

"IT IS PAINFUL FOR ME TO LOSE SO MANY GOOD PEOPLE"

REPORT OF AN ARCHEOLOGICAL SURVEY
AT RED BANK BATTLEFIELD PARK (FORT MERCER),
NATIONAL PARK, GLOUCESTER COUNTY, NEW JERSEY

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Report of an Archeological Survey at Red Bank Battlefield Park (Fort Mercer), National Park, Gloucester County, New Jersey

Prepared for
Gloucester County Department of Parks and Recreation

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ABSTRACT

This report presents the goals, methods, and results of an historical and archeological survey at Red Bank Battlefield Park, a park owned and administered by Gloucester County, New Jersey. The Park commemorates the American Revolutionary War battle fought October 22, 1777, between the American defenders of Fort Mercer (remnants of which are located in the Park) and a reinforced Hessian brigade. The project was funded by the American Battlefield Protection Program (ABPP) and followed the guidelines established by the ABPP as well as those of the state of New Jersey.

Historical research was intended to focus on primary accounts of the battle and the landscape, and the archeological research sought to investigate potential locations within the Park where evidence of Fort Mercer or the burial locations of Hessian soldiers could be found. The ABPP survey reported herein was the first systematic survey of the Park's grounds by metal detection. Looking at approximately 22 acres out of the Park's 44 acres, the survey completed over 400 hours of metal detection. Metal detection recovered about 400 artifacts, and many of these artifacts date to the period of the battle, including dropped and impacted lead shot (rifle balls, musket balls, and buckshot), a small amount of artillery shot (case shot and at least one fragment of a howitzer shell), buttons, buckles, gun parts, and personal artifacts. A second large component of recovered metal detected artifacts include reenactor items, most notably reproduction military buttons, some gun tools, cartridge box plates, and other items. A smaller component of World War II artifacts were found as well, related to the use of the site circa 1942-43 by Battery B of the 601st Field Artillery.

Limited archeological excavations (six excavation units), following the use of ground penetrating radar (GPR), succeeded in identifying the interior ditch associated with the reduced Fort Mercer and investigated several other anomalies originally seen in the GPR survey. Overall, approximately 1,200 artifacts were found in the excavations, including Native American artifacts associated with the occupation (circa 1000 BCE) of Red Bank long before the American Revolution.

Attempts to identify unmarked burial locations were unsuccessful. An unexpected discovery was the location and excavation of a large iron cannon fragment, one of the two that burst during the siege of Fort Mifflin in October and November of 1777.

Recommendations for future studies at the Park are presented including revision of the National Register nomination to reflect more recent historical and archeological scholarship, regular archeological field days at the Park, and additional archeological excavations to follow up on some of the results of the ABPP-funded survey.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The goals of this project were to prepare an archeological research design, conduct an archeological survey, and produce maps, public interpretation and outreach for the Red Bank (Fort Mercer) Battlefield. The project area is at Red Bank Battlefield Park, a 44-acre public park administered by Gloucester County's Department of Parks and Recreation (Figure 1). The site is located in National Park, New Jersey. Red Bank Battlefield was listed to the National Register of Historic Places on October 31, 1972, was named a National Historic Landmark on November 28, 1972, and added to the list of New Jersey Historic Places on August 16, 1979.

While the Park is 44-acres in size, the land subjected to the ABPP survey in 2015 is about half of that, since much of the park land is actually made land along the Delaware River and not up on the bluff of Red Bank.

The project was funded by the American Battlefield Protection Program (ABPP) of the National Park Service and met the Secretary of the Interior's *Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation* (see 36 CFR 61). The project was conducted in accordance with the *Code of Ethics and Standards of Research Performance* as established by the Register of Professional Archaeologists (RPA).

1.1 Historical Overview

The specifics of the battle of Red Bank have been the subject of numerous historians and scholars, and this report builds on the work of those researchers (cf. Smith 1970; Jackson 1974; McGuire 2006, 2007; Clement 2014). The overview of the battle presented here is based on their scholarship. Additional research into first person accounts serves to supplement these earlier studies (see Appendices II and III).

The late summer of 1777 in the upper Delmarva Peninsula witnessed the start of the military campaign that resulted in the capture of Philadelphia by Crown forces (September 26, 1777). Two years of warfare had preceded the Philadelphia Campaign, with much of the principal military action on land occurring in New England, New York and New Jersey. Crown forces setbacks occurred in December 1776 (First Battle of Trenton) and in early January 1777 (Battle of Princeton). These reversals resulted in the Crown forces wintering in New York City and in the vicinity of New Brunswick and Perth Amboy, New Jersey. American forces wintered around Morristown, New Jersey.

During the months of May and June in 1777, the inability of General Sir William Howe to force a decisive battle or outmaneuver General George Washington in New Jersey led to the movement by sea of the balance of Crown forces from Staten Island, New York to Elk Neck, Maryland. Numbering approximately 15,000 men, the Crown forces were transported by the British fleet up the Chesapeake Bay and landed at the Head of Elk on August 25. Their intent was to advance overland to capture Philadelphia, the fledgling capital of the United States (Black 1998:124).

In a series of hard-fought engagements, American and Crown forces battled each other across the landscape and on the waters of Northeastern Maryland and the Lower Delaware Valley. In a series of engagements – Cooch's Bridge (September 3), Brandywine (September 11), the Battle of the Clouds (September 16), and Paoli (September 20/21) – Crown forces maneuvered and fought their way to the national capital of Philadelphia, which was taken on September 26 (McGuire 2006).

The capture of the city by Crown forces, however, was not strategically decisive. Washington's army assaulted a detachment of Howe's army at Germantown (October 4) and nearly succeeded in inflicting a significant defeat to the Crown forces (McGuire 2007). American forces had sunk obstructions and strongly

fortified the Delaware River and the small Continental and Pennsylvania State navies augmented these defenses. Chief among the fortified posts was Fort Mercer, built on the east side of the river on a prominent bluff called Red Bank. Fort Mercer's sister fortification on the Pennsylvania side was Fort Mifflin located on Mud Island.

The Battle of Red Bank (Fort Mercer) occurred on the afternoon of October 22, 1777. In order to open the Delaware River to the British Navy and allow needed supplies, reinforcements, and equipment to reach the Crown forces in Philadelphia, Howe devised a plan to reduce or take the Delaware River

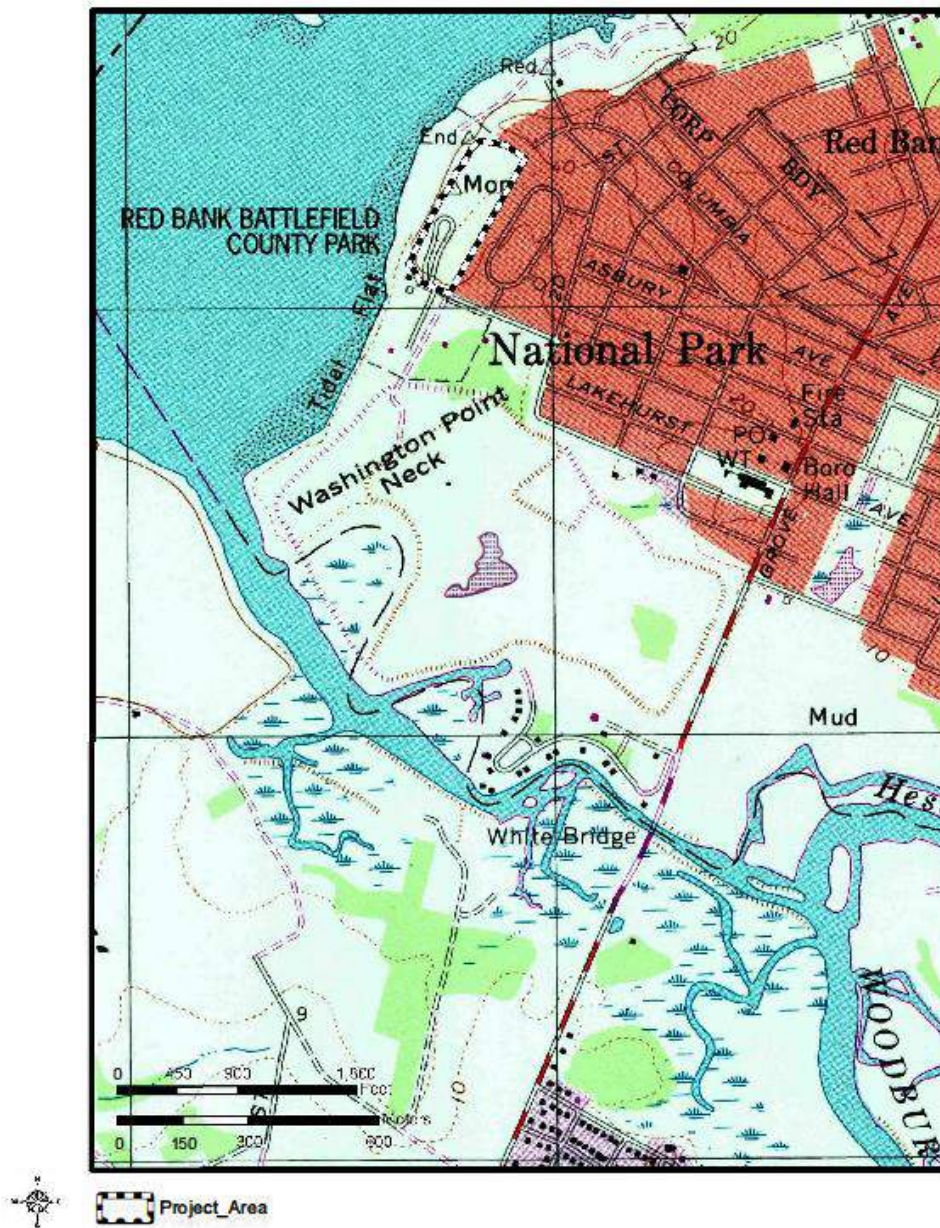


Figure 1. Red Bank Battlefield County Park location (USGS *Woodbury* 7.5-minute quadrangle, 1995).

defenses. The assault on Fort Mercer was the first phase of Howe's larger plan. The American defenders consisted of the 1st and 2nd Rhode Island Continental Regiments, the 6th Virginia Regiment, an artillery detachment manning 14 guns, and a contingent of New Jersey militia with an overall strength of approximately 614 officers and men. The fort's defenders were supported by a number of the American Navy's galleys. The Crown forces that assaulted Fort Mercer were the Hessian Brigade commanded by Colonel Carl Emil Ulrich von Donop and consisted of the Grenadier battalion von Lengerke, the Grenadier battalion von Minnigerode, and the Grenadier battalion von Linsing, with the addition of the Fusilier regiment von Mirbach, the Hessian Field Jäger Corps, and two Royal Artillery howitzers with their crews. The Hessian Brigade had an overall strength of approximately 2,300 officers and men (Anonymous 1777; von Muenchhausen 1974).

In the late afternoon of October 22, 1777, the Hessian battalions Minnigerode, Mirbach, and Linsing, supported by the Jägers, attacked the fort. The Lengerke Battalion was positioned as a reserve and to prevent a possible landing of Americans from the river. The engagement lasted approximately 40 minutes and was a decisive defeat for the attacking forces. Hessian formations were stalled by the fort's abatis, ditch, and parapet. The fort had been reconfigured immediately prior to the engagement, making it a strong defensive work. American naval vessels were able to add their fire to the fort's cannons and small arms fire. Colonel von Donop was mortally wounded, and three of the four officers commanding attacking battalions were killed or wounded. Hessian casualties are variously reported to total approximately 400 men (approximately 17 percent of the attacking force), while the American defenders suffered considerably fewer losses. The repulsed Hessians retreated towards Haddonfield during the night of October 22 and recrossed the Delaware River to Philadelphia the following day.

Fort Mercer remained in American hands until a month later on November 21. The fort and Red Bank were captured by Crown forces only after the *chevaux de frise* in the Delaware River were removed and Fort Mifflin on Mud Island was abandoned by American forces following a ten-day siege. Upon capturing Fort Mercer, Crown forces removed the cannons and slighted the fortification.

The quote used in the title of this report "It is painful for me to lose so many good people, I can't describe it and have not recovered from it" - is taken from a longer letter written October 25, 1777, by Lieutenant Colonel Ludwig Johann Adolph von Wurmb to Major General Friedrich Christian Arnold Jungkenn. Von Wurmb was the commanding officer of the Hessian Field Jäger Corps. Penned a few days after the battle, von Wurmb addresses the tragedy and horror of war and its immediate and very personal effect on the battle's participants. Von Wurmb was clearly shaken by the magnitude of the defeat at Red Bank, admitting to Jungkenn that he "has not recovered" from the battle and asking Jungkenn to "pardon the confusion of this letter" (Londahl-Smith 2013). A similar expression of shock and grief was made by Captain Johann Ewald, also an officer in the Field Jäger Corps. In his diary, Ewald wrote that the defeat at Fort Mercer "was especially sad for me. I lost five of my oldest friends, among whom was a relative, and four of my best friends were severely wounded. As long as I have served, I have not left a battlefield in such deep sorrow" (Ewald 1979:102).

1.2 Environmental Setting

The Red Bank Park is located in New Jersey's Inner Coastal Plain physiographic province. Extending south from Raritan Bay and following along the western edge of New Jersey along the Delaware River, the Inner Coastal Plain physiographic province pinches out near the Salem River at the southern end of the state. The Inner Coastal Plain generally consists of unconsolidated clays, marls, silts, and sands—materials deposited during the Late Cretaceous period (Widmer 1964). The landscape of New Jersey was uplifted during the Early Cretaceous, an event that increased the velocity of streams and rivers which in turn led to an increase in velocity and the deposition of sediments within the lower coastal regions, a process known as continental

(alluvial) deposition, as opposed to marine deposition. During the Late Cretaceous, episodes of marine deposition complemented this process as an increase in seafloor spreading rates led to the drowning of coastlands by encroaching Cretaceous seas (Wolfe 1977). Drainage within the project area is provided by the Delaware River and Woodbury Creek.

The land surface of the Inner Coastal Plain slopes less than 5 to 10 feet (1.52 to 3.05 meters) per mile over the greater part of the region, but slopes as much as 10 to 15 feet (3.05 to 4.57 meters) per mile in the inland border. This moderate elevation above sea level in the region has prevented streams from eroding deep valleys. Marshland borders some of the stream courses; numerous estuaries, barrier bars, bays, and meadowlands are the result of the submergence of stream valleys along the Atlantic Coastal margins. Submergence of stream valleys is the result of variations in sea levels in recent geologic time (Wolfe 1977). According to Walker's recent work, the lower portions of the estuaries in this vicinity were inundated approximately 4400 BCE (Walker 2008).

The portion of Gloucester County that the Red Bank Battlefield Park occupies is underlain by a Late Cretaceous-aged (75,000,000–100,000,000 years old) formation, the Raritan and the Magothy. In Gloucester County, this formation occupies a band along the Delaware River that varies in width from 0.2 to 3.2 miles (322 to 5,150 meters). The combined thickness of the formation can be as much as 500 feet (152.4 meters) (Hardt and Hilton 1969). Continental deposition was formed deeper and as a result older than the Raritan formation. The materials that comprise the Raritan formation include stratified, light-colored, quartzose sands, dark or variegated clays, and some gravel. These materials can be white, yellow, brown, red, and/or gray in color. Within the area of National Park, the Magothy formation unconformably overlies the Potomac formation. The Magothy formation consists of beds of dark gray or black clay and white micaceous fine sand. Many of these beds contain lignite and some glauconite. Both continental (*i.e.*, stream/river-related) and marine (*i.e.*, associated with the Atlantic Ocean) processes deposited these materials (Hardt and Hilton 1969; Wolfe 1977).

Most of the Inner Coastal Plain, which is typified in the mesic uplands of southern New Jersey, can be considered a transitional region. It is situated between the dry and infertile Pine Barrens of the Outer Coastal Plain and the fertile floodplains, freshwater marshes, and swamps that border both the Delaware River and the deciduous forests of the Piedmont (Collins and Anderson 1994). Much of the flora from these bordering areas can be found here due to the Inner Coastal Plain's position as the "middle ground" between greatly differing biomes. In addition, many species found here are peculiar to the Inner Coastal Plain and cannot be found in the surrounding areas (Stone 1911), leading to great diversity among the present plant communities. In undisturbed areas, mixed-oak and beech-oak forests are the most common. In the many former agricultural areas across the Inner Coastal Plain, successional (second-growth) Virginia pine forests, successional sweet gum forests, or various successional plant communities are present (Collins and Anderson 1994).

The typical mesic upland mixed-oak forest contains American chestnuts, five varieties of oak (white, black, red, chestnut, and scarlet), and a healthy shrub cover of plants typical to sandy or acidic soils, such as those found in the Sassafras series. Beech-oak forests from this region are becoming rare and usually consist of American beeches and a mixture of oaks, tulip trees, ironwood, and flowering dogwood. The shrub cover is moderately dense and contains plants suited to moist conditions. Abandoned agricultural fields frequently become seeded with Virginia pine after three or four years of disuse. These invasive trees form the core of a mix containing various kinds of hickories, oaks, and American holly. The groundcover generally consists of low-lying shrubs, bracken fern, and oat grasses. Sweet gum trees are one of the most typical species of the Inner Coastal Plain and can be found in upland or wetland settings. A successional sweet gum forest also contains red maple, various hickories, American holly and beech, and a sparse shrub layer (Collins and Anderson 1994).

1.3 Known Archeological Sites at Red Bank

The three prehistoric sites located within the boundaries of the Red Bank Battlefield are designated 28-GL-84, 28-GL-137, and 28-GL-154. Although recorded in the state museum files as three separate sites, reanalysis of the information suggests that all three are related to a single, expansive Native American site, first recorded in 1936 as the Hessian Avenue Site (28-GL-84). The Fort Mercer South Site (28GL-154) was recorded in 1980, and the National Park Site (28- GL-137) in 1983.

The Hessian Avenue Site was defined on the basis of surface artifact finds encompassing the entire original 20-acre “Government Park” (Cross 1941:234) that became part of the present Red Bank Battlefield Park. As described in the state museum’s files, the site extends along the Delaware River 1,000 feet (304.8 meters) south from a monument on the high knoll north of the Whitall House. Its eastern boundary was 300 feet (91.44 meters) east of the river. The site is officially recorded as being bounded by Government Park’s northern and southern boundaries, uncultivated fields to the east, and the Delaware River on the west. The site number assigned for the Hessian Avenue prehistoric site (28-GL-84) is also assigned for the most recent battlefield survey artifacts collected in 2015.

By comparison, the Fort Mercer South Site (28-GL-154) was described in 1980 as being located along the Delaware River in the vicinity of the picnic pavilion at the south end of Red Bank Battlefield Park. The National Park Site (28-GL-137) was defined based upon the recovery of historical and prehistoric artifacts from postholes excavated in naturally formed soils north and east of the Whitall House (Fittipaldi 1983). The reported locations and artifact content of both 28-GL-154 and 137 clearly place them within the recorded boundaries of the earlier Hessian Avenue Site (28-GL-84). Given this apparent superimposition, the remainder of the discussion regarding previously recorded prehistoric sites within Red Bank Battlefield Park will employ the composite designation 28-GL-84/137/154 to reflect the singular nature of these recorded sites. It should be noted that information contained in the file on 28-GL-154 suggests that the combined site extends an indeterminate distance to the south beyond the current Park’s southern boundary.

The archeological site complex 28-GL-84/137/154 has been recorded on three separate, previous, occasions, but information related to the types of artifacts previously collected—as well as the probable age and nature of the occupation—is superficial. All three files note that debris from jasper manufacturing constituted the most common artifact type and that aboriginal pottery sherds were also present. While Cross (1941) recorded that numerous temporally diagnostic points (then called arrowheads) had been collected from the site, none were specifically identified by type. Based on the presence of pottery, it can be assumed that at least some portions of the site date to the Late Woodland period (circa A.D. 800–1600), but the presence of older components can be neither confirmed nor excluded by the available data.

Determining the dates of prehistoric occupation at Red Bank Battlefield Park is problematic. Several projectile points are currently on display at the Whitall House Museum, but details regarding their provenience are uncertain. These materials are of limited use in refining the probable dates of the previously recorded sites. Points contained in this collection include examples of triangular, notched, stemmed, and bifurcated varieties that collectively span the Early/Middle Archaic through Late Woodland periods (circa 6000 B.C.–A.D. 1600).

Information in the Fort Mercer South Site file also notes that three stone circles, possibly the remains of prehistoric hearths, were observed at the time of recordation in 1980. These circles were apparently exposed as a result of the erosion caused by pedestrian traffic. These features were associated with concentrations of both manufacturing debris and Native American pottery, and suggest that the southern portions of the 28-GL-84/137/154 complex may represent a fairly substantial encampment from the Late Woodland period.

2. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Fields of conflict are temporary, albeit seminal, events, superimposed on preexisting cultural landscapes. This landscape witnessed a variety of cultural actions - transportation systems, agricultural development, settlement patterns, population change – that exerted influence on the land prior to the engagement and that continue to exert influences on the field after the battle. Land use such as pasture and field patterns, farmsteads and husbandry buildings change as they give way to sub-divisions; roads are altered, vacated, rerouted or widened, woodlands are reduced or removed from the landscape. Despite these landscape alterations, the archeological evidence of conflict is often quite resilient and can be discovered through archeological investigation.

For many years the prevailing view of battlefields and archeological potential was dominated by the opinion put forward by Ivor Noël Hume that battle sites could offer little beyond metal artifacts and burials, certainly nothing archeologically or historically significant (Noël Hume 1968:188). In the last twenty years this view has changed dramatically, beginning with the work at the Little Big Horn National Park in the mid-1980s and now occurring with increasing regularity at Revolutionary War sites (cf. Babits 1998; Catts and Balicki 2007; Catts et al. 2014; Connor and Scott 1998; Geier and Winter 1994; Geier and Potter 2000; Hunter et al. 2003; Martin and Veit 2005; Orr 1994; Scott et al. 1989; Scott and McFeaters 2011; Selig et al. 2010, 2013; Sivilich 1996; Sivilich 2009; Sivilich and Philips 1998; Sivilich and Stone n.d.; Steele et al. 2006; Viet and Wiencek 2009).

The Archeological Research Design included the development of several research questions. There were several overarching research questions governing the investigation, as follows:

- What is the Core Area of the battlefield? What is the larger Battlefield Boundary? The historical, topographical, and archeological data developed as part of this project sought to determine the Battlefield Boundaries and Core Areas associated with the Battle of Red Bank. It is known that portions of Fort Mercer are not located within the Park boundaries, nor are the initial assault positions of the Hessian grenadiers and the Hessian and Royal artillery positions.
- What is the landscape of conflict? Are archeological resources associated with the battle still present within the Park? The complementing data sets of archeology, history, and topography can be combined to determine the presence or absence of battle-associated materials within the boundaries of the Park. Based on the current museum collection housed at the Whitall House and the collection housed at the Gloucester County Historical Society, there is a strong likelihood that artifacts associated with the battle, such as iron case shot, lead musket balls, metal portions of uniform accoutrements, and other military items, are still extant in the Park. The archeological testing sought to identify the density and distribution of such artifacts and determine if patterns that might assist in site interpretation are present.

Archeological resources in the Park associated with the American Revolutionary War may represent three different events; 1) American occupation/camp prior to the battle; 2) the battle; and 3) post-occupation by Americans and slighting of the Fort Mercer by Crown forces. Each of these may have different archeological signatures and the Commonwealth team attempted to define these. In addition, the property's history did not stop when the war ended, so archeological resources associated with more than two centuries of land use are present, including use of the property as a farm, as a U.S. military reservation, landscape change from the WPA project, and use as a county park (including modern battle reenactments).

- How have the remnant earthworks been modified over time? Historical accounts of Red Bank after the battle indicate that the earthworks of the fort were still visible and extant well into the nineteenth

century, but by the early twentieth century may have only been represented by slight undulations in the ground surface. The American garrison blew up the fort before they abandoned it in November 1777. When the Crown forces captured Fort Mercer they, too, destroyed what was left of the fort. Significant ground disturbance occurred at the property in the 1930s when the WPA apparently “enhanced” the embankments and ditches, possibly deepening the ditches and heightening the embankments to provide more dramatic emphasis. A sense of what the remnant fortification may have looked like prior to the WPA project is observable at the north end of the Park, when comparing the Park’s well-defined ditch with the shallow ditch visible in the private property immediately beyond the Park boundary fence.

- Can the course of the earthwork be traced in areas where it is no longer visible? Are there archeological remnants of interior structures or du Plessis’ interior wall and abatis? The historical record, topography, archeology, and geophysics were combined to determine if the original earthworks were discernible. GPR is proposed in several locations within what is now Fort Mercer’s footprint to get a sense of the prior landscape. The location of the interior parapet wall built by du Plessis prior to the battle offers a principal place to search for such evidence, and several other locations within the Park were surveyed by GPR.
- Where are areas for potential mass burials located? Are these within Red Bank Battlefield Park? Historical maps and several contemporary written sources provide researchers with some strong potential locations for burials. One American account (Jeremiah Greenman) suggests at least two burial locations, the map prepared by Johann Ewald of the Hessian Field Jäger Corps shows the location where the Hessian officers were buried, published maps during the nineteenth century (for example Lossing 1860, Barber and Howe 1868), and the HABS survey map of 1935 depict a location along the river embankment that burials were located. Additionally, the location of Colonel von Donop’s grave was well-documented but its location is currently not known. The GPR work proposed for this project sought to determine if the potential for burial locations is present. The intention of the search for burials was to gather empirical data supporting the locations of the burials, not to disinter any individuals. The overall goal for this research question was to provide park staff and county planners with data that could be used to assist in future efforts to commemorate, interpret, or mark such burials, should they be found.

3. METHODS

3.1 Background Research on the Battle to develop the Historical Context

The members of the project team compiled and reviewed historical written and graphic resources and correlated the historical record with the existing terrain. To accomplish this task, the project team developed the historical context of the battle using primary, secondary, topographic and graphic sources. We applied the principles developed by the US Army known under the acronym "KOCO A" (*i.e.*, Key Terrain, Observation and Fields of Fire, Cover and Concealment, Obstacles, Avenues of Approach).

In order to complete this analysis, the members of the project team conducted in-depth research in American, British, Hessian and French primary sources (*e.g.*, eyewitness accounts by participants as well as after-action reports by the officers and enlisted men). We also conducted in-depth research in contemporary maps and descriptions to delineate the battlefield as it existed in 1777 and research in nineteenth and twentieth century maps and aerial images that allowed tracing of the impact of post-battle development of the battlefield. Secondary historical sources and battle analyses and previous archeological studies in the Park were also consulted. Through public meetings and notices, we contacted local landowners regarding possible private archeological collections and we were able to document those collections' locations and artifacts.

The first person accounts are contained in the appendices to this report. The project team would like to thank the Johannes Schwalm Historical Association for permission to include Donald Landhalh-Smidt's 2013 journal article that compiled the known British and German accounts, many that have not been previously used in the study of the battle (Appendix II).

In addition to documentary sources, the project team viewed artifact collections housed at the Whitall House and at the Gloucester County Historical Society.

3.2 Period Maps and Depictions of Fort Mercer and Red Bank

For this study, we examined a number of contemporary maps of Fort Mercer and the Hessian assault. The comparison of the maps is useful to attempt to reconstruct the fort as it was in 1777 as well as to compare it to current ground conditions. The authors of the maps are French, German, and British. Depending on the dates they were rendered, these maps are useful for determining what each army knew of the fort based on their location either inside or outside of the works.

At first glance, the *Plan of Fort Mercer* prepared by the French engineer Mauduit du Plessis should be the most accurate since du Plessis was the officer responsible for the layout of the fortification (Figure 2). Du Plessis' map depicts the fort and the assault of October 22. It shows the original outline of the earthwork (the "vieux fort"), the interior wall, a single row of abatis to the south and east of the fort, and a double row of abatis inside of the fort, the placement of the fosse (inner defensive wall), the location of the eastern gate and a track that leads to it, the location of the main gate on the south side of the fort, and the placement of the cannon (shown by dots and straight lines) that defended the fort. It also shows a powder magazine inside the fort. Outside of the fort it depicts two of the American galleys that enfiladed the assaulting Hessian column, the position of the Hessian artillery to the northeast of the fort, the location of woods and former orchards, the deep ravine that bounded the north side of the fort, and the road to Woodbury. The two attacking Hessian columns that assaulted the fort – one approaching from the southeast containing 600 men, and one that came over the walls of the old fort with 900 men – are also shown.

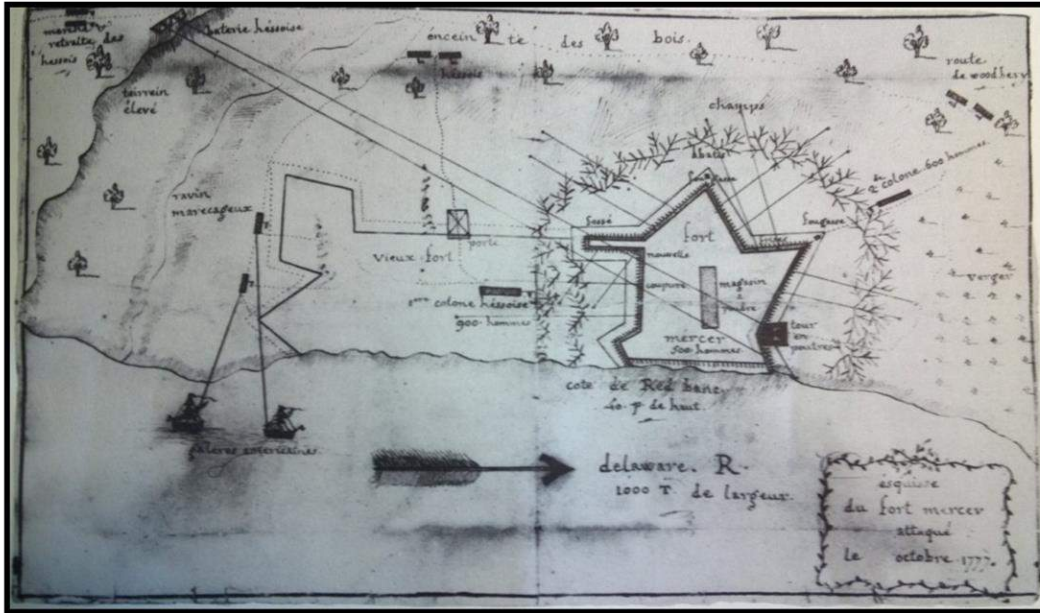


Figure 2. *Plan of Fort Mercer*, by Mauduit du Plessis, 1777 (Historical Society of Pennsylvania)

A second French map, completed by Monsieur Major Jean Louis Ambroise de Genton, Chevalier de Villefranche in 1779, is very detailed and shows not only the fort at Red Bank but the surrounding landscape (Figure 3). Villefranche was commissioned to complete the map in accordance with General George Washington’s orders directing officials to form a plan to defend the Delaware River and the city of Philadelphia from attack by British ships (Cummings 1960). The map depicts both sides of the river from Philadelphia to below Hog Island at Billingsport, including forts at Billingsport, on Mud Island, and at Red Bank. The environs of Fort Mercer depict more than the other contemporary maps and show the Whitall house and farm complex, the road network surrounding the fort, open areas, enclosed or fenced areas, wooded spaces, and the deep ravine north of the fort. The configuration of Fort Mercer is shown with both the old fort outline and the reduced fort outline. Several gates or openings are also shown as well as the abatis line. The project team used this map as a historic baseline map due to the overall level of detail including accurately depicted property lines.



Figure 3. Detail of Villefranche *Map for the Defense of the Delaware River*, 1778 (RG 27, Series #27.39, Pennsylvania State Archives)

A Hessian engineer, Frederick Werner, prepared a map of the route of von Donop's Brigade from Coopers Ferry to Red Bank. The map also included insets for the assault on Fort Mercer and details about the ditch and abatis (Figure 4). The route of approach shows the configuration of the Hessian overnight camp at Haddonfield as a square. The fort is shown as a much more regular structure with well-proportioned bastions and a much smaller old or abandoned section of the fort than shown by other maps. The heavily wooded character of the land east and north of the fort is depicted as is the ravine along the north side. Both the positions occupied by the Hessian battalions and Hessian artillery are shown and labeled. The cross-section profile of the ditch and embankment is useful in comparison to the British engineer's map (Figure 7). The abatis is shown with a small ditch on its interior side, followed by a deeper and wider ditch with sharpened wooden stakes protruding from the fort-side of the earthen wall. Behind the second, deeper ditch is the parapet wall itself. In the Delaware River, several of the American galleys are also shown.

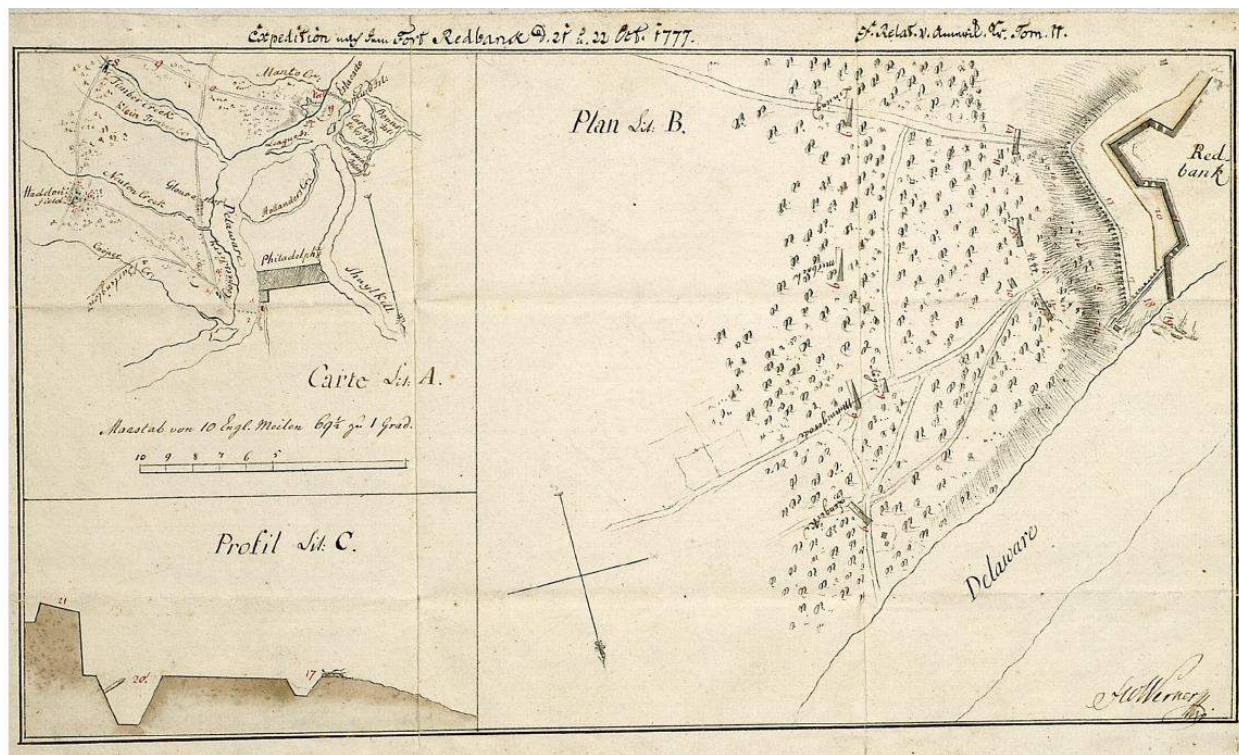


Figure 4. *Plan der Expedition zum Fort Redbank bei Philadelphia am 21. und 22. Oktober 1777*, by Friedrich Werner (Hessisches Staatsarchiv (Marburg)). Inset A shows the march from Philadelphia to Red Bank, inset B the assault on the fort, and inset C a profile of the fort's defenses.

A second Hessian engineer, Captain Reinhard Jacob Martin, depicted the entire Philadelphia region with an inset of Fort Mercer (Figure 5). This map lacks landscape details, showing only the wooded area north of the fort, the River and bluff, and the road approaching from Woodbury to the south. The fort is quite detailed, however, with the old fort, a double row of abatis, the main gate and what may be two postern gates on the east side, and the interior wall configuration clearly depicted.

Jäger Captain Johann Ewald prepared a color image of the assault at Red Bank (Figure 6). Not done to scale, the map is more of a graphic depiction of the action on October 22. Ewald does show the configuration of the fort with a double row of abatis inside and outside of the fort. The wooded landscape

is shown as are several road traces. The fort's gate locations, the positions of the six American galleys and two larger vessels in the Delaware River, the positioning of the assaulting Hessian battalions, the placement of the Hessian artillery and Jäger, and the avenues of approach are also depicted. The Hessian artillery firing trajectories are also recorded, with some impacting the interior of the old fort and some dropping within the redoubt. Ewald also shows where the rounds fired by the American naval vessels were dropping in the front of the southern assaulting formation and in the right flank and rear of the northern assault force. Both the southern and northern Hessian concentrations are depicted as lines, not columns. Ewald also shows the location of the burials after the battle, suggesting that his map is a composite of the area that includes information gained after the battle.

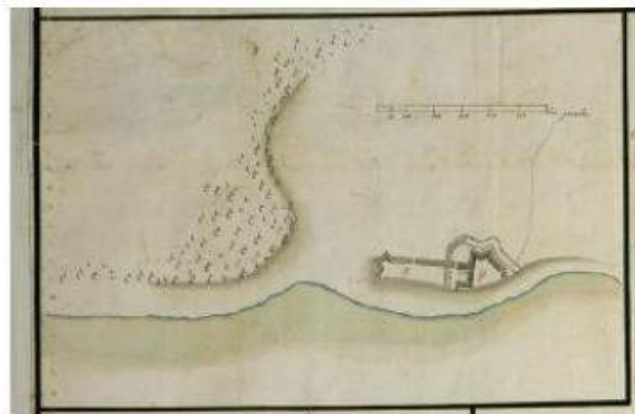


Figure 5. (left) Detail showing Fort Mercer, from Martin's *Plan der Stadt Philadelphia mit Armeelager und Befestigungen*, 1778 (Marburg Digital Archives).

Figure 6. (right) Johann Ewald's map (1777), *Plan, von dem Angriff aufs Fort bei Red Bank* (<https://library.bloomu.edu/Archives/Maps/map101.htm>).

A British engineer prepared a map of Fort Mercer which differs in a number of details from the two French maps (Figure 7). Unlike the du Plessis map, this map shows a double row of abatis extending around the entire perimeter of Fort Mercer but no abatis inside the fort where the new perpendicular wall was built. The main and postern gates are shown. The landscape around the fort depicts woods, the northern ravine (where the double row of abatis apparently ended), the cleared ground in the immediate front of the fort walls, and several road traces. The small inset in the top left corner of the map is a cross-section profile of the fort's ditches, showing both the exterior ditch and height of the walls and the interior ditch and walls. An interior rectangular structure is also shown inside the fort. The configuration of the fort varies from the French maps, with projections and returns in different locations. It is not clear when this map was drawn (at the time of the battle or after the Royal forces captured the fort a month later).

There are slight variations among the maps but the key features of the fort and the surroundings are generally consistent. All of the scaled maps show two entrances into the fort: a main gate on the south side facing the Whitall House and a postern gate roughly midway along the eastern parapet wall. The maps each

give an approximation of the old Fort Mercer and the reduced Fort Mercer with varying degrees of accuracy. The exactness of the caponiere (extending along the eastern wall and providing cover for the interior wall) and the flanking wall (at the western end of the interior wall) located along the river bluff are of particular concern. The Villefranche map – drawn after the fort had been destroyed – seems to illustrate a gap in the eastern wall where the caponiere was situated, perhaps indicating that this area was damaged when the Americans and British slighted the works.

Discrepancies are noted among the four engineering maps particularly in the depiction of the abatis surrounding the fort. The British engineer's map (Figure 7) shows a double row of abatis extending around the entire fort to the head of a steep ravine but not north of the reduced fort's interior wall.

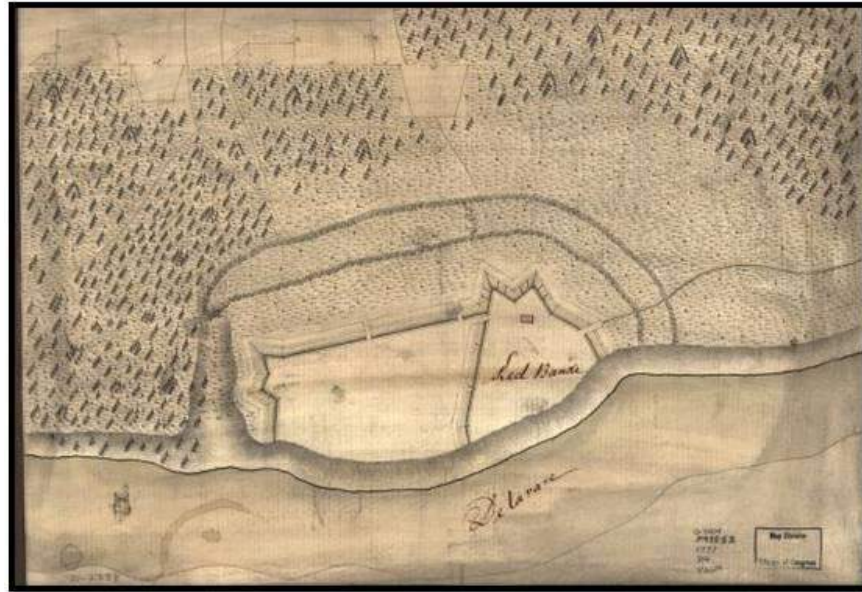


Figure 7. *Red Banke* (1777) British Engineers Map, (Peter Force Collection, G&MD Library of Congress).

In contrast, Mauduit's map shows a double row of abatis only north of the reduced fort's wall and a single row of abatis outside of the fort only around the reduced fort area. The Villefranche map abatis surrounds both the reduced fort as well as extending along the eastern wall. The Martin map differs, too, showing what appears to be a double row of narrow abatis along the south wall and midway along the east wall of the fort with a much thicker abatis starting at a point opposite the fort's eastern angle and then extending along the entire north side of the reduced fort.

A remarkable contemporary profile view of Red Bank and Fort Mercer is also available for study. This depiction, prepared by P. Nicole of the British Army, shows Red Bank as seen from across the Delaware River (Figure 8). The map is a survey of the Delaware River from Philadelphia to Fort Mifflin and illustrates the river defenses and works erected by the British to lay siege to Fort Mifflin. The profile, located as an inset on the much larger map, is intended to show Fort Mifflin but also includes a view of Red Bank. The Whitall House is visible to the right (south) of an embanked fortification with nine white triangles representing tents shown immediately south of the fort's wall. A flag, likely a garrison flag, is shown on a flag staff above the fort. The red color of Red Bank and the elevation of the fort above the river are clear. Tidal marsh is shown in front of the front with woods shown to the rear.

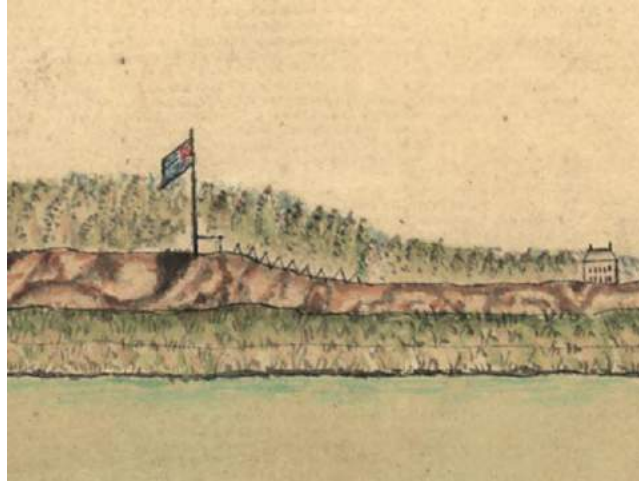


Figure 8. Profile of Red Bank, a detail from *A survey of the city of Philadelphia and its environs...* Surveyed & drawn by P. Nicole (G&MD Library of Congress).

3.3 Later Depictions of Fort Mercer

After the American Revolution a survey of Fort Mercer was completed in 1842 by T. and E. Saunders of Woodbury (see Heston 1900:10 for a version of this map); it was this survey that formed the basis for the plan maps published by Benson Lossing in his 1859 *Pictorial Field-Book of the American Revolution* and by John Barber and Henry Howe in 1865 (Lossing 1859; Barber and Howe 1975:210). While neither map is drawn to scale, the overall outline of Fort Mercer is essentially identical in both the Lossing and Benson and Howe images (Figures 9 and 10). These illustrations appear to depict the footprint of the fort in a similar way to the Villefranche map (Figure 3). Topographic evidence of the fort was still visible in the mid-nineteenth century. Lossing remarks that "...the embankments and trenches are quite prominent, and will doubtless long remain so, for a forest of young pines now covers and protects them from the destroying hand of cultivation...." (Lossing 1859). Barber and Howe comment that "... the line of the embankment at Fort Mercer is yet plainly seen; and the place is now, as in the hour of our country's peril, covered with a gloom of pine forest...." (Barber and Howe 1975:213).

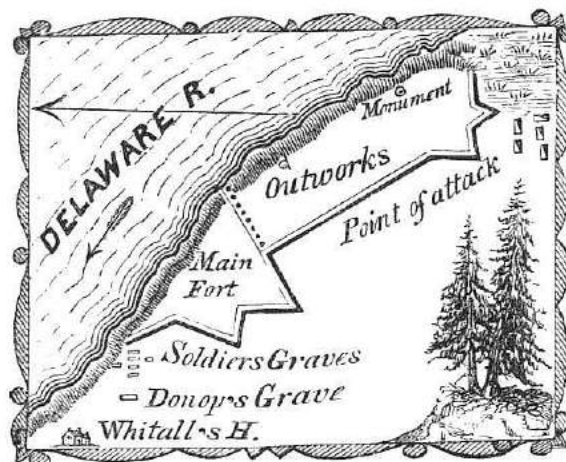


Figure 9. Benson Lossing's Map of Fort Mercer from *Field Book of the American Revolution* (1842).

Both maps illustrate other landscape features but the Barber and Howe map includes considerable details omitted from the Lossing plan. In particular, the identification of a "pleasure house" inside the fort is shown by Barber and Howe, raising the question as to whether such a structure was present when the original Saunders survey was prepared in 1842 or whether the building was added sometime between 1859 and 1865. A road (approximating the modern trace of Beach Hill Road) and swamp are shown on the north side of the fort, above the "out works," and a tenant house is shown along the road. Lossing shows the swampy area but no road. Lossing places the 1829 commemorative monument closer to the northern wall of the outworks section of the fort while Barber and Howe's plan depicts the monument midway along the Delaware River bluff. It is likely that the Lossing-Barber and Howe discrepancy records the movement of the monument prior to 1865. A profile view of the Red Bank shoreline is also illustrated by Barber and Howe (1975:212) and is a useful comparison to the shoreline view shown nearly a century earlier by Nicoles (Figure 11). A woodcut titled *Red Bank, from the Delaware River* illustrates the general vicinity of the former fort showing the Whitall House at the far right, the rise of the Red Bank bluff above the river, the "pleasure house" which appears as a castleated and porticoed structure with an American flag flying above it, and the 1829 monument at the extreme left side of the woodcut.

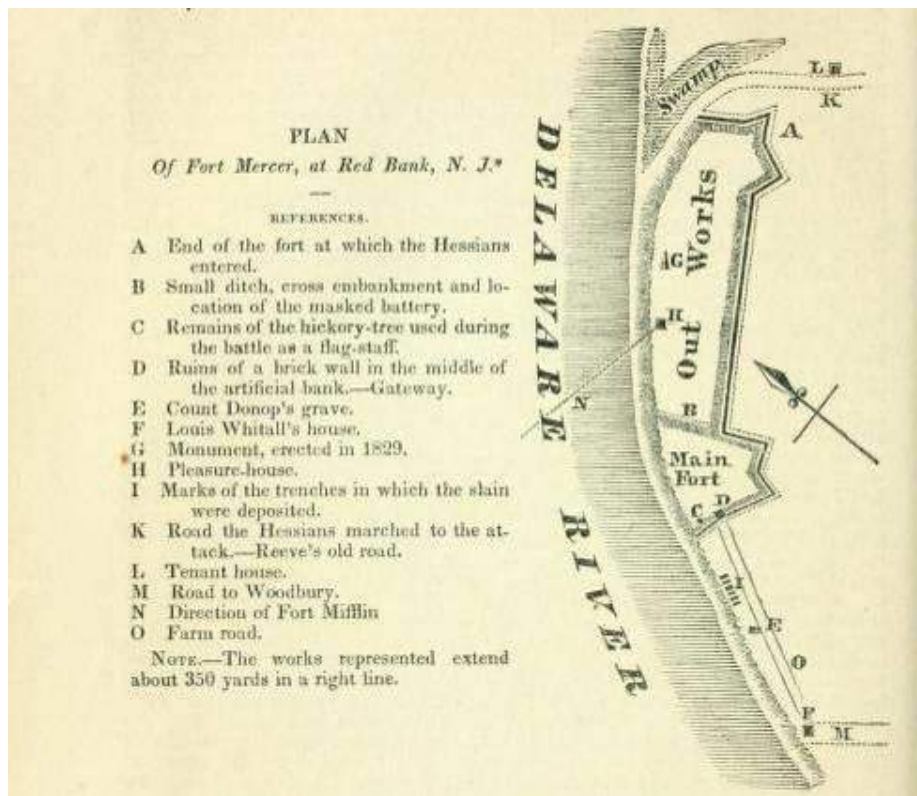


Figure 10. *Plan of Fort Mercer, at Red Bank, N.J.*, published circa 1865 (Barber and Howe 1975:210). This map is based on a survey completed by Saunders in 1842.

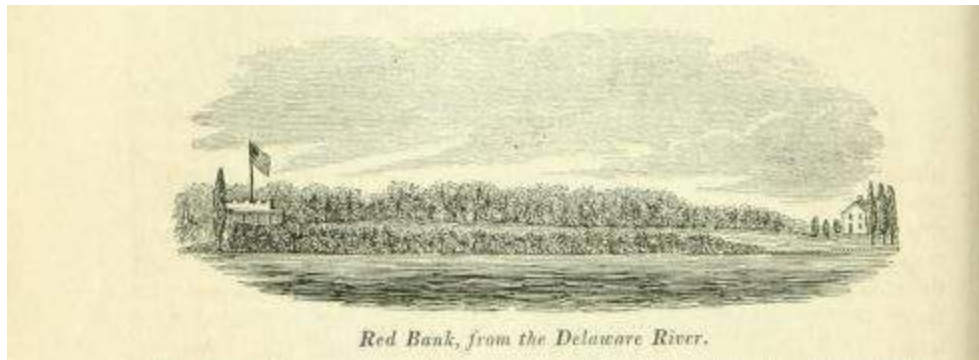


Figure 11. *Red Bank, from the Delaware River* (Barber and Howe 1975:212).

The Whitall family lost the property in 1862 and it was purchased at sheriff's sale by Benjamin Heritage. A decade later in 1872, Heritage sold the tract to the United States Government. The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers executed a map of the property at the time of sale (Figure 12). This map is a remarkable plat of the tract, depicting landscape changes to the former fort and providing a point of comparison with the French, English, and German maps of nearly a century earlier. The map is prepared using a one-foot contour interval and clearly depicts the topographic earthwork remnants of "old Fort Mercer." The 1829 monument is shown in its current location. A large structure is shown a short distance north of the monument near the southern side of the road trace and ravine that demarcate the current northern boundary of the County Park. Remnants of Fort Mercer and several small structures are depicted on lands that are currently north of the Park's boundary, on lands owned by Jacob Youngblood and A. Campbell. The high and low water marks are shown, as is a wharf at the foot of the incised ravine. The property line along the northern side of the tract is shown; this line corresponds to the modern County Park northern fence line. The possible location of the postern gate is shown in the remnant contour of the old fort.

The map illustrates the buildings or improvements on parcel associated with the Whitall House including a farm lane (today's Hessian Avenue), an outbuilding a short distance east along the Avenue and an even larger structure, likely a barn, further east; archeological evidence of this latter structure was reported to the project team by a local landowner who noted that he encountered bricks in the yard of his subdivision dwelling when he constructed his pool.

The tract was again depicted in 1896 by the US Army Corps of Engineers (Figure 13). Termed the "Government Reservation," this image lacks the detail of the 1872 plat but does provide 10-foot contour intervals and shows the locations of the Whitall House and outbuildings, several internal property divisions, the ravine and wharf, and the tidal area. Old Fort Mercer is not depicted. North of the Federal property several road traces are depicted that correspond to some of the modern roads in the area.

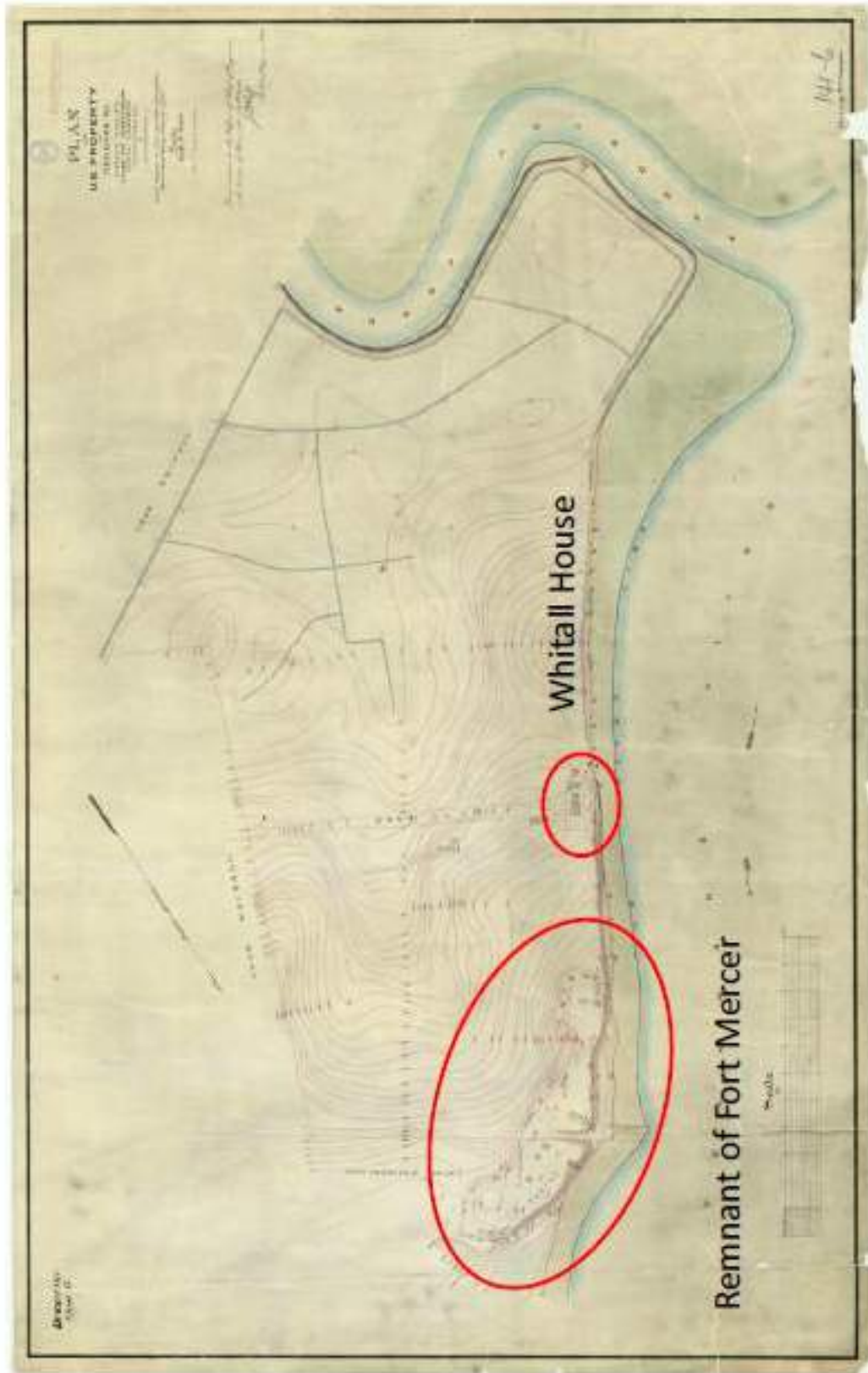


Figure 12. *Plan of the U.S. Property at Red Bank*, (US Army Corps of Engineers Map, 1872).

In 1905, the Federal Government issued a patent to the Board of Chosen Freeholders of Gloucester County for a twenty acre portion of the former Red Bank Reservation to be used as a public park (McGeorge 1917:50) (Figure 14). The plat prepared by surveyor Arthur Kidder shows the property lines that now encompass the County Park, marking the twenty acre parcel as "Permanent 20.00 Acre Reserve." The map depicts a stylized Whitall House, Hessian Avenue, and the 1829 battle monument situated in a wooded or brushy area. The bluff and tidal area are depicted. The location of West Grande Avenue is shown immediately abutting the northern boundary of the tract. An area east of the Whitall House and the old fort location is shown as Tract 1 and is recorded as 26.39 acres but the note associated with the map says this calculation is erroneous and the actual tract size is 19.9 acres. This area is now covered with single family houses.

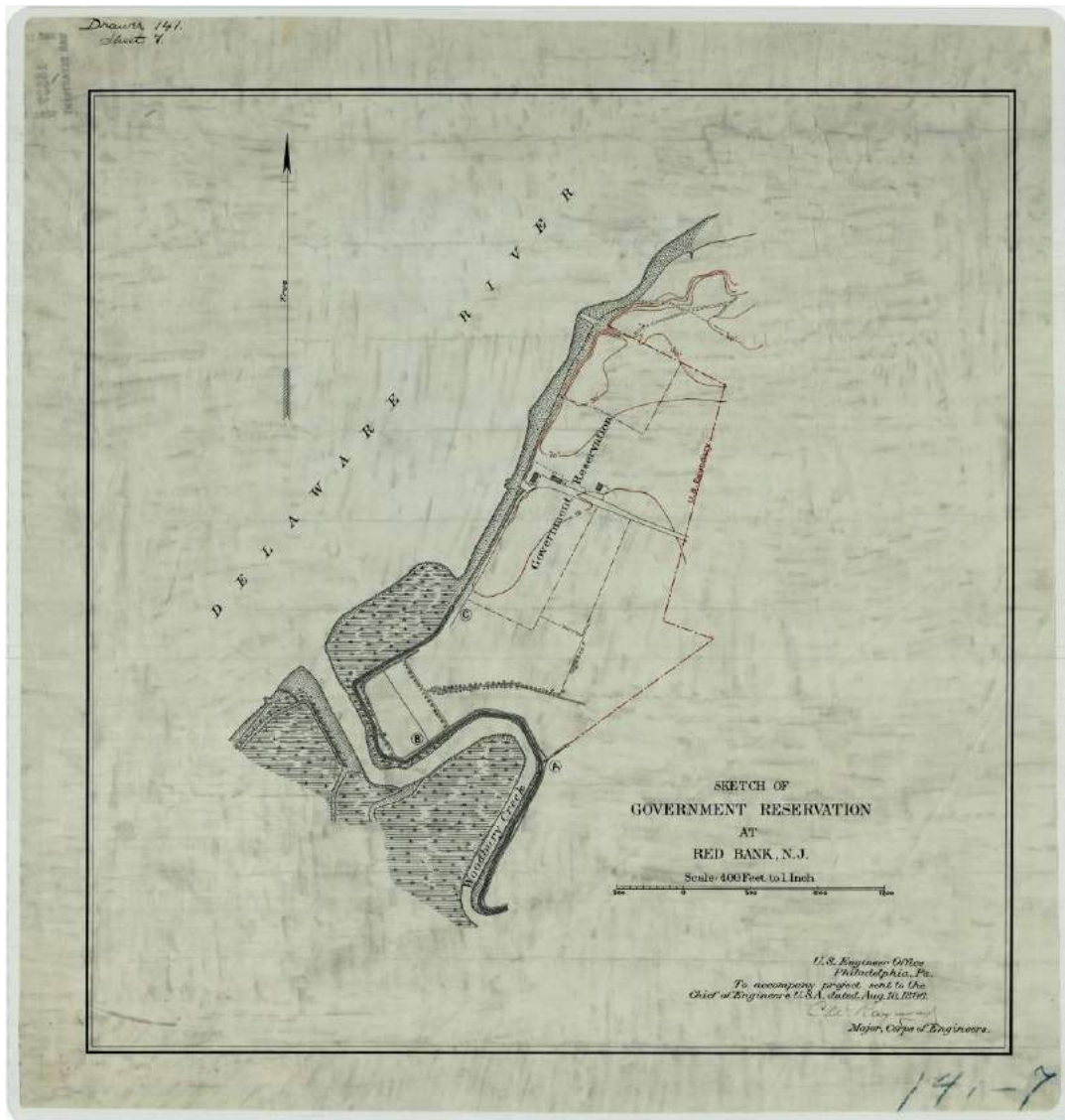


Figure 13. Sketch of the Government Reservation at Red Bank, NJ (Raymond 1896).

The Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) prepared a property map in 1935 as part of the documentation of the James Whitall House (HABS 1935) (Figure 15). The map is apparently a compilation of several earlier plats and/or historical information since it depicts the original location of the 1829 monument as well as its current location, the location of the former pleasure house (not mapped or depicted since circa 1865), the locations of Count Donop's grave with the notation "body since removed," and the "marks of trenches in which slain were deposited." In addition, the map shows an interpreted outline of Fort Mercer both inside of the county lands and north of the county lands and offers interpretation of the interior walls and construction of the fort. Several roads are identified including the "road Hessians marched to attack, old Reeves Road," and the "Road to Woodbury (today's Hessian Avenue). The Whitall House, the 1842 and present (1935) river bank, and the 1906 monument are also shown.

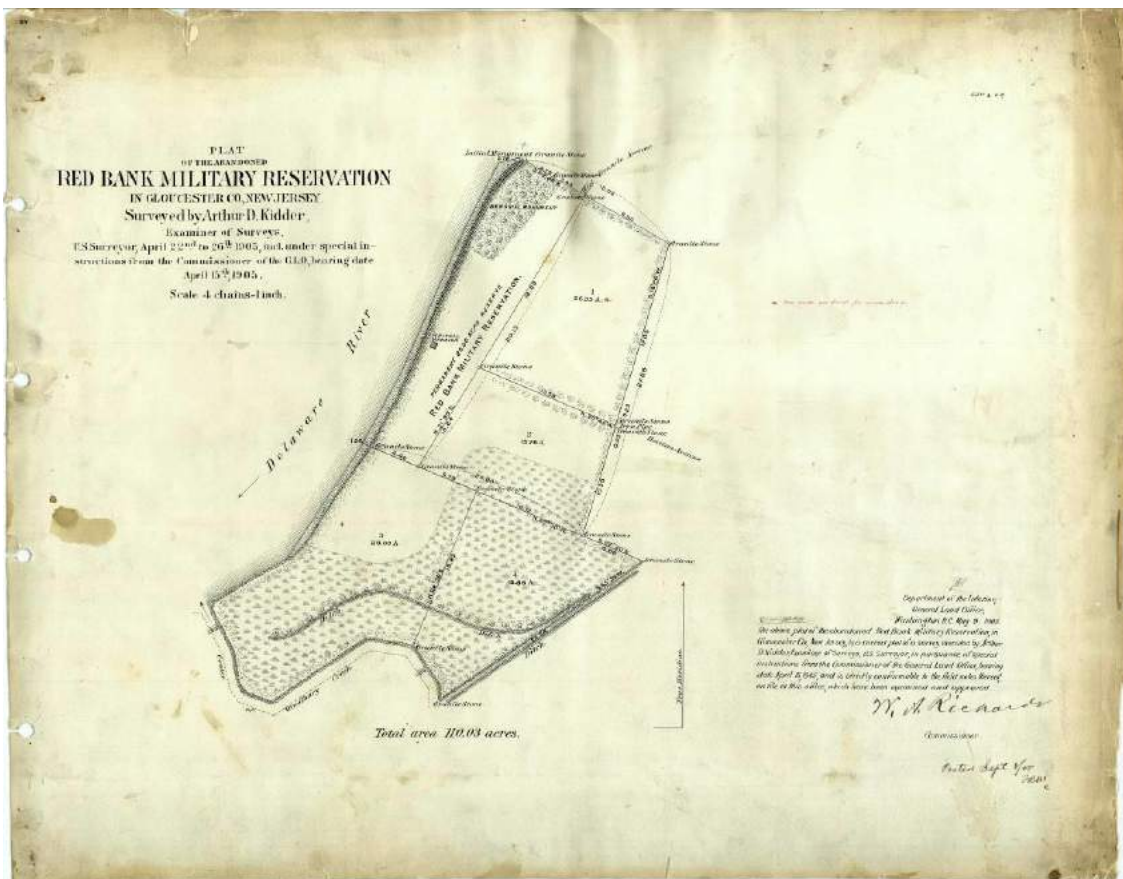


Figure 14. *Plat of the Abandoned Red Bank Military Reservation, in Gloucester Co., New Jersey* (Kidder 1905).

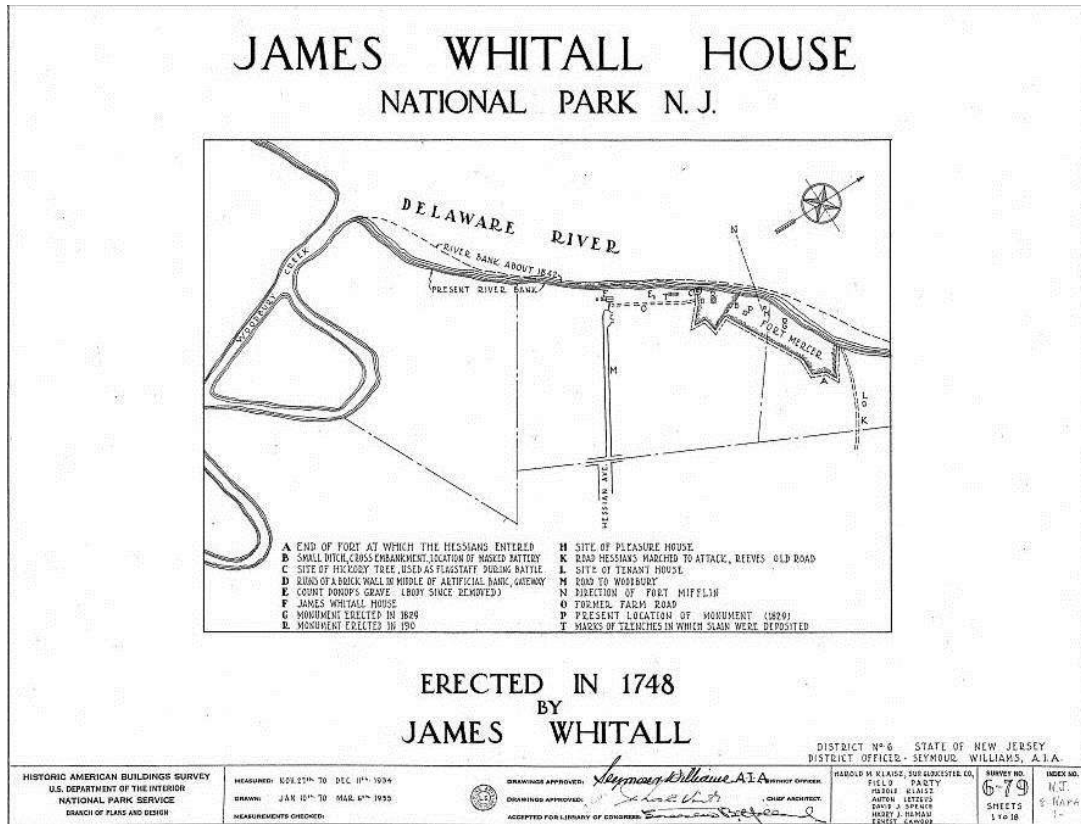


Figure 15. Site Plan of the James Whitall House from the Historic American Building Survey (HABS 1935).

3.4 Archeological Field Methods

Multiple field techniques were used to investigate the earthworks and determine the presence of eighteenth-century military features on the property. Military sites present a particularly difficult problem for archeologists because these site types are difficult to find using established field methods employed in traditional Phase I investigations. A testing methodology that relies solely on shovel testing or other more traditional archeological techniques to recover tangible evidence for a military occupation 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.

Field methods used for the 2015 survey at Red Bank battlefield included ground penetrating radar (GPR), metal detection, and hand excavation of measured test units. The specific method for each of these techniques is described below.

GPR Methods

Ground-penetrating radar (GPR) is a nondestructive geophysical technology that uses high frequency radio waves (microwave electromagnetic energy) to record various changes in subsurface materials without drilling, probing, or digging. A pulse of transmitted electromagnetic energy emitted from the GPR antenna is reflected or absorbed by such contrasts and the resulting reflections are recorded to produce a vertical profile. The majority of reflections are generated at interfaces between materials of differing relative dielectric permittivity (*i.e.*, at the boundary between different stratigraphic layers), where

changes in velocity occur. Higher amplitudes are generated at major dielectric contrasts and indicate a significant change in subsurface materials. The signal is reflected off these changes and its intensity and travel time is recorded along grid lines. The data are presented as a continuous cross-sectional profile called a vertical time/depth section that reveals subsurface anomalies in the form of any deviation of the signal from the natural pattern. GPR profiles are used for evaluating the location and depth of anomalies that may be related to subsurface cultural features and/or objects and to investigate the presence and continuity of natural subsurface conditions and features.

For this project, the GPR survey collected geophysical data to provide information to identify probable features related potential earthworks and/or mass graves based on the interpretation of detected anomalies in the data. Fieldwork was undertaken using a GSSI SIR-3000 Data Acquisition System with a 400MHz antenna. The antenna and SIR-3000 data collector are mounted on a Utility Cart and utilize odometer-triggered collection of one (1) reading every 0.8 inches (every 2 cm). The GPR data are collected within geophysical survey grids in a unidirectional collection pattern along the X or Y axis of lines spaced at 50cm (approximately 16 inch) intervals. The maximum depth window for this system is 4 meters. The orientation of each of the survey grids was based on the orientation of the survey area and or features within the survey area. An assumed signal velocity of 0.1 m/ns was used during the data collection and the post-processing of the geophysical data. GPR data was post-processed using the GSSI RADAN 6.6 software package.

GPR survey was conducted at Red Bank Battlefield during two separate field investigations. The first investigation was conducted on April 22, 2015 and included the collection of geophysical data within six (6) areas (Figure 16). The focus of the investigation was to survey areas potentially related to mass burials: Grids 1 and 2; the powder storage area: Grid 3; and interior and exterior ditch features of the fort outside of the modern trench (Figure 17): Grids 4-6. These locations were identified through the georeferencing of historic map resources as well as examining the landscape during the field investigation. Mass burials are shown on several historic maps; for this investigation, potential grave locations were identified on the 1935 HABS survey map of the James Whitall property (Figure 18) and the Saunders 1842 plan of Fort Mercer published in Heston's *Defense of Fort Mercer* in 1900 (Figure 19). The wall/ditch layout of the fort varies widely by map. This is due to variability in map accuracy but also potentially due to changes in the fort over time. Besides the 1935 and 1842 layout, Villefranche's 1778 and Ewald's 1777 maps were also consulted for defense and road configurations (Figures 20 and 21). Ewald's 1777 map, along with Mauduit du Plessis' map, also depicts the location of the powder magazine at the center of the main part of the fort.

The second phase of GPR survey was conducted June 8, 10, and 20, 2015 during several public days. Grids 7- 10 were placed to explore the outside trench of the fort and build off of Grid 6 from the previous survey. Additionally, Grid 11 was placed to explore an area which may have once been the location of a nineteenth-century building. What appeared to be bricks walls or concentrations were located in this area within holes dug during the metal detection survey.

Anomalies were identified after examining the GPR data within the RADAN software. Identification was made using both 2D profiles of the data and 3D renderings of each grid, allowing "slices" at different depths to be viewed. Measurements of each anomaly were recorded in metric units in order to tie back into the grid system while depths were recorded in feet, due to the historical nature of the site. Anomalies are identified by the geophysicist as patterns in the data that do not appear natural, such as linear, circular, and rectangular features. Vertical sections and time/depth-slice maps were produced and exhibit the results of the geophysical survey; the locations of anomalies were identified on a map of the survey area.

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Figure 16. Depiction of the geophysical grids during the April and June 2015 GPR surveys (ESRI World Imagery aerial layer).

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Figure17. Depiction of the geophysical grids during the April and June 2015 GPR surveys overlain on last-return processed LiDAR data which shows the location of the modern trench (the striping in aqua is due to lack of data between parallel flights) (ESRI World Imagery aerial layer).

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Figure 18. Map showing the 1935 Historic American Buildings Survey map of the James Whittall property (HABS 1935) overlain with the relevant features, GPR survey areas, and modern trench.

Figure 19. Map showing the Saunders 1842 plan of Fort Mercer (Heston 1900:10) overlain with the relevant features, GPR survey areas, and modern trench.

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Figure 20. Map showing the Villefranche's 1778 map overlain with the relevant features, GPR survey areas, and modern trench.

Figure 21. Map showing the Johann Ewald's 1777 drawing overlain with the relevant features, GPR survey areas, and modern trench.

Metal Detector Survey

The metal detector survey was intended to identify locations and concentrations of metal objects and possible munitions. The use of metal detecting has proved particularly effective for archeological investigations on military sites. The goal of the metal detector survey was to evaluate the presence or absence of a possible Revolutionary War component(s) within the project area.

Working within 40 x 40-meter blocks, metal detector transects were spaced at approximately 2 - 2.5-meter intervals, depending on surface conditions. The grid points identifying the metal detector grids were placed by a surveyor. The project area 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 a GPS unit or surveying equipment (Figure 22).

Excavations

Based on the results of the GPR survey and metal detecting, test excavations of features identified during the ground-penetrating radar and/or metal-detector survey(s) were excavated in order to “ground truth” whether subsurface features may represent resources associated with the Battle of Red Bank. This testing provided geomorphic data to determine the origin of the selected geophysical anomaly(s). With one exception (the removal of the cannon fragment which was an unexpected discovery), the archeological test excavations were completed by hand. Features were drawn and photographed in plan and profile during and at the completion of the mechanical excavations. Samples of feature fill and soils from the surrounding soil matrix within test trenches were screened through quarter-inch hardware cloth to ensure uniform artifact recovery. Artifacts were placed in bags clearly marked with provenience information. Stratigraphic profiles of trenches were recorded and photographed. The geophysical grid and test trench locations were mapped using sub-meter accurate handheld GPS units. In total, five measured test units and one trench unit were excavated during the 2015 survey.

Grave Locations

Archeological excavations within potential mass grave anomalies (as identified during the GPR survey summarized above) were for grave identification and confirmation purposes only. The intention of the project was not to recover or disturb human remains; the project aim was to locate and/or identify possible burial areas, to confirm such locations through archeological means, so that sound and reasoned planning for such remains can be developed. No human remains or grave-related items were identified or disinterred.

3.5 Public Outreach

The Red Bank archeological field work included a robust public outreach and engagement component. The professional field team was supplemented and complemented by ten volunteers from the Gloucester County Chapter of the Archeological Society of New Jersey and metal detectors from BRAVO. Field days were advertised to the public. We established a series of stations throughout the Park where visitors could learn about the history of the battle and Fort Mercer, observe and participate in archeological field work and metal detection, and assist in conducting a GPR survey. On two of the field days, visitors included multiple classes of middle and high school students from the surrounding community and Gloucester County. Publicity included numerous print media and digital media articles promoting the project and reporting on its results. Public interest was strong, particularly when the cannon fragment was removed from the ground in November 2015.

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Figure 22. Location of Metal Detector Grids.

4. MILITARY TERRAIN 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 2009a:136). Battles are temporary, albeit seminal, events fought on cultural landscapes that had a variety of cultural actions – transportation routes, agricultural development, settlement patterns, population change – already occurring before the battle and that continued to exert influences on the field after the battle. Field patterns and farmsteads are changed and subsequently replaced by subdivisions or industry; roads are altered, vacated, rerouted or widened; and woodlands are reduced or removed from the landscape.

Military-historical research is integral to the battlefield interpretive process developed by the ABPP. As part of the ABPP methodology surveyors apply the precepts of KOCOAs military terrain analysis to the battlefield environment. The KOCOAs acronym stands for the analytical concepts of **K**ey Terrain/Decisive Terrain, **O**bservation and Fields of Fire, **C**over and Concealment, **O**bstacles, and **A**venues of Approach and Withdrawal. KOCOAs elements were defined using a variety of sources including historical documentation, previous battlefield surveys, maps, and the extant natural landscape. The interpretation of these features was conducted using the quantitative capabilities of the GIS in conjunction with the knowledge of team historians and other experts.

Analysis of these aspects of military movement, position, and combat – as they apply to a given battle location – combines documentary research and field survey and enables identification of the battlefield’s **Defining Features**. Identification of a battlefield’s defining features, in turn, allows for the establishment of an appropriate boundary. The research examines and analyzes primary sources for the battle (*e.g.*, participants’ letters, journals, and memoirs, and early post-battle accounts based on direct experience of the terrain) to discern locational references for KOCOAs elements. The KOCOAs process, and the supporting research, is directly applicable to archeological investigation at battle locations, providing documentation for the military actions that took place at those locations (Lowe 2000).

The KOCOAs analysis is applied to all ABPP projects (Lowe 2000). KOCOAs terrain analysis is applied to the study of historic battlefields to help identify the historic battlefield in the modern landscape, to understand the course of a military engagement, and how to assess a given landscape influenced the course of a battle (US Army Field Manual 2003).

Unlike a painter or a farmer, a soldier looks at terrain for military value – how terrain integrates into offensive or defensive positions and how terrain fits into offensive or defensive positions and how terrain fits into plans for offensive or defensive action. This is not only important for understanding why a commander would (or would not) position infantry, artillery, and cavalry at a certain place on the terrain at a certain point during the engagement but also helps to interpret the authenticity of battlefield maps. Evaluation of terrain from a military point of view also can help to provide reasonable explanations to fill in gaps in our knowledge of events caused by a scarcity of primary sources (*e.g.*, in the case of troop movements). Effective military usage of terrain would demand that forces be re-deployed under cover of ridges or through low-lying ravines outside the view of the enemy. Similarly, depending on the task assigned to a force during any stage of the engagement, troops might be redeployed via a causeway or road (if speed is of the essence) or through a forest or circuitously (if the element of surprise is paramount). Terrain is an integral part of battle reconstruction. For effective results, factors must be analyzed in light of the mission of the unit, the type of operation, the level of command, the composition of forces involved, and the weapons and equipment expected to be encountered.

To understand and interpret actions on a battlefield, both a detailed familiarity with the topography and conditions on the ground and a critical reading of a wide range of primary sources must be combined with a military analysis of the battlefield (Andrus 2004). We also applied the principle of "Inherent Military Probability" to the study of the Red Bank battlefield (Keegan 1977:33-34). As initially developed by the German military historian Hans Delbrück and further refined by British historian Alfred H. Burne, this principle holds that when accounts of a particular battle are found to be impossible given the constraints of terrain, timing, and other factors, the researcher needs to consider what a soldier of the period was likely to have done under the circumstances (Burne 2005:xx; Foard and Morris 2012:18). It is important for the researcher to understand relevant historical military practices which were in force at the time of the engagement. As English archeologist Glenn Foard suggests, the principle should be termed *Inherent Historical Military Probability* (Foard 2009:141). The manuals available at the time of the American War of Independence provide specifics regarding the spacing between and among formations, rates of marching, and the specific methods applied to deploy companies, battalions, and other maneuvering or firing formations. These manuals provide a framework of the "limits of the possible" that governed the actions of commanders in the field, keeping in mind that variations to the manuals were always possible, and most likely probable, given opportunities arising from such factors as terrain, visibility, and other battlefield conditions. As one scholar puts it, "Soldiers, not manuals, fight and win battles" (Graves 1986:51).

The KOCOAs process is founded on the principle that terrain has a direct impact on selecting objectives, the location, movement, and control of forces, on the effectiveness of weapons and other systems, and defensive measures. In the following section, each of the key defining features is presented, along with their relevance to the battle, their KOCOAs analysis, and their location/status.

4.1 Defining Features

The defining features were distilled from historical research, onsite landscape analysis, results of the metal detecting survey, archeological testing, and geophysical survey (Table 1). Initially defining features included the abatis and ditches associated with Fort Mercer. This approach was revised so that Fort Mercer itself is the principal defining feature of the American defenses, composed of the constituent parts (parapet walls, abatis, ditches, etc.). The refined list of defining features serves as a platform for future preservation actions associated with the Park.

Delaware River (*Obstacle, Avenue of Approach and Retreat, Observation*)

The Delaware River was the principle defining feature of the Red Bank battlefield (Figure 23). The Delaware River was the major highway of the Delaware Valley. The Delaware Watershed encompasses over 13,500 square miles, is 330 miles long from Hancock, NY to the mouth of the Delaware Bay. Historically the Delaware Watershed witnessed some of the earliest colonial settlements in the Middle Atlantic and the drainages served as major transportation and communication routes. Finally, the River served as the basis for defining Philadelphia's economic backcountry or hinterland well into the twentieth century (Walzer 1972).

The location of Fort Mercer at Red Bank was strategic since Fort Mifflin on Mud Island needed to be supported and the extensive system of *cheveaux de frise* (obstructions) in the river required protection. The river was nearly 1.5 miles wide at this location (based on the Villefranche map) and the distance from the eastern side of Mud Island to Red Bank was 1.2 miles. When he visited the fort in the winter of 1780, the Marquis de Chastellux commented that the "...fort at Red Bank was designed... to support the

Table 1. Red Bank Battlefield Defining Features

Defining Feature	KOCSA Analysis	Notes
Delaware River	Key Terrain, Obstacle, Avenue of Approach and Retreat, Observation	American naval vessels control the river preventing Royal Navy vessels from entering the battle
Road from Haddonfield to Red Bank	Avenue of Approach	Route used by von Donop's Brigade to approach Red Bank
Fort Mercer	Key Terrain, Obstacle, Cover and Concealment, Observation, Firing Position	Principal American position
Woods and Orchard	Cover and Concealment	Hessians form battle line in the woods, Hessian and Royal Artillery batteries placed in the woods
Route from Red Bank to Cooper's Ferry	Avenue of Retreat	Route used by retreating Hessian forces
Big Timber Creek	Obstacle	Bridge over Big Timber Creek was damaged, forcing Hessian column to make circuitous approach to Fort Mercer
Little Timber Creek	Obstacle	
Newtown Creek	Obstacle	Bridge required repair, resulting in a very slight delay to the Hessian column
Ravine at north end of Fort Mercer	Obstacle, Cover and Concealment	
Hessian artillery position	Observation, Firing Position	Slightly elevated position used to bombard Fort Mercer
Whitall House		



Figure 23. View to the east over the Delaware River, looking toward Red Bank, showing the project area.

left [east] of the *cheveaux-de-frise*. The bank of the Delaware at this place is steep; but this very steepness allowed the enemy to approach the fort under cover and without being exposed to the fire of the batteries. To remedy this disadvantage, several galleys armed with cannon and assigned to defend the *cheveaux-de-frise* were stationed alongside the escarpment and could thus watch it on the river side" (de Chastellux 1963:157).

Defenses for the river consisted of multiple fortifications, sunken obstacles, and a naval force. The series of fortifications included Forts Mifflin and Mercer as well as another earthwork at Billingsport, New Jersey. The sunken obstacles consisted of groupings of *cheveaux de frise*, or metal-tipped wooden poles, anchored into the river bottom and pointing downstream, and capable of ripping open the hull of a wooden vessel if the vessel was impaled on them. The navy consisted of Continental and Pennsylvania state vessels, principally row galleys mounting a single large-caliber cannon in the bow (Jackson 1974: 332-354). The navy was well-designed and adapted to defending the river with its numerous shoals, shallows, creeks, and marshes.

Fort Mercer (*Key Terrain, Obstacle, Cover and Concealment, Observation*)

Fort Mercer was planned in December 1776 and initially laid out in May 1777 by Colonel John Bull of the Pennsylvania militia (Jackson 1974:149-151). The land was not purchased from the owners, the Whitall family, but instead occupied by a detachment of Pennsylvania militia and constructed. The fort was placed approximately 600 feet north of the Whitall House. The selected location for the fort, named in honor of Brigadier General Hugh Mercer, who was fatally wounded at the Battle of Princeton (3 January 1777) was at Red Bank, a prominent bluff that rose from approximately forty feet above and extending along the east bank of the Delaware River.

The Marquis de Chastellux visited the site of Fort Mercer in the winter of 1780 and noted that the fort as initially designed was too large. As he described the situation, "the Americans, little practiced in the art of fortification, and always disposed to undertake works beyond their strength, had made those at Red Bank

too extensive. When M. de Mauduit obtained permission to be sent thither with Colonel Greene, he immediately set about reducing the fortifications, by making an intersection from east to west, which transformed [the earthworks] into a sort of large redoubt of approximately pentagonal shape. A good earthen rampart with pointed stakes projecting from below the parapet (*fraisé à hauteur de cordon*), a ditch, and an abatis in front of the ditch, constituted the whole strength of this post, in which were placed three hundred men, and fourteen pieces of cannon" (Chastellux 1963:157).

The alterations to the original fort were significant and required a considerable amount of physical work. The changes to the fort's configuration were undertaken only a few days before the Hessian assault and literally completed only hours before the attack (Figures 2, 3, and 4). Working under the overall direction of the French Engineer Mauduit du Plessis, Colonel Greene's entire First Rhode Island Regiment was ordered on fatigue duty – meaning that the officers and men were building the new portions of the fort and strengthening the defenses – by at least October 15. Such hard physical duty, combined with the cannonading at Fort Mifflin, was wearing on the soldiers. Greene explained that "The Colonel is Loath to fatigue his Garrison severely, and does inform them that it's for their Own security, the safety of their Country and to render their posterity secure from Claim, that he does it, and hopes the Officers and privates will exert themselves with a becoming Fortitude and Resolution on the Occasion...." (Greene 1777a:99).

Colonel Israel Angel of the Second Rhode Island Regiment wrote in his diary that his regiment arrived at the fort at 7pm on October 18, doubtless a welcome reinforcement for Greene's First Rhode Island Continentals. During October 19 the Angel's regiment pitched its tents outside the fort walls and rested until 10 pm "...then both officers and Soldiers went to work and work't [sic] all night on our fort, as we Expected an attack that night or in the morning...."(Boyle 2000:112). Sergeant John Smith, also of the Second Rhode Island Regiment, recorded in his diary that at 10 pm on 19 October "...we turned out...under arms and struck our tents and removed into the Citidel [fort] and went to work on the fort to fortifying the same until day light..." (Smith 1777).

The next day, according to Smith, they moved all the tents outside the fort walls. Colonel Greene's orders for October 20 were for "the whole garrison" to go on fatigue duty at 3pm, "...as there is the greatest necessity for completing the Works and rendering the Fort as defensible as possible...." (Greene 1777a:103). Angel's diary reports that the garrison set to work again on the fort during the night of October 21 and even during the day until about 1pm on October 22, when the arrival of the Hessians was announced. Smith echoed Angel's statement, noting that the renewed nighttime work on October 21 was due to a report that an enemy force had landed on the east side of the Delaware with the mission to attack the fort. Smith wrote that once again "...we Removed all our tents and baggage into the Citidale [sic] and every man was employed at working on the fort to fortify the same...." (Smith 1777). On the morning of October 22 Sergeant Smith recorded that tents were struck and "cleared away for the attack" and the garrison continued last minute work on the fort.

The fort had earthen walls on the east, north and south sides, but no embankments along the river bluff. The fort as initially established was large, extending 350 yards (1,050 feet) along the river. It was too large for the garrison that was assigned to it, and engineer Mauduit reduced its size in the days immediately preceding the battle. An east-west double board fence was built across the fort, thus reducing the enclosure to about one-third of its original size. The lumber and boards were taken from the Quaker landowner, James Whitall. Whitall claimed damages for 1,000 feet of Cedar boards, 8,550 fence rails, 2,048 wooden stakes, and 50 white oak posts, as well as destruction of a barn and hayhouse and damages to other farm buildings. The space between the boards was filled with hay, old lumber, and other debris. An abatis was constructed around the outside of the fort. Cut branches and brush were placed on the ramparts and thus partly covered the fort's canons (Jackson 1974:439).

At the time of the battle the fort did not have any sort of constructed buildings or shelter within its walls. Jackson (1974:153) notes that there was no barracks, hospital, magazine or storage building. Colonel Greene had ordered a storage building to be constructed by the carpenters on October 15 but apparently this was not completed at the time of the battle (Greene 1777a:96). The du Plessis map (Figure 3) shows a magazine structure in the center of the reduced fort; it is also depicted on the British engineer's map and Johann Ewald's map (Figures 6 and 7). It is likely the structure depicted was erected post-battle.

According to the period maps prepared by Werner and du Plessis, the ditch (fosse) that surrounded the fort varied in width and depth. Inside the fort the newly constructed timber wall included a firing step, a parapet wall about 10 feet high, and an exterior ditch about 15 feet wide and 18 feet deep. The parapet and ditch for the older portion of the fort was similarly formidable, though the wall was not as tall (8 feet) and the ditch not quite as wide or deep (12 feet across and 8 feet deep). Taken together, however, the elevation from the base of the ditch to the top of the parapet wall ranged from 20 to 28 feet. The exterior of the wall also contained frises, or sharpened stakes, to prevent ease in scaling the outside of the parapet (Smith 1970:21-22; Jackson 1974:151-152).

Hessian Artillery Position (*Observation, Field of Fire*)

Located near the intersection of Monument and Fourth Streets, the Hessian artillery position was placed on a slight rise (41 feet above sea level). The position was occupied by the Hessian battalion guns (3-pounders) and the two British howitzers (5 ½-inch howitzers). The du Plessis and Ewald maps show the approximate location of the Hessian battery and include the general trajectory of the rounds that were fired from this position (see figures 2 and 6). Hessian engineer Werner indicates that the elevated position of the guns was approximately 600 "steps" from the fort.

Timber Creek (*Obstacle*)

Big Timber Creek is a tidal creek whose main branch forms a portion of the boundary between Gloucester and Camden counties. The main branch of Timber Creek, as well as its tributaries Little and Big Timber Creek, functioned as significant obstacles to movement for the Hessian forces (Figure 24).



Figure 24: Big Timber Creek, view to the east from the current bridge crossing on Broadway at Westville, showing the earlier crossing point.

At the time of the battle there were two principal bridges that crossed Timber Creek, one on the Gloucester to Woodbury Road (the Kings' Highway) and one at Clements Bridge. The Timber Creek bridge on the Kings' Highway was near the Buck Tavern (modern Westville) and crossed close to where the Old Salem Road extended to the creek's northern bank, several hundred feet east of the current crossing on Broadway (Route 47) (Stewart 1927:10; Smith 1970). New Jersey militia under the command of Captain Felix Fisler had destroyed this bridge so that it was impassable to the Hessian column, forcing von Donop to alter his avenue of approach (Stewart 1927:10). One Hessian officer noted that the march to the fort was "...hindered by a broken up bridge, but another was found several miles beyond. This was passed with little resistance by the entire corps..." (Von Cochenhausen 1998:16). The column was able to cross Timber Creek at what is today Clements Bridge, further to the east from the intended crossing point on the Kings' Highway. The crossing today (Route 41) is at a location established in 1807 (Smith 1970:20).

Roads from Haddonfield to Red Bank (*Avenues of Approach and Retreat*)

The route followed by von Donop's assault force has been traced by several twentieth-century historians and identified (Jackson 1974:173-174; McGeorge 1917:37-38; Smith 1970:20) (Figure 25).

The route was apparently intended to be fairly direct towards Red Bank, but the destruction of the bridge over Big Timber Creek forced the Hessian column to change its march route (Figure 24). An excellent period map, attributed to Cadwallader, shows the route of the Hessian column (Figure 26).

According to the local historian Wallace McGeorge (1917), von Donop's soldiers crossed the Delaware River at Cooper's Ferry on the day preceding the battle and marching along Main, Cooper, Camden, and North Sixth [formerly Pine] Streets in the village on their way to Haddonfield. Marching on what is roughly today's Haddon Avenue (Smith 1970:20), the column reached Haddonfield at about 8pm in the evening (Downman 1898:166), proceeded through the town and bivouacked "in the fields beyond the village near Hopkins mill pond" (a pond situated to the north of the village). Von Donop occupied the John Gill House (currently the Historical Society of Haddonfield) in Haddonfield the evening of October 21/22 (McGeorge 1917:37). The Werner map (Figure 27) inset that depicts the route followed by the Hessians shows a quadrilateral camp around Haddonfield, suggesting that von Donop deployed his battalions in a square surrounding the town, forming a sort of defensive perimeter.

At 4 am on October 22, von Donop's column resumed its march towards Fort Mercer, initially taking the road toward Mount Ephraim, crossing Newton or Newtown Creek, to what is now Westville (then known as the Buck) (Figures 28 and 29). Friedrich von Werner noted that Newton Creek was 18 feet wide at this point and that the bridge was completely useless "since one of the beams was completely broken and the other rotten" (Londahl-Smidt 2013). The delay at the creek was short. Werner explains that "two trees were felled, new beams inserted and covered with the planks of the old bridge and with fences, all of which was accomplished within a good ¼ of an hour that all carts could cross" (Londahl-Smidt 2013).

At this point in the march von Donop was informed that the bridge over Big Timber Creek had been damaged and could not be used (see above). In his history, Smith describes the route from Haddonfield as

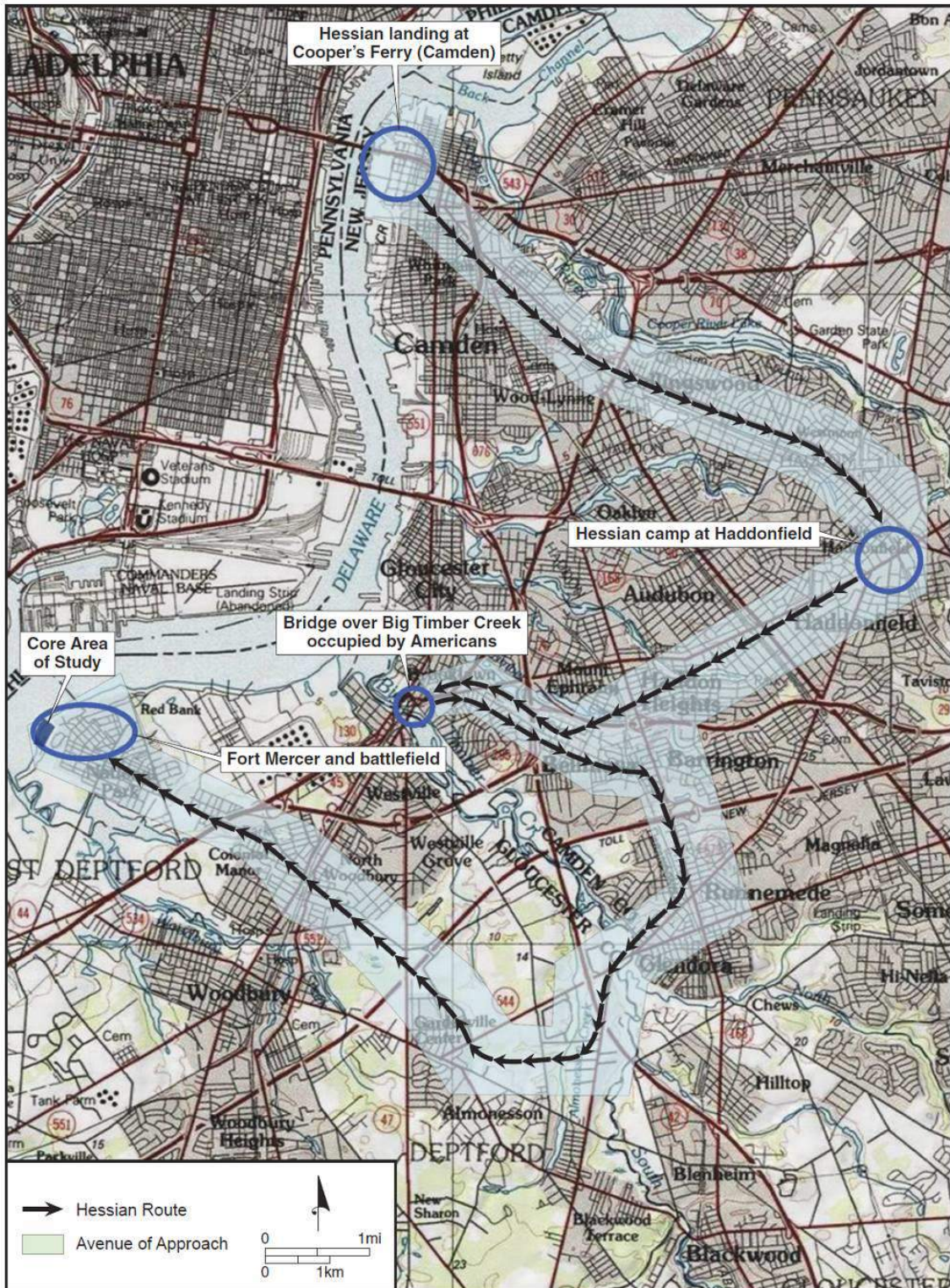


Figure 25. Overview of the approximate Avenue of Approach and Retreat by von Donop's column, based on the work of other historians (base map: USGS *Wilmington Delaware - New Jersey - Pennsylvania - Maryland* 30x60-minute quadrangle, 1984).



Figure 26. *Draft of Roads in Jersey* [1777] this map is attributed by Schopp and Stone (2016) as the work of John Cadwallader. It shows the route followed by the Hessians as they approached Red Bank.

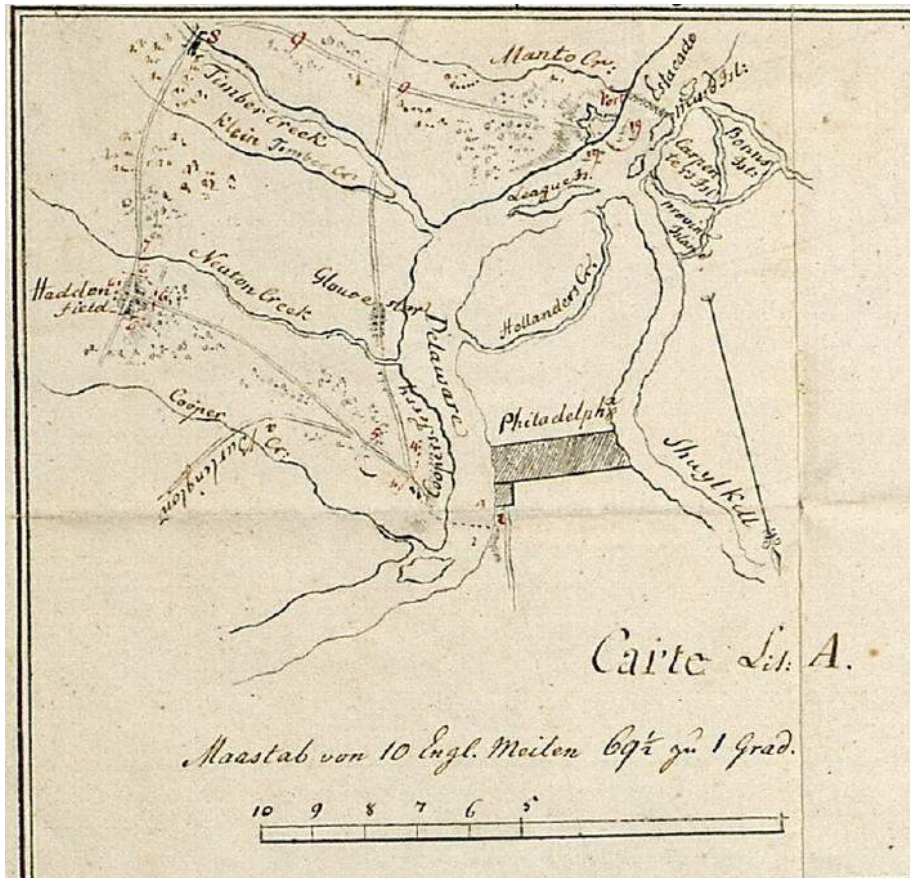


Figure 27. Inset map from the larger Friedrich Werner map, *Plan der Expedition zum Fort Redbank bei Philadelphia am 21. und 22. Oktober 1777*, showing the layout of the overnight camp at Haddonfield and the route to Red Bank. Newtown Creek, Klein (Little) Timber Creek and Timber Creek are shown.

along a road "...roughly paralleling what is now Kings' Highway...to approximately the junction with what is now White Horse Pike... at this point the old road fell off to the south of the present Kings' highway and crossed Little Timber Creek at a mill-dam, just east of what is now Bell Road" (Smith 1970:20). Hessian Jäger Captain Johann Ewald described the crossing of Little Timber Creek:

"about nine o'clock we crossed the pass over Timber Creek, which has very marshy banks. A dam of several hundred paces extends across the creek, on which there are two wooden bridges. Two small plantations are situated on this and the other side. I was surprised that we did not leave here at least one jäger company to retain the mastery of this pass, since, after all, the success of our expedition was not yet assured..." (Ewald 1979:97).

The mill dam mentioned by Ewald was the dam of Captain William Harrison who owned a 514-acre plantation along both banks of Little Timber Creek (Schopp and Stone 2016:4). After crossing Little Timber Creek the column turned west on what is now Browning Road following this route until it intersected with Old Salem Road, the road leading to the bridge across Big Timber Creek (Smith 1970:20).



Figure 28. View to northeast along County Road 551, the Kings Highway, looking towards Haddonfield. This is the route followed by the Hessian column on the morning of October 22 1777 as they moved out of their overnight camp at Haddonfield.



Figure 29. View to east along West Browning Road, showing current character of the landscape for the avenue of approach for the Hessian column.

Learning that the bridge had been taken up, the column changed direction and moved south and east towards Clements Bridge and a crossing of Timber Creek further to the east. Smith notes that they followed a road laid out in 1768 that roughly parallels the Black Horse Pike, then used a now abandoned section of Davis Road (Smith 1970:20). According to the report of Lt. Colonel Ludwig von Wurmb of the Hessian Field Jäger Corps, "...since we had word that the Rebels had wrecked the Timber Creek Bridge at Gloucester, we marched toward Haddonfield to cross the New Bridge, or, if it were wrecked, to go upstream until the creek could be crossed. The bridge still stood" (Von Wurmb 1998:11). Baurmeister in his report of the Red Bank expedition notes that the wooden bridge at "large Timber Creek" was new (Bauermeister 1998:13). This route took the column through the villages of Barrington, across Beaver Branch and through the village of Runnymede (McGeorge 1917:37-38). The Hessian column was guided along "a hidden route" by an African American guide, Dick Ellis (an enslaved laborer for Colonel Joseph Ellis of the Gloucester County militia), who was sent along by General Howe. Ellis and a second guide, Philadelphia butcher John Mucklewain [McIlvaine], were captured after the assault by the fort's garrison, tried for treason and hanged. A third "guide" was another African American named Mitch, who was unwillingly impressed into the service by the Hessians (Jackson 1974:173, 193-194; Londahl-Smidt 2013:31, note 49).

The route followed by the Hessian column was described by one second lieutenant in the Mirbach Regiment as "on unknown sneaky lanes" (Londahl-Smidt 2013:7). Von Wurmb reported that the route "...was all woods with only an occasional house and quite level except for the last three miles from Redbank where the ground began to rise" (Von Wurmb 1998:11). Hessian engineer officer Captain Reinhard Jacob Martin noted in his journal that the column crossed "Newtown Creek after repairing the bridge across it which was useless, then crossed the Little and Great Timber Creeks" (Londahl-Smidt 2013:10).

Once across Timber Creek at Clements Bridge (the current bridge was laid out in 1807), McGeorge retraced their route:

"they proceeded along the road through the hamlet of Catteltown (because so many Cattells lived there), later called Basket Town and now [1917] called Westcottville [formerly Strawberry Bank or Isaac Ballinger's], then skirted the edge of the woods, passing by the Cattell Burying Ground, over "Lavender Hill," passing J. Wood Hannold's and the Johnson farms, across the Westville and Glassboro Road, passed the Knight, Ladner, and McGeorge farms, through Ladd's Woods and out through Mann Town, now [in 1917] Park Avenue, across the Kings' Highway, now [in 1917] the Woodbury and Gloucester Turnpike, and from thence along what is now called Hessian Avenue to the woods east of Fort Mercer" (McGeorge 1917:38).

Smith notes that the route, after crossing Timber Creek at Clements Bridge, "swung south along Almonesson Creek, then turned west...from there the Hessians marched over what is now Caufield Avenue, Deptford Avenue, and Hessian Avenue to Fort Mercer" (Smith 1970:20) (Figures 30 through 33).

The contemporary historical reports show that the column had been marching for nearly eight to nine hours before reaching its destination near Fort Mercer, an indication that the tidal streams and damaged bridges in the area played a crucial role in the timing of the battle (Londahl-Smidt 2013:13). Von Donop's aide, Lieutenant Levin Carl von Heister, noted that American destruction of the crossings over Timber and Newtown Creeks necessitated a large detour that made the march towards Red Bank considerably longer. One Hessian officer, Staff Captain Christian Freidrich von Urff of the Lieb Regiment, complained that "...Instead of making a seven mile direct march, they were forced to go 21 miles as the Rebels had destroyed two bridges over which they had to pass...." (Londahl-Smidt 2013:26).



Figure 30. View to the northwest across the modern crossing of Big Timber Creek at Clements Bridge (Route 41, Clements Bridge Road).



Figure 31. View to the east along Caulfield Avenue, the route followed by the Hessian column as they turned west from today's Clements Bridge Road toward Fort Mercer. The character of the avenue of approach is more rural than in the area closer to Haddonfield and Deptford.



Figure 32. View to the east along Deptford Avenue in Woodbury.



Figure 33. View to the west along Hessian Avenue in National Park, looking towards the Whitall House and Red Bank Battlefield Park.

Woods and Orchard (*Cover and Concealment*)

In the days immediately preceding the battle, the American forces defending Fort Mercer cut down the trees and orchards immediately surrounding the fort for a distance of approximately one quarter-mile. Sergeant Smith of the Second Rhode Island Regiment wrote in his diary that on October 21 "...we Cut Down an orchard by the fort and [laid] trees Round the fort [the abatis] to Keep off the Enemy...." (Smith 1777). The tree removal was fairly extensive. In 1779, several years after the fort's destruction, landowner James Whitall filed a certificate for damages with the New Jersey State Adjutant General for property damages, claiming the loss of £1200 for "Cutting and Destroying the Timber" and an additional £1500 for "an orchard [containing] near[ly] 300 trees, all Grafted trees"(Jackson 1974:438-439). The decision to cut down the trees and damage private property was a reversal of earlier orders; when the Pennsylvania State Regiment occupied Fort Mercer during May and June 1777, their standing orders were to "be careful not to hurt the Fruit trees in the camp, nor to burn any of the [fence] rails or destroy them" (Jordan 1898:60).

As it was for all officers at a time before standardization of watches or time pieces, determining accurate times for the Hessians requires approximation. Various accounts note that they reached the woods near the fort between 12 pm and 1 pm in the afternoon (some place the arrival time as early as 10 am). Johann Ewald commented that: "Our march went past Strawberry Bank [today's Westcottsville]. About one o'clock in the afternoon the corps arrived in a wood which encircled the left side of the fort at rifle-shot distance to the left bank of the Delaware. In this wood a captain and six men from the garrison of the fort fell into the hands of Captain Wreden, who had the advanced guard. They had been ordered to get fresh meat at a plantation and knew nothing of our approach. The entire corps remained in column on the road in the wood. The men were permitted to sit down and told to eat, but since this day was not bread or provision day, very few had any bread to break or bite. The officers, especially, were not provided with anything. I had to march with the rear guard to the head of the corps" (Ewald 1979:97-98).

The contemporary maps of Red Bank clearly depict the woods edge. The Villefranche map provides a more comprehensive view of the fort and its surroundings; the woods east of Fort Mercer can be seen to be quite extensive (Figure 3). The wood's edge served as the jumping off point for the Hessian assault on Fort Mercer. Contemporary accounts indicate that the two principal assaulting columns formed in the woods just beyond musket shot of the fort's defenders. The woods also served as the location where fascines (bundles of sticks) were made by Hessian soldiers. The intent of the fascines was to be able to fill the fort ditch, in effect creating a sort of wooden "bridge" over which the attacking columns could advance.

Within the woods were several road traces. These are most visible on the Villefranche, Ewald, and Werner maps. The roads offered avenues of approach for the Hessian forces and relatively easy passage through the woods.

Ravine at north end of the Fort Mercer (*Cover and Concealment, Obstacle*)

Located at the northern end of the original fort was an extremely steep-sided ravine that extended perpendicular to the bluff face and led down to the Delaware River shoreline. This ravine is depicted on the contemporary maps of the battle and effectively served as the northern edge of the battlefield.

Whitall House

While not Key Terrain, the Whitall House is a defining feature of the battlefield. The house and its occupants figured prominently in the events leading up to the action and after the battle the house served as a field hospital. The grounds of the Whitall family farm were significantly damaged by the building of a fort and later by the burial of dead.

The Whitall family occupied lands at Red Bank since about 1700 when James Whitall purchased a 411+ acres "plantation...called Red Bank" (Watson and Henry 1989:4). The property passed from James to his son, Job, and then from Job to his son, James, who built the original core of the present house. The James

and Ann Whitall House initially dates to 1748 when the Period I five-bay block was constructed by the builder, Restore Lippincott. The stone three-bay kitchen addition is interpreted as being constructed in the last quarter of the eighteenth century while the Period III stone lean-to was built between 1815 and 1847. The stone kitchen block evidently was erected above an earlier structure that predates the 1748 building.

The house and farm remained in the hands of the Whitall family until 1862 when it was sold at sheriff's sale to Benjamin Heritage (Watson and Henry 1989:5). Heritage, in turn, sold the property to the United States Government on May 16, 1872 for \$25,000 for use as a military installation. The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers prepared a plat map at the time of sale that depicts not only the Whitall House and its improvements, but also the topographic remnants of Fort Mercer (Figure 12). The map depicts one-foot contours, thus providing a detailed glimpse of the fort's outline and topography nearly a century after the battle.



Figure 34. James Whitall House, east elevation, from Hessian Avenue.



Figure 35. James Whitall House, north elevation, Delaware River in background.

5. OPPOSING FORCES AT RED BANK

5.1 Hessian Order of Battle

The Hessian force that assaulted Fort Mercer was part of the large contingent of German soldiers sent from the state of Hesse to serve the British Crown. Frederick II, the Landgrave of Hesse Casel, was uncle by marriage to King George III and was the ruler of an economically successful German state. His army, consisting of nearly 24,000 soldiers, was trained using Prussian manuals and was considered to be "the finest corps of troops for hire in Europe in the late eighteenth century" (Stephens 1998:25).

The reinforced Hessian Grenadier Brigade commanded by Colonel von Donop was composed of three grenadier battalions, an attached fusilier regiment, the Hessian Field Jäger Corps, and a Royal Artillery detachment. The overall expedition against Fort Mercer consisted of approximately 2,400 soldiers, of which approximately 1,200 to 1,400 were actively engaged in the battle on October 22. The Lengerke Battalion was held in reserve and order to watch the Delaware River to prevent the landing of American reinforcements and was thus not involved in the assault on Fort Mercer.

Table 2. Von Donop's Brigade Order of Battle

Formation	Commanding Officer	Strength
Von Donop's Hessian Brigade	Colonel Emil Ulrich von Donop	2,300 to 2,400 men , eight battalion guns, two 5 1/2-inch howitzers
1st Grenadier Battalion (von Linsingen)	Lt. Col. Otto Christian von Linsingen	437
2nd Grenadier Battalion (von Lengerke)	Lt. Col. George Emanuel von Lengerke	440
3rd Grenadier Battalion (von Minnigerode)	Lt.Col. Friedrich Ludwig von Minnigerode	430
Fusilier Regiment von Mirbach	Lt. Col. Henrich von Schieck	553
Hessian Field Jäger Corps	Lt. Col. Ludwig Johann Adam von Wurmb	511
Royal Artillery detachment (British), two howitzers	Capt. Francis Downman	

Under the command of Colonel von Donop, the Grenadier Brigade was specially formed for North American campaigning at the request of the British. Like a British grenadier battalion, the von Donop Brigade was created by bringing together the grenadier companies from twelve different Hessian regiments. Hessian regiments typically contained five companies - four line companies and one grenadier company. The paper strength of a grenadier battalion was 524 officers and men but by the time of the battle at Red Bank, the battalions were under-strength (Table 2).

Named after its commanding officer, the Grenadier Brigade von Donop embarked for North America in April 1776, fought at Long Island in August 1776, and at Fort Washington in November 1776. During the Philadelphia Campaign and prior to the Battle of Red Bank, the brigade took part in the actions at Brandywine (September 11, 1777) and Germantown (October 4, 1777). The personnel of the 1st Grenadier Battalion (von Linsingen) were drawn from the grenadier companies of the 2nd and 3rd Guards Regiments, the Prince's Own Regiment (Liebregiment), and the Regiment von Mirbach. The 2nd Grenadier Battalion (von Lengerke) consisted of the grenadier companies drawn from the von Truembach, Prince Carl von Wutginau (Landraf) and Von Donop regiments. The 3rd Grenadier Battalion (von Minnigerode) was

created from the grenadier companies of the regiments of the Prince-Successor (Erbprinz), von Ditfurth, von Lossberg, and von Knyphausen (Anonymous 1972; Katcher 1973:109,119-120).

Hessian grenadier companies consisted of one officer, twelve noncommissioned officers, 105 privates, three drummers, and three packers (Moller 2011:415). Integral to each of the grenadier battalions were two artillery pieces (3-pound guns), so each battalion had its own artillery support. These guns were small caliber. Overall there were eight battalion guns in the assault force. The standard infantry long arm for the Hessian grenadiers was a 0.72-caliber musket modeled on a Prussian musket (Moller 2001:436).

Each of these grenadier companies was distinguishable from one another by their brass mitre caps and uniforms. In general the uniform coat was blue with different facings (collars, cuffs, and turnbacks) to identify the different companies. Hessian regimental buttons were metal alloy, plain and unmarked. Two of the companies - the 2nd and 3rd Guards companies - wore *auguilette* (shoulder braids) on their right shoulders.

The Musketeer Regiment von Mirbach was composed of four line infantry companies (its grenadier company was part of the 1st Grenadier Battalion noted above). The von Mirbach Regiment arrived with the first division of German troops sent to North America in August 1776 and took part in the New Jersey and the Philadelphia campaigns. The uniform for the regiment consisted of a blue coat with red facings trimmed with plain white lace, white small clothes, and red stocks. Officers' lace was silver (Katcher 1973:120). The regiment was commanded at Red Bank by its Lieutenant Colonel, Ernst Rudolf von Schieck, who was killed during the battle.

The Hessian Field Jäger Corps was German light infantry. General Sir William Howe established the Hessian Field Jäger Corps in late June 1777 in preparation for the summer campaign. Howe, an early practitioner of the use of light infantry tactics and formations, realized the usefulness and abilities of several independent Hessian jäger companies. For the Philadelphia campaign Howe combined the independent companies into a cohesive unit commanded by Lt. Colonel Ludwig von Wurmb. The Field Jäger Corps consisted of three Hessian companies under the commands of Captain von Wrede, Captain Ewald, and Major von Prueschenck; an Ansbach Jäger company commanded by Captain von Crammon; a troop of mounted jäger commanded by Captain Lorey; and a 30-man detachment of Hessian grenadiers assigned as infantry support for two 3-pound cannons (Burgoyne 1987:45; Tustin 1979:71). At that time of its formation, the Corps consisted of approximately 600 men. However, by the time the Corps embarked for the Chesapeake in early July it apparently mustered 865. Each of the Hessian companies was intended to have 175 men, the Ansbach Company had 105 men, and the Hessian grenadier detachment consisted of one officer and 30 men. In addition to the two 3-pound guns with the grenadiers, the three Hessian Jäger companies were authorized to each include one 1-pound. gun or “*amusette*” (Burgoyne 1987:45).

The Jäger were elite troops, trained to fight in open order formations and to take advantage of cover (Selig 1994). The men composing the jäger corps were experienced woodsmen and hunters (“jäger” translating, literally, to “hunter”) and were regarded as some of the best troops in Howe’s army (Knötel et al. 1974:64-65). Uniforms for Hessian jägers consisted of short green coats with red facings. They were armed with German manufactured short-barreled rifles 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 Jäger Corps’ rifles would accept the standard British carbine-bore ball of .615”, which British rifles also accepted, thus simplifying ammunition supply for the German troops (Bailey 2002:67-68).

The Hessian artillery consisted of eight guns, two per battalion. Most accounts indicate these were all 3-pound guns (firing a round iron ball weighing 3 pounds), but Ewald reports that two of these guns were 6-pounders. The effective range of a 3-pound cannon was approximately 600 meters for solid shot with one

round fired approximately every 3 minutes. Each gun required a crew of ten men. Four ammunition wagons accompanied the column to supply both the cannons and the howitzers. The ammunition wagons were the only wheeled vehicles with the Hessian Brigade.

A detachment of two Royal Artillery 5 1/2-inch howitzers under the command of Francis Downman was also attached to the expedition (Downman 1898:166). The howitzers were attached to provide more artillery support to the assaulting troops. According to historian Albert Manucy, the howitzer was capable of throwing a larger projectile than a field piece

"...in a high trajectory similar to a mortar, but from a lighter and more mobile weapon. The wide-purpose efficiency of the howitzer was appreciated almost at once, and it was soon adopted by all European armies. The weapon owed its mobility to a rugged, two-wheeled carriage like a field carriage, but with a relatively short trail that permitted the wide arc of elevation needed for this weapon"(Manucy 1962:56-57).

The Royal Artillery howitzers, therefore, were able to send projectiles over the walls of Fort Mercer and have them explode above the heads of the defenders. The Hessian field pieces were not able to raise their elevations to such an extent.

5.2 American Order of Battle

The garrison at Fort Mercer, under the command of Colonel Christopher Greene, consisted of two Rhode Island Continental regiments, an artillery detachment manning the fort's guns, an ad hoc force of New Jersey militia that supplemented the garrison artillery detachment, and possibly an under-strength Virginia Continental regiment.

A return of the garrison taken five days after the battle (October 27) reports that the Rhode Island regiments had a total of 471 officers and men fit for duty (First Rhode Island = 244; Second Rhode Island = 227). The artillery detachment consisted of 63 officers and men; among these was counted the French engineer. Overall, a few days after the battle, the garrison contained approximately 534 officers and men (Greene 1777b) (Figure 36).

The First and Second Rhode Island Regiments were commanded by Colonel Greene and Colonel Israel Angell, respectively. The two Rhode Island regiments were detached from the Rhode Island Continental Brigade commanded by General James M. Varnum (Berg 1972:105-106,145; Wright 1983:227, 229). The two regiments were recruited in Rhode Island in the winter of 1777, their nuclei essentially being the former 9th and 11th Continental Regiments from the 1776 army organization (Wright 1983:110).

The two Rhode Island regiments had considerable numbers of African American soldiers in their ranks in late 1777. Recent scholarship has provided the historical documentation for this observation (Becton 1994; Popek 2015:75-81). Based on a thorough review of the regimental muster rolls, one historian estimates that between ten and fifteen percent of the regiments were men of color (including native-born Africans, African Americans, and Native Americans from the Narragansett people of Rhode Island (Popek 2015:81, see also page 762, note 104). There were approximately 500 rank and file in the Rhode Island regiments in closing months of 1777, so it is likely that at the time of the Battle of Red Bank 50 to 75 Rhode Islanders were men of color.

*Return of the N^o of men present fit for duty belonging to the Garrison
Commanded by Christopher Greene Es^r Red Bank Oct^r 27th 1777*

	Col	Dr. Col	Major	Captain	Subst	Ensigns	Adjutant	S. Master	Surgeon	Art.	Chaplain	Serjeant	Drummers	Bombardiers	Musketeers	Rank & File	Total
<i>Col. Greene's Regiment</i>	1	1	1	4	12	7	1	1	1	1	1	25	16			72	244
<i>Col. Angel's Detto</i>	1	1		4	9	7	1	1	1		1	20	13			168	297
<i>Capt. Cook's Company</i>				1	1	1						3		3	54		63
<i>Total</i>	1	2	2	1	9	22	14	2	2	2	1	28	29	3	54	240	534

C. Greene Col Com^d

Figure 36. Return of the Garrison at Red Bank, October 27 1777 (George Washington Papers, Series 4, General Correspondence, 1697-1799 MSS 44693: Reel 045. Manuscript Division. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.).

Within Fort Mercer fourteen guns are reported to have been under the command of Captain Cook and the French officer Captain Mauduit du Plessis [Chevalier Thomas Antoine Mauduit du Plessis]. Du Plessis was described as a French volunteer, an engineer-artillerist, and an aide to Brigadier General Henry Knox (Smith 1970:16). Cook's artillery contingent consisted of approximately 63 men and was supplemented by sixteen Continental soldiers with an equal number of militiamen (Greene 1777a:94).

The du Plessis plat of Fort Mercer appears to illustrate the locations of fourteen guns, depicted by lines drawn from within the fort to locations outside of the fort's walls (Figure 2). Two heavy guns, probably 18-pounders, were apparently placed on both sides of the fort's main gate on the south wall. Du Plessis' map suggests that these guns were employed in counter-battery fire against the Hessian artillery position during the attack. Other smaller-caliber guns seem to have been paired together along the curtain wall. Finally, a pair of shorter lines is depicted as extending from the gore or rectangular redoubt along the fort's eastern wall. The lines drawn from these locations suggest that these were used during the assault as anti-personnel weapons, perhaps the 4- or 6-pound guns, or possible swivel guns.

When Fort Mercer was eventually captured in November 1777, the British reported the following heavy ordnance still present at the fort (Jackson 1974:403):

- six 18-pounders (1 unserviceable)
- three 18-pounders, mounted on truck (garrison) carriages (2 unserviceable)
- two 6-pounders, mounted on truck carriages, spiked and unserviceable
- one 4-pounder, mounted on truck carriage, with elevating screw, spiked
- three 4-pounders, mounted on truck carriages, spiked
- one 3-pounder, mounted on truck carriage, spiked and unserviceable
- eight howitzer swivels
- four howitzer swivels, carried off by naval Captain

- three swivels
- one travelling carriage for an 18-pounder
- five truck carriages for 18-pounders
- one travelling carriage for 9-pounder
- four travelling carriages for 6-pounders
- three limbers for 6-pounders

This list of guns, carriages, and limbers left at the fort shows more ordnance than fourteen guns. The number of guns mounted on truck, or garrison, carriages in the list totals sixteen 18-, 6-, 4-, and 3-pound guns all spiked and unserviceable (and, therefore still mounted and functional in the fort). The additional swivels total 15. Some of the six 18-pounders may be guns that were salvaged from the HMS *Augusta*, which also included the recovery of at least one twenty-four-pounder. Finally, not included in this list are any guns mounted on traveling, or field carriages, which the American defenders likely removed when they retreated from the fort in mid-November.

Various New Jersey militia formations were present at Fort Mercer in the days and weeks leading up to the battle, may have been present on the day of the battle, and were part of the garrison after the fight. Jackson (1974:153) notes that Captain Felix Fisler's company of the Second Battalion, Gloucester County militia (approximately 150 men) was at the fort when Colonel Christopher Greene took command on October 11. Prior to Fisler the fort had been garrisoned by a Cumberland County militia unit commanded by Colonel Elijah Hand (Smith 1970:16). New Jersey militia General Silas Newcomb had been ordered by General Washington to supplement the Rhode Island command, but almost immediately had difficulties with the local troops (Jackson 1974:154). It was clear that the local militia might be unreliable if the fort were assaulted.

In the days leading up to the attack, Colonel Greene used the militia to strengthen the fortification, stand guard and fatigue duty, and exercise and drill (Greene 1777a). A small detachment (sixteen men) was assigned to the garrison artillery (Greene 1777a:94; Jackson 1974:155).

Immediately prior to the battle, Fisler's militia company was responsible for the destruction of the bridge over Timber Creek, which forced von Donop's brigade to lengthen its march and seek another way to approach the fort. Due to limited space, on the day of the battle the militia encamped outside of Fort Mercer were ordered to quit the post and move towards Woodbury and, if possible, harass the advancing Hessian brigade (Jackson 1974:174).

While not part of the garrison, other militia units were stationed at strategic regional locations as supporting troops to the river defenses. According to Smith (1974:17), portions of the militia regiments from Salem and Cape May, along with a small detachment of light horse, were occupying Coopers Ferry. Elements of the Second Cumberland Regiment were at Haddonfield, while Woodbury contained the First Cumberland, the Gloucester regiment, and a detachment of militia artillery. On the day of the battle militia units accounted for approximately 300 to 400 men stationed in the immediate vicinity under the command of General Newcomb.

There is some debate, particularly by Jackson (1974:175-176) as to whether the Sixth Virginia Regiment, reduced to approximately 150 men, was present in Fort Mercer at the time of the battle. Jackson argues that the reduced size of Fort Mercer could not have contained both Rhode Island regiments, an artillery detachment, and the men of the Sixth Virginia. Further, he notes that casualty reports show no casualties in the Sixth dating to the period of the assault at Red Bank (Jackson 1974:176-177). On the other hand, Smith's study of the battle places the Sixth at Fort Mercer, commanded by Lt. Colonel John Green of the First Virginia with Lt. Colonel Charles Sims as the second in command (Smith 1970:17). The Sixth Virginia had suffered heavy casualties at the Battle of Germantown (October 4, 1777) and was thus considerably under-

strength. The regiment appears to have been attached to the Delaware River defenses and may have been at either Fort Mifflin or Fort Mercer at the time of the attack.

6. RESULTS OF FIELD INVESTIGATIONS

Archeological field work consisted of three techniques: GPR in selected locations; metal detection across the Park (exclusive of the foreshore below the bluff along the Delaware River), and limited excavation units to ground-truth GPR anomalies or other possible artifact concentrations. In total eleven GPR grids were investigated, twenty-two metal detection "blocks" were surveyed, and five excavation units and one trench were excavated.

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This map was intentionally deleted per the requirements of the Archaeological Resource Protection Act (16 U.S.C. 470hh) and its implementing regulations (49 FR 1027, Jan. 6, 1984).

Figure 37. Detail of GPR Grids 1 (left) and 2 (right) showing the location of identified anomalies.

This map was intentionally deleted per the requirements of the Archaeological Resource Protection Act (16 U.S.C. 470hh) and its implementing regulations (49 FR 1027, Jan. 6, 1984).

Figure 38. GPR profile of data from Grids 1 and 2 showing cross-section of identified anomalies (in orange).

This map was intentionally deleted per the requirements of the Archaeological Resource Protection Act (16 U.S.C. 470hh) and its implementing regulations (49 FR 1027, Jan. 6, 1984).

Figure 39. Detail of GPR Grids 3 (left) and 4 (right) showing the location of identified anomalies.

This map was intentionally deleted per the requirements of the Archaeological Resource Protection Act (16 U.S.C. 470hh) and its implementing regulations (49 FR 1027, Jan. 6, 1984).

Figure 40. GPR profile of data from Grids 3 and 4 showing cross-section of identified anomalies (in orange).

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Figure 41. Detail of GPR Grids 5 (left) and 6 (right) showing the location of identified anomalies.

Figure 42. GPR profile of data from Grid 5 and 6 showing cross-section of identified anomalies (in orange).

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Figure 43. Detail of combined GPR Grids 6 and 7 showing the location of identified anomalies. Above slice is from 1.88ft bgs. Below slice is from 2.81ft bgs.

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Figure 44. GPR profile of data from Grid 7 showing cross-section of identified anomalies (in orange).

Figure 45. Detail of GPR Grids 11 showing the location of identified anomalies.

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Figure 46. GPR profile of data from Grid 11 showing cross-section of identified anomalies (in orange).

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Figure 47. Excavation Unit 1, Plan view of Level 3 transition.

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Figure 48. Excavation Unit 1, base of Level 2, plan view.

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Figure 49. Excavation Unit 1, plan view of Level 3, showing Features 1 and 2.

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Figure 50. Excavation Unit 1, closing view of west wall profile.

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Figure 51. Excavation Unit 1, west wall profile.

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Figure 52. Excavation Units 2 and 3, west wall profile.

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Figure 53. Excavation Units 2 and 3, west wall profile.

Figure 54. Excavation Unit 3, profile of Level 1 and Feature 2 (natural tree root disturbance).

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Figure 55. Excavation Unit 4, plan view showing cannon fragment *in situ*.

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Figure 56. Excavation Unit 4, profile of east wall, showing cannon fragment *in situ*.

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Figure 57. Excavation of Trench 1 in progress, view to the southeast showing location of the trench and the steep bluff.

Figure 58. Trench 1, east half, closing view.

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Figure 59. Trench 1, east half, base of level 3 plan view.

7. ARTIFACT ANALYSES

The archeological investigation at Fort Mercer recovered nearly 1,600 artifacts from the metal detection and excavations (Appendix I). Artifacts found include Native American ceramics and lithics, battle-related artifacts, and post-battle artifacts (such as ceramics, glass, and metal items, several artifacts dating to the military use of the site during the Second World War, and numerous reenactor artifacts). While all of these are inventoried in Appendix I, the following discussion will focus on the battle-related artifacts that were found and what their identity and distribution at the site may mean.

Five days of metal detection (approximately 400 hours of time) resulted in the recovery of 487 metallic artifacts spread throughout the Park (Figure 60). The metal detectorists from BRAVO did an outstanding job and this survey provides a base line of data regarding the density and distribution of battle-related artifacts in the Park. A fair number of non-military artifacts were also found, in particular the reenactor artifacts from the dating from the last third of the twentieth century to the present.

7.1 Munitions

A total of thirty-six lead shot were recovered during the archeological survey, consisting of buckshot (1), rifle (4), and musket balls (31) (Figure 61). The lead shot measuring above 0.68" is most likely associated with German muskets (which had a 0.72-caliber bore diameter), while lead shot ranging between 0.60" and 0.66" is likely associated with French Charleville muskets, the shoulder arm used most frequently by American troops. Overall, Charleville-associated lead shot accounts for 24 shot of the total recovered (approximately 66.6 %), German shot for 7 balls (19.4%), rifle shot for 4 balls (11.1%), and buckshot for one ball (2.7%).

Impacted Charleville lead shot is distributed both within the fort walls and outside the walls, and evenly distributed as to dropped and impacted balls. Four German dropped shot were recovered from metal detection grids outside of Fort Mercer's walls, while three German shot (two dropped, one impacted) were found inside the fort's walls. The rifle balls were distributed inside and out, both dropped and fired. The single impacted buckshot was found inside the fort's perimeter.

A number of the recovered lead shot displayed evidence of impacting targets. Soft wood impacts were seen on musket balls found in metal detector Grids 8 and 10, and ricochet damage was seen on one ball from Grid 10. Soft impacts were also observed on one ball recovered from Grid 11 (Figure 61 and 62).

Overall, there are two distinct clusters of lead shot, one in the area immediately east of the 1906 Monument and one in the abandoned section of the fort near the Park's northern end (Figure 63). The density of the munitions in these locations may be indicative of the severity of the battle action at these places, particularly in the ditch area east of the monument. Superimposition of the shot distribution over the Villefranche map and the 1872 US Army Corps of Engineers map shows that the impacted shot in this location was recovered from the eastern ditch and parapet area (Figures 64 and 65).

Smoothbore firearms of the colonial period typically fired a cast soft lead ball that measured approximately .05" to .10" less than the barrel bore caliber, or size. The difference in size allowed the ball to be more easily loaded down the barrel (as opposed to a breech-loaded weapon), but also allowed for gas leakage around the circumference during firing (Neumann 1967:14). The difference between the lead shot diameter and the weapon's bore caliber is referred to as windage. For rifled weapons, the windage was considerably less. Paper cartridges containing a lead bullet (or shot) and a charge of gunpowder were the standard ammunition of the period. Due to the windage, the paper cartridge was necessary to prevent the lead shot from rolling out of the barrel (Peterson 1968:27). From many American Revolutionary War battlefields, archeologically recovered lead shot with diameters measuring 0.69" are associated with the 0.75" British muskets (*ie.*, the "Brown Bess") and shot with diameters measuring 0.64" are ascribed to 0.69" French and/or American muskets (Sivilich

1996:104-105). Large numbers of French “Charleville” muskets began arriving in the United States in April of 1777 and were distributed to Continental forces relatively quickly. Therefore, it is likely that some of the American soldiers fighting at Fort Mercer six months later were armed with these weapons.

This map was intentionally deleted per the requirements of the Archaeological Resource Protection Act (16 U.S.C. 470hh) and its implementing regulations (49 FR 1027, Jan. 6, 1984).

Figure 60. Overall distribution of all metal detected artifacts recovered during the 2015 survey.

For lead shot that was misshapen or impacted, measurement of the diameter is difficult. For such lead shot we applied the Sivilich formula, initially developed by Daniel Sivilich in his work at Monmouth Battlefield in New Jersey and widely used on American Revolutionary War sites (Sivilich 1996; 2009). The formula is used to estimate the original diameter of lead shot:

$$\text{Diameter in inches} = 0.223204 \times (\text{weight in grams})^{1/3}$$



Figure 61. Selected munitions. Left column: case shot; center: 3-pound cannon ball; right: dropped and impacted musket balls.



Figure 62. Musket ball (metal detector artifact #245) recovered in Metal Detector Grid 10, showing impact on wood.

This map was intentionally deleted per the requirements of the Archaeological Resource Protection Act (16 U.S.C. 470hh) and its implementing regulations (49 FR 1027, Jan. 6, 1984).

Figure 63. Distribution of munitions at Red Bank.

This map was intentionally deleted per the requirements of the Archaeological Resource Protection Act (16 U.S.C. 470hh) and its implementing regulations (49 FR 1027, Jan. 6, 1984).

Figure 64. Distribution of munitions superimposed on the 1778 Villefranche map of Red Bank.

This map was intentionally deleted per the requirements of the Archaeological Resource Protection Act (16 U.S.C. 470hh) and its implementing regulations (49 FR 1027, Jan. 6, 1984).

Figure 65. Distribution of munitions superimposed on the 1872 US Army Corps of Engineers map.

We applied the formula to both the misshapen and round lead shot recovered from the project area, and the correlation between the calculated diameter and the actual diameters were quite close. It should be noted that Sivilich has recently updated the formula, but the update does not appreciably alter the results at Red Bank (Sivilich 2016).

It is possible that the recovered rifle balls are associated with the Hessian Field Jäger Corps. Jäger were armed with German manufactured short-barreled rifles (28 or 29 inches) with a large bore measuring 0.65 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 0.65-caliber bore, the Hessian Field Jäger Corps' rifles would accept the standard British carbine-bore ball of 0.615", which British rifles also accepted, thus simplifying ammunition supply for the German troops (Bailey 2002:67-68).

The presence of early buckshot may be indicative of American musket men. The use of buck and ball cartridges by Continental army soldiers was common beginning in the early years of the war. In June 1776, General Washington recommended that for initial volleys muskets be loaded with one musket ball and from four-to-eight buckshot, depending on the type of musket (Washington Papers 1776). While the use of a buck and ball load was recognized as common practice in the Continental Army, it was only a few weeks prior to the Battle of Red Bank, on October 6, 1777, that Washington made the practice standard for his troops, ordering that "buckshot shall be put into all cartridges which shall hereafter be made" (Washington Papers 1777b). Archeological examples of buck and ball cartridges were recovered on the Camden battlefield, where two complete loads of one musket ball (0.69 caliber) and three buckshot were found in an unplowed context, while elsewhere on the Camden battlefield a cache of nine musket balls (0.69 caliber) with twenty-seven buckshot has been reported (Legg et al. 2005:104). A wide range of buckshot sizes have been recovered from other Revolutionary War battlefields, including Monmouth, Camden, and Waxhaws (Sivilich 2004; Legg et al. 2005:102-104; Smith et al. 2009:70; Butler 2011).

7.2 Artillery

When Fort Mercer was captured by the Crown Forces in mid-November, Brigadier General James Pattison of the Royal Artillery made a return of the ordnance and military stores found in the fort (Table 3). It is clear from the list of captured materiel that a large amount of round, bar, and grape shot, along with other military stores, were left behind by the retreating American defenders. In addition to the ordnance that was abandoned by the Americans (listed above, page 60), the site of Fort Mercer was littered with the detritus of war. The list only includes military stores and not the trash and refuse that would be created by a garrison of several hundred men.

Over the years, considerable - and at the time of this report - uncounted amounts of solid shot and grape shot have been retrieved from the battlefield at Red Bank. The Gloucester County Historical Society Museum has boxes of grape shot and more than two-dozen round shot of various sizes on display. The Whitall House exhibit also contains a large box of grape shot and numerous round shot.

The sheer number of round shot and the canister previously collected in the Park may be attributed to at least three different historical and/or depositional processes. First, the presence of the fort itself and its artillery can account for the recovered artillery ammunition. Fort Mercer was clearly well-stocked with artillery ammunition. In terms of round shot only, the British report more than 3,200 solid shot of all sizes were left at the fort in November after the Americans abandoned the post. It is unclear from the historical record whether these shot were collected by the British and reused.

Second, the incoming rounds fired by the Hessian battery and the Royal Artillery howitzers could account for some of the rounds. These would be most likely related to the small caliber Hessian battalion guns and not the howitzers. The historical sources indicate that, once placed, the Hessian guns and Royal howitzers remained in a battery firing at the fort from a distance, and were not advanced to cover the assault.

Table 3. Return of artillery and military stores found in Fort of Red Bank, November 22 1777 (from Jackson 1974:403-404).

Round Shot	Count
24-pounder	536
18-pounder	818
12-pounder	156
9-pounder	51
6-pounder	23
4-pounder	1301
3-pounder	173
1-pounder	20
1/2-pounder	32
Bar Shot	
24-pounder	7
12-pounder	25
9-pounder	50
3-pounder	65
Grape Shot	
Quilted, 12-pounder	14
Quilted, 6-pounder	54
Quilted, 4-pounder	28
In bags	24
Box of different natures [types]	1
Round Shot fixed to wood bottoms	
12-pounder	5
6-pounder	6
4-pounder	6
3-pounder	16
Wad-hooks	
32-pounder	1
6-pounder	1
Sponges	
6-pounder	1
4-pounder	2
Hand grenades	18
Aprons of Lead	4
Drag ropes	1
Traversing handspike	1
Pikes	93
Entrenching Tools	30
Boxes with ball cartridges	9
Cask with musket balls	1

Third, the involvement of the Pennsylvania Navy in the defense of the fort could account for the assemblage. Several historical sources indicate that a number of naval vessels discharged their guns, probably firing canister, into the front, right flank and rear of the assaulting German battalion along the Delaware River. The number of vessels actually engaged varies according to the witness. The armaments of the Pennsylvania Navy included eight 18-pounders, four 24-pounders, and one 32-pounder, adding a considerable amount of firepower to Fort Mercer (Table 4). The recovered grape or canister could be associated with this naval action.

Table 4. Summary of armament of the Pennsylvania Navy (from Jackson 1974:336-339).

Galleys	Armament
<i>Bull Dog</i>	one 18-pounder
<i>Burke</i>	one 18-pounder
<i>Camden</i>	one 18-pounder
<i>Chatham</i>	one 24-pounder
<i>Congress</i>	one 24-pounder
<i>Dickinson</i>	one 24-pounder
<i>Effingham</i>	one 18-pounder
<i>Experiment</i>	one 18-pounder
<i>Franklin</i>	one 24-pounder
<i>Hancock</i>	one 18-pounder
<i>Ranger</i>	one 18-pounder
<i>Warren</i>	one 18-pounder
<i>Washington</i>	one 32-pounder

There are seven cannon barrels currently mounted in the reconstructed Fort Mercer and several of these are reputed to have been found on the site at various times. Three cannon barrels were recovered from an area near the 1906 Monument by Mr. Frank Stewart in May 1935, using his own invention of what he termed an "Electrical Ear" (today's metal detector) (Anonymous 1935) (Figure 66). An analysis of the guns was provided to the Gloucester County Historical Society in 1974 by Rear Admiral Ernest McNeil Eller, who served as Director of Naval History, Naval History Division, Office of the Chief of Naval Operations from 1956 to 1970. Working from notes and specifications provided by the Historical Society's Edith Hoelle, Eller identified the guns as including two 24-pounders and one British four-pounder (these three likely recovered from the *Augusta*), with the others representing six, nine, and twelve pound guns (Eller 1974; Hoelle 1974).

In comparison to these massive collections, the metal detector survey conducted as part of this ABPP study retrieved only a small amount of artillery ammunition (Table 5). Six iron grape or canister shot were found during the metal detection (ID#s 109, 218, 232, 330, 460, 475), one 3 or 4-lb. (29.6cm diameter) cannon ball, and one fragment of a iron howitzer shell (ID #1460). This latter artifact was recovered from within metal detector Grid 5, in an area that would have been exterior to the 1777 fort. It is likely that it is a fragment fired from one of the two British Royal Artillery 5 1/2" howitzers, which were situated several hundred yards northeast of the fort.



Figure 66. Photograph of the three cannon barrels found near the 1906 Monument in 1935 by Frank Stewart. Note the excavation pit to the left of the image (Gloucester County Historical Society).

Table 5. Summary of Grape (Case or Canister) Shot.

Metal detection ID #/Grid	Diameter (inches)	Weight (ounces)
#109/Grid 3	1.4173	6.518
#218/Grid 10	0.9370	1.640
#232/Grid 10	0.9488	1.971
#330/Grid 13	1.0354	1.816
#460/Grid 20	0.9094	1.802
#475/Grid 20	1.0236	1.821

The three recovered grape or canister shot (ID#s 218, 232, and 330) found within (or west) of the earthen walls of Fort Mercer may represent either the firing that came from the American naval forces in the Delaware River or possibly the incoming rounds fired by the Hessian battery (Figure 61). Contemporary reports of the battle state that the incoming fire from the American galleys and other vessels was directed at the assaulting Hessians' right flank and rear within the abandoned portion of the fort. The map drawn by Ewald indicates the approximate target areas of the naval fire which included the firing into the southern assault force, as well as the target areas of the Hessian battalion guns and the two Royal artillery howitzers (Figure 6).

7.3 Weapons

In addition to lead shot and iron balls, artifacts were also found that can be attributed to the weaponry of the Revolutionary War. Artifacts found during the survey include bayonet fragments, a bayonet scabbard clip or frog and the tip to a bayonet scabbard, a rifle nose cap, a trench pike blade, lead flint wraps, and a possible musket frizzen (Figure 67).



Figure 67. Selected weaponry artifacts. Upper left, hexagonal nose cap (metal detected artifact #337), likely from a German rifle; upper right, German bayonet shank (metal detected artifact #135); lower left, lead flint wrap (metal detected artifact #118); lower right, bayonet scabbard tip (metal detected artifact #174).

Bayonets

Fragments of several bayonets were recovered during the metal detection in grids 5 and 6. The sections found are all from the shank of the bayonet and indicate that the blade was rectangular in shape. A rectangular blade with a guard that completely encircles the blade is a diagnostic trait of German bayonets of the Revolutionary War period (McNulty 1973:58, 63). The Red Bank fragments are similar to #37B and #38B illustrated by George Neumann (1973:44). Similar bayonets have been recovered at Crown Point and are attributed to German troops. The fracture point on the examples found at Red Bank are all at the point where the shank attaches to the socket.

A bayonet frog or scabbard clip was recovered in Unit 3, Level 1. This artifact was found within the fill of the interior trench excavated by the garrison's defenders just prior to the battle. The small brass ball tip or stud (Neumann 1973:29) to a German bayonet scabbard was found in metal detector Grid 8, near the exterior of the fort ditch.

Rifle Nose cap

A hexagonal brass nose cap was recovered in metal detector Grid 14. This artifact may be associated with the Hessian field Jäger rifle, which is known to have had a hexagonal barrel. Other shoulder arms present, such as muskets, carbines, and fowlers, did not have hexagonal barrels.

Iron Frizzen

In metal detector Grid 10, a small iron fragment was recovered that may be the top jaw or frizzen for a musket. This artifact is highly corroded, but it exhibits the shape and size characteristics seen on top jaw specimens at Crown Point or that have been recovered on other military sites.

Trench Pike

While the archeological survey at Red Bank was underway the curator at the Whitall House was contacted by a private citizen, Mr. Elwood Taylor, residing in Pennsylvania. Mr. Taylor had a battle-related artifact found circa 1990 approximately one foot below ground surface near the Delaware River bluff edge while building a small pond at 307 Bluff Road, immediately adjacent to the north boundary of the county Park (Figure 68). He generously donated the artifact to the Park.

The artifact is likely the iron blade and socket belonging to a trench pike, a weapon used by American forces in the early years of the war, particularly when defending fortified positions (Dean 1937; Neumann 1973:193). Trench pikes or spears were mounted on wooden poles which could range from 6 to 16 feet in length. For the recovered specimen, the head and stem together measure 14 inches in length (35 cm) with a center-ridge blade length of 11 inches (27.5 cm) and a round socket which originally had straps. While heavily weathered, the blade does not appear to have had basal lobes or cross bar. In pattern it is similar to examples identified as American pikes in Neumann (1973:223). Its location inside the walls of the larger Fort Mercer suggests that it is part of the garrison armament. Table 3 shows that 93 pikes were still present in November when the British inventoried captured materiel.



Figure 68. Trench pike or spear found on lands immediately adjacent to the Park's northern boundary and donated to the Park by Mr. Elwood Taylor.

7.4 Uniform Parts

The results of the archeological survey at Fort Mercer resulted in the recovery of military uniform-related artifacts. Some artifact types were anticipated, such as buttons, but artifacts unique to the Hessian battalions that fought at the site were also recovered. In this latter category are the fragmented remnants of Hessian headgear and the shoulder braids for two of the assaulting companies.

Buttons

No marked regimental buttons dating to the period of the American Revolution were recovered during the metal detection conducted as part of this survey. Hessian regimental uniform buttons of the Revolutionary War period were unmarked, Rhode Island regiments of this period of the war used a fouled anchor button,

and the Sixth Virginia regimental button was appropriately marked (Powell 1996; Troiani and Kochan 2012). At least one anchor button has been previously found in the Park and is on display in the Whitall House museum. This button likely represents either of the two Rhode Island regiments as the traditional "RIR" button did not come into use until 1781, well after the battle was fought (Troiani and Kochan 2012:244).

Overall 18 plain buttons including one- and two-piece molds made of brass and metal alloy that date to the period of the battle were found during the survey. Most likely these are representative of the Hessian grenadier companies that assaulted the fort. Similar Hessian regimental buttons have been recovered from archeological surveys at Cooch's Bridge battlefield (Catts *et al.* 2013). Alternatively, they may represent New Jersey militia units, or the small clothes (vests, breeches, trousers) of the defending garrison companies. Other buttons found during the survey included at least one US Army button dating to the period of the Second World War, a button associated with the anti-aircraft battery that occupied the Park circa 1943-44.

Brass Mitre Plates

Numerous small fragments of decorated pressed metal (repousse) were found during the survey spread throughout the Park. These artifacts were somewhat perplexing, since they are decorative in nature with some displaying floral motifs or basket pattern designs with rococo borders (Figures 70, 71, and 72).

Research regarding the headgear of the Hessian grenadiers led the Commonwealth team to conclude that these fragments are associated with the brass mitre caps worn by the Hessian grenadier companies. A comparison of the brass grenadier cap badges worn by contemporary Prussian forces (Horath *et al.* 2011) with Hessian caps found in the Delaware River and in a Hessian camp in New York support this conclusion (Troiani and Kochan 2012:160-161; Solecki and Demeritt 1980). At least one of the fragments seems to be associated with the mitre cap of the Liebgrenadier Guard company (MDF 16-14). The study of the Prussian army uniforms and headgear by Horath *et al.* (2011) is remarkable for its detail and depicts all of the Prussian regimental brass mitres. Horath *et al.* (2011) note that other German states modeled their uniforms on the Prussian army (Figure 70).

Among the Peter Force Papers in the Library of Congress Manuscript Division is a return of military stores at Carlisle and Lebanon, Pennsylvania between October 1 1777 and January 31 1778, which includes 171 Hessian caps "unfit for service", 6 "Hessian Camp Colours, unfit for service", and 75 "Hessian poles" (Continental Army Returns 1775-1778). It seems likely that, given the date of this return, the Hessian items identified - caps, colours, and poles - were recovered in large part following the battle of Red Bank. The battlefield following the engagement was likely a jumble of dead and wounded soldiers and the detritus of war - broken muskets, personal effects, body parts, uniform parts, coins, and more. Colonel Israel Angel's regimental day book notes that looting of the dead and wounded Hessians was a problem for the garrison. On October 25 he admonished his troops to turn in to the quartermaster all "...Articles of every Kind as well cash as other things taken from the Dead and Wounded Hessian Troops in the late Action...although of the smallest value...." Failure to follow this order would result in court martial (Greene 1777:104).

It is likely that Hessian mitre caps were severely damaged during the course of the assault on the fort. The reference to Hessian caps "unfit for service" may represent brass caps that were mostly complete. The archeological recovery of small fragments of these caps may represent the bits and pieces of the caps that were not collected after the battle and may physically represent the intensity of the battle for Red Bank as the brass mitres were literally blown to pieces.



Figure 69. Selected buckles and buttons found in during the 2015 survey. Buckles from top to bottom, metal detected artifact #49, #348, #97, and #124. Buttons, top row (l to r), metal detected artifact #477, #198, #95; center row (l to r), #315, #45; bottom row (l to r), #316, #325.



Figure 70. Examples of brass mitre cap fragments. Left to right metal detected artifact #297, #433, and #248.



Figure 71. Examples of Hessian grenadier brass mitre caps in the collection of the Museum of the American Revolution (Museum of the American Revolution).



Figure 72. Brass mitre cap fragments recovered from Red Bank. The artifact to the right may be exhibiting a buckshot hole. Note the small holes along the rim, used to sew fix the brass fragments to the cloth portions of the cap.

Aiguillette

Five metal alloy tubes were recovered during the metal detection (MDF 6-4, 11-1, 13-26, 14-4, and 15-24). They are interpreted here as the metal tips for shoulder braids or aiguillettes (Figure 73). Detailed photographs of braid tips are provided in Daniel Hohrath's two volume *The Uniforms of the Prussian Army under Frederick the Great from 1740 to 1786* (Hohrath et al. 2011 (I); 107, 111, 127, 137-138). Shoulder braids in the Prussian army are worn only by Guards battalions and by mounted dragoons; the Prussian uniform style was imitated by the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel and adopted for the state's regiments.

At Red Bank, only two of the Hessian grenadier companies wore shoulder braids and both were part of the von Linsing Battalion - the 2nd and 3rd Guard Regiment companies. Each company wore shoulder braids on the right shoulder of their uniforms (Anonymous 1972). The von Linsing Battalion assaulted the southern side of Fort Mercer (Jackson 1974:184). The locations of the recovered aiguillette may be indicative of the position of these grenadier companies during the assault.

In addition to uniform parts, several period buckles were recovered (Figure 69). These buckles could be associated with shoes or accoutrements. Several were belt or baldric D-shaped buckles. One shoe buckle was badly damaged and bent. Other buckles were found during the metal detecting that likely relate to the post-Revolutionary War farming and agriculture.

7.5 Personal Artifacts

While battle-related artifacts were anticipated, several artifacts that are more evocative of the soldier as an individual were also found. These artifacts bring a personal side to the engagement and add a more human dimension to the study.

Among the artifacts recovered was a finely crafted metal picture frame (3" diameter) found in Grid 3 (metal detector artifact #89). Similar frames have been recovered from other sites, both military and domestic, dating to the period of the battle. A fragment of a brass pocket watch was recovered in Grid 1 (metal detected artifact #15) (Figure 74).

Metal detector Grid 10, located within the abandoned section of Fort Mercer, was the area that two personal artifacts were found. One was a lead "whizzer" made from a flattened fragment of lead (metal detector artifact #231) (Figure 75). Such artifacts are often found on military sites and are sometimes attributed to the presence of children of non-combatants (cf., Cohn 1983:40; Stone 1974:154).

Also found in Grid 10 was a Mary Magdalene Medal (metal detector artifact #251) (Figure 75). This Catholic religious medallion resembles others found that date to a similar time period (Deagan 2002:51-53). It is possible that this artifact is associated with the American defenders of Fort Mercer, but its location in an area of heavy combat in the abandoned section of the fort suggests that it may have been worn by one of the Hessian grenadiers.

The general view of Hessian soldiers is that they were usually Protestants, not Catholics. At the time of the American Revolution most northern states in the Holy Roman Empire were Lutheran or Reformed, while most of the southern states were Catholic. In one military formation from Hesse-Cassel, more than 92 percent of the soldiers were Reformed Church and the remainder were Lutheran. This percentage was in stark contrast to a unit recruited in Anspach-Bayreuth, where the majority of the soldiers were Lutheran, but a small number were Catholics.



Figure 73. Examples of braid tips or aiguillettes. Top image, (l to r), metal detected artifacts #258, #158. Bottom image (l to r), metal detected artifacts #331, #335.



Figure 74. Personal artifacts, left, brass watch part (metal detected artifact #15; right, brass picture frame (metal detected artifact #89).



Figure 75. Personal artifacts, left, lead whizzer (metal detected artifact #231); right, Mary Magdalene religious medal (metal detected artifact #251).

"Unlike origin," writes German historian Daniel Krebs, "religion was apparently important in the early modern armies of the Holy Roman Empire: in any given unit, one denomination dominated the others about nine to one" (Krebs 2013:67-68). As the war progressed, recruiting for Hessian formations ranged further afield, so that slightly larger numbers of Catholics entered the service of the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel. Supporting the presence of Catholic soldiers in the Hessian grenadier battalions is Stephens (1998:23) who notes that Frederick II Landgrave converted to Catholicism, despite the fact that his state was generally Protestant and Lutheran. He was a quiet, contemplative man who determined that Catholicism was the only true Christian church. When Hessian formations were sent to North America in 1777 they were accompanied by Catholic priests (Krebs 2013:68). Priests would have been attached at the company level.

7.6 Cannon Barrel

The cannon fragment was initially "seen" during the ground penetrating radar survey (Grid 7). It showed up as an "anomaly" about three feet long and located approximately two feet below ground surface (see discussion of GPR Grid 7 and Excavation Unit 4 above).

Two cannon are reported as having exploded at Fort Mercer in 1777; neither gun was in the garrison defenses at the time of the attack on October 22. The historical record notes that the first gun to burst was an 18-pounder. At least five American and British accounts state that, on November 11, 1777, one of the 18-pounders recovered from the HMS *Augusta* burst at Fort Mercer, killing one Rhode Island soldier - the bombardier, Benjamin Ross - and wounding from ten to eighteen others (Boyle 2000:115-116; McDonald 2002; Trout 1832; Montessoro 1882:475; Varnum 1895:237). The wounded were chiefly injured by the gun fragments and the exploding wooden gun carriage. The gun burst because, in an effort to support the American defense of Fort Mifflin across the Delaware River, it had been overcharged, reputedly by the French engineer at the fort (Boyle 2000:116). Both guns were retrieved earlier from the sunken Royal Navy ship HMS *Augusta* which itself had exploded on October 23, the day after the Hessian assault on Fort Mercer (Jackson 1974).

A second gun also exploded at Fort Mercer. This one, also recovered from the HMS *Augusta*, was a 24-pounder. It burst on November 14, 1777. No casualties were reported for this explosion.

Fragments of the exploded cannon(s) at Red Bank have been recorded as extant at the site since at least the mid-nineteenth century. Benson Lossing (1849) sketched a piece of a cannon barrel (which looks suspiciously identical to the gun barrel that is currently mounted in the Park) lying along the bluff edge above the Delaware River (Figure 76). Almost six decades later, in 1917, Frank Stewart reported that "fragments are yet in the neighborhood" of the burst cannons (Stewart 1917:45).

The portion of the cannon that we recovered is from the base ring to the first reinforcing ring (Figures 77 through 81). It does not include the cascabel ("ball" usually found on the end of the cannon), but does include a "broad arrow" stamp on the barrel, a clear indication that this is a gun originally belonging to Great Britain. During conservation of the barrel fragment at the Maryland Archeology Conservation Lab, the weight stamp numbers were identified. The numbers "48-3-20" signify that the complete gun barrel weighed 5,480 pounds. The first number indicates 48 hundredweight (5,376 pounds), the second number represents quarter hundredweight (in this case 3/4 of a hundredweight, or 84 pounds) and the last number indicates pounds (20 pounds). A barrel of 48 hundredweight clearly mark this gun as a 24-pounder, not an 18-pounder which would likely have been somewhat lighter (McConnell 1988:72-79). The cannon fragment recovered during the present survey weighs 843 pounds, is 35 1/2-inches in length, has a 20-inch diameter, and a bore of 5.75 inches.

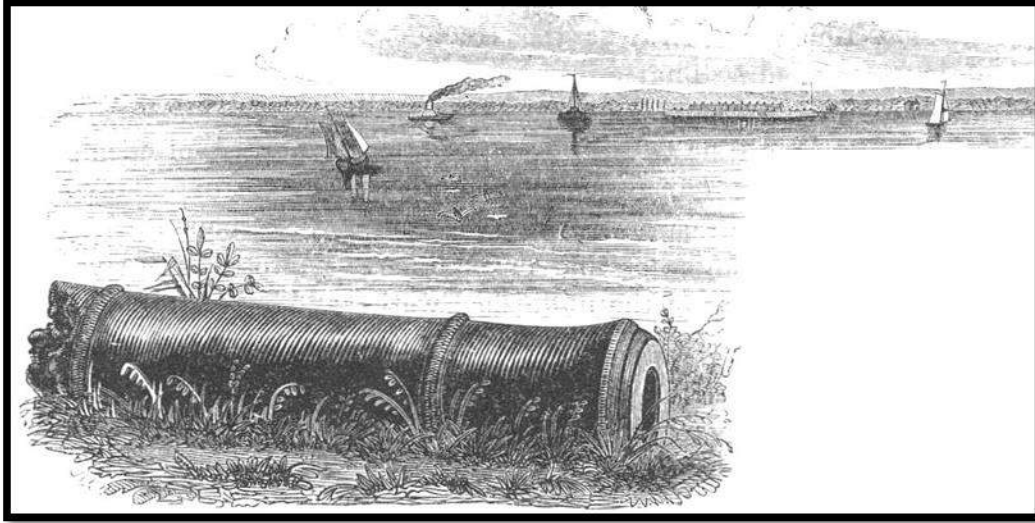


Figure 76. Burst cannon barrel at Red Bank drawn by Benson Lossing, *Pictorial Field Book of the American Revolution* (1850).



Figure 77. Closing view of cannon fragment *in situ*.



Figure 78. Gloucester County Parks' staff lifting the cannon at a public event.



Figure 79. Detail of cannon, showing British "broad arrow" stamp.



Figure 80. Detail of cannon, showing the weight stamp.



Figure 81. The interior of the cannon barrel, before conservation.

At least two other fragments of the burst 24-pounder gun are known to exist. One is mounted in the Park and consists of the muzzle end of the gun up to the trunions. A second smaller fragment is housed at the Gloucester County Historical Society Museum (Figures 82 and 83). The barrel on display at the Park, the fragment at the Historical Society, and the archeologically recovered fragment represent the iron cannon pieces mentioned by Stewart a century ago as "yet in the neighborhood."

7.7 Lead fragments

A large amount of lead ingots and pieces of lead sheeting were recovered throughout the Park during the metal detection. These pieces may be related to farm or agricultural work after the use of property as a fort. Alternatively, lead sheeting and ingots are routinely reported at military sites and battlefields. For example, the work at the Sutlers' House at Fort Edward, New York recovered lead sows and lead ingots, used for making lead shot (Starbuck 2010:42, 48). Jacob Grimm's report on Fort Ligonier describes lead bars and sows found at the fort, with the notation from Henry Bouquet in 1758 that "a large part of the provincials are armed with groved [sic] rifles and have their molds. Lead in bars will suit them..." (Grimm 1970:74,104, quoted in Grimm). Further, recent metal detection at Bennington Battlefield in New York recovered small lead ingots from across the battlefield (Selig et al. 2016). The inventory by the British of war materiel left behind in Fort Mercer included "4 aprons of lead" (see Table 3). Sheet lead may have served as a vent hole cover on cannons or because of its malleability, could be formed for a variety of tasks.

7.8 Reenactor Artifacts

Reenactments of the assault at Red Bank have been a stock-in-trade at the Park for more than a century, so it is no surprise that the metal detection survey recovered a number of reenactment artifacts. The unveiling of the battle Monument in the summer of 1906 included a "sham battle" and a "military pageant." At this time the sham battle was enacted by 400 New Jersey National Guardsmen (serving as Hessians) and the fort was defended by a detachment of U.S. Marines from League Island, a battalion of Naval Reservists, the Second Troop of Cavalry of New Jersey, and a battery of field artillery from the Third New Jersey Regiment (Anonymous 1906a). Prior to the Second World War several large events, not always reenactments, were held at the Park in 1927 (150th anniversary of the battle), 1936 (250th anniversary of Gloucester County), and 1939 (DWB 1958; Anonymous 1936; Stetser 1936; Stetser 1939). These events hosted thousands of attendees (the County's anniversary reportedly hosted fifteen to twenty thousand visitors) and, by 1936, the footprint of the fort had been "enhanced" by a WPA project. Since about the time of bicentennial, the Park has hosted reenactments almost annually - Eighteenth Century Day at Red Bank has been a fixture at the Park since 1969. These events have increasingly been attended by reenactor units in period costume/uniforms that have become more accurate.

Twenty-six buttons clearly associated with the various reenactments that have taken place at the Park were found during the metal detection. Some of these are clearly modern, with string still attached. Included among these buttons are buttons marked "23", "43", and "71", all buttons representing the Twenty-Third, Forty-Third, and Seventy-First Regiment reenactment units. A single reproduction "USA" button and one reproduction "cannon" button, representing Continental Artillery, were also found. In addition to the buttons, a 43rd regiment brass cartridge box plate, two reproduction Y-shaped gun tools, a pick and brush (cleaning tool), and a friction primer associated with field artillery were found. Oral interviews with several Park visitors confirmed the presence of these reenactment units during the last two decades.

Reproduction artifacts are generally easily distinguishable from period metals. But in two cases the distinction is problematic. A 23rd Regiment button (MDF #21-1) in extremely poor condition may not be a reenactor button at all, but from the period of the battle; historically, however, the British 23rd Regiment of Foot was not present at Fort Mercer, either during the assault in October or when the fort was destroyed by Cornwallis' detachment in November - those regiments were the 5th, 15th, 17th, 33rd, and 56th regiments of foot (Ford 1895:485).



Figure 82. Burst cannon fragment found at Fort Mercer, at the Gloucester County Historical Society (photograph by Eileen Shannahan).



Figure 83. Image of burst cannon barrel mounted at Red Bank Park. Compare this image with Figure 76.

7.9 World War II-era artifacts

Several brass cartridges were recovered from the area immediately north of the Whitall House during the metal detection and some later metal artifacts were found in the locations of metal detector grids 4, 7 and

8. The historical record indicates that Battery B, 601st Field Artillery was stationed at Red Bank circa 1942-43. Photographs dating to that time show a frame temporary structure erected near the top of the curve of the current drive way and a gun mount was positioned just south of the parking area along the river bluff (Figure 84). The use of the Red Bank site as an anti-aircraft battery was short-lived and the camp was principally a tent camp of impermanent structures.

While a number of metal artifacts are likely related to this short military occupation, one artifact was found that has a direct connection to Battery B. A dog tag with the engraved “MORRIS, WALTER L/-08046668/T42/DOLLIE MORRIS/RT 1 NEWPORT TX” was recovered in the general vicinity of the temporary structure. Born in 1920 to Walter and Dellie Morris, Corporal Walter Lee Morris of Newport, Texas was number 39 in the Selective Service Draft Lottery and entered the Army in July 1941. He served in northern France and was awarded the American Defense Medal, the American Theater Campaign Medal, the EAME [European-African-Middle Eastern] Campaign Medal with one bronze star, the Good Conduct Medal and the WWII Victory Medal. After the war Morris was an oilfield pumper and a member of the Bowie, Texas VFW Post. He passed away in Newport, Texas in October 2003. Efforts were made to gather additional information about Mr. Morris, but an electronic enquiry regarding his career and/or family was unanswered at the time of this writing.



Figure 84. View circa 1942 from the north end of the Whitall House showing Battery B 601st Field Artillery anti-aircraft tower (left middle distance), the 1906 Monument (center), and temporary barracks (right) (Gloucester County Historical Society). (Same camera view as Figure 87).

8. SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The historical and archeological survey of Fort Mercer/Red Bank Battlefield included detailed historical research, KOCO military terrain analysis, archeological testing (metal detection, ground-penetrating radar, and excavation units), and artifact analysis. Overall, the project at Red Bank battlefield was successful - the series of public days were extremely well attended; the school days brought local students from Woodbury and National Park to the site where they learned about their local history; the excavations uncovered archeological evidence of the interior defensive ditch; and the GPR survey uncovered a rare cannon fragment, the discovery of which generated great public interest and renewed awareness in the Park.

The study marked the first systematic archeological survey, through the use of metal detectors and limited excavations, of the immediate vicinity of Fort Mercer. Overall, approximately 22 acres of park land were surveyed and about 400 hours of metal detection were completed. The survey resulted in the recovery of numerous dropped and fired musket balls, Hessian buttons and other uniform parts, some personal artifacts that speak to the humanity of the individual soldiers, and other artifacts associated with the battle.

Of course, the archeological excavations and metal detection do not discriminate when it comes to "artifacts found." Thus physical evidence of human occupation and use of the Park's lands before the battle and after the battle was also found. Prehistoric artifacts including ceramics and lithics speak to the time before Europeans arrived at Red Bank dating at least to 1000 BCE. The broad range of nineteenth century ceramics, glass, and agricultural iron and other hardware are evocative of the time after the battle when the Whitalls reestablished their farm. Still later, when the Federal Government purchased the land, archeological evidence was also found of a second time of conflict, the Second World War. Finally, a significant veneer of artifacts associated with Revolutionary War reenacting reminds us of the use of the battlefield as a County Park and public space and of the annual commemoration of America's early history.

8.1 Research Questions

Several overarching research questions served to focus the archeological and historical investigations at Red Bank.

What is the Core Area of the battlefield? What is the larger Battlefield Boundary?

The historical and archeological survey of the battlefield has defined the core and larger battlefield boundary for the Battle of Red Bank (Figure 84). The core area is substantially contained by the current county Park boundary but also extends east to approximately North Second Street in National Park and north to the area of Beach Hill Road and Columbia Boulevard. The Hessian assault columns formed in the wooded areas surrounding Fort Mercer. The edge of those woods was approximately 1/2 mile from the fort along the line of Second Street. These areas today are developed so the likelihood of recovering intact archeological remains associated with the battle is low. However, several landowners in the residential area did report recovery of battle-related artifacts including cannon balls and musket balls. The southern boundary of the Core Area extends south of Hessian Avenue into the current park lands. To the west, the Delaware River bluff effectively marks what remains of the former fort. The data from this study suggests that approximately 115-120 feet of river bluff have eroded since the time of the battle.

The larger Battlefield Boundary includes the avenues of approach and retreat used by the Hessian forces and extends from Haddonfield to the battlefield. Haddonfield is chosen as the beginning and end point since the Hessian forces began and ended the October 22, 1777 attack in Haddonfield. This area today is highly developed and bears little resemblance to the landscape traversed by the Hessians. However, considerable portions of the eighteenth-century road system are discernible to the knowledgeable traveler so that the movement of the Von Donop's column can be understood. The crossing point at Clements Bridge is already

identified as the historical crossing point for von Donop's column and the approach route along Caulfield Avenue still retains its rural setting.

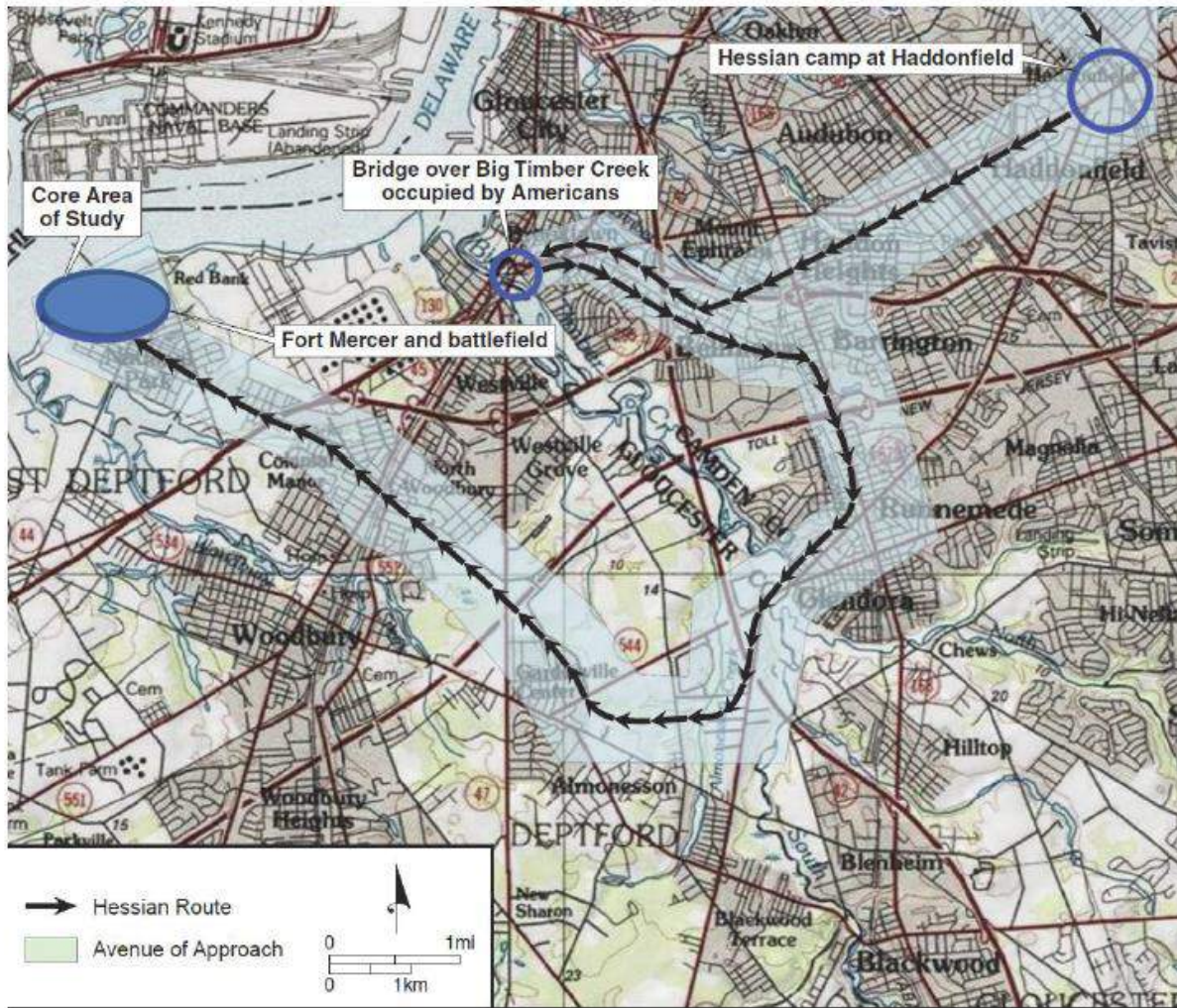


Figure 85. Recommended Core Area and Battlefield Boundary (base map: USGS *Wilmington Delaware - New Jersey - Pennsylvania - Maryland* 30x60-minute quadrangle, 1984).

What is the landscape of conflict? Are archeological resources associated with the battle still present within the Park?

The archeological field investigations were very successful in recovering evidence of the battle. Several of the members of the project team were somewhat skeptical of the potential to find much evidence of the fight since the Park had reportedly been metal detected previously. Therefore, we were pleasantly surprised to recover as many battle-related artifacts as we did. The 2015 field investigations should be viewed as a baseline level of survey and can be built upon in future investigations. The archeological study not only found artifacts associated with the battle, it also documented archeological evidence of the fort itself.

The landscape of conflict at Red Bank is still readily apparent to Park visitors. The reconstructed remnants of Fort Mercer and the setting combine to help visitors envision what the area was like in 1777. What is difficult to interpret is the scale of the battle, particularly since the residential subdivisions are immediately adjacent to the Park boundary, thus making the view or vista from the Park towards both the Hessian assault line along the edge of the woods and the location of the Hessian artillery battery difficult to identify. The erosion of the western side of the fort is also hard for visitors to imagine and has removed considerable portions of the old fort.

How have the remnant earthworks been modified over time? Can the course of the earthwork be traced in areas where it is no longer visible? Are there archeological remnants of interior structures or du Plessis' interior wall and abatis?

It is clear that the earthworks associated with Fort Mercer have been altered since the period of the battle – indeed they were altered by the fort's defenders immediately after the battle as they continued to modify the fortification during the siege of Fort Mifflin. Both the Americans and the British “destroyed” the fort in November 1777, the Americans by blowing up the magazine and the British reportedly slighting the fort, too. Despite this damage the fort's walls were still very apparent to visitors during the early decades of the nineteenth century and were mapped in great detail by the US Army Corps of Engineers in 1872.

The activities at the site in the twentieth century include the erection of the 1906 Monument, WPA-sponsored work undertaken in the 1930s, occupation of the fort during the Second World War, and more recent County Park activity. The work on the monument in what was the approximate location of the magazine recovered cannon barrels and fort-related artifacts, some of which are on display at the Gloucester County Historical Society Museum and at the Whitall House.

The WPA-sponsored work is known to have excavated in the ditches, perhaps deepening and widening them, but the specific details of that work are still not known as no record was found at the county or state archives. The work was more accurately completed by the Emergency Relief Administration (ERA) which conducted a wide range of projects in New Jersey between 1931 and 1936. Beginning in 1933, a federal and civil works program was implemented that put more than 1,700 people to work on federal, state, and county-owned parks, so it is likely that the work at the Whitall House and Fort Mercer occurred at this time (Schely 1936). Photographs of the work clearly show workmen excavating in the ditches of the fort (Figures 85 and 86). In several locations, the WPA work did coincide with the original Fort Mercer ditch, thus removing that portion of the original archeological record.

In 1942-1943, Battery B of the 601st Field Artillery occupied Red Bank Park (Figure 87). The placement of an anti-aircraft battery at the site during World War II brought with it the erection of several temporary buildings and a gun platform, but much of this activity has left little evidence of its passing. More recently, the daily maintenance of the Park by the County has included benches, plaques, footpaths, and other visitor amenities.

Through all of this landscape alteration it is clear that portions of the original Fort Mercer earthworks and ditches are present. The archeological work in Unit 3 identified what is interpreted as the remnants of the interior ditch, and the GPR work identified several locations (GPR Grids 7 through 10) where the early ditch may still be intact and was not disturbed by the actions of the WPA. Such locations could be the subject of future archeological survey.

Where are areas for potential mass burials located? Are these within the battlefield Park?

It was hoped that the GPR survey would identify the eastern remnant of one or more of the burial ditches in which Hessian dead were interred. The historical record reported that the bodies were placed in the

ditches along the south side of the fort. Later nineteenth century authors wrote of bones washing out of the river bluff and of people carrying these away. The Whitall family reported that the last of the bones, including those of Colonel von Donop, washed into the Delaware River by the 1860s. According to eighty-four year old John G. Whitall in 1914, “thirty to forty feet of the bluff” had washed away in his lifetime and that the “graves of the Hessians have been washed into the river.” He noted that “Count Donop’s grave was washed away about eighteen hundred and sixty-five” (Whitall 1914). A Whitall family story, perhaps apocryphal, reported that winter storms had worn away the river bluff and exposed the bones of the dead and that “...fun loving rovers would come at night ‘over from Babylon’ as Ann [Whitall] was wont to call Philadelphia...” and take the bones and play jokes on the occupants of the farm. This practice was ended when Ann “persuaded her sons to collect and rebury all visible bones left from the battle...” (Anonymous n.d.). Human remains were still being exposed at Fort Mercer in the late nineteenth century, when the Assistant Secretary of War wrote to Dr. James Hunter of Westville that he had permission to remove “old human bones” which were found on the government reservation at Red Bank (War Department 1893).

The GPR survey located one potential anomaly along the river bluff that was archeologically tested (Trench 1) but that excavation was unable to identify any evidence of a burial trench. A second, much smaller GPR anomaly was identified in Grid 2, but was not archeologically tested. Given the amount of river bluff that has washed away along the Delaware River it is unlikely that any burial areas for the Hessian dead are still extant. However, care should be exercised whenever ground disturbance is undertaken along the river bluff.

8.2 Threats to Red Bank Battlefield

The results of the archeological survey can address identified threats by documenting the existence of archeological battlefield resources and establishing a basis for protection of the resources. In addition, by raising public awareness of the significance of archeological resources in the Park, the project will foster long-term stewardship through more sensitive park use and maintenance.

Visitor use of the Park

Daily public access to the Fort Mercer earthworks and to the battlefield is steady. During the course of the field investigations in the summer and fall of 2015, many visitors were observed taking their noon meals at the Park, walking the paved pathways along the bluff and down on the foreshore, or sitting in their vehicles in the parking area and watching air traffic at the Philadelphia International Airport. Movement of the public across non-paved areas also occurs with some foot traffic crossing the earthwork areas.

Visitor use also includes annual reenactment events in the Park. Since the early twentieth century and annually since the mid-1960s, the Battle of Red Bank has been reenacted by participants in period costume. The archeological survey recovered considerable numbers of reenactor artifacts, consisting principally of reproduction buttons. The use of the Park for reenacting is problematic since the reenactor artifacts intermix with the actual battle artifacts. While there is generally a clear distinction between the period artifacts and their modern equivalents, this is not always the case. Recognizing that the annual reenactment of the battle is an important heritage tourism event for Gloucester County, the effect of the reenactment on the actual battlefield should be taken into account and the activities that could contaminate the site with more recent artifacts should be minimized.

Erosion and slumping of the earthworks

Erosion of the Fort Mercer's earthworks is an ongoing concern. Foot traffic can contribute to this. Minimizing pedestrian traffic off of paved or established footpaths would help reduce the degradation of the fort's ditches. The National Park Service provides guidance on the maintenance of earthwork systems in *Earthworks Landscape Management Manual* (Sauer et al. 1989).



Figure 86. Photograph from the Historic American Building Survey documentation, showing workmen excavating in the Fort Mercer trench (HABS 1935).



Figure 87. View from the Whitall House north end showing Red Bank Battlefield Park after the work of the ERA circa 1935 (New Jersey State Archives).

Delaware River erosion and storm events

Archeological field work was conducted along the river bluff but not on the foreshore area immediately adjacent to the river. It is clear from the historical research and mapping that considerable river frontage has eroded from the battlefield and the fort (calculated to be approximately 115-120 feet of river bluff since 1777). The current plantings along the bluff edge are sufficient to prevent large-scale slumping and erosion but care should be taken to avoid excavations or machine cuts on the bluff. While the likelihood of human remains is low, ground disturbance along the river bluff, particularly in the vicinity of GPR Grid 2, should be carefully monitored.

Relic hunting

The overall result of the archeological testing at the Park suggested to several of our most experienced metal detectorists that relatively little unauthorized relic hunting has occurred at Red Bank. The distribution and density of artifacts supports this conclusion. The County's park staff has done, and continues to do, a remarkable job of policing the Park.

During the course of the archeological survey, our team members would occasionally hear a visitor to the Park mention that they had collected artifacts from the Park. Such artifacts were usually found casually, not on purpose, and were sometimes turned over to the Park staff at the Whitall House; other times the artifacts were retained by the finder. Signage should be developed that clearly identifies the Red Bank battlefield grounds as an area not open to relic hunting or metal detection unless by permission of the County.

8.3 Recommendations for future studies

- The role that the WPA-sponsored work at the fort played should be further detailed and studied. This information may be on file at the federal archives in New York, where the files of New Jersey projects are held. A second possible repository for this material is in the as yet unprocessed Frank Stewart Papers at Rowan University.
- Targeted archeological investigations at possible ditch locations to the south and east of the current fort ditch and inside the fort where the interior wall was built. The 2015 survey identified the remnants of the interior ditch in Unit 3. Further work in that area could potentially identify the earthen embankment wall. Outside of the fort, the GPR survey identified anomalies in grid areas 6 and 7 that may be related to the pre-WPA ditches. Along the river bluff, the GPR survey in Grid 2 identified a possible anomaly.
- Additional metal detector survey should be completed. Such survey could be undertaken at set times by a friends group similar to BRAVO. The 2015 survey established a baseline of information and artifact density and distribution and this work could be built upon. Such survey could seek to investigate particular sections of the fort and battlefield, would provide visibility and publicity of the fort to the broader visiting public, and could assist in site interpretation. Importantly, the 2015 survey also removed a large amount of non-battle reenactor artifacts. Periodic “cleaning” of the site of these intrusive artifacts will aide in identifying the underlying battle artifact signatures.
- Revision of the National Register nomination. Given the results of the present study and the more recent historical scholarship focused on the Philadelphia campaign, it is likely that the National Register nomination for Red Bank Battlefield and Fort Mercer (prepared in 1972) should be updated to reflect this new scholarship.

The study of battlefields requires a unique combination of military history, archeology, and terrain or landscape analysis (Foard and Morris 2012). Not only is it important to know the who, what, where, when, and how of the specifics of the battle, but knowledge of the historical development of the place the battle occurred is critical to understanding the event and the subsequent changes that may have taken place. The study of Fort Mercer and Red Bank is the first systematic archeological survey of this significant engagement of the 1777 Philadelphia Campaign. After a series of disappointments and defeats, a Continental force was able to thwart the assault on the fort, providing a much-needed morale boost to American forces. The combination of history, archeology, and terrain analysis have resulted in a more detailed understanding of the military action of October 22, 1777.

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Appendix I: Artifact Inventory

MDF Artifact Inventory
 Red Bank Battlefield
 Red Bank, New Jersey
 JMA, A CCRG Co. 2015

MDF	STU/EU	LEVEL	DEPTH	CT	ARTIFACT DESCRIPTION	COMMENTS	DATE RANGE
1-1			BS		0 Unidentified Nail: Cut or Wrought		
1-2			12"		3 Smoking Accessory, Metal: Snuff Tin	Stamped "T.BJORKLUNDS/PATENT" on Base	
1-3					1 Hardware, Metal: Bolt and/or Bracket		
1-4			4"		1 Military Object, Metal: Sword Guard	Possible	
1-5					1 Hardware, Metal: Hinge	Brass	
1-6			6"		1 Handwrought Nail: Complete		Pre 1820
1-7			3"		1 Electrical, Metal: Wire Fragment		
1-8					1 Whiteware: Annular		1810-1925
1-8					1 Unidentified Metal Object: Lead		
1-9					2 Redware: Unglazed	Spalls	
1-9					1 Unidentified Metal Object: Iron/Steel	3-Pointed Flat Piece	
1-10			4"		1 Auto/Garage/Machine, Metal: Unidentified	Tractor Blade?, Flat Curved Fragment w/ Pointed End	
1-11			2"		1 Hardware, Metal: Flashing	Copper Alloy, Rectangular	
1-12			4-6"		1 Unidentified Nail: Cut or Wrought		

MDF Artifact Inventory
 Red Bank Battlefield
 Red Bank, New Jersey
 JMA, A CCRG Co. 2015

MDF	STU/EU	LEVEL	DEPTH	CT	ARTIFACT DESCRIPTION	COMMENTS	DATE RANGE
1-12			4-6" BS	1	Redware: Brown Glaze		
1-12			4-6"	1	Glass Tableware: Stenware Base		
1-12			4-6"	1	Flake 21-25mm: Jasper		
1-12			4-6"	1	Coal: Coal Ash (Slag)		
1-12			4-6"	1	Coal: Lump/Nugget		
1-13			4"	1	Unidentified Nail: Cut or Wrought		
1-13			4"	1	Unidentified Bottle Fragment: Clear		
1-14			5"	1	Unidentified Nail: Cut or Wrought		
1-15				1	Jewelry, Metal: Pocket Watch	Inner Piece, Brass	
1-16			5"	1	Unidentified Hardware, Metal: Iron	Bar, Rectangular W/ Cut Out	
1-17			3"	1	Unidentified Metal Object: Slag		
1-18			3"	1	Unidentified Metal Object: Lead	Linear Strip, Folded	
1-19			2"	2	Unidentified Metal Object: Lead	Linear Strips, Folded	
1-20			10"	1	Stable, Metal: Horseshoe	Fragment	

MDF Artifact Inventory
 Red Bank Battlefield
 Red Bank, New Jersey
 JMA, A CORG Co. 2015

MDF	STU/EU	LEVEL	DEPTH	CT	ARTIFACT DESCRIPTION	COMMENTS	DATE RANGE
1-21			4"	BS	1 Unidentified Hardware, Metal: Iron		
1-22			5"		1 Fastener, Metal: Staple	Large, Farm Equipment?	
1-23			6"		1 Hardware, Metal: Unidentified	Wishbone Shape, Flat On One Side	
1-24			5"		1 Unidentified Metal Object: Lead	Linear Strip	
1-25			4"		1 Unidentified Nail: Cut or Wrought		
1-26			4"		2 Unidentified Nail: Cut or Wrought		
1-27			8"		1 Fastener, Metal: Spike	Cut	
1-28			8"		1 Handwrought Nail: Complete		Pre 1820
1-29			8"		1 Electrical, Ceramic: Insulator	W/ Wire Nail	
1-30			5"		1 Unidentified Nail: Cut or Wrought		
1-31			7"		1 Hardware, Metal: Hinge		
1-32			6"		2 Unidentified Nail: Cut or Wrought		
1-33			6"		1 Handwrought Nail: Complete		Pre 1820
1-34			4"		2 Utensil, Metal: Tablespoon	Iron, Mend	
1-35			5"		1 Hardware, Metal: Unidentified	Rectangular, Strap Buckle?	
1-36			4"		1 Fastener, Metal: Brass Belt or Other Buckle	Belt or Baldric (Hume 1972:85 Fig.20:11), Double D Shape	
1-37			5"		1 Hardware, Metal: Brass/Copper Alloy Fimial	Tall Case Clock?, Modified - Cut	
1-38			5"		1 Fastener, Metal: Spike	Cut	
1-39			4"		1 Unidentified Hardware, Metal: Iron	Fragment, Thick, Wedge Shaped in Crossection	
1-40			5"		1 Hardware, Metal: Decorative Feature	Cast Brass, Grenade Motif, Possible Cartridge Box	
1-41			8"		1 Handwrought Nail: Fragment		Pre 1820
1-42			4"		1 Miscellaneous, Metal: Unidentified	Thick .75" Bar Fragment	
1-43			2"		1 Tool, Metal: Unidentified	Iron Stake?	
1-44			6.5"		1 Hardware, Metal: Door Handle or Latch	Fragment, Possible Thumb Piece	
1-45			6"		1 Button, Metal: Brass	2-Piece, Iron Backing, Plain Front, Hessian?	

MDF Artifact Inventory
 Red Bank Battlefield
 Red Bank, New Jersey
 JMA, A CCRG Co. 2015

MDF	STU/EU	LEVEL	DEPTH	CT	ARTIFACT DESCRIPTION	COMMENTS	DATE RANGE
1-46			8" BS	2	Auto/Garage/Machine, Metal: Other	Stamped "The Badger Brass Mfg. Co, Kenosha, Wis, U.S./Solar", Bicycle Solar Lamp	1898-1917
1-47			9"	1	Miscellaneous, Metal: Large Ring	Iron, Probably Horse Hardware	
1-48				1	Hardware, Metal: Cap Fragment	2-Holes, Copper Alloy, Or Cartridge Box, Hessian	Rev War
1-48				1	Whiteware: Plain		1810-2000
1-49			3"	1	Shoe Part, Metal: Brass Buckle	Decorative Floral Pattern, Folded, Hessian	Rev War
1-50			3"	1	Gun Tool: Cleaning Jag	Iron, REENACTOR	
1-51			4"	1	Auto/Garage/Machine, Metal: Unidentified	Iron, Flat Rectangular Piece W/ Holes, Possible Farm Equipment	
1-52			4.5"	1	Unidentified Hardware, Metal: Iron	2.8" Long, Pointed End	
1-53			3.5"	1	Button: Other	Melred Lead(?), Stamped ".FAS.", ?	
1-54			9"	1	Miscellaneous, Metal: Unidentified	Iron Lump	
1-55			8"	1	Fastener, Metal: Spike		
1-56			6"	1	Cut Common Nail: 4.5 - 5 Inch Long		1805-2000
1-57			6"	1	Miscellaneous, Metal: Unidentified	Fragment of a Coal Stove?	
1-58			8"	1	Unidentified Nail: Cut or Wrought		
1-59			4"	1	Unidentified Metal Object: Lead	Rolled Into a Hollow Tube	
1-60			7"	1	Hardware, Metal: Hinge	Iron	
2-1			9"	1	Auto/Garage/Machine, Metal: Unidentified	Iron, W/Threaded Screw	
2-2			6"	1	Hardware, Metal: Hinge	Iron Rod W/ Pinle-Type End	
2-3			5.5"	1	Button: Pewter	Plain, String Attached, REENACTOR	

MDF Artifact Inventory
 Red Bank Battlefield
 Red Bank, New Jersey
 JMA, A CCRG Co. 2015

MDF	STU/EU	LEVEL	DEPTH	CT	ARTIFACT DESCRIPTION	COMMENTS	DATE RANGE
2-4			4"	1	Grooming/Hygiene, Metal: Compact	Round, Stamped "DierKiss"	c. 1920
2-5				1	Military Uniform, Metal: Button	"43", REENACTOR	
2-6			6"	1	Hardware, Metal: Unidentified	Iron Bar Fragment, Slightly Wedge Shaped	
2-7			7"	1	Miscellaneous, Metal: Iron Buckle	Impressed "HICKOK BRONZE"	Modern
2-8			6"	1	Button: Pewter	Plain, REENACTOR	
2-9			6"	1	Button: Pewter	Plain, REENACTOR	
2-10			11.5"	1	Jewelry, Metal: Other	Gold Mount W/ Paste Stone Top & Threaded Base, Pen?	
2-11			4"	1	Gun Tool: Combination Tool	Iron, Probably REENACTOR	
2-12			4"	1	Utensil, Metal: Bottle Opener	Iron, Church Key?	
2-13			10"	1	Handwrought Rosehead Nail: 4 - 4.5 Inch Long		Pre 1820
2-14			6"	1	Stable, Metal: Horse Hardware	Bridle Fragment	
2-15			0"	1	Gun Tool: Other	Chain W/Brush & Pin, REENACTOR	
2-16			6"	1	Miscellaneous, Metal: Stove Leg	Iron, 3-Pronged Foot	
2-17			3.5"	1	Military Uniform, Metal: Button	"23" Under Feathered Crown, REENACTOR	
2-18			4"	1	Projectile: Lead Ball	Iron, Rectangular Bracket W/ Holes	
2-19			4"	1	Hardware, Metal: Bolt and/or Bracket		
2-20			4"	1	Unidentified Nail: Cut or Wrought		
2-21			6"	1	Projectile: Lead Ball		
2-22			5"	1	Military Uniform, Metal: Button	Pewter, Flag/Canon, REENACTOR, ?? See Troiani	

MDF Artifact Inventory
 Red Bank Battlefield
 Red Bank, New Jersey
 JMA, A CCRG Co. 2015

MDF	STU/EU	LEVEL	DEPTH	CT	ARTIFACT DESCRIPTION	COMMENTS	DATE RANGE
2-23			4"		1 Tool, Metal: Hammer	Iron	
2-24			8"		1 Military Uniform, Metal: Button	"USA", REENACTOR	
3-1			8"		1 Projectile: Lead Ball	Dropped	
3-2					1 Hardware, Metal: Escutcheon	Brass, Floral, For a Trunk?	
3-3					1 Tailoring/Sewing, Metal: Brass Thimble	Bent	
3-4			8"		1 Military Uniform, Metal: Hook	Sword Pommel?	
3-5					1 Hardware, Metal: Frame	Brass-Copper Alloy, Circular, 3" Diameter	
3-6			6"		1 Handwrought Nail: Fragment		Pre 1820
3-7					1 Unidentified Nail: Cut or Wrought	Heavy	
3-8			9"		1 Unidentified Metal Object: Iron/Steel	Plain, REENACTOR	
3-9			10"		1 Military Uniform, Metal: Button	Iron, Heavy	
3-10			6"		1 Miscellaneous, Metal: Unidentified	Plain, 1.1" Diameter	
3-11			4"		1 Button, Metal: Brass, Loop Shank, 2-Piece Cast		
3-12			4"		1 Tool, Metal: Hammer	Iron, Flat Rectangular Fragment	
3-13			5"		1 Fastener, Metal: Brass Belt or Other Buckle	Belt or Baldric (Hume 1972:85 Fig.20:11), Double D Shape	
3-14					1 Redware: Unglazed		
3-15			6"		1 Unidentified Hardware, Metal: Iron	Rectangular Fragment, Wedge-Shaped	
3-16			3"		1 Military Object, Metal: Sword Hanger	REENACTOR	
3-17			7"		1 Handwrought Nail: Complete		Pre 1820
3-18			3"		1 Military Uniform, Metal: Button	Plain, REENACTOR	
3-19					4 Miscellaneous, Metal: Lead	Button Blanks?	
3-20			7"		1 Handwrought Nail: Complete	Clinched	Pre 1820
3-21			6"		1 Grooming/Hygiene, Metal: Barrette	White Metal, Bow Decoration	
3-22					1 Military Object, Metal: Accoutrement Plate	Brass, 43rd Regiment, REENACTOR	
3-23			8"		1 Unidentified Hardware, Metal: Iron	Fragment	

MDF Artifact Inventory
 Red Bank Battlefield
 Red Bank, New Jersey
 JMA, A CCRG Co. 2015

MDF	STU/EU	LEVEL	DEPTH	CT	ARTIFACT DESCRIPTION	COMMENTS	DATE RANGE
3-24			BS				
3-24				1	Button, Metal: Brass	Brass, 2 Piece, Threading Around Rim, Not Rev War	
3-25			3"	1	Projectile: Case Shot	Large, 18-24 Pounder	
3-26				2	Gun Part: Lead Flint Wrap		
3-27			10"	1	Gun Part: Unidentified	Iron, Canon Fragment?	
3-27			10"	1	Handwrought Nail: Fragment		Pre 1820
4-1			5"	1	Button, Metal: Brass, Loop Shank, 2-Piece Cast	Embossed American Eagle, WW II, Seovill Manufacturing Co.	
4-2			4"	1	Fastener, Metal: Spike	Cut/Wrought, Clinched	
4-3			4"	1	Unidentified Hardware, Metal: Iron	Pyramidal Shape, Solid	
4-4			5"	1	Military Object, Metal: Accoutrement Plate	Herringbone Decorative Pattern, Thin Brass Plate W/Holes, Hessian Cap Fragment?, Side or Back	
4-5			9"	1	Gun Part: Unidentified	Iron, Canon Fragment? Slag/Burnt Edges	
4-6			2"	1	Tool, Metal: Screwdriver		
4-7			8"	1	Gun Part: Lead Flint Wrap		
4-8			10"	1	Unidentified Hardware, Metal: Iron	Key Fragment?	
4-9			5"	1	Auto/Garage/Machine, Metal: Other	NOT COLLECTED, Farm Blade	
4-10			8"	1	Handwrought Finish Nail: 3 - 3.5 Inch Long	Brass	Pre 1820
4-11			7"	1	Hardware, Metal: Hinge	Fragment	
4-12				1	Hardware, Metal: Flashing		
4-13			6"	1	Fastener, Metal: Brass Belt or Other Buckle	.7-.8" Buckle	
4-14			7"	1	Tool, Metal: Other	Rope Slide	
4-15			2"	1	Military Uniform, Metal: Button	"43", REENACTOR	
4-16			6"	1	Gun Part: Unidentified	Iron, Canon Fragment?	

MDF Artifact Inventory
 Red Bank Battlefield
 Red Bank, New Jersey
 JMA, A CCRG Co. 2015

MDF	STU/EU	LEVEL	DEPTH	CT	ARTIFACT DESCRIPTION	COMMENTS	DATE RANGE
4-17			5"	1	Tool, Metal: Hammer		
4-18				1	Stable, Metal: Horseshoe	NOT COLLECTED	
5-1			6"	1	Military Uniform, Metal: Button	"43", REENACTOR	
5-2			7"	1	Cooking Vessel, Metal: Kettle	Iron, Fragment	
5-3			2"	1	Unidentified Nail: Cut or Wrought		
5-4			5"	1	Miscellaneous, Metal: Hook	S-Hook	
5-5			2"	1	Utensil, Metal: Tablespoon		
5-6				1	Gun Part: Bayonet	Fragment	
5-7			4"	1	Unidentified Nail: Cut or Wrought		
5-8			4"	1	Unidentified Metal Object: Iron/Steel	Rectangular Fragment	
5-9			6"	1	Miscellaneous, Metal: Other	Tent Peg, NOT COLLECTED	Modern
5-10			4"	1	Miscellaneous, Metal: Unidentified	Iron Fragment, Farm Equipment?	
5-11			6"	1	Tailoring/Sewing, Metal: Brass Thimble	Flattened	1842-1930
5-11			6"	2	White Granite Ware: Plain		
5-12			5"	5	Unidentified Metal Object: Lead	Hollow Round Shape	
5-13			3.5"	1	Unidentified Metal Object: Brass/Copper Alloy	Flattened Tubular Sleeve W/ Herringbone Pattern	
5-14			4"	1	Miscellaneous, Metal: Stove Leg	Iron	
5-15			4"	1	Hardware, Metal: Bolt and/or Bracket	Brass Bracket W/ Holes, Furniture/Gun/Carriage Furniture?	
5-16				1	Button, Metal: Brass, Loop Shank, 2-Piece Cast	Plain	
5-17			9"	1	Projectile: Artillery Shell Fragment	Howitzer Shell Frag	
5-18			8"	1	Tool, Metal: Hammer		
5-19			6"	1	Unidentified Metal Object: Lead	Folded Strip	

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MDF	STU/EU	LEVEL	DEPTH	CT	ARTIFACT DESCRIPTION	COMMENTS	DATE RANGE
5-20			BS				
5-21					1 Military Uniform, Metal: Button 1 Plumbing, Metal: Pipe	Cannon, REENACTOR Copper	
5-22			6"		1 Button, Metal: Brass Loop Shank, 1-Piece Cast	Worn	
5-23			6"		1 Unidentified Hardware, Metal: Iron	L-Shaped, Farm Equipment?	
5-24					1 Fastener, Metal: Brass Grommet 0 Void: Void	For A Tent or Tarp?	
6-1			5"		1 Unidentified Metal Object: Brass/Copper Alloy	2" Strip W/ Holes Punched At Each End	
6-2			6"		1 Shoe Part, Metal: Brass Buckle	Ornate "Bow" Form, Hessian	Rev War
6-3					1 Stable, Metal: Horseshoe	NOT COLLECTED	
6-4					1 Writing, Metal: Pen Part	Victorian? - Braid finial - Hessian?	
6-5			5"		1 Unidentified Metal Object: Lead	Lump	
6-6			5"		1 Unidentified Metal Object: Slag		
6-6			5"		1 Whiteware: Blue Transfer Print	Burnt	1815-1915
6-6			5"		1 Redware: Brown Glaze, Interior Only	Storage Crock W/ Lug Handle	
6-7			5"		1 Button, Metal: Brass, Loop Shank, 2-Piece Cast	Front Only, Button Back Missing, Embossed Floral Decoration	
6-8					1 Gun Part: Bayonet	bayonet fragment	
6-9					1 Miscellaneous, Metal: Blank	Brass, Circular Cut Outs	
6-10			7"		1 Utensil, Metal: Knife Blade		
6-11			8"		1 Miscellaneous, Metal: Nut	1.75" Square, 1.0" Thick	
6-12			3"		1 Plumbing, Metal: Pipe	Iron, Ring-Like Fragment of 1.5" Diameter Pipe?	

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MDF	STU/EU	LEVEL	DEPTH	CT	ARTIFACT DESCRIPTION	COMMENTS	DATE RANGE
6-13			BS		1 Unidentified Metal Object: Brass/Copper Alloy	Modern, Stamped "FANNE.../LL REG", Crumpled Up. Possible Toy Gun	c.1950s
6-14					1 Unidentified Metal Object: Brass/Copper Alloy	Part of 167, Embossed Floral Decoration	c.1950s
7-1			4"		1 Military Uniform, Metal: Button	Plain, REENACTOR	
7-2			6"		1 Utensil, Metal: Tablespoon	Bowl Only	1810-2000
7-3			7"		1 Whiteware: Plain		
7-3			7"		1 Utensil, Metal: Table Knife		
8-1					1 Ironstone: Blue Transfer Print		
8-2			2"		1 Accessory, Metal: Other	Brass, Folded Corner, Military?	
8-3			3"		1 Gun Part: Bayonet	Bayonet Scabbard Tip (ID by Scott Stephenson)	
8-4			7"		1 Handwrought Rosehead Nail: Fragment	Iron, Cut, Fragment	Pre 1820
8-5			6.5"		1 Fastener, Metal: Spike	Flat, Rectangular Bar Fragment	
8-6					1 Unidentified Metal Object: Lead		1810: 2000
8-7					1 Whiteware: Plain		
8-8			6"		1 Projectile: Lead Ball	Impacted, Possible Soft Wood Hit	
8-9			8"		1 Accessory, Metal: Unidentified	Brass, Thin Ogee Shape, Impressed Eagle on a Key - Federal Eagle	
8-10			6"		1 Jewelry, Metal: Charm	Three Elephants Painted Red & White	
8-11					1 Foreign Coin: French	50 Cent Belgium Coin W/ Hole in Center, "1918"	1918
8-12			3"		1 Military Uniform, Metal: Button	Impressed "71", Pewter, REENACTOR	
8-13			6"		1 Tool, Metal: Pulley	Brass	
8-14			6.5"		1 Gun Part: Unidentified	Iron	
8-15			7"		1 Plumbing, Metal: Pipe, Lead (Seamless)	Flattened	Post 1820
8-16			6"		1 Miscellaneous, Metal: Handle	Iron, Bucket?	

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MDF	STU/EU	LEVEL	DEPTH	CT	ARTIFACT DESCRIPTION	COMMENTS	DATE RANGE
8-17			5.5"	BS	1 Fastener, Metal: Spike	Brass, Rosehead, Fractured End	
8-18					1 Whiteware: Annular	Blue Banded Bowl Rim	1810-1925
8-19					1 Miscellaneous, Metal: Lead Weight		
8-20			6"		1 Accessory, Metal: Unidentified	Cap badge fragment, Cast Brass Fragment, Floral	
8-21			2"		1 Hardware, Metal: Flashing	Cap fragment, Copper Alloy	
8-22			4"		1 Cannon Part: Friction Primer	REENACTOR	
8-23			7"		1 Button: Pewter	Plain, REENACTOR	
8-24			3-4"		1 Miscellaneous, Metal: Small Ring	Brass W/ Attachment	
8-25			8"		1 Fastener, Metal: Spike	Possible Railroad Spike, 7.5" Long	
8-26			8"		1 Miscellaneous, Metal: Washer	Iron	
8-27			4"		1 Military Uniform, Metal: Button	Brass, Domed, Hessian	Rev War
8-28					1 Smoking Accessory, Metal: Match Case	Brass, Tubular	
8-29			7-8"		1 Unidentified Nail: Cut or Wrought		
8-30			7"		1 Accessory, Metal: Other	Brass, Folded Corner, Military?	
8-31			6"		4 Unidentified Nail: Cut or Wrought		
8-31			6"		1 Flake 16-20mm: Jasper		
8-31			6"		1 Unidentified Bottle Fragment: Aqua		

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MDF	STU/EU	LEVEL	DEPTH	CT	ARTIFACT DESCRIPTION	COMMENTS	DATE RANGE
8-31			6" BS	2	Wire Common Nail: Fragment		1850: 2000
8-32				1	Button, Metal: Decorated	2-Piece, Front Only, Geometric Pattern	Modern
8-33				1	Electrical, Metal: Wire Fragment	Brass, Twisted	
8-34							
9-1			5"	1	Fastener, Metal: Grommet		
9-2				1	Cut Common Nail: 3.5 - 4 Inch Long		1805: 2000
9-3			2"	1	Tool, Metal: Clamp	Lead, Fragment	
9-4			4.5"	1	Accessory, Metal: Pocketknife Part		
9-5			2"	1	Hardware, Metal: Wire Fencing		
10-1			1.5"	1	Unidentified Metal Object: Lead	Small Bar	
10-2			4"	1	Nail: Unidentified		
10-2			4"	1	Fastener, Metal: Spike		
10-3			5"	1	Cut Common Nail: 4.5 - 5 Inch Long		1805: 2000
10-4			4"	1	Brick, Fragment: Unidentified, Unglazed		
10-4			4"	1	Unidentified Nail: Cut or Wrought		
10-5			2"	1	Miscellaneous, Metal: Rivet	Iron	
10-6			14-16"	2	Coal, Wood: Charcoal		
10-6			14-16"	1	Gun Part: Lead Flint Wrap		
10-7			14"	1	Fire-Cracked Rock: Quartzite		
10-7			14"	4	Coal, Wood: Charcoal		
10-8			10"	1	Projectile: Case Shot	Grape Shot	

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MDF	STU/EU	LEVEL	DEPTH	CT	ARTIFACT DESCRIPTION	COMMENTS	DATE RANGE
10-8			10"	BS	1 Domestic Coin: Indian Head Penny	"1860"	1859: 1909
10-9					1 Projectile: Lead Ball		
10-10			5"		1 Button, Metal: Brass Loop Shank, 1-Piece Cast	"Scovills", c.1827-1840	
10-10			5"		1 Whiteware: Plain		1810: 2000
10-11					1 Wire Common Nail: 4 - 4.5 Inch Long		1850: 2000
10-12			6"		1 Handwrought Rosehead Nail: 3.5 - 4 Inch Long	Spike?	
10-13			5"		1 Projectile: Lead Ball	Ricochet	Pre 1820
10-14			6"		1 Fastener, Metal: Spike	Cut	
10-15			5"		1 Fastener, Metal: Spike	6", Possibly Wrought	
10-16			5"		1 Fastener, Metal: Spike	6", Wrought	
10-17			6"		1 Projectile: Lead Ball		
10-18			5"		1 Tailoring/Sewing: Metal: Brass Thimble		
10-19			4"		1 Unidentified Metal Object: Brass/Copper Alloy	0.7" Round, Flat Disc	
10-20			6"		1 Projectile: Lead Ball		
10-21			8"		1 Toy, Metal: Whizzer	lead, period, American	
10-22			6"		1 Projectile: Case Shot	Grape Shot	
10-23					1 Fastener, Metal: Spike	7", Wrought	
10-24			6"		1 Cut Nail With Handwrought Head: 4 - 4.5 Inch Long		1790: 1810
10-25			3.5"		1 Button, Metal: Brass, Loop Shank, 2-Piece Cast	Small, Domed, Gaiter Button?	
10-26					1 Projectile: Lead Bullet		
10-27			4"		1 Miscellaneous, Metal: Unidentified	Iron Scrap, Gun Part?	
10-28					1 Whiteware: Blue Transfer Print		1815: 1915
10-28					1 Domestic Brown Stoneware: Plain Salt Glaze on Buff		1705: 1930
10-28					1 Tool, Metal: Wedge	Possible	
10-28					1 Whiteware: Plain		1810: 2000

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MDF	STU/EU	LEVEL	DEPTH	CT	ARTIFACT DESCRIPTION	COMMENTS	DATE RANGE
10-29			BS				
10-29			4"	1	Gun Part: Other	Fritzen	
10-30			4"	1	Button, Metal: Brass, Loop Shank, 2-Piece Cast	Slightly Domed W/ Floral Sprig, Probably periodRev War, American	
10-31			5"	1	Unidentified Hardware, Metal: Iron		
10-32			5"	1	Projectile: Lead Ball		
10-33			6"	1	Fastener, Metal: Spike	5.5" Long, Cut	
10-34			2.5"	1	Fastener, Metal: Spike	4", Cut or Wrought	
10-35			4.5"	1	Projectile: Lead Ball	Wood Grain Impression	
10-36			4"	1	Miscellaneous, Metal: Other	Iron Tent Spike	
10-37			4"	1	Flat Glass: Unidentified	Clear, Possible Plastic	
10-37			4"	1	Unidentified Hardware, Metal: Iron	Scrap	
10-37			4"	1	Coca-Cola Bottle Fragment, Hobble Skirt: Coke-Bottle Green		1915: 2000
10-38			4-5"	1	Miscellaneous, Metal: Unidentified	Cap Badge Fragment, Von Donop Reg., Copper Alloy, Cast, Pressed Floral Motif, Hessian	Rev War
10-39			6"	1	Fastener, Metal: Spike	Cut or Wrought, 6"	
10-40			10"	1	Fastener, Metal: Spike	Wrought, 5.5"	
10-41			4.5"	1	Jewelry, Metal: Medal	Mary Magdaline, Oval, Brass?	
10-42			4.5"	1	Cut Common Nail: 2.5 - 3 Inch Long		1805: 2000
10-43			3"	1	Jewelry, Metal: Unidentified	Iron, Flat W/ Hole	
10-44			4"	1	Cut Common Nail: 3 - 3.5 Inch Long		1805: 2000
10-45			4"	1	Fastener, Metal: Spike	Wrought, 8.25"	
10-46			4"	1	Hardware, Metal: Wire Fencing		
10-46			4"	1	Unidentified Metal Object: Lead	Bar	

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MDF	STU/EU	LEVEL	DEPTH	CT	ARTIFACT DESCRIPTION	COMMENTS	DATE RANGE
10-47			4"	BS	1 Fastener, Metal: Spike	Iron, Rosehead, Fractured End, Similar to Lot 188	
11-1			4"		1 Tool, Metal: Brush	Brass, Aiguillette Part?	
11-2			8"		1 Projectile: Lead Ball	Hard Target Impact	
11-3			6"		1 Jewelry, Metal: Brooch/Pin	Brass Frame Only, Roughly Hexagonal, Medal Type?, Not Rev War	
11-4			2", Root		1 Unidentified Metal Object: Brass/Copper Alloy	Tin Canteen Fragment?	
11-5					1 Projectile: Lead Ball	Possible Rifle	
11-6			6"		1 Projectile: Lead Ball	Possible Soft Hit	
12-1			4"		1 Button: Pewter	Plain, REENACTOR	
12-2			5"		1 Projectile: Lead Ball		
12-3			6.5"		1 Cooking Vessel, Metal: Kettle	W/ Tar or Pitch	
12-4			7"		1 Unidentified Hardware, Metal: Iron		
12-5			11"		1 Accessory, Metal: Key	Brass, Skeleton Type	Rev War
12-6					1 Unidentified Metal Object: Lead	Impressions on One Side Look Like a Carved Knife Handle	Rev War
12-7			4"		1 Unidentified Nail: Cut or Wrought		
12-8			4"		1 Unidentified Metal Object: Lead		
12-9			8-9"		1 Projectile: Lead Ball	Ricochet	
12-10			5"		1 Projectile: Lead Ball		
12-11			10"		1 Unidentified Metal Object: Lead		
12-12			4"		2 Unidentified Metal Object: Lead	Possibly Flint Wrap	
12-13			2"		1 Button: Pewter	Plain, REENACTOR	
12-14			4"		1 Projectile: Lead Ball	Impacted	

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MDF	STU/EU	LEVEL	DEPTH	CT	ARTIFACT DESCRIPTION	COMMENTS	DATE RANGE
12-15			5"		1 Tool, Metal: Pulley	Iron	
12-16			5"		1 Unidentified Metal Object: Unidentifiable	Carved, Flat Pointed Fragment	
12-17			11"		1 Hardware, Metal: Bolt and/or Bracket		
12-18			2"		1 Fastener, Metal: Spike	Wrought, 7" Long	
12-19			4"		1 Projectile: Lead Ball	Impacted	
12-20			3"		1 Button: Pewter	Plain, REENACTOR	
12-21			6"		1 Projectile: Buckshot		
12-22					1 Fastener, Metal: Brass Suspender Clip		
12-23			4"		1 Unidentified Metal Object: Iron/Steel	Possible Handle w/Blade	
12-24					1 Unidentified Metal Object: Lead	Strip	
12-25			8"		1 Hardware, Metal: Frame	Copper Alloy, Rectangular, 1.5 x 2.5"	
12-26			7"		1 Cooking Vessel, Metal: Kettle	Handle/Body	
12-27			8"		1 Miscellaneous, Metal: Chain	Iron	
12-27			8"		1 Unidentified Nail: Cut or Wrought		
12-27			8"		1 Creamware: Light-Colored Yellow		1775: 1820
12-28					1 Hardware, Metal: Unidentified Furniture Part	Chair Back, NOT COLLECTED	
12-29			8"		1 Miscellaneous, Metal: Rivet	Iron	
12-30			6"		1 Whiteware: Plain		1810: 2000
12-30			6"		1 Miscellaneous, Metal: Large Ring	Iron, 1.75" Diameter	
12-31			8"		1 Unidentified Nail: Cut or Wrought		
12-32					1 Unidentified Metal Object: Iron/Steel	Flat, Curved Fragment	
12-33			4"		1 Unidentified Metal Object: Melted Lead		
12-34			5"		1 Accessory, Metal: Unidentified	Cap badge, fragment, Copper Alloy, Impressed Floral Design & Scalloped Rim	
12-35			9"		1 Wire Common Nail: 4.5 - 5 Inch Long		1850: 2000
12-36			6"		1 Unidentified Metal Object: Lead		
12-37			3"		1 Projectile: Lead Ball	Sliced?	

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MDF	STU/EU	LEVEL	DEPTH	CT	ARTIFACT DESCRIPTION	COMMENTS	DATE RANGE
12-38			BS				
12-39			4.5"		1 Fastener, Metal: Spike	Wrought	
12-39			4.5"		2 Handwrought Nail: Fragment		Pre 1820
12-39			4.5"		1 Unidentified Nail: Cut or Wrought		
12-40			4.5"		1 Fastener, Metal: Staple	Bracket?	
12-40			4"		1 Projectile: Center-Fire Cartridge		
12-41			3"		1 Hardware, Metal: Unidentified	Iron, Flat W/ U-Shaped Cut Out, Wrought Washer	
12-42			6"		1 Storage, Metal: Hutchinson Spring Stopper		1879: 1912
12-42			6"		22 Unidentified Bottle Fragment: Aqua	Embossed Label	
13-1			6"		1 Cannon Part: Cannon Ball	3-4 Pounds, 29.6 CM Diameter	
13-2			7"		1 Handwrought Nail: Fragment		Pre 1820
13-3			6"		1 Hardware, Metal: Decorative Feature	Brass, Threaded Flower - Furniture, Not periodRev War	
13-4					1 Kitchen Metal: Seive	Copper Alloy, Rectangular Strip	
13-5			7"		1 Miscellaneous, Metal: Rivet	Iron, Threaded	
13-6			5"		1 Unidentified Nail: Cut or Wrought	1" Long	
13-7			8"		1 Cut Common Nail: 1.5 - 2 Inch Long		1805: 2000
13-7			8"		1 Brick, Fragment: Unidentified, Unglazed		
13-8			6"		1 Hardware, Metal: Shutter Dog	Flattened, Shaped Oval End	
13-9			4"		1 Unidentified Metal Object: Lead	Plain	
13-10			8"		1 Button, Metal: Brass Loop Shank, 1-Piece Cast	Plain	
13-11			8"		1 Button, Metal: Brass, Loop Shank, 2-Piece Cast	Plain, Broken Shank	
13-12			7"		1 Domestic Coin: Commemorative	Copper Alloy, Shamrock W/ Star In Leaves, Registered Trademark	1893: 2000
13-13			6"		1 Unidentified Metal Object: Melted Lead		
13-14			6"		1 Fastener, Metal: Spike	Iron, Wire, Clinched	

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MDF	STU/EU	LEVEL	DEPTH	CT	ARTIFACT DESCRIPTION	COMMENTS	DATE RANGE
13-15	BS		12"	1	Cut Nail: Shaft Only		1805: 2000
13-16			8"	1	Projectile: Lead Ball		
13-17			5"	1	Unidentified Metal Object: Melted Lead		
13-18			5"	1	Window Glass: All Thicknesses		
13-18			5"	1	Handwrought Nail: Complete		Pre 1820
13-19			7"	1	Miscellaneous, Metal: Tag	Brass, Square Cut Out	
13-20			2"	1	Button: Pewter	Slightly Domed, period	
13-21			6"	1	Projectile: Buckshot	Buck 'N Ball, Impacted	
13-22			5"+	1	Wire Common Nail: 4 - 4.5 Inch Long		1850: 2000
13-23				1	Gun Tool: Combination Tool	Iron, REENACTOR	
13-24			4"	1	Projectile: Lead Ball	Impacted	
13-25			6"	1	Projectile: Case Shot	Iron Grape Shot	
13-26			6"	1	Unidentified Metal Object	Aiguillette Part?	
14-1			5"	1	Button, Metal: Brass	Domed, 2-Piece	
14-2			5.5"	1	Hardware, Metal: Pintle	Iron	
14-3			8"	1	Handwrought Nail: Complete		Pre 1820
14-4			5"	1	Miscellaneous, Metal: Tube	Aiguillette Part?	
14-5			6"	1	Unidentified Nail: Cut or Wrought		
14-6				1	Gun Part: Other	Brass, Nose Band for a Rifle	
14-7			7"	1	Stable, Metal: Harness Buckle	Brass, Small, Strap	
14-8			6"	1	Fastener, Metal: Spike	Iron, 6"	
14-9			6.5"	1	Fastener, Metal: Spike	Wrought, Fragment	
14-10			4"	1	Projectile: Other	Brass, Target Arrow	

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MDF	STU/EU	LEVEL	DEPTH	CT	ARTIFACT DESCRIPTION	COMMENTS	DATE RANGE
14-11			BS		1 Unidentified Metal Object: Iron/Steel	Flat Half Circle, Cur?	
14-12			4"		1 Projectile: Lead Ball		
14-13			2"		1 Projectile: Lead Ball		
14-14			7"		1 Projectile: Lead Ball	Impacted	
14-15			6"		1 Hardware, Metal: Hinge		
14-15			6"		1 White Granite Ware: Molded	Pitcher Handle	1842: 1995
14-16					1 Hardware, Metal: Flashing	Copper Strip w/ Nail Hole	
14-17					1 Fastener, Metal: Brass Belt or Other Buckle	Floral Center, Rope Border, REENACTOR	Rev War
14-18					1 Button: Metal		
14-19					1 Lamp Part, Metal: Oil	Copper, Threaded Sleeve	
14-20			7"		2 Jewelry, Metal: Watch Part	Watch Key	
14-21			7"		1 Tool, Metal: Wedge	Iron	
14-22			3.5"		1 Tool, Metal: Unidentified	Iron Tang	
15-1			9"		1 Fastener, Metal: Spike	Round	
15-2					1 Miscellaneous Metal: Unidentified	Lead Strip	
15-3			8"		1 Handwrought Nail: Fragment		Pre 1820
15-4					3 Hardware, Metal: Hinge		
15-5			9"		1 Miscellaneous, Metal: Unidentified	Curved Handle-Like Fragment	
15-6			6.5"		1 Miscellaneous, Metal: Unidentified	Thick, Curved Fragment	
15-7			4.5"		1 Miscellaneous, Metal: Bolt		
15-8			3.5"		1 Button: Composite	Plain, Thread Attached, REENACTOR	
15-9			6"		1 Miscellaneous, Metal: Unidentified	Possible Hinge	
15-10			7"		1 Tool, Metal: Hammer		Rev War
15-11			7"		1 Miscellaneous, Metal: Unidentified	Splits Into a Fork	

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MDF	STU/EU	LEVEL	DEPTH	CT	ARTIFACT DESCRIPTION	COMMENTS	DATE RANGE
15-12			BS		1 Storage, Metal: Hutchinson Spring Stopper		1879: 1912
15-12					1 Whiteware: Plain		1810: 2000
15-13			3"		1 Toy, Metal: Unidentified		
15-14			7"		1 Fastener, Metal: Grommet		
15-15			6"		1 Fastener, Metal: Spike	6" Long	
15-16			5"		1 Unidentified Nail: Cut or Wrought		
15-17			6.5"		1 Miscellaneous, Metal: Unidentified	Brass, Domed Cap	
15-18			3"		1 Miscellaneous Clothing, Metal: Other	Brass, "Crown Garter"	
15-19			4"		1 Grooming/Hygiene, Metal: Lipstick Tube		
15-20			6"		1 Button, Metal: Brass, Loop Shank, 2-Piece Cast	Plain	Rev War
15-21			8.9"		1 Button: Metal	Domed, Shank Missing, Hessian	Rev War
15-21			8.9"		1 Handwrought Rosehead Nail: 3 - 3.5 Inch Long		Pre 1820
15-22			6"		1 Hardware, Metal: BrassUnidentified Furniture Part Brass		
15-23					1 Fastener, Metal: Brass Belt or Other Buckle	Grooved Decoration	
15-24			2"		1 Accessory, Metal: Unidentified	Scrolled Floral Motif, Tube - Braid Tip?, Hessian Shell Casing	Rev War
16-1			3"		1 Projectile: Center-Fire Cartridge		
16-2			6"		2 Unidentified Nail: Cut or Wrought		
16-3			6"		1 Military Object, Metal: Helmet	Zinc, Folded Into a Square, Fragment	
16-4			6.5"		1 Handwrought Rosehead Nail: 5 - 5.5 Inch Long		Pre 1820
16-5			7"		1 Projectile: Lead Ball	Impacted	
16-6			5"		1 Unidentified Metal Object: Iron/Steel	Small Rectangular Bar	
16-7			6"		1 Fastener, Metal: Brass Belt or Other Buckle		
16-8			7"		1 Miscellaneous, Metal: Bell	Iron, Sleigh Bell	

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MDF	STU/EU	LEVEL	DEPTH	CT	ARTIFACT DESCRIPTION	COMMENTS	DATE RANGE
16-9			5"		1 Unidentified Nail: Cut or Wrought		
16-9			5"		1 Wire Common Nail: Fragment		1850: 2000
16-10			7"		1 Miscellaneous, Metal: Iron Buckle		
16-11			5"		1 Hardware, Metal: Unidentified	Ear-Shaped Fragment W/ Hole in Center	
16-12			6"		1 Button: Metal	Front Domed Piece W/Fabric Attached - REENACTOR	
16-13			3"		1 Grooming/Hygiene, Metal: Unidentified	Brass Cover/Tube - Match Case?	
16-14					1 Miscellaneous, Metal: Helmet Part	Brass, Liebgrenadier Garde	
16-15			7"		1 Button: Pewter	Plain, REENACTOR	
16-16			5"		1 Miscellaneous, Metal: Lead Weight	Bank Sinker	
16-17			8"		1 Hardware, Metal: Pintle		
16-18			4"		1 Unidentified Metal Object: Iron/Steel	Thick Lump of Iron	
17-1					1 Projectile: Lead Ball	Impacted	
17-2					1 Hardware, Metal: Fence Post	Not Collected	
17-3			4"		1 Cut Common Nail: 3.5 - 4 Inch Long		1805: 2000
17-4					1 Cut Common Nail: Fragment		1805: 2000
17-5					1 Unidentified Metal Object: Lead		
17-6			3"		1 Projectile: Lead Ball	Ball Button?	
17-7					1 Miscellaneous, Metal: Unidentified	Suspender	
17-8					1 Fastener, Metal: Brass Belt or Other Buckle	W/ Square Rivet	Pre 1820
17-9			3"		1 Handwrought Rosehead Nail: 4.5 - 5 Inch Long		
17-10			8"		1 Hardware, Metal: Escutcheon	Brass, Oval	Rev War
17-11			3"		2 Unidentified Metal Object: Lead	Flat Half Moon Shape, Mends	
17-12			6"		1 Jewelry, Metal: Ring	Copper Band W/ Paste Stone, Woman's	
17-13			6"		4 Fastener, Metal: Brass Belt or Other Buckle	One Brass Rectangular Buckle W/ Iron Tang	

MDF Artifact Inventory
 Red Bank Battlefield
 Red Bank, New Jersey
 JMA, A CCRG Co. 2015

MDF	STU/EU	LEVEL	DEPTH	CT	ARTIFACT DESCRIPTION	COMMENTS	DATE RANGE
17-14			6"		1 Tool, Metal: Pliers		
17-15			5"		1 Tool, Metal: Axe		
17-16			3"		1 Accessory, Metal: Pocketknife, Complete		
17-17			5"		1 Nail: Unidentified		
17-18			5"		1 Gun Part: Unidentified	Trigger?	
17-19			5"		1 Projectile: Shotgun Shell		
17-20			3"		1 Projectile: Lead Bullet		
17-21			8"		2 Handwrought Rosehead Nail: 3.5 - 4 Inch Long	Mend	Pre 1820
17-22			4"		1 Projectile: Lead Bullet		
17-23			6"		1 Military Object, Metal: Other	Lead, Pole?	
17-24			6"		1 Fastener, Metal: Spike	Cut	
17-25			6"		1 Fastener, Metal: Spike	Wrought?	
17-25			6"		6 Creamware: Light-Colored Yellow		1775: 1820
17-25			6"		1 Whiteware: Blue Transfer Print		1815: 1915
17-26			3"		1 Button, Metal: Brass, Loop Shank, 2-Piece Cast	Shank Broken Off, Plain, "Gilt" on Back	
18-1			6"		1 Unidentified Metal Object: Lead	Ear-Shaped Strip	
18-2			5"		1 Unidentified Metal Object: Brass/Copper Alloy	Solid, Heavy Chunk W/ Straight Edges, Cog/Gear - Artillery Part?	
18-3			6"		1 Projectile: Lead Ball	Smashed	
18-4			12"		1 Hardware, Metal: Hinge		
18-5			5"		1 Projectile: Lead Ball		
18-6			6"		1 Projectile: Lead Ball		
18-7			6"		2 Utensil, Metal: Bone Handle	Split, REENACTOR	Modern
18-8			5"		1 Unidentified Metal Object: Lead	Long Strip	
19-1			6"		1 Unidentified Nail: Cut or Wrought		
19-2			6"		1 Unidentified Metal Object: Lead		

MDF Artifact Inventory
 Red Bank Battlefield
 Red Bank, New Jersey
 JMA, A CCRG Co. 2015

MDF	STU/EU	LEVEL	DEPTH	CT	ARTIFACT DESCRIPTION	COMMENTS	DATE RANGE
19-3			8"		1 Fastener, Metal: Spike	Cut/Wrought	
19-4			10"		1 Grooming/Hygiene, Metal: Medicine Can		
19-5			6"		1 Military Object, Metal: Accoutrement Hook	Brass, Threaded, Not Rev War	
19-6					2 Cooking Vessel, Metal: Kettle	Iron	
19-7					1 Stable, Metal: Horseshoe		
19-8					2 Accessory, Metal: Pocketknife Part		
20-1			6"		1 Hardware, Metal: Spigot	Brass, Or Stop Cook	
20-2			4"		1 Miscellaneous, Metal: Handle	Iron, Possibly Kitchen Related	
20-3					1 Button, Metal: Brass Loop Shank, 1-Piece Cast	Plain	Rev War
20-4			6"		1 Hardware, Metal: Flashing	Folded Square Fragment W/ Chamfered Corners	
20-5			6"		2 Accessory, Metal: Pocketknife, Complete	Mends	
20-6			8"		1 Miscellaneous, Metal: Large Ring	Iron	
20-7			6"		1 Jewelry, Metal: Brooch/Pin		20th C.
20-8			8"		1 Fastener, Metal: Spike	Cut/Wrought	
20-9			5.5"		1 Fastener, Metal: Spike	Wrought, 9" L	
20-10			8"		1 Miscellaneous, Metal: Large Ring	Iron	
20-11			5.5"		1 Unidentified Hardware, Metal: Iron	Thick Chunk	
20-12			3.75"		1 Unidentified Hardware, Metal: Iron	Tapered Triangular Shape	Modern
20-13			4.5"		1 Fastener, Metal: Spike	4.25" L	
20-14			8"		1 Miscellaneous, Metal: Nut	Square, Thick	
20-15			4.5"		1 Unidentified Hardware, Metal: Iron	Square/Rectangular Fragment	
20-16			7"		1 Military Object, Metal: Unidentified	Brass, Hollow Tube W/ Incised Bands, Match Case?	
20-17					1 Unidentified Hardware, Metal: Iron	Thick Fragment, Heated	
20-18					1 Hardware, Metal: Hinge	Fragment	
20-19			3"		1 Accessory, Metal: Unidentified	Brass Tube/Tip, Flattened, "MADE IN GL..ANY"	
20-20			5"		1 Unidentified Nail: Cut or Wrought		
20-21			7"		1 Projectile: Shotgun Shell		1850: 0
20-22			4"		1 Unidentified Nail: Cut or Wrought		

MDFArtifact Inventory
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 Red Bank, New Jersey
 JMA, A CCRG Co. 2015

MDF	STU/EU	LEVEL	DEPTH	CT	ARTIFACT DESCRIPTION	COMMENTS	DATE RANGE
20-23			8"	1	Projectile: Case Shot	Grape Shot	
20-24			Surface	1	Projectile: Center-Fire Cartridge		
20-25			4.25"	1	Fastener, Metal: Spike	Wrought, 5"	
20-26			7"	1	Miscellaneous, Metal: Chain Link	3 Links, Large	
20-27			6.5"	1	Miscellaneous, Metal: Hook	Wrought	
20-28			4"	1	Shoe Part, Metal: Brass Buckle	Decorative	
20-29			6"	1	Storage, Metal: Zinc Canning Lid	Round, Flat Disc, 1.25" Diameter	
20-30			4"	1	Nail: Unidentified		
20-31			7"	1	Stable, Metal: Harness Part	Iron Bit	
20-32			4"	1	Projectile: Center-Fire Cartridge		
20-33			4-7"	2	Handwrought Nail: Fragment		Pre 1820
20-33			4-7"	4	Coal: Coal Ash (Slag)		
20-33			4-7"	1	Brick, Fragment: Unidentified, Unglazed		
20-33			4-7"	1	Faunal: Oyster Shell Fragments		
20-33			4-7"	2	Unidentified Nail: Cut or Wrought		
20-33			4-7"	1	Unidentified Bottle Fragment: Aqua		
20-33			4-7"	3	Whiteware: Plain		1810: 2000
20-33			4-7"	1	Hardware, Metal: Hinge		
20-34			7"	1	Unidentified Metal Object: Brass/Copper Alloy	Flattened Tube	
20-35			4"	1	Miscellaneous, Metal: Dog Tag	"MORRIS, WALTER L_8046668 T42/DELLIE MORRIS/RT 1/NEWPORT TX"	

MDFArtifact Inventory
 Red Bank Battlefield
 Red Bank, New Jersey
 JMA, A CCRG Co. 2015

MDF	STU/EU	LEVEL	DEPTH	CT	ARTIFACT DESCRIPTION	COMMENTS	DATE RANGE
20-36			6"	2	Redware: Plain, Clear Glaze		
20-36			6"	1	Unidentified Nail: Cut or Wrought	Rod-Like	
20-36			6"	1	Unidentified Hardware, Metal: Iron		
20-37			6.5"	2	Pipe Bowl/Stem: Fragment	Fluted	
20-37			6.5"	1	Wire Common Nail: Fragment		1850: 2000
20-38			6"	1	Projectile: Case Shot	Grape Shot	
20-39			5"	1	Projectile: Center-Fire Cartridge		
20-40			5"	1	Button: Metal	Brass, Domed, Plain, Hessian	Rev War
20-41			6"	1	Unidentified Metal Object: Lead		
20-42			6.5"	2	Gun Part: Lead Flint Wrap		
20-43			12"	1	Unidentified Nail: Cut or Wrought	Iron Bit	
20-44				1	Stable, Metal: Harness Part	Brass, Cap Badge	
20-45			10"	1	Military Uniform, Metal: Cap Insignia	Half Cent?, Almost Completely Worn	Rev War?
20-46			7"	1	Domestic Coin: Unidentified	Fragment, Thick	
20-47			5"	1	Unidentified Metal Object: Iron/Steel		
20-48				1	Unidentified Nail: Cut or Wrought		
20-49			8"	1	Plumbing, Metal: Grate	Iron	
20-50			5"	1	Military Uniform, Metal: Hook	Brass, Accoutrement	
20-51			7"	1	Fastener, Metal: Spike	Cut/Wrought, 5.5" L	
20-52			8"	1	Projectile: Lead Ball		
20-53			4.5"	1	Gun Part: Lead Flint Wrap	Rectangular Fragment W/ 2 Holes	Rev War
20-54			6"	1	Fastener, Metal: Spike		
20-55			7"	1	Toy, Metal: Gun		
20-56			5.5"	1	Miscellaneous, Metal: Unidentified		
20-56			5.5"	1	Domestic Gray Stoneware: Plain Salt Glaze		1705: 1930
20-57			6"	1	Hardware, Metal: Escutcheon		
20-58			3"	1	Unidentified Hardware, Metal: Iron	Mangled Fragment	
20-59			7"	1	Unidentified Hardware, Metal: Iron	Thick Rectangular Bar Fragment	
21-1			5"	1	Military Uniform, Metal: Button	Lead, "23" Under Plumed Hat, REENACTOR?	

MDF Artifact Inventory
 Red Bank Battlefield
 Red Bank, New Jersey
 JMA, A CCRG Co. 2015

MDF	STU/EU	LEVEL	DEPTH	CT	ARTIFACT DESCRIPTION	COMMENTS	DATE RANGE
21-2			6"	1	Miscellaneous, Metal: Unidentified	Iron, Melted?	
21-3			2"	1	Military Uniform, Metal: Button	Eagle on Face, Scovill Mfg.	
21-4			6"	1	Miscellaneous, Metal: Other	Iron Wheel	
21-5			6"	1	Military Uniform, Metal: Button	Pewter, "43"	
21-6			6"	1	Miscellaneous, Metal: Unidentified	Iron Lump, Big, Melted	
21-7			3"	2	Unidentified Nail: Cut or Wrought		
21-8			4"	1	Wire Common Nail: Complete		1850: 2000
21-9			7"	1	Unidentified Hardware, Metal: Iron	Rectangular Flat Piece W/ Holes	
21-10			8"	1	Hardware, Metal: Identification Plate	Lead Shield "RUTHERFORD/MAKER/DELAWARE E/A/VE/CAMDEN/NJ"	
21-11			5"	1	Redware: Brown Glaze		
21-11			5"	3	Unidentified Nail: Cut or Wrought		
21-12				1	Wire Common Nail: Complete		1850: 2000
21-13			8"	1	Unidentified Metal Object: Iron/Steel	Pyramidal Block W/ Circular Cup	
21-14				1	Projectile: Bullet Shell, .22 Caliber	Rectangular, Fragment	
21-15			4"	1	Shoe Part, Metal: Brass Buckle	period	
21-16				1	Button: Pewter	period	
21-17			7"	1	Fastener, Metal: Staple	Or Chain Link Fragment	
21-18			7"	1	Fastener, Metal: Spike	Wrought, 5" L	
21-19			3"	1	Projectile: Center-Fire Cartridge		
21-20			12"	1	Unidentified Nail: Cut or Wrought		

MDFArtifact Inventory
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MDF	STU/EU	LEVEL	DEPTH	CT	ARTIFACT DESCRIPTION	COMMENTS	DATE RANGE
21-21			6"	1	Button: Metal		Plain, Broken Shank, REENACTOR? 1810: 1900
21-21			6"	1	WhiteWare: Shell Edge		
21-22			3"	1	Projectile: Center-Fire Cartridge		
21-23			3"	2	Projectile: Center-Fire Cartridge		
21-24			3"	2	Projectile: Center-Fire Cartridge		
21-25			3"	2	Projectile: Center-Fire Cartridge		
21-26			4"	1	Unidentified Bottle Fragment: Aqua		
21-26			4"	5	Brick, Fragment: Unidentified, Unglazed	1 Saved	
21-26			4"	1	Faunal: Oyster Shell Fragments		
21-26			4"	2	Miscellaneous, Metal: Unidentified	Bar-Like Fragments W/ Chamfered Ends	
21-26			4"	6	Unidentified Nail: Cut or Wrought		
21-26			4"	1	Coal: Lump/Nugget		
21-26			4"	2	Miscellaneous, Metal: Unidentified	Iron Chunks	
21-27			2"	1	Miscellaneous, Metal: Small Ring		
21-27			2"	1	Fastener, Metal: Spike		
21-27			2"	3	Unidentified Nail: Cut or Wrought		
21-28			4"	1	Hardware, Metal: Hinge		
21-29				1	Miscellaneous, Metal: Unidentified	Iron Bar Fragment, 10.25" L	
21-30				1	Tool, Metal: Unidentified	Iron	
21-31			8"	1	Hardware, Metal: Hinge		

MDF Artifact Inventory
 Red Bank Battlefield
 Red Bank, New Jersey
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MDF	STU/EU	LEVEL	DEPTH	CT	ARTIFACT DESCRIPTION	COMMENTS	DATE RANGE
21-32			2"	BS	1 Miscellaneous, Metal: Lead	Melted	
21-34					1 Projectile: Lead Ball	Impacted	
22-1			6"		1 Handwrought Nail: Complete		Pre 1820
22-2			4"		1 Unidentified Hardware, Metal: Iron	Rod, 2.5" L	
22-3			3"		1 Fastener, Metal: Other	Boy Scout Neckerchief Slide, Lion Cub, Cub Scout	
22-4			10"		1 Utensil, Metal: Large Spoon	Pewter	
22-5			7"		1 Unidentified Metal Object: Lead	Round Disc w/ Pierced Hole, 2.25" Diameter	
22-6			7"		1 Accessory, Metal: Pocketknife, Complete	Iron - could be period	
22-7			7"		1 Auto/Garage/Machine, Metal: Other	Handle w/ Threaded Bolts	
22-8			6"		1 Fastener, Metal: Spike	Wrought, 5" L	
22-9			5"		1 Projectile: Lead Ball		
22-10					1 Projectile: Lead Ball		
22-11			8"		1 Miscellaneous, Metal: Lead	Flattened Strip Folded Over, Pipe?	
22-12			4"		1 Button: Pewter	w/ Thread, REENACTOR	
22-13			10"		1 Unidentified Hardware, Metal: Lead	Cap?	
22-14			6.5"		1 Fastener, Metal: Spike	Head Broken Off	
22-15			6"		1 Button: Metal	Brass Button Back	Rev War
22-16			5"		1 Unidentified Metal Object: Brass/Copper Alloy	Tube-Like Fitting w/ Threaded Ends	
22-17			5"		1 Handwrought Nail: Complete	Clinched	Pre 1820
22-18			7"		2 Kitchen Metal: Pepper Shaker, Top	Zinc, Maybe Salt or Flour	
22-19			8"		1 Unidentified Hardware, Metal: Iron	Bar	
22-20					1 Miscellaneous, Metal: Lead	Melted Pool?	
22-21			12"		2 Musical Instrument, Metal: Harmonica	Interior	1821: 2000
22-22			11"		1 Handwrought Rosehead Nail: 3 - 3.5 Inch Long		Pre 1820
22-23			5"		1 Projectile: Lead Ball		
22-24			7"		2 Storage, Metal: Zinc Canning Lid		
22-25			14"		2 Utensil, Metal: Large Spoon	Iron	
22-26			9"		1 Appliance, Metal: Cast-Iron Stove Part	?	
22-27			5"		1 Miscellaneous, Metal: Lead	Melted Blob	

MDF Artifact Inventory
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MDF	STU/EU	LEVEL	DEPTH	CT	ARTIFACT DESCRIPTION	COMMENTS	DATE RANGE
			BS				
22-28			4"	1	Projectile: Lead Ball	Dropped	
22-29				1	Unidentified Metal Object: Iron/Steel	Burnt Slab	
22-30			5"	1	Button: Metal	Plain, REENACTOR	
22-31			8"	1	Fastener, Metal: Suspender Clip		
22-32			6"	1	Utensil, Metal: Large Spoon	Pewter, Bowl Only	
22-33			3"	1	Auto/Garage/Machine, Metal: Unidentified		
22-34			2"	1	Miscellaneous, Metal: Lead	Melted Blob	
22-35			3"	1	Projectile: Center-Fire Cartridge		
22-36			4"	1	Projectile: Center-Fire Cartridge		
22-37			12"	1	Unidentified Metal Object: Lead	Stamped "4", "14"	
				487			

EU Artifact Inventory
 Red Bank Battlefield
 Red Bank, New Jersey
 JMA, A CCRG Co. 2015

LOT	STU/EU	LEVEL	CT	WT (g)	DISC	ARTIFACT DESCRIPTION	COMMENTS	DATE RANGE
1	Near EU 1	Surface	1	45	Y	Unidentified Hardware, Metal: Iron		
2	Slope Near EU1	Surface	1			Flake: Chert		
3	See GPS	Surface	1			Colonoware: Unidentified		1600-1850
4	See GPS	Surface	1			Stoneware, Unspecified: Sherd		
5	Grid 10	Foundation 2	1			Unidentified Bottle Fragment: Dark Green		
6	EU 1	1	1	6	Y	Miscellaneous, Metal: Unidentified		
6	EU 1	1	1	6	Y	Unidentified Hardware, Metal: Iron		
6	EU 1	1	13			Whiteware: Unspecified		1810-2000
6	EU 1	1	2			Porcelain: Unspecified		
6	EU 1	1	1			Pipe Stem: Fragment		
6	EU 1	1	10		Y	Window Glass: All Thicknesses		
6	EU 1	1	2	3	Y	Brick, Fragment: Unidentified, Unglazed		
6	EU 1	1	4			Gardening, Ceramic: Terra-Cotta Flower Pot		
6	EU 1	1	3			Unidentified Bottle Fragment: Aqua		
6	EU 1	1	19			Unidentified Bottle Fragment: Clear		
6	EU 1	1	7			Unidentified Bottle Fragment: Amber		
6	EU 1	1	1			Unidentified Bottle Fragment: Milk Glass		Post 1743
6	EU 1	1	2	1	Y	Faunal: Unidentified Shell		
6	EU 1	1	1			Fastener, Glass: Stud		
6	EU 1	1	1			Flake: Chert		
7	EU 1	1, Feature 1	1	7	Y	Unidentified Hardware, Metal: Iron		
7	EU 1	1, Feature 1	2		Y	Window Glass: All Thicknesses		
7	EU 1	1, Feature 1	1			Unidentified Bottle Fragment: Clear		
7	EU 1	1, Feature 1	1			Redware: Unspecified		
7	EU 1	1, Feature 1	1			Stone: Graphite		
8	EU 1	2	2	11	Y	Brick, Fragment: Unidentified, Unglazed		
8	EU 1	2	4	12	Y	Nail: Unidentified		
8	EU 1	2	2	4	Y	Faunal: Unidentified Shell		
8	EU 1	2	1			Redware: Unspecified		
8	EU 1	2	12			Whiteware: Unspecified		1810-2000
8	EU 1	2	1			Porcelain: Unspecified		
8	EU 1	2	7		Y	Window Glass: All Thicknesses		
8	EU 1	2	9			Unidentified Bottle Fragment: Clear		
8	EU 1	2	2			Unidentified Bottle Fragment: Aqua		
8	EU 1	2	1			Flake: Chert		
8	EU 1	2	1			Accessory, Metal: Unidentified		
8	EU 1	2	1			Projectile: Rimfire Cartridge		Post 1866

EU Artifact Inventory
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LOT	STU/EU	LEVEL	CT	WT (g)	DISC	ARTIFACT DESCRIPTION	COMMENTS	DATE RANGE
9	EU 1	3	1			Projectile: Rimfire Cartridge		Post 1866
9	EU 1	3	5		Y	Window Glass: All Thicknesses		
9	EU 1	3	2			Porcelain: Unspecified		1868-1920
9	EU 1	3	6			Unidentified Bottle Fragment: Clear		
9	EU 1	3	2			Unidentified Bottle Fragment: Aqua		
9	EU 1	3	2			Unidentified Bottle Fragment: Dark Green		
9	EU 1	3	16			Whiteware: Unspecified		
9	EU 1	3	1	19	Y	Fire-Cracked Rock: Quartzite		
9	EU 1	3	5	15	Y	Nail: Unidentified		1810-2000
9	EU 1	3	1	1	Y	Brick, Fragment: Unidentified, Unglazed		
9	EU 1	3	5	9	Y	Unidentified Hardware, Metal: Iron		
9	EU 1	3	4			Grooming/Hygiene, Celluloid: Hairpin		
10	EU 1	4	5	55	Y	Faunal: Unidentified Shell		
10	EU 1	4	1	93	Y	Stone: Building		
10	EU 1	4	1	65	Y	Fire-Cracked Rock: Quartzite		
10	EU 1	4	1	5	Y	Nail: Unidentified		
10	EU 1	4	2			Flake: Argillite		
10	EU 1	4	4			Flake: Chert		
10	EU 1	4	3			Unidentified Bottle Fragment: Aqua		
10	EU 1	4	6			Unidentified Bottle Fragment: Clear		
10	EU 1	4	2			Unidentified Bottle Fragment: Green		
10	EU 1	4	1			Unidentified Bottle Fragment: Amber		
10	EU 1	4	1			Unidentified Bottle Fragment: Opaque Blue		
10	EU 1	4	2			Whiteware: Unspecified		1810-2000
10	EU 1	4	2			Porcelain: Unspecified		1810-2000
10	EU 1	4	3		Y	Window Glass: All Thicknesses		
11	EU 1	5	3	167	Y	Fire-Cracked Rock: Quartzite		
11	EU 1	5	1	5	Y	Nail: Unidentified		
11	EU 1	5	1	11	Y	Faunal: Unidentified Shell		
11	EU 1	5	4			Flake: Chert		
11	EU 1	5	1			Flake: Quartz		
11	EU 1	5	2			Unidentified Prehistoric Ware: Body		
11	EU 1	5	3			Unidentified Bottle Fragment: Clear		
11	EU 1	5	3			Unidentified Bottle Fragment: Aqua		
11	EU 1	5	3		Y	Window Glass: All Thicknesses		
11	EU 1	5	2			Unidentified Bottle Fragment: Cobalt Blue		
11	EU 1	5	1			Anvil Stone: Quartzite		

EU Artifact Inventory
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LOT	STU/EU	LEVEL	CT	WT (g)	DISC	ARTIFACT DESCRIPTION	COMMENTS	DATE RANGE
12	EU 1	6	2			Anvil Stone: Quartzite		
12	EU 1	6	2	14	Y	Fire-Cracked Rock: Quartzite		
12	EU 1	6	1			Debitage: Chaledony		
12	EU 1	6	2	9	Y	Brick, Fragment: Unidentified, Unglazed		
12	EU 1	6	2			Debitage: Quartzite		
12	EU 1	6	1			Flake: Quartz		
12	EU 1	6	1			Flake: Chert		
12	EU 1	6	2			Flake: Argillite		
12	EU 1	6	1			Unidentified Bottle Fragment: Clear		
12	EU 1	6	1	1	Y	Faunal: Unidentified Shell		
13	EU 1	7, South Half	1	1	Y	Fire-Cracked Rock: Quartzite		
13	EU 1	7, South Half	1	23	Y	Debitage: Chaledony		
14	EU 1	7, South Half	1	8	Y	Nail: Unidentified		
14	EU 2	1	4	8	Y	Faunal: Unidentified Shell		
14	EU 2	1	3	2	Y	Whiteware: Unspecified		1810-2000
14	EU 2	1	7			Stoneware, Unspecified: Sherd		
14	EU 2	1	1			Redware: Unspecified		
14	EU 2	1	1			Unidentified Bottle Fragment: Clear		
14	EU 2	1	2			Unidentified Bottle Fragment: Aqua		
14	EU 2	1	16			Unidentified Bottle Fragment: Olive Green		
14	EU 2	1	5			Unidentified Bottle Fragment: Milk Glass		Post 1743
14	EU 2	1	1			Flake: Quartz		
14	EU 2	1	2			Flake: Chert		
14	EU 2	1	7			Fire-Cracked Rock: Quartzite		
15	EU 2	2	6	239	Y	Flake: Chert		
15	EU 2	2	9			Flake: Chert		
15	EU 2	2	2			Flake: Quartz		
15	EU 2	2	1			Flake: Quartz		
15	EU 2	2	1			Unidentified Prehistoric Ware: Body		
15	EU 2	2	6			Unidentified Prehistoric Ware: Body		
16	EU 2	3	39			Flake: Chert		
16	EU 2	3	3			Flake: Quartz		
16	EU 2	3	1			Flake: Chaledony		
16	EU 2	3	11	1128	Y	Fire-Cracked Rock: Quartzite		
16	EU 2	3	3			Unidentified Prehistoric Ware: Body		
16	EU 2	3	1			Jewelry, Metal: Unidentified		Gold
17	EU 3	1	7	30	Y	Unidentified Hardware, Metal: Iron		

Riggins Tradition, Cord-
 Wrapped Paddle and
 Stick

EU Artifact Inventory
 Red Bank Battlefield
 Red Bank, New Jersey
 JMA, A CCRG Co. 2015

LOT	STU/EU	LEVEL	CT	WT (g)	DISC	ARTIFACT DESCRIPTION	COMMENTS	DATE RANGE
17	EU 3	1	6			Nail: Unidentified	Large	
17	EU 3	1	44	167	Y	Nail: Unidentified		
17	EU 3	1	21	53	Y	Faunal: Unidentified Shell		
17	EU 3	1	2	32	Y	Fire-Cracked Rock: Quartzite		
17	EU 3	1	2	15	Y	Brick, Fragment: Unidentified, Unglazed		
17	EU 3	1	1	9	Y	Coal: Coal Ash (Slag)		
17	EU 3	1	7			Unidentified Bottle Fragment: Clear		
17	EU 3	1	4			Unidentified Bottle Fragment: Olive Green		
17	EU 3	1	1			Unidentified Bottle Fragment: Amber		
17	EU 3	1	1			Unidentified Bottle Fragment: Dark Green		
17	EU 3	1	7			Unidentified Bottle Fragment: Aqua		
17	EU 3	1	1			Unidentified Bottle Fragment: Amethyst		1880-1915
17	EU 3	1	11			Redware: Unspecified		
17	EU 3	1	2			Gardening, Ceramic: Terra-Cotta Flower Pot		
17	EU 3	1	4			Porcelain: Unspecified		
17	EU 3	1	79			Whiteware: Unspecified		1810-2000
17	EU 3	1	4			Yellowware: Unspecified		
17	EU 3	1	1			Tailoring/Sewing, Metal: Brass Thimble		
17	EU 3	1	1			Writing: Slate Pencil		
17	EU 3	1	1			Pipe Bowl Fragment, Ceramic: Ball Clay		
17	EU 3	1	18			Window Glass: All Thicknesses		
17	EU 3	1	2			Flake: Quartz		
17	EU 3	1	11			Flake: Chert		
17	EU 3	1	1			Flake: Quartzite		
17	EU 3	1	1			Gun Part: Other	Scabbard Clip	
18	EU 3	2	161			Flake: Chert		
18	EU 3	2	8			Unidentified Prehistoric Ware: Body		
18	EU 3	2	1			Flake: Argillite		
18	EU 3	2	7			Flake: Chalcedony		
18	EU 3	2	4	33	Y	Fire-Cracked Rock: Quartzite		
18	EU 3	2	1	11	Y	Nail: Unidentified		
18	EU 3	2	2			Whiteware: Unspecified		1810-2000
19	EU 3	3	9		Y	Coal, Wood: Charcoal		
19	EU 3	3	1			Unidentified Prehistoric Ware: Body		
19	EU 3	3	14			Flake: Chert		
19	EU 3	3	1			Flake: Quartz		

EU Artifact Inventory
 Red Bank Battlefield
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LOT	STU/EU	LEVEL	CT	WT (g)	DISC	ARTIFACT DESCRIPTION	COMMENTS	DATE RANGE
19	EU 3	3	1	1		Flake: Quartzite		
19	EU 3	3	1	1		Flake: Chalcedony		
19	EU 3	3	1	1		Core Fragment: Chert		
19	EU 3	3	1	1		Projectile: Lead Ball		
19	EU 3	3	12	728	Y	Fire-Cracked Rock: Quartzite		
20	EU 4	1	7	40	Y	Faunal: Unidentified Shell		
20	EU 4	1	19		Y	Window Glass: All Thicknesses		
20	EU 4	1	23			Unidentified Bottle Fragment: Dark Green		
20	EU 4	1	14			Unidentified Bottle Fragment: Clear		
20	EU 4	1	2			Unidentified Bottle Fragment: Unspecified		
20	EU 4	1	1			Unidentified Bottle Fragment: Amber		
20	EU 4	1	1			Unidentified Bottle Fragment: Aqua		
20	EU 4	1	2	4	Y	Brick, Fragment: Unidentified, Unglazed		
20	EU 4	1	2	4	Y	Unidentified Hardware, Metal: Iron		
20	EU 4	1	1	1	Y	Unidentified Hardware, Metal: Copper Alloy/Brass		
20	EU 4	1	1	1	Y	Unidentified Hardware, Metal: Lead		
20	EU 4	1	2	6	Y	Nail: Unidentified		
20	EU 4	1	1	1		Faunal: Bone		
20	EU 4	1	1	1		Unidentified Hardware, Metal: Copper Alloy/Brass	Decorative	
20	EU 4	1	5			Domestic Coin: Small Cent	One 1950	1856-2000
20	EU 4	1	16			Whiteware: Unspecified		1810-2000
20	EU 4	1	2			Porcelain: Unspecified		
20	EU 4	1	1			Stoneware, Unspecified: Sherd		
20	EU 4	1	1			Pipe Bowl Fragment, Ceramic: Ball Clay		
20	EU 4	1	20			Flake: Chert		
20	EU 4	1	4			Flake: Quartz		
20	EU 4	1	6			Flake: Quartzite		
20	EU 4	1	1			Flake: Chalcedony		
21	EU 5	1, West Half	1	44	Y	Fire-Cracked Rock: Quartzite		
21	EU 5	1, West Half	1	2	Y	Brick, Fragment: Unidentified, Unglazed		
21	EU 5	1, West Half	3	9	Y	Nail: Unidentified		
21	EU 5	1, West Half	2			Faunal: Unidentified Shell	Unusual	
21	EU 5	1, West Half	1			Unidentified Prehistoric Ware: Body		
21	EU 5	1, West Half	1			Cordmarked Prehistoric Ware: Body		
21	EU 5	1, West Half	2		Y	Window Glass: All Thicknesses	Interior/Exterior	
21	EU 5	1, West Half	1			Stoneware, Unspecified: Sherd		

EU Artifact Inventory
 Red Bank Battlefield
 Red Bank, New Jersey
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LOT	STU/EU	LEVEL	CT	WT (g)	DISC	ARTIFACT DESCRIPTION	COMMENTS	DATE RANGE
21	EU 5	1, West Half	1			Unidentified Bottle Fragment: Olive Green		
21	EU 5	1, West Half	12			Whiteware: Unspecified		1810-2000
21	EU 5	1, West Half	2			Redware: Unspecified		
21	EU 5	1, West Half	1			Miscellaneous Glass Object: Unidentified		
22	EU 5	1, East Half	3	19	Y	Faunal: Unidentified Shell		
22	EU 5	1, East Half	1	6	Y	Brick, Fragment: Unidentified, Unglazed		
22	EU 5	1, East Half	1			Lamp Part, Stone: Carbon Rod for Arc Lamp		1876-1950
22	EU 5	1, East Half	2			Redware: Unspecified		
22	EU 5	1, East Half	7			Whiteware: Unspecified		1810-2000
22	EU 5	1, East Half	1			Unidentified Bottle Fragment: Clear		
22	EU 5	1, East Half	1			Unidentified Bottle Fragment: Aqua		
22	EU 5	1, East Half	1			Unidentified Bottle Fragment: Olive Green		
22	EU 5	1, East Half	1		Y	Window Glass: All Thicknesses		
22	EU 5	1, East Half	1			Button, Metal: Brass		
23	EU 5	Feature Fill, West Half	1			Flake: Chert		
23	EU 5	Feature Fill, West Half	1			Unidentified Prehistoric Ware: Body		
24	EU 5	Feature Fill, East Half	2			Flake: Chert		
24	EU 5	Feature Fill, East Half	1			Unidentified Prehistoric Ware: Body		
25	EU 5	1, West Plus 50	1	3	Y	Unidentified Hardware, Metal: Iron		
25	EU 5	1, West Plus 50	1			Flake: Chert		
25	EU 5	1, West Plus 50	2			Unidentified Prehistoric Ware: Body		
25	EU 5	1, West Plus 50	5		Y	Window Glass: All Thicknesses		
25	EU 5	1, West Plus 50	1	1	Y	Faunal: Unidentified Shell		
25	EU 5	1, West Plus 50	1			Unidentified Bottle Fragment: Aqua		
25	EU 5	1, West Plus 50	1			Unidentified Bottle Fragment: Clear		
25	EU 5	1, West Plus 50	1			Blown-In-Mold Bottle Fragment: Milk Glass		
25	EU 5	1, West Plus 50	9			Whiteware: Unspecified		1810-2000
25	EU 5	1, West Plus 50	1			Yellowware: Unspecified		
26	EU 5	1, East Plus 50	1	19	Y	Faunal: Unidentified Shell		
26	EU 5	1, East Plus 50	2	8	Y	Nail: Unidentified		
26	EU 5	1, East Plus 50	1			Gardening, Ceramic: Terra-Cotta Flower Pot		
26	EU 5	1, East Plus 50	2			Redware: Unspecified		
26	EU 5	1, East Plus 50	5			Whiteware: Unspecified		1810-2000
26	EU 5	1, East Plus 50	3			Window Glass: All Thicknesses		
26	EU 5	1, East Plus 50	1			Unidentified Bottle Fragment: Green		
26	EU 5	1, East Plus 50	1			Unidentified Bottle Fragment: Amber		
26	EU 5	1, East Plus 50	1			Hardware, Metal: Brass Tack		

EU Artifact Inventory
 Red Bank Battlefield
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LOT	STU/EU	LEVEL	CT	WT (g)	DISC	ARTIFACT DESCRIPTION	COMMENTS	DATE RANGE
27	EU 5	Subsoil Cleanup	1			Flake: Chert		
27	EU 5	Subsoil Cleanup	1			Flake: Chalcedony		
27	EU 5	Subsoil Cleanup	2			Flake: Rhynolite		
28	Trench 1	1, East Half	1			Machine-Made Bottle: Coke-Bottle Green		1903-2000
28	Trench 1	1, East Half	1			Porcelain: Unspecified		
28	Trench 1	1, East Half	2			Whiteware: Unspecified		1810-2000
29	Trench 1	2, East Half	10			Faunal: Bone		
29	Trench 1	2, East Half	1	14	Y	Unidentified Hardware, Metal: Iron		
29	Trench 1	2, East Half	1	8	Y	Nail: Unidentified		
29	Trench 1	2, East Half	1			Whiteware: Unspecified		1810-2000
29	Trench 1	2, East Half	1			Stoneware, Unspecified: Sherd		
29	Trench 1	2, East Half	1			Yellowware: Unspecified		
29	Trench 1	2, East Half	2			Unidentified Bottle Fragment: Clear		
29	Trench 1	2, East Half	1			Unidentified Bottle Fragment: Amber		
30	Trench 1	3, East Half	4	387	Y	Brick, Fragment: Unidentified, Unglazed		
30	Trench 1	3, East Half	5	43	Y	Nail: Unidentified		
30	Trench 1	3, East Half	2	2	Y	Unidentified Hardware, Metal: Iron		
30	Trench 1	3, East Half	1	9	Y	Faunal: Unidentified Shell		
30	Trench 1	3, East Half	3		Y	Window Glass: All Thicknesses		
30	Trench 1	3, East Half	2			Unidentified Prehistoric Ware: Body		
30	Trench 1	3, East Half	2			Whiteware: Unspecified		1810-2000
30	Trench 1	3, East Half	1			Button, Metal: Brass		
31	Trench 1	4, East Half	2			Flake: Chert		
32	Trench 1	5, East Half, STU	1	18	Y	Fire-Cracked Rock: Quartzite		
32	Trench 1	5, East Half, STU	1			Other: Unspecified		
33	Unknown STU	Unknown	1	463	Y	Unidentified Hardware, Metal: Iron		
34	Near Earthworks	Unknown	1			Military Object, Metal: Other	Spontoon	
Total			1119					

Appendix II. British and Hessian Accounts

The following article is used with permission from the Journal of the Johannes Schwalm Historical Association.

GERMAN AND BRITISH ACCOUNTS OF THE ASSAULT ON FORT MERCER AT REDBANK, NJ IN OCTOBER 1777

Annotated by Lt. Colonel Donald M. Londahl-Smith, USAF-Ret

Introduction

From the standpoint of killed and wounded, the Hessian assault against Fort Mercer on the Delaware River at Red Bank, New Jersey on 22 October 1777 resulted in the worst defeat they suffered during service in America during the Revolutionary War. This article contains translations of diary extracts, letters and reports written by German and British officers who were present at the assault and others to whom they told or wrote what happened. Finally, there is a report by a French officer who visited the fort with the French engineer officer who was present during the assault.

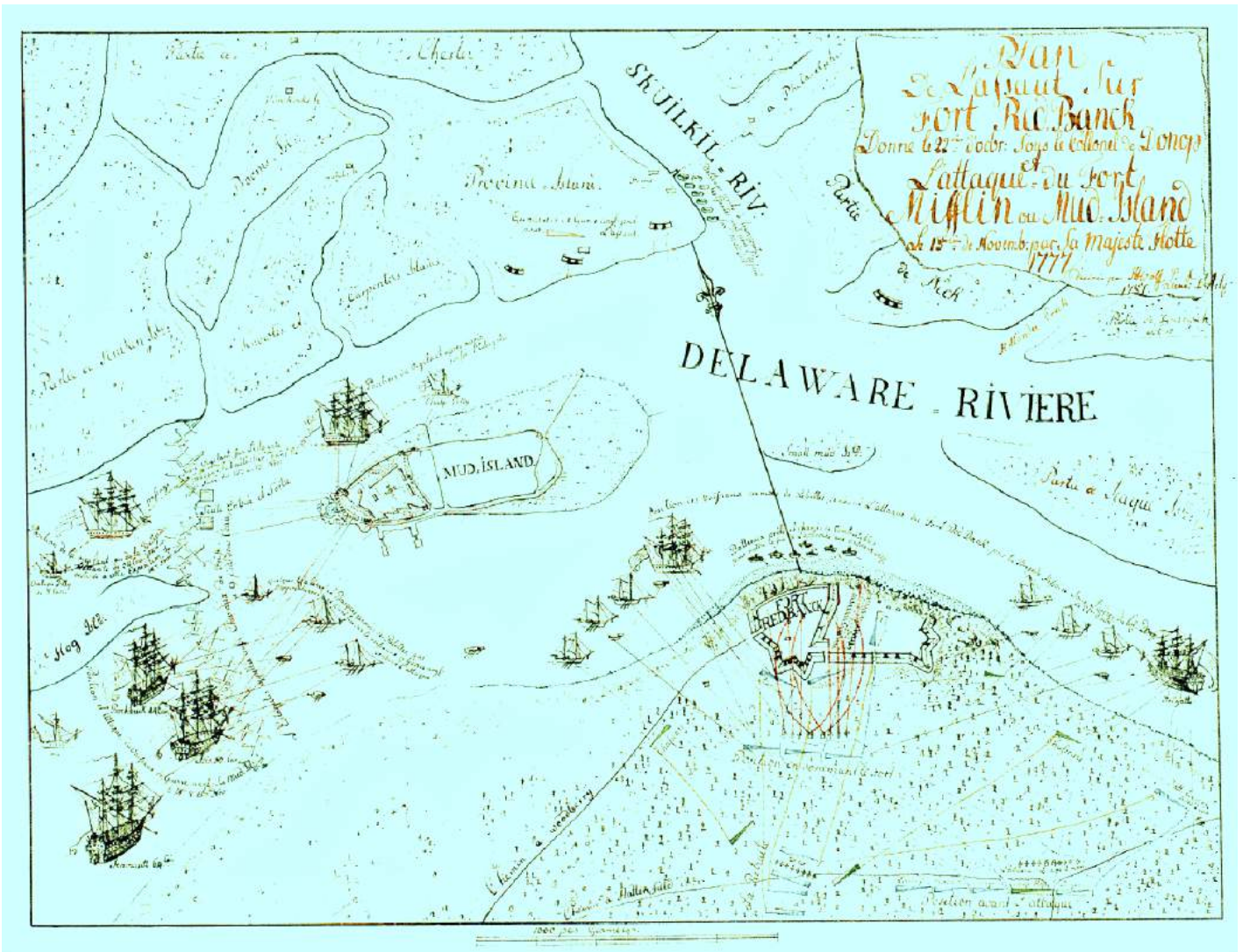
General Sir William Howe to Lord George Germain²

No. 71

Philadelphia 25th October 1777

My Lord,

The Enemy having entrenched about eight hundred Men at Red Bank, upon the Jersey Shore, some little distance above Fort Island, Colonel Donop with three Battalions of Hessian Grenadiers, the Regiment of Mirbach, and the Infantry Chasseurs [Jägers], crossed the Delaware on the 21st. Instantly Coopers Ferry, opposite to this Town, with Directions



Plan of the Assault on Fort Redbank on 22 October under Colonel de Donop and the attack on Fort Mifflin on Mud Island on 15 November by His Majesty's Fleet 1777¹

to proceed to the Attack of that Post. The Detachment marched a Part of the Way on the same Day, and on the 22d. in the Afternoon was before Red Bank: Colonel Donop immediately made the best Disposition, and led on the Troops in the most gallant Manner to the Assault; they carried an extensive Out work, from whence the Enemy were driven into an interior Entrenchment, which could not be forced without Ladders, being eight or nine Feet high, with a Parapet boarded and fraized. The Detachment in moving up, and returning from the Attack, was much galled by the Enemy's Gallies and floating Batteries.

Colonel Donop and Lieutt. Colonel Minnigerode being both wounded, the Command devolved upon Lieutt. Colonel Linsing, who after collecting all the wounded that could be brought off, marched that Night about five Miles towards Coopers Ferry, and on the following morning returned with the Detachment to Camp.

Colonel Donop unfortunately had his Thigh so much fractured by a Musquet Ball, that he could not be removed, but I since understand there are some Hopes of his Recovery. There were several brave Officers lost upon this Occasion, in which the utmost Ardor and Courage were displayed by both Officers and Soldiers.

On the 23d. the *Augusta* in coming up the River, with some other Ships of War, to engage the Enemy's Gallies near the Fort, got aground, and by some Accident taking Fire in the Action, was unavoidably consumed; but I do not hear there were any Lives lost. The *Merlin* Sloop also grounded, and the other Ships being obliged to remove to a Distance from the Explosion of the *Augusta*, it became expedient to evacuate and burn her also.

These Disappointments however will not prevent the most vigorous Measures being pursued for the Reduction of the fort, which will give us the Passage of the River.

I have the Honor to be, Your Lordships most faithful and obedient Servant

W HOWE

General Order, 24 October 1777³

Head Quarters, Philadelphia, 24th. Oct., 1777.

The Commander in Chief returns his thanks to Col. Donop and to all the Officers and Men of the Hessian Detachment under his Command, for their Gallant and Spirited attempt in the attack of the Evening of the 22d. Instant, which, though not attended with the success it merited, reflects great honour and credit upon them.

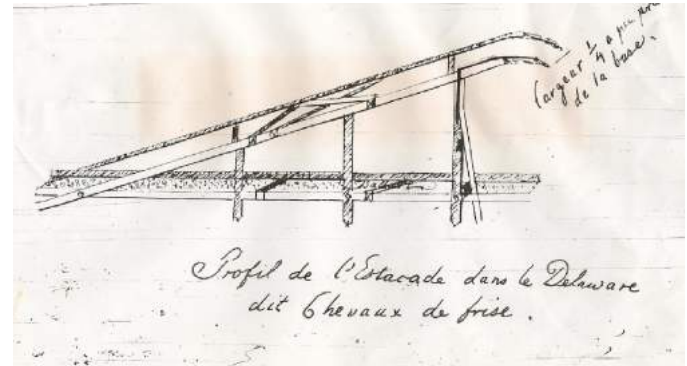
Vice Admiral Richard Viscount Howe to Philip Stephens, Secretary of the Admiralty⁴

Number 43.

Eagle in the Delaware
October the 25th 1777.

Sir

The Detachment of the Army, consisting of Hessian Troops under Colonel Donop appointed to attack the Redoubt [Fort Mercer], crossed the Delaware opposite to Philadelphia the 21st. Instant, in a Division of Flat boats which Captain [Samuel Witte Wronge] Clayton conducted in the Night by Fort-



Profile of a stockade in the Delaware called Chevaux de Frise⁶

Island, along the Western Shore for that purpose. The Attack of the Redoubt being observed to take place the Evening of the 22d.; just upon the Close of Day, Captain Reynolds⁵ immediately slipped and advanced with the Squadron (to which the *Merlin* had been joined) as fast as he was able with the Flood; to second the Attempt of the Troops which were seen to be very warmly engaged. But the Change in the natural Course of the River caused by the Obstructions, appearing to have altered the channel, the *Augusta* and *Merlin* unfortunately grounded some distance below the second Line of Chevaux de Frise. And the fresh north wind which then prevailed greatly checking the Rising of the Tide, they could not be got afloat on the subsequent Flood.

The Diversion was endeavored to be continued by the Frigates at which the Fire from the Enemy's Gallies was chiefly pointed for some time. But as the Night advanced, the Hessian Detachment having been repulsed, the Firing ceased.... I am &c

HOWE

Philip Stephens Esqr. Secretary of the Admiralty

Lieutenant General Wilhelm von Knyphausen to Landgraf Friedrich II⁷

Lieutenant General Wilhelm Reichsfreiherr [Baron] zu Inn-und Knyphausen was the commander of the Hessen-Cassel forces in North America. He was born at Lütetsburg in Ostfriesland on 4 November 1716. Knyphausen entered Hessian service on 21 June 1734 as an ensign in the Grenadier Regiment, in which he served until 1759. He was promoted to lieutenant on 23 July 1741, captain on 25 December 1744 and major on 19 July 1755. On 18 June 1759 he was promoted to lieutenant colonel and transferred to the Regiment von Gilsa. On 24 January 1761 he became colonel and commander of the Regiment von der Malsburg. Promotion to major general followed on 24 September 1764. He was appointed commander of the Regiment von Gilsa, now renamed von Knyphausen, on 10 April 1765. Von Knyphausen was awarded the order pour la vertu militaire on 5 March 1769. On 22 September 1775 he was promoted to lieutenant general and on 20 November of that year received the Order of the Golden Lion, the highest Hessian honor. Commanding the second division of Hessen-Cassel troops Knyphausen arrived at New York on 19 October 1776 and disembarked three days later. On 24 June 1777 he replaced Lt. General Leopold von Heister as commander of the



Lieutenant General Wilhelm Reichsfreiherr zu Inn-und Knyphausen (Courtesy of the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Kassel)

Hessen-Cassel corps in America. He served in that capacity until he left America to return home in May 1782.⁸

To His Serene Highness the Landgraf
Most Gracious Prince and Lord,

October 21: The 3 grenadier battalions, the Jäger Corps and the Mirbach Regiment by order of the Commander-in-Chief crossed to Jersey in order to capture Fort Redbank lying on the Delaware which was serving to protect the *estacadas*.⁹

October 22: Colonel von Donop made the attack which, however, had an unfortunate result in spite of the bravery of the troops. The public order of thanks delivered by the General-in-Chief, which is herewith enclosed, is evidence of this. As will be seen from the accompanying list, the loss was regrettably great, obliging the troops at last to retire.

Colonel von Donop had asked me to permit brigade-adjutant Lieutenant Werner to accompany this expedition, and he had commissioned this officer to take charge of the artillery during the march and the attack. On his return the enclosed account of the action and the plan of attack was handed to me by this officer. As he has been mostly employed by Colonel von Donop in reconnoitering the forts and surrounding country, I do not doubt but that the account is very exact. I humbly beg leave to refer to it hereafter as such.

With unchangeable devotion and deepest submission,
I am Your Serene Highness'
Most humble and Obedient Servant.
KNYPHAUSEN

In Camp before the City of Philadelphia
the 26th October 1777.

Extract

Order from 24th October 1777.

The General-in-Chief desires to express his sincere thanks to Colonel von Donop and all the soldiers under his command for their valorous conduct and bravery at the attempt on the Fort Redbank on the 22nd of this month, and to assure them that in spite of the unfortunate result, it did them honour. (See Table on next page.)

So far as I can judge from my information there is little or no hope of Colonel von Donop's recovery, as he is shot through the lower part of the body and through the thick part of the leg as well, and the bones are shattered.

His Adjutant, Captain Wagner, had the bones of both legs broken above the knee by a shot and his present state of health is hopeless; they will try to amputate his legs. Lieutenant Schotten of the Mirbach Regiment has had his right arm amputated. Captain von Stamford was shot twice, through the right shoulder and through the leg; as the ball has been cut out of his shoulder, I trust he is out of danger.

Lieutenant von Gotschall of the Mirbach Regiment is in danger of losing his leg, or else of dying of his wound. The regimental surgeon [Wilhelm] Bausch is going to attend to Colonel von Donop as well as look into the condition of the other wounded who are there. He will bring back the last news of them and will take along all needed medicines and bandages as well as other necessaries.

The other wounded are on the road to recovery, unless something unforeseen should happen.

Captain von Groening was brought back here, but he succumbed the following day from the six wounds which he had received.

KNYPHAUSEN

In Camp at Philadelphia
October 25th, 1777

Lieutenant General Wilhelm von Knyphausen to Landgraf Friedrich II²²

To His Serene Highness the Landgraf.
Most gracious Sovereign

I hope by the arrival of this letter that your Serene Highness will already have received my humble communication of the 26th October safely.

Colonel v. Donop died of his wounds on the 29th October. After the action I sent over Regimental Surgeons Bausch and [Johann Conrad] Gächter to visit him and the other wounded prisoners and to make the necessary arrangements for their nursing. The former returned after his death and delivered Colonel v. Donop's order [pour la Vertu militaire] to me which the latter had placed in his hands. The rebels removed the unwounded prisoners and those only slightly wounded to Trenton on October 29th. But those severely wounded (25 men) remained at Red Bank under the care of Regimental Surgeon Gächter.

The two captive wounded officers, Captain Wagner of the v. Ditturth Regiment and Lieutenant Heymell of the regiment under my command were set free on parole

List of the Killed and Wounded, Prisoners, and Missing of the Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers, and Privates at the storming of the Fort Redbank the 22. October, 1777.

	Names of the Regiments	Killed				Wounded				Prisoners or Killed			
		Officers	Non-Com. Officers	Drummers	Privates	Officers	Non-Com. Officers	Drummers	Privates	Officers	Non-Com. Officers	Drummers	Privates
1.	The Jäger Corps	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	1			
2.	Grenadier Battalion von Linsing ¹⁰	1	3	–	25	5	12	–	67	1	1	–	21
3.	Grenadier Battalion von Minnigerode	3	2	–	12	3	6	–	80	1	–	–	17
4.	Grenadier Battalion von Lengerke	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
5.	Regiment von Mirbach	4	1	–	30	3	5	–	45	–	1	–	17
6.	Artillery Corps	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–
	TOTAL	8	7	–	67	11	24	–	193	3	2	–	55

Explanation

Jäger Corps Colonel von Donop severely wounded and captured

Grenadier Battalion von Linsing Lieutenant [Ernst Philipp Wilhelm] Heymell ditto¹¹

“ “ von Minnigerode Captain [Johann Emanuel] Wagener ditto

Killed

Gren: Battalion von Linsing	1. Lieutenant [Konrad] Dupuy
“ “ von Minnigerode	2. Captain [Johannes] von Gröning 3. Lieutenant [Georg Wilhelm] Hille Sr. 4. “ [Karl] von Offenbach
5. Lieutenant Colonel [Ernst Rudolph] von Schieck	
Regiment von Mirbach	6. Captain [Wilhelm Erdmann] von Bojatzky 7. Lieutenant [Conrad] Riemann 8. “ [Carl] von Wurmb

Wounded

Battalion von Linsing	1. Captain [Ludwig Friedrich] von Stamford ¹² 2. “ [Ernst] von Eschwege ¹³ 3. Lieutenant [Johann Ludorf] Rodeman ¹⁴ 4. “ [Wilhelm] von Waitz [von Eschen] ¹⁵ 5. “ [Dietrich] von Gottschall
Battalion v. Minnigerode	6. Lieutenant Colonel [Friedrich Ludwig v.] Minnigerode 7. Captain [Henrich Friedrich] Wachs ¹⁶ 8. “ [Hermann Karl Christoph] Hendorff ¹⁷
Regiment von Mirbach	9. Lieutenant [Friedrich Andreas Herm:] Schotten ¹⁸ 10. “ [Carl Friedrich] Ruffer ¹⁹ 11. “ [Hieronymus] Berner ²⁰



Colonel Carl Emilius von Donop in the uniform of the 1st Regiment of Guards wearing the Orden pour la Vertu militaire which he received on 5 March 1769, the date that the order was established. Portrait by Johann Heinrich Tischbein the elder. Private Collection.²¹

by the rebels and brought here. The former died of his wounds on the 22nd, but the latter is better and will probably recover. Lieutenant Schotten of the Mirbach Regiment has had to have the right arms amputated above the elbow, and is now almost entirely out of danger. Lieutenant v. Gotschall of the Grenadier Company of the Mirbach Regiment also died of his wounds on October 26th.

Lt-Colonel v. Minnigerode together with the other wounded officers are all on the way to recovery. . . .

W. v. KNYPHAUSEN

In Camp at Philadelphia
November 30th 1777.

Report of First Lieutenant Friedrich Wilhelm Werner, Feld-Artillerie Corps²³

On 30 January 1776 First Lieutenant Friedrich Wilhelm Werner of the Hessian Feld-Artillerie Corps was appointed Brigade Adjutant to the corps going to America. He was promoted to captain effective 9 February 1778. When Major du Buy resigned the position of Major of Brigade to the Hessian corps in America, Captain Werner was appointed to replace him. On 28 July 1781, General von Knyphausen reported to Landgraf Friedrich II that "Captain Werner, Brigade-Major, died yesterday evening. He has always discharged his duties faithfully and well to my satisfaction and with great willingness and diligence." Knyphausen recommended Werner's wife and three children to the Landgraf's grace.²⁴

October 21. At 4 o'clock in the morning the troops under command of Colonel von Donop, which were ordered out on the expedition against Fort Redbank, marched in the following order, to Coopers Ferry, to be embarked at that place. (See plan.)

1. The Hessian horse and foot Jägers under Lieutenant Colonel Wurmb, as advanced guard with the amusettes.²⁵
2. The Grenadier Battalion von Minnigerode.
3. Grenadier Battalion von Linsing.
4. Regiment von Mirbach.
5. Two English howitzers and four ammunition wagons.
6. Grenadier Battalion von Lengercke.
7. Major von Prueschenck with a part of the mounted and foot Jägers, which formed the rear guard.

The cannon of the Hessian regiments were in front of their respective battalions.

The fourteen boats in which we were to be embarked were busily occupied with their preparations, and at day-break we were ready to start.

According to the division, each boat took forty-five men, and the first party of troops which crossed numbered 630. They included all the Jägers, the advance guard and the Grenadier Battalion von Minnigerode.

Approaching the other side, a few musket shots were fired at us, and the frigates, which were lying there, also fired one or two cannon shots across. (No. 2 and 3, chart A).

It was broad daylight when our boats came to shore and our troops sprang in land in the greatest haste. They fell into formation without delay and (see 4 Chart A) without any opposition from the enemy.

By information received from the inhabitants, there had been some light horse troops there a while before, and it was they who had fired on us and had afterwards retired.

Lieutenant Colonel von Wurmb took up a position in the woods with the Jägers (see No. 5).

The other troops formed up as they came over, one boat load after the other. It was past two o'clock in the afternoon before the last boat had arrived. In the meantime a Jäger patrol had been sent along the route to Haddonfield and Colonel von Donop himself reconnoitered the road to Burlington.

About an English mile and a half along the road we were fired on, and Colonel von Donop ordered the Jägers to go no further, but to go back as we could not hold this route.

Afterwards we set out on the march to Haddonfield. Captain Lorey was left behind with a detachment to await and bring up some ammunition carts and wagons which had not arrived.

On the march, the advance guard met a few of the enemy who, however, always withdrew. No events of any importance whatever took place on this march. A horse of one of the Jägers was shot and killed. At nightfall we came to Haddonfield and took up position No. 6-A on the plan.

October 22. The troops went out on the march and crossed the Newtown Creek (No. 7-A) over which there

was a bridge, which in its condition could not be used. One of its timbers was broken, and another was missing. The river there is about 18 feet wide. At once two trees were felled to make new timbers, the existing planks were laid on, the fences torn up and also used for the floor, so that within a quarter of an hour the bridge was fit to be used by the wagons, all of which passed across it. The march continued to the Little Timber, and the Great Timber Creeks; the Little Timber Creek is of small importance, for here it is not much more than a brook, but over the larger one there is a wooden bridge, (see No. 8, plan A). We crossed this and followed route No. 9. About 3□ miles from the fort, the mounted Jägers captured an enemy captain by the name of Clark²⁶ who, according to his statement, had been sent out of the fort to reconnoiter. Colonel Greene was commandant of the 800 strong garrison. At two o'clock we were two miles off this side of the fort, and took up the position in the woods marked no. 9 on Plan B. After this we reconnoitered, Captain von Wreden took position No. 10, plan B, and Lieutenant Hinrichs that marked No. 11. We placed the two English howitzers and the eight cannon of the Hessian regiments (see No. 12), which were about 600 paces from the sides of the fort. Colonel von Donop then ordered up the battalions which were appointed to attack, and which, during this time, had been engaged in making ready the fascines out of small brush and Indian corn stalks. The Minnigerode (No. 13), the Linsing (No. 14) and the Mirbach (No. 15) as per Plan B, were also ordered up. The von Lengercke remained behind as a reserve. The Jägers were divided along the bridge (No. 16) and kept up exchanging shots with the enemy troops which were posted behind the hedges (No. 17) and the old works (No. 18).

The enemy fired several cannon shots at us from the fort which, however, passed over our heads. Colonel von Donop thereupon hailed the fort, calling on them to surrender, but he received a refusal. It was about four in the afternoon when our howitzers began to play and were quickly answered by those in the fort.

The battalions advanced and in twenty minutes had climbed the abatis, crossed the moat (No. 17 Pl Band profile C) and occupied the old earth work (No. 18). This was carried out under steady and very hot fire from the fort, whole we kept up our bombardment and cannonade.

During this time the enemy had brought up their row-galleys (No. 19) and poured a fearful fire of grape-shot on our flank and rear; in spite of this, the troops climbed the principal moat (No. 20) and a part of the breastwork (No. 21). However, the astonishingly vigorous defense of those in the fort and especially the fire from the galleys were found to make the taking of the fort impossible. Colonel von Donop was already fatally wounded, and it was found necessary to retire. The courage displayed by the troops was so great that both friend and enemy were forced to admire them. However, the loss of brave men, which we have suffered, must be very greatly deplored too.

The official lists will give details of this serious loss to our troops.

At nightfall all the troops reassembled in the woods, on the rising ground, and at once set out on the return march by the same route. At eleven o'clock we reached

the new bridge over Timber Creek, crossed it, pulled down part of it, and at three o'clock in the morning we made a halt. After a rest, we continued our march to Had-donfield and to Coopers Ferry, where we arrived at noon the 23rd and ended this fruitless expedition.

In Camp at Philadelphia
October 25th, 1777.

FR. W. WERNER

**Plan of the expedition to Fort Redbank near
Philadelphia on 21 and 22 October 1777.
Drawn by Lt. F.W. Werner.²⁷**

Journal of the Regiment von Mirbach²⁸

20 October - At three o'clock in the afternoon the regiment received orders to enter Philadelphia tomorrow morning at daybreak.

21 October - The regiment marched, according to orders, crossed the Schuylkill River at two o'clock in the morning, and in Philadelphia joined with three Hessian grenadier battalions - von Linsing, von Lengercke, and von Minnigerode - and the Jäger Corps. At daybreak the mentioned battalions and corps and our regiment, under the command of Colonel von Donop, were transferred across the Delaware River to New Jersey. Here we learned that this command was designated to capture



Colonel Christopher Greene, 1st Rhode Island Regiment
Commander, Fort Mercer

Fort Redbank. As soon as we had all been transferred across, we marched off and arrived during the evening at Haddonfield, a pleasant little city nine miles from Philadelphia, where we lay in bivouac all night.

22 October - We moved out at four o'clock in the morning and took the road leading directly to the mentioned fort, which we shall certainly never forget. We arrived in the vicinity of the fort at ten o'clock, and as soon as Colonel von Donop had made the necessary preparations, at three-thirty in the afternoon he sent the English Major [Charles] Stuart and Captain [Johann Emanuel] Wagner to call upon the fort to surrender. Upon receipt of the refusal, he attacked the fort with the Lengercke Grenadier Battalion on the left, the Minnigerode Grenadier Battalion on the right, and the Mirbach Regiment in the center, and a heavy continuous cannonade. We had barely reached the outer defenses when thirteen row galleys in the Delaware River opened fire. The fire from the fort and the deep moat forced us to withdraw. As soon as we had assembled and withdrawn our cannons, while the Lengercke Grenadier Battalion provided cover, the same night we marched back across Timber Creek, without being harassed by the enemy. Toward twelve o'clock midnight, we halted in order to bandage the severely wounded, most of whom had to remain lying in the road, due to a scarcity of wagons on which to carry them. During this unsuccessful attack, the regiment suffered 36 dead, 56 wounded, and 15 taken prisoner of the non-commissioned officers and privates, and four officers were killed and three wounded. Among the dead officers were Lieutenant Colonel von Schieck, Captain von Bogatzky, and Lieutenants Riemann and von Wurmb. Among the wounded were Lieutenants Schotten and Rueffer and also Ensign Berner.

23 October - We moved out again at two o'clock in the morning. While marching we met a detachment of English light infantry and several regiments,²⁹ who were heavily engaged with the enemy, repassed Haddonfield, and were transferred across the Delaware to Philadelphia, after the wounded had first been transferred and placed in a safe position. We entered a barracks in Philadelphia. On the same day Colonel [Heinrich] von Borck, who had been named interim commander of the regiment by His Excellency, Lieutenant General von Knyphausen, because of Lieutenant Colonel von Schieck's death and Major [Emanuel Anselm] von Wilmowsky's illness, came from the von Knyphausen Regiment. The same day, at two o'clock in the afternoon, the warship *Augusta*, of 64 guns, which was attacking Mud Island, caught fire and blew up. The sloop *Mercury* [*sic* - *Merlin*], of 18 guns, was driven aground on the Jersey shore and then set on fire by the English themselves, and destroyed. From today until 31 October we remained lying in the barracks. On 24 October the regiment received a thank you order from the commander-in-chief for the 22 October attack which had been to our disadvantage, signed W. C. H.

Journal of Second Lieutenant Carl Wilhelm von Bultzingsloewen³⁰

Carl Wilhelm von Bultzingslöwen, came from an ancient family of imperial knights whose estates were at Haynrode in the Eichsfeld region of Thüringen. Carl Wilhelm was born on

*the knightly estate in 1755. He was commissioned an ensign in the Regiment von Mirbach with date of rank of 4 February 1776. He saw action at Red Bank and Gloucester and was promoted to 2nd lieutenant on 27 July 1778 effective 26 December 1777. With this promotion he was transferred to Col. Romrod's Company. In 1780 the von Mirbach Regiment was renamed the Jung-von Lossberg Regiment. Bultzingslöwen was still a second lieutenant when the war ended. He returned with his regiment to England in late 1783 aboard the transport *Ann*. After wintering in England, he returned to Germany aboard the transport *Betsy* in the Spring of 1784. He remained in the army and was a 1st lieutenant in the Erbprinz Regiment in 1790. Leaving the army as a captain, he settled in Lübeck as a drafting instructor where his son Ferdinand was born in 1808. He died in Lübeck in 1822.*³¹

[October] 20th - The Mirbach Regiment received orders to march and at midnight we broke camp and went to Philadelphia, where we joined our three grenadier battalions.

21st - We marched under the command of Colonel v. Donop to Haddonfield where we arrived in the evening.

22nd - We broke camp at 4 AM, left the road and marched on unknown sneaky lanes to Fort Redbank which lies on the Delaware and was to be attacked. At 3 PM the fort was called to surrender, but the commander Colonel Greene stated they would defend as long as possible. At 4 PM the attack was made by assault. A captain, two officers and a hundred men had to make fascines, I was commanded to this detail. We attacked with great courage and the bravery of every soldier and the coolness of the officers was extraordinary. The enemy was driven out of the old fort, but the main fort was unclimbable without scaling ladders. The abattises were gruesome; some brave fellows made it and were shot down on the palisades.

To our great misfortune the [enemy] row galleys and ships off shore could fire on both our flanks with grape-shot. Although our eight cannons did what they could, the two howitzers were placed too close to the fort - both were like nothing. There was nothing to do but die or retire. We could not become master of the fort since we did not have any heavy artillery to breach the walls. We also lacked scaling ladders to climb the walls. Our bravery was for nothing. In the entire American war no attack was more furious than this one. The assault lasted 75 minutes and that was all that was possible.

NB - The Lengercke Battalion was not in the affair, they occupied a pass so that we could not be cut off. The losses of all the battalions come to 371 privates and 25 officers killed and wounded. Colonel v. Donop was severely wounded and has died. The Mirbach Regiment lost five officers including Col. von Schieck and four were wounded. That evening we again marched to Haddonfield and remained there until 4 AM, when we marched to the Delaware where we stood for several hours to rest. Colonel von Borck took over command of the Mirbach Regiment. At midnight the flatboats were sent over to take us back to Philadelphia. We moved into the Barracks with the grenadiers. The officers were assigned houses in the city and Gen. Howe thanked us in orders for the bravery at Redbank, but complained that we couldn't be successful.

Diary of Second Lieutenant Carl Friedrich Rueffer ³²

*Ensign Carl Friedrich Rueffer came to America in August 1776 with his regiment. On 9 March 1777 he received his promotion to 2nd lieutenant with date of rank of 23 November 1776. He recovered from wounds received at Redbank and served in America until the end of 1783 when he accompanied his regiment back to England. After spending the winter there, he returned to Hessen in the Spring of 1784.*³³

21 October – Late yesterday we received orders to march and at two o'clock this morning our regiment marched over the Schuylkill and at Philadelphia joined with the Linsing, Lengercke, and Minnigerode Grenadier Battalions, and two companies of Jaegers, and under the command of Colonel von Donop, were transferred across the Delaware in flatboats to New Jersey at daybreak. Here we learned for the first time that our destination was to capture Fort Redbank. As soon as everyone had crossed, we marched and arrived late this evening at Haddonfield, a very pleasant little city of 150 houses, where we camped. Our advance and rear guards were engaged several times with some running troops of the enemy, which resulted in two jaegers being wounded.

22 October – This morning at four o'clock we broke camp and marched on Fort Redbank, which for most of the corps under the command of Colonel Donop, will certainly remain in our thoughts forever. Toward eleven o'clock we arrived in the neighborhood of the fort. One hundred fascines were made at once by each regiment. After Colonel von Donop appraised the situation at three-thirty in the afternoon, he permitted the fort, through Major Stuart and his adjutant, Captain Wagner, the opportunity of surrender. While this transpired, a detachment of one captain, two officers [subalterns], and 100 men were commanded to take a position in front of the regiment and to carry the fascines, and the Battalion von Minnigerode on the right, Linsing on the left, and our regiment in the middle, were set in a line ready to storm the fort. The Grenadier Battalion Lengercke and the Jaegers covered our rear. Therefore, when Major Stuart brought back a spiteful refusal from the commandant Colonel Greene, the attack was undertaken at once. We took the outer defenses with little effort. This had hardly occurred when, because of the extensive losses and the indescribable cannonade and small arms fire from the fort and from the enemy ships lying on the water side, which fired on our right wing, and the almost impassable abates before the main fort, plus the fascines being of little value at the eighteen-foot high parapet, necessitated a withdrawal without accomplishing our purpose. Our losses on dead and wounded totaled 397 men, and seven dead and fifteen wounded officers, among the last I am included, having a wound on my left heel and a bruise on my right thigh also, Captain Wagner and Lieutenant [Philipp Wilhelm] Heymel were captured. Of these losses, 112 men were from our regiment. As soon as we had again assembled, we marched in the already settling dusk, about eight miles, where we halted at midnight in order to bandage the seriously wounded. Many of these remained lying on the road because we had no wagons to transport them, and so they fell into enemy hands.

23 October – At two o'clock this morning we resumed our march again past Haddonfield, and about two o'clock

in the afternoon arrived at the water. Here we met a corps of English Light Infantry which was to serve us as scouts. Since, however, the commander of these troops had learned the bad news, that we had failed from Lieutenant Pertot [Leopold Friedrich Bertaud?] of the Wutginau Regiment, who had been sent ahead to carry the report to the commanding general, therefore they stopped us. The wounded, however, were immediately transferred across to Philadelphia and quartered there. At three o'clock the 64-gun ship *Augusta*, which was engaged with the battery on Mud Island, blew up. In the house where the wounded were bandaged at twelve o'clock on this night, many had been left lying. Lieutenant Pertot, with some jaegers, risked returning to them, pressed some wagons, and fortunately brought them back to us.

24 October – Yesterday evening all the regiments from New Jersey returned here and the Battalions Linsing, Lengercke, and Minnigerode and our regiment moved into the barracks. Colonel von Bock [Heinrich von Borck], (of the Knyphausen Regiment) has been temporarily named commander of our regiment because commander, Lieutenant Colonel von Schieck was killed. Today Lieutenant von Heister was sent to Fort Redbank with a flag of truce in order to ask about Colonel von Donop, also to ask for his parole, which was refused out of hand, but granted the request that [Chaplain Georg Friedrich] Heller request the same of General Washington. Today we received a commendation because of the unfortunate failure of the attack that witnessed the good courage. . . .

25 October – The wounded Lieutenant Schotten had his right arm amputated today.

26 October – Because Lieutenant von Heister brought the news back from Red Bank that Colonel von Donop was in danger of dying, also that the rebels had no surgeons for bandaging the wounded, Regimental Surgeons [Wilhelm] Pausch and Gechter were sent to Redbank. . . .

30 October – Captain Wagner, Lieutenant Heymel, and Regimental Surgeon Pausch arrived from Redbank and brought the news that Colonel Donop died yesterday and was buried with military honors. Two hundred men marched out for his burial, of whom half fired three times. Also, there cannons were fired. The first tow had to swear not to take up arms again until such time as they were exchanged. They gave high praise for the care and treatment provided by the enemy, not alone to Colonel Donop, but to all the prisoners and wounded.

Major Charles Stuart to the Earl of Bute³⁵

Philadelphia, Oct. 27, 1777.

I am this instant come from a very bloody expedition (at Red Bank, (my dearest father), and hear the packet is to sail tonight.

The General has granted your request, and in a week I shall think myself happy with the rank of Lt. Colonel. . . .

P.S. – I am this instant named in orders Lt. Col. of the Cameronians³⁶.

Journal of the Grenadier Battalion von Minnigerode³⁷

The grenadier battalion von Minnigerode consisted of the grenadier companies of the Regiments Erbprinz, von Dittfurth,



Lieutenant Colonel The Honorable Sir Charles Stuart, 26th Regiment of Foot,³⁴ by George Romney, circa 1779-1780. Glasgow Museum and Art Galleries

von Knyphausen and von Lossberg. It was commanded by Lt. Colonel Friedrich Wilhelm von Minnigerode of the Regiment von Knyphausen. Following von Minnigerode's death on 16 October 1779 at age 49 in New York, command of the battalion was given to Lt. Colonel von Loewenstein of the Regiment Prinz Carl.³⁸

On the **21st October** the three grenadier battalions Linsing, Lengercke and Minnigerode, as well as the Mirbach Regiment, under command of Colonel von Donop, were ordered to make an expedition against Fort Redbank, which was still occupied by the rebels, and to storm and capture it, with express orders from General Howe not to attack the fort before the 23rd, because on the east side of this fort there was a river in which the rebels had some armed vessels lying, which could sweep the and side of the fort with their guns. General Howe wished to send some frigates up at the same time, which were to keep the rebels' ships fully employed and to prevent them from hindering the troops in their attack on the fort. With this end in view, the said their battalions and the Mirbach regiment crossed the Delaware at Cooper's Ferry and, putting their best leg forward, marched in the direction of the fort without the rebels becoming aware of it in the least. Despite the fact that Colonel v. Donop ought to have passed the night of the **22nd October** a certain distance off in order not to be discovered by the rebels, and although he ought to have waited for the arrival of the ships next day in order that he might not be exposed to a cannonade from the latter's ships, he

did not consider the matter to be of supreme importance, particularly with regard to the arrival of his own frigates, and marched up to the fort the same day without being discovered by the rebels. If he had attacked and stormed it at once, he could have effected an entry forthwith and put the garrison to death at the point of a bayonet, seeing that he had approached the fort through a wood and reached to within gunshot distance of it; the door of the fort stood open and the sentinels at the gate and in the fort were pacing quietly up and down with their guns on their shoulders, probably unloaded. Instead of letting the grenadiers storm by surprise and seize the garrison unawares, Colonel v. Donop sent his adjutant, Lieutenant Wagner of the Ditfurth Regiment, with a drummer up to the fort and summoned it to surrender, but instead of the rebels surrendering it, they replied that the fort would be defended down to the last man. Thereupon Colonel von Donop gave orders that every grenadier must prepare a bundle of fascines and after two hours had elapsed, he again summoned the fort to surrender, but he received the same answer as before. In the meanwhile the garrison had hoisted a flag on the fortress and all the armed ships immediately weighed anchor, prepared for attack and took up their position in the most perfect order at the point where they could best defend the fort. Colonel Donop posted the Lengercke Battalion on the right flank in the wood in order to prevent anyone from landing from the ships; this battalion had the great good fortune to reach a position right in the middle of the hill and kept itself quite concealed, so that it could not be perceived by the ships; consequently all the cannon balls passed over the battalion more upwards in the direction of the fort. When Colonel Donop considered that he had taken all due precautions, the two battalions Linsing and Lengercke with the Mirbach Regiment had to attack the fort. Although our guns did their duty right well, as field-pieces they had little effect up on a well-built fort. Scarcely had the attack commenced than the rebels' ships started a hellish fire and swept the whole place where the attack was being made. They fired with the so called cross-bar shot up through the trees so that the falling branches and pieces of timber did us the greatest injury. Owing to the long delays and the repeated demands for surrender, the rebels had placed themselves in the best conditions for defense. However bravely and well the grenadiers and the regiment stood their ground, hewed down the barriers before the fort, forced their way through, tore up the first line of palisades and scaled the first outer wall, no man could remain under the fire from the fort and particularly from the ships; they sustained a very heavy loss in killed and wounded and were forced to retreat. Colonel Donop was wounded and died a few days later among the rebels as he absolutely refused to allow himself to be brought to Philadelphia. Lieutenant Colonel Schieck of the Mirbach Regiment was killed and Lieutenant Colonel v. Minnigerode wounded; it was rather remarkable that in this attack each battalion and the regiment had three officers killed and five wounded – nine killed and fifteen wounded in all. Lieutenant Wagner of the Ditfurth Regiment died later of his wounds; of the Minnigerode Battalion 139 non-commissioned officers and men were either killed or wounded or taken prisoners. During the night of the **23rd October** the corps

retreated, crossed the Delaware again at Cooper's Ferry and marched back into camp at Philadelphia.

Journal of the Grenadier Battalion von Lengerke³⁹

*The grenadier battalion von Lengerke consisted of the grenadier companies of the Regiments von Donop, Prinz Carl, Trümbach and Landgraf. It was commanded by Lt. Colonel Georg Emanuel von Lengerke of the Regiment Prinz Carl.*⁴⁰

On the **21st October** Colonel v. Donop marched through Philadelphia with the three Hessian grenadier battalions, the v. Mirbach Regiment, and the Jäger Corps, crossed the Delaware, and marched to Haddonfield in New Jersey.

On the **22nd October** we marched to the strongly fortified fort at Redbank on the Delaware below Philadelphia. The battalion was ordered to cover the right flank. Linsing, Minnigerode and Mirbach stormed the fort; the assault was unsuccessful and they were driven back by the enemy with a loss of 23 officers and 349 non-commissioned officers and men killed wounded and prisoners. Colonel v. Linsing led the corps back and they arrived in Philadelphia on the **23rd October**.

Engineer Captain Reinhard Jacob Martin's Diary⁴¹

*On 30 January 1776, Lieutenant Reinhard Jacob Martin of the Hessen-Cassel Corps of Engineers was appointed deputy quarter master of the Hessian corps going to America. Shortly thereafter, he was promoted to captain. Martin died at New York on 27 May 1780.*⁴²

21st. Colonel von Donop received orders to cross to Jersey with the Hessian Jägers, the 3 battalions of grenadiers and the Mirbach Regiment together with 2 howitzers and 4 ammunition carts, and there attack Fort Redbank. Thereupon he assembled his corps in front of the Linsing Battalion of Grenadiers at 4 o'clock in the morning, and marched in the following order to the banks of Coopers Ferry, where the 14 flat boats which had been ordered to take them across the Delaware were already in readiness, namely Captain Ewald with 60 Jägers for the van-guard, Lieutenant Colonel Wurmb with part of the mounted Jägers and those on foot together with their two amusettes, the Grenadier Battalion von Minnigerode Battalion of Grenadiers, the Mirbach Regiment, the Grenadier Battalion von Linsing, the 2 English howitzers with the ammunition carts, the Grenadier Battalion von Lengercke and Major Prüschenck with the remainder of the Jägers as the rear guard. The first transport consisting of about 630 men crossed to the opposite bank at daybreak, landed at 6 o'clock and were gradually followed by the rest, so that all were safely put ashore by 2 o'clock in the afternoon. The van guard came across a party of rebels consisting of 50 men after they had landed, who fired some shots and then withdrew towards Coopers Bridge on the way to Burlington. Our men pursued them as far as the end of the wood, where several hundred men stood under arms both on this side and that side of it; Lieutenant Colonel von Wurmb posted the Jägers at the summit of the wood in order to support the van guard; Colonel von Donop sent strong patrols along the road to Burlington, and reconnoitered the road leading to that town himself. At

4 o'clock in the afternoon the van guard turned towards Haddonfield with the corps, left Captain Lorey behind at the landing place in order to escort some ammunition carts that had not yet arrived, and encamped at Haddonfield *en quarre*⁴³ when night came on.

22nd. The corps, which Captain Lorey had joined during the night, continued its march at 4 o'clock in the morning in the same order as the day before, crossed Newtown Creek after repairing the bridge across it which was useless, then crossed the Little and Great Timber Creek, and arrived within gunshot of Fort Redbank towards 1 o'clock. Colonel von Donop posted the Minnigerode Battalion on his right, the Mirbach Regiment in the center and the Linsing Battalion on his left at the same distance from the fort; the 8 Hessian guns with the 2 howitzers were posted in front of the Minnigerode, the Grenadier Battalion Lengercke to the right of the Minnigerode and facing the Delaware in order to cover the right flank and prevent the hostile vessels that had approached from landing any of their troops, and the Jägers in separate detachments in the wood that was there and between the above two battalions, behind the Mirbach and as far as the von Linsing that was on the left. Each battalion had to bind 100 fascines, and Major Stuart (an Englishman who was taking part on the expedition as a volunteer) together with Captain Wagner had to challenge Colonel Greene who was in command of the fort. They brought back a refusal; thereupon the 8 guns with the howitzers were advanced about 600 paces from the polygon of the fort. Captain Eschwege was stationed near them in order to cover them with his company of grenadiers belonging to the Lengercke Battalion, and Captains [David] Reichold and [Barthold Helfr] . Schimmelpfennig as well as [Johann August von] Westerhagen, each with 100 men, were ordered to form the van guard and see that the trenches where each battalion was to make its attack were filled up by means of the fascines. The 2 grenadier battalions Minnigerode and Linsing, together with the Mirbach, approached the barricade, and the Lengercke retained its position. The enemy fired from the fort but without any result, and our artillery also began to play. The above 3 battalions commenced the attack according to the aforesaid arrangement; in a few minutes they had scaled the barricade and crossed the ditches in the old fortifications under cover of our artillery and, exposed to a heavy cannonading from the fort, had occupied the same and approached the main ditch of the new fortifications. Meanwhile the row galleys had advanced still nearer, and were pouring a most terrific fire of grapeshot into our troops on the left and flank; notwithstanding this they took possession of the greater part of the main ditch, and a number of our men had already climbed up as far as the parapet; however, as the uninterrupted fire of grapeshot from the row galleys tore down whole rows of our men and Colonel von Donop was mortally wounded, Lieutenant Colonel von Minnigerode severely and Lieutenant Colonel von Schieck killed, the above-named battalions could not maintain the advantages they had gained, but had to retire to the wood behind them in order to gather their forces. Our loss in this attack consisted of, dead 8 officers, namely, Lieutenant Colonel von Schick, Captain von Bojatsky,

Lieutenants von Riemann and Wurmb of the Mirbach, Lieutenant du Buy of the Linsing, Captain von Gröning, Lieutenants Hille and Offenbach of the Minnigerode, 7 non-commissioned officers and 67 privates; wounded 11 officers, namely, Captains von Stamford, von Eschwege, Rodemann, Waitz and Gotteschalck of the von Linsing severely, Lieutenant Colonel von Minnigerode and Captain Wachs severely, Captain Hendorff of the von Minnigerode slightly, Lieutenant Schotten severely (lost his right arm), Ensign Berner severely, Lieutenant Ruffer of the Mirbach slightly, and 24 non-commissioned officers and 194 privates. Prisoners, wounded 3 officers, namely, Colonel von Donop (no hope), Captain Wagner, the colonel's adjutant, very severely, Lieutenant Heymel severely, 2 non-commissioned officers and 55 privates, all very severely. Total 371 men.

Lieutenant Colonel von Linsing took over the command of the corps, formed the same on the summit of the wood and withdrew to the other side of the Great Timber Creek in the dead of night, to which place Lieutenant Colonel von Wurmb had hastened with the Mirbach Regiment in order to occupy the bridge across it, and the whole corps arrived there at 2 o'clock in the afternoon.

23rd. The Donop corps continued its retreat by way of Haddonfield at 4 o'clock this morning, and arrived on this side of Newtown towards 10 o'clock. General Howe had sent Lieutenant Colonel Abercromby⁴⁴ there with 2 battalions of light infantry in order to cover their retreat and leave their rear free. The ordnance and the wounded were at once taken across to Philadelphia, and the others followed at midnight.

October 25, 1777.

MARTIN, Engineer Captain

Continuation of the Journal of the Campaign of 1777 for the month of October 1777.

24th. Of the battalions belonging to the Donop corps that came from Jersey last night the Linsing, Minnigerode and Mirbach were quartered in the town, the Grenadier Battalion Lengercke encamped close to the English Guards, the Jägers occupied their old encampment, and the battalion of the 71st that had been stationed there joined the other battalions under Colonel von Loos. . . . Lieutenant von Heister was sent to Colonel von Donop this morning and brought the news this evening that most of our prisoners were severely wounded.

27th. Today General von Knyphausen sent Regimental Surgeon Pausch to Fort Redbank in order to bind Colonel von Donop's wounds, and Regimental Surgeon Gechter with the medicine required by the other wounded with the order that the former should return as soon as possible, and that the other should remain with the wounded until further notice.

31st. Regimental surgeon Pausch, who had been sent to Colonel von Donop, returned with the news that the colonel had died of his wound two days before.

[November] 2nd. After the death of Colonel von Donop General Washington permitted the two imprisoned officers, Captain Wagner and Lieutenant Heymel, to go to Philadelphia yesterday on account of their severe wounds and after pledging their word of honor.

Journal of the Hessen-Cassel Feldjäger Corps⁴⁵

Oct. 21 – Colonel [Carl Emil Kurt] von Donop with the Jaeger Corps, the Grenadier Brigade, and the Mirbach Regiment crossed the Delaware today near Philadelphia, and landed at Coopers Ferry in order to capture Fort Red Bank. He marched to Haddonfield and established posts there toward evening.

Oct 22 – About four o'clock this morning, these troops broke camp and marched over Strawberry bank against Fort Red Bank, and about midday they arrived within a quarter of a mile of the fort. The enemy had received reports of the approach of the troops and had set to work to improve his defenses. The fort was at once called upon to surrender, and as the officer commanding therein, Colonel [Christopher] Greene, would not give up, preparations were begun to storm the fort. The attack began at four o'clock in the afternoon and continued until dusk, but to no avail, because the walls were too high and there were no ladders available. The Jaeger Corps covered both flanks to the water to prevent a landing from the ships, which nevertheless did the force considerable damage with their cannon. Colonel von Donop was fatally wounded at the edge of the moat and therefore did not desire being brought back. He fell into enemy hands.

The troops, after having advanced as far as the moat under heavy fire, found the defenses impossible to surmount and retreated. The Jaeger Corps formed the rear guard for some distance, then half formed the advance guard in order to capture the bridge over Timber Creek in case it should be occupied by the enemy. The enemy remained quietly in the fort and our entire force encamped on the far side of Timber Creek, returning

Oct. 23 – over Haddonfield and recrossed the Delaware the same day and again returned to camp with the army. Several warships were to have supported the attack on the fort, but because of contrary winds, could not approach near enough. The following day, namely the 23rd, the 64-gun ship *Augusta* and two frigates ran onto the chevaux de frise and stuck fast.

Lieutenant Colonel Ludwig Johann Adolph von Wurmb to Major General Friedrich Christian Arnold Jungkenn, gent. Müntzer vom Mohrenstamm⁴⁶

Lieutenant Colonel Ludwig Johann Adolph von Wurmb was the field commander of the combined Hessen-Cassel/Ansbach-Bayreuth Feldjäger Corps. Prior to expansion of the Hessian Feldjägers from two companies to a corps of five foot and one mounted company with a total authorized strength of 1067 officers and men, von Wurmb was serving as a major in the Leib Infantry Regiment with date of rank of 21 May 1766. Concurrent with his promotion to lieutenant colonel (date of rank 25 January 1776), he was transferred to the Feldjäger Corps as its field commander. Von Wurmb left the Leib Regiment on 21 June 1777 and assumed command of the newly formed Feldjäger Corps, which also included one Ansbach Bayreuth Jäger company, two days later.⁴⁸

25 October 1777.

Up to now I have been giving your Lordship all good news, but now I must report something sorrowful



Lieutenant Colonel Ludwig Johann Adolph von Wurmb
Hessen-Cassel Feldjäger Corps Von Wintzingerode
Collection⁴⁷

and painful for us Hessians. As the ship channel in the Delaware to Philadelphia is flanked on the other side of Mud Island with chevaux-de-frise, there is a strong

fort on Mud Island, and there is a bastion in Jersey called Redbank. As this fort controls the river and protects the enemy ships there, Colonel von Donop received orders to capture it with his brigade, plus the Mirbach Regiment and the Jägers. On the 20th at 10 PM I received orders to be ready at 4:30 AM on the 21st to embark in Philadelphia. When I arrived the colonel told me he had orders to go to Jersey and take Redbank. I asked him what instructions he had, he said none; he was told to improvise. He was offered two 12-pounder cannons, but he refused because of an embargo [ship size?]. He then requested two howitzers which were taken along. If the operation were to fail, he also had no instructions. The Jäger Corps and the Minnigerode Battalion were the first to cross in 11 boats, and it took till 2:30 PM before everybody was across the river and after 3 PM the Corps marched out. We met 100 Rebels who retired into the woods and disquieted our march on all sides. Since we had word that the Rebels had wrecked the Timber Creek Bridge at Gloucester, we marched toward Haddonfield to cross the New Bridge, or, if it were wrecked, to go upstream until the creek could be crossed. The bridge still stood. A Negro guide,⁴⁹ whom Gen. Howe sent along, showed us a hidden route. At 4 AM on the 22nd we broke camp. The area we passed through was all woods with only an occa-

sional house and quite level except for the last three miles from Redbank where the ground began to rise. At 10 AM we arrived 1□ miles from Redbank where the Corps began their approach march. The Jägers were posted for the troops. Captain Wreden's Company escorted the colonel on a reconnaissance of the fort to see what he could see. From what I could see, it was of an irregular shape, the walls were eight feet high and very steep for climbing. An officer sent out to observe us was captured. He said the fort was completed two days ago; since it was too large, a second fort

was built inside. Around 3 PM Colonel von Donop made the decision to attack. Minnigerode was to attack on the right, and Mirbach and Linsing on the left, Lengercke was kept in reserve. The Jägers had to cover the flanks to keep the ships away. I had the two companies on the right flank where three row galleys and one frigate lay. At 4:30 PM the attack began; our eight cannon and two howitzers fired on the fort till the colonel gave the signal for the assault, which our troops did heartily. The troops were fired on in the flank and in the rear by the ships. Also, the fortifications were too strong so the troops could not move forward, but had to withdraw with heavy losses. Your Lordship can easily imagine what a sad and frightening sight this was for me. I moved my two Jäger companies to cover the troops in case the enemy would make a sortie. I found everything in confusion, Colonel von Donop severely wounded and captured, Colonel Schieck dead, Minnigerode also wounded, so that there was no commander on this side. Therefore, I took command, had the cannon withdrawn to the line of approach, withdrew the Mirbach and Minnigerode Batls. and I was with the Jägers as the rear guard. We also took along the lightly wounded. Because of a shortage of wagons and there were none to be found, we had to leave the severely wounded lay. Colonel von Linsing took over command, and conferred with Lengercke and me. We believed it best to immediately begin the return march as the enemy behind us might wreck the New Bridge over Timber Creek. So we made our way toward Gloucester to get assistance from the fleet. We were also out of provisions. Lieutenant Berdot and four cavalymen were sent to Gen. Howe. We crossed the bridge at midnight and bivouacked *en quarre* on a height. Around 4 AM we marched off to occupy Haddonfield as we thought that the enemy would undertake something against us. They did not disturb us and when we arrived at Coopers Ferry on the Delaware, two English regiments awaited us with two days provisions and we recrossed the river that night.

It is painful for me to lose so many good people, I can't describe it and I have not recovered from it. Your Lordship will pardon the confusion of this letter. The tragedy of our poor wounded here in America is not describable without shedding tears and those left

behind with the enemy have no aid. As the surgeon sent from here to Colonel von Donop has not returned yet, I hope he will pull through, God knows it would be a great loss for our Corps. Your Lordship knows him well, in spite of his wild temperament, he has many good qualities. All the English pity him. If Colonel von Donop should die and no other Chief comes to America, I request the command of the mounted Jäger

Company if this can be done without difficulty. The reason I request this is known to your Lordship. . . .

I recommend myself and am with complete respect
your Lordship's
obedient servant
L J A Wurm
Lieutenant-Colonel

Plan of Fort Mercer, Red Bank, New Jersey

Diary of Lieutenant Levin Carl von Heister⁵⁰

Lieutenant Levin Carl von Heister of the Gens 'd Armes cavalry regiment, was the son of Lieutenant General Leopold von Heister. Because his regiment did not did not serve in America, he was given permission to accompany his father as a volunteer and adjutant. Upon arrival at New York, von Heister was assigned as adjutant to Colonel von Donop and served in this capacity until the latter's death when he became aide-de-camp to Lieutenant General von Knyphausen. On 28 February 1778 von Heister received orders from the Landgraf to return to Hessen. He sailed aboard the Eagle transport on 8 March.⁵¹

On **21 October** a detachment of Hessians under Colonel von Donop was ordered to capture Fort Redbank, under whose protection the enemy fleet lay, and principally from here prevented the further clearing of the Delaware. This corps, which was ferried across the Delaware at Coopers Ferry, consisted of the Grenadier Battalions Linsing, Minigerode and Lengerke, 2 battalions of the Regiment Mirbach, 4 foot companies and 12 mounted Jägers, all the Battalions' artillery and 2 English howitzers. Because the enemy had destroyed the crossings over the Timber and Newtown Rivers [creeks], so large a detour had to be taken, that the Hessians first arrived) which was only 10 miles distant) the following day at 1 o'clock in front of the fort, which is completely surrounded by woods. Colonel Green[e] commanded here; the garrison consisted of a numerous artillery and 4 battalions of Virginians and New Englanders; the works

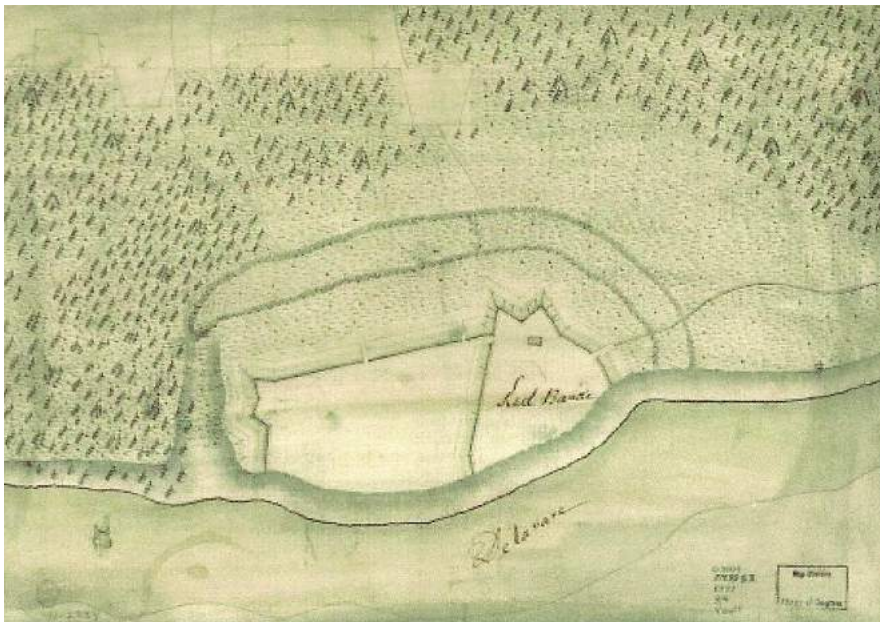
had recently been contracted and placed in the best condition by the volunteer French noble Duplessis-Mauduit.

Colonel Donop immediately rode forward with all the artillery officers to reconnoiter and found one could approach the fort on three sides undiscovered through the thick woods to within 400 paces, that it had a high and good earth rampart and 30 paces in front of the Glacis a strong abatis, and that a dominating small eminence was defended by a special redoubt, moreover, however, there was not much to fear from the enemy fleet.

The battery of 8 three-pounder regimental cannons and 2 howitzers were mounted on the right flank, and every single gun aimed with deliberation at the loopholes of the fort. Behind them came the Mingerode Battalion, in the center 2 Mirbach battalions [*sic*], on the left flank the Linsing Battalion, and in the right rear against the Delaware the Lengerke Battalion and the Jägers in order to be safe from a landing from the fleet. A combined detachment in the rear occupied the nearest crossing over the Timber Creek. Finally there stood from each battalion 1 captain with the pioneers and 100 men, who carried the hurriedly-made fascines.

After the demand for surrender was rejected, and the colonel had given a short but powerful speech, all of the horses were sent back, and each placed himself at the head of his detachment.

The battalions went double time up to the abates, cleared it, but found on the other side very deep and man-made [Wolfsgruben] ditches which could only be passed one at a time, while they received a very terrible small arms and grape shot fire in the front, and were from a part of the earlier fortification, which the skilled Duplessis, had converted to a covered gallery, and from two ships which could not be seen because of the brush, which fired chain-shot into the flank; the latter knocked down whole rows of men. Notwithstanding which, the Hessians formed on the glacis, filled the ditches, stormed the walls, penetrated up to the main wall, at the same time the Minigerode Battalion took the single redoubt by storm. But just at this moment of highest crisis the com-



Plan showing the original outer and the contracted inner works mentioned by many of the diarists. Map Division, The Library of Congress

mander, staff officers and the majority of the officers fell; the now isolated attackers were forced back by lances and bayonets, until the onset of full darkness made the continuation of the battle impossible. The troops collected themselves under the protection of the unengaged battalions in the woods, where most of the wounded had also crawled, so that except for the brave Colonel von Donop, who fell under the fascines, and could not be immediately found, the enemy took only a few prisoners. The loss in killed and wounded consisted of 26 officers and 376 privates. Dead on the scene were 8 officers, apart from the very brave commander of the Regiment von Mirbach, Colonel Baron von Schick.

The troops marched back unfollowed through the night, and around noon on the 23rd were again ferried from Coopers Ferry to Philadelphia.

At the same time the English warships penetrated with great effort the first Chevaux-de-Frise and attacked Mud Island on 23 October, but without result, as they could not get close enough. The Americans had so changed the channel by the sunken obstructions, that the warship *Augusta* of 64 guns and the Frigate *Merlin*⁵² went aground, the Americans immediately set them on fire, and both ships flew with a tremendous explosion into the air, after the frigate was unloaded, from the ship of the line not even all the crew was saved.

I held it to be my duty to search for Colonel Donop, because he had always been a father figure to me; General Howe immediately gave his permission for this and I sailed down the Delaware in a boat with a Flag of Truce to Redbank. It was difficult for me to personally turn over the colonel's baggage brought with me; I found him to be fully conscious, but terminal, because the ball had shattered the leg so high up that no amputation was possible. He died generally pitied on 29 October and was buried with full military honors. Also in Redbank were Captain Wagner and Lieutenant Heymell, who were believed to be dead. At my report, General Howe immediately sent his personal physician to Redbank, and on 26 October several well-equipped surgeons to care for the wounded.

After Colonel von Donop's death, I transferred as adjutant to Lieutenant General von Knyphausen. On 31 October the two above-named Hessian officers were released on their paroles and brought to Philadelphia in a flag-of-truce boat. However, the true purpose was a reconnaissance, which I prevented because by the greatest chance, at the advanced post, I recognized the emissary, Engineer Colonel Duplessis who, now to his greatest irritation, had to remain behind at the first post.

Diary of Captain Johannes Ewald⁵³

Johannes Ewald was born in Cassel on 30 March 1744, the son of Georg Heinrich Ewald, a bookkeeper with the general post office there, and Katherina Elisabeth, the daughter of a Cassel merchant. When his father died, Johannes was educated by his mother and, after her death, by his grandmother. In 1760, when he was sixteen years old, Ewald joined the infantry regiment Gilsa as a cadet. He departed Cassel on 24 June and arrived at this regiment the next day. He was wounded in March 1761 and promoted to ensign for bravery. After the Seven Years War ended, Ewald's regiment was transferred to Ziegenhain. On a furlough to Cassel, he was fortunate enough to meet Lieutenant

*Colonel Baron von Jungkenn, adjutant general to Landgraf Friedrich II. On 30 May 1765 Ewald was transferred to the 3rd Battalion of the Guards at Cassel and the next year he was promoted to second lieutenant. In 1769, because of the Landgraf's order that only nobles could serve as officers in the Guards, Ewald was transferred to the Leib Regiment. He was severely wounded in a duel fought during the night of 20 February 1770, finally recovered although with the loss of his left eye, Ewald attended the Collegium Carolinum at Cassel, where he studied under the well-known professor of military science and economic theory Jakob von Mauvillon. In 1774 Ewald published his first military work, *Gedanken eines hessischen Officiers über das, was man bey Führung eines Detaschements im Felde zu tun hat* [Thoughts of a Hessian Officer about what he has to do when leading a detachment in the field]. Effective 6 March 1774 Ewald was promoted to captain in the Leibjäger Corps. When two companies of Feldjäger were raised for service in America, Ewald was given command of the second company. He and his company arrived at New York in October 1776 and he served with great distinction in America during the entire war. Ewald kept a very detailed diary during the war, most of which has been published in an English-language edition. After the war he wrote *Abhandlung über den kleinen Krieg* [Treatise on Partisan Warfare], which was published in 1785. A translation was published in 1991.⁵⁴*

The 21st of October. About three o'clock in the morning the Jäger Corps marched to Cooper's Ferry on the Delaware. The Corps crossed the Delaware in flatboats with three Hessian grenadier battalions, Linsing, Minnigerode, and Lengerke, along with the Mirbach Regiment under Colonel Schieck, and landed about eight o'clock in the Province of Jersey. I had the advanced guard with sixty jägers, followed by the Corps, the Minnigerode battalion, the Mirbach Regiment, two 6-pounders, two howitzers, the Lengerke and Linsing battalions, and Captain Lorey with twenty mounted jägers. This corps, under Colonel Donop, was ordered to seize by force Fort Red Bank, through which the garrison at Mud Island maintained its communication with the mainland. Colonel Donop had volunteered for this expedition.

This corps was still less than half an hour away from the Delaware when it ran into an enemy party in the vicinity of Newton Township, which withdrew over Cooper's Bridge toward Burlington. I pursued it up to the end of a wood, where I discovered several hundred men on both sides of Cooper's Creek, with whom I skirmished until about four o'clock in the afternoon, after which time they withdrew. The colonel, who continued his march with the corps, had ordered me to occupy myself with the enemy until nightfall, and then to follow the corps to Haddonfield, where I found the corps encamped in a quadrangle on the heights.

On the morning of the 22d, about four o'clock, the corps marched toward Red Bank in the same formation as yesterday, with the slight difference that I formed the rear guard with my company. About nine o'clock we crossed the pass over Timber Creek, which has very marshy banks. A dam of several hundred paces extends across the creek, on which there are two wooden bridges. Two small plantations are situated on this and the other side. I was surprised that we did not leave here at least one jäger company to retain the mastery of this pass, since, after all, the success of our expedition was not yet

assured. To be sure, there were the two battalions of light infantry ready for the Jersey post at Cooper's Ferry, but they could not help much if Washington had gotten wind of this expedition, passed a strong corps across the Delaware, and stationed it at Timber Creek.

Our march went past Strawberry Bank. About one o'clock in the afternoon the corps arrived in a wood which encircled the left side of the fort at rifle-shot distance to the left bank of the Delaware. In this wood a captain and six men from the garrison of the fort fell into the hands of Captain Wreden, who had the advanced guard. They had been ordered to get fresh meat at a plantation and knew nothing of our approach.

The entire corps remained in column on the road in the woods. The men were permitted to sit down and told to eat, but since this day was not bread or provisions day, very few had any bread to break or bite. The officers, especially, were not provided with anything. I had to march with the rear guard to the head of the corps.

During this time Colonel Donop, along with Colonel Stuart, (who accompanied this expedition as a volunteer), Major [Georg Henrich] Pauli, and Captain [Georg] Krug of the Hessian artillery, had already reconnoitered when I reached the corps. As soon as I arrived, the colonel ordered me to inspect the fort and to give him my opinion.

I approached the fort up to rifle-shot range and found that it was provided with a breastwork twelve feet high, palisaded and dressed with assault stakes. On my way back, I met Colonel Stuart with a drummer who was to summon the fort, and right behind them I met Major Georg Henrich Pauli, Captain [Georg] Krug, and both adjutants of the colonel. All these gentlemen regarded the affair with levity. The only man who had any real knowledge, and looked upon the affair as serious, was worthy old Captain Krug. I took this man aside and asked him what he thought of the undertaking, whereupon he answered: "He who has seen forts or fortified places captured with sword in hand will not regard this affair as a small matter, if the garrison puts up a fight and has a resolute commandant. We have let luck slip through our fingers. We should not have summoned the fort, but immediately taken it by surprise, for no one knew of our arrival. But now they will make themselves ready, and if our preparations are not being made better than I hear, we will get a good beating."

After a lapse of a half an hour, Colonel Stuart returned with the following reply: "Colonel Greene, who commands the fort, sends his compliments and he shall await Colonel Donop."

After this news, which the colonel did not expect, a hundred fascines were made at once by the battalions, and a battery of six regimental pieces [3 pounders], two 6-pounders, and the howitzers were mounted in the wood at rifle-shot distance from the fort. The Linsing Battalion under Captain Stamford (for Colonel Linsing had stomach pains at this time) was to make the attack against the left, the Regiment von Mirbach against the center, and the Minnigerode Battalion on the bastion to the left at the Delaware. The Lengerke Battalion was stationed at the Delaware to cover the rear against an enemy landing. One hundred men from each battalion were to carry the fascines, and march in a line at a distance of

two hundred places in front of the battalion. With these the ditch was to be filled, crossed, and the fort scaled with sword in hand. I placed sixteen good marksmen at the edge of the wood in the vicinity of the battery, who were to shoot at those men who showed themselves on the parapet.

This was the order which was given, and no one thought about axes or saws with which the obstructions and palisades could be cut down.

The battery began to play, and the three battalions advanced against the fort with indescribable courage. But they were received so hotly by the garrison, and by the vessels which had moved into position during the summons to rake the fort's flank, that they were repelled with great loss, although several officers and a number of grenadiers scaled the breastwork. Colonel Donop himself and his adjutant, Captain Wagner, were mortally wounded at the edge of the ditch. Captain Stamford, who commanded the Linsing Battalion, was shot through the chest; Minnigerode through both legs; and the gallant Colonel Schieck, who commanded the Regiment von Mirbach, was shot dead at the barred gate. Night ended the battle, and the attacking corps reassembled at the spot from which it had departed for the attack.

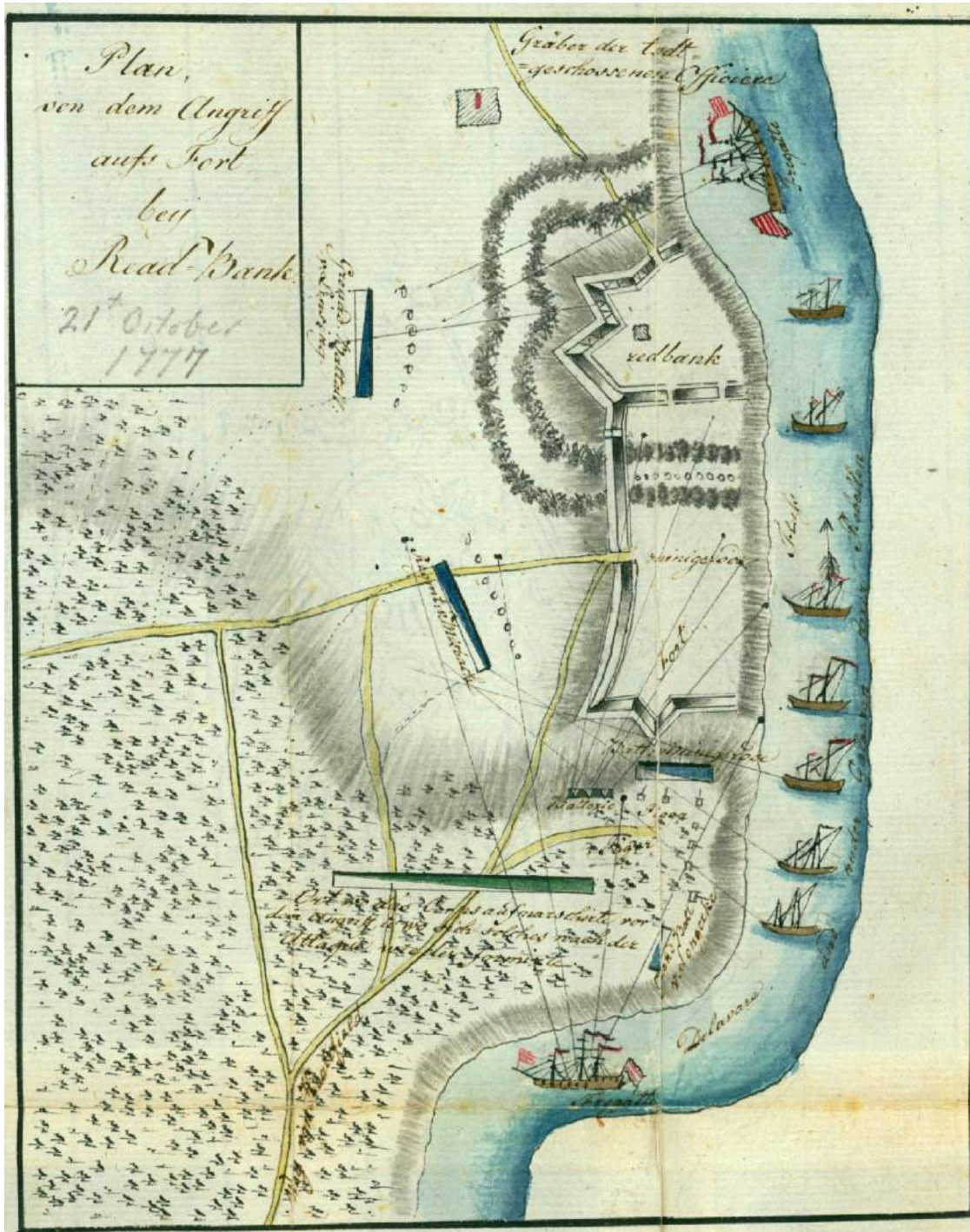
Colonel Wurmb immediately ordered the Jäger corps to move up to the edge of the wood to cover the retreat. He personally took the Grenadier Battalion Lengerke, which had protected the rear in case an enemy party had landed from the ships, and hurried with the battalion to the pass of the Timber Creek bridge to occupy it.

Since we had flattered ourselves in advance with a successful surrender, no retreat was then thought of, and no wagons brought to transport the wounded. The seriously wounded officers were carried on the guns and horses, and all the privates who could not drag themselves away on their wounded limbs fell into enemy hands. But since the enemy took the retreat for a trap, and had expected a new attack during the night, the men had to remain on the battlefield a whole night in the most deplorable condition without the slightest care, whereby the majority died of their wounds.

About midnight the entire corps arrived on the other side of Timber Creek, where arrangements were made at once to obtain wagons for transporting the wounded officers to Philadelphia. At eight o'clock in the morning the corps set out again, and crossed the Delaware during the night. The three grenadier battalions moved into cantonment quarters on the outskirts of Philadelphia; the Mirbach Regiment joined the line of the army; and the Jäger Corps returned to its post at the Morris house, where it arrived after midnight.

Diary of Lieutenant Heinrich Carl Philipp von Feilitzsch⁵⁵

Heinrich Carl Philipp von Feilitzsch was born on 23 April 1751, the son of Baron [Freiherr] Heinrich Christoph Traugott von Feilitzsch (1725-1764) and Baroness [Freiin] Caroline von Reitzenstein. Von Feilitzsch arrived in New York in June 1777 as the first lieutenant of the Ansbach Jäger company commanded by Captain von Cramon. He received his recall to Germany on 30 August 1779 and embarked aboard the Charming Nancy transport on 15 December and departed from



Captain Ewald's map of Red Bank. Captain Johann Ewald's Diary, Joseph P. Tustin Papers, Special Collections, Harvey A. Andrus Library, Bloomsburg University of Pennsylvania.

New York eight days later as part of a large convoy escorted by HMS Solebay, Captain Symonds, and HMS Lioness, Captain William Grant.⁵⁶

[October] The 20th – At ten o'clock at night the order came to be ready to march at 3 o'clock in the morning.

The 21st - We marched early and passed through Philadelphia before daylight. Close to the city we were loaded into flatboats and at daybreak were landed on the other side, in Jersey, near Cooper's Ferry, where we saw about thirty enemy. They retreated after a few shots. We remained there until about three o'clock when we marched to Haddonfield. Underway we received a few

shots. At seven o'clock in the evening we arrived. Our commander was Colonel von Donop and our entire corps consisted of three grenadier battalions and one musket battalion. My captain [von Cramon], who had not been well for some time, remained in Philadelphia, to my great sorrow, in part for his person and also because of the company opportunities [which he would miss by not being in the coming battle].

The 22nd – At four o'clock in the morning we marched, and at about ten o'clock arrived at our assigned place near Fort Redbank. Immediately preparations were made for storming the fort, and when

everything was ready, at about four o'clock, it began. However, the commandant would not surrender so the attack was launched. The cannonade was severe and the small arms fire very heavy. In addition, several rebel ships joined in, which fired against us on both sides and did great damage. The attack continued a long time, until finally our good Hessian grenadiers had to retreat. (We had only field pieces with us and I do not know what else we were lacking.) This time we Jägers had no part except to cover the rear. Our losses consisted of Colonel von Donop, who remained lying wounded at the fort, another 26 officers who were dead or wounded, and about 350 privates. The exact number was not immediately known. During the night we marched back six miles, arriving at one o'clock.

The 23rd – We continued our march at 3 o'clock, arriving at Cooper's Ferry. I was very sick and miserable. The march was made very quickly and we had nothing to eat. It was my fate to be very indisposed, and I wished to Heaven to be away from there and back home. On this day we also received the sad news that a warship, which had exchanged fire with the second fort, had blown up and that a frigate that was there grounded on a sandbank and had to be set afire. We remained lying there until nine o'clock at night, when we fortunately were shipped across. While still dark, we marched through the city and at one o'clock entered our former camp.

The 31st – Beautiful weather. I was told today that Colonel von Donop had died in the enemy's hands. However, his adjutant, Captain Wagner, was brought to Philadelphia very dangerously wounded. The total loss before the fort was 377 men, including 23 officers, dead and wounded.

Diary of Ensign Wilhelm Johann Ernst Freyenhagen Jr. Musketeer Regiment von Donop⁵⁷

Wilhelm Johann Ernst Freyenhagen Jr. was from Wickensen in the southern tip of the Duchy of Braunschweig on the border of Hessen-Cassel. As such, he was listed as a foreigner in the Hessian army. Freyenhagen was commissioned as an ensign in the musketeer regiment von Donop with date of rank of 27 June 1775. In 1776 he came to America with his regiment and on 13 September 1777 was assigned on temporary duty to the Feldjäger Corps, which was short of officers.⁵⁸

20th [October] – This evening we received orders that the three Hessian grenadier battalions, the Mirbach Regt. and the Jäger Corps are to be ready to embark at 4 AM tomorrow. Our pickets were relieved by the v. Donop Regt.

Oct. 21st – This morning at 7:45 AM the above mentioned troops under the command of Col. v. Donop were embarked on flatboats and ferried over to Coopers Ferry in Jersey. On our arrival we were met by some enemy patrols who soon withdrew. We rested here a few hours until our cannons and ammunition wagons were brought over, then marched to the village of Haddonfield where we camped at 7:30 PM.

22nd – At 4 AM we continued our march to reach Fort Redbank, which we were to attack. Enroute we captured a colonel named Clark and a captain of the 2nd Virginia Regt. At 2 PM we arrived near the fort and halted at a distance from it. While it was being reconnoitered each grenadier in the first rank had to make a fascine to throw

in the moat. After this the Minnigerode Regt. was positioned on the right, Linsing Regt. on the left and Mirbach Regt. in the middle of the line. The fort was called to surrender by the Engl. Major Stuart who brought back the response that the commander Col. Green had decided to await his fate and that he would defend it with his 100 men as long as possible.

The attack was made by the above order of battle. The eight Hessian regiment pieces plus two Engl. howitzers commenced firing to cover the battalions. When they climbed the outer works, they came under strong canister fire and an terrible cannonade from the enemy row-galleys and frigates which covered their rear. This caused many brave officers and soldiers to be killed or wounded. The enemy loss was very small. At 7:30 PM when they collected on the Philadelphia Road many brave souls were missing. We received the sad news that Col. v. Donop was wounded and left in the hands of the enemy. This was for me, besides the loss of many good friends, very painful news and a sorrowful story.

The Lengerke Batl. did not suffer as fortunately they had occupied a pass on the Delaware and were not discovered by the enemy. The Jäger Corps was likewise posted, somewhat unfortunately as we opposed the enemy row-galleys and frigates, to prevent the enemy from debarking reinforcements at that place. The above ships became aware of us and fired continuously on us. As we kept pressed close to the ground we had few losses.

In this affair we lost:

1. Col. von Donop, our commander, who was wounded and captured.
2. Captain Wagener, his adjutant, both legs shot off, also captured.

Battalion v. Minnigerode

- 1/ Colonel. v. Minnigerode, lightly wounded
- 2/ Captain Hendorf,
- 3/ Wachs,
- 4/ von. Gröning, severely wounded
- 5/ Lieutenant Heymell,
- 6/ Hille Sr, dead
- 7/ Offenbach, dead
- 8/ v. Hüller, received a contusion
106 NCOs and privates dead and wounded.

Battalion v Linsing

- 1/ Captain v. Stamford, severely wounded
- 2/ Ernst v. Eschwege, severely
- 3/ Lieutenant Rodemann, severely
- 4/ v Gottschall, severely
- 5/ v Waitz, severely
- 6/ v Dupy, dead
141 NCOs and privates dead and wounded.

Regiment v Mirbach

- 1/ Colonel v Schieck, dead
- 2/ Captain v. Bogatzcy, dead
- 3/ Lieutenant Riemann, dead
- 4/ v. Wurmb, dead
- 5/ Schotten, severely wounded

6/ Rüffer, lightly
 7/ Ensign. Berner, lightly
 125 NCOs and privates dead or wounded.

Jäger Corps

1/ NCO, dead
 2/ foot Jäger, wounded and one missing
 Total: 23 officers and 377 NCOs and privates dead or wounded.

Oct. 23rd – At 4:30 AM the corps marched off and arrived at Cooper's Ferry at 11:30 AM where we were met by a battalion of light infantry, which was sent to support us. We remained here until all cannons and other vehicles were sent off to Philadelphia. From daybreak till 3 PM we heard terrible cannonade from the direction of Fort Redbank. At midnight we were ferried over to the city. The Lengercke Batl. joined the Engl. Guards in camp, the other two battalions plus the Mirbach Regiment were quartered in the barracks here, and the Jäger Corps returned to its former post. Upon our arrival we found out the cannonade was caused by HMS *Augusta* and the frigate *Pearl*, the former carelessly caught fire and blew up.

25th [sic] – Captain v.Gröning of the Guards who died yesterday of his six wounds was buried today in the Lutheran cemetery with many honors. Also today Lt. Schotten's right arm was amputated.

26th – The regimental surgeons Pausch and Gechter were sent to Redbank at the request of the Rebels to dress the wounds of the wounded there.

31st – Regimental Surgeon Pausch returned today from Redbank and brought the news that Colonel von Donop died of his wound on the 29th instant and was buried on the 30th by the Rebels with 300 men and three cannons.

**Diary of Captain Francis Downman,
 Royal Artillery⁵⁹**

At age 15, Francis Downman received his first commission as a fire-worker in the Royal Artillery on 8 June 1757. Having served in England, on the continent of Europe, and in the West Indies, he was ordered to North America in 1764. He returned to England in 1772. After some service in Scotland, he was again ordered to North America and arrived at New York in June 1777. He served with General Howe's army in and around Philadelphia until after the capture and destruction of Mud Island in November. Taken ill, he returned to New York in a hospital ship and served there until October 1778 when he sailed with Major General James Grant's army to the West Indies.⁶⁰

October 20th. – This morning Major [Charles] Farrington came to me from Brigadier-General [Samuel] Cleaveland to request that I would take the command of two 5□ inch howitzers ordered for immediate service. I was not ordered, he said, but the General hoped I would go as the service required a good officer. Ha! Ha! Ha! They were to be ready to embark at 4 o'clock in the morning. I had everything ready by 3 o'clock, the morning rainy and very cold at first, but cleared up as the day advanced.

October 21st. – Three battalions of Hessian grenadiers, one ditto Minnigerode [sic], one ditto Mirbach,



Captain-Lieutenant (and Brevet) Captain Francis Downman,
 Royal Artillery

with ten Hessian 3 pounder guns, and myself with the howitzers, began to embark in the flat-bottomed boats and other craft from the wharf at the upper end of the town, and crossed over to the Jersey side, landing without the least opposition. The whole were commanded by Colonel Donop. We began our march as soon as the last artillery were over, and about 8 o'clock at night came to Haddonfield, where we remained until 4 o'clock next morning.

October 22nd. – We again set forward and only had a few popping shots between this place and Red Bank where the rebels have raised a strong fort with cannon. It is absolutely necessary that we be in possession of this fort for it not only protects their vessels, but also would annoy our shipping very much in passing whenever we are lucky enough to get over their chevaux-de-frise, and it likewise commands Mud Island, so that should we take Mud Island, unless we had this fort also we should be very much disturbed from it. For these reasons General Howe ordered a detachment to storm it. Colonel Donop asked to be employed on this service, which was granted him, and myself and men were the only English on this duty. We arrived before the place about one o'clock; at noon we examined it, and saw the rebels at work which showed that the fort was not finished, or that they were adding something to it on hearing we were near them. I think, therefore, we should have stormed it directly without the least loss of time as it was to be done in daylight, but instead of an immediate attack, we did not begin till 5 o'clock in the afternoon.

The advancing of the troops was preceded by a brisk and close fire of all our artillery which continued some little time. Colonel Donop then ordered the whole to cease, and called to his troops to advance. They did so with a quantity of fascines to fill up the ditch in front of the fort. Then began a very hot and close fire from the rebels, both of cannon and musketry which was kept up without intermission from the time our troops advanced till they retreated again. It is hard to say what was the cause of this attempt failing, but so it did, and whether from inability of the troops to fill up the ditch and mount the breastwork, from the loss of Colonel Donop and a number of officers at the first onset, or from being flanked by the row galleys with grape shot, whether from being tired from the march, or from want of spirit and activity to push forward over those who were killed and wounded in the front, is what I shall not presume to determine. It is enough to say that we were obliged to retire, and that in much confusion, for by this time it was quite dark. We retired about a mile all in bustle and disorder, then stopped about an hour or so to get the troops disposed into some order, and to collect the wounded and carry them in the best way we could, for not a wagon was thought of, and had it not been for the ammunition waggons a number must have been left behind. This night's march was as melancholy and as disagreeable a one as ever I experienced; it was dark and excessively cold; the roads were deep and narrow and enclosed with wood; we lost our way twice and had to turn about the guns and waggons in the narrow road; the very worst of all manoeuvres. The horses were very bad and almost tired out, the drivers were a set of scoundrels. Add to this the groans of the wounded; the idea of being attacked in the rear by a sally from the fort while pent up in a road where we could not possibly make use of our cannon, and the probability of an encounter in front or flanks, for until day appeared we had no flanking parties out. We were lucky in meeting with no molestation except a few shot that did no harm. About daylight of the 23rd we repassed Haddonfield and continued our march to the ferry opposite Philadelphia where we arrived about 11 o'clock in the morning, so that, between 4 o'clock in the morning of the 22nd and 11 o'clock in the morning of the 23rd, we had marched about 42 miles, and been well thrashed into the bargain, so much for storming with ----- I crossed the river and went home most heartily tired and very low spirited, for the rebels not only gained advantage on shore, but they have had the satisfaction of seeing the *Augusta*, a 64 gun ship, and the *Merlin* sloop blown up today. This fatal accident I was told was owing to their running aground or upon the *cheveaux-de-frise* in attempting to pass them, the galleys keeping a constant fire upon them the whole time. I have not heard what number of men were killed or wounded in the storm, or what number the men-of-war lost.

October 24th. – A great many fascines are ordered to be made immediately and taken down to Province Island. I am informed to-day that the Hessians had about 400 killed and wounded, and that Colonel Donop is not dead but very badly wounded and prisoner. A great loss for he is a brave and good officer. A great many Hessian officers suffered in the attack.

**Journal of Lieutenant Henry Stirke, Light Infantry
Company, 10th Regiment of Foot
1st Battalion of Light Infantry⁶¹**

22d [October 1777] Three Battalions of Hessian Grenadiers, and the Hessian Chasseurs, under the Command of Colonel Donop, attack'd ye Rebel Works at Red-Bank, which ye attempted carrying by Storm but after the most gallant effort having almost gain'd the Parapet of ye body of the Work, they were beat back with some loss, leaving (since dead) Colonel Donop wounded in the ditch. The loss of the Hessians in this unlucky repulse, is about 150 men kill'd, and wounded, and if their Commanding Officer had not unfortunately been Wounded, as he gain'd the Parapet, 'tis thought the Works wou'd have been Carried.

23d The 1st battalion of Light Infantry and 27th Regt cross'd the Delaware at 6 O'Clock in ye morning to Cover the retreat of the Hessians, from Red-Bank, and assist in bringing off their Wounded. . . .

24th The Light Infantry , and 27th Regt return'd to their Encampments about 4 O'Clock in ye morning. We had some scattering shots from the militia, which wounded a man of the 27th Regt.

**Major Johann Christian Du Buy, Musketeer
Regiment von Trümbach, to Lieutenant General
Wilhelm Maximilian August von Ditfurth⁶²**

At the beginning of 1776, Johann Christian Du Buy was the senior captain in the Hessen-Cassel Fusilier Regiment von Ditfurth. On 30 January 1776 he was appointed Major of Brigade of the Hessian troops going to America. Shortly thereafter, he was promoted to major effective 11 February 1776. Later, in a general order issued at New York on 19 March 1777 he was transferred to the Musketeer Regiment von Trümbach (renamed von Bose on 30 January 1779) while continuing to serve as Brigade Major to the corps in America. In a general order dated New York, 30 July 1779, Du Buy was permitted to resign the department of Brigade Major. He was awarded the Order pour la Virtu Militaire for his conduct while leading an expedition into northern New Jersey on 15-16 April 1780.⁶³ Under Du Buy's command, the Regiment von Bose sailed south to Virginia with Major General Alexander Leslie in October 1780 and then continued to South Carolina to join Lord Cornwallis' army. Du Buy and his regiment participated with distinction in the Battle of Guilford Courthouse, North Carolina on 15 March 1781, and then accompanied Cornwallis northward to Virginia. In an order dated 18 February 1781, Du Buy was promoted to lieutenant colonel in the Regiment von Bose with date of rank of 4 November 1780. On 2 July 1781 his appointment as Quarter Master General of the Hessian corps in America to replace Colonel von Cochenhausen appointed commander of the Regiment Erbprinz was announced. Recalled from Virginia to New York to assume his new position, Du Buy avoided capture with his regiment at Yorktown. He departed New York in November 1783 with the last division of Hessian troops and, after sending the winter in England, returned to Hessen in April 1784.⁶⁴

In Camp at Philadelphia. October 26th, 1777.

Right Honorable Sir,

Gracious high and mighty Lieutenant-General,

. . . Our endeavors to open up communication with the fleet, that is prevented from advancing by the enemy's

ships, forts, and the stockades that have been constructed, still remain fruitless, and were very disastrous to the Hessian troops a short time ago. The 3 Grenadier Battalions von Linsing, Minnigerode and Lengercke Battalions of Grenadiers as well as the Mirbach Regiment and the Jäger corps were ordered to remove a fort called Redbank situated on the Delaware in Jersey, which serves to defend the stockades. On the 22nd instant Colonel von Donop attacked the same; he pushed on steadily in spite of a terrific fire from the fort and especially from the enemy ships. The troops had already passed the barricades, palisades and ditches, and were on the point of taking the fort which about 50 men had already scaled, when all at once an unintermittent terrible fire from the row galleys, which was unfortunately much better directed than is expected of ships, compelled them to desist and retire..

Our loss in this calamitous affair (which, however, does the Hessians great credit) is very considerable, as

your Excellency will see from the enclosed list. Colonel von Donop, Captain Wagener and Lieutenant Heymell are wounded and were captured by the enemy, and there is little hope of the first two-named recovering. . . .

Should this terrible war still continue for some time, many other brave men will lay down their lives here; the rebels become better soldiers every day, and fight desperately.

I remain with the deepest respect, Your Excellency's humble Servant

DU BUY

Colonel von Donop and Captain Wagener have just sent a sloop provided with a flag of truce to me with the request that I should send the former his bed, cooking utensils and linen' he tells me, "I am badly wounded, but have not yet lost hope." Both Wagener's legs have been smashed above the knee.

List of the officers, non-commissioned officers and grenadiers belonging to Colonel von Donop's Brigade including the Mirbach Regiment, who were killed or severely or slightly wounded at the assault upon Fort Redbank on the 22nd October 1777.

No.	Names	Killed	Severely wounded	Lightly wounded
	1. Battalion von Linsing		1	
1	Captain v. Stamforth		1	
2	Lieutenant Du By	1		
3	Captain Ernst von Eschwege		1	
4	Sec. Lieutenant v. Weitz		1	
5	" " Rodemann		1	
6	First " Gottschalk		1	
	2. Grenadier Battalion von Minnigerode			
1	Colonel von Donop		1	
2	Lieutenant Colonel v. Minnigerode		1	
3	Captain Hendorf			1
4	" Wagner		1	
5	" Wachs			1
6	Sec. Lieutenant v. Offenbach	1		
7	" " v. Haller			1
8	Captain v. Gröning	1		
9	First Lieutenant Hille	1		
10	Captain Schimmelpfennig			1
11	Second Lieutenant Heimell		1	
	3. Regiment von Mirbach			
1	Lieutenant Colonel von Schick	1		
2	Captain von Bogatzky	1		
3	First Lieutenant Riemann	1		
4	Sec. Lieutenant v. Wurm		1	
5	First Lieutenant Schotten		1	
6	Sec. Lieutenant Riever			1

No.	Names	Killed	Severely wounded	Lightly wounded
7	Ensign Berner		1	
	Further the grenadier company of Lieutenant-General von Ditfurth's honorable regiment			
1	Sergeant Major Arnold Müller			1
2	Sergeant Elias Breidenstein			1
3	Corporal Adam Stengel		1	
4	Grenadier Peter Crato	1		
5	" Johannes Naumann	1		
6	" Emanuel Reitze	1		
7	" Jacob Übelshauer	1		
8	" Seibert Steller	1		
9	" Peter Schmitt	1		
10	" Jacob Cramer	1		
11	" Michael Finkenstein	1		
12	" Hermann Holzapfell	1		
13	" Johannes Laucht	1		
14	" Johannes Rock	1		
15	" Peter Hort	1		
16	" Wiegand Dersch		1	
17	" Heinrich Landgrebe		1	
18	" Johannes Hilberger		1	
19	" Jacob Rühl		1	
20	" Johannes Mütze		1	
21	" Jacob Vial		1	
22	" Gottfried Wolff	1		
23	" George Holzapfell		1	
24	" Johannes Metz		1	
25	" Krafft Heldmann		1	
26	" Johannes Diehle		1	
27	" George Henrich Arnold			1
28	" Henrich Metz			1
29	" Lucas Fashauer			1
30	" Jacob Oberlies			1
31	" Conrad Geitz			1
32	" Henrich Schott			1
33	" Hermann Soldon			1
34	" Johannes Cramer			1
35	" Anton Grebe			1
36	" Ludwig Hansen			1
	Total	20	23	17
	Philadelphia, 26. October 1777			
	Then the non-commissioned officers and privates from the other 3 companies	10	50	22
	Non-commissioned officers and privates in the Battalion von Linsing	46	79	Severely and slightly
	Regiment von Mirbach likewise	31	68	

HENDORFF

N.B. Colonel von Donop, Captain Wagner, Lieutenant Heymell have been captured and the two first-named will hardly recover.

Diary of Staff Captain Levin Friedrich Ernst von Münchhausen Leib Regiment⁶⁵

Having served as an officer in the Braunschweig service, Levin Friedrich Ernst von Münchhausen entered Hessian service as a staff captain in the Leib Regiment with date of rank 31 March 1776 and came to America with his regiment. Probably because of his knowledge of the German, French and English languages, Münchhausen was appointed aide-de-camp to General William Howe on 18 November 1776 and served in that position until Howe was superseded as Commander in Chief by General Sir Henry Clinton. Although appointed an aid-de-camp by Clinton, Münchhausen had already been recalled to Hessen by the Landgraf and sailed for Europe aboard the Harriott packet on 14 June 1778.⁶⁶

October 20. Last night Lord Howe, upon request of his brother, sent 12 flatboats up [the Delaware] along our shore. This proved to be almost disastrous [*sic*] because one of our pickets, not having been informed of the expected arrival of the flatboats, fired on them. This alarmed the rebel ships and the forts so they fired a few cannon shot towards our flatboats, which, fortunately, were almost all the way up the river.

October 21. At five o'clock in the morning the grenadier battalions Linsing, Minnigerode and Lengerke, as well as the regiment Mirbach and the Hessian jaegers, all under the command of Colonel von Donop, crossed over to Jersey at Coopers Ferry [now Camden], with orders to take the batteries and the fort at Red Bank.

October 22. At noon 200 English grenadiers were put into boats prepared to land on and storm Fort Island at the same time when some of our ships would come up the Delaware as close as possible to the chevaux de frise and begin to fire on the fort at Red Bank and on rebel ships, as they were ordered to do. I believe that all this was to take place simultaneously with Colonel von Donop's attack. But a completely contrary wind prevented the war ships that had received orders, from coming up the river. Consequently, General Howe requested Donop not to attack this afternoon. Unfortunately, shortly after four o'clock we observed a strong fire at Red Bank, and, after it had ceased, we still saw the rebels flags flying.

October 23. Last night the following report arrived from Lieutenant Colonel von Linsing: Colonel von Donop stormed the fort at Red Bank yesterday afternoon with two grenadier battalions and the regiment von Mirbach, leaving behind in reserve the jaegers and the grenadier battalion Lengerke.

The fall of Colonel Donop, who was severely wounded, and of Lieutenant Colonel von Schieck, who was shot to death, as well as the fall of von Minnigerode, who was also wounded, together with many other brave officers, is a grave loss. The dreadful cannonade of the ships, which fired on our flanks, and especially the desperately steep height of the parapet (which had been palisaded), and the parapet on one fort made it completely impossible to take the fort.

Our force, with the loss of almost 400 men, among them 23 officers killed and many more severely wounded, was compelled to withdraw, and are now on their way back. After the receipt of this news, two English regiments were ordered to cross [the Delaware] at dawn to cover the retreat of Donop's detachment. They took with them 30 wagons for the wounded as well as provisions.

I had to go with this detachment. It took till nine o'clock in the morning until I had all of them across [to New Jersey]. Then we marched about two miles, when we met many wounded officers and common soldiers, who were followed by the battalions. I cannot describe my feeling, especially when I saw the company to which I had just been assigned and which is very dear to me. It came back with the loss of 37 men. All were across the Delaware by 11 o'clock in the evening. The three battalions, which had lost almost all their officers and nearly 400 men, were lodged in the barracks, for they could not possibly do service very soon.

This morning, before nine o'clock, the ships *Augusta*, *Roebuck*, *Merlin*, *Vigilant* and a few others took a position close below the chevaux de frise, and began a terrible fire. The English grenadiers had already been put into boats to land on Fort Island when suddenly the ship *Augusta* of 64 guns and the *Merlin* of 20 guns caught fire. At one the other ships had to withdraw in order to keep them from catching fire, although they tried to save as many of the unfortunate men as possible aboard the two burning ships.

October 24. All the Hessian rank and file and all the officers under Colonel Donop, as well as Colonel Donop himself, were publicly praised by General Howe in his orders of the day.

October 25. General Howe sent his chief surgeon to Red Bank to look after Colonel von Donop, who is said to be still alive.

October 26. Several Hessian surgeons were sent to Red Bank today to attend to our poor wounded who have not yet been bandaged. . . .

The English doctor has just come back from Red Bank; he says that, though Donop is still alive, he will not recover under the circumstances. . . .

October 30. The rain, which began on the 26th, finally stopped this morning. I was given orders by my General to go down to Red Bank by water. One of my instructions to inquire about Colonel von Donop. A major and a captain came to meet me and took me blindfolded in their boat and through their fleet near Fort Island and past Red Bank to a house about 600 paces beyond Red Bank, where I found two of our severely wounded officers. Colonel von Donop had died the evening before at seven o'clock. Because I was aide to General Howe, I was urgently invited to dine with the rebel commander at Red Bank, Brigadier General [*sic*] Greene, and General Putnam's son, who is a captain, and a French major, which invitation I declined, mainly because General Greene, although he was very polite, betrayed signs of arrogance, partly because he had repulsed our attack on his fort, and partly because of the news that Burgoyne had been captured with his entire corps.

The two wounded officers were eager to be taken to Philadelphia. I therefore asked Greene in the name of my General to send them there, which he did. Then

I took leave, although they insisted that I stay to attend the burial of Colonel von Donop, who, the same evening, was put in the soil with military honors at the same place where our other officers and privates had been buried, in accordance with the wishes Colonel Donop expressed shortly before his death.

**Lieutenant Colonel von Cochenhausen to
Major General von Jungkenn⁶⁷**

Lieutenant Colonel Johann Ludwig von Cochenhausen was born in Stralsund on 11 July 1728. He entered Hessian service as a page to Kiung Friedrich of Sweden, Landgrave of Hessen. Cochenhausen was commissioned as an ensign on 13 May 1746, lieutenant on 24 May 1752, captain on 1 July 1758, major on 14 January 1762 and lieutenant colonel on 30 May 1766. During the Seven Years War, he was severely wounded at Hastenbeck on 26 July 1757. On 30 January 1776, then a lieutenant colonel in the Regiment Erbprinz, Cochenhausen was appointed quarter master general of the Hessen-Cassel forces serving in America. He was promoted to colonel in the Regiment Erbprinz effective 26 December 1777. In July 1781 Cochenhausen was appointed commander of the Regiment Erbprinz, awarded the Order pour la Vertu Militaire and relieved of his duties as Quarter Master General of the Hessian Corps in America. With his regiment he sailed from New York for Europe on 16 August 1783 Cochenhausen was promoted to major general effective 28 May 1791. He was mortally wounded at the battle of Handschooten and died at Dükirchen on 10 September 1793.⁶⁸

Noble Sir and Most Honored Major General:

My last [letter] of the 10th instant, which was included with his Excellency's [General von Knyphausen's] package, included my very condensed relation of this year's operations up to the Camp at German-town. Now General Howe has very properly given up this over-extended line; and the army camp was moved on 19 October to outside Philadelphia, with the right wing on the Delaware and the left on the Schuylkill. This line is being improved daily into a good position.

On the 20th we threw a bridge of boats across the Schuylkill and Colonel von Loos, who was ordered back from Wilmington, made camp on the other side of this bridge. Although he was not in the best position and the bridge was not in a dangerous location, he received the remarkable order to withdraw his regiment over the river and the bridge was broken up.

To clear the Delaware it was absolutely necessary to drive the enemy from their works on the New Jersey side, especially those on the river bank at Redbank where considerable defenses were constructed. Colonel von Donop was assigned to master this fort, he marched out on the 21st at daybreak with the mounted and foot Jägers, the Grenadier Battalions von Linsing, von Minnigerode, and von Lengercke, plus the Mirbach Regiment, 12 cannons and two howitzers and at 9 AM they were disembarked on the other side. His approach march was hindered by a broken up bridge, but another was found several miles beyond. This was passed with little resistance by the entire corps. After the honorable Colonel Donop reconnoitered the locale of the fort, the order was given to attack. Captain von Wreden and his Jägers, who had covered the reconnais-

sance, first skirmished with the enemy. The Battalion Minnigerode on the right, Mirbach in the middle and Linsing on the left wing formed the main attack. Lengercke and the Jägers were held in reserve.

Despite the many abatis and constructed barriers, the attack on this fort was strong and courageous; many of our honorable officers and soldiers reached the ditch and many claimed to be on the defenses. Neither cannon or small-arms fire from the fort could slow down our fighting Hessians. But as the enemy brought up a number of row-galleys and ships, they poured an unheard-of fire, not only into our right flank, but also into our rear. Then Col. Donop was unfortunately severely wounded, Col. Schieck was killed, and Lt-Col. Minnigerode was wounded. According to reports, the majority of officers were killed or wounded; therefore, these brave people gave up the attack and fell back. They formed up again behind the bridge and tried to recover all possible wounded. As they were not pursued by the enemy, they rested here for a number of hours and returned on the 23rd without the slightest loss of artillery.

The Minnigerode Batl. and Mirbach Regt. are now at the [Philadelphia] barracks; the Lengercke Batl. is in the line. Colonel Donop, who received a musket ball that shattered his upper left tibia, did not wish to be moved because of the great pain. He is being courteously treated in Rebel hands. Captain Wagner's both legs were shattered above the knee and he was shot through the mouth. He and Lieutenant Heymell, who was also severely wounded, were also captured. Lieutenant von Heister, who was Donop's adjutant, is well. The enclosed list will give an indication of the severe losses our brave people suffered. This list may not be quite accurate; his Highness will receive an exact one from his Excellency [Knyphausen].

On 23 October our artillery, including our batteries on Province Island and war ships, began a tremendous cannonade of the works on Mud Island and the enemy ships. This lasted from early morning until 11 AM. Under cover of this cannonade Mud Island was to be taken. Boats were ready but the cannonade did not seem to have the desired effect. Also the 64-gun *Augusta* accidentally caught fire and the crew was hurriedly saved before the ship blew up. The frigate *Pearl* grounded and was harassed by the Rebels; as she could not be freed, the crew was removed and the ship burned.⁶⁹ It is now quiet.

Major von Eschwege told me that your Excellency wanted trees, especially oaks. I have given him a package sewn in linen, marked for General von J[ungkenn]; it includes 10 tree varieties, which are named on the package; all require good soil except the water oak which thrives on wet soil. I will try to make a second collection in case the first was gathered too early and will arrange for their delivery.

I am with complete respect and have the honor to be

Your Lordship's
most obedient servant
v. COCHENHAUSEN

In Camp near Philadelphia
26 October 1777.

List of the Killed, Wounded and Prisoners or Missing at Fort Red Bank on 22nd Octr. 1777⁷⁰

Battalions	Killed				Wounded				Missing or Captured				Total
	Officers	NCOs	Musicians	Privates	Officers	NCOs	Musicians	Privates	Officers	NCOs	Musicians	Privates	
Colonel von Donop severely wounded and captured	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Grenad. Bat. von Linsing	1	4	-	45	5	12	-	63	-	-	-	4	130 ⁷¹
von Minnigerode	3	2	-	12	6	6	-	81	-	-	-	28	138
von Lengerke	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Regiment von Mirbach	4	1	-	18	3	5	-	44	-	1	-	36	112
Totals	8	7	-	75	15	24	-	188	-	1	-	68	382 ⁷²

In Camp, 26 October 1777. V. COCHENHAUSEN over

Gren: von Linsing:
 1 Lt du Buy, Killed

Wounded, all severely:

1 Capt von Stamforth	} All severely wounded
1 von Eschwege	
1 Lt Gottschalk	
1 Rodemann	
1 Waitz	

Sum 5 Wounded

Gr.: von Minnigerode:

1 Capt Groning,
 1 Lt von Offenbach
 1 Lt Hille

Sum 3 Killed

Wounded

1 Lt-Col v.Minnigerode	} all severely wounded
1 Capt Wagner, very severely wounded and captured	
1 Wachs,	
1 Hendorf,	
1 Heimel and captured	
1 Lt v.Haller, lightly wounded	

Sum 6

Regt. von Mirbach:

1 Lt-Col v.Schick,
 1 Capt Bogatzky,
 1 Lt Rieman,
 1 von Wurmb

Sum 4 Killed

Wounded:

1 Lt Schotten, right arm amputated
 1 Ruffer, lightly
 1 Ens Berner, severely wounded

Sum 3

**Major Carl Leopold Baurmeister to
Major General von Jungkenn⁷³**

When the Hessen-Cassel troops entered British service in early 1776, Carl Leopold Baurmeister was a captain in the Regiment von Mirbach with date of rank of 14 January 1762. He was appointed adjutant general of the Hessian forces in North America on 30 January 1776 and he retained this appointment throughout the war. He was subsequently promoted to major in the Regiment von Mirbach to rank from 26 February 1777 Baurmeister departed New York in November 1783 with the last division of Hessian troops and, after sending the winter in England, returned to Hessen in April 1784.⁷⁴

Hamilton's House near Philadelphia, October 26, 1777

Right Honorable Lord,
Gracious High and Mighty Major General,

On the 21st Colonel von Donop with the Hessian Jäger Corps, the Hessian grenadiers, the Regiment von Mirbach, and two howitzers was detached to Jersey with orders to take the fort at Red Bank. The place vacated by Mirbach's Regiment, which had gone to the other side of the Schuylkill, was occupied by the 10th, the 27th, and the 28th English Regiments, while the English Guards took the place of the Hessian grenadiers on the right wing, and one battalion of the 71st Regiment occupied the camp of the Hessian Jägers on the left wing, where Lieutenant Mertz⁷⁵ and twenty mounted Jägers were left behind as a scouting party.

On the 22nd, toward nine o'clock in the evening, Colonel von Donop attacked the fort at Red Bank, but failed completely. Von Lengerke's Battalion covered the artillery and the crossing, so that the enemy could not creep up from the bank of the Delaware, while the Jäger Corps covered the rear. The other two grenadier battalions and von Mirbach's Regiment suffered a tremendous loss; 377 killed and wounded is a heavy loss indeed. Especially regrettable is the loss of so many worthy officers. Never again will the Regiment von Mirbach be under Lieutenant Colonel von Schieck. Of this regiment, Captain von Bogatzky and Lieutenants von Wurmb and Riemann were killed, Lieutenant Schutten and Ensign Berner severely wounded, and Lieutenant Reifforth [Ruffer] slightly wounded; von Linsing's Battalion had Captain von Gröning and Lieutenant du Puy killed, and Captain von Eschwege, Captain von Stamford, Lieutenant von Weitz, Lieutenant Rodemann, and Lieutenant von Gottschall severely wounded, the last being in an especially critical condition.

Lieutenant Colonel von Minnigerode is wounded, as are also Captains Hendorff and Wachs. Lieutenants von Offenbach and Hille remained on the field.

Colonel von Donop, Captain Wagner, and Lieutenant Heymell with practically one hundred wounded were taken prisoners. Lieutenant von Heister was sent with a flag of truce to inquire about Colonel von Donop. With the permission of Commodore Hazelwood, Captain Roberson of the navy took him ashore to the Colonel, who lay in a house about a mile from the fort at Red Bank. He has a dangerous musket-shot wound in the thigh; the bone is said to be broken, and there is little hope for his recovery. Captain Wagner seems to have no chance whatsoever, since both his legs were shot to pieces and another bullet entered his mouth and came out through his cheek. Lieutenant Heymell, on the other hand, will recover.

Yesterday, the 25th, Lieutenant Schutten had his right arm amputated above the elbow. He is my sister's only son and was adjutant to his regimental chief. Not being permitted to remain with a sick man, he accompanied his regiment. The regiment can vouch that it has always been satisfied with him. The loss of Captain von Bogatzky is a great blow to this regiment, too. Major von Wilmowsky is sick with dysentery. A few days ago his condition was still rather serious, but now he seems to be improving. Colonel von Borck is in charge of the regiment for the time being.

On the 23rd all the wounded were brought to Philadelphia, and the English light infantry was ordered to Jersey to cover the retreat of the corps in case it should be attacked. On the night of the 23rd-24th all the troops arrived on this side of the Delaware, so the Hessian corps moved back into its old position on the left of the camp, and the Grenadier Battalion von Lengerke encamped beside the English Guards. The other two grenadier battalions, out of which only 190 men are fit for duty, have gone into barracks together with the Regiment von Mirbach, which had 112 killed and wounded.

**Major Carl Leopold Baurmeister to
Major General von Jungkenn⁷⁶**

Bush Hill near Philadelphia,
December 1, 1777

Herewith another part of my journal – up to the [blank] of November. [see the following entry] . . . Many of those wounded at Red Bank have returned to their companies. On the other hand, Captain Wagner died on the 22nd of November and Lieutenant von Gottschall on the 25th, both having been severely wounded. . . .

Lieutenant Schutten has completely recovered, but has lost his right arm. May I commend this only son of my sister, the Widow Schuttin, to your Lordship's gracious care? I have the greatest confidence in him. He knows a great deal besides military science. He now writes with his left hand as well as he did with his right. Completely resigned to his fate, he is anxious to serve his master and the ruler of his land to his last moments.⁷⁷

Lieutenant Colonel von Minnigerode and Captains von Stamford and Hendorff are out of bed already, as is also Ensign Berner, whose wound in the left leg at first seemed very threatening.

Journal of Major Carl Leopold Baurmeister⁷⁸

21 October. Very early this morning Colonel von Donop received orders from the General Commanding in Chief to capture Fort Redbank on the Jersey shore by a *coup de main*. The following troops were transported across the Delaware at Cooper's Ferry:

1. All Hessian Jägers, mounted and foot, except 1 lieutenant and 20 mounted Jägers who had already been assigned to patrol;
2. Grenadier Battalion von Linsing;
3. Grenadier Battalion von Minnigerode;
4. Grenadier Battalion von Lengerke;
5. Regiment von Mirbach;
6. Two English 14-pounder howitzers with 4 ammunition wagons;

7. The eight Hessian regimental pieces with their battalions.

Colonel von Donop crossed to Jersey early in the day with the Jägers and the Minnigerode Battalion in 14 boats. They were met by about 20 light horse who fired a few shots at the boats, without results, and then retired.

The corps marched off, as they arrived, to the height behind Cooper's Ferry, while the Jäger Corps occupied a woods on the road to Burlington and Haddonfield and patrolled both roads. There was an enemy post on the road to Burlington which fired at our patrol, but Colonel von Donop decided, since we were taking the other road, not to bother with this post.

After two PM, when all had crossed the Delaware, the colonel began the march towards Haddonfield. The vanguard encountered some enemy patrols and repulsed them, and the march was not held up. The corps reached Haddonfield at dark and took up a position *Enquarre* [sic – in a square].

22 October. At 4 AM the corps set out again, crossed Newtown Creek, small and large Timber Creeks, the latter having a new wooden bridge, and arrived about 1 PM about 2 English miles from Fort Red Bank. About 3 English miles this side of the fort an enemy captain named Clark was captured by our mounted Jägers; he had been sent out from the fort to reconnoiter. He stated the fort was commanded by Colonel Green and the garrison consisted of about 800 men.

After we took positions in the woods, the outposts of the Jäger Corps were pushed forward as far as possible to reconnoiter the fort. While waiting, the regiments made fascines to fill the ditches and the howitzers were positioned on a hill in the woods which was about 600 paces from the fort and the Hessian cannons were placed so that they could be moved more than 100 paces closer during the assault, and could therefore cannonade the fort from a very short distance.

When the howitzers and cannons were placed and the troops had reached their positions, namely, the Minnigerode Grenadier Battalion on the right, the Linsing on the left and the Mirbach in the center; then the English Major Stuart and Captain [Johann Emmanuel] Wagner called upon the fort to surrender, and they brought back a refusal. This was just after 4 PM and the colonel had the cannons and howitzers begin firing. The battalions advanced toward the fort, climbed over the first barricade and ditch in a few minutes, and occupied an old work on the river side that ran out from the face of a bastion. Large numbers of men were along the parapet above the main ditch, and would have climbed this parapet, upon which there were some officers and men, when enemy ships and row galleys opened fire on their flank and read with devastating effect. Due to this, and as Colonel von Donop was mortally wounded and most of the staff and other officers were wither shot dead or wounded, it was not possible to resist any longer, and the assault was abandoned and the men withdrew to the woods. Colonel von Donop, also Captain Wagner and Lieutenant [Ernst Philipp Wilhelm] Heymell were severely wounded, as were many NCOs and privates who fell into the hands of the enemy as they could not be transported.

The other wounded officers and many NCOs and privates who were recovered by the corps recrossed the

new bridge over Timber Creek around midnight and partly pulled it down, then continued its retreat about 2 AM via Haddonfield and again arrived at Cooper's Ferry toward noon of **23 October** where some of the English light infantry and grenadier were ready to support them if necessary. The corps was again ferried across the Delaware and the Minnigerode and Linsing Grenadiers, and Mirbach Regiment, which had suffered the most in the assault, went to the Philadelphia Barracks and the Lengkerke Battalion returned to the lines.

25 October. Lieutenant von Heister, who was sent to Colonel von Donop, returned yesterday with word that the colonel's wound was very serious.

On **26 October** the Regimental Surgeon [Wilhelm] Pausch [Regiment von Knyphausen], together with Regimental Surgeon [Johann Conrad] Gechter [Regiment von Mirbach], also went to Red Bank; the former to bandage the colonel and return as soon as possible, the latter to remain to treat the Hessian wounded. For this they took along the necessary medications.

Colonel von Donop's wound was found to be incurable by both Surgeon Pausch and the English Surgeon Grant,⁷⁹ who was also sent there. We also heard that the care given by the enemy garrison at Red Bank to the wounded Colonel Donop, Captain Wagner and Lieutenant Heymell, as well as the NCOs and privates, almost 100 in all, exceeded all expectations. The 127 of our dead were buried along the ditch of the fort.

31 October. Regimental Surgeon Pausch returned from Red Bank today and reported that Colonel von Donop died at 6 PM on the 29th.

The garrison at Red Bank buried Colonel von Donop on the 30th with 400 men and 3 guns present; 50 officers followed the body and 3 volleys were fired. His burial, at his request, was among the other officers who fell there.

1 November. General Washington has permitted the wounded Captain Wagner and Lieutenant Heymell to be transported to Philadelphia on parole; this occurred today.

Staff Captain Christian Friedrich von Urff to Georg Ernst von und zu Gilsa⁸⁰

Christian Friedrich von Urff was born on 28 September 1744 in Homburg (Efze), the son of Hessen-Cassel Lieutenant General of Cavalry and Commander of the Regiment Gens d'armes Georg Ludwig (1698-1760) and Luise Auguste née von Einsiedel. By 1764 at the latest von Urff was an ensign in the Leib Infantry Regiment, from 1768 a second lieutenant, from 1774 to 1776 adjutant, In 1776 he accompanied his regiment to America as a first lieutenant. He was promoted to staff captain in November 1776. Von Urff remained unmarried and died in the battle of Hondschoote in Flanders on 8 September 1793 as a captain in the fusilier regiment.⁸¹

[Philadelphia, 26 October 1777]

Dearest Friend!

As Major von Eschwege⁸² has not departed, I cannot avoid giving you bad news. On the 22nd instant we lost part of the core of our brave Hessians. But to our consolation, they died on the field of honor. In short, I want to write you what happened the best I can.

On the 20th the three grenadier battalions and Mirbach (*pro nota*: These were chosen by General Knyphausen as they had not been in battle previously), plus the Jägers, under the command of Colonel von Donop, to march into Jersey to capture a fort called Redbank. We have the following report from Lieutenant von Heister who was there:

Instead of making a seven mile direct march, they were forced to go 21 miles as the Rebels had destroyed two bridges over which they had to pass. Before arriving they had to pass through a forest, beyond this lay the fort. [One] pair of/several regimental cannon were positioned, [shots?] came from the loopholes of the fort, but they did not fire from the fort.

Colonel von Donop then made a reconnaissance. On his return he said: "We are in a difficult position, if I get it, we will lose many men. I am almost of the opinion to report to Howe that it is impossible, then he will not believe me and say the Hessians are not up to it. So, we will try our luck."

The Lengerke Grenadier Battalion and the Jägers covered the flanks. Captain von Westerhagen, Lieutenant du Puy, and others provided details to [cut, make and] fill the ditch with fascines, which was done. The Rebels turned the cannons they had in the bastion on them and also attacked them with spears. Of the 25 men on this detail only 5 survived. At this time nine row galleys arrived and fired into his flank, so that the brave grenadiers were forced to withdraw with the loss of 22 officers and 400 to 500 privates dead and wounded. The grenadiers and Mirbach returned to Philadelphia and went in to the barracks. Donop was severely injured and captured.

Donop is widely blamed, but if it had succeeded he would have received the greatest fame. Now someone is at fault. This much is certain, if he was not so fiery, as he always is, there would have been less bad luck. He should have awaited our ships which would have countered the fire of the row galleys and allowed him to take the fort. Now it is said the fort will be besieged as we must have it in order to free the Delaware from the *chevaux de frise*. I lament our brave officers who were lost or severely wounded and I fear that, before everything is over, many more of us will bite the dust. Fretting doesn't help, one cannot avoid his fate. I hope, in the next letter, to have better news. Pardon my scratching, I am still so restless, that I cannot think, much less, write. Enclosed is a list of the dead and wounded officers, as far as we know.

I heartily embrace you and am forever your true friend, URF

In Camp at Philadelphia, the 26th October 1777

[PS] You can get more from Major Eschwege. Lieutenant Kaden,⁸³ sends his respects, and begs to enclose his letter.

No.

1	General Stirn ⁸⁴	Lightly wounded in the action at
2	Lieutenant Colonel von Wurmb	Germantown

3	Captain Trautvetter	severely wounded and afterwards died
4	Lieutenant von Baumbach	lightly wounded in the action at Brandywine
5	Lieutenant Dupuy	lightly wounded
6	Colonel von Donop	mortally wounded and captured
7	Captain Wagener	the same
8	Lieutenant Heimel	the same
9	Lieutenant Colonel von Schieck	dead
10	Captain von Bojazky	dead
11	Lieutenant Riemann	dead
12	Lieutenant Dupuy	dead
13	Lieutenant von Wurmb	dead from the Regiment Mirbach
14	Lieutenant Hille	dead
15	Lieutenant von Offenbach	dead
16	Captain von Stanforth	mortally wounded
17	Captain Ernst von Eschwege	severely wounded
18	Lieutenant Rodemann	severely wounded
19	Lieutenant Gottschalck	severely wounded
2	Lieutenant Schotten	lost an arm
21	Lieutenant von Waitz	3 wounds
22	Lieutenant Colonel von Minnigerode	lightly wounded
23	Captain Hendorff	lightly wounded
24	Captain Wacks	severely wounded
25	Lieutenant von Haller	severely wounded

371 NCOs and privates part dead, part wounded. All in the attack on Fort Redbank the 22nd October.

N.B. Philadelphia and all the surrounding places are captured.

P.S. Major von Eschwege arrived here today while we were on parade and although he is no longer with the grenadiers, two days after the murderous affair he left the army. Since I was unable to immediately meet and speak with him, I did hear that our loss was attested by him. He also confirmed the death of Colonel Donop and was that evening sent back by General Washington [*sic*]. Lieutenant Gröning of the Guards was killed by eight

shots. The good Stanford is also supposed to be dead. Then it is feared that of the severely wounded, few will make it.

**Staff Captain Christian Friedrich von Urff to
Georg Ernst von und zu Gilsa⁸⁵**

Dearest Gilsa!

Colonel von Donop died of his wound on 29 October and was buried by the Rebels with all possible honor and the fire of two cannons. Captain Wagner and Lt Heimel, captured at Redbank, were sent here on parole. The former died on 23rd instant of his wounds. Also Capt Trautvetter of the Jägers died on the 9th instant on the ship of the wound received at Brandywine. And I just heard that Lt Gottschall from Mirbach also died of his wound received at Redbank. URF

In Camp at Philadelphia, the 26th November 1777.

[PS] The poor Schotten of the Mirbach Regiment had his right arm amputated, otherwise he is so-so. Colonel Wurmb,⁸⁶ his brother the Lt Colonel,⁸⁷ [and] Major Biesenrod⁸⁸ assure you of their compliments. Stanford's case is much improved. Please send my brother this letter to read.

Journal of an Unidentified British Officer⁸⁹

20th [October 1777]. Some flat bottomed boats came up from the fleet in the night, with ammunition, and a thirteen inch mortar, to throw [blank] shot into the fort.

21st. A detachment of sixteen hundred hessian troops, under the command of Colonel Donop, and two English royal howitzers directed by Captain Downman, were conveyed by the flat boats over to the Jersey side, in order to attack red bank. . . .

23d. Yesterday evening colonel Donop made his attack upon red bank, and drove the rebels from their outer works, but was in the sequel repulsed; with the loss of upwards of three hundred men killed and wounded – himself being amongst the latter, and left behind as dying. This morning every early the first battalion of light infantry was sent over to Jersey, in order to cover the retreat of the Hessians, and bring them off. . . .

The attack also at red bank, appears to have been carried on with more resolution than conduct – for had colonel Donop contended himself for the present, with securing a lodgement in the outer work, and covered his flank from the fire of the rebel galleys, to which he was much exposed – he might very soon in that situation, by throwing a few shells from the howitzer into the work, have obliged them to surrender it to him. Besides this mistake the hessian officers themselves say, that they were not provided with proper implements for a storm; not even axes or saws to cut down the firs that runs round the parapet.

Observations by the Marquis de Chastellux⁹⁰ December 8, 1780

We still had the Red Bank fort to visit; to reach it we had again to cross the Delaware, which in this place is nearly a mile wide. The gentleman who was to do the honors there was impatient to arrive. We had amused ourselves by telling him that as the morning was far spent and the tide about to turn, we should be obliged

to omit Red Bank and return directly to Philadelphia. This guide, whom we diverted ourselves in tormenting, was M. de Plessis-Mauduit, who in the double capacity of engineer and artillery officer, had been in charge of arranging and defending this post, under the orders of Colonel [Christopher] Greene. On landing from our boat, he proposed taking us to a Quaker's, whose house is half a musket-shot from the fort, or rather the ruins of the fort, for it is now destroyed, and there remains only a faint outline in relief. "This man, M. de Mauduit told us, "is a little bit of a Tory; I was obliged to knock down his barn and fell his fruit trees, but he will be glad to see M. de La Fayette, and will receive us well. We took him at his word, but never was expectation more completely deceived. We found our Quaker [James Whitall] seated in the chimney corner, busy cleaning herbs; he recognized M. de Mauduit, who introduced M. de La Fayette and me to him; but he did not deign to lift his eyes nor to reply to any of our introducer's remarks, which were at first complimentary, and at length jocose. Except for the silence of Dido, I can think of none more forbidding. We easily resigned ourselves to this cool reception, and made our way to the fort. We had not gone a hundred yards before we came to a small elevation, on which a stone was vertically placed, with this short epitaph: "Here lies buried Colonel Donop." M. de Mauduit could not refrain from expressing his regret for this brave man, who died in his arms two days after the action; he assured us we could not take a step without treading on the remains of some Hessian; for near three hundred were buried in the front of the ditch.

The fort at Red Bank was designed, as I have said above, to support the left [east] of the *cheveaux-de-frise*. The bank of the Delaware at this place is steep; but this very steepness allowed the enemy to approach the fort under cover and without being exposed to the fire of the batteries. To remedy this disadvantage, several galleys armed with cannon and assigned to defend the *cheveaux-de-frise* were stationed alongside the escarpment and could thus watch it on the river side. The Americans, little practiced in the art of fortification, and always disposed to undertake works beyond their strength, had made those of Red Bank too extensive. When M. de Mauduit obtained permission to be sent thither with Colonel Greene, he immediately set about reducing the fortifications, by making an intersection from east to west, which transformed them into a sort of large redoubt of approximately pentagonal shape. A good earthen rampart with pointed stakes projecting from below the parapet (*fraise à hauteur cordon*), a ditch, And an abatis in front of the ditch, constituted the whole strength of this post, in which were placed three hundred men, and fourteen pieces of cannon.

On October 22 [1777], in the morning, news was received that a detachment of twenty-five hundred Hessians were advancing; soon afterwards they appeared on the edge of a wood to the north of Red Bank, nearly within cannon shot. Preparations were making for the defense, when a Hessian officer advanced, preceded by a drum; he was suffered to approach, but his harangue was so insolent that it only served to irritate the garrison and inspire them with more resolution. "The King of England," he said, "orders his rebellious subjects to lay down

their arms, and they are warned that if they stand battle, no quarter whatever will be given." The answer was that they accepted the challenge, and that there should be no quarter on either side. At four o'clock in the afternoon, the Hessians opened very brisk fire from a battery of cannon that they had set up, and soon after they advanced and marched to the first entrenchment; finding it abandoned but not destroyed, they thought they had driven the Americans from it. They then shouted "victoria," waved their hats in the air, and advanced towards the redoubt. The same drummer, who a few hours before had come to summon the garrison, and had appeared as insolent as his officer, was at their head beating the charge; both he and that officer were mowed down by the first shot fired. The Hessians, however, still kept advancing within the first entrenchment, leaving the river on their right; they had already reached the abatis, and were endeavoring to pull up or cut away the branches, when they were overwhelmed with a shower of musket shot, which took them in front and in flank; for as chance would have it, a part of the courtine of the old entrenchment, which had not been destroyed, formed a projection at this very part of the intersection. M. de Mauduit had contrived to make of it a *caponnière*, and he now threw into it some men who took the enemy's left in flank and fired on them at close range. The officers were seen continually rallying their men, marching back to the abatis, and falling amidst the branches they were endeavoring to cut. Colonel Donop could be distinguished by the marks of the order he wore, by his handsome figure, and by his courage; he was seen to fall like the others. The Hessians, repulsed by the fire of the redoubt, attempted to secure themselves from it by attacking on the side of the escarpment, but the fire from the galleys sent them back with a great loss of men. At length they relinquished the attack and regained the wood in disorder.

While this was taking place on the north side, another column attacked on the south, and, more fortunate than the other, passed through the abatis, crossed the ditch, and went up the berm; but they were stopped by the pointed stakes, and M. de Mauduit, running to this spot as soon as he saw the first attack beginning to give way, saw this second attacking column obliged to do likewise. However, they still did not dare stir out of the fort, fearing a surprise; but M. de Mauduit wanted to replace some of the stakes which had been torn out; he sallied forth with a few men, and was surprised to find about twenty Hessians standing on the berm and glued against the face of the parapet. These soldiers, who had been bold enough to advance thus far, realized that there was still more danger in turning back, and decided not to risk it; they were captured and brought to the fort. M. de Mauduit, after replacing the stakes, set to having the abatis repaired; he again sailed out with a detachment, and it was then that he beheld, insofar as the darkness of the night allowed, the deplorable spectacle of the dead and dying heaped one upon another. A voice rose from the midst of these corpses, and said in English: "Whoever you are, take me out of here." It was the voice of Colonel Donop: M. de Mauduit had the soldiers lift him up and carry him into the fort, where he was soon recognized. He had a broken hip; but whether they did not consider his wound as mortal, or that they were

overheated by the battle and still angered by the threats thrown out against them a few hours before, the Americans could not help crying out: "Well now, is it agreed that no quarter will be given?" "I am in your hands," replied the Colonel. "You may take your revenge." M. de Mauduit had no difficulty in imposing silence, and turned all his attention to the care of the wounded officer. The latter, perceiving that he spoke English badly, said to him: "Sir, you appear to me a foreigner, who are you?" "A French officer," rejoined the other. "*Je suis content*," Donop replied, making use of our language, "*je meurs entre les mains de l'honneur même*" (I am content, I die in the hands of honor itself).

The next day he was removed to the Quaker's house, where he lived three days, during which he conversed frequently with M. de Mauduit. He told him that he had long been a friend of M. de Saint-Germain [French Minister of War], that he wished in dying to recommend to him his conqueror and benefactor. He asked for paper and wrote a letter, which he delivered to M. de Mauduit, requiring of him, as a final favor, that he would warn him when he was about to die. M. de Mauduit was soon under the necessity of acquitting himself of this sad duty. "*C'est finir de bonne heure une belle carrière*," said the Colonel, "*mais je meurs victime de mon ambition et de l'avarice de mon souverain*" (this is finishing a noble career early, but I die the victim of my ambition and of the avarice of my sovereign). Fifteen wounded officers were found, like him, upon the field of battle; M. de Mauduit had the satisfaction of taking them himself to Philadelphia, where he was very well received by General Howe.

Notes

¹ Wilhelmhöher Kriegskarten, WHK 29/64a, Hessisches Staatsarchiv Marburg (hereafter cited as HStAM).

² Colonial Office, Class 5, vol. 94, pp. 735-736, The National Archives, Kew, England (hereafter cited as TNA). General Sir William Howe was the commander-in-chief of British land forces "within the Colonies lying upon the Atlantic Ocean from Nova Scotia on the North to West Florida on the South." Commission dated 2 August 1775. PRO 30/55, No. 25, TNA. Lord George Germain was the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

³ "Order Books of Lieut.-Col. Stephen Kemble, Adjutant General and Deputy Adjutant General to the British Forces in America, 1775-1778" *Collections of the New-York Historical Society for the Year 1883* (New York: Printed for the Society, 1884), 524-525 (hereafter cited as Kemble Order Book).

⁴ Michael J. Crawford, ed., *Naval Documents of the American Revolution*, 10 (Washington: Navy Historical Center, Department of the Navy, 1996), 292 (hereafter cited as NDAR). Vice Admiral Richard Viscount Howe was the commander-in-chief of the British naval squadron operating in North American waters. Royal Navy officers did not correspond directly with the Lords of the Admiralty but wrote to the secretary.

⁵ Captain Francis Reynolds, Royal Navy. Commander of HMS *Augusta*.

⁶ Sketch enclosed in Major Baurmeister to Major General von Jungkenn, 18 April 1778. Von Jungkenn Papers, vol. 1, No. 68, William L. Clements Library, the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor (hereafter cited as Von Jungkenn Papers).

⁷ German transcript and English translation in Letter G, the Lidgerwood Collection of Hessian Transcripts, Morristown National Historical Park, NJ (hereafter cited as Knyphausen Letters G, Lidgerwood Collection, MNHP). Original in "Relationes vom nordamerikanischen Kriege unter dem Commandir. Gener. von Knyphausen, 1777-1778, vol. II," Bestand 4h, Nr. 3099, HStAM.

⁸ August Woringe, *Bildnisse hessischer Heerführer im hessischen Landesmuseum Kassel* (Kassel: Hessisches Landesmuseum, 1936), 12 (hereafter cited as Woringe, *Bildnisse*). Von Knyphausen to Landgraf Friedrich II, *Duke William* in New York Harbor, 21 October 1776. German transcript and English translation in Letter B, Lidgerwood Collection, MNHP (hereafter cited as Knyphausen Letters B). Original in "Relationes vom nordamerikanischen Kriege unter dem Commandir. Gener. von Heister, 1776-1777, vol. I," Bestand 4h, Nr. 3098, HStAM.

⁹ An estacade is a dike set with piles to check the approach of an enemy. In this case, it is the so-called chevaux-de-frise. The author thanks Company of Military Historians Fellow René Chartrand for translating this and other French terms.

¹⁰ The Grenadier Battalion von Linsing, commanded by Lt. Colonel Otto Christian Wilhelm von Linsing of the Leib Infantry Regiment, was composed of the grenadier companies of the 2nd and 3rd Battalions of the Guards Regiment, the Leib Infantry Regiment and the Regiment von Mirbach. Unfortunately, its official journal has not survived.

¹¹ Wounded in the leg. Michael F. Barrett and Donald M. Londahl-Smith, "Claims for Healing Costs of Wounded Hessian Soldiers," *The Hessians: Journal of the Johannes Schwoalm Historical Association*, 10 (2007): 68.

¹² Wounded in the breast, right shoulder and left shin bone. *Ibid.*, 67

¹³ Wounded in the neck. *Ibid.*, 67.

¹⁴ Wounded in the right thigh. Died on 27 May 1778. *Ibid.*, 68.

¹⁵ Wounded in the neck, right arms and in the right side. *Ibid.*, 68.

¹⁶ Wounded in the right arm. *Ibid.*, 68.

¹⁷ Wounded in the right thigh. *Ibid.*, 68.

¹⁸ Wounded in the right arm, which was subsequently amputated. *Ibid.*, 68.

¹⁹ Wounded in the leg and Achilles tendon. *Ibid.*, 68.

²⁰ Wounded in both legs and left foot. Died of sickness in July 1783. *Ibid.*, 68.

²¹ The annotator thanks Jörn Meiners for bringing this portrait to his attention.

²² Knyphausen Letters G.

²³ German transcript and English translation in Letter A, Lidgerwood Collection, MNHP.

²⁴ Entry of 30 January 1776, German transcript and English translation by Alan Stein, former Park Librarian, Letter H, Lidgerwood Collection, MNHP (hereafter cited as Journal of the von Heister Corps). Original in "Journal vom hessischen Corps in Amerika unter dem General v. Heister, 1776-Juni 1777", Bestand 4h, Nr. 3097, HStAM. General Order, Headquarters, New York, 30 July 1779, Orderly Book of Sir Henry Clinton, 3 July 1779 to 22 July 1780, Sir Henry Clinton Papers, William Clements Library, The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. Von Knyphausen to Landgraf Friedrich II, New York, 28 July 1781, German transcript and English translation in Letter GG, Lidgerwood Collection, MNHP (hereafter cited as Knyphausen Letters GG). Original in "Relationes vom nordamerikanischen

Kriege unter dem Commandir. Gener. von Heister, 1776-1777, vol. I," Bestand 4h, Nr. 3101, HStAM.

²⁵ An amulette was a very light field piece.

²⁶ Captain Oliver Clark, 1st Rhode Island Regiment. Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army during the War of the Revolution, April, 1775 to December, 1783* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1967), 157.

²⁷ Lidgerwood Collection, MNHP. Original in Wilhelmhöher Kriegskarten, WHK 29/64, HStAM.

²⁸ "Journal of the Illustrious Young von Lossberg Regiment prior to 1780 the von Mirbach Regiment beginning on 1 March 1776 and ending on 30 May 1784, Maintained by August Schmidt, Regimental Quartermaster of the Noted Regiment," Bruce E. Burgoyne, trans., *The Hesse-Cassel Mirbach Regiment in the American Revolution* (Bowie, MD: Heritage Books, Inc., 1998), 18-20 (hereafter cited as Regiment Mirbach Journal). The original journal is in Bestand 10e, Nr. I/ Nr. 8, HStAM.

²⁹ "22d [sic 23rd]. . . Early this morning the 1st Light Infantry and 27th Regiment cross'd to the Jerseys to cover the retreat of the Hessians." Harry Miller Lydenberg, ed., *Archibald Robertson, Lieutenant-General Royal Engineers: His Diaries and Sketches in America, 1762-1780* (New York: The New York Public Library, 1930), 153. Also see the Journal of Lieutenant Henry Stirke, Light Infantry Company, 10th Regiment of Foot, 1st Battalion of Light Infantry, below.

³⁰ Ms. Hass. 4^o Nr. 220, Murhard'sche Bibliothek, Kassel, Germany. Transcribed and translated by Henry J. Retzer.

³¹ Bestand 12, Offiziersranglisten, RL69, 322, HStAM. *Staats- und Adress-Calender auf das Jahr Christi 1784* (Cassel: Weisen u. Findelhauses, 1784). See the Regiment Mirbach Journal, 26-32. This book also contains the "Journal of Lieutenant Rueffer of Melsungen", another officer in the Jung-Lossberg Regiment, who, like Bültzingslöwen, served in America from 1776 through 1783 and kept a diary for the same period of time as Bültzingslöwen's. Ferdinand von Bültzingslöwen, Online entry at <http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/> Accessed 1/21/2012.

³² Bruce E. Burgoyne, trans. "Journal of Lieutenant Rueffer of Melsungen, 1 March 1776 to 28 December 1777", *The Hesse-Cassel Mirbach Regiment in the American Revolution* (Bowie, Md.: Heritage Books, Inc., 1998), 101-104 (hereafter cited as Rueffer Journal).

³³ "Rang Liste von dem in America befindlichen Corps [1777]," Bestand 11, Verzeichnis 2b, Nr. 68, p. 24, HStAM. (hereafter cited as "1777 Rang Liste"). Rueffer Journal, 68. Regiment Mirbach Journal, 29.

³⁴ On 26 October 1777, General Howe promoted Major Stuart of the 43rd Regiment to lieutenant colonel of the 26th regiment by purchase vice Dudley Templer who retired. Kemble Order Book, 526.

³⁵ Major the Honorable Charles Stuart of the 43rd Regiment of Foot to his Father, the 3rd Earl of Bute, 27 October 1777. Hon. Mrs. E. Stuart Wortley, ed., *A Prime Minister and his Son* (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1925), 116-117 (hereafter cited as *A Prime Minister*). Stuart was the fourth son of the Earl. From New York on 13 November 1777, Major General James Robertson wrote to the Earl of Bute that:

I have the honour and pleasure to wish your Lordship joy of your son's being made, agreeable to your desire, Lieut. Col. of the Cameronian Regt. He gets reputation faster than rank; he seeks this by courting danger where it may be found, and he goes out of his way to find it – he attended as a Volunteer at the attack Count von Donop was to make at Red Bank; on examining the works, they found them much stronger than what they

were supposed to be; he agreed with von Donop on the impropriety of attacking them without cannon. Donop said that if your son would advise him he would delay the attack; the Major said that he was too young, and had not sufficient authority to have a delay of the Commander in Chief's orders rest upon his shoulders; Donop went on, your son accompanied him, a bullet mortally wounded Donop, another came so near your son's ear that for a while he lost his hearing. This was on Oct. the 8th [sic]. *A Prime Minister*, 117.

³⁶ The 26th Regiment of Foot was unofficially known as the Cameronians.

³⁷ "Journal von dem hochlöblichen Grenadier-Bataillon olim von Minnigerode mode von Loewenstein vom 20. Januar 1776 bis den 17. Mai 1784," German transcript and English translation in Letter K, Lidgerwood Collection, MNHP. Original in Bestand 10e, Nr. I/15, HStAM.

³⁸ Undated first entry in the Journal of the von Heister Corps. *The Royal American Gazette* [New York], Tuesday, October 19, 1779. General order, New York, 27 May 1780. Bruce E. Burgoyne, trans., Marie Burgoyne, ed., *Order Book of the Hesse-Cassel von Mirbach Regiment* (Westminster, MD.: Heritage Books, Inc., 2004), 279 (hereafter cited as *Mirbach Order Book*).

³⁹ "Journal des Grenadierbataillons Block nachher von Lengerke während des Feldzuges von 1776-1784," German transcript and English translation in Letter M, Lidgerwood Collection, MNHP. Original in Bestand 10e, Nr. I/14, HStAM.

⁴⁰ Undated first entry in the Journal of the von Heister Corps.

⁴¹ Short Description of the Journey of the Hon. Hessian Troops from Bremerlehe to America under the Command of His Excellency Lieutenant-General von Heister, German transcript and English translation in Letter FZ, Lidgerwood Collection,, MNHP. Original in Bestand 4h, Nr. 3104, HStAM.

⁴² Entry of 30 January 1776, Journal of the von Heister Corps. *The Royal American Gazette* [New York], Thursday, 1 June 1780.

⁴³ "Enquarré" is phonetic for, properly: "en carré" = in a square.

⁴⁴ Lt. Colonel Robert Abercromby, 37th Regiment of Foot. Commander of the 1st Battalion of Light Infantry.

⁴⁵ Bruce E. Burgoyne, trans. "Journal Kept by the distinguished Hessian Field Jaeger Corps during the Campaigns of the Royal Army of Great Britain in North America," Part 1, *Journal of the Johannes Schwalm Historical Association, Inc.*, 3, No. 3 (1987): 50-51 (hereafter cited as *Journal of the Feldjäger Corps*).

⁴⁶ Von Jungkenn Papers, vol. 1, No. 44.

⁴⁷ On the reverse side of the portrait is written "L.J.A. von Wurmb Colonel and Commander of the 100-man strong High-princely Jäger Corps in America, 1777 to the end of 1783". For the history of this portrait and another very similar one, see Jörn Meiners, "Portraits of Hessian Jäger Officers in the Museum of Marburg University" *Journal of the Johannes Schwalm Historical Association*, 7, No. 4 (2004): 15-19 and Jörn Meiners, "The Unknown Marburger – Another Portrait of Jäger Colonel von Wurmb is Found", *The Hessians*, 11 (2008): 1-11.

⁴⁸ Establishment of the Feldjäger Corps, PRO 30/55, No. 342, TNA. Rang Liste of the Leib Regiment, May 1775, Bestand 800/1-5, frame 85, HStAM. Monthly Report of the Leib Regiment, June 1777, Bestand 800/38, frame 676, HStAM. Journal of the Feldjäger Corps, 45.

⁴⁹ This was Dick Ellis who, together with John Mucklewain, a Philadelphia butcher, were captured, tried by a garrison court martial on 31 October "for conducting ye Enemy thro the Country, for being Spies and Traitors," found guilty and hung the

next day. Garrison orders, Red Bank, 25 and 31 October 1777. Orderly Book, 12 July – 31 December 1777 and 30 May -22 July 1779, Christopher Greene Papers, MS 455, The Rhode Island Historical Society. Entry of 1 November 1777, Diary of Colonel Israel Angell, 2nd Rhode Island Regt., 1 October 1777 – 28 February 1778, Massachusetts Historical Society.

⁵⁰ "Auszüge aus dem Tagebuch eines vormaligen Kurhessischen Offiziers über den Nordamerikanischen Freiheitskrieg 1776 und 1777. Mitgetheilt durch den Lieutenant von Heister in ersten Garde Regiment zu Fuss.," *Zeitschrift für Kunst, Wissenschaft und Geschichte des Krieges*, vol. 3 (Berlin, 1828). Transcript in the Bancroft Collection, Hessian Manuscripts, No. 28, vol. d, Manuscripts and Archives Division, The New York Public Library (hereafter cited as Heister diary). Translated by the annotator.

⁵¹ Heister diary. Von Knyphausen to Landgraf Friedrich II, Philadelphia, 23 March 1778, Knyphausen Letters G.

⁵² The *Merlin* was a sloop of war, not a frigate.

⁵³ Joseph P. Tustin, trans. and ed., *Diary of the American War: A Hessian Journal: Captain Johann Ewald, Field Jäger Corps* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1979), 97-104.

⁵⁴ Ewald, *Diary*, xxiv-xxvii. "1777 Rang Liste", 25. Johann Ewald, *Treatise on partisan Warfare*, trans. and annot., Robert A. Selig and David Curtis Skaggs (New York, Westport, CT and London: Greenwood Press, 1991), 1.

⁵⁵ Bruce E. Burgoyne, trans. and ed., "Diary of Lieutenant Heinrich Carl Philipp von Feilitzsch, 1777-1780," *Diaries of Two Ansbach Jaegers* (Bowie, MD: Heritage Books, Inc., 1997), 22-24 (hereafter cited as *Diaries of two Ansbach Jaegers*).

⁵⁶ *Diaries of two Ansbach Jaegers*, Introduction, n.p., 70-71.

⁵⁷ Henry J. Retzer, trans., Donald M. Londahl-Smidt, annot., "Journal of Ensign/Lt. Wilhelm Johann Ernst Freyenhagen, Jr., 1776-1778: Part 2 – 1777-1778", *The Hessians: Journal of the Johannes Schwalm Historical Association*, 14 (2011): 69-70 (hereafter cited as Freyenhagen).

⁵⁸ Freyenhagen, Part I, *The Hessians*, 13 (2010):1. Entries of 13 and 14 September 1777, Freyenhagen, Part 2, *The Hessians*, 14 (2011): 66.

⁵⁹ F.A. Whinyates, ed., *The Services of Lieut.-Colonel Francis Downman, R.A. in France, North America, and the West Indies, between the Years 1758 and 1784* (Woolwich, England: The Royal Artillery Institution, 1898), 42-44.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 1-3.

⁶¹ S. Sydney Bradford, ed., "A British Officer's Revolutionary War Journal, 1776-1778, *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 56, No. 2 (June 1961): 173-174.

⁶² Military Reports & Accounts of the Hessian Corps in America in the Years 1776-1782, especially Reports to Lieutenant-General von Dittfurth at Marburg.. German transcript and English translation in Letter Z, Lidgerwood Collection, MNHP. Original in "Militärberichte und Relationen, die Operationen des hessischen Corps im amerikanischen Kriege betreffend, 1776-1782", Bestand 4h, Nr. 3155, HStAM.

⁶³ For the history of this expedition, see Donald M. Londahl-Smidt, "Hessian Accounts of the Expedition to Hopperstown, in April 1780", *Revolutionary Bergen County: The Road to Independence* (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2009), 95-102. Hopperstown is now Ho-Ho-Kus, in Bergen County, New Jersey.

⁶⁴ Entry of 30 January 1776, Journal of the von Heister Corps. *Staats- und Adress-Calender auf das Jahr Christi 1776* (Cassel: Waysen u. Findelhaus, 1776), 27. "1777 Rang Liste", 21. General order, New York, 19 March 1777, *Mirbach Order Book*, 3. General

Order, Head Quarters, New York, 28 January 1779, Orderly Book of Sir Henry Clinton, 24 May 1778 – 2 July 1779, Sir Henry Clinton Papers, William L. Clements Library, The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor (hereafter cited as Sir Henry Clinton Papers).. General Order, Head Quarters, New York, 30 July 1779, Orderly Book of Sir Henry Clinton, 3 July 1779 – 22 July 1780, Sir Henry Clinton Papers. Journal of the Honourable Hessian Infantry Regiment von Bose from its March out to America in the Year 1776 to its return March into the Garrison at Hofgeismar in the Year 1783. German transcript and English translation in Letter S, Lidgerwood Collection, MNHP. Original in Bestand 10e, Nr. I/7, HStAM. General Order, Head Quarters, New York, 18 February and 2 July 1781, Orderly Book of Sir Henry Clinton, 23 July 1780 – 8 November 1781, Sir Henry Clinton Papers (hereafter cited as Clinton Order Book, 1780-1781). *A List of the Officers of the Army, serving in North America, Under the Command of His Excellency General Sir Guy Carleton, K.B. with the Dates of their Commissions, as they Rank in each Corps, and in the Army. For the Year 1783* (New-York: James Rivington, 1783), 60. “Embarquements Liste von denen in Hilsea Baraquen befindlichen hochlöbl. hessischen Truppen. Embarquirt Portsmouth den 2ten April 1784”, Bestand 4h, Nr. 3102, fols. 252-252v, HStAM,

⁶⁵ Ernst Kipping, trans., Samuel Stelle Smith, annot., *At General Howe's Side: The Diary of General William Howe's aide de camp, Captain Friedrich von Muenchhausen*. (Monmouth Beach, NJ: Philip Freneau Press, 1974), 40-42.

⁶⁶ “1777 Rang Liste”, 5. General Order, Head Quarters, De Lancey's Mill [NY], 20 November 1776, Kemble Order Book, 412.

⁶⁷ Von Jungkenn Papers, vol. 1, No. 47.

⁶⁸ Woringer, *Bildnisse*, 22-23. “1777 Rang Liste”, 9. Entry of 30 January 1776, Journal of the von Heister Corps. Order of 20 June 1778, *Mirbach Order Book*, 53. General order of 2 July 1781, Clinton Order Book, 1780-1781. Entry of 16 August 1783, Journal of the His Serene Highness' High Princely Infantry Regiment Prinz Friedrich, German transcript and English translation in Letter HH, Lidgerwood Collection, MNHP. Original in Bestand 10e, Nr. I/11, HStAM.

⁶⁹ It was not the Frigate *Pearl* but the *Merlin* sloop of war which ran aground and was abandoned and burnt by order of Vice Admiral Lord Howe. Howe to Philip Stephens, 25 October 1777, NDAR, 10, 292.

⁷⁰ Von Jungkenn Papers, vol. 1, No. 48.

⁷¹ The total casualties in the Grenadier Battalion von Linsing equal 134.

⁷² The total casualties equal 386.

⁷³ Bernhard A. Uhlendorf, trans. and annot., *Revolution in America: Confidential Letters and Journals 1776-1784 of Adjutant General Major Baurmeister of the Hessian Forces* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1957), 124-127 (hereafter cited as Baurmeister, *Letters and Journals*).

⁷⁴ Monthly Report of the Regiment von Mirbach, June 1776, Bestand 800/55-59, frame 1226, HStAM. “1777 Rang Liste”, 23. Entry of 30 January 1776, Journal of the von Heister Corps. Baurmeister to von Jungkenn, 1 January, 1, 9, 20 and 23 April 1784, Baurmeister, *Letters and Journals*, 597-609.

⁷⁵ Second Lieutenant Balthasar Mertz of the Garrison Regiment von Bünau, temporarily assigned to the Feldjäger Corps.

⁷⁶ Baurmeister, *Letters and Journal*, 129-132.

⁷⁷ When he learned of Captain Schotten's condition, the Landgraf wrote to von Knyphausen that “Captain Schotten of the v. Mirbach Regiment can return here [to Hessen] on the first opportunity presenting itself, and I will provide him a civil post.” Landgraf Friedrich to von Knyphausen, Cassel, 16 February 1778. Knyphausen Letters G.

⁷⁸ Henry J. Retzer, trans., Donald M. Londahl-Smidt, annot., “The Philadelphia Campaign, 1777-1778: Letters and Reports from the von Jungkenn Papers, Part 1 – 1777,” *Journal of the Johannes Schwalm Historical Association*, 6, no. 2 (1998): 13-14. This journal segment was enclosed in Baurmeister to von Jungkenn, Bush Hill near Philadelphia, December 1, 1777, but was not published in Baurmeister, *Letters and Journals*.

⁷⁹ This was probably Alexander Grant, who was a surgeon on the staff of the British hospital in Philadelphia. *A List of the General and Staff Officers, and of the Officers in the several Regiments serving in North-America, Under the Command of his Excellency General Sir William Howe, K.B.* (New-York: James Rivington, 1778), 6.

⁸⁰ Holger Th. Gräf, Lena Haunert and Christoph Kampmann, ed., *Krieg in Amerika und Erklärung in Hessen: Die Privatbriefe (1772-1784 zu Georg Ernst von und zu Gilsa* (Marburg: Hessische Landesamt für geschichtliche Landeskunde, 2010), 274-276, 284-286 (hereafter cited as *Gilsa Letters*). Translated by Henry J. Retzer. The addressee of this and the following letter was Georg Ernst von und zu Gilsa. He was born in 1740, the son of the Hessen-Cassel Lieutenant General Eitel Philipp Ludwig von und zu Gilsa and his wife Anna Juliane Sabine Sophie, nee von Scholley. In 1754 George Ernst entered military service. In 1756 he accompanied the Hessen-Cassel hired troops to southern England. After his return to Hessen the following year, he served as a captain and adjutant in his father's regiment. In 1761, during the Seven Year's War, he lost his left arm in the battle of Vellinghausen and had to retire from active service. Gilsa died in May 1798 in Treysa and was buried in the family cemetery in Gilsa. *Gilsa Letters*, xiv-xv.

⁸¹ *Gilsa Letters*, 421. Translated by Henry J. Retzer.

⁸² Major Karl von Eschwege, 2nd Battalion of the Guards Regiment, commanding the grenadier company of that battalion serving in the Grenadier Battalion von Linsing.

⁸³ Second Lieutenant Christoph Friedrich Julius Kaden of the Leib Infantry Regiment.

⁸⁴ Major General Johann Daniel Stirn, Commander of the Regiment Erbprinz.

⁸⁵ *Gilsa Letters*, 282- 283.

⁸⁶ Colonel Friedrich Wilhelm von Wurmb, Leib Infantry Regiment.

⁸⁷ Lieutenant Colonel Ludwig Johann Adam von Wurmb, commander, Feldjäger Corps.

⁸⁸ Major Hans Henrich George Wilhelm von Biesenrodt, Leib Infantry Regiment.

⁸⁹ Robert Francis Seybolt, ed., *A Contemporary British Account of General Sir William Howe's Military Operations in 1777* (Worcester, MA.: American Antiquarian Society, 1931), 22-24.

⁹⁰ Howard C. Rice, Jr., trans. and ed., *Travels in North America in the Years 1780, 1781 and 1782 by the Marquis de Chastellux* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1963), I: 156-160.

Appendix III. American and French Accounts

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Bob McDonald, 1998, 2002

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1. Armstrong, Isaac, New Jersey, Pension

NARA M804. Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty-Land Warrant Application Files

Pension S. 2038

Pension Application of Isaac Armstrong, New Jersey militia

"...In the early part of August [1777] of the same year, this declarant joined Captain Joseph Collings' company of militia, as a volunteer, at Haddonfield aforesaid. John Woleston was the first lieutenant and Abraham Bryant was Ensign of the company. This company was employed, at the time, at Haddonfield, and Red Bank, and along the Delaware River between those points. Colonel Green[e] commanded at fort Red Bank. This declarant performed duty this time one full month and was discharged at Haddonfield in the early part of September 1777."

"About three weeks after the British got possession of Philadelphia, some time in the month of October 1777 - this declarant joined Captain John Davis's company of militia, as a volunteer, at Haddonfield. Earl Davis was a lieutenant in the company. He performed duty (this declarant) with the company, at Haddonfield, Woodbury, Red Bank, and Coopers Ferry (now Camden) and along the Delaware shore between Cooper's Creek and Woodbury Creek in Gloucester County - the company of Captain Davis was **not at Red Bank when the battle took place**, but marched down there a day or two afterwards, when this declarant helped to haul dirt to cover the dead, many of whom were then lying exposed. This declarant was out under Captain Davis this time one month, and was then discharged at Haddonfield sometime in the month of November 1777...."

2. Arnot, Henry. New Jersey militia, pension.

NARA M804. Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty-Land Warrant Application Files

Pension Application S8030

Transcribed and annotated by C. Leon Harris. (available at Southern Campaigns American Revolution Pension Statements and Rosters, <http://www.revwarapps.org/>)

State of Virginia } SS

Monroe County }

On this 22^d day of August personally appeared in open Court before the Justices of the said County Henry Arnett a resident of said County and State aforesaid aged seventy one 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 7th 1832 that he entered the service of the United States under the following named officers and served as therein stated. He enlisted in the next year after the battle of Bunker Hill which was July 1776 [sic: 17 Jun 1775] in the county of Sussex in the State of New Jersey under Capt. John Weasner commanded by Maj'r. Logan and Col. Nichols for a five months tour and was discharged at Peekskill in the state of New York. During said tour he was marched from Sussex to Florida in York. He joined the company and was marched from there to New Windsor on Hudson River, the troops then took water and went to West Point; and from there to Kings bridge above New York. After that he was marched to White Plains; from there to Peekskill where he staid until he was discharged. He was in no general engagement but was in a skirmish in a place called Morris Sena [sic: Morrisania] in New York, near a place called Hill gate [sic: Hell Gate]. After getting his discharge, he brought it home, and gave it to his father, at which time, he was only fourteen years of age.

Afterwards he served one month in the room of his father who was drafted in the militia from the County of Sussex state of New Jersey commanded by Lieut. Erskine at Paramus above New York. During this tour he was not in any battle. Afterwards he served as a substitute for James Elliss of the county of Sussex and state of New Jersey for one month and was commanded by Lieut. Arnett Col. Sowards [probably John Seward] and Gen'l. [William] Winds he was marched from Sussex to New Windsor on the Hudson River, then to Morristown Princeton and Woodberry [sic: Woodbury] in Jersey, where he was discharged. During this tour he was not in any battle. In 1782 or 1783 the last year of the War, he substituted: the militia was classed and one of the Classes hired him for three months in the County of Orange state of New York; he served under Capt Gordan Maj'r Logan and Col Wisenfelt, was marched to West Point, Fort Albany, Johnstown, Saratoga, and then to Albany where he was discharged at the time peace was made. He hereby relinquishes every claim to a pension or annuity except the present, and declares that his name is not on the roll of the agency of any state. And further declares that he was in no battle, or knows of no person that he can prove the facts of his being in the service as he left that country many years ago

Sworn to & subscribed the day & year first written
[Certified by Rev. James Christy and Samuel Clark.]

State of Virginia } SS.

Monroe County }

At a Court held for the County of Monroe at the Court House on monday the 17th day of December 1832

and in the 57th year of the Commonwealth

On this 17th day of December 1832 Henry Arnett the declarant who made the foregoing declaration in the said County Court of Monroe on the 22^d of August last, again, personally appeared in open Court, and being sworn according to law, doth on his oath make the following additional declaration. He declares that he served the full term of five months as stated in his said Declaration, afterwards the full term of one month, then one other month, and then the term of three months, making in all the full term of ten month which he faithfully served his country in the capacity of a common soldier as stated in his said declaration; he further declares that he heard of peace being made, at Saratoga, and after rejoicing upon that occasion, was marched to Albany where he received a written discharge from the service about the last of November in that year but he does not recollect by whom his discharge was signed. He declares that he was born the 12th of March 1761, as appears from the record in the family bible which is in his possession, in the state of New York orange county. His Father moved, with him, from the state of New York, to Sussex County in the state of New Jersey about the year 1772, from New Jersey this declarant moved to the state of Virginia. He has resided in the County of Monroe for more than thirty years, and now resides there. He states that he is well acquainted with hundreds of persons by whom he could prove his veracity some of whom are Colo. John Hutchison Colo. Richard Shanklin, Colo. Andrew Beirne a member of the senate of Virginia Henry Alexander Esq a member of the house of Delegates of Virginia, Isaac Caruthers, William Erskine & Maj'r William Vass; that he was acquainted with Gen. James Clinton, Col. Nichols, Maj'r Logan, adjutant Thompson, Capt. Weasner, Lieutenant Dolson & James Gore who belonged to the regular army.

He has forgotten the numbers or names of the Continental or Militia Regiment with which he served

Sworn to & subscribed the date above

[The following report is by US District Attorney Washington G. Singleton who investigated hundreds of pension applications in present West Virginia. For details see my appendix to the pension application of David W. Sleeth S6111.]

Henry Arnot

I the undersigned Henry Arnot in pursuance of the requisition of the Secretary of War make the following redeclaration of my services in the war of the Revolution to Wit.

I am a native of Orange county New Jersey. I was born March 12 1761 and lived with my father in Sussex county N Jersey during the war of the Revolution. the second Summer after the war commenced & when the british troops occupied Long Island [Battle of Long Island, 27 Aug 1776] (I cant tell in what year) I Enlisted in Sussex County N.J. for five months. my company under the command of Capt. Jno. Weasner [John Weasner] rendezvoused at Florryday New York. (Dobson & Gore were Leutenants of the company) and was there reviewed. We marched to New Windsor & then to Kings bridge. at the latter place my company was attached to Col Nichols Regt Genls. Clinton & [John Morin] Scott commanded the brigades (two in number) at Kings Bridge. we remained at he latter place until joined by Gen'l. Washington army when the whole under his command marched to the white Plains – at the latter place the two armies had an engagement [28 Oct 1776] – but my brigade was not in the engagement. after the Battle my Reg't. was stationed at Peak Kill on the Hudson river where we remained until my term of Enlistment (5 months) expired. I got home on Christmas day. was at least five months in actual service. I think I was in my fourteenth year of age when I Enlisted. I went into the service as a waiter to my Captain – but immediately after getting to Kings bridge – as above stated I took my gun and done all the duties of a Soldier for the balance of the tour.

Some time after the last preceding tour (perhaps the next succeeding Summer) I cant tell in what year) I served a tour of one months at Paramus in the Militia. I cant now recollect the name of my Capt. but —

Stagg was first Lt. & — Askin 2^d Lt.

In the fall of the year in which Mud Island was taken by the british [Fort Mifflin, 15 Nov 1777] (I cant tell the year) I served a tour of one month in the Militia at the **Red Banks [Red Bank NJ]**. I cant now recollect the name of my Captain — Arnot was my Lt. I was attached to Col Sowerd's Regt. & Genl. Winds brigade.

in the same fall in which Cornwallis & his army were captured at Yorktown Virginia I served a three months touer in the Militia und Capt. Gordon & Genl. Sterling [sic: William Alexander, Lord Stirling] at Saratoga & in that region of country – & thus ended my Services. I proved my Services by reputation only. Henry Alexander wrote my Declaration to whom I gave the same narative in substance now given – he charged me nothing. In Witness of all which I hereto subscribe my name. September 5, 1835

Witness/ J W Kelley Henry his **H**A mark Arnot

NOTE: On 25 Feb 1833 Arnot was issued a certificate for a pension of \$33.33 per year for 10 months service.

3. Austin, Apollos, Rhode Island, pension

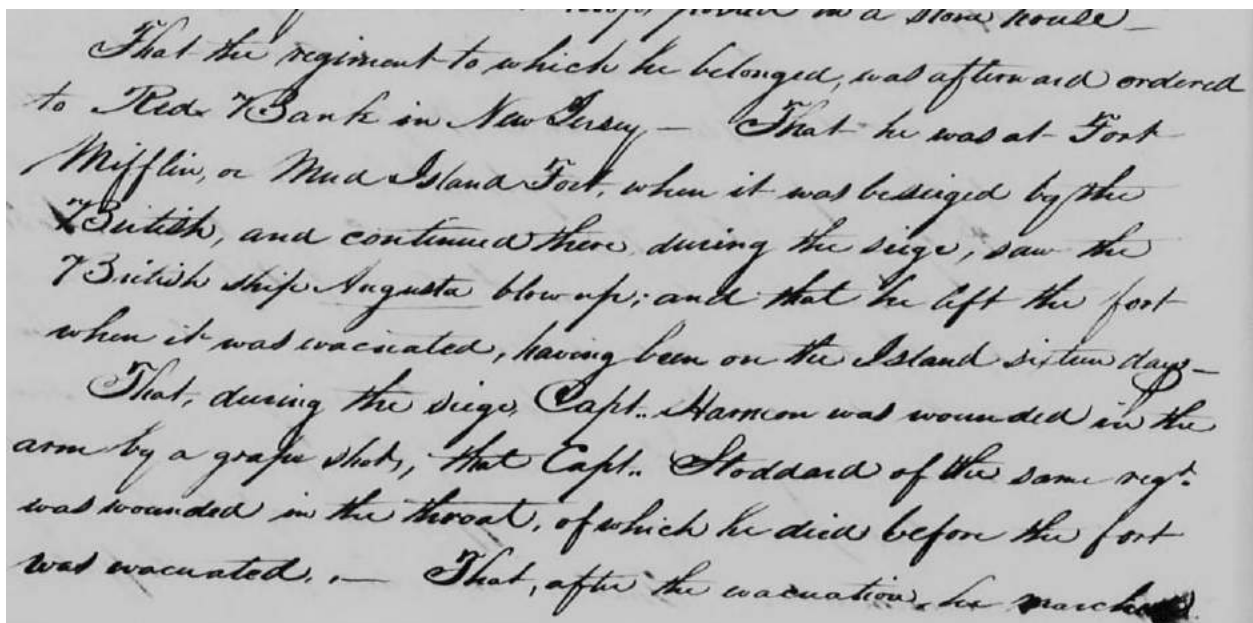
NARA M804. Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty-Land Warrant Application Files

Pension application W 20644

Apollos Austin, Col. John Durkee's Regt (Rhode Island), deposed 8 September 1832

"That the regiment to which he belonged was afterward ordered to **Red bank** in New Jersey - That he was at Fort Mifflin, or Mud Island Fort, when it was besieged by the British, and continued there during the siege, saw the British ship Augusta blow up; and that he left the fort when it was evacuated, having been on the Island sixteen days.

That during the siege Capt. Harmon was wounded in the arm by a grape shot, that Capt. Stoddard of the same regt was wounded in the throat, of which he died before the fort was evacuated. -



That the regiment to which he belonged, was afterward ordered to Red Bank in New Jersey - That he was at Fort Mifflin, or Mud Island Fort, when it was besieged by the British, and continued there during the siege, saw the British ship Augusta blow up; and that he left the fort when it was evacuated, having been on the Island sixteen days - That, during the siege, Capt. Harmon was wounded in the arm by a grape shot, that Capt. Stoddard of the same regt. was wounded in the throat, of which he died before the fort was evacuated. - That, after the evacuation, he marched

4. Bailey, Manoah, Virginia Continental, pension

NARA M804. Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty-Land Warrant Application Files

Pension Application R381

[This is apparently the same person as Noah Bailey, pension application S6556.]

State of North Carolina }

Stokes County } Superior Court of Law Tale[?] June 1824

On this 28 day of October AD1824 personally appeared in open Court being a Court of record for the County aforesaid – Manoah Baily aged sixty six years who being first sworn according to Law, doth on his Oath make the following declaration, in order to obtain the provisions made by the Act of Congress of the 18 March 1818 and the first day of May 1820 that he the said Manoah Baily enlisted for the term of Seven years [sic] to the best of his recollection in the fall of the year One Thousand seven hundred and seventy seven in the State of Virginia in the Company commanded by Capt John Nicholas in the first regiment commanded by Col George Gibson in the line of the State of Virginia continental establishment that he continued to serve in the said corpse three or four years, when he was transferred to the Company of Captain James Brown in the Regiment commanded by Col John Green – that he continued to serve in said Regiment until the year AD 1783 when he was discharged from the said service in the State of South Carolina – that while under the command of Col Gibson he fought in the **Battles of Red Bank** ford–Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth, that after his transfer to the Regiment of Col Green he fought in the Battles of Guilford [Guilford Courthouse NC, 15 Mar 1781] & the Eutaw Springs [8 Sep 1781] after which he was honourably discharged as aforesaid – that he has no other evidence in his power of his said service except his own Oath

5. Ballard, Robert, 23 October 1777

To George Washington from Major Robert Ballard, 23 October 1777

From Major Robert Ballard

2 OClock Red Bank [N.J.] Octr 23. 1777

Sir

I am just Arrivd at this place on command from Fort Mifflin, and finding that Colo. Green & the Commodore was sending by express to your Excellency the Glorious Event of last Evening and this Morning,¹ think proper to give you the particulars from our Garrison. This Morning at half after Six OClock the enemy from Province Island began a very heavy fire from their Bomb Batteries and about an hour after, was Joind by their fleet which kept up on us incessantly 'till after 12 OClock, Our Battery in Consort with the Commodores Fleet playing on them the whole time, in short we Ply'd them with 18 & 32 lb. Shots so closely that they I believe began to give Ground, however they ran a Sixty four Gun Ship and a Twenty Gun Frigate a ground & after fruitless attempts in vain to get them off, they set fire to them both, to our no small Satisfaction as it was out of the Power of our Fleet to take them.² We sustain'd no Damage except a Capt. & 1 private slightly wounded.

Our Garrison shew'd a firmness & Resolution becoming brave Men, & I dont doubt will acquit themselves with honor. The Fleet are making down again fast, as low as Billingsport. I am doubtfull we shall want Ammunition for our Cannon & 32 lb. Ball as the quantity on hand will not I am certain last us more than one Days hot fire. Small Cartridges from No. 17 to 20 are absolutely wanting. It wou'd be too much to loose a place of so much Importance for the want of War like Implements, which I haven't a doubt may easily be <had—>³ the Sizes for our Cannon of Cartridges 18 & 8 lbs. Cartridge paper will not be Amiss. The foregoing are Circumstances which I know at least Strike Colo. Smith & I do not doubt the Baron also. I hope to hear welcome news from your Quarters before long, in mean time every exertion of the Garrison of Fort Mifflin in Opposition to the Enemies fleet will be strictly attended to. We had the upper part of one of our block houses blown up to day. I expect this night or tomorrow night the Enemy will for the last make an Effort to Storm our fort. I have the honor to be Your Excellencys most Obedt Servant

Robert Ballard

ALS, DLC:GW; copy, enclosed in GW to Hancock, 24 Oct. 1777, DNA:PCC, item 152; copy, DNA:PCC, item 169.

Congress ordered the publication of a partial version of this letter, which consists of the first paragraph (except the phrase “to our no small Satisfaction as it was out of the Power of our Fleet to take them”) and the first two sentences of the second paragraph (see the *Maryland Journal, and Baltimore Advertiser*, 18 Nov. 1777).

¹. See the letters that John Hazelwood and Samuel Ward, Jr., wrote to GW on this date.

². Several ships of the British fleet moved up the Delaware River on 22 Oct. to support the Hessian attack on Fort Mercer by engaging the American fleet and Fort Mifflin. Late that afternoon as the British ships maneuvered in the channel to approach the upper chevaux-de-frise

near Fort Mifflin, the 18-gun *Merlin* and the 64-gun *Augusta* ran aground. On the morning of 23 Oct. the British attempted to refloat both ships, but they were hampered severely in their efforts by American galleys, floating batteries, and fire ships. About eleven o'clock the *Augusta* caught fire by some undetermined means, and about a half hour later the British deliberately set fire to the *Merlin* to prevent its capture. The *Augusta*'s powder magazine blew up about two o'clock in the afternoon, and the *Merlin* exploded about half an hour later (see the journals of the *Roebuck*, *Camilla*, and *Pearl*, 23 Oct. 1777, in [Naval Documents](#), 10:246, 248, 250–51, and the court-martial of Capt. Francis Reynolds and Comdr. Samuel Reeve, 26 Nov. 1777, *ibid.*, 603–10). Capt. John Montresor says in his journal entry for 23 Oct. that before the explosion of the *Augusta* “many of the seamen jumped overboard apprehending it, some were taken up by our ships [and] boats, but the Chaplain, one Lieutenant and 60 men perished in the water” ([Scull, Montresor Journals](#), 470; see also Muenchhausen, [At General Howe's Side](#), 41).

3. This word, which is mutilated on the manuscript of the ALS, is taken from the copy enclosed in [GW's letter to Hancock of 24 October](#).

MARYLAND JOURNAL, AND BALTIMORE ADVERTISER.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 4, 1777.

(Vol. V.)

LONDON, April 10.

Extract of a letter from Bourdeaux, May 13.

THE disputes between England and America occasioned a very tragic scene in this town. A few failors belonging to a ship from Boston happened to come into company with some failors of an English ship in this port. Their conversation naturally turned on the present contest, and the justice of the cause was strongly insisted upon by each party. The argument at last became so violent that the dispute ended in a battle, in which the Americans got the better of their antagonists.

The next day the English failors, or Scotch, for they were mostly North Britons, to revenge this affront, came in great numbers to the place where the dispute had happened, and the Americans having heard of their design, also appeared though much inferior in number. A general battle soon ensued, and lasted some time without any material advantage on either side; but another troop of English failors arriving and falling on the Americans forced the latter to retreat. A party of labourers and other failors, seeing that the match was unequal, the English being much superior in number, joined the Americans, by which they made both parties of equal strength, on which another engagement ensued, which lasted for near two hours. In the mean time the report of this quarrel being spread about the town, many English merchants and artificers flew to the assistance of their countrymen, but were opposed by another body of labourers which put a stop to their joining the fighting parties. The English had 6 killed and 9 dangerously wounded; 1 American was killed and 4 wounded, and labourers 2 killed and 6 wounded. The commandant of this town sent a company of infantry to disperse the failors, and parties are continually patrolling along the port to prevent any future engagements.

CHARLES-TOWN, (S. Carolina) Sept. 15.

The privateer sloop Vixen of this port, Capt. Downham Newson, which sailed on a cruise the 5th of May last, returned the 12th ult. having, on the 15th of July, in lat. 33, long. 77 (besides the prizes formerly mentioned) taken the schooner Betsey, Thomas Muir master, laden with sugar, from Antigua bound for New York—since re-taken off this bar, and carried into New York.

About the same time arrived here, after a short passage from France, Mr. Gallvan, to whose assistance we are obliged in procuring for the use of this State, a number of fine brass field pieces, some mortars, shot, shells, and every thing appertenant to them, 7000 stand of excellent small arms, 500 barrels of gun powder, and sundry other war-like stores, which are all since safely deposited here.

The Captains King and George, who arrived here the 19th ult. in nine days from Cape Francois, informs that on or about the 30, a French brigantine garde cotee was sunk by an English frigate, a few leagues to leeward of the cape, and most of the crew perished. And that two frigates, which arrived soon after from France, were thereupon immediately ordered out to Spanish Louisiana; and, for that purpose, stationed on a cruise, one to and from Cape Nicholas Mole, the other to and from Monte-Christi.

The Snow La Victorie, of and for Bourdeaux, commanded by Monsr. Jean Baptiste le Bourcier (who some time ago brought over the Marquis de la Fayette, with some other French noblemen and officers) on the 14th ult. unfortunately struck upon the bar, where the vessel and cargo were entirely lost, but none of the people.

The privateer schooner Nancy, of North-Carolina, Capt. George Palmer, on the 2d instant carried into a safe port in Georgia, a sloop commanded by Capt. Nicholas, from Jamaica, bound to the Mississippi, with a cargo of rum, sugar, dry goods, and some slaves, taken by him, in concert with the Northampton privateer of Virginia, Capt. Powell, on the 16th of August. On the 3d of the same month, Capt. Palmer had also taken the ship Stevens, of and for Bristol from Jamaica, James Henderson master, mounting 10 guns, and laden with sugar, rum, &c.

A large ship, called the Polly, Thomas Collar master, from Mississippi for Jamaica, laden with flowers and lumber, taken in lat. 30, long. 75, by the Relatoune of

ter of marque brig, of Cape Fear, came to safe anchorage in that river the 21st ult.

On the 21st ult. the privateer brig, Experiment, of this port, Capt. Francis Morgan, returned from a cruise, upon which she sailed the 28th of May last, in company with the letter of marque brig Fair-American. He parted with the Fair-American in the night of the 20th, and, on the morning of his arrival, off this bar, and in sight of the light buoy, fell in with a brig, which, though at first she had not the least appearance of being armed, as soon as he got up along side of her, ran out 16 guns, began to fire upon him, and killed one of his people; a sloop of 10 guns, consorted to the brig, being at the same time in sight, and in chase of a sloop that seemed to be bound in. The sloop having come up and taken her, returning to join her consort, and the force of the brig being greatly superior to Capt. Morgan's (who had only 12 guns) and was cowardly manned, after capturing a few boats with her, he thought it most advisable to return into port.

The 26th ult. the letter of marque brig Fair-American, commanded by Capt. Charles Morgan, also returned from a cruise. In the night of the 21st, Capt. Morgan took out of the last Jamaica fleet, the schooner Betsey, John McNeill master, and, on the 22d, the schooner Margery, Samuel Boyd master, both bound for New York; and on the 23d he was chased by the Boreas frigate, but not fallowed her. The cargo of the former was 184 puncheons of rum; and of the latter, 51 hogheads, 13 tierces, and 25 barrels of sugar, 30 casks of coffee, 6 pipes of Madeira wine, and 50 dozen of Barcelona 3/4 pounder-ships. The Betsey, unfortunately struck upon Stags breakers the 23d, and was soon after beat to pieces; but upwards of 100 puncheons of her cargo have been saved. The Margery got into a safe port last Monday.

The 23d ult. arrived here a French sloop from Martinico, which on the 23d, in lat. 23, long. 70, about 60 leagues from the land, had been boarded and examined by a sloop of 10 guns, employed as a tender to the Perfum man of war, then in sight, with an armed brig of about 16 guns, and a deep loaded brig without a head, having a sloop as bright side, and a quarter-board.

We are informed, by some persons lately from New-Province, that BAHAMA REGISTERS, (having been found good protestants, to vessels that have then, when met by American cruisers) are in great demand, for ships belonging to the West-India Islands; and that two brigantines of Jamaica, were actually procuring such papers, when our informants came away. They likewise inform, that it was declared intention of Capt. Bevels of that island (who was taken the 13th of July last by the Volunteer privateer of this port, and afterwards retained by a man of war, off this bar, and sent into New-York) to apply, on his arrival there, to Lord Howe, for a commission to cruise against the Americans; and that Capt. Williams Chambers, of the same island, who lately took several American vessels some of which he sent for New-York, and others for Jamaica, had no commission.

The master of a vessel who left France the 17th of July last informs that a squadron of seven French ships of the line, with 5 frigates, commanded by Monsr. Duchesneaux, had been on a cruise from Brest, in the Bay of Biscay, to signify to the commanders of all British ships of war cruising there, that the King his master required they should withdraw themselves from his coasts; that the requisition had been complied with; and that upon Monsr. Duchesneaux's return into port, he was ordered out again with a like number of ships.

Sept. 23. A fortnight ago, there was a small King's tender at New Providence, which had seized three vessels belonging to that island, upon suspicion of having carried fruit to some of the United States.

We are informed, and we believe upon good grounds, that a sloop belonging to the King of France, sailed from Marunique, on the 16th of last month, for New-York, with Monsr. de Kerlelan on board, charged to demand, from Lord Howe, immediate restitution of all the vessels and property under French colours, that have been seized and carried into that or any other port on this continent, possessed by the forces of the British King. That frigates have been sent to make a like demand of the British Commanders and Governors in the West Indies. That the trade of France having lately suffered great interruption, by all vessels to and from their ports being stoped, searched, and confiscated by British cruisers, that Court, at the same time remonstrating thereon in very spirited terms, had determined no longer patiently to bear such insults, and resolved not only to protect all vessels sailing under its colours, but also to insure to the adventurers. Such national ships as shall be employed in extending the commerce of France

to the United States of America. And that Le Protheer, of 74 guns, commanded by the Chevalier Dampiere, La Diligence, and L'Amphitrite, conveying three armed ships, loaded on the Continental account, had arrived on the 18th ult. after a very short passage, from France, at Martinique, and sailed again from thence on the 26th, with orders, which were not to be opened till they should reach a certain latitude; but that it was confidently believed, their next arrival would be in Delaware Bay, or some other harbour of the United States. Indeed these, and some other advices, strongly indicate, that the intimated Court of Great-Britain cannot much longer avoid a war with the united courts of France and Spain.

Some late detainers from East Florida, represent the garrison there as increased to 1500, and seem to think, that some expedition will be attempted from that quarter, as they are towing all the hides of the cattle they steal from Georgia into boats capable of carrying about ten men each, and from some other circumstances.

A French schooner from Hispaniola for this port, having about four months since met with a large English Indianman, in the government's service, of 60 guns, loaded with arms, ammunition, a profusion of presents for Indians, and Indian trading goods, and carrying 150 soldiers for Peninsular, was obliged to proceed with her as the matter had pretended he was bound for Missippi. He proceeded accordingly, two days after his departure from thence, left the 36 gun ship above mentioned at the mouth of the river, having been sent to demand restitution of the British ships not long since seized there by the Spanish Governor, who had neither ordered restitution, nor suffered the ship to enter.

M O S T O N, October 9.

Tuesday last night the Lady of the Honourable John Hancock, Esq; President of the Honourable Continental Congress, arrived safe in town, in good health.

Captain Martin Perkinin is arrived at a safe port in eleven weeks from Bourdeaux, with a full cargo of sulphur, lead and saltpetre.

The cargo of the prize ship from Liverpool, of 200 tons burthen, mounting 12 double forty's six pounders, four swivels, nine blunderbusses, and twelve small arms, navigated with 30 men, and lately commanded by Richard Tate, taken by the Satisfaction, Capt. Wheelwright, after two hours and half engagement, and which is arrived at a safe port, is as follows, viz. 172 hogheads of sugar, 17 puncheons of rum, 243 bales of cotton, 2 boxes of indigo, 30 tons of luffick, 7 pipes of Madeira wine, 100 turkie shell, 20 tons of ram wood, and 100 elephants teeth.

Tuesday last 143 prisoners were brought to town, under guard, taken by Col Brown, near Ticonderoga, 13 of whom were officers, and properly secured.

Saturday last arrived at a safe port, a prize ship of 16 guns, taken by the ship Alfred.

Near half the Assembly of Hampshire State have turned out volunteers, and march for the Northern Army this day.

Extract of a letter dated Whitehaven, June 26, 1777.

Three American privateers, viz. the Reprisal, Commodore Weeks, of 18 guns and 120 men, with 8 cohorts in her tops, and a number of swivels, her carriage guns all six pounders, double fortified; the Lexington, Johnston, of 16 guns, and 110 men, with 4 cohorts, in her tops and a great number of swivels, her carriages the same weight of metal and fortified in the same manner; and the Dolphin, Nicholson, of 10 guns and 64 men, with a number of swivels and small arms; from the 19th to the 23d instant inclusively, have taken the following vessels in the English channel, and on the coast of Ireland, viz.

June 16th. sloop Merrion of Greenock, Neal Taylor from Greenock, in Sons, ballast, lunk.— 19th. brig Expedition, of Whitehaven, William Brantwaite, from Whitehaven to Norway, ballast, lunk. Ship ———, Ribbs McGonery, ballast, sent to France. 20th. sloop Jason, of Whitehaven, Joseph Hutchinson, from Whitehaven to Peterburgh, ballast, sent to France. Jenny and Peggy, of Irwin, William Howe, from ——— to Irwin, ballast, lunk. Sloop Edward and Ann, of Queensferry, Edward Brown, from Kingsburgh to Liverpool, wheat, sent to France. 21st. brig Jenny and Sally, of Glasgow, William Drummond from Glasgow to Norway, ballast, sent to France. Bark John and Thomas, of

7. Banister, Thomas, Virginia Continental, pension

NARA M804. Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty-Land Warrant Application Files

Pension Application S21060

The State of South Carolina
Anderson District

On this sixth day of March 1833 personally appeared in open court before the Judge of the Court of Sessions & Common Pleas in the said State & for the said District now in session Thomas Banister residing in the State & District aforesaid, who being duly sworn according to law, doth on oath make the following declaration in order to obtain the benefit of the act of Congress passed June 7 1832.

That Deponent was born about the year 1763 aged 70 years in Prince William County Virginia & living there when he entered the Service – he afterwards to this District and has been residing here thirty years – he was drafted in 1779 under Capt. Peyton & Ewell and marched to Philadelphia and thence to Germantown and **thence to Red Bank fort on the Delaware** he serve on this tour three months – he was again drafted under Capt James & Col Edwards and marched to Richmond Virginia and he was taken prisoner between Petersburg & Richmond at an engagement with Cornwallis at which he received a severe cut on the head with a Sword and one on the hand – he was in service and prisoner together six months this tour – he served nine months in the whole.

8. Bantham, John, Maryland, pension

NARA M804. Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty-Land Warrant Application Files

Pension Application S44344 MD

Transcribed and annotated by C. Leon Harris. Revised 8 Dec 2014.

State of Ohio Coshockton County Ss

"...On this first day of Sept 1820 personally appeared in Open Court in the Supreme Court of the State of Ohio now sitting within and for said County of Coshockton, being a court of Record for the said state of Ohio, John Bantham aged Seventy two years in October next, and resident in said County of Coshockton, who being first duly sworn according to law, doth on his oath swear that he served in the revolutionary war as follows; that he Enlisted in June 1775 for the period of six months in the State of Maryland, in the company commanded by Captain [James] Henry in the Flying Corps, that he was in the battle of York Island, and at the White Plains, and was discharged at Phillidelphia in Jany 1776. That he then enlisted in May 1776 for during the war under Capt McCombs in the Regiment commanded by Col. Howard in the Maryland Line. that he was at the Storming of Stoney Point [sic: Stony Point NY, 16 Jul 1779], **and at Red bank fort**, that he was at Mud Island [Fort Mifflin in Delaware River, site of a siege 10 Oct - 15 Nov 1777], and at German Town, and at the battle of Monmouth, that he was then detached to the Wiomee [Wyoming Valley PA, summer 1779?] and had two skirmishes with the Indians, and then Captain McCombs died and Capt [George] Hamilton Commanded the Company to which he belonged...."

9. Barnes, Amistead, Virginia, Pension

NARA M804. Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty-Land Warrant Application Files

Pension Application S37700

Commonwealth of Virginia, Madison County towit.

13 September 1819 personally appears Armistead Barnes aged 63 years resident in the said County of Madison, who being by me first duly sworn, according to law, doth on his oath make the following declaration....

"That he the said Armistead Barnes enlisted as a private for two years on the [blank] day of [blank] in the year 1776 in the company commanded by Captain Joseph Spencer of the 7th Virginia Regiment commanded by Col. Dangerfield. that he enlisted at Norfolk in the State of Virginia. That he continued to serve in the said Corpse or in the service of the united states on Continental establishment until the year 1778 having then served out his time when he was Honourably discharged from said service at the valley forge near Philadelphia. That he was in the battles of Germantown, Brandywine, Mud Island fort & **Red-bank fort** & many little skirmishes.

And that he is in reduced circumstances and stands in need of the assistance of his country for support and that having but his discharge he has no other evidence now in his power of his said services except the affidavits of Peter Triplett, Wm. Foster [pension application W4674] & Martin Barnes...."

10. Betzler, Caspar, New Jersey, Pension

NARA M804. Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty-Land Warrant Application Files

Pension Application R.814

State of Pennsylvania, City of Philadelphia
28 March 1835

Caspar Betzler, Aged 82

Enlisted [for term of one year] in the army of the United States in 1775 in the company commanded by Captain John Hyder, Colonel Josiah Hillman Major Ellis (he thinks John Ellis)... At the time of enlistment he resided in Gloucester County, New Jersey. [Serves in the 1776 campaign, and is discharged after one year of service].

"Afterwards, he joined a company of volunteers under the same Captain Hyder with the same Colonel and marched to attack the **Hessians at Red Bank** - and was engaged in the battle at that place when the Hessians were defeated and pursued as far as Timber Creek - when they returned to Red Bank and afterwards marched home...."

11. Blewer, Joseph , 23 October 1777

Captain Joseph Blewer To George Washington , 23 October 1777

From Captain Joseph Blewer

Redbank [N.J.] october 23d 1777

Sir

I have the honour to inform you that yesterday the Enemy (hesions) about 1200 attackd the fort at Red Bank after a Smart action they Retreated with much Loss on there Side ours very inconsiderable¹ this Morning our gallys attacked the Eagle & Robuck after a hevvy Cananade the Robuck droped Down the Eagle then aground keeping up a hevvy fier till ten oClock at whitch time She took fier I am not as yet Certain If they did it or our Shot amediatly after the gallys attacked an other Ship aground below (a frigate) they shortly Set her on fier² and the other pyret Ships Droped Down below the Chevoux Defreze where they Still lay³ our loss in the Gallys dose not Exceed four or five killed & wounded we are all in high Spiritts both garesons as well as the fleet I think they have Such a dose as will privent there atempting this pasege any moor we have Expended much of our amunition Recd but Small Supplys Sinc I lift your Excelency though have Sent by Expriss for a Sufficent Should it arive timly I think with Every other Gentellmen hear that we have nothing to fear from this quarter. I Remain your Excelency most obedent & Hbbles Servent

Joseph Blewer

P.S. Amunition wanted 18 pd & 24 with muskett Cartridge for the Gareson as we have Supplied the gareson with all the muskett Catrde belonging to the fleet. Excuse hast for the glorious news.

J. Blewer

ALS, DLC:GW.

¹ For accounts of the unsuccessful Hessian attack against Fort Mercer on 22 Oct., see [Samuel Ward, Jr., to GW, 23 Oct.](#), and [note 2](#).

² For an account of the burning of the British warships *Augusta* and *Merlin* on this date, see [Robert Ballard to GW, this date, n.2](#). The frigate *Roebuck* assisted in the unsuccessful efforts to refloat the *Augusta* on the morning of 23 October.

³ Blewer is referring to the lower chevaux-de-frise at Billingsport.

Blewer is a member of the Pennsylvania Council of Safety

12. Pension Application Samuel Bowen S22,133 New Jersey Militia, deposed 15 November 1832

NARA M804. Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty-Land Warrant Application Files

“ ... he was called upon by Capt Becker to perform another tour & marched toward Philadelphia above **Red Bank fort** & built a small battery and remained stationed there for about two months when the enemy came upon them with a piece of cannon and battered down their fort and their detachment were forced to retreat, The next day Genl Washington sent them a Reenforcement which enabled them to contend with the enemy & they had a battle & beat the enemy and drove them, The Lieutenant of his Company Lieutenant Mulford was killed.”

Intelligence from Red-Bank.

Red-Bank, October 23d 1777.

May it please your Excellency,

THIS will acquaint your Excellency, that early this morning, we carried all our galleys to action, and after a long and heavy firing we drove the enemy's ships down the river, except a 64 gun ship, and a small frigate, which we obliged them to quit, as they got on shore, and by accident the 64 gun ship blew up, and the frigate they set on fire themselves, took the people all out and quitted them. Our action lasted till twelve o' clock, and our fleet has received but very little damage.—You will be informed of the glorious event of last night by Col. Green. We in our galleys were of great use in flanking round the fort.—As I am very much fatigued, I hope your Excellency will be satisfied with this short account of our affairs of the river and fleet.

Being in haste, I hope soon shall have it in my power to give you a better account of this action; besides the sixty-four and frigate being burnt, the Roebuck, who lay to cover them, was damaged much, and drove off, and had she lain fast, we should have had her in the same situation.

Am your Excellency's most obedient,
and very humble servant,

JOHN HAZELWOOD.

His Excellency Gen. Washington.

Red-Bank, 23d October, 1777.

S I R,

BY the desire of Col. Green, I congratulate your Excellency, on the success of the troops under his command, yesterday. On the 21st instant, four battalions of Germans, amounting to 1200 men, commanded by the Baron Donop, Col. Commandant, landed at Cooper's ferry, and marched the same evening to Haddonfield. At 3 o'clock yesterday morning, they marched for this place; when the guard at Timber-Creek Bridge were informed of their approach, they took up that bridge, and the enemy filed off to the left, and crossed at a bridge, four miles above. Their advanced parties were discovered within a quarter of a mile of the fort, at 12 o'clock. at half after four o'clock P. M. they sent a flag to summon the fort, who was told, that it should never be surrendered. At three quarters after four they began a brisk cannonade, and soon after advanced in two columns, to the attack. They passed the abattis, gained the ditch, and some few got over the picquets, but the fire was so heavy, that they were soon drove out again, with considerable loss, and retreated precipitately, towards Haddonfield.

The enemy's loss amounts to 1 Lieutenant Col. 3 Captains, 4 Lieutenants, and near 70 killed, and the Baron Donop, his Brigade Major, a Captain,

Lieutenant, and upwards of 70 non-commissioned officers and privates, wounded and taken prisoners. We are also informed that several waggons are taken. He also enjoins me to tell your Excellency, that both officers and private men behaved with the greatest bravery.—The action lasted 40 minutes, Col. Green's regiment has two serjeants, 1 file, and 4 privates killed, 1 serjeant, and 3 privates wounded, and one Captain, (who was reconnoitring) taken prisoner. Col. Angel has one Captain killed, 3 serjeants, 3 rank and file, and 1 Ensign, 1 serjeant, and 15 rank and file wounded, 2 of Capt. Dupleffis company were slightly wounded; too many handsome things cannot be said of the Chevalier, who as well as his officers shewed a truly heroic bravery.—There has been already brought into the fort near 100 muskets, a considerable number of swords, cartridge boxes, &c.—There has been a smart firing between ours and the enemy's fleet this morning; several fire-ships have been sent down the river.

I am with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient
humble servant,

SAM. WARD.

His Excellency Gen. Washington.

3 o' Clock, Red-Bank, Oct. 23, 1777

S I R,

I AM just arrived at this place, on command, from Fort-Mifflin, and finding that Col. Green, and the Commodore were sending by express to your Excellency, the glorious event of last evening, and this morning, think proper to give you the particulars from our garrison. This morning at half after six o'clock, the enemy, from Province Island, began a very heavy fire from their bomb-batteries, and in about half an hour after was joined by their fleet, which kept up on us incessantly, till after 12 o'clock. Our battery, in concert with the Commodore's fleet, playing on them the whole time, in short we ply'd them with 18 and 32 pound shot so closely, that they, I believe, began to give ground, however they ran a sixty-four gun ship and a twenty gun frigate a-ground, and after fruitless attempts to get them off, they set fire to them both. We sustained no damage, except a Captain and a private slightly wounded.—Our garrison shewed a firmness and resolution becoming brave men, and I don't doubt will acquit themselves with honour. The fleet are making down again fast, as low as Billingport.

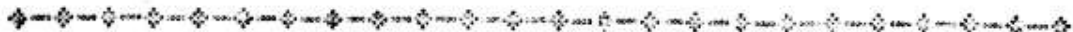
I have the honour to be, &c.

ROBERT BALLARD.

His Excellency Gen. Washington.

Published by order of Congress,

CHARLES THOMPSON, Secretary.



14. Pension Application of Jacob Burrus W340, 2d Virginia, deposed 20 August 1832

NARA M804. Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty-Land Warrant Application Files

" ... was detailed with others & marched to mud Island fort, or Fort Mifflin, in the Delaware, a little below Philadelphia, the enemy then having possession of the latter place. To get there, they crossed the Delaware some distance above Philadelphia, went silently down on the Jersey side, to some distance below, then, in the night embarked on Boats, & went to the Fort, commanded by Col Samuel Smith. here he done duty as a Sergeant, during the whole of that long & sanguinary siege. Col Smith was of the Maryland line. He was then attached to the company commanded by Capt Treat [Samuel Treat of the 2nd NY Artillery] who was killed by a ball from the enemy striking a handstick standing by a gun, the stick, or part of it, striking the Capt, & killed him on the spot. He witnessed the attack made on the **Fort (Red bank)** on the Jersey Shore. the blowing up of a British war vessel, set on fire by a hot ball from the fort [probably HMS *Merlin* or HMS *Aurora*, 23 Oct]. At length had to abandon the place with but a small portion of those brave men, who went in during the siege, was wounded twice by splinters, knocked off the timbers by the enemies balls – once badly – for a while dead to appearance. From this fort marched under our gallant commander Col Smith, & rejoined the main army at Vally forge continued here untill say March 1778 when he was discharged...."

15. de Chastellux, Marquis

1963 *Travels in North America in the Years 1780, 1781, and 1782 by the Marquis de Chastellux*. Translated by Howard C. Rice, Jr., volume 1. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

page 157

The fort at Red Bank was designed, as I have said above, to support the left [east] of the chevaux-de-frise. The bank of the Delaware at this place is steep; but this very steepness allowed the enemy to approach [on the river] the fort under cover and without being exposed to the fire of the batteries. To remedy this disadvantage, several galleys armed with cannon and assigned to defend the chevaux-de-frise were stationed alongside the escarpment and could thus watch it on the river side. The Americans, little practiced in the art of fortification, and always disposed to undertake works beyond their strength, had made those at Red Bank too extensive. When M. de Mauduit obtained permission to be sent thither with Colonel Greene, he immediately set about reducing the fortifications, by making an intersection from east to west, which transformed them into a sort of large redoubt of approximately pentagonal shape. A good earthen rampart with pointed stakes projecting from below the parapet (*fraisé á hauteur de cordon*), a ditch, and an abatis in front of the ditch, constituted the whole strength of this post, in which were placed three hundred men, and fourteen pieces of cannon.

On October 22 [1777], in the morning, news was received that [page 158] a detachment of twenty-five hundred Hessians were advancing, soon they appeared on the edge of the wood to the north of Red Bank, nearly within cannon shot. Preparations were making for the defense, when a Hessian officer advanced, preceded by a drum; he was suffered to approach, but his harangue was so insolent that it only served to irritate the garrison and inspire them with more resolution. "The King of England," he said, "orders his rebellious subjects to lay down their arms, and they are warned that if they stand battle, no quarter whatever will be given." The answer was that they accepted the challenge, and that there would be no quarter on either side. At four o'clock in the afternoon, the Hessians opened a very brisk fire from a battery of cannon that they had set up, and soon after they advanced and marched to the first entrenchment; finding it abandoned but not destroyed, they thought they had driven the Americans from it. They then shouted "victoria," waved their hats in the air, and advanced towards the redoubt. The same drummer, who a few hours before had come to summon the garrison, and had appeared as insolent as his officer, was at their head beating the charge; both he and his officer were mowed down by the first shot fired. The Hessians, however, still kept advancing within the first entrenchment, leaving the river on their right; they had already reached the abatis, and were endeavoring to pull up or cut away the branches, when they were overwhelmed with a shower of musket shot, which took them in front and in flank; for as chance would have it, a part of the courtine of the old entrenchment, which had not been destroyed, formed a projection at this very part of the intersection. M. de Mauduit had contrived to make of it a sort of *caponnière*, and he now threw into it some men who took the enemy's left in flank and fired on them at close range. The officers were seen continually rallying their men, marching back to the abatis, and falling amidst the branches they were endeavoring to cut. Colonel Donop could be distinguished by the marks of the order he wore, by his handsome figure, and by his courage; he was seen to fall like

the others. The Hessians, repulsed by the fire from the redoubt, attempted to secure themselves from it by attacking on the side of the escarpment, but the fire from the galleys sent them back with a great loss of men. At length they relinquished the attack and regained the wood in disorder.

While this was taking place on the north side, another column attacked on the south, and, more fortunate than the other, passed [page 159] through the abatis, crossed the ditch, and went up the berm, but they were stopped by the pointed stakes, and M. de Mauduit, running to this spot as soon as he saw the first attack beginning to give way, saw this second attacking column obliged to do likewise. However, they still did not dare stir out of the fort, fearing a surprise; but M. de Mauduit wanted to replace some of the stakes which had been torn out; he sallied forth with a few men, and was surprised to find about twenty Hessians standing on the berm and glued against the face of the parapet. These soldiers, who had been bold enough to advance thus far, realized that there was still more danger in turning back, and decided not to risk it; they were captured and brought into the fort...."

16. Foster, Samuel, Connecticut, pension

NARA M804. Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty-Land Warrant Application Files

Pension Application S13043

State of New York Greene County: SS

On this 6th day of February 1833 personally appeared in open Court, before the Judges of the Court of common pleas of the County of Greene now sitting Samuel Foster resident of the town of Catskill, in the County of Greene, and State of New York aged seventy-two 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 7th 1832. That he was born on the 23rd day of March 1761 at the town of Ridgefield, County of Fairfield in the State of Connecticut. That he enlisted on the 8th or 10th day of June 1776, at the place aforesaid, in the Service of the American War in a company of militia, being the State troops of Connecticut; which company was commanded by Captain Noble Benedict of Danbury in the State aforesaid and the Regiment to which said company was attached was commanded by Philip B. Bradley of the town of Ridgefield aforesaid, in the State of Connecticut. That this deponent enlisted for six months. That this deponent went with his company to the City of New York, and there joined the Regiment commanded as aforesaid by the said Bradley. That the Regiment passed over into the State of New Jersey and remained opposite Staten Island at a place called Communipough [Communipaw] until about the 10th day of September 1776. It being about the time the City of New York was taken by the British. That from Communipough, the Regiment went to Fort Lee on the West side of the Hudson River, and remained there till about the last of October in the year aforesaid when it retreated from the Fort, through the State of New Jersey into the State of Pennsylvania, and went up the Delaware River to a place called Corsells Ferry [Coryell's Ferry], being the place where General Washington crossed the Delaware River the night before he took the Hessians in Trenton. That the Regiment and this deponent remained at the above said Ferry Christmas day, when this deponent, enlistment for the said six months expired. On this day General Washington came at this place with his Army and by a request from this deponent and a part of the Regiment to which he belonged volunteered their services for 20 days and went with him and his Army on Christmas night to Trenton and there captured one thousand Hessians. That this deponent was in that Battle and the Division that this deponent was in was commanded by one Frelingheusen [Frederick Theodore Frelinghuysen], but who gave the mortal wound to Colonel Rall [Johann Rall] who commanded the Hessian troops. After securing the Hessians which had been captured, this deponent went with General Washington and his Army to Princetown [Princeton] in the State of New Jersey, where they had an engagement with a detachment of the British troops. In this battle General Mercer was killed, who was a Brigadier General in the American Service. That this deponent was in that battle and this deponent's time had expired and he was discharged from the service that he had no written discharge and returned home to the town of Ridgefield aforesaid. This deponent further says that he can't give

from his present recollection and memory a particular narrative of the circumstances which led to his continuance in the service after the termination of his enlistment of six months in Bradley's Regiment, that herein before detailed this deponent says that after he enlisted for during the War as herein after stated, and in the month of September 1777 and after the Battle fought at Brandywine he was taken sick with the measles and was sent to Peekskill in the State of New York and from thence this deponent was taken home by his father to Richfield in the State of Connecticut where he remained sick about four months, and then returned to the Army at Valley Forge and after that continued in the service till the war terminated.

This deponent further says that on the first day of May 1777 he enlisted in the Regular troops or Army of the United States during the War. That the company was commanded by Captain Samuel Hoyt and that he served in the 5th Regiment of the Connecticut line commanded by Philip B Bradley. That this deponent at the time of this enlistment resided in the town of Ridgefield in the County of Fairfield, in the State of Connecticut. That soon after this deponent enlistment, he marched with the said Regiment to Peekskill in the State of New York on the Hudson River – stayed there about a month – then went with the Regiment to Kings Ferry on the Hudson and crossed it and then marched on and joined the Army commanded by General Washington at Bond Brook in the State of New Jersey. That when the British troops came up the Delaware River commanded by General How [Howe], this deponent went with the American troops into Pennsylvania and was in the Battle fought at Brandywine, and also at the Battle fought at the **Red Bank Fort** on the Delaware River. In all these Battles, General Washington commanded the American troops – And soon after these battles, this deponent with the other troops went into winter quarters at Valley Forge. That the Army remained at this place till the spring of 1778, and this deponent with them.

17. French Accounts of Red Bank/Ft. Mercer, Ft. Mifflin and Ft. Billingsport

compiled by Robert Selig

Seven of the 50 French eyewitness accounts of the Yorktown Campaign by officers and soldiers of Rochambeau's army contain descriptions of visits to Red Bank/Ft Mercer, Mud Island/Ft. Mifflin and Ft. Billingsfort in either December 1780 or September 1781.¹

While traveling from Newport, Rhode Island to Philadelphia between 11 November 1780 and 9 January 1781, the chevalier de Chastellux, accompanied by his aides Charles-Louis de Montesquieu and Isidore Lynch, on 2 December 1780 took a tour of the battle-field of Germantown. On 8 December 1780, Chastellux, Montesquieu and Lynch visited the Delaware River forts with Major John Armstrong as their guide. Chastellux² and Montesquieu³ kept accounts of these visits. Montesquieu wrote:

"Je profitai de mon séjour à Philadelphie pour voir les environs, je voyageai sur le Delaware, et j'allai reconnaître les forts de Mud-Island, de Redbank et de Bellingsport. Je vis les chevaux de frise que les Américains avaient placé dans le Delaware pour empêcher la flotte anglaise de remonter jusqu'à Philadelphie ;

¹ Sources that I have not seen are the complete "Journal de la campagne de l'armée française ... 1783" by Jean-Baptiste-Elzéar, *chevalier* de Coriolis (1754-1811), a lieutenant in the Bourbonnois Regiment in Rochambeau's army. This 153-page long journal is held by the Bibliothèque centrale des musées nationaux in the Louvre in Paris under the call no. LA 38 145. The library also holds the "Manuscrit en partie autographe. Histoire de l'origine, de la source et des progrès de la guerre d'Amérique entre la Grande-Bretagne et ses colonies ... 1776, 1777." 11 cahiers, 285 pages. Extracts of the journal covering the shipwreck of La Bourgogne off the coast of Venezuela on 3 February 1783 were published by Maurice La Chesnais, "Un Officier français au Vénézuéla, par le Chevalier de Coriolis" *La Revue du Mois* vol. 7, (January-June 1909) and "Lettres d'un officier de l'Armée de Rochambeau: le chevalier de Coriolis" *Le correspondant* no. 326, (March 25, 1932), pp. 807-828.

Also unavailable are the journal of Xavier de Bertrand, a lieutenant in the Royal Deux-Ponts quoted in Régis d'Oléon, "L'Esprit de Corps dans l'Ancienne Armée" *Carnet de la Sabretache* 5th series (1958), pp. 488-496. Régis d'Oléon is a descendant of Bertrand. Its current location is unknown. Also unknown are the locations of the journals by officers such as Miollis, Ollonne, Menonville or the brothers Rosel, some of which Warrington Dawson had seen and/or excerpted in the 1930s. See the list in Warrington Dawson, « Les 2112 français morts aux Etats-Unis de 1777 à 1783. » *Journal de la Société des américanistes* New Series vol. 28 (1936), pp. 1-12, pp. 9-11.

² Chastellux, marquis de. *Travels in North America in Years 1780-81* Howard C. Rice, Jr., ed. 2 vols., (Chapel Hill, 1963), the visit to Germantown in vol. 1, pp. 137-141; the visit to the Delaware River forts *ibid.* pp. 154-160 and p. 317.

³ Beuve, Octave. "Un Petit-Fils de Montesquieu. Soldat de l'Indépendance Américaine (d'après des documents inédits)" *Revue historique de la Révolution Française et de l'Empire* Vol. 5 (January-June 1914), pp. 233-263, Céleste, Raymond. "Un Petit-Fils de Montesquieu en Amérique (1780-1783)" *Revue Philomathique de Bordeaux et du Sud-Ouest* Vol. 5 No. 12 (December 1902), pp. 529-556, and Céleste, Raymond. "Charles-Louis de Montesquieu a l'Armée (1772-1782)" *Revue Philomathique de Bordeaux et du Sud-Ouest* Vol. 6 No. 11 (November 1904), pp. 505-524. The account of the visit to Germantown and the river forts in *Revue Philomathique de Bordeaux et du Sud-Ouest* Vol. 5 No. 12 (December 1902), p. 547.

ils furent tournés par les Anglais par un bras de la rivière qui n'était pas assez profond pour permettre aux vaisseaux de passer, mais que les caux, gênés dans le reste du cours de la rivière creusèrent naturellement. J'allais voir aussi Brandiwine, Wilhemarche, Barenhill, Germantown et tous les lieux célèbres par les différents combats qui y ont été livrés. Je passai quinze jours à Philadelphie".

Chastellux arrived in Philadelphia on 30 November 1780 and departed again 15 days later on 16 December. While in Philadelphia he met Lafayette, the vicomte de Noailles, the comte de Damas, Gimat "and all the French or the Gallo-Americans who were in Philadelphia."⁴ On 6/7 December, Chastellux, Lafayette, Noailles, Damas, Mauduit-DuPlessis, Lafayette's aides-de-camp Gimat and Neville and Chastellux' aides-de-camp Montesquieu and Lynch went to see the battlefield of Brandywine. Having spent the night of 7/8 December 1780 in Chester the whole group visited the Delaware River forts.⁵

The second time French officers visited these sites was in the form of a staff ride while French forces crossed Pennsylvania during early September 1781. On 2 September, 1781, Rochambeau,⁶ accompanied by his aides-de-camp and his son, the vicomte de Rochambeau, visited the battlefield of Germantown with Washington himself as their guide.

Three days later, on 5 September 1781, the same group accompanied Rochambeau on a staff ride down the Delaware River. The group consisted of Rochambeau, his son, Closen, Lauberdier, Cromot du Bourg and Artillery Captain Mauduit du Plessis, who had been in command of the American artillery at Fort Mercer as a lieutenant colonel in the Continental Army during the British siege of 1777 and who served as their guide. Travel expenses were covered by the state. On 10 September 1781, the treasurer was ordered to pay Joseph Robenett "the sum of Nine pounds twelve shillings and six pence, Specie," to cover the "expenses in carrying down the French Generals to view the Forts at Mud Island and Billingsport."⁷

Four of the seven aides who left diaries, journals, or letters - Baron Closen,⁸ Cromot du Bourg,⁹ the marquis du Bouchet,¹⁰ and the comte de Lauberdier¹¹ contain descriptions of

⁴ Chastellux, *Travels*, vol. 1, p. 144. Among the un-named "Gallo-Americans" was Robert Dillon, colonel-en-second of Lauzun's Legion. On 12 December the comte de Custine and the marquis de Laval arrived in Philadelphia as well. *Ibid.*, p. 173.

⁵ Chastellux reports visiting Barren Hill and White Marsh on 11/12 December. *Ibid.*, pp. 168-170.

⁶ Neither in his *Memoirs of the Marshal Count de Rochambeau, Relative to the War of Independence of the United States* M.W.E. Wright, ed., (New York, 1971; orig. Paris, 1838) or his *Relation, ou Journal des opérations du Corps Français sous le commandement du Comte de Rochambeau: Lieutenant-Général des Armées du Roi, depuis le 15 d'Août* does Rochambeau mention these excursions.

⁷ Pennsylvania Revolutionary Council Minute Book for Tuesday, 28 August 1781, pp. 386, RG 27, microfilm reel 691, Pennsylvania State Archives, Harrisburg.

⁸ *The Revolutionary Journal of Baron Ludwig von Closen, 1780-1783* Evelyn M. Acomb, ed., (Chapel Hill, 1958), the visit to Germantown on p. 119, the visit to the river forts on pp. 121-123.

⁹ Cromot du Bourg, Marie-François baron, "Diary of a French Officer, 1781" *Magazine of American History* Vol. 4 (March 1880), pp. 205-214, (April 1880), pp. 293-308, (May 1880), pp. 376-385, (June 1880), pp. 441-452; the visit to Germantown is described in the May 1880 installment p. 381, the visit to the Delaware River forts pp. 383-384.

Red Bank, Billingsport, Fort Mifflin as well as Germantown. Axel von Fersen¹² and Charles Malo François comte de Lameth, both of whom may have accompanied Rochambeau, only left a series of letters. Lastly Mathieu Dumas wrote his *Souvenirs* in the 1830s only and covers the whole march from Newport to Head of Elk on two pages only.¹³

The group started its excursion at Fort Mifflin, and then continued on to Fort Mercer and Fort Mifflin. Red Bank with Fort Mercer and Fort Billingsport lie on the New Jersey side of the river but form an integral part of the Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route National Historic Trail (W3R-NHT) which traces Washington's and Rochambeau's journey through Pennsylvania to Yorktown.

The only other French officers who mentions the fights over the river forts is by Jean François Louis comte de Clermont-Crèvecœur, a lieutenant in the Auxonne Artillery.¹⁴

"Below Philadelphia are three forts: Mud Island [Fort Mifflin], Red Bank [Fort Mercer], and Billingsport. These three forts were built to defend the chevaux-de-frise the Americans had installed in the river to prevent ships from coming up to the city. The English lost several men during an attack on Red Bank in 1777 and were obliged to retreat. Colonel von Donop, their commander, was killed. Of the three forts only Billingsport remains in good condition. Red Bank has been destroyed, and Mud Island is unfinished. The banks of the Delaware are rather marshy, but the land is well cultivated."

The river forts are also mentioned in the itinerary for the march of French forces from Philadelphia to Chester.¹⁵ They are also identified on the road map that accompanies the itinerary.¹⁶

¹⁰ Du Bouchet remained behind in Newport and sailed on the fleet of Admiral Barras to Yorktown. See his *Journal d'un Emigré* by Denis Jean Florimond Langlois de Mautheville, marquis du Bouchet, in the Division of Rare and Manuscripts Collections at Cornell University, call no. 4600 Bd. Ms. Misc. 167, 168, 169.

¹¹ Louis François Dupont d'Aubevoye, Comte de Lauberdière, *Journal de guerre*, Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, Nouvelle Acquisitions Françaises, 17691, the visit to Germantown on fol. 97 v to 99 v ; the visit to the river forts on 101v to 104r.

¹² Wrangel, F. U. ed., *Lettres d'Axel de Fersen a son père pendant la guerre de l'Indépendance d'amérique* (Paris, 1929). English translations of some letters were published in "Letters of Axel de Fersen, Aide-de-Camp to Rochambeau written to his Father in Sweden 1780-1782" *Magazine of American History* vol. 3, no. 5, (May 1879), pp. 300-309, no. 6, (June 1879), pp. 369-376, and no. 7, (July 1879), pp. 437-448. Eight letters from America to his sister were published in *The Letters of Marie Antoinette, Fersen and Barnave* O.-G. de Heidenstam, ed., (New York, 1929), pp. 6-13.

¹³ They were published posthumously in 1839 as *Souvenirs du lieutenant-général Comte Mathieu Dumas*; see the English translation *Memoirs of his own Time* 2 vols. (London, 1839), vol. 1, pp. 58-59.

¹⁴ His account of the American campaigns is published in *The American Campaigns of Rochambeau's Army 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783* Howard C. Rice, Jr. and Anne S. K. Brown, eds. 2 vols., (Princeton and Providence, 1972), vol. 1, pp. 15-100; the description of the river forts on p. 50 following a long description of the Battle of Germantown.

¹⁵ The itinerary is published in Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, vol. 2, pp. 76-77.

As French forces continued to Head of Elk on 6 September, the vicomte de Rochambeau “felt obliged to visit the battlefields of Brandywine and Germantown (the defensive points of the river in 1777), and, last, the good winter quarters that Washington held from 1777 to 1778 at Valley Forge.”¹⁷ He was accompanied by the comte de Lauberdière, who went “voir le champ de Bataille de Brandywine.”¹⁸

Visiting these sites a short time later on 4 October 1781, Lieutenant Enos Reeves wrote:

*"we weighed anchor about sunrise in the morning, when the tide was about half spent and but little wind, fell down with the tide and the little wind, a little below Billingsport, where we went on shore and dined. The fort at Billingsport is not in good repair at present; Fort Mifflin on Mud Island is in a tolerable state of defence, if it were well mounted and man'd. This place is famous for holding out against the British fleet for two months, before which they had two ships burnt, one of which was blown up, with a number of men. Red Bank, quite destroyed, is famous for standing the attack made by General Kniphausen, before which fell six hundred Hessians with the famous Count Denaub [Donop]. After refreshing ourselves we came on board and set off with the afternoon tide and almost a head wind."*¹⁹

¹⁶ The map is published in Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, vol. 2, map 57.

¹⁷ Vicomte de Rochambeau, *The War in America. An Unpublished Journal (1780-1783)* in: Jean-Edmond Weelen, *Rochambeau. Father and Son* (New York, 1936), pp. 191-285, p. 226.

¹⁸ Lauberdière, *Journal*, fol. 104v and 106r. He does not mention going to Valley Forge.

¹⁹ For an account of his journey see "Extracts from the Letterbooks of Lieutenant Enos Reeves, of the Pennsylvania Line [Sept. 1780-April 1782]." *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* Vol. 21 (April-October 1897), pp. 235-256, p. 238. His letters were published in six installments from October 1896 to January 1898.

18. Keemle, John, surgeon, 3d VA, pension

NARA M804. Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty-Land Warrant Application Files

Pension Application S5652
(Deposed 1818)

"I John Keemle of the City of Philadelphia in the County of Philadelphia, State of Pennsylvania, do hereby declare, that I entered the Service of my Country in the Continental Army as Surgeon's mate (after the battle of Trenton & Princeton) with Doctor Griffiths Surgeon & Chaplain of the 3rd Virginia Regiment commanded by Colonel Wheaton – That I continued with him until he resigned. After his resignation, I with the other two mates, were transferred to Doctor Glentworth who was appointed by Doctor Shippen (who was then Director General of the Medical & Surgical departments) to succeed Doctor Griffiths – That we continued with Doctor Glentworth till the day before the Enemy entered the City of Philadelphia, when I was sent with a load of wounded & sick from the Hospital to Trenton. After I had delivered these wounded at the Hospital, I was ordered to Burlington to be with Doctor Glentworth. Sometime in the beginning of October '77 Doctor Rush, then deputy director General of the Eastern district called at the Hospital at Burlington, told Glentworth he must have one of his mates, to assist in dressing the wounded at Red Bank. The Doctor made choice of me, to go on that Service; told me to get my horse & go with him. I did so Two or three days after the wounded were dressed, I was ordered on to Princeton with several wagons load of wounded: After I had delivered them to the Hospital I was taken ill.

19. Parker, John, artificer, pension

NARA M804. Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty-Land Warrant Application Files

Pension Application S14081
deposed 26 November 1832

Transcribed and annotated by C. Leon Harris

State of Kentucky } SS.
City of Lexington }

On this 26th day of November 1832, personally appeared in open court, before Charlton Hunt Esq'r. Mayor of the city aforesaid, John Parker Sen'r. resident of the count of Fayette and state aforesaid aged 78 years, who being first duly sworn according to law, doth, on his oath, make the following statement, in order to obtain the benefit of the act of Congress passed June 7, 1832.

That he was born near Valley forge, above Philadelphia on the 3d Sept'r. 1750, as is shown by the family record of his fathers family, which is now in his possession. That he went to Louisa county, Virginia, in the year 1774, where he remained with his uncle, the Rev'd Mr Todd, until February 1776, when he joined the regiment of minute men under Col Samuel Meredith. It was on Sunday, after a sermon from his uncle, of a patriotic character, that he enlisted, together with many others of the congregation. He remembers that one of the elders, by the name of Terrell, enlisted at the same time In a few days he marched to Williamsburg, where the regiment was formed under the Colonel. The regiment had been raised to go to Carolina to quell the tories, but before they arrived at Williamsburg, other troops had been sent, and his regiment was ordered to Hampton to guard that place, as the British then lay at Guinns island [sic: Gwynn Island]. Here his regiment remained several months, when it was ordered to Portsmouth and Norfolk, where it remained until about the 1st January 1777, when it was regularly discharged He has long since lost his discharge. His service at that time was nearly eleven months.

He then went to Philadelphia to his friends, where in a few weeks, he was commissioned as a Captain of artificers, by Gen'l. John Bull of Norristown, he having the charge of erecting two forts on the banks of the Delaware, for the protection of Philadelphia. He immediately raised a company of forty men, for the purpose, and commenced about the 1st of March 1777 at Billingsport, where they built a small fort, and mounted four pieces of cannon in it, one of which was mounted higher, as an alarm gun, to give notice up the river of the approach of the enemy at the mouth. A few days after, they were ordered up the river to **Red Bank** opposite to Mud-island fort [Fort Mifflin], near to where many hands were employed in sinking cheveaux de frize. They there built a strong fort to protect that place should the enemy attack it by land. This work being nearly completed, he went up to the city settled his accounts & resigned, having recommended Mr. Robert McGowan [pension application W8445], as his successor, which was granted. During his service as Captain of the artificers, he and his men constantly practised as artillerymen, and were intended to act as such in case of an attack being made. There was Captain Connelly from the city, who frequently drilled them at the guns. He knew at the forts, Capts Anderson & Major Ziegler. General Bull laid off the forts, and a Mr Armstrong was the surveyor, he himself several

times carried the chain. He served in that capacity six months, but has lost his commission, and has no written or documentary proof to show that he has served as he has stated.

In Sept'r '77 he thinks it was, whilst he was near the valley forge, after the battle of Brandywine [11 Sep 1777], when the enemy were crossing the Schuylkill, he was requested by his father in law, with whom he was then residing, to act in his room as a guide to a scouting party which was about to be sent to observe the movements of the enemy. He went with the party which consisted of 6 or 8 files of cavalry, and having conducted them to the crossing point, he was a witness with them of the movements of the enemy after having crossed, and for several miles on their way towards Philadelphia. The party kept on the flank of the enemy at a cautious distance until they were surprised by a party of our own men in disguise, who conducted them as prisoners to where a regiment of U States troops were halted, the commander of which recognising him, he and the scouts were discharged.

20. McWhorter, Henry, New Jersey Pension

Pension Application S7210

Transcribed and annotated by C. Leon Harris. Revised 3 Mar 2015.

State of Virginia } toWit
Lewis County }

On this 4th day of September 1832 personally appeared in open court before Jacob Laurentze Abner Abbott Robert Young and Joseph McCay the court of Lewis county Henry McWhorter aged seventy two years on the 13th day of November next (a resident of s'd county) who being first sworn according to Law – doth on his oath make the following declaration in order to obtain the benifet of the act of Congress passed June 7th 1832

He the said Henry McWhorter enlisted in Orrange [sic: Orange] County in the State of New york on the first day of March in the year 1776 in the company of State troops called Minute Men – under the command of Capt John Wisner and march directly to fort Constitution on the East side of North River – and was attached to a regiment of New York Malitia under the command of Colo Livingston – who also had command of the fort and served a term of four months – the Regiment under the command of Colo. Livingston were all discharged shortly before their term of service expired he cannot recollect how Long before – nor does he remember receiving a written discharge – and if he did it is lost or mislaid – he again enlisted in July 1776 for five months in Orrange county New York State under Capt John Wisner in a Company called the flying camp, and marched immediately to Kings Bridge across Spike and Devil Creek. Was there attached to a Regiment commanded by Colo Isaac Nichels [Isaac Nichols] under General George Clinton. Shortly after we were stationed at said Bridge several companies were detailed to march to Long Iland [sic: Long Island]. on the way to the said Iland I was detailed under the Command of Leut. Langden and stationed at fort Washington on york Iland [Manhattan Island]. immediately after the Battle on Long Iland [Battle of Long Island, 27 Aug 1776]. we were marched back to Kings Bridge and attached to our former companies. the day the Battle on york Iland was fought [Battle of Harlem Heights, 16 Sep 1776] Genl George Clinton marched to join the army on the Iland – the ensueing night being very dark Genl Clinton was very near marching into the British Line – who were discovered by our Spies just ahead. the next day as well as I can recollect Genl. Clinton returned with the forces under him to Kings Bridge. Shortly after we were marched to the White Plains and there stationed sometime. A Battle was fought in which the British proved successfull [28 Oct 1776]. the American were commanded by Genl. Washington and the British by Genl Houle [sic: William Howe] the Brigade to which I was attached was engaged in the Battle Genl George Clinton marched his Brigade from thence to the Peach Kills [sic: Peekskill] on the East side of North River. I was there taken sick and lay all Winter Doctor Henry White gave me a furlough to go home

I entered as a substitute April 1777 in orrange county New york state but cannot recollect for whom – under the command of Capt Tetliff for one month

On the first of May in the same year I enlisted under Capt Tompkins for three months to work at the chewedeedefrisse [sic: chevaux de frise: spiked barrels] – which was placed in the North River just below New Windsor – in August in 1777 I entered as a substitute in Orrange County newyork state for three months under the command of Capt Parsons and marched to fort Montgomery – which was then command by Genl George Clinton and fort Clinton was then commanded by Genl James Clinton [both forts near Bear Mountain NY]. a few days before the Battle at fort Montgomery [6 Oct 1777] – I was detailed to attend a fery across the North River three miles above the fort – the British took both the forts and wounded Genl James Clinton. Genl Sir Murry Clinton [sic: British Gen. Henry Clinton] sailed from thence up the North River to the releif of Genl Burgoine [sic: Burgoyne at Saratoga]. I entered again for one month in the winter 1777 in a Company of malitia from the State of New Jersey commanded by Capt John Deker and attached to a regiment under the command of Colo Sowers[?] – marched to Woodbury in Jersey on the dellaw [sic: Delaware] River. I was detailed on fatigue to **Red Bank fort** [Fort Mercer at

Red Bank NJ]. When there mudfort was left by our troops and sett fire to the Barricks [sic: Fort Mifflin on Mud Island, abandoned by Americans 15 Nov 1777] – the next morning the fort was taken by the British –

21. Montgomery, Burnet, New Jersey, Pension

Burnet Montgomery, New Jersey Militia, deposed 1 July 1832, Pension S2878

NARA M804. Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty-Land Warrant Application Files

“marched to **Red Bank** and was engaged in its defense when Count Donop was mortally wounded, their company was all dismounted and their horses left under a Guard about half a mile from the works. I was in the fort with my company & their orders were not to fire until they could see the numbers of the Hessian coat buttons.” [note: Hessian uniforms did not have marked buttons, only plain buttons).

22. Pension Application of Charles Simpkins R9588, Militia deposed 25 March 1833

NARA M804. Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty-Land Warrant Application Files

“That during the year 1778 [sic, should read 1777] he performed in the same service three tours of duty, of one month each, under Capt. [Elijah] Davis and Daniels. that in one of these tours, he was stationed in the **Red bank or Mercers fort**, which he assisted to build; that Col. Green came there before the fort was finished and upon taking possession we marched out, we having remained longer than our time to keep possession – that Green had tops of trees and an orchard cut down to entrench the fort – that the enemy called on Green to surrender, which he refused to do, and at least three hundred of the enemy killed. that they were buried in the trenches – that he saw the ground stained with blood.”

23. Smith, Isaac, Virginia, pension

Pension Application W4338

Transcribed and annotated by C. Leon Harris

State of South Carolina

DISTRICT OF Camden

22 October 1832 "Isaac Smith a resident of the County and State aforesaid aged Seventy four 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 provision made by the act of Congress passed June 7th 1832.

"That he was born in New Kent County in the State of Virginia and resided there at the time of his enlistments hereinafter stated; that he enlisted in the state troops of Virginia in the latter part of the year 1775 in the town of Williamsburg, under Captain Robert Ballard for one year – in a few days was ordered below Norfolk. He was there when the town was burnt [1 Jan 1776]; Sometime after was with a small scouting party and fell in with the enemy on the River Bank – fired on them and received a fire in return.

"That he was wounded in this skirmish by a ball in his forehead which glanced and has left a scar. the Regiment in which he performed this tour was intended to be commanded by the celebrated Patrick Henry; this deponent did not enter the Regiment until sometime after its first formation. During the time he was in the Regiment Patrick Henry was never in the actual command of it, nor does this deponent believe he ever at any time was in the actual command.

"In July 1776 in the town of Williamsburg Virginia on the day on which the Declaration of Independence was read to the Troops – the deponent enlisted under Captain Charles Pelham as a Sergeant in the First Virginia Regiment, which was to have been commanded by Col. Isaac Reed, for three years. Col. Reed, and afterwards the Regiment was commanded by Col. Richard Parker...."

"Immediately after deponent's joining said Regiment he proceeded along with it to the Army of the North under General Washington and arrived at the Encampment of the Army near Fort Washington in the neighborhood of the City of New York in the month of September 1776 not long after the Battle of Long Island. He continued with General Washington from that time until August 1779 and was during said period in the following battles, to wit At the White Plains, at the taking of the Hessians at Trenton, the Battle of Princeton, the Battle of Brandywine, of Germantown and Monmouth. He was in Fort Mifflin when the Hessians under County Donop attacked **Red Bank Fort**; and after the action ceased went with a company of volunteers to ascertain the fate of the Fort; finding the enemy repused [repulsed?] we returned next morning and saw that day the burning and blowing up of the Augusta sixty four gun ship which struck in attempting to come up the river, and was said to be set on fire by red hot shot from our Batteries...."

24. Smith, John, Rhode Island Continental, diary

Excerpts from: "*Thro mud & mire into the woods:*" *The 1777 Continental Army Diary Of Sergeant John Smith, First Rhode Island Regiment*, transcribed by Bob McDonald, 1998, 2002

Copied from <http://www.revwar75.com/library/bob/smith.htm>

[October 11] -- we halted at Mount Holley [i.e., Holly] & Drew fategue Rum -- this town is 7 miles from Burlington -- then we march'd thro Mores town [i.e., Moorestown] 9 miles farther -- then we march'd to Hatten feild [i.e., Haddonfield] & Called Up the people & made fires & Rested a while for we were Verey much fategued with marching -- then we marchd again for **the Red Bank** -- we march'd 6 miles & made another halt & Drew half Gill of Rum Pr. man -- then marched into the fort [i.e., Fort Mercer] about 4 miles farther & Pitched our tents & Loged Quiet this night -- their hath bin a Continuel fire of Cannon all Day Between the Enemy & our Galleys in the River

Sunday the 12th -- we turn'd out Early & Paraded our Regemt. under armes -- the Enemy fired several times at our Barges in the River as they went in towards the shore -- about 10 o Clock in the fore noon Capt. Elijah Lewis with a Party of 50 Volintees from Colo. Greenes Regt. went over in boats to the other side the River to storm the Enemies works that they were throwing up for a fort -- a Cannonade began Early from our Galleys & floating battrys & fort at the Enemys works this morning & Continued untill Night with but a Verey Little intermission & about one O Clock P.M. Capt Elijah Lewis Return'd back from his Expedition having one searjt. wounded Namely wardel Green belonging to Colo. Greene's Regemt. & one belonging to the fort on the other side [i.e., Fort Mifflin] & 4 or 5 Disirted to the Enemy being fritened at their Numbers as they were much Superiour for Numbers. the whole of our Regemt. were Employd on fategue this Day & in the Night of the 12th instant I waked and heard a Verey heavy Cannonade in the River which Continued till Day

Munday morning the 13th -- the ships belonging to the Enemy fired several Guns at our men on the Shore -- we heard a firing of small Arms below Verey Brisk about Eight O Clock in the morning -- this afternoon Lieut. Whitmarsh with about 23 men went over to mud Island fort [i.e., Fort Mifflin] to work & Returned back at Night munday

14th -- in the morning after the Guards had march'd off the Parade Every man went about Cleaning his Gun & Clothes -- Tusday 14th we heard the News of the Success to the Northward & [...

...October 15] wensday we fired 13 Cannon at fort Miffilen & fort Mercer & from the fleet in the River for Joy & that Night the whole of Colo. Greens Regemt. off Duty was Detachd to fort Miffilin officers waiters none Excepted about 1020 [Note: This figure is far in excess of the total strength of the First Rhode Island Regiment. Its citation by Smith is unexplainable.]

fyday 17th -- we had wounded at fort Miffilin 4 men & one Kild out Right by a bomb Breaking in one of our Barracks -- wounded Davis drum[m]er & freman fifer Allen Palmer Killd out Right for whome I made a Coffin -- this was the first work I Did of my Calling since I Came here -- he

was buried this Evening -- the other[s] were Slightly wounded -- this Day arrivd here Major ward Capt. flagg & Griffen Green the Pay master from Rhode Island state & henery holden Commissary to the fort -- the Enemy hath bin Continually bomb barding all Day fort Miffilin -- the Guard Boats Belonging to the Continental Army Burnt some stores belonging to the Enemy on the River & at Night we turnd in Pe[a]c[e]able & in the Night I heard the Sintenals hail some boats & fired

Saturday the 18th -- we hoisted the flag stafe [i.e., staff] at **fort Mercer** & hoisted the flagg -- the Colo. Gave 6 of us a bottle of Rum & we went to our tents & at Noon we Punished a Negro man who set over to the Enemy a man who Promis'd him 10 shillings when he Returnd back -- the Negro Receiv'd 40 Lashes & was Drummd out of Camp with a fellow who Receivd 10 Lashes at the same time & Place -- this Day we heard the News that our army had teaken 100 waggons from the Enemy Loaded with stores & 300 men that Guarded them as they were a going to Philadelphia -- Yesterday a Boats Crew Deserted to the Enemy with the Boat from fort Miffilin where they Landed their Officer & put off immedialty to the Enemy -- several shot was fired at them from a Blockhouse but Did them no Dammage & this Day has Been a Considerable firing on both sides bombarding etc. -- about noon too boats from the Enemy Came out to Reconnitre & was fired at by our Shipping & Galleys & floating Battrys in the River -- Saturday 18th -- towards night we heard a considerable smart firing of Cannon towards Philadelphia supposd to be Genll. washington & howes army that had meet & in the Evening Colo. Angels Regemt. Came into this fort from head Quarters to Reinforce ours

Sunday morning [October 19] -- after sun Rise a smart fire began again up the River with Cannon & Musquets & Continued for some time -- the Enemy fired at them & the Boats Returnd the fire -- this afternoon an Express ariv'd from head Quarters & brought the News that Genll. Gates was a Coming with 6000 men & that Genll. Burgoin was made Prisoner & his army Defeted -- this afternoon the Enemy threw a bomb into fort Miffilin & blew up our Laberterey [i.e., laboratory] & two Boxes of Cartriges -- this Night we turnd out at 10 O clock under armes & Struck our tents & Remov'd into the Citidel & went to work on the fort to fortifying the same untill Day Light & [...

... October 20] then Exercisd at the Brest work a while & was Dismisd & then Removed our tents into their Ground again & at 12 o clock the Cannon was fired from the fleet & forts belonging to the United States for the Joyful News from the Northward & at 3: o clock the Regemts. turnd out to work as Usual -- the Enemy hath Been bombarding all this afternoon our fort & about the midle of the afternoon the Enemy sent two or 3 ships in Close Under a Point opposet our fort & 5 or 6 Galleys & a Number of small Boats went Down against them & a Smart fire began from on board the Galleys & Small Crafts which Causd them to towe away their Ships from our shore -- the[y] Receiv'd Considerable Dammage -- we took one or two of their Guard Boats in the affray -- this Evening one Man was brought over from fort Miffilin who was Killd by a bomb & two more wounded & after Night we turn'd into Sleep with all our accouterments by us in Case we should be alarmd -- the wind shifted to N:West & blew Verrey hard all Night & [...

...October 21] Next Day untill Night -- we were Inform'd that a Party of Regulars had Landed at [blank] ferey to attacke our fort -- we Remov'd all our tents & baggage into the Citidale & Every

man was Employd at worke on the fort to fortify the same -- between 3 & 4 o Clock 300 more troops Came here to Reinforce us -- we Cut Down an orchard by the fort & hald trees Round the fort to Keep off the Enemy -- we had no Disturbance from the Enemy this Day -- this is tusday 21st of October -- Mr. Henery holden [departed] for home by whome I sent a Letter to my wife Dated the 20th of sd. Instant

Wensday 22d -- we turnd out Early in the Morning & struck tents & Cleared away for an attackt & Every man at work to strengthen our Selves -- we sent Partys out to fetch in all the stock & horses into the fort which was Done & Every Person in the fort by 2 O clock & about 3 or 4 O Clock the Enemy advanc'd to the woods adjoining the fort when the Hesian Genll. or Commander Sent a flag & Demanded the fort or they were ordred to Show no Mercy but Put all to Death if they overcame us -- Colo. Olney Gave them Answer that we ask'd no mercy nor Did we Expect any [;] we was Determind to fight or Die in Defence of the Garrison -- the flag Returnd & the Enemy began the Attackt immeadiately -- they began a brisk fire with their feild Peces & then advancd up to the fort with Each a fascein [i.e., fascine] with him & all of them with Entrenching tools with him such as spades Peckaxes Saws to Cut Down our Pickets -- we began a smart fire with our Artillery & our small armes & Continuiud firing 47 Munites [i.e., minutes] as smart as Ever was Known -- the firing began [when] the sun [was] half an hour high & Continued till Dark -- we Lost Killd one Captian Shaw two Serjts. of Colo. Angels Regemt. two Searjeants & one fifer of Colo. Greens Regemt. & the Colos. Clerke [i.e., the colonel's clerk] Captian Oliver Clarke teaken Prisoner as he was out with a Party of Discovery teaken by the Light horse & Several Privats Killd Belonging to both Regemts. -- We Killd Dead of the Hesians on the spot one Lt Colo. & several Officers 70 or 80 Non Commissiond Officers & Privats Included -- one Colo. who was Cheif Commander & a briggade Major who was the Officer who Came with the flag befor the battle was wounded & teaken Prisoners & about 70 or 80 wounded Privats teaken Prisoners -- the Rest of the [enemy] army made the best of their way off teaking with them 3 or 4 wagons Loaded with the wounded Hesians & Empressd all the waggons on the Rhode to Carey their wounded off -- they Left 20 at a house on the Rhode as they went back & we heard that they Carreyd over the ferey about 300 wounded men that Night - - this Intelegence we have had by two men that Disserted to us who fereyd them Over & by the inhabitants who saw them Goe back -- the ships Came Up in the time of the action & fired at our Galleys all the time of the action -- we had a small Reinforcement but Came too Late -- the whole Garrison were up all Night Dressing the wounded & teaking Care of them -- we had no Disturbance this night

[October 23] -- in the morning we began to strip & bury the Dead of our men & hesians -- we buried 75 hesians in one Grave in the intrenchment & Covered them over & 8 or 10 more below the bank by the River -- it took us all Day to bury the Dead -- this morning the Ships began to Come towards us & our fire ships began to move down -- they were set on fire but Did the fleet no Dammage -- the Galleys & floating batries Kept a Continiul fire & by a hot shot from one of them they set a 64 Gun ship on fire which burnt up & a 20 Gun Ship was Set on fire who was a Ground lest she should fall in[to] our hands -- the River seemd all on fire the Whole Day & at Night we heard of a flag of truce a Coming to Exchange Prisoners but Did not Come -- a Docter & a searjeant Came here to teake Care of their wounded -- a Party of British Troops was sent to Cover their Retreat but Returnd back with them -- they Left behind them some feild Peces which we have not yet found -- this Day 10 Hesians Died of their wounds -- we took a Negro man

belong[ing] to Gloster [i.e., Gloucester, New Jersey] who was Pilot to the Hessians & a white man who was another & Confined him in Irons -- the Negro went out in the Woods with Capt. Tew to Look for the feild peeces but found them not

the 24th -- the whole Garrison was employd in fortifying the fort Expecting another attack Soon as we heard of a Reenforcement of British troops a Coming to attack us again but heard they had Returnd Back with the Hessians after the Defeat

the 25th -- 5 Hessians Died of their wounds & a waggoner was shot thro the body by accident a Gun Going off accidently -- we are all employd at work on the fort & out works -- this Day a flag of Truce -- Major Thayer went to Philadelphia & Returnd about noon -- we have had but Little Disturbance from the Enemy to Day -- the ships fired a few shot at our Galleys

the 26th -- we heard in the Morning that we heard of an accident that happned -- a waggon Crossing a bri[d]ge overset & went Down the River & lost horses & waggon & all the Amunition -- A Little befor noon a flag Came from Philadelphia to our fort & another went back -- we heard of an Attackt on fort Miffilin a Demand being made of that fort by the Enemy Last Night

twenty Seventh to the 30th -- Nothing Remarkabel hapned these Days Except a Rain Storm that Lasted 3 Days & Nights which over flowd the Land here abouts and Drove the Enemy from their batterys for some time -- Drove them up in the trees for Shelter & Some tory Prisoners & two of the Regulars have Ben brought here & Confined under our Guard then Sent on board the Commodore in the River & about 150 Continental Soldiers & Millitia Came here the 30th of this month

the first Day of Novbr. -- John muclevain an Irishman & Dick Ellise was hanged at Red Banck for Traytors to their Country & for Piloting the Hessians to this Garrison the 22d of Octor. Last -- they were hanged Between the hours of 10 & 11 O clock A.M -- they hanged untill [al]most Night then they were Cut Down & buried under the Gallows -- Colo. Dunnam [i.e., Donop] the Hessian Colo. who was Cheif Commander of the Hessian Party who Came against us the 22d Died of his wounds he Receivd in Battle -- Died the 30th Instant [should be "ultimo", that is, of the preceding month] & was buried under arms at Night & 5 Hessians Died of their wounds and was buried in one Grave the first Day of November -- Saturday Night we Received orders after Dark for Every man to have 50 Rounds of Cartriges & for Every man to Lie on his arms this Night

Sunday the 2d -- we arose Early in the Morning & went to our Alarm Post & Taried awhile & after Breakfast we all went to our work again as usual -- General Varnum Came here this Day & some Troops who went on board the Galleys in the River -- we heard Newes that Some of our army had teaken 19 waggons Loaded Going from Philadelphia town to the shipping -- one wagon was Loaded with money to pay off their Soldiers -- Last Night Ensign Danll. Green & Searjt. William Hutton of Colo. Greens Regemt. went out on a Patroleing Party & were both teaking [i.e., taken] Prisoners by the Kings Troops as they was a Sleep in bed as we heard

Munday morning the 3 Day of November -- Early in the morning befor Day a Gun was fired as a Signal and the Galleys Got under way & went over to fort Miffilin & in Returning back in the morning the Ships & Galleys Below Sent a few Shot at them by way of Present but they Did not

Receive any for they Could not Reach them -- Last Night some Troops Came in after Dark & went out in the morning after Sun Rise -- Last Night Deserted from the Sommerset Man of war three Blacks & Came to our fort where they was Confind awhile -- this afternoon we Received Tidings from Rhode Island State by a man who Came from their that the Island was in our hands & that we took some feild peces & Eight hundred men were made Prisoners & a Little befor dark the Galleys went Down below towards the Enemy & fired some shot at them & Returnd Back befor Dark -- we have seen the Enemy Crosing over across Scullcill [i.e., the Schuylkill River] all Day & several Days past -- this Night a Detachment is a going Down against the Enemies Lines -- they Did not Goe for Reasons I Know not

Tuesday morning [November 4] -- we heard a firing Down below Chester but what I Cannot yet Learn -- this afternoon a Lieut. Belonging to one of the Continental Ships was Buried under armes at this fort who was Burnt by accident & Died of his wounds

wensday 5th of Novemr. was Verey Pleasant -- A Party of our Artillery & an 18 & 12 pounder was sent Down towards Billings fort -- their was several shot Exchanged Between our Galleys & our artilery on the shore with the Kings ships -- Kept a fire up at our men on shore for a Considerable Time & at Night Befor Dark the wind Died away when the Galleys went down against the Kings ships & Kept a Continual fire at them for the space of an hour & then Returnd home without Receiving one shot from them in Return -- it soon began to Rain & Rained all Night & [...

...] was wet & Cold all Next Day [November 6] -- wind was at N. West & blew hard -- This Evening I went Down with Ensign Blanchard & Searjt. Davis to Reconoiter Down below at Sand town

Returned back in the morn after sun Rise & Discovered Nothing -- the 7 Day of Novemr. -- I sent a Letter home by Mr. Thomson & Searjt. Green Dated Novr. 7th -- Nothing Remarkable this Day -- this Evening Returnd back to this fort the Artilery Party who went Down towards Billings fort the 5th of this Instant & the two Guns the 18 & 12 pounders etc. -- about Midnight we was Alarmed & Every man turnd out & Dressed himself & put on his accouterments & Lay with them on till Day

Saturday 8 -- we had no Disturbance from the Enemy -- we took 2 highlanders Prisoners below towards Billings Port & brought them here & Confined them here

Sunday the 9th -- we drew fategue Rum a Gill Pr. man -- Nothing more Remarkable

Munday the 10th -- the Briggade Paraded & a Resolve of Congress was Read which was their thanks for the Gallant Defence of fort Mercer on Red Bank & a Present of an Eligant sword for Colo. Green as a Present for his Valour -- the Briggade Gave three Cheers & Dismisd -- the Enemy began a heavy Cannonade from their Batterys at Fort Miffilin & sent several shot over to the Red Bank fort but Did no Damage -- we Returnd the Compliment munday 10 o clock & the fire was Kept up until Night

Tuesday 11th -- the Enemy Began to Cannonade Fort Mifflin & Continued the whole Day & after also -- we fired several shot from fort Mercer at them & about 9 o Clock we split an 18 pounder which was Teaken out of the wreck of the A[u]gusta who was burnt in this River the 23 of Octr. -- Killd Benjn. Ross the bombardier & wounded the Boatswain [?] Class & put out one of his Eyes & wounded one or two others Slightly -- Colo. Smith was wounded at fort Mifflin -- the same Day a Captn. of the Artillery was wound[ed] & brought here & buried at Night -- we heard the Engeneer a frenchman was also wounded the same Day -- the Number of the Slain is not Known yet by us -- a Man was Killd by the Enemy as Genll. Varnums men was Erecting a battery below on this River between this & fort billings -- a hot Cannonade from the Enemys Battereys was Kept up all the whole Day at our forts Mifflin & Mercer & in the Evening three or four Vessels belonging to the Enemy went up this River behind the Island & Came thro by fort Mifflin & the fleet belonging to the Continent & went up the River -- one was Ran a Ground [near]by their battreys on the west side of [the] Delaware [River] -- two Brigs & one sloop went into [the] Scullkill [River] & anchored safe -- I have heard that the Galleys took 3 or four Vessels from the Enemy Loaded with Provisions one with Butter & brought them here to anchor under our fort

[Note: Sergeant Smith's manuscript at this point contains a two-page spread which is essentially unreadable, even with the attempted use of ultraviolet light. It is evident that these pages were exposed at some time to extremely detrimental conditions.]

[Note: Sergeant Smith's diary here resumes.]

the 18th -- in the morning I was imployd all Day at Capt. Arnold's Tent writing & About 10 O Clock I was ordred to turn out the Company & Deliver them 50 Rounds of Cartridges Pr. man which I Did & after that I went to wood Berey [i.e., Woodbury] with Ensign Blanchard and upon an Express [arriving] Blanchard Left me Behind at Genll. Varnums Quarters where I Tarded all the Night untill [...]

...November 19] Next morning the Sun half an hour high at which Time I Came away for the fort for Befor I Came away I heard the fort was Avacuated -- I hurreyd along as fast as I Could go till I Came to Mr. [?] -- he tolde me the fort he heard was avacuated which I Did not Beleive -- then he hurrydly was Telling me he Beleived it was Best to make my way to see for fear what might happen which I Did & when I Came there I saw what I had A heard was true -- I Tarded at the said fort all the Whole Day & we soldiers that was Left Behind was imployed to Gather the Ammunition & Stores that was left Behind in the fort -- I tarded the Whole Day at sd. fort untill 3 O Clock when we halted a while [?] & then marched forward & a Searjt. & twelve men went Down to stay at the fort Untill the Enemy Advancd & then to blow Up the fort -- then we marchd on over Timber Creek & Forajd [i.e., foraged] the Remain[d]er of the Night

[November 20] -- the Next Day we marchd to hatten feild & took up Quarters their where we Drew Provision & Cookd the whole & the Same Day we met Capt. Lewis Going Down on a scout & about Sun Set we saw the fort blow up -- we Tarded all Night & [...]

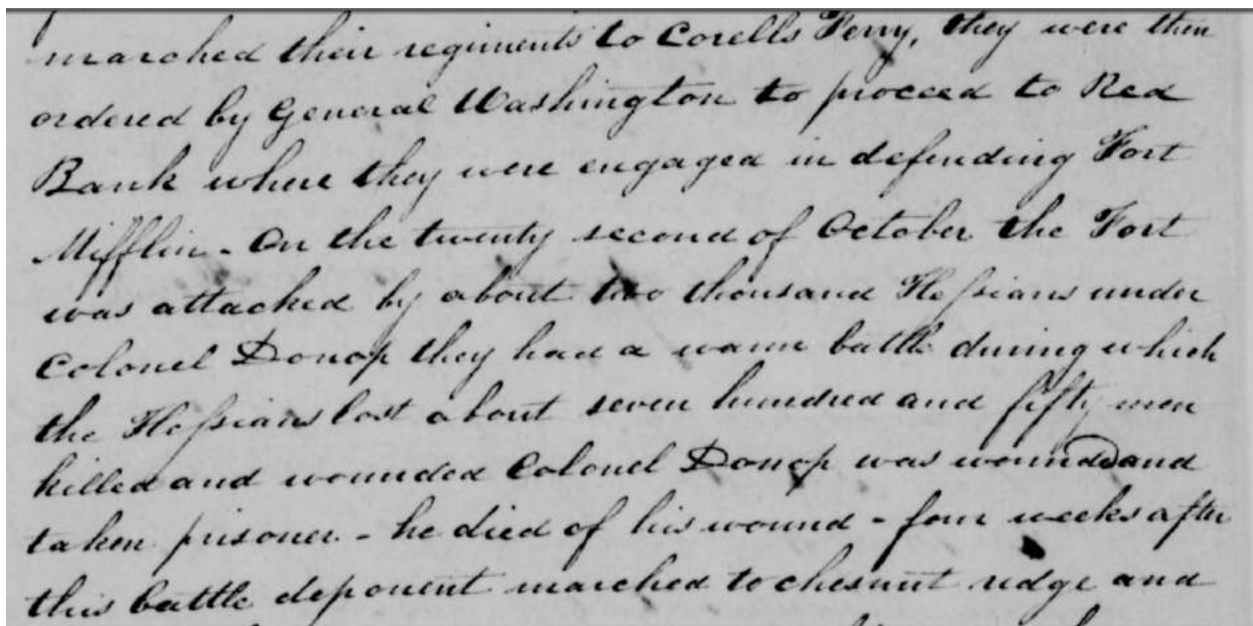
...November 21] Next Morning Early we marchd for mount Holley -- we marchd about a half mile & heard a Cannonade & Saw a Great fire in the River which Provd to Be our Shipping that

was set on fire by our own People, etc. -- we marchd the whole army to mount Holley where we arrivd befor Night where we took our Quarters in houses for that Night -- we Taried that Night....

25. Pension Application William Smith R 9877, Colonel Greene's Rhode Island Regt, deposed 1 August 1832

NARA M804. Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty-Land Warrant Application Files

" ... they were ordered by General Washington to proceed to Red Bank where they were engaged in defending Fort Mifflin. On the twenty second of October the Fort was attacked by about two thousand Hessians under Colonel Donop they had a warm battle during which the Hessians lost about seven hundred and fifty men killed and wounded Colonel Donop was wounded and taken prisoner - he died of his wound - four weeks after the battle deponent marched ... "



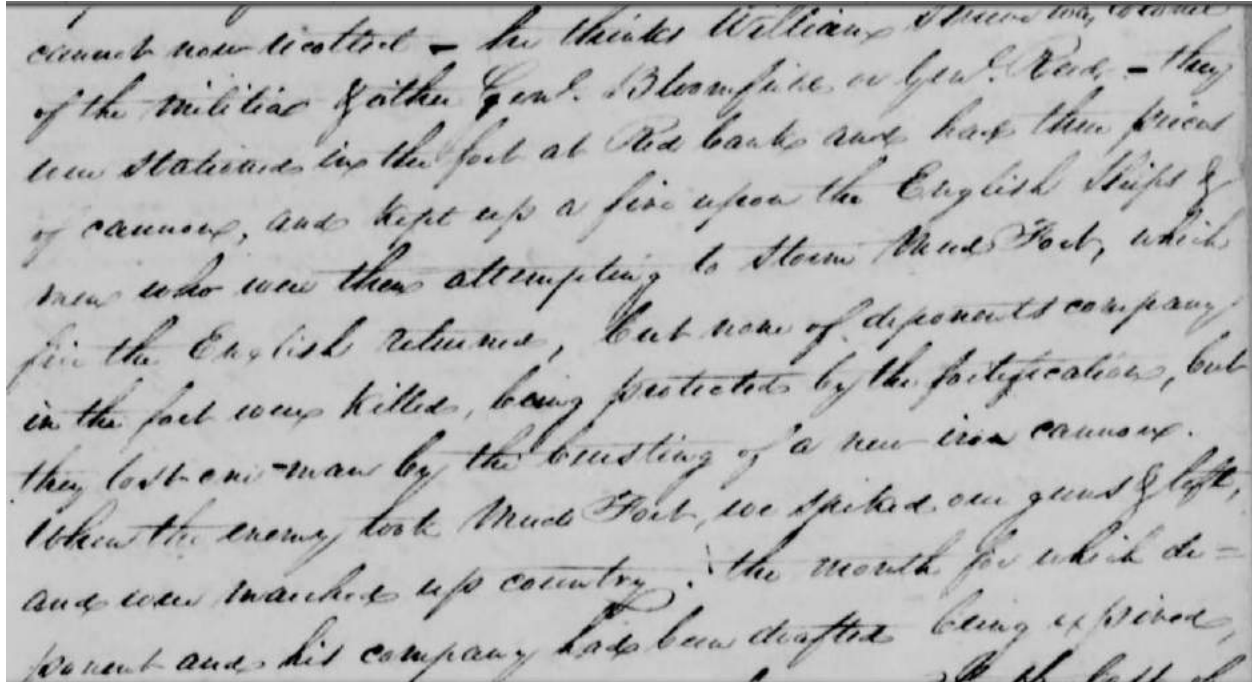
Marched their regiments to Corrells Ferry, they were then ordered by General Washington to proceed to Red Bank where they were engaged in defending Fort Mifflin. On the twenty second of October the Fort was attacked by about two thousand Hessians under Colonel Donop they had a warm battle during which the Hessians lost about seven hundred and fifty men killed and wounded Colonel Donop was wounded and taken prisoner - he died of his wound - four weeks after this battle deponent marched to Chesnut ridge and

26. Trout, William, New Jersey, Pension

NARA M804. Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty-Land Warrant Application Files

Pension Application S 2567, New Jersey, Col. Hogeland 's Regt, deposed 7 June 1832

“ - they were stationed in the **fort at Red bank** and had three pieces of cannon, and kept up a fire upon the English Ships & men who were then attempting to storm Mud Fort, which fire the English returned, but none of deponents company in the fort were killed, being protected by the fortifications, but they lost one man by the bursting of a new iron cannon. When the enemy took Mud Fort, we spiked our guns & left, and were marched up country”.

A snippet of a handwritten manuscript in cursive script, likely a pension application. The text is written on aged, slightly yellowed paper. It describes military actions at Red Bank and Mud Fort, mentioning cannons, English ships, and the loss of a man. The handwriting is somewhat faded and the ink is dark. The text is a transcription of the typed text above it, with some minor variations in punctuation and capitalization.

cannot now recollect - he thinks William Mowbray, one
of the militia of Col. Blount's, or Gen. Reed, - they
were stationed in the fort at Red bank and had three pieces
of cannons, and kept up a fire upon the English Ships &
men who were then attempting to storm Mud Fort, which
fire the English returned, but none of deponents company
in the fort were killed, being protected by the fortifications, but
they lost one man by the bursting of a new iron cannon.
When the enemy took Mud Fort, we spiked our guns & left,
and were marched up country. the month for which de-
ponent and his company had been drafted being expired,

27. Von Closen, Baron Ludwig, journal

Excerpt from "The Revolutionary Journal of Baron Ludwig von Closen, 1780-1783. Translated and edited by by Evelyn Acomb. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1958

pages 122-123:

"...From there we were taken to *Red Bank*, on the *left* bank, where M. de *Mauduit* happened to be the fort's artillery commander under Colonel [Christopher] Greene, when Colonel [Karl von] *Donop*, at the head of 2500 Hessians, came to attack it on October 22, 1777. This fort [Mercer], of which we saw only the raised outline, was constructed on the edge of the river, which has rather steep banks on that side.

When M. de Mauduit was sent there by General Washington, he (page 123) found the fortifications much too extended to be defended by Colonel Greene's 350 men. He began, therefore, by abandoning a large part of them (on the North) but reserved a *re-entrant salient angle* at the junction (very ingeniously planned) of the two parts of a crowned work that he abandoned, in which he placed only some sharpshooters at the time of the attack. This idea was completely successful; for Donop, who had formed his men for two assaults, arrived with the chief column at the salient of this (abandoned) fortification, which he did not have much trouble or glory in seizing. His troops as well as he believed that they were already masters of the fort, and hurled themselves *en masse* into the works, from which they saw some men escape. Mauduit then lashed them with 4 pieces of cannon loaded with canister shot, which created great havoc among them. As you can well imagine, there was great disorder in this crowd of men; but the bravery and *high spirits of the Hessians* revived Donop's courage, and he tried to re-form them and to attack the opposite parapet, behind which Colonel Greene had placed most of his troops. But the Hessians were repulsed once again, and the ground was covered with blue uniforms.

The second column, which had attacked from the *South* side, and which had almost reached the moat, was stopped by the palisades, which they had nearly cut through; then Mauduit appeared with part of his troops and repulsed them on that side as well by murderous fire and bayonets. The Hessians still tried to file along the river on the cliff, but two galleys anchored there fired grape-shot on them, which confused them too, so that all these columns retired in the greatest disorder, pell-mell, to the edge of a wood nearby, leaving their brave (but indiscreet) commander behind, mortally wounded. The Americans found 515 Hessians stretched out around the fort, 300 of them dead. Only 19 of the Americans were killed and 37 wounded. Although Donop had twice summoned the fort to surrender, or he would give no quarter, he, as well as his wounded, could not praise enough the good treatment that they received. As he was about to expire, this *blind man* even gave his sword to M. de Mauduit, *who still has it*, and assured him of his complete esteem, which he merited as a young, brave, talented, and especially humane Frenchman...."

28. Wells, Henry, Delaware, Pension

NARA M804. Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty-Land Warrant Application Files

Pension application S11712

29 January 1834, Washington County, Pennsylvania

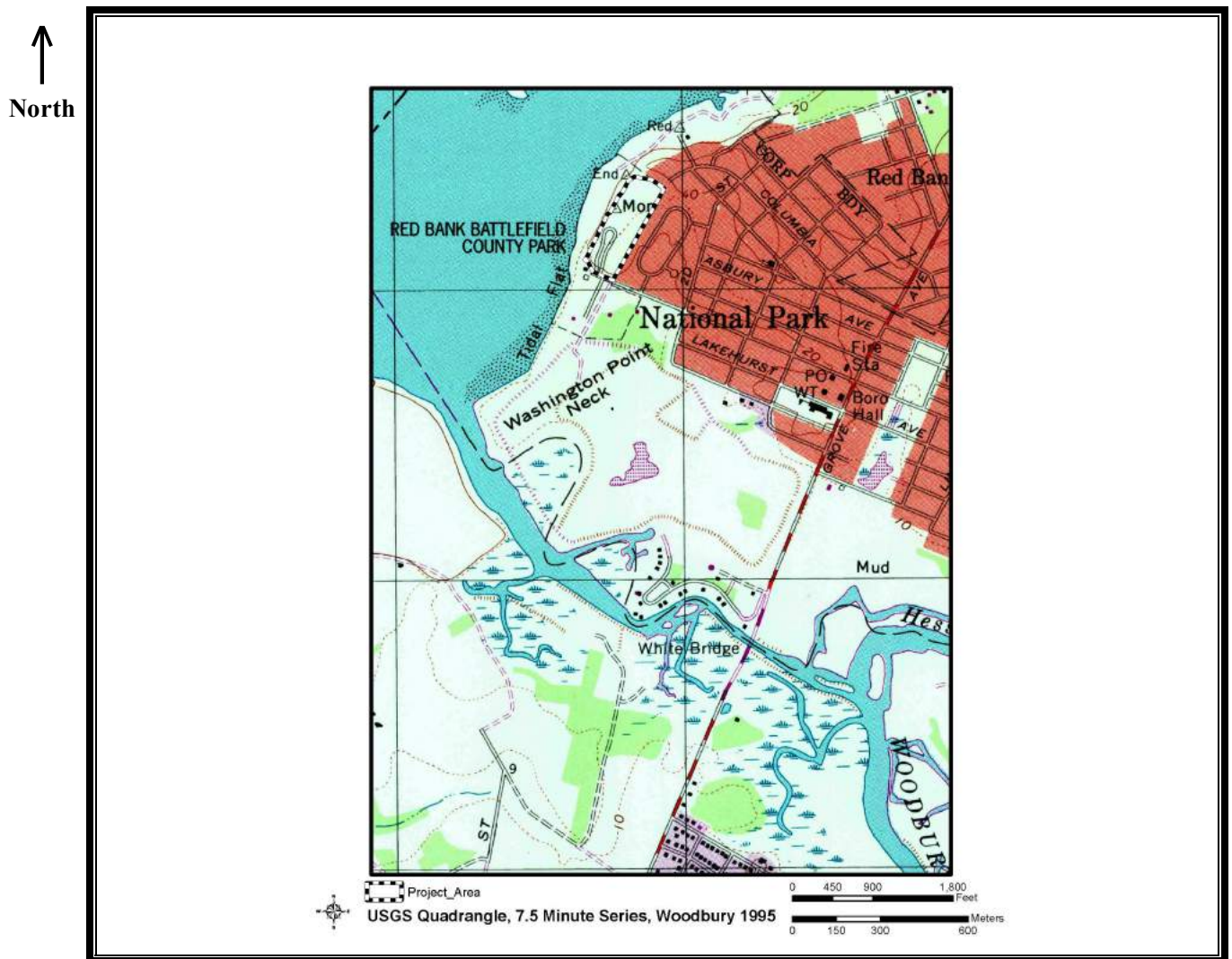
Henry Wells, aged 77

“That he enlisted in the Army of the United States in the year 1776 (about the 1st of September being then about 20 years & 4 ½ months old) under Captain __ Carson and Lieutenant Edward (commonly called Neddy) Polk, and Served in (not recollected) Regiment of the Delaware line, under the following named officers. This Regiment was commanded by Colonel Thomas Hall and Major (James, I think) Perry and other officers whose names I cannot now recollect.... Shortly after my enlistment, the Company in which I served was placed under the Command of Captain William McKennan (the father of the present representative¹ in Congress from this district) I am not certain whether Captain McKennan assumed the Command of the Company to which I was attached before or after the Battle of Trenton but, I believe it was previous to that engagement. When I was enlisted I lived in the Capes of Delaware in the State of Delaware in Sussex County near Lewis town [sic, Lewes]. The Regiment to which I belonged was rendezvous [sic] together with another Regiment, at Newcastle [sic, New Castle] near which (at Christiana Bridge) we laid encamped for several weeks and were joined by another Regiment and the whole detachment put under the Command of Colonel Anthony Wayne. From this place we were marched to join the Army under General Washington, and we formed a Junction with him a “Valey forge” [sic, at Valley Forge] in Pennsylvania not far from Philadelphia near the Schuylkill River. From Valley Forge we were marched across the Delaware into New Jersey, -- to Burlington and other places after Scouting about through Jersey for several weeks we returned to Valley Forge. After laying at Valley Forge for a short time a detachment under General or Colonel Wayne to which I belonged was to the “**Red Banks**” by General Washington. The Red Banks are situated on the Delaware in Jersey a few miles below Philadelphia before we arrived at the Banks the British force stationed there had been attacked and routed by another detachment of the Americans. Just as we arrived in sight of the Banks, two British Ships of the Line were blown up by our victorious Countrymen. (If I recollect right, Colonel Green commanded the Americans in this affair of the Red Banks). From Red Banks we were marched back to Valley Forge where the whole force under General Washington lay until late in December of the year 1776 [sic].

Appendix I: Site Form

Sketch Map of the Site:

Indicate the chief topological features, such as streams, swamps, shorelines, and elevations (approximate). Also show buildings and roads. Indicate the site location by enclosing the site area with a dotted line. Use a scale (approximate) to indicate distance and dimensions.



Observations, Remarks, or Recommendations:

Originally called the Hessian Avenue Site (28-GL-84), the site was defined on the basis of surface artifact finds encompassing the entire original 20-acre "Government Park" (Cross 1941:234) that became part of the present Red Bank Battlefield Park. As described in the state museum's files, the site extends along the Delaware River 1,000 feet (304.8 meters) south from a monument on the high knoll north of the Whitall House. Its eastern boundary was 300 feet (91.44 meters) east of the river. The site is officially recorded as being bounded by Government Park's northern and southern boundaries, uncultivated fields to the east, and the Delaware River on the west. Today, Red Bank Battlefield Park is 44 acres in total, including the original 20-acre "Government Park" surveyed by Cross.

Recorder's Name (Company): Commonwealth Heritage Company
Address: 535 N. Church Street, West Chester, PA 19380
Phone: 610-436-9000
Date Recorder at Site: Wade Catts

Revised 2007