

“...the Musket Balls flew Like a shower of hail stones...”

## The Short Hills Battlefield Study

GA-2255-09-019-ABPP Grant



Prepared for  
The Metuchen-Edison Historical Society  
Edison, NJ

and

The American Battlefield Protection Program  
National Park Service  
Washington, D.C.

Prepared by  
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West Chester, PA

Final  
December 2011

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**December 2011**

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## ABSTRACT

The Short Hills Battlefield is located in Edison Township in Middlesex County, New Jersey, north of the town of Metuchen. The battlefield represents the scene of a military encounter during the American Revolution on 26 June 1777, between British and Hessian forces under the overall command of Sir William Howe and Continental troops commanded by Lord Stirling. This study was undertaken by John Milner Associates, Inc., under contract with the Metuchen-Edison Historical Society; the Society in turn had received a grant from the American Battlefield Protection Program of the National Park Service to document the location and current physical conditions of the battlefield.

This report provides baseline documentation according to the guidelines and requirements provided by the ABPP. Historical research relating to the battle is summarized. A KOCOA analysis (Key Terrain, Observation, Cover and Concealment, Obstacles and Avenues of Approach and Retreat) is undertaken to identify Defining Features on the battlefield. Various geographical areas are defined, which in this instance reflect decreasing sizes: Study, Core and Potential National Register areas. Two days of metal detecting survey on a portion of the battlefield resulted in the recovery of metal artifacts including two—a rifle ball and a sword scabbard tip—that were associated with the battle. A catalog of artifacts recovered during the field survey is attached as an appendix.

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## 1.0 INTRODUCTION AND GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION

This report describes research undertaken to complete the Short Hills National Register Nomination Project. The report and associated research were prepared by JMA (John Milner Associates, Inc.) in close coordination with the Metuchen-Edison Historical Society (MEHS) of Metuchen in Edison Township, Middlesex County, New Jersey. The MEHS received a grant (GA-2255-09-019 ABPP Grant) from the American Battlefield Protection Program (ABPP) for this purpose. The MEHS in turn awarded the contract to JMA to undertake various tasks including archival and field investigation, GIS mapping, preparation of a technical report and the National Register nomination (Figure 1).

The Battle of The Short Hills occurred on 26 June 1777, as British and Hessian (Crown) forces advanced westward from Perth Amboy in an attempt to engage and destroy advanced elements of the Continental Army. The opposing forces evidently encountered each other a few miles north of Metuchen Meeting House during the morning of 26 June. Numerous contemporary accounts by participants indicated that the American forces were positioned on a series of hills adjacent to a roadway (or roadways) along which Crown forces were moving (see List of Defining Features below). The engagement lasted for a few hours, during which the British and Hessian troops of Sir William Howe and Lord Cornwallis drove Virginia, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania forces under the command of Lord Stirling from the hills, capturing at least three cannon and a number of American soldiers. Casualty figures vary but probably exceeded 100 on each side. Following the engagement, the Crown forces advanced northward toward Scotch Plains and Westfield.

The MEHS believes the hills occupied by the Americans were the small rises—on Plainfield Country Club and Edison Township lands—that represent the terminal moraine or maximum glacial advance during the Pleistocene. Their interpretation of the road network and various contemporary accounts suggest this location may have been the American position. The current research sought to confirm the location of the battlefield and orientation of the opposing forces utilizing historical research, global positioning system (GIS)-based landscape analysis and archeological investigations emphasizing metal detector survey.

Military sites present a particularly challenging problem for archeologists because these site types are difficult to find using established field methods employed in traditional archeological investigations. A testing methodology that relies solely on shovel testing or other more traditional archeological techniques to recover tangible evidence for a military action often does not provide the level of certainty about the presence or absence of cultural resources that will allow for relevant management recommendations. In general, military sites do not contain large numbers of non-metallic artifacts and, where found, artifacts tend to be tightly clustered.

The archeological study of battlefields is proving that the physical evidence of such fields of conflict is often remarkably resilient and still present beneath the ground. Field survey using metal detectors in a non-wooded yard on the Smith Farm—currently owned by Edison Township—was undertaken on 26 June and the afternoon of 27 June 2010. A separate wooded area to north—also owned by Edison Township—along the southern boundary of the Plainfield Country Club was investigated on the morning of 27 June. The Smith Farm open yard was swept repeatedly by different metal-detector-users employing different instruments. Artifacts identified by metal detection were flagged, collected, and located on the project map using GIS equipment.

To fully understand the actions and reactions of opposing forces in battle and to interpret the battle accurately and in a balanced fashion, it is important to have access to participants' accounts



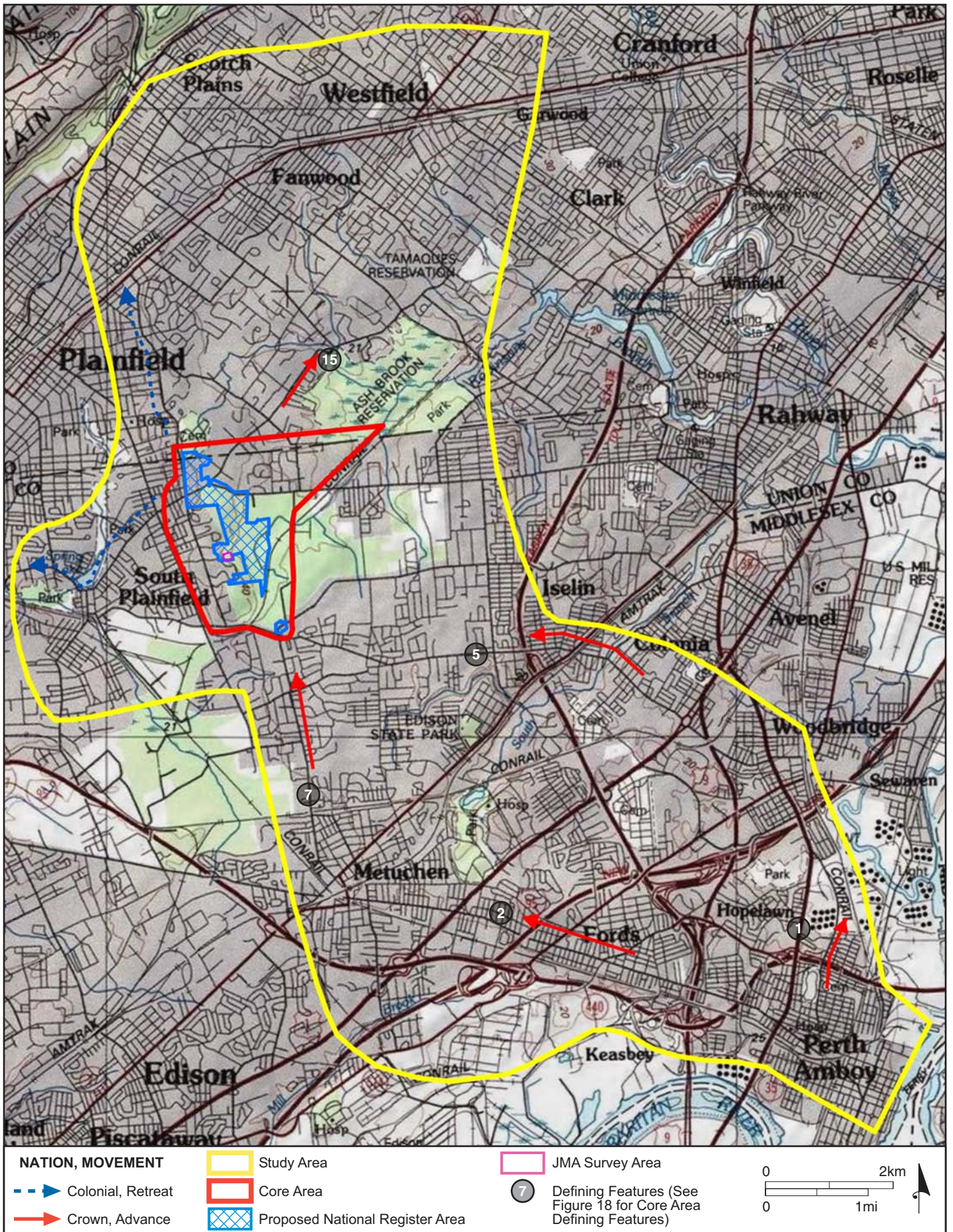


Figure 1. Project Location and Areas on Modern USGS Quadrangle.



from both of the forces involved (Williams and Langum 2004). The MEHS has compiled a broad range of first-person accounts for the study of the Battle of Short Hills. Crown Forces accounts include written descriptions of the action from Hessian and British participants, and American accounts include three letters written by Israel Shreve a few days after the battle detailing the role of the New Jersey Continentals.

JMA researchers built upon this group of first-person accounts and gathered additional accounts. Over 60 accounts were compiled for this report, including letters, diaries entries and pension records. Appendix III contains transcriptions of the accounts compiled for this study.

## 1.1 METHODS

The approach to the study of the Short Hills Battlefield was a cumulative one with field investigations sandwiched between initial reviews of historical sources and GIS-based map overlays and subsequent reevaluations of the collective data. A work plan and research design were initially prepared and submitted to the MEHS and ABPP for review and approval. A review of the extensive documentary sources relating to the battle was undertaken. GIS geo-reference points were established for the 1777 von Wangenheim plan, the 1905 Plainfield Quadrangle map, a modern aerial photograph and the modern USGS Plainfield and Perth Amboy Quadrangle maps. When the Study, Core and Potential National Register areas were ultimately defined, the outlines of these areas were added to the above-mentioned maps and photograph, which are reproduced as figures in this report.

The field work consisted of a preliminary site visit with the MEHS to the field area in March 2010 and the field metal detector survey on 26 and 27 June 2010. During the latter visit, the JMA team also visited the Plainfield Country Club with Byron Miller, the find spots of battle-related artifacts along Inman Avenue and Old Raritan Road and viewed the overall project area from Washington Rock State Park in the Watchung Mountains. Based upon a review of these field data, the historical references compiled mostly by MEHS and correspondence and reports prepared by Walt Stochel and Ann Walker of the MEHS and local historian George Stillman, the various areas discussed above and associated Defining Features were identified.

These investigations were guided by the principle of Inherent Military Probability (Keegan 1977:33-34). As initially developed by the German military historian Hans Delbrück and further refined by British historian A. H. Burne, this principle holds that often well-worn and accepted accounts of a particular battle will be found to be impossible given the constraints of terrain, timing and other factors. Logical inferences may be supported by placing one's self in the position of what a knowledgeable individual or officer could have accomplished in a similar situation. This approach informed the KOCOA analysis that in turn guided the definition of the Study, Core and Potential National Register areas. Questions about interpretation remain, such as precisely where on the battlefield our archeological survey area is located, and by implication what phase of the battle is represented on the Township Property. It is likely that some battle questions will never be answered to universal satisfaction. These questions do, however, emphasize the importance of the surviving archeological record from the engagement on 26 June 1777.

## 2.0 HISTORICAL RESEARCH

The engagement at the Short Hills was one of the last acts in a complicated series of maneuvers by King George's forces in June 1777 following their seizure of the New York-New Jersey area during the previous year. At this point in the American Revolution, the forces under the command of Sir William Howe were composed of British regulars and professional soldiers from various Germanic states generally called Hessians. (The term Crown will serve in this report to indicate the collective British and Germanic troops.) The Short Hills battle, fought 26 June 1777, consisted of at least four separate actions. The first occurred early in the morning against the American picket composed of Morgan's Rifle Corps, just west of the village of Woodbridge. The second action occurred near the current Woodbridge/Edison Township line with Conway's Brigade. The final two actions occurred near the Short Hills area of Edison Township and Scotch Plains and are the principal actions discussed herein. The ultimate goal of Howe was the destruction through capture or dispersal of the Continental Army that occupied the hills of northern New Jersey opposite New York and Staten Island. By late June Howe saw a chance to engage the Continental Army as it was divided into separate elements—in detail in military parlance—and thereby increase the likelihood the two smaller portions of that army could be destroyed.

A large number of British, Hessian and Continental accounts of the engagement were recorded and have survived. The story of the battle of the Short Hills will be initially presented through accounts by participants, with emphasis added; these accounts will later be condensed into a synthesis of the battle.

(anonymous British diary, June 1777)

the 22d. two Regts. The 27d & 23d three Batilons of Hesens Embaked in the flat Bots from Amboy to Straten Island and to Encamp till farther Orders.

the 26 the Army Marched from Amboy to Whitefield [Westfield] and Part to Brunswick but near Whitefield fell in With A Part of the Rebels in a thick Wood / a Smirt fire insued By the Hessians and gards Light Compn. Which put the Retreat Leaving three Brass three ponr. 100 Men killed 50 prisnrs / the same time 26 Joined us With ther arms.

the 27 We Retretd to Wood Bridg on A Advantious Post With an intent to Draw the Enemy of[f] the Mountins but to no purpose the 28 Marched to Amboy. (Rees 2002)

.....

(Friedrich von Muenchhausen, aide-de-camp to General Howe, 1777)

Cornwallis' column, marching to the right of Vaughan's, put a part of the **Short-hills** between the two columns. On his march, before the two columns could join, Cornwallis' column came upon a picket of Lord Stirling's force at six o'clock in the morning. Stirling was in that part of the **Short-hills**, which we had managed to place between the two columns. Stirling's picket ran off after a few shots.

Both columns continued on their march till about eight o'clock in the morning, during which time there was a steady fire on us from out of the bushes, and from behind trees. Their fire was answered by the Hessian jaegers, the English light

infantry and our side patrols. Then we [Cornwallis' column] met a corps of about 600 men with three cannon on a **hill** before a **woods**. They held their position until we approached them with some deployed battalions and cannon, whereupon they hurriedly withdrew into the **woods** behind them.

Half an hour later, on a **bare hill** before some **woods**, we came upon approximately 2,500 men with six cannon. They started cannon fire early, at a distance of **1,000 paces**, and then began with small arms fire. We took two 12-pounders and several 6-pounders to our left flank, where we had some **rising ground**. From our right flank the Hessian grenadier battalion von Minnigerode ascending the slope in deployed formation, attacked their left flank. *Our battalion had to move considerably to the right in order to outflank their left flank.* The rebels continued a strong but not very effective fire upon us. They finally fired grape-shot at von Minnigerode's battalion, but after that, they ran away into the woods.

On this occasion [26 June 1777] the von Minnigerode battalion took two, and the English Guards one of their new French brass 3-pounders, which are very good cannon....

A little while after the encounter, after nine in the morning, not far from **Scotch Plains**, our column [Vaughan's] joined forces with the rear of Cornwallis' and so we continued to march in one column until we arrived in the region of **Westfield**....(Kipping and Smith 1974:19)

.....

(Journal of the Grenadier Battalion Minnigerode, June 1777)

[K65]...But now I will only give a few particulars of Lord Cornwallis' column. This was formed up on the road to Woodbridge, set out on its march toward three o'clock in the morning, and later struck off to the left into a road to Quibbletown; when they had gone a distance of about two miles the troops in advance came across a picket or patrol of 200 men, who, however, were soon driven back after a short skirmish and the roaring voices of the grasshopper guns. After traveling a distance of another three miles they met with another small corps which the Light troops also dispersed, though not till after a somewhat obstinate skirmish. After about another three miles and just as the way led through a **valley, with heights on the right hand** where the side patrols were marching, and up which a troop of dragoons had just been sent to reconnoiter, we heard shots fired shortly one after the other, which caused the dragoons to come back; the troops had forthwith to *wheel off to the right* from the **road** and march up the height; The Minnigerode Battalion which was first in order of march guarded the right wing of the first Division, the other two Grenadier Battalions the reserve. When they reached the **top of the hill**, the Jägers and the Light Infantry skirmished with the rebels in front of them and to the right there was a corps with 2 guns, which fired upon their flank. Colonel v. Donop wheeled the Minnigerode battalion about *once more to the right* with all possible speed and marched straight towards a **thicket** [K66] out of which the rebels had been firing; when they had fired a few shots at the **thicket** they perceived that it was already forsaken. Thereupon the Battalion moved slowly past the **thicket on the left** let the flank go by. When they

obtained an open view behind the **thicket**, they saw, according to the statement of the prisoners, 500 men and 2 guns located on a **height, separated by a valley from the hills** on this side; but as soon as the rebels caught sight of the Battalion they poured a whole rain of musketry fire and grape-shot into their midst, which rain of shot was vigorously answered from this side; the battalion, however, had not their guns with them, these being unfortunately employed elsewhere, but this did not check their advance. Scarcely had they reached the **valley** when the rebels took to their heels leaving their guns behind them; the Battalion seized the two guns and pursued the rebels for about 1000 paces with single shots. The loss sustained by the Battalion amounted to eight men wounded, including one non-commissioned officer, but none killed. Of the rebels they counted eight men killed on the spot, but the wounded they had taken with them. The English Guards, who were somewhat *further to the right*—had also captured one gun. Altogether about eight were taken prisoners, including one officer, so it is said. This affair took place between 9 and 10 o'clock not far from **Quibbletown**, in the mountain region running down towards **Boundbrook** called the Blue Mountains. The Corps remained in this position till mid-day, placed the wounded on army wagons which they had brought with [K67] them and marched off again to the right up the mountains to **Westfield** about 10 miles away; here the Corps spent the night and marched on The 27<sup>th</sup> June at mid-day back again to **Samptown** situated between **Elizabethtown** and **Woodbridge**.

.....

(Letter from Colonel von Donop, commander of the Hessian Grenadier Brigade, to his Excellency Lieutenant General von Heister, 30 June 1777)  
[p. 121]...The right column under command of Lord Cornwallis went from **Woodbridge to the right to Scotsplains** where I was with my Brigade, excepting Captain Ewald's Jäger Company, which was *à la tête* [at the head of] with the 2<sup>nd</sup> Column. This Column went along the straight road to **Brunswick**. With the right hand Column the Jägers met with the first of the enemy's pickets on the other side of **Woodbridge**, at about 1000 paces the muskets were fired and after a few shots sent at them from the "Grasshoppers," they fled, leaving their bundles behind. After them we met only very few troops of the enemy, until about 7 ½ o'clock in the morning at **Quibbletown**, there they presented themselves on a **hill** to the number of a few battalions with 3 cannon. After about ½ of an hours' further march our side patrols discovered a second part of 100 rebels on a **fairly steep hill**, who under a hot fire were driven out of their positions by the Jäger and the English Light Infantry without any great loss. In this moment there came into our right flank several cannon shots, for this the [p. 122] Minnigerode Battalion reinforced by the English Guards were sent forward to attack the enemy's flank. This succeeded so well that 3 cannon were taken from the enemy, of which the Minnigerode Battalion received two and the English Brigade one cannon.

The attack took place with fixed bayonets which the enemy could not long resist after some grape shot and Battalion discharges had been received, which the Minnigerode Battalion had had to withstand chiefly. The loss of the Minnigerode Battalion accounted to 11 wounded and one missing, of the first most are but slightly wounded. Of the English Guards Captain Phinx [Finch], a gallant young

man, was mortally wounded, because he exposed himself a little too much. During the affair Captain Hendorf by a false jump dislocated his leg, but this was soon put right.

.....

(John Chilton, Continental soldier, 29 June 1777 letter to “Brother”)  
26<sup>th</sup> past our camp was at Piscataway which place the Enemy had abandoned a few days before. Col. Morgan with the Rifle Regmt. was on the **Mattuchin** lines at the time and our main army had come down into the Plains. The Enemy unexpectedly stole a march in the night of the 25<sup>th</sup> and had nearly surrounded Morgan before he was aware of it. He with difficulty saved his men and baggage and after a retreat rallied his men and sustained a heavy charge until reinforced by Major Genl. Ld. Stirling, who gave them so warm a reception that they were obliged to retreat so precipitately that it had like to have become a rout. But being strongly reinforced he was obliged to retreat with the loss of 2 pieces of Artillery.

Brigadier Genl. [Conway?] was on the left and had a severe engagement, but was obliged to retreat also. The Enemy pursued this advantage as far as the **Scotch Plains**, which place they left that night suddenly returned to **Perth-Amboy**. (*Tyler's Quarterly Magazine* 12:118 (1931)).

.....

(Henry Knox, 29 June 1777 letter to “Lucy”)  
Lord Stirling’s party retired to **Ash Swamp** from Amboy about six miles--A large part of the Army took post at **Quibbletown** below the heights and about 4 or 5 miles in the rear of Lord Stirling....

Maxwell’s and Conway’s Brigades under the command of Lord S. were posted on **two ‘main’ roads** leading from Amboy to the heights. The enemy came on **a large road between the two roads** and effectively separated the two brigades and for some time put them in a very critical situation, however Lord Stirling who was with Maxwell’s brigade after a severe action with 9 or 10 times his number was obliged to retire to **Westfield** with the loss of three pieces of Cannon and some men....Conway retired to the main body.

.....

(Raymond Demere, Georgia officer and aide to Lord Stirling, journal entry 26 June 1777)

We began our march at 8 o’clock and at 9 discovered the Enemy—Lord Sterling [sic] was about forming his small army on an advantageous **height**, when a request came from Gen. Maxwell, would join him....we had not proceeded very far before we were exposed to a heavy fire. We filed off from the **road** to a **wheat field** and formed around the skirt of a **thick wood**, but soon discovered that an advanced party of the Enemy was enclosed within it; notwithstanding this unexpected ambush, our brave fellows, kept up a war fire for about half an hour. The superior numbers opposed to them, and the Golling fire from the **wood** made them deaf to orders, they broke their ranks and could not be rallied, until

they gained a **rising ground four hundred yards off**. We formed again, resumed the action which was disputed with great obstinacy for two hours—Our artillery was very much exposed, the men were not armed and not being properly supported, were picked off by the Enemy’s muskets—At length borne down by superiority of numbers, laboring under every disadvantage and overcome with heat and fatigue were thrown into the greatest disorder. I rode up to Lord Sterling [sic], who had exposed himself in the heat of the action regardless of the danger, and represented our situation to him, he reluctantly ordered the men to retreat gradually by presenting as much as possible a bold front. At this moment we observed two large columns that had been kept in reserve, moving round to cut off our retreat; upon which he reluctantly ordered the few that remained to make good their retreat to Westfield.... (*The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 52(3):345-346 (1968).

.....

(Johann Ewald, Field Jäger Corps, 1777)

The right-hand column under Lord Cornwallis, consisting of the Donop, Prueschenck, and mounted jäger companies, the Hessian grenadiers under Colonel Donop, the English Guards, and a part of the dragoons, took their route directly toward **Westfield**. The left-hand column under General Vaughan, which the Commander in Chief [Howe] personally accompanied, consisted of the Anspach and my jäger companies, the light infantry, the English grenadiers, the English infantry, and the rest of the dragoons, which took their route by **Metuchen Meeting House** to cover the attack against the enemy army.

The enemy had taken his position on the **steep bush-covered heights**; his right was protected by **deep ravines** and his left by **a thick wood**. The jägers tried to approach the enemy in the rear through the **ravines**, and the Hessian grenadiers made an attack on the right, support by the Guards. The enemy was attacked with the bayonet and driven back, whereby Colonel Minnigerode and his grenadier battalion greatly distinguished themselves, taking from the enemy three Hessian guns which had been captured at Trenton. The loss of the enemy in dead and prisoners was reckoned at about five hundred men, and on our side at about one hundred and thirty dead and wounded, the Minnigerode Battalion having lost the most men. The entire army withdrew afterward upon the heights of **Westfield Meeting House**, where it remained overnight in bivouac. (Tustin 1979:69)

.....

(John Pebbles, Scottish Grenadier, 1777)

...the whole march’d in two Columns, that on the right under Lord Cornwallis the left Genl. Vaughan, under Genl. Howe about 8 o’clock mornng. 26 [June] the Yagers & Light Infantry in front of the right Column began to skirmish & soon after fell in with a Body of the Rebels **north of Matachy [Metuchen] M:House** who had 4 pieces of Cannon, which they began to play on them. The Light troops supported by the British & Hessn. Grrs., killed a good many of the Rebels took 3 of their Cannon & about 150 Prisoners the 4<sup>th</sup>. Gun was found after **in a thicket**. The Rest of the Rebels fled in confusion—The Course of the Columns was towd.

**Quibble Town**, when within 4 miles of it they turn'd to the right and join'd at **Westfield** where they halted for the night. (Gruber 1998:117-118)

.....

(Thomas Sullivan, British soldier, 1777)  
June 26<sup>th</sup>. In that situation of the Enemy, it was judged adviseable to make a movement that might lead on to an attack, which was done at 3 o'clock in the morning in two Columns.

The Right, under the command of Lord Cornwallis...took the Rout by **Woodbridge towards Scotch Plains**.

The Left Column with which the Commander in Chief was...marched by **Metuchin Meeting-house**, to join the Rear of the Right Column in the **Road from thence to Scotch Plains**...intending to take four separate Routes, about two miles after the **junction**, in order to have attacked the Enemy's Left flank at **Quibble-Town**....

The Right Column, fell in with the aforesaid [Rebel] Corps of 700 men, soon after **Woodbridge**, gave the alarm, by the heavy firing that ensued to their Body at **Quibble-Town**, which retired to the Mountain with the utmost precipitation. A smart engagement ensued between the Front Division and the Enemy, which last were repulsed with Loss. The small Corps being close pursued by the Light Infantry, a smart Cannonading began, and three Battallions of the Enemy attacked 5 Companies of Light Infantry, the former occasioning from their situation the latter to incline into a **wood**, the Enemy being too superior in Number, and waited for the Guards and Riffleman to come up, Lord Cornwallis who headed them, seeing the Position the Enemy were in, came up with the said Battallions. The enemy were commanded by Lord Stirling, and was advantageously posted in a **thick wood**, with his Artillery well disposed. The Troops vying with each other upon this occasion attacked the Enemy so close, that, tho' they were inclined to resist, could not long maintain their ground against so much Impetuosity, but were soon dispersed on all sides, leaving behind three Pieces of Brass Cannon, 3 Captains and 60 men killed, and upwards of 200 Officers and men wounded and taken.

Our Loss was 5 men killed, and 30 wounded....

One Piece of Cannon was taken by the Guards, the other two by Colonel Mingerode's Battallion of Hessian Grenadiers.

The Enemy was pursued as far as **Westfield** with little Effect.... (Boyle 1997:121-122)

These accounts may be combined to provide a fairly clear image of the Short Hills battle and its associated geographic features, if not the precise location of those features. The Crown forces marched from Perth Amboy before dawn on 26 June in two columns: a northern one under the command of Lord Cornwallis and a southern one commanded by General Vaughan and



accompanied by Howe. The Crown order of battle is provided in several accounts, such as that by Johann Ewald of the Hessian Field Jäger Corps (Tustin 1979).

The northern column under Cornwallis moved westward past Woodbridge; the southern one moved westward then northward through Metuchen Meeting House to join the northern column. The Cornwallis force encountered and scattered a Continental picket fairly early in the march. They then met a larger body—a corps of 600 to 700 men possibly with some cannon—posted on “a hill before a woods” (Kipping and Smith 1974; Boyle 1997). The von Wangenheim map—the most detailed contemporary map of the engagement—suggests this advance corps may have included Ottendorf’s Corps under the command of Colonel Armand posted on a hill in advance of the main battle line of Stirling (Figure 2).

The Cornwallis force dispersed the advance corps (Chilton 1777; Kipping and Smith 1974, Boyle 1997) before encountering the main battle line of Maxwell’s New Jersey and Conway’s Pennsylvania Brigades under the command of Stirling. The von Wangenheim map suggests the Continental line was deployed on heights astride the road along which Cornwallis was advancing. Henry Knox (1777) reinforced this account when he stated “Maxwell’s and Conway’s Brigades...were posted on two ‘main’ roads leading from Amboy to the heights. The enemy came on a large road between the two roads and effectively separated the two brigades....”

Knox, as artillery commander of the Continental Army, was not present at the battle. Johann Ewald and Friedrich von Muenchhausen provided interesting accounts of the course of the primary battle, but both men were attached to the southern column and therefore were also not present during the engagement. However, the role of the Minnigerode Battalion of Hessian grenadiers is documented in their journal entry (Minnigerode Journal 1777) and in a letter written by Colonel von Donop, who commanded the Hessian Grenadier Brigade (von Donop 1777).

Raymond Demere, an aide-de-camp to Stirling, was also present (Lawrence 1968). He recorded in his journal that Stirling’s forces initially deployed “to a wheat field and formed around the skirt of thick wood” before retiring to “rising ground four hundred yards off.” Ewald (Tustin 1979) described the American position as located on “steep brush-covered heights” with the right protected by “deep ravines” and the left by “a thick wood.” The Hessian jägers attempted to advance through the ravines on the left while according to von Muenchhausen the Hessian grenadier battalion and the light infantry of the British Guards battalions “had to move considerably to the right in order to outflank their left flank” (Kipping and Smith 1974).

The firing sequence from the American main line as recorded by von Muenchhausen is important as it has implications for the distribution of ammunition that may be recovered in the archeological record:

- “cannon fire early, at a distance of 1,000 paces” (solid shot and shell fired over a distance of perhaps 800 to 900 yards)
- “then began with small arms fire” (effective range of muskets 100 to 150 yards, somewhat greater for rifles, although the balls would have carried farther)
- “rebels continued a strong but not very effective fire upon us” (firing at too great a distance?)

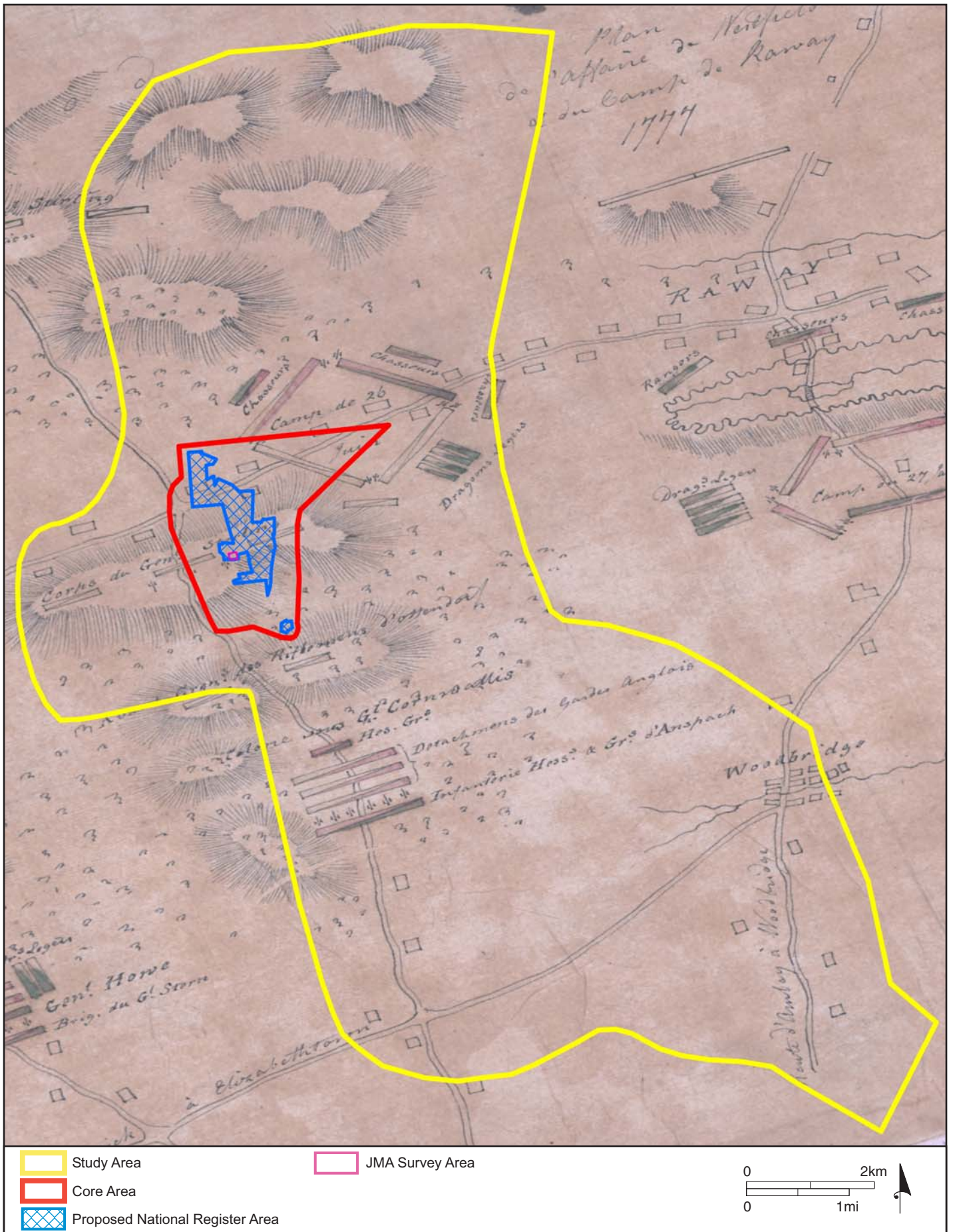


Figure 2. “Plan de l’Affaire de Westfield & du Camp de Raway 1777” (Library of Congress, attributed to von Wangenheim).

- “they finally fired grape-shot at von Minnigerode’s battalion” (the Hessian grenadiers on the right; the grape shot would have been most effective over a distance of 40 to 80 yards)

The American lines were for the most part located in wooded areas but were probably near the edge of woods. Demere mentioned the “artillery was very much exposed.” The Hessians and the British were most likely advancing across open fields at the bottom and lower slopes of the hills on which the Continental troops were posted. Most accounts indicate the attack of the Hessians and the British on the left of the Continental line (probably Maxwell’s Brigade) compelled the collapse of at least that portion of the line (Minnigerode Journal 1777; von Donop 1777). Ultimately the right side of the line—apparently Conway’s Brigade—also abandoned the field. Stirling and Maxwell’s Brigade retired north and east along Old Raritan Road toward Westfield, while Conway’s troops moved westward along Old Raritan Road to join the remainder of Washington’s troops near Quibbletown (modern New Market).

Cornwallis’ column of Crown forces was advancing northward through the town of Woodbridge then westward, while the southern column moved westward then turned northward to pass through Metuchen to join the rear of the northern column. The northward movement of the southern column occurred along modern Plainfield Road.

Various contemporary maps (André (Lodge 1903); Library of Congress ca. 1780) indicate a road extending northward from Metuchen Meeting that intersects with two parallel east-west roads extending westward from the Woodbridge/Rahway area. Knox mentioned two main roads with the British advancing on a wide road between them. It seems most likely that the northern column moved westward from Woodbridge on the road known today as Oak Tree Road. This road intersects with modern Plainfield Road—the apparent route of the southern column—north of Metuchen Meeting.

The Oak Tree junction was not only the point at which the southern column joined the rear of the northern column later in the morning of 26 June, but it is also near the location where Cornwallis’ northern column encountered the Continental forces (Stochel and Walker 2000).

The von Wangenheim map and the Knox letter both indicate the Crown route of advance passed through the line of the Continental troops, with portions of the line lying on either side of the road. The Continental forces are shown in two successive hilltop positions on the von Wangenheim map:

- “Avant Grans. des Riflemens d’Ottendorf” (advance group with riflemen)
- “Corps de Genl. Sterling” (main line of resistance)

The northern road that passed through the Continental positions is interpreted as modern Woodland Avenue; the road parallel to and behind the Continental main line is Old Raritan Road. Stillman (2000) argues the Crown column had reoriented to face northward up Woodland Avenue. The advance group of riflemen would have been positioned to the south on a hilltop (elevations 168 to 180 feet) currently occupied by water towers. The Continental main line stood to the north on the hills (maximum elevation 185 feet) roughly parallel with Old Raritan Road. Maxwell’s Brigade would have been located east of Woodland Avenue on land owned since the early twentieth century by the Plainfield Country Club. Conway’s Brigade would have been positioned to the west along this main line.

The Battle of the Short Hills was a tactical victory for the Crown forces under Howe but once again the Continental forces had escaped destruction as they had done the previous August on Long Island. The Crown troops occupied a position near Woodbridge on 27 June in the hopes that Washington would order a general assault on their lines (Rees 2002). When Continental forces showed no inclination to do so, Howe ordered the forces to return to Perth Amboy on 28 June. They ultimately resumed their former positions on Staten Island. The battle marked the end of the New Jersey Campaign in 1777. By September the Crown forces had sailed into the Chesapeake Bay, disembarked at Head of Elk and marched northward toward Philadelphia.

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## 3.0 RESEARCH ASSESSMENT

### 3.1 KOCOA ANALYSIS

“Understanding the historic terrain of a battlefield as it was at the time of the action is critical to the understanding of any battle” (Foard 2009:136). Battles are temporary, albeit seminal, events superimposed on existing cultural landscapes that had a variety of cultural actions – transportation routes, agricultural development, settlement patterns, population change – already exerting influence on the land prior to the engagement and that continue to exert influences on the field after the battle. Field patterns and farmsteads are changed and give way to subdivisions, roads are altered, vacated, rerouted or widened, woodlands are reduced or removed from the landscape. The Short Hills study area has a number of contemporary and later maps depicting the locale, many of which have been previously compiled by the MEHS, and the project team included examination of these in the overall research design.

Following the guidance established by the ABPP the project team applied KOCOA military terrain analysis of battlefield (Lowe 2000, Walker and Thomason 2004). KOCOA is an acronym of Key Terrain, Observation, Cover and Concealment, Obstacles, and Avenues of Approach and Retreat. Used by the American military in the training of its officers, the application of KOCOA allows the researcher to view the battlefield as a participant in the engagement would have, not as a cultural landscape, or as a bucolic field or quiet woods. On-the-ground knowledge of the battlefield is critical to understanding the action (Andrus 2004).

### 3.2 STUDY AREA

The Study Area is broadly defined as encompassing the area of tactical movement leading to the battlefield, movement that generally occurred on the day of the battle. As described in the ABPP survey manual:

The Study Area should be restricted to the immediate flow of battle after one side or the other has moved to initiate combat. For example, if a unit left its encampments in the night intending to attack the enemy at dawn, it would be appropriate to include these encampments in the Study Area as the initial position of the attacking force. The route of the previous day’s march to reach these encampments would not be included. The Study Area should end where the armies disengaged. (Lowe 2000:23-24)

Since the Crown forces crossed the Arthur Kill from Staten Island to Perth Amboy in the pre-dawn hours of 26 June, the Short Hills Study Area includes the landing location in Perth Amboy but not any encampment areas on Staten Island. The Crown forces advanced in two general columns: a northern one under Cornwallis that moved north through Woodbridge and then northwest—probably along modern Oak Tree Road—into the Short Hills, and a southern one under Howe and Vaughan moving westward probably along modern Route 501. The southern column apparently turned northward to pass through Metuchen Meeting House along modern Main Street/Route 531 and joined the rear of the northern column by moving up Plainfield Road to the junction with Oak Tree Road (Figure 3).

The Continental forces under Stirling were already positioned on the Short Hills south of the junction of Old Raritan Road and Woodland Avenue. An advance guard that included Ottendorf’s



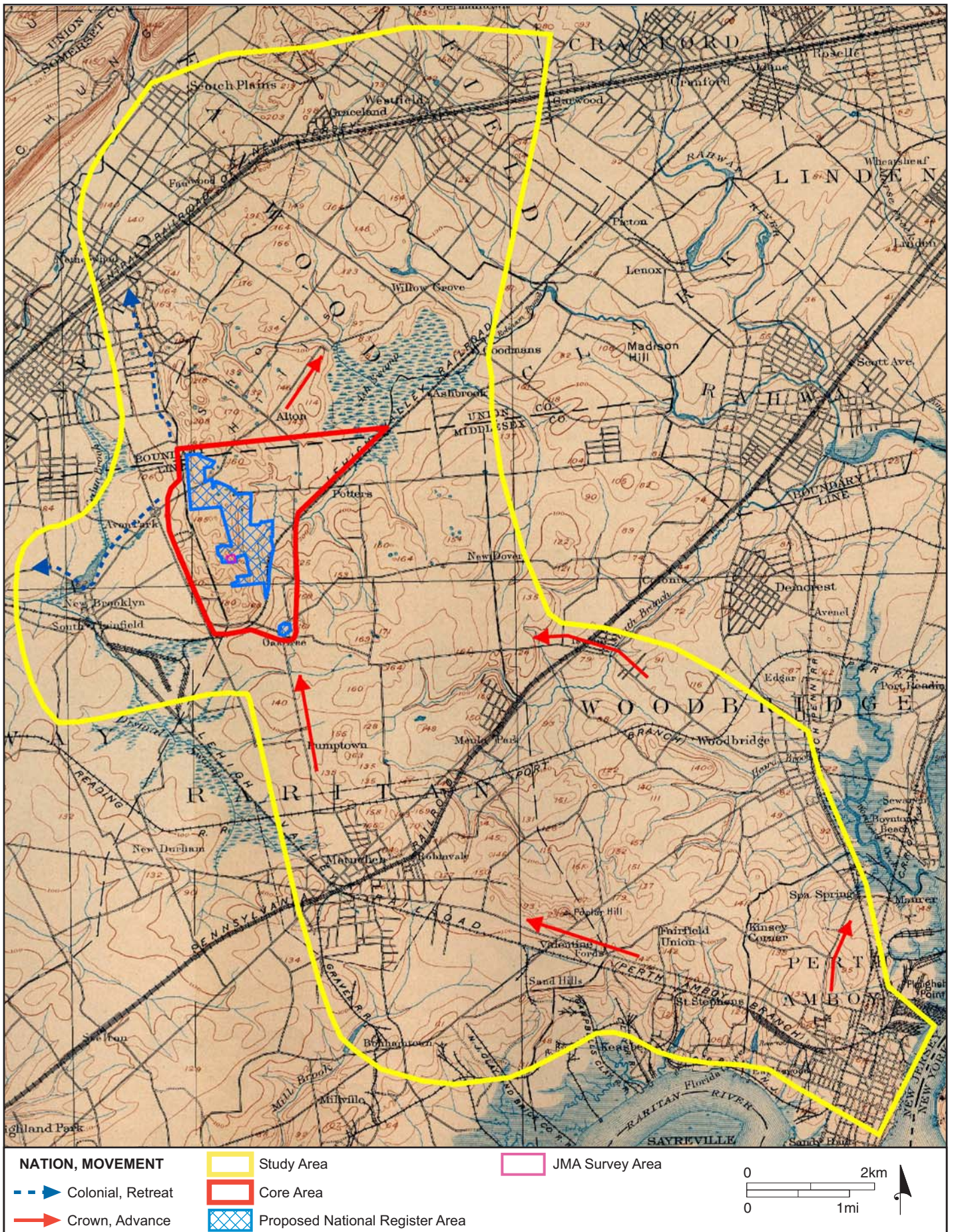


Figure 3. Various Areas on 1905 USGS Plainfield Quadrangle.



riflemen apparently positioned themselves on the low hills near Oak Tree Road where the water towers currently stand. The main Continental line was positioned south of Old Raritan Road. The eastern brigade of Maxwell's New Jersey troops extended across the high ground currently occupied by the Plainfield Country Club; the western brigade of Conway's Pennsylvania regiments extended west of Woodland Avenue.

The Study Area includes the field of engagement along Woodland Avenue between Oak Tree Road and Old Raritan Road. Damage claims were filed for dwellings and farms along Oak Tree Road (Stochel and Walker 2000), Inman Avenue and Old Raritan Road (Detwiller 1977). The Continental forces retreated from the field in two directions: Stirling and Maxwell's eastern wing retired northward while Conway's troops moved westward along Old Raritan Road toward the Continental main body at Quibbletown. Crown forces advanced toward Westfield and Rahway along Old Raritan Road.

The Study Area as presented herein contains the routes of Crown Forces movement from Perth Amboy, the Continental battle line positions, the field of engagement, the Continental retreat route northward—and a small portion of the eastern route—and the Crown post-battle advance route along Old Raritan Road to the eastern side of Ash Swamp. The route followed by the Crown forces through Rahway back to Perth Amboy on 27 June is not included in the Study Area.

### 3.3 DEFINING FEATURES

The Defining Features of the Short Hills battle are summarized in Table 1. These features are located within the Study Area and indeed serve in part to define that area.

The ABPP survey manual provides the following description:

*A defining feature* may be any feature mentioned in battle accounts or shown on historic maps that potentially can be located on the ground. A defining feature may be a place such as a town, a structure such as a mill or church, a road, fence, wood lot or corn field; it may be a natural terrain feature, such as a stream, ridge, hill, or ravine. Any description that implies a location can be a defining feature whether or not that feature survives today. (Lowe 2000:18)

Table 1. List of Defining Features for the Short Hills Battlefield

#	Defining Feature	Presumed Position	Map Source	Principal Historical Reference(s)	KOCSA Category
1	County Rd 653, Amboy Ave. and County Rd 604, Green Street	Cornwallis advance	Von Wangenheim	Sullivan	Approach
2	Woodbridge Ave	Howe advance	André	Ewald	Approach
3	Metuchen Meeting	Howe advance	André	numerous	Terrain
4	Green St & Route 1	Cornwallis advance	none	Minnigerode	Cover
5	Oak Tree Road & Wood Avenue	Cornwallis advance, contact with Morgan?	none	Minnigerode, von Muenchhausen	Terrain, Observation, Cover
6	Oak Tree Road	Cornwallis advance	André?	none specific	Approach
7	Main Street Road 531 Plainfield Road	Howe advance	Von Wangenheim	Ewald	Approach

#	Defining Feature	Presumed Position	Map Source	Principal Historical Reference(s)	KOCSA Category
8	“Water Tower” hill	Continental advance line with riflemen	Von Wangenheim	von Muenchhausen, Knox	Terrain Observation
9	Woodland Ave south of Old Raritan Rd	Crown battle advance	Von Wangenheim	Minnigerode	Approach
10	Tingley Lane north of New Dover Road	Crown battle advance?	none		Approach?
11	Laing (Smith) Farm	field of fire and Crown attack during battle	none	none specific	Terrain Field of Fire, Obstacle
12	Ravine south of PCC	Hessian jäger route?	none	Ewald, Minnigerode	Cover Terrain Obstacle
13	Ridge on PCC	Continental main line Maxwell and Conway	Von Wangenheim	von Muenchhausen	Terrain Observation, Field of Fire
14	Inman Avenue	rear of Cont. lines Crown movement	none	none specific	Retreat Approach
15	Old Raritan Road	Continental movement Crown post-battle	Von Wangenheim	Ewald, Knox	Retreat Approach
16	Woodland Av north of Old Raritan Road	Continental post-battle retreat northward	Von Wangenheim	Demere	Retreat

Ave= Avenue; Cont. = Continental; PCC = Plainfield Country Club; Rd = Road

The defining features will be individually discussed in the following text. As indicated in the above table, most of the features are roadways, in large part due to the fact that the battle was one of nearly continuous movement, at least from the perspective of the Crown forces. The specific features are numbered on overlay maps included in this study.

### **1. County Road 653, Amboy Avenue and County Road 604, Green Street (*Avenue of Approach*)**

Amboy Avenue is the presumed route followed by the Crown northern column under the command of Cornwallis on their march northward from Perth Amboy through Woodbridge. The avenue is described as “Route d’Amboy à Woodbridge” (road from Amboy to Woodbridge) on the 1777 von Wangenheim map. The route also shows as a dotted line on the André plan.

### **2. Woodbridge Avenue (*Avenue of Approach*)**

This road is the presumed route followed by the Crown southern column commanded by Vaughan and Howe on their march westward from Perth Amboy toward Metuchen Meeting House. The road ended at T-shaped road junction at Metuchen Meeting House. Another dotted line on the André map shows this southern route and the northward turn toward the Short Hills. The road does not appear on the von Wangenheim map. A road from Woodbridge westward is shown, the “Route de Brunswick à Elizabethtown” which, as indicated by the GIS overlay (see Figure 2), is located south of the engagement area and Metuchen Meeting, although the latter is not indicated on the map.

### **3. Metuchen Meeting House cemetery (*Key Terrain*)**

Junction of Woodbridge Avenue and Main Street in Metuchen.



#### **4. Green Street and modern Route 1 (*Cover & Concealment*)**

Possible encounter with Continental advance elements (Stillman 2000).

Historical accounts indicate a certain amount of fighting occurred along the marching routes. The account by von Muenchhausen states:

Stirling's picket ran off after a few shots. Both columns continued on their march till about eight o'clock in the morning, during which time there was a steady fire on us from out of the bushes, and from behind trees. Their fire was answered by the Hessian jaegers, the English light infantry and our side patrols....(Kipping and Smith 1974:19)

The locations of these small-scale actions are highly scattered and are not considered to be elements of the Core Area.

#### **5. Oak Tree Road and Wood Avenue (*Key Terrain, Observation, Cover and Concealment*)**

Junction and ridge to west are possible locations of Morgan's riflemen (Stillman 2000).

#### **6. Oak Tree Road (*Avenue of Approach*)**

The route that Cornwallis' column followed westward from Woodbridge is not immediately apparent from historical sources. Various researchers (Stillman 2000; Stochel and Walker 2000) have concluded the Crown forces advanced along Oak Tree Road. This position is supported by damage claims filed by property owners along the road and by the GIS map overlays produced for this study.

Previous cultural resources investigations have occurred near the junction of Oak Tree Road and Plainfield Road in the vicinity where the Crown forces first engaged the Continental advance line. These studies were conducted by BRAVO (Sivilich 2003 and 2004); no items clearly related to the battle were encountered.

#### **7. Main Street (Road 531) and Plainfield Road (*Avenue of Approach*)**

The Crown southern column turned northward on modern Main Street at Metuchen Meeting House and a few neighboring dwellings on route to linking with the northern column. The road is indicated on the von Wangenheim map and is shown as a dotted line on the André map. The modern road is called Plainfield Road north of the center of Metuchen.

#### **8. "Water Tower" Hill (*Key Terrain, Observation, Cover and Concealment, Obstacle*)**

The hills north and west of the junction of Oak Tree Road and Plainfield Road are considered to be the heights on which the Continental advance guard was posted. The elevations of these hills range from 168 to 180 feet (Figure 4). The position was labeled "Avant Grans des Riflemens d'Ottendorf" (advance or front guard including riflemen of Ottendorf) on the von Wangenheim map. A local collector, Mr. Bob Hall, conducted a metal detector survey at the location and recovered a brass shoe buckle of possible eighteenth-century date (See location f on Figure 18 below).

#### **9. Woodland Avenue south of Old Raritan Road (*Avenue of Approach, Avenue of Retreat*)**

The modern Woodland Avenue is considered the route followed by the Crown forces as they continued their northward advance following the brief engagement with the Continental advance guard. This route was the road from which the Hessian Minnigerode Battalion and the light infantry of the British Guards deployed to move to the right around the Continental flank. The



Figure 4. Oak Tree Intersection, view from northwest (March 2010).



Figure 5. Laing (Smith) Farm facing southwest (June 2010).

road extends northward to a junction with Old Raritan Road at the Plainfield Country Club. The road continues north of Old Raritan Road.

The route appears on the von Wangenheim map as the unlabelled road that passes northward through both the Continental advance and main lines. The route is shown as crossing a northeast-southwest road interpreted as Old Raritan Road. The interpretation of this road junction is supported by the GIS overlay (Figure 2).

#### **11. Laing (Smith) Farm (*Key Terrain, Field of Fire, Obstacle*)**

The Laing House stands near modern Woodland Avenue. The eighteenth-century structure was placed on the National Register of Historic Places in the 1980s (McTeague 1987) as the Laing Farm of Plainfield Plantation. While the Laing House is not included within the Potential National Register area for this study, the Laing family owned the lands that later became the Smith Farm. The Smith Farm tract is currently owned by Edison Township (Figure 5).

A small portion of the Smith Farm was investigated during a metal detector survey in late June 2010 (see section 4.0). The location is marked as JMA Survey Area on various overlay maps. It should be noted that the placement of the survey area is misleading on the von Wangenheim map due to a scaling problem with the latter. It is our interpretation that the Laing (Smith) Farm—at an elevation of ca. 120 feet—lay in the lower area between the hills on which the Continental advance and main positions were posted. This position is more accurately reflected on the GIS overlays on the 1905 and modern USGS quadrangle maps.

#### **12. Ravine south of Plainfield Country Club (*Key Terrain, Obstacle, Cover and Concealment*)**

The topography of the Short Hills consists of low and somewhat irregular hills at times separated by depressions or ravines. A major ravine oriented roughly east-west lies on township land along the southern edge of the Plainfield Country Club property. This landscape feature is interpreted as the possible ravine that Ewald contended the Hessian jaegers used as cover in their attempted advance on the rear of the Continental line (Tustin 1979:69). It may also have been the “valley” in front of the Continental main line referred to in the account of the attack of the Hessian Minnigerode Battalion and British Guards on the Continental left flank (Minnigerode Journal 1777). Limited metal detector survey also occurred in the ravine and along the slope south of the Country Club in June 2010 but no eighteenth-century artifacts were recovered.

#### **13. Ridge on Plainfield Country Club (*Key Terrain, Observation and Field of Fire, Obstacle*)**

The ridge along the southern edge of the Plainfield Country Club offers a commanding view across the surrounding landscape (Figure 6). The long open vistas separated by wooded areas replicate the overall dichotomous appearance of the eighteenth-century agricultural landscape while not reproducing the locations of specific fields, fence lines and woodlots. Since the highest elevation (185 feet) in Edison Township occurs on the country club grounds, it seems likely that this portion of the Short Hills was occupied by the Continental main line under the command of Stirling. This interpretation has been offered by others (Detwiller 1977; Stillman 2000) and is supported by the GIS overlay of the von Wangenheim map.

The commanding view of the Watchung Mountains to the northwest is reflected in a photograph from the country club grounds (Figure 7). A photograph of the overall landscape of the Short Hills campaign from the Watchung Mountains (Figure 8) is particularly interesting as it was recorded on the late afternoon of 26 June 2010. Not only was that the 233<sup>rd</sup> anniversary of the battle but the hot weather conditions resulted in a heat haze that would have been very similar to the conditions on 26 June 1777. The view was recorded from Washington Rock, the traditional location from which George Washington had viewed the troop movements that day.





Figure 6. Plainfield Country Club, 4<sup>th</sup> teebox, view facing east (June 2010).



Figure 7. View toward Watchung Mountains, facing west from Plainfield Country Club (June 2010).

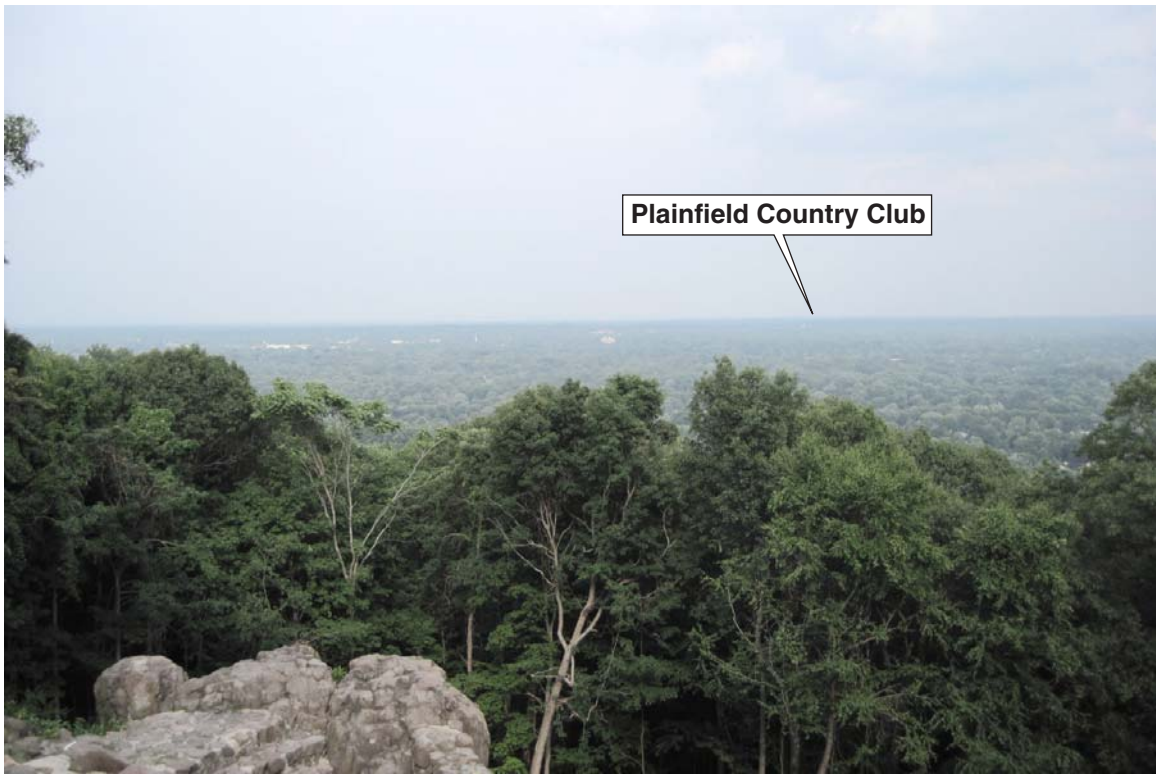


Figure 8. View facing east from Washington Rock with Plainfield Country Club marked (June 2010).



Figure 9. Eighteenth-century buckle recovered by Mr. Bob Hall from “Water Tower” hill (private collection).

**14. Inman Avenue (*Avenue of Approach, Avenue of Retreat*)**

The modern Inman Avenue is parallel to and north of Oak Tree Road and ends at Old Raritan Road just to the east of the junction of the latter with Woodland Avenue. As such, Inman Avenue forms a portion of the northern boundary of the Plainfield Country Club. The road does not appear on the von Wangenheim map; a road extending from north of Woodbridge to Old Raritan Road on the André map (1777) would appear to be Inman Avenue. Since the road lay in the rear of the Continental line, it may have been used as a route of approach or retreat following the Hessian and British attack on the left flank. Numerous damage claims were filed for dwellings and farms along the road (Detwiller 1977). Several musket or rifle balls have been recovered by collectors and/or residents along Inman Avenue (see locations a-d and h on Figure 18). The John Whitehead family filed a damage claim for their barn following the battle; their farm was located to the west of Inman Avenue on the public portion of the Plainfield Country Club, the West 9 course.

**15. Old Raritan Road (*Avenue of Approach, Avenue of Retreat*)**

This road was labeled “Route de Brunswick à Raway et Westfield” on the von Wangenheim map since it extended from Raritan Landing at New Brunswick to Rahway and points beyond. The road was also depicted on the André map. Old Raritan Road is designated Maple Avenue west of its junction with Woodland Avenue.

Conway’s Brigade retreated westward along the road following the battle, while Stirling and Maxwell’s Brigade retreated northward along the extension of Woodland Avenue. The Crown forces continued their advance toward Westfield and Rahway on the afternoon of 26 June. Damage claims were also filed for properties along the road (Detwiller 1977). A local collector reported a traditional story that a cannon ball had been recovered near the junction of Rahway Road and Old Raritan Road (see location e on Figure 18) and a second possible but unlikely cannon ball has been reported as recovered at the intersection of Old Raritan Road and Inman Avenue, north of the Plainfield Country Club (see location g on Figure 18) (see discussion on page 26).

**16. Woodland Avenue north of Old Raritan Road (*Avenue of Retreat*)**

Retreat of Stirling with Maxwell’s Brigade northward at end of battle.

There are several terrain features that figured prominently on the day of battle that can not now be located with certainty, but that must be mentioned in the KOCO A discussion. Judging by the statements of the participants these terrain features were clearly important to the development and progress of the battle but are imprecisely described and located in the first person accounts. For example, Major Demere, aide to General Stirling, notes that his brigade formed a line of battle near a “wheatfield” skirted by thick woods (Demere 1968:345). Unfortunately we can only replace such a terrain feature in a relative location rather than a precise location. The journal entry for the Minnigerode Battalion notes the presence of a thicket from which the battalion received fire, and several participants note the brushy character of the area on the day of the battle. It is clear that a particular thicket of woods (undefined in size, density, type of woods, etc.) played a prominent role during this phase of the battle, but where such a thicket was actually sited in presently unknowable. Jaeger captain Johann Ewald mentioned that the Stirling’s main battle line was posted on “steep bush-covered heights” covered on the right by deep ravines and on the left by thick woods (Ewald 1979:69). Such a position may be definable, but given the undulating nature of the Short Hills area its precise location may be problematic. Several Crown Forces participants commented that the American line was posted at a redoubt or behind entrenchments, but no first-person American accounts record the presence or construction of field works (cf. Journal of the von Alt-Lossberg Regiment; letter of General Grant).

Given the passage of time and the continuous agricultural and now residential landuse of the battlefield it will be nearly impossible to accurately relocate these key terrain features, unless further archeological or documentary sources can provide more precise information.

### 3.4 CORE AREA

The Core Area represents the actual field of battle and as such is generally smaller than the Study Area. As defined by the ABPP survey manual:

The *Core Area* of a battlefield is the area of direct combat, often described as “hallowed ground.” It includes those places where the opposing forces engaged and incurred casualties. The Core Area should always fall fully within the Study Area. (Lowe 2000:24)

The Core Area as defined for the Short Hills Battlefield essentially extends from the junction of Oak Tree Road and Plainfield Road to the junction of Old Raritan Road and Woodland Avenue. The northern portion extends north of Old Raritan Road to enclose the public course of the Plainfield Country Club and then extends eastward to the railroad right-of-way along the eastern edge of the Edison Township lands.

The Core Area thus encloses the initial area of confrontation between Cornwallis’ northern column and the Continental advance guard, the principal advance route along Woodland Avenue to Old Raritan Road, the field of fire between the hills on which the Continental advance and main lines were posted, the presumed location on the ridge on the Plainfield Country Club and the area where the Hessian grenadiers and British Guards attacked the Continental left flank.

The area north of Old Raritan Road encompasses a portion of the routes of Continental retreat and Crown advance following the engagement. Some limited rear guard fighting occurred in this area. Information from documentary sources and from a local collector may be used to infer some battle activity. Detwiller (1977) documented civilian damage claims filed after June 1777 along modern Inman Avenue and Old Raritan Road. The latter damages clearly reflect the advance of the Crown forces toward Westfield following the battle. The damages along modern Inman Avenue may also have resulted from post-battle movement of Crown forces.

Mr. Bob Hall, a local collector, has undertaken personal investigations using a metal detector. He has located several spots along Inman Avenue that have yielded military or at least eighteenth-century artifacts (see lettered locations on Figure 16):

- a: British copper coin found on public course of Plainfield Country Club
- b: musket ball found on grounds of nursing home
- c: two musket balls found near Hackett Drive and Inman Avenue
- d: musket ball found
- e: cannon ball traditionally found (and later lost) near junction of Rahway Road and Old Raritan Road (story of former land owner at 1141 Old Raritan Road)
- f: buckle found on hill with water towers (Figure 9)

Following a public lecture presenting the preliminary results of the Short Hills ABPP study and front page newspaper coverage in the Edison-Metuchen *Sentinel* (1 December 2010), three additional locations where artifacts have been found by were brought to the project team’s attention (see letter locations on Figure 16):

- g: a purported cannon ball found in a yard across the road from the Plainfield Country Club at the intersection of Inman Avenue and Old Raritan Road (Figure 10). This second ball provides a note of caution: While the ball is of the correct size, it is not made of iron, the material true cannonballs were made of during the Revolutionary period. While the ball was recovered from a “battlefield” per se, it is likely an ornamental metal alloy, or possibly a ball used in a ball mill for grinding (Daniel Sivilich, personal communication 21 December 2010).
- h: four to six musket balls recovered in 1991 by Joe Illuzzi by metal detection along Inman Avenue at the Wardlaw-Hartridge School. The balls are both dropped and fired and include both .69 and .75 caliber balls (Figure 11). They were donated to the Metuchen-Edison Historical Society by Mr. Illuzzi.
- i: report of artifacts associated with Hessian soldiers recovered on the grounds between the Marriot Brighton Gardens assisted living facility and Jewish Community Center of Middlesex County (1775 to 1801 Oak Tree Road). These artifacts were donated to the New Jersey Historical Association by the former landowner, Mr. Thomas Limoli.

These data do suggest battle-related activity along Inman Avenue that may on the surface be interpreted to indicate the line of advance of Cornwallis’ northern column. While such an advance more likely occurred along Oak Tree Road to the south, these artifacts may also suggest the movement of the Hessian grenadiers and British Guards light infantry around the Continental left flank.





Figure 10. Purported cannon ball recovered from yard at intersection of Inman Avenue and Old Raritan Road (photograph by Walter Stochel). While found in a “battlefield context” this artifact is not a cannon ball.



Figure 11. Musket balls recovered along Old Raritan Road at the Wardlaw-Hartridge School. Part of the Metuchen-Edison Historical Society collection, the information provided by the collector notes that “these musket balls, .69 and .75 caliber, were fired from American and British” weapons. The lead balls were “found with a metal detector in the summer of 1991 by Joe Illuzzi of Edison at the [Wardlaw-Hartridge] School grounds on Inman Avenue, Edison, next to the Plainfield Country Club.” (photograph by Walter Stochel).

## 4.0 ARCHEOLOGICAL METAL DETECTOR SURVEY

### 4.1 INTRODUCTION

A metal detector survey was undertaken on property owned by Edison Township near Metuchen in Middlesex County on 26 and 27 June 2010. The survey was conducted and directed by JMA and was greatly assisted by eight volunteers from a metal detecting club in northern New Jersey. Efforts focused on a tract of approximately four open acres on the Smith Farm property, a former mid-twentieth century residence that is currently owned by Edison Township as an undeveloped park (Figure 12). Additional survey in wooded township lands north of the Smith Farm and south of Plainfield Country Club was conducted on the morning of 27 June.

The portion of the Smith Farm property under examination lay at an elevation of roughly 120 feet ASL. The major topographical feature on the property was a ridge oriented northwest-southeast. Historical reconstructions suggest the location fell between the advance line of Continentals to the south and the main line commanded by Lord Stirling to the north. Survey efforts yielded 28 artifacts (Figure 13), in addition to various pieces of modern debris, wire nails and a buckle with a patent date of 1879 that were replaced in the ground or discarded.

### 4.2 RESULTS

The recovered artifacts are summarized in Table 2. Two military items related to the battle were recovered: a lead ball of roughly .60 caliber (.544 inch diameter)—a size suggestive of a rifle bore—and the brass tip of a leather sword scabbard with the tip of the steel sword still enclosed in the scabbard (Figures 14 and 15). The lead ball was found in the northeast corner of the field, below or in advance of the military crest of the ridge; the scabbard tip was recovered in the southeast corner of the field, along the ridge but slightly behind the military crest.

Table 2. Short Hills Smith Property Field Survey June 2010

no.	artifact description	Rev War	18c other	18/19c	19c or 20c	unknown	date
1	iron pin					1	6-26
2	horseshoe fragment				1		6-26
3	brass buckle			1			6-26
4	brass button flat		1				6-26
5	iron horseshoe				1		6-26
6	iron hook					1	6-26
7	harness ring					1	6-26
8	brass strip bent				1		6-26
9	copper George coin 1717		1				6-26
10	lead rifle ball diameter .544 inch	1					6-26
11	brass ring					1	6-26
12	brass buckle frame			1			6-26
13	brass band				1		6-26
14	brass buckle			1			6-26
15	not used	--	--		--	--	--
16	pewter/brass spoon bowl		1				6-27
17	brass piece					1	6-27
18	brass buckle			1			6-27

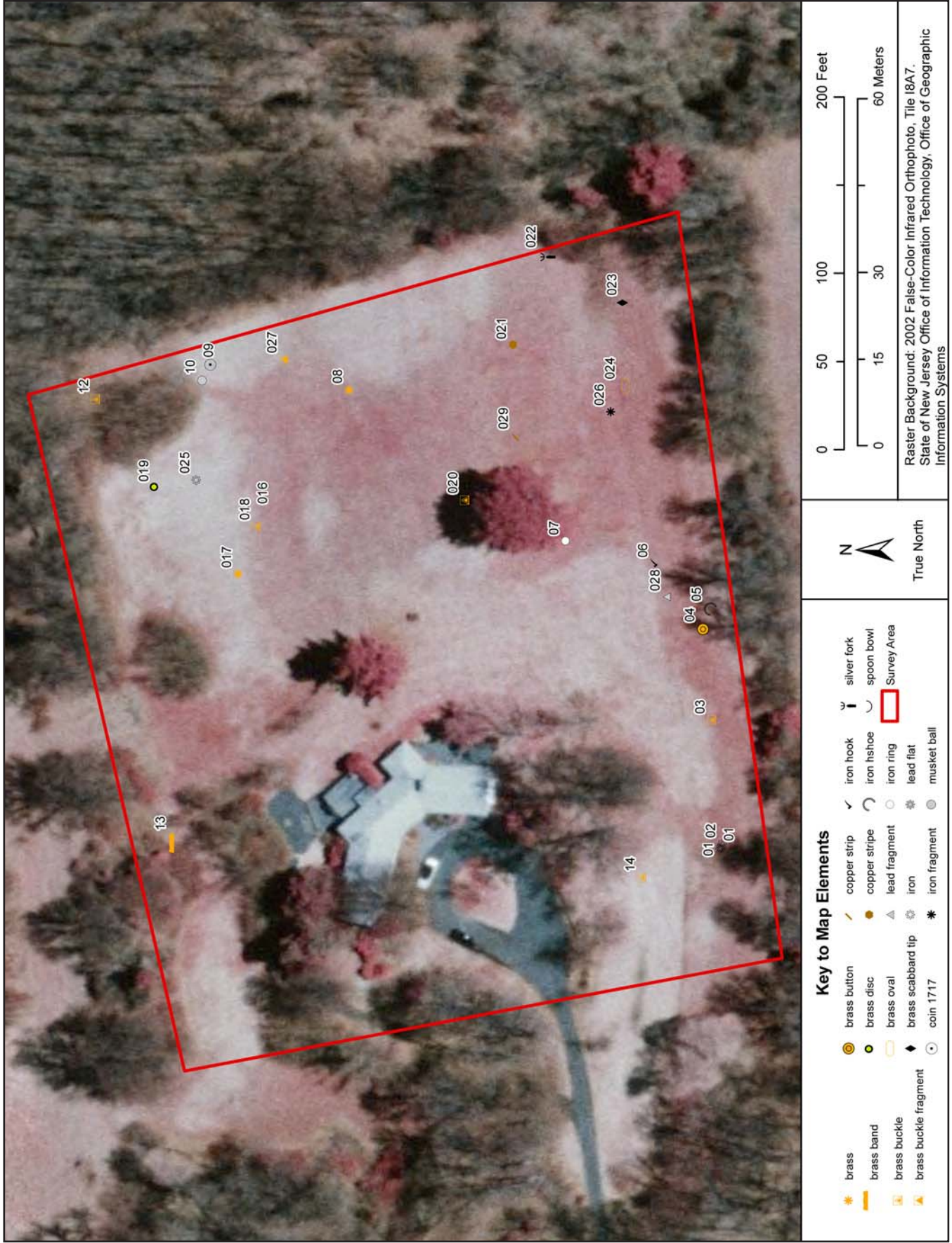


Figure 12. Metal Detecting Find Locations.





Figure 13. Metal Detecting: Brass Buckle exposed on Smith Farm.



Figure 14. Military and Eighteenth-Century Artifacts from Smith Farm: (left to right top) 1717 George halfpenny, brass flat button, .50 caliber rifle ball (left to right bottom) tea spoon bowl, possible Hessian button, brass shoe buckle tines (far right) brass sword scabbard tip, folded seam on reverse.



Figure 15. Brass Sword Scabbard Tip with Holes for securing to Leather Scabbard at top (left).

no.	artifact description	Rev War	18c other	18/19c	19c or 20c	unknown	date
19	brass domed button Hessian? (Troiani 2001:76)	1					6-27
20	brass shoe buckle tines		1				6-27
21	brass or copper strip					1	6-27
22	silver fork with monogram ALM (Durgin 1880-1930)				1		6-27
23	brass scabbard tip with iron sword fragment	1					6-27
24	brass oval disc					1	6-27
25	lead flat button? 3 holes		1				6-27
26	iron fragment					1	6-27
27	brass buckle fragment			1			6-27
28	lead/pewter scrap fragment					1	6-27
29	brass or copper strip				1		6-27
sum		3	5	5	6	9	

Additional eighteenth-century objects were recovered in the general vicinity of the lead ball:

- British (George) copper halfpenny dated 1717
- Pewter or brass spoon bowl
- Brass domed button with edge rim (Figure 16), a possible Hessian coat button of “Tombac,” an alloy of copper, tin, nickel and zinc (Powell 1996; Troiani 2001:76)
- Flat lead piece with three holes, possible button
- Flat brass disc button
- Brass shoe buckle tines

### 4.3 DISCUSSION

The brass scabbard tip is 4.8 inches in length and 1.32 inches wide (Figure 15). The tip is unadorned with three holes for securing the tip to the leather scabbard. Based on its dimensions it is likely to be the tip for a military hanger or hunting/short sword, not a saber, cutlass, or small sword (Neumann 1973:53-61). The flat shape of the blade further indicates that the weapon was not a bayonet, which by the time of the American Revolution generally had a triangular cross-section (Goldstein 2000). The lack of adornment to the scabbard tip and its somewhat rough technique of construction may indicate that the artifact is a portion of an American military hanger.

The lead shot is likely a rifle ball. The historical documentation of the battle reveals that rifle-armed soldiers were part of the orders of battle on 26 June in both the American and Crown forces. Elements of the Hessian Field Jaeger Corps were present with both Crown Forces columns and were involved in the skirmishing that occurred throughout the day. Jaegers were armed with German manufactured short-barreled rifles (28 or 29 inches) with a large bore measuring .65 caliber (Neumann 1967:134; Troani et al. 1998:48). In his thorough study of flintlock rifles used by the Crown Forces, DeWitt Bailey notes that, with a .65-caliber bore, the Hessian Field Jaeger Corps’ rifles would accept the standard British carbine-bore ball of “.615”,



Figure 16. Possible Hessian Button reverse face.



which British rifles also accepted, thus simplifying ammunition supply for the German troops (Bailey 2002:67-68).

In addition to the Hessian jaegers, Bailey's research indicates that there is "inferential documentation" that rifles were carried by the dismounted dragoons, some of members of the British Light Infantry companies, and also some of the soldiers in the Guards Light Infantry Companies (Bailey 2002:33). The presence of the Guards Light Company, under Captain John Finch, in the battle is well-documented. Finch came to North America with the Brigade of Guards as brigade adjutant in May 1776 and was posted to the command of the Guards Light Infantry in December 1776. He was slated to return to England on leave in June 1777 but stayed on assignment to the command of the light company (Linnea Bass personal communication 17 November 2010). According to a Light Infantry officer at the time of the battle of Short Hills the Guards light company had recently been assigned to one of the light infantry battalions (Hunter 1988:22), and the unfortunate fate of Captain Finch is mentioned in several of the contemporary accounts from both sides (see Appendix III).

The small caliber, .544" diameter, of the recovered lead ball diameter (in comparison to that of a jaeger rifle of .615") suggests that the ball was discharged from an American rifle. American riflemen in Morgan's Rifle Corps opened the battle early in the morning on the outskirts of Woodbridge. In contrast to the standardization seen with the jaeger rifle, the bore for American rifles ranged from .40 to .60 caliber and length of the barrel averaged 40 inches (Neuman 1967:138). While this formation was dispersed by the advancing column under Cornwallis, whether its men continued to harass, skirmish, or snipe at the Crown Forces, or whether Morgan's riflemen joined with Stirling's Division later in the morning is currently not known. A second, rifle-armed American formation that was engaged on Short Hills was the independent command under Major Ottendorf. Several contemporary accounts of members of this volunteer corps note that the soldiers were armed with rifles (Filipski and Collward n.d.). Ottendorf's command is identified by name on the von Wagenheim map (Figure 2), and the accounts indicate that the corps was in the thick of the fighting on 26 June.

The brass domed button is tentatively interpreted as a "Hessian" button, or more accurately, a button from one of the several German states that supplied conscripted soldiers to the Crown. Buttons associated with these military formations were invariably plain and lack unit designations (Powell 1996:122; Troani 2001:76). The button recovered during the archeological survey at the Smith property measures 1.2" diameter and is cast of "Tombac" (an alloy consisting of various ratios of tin, nickel, copper and zinc) (Powell 1996:121). It appears to be of one-piece construction with a well-defined rim, a sharply defined, bulbous boss at the center (Figure 16).

While not found during the present survey of the Smith Property, several metal-detected artifacts have been recovered by a local collector in locations along Inman Avenue and at the water storage towers south of the Smith Property. Among these are large caliber lead balls (likely .60" to .70" balls associated with "Brown Bess muskets), and an eighteenth-century shoe buckle (Bob Hall, personal communication, June 2010). While few in number, these artifacts provide additional archeological information that supports the boundaries for the Short Hills Study and Core areas. Additional details regarding the collection locations of these artifacts are presented in Section 3.4 of this report.

The Laing House, an eighteenth-century farmstead, is located to the west of the survey area along modern Woodland Avenue, so some of the objects may have been associated with that occupation. However, the lead ball and particularly the scabbard tip do reflect deposition during



the battle and it is likely that the other eighteenth-century items may have been dropped during the engagement. Several brass shoe buckle frames were also recovered on the ridge; these objects may have been discarded or lost by soldiers. In sum, the evidence recovered indicates that the Smith Farm is located on a portion of the battlefield at Short Hills.

Since military artifacts have also been recovered in the past north of the Smith farm and east of the Plainfield Country Club on Inman Avenue, it was decided to examine township land north of the Smith Farm and south of the country club. It was hoped that additional evidence of battle activity would be located on and in front of (east and south of) a ridge line that seemed a promising location for the main Continental line. This survey of approximately two to three acres was not as intensive as that on the Smith Farm and did not reveal any eighteenth-century artifacts.

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## 5.0 RESEARCH EVALUATION

### 5.1 CORE AREA ASSESSMENT

Following the field research, the assessment of the Core Area was not altered (Figure 17). Given the limited geographic extent of the metal detecting survey, this was not surprising. The Core Area was expanded to the east and north following a reassessment of historical sources and the information on metal detecting discoveries by Mr. Bob hall, a local collector (Figure 18).

### 5.2 POTENTIAL NATIONAL REGISTER AREA

The ABPP manual provides the following description:

The Potential National Register (PotNR) boundary is perhaps the most important demarcation the surveyor will make on the USGS quads. It depicts those portions of the historic battlefield landscape that continue to retain integrity as of the date of ground survey....The PotNR should include all parts of the Study and Core Areas that still convey a sense of the historic scene. Any parts of the Study and Core Areas that have been compromised by modern development, erosion, or other destructive forces and that can no longer provide a feeling of the historic setting should be excluded from the PotNR boundary. The surveyor must be able to justify why the PotNR was drawn to include some areas and exclude others. (Lowe 2000:24)

The northwestern corner of Edison Township has experienced considerable urban and suburban development during the past century. Several new homes have been constructed along the eastern side of Woodland Avenue south of the Plainfield Country Club; the surface grading and landscaping associated with the construction of these houses have undoubtedly eradicated or at least disturbed evidence of the Short Hills battle. The hills where the Continental advance guard is believed to have been posted are currently occupied by water towers constructed by a water supply company. While artifacts may still be found at this location and along some of the approach and retreat routes, site location integrity has in most cases been greatly disrupted.

However, much of the site of the battlefield of Short Hills is fortunately relatively undeveloped in contrast to the surrounding landscape in Edison Township. As a consequence, the Potential National Register Area for the Short Hills Battlefield is located on three land parcels.

The Plainfield Country Club (1591 Woodland Avenue) is located north and south of Old Raritan Road and Inman Avenue and is the projected location of the eastern half of the main line of resistance of the Continental forces under Lord Stirling. The club was founded as the Hillside Tennis Club in 1890 and assumed its present name in 1904. The club house was standing by 1910 but is considered a non-contributing resource. Donald Ross designed the current golf course in 1916.

Byron Miller, the club Historian, emphasized that the highest spot in Edison Township is located within the grounds of the country club. This hilltop shows clearly on the 1905 Plainfield quadrangle at an elevation of 185 feet (see Figure 2) and on the detail of the modern USGS



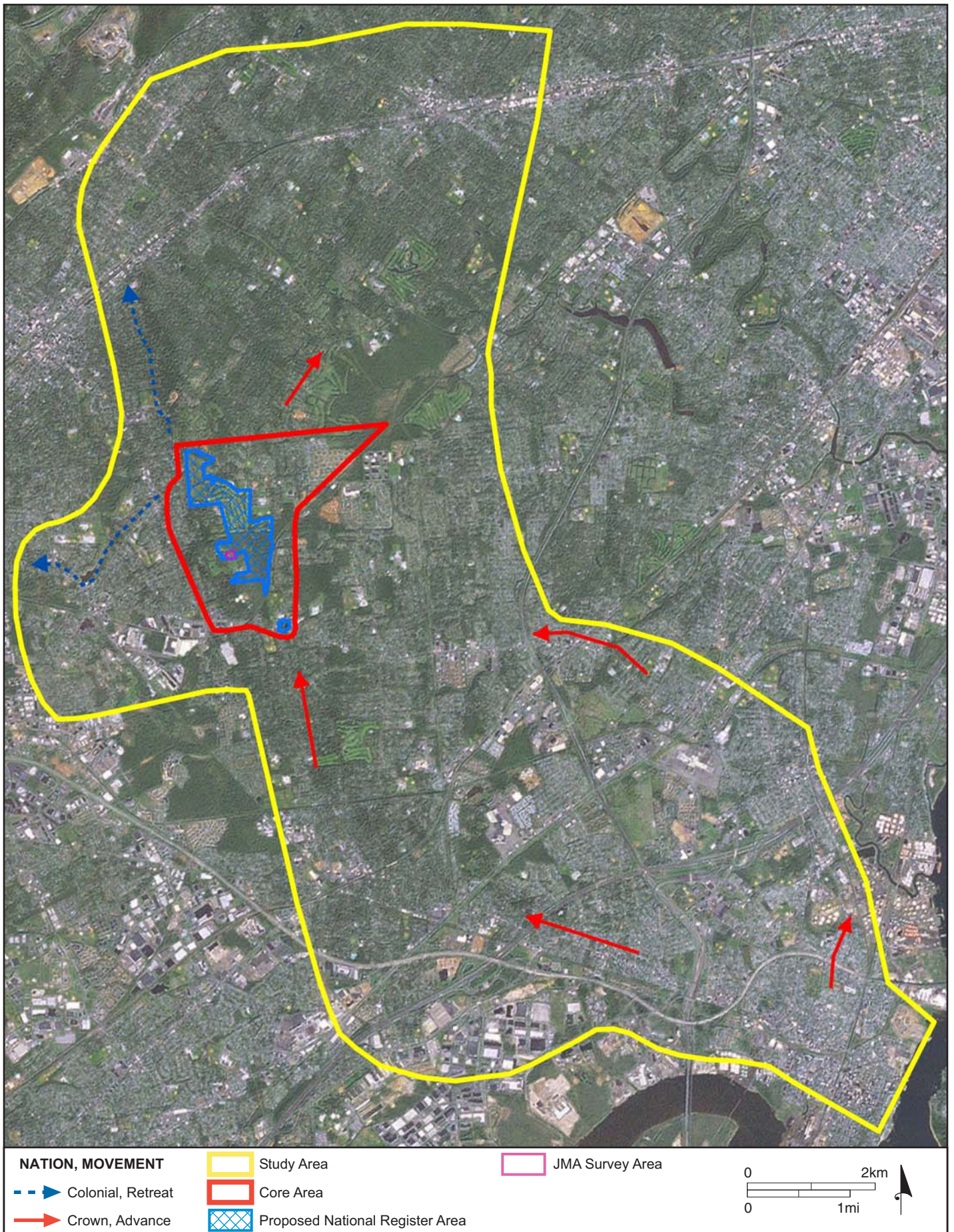


Figure 17. Various Areas on Modern Aerial Photograph.



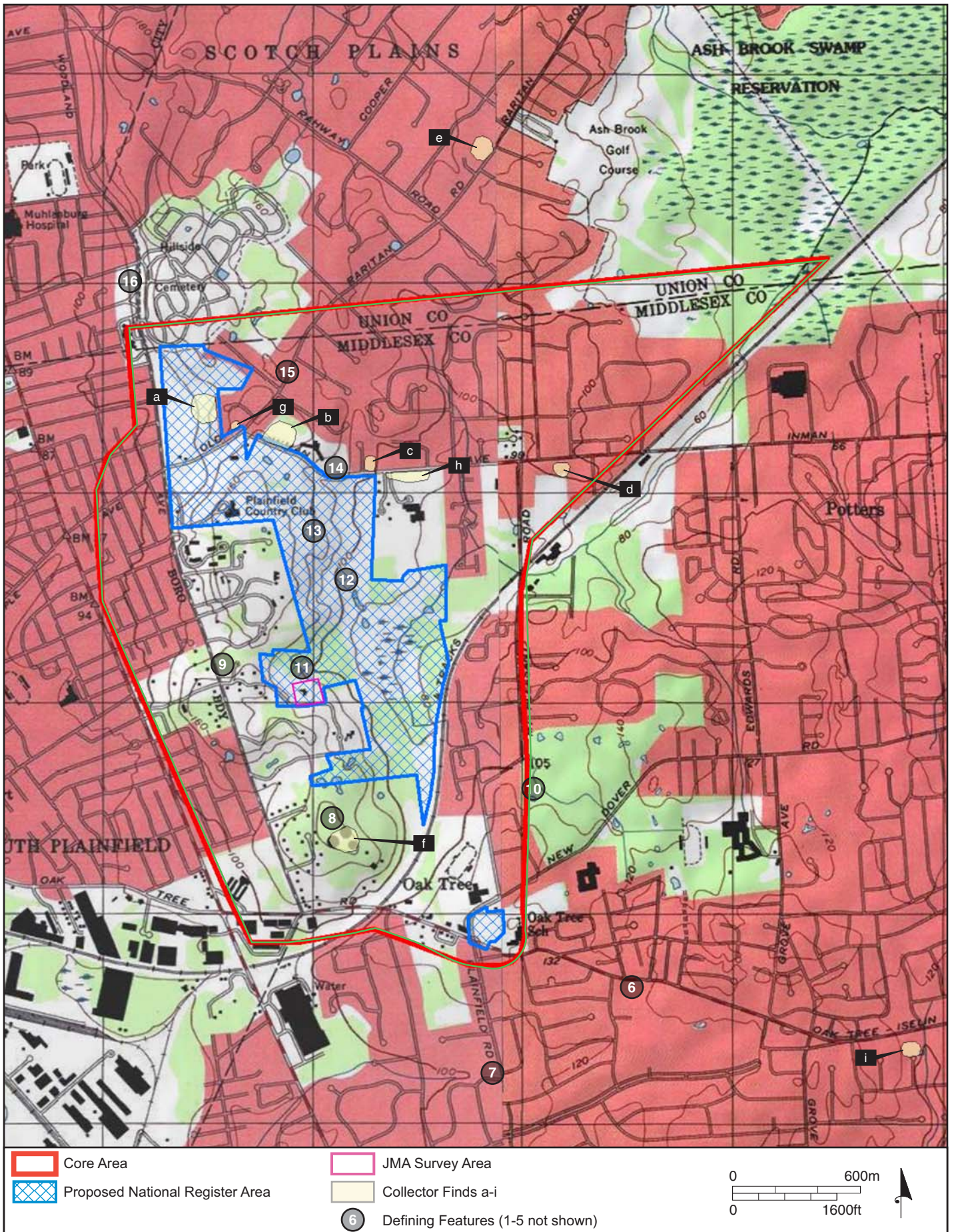


Figure 18. Detail of Core Area and Potential National Register Area on Modern USGS Quadrangle.



quadrangle (Figure 18). The current landscape of the golf course combines a mixture of long open fairways with intervening stands of trees. The open fairways provide vistas that mirror the overall open appearance of the agricultural landscape in the 1770s.

Mr. Miller indicated that Ross generally strove to modify the existing landscape to a minimal extent and such was the case at Plainfield. This limited alteration has most likely preserved substantial archeological evidence related to the battle. Since the country club was created in the twentieth century, cultivation ceased at that time and the land has been unavailable to collectors who would either walk fields or use metal detectors. As a consequence, the preservation of the battlefield archeological record has been enhanced.

The lands to the south of the Plainfield Country Club include the second nominated parcel, one owned by Edison Township. The township lands consist of various tracts, including the Smith Farm tract that includes a modern house (a non-contributing resource) and associated lawn or field (elevation ca. 120 feet) at 1729 Woodland Avenue. For the most part, however, the township lands are covered by trees that appear to have grown up since farming ceased in the later nineteenth or early twentieth century. Hiking, horseback riding and other forms of light recreation currently occur on these lands.

The eastern edge of the township lands slopes downward toward a wetland associated with a tributary of Robinson Branch, which in turn flows into the Rahway River. The eastern boundary is also formed by a railroad right-of-way that was created between 1884 and 1905. The rail line appeared on the 1905 USGS Plainfield Quadrangle (see Figure 2) as the Lehigh Valley Railroad; the rail line continues to be a major route for containers leaving the docks at Newark. The township lands rise onto the “Short Hills” to the west where they adjoin the properties of privately owned residences that are not included in the proposed nomination.

The southern border of the Edison Township land is occupied by the water company that occupies one of the southern “Short Hills” at an elevation between 168 and 180 feet. Several water towers stand on the hill, which is not included in the boundaries of this nomination. As previously mentioned, riflemen serving as pickets or skirmishers may have occupied this hill in advance of the main Continental line of resistance south of Old Raritan Road.

The Edison Township tract along Oak Tree Road near the junction of Plainfield Road represents the third parcel recommended for nomination to the National Register, a parcel that is separate from the other two. The location at an elevation of 150 to 160 feet is open except for some recent landscaping, a visitor path and signs placed to interpret aspects of the Short Hills battle and other aspects of local history.

The extent to which the township lands have been and may continue to be subject to private metal detector investigations remains unclear. However, the investigations in the yard on the Smith Farm tract reveal that important archeological artifact distributions remain to be discovered on the township lands. These artifacts hold great potential to answer specific questions related to troop positions and movements during the Battle of the Short Hills. Indeed, they are the only remaining evidence available to address some of these questions.

## 6.0 SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This report has provided a summary of research bearing on the questions of the location and integrity of the Short Hills Battlefield. The Short Hills Battlefield is recommended as nationally significant as the location of a 1777 military confrontation in New Jersey during the American Revolutionary War. The Battle of the Short Hills occurred on 26 June 1777, as British and Hessian (Crown) forces advanced westward from Perth Amboy in an attempt to engage and destroy separate elements of the Continental Army. The opposing forces encountered each other a few miles north of Metuchen Meeting House during the morning of 26 June.

Numerous contemporary accounts by participants indicated that the American forces were positioned on a series of hills adjacent to a roadway or roadways along which the Crown forces were moving. The engagement lasted for a few hours, during which the British and Hessian troops of Sir William Howe and Lord Cornwallis drove New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Virginia forces under the command of Lord Stirling from the field, capturing at least three cannon and some Continental soldiers. Casualty figures vary but may have exceeded 100 on each side. Following the engagement, the Crown forces advanced northward toward Westfield and Rahway. While they gained a tactical victory, the Crown forces did not destroy either the brigades under the command of Lord Stirling or the remainder of the Continental Army under the command of George Washington that was located to the west near Quibbletown.

Three geographic areas are defined in this study:

- Study Area extending from Perth Amboy to north of Metuchen and including the battlefield; numerous Defining Features associated with this area were identified.
- Core Area that represents the actual field of engagement between Oak Tree Road and Old Raritan Road.
- Potential National Register Area that contains those portions of the battlefield that possess sufficient integrity and landscape preservation to warrant nomination to the National Register. These lands are owned by the Plainfield Country Club and Edison Township.

The acreage encompassed in this nomination includes landscape elements that are surprisingly intact given the generally urbanized nature of Edison Township and indeed northeastern New Jersey. In addition, the acreage contains archeological deposits directly related to the battle as demonstrated during a limited metal detector survey of a small portion of the battlefield.



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Appendix I:  
Artifact Inventory

ARTIFACT INVENTORY: SHORT HILLS BATTLEFIELD (28MI261)  
 SHORT HILLS NATIONAL REGISTER PROJECT  
 SMITH PROPERTY, EDISON TOWNSHIP, MIDDLESEX COUNTY, NEW JERSEY  
 JMA                      JUNE 26-27, 2010

LOT	FIND SPOT	DEPTH	CT	ARTIFACT DESCRIPTION	COMMENTS	DATE RANGE
1	1			1 Unidentified Hardware, Metal: Iron	Cylindrical and Hollow W/Thinner Rod	
2	2			1 Miscellaneous, Metal: Unidentified	Rectangular, Iron	
3	3			1 Fastener, Metal: Brass Buckle	Small, Length 1.08" and Width 1.32"	
4	4	6" bs		1 Button, Metal: Brass	Probable Backing to 2-Piece, Convex, Cast Loop Shank, Diameter 1.2"	
5	5	9" bs		1 Stable, Metal: Machine-Made Horseshoe	Heavy Horse, Toe Clip & Heel Caulks	1835-2000
6	6	4" bs		1 Unidentified Hardware, Metal: Iron	Thick, Flat, L-Shaped	
7	7	4" bs		1 Miscellaneous, Metal: Small Ring	Iron	
8	8			1 Miscellaneous, Metal: Other	Flat Copper	
9	9	4" bs		1 Foreign Coin: British	Copper, "GEORGIVS REX/1717", Obverse Profile Worn Smooth, Diameter .96", Weight 8.6 grams, Half Penny, Dump Issue	1717
10	10	4" bs		1 Projectile: Lead Ball	Impacted, Diameter 0.544" Consistent with .50 Caliber Rifle Ball	Revolutionary War
11	11	7" bs		1 Miscellaneous, Metal: Small Ring	Brass, Flat W/Tapered Ends & Alternating Notches On End	
12	12			1 Fastener, Metal: Brass Buckle	Small, Length 1.2" and Width .96"	
13	13	6" bs		1 Miscellaneous, Metal: Other	Thick Brass Ring, Threaded Screw Hole, Angled Flat Piece Opposite of Screw Hole	
14	14	7" bs		1 Fastener, Metal: Brass Belt or Other Buckle	Length 1.68" and Width 1.8"	
15	16			1 Utensil, Metal: Teaspoon Bowl	Pewter W/ Cupric Stain, Rat Tail on Bottom	18th Century
16	17			1 Miscellaneous, Metal: Unidentified	Copper, Triangular in Shape, Flat	
17	18			1 Fastener, Metal: Brass Buckle	Small, Length 1.2" and Width 1.32"	
18	19			1 Button, Metal: Brass Loop Shank, 1-Piece Cast	Large, Possible Coat Button, Slightly Domed W/ Edge Rim, Possibly Hessian (see Troiani 2001:76) Diameter 1.2" and Weight 8.2 grams	18th-Early 19th Century
19	20			1 Shoe Part, Metal: Brass Buckle Fragment	W/ Multiple Tines, Length 1.8" and Width .96"	18th Century
20	21			1 Hardware, Metal: Flashing	Copper, Rectangular, Flat, Three Square Holes Punched Through	
21	22			1 Utensil, Metal: Table Fork	Sterling Silver, "ALM//D//STERLING PATD N", Wm. B. Durgin Co., 1880-1930	1880-1930
22	23			1 Military Object, Metal: Scabbard	Brass Tip Surrounding Iron Sword Fragment, Length 4.8" and Width 1.32"	Revolutionary War
23	24			1 Hardware, Metal: Decorative Feature	Brass Decorative Plate	
24	25	6" bs		1 Button: Lead	Three Hole, Possible Dress Weight or Whizzer, Diameter 1.44", Irregular	Probably 18th Century



ARTIFACT INVENTORY: SHORT HILLS BATTLEFIELD (28MI261)  
 SHORT HILLS NATIONAL REGISTER PROJECT  
 SMITH PROPERTY, EDISON TOWNSHIP, MIDDLESEX COUNTY, NEW JERSEY  
 JMA            JUNE 26-27, 2010

LOT	FIND SPOT	DEPTH	CT	ARTIFACT DESCRIPTION	COMMENTS	DATE RANGE
25	26		1	Unidentified Hardware, Metal: Iron	Flat, Curved	
26	27		1	Miscellaneous, Metal: Unidentified	Brass, Possible Buckle Fragment	
27	28		1	Unidentified Metal Object: Lead		
28	29		2	Hardware, Metal: Flashing	Copper, Rectangular, Flat, Two Round Holes Punched Through	
			Total	29		

Appendix II:  
Primary Accounts for the  
Battle of the Short Hills

## **APPENDIX II: PRIMARY ACCOUNTS OF THE BATTLE OF SHORT HILLS**

### **CONTINENTAL FORCES**

- 1) Israel Shreve to Bodo Otto, 29 June 1777
- 2) Israel Shreve to John Stilley, 29 June 1777
- 3) Journal of Colonel Israel Shreve
- 4) George Washington to Continental Congress, 28 June 1777
- 5) George Washington to John Washington, 29 June 1777
- 6) George Washington to Continental Congress, 29 June 1777
- 7) George Washington to John Langdon, 29 June 1777
- 8) John Chilton to his brother, 29 June 1777
- 9) Lewis Willis to Charles Yates, 10 July 1777
- 10) Journal of Major Raymond Demere, aide to Major General Lord Stirling
- 11) Journal of unidentified officer in 4<sup>th</sup> New Jersey Regiment (transcript by John Rees)
- 12) Letter from Camp at Middlebrook, 28 June 1777 (*Pennsylvania Journal*, 2 July 1777)
- 13) Henry Knox to Lucy Knox, 29 June 1777
- 14) Pension Application of Daniel Applegate
- 15) Letter from Alexander Hamilton to Robert R. Livingston
- 16) Memoir of Col. Benjamin Tallmadge, Prepared by Himself, at the request of his Children  
New York 1858
- 17) Letters of Colonel Armand (Marquis de la Rouerie) 1777-1791
- 18) The Military Journal of George Ewing
- 19) Narrative of William Grant late a Serjeant in the Rebel Army dated 24th Novr 1777
- 20) Narrative of Johann Carl Buettner in the American Revolution
- 21) Pension and Bounty Land Applications Files, No. S2447, Moses N. Combs, New Jersey
- 22) Pension and Bounty Land Applications Files, No. S2109, McDonald Campbell, New  
Jersey/Pennsylvania
- 23) Pension and Bounty Land Applications Files, No. S34369, Bennett Garrison, New Jersey
- 24) Pension and Bounty Land Applications Files, No. S973, William Clark, New Jersey
- 25) Capt. John Paul Schott 1779
- 26) Lt. Col. Henry Becker, 4 August 1777

### **CROWN FORCES**

- 1) Journal of the Hessian Field Jaeger Corps
- 2) Journal of Captain Johann Ewald
- 3) Journal of von Muenchhausen
- 4) Journal of Thomas Sullivan
- 5) Journal of John Pebbles
- 6) Charles Stuart to his father, 10 July 1777
- 7) Diary of Lieutenant Carl Phillip von Feilitzch
- 8) Journal of Major John André
- 9) Archibald Robertson's *Diaries and Sketches in America*
- 10) Journal of the Honourable von Donop Regiment
- 11) Short Description of the Journey of the Honourable Hessian Troops under the command of  
General von Heister
- 12) Journal of the Honourable Hessian Grenadier Battalion von Minnigerode

- 13) Journal of the Grenadier Battalion von Block
- 14) Journal of the Honourable Fusilier Regiment von Alt-Lossberg
- 15) Extract of a Letter from General Sir William Howe to Lord George Germain, 5 July 1777 (from New York newspaper)
- 16) Letter from Colonel von Donop to General von Heister, 30 June 1777
- 17) Diary of anonymous British soldier, 13 April 1777 to 26 September 1777 (edited by John Rees)
- 18) Captain John Bowater to Lord Denbigh, 15 July 1777
- 19) Journals of Capt. John Montresor
- 20) Thomas Sandford, Quartermaster, 2nd Battalion Brigade of Guards in America. "Extract of a letter from a gentleman of the guards, dated July 6, 1777, relating to the death of the Hon. Capt. Finch of that Corps"
- 21) Christian Friedrich von Urff to Georg Ernst von und zu Gilsa, New Brunswick, 21-28 June 1777
- 22) Friedrich Becker to Ernst von und zu Gilsa, New York, 12 July 1777
- 23) Ludwig Johann Adolph von Wurmb to Baron Jungkenn, New York, 2 July 1777
- 24) J.R. (Hessian) Journal- Anonymous soldier from Leibregiment
- 25) Frederick MacKenzie, Journal D, 11 June- 24 June 1777
- 26) Johann Conrad Döhla

(Transcribed by John U. Rees)

(Letter, Israel Shreve to Dr. Bodo Otto, 29 June 1777, Israel Shreve Papers, Buxton Collection, Prescott Memorial Library, Louisiana Tech University.)

Shreve to Dr. Bodo Otto:

"Turkey Gap Sunday 29th. June 1777

Dr. Sir

No Doubt but before this comes to hand you will have heard something of the Battle, fought on thursday Last, between Gen. Maxwells Jersey Brigade, and Gen. Hows whole Army At Short hills, - Lord Stirlings Division, Consisting of the Jersey & Gen. Conways Brigades, who Lay in the Neighbourhood of Short hills and Ash Swamp, Received orders the Day before from his Excely. Gen. Washington to be under Arms at 4 oClock and Ready to march. Early that morning 150 Virginians was sent near Woodbridge, as was a scout from our Brigade, who fell in with the Right flank of hows Army when a scattering fire begun, by this time we were All under Arms. Gen. Conways Brigade was Immediately of under the Command of Gen. Maxwell, Conway Not knowing the Ground. Maxwell fell in with [the enemy], & was near being surrounded, [and] Discovering their strength Drew off towards Scotch plains, after Exchangeing a few Cannon shot, - Our Brigade under the Command of Lord Sterling marched Round a Back Road, in order to Git on the Enemys Right flank, But Receiving Wrong Intillegence from a Dragoon of ours, preceed on the Road Leading to Short hills, Expecting there to join Maxwell, the Enemy preceiving our Intention from some hights, Immediately took post on several hights, at first Consealing themselves, they were almost formed in a half moon. - We Advanced in a Column [and] Wheeled to the Right in order to form the Line, I being on the Left was ordered to face to the Right About, and form on a small hill to the Left, At the same time the Right wing took post in a Wood, with Colos. Dayton & Ogden, Col. Martin was in the Center, Capt. Gibbs Jones with 2 field peaces was with me on the Left, Capt. Hustus with 2 peaces in the Center with Col. Martin, where we first formed on the Left, we receivd a heavy fire in front and flank, Receivd orders to Retreat about 100 yards to an Other small hill, the fire was so heavy that my Regt. Broke And Huddled up to Gether, However In a few minutes I with the help of my Officers Got them formed in Good order, fired several Rounds, then Got orders to Retreat to a third hill, there faced About And stood fireing untill Major Wilcox his Lordships A.D.C. Brought orders to Leave the Ground, Our two peaces of Artillery was ordered off one of which Accedentally Got Both shafts Broke off at that Instant [and] one horse fell, the Enemy was so near as to make it Impossible to Git it off, it was spiked and Left. I Endeavored to Retreat in Good order, But Riseing a hill Received such a shower of shot, that set Every man Runing for himself / I Looked to the Right saw all makeing of in Disorder [and] at the same time found Our Retreat Cut off towards the Right, by Rason of a Body of Enemy giting Nearly a breast of me in the Center, was Obliged to file of to the Left in the Skirt of A Wood, and fall into a Lower Road,



knowing the Country well, Mostly Got off safe, / Dureing the whole Action I Remained on horse Back with a Continual Whistling of Balls about my Ears, for one hour And an half but through Gods Mercy Receivd no Damage, Dureing this Action his Lordship sat on his horse with the Cannon in the Center, much Exposed, And kept a Continual fire with Canister shot untill the Enemy in Large Bodies was in Less than 30 yards, At Length they were Obliged to Quit the 2 peices and Run of, the Officers of the Artillery All behaved well, As did the officers And men in General of the Brigade, or we Could not have stood them an hour & half as we Did, It is not in my power to ascertain the Loss, the Inhabitants Buried 12 of ours they tell us; Among them Capt. E. Anderson of my Regt., Ensign Sproul of the 4th., I make no Doubt but some still remaind in the Woods and Cornfields, the Enemy it is said Carried of 8 Waggon Load of Dead and Buried them near the head of Ash Swamp, some of my men say they Came Near the place And saw the General Grave, However Col. Rhea is now Out with A party in search of the place with orders to Examine the Numbers. - We Retreated to Westfield halted 2 hours then marched to Scotch plains, the Enemy Came that Afternoon to Westfield and Incamped in town and Near it, that Night / next Day At 11 oClock [they] marched of for Amboy, Dureing their stay they made shocking havock, Dstroying alomost Every thing before them, the house where Gen. How stayed which was Capt. Clarks he promised Protection to If Mrs. Clark would use him well and Cook for him & his Attendance, which she Did as Chearful as she Could, Just before they went off Mr. how Rode out, when a No. of his soldiers Come in And plunder the Woman of Every thing in the house, Breaking And Destroying what they Could not take Away, they Even tore up the floor of the house, this Proves him the Scoundrel, and not the Gentleman, Gen. Lesley took his Quarters At Parson Woodruffs [and] Protected his property in Doors, the Doctor fled [but] his Wife and famaly Remained, the meetinghouse a Desent Building they made a sheep of threw Down the Bell, and took it of, / the [?] Vewed yesterday And Lay now with[in] 2 1/2 miles of the Ground. - they Drove of All the Horses, Cattle, Sheep & hogs they Could Git, - I saw many famalys who Declared they had Not one mouthful to Eat, [nor any] bed or beding Left, or [a] Atitch of Wearing Apparel to put on, only what they happened to have on, and would not afoard Crying Children a mouthfull of Bread Or Water Dureing their stay, - they Buried 9 of their Dead at or near Westfield / these was taken up yesterday and striped by the Distressed Inhabitants; - ... [Postscript] the Enemy shot very high or I think few of us Could have Escaped / they behaved very bad or they might have Easily surrounded the whole brigade,- How, Lord Cornwallis, Grant, Agnew, Erskin, Vaughn, Dehister, Dunop, Mathews, Lesley, and Skinner was out and Consequently all their Army but [the] Guards. 30th - Last Evening Col. Rhea Returned with the Body of Capt. Anderson [and] is now Gone to Westfield to Bury him with the honours of war which he Deserves as he fought Brave, and fell in a Glorious Cause,- Capt. Lawrie of my Regt. Behaved Brave when we began to Retreat [and] being much fateaged

mounted a horse, his horse was Immediate[ly] shot and fell on him, he Got off about 2 miles and stayed behind in a swamp / in the Evening Came out and is supposed to be taken prisoner,- Col. Rhea found no more Dead but the 12 of ours / the Enemy Left a Considerable No. / A Large Grave one Rod Square was found [and] the Inhabitants still say 8 Wagon Load was Buried there, several single Graves was opened & found to be Enemy / We had between 20 & 30 Wounded Among them Ensign James Paul in the thigh but [he] Got of and [is] Like to Do well, Adjutant King of ye 4th. [Jersey Regiment was wounded] in the thigh taken prisoner. the Wounded mostly Slightly Except 3 or 4 / I saw one of Capt. Flanāgins men shot with a Canon Ball a 3 pounder through the sholder, he fell, but Rose again and walked 2 mils [and] is yet Alive;- the Enemy is Gone to Amboy, 2000 of our men within a few miles of them, Gen. how says the D\_\_\_d Jersey Rebels fought Like Devils and that he Narrowly Escaped - Excuse my Inditeingand take the meaning it is as near the truth as I can possibly Write IS"

Transcribed by John U. Rees.

(Letter, Israel Shreve to John Stilley, 29 June 1777, Israel Shreve Papers, Buxton Collection, Prescott Memorial Library, Louisiana Tech University.)

Shreve to Mr. John Stilley:

"Turky Gap Sunday 29th. June 1777

Dr. Sir

No Doubt but before this Comes to hand you will have heard of the Battle fought at Short hills, on thursday the 26th. between 9 and 12 oClock,- It was as follows Viz. Lord Sterlings Division Consisting of Gen. Maxwells and Gen. Conways Brigades Lay in the Neighborhood of Short hills and Ash Swamp / the Day before his Excellency Gen. Washington Gave orders for the Division to be under Arms at four oClock and Ready to march, Early this morning 150 Virginians went Down to or near Woodbridge as Did a small scout from our Brigade, these two parties fell in with the Right flank of hows Army who was moveing Out with all his strength he has in Jersey, Except a small Guard in Amboy, when a scatering fire begun, at this time we were All under arms / Gen. Conways Brigade ws Immediately ordered of with General Maxwell, Conway Not knowing the Ground, Lord Sterling Continued with Gen. Maxwells Brigade. Maxwell was Near being surrounded, and Discovering the Enemys Strength, Drew of towards Scotch plains,- after Exchangeing a few Cannon shott Lord Sterling marched our Brigade Round a back Road in order to fall in with the Enemys Right flank, and there Join Conways Brigade Not knowing the Enemy was out with their whole Army, Consisting of 8 or 10.000 men, the Enemy Discovered our Intention from some hights, And posted them selves behind several hills In a half moon, We Rose a hill when the fire begun. Col. Dayton was on the Right I was on the Left Col. Martin in the Center Ogden with Dayton the Right wing took post in a wood and began the Attact, at the same time the Left wing was ordered to Come to the Right About and march to the Left and take possession of a small hill which we Did At the same time Receiving the Enemys fire from front and flank very haevy / Capt Gibbs Jones with two peaces was with me, On the Left Capt. Husten with Col. Martin in the Center with two more all 3 pounders, which began to play verry Briskly. Just at this time My Regt. Receivd a heavy fire, when they Intirely Broke And huddled up together in much Confusion, But with the help of Col. Rhea and Major Howell formed them in a few minutes in pritty Good order Advanced a Little way and fired several Rounds untill we Got Orders to Retreat Again to the next hill which we Did in pritty Good order, faced about and fired again untill his Lordship sent his Aid a Camp with orders to Leave the Ground / I Looked to the Right and saw all Runing off [and] found it high time to Run, but found Our Retreat towards the Right into Rarranton Road Cut off, the Enemy then being abreast of me in the Center, I filed of to the Left into the skirt of A wood, one of Jones's Cannon Actidentally Broke of Both shafts One horse falling [and] was Oblaged to Spike it And Run, Jones Carryed of the Other [gun] him

self, thus were we situated, with Less than A thousand men, against how and his whole Army Although we stood them one hour and an half most part of the time very hot.- the Musket Balls flew Like a shower of hail stones, But Generally Over our heads or few would have Escaped, Dureing the whole Action I Remaind On horse Back, in the midst of a Continual whistling of shot by my Ears, But through Gods mercy Receiv'd no Damage,- his Lordship Exposed himself very much Remaining with the Cannon in the Center who kept up a Continual fire with Canister shot untill the Enemy in Large Colums were within Less than 30 paces of them, thus he Covered Our Retreat with the Loss of the 2 peaces, Our Loss in kiled is very small the Inhabitants that Burryed the Dead found but 12 of ours the first day, among them Capt. Anderson of my Regt. & Ensign Sprouls of the 4th. Jersey Regt. I Doubt not but more is Laying in the Wood or Rye fields, the Enemys Loss [is] not known the Inhabitants say they Carried of Eight Waggon Load And Buried them in a Certain place, Col. Rhea is now Gone to find the place and search for their Numbers,- we Retreated to West field there halted 2 hours, untill the Enemy Came within a mile of the place when we marched to Scotch plains Gap in the mountain, the Enemy Encamped that night in and near West field / hear they Burryed 9 who has been since took up and striped, next Day at 11 oClock the Enemy went of towards Amboy / We had a Number Wounded and Brot. off among them Ensign Paul / We Lost some prisoners But Cant fix any Number as they Are Dayly Comeing in, I believe I have Not more than ten Yet missing / Capt. Jones As Did the Other Artillery Officers behave[d] Well, If the Enemy had behaved with Spirit they might [have] surrounded the whole Brigade."



Israel Shreve Journal

Journal, 23 November 1776 to 14 August 1777, Israel Shreve Papers, Buxton Collection, Prescott Memorial Library, Louisiana Tech University.

John U. Rees, editor

“Early this morning [26 June] 150 Virginians and a scout from Our Brigade wet Down towards Woodbridge [and] fell in with the Right flank of Gen Howe’s Army, When a firing of smal[l] Arms & cannon begun [?] by this time we were All under Arms / Gen. Conway[‘s] brigade was Ordered off[f] under the Command of Gen. Maxwell, Conway not knowing the Ground, they soon fell in with hows [Howe’s] whole Army the Gen. was near being taken [but] Discovered their strength And prudently filed off[f] toward Scotch Plains, Our Brigade under the Command of Lord Sterling was ordered to march Round up Rarranton [sic] Road in order to fall in with the Enemy[‘s] Right flank and there Joyn [sic] Maxwell [in command of Conway’s Brigade], the Enemy soon perceived our Intention and took possession of all the highs [sic] At Short hills [and] there Remained Consealed [sic] until we Come within shot / we marched in A Column wheeled to the Right to form the Line of Battle the first [NJ Regiment] and 3<sup>rd</sup> Regt. Took post in a Wood, I being on the Left was Ordered to the Left about [,] And take possession of a small hill in the Open field, as soon As we had formed [we] received a heavy fire in front and flank/ was Ordered to Retreat about 100 yards to a small hill, when my Regt. Broke and huddled up to Gather [together] in Great Disorder But in a few minutes I with the help of my officer[s] formed them in Good order with Capt. Gibbs Jones on my Left with 2 field peaces [sic], Col Martin in the Center with Capt. Hustes and 2 field peaces [sic] / We again Received orders to retreat to a third hill where we faced about and fired until Major Wilcox his Lordship[‘s] ADC [aide de camp] Come with orders to Leave the Ground, the 2 peaces wet off first[,] one of them Actidentally Got Both shafts Broke [and] one horse fell at that Instant, that peace [sic] was spiked And Left, we Attempted to march off[f] the field in Good Order[,] but Rising a small hill received such a shower of shot Every One Run off[f] for himself/ I looked to the Right and saw all Running off in Confusion and found our retreat Cut off towards the Right by Reason that a Column of ye Enemy had Got a Breast of us in the Center / we filed off to the Left and fell in a Lower Road, Knowing the Ground well Got off[f] Better than At first Expected, the 2 peaces [sic] in the Center Remained firing with Lord Sterling siting on horse Back near them until the Enemy in Large Columns was in Less than 30 yards of them At Which time our Canister shot Did Great Execution / At Length were Obliged to Leave these 2 peaces [sic], Our Loss in killed was 12 among them Capt. Ephraim Anderson of my Regt. & Lieut. Sprowl of the 4<sup>th</sup> Regt. And about 20 taken prisoner among them Capt. James Lawrie of my Regt. [,] Adjutant King of the 4<sup>th</sup>[,] About 20 Wounded – it is said the Enemy Lost one Col[,] one Major[,] one Capt. and 200 men, with several wounded / We Retreated to Westfield, - stayed two hours and marched to Scotch Plains, this evening the Enemy Came to Westfield and that Night Incamped in that Neighborhood / the 27<sup>th</sup> at 11 o’clock they [i.e., the Crown Forces] went off[f] towards Amboy stayed that Night at Raway next morning to amboy And began to Cross Over to Staten Island / Sunday and Monday they all crossed / Tuesday and Wednesday the 2<sup>nd</sup> of July they Incamped near the Watering Place on Staten Island....”

George Washington

George Washington to the Continental Congress, 28 June 1777. The George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress, 1741-1799. <http://memory.loc.gov>

Camp Middle Brook, June 28, 1777

“Sir: On Thursday Morning Genl Howe advanced with his whole Army in Several Columns from Amboy, as far as Westfield. We are certainly informed, that the Troops sent to Staten Island returned the preceding Evening and, it is said, with an Augmentation of Marines, so that carrying them there was a feint with the intention to deceive us. His design, this Sudden movement, was either to bring on a General Engagement upon disadvantageous Terms, considering matters in any point of view, or to cut off our light parties and Lord Stirling’s Division, which was sent down to Support them, or to possess himself of the Heights and passes in the Mountains on our left. The two last seemed to be the first objects of his attention, as his March was rapid against these parties and indicated a strong disposition to gain those passes. In this situation of Affairs, it was thought absolutely necessary, that we should move our forces from the low Grounds, to occupy the Heights before them, which was effected. As they advanced they fell in with some of our light parties and part of Lord Stirling’s division, with which they had some pretty smart Skirmishing, with but very little loss, I believe, on our side, except in three Field Pieces which unfortunately fell into the Enemy’s Hands: but not having obtained Returns yet, I cannot determine it with certainty, nor can we ascertain what the Enemy’s Loss was. As soon as we had gained the passes, I detached a Body of Light Troops under Brigadier General Scott, to hang on their Flank and to watch their Motions and ordered Morgan’s Corps of Rifle Men to join him since. The Enemy remained at Westfield till yesterday afternoon, when, about Three O’Clock, they moved towards Spank Town with our light Troops in their Rear and pursuing.

“The Enemy have plundered all before them and it is said burnt some Houses. I have the honor to be, etc.

George Washington

George Washington to John Washington, 29 June 1777

Camp at Middlebrook, June 29, 1777.

...So soon as they got to Amboy they began to Transport their Baggage and Stores as fast as possible to Staten Island, and having divested themselves of all Incumbrance of this kind, they movd out their whole force on Thursday last, and advanced rapidly, towards us. What was the design of this New Manoevre I know not, whether to attempt our strength on the left as they had before on our Right. Whether to cut off the light Troops which I had advanced towards their lines. Whether, finding themselves a little disgrac'd by their former move, they wanted to flourish off a little at quitting the Jerseys, or, whether by this sudden eruption they meant to possess themselves of as much fresh Provision as they could, plunder the Inhabitants; and spread desolation; as I have said before, I know not; but certain it is they have left nothing which they could carry off, Robbing, Plundering, and burning Houses as they went. We followed them with light Troops to their Works at Amboy, but could not prevent the Desolation they committed.

George Washington

George Washington to the Continental Congress, 29 June 1777

...I have but little to add on public matters. The Enemy on Sunday last evacuated Brunswick and retreated to Amboy. Unhappily, but a small part of our Troops were able to come up with them. Colo. Morgan's Corps of Rifle Men did, before they had wholly effected their retreat and annoyed them a great deal, with only the loss of two killed and Seven or Eight wounded on our part. It is generally conjectured that the Enemy are on the point of some new enterprise, having transported most of their Baggage, if not the whole, across to Staten Island; Yet on Thursday morning, their whole force, made a sudden and rapid march some few Miles into the Country, with intention most probably to cut off some of our light parties, and Lord Stirlings Division, which were advanced to watch their Motions, and to act as circumstances would justify, or to gain the passes in the Mountains on our left. Another motive for this Manoeuvre which seems a probable one, was to give some éclat to their Arms, which were a little Sullied just before, by a retreat that was conducted rather precipitately, and from their not prosecuting their March thro' Jersey to Philadelphia, as many were induced to expect, from their great preparations and repeated declarations. There was some pretty smart Skirmishing between 'em and our Parties, as they marched with but little loss on our side, nor can I ascertain what the Enemy was. They returned to Amboy again without attempting to gain the Heights, plundering and despoiling the Inhabitants contiguous to their line of March, of their Clothes and every thing they could carry off, burning also some Houses. We had a Brigade of Light Troops detached, to annoy their Rear and flank, but the distance to Amboy being short and the Enemy returning by a secure Route, they were not able to come up with them, so as to make an attack with a prospect of success or without putting themselves in imminent danger. They are now lying in the Neighbourhood of the Enemy, to avail themselves of any favourable circumstances that may cast up.

George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress, 1741-1799: Series 4. General Correspondence. 1697-1799 (<http://memory.loc.gov>)

George Washington to John Langdon, June 29, 1777

Head Qrs. Middlebrook, June 29<sup>th</sup>, 1777

“...I have but little to add on public matters. – The Enemy have on Sunday last evacuated Brunswick & retreated to Amboy – unhappily but a small part of our Troops were able to come up with them. Colo Morgan’s Corps of Riflemen did, before they had wholly effected their retreat and annoyed them a good deal, with only the loss of Two killed and Seven or Eight wounded on our part. This generally conjectured that the Enemy are on the point of some New Enterprise, having transported most of their Baggage if not the whole amount to Staten Island, yet on Thursday morning [26 June] their Whole force made a sudden and rapid march some few miles into the Country, with intention most probably to cut off some of our Light parties and Lord Stirling’s division, which were advanced to watch their Motion and to act as circumstances would justify – or to gain the passes in the Mountains on our Left.\* There was some pretty smart skirmishing between ‘em and our parties as they marched with but little loss on our side – nor can I ascertain what the Enemy’s was. They returned to Amboy again without attempting to gain the Heights, plundering and despoiling the Inhabitants contiguous to their line of March of their Cloathes and of every thing they could carry burning also some Houses. We had a Brigade of Light Troops detached to annoy their rear and flank, but the distance to Amboy being but short and the Enemy returning by a secure route, they were not able to come up with them so as to make an attack with a prospect of success or without putting themselves in intimate danger. They are now lying in the neighborhood of the Enemy to avail themselves of any favorable circumstances that may cast up.”

Signature

\*Another motive for this maneuver which --?—a probable one, was to give some éclat to their Arms, which were a little sullied just before by a retreat that was conducted rather precipitably and from their not prosecuting their march thro Jersey to Philadelphia as many were induced to expect[?] from their great preparations and repeated declarations.



John Chilton

John Chilton to his brother, 29 June 1777

Dear Bother,

I am at this time stationed with 30 men to guard this pass; came here last night. Mr. Blackwell's & my Company with me, except a few who stay in camp with the baggage, we are all hearty, few complaints being now in the Army of sickness, there is a small lax but it wears off quickly. Our station is a pretty agreeable one, only two miles from Camp where we can at any time run for any necessary that we want from that quarter. Then we have the advantage of getting milk, butter & c. which are scarce articles in Camp. 26<sup>th</sup> past out camp was at Piscataway which place the Enemy had abandoned a few days before. Col. Morgan with the Rifle Regmt. Was on the Mattuchin lines at the time and our main army had come down into the Plains. The Enemy unexpectedly stole a march in the night of the 25<sup>th</sup> and had nearly surrounded Morgan before he was aware of it. He with difficulty saved his men and baggage and after a retreat rallied his men and sustained a heavy charge until reinforced by major Genl. Ld. Stirling, who gave them so warm a reception that they were obliged to retreat so precipitately that it had like to have become a rout. But being strongly reinforced he was obliged to retreat with the loss of 2 pieces of Artillery.

Brigadier Genl. was on the left and had a severe engagement, but was obliged to retreat also. The Enemy pursued this advantage as far as the Scotch Plains, which place they left that night suddenly returned into Perth-Amboy.

This was done in consequence of some step his Excellency, George Washington was taking, and had they staid that night a general engagement would have ensued I think. There were but few Virginians except Morgan in this battle. I imagine the reason His Excellency did not allow the engagement to be general was from a step the Enemy took as if they intended to gain the heights that we had left and destroy our stores, this is pretty generally conjectured, whether right or wrong I can't say. But be it as it may we make it suffice us that he had his reasons for it. This was one of Howe's Masterpieces and the small advantage he paid dearly for in all probability. The ground where his slain lay, we did not see.

We have but few missing considering the engagement which began about sunrise and continued first in one place, then in another very hot until 11 o'clock. The troops he engaged were very good marksmen who had many good fires on them so that there must have been many killed and wounded. The whole British force was engaged on this occasion even the seamen were brought. Two thirds of our Army was not in action. I was in 4 miles of the engagement and heard it all. Judge of my condition during it-alternate hopes and fears as the firing seemed favorable or otherwise.

Just as the battle ended Col. Marshall received orders to leave Piscataway & march up by way of Bound Brooke. A party of the Enemy had advanced within two miles of us, about 2000, and had sat down to refresh themselves. We marched off with colors flying and drums beating which they hearing and expecting we were coming to attack them made the best of their way to Perth Amboy, since when they seem peaceably disposed and keep close. I am informed that Genl. Scott yesterday sent out to feel their pulse but they did not seem "fightish," as the Yankees say, so I suppose they think they have done great things, but I verily believe that if they had staid till next morning they must have done greater, or it would have gone hard with them.

I have given you an account of this battle as nearly as I can and though it may not be altogether as good as you may see in the papers, yet believe it is nearly the truth. I hope long before this reaches you the smallpox may no more be a terror to you, and that it will find you all well. Excuse me to Mr. Blackwell for not writing to him at this time. Time and paper both being scarce.

Lewis Willis

Lewis Willis to Charles Yates, 10 July 1777

To Mr. Chas. Yates, Fredericksburg, Va.  
Morris Town, July 10th, 1777.

My Worthy Friend: As our army is now encamped at this place, waiting to hear what course the enemy will take now, no doubt you will ere this have heard of their evacuation New Jersey altogether; and it is conjectured by most people that they intend going up North River to effect a junction of their two armies (meaning Burgoyne). However an express arrived here a few days ago from General Schuyler, informing our General that Carleton had attempted to storm a fortress of ours some little distance below Ticonderoga, and had failed.

It is now thought that he will begin a regular siege. How strong Schuyler is or whether any part of this army will march to his assistance is not yet known. We I understand are to watch Howe's motions, who is now on Staten Island, but is preparing to embark somewhere, where he moves we shall move, which keeps us eternally on the watch, and everything is packed in wagons, and this occasions us to live extremely poor, as we dare not send a servant into the country to procure vegetables, milk, or anything, for fear we should be called off in his absence. I was present when Major Day (Benjamin Day) wrote to you the other day, and make no doubt he gave you an account of a Skirmish Lord Stirling had with the enemy a day or two before their departure. His Lordship lost three pieces of cannon and thirty men, but from the best accounts I have, and if we can believe deserters, the enemy suffered greatly. Several declare that at one discharge of our cannon with cannister shot, we thereby killed six men upon the spot.

Gen. Scott has since passed over the spot where this affair happened, and discovered that they had buried a great many men and others were lying out unburied. The evening after this engagement I was ordered by Gen. (Weedon) to take four light horse, and proceed down to Brunswick, Piscataway, and Scout the Country there about to discover, if possible, where was the enemy, and what route they had taken.

Demere, Raymond

1968 Journal of Major Raymond Demere. *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 52(3):337-347 (Contributed by Alexander A. Lawrence)

[Demere, a Georgia officer, joins Major General Lord Stirling's division as an aide, 2 June 1777]

pg. 345: [June 25<sup>th</sup>] "I issued orders overnight for a march by day light to Edgard, where we were to wait further orders – 26<sup>th</sup>. The Enemy are advancing; part of our division consisting of Gen. Maxwell & Gen. Conway's brigades marched to intercept him, Col. Morgan to attack his rear – an engagement commenced, but the number of the Enemy were so superior & our Troops gave way in so disorderly manner that when we came up, they were so scattered they could give us no support. We began our march at 8 o'clock and at 9 discovered the Enemy – Lord Sterling [sic] was about forming his small army on an advantageous height, when a request came from Gen. Maxwell, would join him. The reports brought us, from our first seeing [?] out in the morning, had been so confused and contradictory, and not verified in one instance, it was difficult upon what to decide, however we had not proceeded very far before we were exposed to a heavy fire. We filed off from the road to a wheat field and formed around the skirt of a thick wood, but soon discovered that an advanced party of the Enemy was enclosed within it; notwithstanding this unexpected ambush, our brave fellows, kept up a war fire for [page 346] about half an hour. The superior numbers opposed to them, and the Golling [sic] fire from the wood made them deaf to orders, they broke their ranks and could not be rallied, until they gained a rising ground four hundred yards off. We formed again, resumed the action which was disputed with great obstinacy for two hours – Our artillery was very much exposed, the men were not armed and not being properly supported, were picked off by the Enemy's muskets – At length borne down by superiority of numbers, laboring under every disadvantage and overcome with heat and fatigue were thrown into the greatest disorder. I rode up to Lord Sterling [sic], who had exposed himself in the heat of the action regardless of the danger, and represented our situation to him, he reluctantly ordered the men to retreat gradually by presenting as much as possible a bold front. At this moment we observed two large columns that had been kept in reserve, moving round to cut off our retreat; upon which he reluctantly ordered the few that remained to make good their retreat to Westfield. Had this order been delayed a moment longer we would immediately have been cut off to a man, as it was, we encountered a heavy fire, but at length gained the place appointed and collecting the remains of our small army repaired to the Scotch Plains. The British were commanded by Lord Cornwallis and Gen. Howe and they were 6 or 7000 strong; they lost General officers, two Captains, one of which was the son of Lord Howe and the other was a Mr. Finch who displayed most undaunted bravery and gloriously fell towards the end of the action – Of privates 250 – besides a number of wounded – Considering the disproportion of our numbers, for we had not a fifth as many as the Enemy[,] and then our falling into ambuscade[,] and the favorable opportunity thus afforded of cutting us off our loss was surprisingly small, only 20 killed and 20 wounded – 50 missing and their artillery pieces left in the field."

Anonymous American

Extract of a letter from Camp at Middle-Brook, June 28, 1777 *Pennsylvania Journal*, July 2, 1777

(in *New Jersey in the Revolution, Newspaper Extracts*)

Pgs. 415-416

“On last Sunday morning the enemy left Brunswick, apparently with the intention to embark; they gave out they were going to Philadelphia by water; but their real design was, to draw General Washington from the mountains and force a general engagement. General Howe is sensible of the difficulty of conquering us. He probably expects no more or but few recruits, and is desirous to put all upon a single throw. Every day will lessen his army and strengthen ours. Their policy however, was not an overmatch to our prudence. Light parties harassed him, but not in such numbers as to produce any considerable action. Great part of our army however has left the mountains, and General Lord Sterling [sic] was posted at the short hills with about a thousand men;

“On Thursday morning General Howe having reinforced his army with all the marines that could be spared, began his march towards us. By accounts of deserters, and others, his numbers were from 12 to 14,000. He met with Lord Sterling’s [sic] party early in the morning, a smart engagement ensued, and our men stood their ground manfully for a considerable time; but the amazing superiority of numbers obliged them to retreat, and the enemy having flanked them, they lost two pieces of cannon, with a number of men. No return having been yet made, the exact number of killed, &c. cannot be ascertained. General Sterling thinks, there were not more than twelve killed and one Captain; but there are near 50 missing.

“It is a pity that this party could not have been properly reinforced without hazarding a general battle. But their numbers and distance from our main body was such, that anything more than covering the retreat of our party, would have been dangerous. They continued near the place of engagement that day, and are now at Westfield. Our army is encamped in the old spot, only large bodies are posted at all the passes, and in some advantageous places below the mountains. It is suspected that the enemy would force our camp, if possible; but to attack us in the mountains, is a thing devoutly to be wished by every one that desires to see the destruction of the British army.

“I must not omit to mention a little affair, that happened in the late engagement. The fire growing hot, and our men beginning to retreat, a British officer singly rode up to a cannon that was playing on the enemy, and with his pistols and *hanger* forced every man from it, then seeing Lord Sterling, he cried “Come here, you damned rebel, and I will do for you.”

“Lord Sterling answered him, bu directing the fire of four marksmen upon him, which presently silenced the hardy fool, by killing him on the spot. Our men recovered the field piece which their want of small arms obliged them to abandon.”



Anonymous American

Extract of a letter from Camp at Middle-Brook, June 28, 1777 *Pennsylvania Journal*, July 2, 1777

(in *New Jersey in the Revolution, Newspaper Extracts*)

Pgs. 415-416

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Henry Knox Papers

Camp Middlebrook 29<sup>th</sup> June 1777

My dear Lucy,

“...I wrote you that on last Sunday they relocated to Amboy with precipitation where they were busily employed in transporting their baggage tents Waggon Horses (Heavy) Artillery and a great part of their troops – Amboy is approachable only by one Road – the left flank is secured by the Raritan River and the right [by] the Sound of Staten Island – on Tuesday morning last we pushed down part of Lord Stirling’s division to reconnoiter them but found them too strongly posted as not to be attacked and (numerous) on our left and would answer no purpose – Lord Stirling’s party retired to Ash Swamp (distant) from Amboy about 6 miles – A large part of the Army took post at Quibbletown below the heights and about 4 or 5 miles in the rear of Lord Stirling – On Thursday morning the enemy having in the night brought back all their [Men?] from Staten Island pushed out without tents or baggage having only light Artillery with a view of surprising Lord Stirling’s division and gaining our advantageous Camp – Maxwell’s and Conway’s Brigades under the command of Lord S. were posted on two ‘main’ roads leading from Amboy to the heights. The enemy came on a large road between the two roads and effectually separated the two brigades and for some time put them in a very critical situation, however Lord Stirling who was with Maxwell’s brigade after a severe action with 9 or 10 times his number was obliged to retire to Westfield with the loss of three pieces of Cannon and some men how many I know not but believe not more than 50 or -- Conway’s brigade also engaged with the enemy – none – Lord Stirling retired to Westfield and Conway retired to the main body – Upon the retiring of Lord Stirling’s division the enemy pushed for our left flank with great Industry, which occasioned our Army to occupy their old ground only more to the left Flank the enemy were. The enemy finding we had taken possession of our [former] grounds again retired to Westfield plundering everything before them and destroying and burning Houses in a manner scandalous to Humanity. They stay’d at Westfield the night of the 26<sup>th</sup> and the next day to Spank Town stripping the Country of everything except as far as not in their power – We had large parties of light Corps continually on their flanks to prevent the plundering the unhappy people who were near to them, and have taken a number of prisoners from them – Our Camp is so strong must put an enemy under such very great disadvantage if he attacked it, that His Excellency thought proper not to descend to the plains to fight him – had we made this maneuver so much wish for by Mr. Howe he would have immediately taken possession of it and have us under the very disadvantage that we have him under –“

Daniel Applegate  
Pension Application #S46,197  
August 4, 1833 State of New Jersey, Middlesex County

Applegate was a musician in the 4<sup>th</sup> New Jersey Regiment, later in the 3<sup>rd</sup> New Jersey

“That in the year 1776 or 77 he enlisted under Capt. Gordon and Col. Dayton and Lieut. Col. Barber for three years or During the War and that he was in the Battle of Short Hills, Battle of Long Island, West Chester, White Plains, and Battle of Monmouth, Brandywine and others. That part of the time he was in Virginia and also Declares that he took from the Enemy a Four horse ammunition wagon and also at the Battle of Short Hills succeeded in getting Col Martin’s hors out of the Mire in face of the Enemy and brought him off safely into the American encampment – for which and also for the Loaded Wagon I captured I rec’d a Pass or Furlough until called for which was given by Col. Dayton and Col Martin after the Latter after the 4<sup>th</sup> Regt. Was broken and put into the 3<sup>rd</sup> Regt. And that after serving more than three years into the Continental Line under the officers stated I rec’d my regular Discharge from Col. Barber at Elizabethtown and I further declare and say that was in the year 1779....”

Alexander Hamilton

Alexander Hamilton, aide to Washington, to Robert R. Livingston. Dennis P. Ryan, *A Salute to Courage*. Columbia University Press, New York, 1979.

Head Quarters Camp, at Middlebrook, June 28<sup>th</sup> 1777

“Dear Sir,

Yours of the 25<sup>th</sup> came to hand last night. Since my last addressed to Mr. Morris, the enemy have been trying a second experiment to tempt us to an engagement, on equal terms of ground. Under the supposition of their intending to evacuate the Jerseys immediately. In order to keep up the idea of a pursuit [sic], and to be in a posture to take advantage of any critical moment that might present itself to give them a blow, the chief part of our army, after their retreat from Brunswick, was marched down to Quibbletown, and parties detached thence further towards the enemy. Finding this disposition take place, and expecting that elated by what had passed, we might be willing to venture upon a general engagement, which is Howe’s only hope, he came out with his whole army from Amboy early on Thursday morning [26 June] and made a forced march towards our left, with design, if possible, to cutoff some of our detachments, particularly one under Lord Stirling: and propably [sic], if we were not expeditious in regaining the heights, to get there before us, by rapidly entering the passes on our left. Lord Stirling[‘s party was near being surrounded: but after a smart skirmish with the enemy’s main body, made their retreat good to Westfield, and ascended the pass of the mountains back of Scotch Plains. The other parties after the skirmish on their flanks came off to join the main body and take possession of the heights. The enemy continued their march towards our left as far as Westfield, and there halted. In the mean time, it was judged prudent to return with the army to the mountains, lest it should be their intention to get into them and force us to fight them on their own terms. They remained at Westfield till the next day, and perceiving their views disappointed have again returned to Amboy, plundering and burning as usual. We had parties hanging about them in their return; but they were so much on their guard no favourable opportunity could be found of giving them any material annoyance. Their loss we cannot ascertain; and our own, in men, is inconsiderable, though we have as yet received no returns of the missing. I have no doubt they have lost more men than we; but unfortunately, I won’t say from what cause, they got three field pieces from us, which will give them room for vapouring, and embellish their excursion, in the eyes of those, who make every trifle a matter of importance....”

*Memoir of Col. Benjamin Tallmadge, Prepared by Himself, at the Request of his Children* (New York, 1858), pp. 19-20.

“From this place I reported my detachment to the Commander-in-Chief, who ordered me to move on the next day to his encampment near Middlebrook, where he reviewed us and commended the appearance of my detachment.

The day following [date not given], all the light horse, consisting of Col. Blond's, Col. Maylan's, and my squadron, were ordered to parade, and proceeded down to Woodbridge to reconnoitre the enemy. After we came in full view of them, they immediately got under arms. Pretty soon some of their light troops appeared to be filing off to the right and left, and quickly appeared in our rear. Our next attempt was to pass through their corps, which we did, each squadron taking a separate course. Our loss was but small, considering the fire we sustained. After this we retired towards Head Quarters, and halted for the night, being covered by Col, Morgan's Regiment of Riflemen. Early next morning, being June 25, 1777, our patrols came in, announcing the approach of the enemy. As soon as the dragoons could be mounted, the enemy was in sight, and the firing commenced, which began the battle of the Short Hills.

[p.20] Lord Stirling commanded the left wing of the advanced division of our army, and fell in with Lord Cornwallis, who commanded the grenadiers and light infantry of the British army. In the course of the battle four field pieces were taken from Lord Stirling, and again retaken and finally lost. The main body of the enemy, under Gen. Howe, did not fall in with Gen. Washington, who immediately took possession of his strongholds back of Middlebrook. Thus the British General was disappointed in his plan of drawing Gen. Washington into a general battle. Our light troops hovered upon the rear of the enemy until they reached Elizabethtown. After this Gen. Howe drew in his out-posts, and pretty soon began to embark his army for their southern expedition. As soon as Gen. Washington could determine the course that the British fleet had steered, he put his whole army under march for the Delaware. The fleet left the Hook on the 23rd of July, 1777. The destination of my squadron was to Carrol's Ferry over the Delaware, which I reached in good season. By this time the remainder of our recruits had come on, and we had a fine body of dragoons in the field. The army crossed the Delaware, and the whole body moved on slowly towards Philadelphia, and halted at Germantown. There Gen. Washington anxiously waited to know the destination of the British fleet and army.

Letters of Colonel Armand (Marquis de la Rouerie). 1777-1791). *Collections of the New York Historical Society for the Year 1878* (New York, 1879), pp. 287-396, pp. 364-366.

No. 36. To General Washington.

Philadelphia Sunday night. [n.d., some time in October or November 1783]

Sir,

I had requested your Excellency to wait to the ministre at war because I was assured it would be much favorable to me through the honor which a lettre from you would confer on him—from my observations during my last journey to france, I am certain it would have been the case—but your Excellency knows best and whatsoever may be my interest, what general washington does, is in my eyes the best that was to be done.

I inclose a certificat with which you honored me— my valet de chambre with my papers and baggages having been taken at the battle of Camden, I have lost [p.365] all my others certificats but your which I had left in philadelphia.

I had one from lord sterling for my conduct at the battle of shorthill in the jersey — where out of 80 men 32 were killed & taken in the action & after the corps was ordered to deffend a peace of *canon* which happily though making the rear guard in the retreat I saved from the enemy — thus as I may remember were the expressions of lord sterling — the loss of men and the deffence of the peace of canon are the fact.

the next action were I was, was at the head of elk, where I made again the rear guard in the retreat — few days before that I had had several scarmichs with the enemy.

the next battle were I was was that of brandiwin — I think the corps scarmished with the ennemy in the morning and agreeable to orders deffended as long as my small number permitted the passage of the river — then I protected the battery on the right — untill overpowered by the ennemy who attacked there—

the next action was at white mash — where the ennemy made a tryal on our left — I begone the action with few horsemen and count pulaski comming on took the command—

my next was in the Jersey when under the marquis la fayette the rear of Cornwallis army was beaten by our militia & few riflemen — I was there the next officer in command to the marquis, I had a letter from him on that occasion but it was taken with the rest, and although that circumstance was to me the most favorable of this war, I have drawn no advanage of it—as the marquis promissed me to give an account of it to your Excellency which afterwards it was thought he had not done.

after coming from Albany I made the campaign 1778 and 1779 in the grand army and under the eyes of your Excellency.

in the beginning of 1780 I was sent to the Suthward — the legion had several successfull scarmishes there — [p. 366] then came the battle of camden where the legion was the first troop & successfully engaged in the night — but so much reduced afterwards that I was obliged to come to philadelphia and take measures to form a new corps — your Excellency is acquainted with the particulars of my conduct since that time —



I do not mention here the several small occasions which I had before the enemy — and I assure your Excellency that anything that may seem proper to you to do for me will be the most pleasing to me as I am persuaded your Excellency will do me justice.

I have the honor to be with the highest respect, your Excellency's most ob<sup>dt</sup> h<sup>bl</sup> S<sup>t</sup>  
Armand M<sup>qs</sup> De La Rouerie.

[Washington's endorsement: From Gen<sup>l</sup> Armand, Marquis de la Rouerie, Oct<sup>r</sup> 1783.]

*The Military Journal of George Ewing*, pp. 18-19. in: Thomas Ewing, *George Ewing, Gentleman, a Soldier of Valley Forge* (New York, 1928). Quoted from the on-line edition at <http://www.sandcastles.net/journal.htm>

The next morning [6 June] the detachment possessed themselves of Brunswick and the Enemy retired to Amboy Lord Sterling's Division marched to Quibbletown where we lay that night next day we marched to Ash Swamp where we lay until the 26 This morning about sunrise we were alarmed by a firing between us and Amboy which proved to be the main body of the Enemy coming up the road and our scouts skirmishing with them we immediately got ready and marched to their assistance but before we got there the Enemy had got past and betwixt us and Genl Conways Brigade who lay on the other side of the Great road we then marched back to the Short Hills and there fell in with the main body of the Enemy and were nearly surrounded before we were aware a smart engagement then ensued when we were obliged to retreat which we did in good order with very little loss on our side [p. 19] tho we were pursued as far as West field we lost three field pieces and a few men. We then marched to the Scotch Plains and there rested for about half an hour and there was a call for Volunteers to and attack a plundering party of the Enemy who were near as the greater part of our Regiment went along Genl Maxwell took the command we soon fell in with them near Little's tavern and after a small skirmish they retired and left us the ground we had only one man killed and two wounded we then retired to the Mountains and so ended this day here we remained for two or three days and the Enemy embarked from Amboy the first and Third Jersey Regts marched for Elizabeth Town here we remained a few days and the first marched to Newark the Third still remaining at Elizt a few Regts of the Enemy lying on Staten Island.

“Narrative of William Grant late a Serjeant in the Rebel Army dated 24th Novr 1777 from on board the Queen Indiaman at Gravesend.” in: *Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York* vol. 8 (Albany, 1857) pp. 728-734, pp. 731-732.

Nothing material was transacted on either side till about the 24<sup>th</sup> of June, when a party of General Howe's army made a movement and advanced as far as Somerset, a small town lying on the Rarington betwixt Boundbroock and Princetown, which they plundered, and set fire to two small churches and several farm houses adjacent. General Washington upon receiving notice of their marching, detached 2 Brigades of Virginia troops and the like number of New Engd to Pluckhemin, a small town about 10 miles from Somerset, lying on the road to Morristown. Here both parties lay for several days, during which time several slight skirmishes happened with their out scouts, without any considerable loss on either side. On the 2y,h the enemy retreated to Brunswick with their booty and we to our former ground in the Blue Mountain. Next day His Excellency General Howe marched from Brunswick towards Bouumtown with his whole army, which was harassed on the march by Col. Morgan's Riflemen. As soon as General Howe had evacuated Brunswick, Mr Washington threw a body of the Jersey militia into it, and spread a report that he had forced them to leave it. July 2d there was a detachment of 150 Riflemen chosen from among the Virginia regiments, dispatched under the command of Capt. James Dark a Dutchman, belonging to the eighth Virginia Reg' to watch the enemy's motions. Th« same day this party, of which 1 was one, marched to Quibbleton, and from thence proceeded towards Amboy. July 4lh we had intelligence of the enemy's being encamped within a few miles of Westfield ; that night we posted ourselves within a little of their camp and sent an officer with 50 men further on the road as a picquet guard, to prevent our being surprised in the night. Next morning a little before sun rise the British army before we suspected them, were upon pretty close on our picquet before they were discovered, and tired at a negroe lad that was fetching some water for the officer of sd guard, and broke his arm. Upon which he ran to the picquet and alarmed them, affirming at the same time that there was not upwards of sixty men in the party that fired at him. This intelligence was directly sent to us, who prepared as quick as possible to receive them and assist our picquet who was then engaged, in order for [p. 732 (sic)] which, as we were drawing up our men, an advanced guard of the enemy saluted us with several Geld pieces, which did no damage. We immediately retreated into the woods from whence we returned them a very brisk fare with our rifles, so continued firing and retreating without any reinforcement till about 10 oClock, they plying us very warmly both with their artillery and small arms all the time ; about which time we were reinforced with about 400 Hessians (who had been taken at sea going over to America & immediately entered into the Continental service) and three brass field pieces under the command of Lord Stirling. They drew up immediately in order to defend their field pieces and cover our retreat, and in less than an hour and a half were entirely cut off; scarce sixty of them returned safe out of the field ; those who did escape were so scattered over the country that a great number of them could not rejoin the Army for five or six days, whilst the Kings troops marched off in triumph with three brass field pieces and a considerable number of prisoners, having sustained but very little loss on their side. This was the last engagement that happened in the Jerseys before General Howe embarked at York. During this time the rebel army advanced as far as Quibbletown where they lay three days, then countermarched back to the Blue Mountains and there continued untill they recd an account of embarkment of the enemy at York.

*Narrative of Johann Carl Buettner in the American Revolution* (New York, n.d.) pp. 43-44. The original was published as *Buettner, der Amerikaner. Eine Selbstbiographie Johann Carl Buettner's, ehemaligen nordamerikanischen Kriegers.* (Camenz 1828).

A few days after this unsuccessful attempt to desert to the combined armies, we received orders to break camp. At daybreak we reached a mountain which was occupied by some thousand regular soldiers of the North American troops, who had with them a few cannon. Here we had command of the road that led around the mountain, which we saw covered with a multitude of soldiers, and the newly risen sun glittered on thousands of bayonets. This was a regiment of the English army with a vanguard formed of Hessian grenadiers. As soon as they came within range we fired our cannon at them. All at once, the endless marching line stood still, separated into divisions and, then disregarding our fire, charged down the mountain with fixed bayonets. When we saw that we were outnumbered and that resistance was hopeless, we abandoned our cannon and baggage and fled down the other side of the mountain. Many threw away their [page 44] rifles and knapsacks, and ran like hares into the forest. I fell into a ditch and my comrades, leaving me there for dead, jumped over me. As the cannon balls and rifle bullets were falling all around me, and I was afraid of being run through by the enemy that were pursuing us, I crawled on my hands and knees to some thick undergrowth nearby, and lay there until I could no longer hear any firing. After this I arose and went up to the place on the mountain where the skirmish had started. Here I found the Hessian grenadiers in possession of the camp. When I was still twenty feet distant from them, the Colonel called to a petty officer: "There comes a rebel!"; The petty officer approached me and led me to the Colonel, who addressed me with stern and threatening words: "Well, you urchin, where do you come from? You were not able to make your escape, were you?"; I answered that I had for a long time cherished the wish to be associated with my countrymen, and then I told him briefly all that had happened to me since my arrival in America. My story made a favorable impression on the Colonel and he ordered one of his orderlies to give me a glass of rum and some bread. At the same time he ordered me to remain in his batallion until it should go into winter quarters; also he promised that later on he would make some provision for my future.

After the troops had rested for a few hours, they again took up their march. But we had not marched longer than an hour when we met the entire corps of Ortendorf's men being led along under arrest, captured by an English company. I recognized among the prisoners my own comrades and I called to them: "See! Had you followed my example you also could have been at liberty now!"

DECLARATION IN ORDER TO OBTAIN THE BENEFIT OF THE ACT  
OF CONGRESS, PASSED JUNE 7, 1832.

*Morris Common Pleas, August special term, 1832.*

State of New-Jersey }  
County of *Morris* } ss.

On this *Eighteenth* day of *August*, 1832 personally appeared, in open court, before *the Judges of the Inferior court of Common Pleas* now sitting, *Moses N. Combs*, a resident of *Randolph* in the County of *Morris* and State of New-Jersey, aged *seventy eight* years, who being first duly sworn according to law, doth on his oath, make the following declaration, in order to obtain the benefit of the Act of Congress, passed June 7, 1832.

That he entered the service of the United States, under the following named Officers, and served as herein stated:

*He was born in Newark, Essex County, New Jersey, on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of January 1754, & entered the service of the United States, in Captain Caleb Sayres' company of Grenadiers, early in the summer of 1776. Was marched from Newark to New York, & from thence to Long Island, where he was when the British fleet came into the Narrows & landed on Staten Island. His company remained on Long Island about 3 weeks, when he was dismissed & returned to Newark. He was very soon afterward, drafted to perform another monthly tour of militia duty, in Captain Josiah Pierson's Company, & stationed at Elizabeth town point, upon guard duty & protecting the inhabitants from being plundered by the enemy. General Livingston at first commanded this detachment, but being soon after chosen Governor, he was succeeded by Genl. Williamson. The Governor elect, on retiring from the command, gave a patriotic address, crying & encouraging the men to persevere in the good cause. Samuel Hayes acted as Adjutant on this tour. Having served out the month, he was discharged & went home.*

*He served another month at Elizabeth town point, on the same duty as before, & under command of the same officers, & soon after his discharge from the former tour. He was discharged verbally, & went home to Newark, a few days before General Washington retreated through New Jersey, before the British Army. He was soon called again into service, under Captain Josiah Pierson, & followed in the rear of the American Army, in what was then called the "Mud rounds", thro' New Jersey, & returned home about the 1<sup>st</sup> of January 1777. He then enlisted for three months, under Capt. Josiah Pierson, in the Regiment commanded by Colonel Eleazer Lindsly of Morris County, & was discharged in April following. From April 1777, he served half the time in monthly tours of militia duty until April 1778. On the 1<sup>st</sup> May 1778, he enlisted in Capt. Jeremiah Burns company in Col. Baldwin's Regiment of Artificers, for the period of one year, a Mr. [blank] Little, & James Hedden being Lieutenants. In this company & Regiment, which he considered as a Continental establishment, he remained & did duty to the 1<sup>st</sup> of May 1779, when he recd. his discharge. He afterwards performed several tours of duty, but at this time, no distinct remembrance of the number nor of the Captains who commanded, until in the spring of*



1780, when he was drafted to serve five months, in Major Gooches battalion, in Captain Blanchs company. He was drafted in this 5 months service. He was stationed at New bridge, above Hackensack in Bergen County, & at Closter, in the same County. He served out the 5 months, & was discharged about the 1<sup>st</sup> of November 1780. He performed monthly duty in different companies after this, to the close of the war, & to the best of his remembrance as much as two thirds of the time during that period. He was also after called out upon alarms, beside the regular & monthly calls, sometimes only for a few days, & at others for one, two, or three weeks. He cannot relate the order of his service under his several Captains, but he has performed duty under the following viz: Josiah Pierson, Robert Nichols, — Reeves, Isaac Gillam, Elijah Squire, James Wheeler, Abraham Speer, — Jerolman, — Little, & Israel Hedden. He was a Sergeant in his company & performed Sergeants duty & recd. Sergeant's pay. He was under command of various field officers – viz: Col. Cortland, Col. Seely, Col. Spencer, who had his horse shot under him at Springfield battle. He was under command of General Livingston (afterwards Governor), Williamson, Winds, Dickinson & Wayne. Beside the monthly tours, & duty on alarms already mentioned, this deponent also performed several monthly tours of guard duty at Newark, protecting the inhabitants from foraging & marauding parties of the British & Refugees.

He was engaged in an action at Springfield in the fall of 1776, in which several of our men were wounded (Not the battle & burning of Spd.) He was in two engagements or skirmishes, in the winter of 1777, one near Woodbridge & the other at Short hills. Was at the attack of the Block-house on Bergen heights, with General Wayne's division, volunteered & joined his (Wayne's) artillery, & placed within 70 yards of the fort, with 4 pieces, 6 pounders each, & remained till we had fired 110 rounds with each gun. I was with the last gun that retreated when but three men beside myself were left to manage the gun, the rest having all been killed or wounded – or employed in carrying off the wounded and dead. Of our 4 horses, one was killed & two wounded. Two men who served the cartridges were shot. I served the remainder until the last was expended. I was in two other actions both at Newark viz: in the fall of 1780, the other in the summer before. In one of them I took a prisoner, & obtained his musket as my prize, which I sold for a hog, & 100 continental dollars – the 100 dollars being worth one silver dollar. After this, I was in two actions, one at Connecticut farms, & another at Elizabeth town point, in Captain Nathaniel Camp's company of artillery. He verily believes, he served faithfully as much as four years during the revolutionary war, for which he claims the bounty of his government.

He has a record of his age in his family bible, copied from a record kept by his father. He lived in Newark when called into service. Has lived in Newark & in Morris County, all his days – now lives in Randolph, Morris County. He sometimes volunteered, but more frequently was drafted in militia service & ordered out by officers when occasion required. When he entered the regular service, it was by enlistment. He was in Col. Baldwins Regt. of Artificers, knew Col. Ogden, Col. Cummins, Genl. Dayton, Lord Sterling, Genl. Lee, Genl. Winds, Genl. Livingston, Genl. Williamson & Genl. Heard, Col. Seely & Col: Frelingheysen. Recd. a written discharge from the corps of Artificers, which he has lost or mis laid – no other discharge except a verbal one. Never recd. a

*Commission – but acted as Sergeant in his militia tours. He refers to the certificate of Col. James Hedden unto annexed in support of his declaration & claim for a pension. He refers to Dr. Lewis Condict & Daniel Horton Esq. who have known him many years, in proof of his character, & of the general belief of his having served as a soldier of the revolution.*

He hereby relinquishes every claim whatever to a pension or annuity except the present, and declares that his name is not on the Pension Roll of the Agency of any State, is only on that of the Agency of the State of New Jersey.

*Moses Combs*

Sworn to, and subscribed, the day and year aforesaid.

*Stephen Vail*

State of Ohio, Jefferson County ss.

On this twenty seventh day of August, A.D. 1832 personally appeared in open court, before the Honorable Jeremiah H. Hallock, President Judge of the 5<sup>th</sup> circuit of the courts of Common Pleas, in said state, and his associates, Judges of said court within and for said Jefferson County, now sitting, McDonald Campbell, in the seventy eighth year of his age, who being first duly sworn according to law, doth on his oath, make the following declaration, in order to obtain the benefit of the act of Congress, passed June 7, 1832.

That he entered the service of the United States, under the following named Officers, and served in the revolutionary war as herein stated, viz. On the 11<sup>th</sup> of November 1775, he enlisted as a fifer, in Woodbridge township, Middlesex County, in the State of New Jersey, in the Company commanded by Captain John Conaway, in the 1<sup>st</sup> Jersey Regiment, then commanded by Col. William Wyands, which Regiment was raised for one years service. That shortly after his enlistment, he was at sea, with said Captain Conaway, and aided in the capture of a British armed vessel, called the "*blue Mountain Valley*." That afterwards, viz, on the 1<sup>st</sup> day of May 1776, he went with said Col. Wyands regiment from New Jersey to the northern frontier, passing through Albany, thence to Fort George, thence to Lake Champlain, thence to the river St. Lawrence, and thence to the three Rivers in Canada, at which place the American & British forces had an engagement, on the 19<sup>th</sup> of June, in the last mentioned year, and the Americans were defeated and forced to retreat to Ticonderoga. He remained with the army at Ticonderoga, until the expiration of the year for which the Regiment was raised, when he, with the whole Regiment was discharged. In the latter part of Nov. 1776 he returned to his fathers, then residing near Perth Amboy, in the state of New Jersey, and soon after volunteered to serve as a guide, in the 12<sup>th</sup> Pennsylvania Regiment, commanded by Col. Cook, then stationed in New Jersey, and while serving in the capacity of a guide, he was engaged in several skirmishes, with the British, viz. at Strawberry Hill, Tappan &c. Afterwards, and during the winter of 1776-7, Capt. FitzRandolph of New Jersey, was commissioned by the Governor of that state to raise a Company of State troops, to serve for one year, as a guard upon the lines. His Company was known by the name of FitzRandolph's Rangers. Thomas Combs was first Lieutenant, Jacob Rowland 2<sup>nd</sup> Lieut. and ——— Green Ensign. This declarant enlisted in said Company in said county of Middlesex, New Jersey, in December 1776: a few days after his enlistment, Col. Cooks regiment of Pennsylvania troops, and Capt. FitzRandolphs Company attacked a British foraging party, which came from Bonamtown, in New Jersey, then in the possession of the enemy, and compelled them to retreat with some loss. He was actively engaged in this affair, in which his Capt. FitzRandolph was killed. After his death Lieut. Combs became Captain, Rowland first Lieutenant and Green 2<sup>nd</sup> Lieut. by seniority, and this declarant was thereupon commissioned as an Ensign in the company. His commission, he thinks was signed by David Brearly, as Governor of the State of New Jersey, and bore date some time in January 1777. Five or six days after he received his Commission as an Ensign, Col. Cook, of the Pennsylvania line, & Capt. Combs, of the Rangers, were ordered to dislodge the British force, then lying at Bonamtown, under the command of Col. Webster of the 71 British Regiment. The command of this expedition devolved upon Capt. Pattinson, of Col. Cooks Regiment, on account of the absence of the Colonel &

Major. The American forces, under cover of the night, succeeded in making their entrance into Bonamstown, just at day light, without being discovered. They were however soon fired on by the English sentinels – an action ensued – the Company of Rangers was lead on by Capt. Combs and this declarant, who were posted in front. Capt. Combs was severely wounded in the foot, at the commencement of the action, & fell by the side of this declarant. The British, being reinforced by the 42<sup>nd</sup> Regt. then just arrived from Scotland, the Americans were unable to maintain the possession of the place, and made good their retreat, carrying off their killed & wounded, and about 40 prisoners. In this affair a number of Americans were killed, and the bold Capt. McElhatten (as he was called) and Capt. Riley Both of Col. Cook's Regiment were severely wounded. A few days after this affair, this declarant was in an action at Piscataway, in the State of New Jersey in which Col. Cook, of the Pennsylvania line, commanded the American troops. About this time, (the precise date he is unable to recollect) this declarant was in an action at Ash Swamp, in said State, & also in another, called the battle of Short Hill. Sometime after these battles, the two Lieutenants in Capt. Combs Company resigned their commissions, and, on or about, the 1<sup>st</sup> of March 1777, this declarant was commissioned by the Governor of the State of New Jersey (who he thinks was David Brearley) as the 1<sup>st</sup> Lieutenant in Capt. Combs' Company, which commission he accepted, after having served as Ensign of said Company, something upwards of two months. He continued to hold the Commission of 1<sup>st</sup> Lieut. in said Company until the month of August 1777, being a period of a little upwards of five months, when finding, from the continued disability of Capt. Combs, that the command of the company would devolve on this declarant, & unwilling to incur the responsibility of such a command, he resigned his commission as 1<sup>st</sup> Lieut. On or about the 1<sup>st</sup> of May 1778, this declarant again joined the American army, then lying at Valley Forge, and entered as a private, in the company commanded by Capt. Jonathon Furman, in the 4<sup>th</sup> Jersey Regiment, of which his former Capt. John Conaway, was then Colonel. Two or three days after his arrival at Valley Forge, the American army crossed over to Jersey, & on the 28<sup>th</sup> of June 1778, the battle of Monmouth was fought, in which this deponant was actively engaged throughout. Soon after this battle, an order was received from Gen. Green, for the employment of forty two Express riders. This declarant having obtained the necessary recommendation, was appointed one of the riders, with the promise that he was to enjoy the rank and receive the pay of a 1<sup>st</sup> Lieutenant in the army. He continued in this service, for upwards of two years (the precise time he cannot recollect) and that he was constantly and actively engaged, in various parts of the United States. Having been sent to Rhode Island, with money for Jacob Green (brother to General Green) then a purchasing commissary in the American army, while on his journey between Wyndham & East Hartford, in the State of Connecticut, his horse fell with him, & upon him, and thereby this declarant was ruptured in the abdomen so badly as to disable him for such service and he returned to his fathers in the State of New Jersey, where he remained until some time in the year 1782, as near as this declarant can recollect. Some time in this year, or the latter part of 81, Captain John [sic-Peter] Ward of the State of N. Jersey, received orders to raise a company of state troops, for one year, and this declarant, having partially recovered from his rupture, received and accepted a commission as 1<sup>st</sup> Lieutenant in said company. This commission was signed by the Governor of N. Jersey, (who was, as he thinks David Brearly.) This declarant held his commission as 1<sup>st</sup> Lieut. in this company, until within about two

months before the army was disbanded, when in consequence of his rupture he was compelled to resign said commission. He cannot state the precise date of his entering or leaving as 1<sup>st</sup> Lieut. in Wards Company, but he well recollects, that he served in that capacity ten months, & a few days. During the time he was Lieutenant in Wards Company, he was stationed nearly all the time at Hackensack, N. Jersey. The operations of the army were then not very active, though while lying at Hackensack, Capt. Wards company attacked & drove off a foraging party of the British from Bergen, in N. Jersey. This declarant was in some other skirmishes, not necessary to enumerate. He ought to state however, that in the battle of Ash Swamp, he was shot through the thigh, and has ever since been a cripple from the wound.

The declarant further states, that he has no documentary evidence in his possession, or within his reach, to prove the facts, or any part of them, herein set forth – his commissions as also his discharges from the service having been lost, thru time & accident – nor does he know of any witness or person now surviving by whom he can prove the facts, or any part of them, herein set forth. He further states, that he was born in the county of Middlesex, in the State of N. Jersey on the 12<sup>th</sup> Feby. 1754, & that he has no record of his age, nor does he know that there ever was any such record except that made in his fathers bible, which is not in his possession. When he first entered the service he resided with his father in Middlesex County N. Jersey – after the close of the war he resided in Somerset County in that state – afterwards moved to Morris County, & then to Sussex County, in said state. Subsequently he moved to Mount Bethel in the State of Pennsylvania – afterwards moved to & resided in Luzerne County Pa. near Wilkesbarre – afterwards lived in Hantleystown, and afterwards in Fayette Co. Pa. and for the last five years he has resided in Harrison County in the State of Ohio. He has been three times married, and is the father of 13 boys & 13 girls by his three wives. He is well known to the Rev. James Manning, & Thomas Johnson, who live in his immediate vicinity, & also to Joshua Harrison, of Steubenville, in the county of Jefferson, all of whom will testify to his good character for truth & veracity, and also their belief of his having served in the revolutionary war, as herein set forth. He hereby relinquishes every claim whatever to a pension or annuity, except the present, & declares that his name is not on the Pension roll of the agency of any state, except Ohio.

Sworn to & subscribed the day & year aforesaid.

McD. Campbell

Attest  
J.R. Wells Clk.



United States National Archives, Collection M-804, Pension and Bounty Land Application Files, No. S2109, McDonald Campbell, New Jersey/Pennsylvania.

State of New Jersey }  
Essex County }

On this 22<sup>nd</sup> day of August 1818 before me the subscriber one of the Judges of the Court of Common pleas in and for the said County personally appears Bennet Garrison aged sixty three years resident in the County of Morris in the said State of N Jersey who being by me first duly sworn according to law doth on his oath make the following declaration in order to obtain the provision made by the late act of Congress, entitled, An act to provide for certain persons engaged in the land and naval service of the United States in the revolutionary war.

That he the said Bennet Garrison in the month of March, 1776 at Bridge Town, Cumberlin County in the State of N. Jersey enlisted in the Company commanded by Captain Joseph Bloomfield of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Jersey Regiment under the command of Col. Elias Dayton. That he continued to serve in the said company until February following when he engaged in the same company for three years or during the war and continued to serve under the said Captain Bloomfield until he was promoted at which time the company was placed under the command of Captain Mott and soon after the company came under the immediate command of Captain William Gifford his former Lieutenant under whom he continued to serve until in January 1779 when he was persuaded to accompany Robert Johnson on Staten Island for the purpose of plundering the enemy at which time the said Robert Johnson treacherously surrendered him up a prisoner to the enemy where he the said Bennet Garrison remained until in the month of April following at which time he returned to his own company which still remained under the command of Captain Gifford to whom he stated the whole circumstance of his absenting himself without leave, detention &c from which statement, the officers granted him a full pardon without trial and returned him to his duty – and he remained in the same company in the service of the United States until the month of June 1783 when he was honorably discharged from service with two badges of merit for seven years & three months service. That he was in the battles of Woodbridge, Shorthills, Brandywine, Jermantown, Monmouth, Shemong under Genl. Sullivan, Springfield and at the siege of Cornwallis.

And that he is in reduced circumstances & stands in need of the assistance of his Country for support and that he has no other evidence now in his power – his discharge having been given up at a time when he sold his right of land to a speculator for Ten Dollars.

Bennet Garrison

Sworn to, declared and subscribed  
Before me the day and year aforesaid  
Abrm. Reynolds

United States National Archives, Collection M-804, Pension and Bounty Land Application Files, No. S34369, Bennet Garrison, New Jersey.

State of New-Jersey }  
Essex County ss }

On this Seventeenth day of August In the year of our Lord one thousand Eight hundred Thirty two, Personally appeared in Open Court before the Judges of the Inferior Court of Common please in and for said County Now Sitting, William Clark A Resident of the Township of Westfield in the County of Essex and State of New-Jersey aged Seventy six years, Who Being first duly sworn according to Law doth on his Oath make the following Declaration in Order to Obtain the Benefit of the act of Congress Passed June Seventh in the year of Our Lord one Thousand Eight hundred and Thirty two.

He was Born in the Township of Elizabeth in that part Now Set off as the Township of Westfield in the said County of Essex and State of New-Jersey on the Seventeenth day of June Seventeen hundred and Fifty six and was Seventy six years old last June according to his family Record which is in his possession, Where he was living when first Called into Service and where he has Resided ever since and Now Resides.

That he Entered the Service of the United States under the following named officers and Served as herein stated, as near as he can Recolect.

That he first entered the service of the United States in the Revolutionary war as a Volunteer in Capt. John Scudder Company of Militia under the Command of Major Moses Yaquish and Marched to the City of New-York and was their when the Brittish army Landed on the Island and at the time of the Long Island Battle, and was their about one week and then Returned to Jersey, it being on or about the first of August 1776 when he first entered the service. Immediately on his Return to Jersey was drafted and Stationed at Elizabeth Town point under the Command of Colonel [Edward] Thomas erecting the breastworks and done Three Months duty – he then enlisted in Captain Jacob Cranes Company for Three Months and was Stationed Between Brunswic and Hackensack and had frequent Skirmishes with the Brittish during said Term & served his Term out but Received no Written discharge, also during the said Term he was one of the party that took Seventy Hessians at Connecticut farms and drove the horsemen. - he served one month at the time the Refugees and Greens Come from Staten Island to Elizabeth Town when Captain [Francis] Lock was killed and Capt. Nathaniel Randolph was wounded and was skirmishing with the Brittish and Refugees nearly one day, and fired his Last shot. Was stationed Two months at Morse’s & Tremblys point. Was a Volunteer under Captains Morse, Clark & Dickey and went down the Rariton in a whale Boat and was Taken a prisoner near the Light house and Confined in the Sugar house at New-York about four Months. Served one Month under Capt. Potter, one Month in Capt. Woods Company, one Month under Capt. Dunham & one Month under Capt. Scudder in Col. Moses Yoquishes Command. Stationed one Month at Blazing Star, was one Month at Woodbridge and one Month at Ackuackanac, and one Month at the New ferry in Capt. John Scudders Company. He was in the service under Capt. John Scudder, Capt. Ephraim Scudder and others until the Close of the war as much as Nine Months and was out during the war at different periods as much as Two years and six Months Including the time that he was a prisoner of War but the above is all that he Can Recolect was

Commanded by Col. Thomas Col Yoquish Col. Sela Col. Van Cortland. Was in the Battle at Springfield & Connecticut farms. Was out on a scouting party at the Battle of the Short hills when Lord Howe Came to Westfield and Lord Howe maid his head Quarters at his fathers House and after said Howe left the house the Soldiers distroyd and took away all their Movable property which damage was affirmed at five hundred pounds. had a warm Skirmish with the Brittish at Blazing Star and many other places. Was Stationed as a guard along the Lines between New Jersey and Statten Island the Most of the war. Acquainted with Lord Sterling, General Maxwell, Col. Sherman, Col. Fitch, Col. Barber, Col. Matthias Ogden and knew Many others of the standing army. He has no documentary evidence of his services but Can prove the Three Month service by Clark Miller and part of his militia service by Daniel Hetfield, & Jacob Sudlum.

He here[b]y Relinquishes every Claim whatever to a pension or annuity except the present and declares that his name is not on the pension Roll of the agency of any State or Territory in the United States.

William Clark

Sworn to and Subscribed        }  
in open Court the day and       }  
year aforesaid                    }  
                                          E Van Arsdale Jr. Clk

7.) *Pennsylvania Archives*, vol. 8 (1779), (Philadelphia, 1853), pp. 24-25.

Capt. Jno. Paul Schott To Council, 1779.

The Honourable Council.

Gentlemen,

I am a Hessian Born, by Inclination, as well as duty bound an American I have the Honour to be a Capt" in the Continental Army ever since the 6<sup>th</sup> day of November 1776. I had the Misfortune to be taken Prisoner on the 26<sup>th</sup> of June 1777, in the Battle of Short Hills, where I suffer'd the greatest Cruelty man cou'd Suffer. I was struck, kick'd abused and almost perished for Hunger; At that time I was offer'd one thousand pounds and a Majority in the Enemy's New Levies, but I despised their offer, and was determined to suffer death before I would betray the Cause I was Engaged in, Relying on the Country's Generosity to Reward me for my Grievanes. When I was Exchanged I got the Command of that Corps I now Command. I made frequent application to the Honourable Board of War, to grant me the Bank of a Major, and liberty to Inlist Men and raise that Corps again to its former Strength, by which I thought to have an opportunity to take satisfaction of the Enemy in an Honourable way, for the ill usage I received when a prisoner, which I would have done, or died in the attempt, but was always refused, having had no opportunity to Distinguish myself I was even left out of the Arrangement of the Line with the rest of the officers in this Corps. I still thought that I was entitled to the benefit of the provision made by your Honours, for the Officers and Soldiers in the line, but Sending Capt Selin to your Honours lately with a Return of the State of the Corps, you was pleas'd to write the following to the Honourable Board of War. That the more liberal the provision, the more necessary it was, that it should be Distributed with oeconomy and prudence. That your Honours could not think of Settling the States with the Support of officers who had but little more than nominal Commands, but at the same time that you was willing to provide for us on a Scale consisting with the public Service, if therefore the Men could be Inlisted for the War, and all cou'd be thrown into one Company and annexed to the line of the State, that you was then Inclined to provide for us, and the Supernumerary Officers be disposed of as in other Cases, or be left to the publick at large, As for my own part I apply to the Honourable Major General Sullivan, B General Hand, Maxwell and others, under whose Command I had the Honour to serve, that I always had more than Nominal Command but leaving it Intirely to your Honours Judgment to Dispose of the Corps as you think proper, and a favourable Line from you will for ever Oblige.

Your Honours Most Obedient  
and Most Humble Serv<sup>t</sup>,

JOHN P. SCHOTT, Cap<sup>t</sup>.

Garrison, Wyoming, Novr 26<sup>th</sup> , 1779.

Lt. Col. Becker To The Board Of War, 1777.

Camp near Germantown, Aug<sup>t</sup>. 4<sup>th</sup>, 1777.

Gentlemen,

The present state of the Sixth Penn<sup>a</sup>. Reg<sup>t</sup>, is not so good as I flattered myself a few months ago It would by this time have been, Two of my Captains, Lochry & Broadhead, having a Considerable sum of money advanced to them for the recruiting service, And been a Considerable time absent from the Reg<sup>t</sup>., have now joyned it, Cap<sup>t</sup>. Broadhead with Four recruits, & Cap<sup>t</sup>. Lochry with not one, some Time in the Month of June I recd a letter from Cap<sup>t</sup>. Lochry requesting a sum of money to pay for the Board & other expenses of Forty recruits, which he Had (as he informd me) enlisted, & woud Immediately March them down, accordingly I remitted him 800 dollars, which I Imagine he can render but very poor account of, he Informs me Gen<sup>l</sup>. Hand On his way to Fort Pitt, forced his recruits to joyn him, but has not a scrawl to produce from Gen<sup>l</sup>. Hand to prove it, I am sensible the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Board has been Imposd on by him & several others.— There are 2 first Lieu<sup>ts</sup>. Thomas Gibson & Stephen Hanna, And 4 Ensigns, Peter Bingham, Cha<sup>s</sup>. Gillispie, Jn<sup>o</sup>. M' Kenny & Jonathan Shaw, who have not Joynd the Reg<sup>t</sup>, nor can I give any account of them, & as the Reg<sup>t</sup>, may suffer for want of Officers, I would beg leave to Recommend To the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Board the three following Gentlemen for Ensigns, John Markland, Philip Snider & John Foster, whose good behaviour in the service deserves promotion, particularly Mr. Markland in the Affair of the 26<sup>th</sup> June.

I have the Honour to be Gentlemen,  
Your Ob'. Hum<sup>m</sup> Servt,

HENRY BECKER, Lieu<sup>t</sup>. Coll. 6<sup>th</sup> P. R.

Directed,

To Hon<sup>ble</sup> Board of War.



## Hessian Field Jaeger Corps

Journal Kept by the Distinguished Hessian Field Jaeger Corps during the Campaigns of the Royal Army of Great Britain in North America. Translated by Bruce E. Burgoyne. *Journal of the Johannes Schwalm Historical Association, Inc.* 3(3), 1987.

Pg. 46

“June 26 – The enemy army advanced as far as Basketreach, in order to attack the rear of our force during the crossing to Staten Island. The royal army marched therefore at daybreak, in two columns, to attack the enemy. The right was commanded by Lord Cornwallis, and Lieutenant Colonel von Wurmb, with the Companies of von Prueschenck and Wrede, formed the advance guard, which was followed by the Light Infantry. General Howe was with the left column, where Major Prueschenck, with the Companies of Ewald and the Ansbachers, were the advance guard. Several skirmishes occurred involving the right column – the Jaegers and Light Infantry driving the enemy from some heights, without significant loss in that the Light Infantry had only a few killed and wounded. The English Guards and the Hessian Minnigerode Grenadier Battalion attacked the enemy post and the Guards captured one cannon and the Grenadiers, two cannon. At evening the army camped near Westfield. General Howe reconnoitered the enemy positions at Basketreach and found them too strong, so....”

## Johann Ewald's Journal

From Part Eleven:

... General Howe presumed that the advance of the enemy corps could signal no other intention than that of falling upon our rear guard when the army crossed over Prince's Bay to Staten Island. Therefore, at two o'clock on the morning of the 26th the jägers, the light infantry, all the grenadiers, three infantry brigades, and the light dragoons set out in two columns to disperse the enemy. The right-hand column under Lord Cornwallis, consisting of the Donop, Prueschenck, and mounted jäger companies, the Hessian grenadiers under Colonel Donop, the English Guards, and a part of the dragoons, took their route directly toward Westfield. The left-hand column under General Vaughan, which the Commander in Chief personally accompanied, consisted of the Anspach and my jäger companies, the light infantry, the English grenadiers, the English infantry, and the rest of the dragoons, which took their route by Metuchen Meeting House to cover the attack against the enemy army.

The enemy had taken his position on the steep bush-covered heights; his right was protected by deep ravines and his left by a thick wood. The jägers tried to approach the enemy in the rear through the ravines, and the Hessian grenadiers made an attack on the right, supported by the Guards. The enemy was attacked with the bayonet and driven back, whereby Colonel Minnigerode and his grenadier battalion greatly distinguished themselves, taking from the enemy three Hessian guns which had been captured at Trenton. The loss of the enemy in dead and prisoners was reckoned to at about five hundred men, and on our side at about one hundred and thirty dead and wounded, the Minnigerode Battalion having lost the most men. The entire army withdrew afterward upon the heights of Westfield Meeting House, where it remained overnight in bivouac.

On the 27th the army withdrew in two columns to Rahway, where it was protected by the Rahway River.

Friedrich von Muenchhausen

*At General Howe's Side, 1776-1778: The Diary of General William Howe's aide de camp, Captain Friedrich von Muenchhausen.* Translated by Ernst Kipping and annotated by Samuel Smith. Philip Freneau Press, Monmouth Beach, NJ. 1974

Pg. 19.

June 26: At one o'clock in the morning the first column, under General Cornwallis, set out to march for Scotch Plains region via Woodbridge. The second column, under General Vaughan, started out at three o'clock in the morning, General Howe being with this column. This column marched first along the road to Brunswick, then turned to the right, and joined Cornwallis' column in the neighborhood of Scotch Plains.

Cornwallis' column, marching to the right of Vaughan's, put a part of the Short-hills between the two columns. On his march, before the two columns could join, Cornwallis' column came upon a picket of Lord Stirling's force at six o'clock in the morning. Stirling was in that part of the Short-hills, which we had managed to place between the two columns. Stirling's pickets ran off after a few shots.

Both columns continued on their march till about eight o'clock in the morning, during which time there was a steady fire on us from out of the bushes, and from behind trees. Their fire was answered by the Hessian jaegers, the English light infantry and our side patrols. Then we [Cornwallis' column] met a corps of about 600 men with three cannon on a hill before a woods. They held their position until we approached them with some deployed battalions and cannon, whereupon they hurriedly withdrew into the woods behind them.

Half an hour later, on a bare hill before some woods, we came upon approximately 2,500 men with six cannon. They started cannon fire early, at a distance of 1,000 paces, and then began small arms fire. We took two 12-pounders and sever 6-pounders to our left flank, where we had some rising ground. From our right flank the Hessian grenadier battalion von Minnigerode ascending the slope in deployed formation, attacked their left flank. Our battalion had to move considerably to the right in order to outflank their left flank. The rebels continued a strong but not very effective fire upon us. They finally fired grape-shot at von Minnigerode's battalion, but after that, they ran away into the woods.

On this occasion the von Minnigerode battalion took two, and the English Guards one of their new French brass three-pounders, which are very good cannon. General Lord Stirling, who was in command, had his horse shot, and General Maxwell was almost captured by the Hessian grenadiers, missing him only by a hair's breadth. The lately arrived French General Conway, with some volunteers, took part in this affair.

A little while after the encounter, after nine in the morning, not far from Scotch Plains, our column [Vaughan's] joined forces with the rear of Cornwallis' and so we continued to march in one column until we arrived in the region of Westfield, where three battalions of Highland Scots were assigned advanced posts. During the whole march, both our vanguard and our side-patrols were continuously harassed by shots from single detachments, which were hidden in the bushes. Westfield is about 13 miles from

Amboy, 10 miles from Elizabethtown, 12 miles from Bound Brook, and 4 miles from the highest peak of the Watchung Mountain Range.

Pg. 20

June 27: In yesterday's skirmish, or affair as it may be called, we had a total loss of 70 men, killed, wounded or suffocated in the dreadful heat. We do not know the losses of the rebels. We have taken three cannon and 82 prisoners. We also have the reliable information that they took away 37 wagons full of wounded. Therefore, I would think it not an exaggeration to estimate their losses at 400 men, at least.

Thomas Sullivan

*From Redcoat to Rebel: The Thomas Sullivan Journal.* Edited by Joseph Lee Boyle. Heritage Books, Inc, Bowie, Maryland, 1997.

Pg. 120:

“*June 25<sup>th</sup>*. The General Received Intelligence that the Enemy had moved down from the mountains, and taken post at Quibbletown, intending to Attack the Rear of ye. Army removing from Amboy, that two Corps had also advanced to their left – one of 3000 Men and 8 Pieces of Cannon, under the command of Lord Stirling, Generals Maxwell and Conway. – the other Corps consisting of about 700 men, with only one Piece of Cannon.

“The whole Army struck their Camp at 6 o’clock in the evening; all the Baggage and mens [sic] Knapsacks were sent to Amboy under a Guard, and from thence was transported in Boats to Staten-Island. During the Night the Troops lay upon their Arms.

Pg 121:

“*June 26<sup>th</sup>*. In that situation of the Enemy, it was judged adviseable to make a movement that might lead on to an attack, which was done at 3 o’clock in the morning in two Columns.

“The Right, under the command of Lord Cornwallis, with Major-general Grant, Brigadiers Matthews and Leslie, and Colonel Donop with the 1<sup>st</sup> Battalion of Light Infantry, 1<sup>st</sup> battalion of British Grenadiers, 1<sup>st</sup>, 2d and 3d. Battalions of Hessian Grenadiers, 1<sup>st</sup>. Battalion of Guards, Hessian Chasseurs, and the Queens Rangers, took the Rout[e] by Woodbridge towards Scotch Plains.

“The Left Column with which the Commander in Chief was, with Major-Generals Stirne, Vaughan and Grey, Brigadier-Generals Cleaveland and Agnew, marched by Metuchin Meeting-house, to join the Rear of the Right Column in the Road from thence to Scotch Plains; at the head of their Respective Brigades as above specified, intending to take four separate Rout[e]s, about two miles after the junction, in order to have attacked the Enemy’s Left flank at Quibble-Town.

“Four Battalions were detached in the morning, with six Pieces of Cannon, to take post at Bonumtown.

“The Right Column, fell in with the aforesaid Corps of 700 men, soon after Woodbridge, gave ye. alarm, by the heavy firing that ensued to their Body at Quibble-town, which retired to the Mountain with the utmost precipitation. A smart engagement ensued between the Front Division and the Enemy, which last were repulsed with Loss. The small Corps being close pursued by ye. Light Infantry, a smart Cannonading began, and three Battalions of the Enemy attacked 5 Companies of Light Infantry, the former occasioning from their situation the latter to incline into a wood, the Enemy being too superior in Number, and waited for the Guards and Riffleman to come up, Lord Cornwallis who headed them, seeing the [pg. 122] Position of the Enemy were in, came up with the said Battalions. The enemy were commanded by Lord Stirling, and was advantageously posted in a thick wood, with his Artillery well disposed. The Troops vying with each other upon this occasion attacked the Enemy so close, that , tho’ they were inclined to resist, could not long maintain their ground against so much Impetuosity, but were soon dispersed on all sides, leaving behind three Pieces of Brass Cannon, 3 Captains and 60 men killed, and upwards of 200 Officers and men wounded and taken.

“Our Loss was 5 men killed, and 30 wounded. The ardour and merit of the engaged Troops on this occasion was highly commendable.

“One Piece of Cannon was taken by the Guards, the other two by Colonel Minegerod’s Battalion of Hessian Grenadiers.

“The Enemy was pursued as far as Westfield with little Effect. Our Army formed a Line at the Road leading at the Foot of the mountain, the day proving so intensely hot, that the men could with difficulty continue their march homeward; many of them dropping dead in the Ranks through the means of drinking too much water: In the mean time it gave opportunity for the Enemy flying to escape by sculking in the thick woods, until night favoured their retreat to the Mountain. We lay upon the ground all night, without any disturbance from the Enemy, part of them deserted to us.

“June 27<sup>th</sup>. We marched from Westfield in the morning, driving all the Cattle we met before us, without any molestation, and halted in the afternoon at Raway, where we remained that night.

## Journal of John Peebles

25 June The army struck Tents at 6 o'clock in the Eveng. & sent their Baggage within the lines, moved off their ground about 9 & put in line of march in two divisions on the Bonham Town & Woodbridge Roads where they lay on their arms till day break, when the whole march'd in two Columns, that on the right under Lord Cornwallis the left Genl. Vaughan, under Genl. Howe about 8 o'clock morng. 26 [June] the Yagers & Light Infantry in front of the right Column began to skirmish & soon after fell in with a Body of the Rebels north of Metachy [Metuchen] M:House who had 4 pieces of Cannon, which they began to play on them The Light troops were supported by the British & Hessn. Grrs., killed a good many of the Rebels took 3 of their Cannon & about 150 Prisoners the 4th. Gun was found after in a thicket. The Rest of the Rebels fled in confusion- The Course of Columns was tow'd. Quible Town, when within 4 miles of it they turn'd to the right & join'd at Westfield where they halted for ye night.

June 27th The Army marched in two Columns by the left to Raway, without meeting any of the Enemy- in the Country we marched thro' these two days none of the men at home-...



Charles Stuart

Colonel Stuart to Lord Bute, 10 July, 1777. *A Prime Minister and His Son: From the Correspondence of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Bute and of Lt. General The Hon. Sir Charles Stuart, K.B.* edited by The Hon. Mrs. E. Stuart Wortley, C.B.E. John Murray, London, 1925.

Pg. 111

New York, July 10, 1777

“On our arrival at Amboy every preparation was made for embarking the Troops, and one Brigade of Hessians had actually embarked. This induced Washington to quit his hold in order to attack us, on hearing which Gen. Howe ordered those Troops to disembark, and at day-break the next morning march’d in two columns; the right had one, commanded by Cornwallis and Grant, were to pass by Woodbridge to Westfield, and the left by Bowen Town to the same place.

“Washington’s army was drawn up about 3 miles from the Mountains, his left at Sparkston, and his right extending towards Boundbrook.

“Upon the alarms of our movements, Washington retired to the post he before occupied. Lord Cornwallis falling in with Stirling, near Matonaking, after a slight skirmish obliged him to retire. In this confusion we took 60 men, and 3 pieces of cannon; our loss was Capt. Finch, of the Guards, killed, and 30 men killed and wounded, besides 20 men who dropp’d down dead from the heat or fatigue.

Heinrich Carl Philipp von Feilitzsch

*Diaries of Two Anspach Jaegers: Lieutenant Heinrich Carl Philipp von Feilitzsch and Lieutenant Christian Friedrich Bartholomai*, Bruce E. Burgoyne, translator and editor. Heritage Books, Inc. Bowie, Maryland, 1997.

Pg. 10

“The 25<sup>th</sup> – I went on picket duty. Toward evening about 2,000 enemy infantry and cavalry attacked. The entire [Jaeger] Corps at once came to my support. It was a sharp engagement. We lost no one, however, and the enemy again had to retreat with losses.

“The 26<sup>th</sup> – The entire army moved forward in two columns. The enemy had occupied every height. The two columns charged against them. Our losses were not large, while the enemy lost four cannons and many dead and wounded. This occurred near West Litt.

John Andre

*Major Andre's Journal: Operations of the British Army under Lieutenant Generals Sir William Howe and Sir Henry Clinton, June 1777 to November 1778.* William Abbatt, Tarrytown, NY, 1930.

Pg. 31:

“26<sup>th</sup> Two columns being formed, the Right commanded by Lieutenant-General Lord Cornwallis and the Left by Major-General Vaughan. The Right marched a little before sunrise and took the Woodbridge Road. The Left began moving at sunrise and took the Bonham Town Road.

“The Right passing thro’ Woodbridge turned to the left and by a circuit gained the road to Scotch Plain. On their march they fell in with, not far from Woodbridge, with a part of the Rebels, who fled on their approach, leaving, it is said, some killed and wounded.

Pg 32:

“The left proceeding for a few miles on the Bonham Town Road, turned into the Quibbletown Road, and taking afterwards to the right at Metuchen Meeting House, fell into the Scotch Plain Road and come up with the rear of the Right Column. Colonel Prescott, with the 28<sup>th</sup> and 35<sup>th</sup> Regiments and the Hessian Battalion of Loos and Donop, was detached to Bonham Town on the Left Column turning into the Quibbletown Road. The Army was now in one column. The front soon reached Ash Swamp, where they came up with a considerable body of the Rebels, commanded by Lord Stirling, who had taken post on a rising ground, in order (it was supposed) to cover the retreat of about seventy wagons, which they had begun to draw off on the news of our approach, and the hindermost of which were discovered by the head of the Column. They made very little resistance, but dispersed as the Grenadiers of the Guards and a few companies of Light Infantry advanced upon them. A troop of Light Dragoons pursued the fugitives and took about thirty prisoners, killing or wounding several more. In this affair Captain Finch of the Guards was mortally wounded. The Enemy left three brass field pieces on the ground. They were French guns. From the accounts of deserters Washington’s whole Army had left the mountains; the main body were at Quibbletown and Lord Stirling with the advanced Guard at Rahway. Lord Stirling was to watch our movements and they were to press on, upon our beginning to embark. It was reported that in consequence of this information the plan of our march was, that the right hand Column should by turning Washington’s left, get between his Army and the mountains, whilst the left marched straight to Quibbletown and attacked him. It seems that upon Lord Stirling being discomfited [pg. 33] the alarm was given and they retired precipitately to the hills. We could see the wagons ascending the Mountain, and could judge the steepness of the ascent by the frequent halts they made. The Army proceeded to Westfield, where they lay on their arms.”

“27<sup>th</sup> At 9 in the morning we marched by the left, bringing with us about sixty prisoners picked up at different places and driving the cattle we met on the road. The spirit of depredation was but too prevalent on these marches. This day, however, it was much restrained in the Second Column (then in front). We scarcely met a man at home

excepting the old and infirm. The Army huttred this night along the banks of Rahway, six miles from Amboy.

Archibald Robertson

*Archibald Robertson. Lieutenant-General Royal Engineers, His Diaries and Sketches in America 1762-1780.* Edited by Harry M. Lydenberg. The new York Public Library, New York, 1930.

Pg. 138

“25<sup>th</sup> Information being given to the General that the Rebel Army had quited their Camp and come down to the Low Country about Sam Town, Quibble Town, etc., and that they intended to possess the Short Hills near Metuchen to Annoy our Rear, when Embarking orders were given for Army to Pack all their Baggage and Tents at Amboy and to be under Arms at 6 o'clock in the Evening.

“The 6 Regiments order'd from Staten Island and Stirne's Brigade disembark'd. The Whole Army was formed into two Columns, and After Lying on their Arms All night, they march'd at 6 o'clock in the morning of the 26<sup>th</sup> [June]. The Right hand Column commanded by Lord Cornwallis march'd by Woodbridge and along the North side of the Short hills. The Left Column by the Cross Roads and Metuchen detaching the 28<sup>th</sup>, 35<sup>th</sup>, and 2 Hessian Battalions to take post at Bonham Town. The Right hand Column, about 1 ½ miles from Metuchen On the Westfield Road, fell in with some Brigades of [pg. 139] the Rebels, commanded by Lord Stirling, who were strongly posted, and drove them off with little or no loss. The Rebels halted again about a mile farther on and were Attack'd a 2d time. They were immediately drove back with Considerable loss and 3 brass 3-pounders taken. We had about 40 Killed and Wounded, amongst the Latter Captain Finch of the Guards who died in two days after. We continued our march both Columns on the same Road towards Westfield in Extreme Heat. The 1<sup>st</sup> column Encamp'd near Westfield and the 2d about 1 mile short of it. The Whole Rebel Army decamp'd that were near Quibble Town and regaind the Mountain.”

Journal of the Honourable von Donop Regiment, known as V. Knyphausen, from the 26<sup>th</sup> of February 1776 (the day when the regiment march out of Hesse) up to the 17<sup>th</sup> of May 1784, the day of their march back into the garrison at Cassell. It was kept by the Judge Advocate of the Regiment, and Paymaster Zinn. Ligderwood Collection, Fiche 40. Morristown National Park.

Pg. 15

26<sup>th</sup> June

We had already received the order to again embark and that we were to accompany the troops on the transport ships to Amboy but the lack of wind and the strong ebb tide which was directly against the fleet so delayed us that it was not until the

27<sup>th</sup> June

That we were able to disembark at Amboy at two o'clock in the morning, and even then the troops which were in the *Charming Nancy* which got stranded on a sand bank had to come on [pg. 16] in flat boats for a distance of three English miles, or an hours time, to the landing Place at Amboy. Here the Brigade of General Stirn's was formed up, and as the cannon for the von Donop Regiment had not been able to come with them in so short a time, the Regiment had to take the Artillery of the Kohler Grenadier Battalion then until, on the course of a few hours, their own Regimental pieces arrived also. The von Donop regiment, together with the Combined Battalion and an English Regiment remained in Bonmintown, so that they could cover the left flank of the army from the low hill at that place after having driven the enemy back as had been their intention, at One O'clock the Regiment marched back again to Amboy, then as all the other Regiments were back again with the main body of the troops, the Regiment was at once embarked. The heat of this day was so astonishingly great that many of the soldiers on the march fell out and died from it.

Short Description of the Journey of the Honourable Hessian troops from Brewerlehe to America, under the command of His Excellency Lieutenant-General von Heister. Ligderwood Collection Fische #45, Letter FZ. Morristown National Park.

Full title: Journal of the Campaign in America, Volume II 1776 to 1779

FZ a72

“Several regiments received their marching orders every day from the 23<sup>rd</sup> [June] and onward, but after their tents had been struck they always received counter-orders. Our outposts were alarmed several times each day, but nothing of importance ever happened. However, when General Howe to all appearances was not able to entice the enemy out of their hiding places as he could wish – for the retreat he had beaten lately showed that albeit an expedition by water was imminent, still there was also some dissimulation behind it all, besides, he had always the fear to face that his rear-guard would suffer great loss if he retired – he gave orders to his army of which he still had a part with him on the evening of the 25<sup>th</sup> [June], that the tents were to be struck and also that the knapsacks were to be taken from the men and sent to Amboy, where the Ansbach and Waldeck troops had remained as a cover. The fact of the tents being struck made the enemy suppose that we now intended to embark, for which reason they at once attacked our light troops; however, short work was made of them, and on the following morning [26 June] they were scared away by the column on the left. A detachment consisting of 4 regiments, English and Hessian, were sent back as far as Bonnettown on the way to Brunswick, where they were to take their stand. General Stirn who was already on the vessels with his 3 regiments had to land again and was also assigned a post, but which it was is still unknown to me. The Hessian Jägers now under Lieutenant Colonel von Wurmb, a battalion of Light Infantry, and English battalion of Grenadiers, 3 Hessian (the Köhler Battalion not included), the English Guards, a couple brigades of English Infantry and a regiment of dragoons marched on the right under the command of Lord Cornwallis. Another [FZa73] column marched on the left, but I cannot state what it actually consisted of, for a number of troops assembled following evening, and nobody knew from whence they all came. General Vaughn was in command of this column, and General Howe with it. I will now only speak of Lord Cornwallis’ column, for the others have had nothing to do with each other. This column formed into line on the way to Woodbridge, set out towards 3 o’clock in the morning, turned to the left on reaching the town and took the road to Quibbletown. After we had gone about 2 miles our advanced guard came across a picket or patrol of 200 men, but these were soon repulsed by means of a short skirmish and the sound of the amusettes. After we had gone another 3 miles a small corps was again met with, with which our light troops also skirmished but somewhat more obstinately; however, it also yielded finally. After having gone about 3 miles further, and whilst we were just going through a valley where we had a hill to our right on which our flank-patrols were marching, and just as a troop of our dragoons had been sent up there to reconnoiter, we heard some gun-shots following quickly after each other, which made our dragoons return with the utmost speed. So we had to wheel about to the right and leave the road at once and march up the hill. The Minnegerode Battalion which was the first in the order of march came on the right wing of the first division next to the English Grenadiers, the two others in the second division. As we arrived at the top the Jägers and



the Light Infantry were skirmishing with the enemy just in front of us; there was a corps consisting of 500 men and 2 guns on the right of us, as stated by the prisoners later on, who shot at us in the flank. Colonel Donop ordered the Minnegerode [FZa74] Battalion to wheel once more to the right with the utmost celerity, and march immediately to a thicket out of which the enemy had been shooting. Already after a few shots had been fired at the thicket it was discovered that it had been deserted, upon which the battalion marched past it on the left, and only the flankers had to pass through it. After we had now got a clear view behind the thicket, it was seen that the rebel corps was posted on a hill, which was separated from those on this side by a valley. But no sooner did the enemy catch sight of the battalion, when a brisk fire of musketry and grape-shot reined [sic] down on it, however, this was returned with much energy, although the big guns were not there, as they were unfortunately being employed elsewhere. But this did not prevent the battalion from advancing, and it had hardly reached the valley when the enemy already ran away leaving their 2 guns behind them. The battalion took possession of the guns, and pursued the rebels about 1000 paces further firing a few shots at them. The loss sustained by the battalion only consisted of 8 wounded among whom was a non-commissioned officer, and no dead. We counted 6 or 7 dead rebels on the field, but they had taken their wounded with them according to their custom. The English Guards who came along still further on the right but were separated from the Grenadiers also captured a gun. Altogether there were 80 prisoners taken, among whom there were 2 officers to my knowledge, and one of those was from Hersfeld. This slight engagement took place between 9 and 10 o'clock in the morning, and not very far from Quibbletown in my opinion, and also not far distant from the mountains that extend in the direction of Boundbrook and are called the Blue Mountains. We remained in this [FZa75] position until about midday, placed our wounded on wagons that we had brought with us for the purpose, and then marched to the right of the mountains towards Westfield, which was another 10 miles I think. Here we spent the night, and at midday on the 27<sup>th</sup> we marched back to Samptown, which lies between Elizabethtown and Woodbridge. Although the day's march was not as long as that of the day before, it was so fatiguing that several men died of exhaustion on the wagons, and among these 4 Hessian Jägers who had recently arrived.

At daybreak on the 28<sup>th</sup> we marched to Amboy, where the boats were already in readiness to put us over, and crossed to Staaten Island.

On the 29<sup>th</sup> the troops continued to cross during the whole day.

On the 30<sup>th</sup> all the troops including also the rear-guard came across in safety, and now we saw the advantage we derived from the engagement on the 26<sup>th</sup>, for the enemy would infallibly have harassed our rear-guard, if General Howe had not had this good idea.

Deserters are said to have reported that if General Howe had only come 2 hours later on the 26<sup>th</sup>, he would have taken the whole hostile army that was marching against us by surprise, for the enemy had been under the firm conviction that all our troops were occupied in the direction of Staaten Island.

On July 1 we marched to the place where we landed on American soil for the first time the year before, and received orders to hold ourselves in readiness to embark at any time. The fleet that is here looks splendid for those who admire such things.

v.H.

In camp on Staaten Island  
July 3, 1777

## Journal of the Grenadier Battalion Minnegerode 1776-1784

Journal of the Honourable Hessian Grenadier Battalion at one time von Minnigerode later von Lowenstein. Form January 20<sup>th</sup> 1776 to May 17<sup>th</sup> 1784. Ligderwood Collection, Fiche 232, Letter K. Morristown National Park.

K64

“...he gave the army which was with him, on the evening of the 25<sup>th</sup> June orders to strike the tents, to take away the soldiers’ knapsacks and send them on to Amboy. He dispatched a column off to the left, the Hessian Jägers, a Batt. Of Light Infantry, an English Grenadier Battalion, 3 hessian Grenadier Batts., without Kohler, the English Guards, and 2 Brigades of English Infantry marched under the command of Lord Cornwallis; another column must have marched in the centre, for the following evening a great number of troops assembled, so that one did not know where they all came from – they had to attach themselves to us, and afterwards [K65] occupy an outpost on our right flank but it is still unknown where this is situated.

Bug now I will only give a few particulars of Lord Cornwallis’ column. This was formed up on the road to Woodbridge, set out on its march towards three o’clock in the morning, and later struck off to the left into a road to Quibbletown; when they had gone a distance of about two miles the troops in advance came across a picket or patrol of 200 men, who, however, were soon driven back after a short skirmish and the roaring voices of the grasshopper guns. After traveling a distance of another three miles they met with another small corps which the Light troops also dispersed, though not till after a somewhat obstinate skirmish. After about another three miles and just as the way led through a valley, with heights on the right hand where the side patrols were marching, and up which a troop a dragoons had just been sent to reconnoiter, we heard shots fired shortly one after the other, which caused the dragoons to come back; the troops had forthwith to wheel off to the right from the road and march up the height; The Minnegerode Battalion which was first in order of march guarded the right wing of the first Division, he other two Grenadier Battalions the reserve. When they reached the top of the hill, the Jägers and the Light Infantry skirmished with the rebels in front of them and to the right there was a corps with 2 guns, which fired upon their flank. Colonel v. Donop wheeled the Minnegerode battalion about once more to the right with all possible speed and marched straight towards a thicket [K.66] out of which the rebels had been firing; when they had fired a few shots at the thicket they perceived that it was already forsaken. Thereupon the Battalion moved slowly past [sic] the thicket on the left let the flank go by. When they obtained an open view behind the thicket, they saw, according to the statement of the prisoners, 500 men and 2 guns located on a height, separated by a valley from the hills on this side; but as soon as the rebels caught sight of the Battalion they poured a whole rain of musketry fire and grape-shot into their midst, which rain of shot was vigorously answered from this side; the battalion, however, had not their guns with them, these being unfortunately employed elsewhere, but this did not check their advance. Scarcely had they reached the valley when the rebels took to their heels leaving their guns behind them; the Battalion seized the two guns and pursued the rebels for about 1000 paces with single shots. The loss sustained by the Battalion amounted to eight men wounded,

including one non-commissioned officer, but none killed. Of the rebels they counted eight men killed on the spot, but the wounded they had taken with them. The English Guards, who were somewhat further to the right – had also captured a gun. Altogether about eighty were taken prisoners, including an officer, so it is said. This affair took place between 9 and 10 o'clock not far from Quibbletown, in the mountain region running down towards Boundbrook called the Blue Mountains. The Corps remained in this position till mid-day, placed the wounded on army wagons which they had brought with [K.67] them and marched off again to the right up the mountains to Westfield about 10 miles away; here the Corps spent the night and marched on  
The 27<sup>th</sup> June at mid-day back again to Samptown situated between Elizabethtown and Woodbridge.”

Journal of The Grenadier Battalion von Block, 1776-1784

Fiche 272, Letter N.

Pg. 7

June 25 – Army hurriedly mustered and marched to Westfield, in order, if possible, to engage General Washington who had left his headquarters and was following us. The enemy suddenly came in our vicinity. Advance guard under Lord Cornwallis engaged a rebel company under Lord Stirling. In this, the Minnegerode Battalion captured two six-pounders.

June 26 – Following this, the army proceeded to Rahway and Amboy, from whence we were conveyed to Staten Island and set up camp near Prince's bay. Army received orders to make ready to embark.

Journal of the Honourable Fusilier Regiment von Alt-Lossberg. Linderwood Collection, Fische #249. Morristown National Park

M68:

“At 3 o’clock on the morning of the 25<sup>th</sup> [sic, should be 26<sup>th</sup>] General Howe advanced again with the Light troops, the Grenadiers, the Jägers and sundry English Regiments, attacked the rebels, took between 50 and 60 prisoners, and captured 3 of their brass guns, two of which, including a Hessian gun, lost at Trentown were taken by the Minnigerode Grenadier Battalion, which displayed great courage and bravery on this occasion making an assault on an intrenchment; it had previously been a 3-pounder, but had been bored into a 6 pounder by the Americans. The Lossberg Regiment lost one man on this occasion who fell to the ground dead owing to the great heat during the march. And in the same way, the Donop Regiment also lost two men.”

Sir William Howe to Lord George Germain, June 1777 (*London Gazette*) from John W. Barber and Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of New Jersey*, John W. Barber, New Haven, CT, 1868).

“...The necessary preparations being finished for crossing the troops to Staten Island, intelligence was received that the enemy had moved from the mountain and taken post at Quibbletown, intending, as it was given out, to attack the rear of the army removing from Amboy; that two corps has also advanced to their left, - one of 3,000 men and 8 pieces of cannon, under the command of Lord Stirling, Generals Maxwell and Conway, the last said to be a captain in the French service; - the other corps consisted of about 700 men, with only one piece of cannon.

“In this situation of the enemy, it was judged advisable to make a movement that might lead on to an attack, which was done the 26<sup>th</sup>, in the morning, in two columns; the right, under the command of Lord Cornwallis and Major-general Grant, Brigadiers Matthew and Leslie, and Col. Donop, took the route by Woodbridge, towards Scotch Plains. The left, column, where I was with Major-general Stirn, Vaughn, and Grey, and Brigadiers Cleveland and Agnew, marched by Metuchin meeting-house to join the rear of the right column, in the road from thence to Scotch Plains, intending to have taken separate routes, about two miles after the junction, in order to have attacked the enemy’s left flank at Quibbletown. Four battalions were detached in the morning, with six pieces of cannon, to take post at Bonhamtown.

“The right column having fallen in with the aforementioned corps of 700 men soon after passing Woodbridge, gave the alarm, by the firing that ensued to their main army at Quibbletown, which retired to the mountain with the utmost precipitation. The small corps was closely pushed by the light troops and with difficulty got off their piece of cannon.

“Lord Cornwallis, soon after he was upon the road leading to Scotch Plains from Metuchin meeting-house, came up with the corps commanded by Lord Stirling, whom he found advantageously posted in a country covered with wood and his artillery well disposed. The king’s troops, vying with each other upon this occasion, pressed forward to such close action, that the enemy, though inclined to resist, could not long maintain their ground against so great impetuosity, but were dispersed on all sides, leaving 3 pieces of brass ordnance, 3 captains and 60 men killed, and upwards of 200 officers and men wounded and taken.

“His lordship had 5 men killed and 30 wounded. Capt. Finch, of the light company of the Guards, was the only officer who suffered, and to my great concern, the wound proved mortal, he died the 29<sup>th</sup> of June at Amboy.

The troops engaged in this action were the 1<sup>st</sup> [Battalion] light-infantry, 1<sup>st</sup> {Battalion} British grenadiers, 1<sup>st</sup>, 2d, and 3d Hessian grenadiers, 1<sup>st</sup> battalion Guards, Hessian chasseurs [jaegers], and the Queen’s rangers. I take the liberty of particularizing these corps, as Lord Cornwallis, in his report to me, so highly extols their merit and ardor upon



this attack. One piece of cannon was taken by the guards, the other two by Col. Minnegerode's battalion of Hessian grenadiers.

“The enemy was pursued as far as Westfield with little effect, the day proving so intensely hot that the soldiers could with difficulty continue their march thither; in the mean time it gave opportunity for those flying to escape by skulking in the thick woods, until night favored their retreat to the mountain.

“The army lay that night at Westfield, returned the next day to Rahway, and the day following to Amboy. On the 30<sup>th</sup>, at 10 o'clock in the forenoon, the troops began crossing over to Staten Island; and the rear-guard, under the command of Lord Cornwallis, passed at 2 in the afternoon, without the least appearance of an enemy.

Journal of the Hessian troops in America under the command of General von Heister 1776 to June 1777. Linderwood Collection, Fiche 1-4, Letter AA (Part I). Morristown National Park.

Letter from Colonel von Donop to his Excellency Lieut. General von Heister, dated in Camp at Pilope Neck on Staten Island the 30<sup>th</sup> June, 1777

[pg. 121] "I herewith beg to forward to your Excellency the due report of the occurrences here. In the night of the 25<sup>th</sup> the Army quickly broke camp and had to march in two columns by Woodbridge against the Rebels who had come down there out of the mountains.

The right column under command of Lord Cornwallis went from Woodbridge to the right to Scotsplains [sic] where I was with my Brigade, excepting Captain Ewald's Jager Company, which was *a la tete* with the 2<sup>nd</sup> Column. This Column went along the straight road to Brunswick. With the right hand Column the Jagers met with the first of the enemy's pickets on the other side of Woodbridge, at about 1000 paces the muskets were fired and after a few shots sent at them from the "Grasshoppers," they fled, leaving their bundles behind. After them we met only very few troops of the enemy, until about 7½ o'clock in the morning at Quibbletown, there they presented themselves on a hill to the number of a few battalions with 3 cannon. After about ½ of an hours' further march our side patrols discovered a second part of 100 rebels on a fairly steep hill, who under a hot fire were driven out of their positions by the Jager and the English Light Infantry without any great loss. In this moment there came into our right flank several cannon shots, for this reason the [pg. 122] Minnegerode Battalion reinforced by the English Guards were sent forward in order to attack the enemy's flank. This succeeded so well that 3 cannon were taken from the enemy, of which the Minnegerode Battalion received two and the English Brigade one cannon.

The attack took place with fixed bayonets which the enemy could not long resist after some grape shot and Battalion discharges had been received, which the Minnegerode Battalion had had to withstand chiefly. The loss of the Minnegerode Battalion accounted to 11 wounded and one missing, of the first most are but slightly wounded. Of the English Guards Captain Phinx [Finch], a gallant young man, was mortally wounded, because he exposed himself a little too much. During the affair Captain Hendorf by a false jump dislocated his leg, but this was soon put right.

It is only right that I inform your Excellency that Lieut. Col. V. Minnegerode and all the Hessian officers of his Battalion on this occasion conducted themselves in such a manner as to deserve the honour of being recommended to his Serene Highness. I have the honour to assure your Excellency that the Jagers and all the Grenadier Battalion on this expedition have again gained special new commendations for their English General of which the annexed copy of the order testifies [not attached].

His Excellency General Howe was with the left hand column which Major Vaughn led, came in the afternoon from the Brunswick side to us, and took up his head quarters in Quibbletown. The Rebels retired in the greatest confusion [pg. 123] to the mountains, and it would have been very easily possible without much loss to have driven them out of their secure camp at that place, if the troops had not been so exhausted by the great heat.

To the greatest loss which we have had hear, there must be added 4 men of the new Jager squadron which were with us on foot and who suffocated by the heat on the march without being able to save them.

Of the English troops many men's lives were lost in the same way. In addition there are 5 men of the Jager corps missing, who doubtless fell from exhaustion and could not rise again. These no doubt were taken by the scattered Rebels.

On the 26<sup>th</sup> the army went back to Raway, and on the morning of the 27<sup>th</sup> we entered Amboy again. The 3 Battalions of Grenadiers were at once brought over here and a comfortable place assigned to them where they now rest.

Yesterday the Loos and Kohler Battalions together with the two Anspacher Regiments followed us and the heavy baggage of the whole army is on this side. The New Jager Squadron the mounted as well as the unmounted, have also come over. The foot Jagers and the English Light Infantry must however be the last to come. I hope that this expedition will have taken a little of their audacity from the Rebels, so that they will not press us so heavily but let our arriere guard pass quietly as has rarely happened.

I close with profound respect.

Your Excellency's most obedient servant

v. Donop

Anonymous British diary, 13 April 1777 to 26 September 1777  
edited by John Rees 2002 ([www.revwar'75.com/library/rees](http://www.revwar'75.com/library/rees))

June 1777

the 22d. two Regts. The 27d & 23d. three Batilons of Hesens Embarked in the flat Bots from Amboy to Straten Iland and to Encamp till farther Orders

the 26 the Army Marched from Amboy to Whitefield [Westfield] and Part to Brunswick but near Whitefield fell in With a Party of the Rebels in a thick Wood/ a Smirt fire insued By the Hessians and gards Light Compn. Which put the Retreat Leaving three Brass three ponr. 100 Men killed 50 prisnr/ the same time 26 Joined us With ther arms

the 27 We Retretd to Wood Bridg on A Advantious Post With an intent to Draw the Enemy of the Mountins but to no purpose the 28 Marched to Amboy

Letter from Captain John Bowater

New York, July 15 1777

Pgs. 134-135: "...Gen'l Howe Continued pursuing Washington in the Jerseys & drove him back as far as the Blue Mountains a country quite impregnable from its height and strong defiles it was then Resolved to return to the Transports on which they[the enemy] detached two thousand Rebels to harass our Rear under the command of Lord Sterling [sic], our people Attackd them, Kill'd one hundred took seventy prisoners & four pieces of brass Cannon. The Rest set off to there [sic] strong hold, our Loss was not more than ten or twelve men. We greatly lament on this occasion the loss of Capn. John Finch of the Guards, 4<sup>th</sup>: son of Lord Aylesford, his Company took the Cannon, he did not survive his Victory many hours."

Balderston, Marion and David Syrett, editors and annotations, 1975. *The Lost War: Letters from British Officers during the American Revolution*. Horizon Press, New York.

Montresor, John. "Journals of Capt. John Montresor." Ed. and annot. G.D. Scull. *New-York Historical Society. Collections.* 1881. vol. 14. pp. 424-425.

24th. The working parties of 300 men for erazing the Interiour parts of the works at Amboy countermanded. Deserters from Rebel Light horse. Some flying parties of the rebels Horse and Foot on Strawberry Hill, three miles from this Encampment. This evening advanced a body of our men and took post on Strawberry Hill to the right road to Woodbridge.

25th. This morning early Ferguson's Riflemen surprised and took one Rebel Light dragoon and also an advanced Piquet, shot the officer thro<sup>o</sup> the thigh and took him with 4 privates, the rest escaped. The Scarbor<sup>o</sup> 20 Gun Ship with 16 sail from Halifax arrived at New York.

26th. At 3 o'clock this morning the Army moved in 2 Columns, the right Lord Cornwallis—left Major General Vaughan—the Right Column took the Woodbridge Road and the left the Brunswick road but turned off the road to Metuchin meeting and 1200 men were sent on to take post at Bonham town  $\frac{1}{2}$  way to Brunswick from Amboy and the 2 Columns encamped this night at Westfield. A continued firing most of this day's march. Lord Sterling and General Maxwell with 3000 men and 4 brass field pieces principally opposed us near Westfield, but were put to flight leaving behind 3 Brass Field pieces, 3 Pounders one French and 2 English. Supposed to have killed this day about 50 of the Rebels and took 64 prisoners in arms and about 500 head of horned cattle. Washington with the gross of his Army made off very early with the utmost Expedition and his Baggage and retired to his old post on the Shannoc mountain. The heat of the weather was such that we lost 9 men on the march by it. We had no men Killed and about 20 wounded and a Captain in the Guards shot through the Body. Great want of water as the Inhabitants [p. 425] had choaked several of their wells. Most of the Houses were abandoned, what were not had only women and children. The rebel army had moved from the Mountain Country leaving there 1000 men and had taken post at Quibbletown three miles South of the mountain. The Engineers and Artificers were divided with the 2 Columns—two Established and an Assistant Engineer to each, myself with the Commander in Chief. The first body that fired on our right Column was about 1500 men under a General Conway and 3 field pieces, which were soon routed with loss by the usual Intrepidity of Light Infantry. Lord Chewton, aid de Camp to Lord Cornwallis had his horse shot under him. One man raved with a coup de soleil and fired at our own flankers. Amongst the prisoners a Major, 2 Captains and an Adjutant the latter shot through the thigh.

27th. At 5 this morning the whole returned towards Amboy and encamped within a mile of Woodbridge. A little firing just setting out and took 2 officers and a Serjeant of Rebel rifle men. A packet from England arrived at New York and vessels with lumber &c from Halifax. Rebels broke up the Bridge across Rahway River, upper branch, called Robertson's River where is a remarkable good port on the East side. Not the least firing on our River.

28th. At 4 this morning the whole marched and reached Amboy in 5 hours and mostly encamped. Weather exceptionally hot—no firing at all. This country richer and better watered. Part of the Army Continued their march, crossed the Ferry to Staaten Island and encamped there, and one Brigade of Hessians embarked on board their respective vessels lying near Amboy. Much baggage, Waggon, Horses &c ferried across likewise. Some deserters from the Rebels and one Light dragoon. The Vigilant armed with 18 and 24 pounders &c made up the Rariton, so as to flank our Camp. Flat bottomed boats -and such crait arrived this afternoon at Amboy from Princes Bay.

29th Sunday. The whole day principally taken up in transporting in Flat boats &c the Baggage of this Army across to Staaten Island together with every kind of " Stores de Guerre de bouche" besides Artillery, Horned Cattle, waggon, Horses and a working party of 300 men employed in Erazing the Interiour faces of the Redoubts & the Exterieur of Fort Callibogus fronting towards Staaten Island. Six

deserters came in. Captain Finch of the Grenadiers died of his wounds and buried this day at Amboy. Every preparation forming this day for our leaving the Province tomorrow. Gallies and armed vessels posted in the Kills and Raritan so as to cover our passage from Staaten Island which ferry is about f of a mile across. New York Company of Volunteers detached from King's Bridge towards White plains—killed 6 of the rebels and brought in Eight Prisoners—Twenty five head of Cattle and Eleven Horses.

CHELMSFORD, Sept. 5.

*Extract of a letter from a gentleman of the guards, dated July 6, 1777, relating to the death of the Hon. Capt. Finch of that corps.*

"June 26th, by a forced march the guards were ordered to advance against three pieces of cannon of the enemy's, our men (though amazingly fatigued) rushed on with their usual intrepidity to the attack, in the midst of a heavy fire from their cannon loaded with grape shot, and a brisk discharge of musquetry, but in spite of the strongest efforts of the enemy, who were greatly superior in numbers, we drove them from their cannon, which we secured, and pursued them about a mile, killed and took several prisoners; our loss on this occasion would have been very trifling but for the irreparable loss of the hon. capt. Finch, son to the earl of Aylesford; that gallant young gentleman was on horseback, at the head of his division of light infantry, and seeing the enemy endeavouring to cut away the horses from their cannon, he rode up with his bayonet only, and struck at the enemy, who immediately retired; at that instant he received a shot from a party of the rebels posted behind some rails, at a little distance, and fell from his horse; the shot went in at his belly and came out at his back, wounding the back bone in its passage; I was some distance upon his right, where the other cannon were taken; he was soon after carried out of the field in a waggon; seeing me pass him on horseback, he begged I would assist him as he lay very uneasy; I rode with him four miles, when he informed me in what manner he was wounded; I told him it was a pity he advanced before his division; he replied, : You, sir, would have done the same, and so would I again;" upon my expressing myself to him that I hoped he would soon recover, he said, "It did not signify, he was prepared for either." He had been promoted and ordered home, but had taken great pains to get general Howe's leave to stay; I wish he had been more fortunate; no man could be more brave. He lived till Sunday the 29th and died about seven in the morning of that day, at Perth Amboy, East New Jersey.

"The weather was so excessive hot when we were after the enemy the 26th, that 25 British and Hessians died on the march, with heat and fatigue."

**SOURCE: *The Chelmsford Chronicle*, Friday, September 5, 1777.**



Holger Th. Gräf, Lena Haunert und Christoph Kampmann, eds., *Krieg in Amerika und Aufklärung in Hessen. Die Privatbriefe (1772-1784) an Georg Ernst von und zu Gilsa*. Untersuchungen und Materialien zur Verfassungs- und Landesgeschichte 27, (Marburg 2010), pp. 256-263, the quote on pp. 261-62. All editorial comments and notes included in the edition of the letter have been omitted.

Urff (28 Sept. 1744 – 8 Sept. 1793) served as *Stabskapitain* in the 1<sup>st</sup> Company, Leib-Infanterie Regiment.

Christian Friedrich von Urff to Georg Ernst von und zu Gilsa

New Brunswick, 21-28 Juni 1777

...

Den 28ten, um 12 Uhr mittags

Soeben kommen wir hier auf dem Schiff von unßerer Expedition glücklich wieder an. Die Nacht 1 Uhr, vom 25ten bis den 26ten, wurden wir durch flach Boots bey Amboy ans Land gesetzt, weilen die Trouppen, wovon die Schiffen waren auf dem Grund kommen, durch Boots musten abgeholt warden. So blieben wir in der StraÙe von Amboy bis des Morgens ½ 3 Uhr. Wir erfuhren dorten, daß die Armée von den Rebellen wäre vorgerücket und den Tag vorher zwey Stunden von Amboy zu Burtentan geweßen, die Jägers auch mit ihnen scharmutziret hätten. (p. 261)

Die Armée marchirte in zwey Collonen ab, der Mylord Cornwallis mit dem Obrist von Donop formirten die Avantgarde und giengen den Weg auf Baumbrug, die Armée marchirte bis Burtentan. Dasselbst blieb das combinirte Battaillon nebst Donop stehen, uns die Arrière-garde zu decken, und wir giengen den Weg nach Quibbletown auf der sogenante Scotsche Plaine, woselbst Wassington gestanden. Bey unßrer Ankunft aber retirirten sie sich über Hals und Kopf nach den Gebirgen zurück. Bey Quibbletown kam das Minnigerodsche Grenadier-Battaillon benebst ein Battaillon englische leichte Infanterie auf eine Schanze, nahmen solche mit dem gefälten Bajonet ein, erbeuteten 3 Canonen – zwey Minnigerode und eine die Engländer -, todeten 70 bis 80 Mann und machten 50 bis 60 Gefangene, worunter sich ein Capitaine von der Wassingtonsche Garde sich befand. Dießer war ein gebohrner Deutscher und aus der Ritterschaft zu Hauß. Wir hatten einen starken March, denn wir marchirten von 3 Uhr des Morgens bis abends 9 Uhr, alsdenn wir auf der Plaine *en bibac* lagen, - bis um 11 Uhr des andern Tags, da wir wieder zurückgiengen, bis um 6 Uhr. Den Morgen 3 Uhr marchierten wir wieder. wir ließen Elisabethstown links liegen, kamen durch Woodbridge und von da auf Amboy, woselbst die Flachboots waren und uns wieder auf die Schiffe brachten. Der Verlust, so wir vom Feinde gehabt, war geringe, die englische leichte Infanterie haben einen todten Officier gehabt und einige Gemeine todt und blessirt. Minnigerode hat nur 3 Blessirte gehabt, und solche sind nur leichte verwundet. Wir glaubten gewiß, daß Wassington sich auf der Scotschen Plaine halten würde, jedoch seine Armée lief wie die Canailler nach den Gebirgen zurück. Wir haben einen Engländer und einen Soldaten von Mirbach wegen der graußamen Hitze verlohren; selbige fielen im währenden March hin and waren gleich todt. Du kanst dir leicht vorstellen, daß wir Officianten auch ziemlich müde waren, denn keine Pferde hatten wir, noch viel weniger Bagage, sondern wie wir giengen, lagen wir die 3 Nächte *en bibac*.

Translation:

New Brunswick, 21-28 June 1777

...

The 28<sup>th</sup> at 12 o'clock noon

We just arrived safely here on the ship from our expedition. The night of the 25<sup>th</sup> to the 26<sup>th</sup> at 1 o'clock we were set ashore by flat boats near Amboy because the troops had to be picked up by boats since the ships had run aground. Thus we remained on the road from/of Amboy until 2:30 in the morning. There we were informed that the army of the rebels had advanced and the previous day had been at Burtentan (Bonhamtown?) two hours (march) from Amboy and that the *Jäger* had exchanged fire with them.

The army departed in two columns, Mylord Cornwallis with Colonel von Donop formed the advance guard and took the road to Bound Brook, the army marched until Burtentan (Bonhamtown?). There the Combined Battalion as well as Donop remained to cover our rear guard, and we took the road to Quibbletown on the so-called Scotch Plains where Washington was located. However, at our arrival they retired helter-skelter to the mountains. Near Quibbletown the Grenadier Battalion Minnigerode as well as a battalion English Light Infantry encountered a redoubt, took it with bayonets fixed, captured three cannon – two Minnigerode, one the English – killed 70 to 80 men and took 50 to 60 prisoners, among them a captain of Washington's Lifeguard. He was a native German and a member of the (lower) nobility. We had a strenuous march since we marched from 3 in the morning until 9 in the evening when we went into bivouac on the plain – until 11 the next day when we went back again until around 6. In the morning at 3 we marched again. We kept Elizabethtown on our left, came through Woodbridge and from there to Amboy where the flatboats were that took us back to the ships. The loss that we suffered before the enemy was small, the English Light Infantry had one dead officer and a few enlisted men dead and wounded. Minnigerode had only three wounded, and they are only slightly wounded. We thought for sure that Washington would make a stand on Scotch Plains, but his army ran like rascals back to the mountains. We lost one Englishman and one soldier of Mirbach through the vicious heat; they collapsed during the march and died immediately. You can easily imagine that we officers were also rather tired since we did not have any horses, much less any baggage, but lay, as we marched, those three nights in bivouac.

Friedrich Becker (1747-1825) served as minister in the Hessian hospitals in America in 1777.

Friedrich Becker to Georg Ernst von und zu Gilsa

Newyork, den 12ten July 1777

...

Nun unsre Expedition auf Jersey? Die ist nicht sonderlich ausgefallen, vielleicht auch nichts Beträchtliches einmal intendirt worden. Die Rebellen unter dem Commando des General Wasshington haben sich bey Boundbrook so sehr verschanzt und auf solche Klippen gesetzt, daß unsre Armee ohne den gefährlichsten Sturm und Aufopferung vieler Menschen nicht hat ankommen können. Seine Excellenz der Herr General Howe haben es daher für gut befunden, sich mit der ganzen Armee wieder zurückzuziehen. Bey dieser Retirade, so am Ende des vorigen Monats geschahe, haben die Jäger, das Grenadier-Bataillon Minnigerode und 1 Regiment Engländer Gelegenheit bekommen, mit einem Corps Rebellen unter dem Commando des General Sterling Handgemeng zu werden und daselbe mit einem Verlust von ohngefähr 300 Mann und 3 metallenen französischen Kanonen, die noch ganz neu sind und davon das Grenadier-Battaillon Minnig 2 und das englische Regiment die 3te erobert hat, zurückzueitschen. Von den Unsrigen sind 2 Grenadiere todt blieben, 6 verwundet worden und 4 Jäger fur Hitze todt umgefallen. Hierauf haben nun die sämtliche alliirte Truppen Jersey ganz verlassen und stehen seit dem Anfang dieses Monaths auf Staaten-Island oder sind vielmehr nun alle wieder embarquirt und liegen vor Anker bey der Staten-Insel. Es ist nicht bekannt, wohin diese starke Flotte ihre Bestimmung bekommen wird.

Translation:

New York, 12 July 1777

Now to our expedition to New Jersey. It did not work out remarkably well, maybe also because nothing special was even intended. The rebels under the command of General Washington had fortified themselves near Bound Brook so much and placed themselves on such cliffs that our could not approach without the most dangerous storm and the sacrifice of many people. His Excellency General Howe therefore decided to retire again with the whole army. During this retreat, which happened at the end of last month, the *Jäger*, the Grenadier-Battalion Minnigerode und one regiment English troops had the opportunity to engage a corps of rebels under the command of General Stirling und to drive it back with the loss of 300 men and three metal French canon which are still completely new and of which the Grenadier-Battalion Minnig[erode] captured two and the English regiment the third. On our side two grenadiers were killed, six were wounded and four Jäger dropped dead due to the heat. Thereafter all allied troops completely left New Jersey and are quartered since the beginning of the month on Staten Island or rather are all again embarked and are resting at anchor near Staten Island. It is unknown where this strong fleet will be destined.

Jungkenn Papers, Box 1  
Clements Library

Ludwig Johann Adolph von Wurmb to Baron Jungkenn, New York, 2 July 1777.

... Vous verrés pour le Rapport que 4 des chasseurs qui doivent être a cheval sont morts pendant la marche de 27 et 3 des chasseurs a pieds perdu nous avons des avis que l'ennemi Les a priés le (sic) ils etaite de nos patrouille sur les flancs pour fouille les bois. Cetoit bien dommage que le Generall Howe ne marcha point 6 heures plus tard Car Washington étoit en mouvement pour s'approché de nous a peut près de 6 milles Angloise il vouloit prendre un Camp sur les Shorts Hills entre Braunschweig et Amboi et envoie des Detachement pour Harcellés Larrier garde quand nous allions au bord des vaisseau si il y étoit un fois campé il ne pouvoit pas Evité une affaire Generale et le matin a 6 Heure ils fit avertir que notre armé étoit en plaine marche sur lui il prit aller la partie de se retiré bien vitte dans ses traces ou ne nous pouvions point Le suivre a ce qu'on dit, a ce qu'il me parroit Les anglais ne sont pas fort en fait de marche je crois au lieu que nous marchame en deux Colonne il falloit marcher en 4 nous avions une armé de 15 homme et  
m  
rarement en trouve un terrain ici ou plus que 4 homme peuvent agire, ce qui m'etonne  
m  
est que si l'armé marche jamais ils ne couricissent les chemins, en abbatont ou ne paront quelque chaise, et quoique des pionniers marchent a la Tete des Colonnes ils restent toujours dans les grand chemin qui vont toujours en ZiZa [sic] et il me paroit que l'Ingenieur mons montresor qui a été 20 annés dans cette partie ne connoit le terrain qu'en gallant homme et pas comme Militaire.

Translation:

... You see from the report that four of the mounted Jäger died during the march of the 27th and three of the Jäger on Foot were lost we have information that the enemy took them they were of our patrols on the flanks to search the woods. It was a shame that General Howe did not march six hours later because Washington was moving to approach closer to us, at virtually six English miles (from us) he wanted to take a camp on the Short Hills between Brunswig and Amboy and sent detachments to harass the rear guard as we went on board of vessels once he was encamped he would not have been able to avoid a general engagement and at 6 in the morning they were informed that our army was toward him he decided to retire quickly on his tracks where we could not follow him as it was said, which appears to me that the English are not good at laying out marches I believe that instead of us marching in two columns we needed to march in four we had an army of 15,000 men and rarely does one find a terrain here where more than 4,000 men can deploy, what surprises me is that when the army marches they never walk along-side (i.e., have troops march on either side off the roads), beating them down or never prepare for a chase (Wurmb serves with the *Jäger*, i.e., hunters and is using the language of *Treibjagd* where *Treiber* = men with sticks beating the bushes and dogs get up rabbits and smaller animals hiding in the furrows of plowed fields or in hedges along fields and along roads so they can be shot), and if the pioneers ever march at the head of

the columns they always remain on the established roads which always run in a zig-zag and it seems to me that the engineer Mister Montresor who has been in this area for 20 years only knows the terrain as a gentleman would and not as a military man.

Jungkenn Papers, Clements Library

J.R. (Hessian) Journal (Anon. soldier from *Leibregiment*)

24 June 1777:

Nachts 12 Uhr wurden wir wieder deparquirt, die Armee hielte eine Afäre alwo wir bey 100 gefangene hatte und 5 Canonen erbeuteten Unsere seyte war der Verlust ohngefehr 20 Mann, den 28ten wurden wir wieder ambarquirt.

Translation:

At 12 o'clock at night we were again debarked, the army held an engagement where we made around 100 prisoners and captured 5 cannon on our side the loss was about 20 men, the 28<sup>th</sup> we were again embarked.

Frederick MacKenzie Papers M-1066, vols. A-E, Box 3-4

Journal D: begins 11 June and ends 24 June 1777, picks up again in August with landing at Head of Elk.

*June 11, 1777. The commander in chief came to Brunswick, joining on the road the escort of the provision train, consisting of the 7th and 26th and part of the 71st Regiments.*

*June 14, 1777. At daylight Lord Cornwallis DW having begun to move, a message was sent intimating it had been expected the 2nd Division would already have reformed in the rear.*

*June 15, 1777. Great symptoms of a disposition to plunder being perceived in the troops, the commander in chief sent a message to General de Heister, desiring him to warn the Hessians not to persist in such outrages as they would be most severely punished.*

*June 17, 1777. Nothing material, the troops in the same position, the enemy from what we can learn vary theirs, the few tents we see scattered on the hills appear every day in different spots. The Rebel light horse hover about Lord Cornwallis's Camp; and the Avenues to both camps are infested with ambuscades.*

*June 21, 1777. General Vaughan went to Amboy escorted by Koehler's Battalion Grenadiers. About 200 rebels made their appearance at Bonham Town.*

**Here begins the quote:**

June 22, 1777. Several men deserted last night, 4 from 44th, 3 from 27, 1 from 23rd and some others. At 2 o'clock the whole army struck tents; but the 2nd Div. did not begin to move till 7 – about 5 the Rebels appeared at the Jager post and a few shots were fired – The Army scarce began their march, when a body of the Enemy shewed themselves in the rear and attacked the Lt. Inf. – The last of the troops arrived at Amboy about 3 oClock.

General Leslie in the Van of the Army approaching Bonam town took post with his brigade at Short hills, a very high piece of ground, a mile or two beyond Bonam town towds Amboy. While the Corps marched forward to occupy their ground, a good deal of firing was heard in the rear & orders were sent from Gen: Howe to send the baggage forward to Amboy with all Expedition, & to keep the 2nd Div<sup>n</sup> halted a little time at Bonam town, which made us conclude the Enemy were appearing in force in the rear – The 2nd Div<sup>n</sup> was again halted within two miles of Amboy for near two hours by an ill comprehended or ill delivered order.

The Regt<sup>s</sup> ord<sup>d</sup> for S. Island began embarking on their arrival at Amboy, to cross to Billops pt and thence march to Princes bay where they are encamped. Genl Greys Qr at Billop's. The above Regt<sup>s</sup> were 4th, 15th, 23rd, 27th, 44th & 64th (?) & a brigade of Hess<sup>s</sup>.

24th The Hess<sup>n</sup> brigade embarked at Princes bay.

End of journal – it picks up again on 15 August 1777.

Three maps of the landing and encampment at Elk of 27 August, 28 August and at Cecil Church 1 September 1777 were photographed from here as were the three maps of camps at Middlebush of June 1777.



Johann Conrad Döhla

*A Hessian Diary of the American Revolution.* Bruce Burgoyne, translator and editor. Oklahoma University Press, Norman.

Pg. 40: “26 June. Today an all-out attack by the detached troops against the rebels, a few miles from Amboy, was successful. The fire from large and small weapons continued from three o’clock in the morning until noon. The enemy had to retreat, leaving behind in his defenses seventy prisoners, including two captains, one hundred dead, and three cannon. On our side the losses were not as great.”

# CONTINENTAL FORCES

# CROWN FORCES

Appendix III:

Order of Battle, 26 June 1777

## APPENDIX III: ORDER OF BATTLE, 26 JUNE 1777

### CONTINENTAL FORCES, COMMANDED BY LORD STIRLING

Lord Stirling's Infantry Division Strength (20 May 1777)

Conway's Brigade	Brigadier Thomas Conway		
3 <sup>rd</sup> Pennsylvania Regiment,	Colonel Wood	150	
6 <sup>th</sup> Pennsylvania Regiment	Colonel Magaw	---	
9 <sup>th</sup> Pennsylvania Regiment	Colonel Morris	193	
12 <sup>th</sup> Pennsylvania Regiment	Colonel William Cooke	231	
Spencer's Additional Regt.	Colonel Oliver Spencer	186	(New Jersey)
	Brigade Total	760+	

Maxwell's Brigade	Brigadier William Maxwell		
1 <sup>st</sup> New Jersey Regiment	Colonel Mathias Ogden	184	
2 <sup>nd</sup> New Jersey Regiment	Colonel Israel Shreve	247	
3 <sup>rd</sup> New Jersey Regiment	Colonel Elias Dayton	300	
4 <sup>th</sup> New Jersey Regiment	Colonel Ephraim Martin	307	
	Brigade Total	1098	

Independent Corps Colonel Charles Armand (formerly Major Ottendorf)

Morgan's Independent Rifle Corps	Colonel Daniel Morgan		
11 <sup>th</sup> Virginia Regiment (elements)	Col. Daniel Morgan	377 (regiment)	
8 <sup>th</sup> Virginia Regiment (company)	Capt. William Darke	---	
12 <sup>th</sup> Virginia Regiment (elements)	----	---	

#### Artillery

Company of Lamb's 2 <sup>nd</sup> Continental	Captain Edward Archibald
Huggs Company of Lamb's 2 <sup>nd</sup> Continental	Lieutenant Eli Elmer (West Jersey Artillery Co.)
Company of Crane's 3 <sup>rd</sup> Continental	Captain Benjamin Eustis
Pennsylvania Independent Company	Captain Gibbs Jones
Clark's Artillery Company	Captain Thomas Clark (East Jersey Artillery Co.)

#### Cavalry

2 <sup>nd</sup> Continental Light Dragoons	Colonel Sheldon
--------------------------------------------	-----------------

Elements of DeBorre's Brigade (General Prudhomme DeBorre) of Sullivan's Division present

## CROWN FORCES, COMMANDED BY SIR WILLIAM HOWE

Lord Cornwallis' Division (Right or Northern Column)		Strength
Matthew's Brigade	Brigadier Edward Matthew	
1 <sup>st</sup> Guards Battalion	Lt. Col. Henry Trelawny	887 (both)
2 <sup>nd</sup> Guards Battalion	Lt. Col. James Ogilvie	(with 1 <sup>st</sup> )
Light Infantry Battalion (1 <sup>st</sup> or 2 <sup>nd</sup> )	Lt. Col. Abercromby/Maitland	565 (estimate)
Grenadier Battalion (1 <sup>ST</sup> or 2 <sup>nd</sup> )	Lt. Col. Meadows/Monckton	540 (estimate)
	Brigade Total (estimate)	1992
2 <sup>nd</sup> Brigade	Major General James Grant	
10 <sup>th</sup> Regiment	Major John Vatass	312
27 <sup>th</sup> Regiment (Inniskilling)	Lt. Col. John Maxwell	324
40 <sup>th</sup> Regiment	Lt. Col. Thomas Musgrave	300
52 <sup>nd</sup> Regiment	Colonel John Clavering	253
	Brigade Total	1189
5 <sup>th</sup> Brigade	Brigadier Alexander Leslie	
71 <sup>st</sup> Regiment	Lt. Col. Archibald Campbell	992
Hessian Brigade	Colonel von Donop	
Kohler Grenadier Battalion (not present)		
Lengerke Grenadier Battalion	Lt. Col. George Emanuel Lengerke	440
Linsing Grenadier Battalion	Lt. Col. Christian von Linsing	437
Minnigerode Grenadier Battalion	Lt. Col. Friedrich Ludwig von Minnigerode	430
Jaeger Rifle Corps	Lt. Col. Ludwig Johann Adolph von Wurmb	293
	Brigade Total	1600
Division of General Vaughan with General Howe (Left or Southern Column)		
1 <sup>st</sup> Brigade	Major General John Vaughan	
4 <sup>th</sup> Regiment (The King's Own)	Lt. Col. James Ogilvie	356
23 <sup>rd</sup> Regiment (Royal Welsh Fusiliers)	Lt. Colonel Benjamin Bernard	353
38 <sup>th</sup> Regiment	Lt. Col. William Butler	314
49 <sup>th</sup> Regiment	Lt. Col. Henry Calder	335
	Brigade Total	1358
3 <sup>rd</sup> Brigade	Major General Charles Grey	
15 <sup>th</sup> Regiment	Lt. Col. John Bird	367
33 <sup>rd</sup> Regiment	Lt. Col. James Webster	368
44 <sup>th</sup> Regiment	Lt. Col. Henry Hope?	312
55 <sup>th</sup> Regiment	Lt. Col. William Meadows	261
	Brigade Total	1308
4 <sup>th</sup> Brigade	Brigadier James Agnew	
17 <sup>th</sup> Regiment	Lt. Col. Charles Mawhood	233
37 <sup>th</sup> Regiment	Lt. Col. Robert Abercromby	308
46 <sup>th</sup> Regiment	Lt. Col. Enoch Markham	312
64 <sup>th</sup> Regiment	----	395
	Brigade Total	1248

Hessian Brigade	Major General Johann Daniel Stirn	
Ewald's Jaeger Company	Captain Johann Ewald	----
Anspach (Hessian) Jaegers	-----	218
Leib Infantry	Lt. Col. Otto von Linsing	598
Mirbach Fuzileer	Lt. Col. Justus Henrich von Schieck	553
Donop Infantry	Lt. Col. Carl Philip Heymell	544
Combined regiment (Woellwarth)	Captain Wilhelm von Wilmowsky	----
	Brigade Total	1913+
British Cavalry		
16 <sup>th</sup> Light Dragoons	Lt. Col. William Harcourt	353
17 <sup>th</sup> Light Dragoons	Lt. Col. Samuel Birch	384
Queen's American Rangers	Major John Simcoe	398
	Cavalry Total	1135
Artillery		
4 <sup>th</sup> Battalion, Royal Artillery	Brigadier Samuel Cleaveland	597
Hessian Artillery Corps	-----	655
	Artillery Total	1252

## SOURCES—CONTINENTAL FORCES

Detwiller, Frederic

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Appendix IV:  
Meeting Minutes



## **The Battle of the Short Hills National Register Nomination Project**

**GA-2255-09-019 ABPP Grant**

**Public Presentation November 16, 2010**

**6:45-9:00pm**

**North Edison Library, 777 Grove Ave. Edison NJ 08820**

### **Meeting Notes**

Members of the Metuchen-Edison Historical Society and representatives from John Milner Associates presented to the public the results of the research done in 2010 on the Short Hills Battlefield National Registration Nomination Project.

Publicity for the event included, invitations to government officials, other historical societies, and interested participants. An article in the MEHS newsletter, flyers, information on the MEHS website, on the MEHS Face book page, and a public service ad on the Edison Cable TV. 31 people signed in. In attendance were public officials, representatives of the landowners, historians, writers, and teachers, members of MEHS and the interested public.

The public began to arrive at 6:30pm and proceeded sign in and to pick up handouts about the project, and an agenda for the presentation. The public also viewed, 4 display boards about the battle prepared by John Milner Associates.

At 7:00pm Metuchen-Edison Historical Society President Frederick Wolke welcomed everyone to the event, and lead the Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag. President Wolke then introduced local officials in attendance, Edison Councilman Robert Diehl, NJ Assemblyman Peter Barnes III, former Assemblyman Peter Barnes Jr., and the landowner representative, Byron Miller Historian of the Plainfield Country Club. President Wolke then introduced Walter Stochel, the project manager for the Short Hills project.

Walter Stochel showed a short PowerPoint presentation giving the overview of the battle, and the Short Hills project. There was a question about the significance of National Register nomination, to which Mr. Stochel replied, that the National Register protects the site from government action, and that it is a great honor to have your site on the Register.

At this point Walter Stochel introduced Wade Catts, and Brooke Blades from the consulting firm of John Milner Associates. Wade Catts lead off with an excellent Power Point presentation, going into more detail of the history of the battle, the location of the battle, and a description of primary sources of the battle. Mr. Catts pointed out a British account about the shooting of Captain Finch, a British officer, and the American account, which matched.

He then described the fieldwork that was done in June 2010, and the artifacts relating to the battle that were found. Photographs of the artifacts found during the metal detector search were shown.

Mr. Catts then turned over the program to Brooke Blades who went into great detail about the KOKOA analysis of the battlefield, and the various maps that are part of the report. The public had a couple of questions of the location of places on the map. The Frazee House in Scotch Plains was mentioned and the story of Cornwallis passing the house was recalled.

Mr. Blades then wrapped up the presentation, and the public was invited to comment and ask questions.

The public had numerous comments, including that the Congress adopted the American Flag on June 14<sup>th</sup> and this battle would have been the first defense of the American Flag. Another comment was that Short Hills is one of the unknown battles of the Revolution. There was a comment that in NJ we do not do enough to publicize the history of the American Revolution much, to which a member of the Crossroads of The American Revolution Association responded they were now trying to do more to highlight this history in NJ. There were also comments about the National Register, and it's importance. Another comment was about how we need to protect the land so that it does not get developed and we lose what we have now.

Councilman Diehl commented he was supportive of the project and previous efforts to save the Oak Tree Pond site, and asked how we could promote these sites. He recalled walking the Gettysburg battlefield in the July heat to get the feeling of what it was like. There was also discussion about potential plaque or plaques to mark the site, and how to protect undiscovered artifacts from poaching. It was then suggested that maybe next year a car-caravan be organized to go to the various sites related to the battle. The public was very supportive of this idea. There was also a suggestion to change the name of the various parks that make up the preserved area of the battlefield, to the Short Hills Battlefield Park.

There was discussion that the public lands and any artifacts on public lands are protected, treasure hunting results in permanent damage and is prohibited by law. Use of metal detectors on private lands is not prohibited by law, but results in permanent loss of our shared local history. Anyone who may find battle-related artifacts is urged to contact the MEHS so that the artifact can be photographed, its location mapped, and that information can be added to the database of information about the battle.

There was a question about the location of the Quaker Meeting House, previously marked with a plaque on Woodland Avenue, the location, according to South Plainfield Historical Society is now believed to be on Maple Avenue. There were comments about doing a larger battlefield study in the future, depending on grant sources.

Assemblyman Barnes III commented that Edison has a Native American artifact site, the Thomas Edison lab site, and now this battlefield, and that Edison is a very historic community.

Project Manager Walter Stochel, then thanked Wade and Brooke for their presentation, and their help with this project.

The program ended at 8:15, and the public viewed the displays, and had refreshments until 8:45