephen . . . . .     | 177, 345, 374      | Patterson, Captain . . . . .    | 555           |
| 384, 403, 449, 455, 544, 610  |                    | John . . . . .                  | 283           |
| Mucclevain, Colonel . . . . . | 341                | Samuel . . . . .                | 185, 210, 228 |
| Muhlenberg, Peter . . . . .   | 448                | 264, 448, 450, 490              |               |
| 450, 590                      |                    | Peabody, Isaac . . . . .        | 75            |
| Mullens, Thomas . . . . .     | 424, 429           | Stephen . . . . .               | 111, 173      |
| Munson, William . . . . .     | 554                | Pearne, William . . . . .       | 116           |
| Murphy, John . . . . .        | 426                | Peavey, Benjamin . . . . .      | 109           |
| Murray, Alexander . . . . .   | 417                | Pemberton, James . . . . .      | 75            |
| Myler, Richard . . . . .      | 386                | Penn, — . . . . .               | 488           |
| Nash, Francis . . . . .       | 543, 547           | John . . . . .                  | 453           |
| Newhall, Ezra . . . . .       | 109                | Perkins, Nathaniel . . . . .    | 109           |
| Newman, William . . . . .     | 110                | Perry, William . . . . .        | 109           |
| Nichols, Ensign . . . . .     | 180                | Peters, Daniel . . . . .        | 110           |
| Nixon, John . . . . .         | 109, 180, 182, 194 | Phillips, Captain . . . . .     | 313           |
| North, Lord . . . . .         | 447                | James . . . . .                 | 75            |
| Nudd, Samuel . . . . .        | 109                | Pickering, Timothy . . . . .    | 418, 433      |
| Oates, Elijah . . . . .       | 109                | 451, 482                        |               |
| Odiorne, — . . . . .          | 44                 | Pierce, William, Jr. . . . .    | 571           |
| Captain . . . . .             | 135                | Pigot, Robert . . . . .         | 425           |
| Ogden, — . . . . .            | 128                | Pinckney, Charles C. . . . .    | 557, 570      |
| Matthew . . . . .             | 283                | Place, David . . . . .          | 134, 171      |
|                               |                    | Ebenezer . . . . .              | 109           |

- Poor, Enoch . . . . . 3, 14, 22, 23  
87, 97, 109, 112, 129, 162  
181, 182, 185, 228, 256, 283  
448, 449, 590, 608  
Thomas . . . . . 283  
Popple, Charles . . . . . 553  
Porter, Elisha . . . . . 223, 283  
Post, William . . . . . 270  
Potter, James . . . . . 591, 610  
Powell, Levin . . . . . 579  
Prescott, Elisha . . . . . 109  
Robert . . . . . 425  
Price, Benjamin . . . . . 560  
Thomas . . . . . 410, 477, 478  
483, 497, 516, 519, 520, 560  
Prince, Asa . . . . . 110  
Purvis, George . . . . . 553  
Putnam, Enoch . . . . . 109  
Israel . . . . . 14, 15, 110  
135, 141, 154, 327, 328, 335  
338, 341, 342, 407, 410, 413  
415, 416, 418, 419, 551, 575  
Ramsey, Nathaniel . . . . . 484, 562  
Randall, Captain . . . . . 314  
Rawlings, Moses . . . . . 579  
Ray, Richard . . . . . 113  
Read, George . . . . . 453  
Michael . . . . . 4  
Reed, Bowles . . . . . 385  
George . . . . . 106, 111  
James . . . . . 3, 14, 74, 75  
87, 97, 109-11, 173, 181  
182, 194, 197, 201, 206, 228  
283, 384, 483, 492, 495, 530  
Joseph . . . . . 83, 84, 309  
Seth . . . . . 283  
Reid, George . . . . . 4, 22, 109  
Reynolds, Captain . . . . . 155  
Rhea, David . . . . . 283  
Rhodes, John . . . . . 553  
Rice, Nathan . . . . . 260  
Thomas . . . . . 270  
Richards, Samuel . . . . . 106  
Richardson, — . . . . . 454  
Addison . . . . . 109  
William . . . . . 560  
Ridgely, Captain . . . . . 409  
Doctor . . . . . 346  
Roberdeau, Daniel . . . . . 453  
Robertson, — . . . . . 609  
Robinson, Captain . . . . . 318  
Roby, James . . . . . 43  
William . . . . . 75  
Rogers, Robert . . . . . 148, 149  
Rolfe, Ephraim . . . . . 75  
Rollins, Ichabod . . . . . 93, 94, 101  
John . . . . . 109  
Rowe, John . . . . . 75  
Winthrop . . . . . 109, 112  
Rowell, William . . . . . 109, 112  
Roxburg, Alexander . . . . . 417  
Royal, Colonel . . . . . 184  
Rush, Benjamin . . . . . 372  
Russell, Colonel . . . . . 228  
Rutledge, John . . . . . 10  
St. Clair, Arthur . . . . . 13, 14, 222  
225, 229, 283, 326, 329, 446  
447, 468, 533  
Sanborn, John S. . . . . 109  
Sargent, — . . . . . 468  
Paul D. . . . . 302  
Savage, James . . . . . 110  
Scammell, Alexander . . . . . 3, 7, 58  
60, 81, 114, 137, 162, 167  
181, 184, 256, 290, 318, 322  
Schuyler, Philip . . . . . 71, 197-  
200, 203, 204, 206, 207, 209  
210, 212, 215, 219, 224, 234  
235, 239, 242, 243, 245, 248  
250, 255, 257, 261, 262, 264  
266, 267, 271, 278-281, 290  
341, 359, 360, 372, 373, 412  
447, 533  
Scott, Benjamin . . . . . 558  
Captain . . . . . 318  
Charles . . . . . 402, 448  
449, 590  
Colonel . . . . . 312  
Major . . . . . 232, 238  
Sears, Colonel . . . . . 194, 195  
Sevier, Captain . . . . . 271  
Seward, Thomas . . . . . 372, 431  
432, 564  
Sheldon, Daniel . . . . . 109  
Elisha . . . . . 449  
Shepard, James . . . . . 134

- Sherburne, — . . . 131, 136, 167  
 Edward . . . . . 324, 483, 495  
                   501, 502, 537, 547  
 Henry . . . . . 210, 249  
                   251, 420, 421
- Sherman, David . . . . . 110  
 William T. . . . . 3, 23
- Shippen, William, Jr. . . . 346, 408
- Shortridge, Richard . . . 109, 112
- Shreve, Israel . . . . . 283
- Sias, Sheriff . . . . . 414
- Simpson, — . . . . . 97
- Skinner, — . . . . . 311, 397  
 Cortlandt . . . . . 317, 425  
                   441, 491, 496, 497, 507, 512
- Sluman, John . . . . . 564
- Smallwood, Hebard . . . 361, 363  
 William . . . . . 361, 439, 448  
                   459, 477, 483–486, 491, 493  
                   495–499, 501, 502, 509–513  
                   515–517, 519–521, 524, 526  
                   528, 530, 543
- Smith, — . . . . . 60, 152  
 Captain . . . . . 298, 579  
 Ephraim . . . . . 75  
 George . . . . . 342  
 James . . . . . 163  
 John . 194, 195, 270, 377, 562  
 John, 2d. . . . . 270  
 Jonathan . . . . . 109  
 Joseph . . . . . 270  
 Lieut. Colonel . . . . 483, 537  
 William . . . . . 453
- Somerville, James . . . . . 558
- Spaulding, Levi . . . . . 75, 111
- Spear, Joseph . . . . . 451, 476, 541
- Spencer, Joseph . . . 293, 327, 328  
 Oliver . . . . . 482, 485, 531, 532
- Spotswood, Alexander . . . 557
- Sproul, Colonel . . . . . 332
- Stark, John . . . . . 3, 12, 14, 15  
                   92, 97, 106, 109–111, 164  
                   165, 168, 169, 180–182, 192  
                   194, 197, 201, 206, 223, 228  
                   283, 366, 368  
 William . . . . . 172, 178, 180
- Stearns, Benjamin . . . . . 75  
 Isaac . . . . . 75
- Steele, — . . . . . 392
- Stephen, Adam . . . . . 314, 315  
                   352, 369, 394, 403, 451, 455  
                   464, 465, 472, 473, 543, 545
- Stephens, Colonel . . . . . 557
- Stephenson, Captain . . . . 185
- Sterrett, William . . . . . 75, 417  
                   484, 525, 563
- Stewart, John . . . . . 400, 426  
                   427, 440, 441, 486  
 Walter . . . . . 601
- Stiles, Samuel . . . . . 75
- Stirling, Lord . . . . . 15, 16, 18  
                   299, 305, 367, 399, 401, 402  
                   418, 419, 450, 451, 457, 458  
                   464, 465, 472, 474, 482, 485  
                   530–532, 543, 550, 551, 556  
                   563, 564
- Stone, John H. . . . . 337, 379  
                   410, 417, 483, 568
- Stouffer, Christian . . . . . 482
- Stringer, Doctor . . . . . 231
- Sullivan, Ebenezer . . . . 293, 373  
                   374, 404, 420, 436, 579  
 James . . . . . 5, 41, 42, 137, 446  
 George . . . . . 29  
 Lydia . . . . . 37  
 Major . . . . . 373  
 Margery . . . . . 37  
 Owen . . . . . 6  
 Philip . . . . . 6
- Swart, — . . . . . 216
- Sweers, Cornelius . . . . . 342, 352
- Swords, Thomas . . . . . 204
- Taylor, John . 351, 363, 410, 460  
                   482, 483, 485, 488–490, 516  
                   528–530, 537, 553, 568, 592
- Ten Eyck, — . . . . . 201
- Thayer, Jeremiah . . . . . 110  
 Nehemiah . . . . . 110
- Thomas, John . . . . . 13, 212  
                   216, 218, 239  
 Philip . . . . . 109
- Thompson, Colonel . . . 113, 180  
 Ebenezer . . . . . 2, 7  
 James . . . . . 109  
 Thomas . . . . . 116  
 William . 198, 214, 218–229  
                   232, 244, 250, 264, 266, 277

- |                                    |  |                                |  |
|------------------------------------|--|--------------------------------|--|
| Thornton, Matthew . . . . .        | 4, 68<br>95, 117                         | Walker, Joseph B. . . . .      | 33   |
| Thoyt, Thomas . . . . .            | 110                                      | Wallingford, Captain . . . . . | 39   |
| Thwing, Nathaniel . . . . .        | 112                                      | Walton, George . . . . .       | 453  |
| Tilghman, Tench . . . . .          | 347, 348<br>382, 385, 390, 393, 395, 412 | Ward, — . . . . .              | 496  |
| Tillard, Edward . . . . .          | 440, 441, 486                            | Artemas . . . . .              | 246  |
| Tilton, Philip . . . . .           | 109, 112, 188                            | Warner, Seth . . . . .         | 171, 273<br>275, 279   |
| Titcomb, Benjamin . . . . .        | 23, 109, 112                             | Washington, George . . . . .   | 12–19<br>22–25, 27, 28, 30, 35, 70, 72<br>82–84, 86, 90, 93–95, 100–<br>103, 108, 115–117, 120, 124<br>127–129, 131, 133, 138, 140<br>141, 149, 155, 162, 165, 167<br>171–174, 176, 184, 187, 190<br>192, 197, 199, 202, 204, 205<br>210, 211, 213, 214, 217, 226<br>235, 239, 243, 247, 248, 253<br>254, 256, 261, 265, 268, 272<br>277, 286, 290, 298–300, 304<br>305, 314, 315, 319, 320, 322<br>326, 328, 329, 331, 337, 344<br>345, 350, 355, 364, 373, 374<br>381, 385, 388–390, 392, 394<br>395, 399, 402, 404, 406–408<br>411, 413–415, 418, 419, 421<br>423, 428–431, 433, 434, 436<br>437, 442, 445, 451–454, 456<br>475, 476, 478, 482, 531, 541<br>557, 565, 570, 580, 583, 584<br>593, 597, 602, 604, 605 |
| Toomey, John . . . . .             | 562                                      | Wayne, Anthony . . . . .       | 14<br>197, 200, 206, 212, 222, 225<br>230, 250, 256, 258, 263, 283<br>308, 333, 448, 473, 474, 535<br>544–546, 580, 583  |
| Traverie, — . . . . .              | 289                                      | Weare, Meshech . . . . .       | 4, 16, 25<br>141, 317, 330, 331, 387, 542<br>Richard . . . . .   |
| Truelock, Henry . . . . .          | 562                                      | Richard . . . . .              | 112  |
| Trueman, Alexander . . . . .       | 558                                      | Webb, Charles . . . . .        | 108, 194, 448  |
| Trumbull, Jonathan . . . . .       | 71, 76, 412                              | Webster, Captain . . . . .     | 137  |
| Tryon, William . . . . .           | 334, 363, 425                            | Wedgwood, James . . . . .      | 112  |
| Tuck, William . . . . .            | 75                                       | Weedon, George . . . . .       | 315, 448<br>450, 473, 474, 557, 590  |
| Tucker, — . . . . .                | 232                                      | Weeks, Jonathan . . . . .      | 109  |
| John . . . . .                     | 109                                      | Welch, — . . . . .             | 555  |
| Josiah . . . . .                   | 42                                       | John . . . . .                 | 109  |
| Serjeant . . . . .                 | 476                                      | Wells, John S. . . . .         | 5  |
| Turner, George . . . . .           | 132, 134                                 | Major . . . . .                | 468  |
| Tuttle, Thomas . . . . .           | 270                                      | Samuel . . . . .               | 5  |
| Tyler, — . . . . .                 | 325                                      |                                |  |
| Tyson, Peter . . . . .             | 578                                      |                                |  |
| Usher, John . . . . .              | 41                                       |                                |  |
| Van Courtlandt, Philip . . . . .   | 205                                      |                                |  |
| Van Dyke, Cornelius . . . . .      | 360                                      |                                |  |
| Van Emburgh, John . . . . .        | 386, 387                                 |                                |  |
| Van Est, — . . . . .               | 390                                      |                                |  |
| Van Schaick, Goose . . . . .       | 205                                      |                                |  |
| Van Valkenburgh, Jacob . . . . .   | 360                                      |                                |  |
| Varick, Richard . . . . .          | 257                                      |                                |  |
| Varnum, James M. . . . .           | 92, 448–<br>450, 490                     |                                |  |
| Vaughan, John . . . . .            | 553                                      |                                |  |
| Joseph . . . . .                   | 484, 523, 525                            |                                |  |
| Verbryke, — . . . . .              | 391                                      |                                |  |
| Vernejoux, Jean Louis de . . . . . | 305<br>410                               |                                |  |
| Vose, Joseph . . . . .             | 283                                      |                                |  |
| Waite, Joseph . . . . .            | 273, 287                                 |                                |  |
| Waldron, John . . . . .            | 13, 134, 171<br>173, 177, 183, 186       |                                |  |
| Wales, Edward L. . . . .           | 558                                      |                                |  |
| Walker, Captain . . . . .          | 75                                       |                                |  |
| John . . . . .                     | 75                                       |                                |  |

- |                             |           |                              |          |
|-----------------------------|-----------|------------------------------|----------|
| Wendell, John W. . . . .    | 198, 359  | Winder, Levin . . . . .      | 417      |
| Wentworth, John . . . .     | 4, 10, 62 | Winds, William . . . . .     | 197, 201 |
| Jonathan . . . . .          | 109       | 203, 206, 209, 228, 273, 275 |          |
| Joshua . . . . .            | 44, 116   | 279, 312, 313                |          |
| Wetherby, Captain . . . . . | 394       | Wingate, Joshua . . . . .    | 13, 116  |
| Wharton, ——— . . . . .      | 47        | 121, 122, 132                |          |
| Wheeler, William . . . . .  | 560       | Paine . . . . .              | 4        |
| Wheelock, Eleazer . . . . . | 149       | Wolfe, James . . . . .       | 179      |
| 150, 287                    |           | Wood, Major . . . . .        | 230      |
| Whipple, William . . . .    | 4, 10, 68 | Woodbridge, Benjamin R.      | 92       |
| 136, 137, 140               |           | Woodbury, Elisha . . . .     | 106, 109 |
| Whitcomb, Jonathan . . . .  | 109       | Woodford, William . . . .    | 448, 449 |
| White, ——— . . . . .        | 316       | 451, 473, 590, 604           |          |
| Major . . . . .             | 483, 547  | Woodson, Tarleton . . . .    | 441, 484 |
| Wiggin, Mark . . . . .      | 134, 137  | 486, 525, 527, 529           |          |
| Nicholas . . . . .          | 109       | Woodward, Joseph . . . . .   | 270      |
| Wild, Joseph . . . . .      | 553       | Woolford, Thomas . . . . .   | 560      |
| Wilkins, Robert . . . . .   | 75        | Wooster, David . . . . .     | 212, 218 |
| William . . . . .           | 110       | 249, 336                     |          |
| Wilkinson, James . . . . .  | 174       | Worden, Major . . . . .      | 517      |
| 242, 298                    |           | Wyman, Isaac . . . . .       | 87, 97   |
| Willcox, William . . . . .  | 457       | Wynkoop, ——— . . . . .       | 201      |
| Williams, Colonel . . . .   | 234, 336  | Cornelius D. . . . .         | 205, 256 |
| Lilburn . . . . .           | 560       |                              |          |
| William . . . . .           | 452       |                              |          |
| Wilmot, William . . . . .   | 562       | Yates, William . . . . .     | 200, 201 |
| Wilson, Newhall . . . . .   | 109       | Yeaton, Captain . . . . .    | 134, 155 |
| Winant, Jacob . . . . .     | 304       | Young, Captain . . . . .     | 224      |

