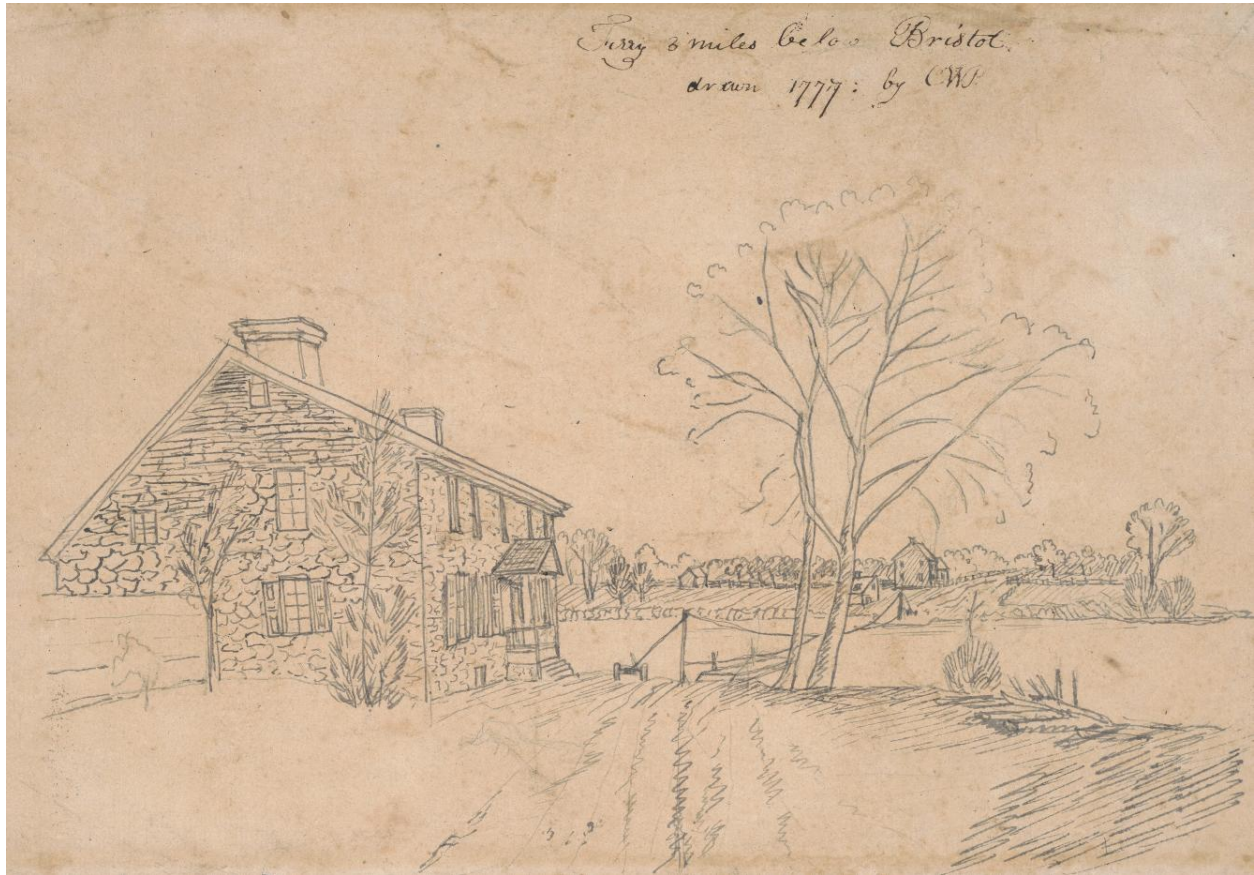


FINAL REPORT-NATIONAL PARK SERVICE, DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR AFRICAN AMERICAN CIVIL RIGHTS GRANT

CALLING FORTH THE LEGACY OF JACOB FRANCIS: THE REVOLUTIONARY ROAD TO THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

Matthew White



Misidentified, likely Coryell's Ferry. ¹ Free Library of Philadelphia, Print and Picture Collection.

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¹ Previously identified as "Ferry 3 Miles Below Bristol drawn 1777: by CWP [Charles Willson Peale]".

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ABSTRACT AND OVERVIEW

“Washington Crossing Historic Park is offering a 12-month paid research fellowship focusing on identifying the men and women of color who, directly and indirectly, contributed to George Washington’s legendary crossing of the Delaware River on December 25, 1776. The resulting research will support the park’s interpretation and exhibits as we prepare for the nation’s Semiquincentennial and beyond.” This fellowship was funded through a National Park Service African American Civil Rights Grant. “The goal of the African American Civil Rights grant program is to preserve and protect sites and stories associated with the struggle for equality from the transatlantic slave trade forward.”

As outlined by Washington Crossing Historic Park and the African American Civil Rights grant program, the goal of this project was simple: identify people of color who contributed to the crossing of the Delaware and to bring their stories to light and I, supported by the grant, and with the assistance of historical societies, archives, and many individuals, identified over a hundred people, with diverse backgrounds and roles, and began to tell their stories and to contextualize them. Over the course of this project, it became clear that Washington Crossing was itself a site “associated with the struggle for equality” by the 1820s. In contextualizing the identified people of color, it became possible to definitively prove that there was not a racial recruiting ban in 1776 as many historians believe there was. The people of color who soldiered in the Continental Army in 1776 were not aberrations but instead fixtures of the army and numerous enough to be taken for granted.

The group of identified people of color includes men and women, of African, Native American, and possibly even East Asian ancestry. About a dozen were born in Africa, while one appears to have been born in Bengal and another in the French colonies in India. The majority of the identified people were soldiers, but others were sailors, ferrymen, boatmen, servants, laundresses, and cooks, to name the roles of some of the most represented. The majority of identified people were free, while two dozen, at the very least, were enslaved, while several dozen were indeterminable but were likely free by the end of the Revolution.

The majority of identified soldiers came from New England. That New England was so well represented in the group, is due to a number of factors: first and foremost, the far majority of troops with Washington’s force at the crossing were from New England. Secondly, later Massachusetts records from the Revolution occasionally noted someone as “Negro,” “Indian,” “Mustee,” or “Mulatto,” making the task of determining someone’s ancestry slightly easier, but even with this advantage, the lack of rolls of soldiers from 1776 severely complicated and hindered the project. With that fact in mind, this group is best thought of as a sample, that through extrapolation using various surviving sources suggests that the New England regiments at the crossing were composed of at least 5% people of color, but in particular regiments like Durkee’s Regiment, the percentage was likely higher.

As I began this project, I took a lot for granted. I assumed that historians had already answered some of the basic questions like “who was at the crossing” and “who ferried the army?” But very soon I realized that there was even less documentation on the army and the crossing than I imagined. To identify people of color who contributed to the crossing, I had to scour the known sources, seek out new sources, and then find ways to triangulate. I could take nothing for granted. In short, I had to rethink everything I thought I knew about the crossing and the campaign. I sought out sources typically ignored by historians, like account books and memorandum books, and discovered journals and letters previously unknown to historians. Going through new sources, and going back to the picked over sources, I identified more people of color at the crossing and found that long held beliefs about the crossing were not true.

This project identified well over a hundred people of color at the crossing and while doing that also:

- Clarified Congress's, the states', and the Continental Army's policies regarding people of color in 1776, which will revise the basic historical narrative. In 1776 people of color were welcome in the Continental Army, there was no racial ban.

- Provided more information about New England's experience with slavery and abolition, and the Revolution's role in the process of the abolition of slavery.

- Increased our understanding of the lives of people of color, free and enslaved, in the Delaware Valley

- Provided new information on the Battle of Trenton.

- Found hidden in plain sight, the earliest depiction of New Hope-Lambertville by artist Charles Willson Peale

- It has clarified and added to the order of battle for not only the December 26th Battle of Trenton, but the entire campaign.

- It has greatly contributed to our understanding of the roles and contributions of the Flying Camp, the Continental Navy, the Pennsylvania Navy to the crossing and the campaign.

- It has determined that the traditional group credited with ferrying the army that night, John Glover's 14th Continental Regiment, was not detailed to do so.

- Instead, it was Philadelphia artillery companies, the Pennsylvania Navy, and local ferrymen and boatmen, both civilian (including enslaved people) and detailed men out of various units of Pennsylvania and New Jersey militia, Flying Camp, and Continentals. But this question requires further investigation.

In retrospect, one theme that ran throughout the project was "what people take for granted." One reason there are not hundreds of contemporary statements by Americans that the Continental Army contained hundreds of people of color, is not because there were not any, but because contemporary Americans took for granted that there were. For someone to remark on something, it had to be remarkable, and people of color in the Continental Army were not remarkable. Other important details of the crossing and encampment were not remarked on at the time because they were taken for granted: like that ferrymen would ferry the army, or that an encampment would have huts.

Usually around February of every year, an unattributed quote pops up: "black history is American history." One way I interpret it is as a reminder that Africans and people of African descent were in the Americas long before English settlement, and that African Americans, free and enslaved, were integral to the birth, continuance, and prominence of the United States. It is a reminder because at different moments and different places, the presence and contributions of African Americans and more broadly, people of color, were overlooked, forgotten, or even consciously erased. Reflecting the longest period of forgetfulness, in 1905, a newspaperman wrote that Prince Whipple was "New Hampshire's foremost, if not only colored representative of the war for Independence," Whipple, was therefore an exception, the "only" man of color from New Hampshire to have fought in the Revolution, not a representative of hundreds of people of color from New Hampshire. People living in New Hampshire a hundred years before would have been shocked by the newspaperman's statement. Writing in 1795, 110 years before the newspaperman, the minister and historian, Jeremy Belknap, noted that there were free as well as enslaved people of color in the New Hampshire Line and in his description of slavery's end in that state wrote that "In New-Hampshire, (where I then resided), those blacks who enlisted into the army for three years, were entitled to the same bounty as the whites. This bounty their masters received as the price of their liberty, and then delivered up their bills of

sale, and gave them a certificate of manumission.”² In the 18th century, people like Jeremy Belknap took it for granted that there were many people of color in the Continental Army, but as the 1905 quote shows, by the 20th century, many people took it for granted that the Continental Army was whites only.

Paralleling and reinforcing the idea of a “white” Continental Army, by the turn of the 19th century, artist’s depictions of the Continental Army were uniformly devoid of people of color. Images that shaped peoples’ perception of the Continental Army like William Trego’s *March to Valley Forge* (1883), and Howard Pyle’s *The Nation Makers* (1902) and what was “accurate” depicted a white army. But these depictions of the Continental Army were a break with earlier depictions.

If you were to ask random people to describe “Washington’s crossing,” and they actually knew what it was, they would likely give an answer related to Emanuel Leutze’s 1851 masterpiece, *Washington Crossing the Delaware*. If they were familiar with the actual painting, or even copies of it, they might even describe one of the people propelling the boat as “African American.” The three earliest paintings depicting “the crossing” by Thomas Sully (*The Passage of the Delaware*, 1819), Emanuel Leutze, and Caleb Bingham (*Washington Crossing the Delaware*, 1855/1871) respectively, all contain at least one African American figure. These paintings have all been subject to criticism regarding the landscape, the width of the river, the boats, the weather conditions, people standing in the boats, and so on and so forth. The most recent painted depiction of the crossing is by Mort Kunstler, which was an attempt to depict the crossing “as it probably happened,” taking into account all of the criticism of the past depictions, deleting the tiny row boats in favor of a rope ferry, and depicting the correct weather conditions. Remarkably though, in his attempt to be more historically accurate, to get the details “right,” he did not depict a person of color, thus making his depiction of the army less accurate in one very important detail than the 19th century depictions.

New depictions of the Revolution that include African Americans are occasionally subject to criticism from a portion of the public who believe that the depictions are inaccurate and exist to merely make the past reflect the complexions of ‘modern’ Americans because the histories they were taught, the art they looked at, and the movies, and TV they watched showed an overwhelmingly “white” past. Indeed, showing the Continental Army as they actually looked can be an unsettling departure with the recent and not-so-recent past, but not with the period of the Revolution. Dozens of contemporary observers throughout the Revolution noted that people of color served disproportionately above their percentage of the population. In contemporary depictions of the Continental Army, people of color were commonly depicted. Famously: Jean Baptiste Antoine de Verger, illustration of four Continental Army soldiers, c., 1781, and not so famously, Richard St George Mansergh’s *A View in America in 1778*. Many 18th century paintings including the famous, like John Trumbull’s *Death of Warren* (1786), and the not-so-famous like *Capture of Yorktown* (1785) by Louis-Nicolas van Blarenbergh depict people of color. Putting people of color back into a depiction of the crossing, would not be an unprecedented and ham-fisted attempt to add “diversity” where there was not any, but is instead a return to earlier depictions, and importantly, a return to depictions made during the Revolutionary era. One of my hopes for this project is to ensure that when people visualize the crossing, that they will take for granted that there were people of color in the scene, just like the people who crossed at McConkey’s Ferry on December 25-26, 1776 did.

² https://www.masshist.org/database/viewer.php?item_id=684&mode=transcript&img_step=20

OF LAWS AND LEGISLATION AND PEOPLE OF COLOR: “NEITHER NEGROES (BEING SLAVES)...ARE TO BE INLISTED.”

This project had a simple goal: to identify people of color who contributed to the crossing of the Delaware. That goal was achieved, identifying over one hundred people, but most importantly the work of the project should provide the basic rationale, tools and the impetus for myself and other people to identify dozens, if not hundreds more, as several of the largest stumbling blocks that previously inhibited and discouraged even some basic inquiry have been pushed aside.

The biggest factor inhibiting people from investigating people of color at the crossing or in Washington’s main army in 1776, is the idea held by historians of the Revolution that the enlistment of African Americans was effectively banned going into 1776. Historians believed this for several reasons.

-One is because they did not know that there were new recruiting orders after the middle of January of 1776, that did allow free people of color to enlist. They did not know the recruiting orders of the Flying Camp, or the newly raised additional regiments. Furthermore, a number of historians still believed that a Massachusetts law related to the impressment of slaves was actually a law prohibiting the enlistment of African Americans.

-Another reason is that historians were, and continue to be, confused by period terminology, in particular the word “Negro.” They are confused in large part because that word had different meanings, usually based on region and that region’s relationship with slavery. A large body of evidence, including Congressional and Continental Army discussion and debate on the enlistment of “Negroes” shows that people in the 18th century could be just as confused as modern historians, but in the fifty or so years leading up to the Revolution, the default meaning of “Negro” was its legal meaning: “slave.”

-The other reason that historians sense that very few people of color were in the army in 1776 is because of the lack of “African American” names like “Cato,” “Prince,” and “Cuff,” in 1776 muster rolls--especially compared to 1777 and later muster rolls, and there are three reasons for that: 1.) because historians tend to conflate slave names with “race” or ethnicity, and 2.) because very, very few muster rolls from Washington’s main army of 1776 still exist.

-Because historians believed that the recruitment of African Americans was effectively banned in 1776, and when historians went looking for names of African Americans in the ranks, like “Cash Africa,” they did not find them, which was confirmation to them that the recruiting ban had gone into effect. But instead, the absence of “African American” names is, in large part, evidence that most of the 1776 muster rolls ceased to exist and possibly evidence that there was a ban on the enlistment of slaves.

In sum, there was not a ban on the enlistment of free people of color, and evidence suggests that a ban on the enlistment of slaves was often ignored, and by July, with new recruiting instructions, mostly left to the states themselves to how best execute them, many states enlisted enslaved people.

Up until very recently historians of the Revolution thought that Congress and the Continental Army prohibited the enlistment of African Americans in 1776. Historians believed this because they were not aware of later recruiting directives, and continued to misinterpret state laws. Free African Americans were not prohibited from reenlisting or enlisting, but recruiting orders did prohibit the enlistment of slaves. In short, there was no “racial” enlistment ban. Contemporary descriptions of the Continental Army, the few surviving muster rolls, pensions, and other sources all show a fairly diverse soldiery, as well as providing evidence that the ban on the enlistment of slaves was often ignored. With surviving muster rolls from the force that Washington gathered at McConkey’s Ferry extremely scarce, we will never know the names of the majority of the people who made up the units who crossed that night, but inferring using surviving muster rolls, and deserter ads, and other sources a safe, conservative estimate is that at least 5% of the Continental Army there that night was made up of people of color.

According to historian Charles Neimeyer, Cash Africa was denied reenlistment because he was a person of color. This incident is cited throughout the scholarship of the American Revolution as evidence that the Continental Army did in fact institute a color ban. It is also one of the pieces of evidence that has influenced the perception that there were very few people of color outside of Glover's Regiment. The problem with this incident is that Cash Africa did in fact enlist again in late 1775 and did serve in 1776.

Before Congress adopted the Massachusetts Bay Army as the Continental Army, On May 20, 1775, the Committee of Safety of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, "Resolved, that it is the opinion of this Committee, as the contest now between Great Britain and the Colonies respects the liberties and privileges of the latter, which the Colonies are determined to maintain, that the admission of any persons, as soldiers, into the army now raising, but only such as are freemen, will be inconsistent with the principles that are to be supported, and reflect dishonor on the colony, and that no slaves be admitted to this army, upon any consideration whatever." Cut and dry and concise as these things go. As true republicans and Britons, Massachusetts Bay "freemen" would display their virtue through their military service while it would be dishonorable and hypocritical to allow masters to enlist enslaved people to serve for them (while receiving their bounty money as well as any pay as well as any benefits that might accrue, a practice widely followed during the Seven Years War.) To readers then as well as now, their use of "slave" makes their meaning clear, they banned the enlistment of slaves, but that clarity ceased when the Massachusetts Bay Army became the Continental Army.

On June 14, 1775, Continental Congress adopted the Massachusetts Bay Army as the Continental Army putting Virginian George Washington in command. Washington, in turn, appointed fellow Virginian Horatio Gates as his adjutant general. By July 10, 1775, Horatio Gates circulated printed orders to the recruiters of "the Massachusetts-Bay Forces" that initially mimicked the Massachusetts Bay's Council's resolution: because "the Cause is the best that can engage Men of Courage and Principle to take up Arms" but added new categories of people who were not to be enlisted: "you are not to enlist" any British deserters, "any Stroller" or "Vagabond." But in that list, Gates replaced the May 1775 "no slaves" wording with "nor any...Negro." It is not known if Gates and Washington wanted to prevent "Free Negroes" from enlisting, but they likely did. But if they did, they were ignored as muster rolls, enlistment papers, pensions, and other sources indicate that "Negro," meant something else to New England recruiters as they understood it merely as a continuation of the ban on the enlistment of enslaved people.

Debate over the enlistment of people of color in Congress illuminated the disconnect over the meaning of "Negro" while creating a disconnect among congressmen. New Jersey Congressman Richard Smith noted that on September 26, 1775, Edward Rutledge "moved that the Gen. [Washington] shall discharge all the Negroes as well Slaves as Freemen in his Army, [Rutledge] was strongly supported by many of the Southern Delegates but so powerfully opposed that he lost the Point." Rutledge and many of the "southern delegates" were peeved that their definition of "Negro" was not the universal definition. To Rutledge it was apparent that the July ban on "Negroes" encompassed both free and enslaved people, but as he found out that day, it was not obvious to the delegates from the states to the north of them. With pressure coming from southern delegates in Congress, as well as a debate on the right proportions of the Continental Army to impress Europeans, tension over the meaning of the word "Negro" finally came to a head within the Continental Army at a council of war on October 8, 1775. Washington asked his generals "Whether it will be adviseable to re-inlist any Negroes in the new Army—or whether there be a Distinction between such as are Slaves & those who are free?" In essence, he was asking which definition ought to become official, the slave society definition, or the society with slaves definition. He was asking, in essence, what should the word "Negro" mean? Should "Negro" mean enslaved people or a race? The generals "Agreed unanimously to reject all Slaves, & by a great Majority to reject Negroes altogether." For a moment the southern delegates' definition of "Negro" was the official Continental Army definition.

But just for a moment several of the New England generals' arguments in favor of the enlistment of people of color, the actions of people of color themselves, and the threat of Dunmore's Proclamation persuaded

Washington that the ban was wrong headed. If Washington wanted to continue to have an army, he would have to ignore people like Rutledge and those who worried about the image of the Continental Army. On November 12, Washington ordered that, "Neither Negroes, Boys unable to bare Arms, nor old men unfit to endure the fatigues of the campaign, are to be inlisted." The new order did not distinguish between free and enslaved, leaving Washington wiggle room. By December Washington wrote Congress that "numbers of Free Negroes are desirous of inlisting" and that he had allowed "recruiting Officers to entertain them." By January, Congress allowed "that the free negroes who have served faithfully in the army at Cambridge, may be re-enlisted therein, but no others." In late January recruiting officer's commissions signed by Washington contained the language of the November 12 order but with a parenthetical note: "Neither Negroes (being Slaves)...are to be inlisted." In this formulation, Negroes meant only enslaved people, not a catch-all. The controversy in Congress and in the upper echelons of the Continental Army was resolved by February 21, 1776, when Washington issued new orders that "expressly forbid [recruiting officers from] enlisting any Boys—Old Men—or Slaves." Washington and his staff had knowingly or unknowingly come full circle from the May 1775 recruiting resolution by going back to the word with a firm meaning: "slave." Meanwhile people such as Washington used "Negro" to mean slave, and "free negro" to mean free.

As 1776 continued, Washington never mentioned "negro" recruits, but did mention that many recruits were too old or "babes." Later in the year, with Washington's input, the recruiting instructions for the new establishment of the Continental Army appeared and stated clearly that "You are to enlist none but freemen above the age of Seventeen & under that of Fifty." Washington wanted "able-bodied" troops, first and foremost.

PEOPLE OF COLOR WHO CONTRIBUTED TO WASHINGTON'S CROSSING OF THE DELAWARE RIVER ON DECEMBER 25, 1776

THE ENSLAVED RESIDENTS OF UPPER MAKEFIELD TOWNSHIP IN DECEMBER OF 1776

As will be discussed in the section on ferrymen and boatmen, slavery was still practiced in Upper Makefield Township at the time of the crossing. Upper Makefield Quakers began manumitting slaves previous to 1776, but in 1776 the Bucks Quarterly Meeting took stronger measures to encourage manumission. Starting just after the crossing, there were four manumissions in Upper Makefield Township, and one indenture written that promised a more generous apprenticeship to a child. The four people manumitted certainly took part in the encampments around Beaumont's Ferry and McConkey's Ferry.

John Beaumont manumitted Dinah, age unknown. January, 1778

John Burroughs manumitted Aaron, age 24, April 1778

John Burroughs manumitted Moses, age 23, April 1778

Mathias Harvey manumitted Prince, age 20, February 1781

Dr John Chapman and Mercy Chapman agreed to take Mary Bawtrum from the Overseers of the Poor of Upper Makefield as an apprentice, and then changed the terms of the agreement in June of 1777 to make it more favorable to Mary and granted her freedom from her indenture at age eighteen, instead of thirty-one, an action taken because "being principled against slavery of every kind and degree, we are willing and desirous" to undertake such an action.

The John Burroughs house and complex was a part of the McConkey's Ferry encampment, so we can say with a high degree of certainty that Moses and Aaron contributed to it. Similarly, we know that John Beaumont's house and ferry were central to the Beaumont's Ferry encampment of Stirling's brigade, and thus Dinah contributed to that encampment in some way. In the household of Mercy and Dr. John Chapman, little Mary Bawtrum likely witnessed her house's guests, like Henry Knox, and Alexander Hamilton.

The slave register accompanying the 1780 Abolition Law executed in 1782 or 83 contained these Upper Makefield entries:

Bernard Vanhorn

Cupid, 40

Betty 48

Sarah 4

Elijah 9

The Bernard Vanhorn property was just south of John Knowles's, and was undoubtedly part of the December 1776 encampment. Cupid's location on the river, might have made him a ferryman.

And in the rear of the book, an entry by Joseph Howell manumitting Bob, 16 years of age in 1787.

In 1776 and 1787, Howell's property in Upper Makefield abutted the Samuel McConkey's then Benjamin Taylor's property, and it is likely that Howell had other enslaved people. The property was undoubtedly part of the encampment.

In the Inspection Roll of Negroes, from 1783 aka "the Book of Negroes" Silas, 31, formerly of Bucks County listed his former owner as William Pettit. Silas "ran off" around 1777. Pettit was the occasional ferry and tavern owner at Beaumont's Ferry. In 1792, Pettit manumitted Will, 26; Jim, 21; Cate, 17; "Cate's daughter Hagor, about two years of age;" Annie and Sile, about ten years of age." Of the people manumitted, Will, would have been ten or eleven years old, while Jim would have been six, and Cate, if she lived at or near the ferry would have been a baby. Silas was likely a ferryman at Beaumont's Ferry, and in my opinion, a ferryman, the night of December 25-26.

There were undoubtedly more enslaved people in the area of McConkey's Ferry. There were also free people of color living in the area as well, some of whom will be discussed in the list of soldiers, including John Francis and Andrew Clarke.

FERRYMEN (AND WOMEN), BOATMEN, AND DURHAM IRONWORKERS.

T O B E S O L D,
A Stout healthy young **NEGRO MAN**, who has been accustomed to attend at a ferry, has had the small-pox, and is sold for no other reason but want of employ. Enquire of **ANN HUMPHREYS**, in Fifth street, near Market street. **c. t. f.**

May 12, 1775

Maritime historian Charles Foy wrote that in crossing a New York ferry in the 18th century, the ferryman was likely enslaved. In his dissertation, he suggested that enslaved ferrymen were typical on the Delaware River ferries as well. This project yielded more evidence that deep into the Revolutionary-era, ferry owners or licensed operators utilized enslaved people to actually run the ferries and accompanying taverns. New evidence in the form of tax lists, wills, probate records, runaway ads, reminiscences, letters, and visual evidence, strongly suggests that at least some of the people who ferried the army across the Delaware, December 25-26, 1776 were enslaved people of color.

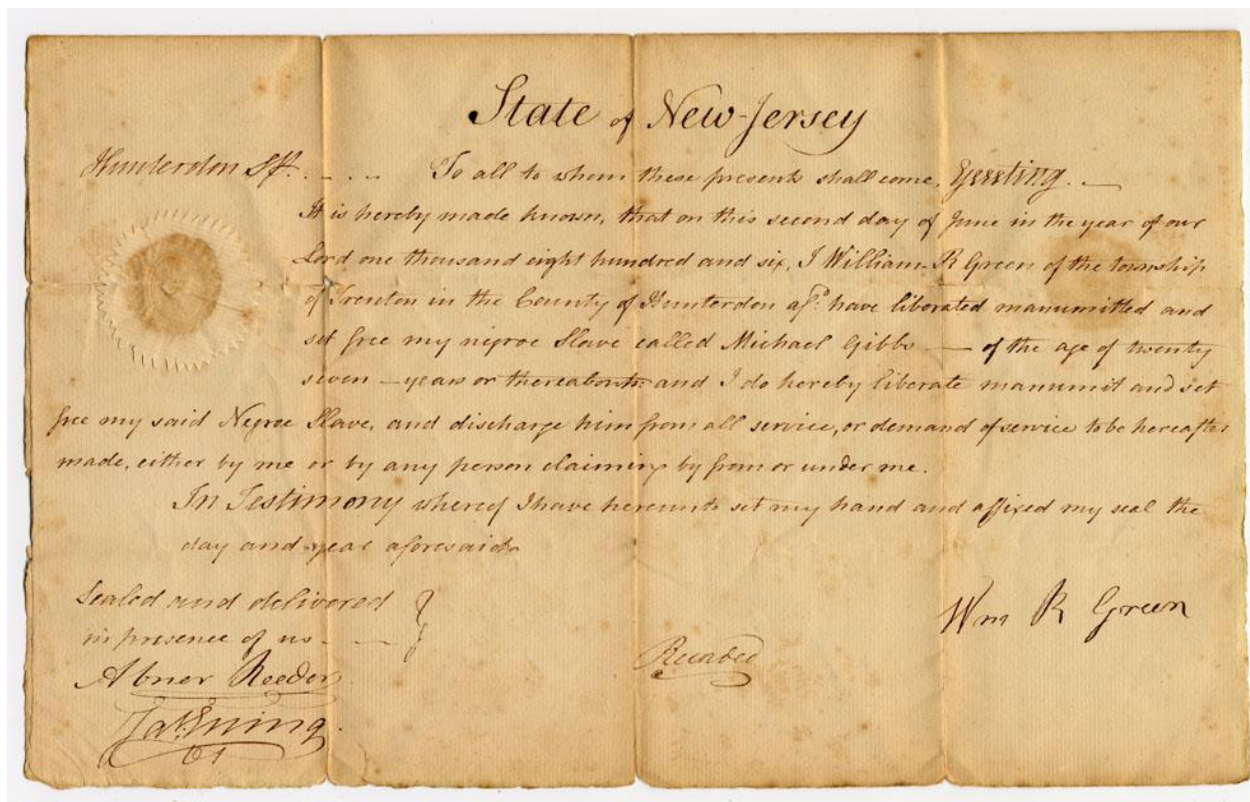
Combing through the tax lists, the Bucks County slave register, runaway ads, receipts, shows that in the 1770s, in Bucks and Hunterdon Counties, that of the twelve ferry locations from Easton to Trenton, every single one was associated with enslaved labor, if the ferry was not actually operated by slaves.

As will be discussed in the Appendix, one person was explicitly acknowledged by a contemporary to have “helped to ferry the army over the river the morning before the battle.” That ferryman was William R Green. It is a credible statement, for a number of reasons:

1. Because the addition of that service would not have made or broken the pension.
2. The person who made the claim was acquainted with Green and was there at the crossing himself.
3. Because William R Green was a ferryman, from a family of ferrymen and operators.

Green and the rest of the Greens did “help to ferry” that night, it would have been remarkable if they did not bring their enslaved people to help as well. ³

Unfortunately, the names and ages of the people owned by the Greens have been elusive. By the end of his life in 1822, William R Green had divested himself of slaves. In 1806 he freed Michael Gibbs at the age of twenty-seven, but the enslaved person that William R Green was taxed on in 1779 was definitely not the same person he manumitted in 1806 as Michael Gibbs was not even born yet. ⁴



The documentary gap has made it impossible to determine if the McConkeys employed enslaved people at their ferry, in December of 1776, but it appears likely that they did. The previous owners of McConkey’s Ferry, the Bakers, employed enslaved people. The owner and at least one of the theoretical operators at the time of the crossing, Samuel McConkey, appears to have owned slaves as well, but this needs further investigation. What is known is that his son Captain John McConkey had enslaved people listed as part of his property in 1790, in Franklin County, Pennsylvania, and that his father Samuel lived under the same roof, and that

³ NJW https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/2793/records/5686?tid=&pid=&queryId=d4a59744-9976-4f9e-a886-be63c5d4d8e5&_phsrc=jtx14686&_phstart=successSource

⁴ https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/8796/records/202798?tid=&pid=&queryId=76ad67f1-e71b-415c-a779-8dd97f5d4dfa&_phsrc=jtx14690&_phstart=successSource

another son, Captain William McConkey had four, likely enslaved people, living at his property in Bucks County in 1783, that do not appear in other records. One daughter of Samuel McConkey, Mary, married Robert Ramsey, a Bucks County miller, and militia captain, and enslaved at least one male over the age of 21.

When the ferry owner Emanuel Coryell died in 1749, he willed his eight slaves to his children, with several going to the future Major John Coryell. John Coryell may have played a major roll in the ferry operation Christmas night, and if he did, he likely had his enslaved people with him, including James:

RUN away from John Coryell of Amwell, in New-Jersey, the 22d Day of November last, at Albany, a Negro Man named James Rouse: Had on Soldiers cloathing, but pretty bare, is lame in one of his Knees, and a Scar on his Upper-Lip: Whoever takes up the said Negro (if above the Highlands, shall have Forty Shillings) and if this Side the Highlands, Thirty Shillings Reward, and all reasonable Charges, paid by John Coryell.

Durham Boatmen

The rivercraft most famously associated with the crossing is the Durham boat. Although its origins are still murky, by the time of the Revolution, Durham boats had a standard form, if not a standard length and draft and they were used for hauling various cargoes on the Delaware River and elsewhere. The Durham boats were particularly associated with carrying the major product of Durham Furnace: pig iron, to Philadelphia and beyond. In 18th century New Jersey and Pennsylvania, the iron industry was dependent on enslaved labor. Durham Furnace and Greenwich Forge are both examples of the important role that enslaved labor played in their existence and success. Enslaved iron workers were expected to be able to play various roles as the season and the market dictated. Many enslaved workers knew the business better than their masters and were relied on.

Richard Backhouse, then the iron master at Durham Furnace, took Cuff's word when it came to hauling goods. Backhouse sent a wagon train led by Cuff and let Cuff judge the roads as "Cuff thought he could not get along" but when Cuff decided that the roads were better, the cargo would go.⁵

After tracking down Durham boat owners on the Delaware, what becomes apparent is that owners like Durham Furnace relied on in-house or local crews, and in many cases, must have included enslaved workers.

One of the most frustrating documentary silences found over the course of this project was the 1776-1777 gap in the records of Durham Furnace and Greenwich Forge. The reason for this silence is likely that the

⁵ Quoted in Charles S Boyer, *Early Forges and Furnaces in New Jersey* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1931), 77-78.

primary owner, Joseph Galloway, became a leading loyalist, and his documents ended up elsewhere. Although the ownership group may have changed, the person who ran the operation of Durham Furnace, the iron master throughout the 1770s was James Morgan. The enslaved workforce likely contained many of the same people in 1776 when the records begin in 1778. Another unfortunate documentary gap is the lack of specific travel receipts until 1784, but there is enough documentation to infer that enslaved people crewed and even captained Durham boats on their treks down the Delaware, and even up the Schuylkill to iron works related to Durham, like Mount Joy Forge, aka Valley Forge.

The enslaved people of James Morgan are fairly well documented. In the 1775-76 tax list Morgan was accessed for nine enslaved people. In the entry for James Morgan in the Bucks County 1780 slave register, there are seven people all with the notation “supposed to be in New York with the Enemy.”

Jack, 38
 Tim, 20
 Sam, 17
 Nat, 5
 Bet, 40
 Deb, 24
 Sue, 20

One person who apparently travelled between his enslaver’s properties was Samuel Flemming. In the Bucks County slave register, “Sam-17” is likely Samuel Fleming, who “went off” from Valley Forge around 1778 from his owner James Morgan. Fleming may have been at Valley Forge working at one of Morgan’s properties there, he might have been engaged in boating, and/or might have been with the Continental Army in some capacity. It is possible that Jack, Tim, and Sam, actually crewed the Durham boats the night of the crossing.

The other practice that comes up in the books of Durham Furnace and Greenwich Forge is the prevalence of hiring out slaves to different properties. At least one slave rental was to transport Durham products elsewhere. In short, although the evidence for our specific time is scant, there is extensive evidence that masters relied on and trusted enslaved workers to transport their products, by wagon and by boat. When Durham boats were sent to McConkey’s Ferry, the crews likely contained trusted enslaved people.



Detail, **Page From The Commonplace Book of Roger Lamb**, early 19th century, Methodist Historical Society of Ireland

Durham		Horses	Cattle	Sheep	Acres	Rents	Rate	Whole	L	S	D		
Newton Townships							£	s	d				
George Mineline	3	2	0				3	0	4		6		
Conr ^d Debt					91	1	2	0					
Comod Jacoby					152	7	1	1			6		
Henry Knight	3	3	1				3	1			12		
Conr ^d Debt					277	12	7	4					
Judick Heyser	2	1	3				1	16	0		3		
Conr ^d Wife & Children					115	7	4	4					
Thomas Long	4	6	13				6	6	1		12		
Conr ^d Debt					302	10	10	16					
Servant							1	10					
James Morgan	6	10	10				0	4	0		10		
Conr ^d Debt					510	25	15						
Servant							1	10					
9 Negroes							20						
					513	25	15			15	1	2	6
Thomas Pursel	3	5					3	13	1		9		
Conr ^d Debt					116	0	4	16					
Peter Purlee	3	2	13				3	6	4		6		
Conr ^d Many Children					109	7	4	1					
Christian Pearson	2	1					1	13	4		3		
Conr ^d Debt					112	5	3						
Wandle Shanck	4	3					3	13	4		12		
Conr ^d Debt					257	13	7	10			15		
Daniel Shilwell	2	2	2				2	2			3		
Rents					160	7	4	4			6		
											6	19	6

ENSLAVED SOLDIERS AND SERVANTS WITH THE ARMY

In periods of war prior to the Revolution, it was typical for enslavers to enlist their enslaved people. It was also typical for enslavers who did a stint in the military to bring their enslaved people as waiters, cooks, and more generally servants. Even if there were more surviving muster rolls and documentation from 1776, the existence of enslaved people with the army were rarely recorded. Going into 1776 the official policy was that enslaved people could not be enlisted by their masters into the army. In at least one case, but likely representative of dozens of people, one man, Prince Sutton, who was enlisted by his master into Gerrish's Regiment in 1775, was not allowed to enlist in 1776 because he was a slave, and instead was taken by his enslaver into the 1776 version of Gerrish's Regiment--Baldwin's 26th Continental Regiment as an enslaved servant/soldier. He is not listed in the 26th's muster rolls, that are almost complete, but he is mentioned in correspondence and he likely participated in the crossing and the battle.

Multiple pensions state or suggest that they were enslaved servants at one point in their service, including one man who said he had served Lieutenant James Monroe in 1776, and Caesar Glover who served and was enslaved by Colonel John Glover. There is evidence that a majority of the units who participated in the crossing had enslaved people acting as servants, waggoners, and sometimes soldiers. There is evidence that most of the units who participated in the McConkey's Ferry encampment, including the Bucks County Associator ferry guards, Hunterdon County militia, Moulder's Philadelphia Artillery, and the regiments of Stephen's Brigade, contained enslaved servants. The only unit that was at McConkey's with no such evidence is Thomas Forrest's Pennsylvania State Artillery Battery. At the time of the Revolution, Adam Stephen was reputed to have enslaved thirty people. There were definitely enslaved people with the army at McConkey's Ferry, the only question is how many?

A conservative estimate, given five enslaved servants for each of the infantry regiments at the crossing, is one hundred and forty enslaved people, then one enslaved person per brigade commander is eight, then one enslaved person per division commander is two, for a total of one hundred and fifty. This total ignores artillery companies, as well as departmental officers, and although some regiments may have had no enslaved servants, other regiments, and particular officers may have had far greater numbers of enslaved people, especially in the regiments with officers from Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia Line who were wealthy slaveholders or sons of wealthy slaveholders themselves. When the colonel of the Delaware Regiment, John Haslet, undertook to write his will in the August of 1776, he had at least ten enslaved people who worked in his house as servants and cooks, not counting enslaved people performing agricultural work.

In the years following the Revolution, personal enslaved servants were often forgotten. Washington's entourage included both free and enslaved men and women, including Billy Lee. Lee was the most famous enslaved servant of the era, and appears in multiple paintings depicting Washington, including Sully's *The Passage of the Delaware*. Many descendants of people who took their enslaved people to war forgot those enslaved people, but the family of Bucks County's Augustine Willett did not forget Priam, and he was remembered as being with Augustine at Trenton and Princeton: "He had a favorite colored servant named Priam, who was with his master in the army and accompanied him in all his goings, always on horseback." "Many old people remember seeing the Colonel's imposing figure on his white horse followed by his black body-servant, Priam, on a black horse." In his will, Willett freed Priam, and stipulated that Priam be taken care of, a seemingly empty gesture, but evidence that Willett and his family held Priam in high regard.

General John Sullivan purchased slaves to operate a ferry in New Hampshire, and took an enslaved person into the army with him named Noble. In *Coloured Patriots of the Revolution* William Cooper Nell claimed that it was "well known" that when Sullivan told Noble "that they were on the point of starting for the army, to fight for liberty, he shrewdly suggested that it would be a great satisfaction to know that he was indeed going to fight for *his* liberty. Struck with the reasonableness and justice of this suggestion, Gen. S. at once gave him his freedom." Unverifiable, but similar versions of stories related to other officers and enslaved people exist,

and if nothing else are a reminder that it was typical for officers to bring their enslaved people on campaign with them.

The number of people of color in Washington's military household, free and enslaved, may not help to extrapolate the number of enslaved people with the army, but they are probably representative of over a hundred people:

William Lee

Isaac Till

Hannah Till

Sarah Till

Sailor Jack

Hostler Joe

Jenny

Lydia

WOMEN OF COLOR WITH THE ARMY

We know that both enslaved and free women of color travelled with Washington as cooks, laundresses, and servants, but there is also evidence that enslaved women and free women of color were with the army and were at the Bucks County encampment of December of 1776.

Receipts from December of 1776 and January of 1777 confirm that "Servant Jenny," Hannah Till (Negro Hannah) and Margaret Thomas were with Washington in Bucks County.

Decemb ^r 1	To Cash paid for Expenses of the Guard waggons, horse &c. from Brunswick to Trenton Decemb ^r 5	5 ⁰⁰
	To Cash paid Col ^o Mawson to a man for bringing Intelligence - 11 Dollars	11 ⁰⁰
5	To Cash paid Col ^o Grayson for a Turkey P ^l Locomp ^r at White Plains	8 ⁰⁰
9	To Cash paid Mr Lewis for Expenses to Trenton with part of 4 th Guard & waggons, horse &c.	10 ⁰⁰
	To Cash paid Sailer Jack for wages	15 ⁰⁰
Decemb ^r 11	To Cash paid Col ^o Bayler for 6 th Green tea (20 ⁰⁰)	10 ⁰⁰
	To Cash Col ^o Bayler paid for a Black stock for Officer by retelling General Washington at White Plains	10 ⁰⁰
	To Cash paid Col ^o Webb taken at Newark	97 ⁰⁰
	To Col ^o Webb's account of Expenses from Newark to the other side the Delaware - as P. Bills which he has	113 ⁰⁰
	Carried up	942 ⁰⁰ 3

Daily Experiences Brought Forward 1776

New York Chamber of Commerce

1776	To the feet of the other side brought up	942	942
	To Cash paid Mr. 3 days work to clean the		
12	To 6 ^{lb} Butter @ 2/6 - 15 ^{lb} To 2 fowls @ 18 - 3/4	15	15
	To 2 turkeys @ 6/1 - 10/ To 4 ^{lb} Butter @ 2/6 - 10/	10	10
	To 3 turkeys @ 5/ - 15/ To 6 fowls @ 1/6 - 4/	10	10
14	To 1 Quarter Veal very large & fatted	15	15
	To 2 Quarters do. at 12/6 - 2 each	10	10
16	Cash paid Jacobus Vancant. Esq for Quarters Cash		
	Mountain wine when at Markersack	10	10
18	To Cash paid Servant price for what he laid out		
	when at White Plains	15	15
	To two geese at 4/ - 8/ To 2 ^{lb} Butter @ 2/6 - 5/	10	10
22	To Cash paid for 3 Turkeys @ 5/	15	15
	To 6 fowls @ 1/6	10	10
	To Cash paid for 6 Turkeys to the man at General		
	James Leander @ 5/ - 10/	10	10
	To Cash paid W ^m Heik for sundries as bill	9	10
	To 4 turkeys @ 4/6	18	18
24	To 3 ^{lb} Butter @ 2/6 To 12 turkeys @ 5/	30	40
	To 6 fowls @ 2/12 To 7 ^{lb} Butter @ 2/6 - 17/6	10	9
28	To Cash paid Robinson by Order of His Excellency	5	20
	To Cash paid Servant Cole	10	10
	To veal - 2 quarters	10	10
	To empty wine cask	10	10
30	To Cash paid Servant price 2 dollars	10	20
	To Cash paid Taylor for bringing Mill ^r Coat	7	7
29	To Cash paid Servant ferry	10	20
	To Cash paid Ramba by Order of J ^r General	3	4
	To 1 Gall ⁿ Rum @ 4 doll ^s	10	10
	To 9 fowls @ 2/ - 18/ To 1 Quarter mutton @ 1/6	10	6
	To 6 fowls @ 4/ - 24/ To 1 bushel apples 7/6	14	6
	To 6 ^{lb} butter @ 2/6	15	15
	To 19 fowls @ 2/ 30/ To 2 dozen quails 3/4	20	5
	To 1/2 bushel apples - 3/4	3	4
31	To veal - 6/ To 10 fowls @ 1/6 - 20/6	10	8
	To 1 gallon of rum 30/ of two pigs @ 10/ - 20/	20	12

1776

1776

1776

Barred over

1338⁴⁶ 47

Daily Expenses Brought Forward 1777

1777	To the feet of the other side brought over	\$1000	6	7
Jan 4	To 5 geese @ 4/6 - 22/6 To turkeys @ 4/6 - 24/6	3	12	
	To 30 eggs - 1/4 - 1 golden Run 30/	1	11	
7	To Cash paid Servant Jenny	8	Dollars	3
8	To 2 quarters veal @ 9/6			19
	To 1 bushell apples - 7/6 To 1 quarter mutton 2/			15
9	To Cash paid Corp ^l Newton for a shirt			
	which Gen ^l Stewart bought	1	6	3
	To 6 fowls @ 2/ - 12/ To 4 ^l butter @ 1/6 - 14/	1	2	
	To 17 lb butter @ 2/6 - 42/6	2	2	6
10	To Cash paid for Sturveys which Mr			
	Thompson bought in the house			15
	To 10 yallows run to put to Charles @ 26/	4		
13	To 2 quarters mutton - 16/3			16
	To 4 fowls @ 2/ - 8/ To 1 quarter of veal 1/3			18
18	To 2 quarters fresh pork - 16/			16
	To a pair of gloves bought for His Excellency			15
20	To 3 turkeys - 2/6			1
	To quarter veal - 9/6 To 2 turkeys @ 6/ - 12/	1	2	6
21	To 2 geese - 2/6			13
	To 10 lb butter @ 2/ - 20/ To Eggs - 5/	1	1	15
23	To 6 fowls @ 2/6 - 18/ To 2 Rabbits 3/			18
	To 2 quarters veal @ 8/6 - 16/ To Eggs - 8/	4	1/2	
3	To 1 bushell apples - 7/			2
8	To 1 quarter veal - 6/ To 2 Rabbits 2/6			2
10	To 2 turkeys @ 7/6 - 15/ To 1 goose 6/	1	1	
	To 1 Turkey - 6/6 To 4 fowls @ 2/8 - 14/8			14
	To Eggs - 1/ - To 6 fowls - 3/			7
15	To 1 side fresh pork - 18/9			18
	To 12 lb quena Tea @ 3/6 as 6 ^l bill	3	3	
	To 12 bottles mustard @ 3/9 bottle	2	5	
17	To Cash paid Servant Jenny 8 Dollars	3	0	0
	To Cash paid Negro Marnet 4 Dollars	1	10	
	To 600 pairs for tea Camiller smitten			10
	To Expenses to Hamilton with the Gen ^l Wolfe	7	10	1/2
		103	2	1

\$1022-17-10

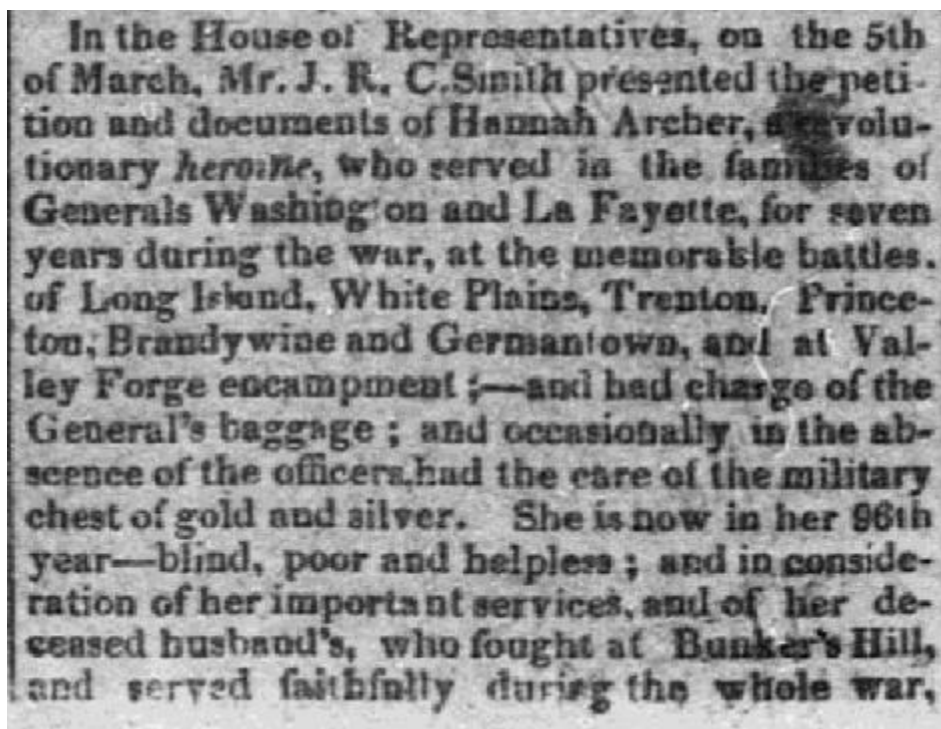
\$182-0

\$15-10-0

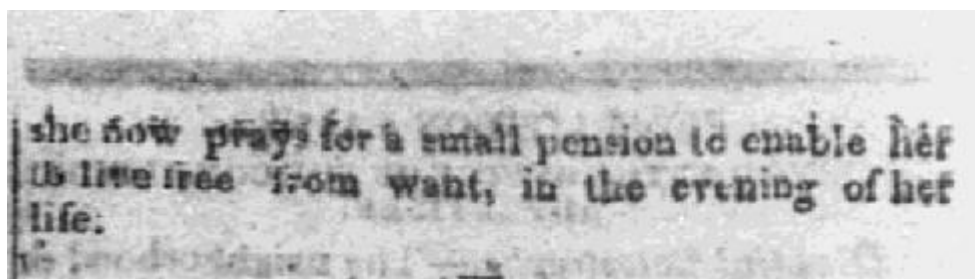
\$100-0-3

Carried up

On March 5, 1825, JRC Smith presented Hannah Till Archer's petition for a Pennsylvania Revolutionary pension. Archer's petition contained a substantial deposition that this researcher attempted to locate, but failed. The basics of her petition were included in a newspaper:



In the House of Representatives, on the 5th of March, Mr. J. R. C. Smith presented the petition and documents of Hannah Archer, a revolutionary heroine, who served in the families of Generals Washington and La Fayette, for seven years during the war, at the memorable battles of Long Island, White Plains, Trenton, Princeton, Brandywine and Germantown, and at Valley Forge encampment;—and had charge of the General's baggage; and occasionally in the absence of the officers, had the care of the military chest of gold and silver. She is now in her 96th year—blind, poor and helpless; and in consideration of her important services, and of her deceased husband's, who fought at Bunker's Hill, and served faithfully during the whole war,



she now prays for a small pension to enable her to live free from want, in the evening of her life.

As receipts show, and her petition suggests, she was present with the army in Bucks County in December 1776. The question for this project though is if she was at McConkey's Ferry, on December 25-26. Considering her job as a cook to Washington and his staff, why would she not have been at one of the buildings on site, cooking, and even overseeing some of the smaller pieces of baggage that Washington and staff brought to McConkey's?

Hospital books and petitions from Philadelphia both show and suggest that a sizable number of women and children were with the army in early December of 1776. Charles Willson Peale's memories of the retreat across the Delaware reinforce that idea. The question then becomes "how many of them stayed with the army in Bucks County and were around December 25-26? In a pension deposition, Hannah Ellmore stated that her husband "enlisted in the County of Philadelphia in the army of the U. States and marched to the

Delaware above Trenton, under Gen'l Washington, and after crossing, assisted in taking the Hessians at Trenton in December 1776. I marched with him and assisted in Cooking & washing for the Troops." Peter Kline said on her behalf that "she went with her husband as far as the river Delaware, but I believe did not go over; I remember, she assisted in making fires and cooking for the Troops." (r3325) If the pension deposition was accurate, then there were at least some women camp followers with the army during the Bucks encampment.

One woman of color who might have been at the Bucks encampment was Rachel. In October of 1778 Colonel Mordecai Gist advertised for the return of "Sarah, but since calls herself Rachel." Gist paid for two versions of this ad. The November of 1778 version suggests that had been with the 1st Maryland Regiment for some time, but did not state how long:

FIFTY DOLLARS REWARD.
RAN AWAY, on the evening of the seventh inst. (October) from Trenton Ferry, a like'y Mulatto slave, named SARAH, but since calls herself RACHEL; she took her son with her, a Mulatto boy named BOB, about six years old, has a remarkable fair complexion, with flaxen hair: She is a lusty wench, about thirty-four years of age, big with child: had on a striped lincey petticoat, linen jacket, slit shoes, a large white cloth cloak, and a blanket, but may change her dress as she has other cloaths with her. She was lately apprehended in the first Maryland regiment, where she pretends to have a husband, with whom she has been the principal part of this campaign, and passed herself as a free woman, Whoever apprehends said woman and boy, and will secure them in any gaol, so that their master may get them again, shall receive the above reward by applying to Mr. Blair M^cGlenachan, of Philadelphia, Capt. Benjamin Brooks, of the third Maryland regiment, at camp, or to Mr. James Sterret, in Baltimore.
 6. MORDECAI GIST.

THIRTY DOLLARS REWARD.
RAN AWAY from the subscriber, at Trenton Ferry, a Mulatto woman named RACHEL, a lusty tall woman, and very big with child; had on a striped lincey petticoat, and a large white cloth cloak; has with her a large bag of cloaths and a blanket: she pretends that she is free, as she has been stolen by a soldier these two years from her master, and has been in camp. She took with her a boy called BOB, about six years old, her own child, and appears to be white without close examination; the boy has on a brown cloth coat, oznabrigs overalls, shoes, and a hat with a gold band round it; he appears sickly. Whoever takes up said woman and boy and secures them in any gaol, and gives information to M. Joseph Carlton, at the War-Office, Philadelphia, or the subscriber at camp, shall have the above reward and reasonable charges, paid by
 MORDECAI GIST, Col. 3d Reg.
 O. 6. Com. 1st. M. B.

"THIRTY DOLLARS REWARD. RUN AWAY from the subscriber, at Trenton Ferry, a Mulatto woman named RACHEL, a lusty tall woman, and very big with child; had on a striped lincey petticoat, and a large white cloth

cloak; has with her a large bag of cloaths and a blanket: she pretends that she is free, as she has been stolen by a soldier these two years from her master, and has been in camp. She took with her a boy called BOB, about six years old, her own child, and appears to be white without close examination; the boy has on a brown cloth coat, oznabrigs overalls, shoes, and a hat with a gold band round it; he appears sickly. Whoever takes up said woman and boy and secures them in any gaol, and gives information to Mr. Joseph Carlton, at the War Office, Philadelphia, or the subscriber at camp, shall have the above reward and reasonable charges, paid by MORDECAI GIST, Col. 3d [Maryland] Reg." Pennsylvania Packet, October 15, 1778

But the earlier version includes an intriguing detail: "she pretends that she is free, as she has been stolen by a soldier these two years from her master, and has been in camp." The implication of Gist's statement was that he had brought her with his regiment as an enslaved servant. Some time around when Gist fell ill and was hospitalized and then was sent back to Maryland in the late fall of 1776 to receive a colonel's commission, Rachel and Bob, just stayed with what became known as the 1st Maryland Regiment, hidden—not only by the soldier who "stole" her, but a larger group. There is a significant chance that Rachel and Bob were at the Beaumont's Ferry/Thompson-Neely Camp.

If Rachel and Bob were not at the December 1776 Bucks encampment, Gist's ad is a strong reminder that there were both male and female enslaved servants with the army, beyond George Washington's military household.

There are also other runaway ads describing women of color who followed the army including this ad from the fall of 1776:

I N M E N S C L O T H E S .
RAN AWAY the 30th July last, from the Jerseys to Philadelphia or New-York, a Mulatto woman slave, named **MARIA**, had on a white or red and white jacket, white ticken breeches, white stockings, old shoes, and an old beaver hat; she is hardly discernable from a white woman, of a thin visage, middle size, thick legs, long black hair, and is about 35 years old: She has left behind her three young children, a good master and mistress, and is going towards New-York after a married white man, who is a soldier in the Continental army there. Whoever secures the said Mulatto in jail, and will immediately advertise the same in this paper, shall have **FOUR DOLLARS** reward.

Although from the summer of 1779, the implication of the ad is that Edward Hand brought her with him on campaign and that she had friends in the army. Hand, of course, was colonel of the 1st Continental Regiment while it was encamped at Coryell's Ferry, in December of 1776.

One Hundred Dollars Reward.

R A N A W A Y from the subscriber, on the 26th day of June last, a Negro Woman named S U E ; she is about thirty years of age, about five feet two or three inches high, is big with child ; she is more darkly coloured than a Mulatto, though not so black as Negroes are in general. She wears high caps, and was dressed in a blue and white short gown and petticoat. It is suspected she went to camp with a white woman commonly called Captain Molly, who has a husband in the 4th regiment of Light Dragoons. Whoever apprehends the said Negro woman and secures her so that the owner may have her again, shall have the above reward and reasonable charges, paid by

E D W A R D H A N D.

On a related note, in account books and journals, there are multiple entries like “paid negro woman to make bread,” “paid the negro for nursing,” “paid the negro for baking laundry,” and so on. In many cases the person in question was not identifiable. If the people were not identifiable, the notes are evidence of the importance of enslaved people in everyday life and in the campaign, and the crossing.

THE LIST OF PEOPLE OF COLOR WHO CONTRIBUTED OR WERE PRESENT

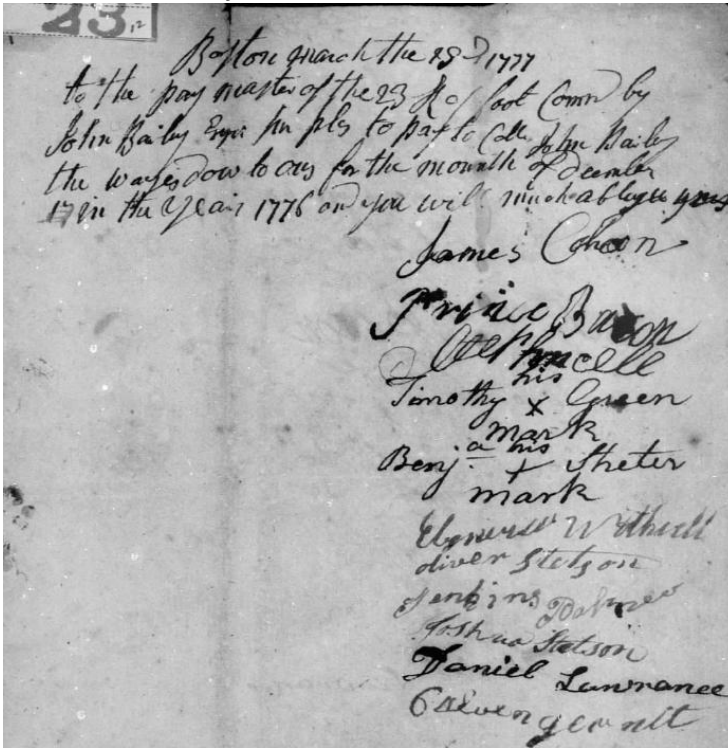
1. Abington, Charles “Charles the Drummer” - Philadelphia Associators, Artillery – Appears in tax lists as “free negro.”⁶
2. Adams, Cato - Bucks County, enslaved at the time of the crossing, but resided in Bucks, possible ferryman.
3. Ailstock, Charles - 3rd VR: In censuses and other records the Ailstock family were noted as “all other free,” “negro,” “mulatto,” and “mustee.” According to one study the Ailstocks were descended from Kimbundu Ailstock, born c. 1700. A fellow soldier of the 3rd Virginia stated in a Virginia bounty deposition: “I do hereby certify that I enlisted some time in the year 1776 as a private in the 3rd Regiment of Virginia Troops on Continental establishment in the War of the Revolution commanded by Colo. George Weeden [sic: George Weedon] of Fredericksburg and Col. Thomas Marshal [sic: Thomas Marshall] and soon after I enlisted, I was marched to the North. James Ailstock & Charles Ailstock of the county of Louisa, with whom I was well acquainted, enlisted in the same regiment under Thomas Johnson who commanded a Company in the same, and marched with me to the north. The said James & Charles Ailstock were with me in the engagement which took place at Haarlem Heights [sic: Harlem Heights, 16 Sep 1776] in the State of New York and behaved well. They were also with me in the battles of Trenton [26 Dec 1776] Princetown [Princeton, 3 Jan 1777] & Brandywine [11 sep 1777].”⁷
4. Ailstock, James – 3rd VR: See Charles Ailstock.
5. Ailstock, James – 6th VR: A James Ailstock appears on a roll of the 6th Virginia in 1777, where there are not any other previous company rolls, possibility that he is a different person and that he was in the 6th VR at the time of the crossing.⁸

⁶ Cadwalader Papers, “Charles the Drummer,” PA Archives, 1778 “Charles Abington,” PA Tax “Charles Abington, Free Negro”

⁷ “Prince Kimbundu Ailstock’s Descendents in Fredericksburg,” accessed June 10, 2025 <https://fxbg.com/prince-kimbundu-ailstocks-descendants-in-fredericksburg/> VAS1056 accessed June 10, 2025 <https://revwarapps.org/VAS1056.5.pdf>

⁸ James Ailstock, on 6th Virginia Roll Joseph Hannah's list of Free Negroes 1816], 1816 (1138041_0001_0005). Virginia Untold: The African American Narrative Digital Collection, Library of Virginia, Richmond, Va.

6. Bacon, Prince – Bailey's 23 Continentals. ⁹



7. Boston, Joshua - Porter's Regiment. Described as "black."¹⁰

8. Bradley, Anthony - Pennsylvania Navy later 9th PR. Listed in Censuses as "All other Free"

9. Brister, Aaron - 3rd VR enlisted in 1776, described as "colored" in pension¹¹

10. Bristol, John - PA Navy, Galley Franklin, listed as Negro, ie., slave of Luke Morris then listed as Marine, ropemaker. Possible connection to Scudder family of Scudder's Falls.¹²

⁹ RR accessed <https://www.fold3.com/image/18396533/99-page-72-us-revolutionary-war-rolls-1775-1783>
https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/4282/records/847485?tid=&pid=&queryId=1d1c7370-f956-4e88-9fa8-41cccf71b03d&_phsrc=jtx6784&_phstart=successSource

¹⁰ MSS/2/94 Porter's Rolls accessed: <https://www.fold3.com/image/11992277/78-page-9-us-revolutionary-war-rolls-1775-1783>

https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/62337/records/99029?tid=&pid=&queryId=367316b9-7e3d-49ab-9d25-68d09c15cb44&_phsrc=jtx7051&_phstart=successSource

¹¹ W. 17341 Accessed <https://www.fold3.com/image/12839105/brister-aaron-page-28-us-revolutionary-war-pensions-1800-1900>

¹² PVC accessed https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/580914:62200?tid=&pid=&queryId=e736c123-d1da-4725-a777-7f3eb44cdb61&_phsrc=jtx3947&_phstart=successSource



11. Britton, Francis – Possibly Massachusetts’s Regiment, “East India Slave” then appears in Jackson’s Regiment
12. Bruce or Bruise, Alexander – Enslaved person by Jehu Eyre, joined PA Navy. Likely left at Trenton Ferry, but possible that he was at McConkey’s.

SIXTY DOLLARS REWARD.
RAN AWAY from the subscriber, in the town-
 ship of Ridley, and county of Chester, a Mulatto
 man named **JULAS**, (has since changed his name to
 Alexander Bruce) about five feet ten inches high, has
 long straight hair somewhat like the Indians, walks a lit-
 tle stooping; he enlisted with Capt. Roach, and was
 sometime on board his galley: He left his master’s ser-
 vice the 26th of December, 1776. Any person taking
 up said run-away and delivering him to his master, or
 to **JEHU EYRE** in Philadelphia, shall be entitled to the
 above Reward.
I S A A C E Y R E.

13. Bryan, James PA Navy – Galleys, Later in Continental Navy, described “Negro” and “Free Negro”¹³
14. Butler, Nace – Possibly Smallwood’s 1st Maryland, in attached Independent Company. Described as “Negro” “Colored”. Butler was deceased when pension R1549 undertaken.¹⁴

¹³ PVC

https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/62200/records/582915?tid=183456009&pid=432551009215&queryId=a2575622-c1ef-4473-936f-5ea4f93c32f3&_phsrc=jtx8038&_phstart=successSource

¹⁴ R. 1549 <https://www.fold3.com/image/12741162/butler-nace-page-9-us-revolutionary-war-pensions-1800-1900>

15. Caesar, Jesse- Greaton's 24th Continentals, BLW #915-100. ¹⁵
16. Caesar – Pennsylvania Navy, galley Warren with Thomas Houston. Enslaved. ¹⁶
17. Cato, Henry, father John Cato - NJ 5 month Levies or Militia. R1815 Said was at Trenton. Rejected but actually served in Jersey Battalion in 1790s under St Clair.
18. Cattell, Jonas - Hugg's West Jersey Artillery. "He then went out in the Company of Artillery commanded by Capt Samuel Hugg, they started from Haddonfield and marched through Moorestown, Mount Holly and thence to Trenton, where they arrived several days before the Battle of Trenton, which Battle, as well as the Battle of Princeton, this declarant was in." Reportedly of Native American ancestry: "Born half Lenni-Lenape Indian on farm near Woodbury, New Jersey." Lenni-Lenape ancestry story appears c. 1840, and needs more investigation. ¹⁷
19. Cezar, Julius – Lasher's Regiment then possibly 1st NY, enslaved servant, claimed Trenton Service. Served as a waiter to Adj Maj Finglass in Col Lasher's NY Regt. ¹⁸
20. Chawchaw (or Joyjoy), Charles – Webb's or Durkee's? - Described as Indian. Evidence of service in a Connecticut regiment in 1776, possibly Webb's or Durkee's. ¹⁹
21. Chawchaw, Simon – Was Said to have served in 1776. "That the said Simon is now advanced in life and has become infirm and decrepit from service during the American War in which he was a soldier during the continuance thereof and in which he received a wound while fighting for the country, by means of which he is now incapable of much bodily labor." ²⁰
22. Clark, Andrew aka "Molatto Andrew," - Bucks County Associator and Flying Camp, representative of people in color in Bucks.
23. Currier, Robin - Poor's 8th Continentals, dead in 1777. ²¹
24. Peter Coffin – Stark's 5th Continentals, described as "colored." Pension W1150. ²²
25. William Couch or William Freeman, claimed service as an enslaved waggoner with the army in 1776, unlikely but representative of that sort of service. R2358
26. Cooper, James - 3rd Virginia, pension S39362 Wallace's Company, John Cooper. ²³
27. Cornwell, Prince - Philip Burr Bradley's CT State Regiment, discharged Dec 25 At McConkey's on Dec 25 but not for crossing. ²⁴
28. Crispin, Richard – Nixon's 4th Continentals, died 1780 Died 1780. W19674 ²⁵

¹⁵ <https://www.fold3.com/image/16865142/caesar-jesse-page-10-us-revolutionary-war-pensions-1800-1900>

¹⁶ https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/62200/records/588345?tid=&pid=&queryId=d3417f58-7590-42a9-9efd-a984f2bf5e4f&_phsrc=jtx7646&_phstart=successSource

¹⁷ Jonas Cattell, S2425 <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/54178983>

¹⁸ R1822 The community supported him and his claim "Beloved and respected by all" He explained that his memory was declining but is sure he served <https://www.fold3.com/image/16520048/cezar-julius-page-10-us-revolutionary-war-pensions-1800-1900>

¹⁹ BSEC

²⁰ <https://www.nativenortheastportal.com/annotated-transcription/digcoll1018601>

²¹

²² W1150, <https://www.fold3.com/image/12639644/coffin-peter-page-6-us-revolutionary-war-pensions-1800-1900>

²³ RR https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/records?recordId=661724&collectionId=4282&tid=&pid=&queryId=1747cd49-6348-4c24-aae8-ee038a458697&_phsrc=jtx5780&_phstart=successSource

²⁴ RR https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/4282/records/1083682?tid=&pid=&queryId=a6fcdb9d-9fd5-4d13-9ec1-4daa34938171&_phsrc=jtx10427&_phstart=successSource

²⁵ W19674 <https://www.fold3.com/image/12855101/crispin-richard-page-11-us-revolutionary-war-pensions-1800-1900>

29. Cromwell, Oliver – Likely NJ Militia or NJ five month levies, if Cromwell’s memories were recorded accurately. Likely not at the crossing, but in service. ²⁶
30. Dennison, James – Hand’s 1st Continentals or Rawling’s Regiment, Connection to Morristown. Clothing description, “rifle-man’s dress” including “green leggings” suggests he was in one of the rifle regiments. Although he may not have been in service later in year, evidence that there was not a color bar in rifle regiments. ²⁷

Fifteen Dollars REWARD.
RUN AWAY some time ago from Captain George Mitchell of Orange-County, North-Carolina, a Mulatto fellow named NICK, formerly belonged to Col. Lewis Morris, of Maryland, but he has gone by the name of JAMES DENNISON in the Boston Camp, where he has been most of last summer, and is supposed he is gone that way again, as he was in New-York on Monday last, in a Rifle-man’s dress, with a brown wig, buckskin breeches, green leggings and a blue regimental coat, he is a straight limbed stout fellow, exceedingly smooth tongued, and very intelligible; says he is a freeman; he is of a yellow-or mouse colour, capable of doing almost any kind of business.—Whoever takes up the said SLAVE and confines him in any of the public goals in America, so that his Master may have him again, shall have the above REWARD, and all reasonable charges paid by the above George Mitchell or Ward Hunt of New York.

31. Devereux, Pomp, Glover’s 14th Continentals
32. Dodge, Scipio – Baldwin’s 26th Continentals. ²⁸
33. Dean, Marsham – Maryland Flying Camp or Independent Companies
34. Earl, Doming – Lippett’s Regiment, Pension refers to Doming as “colored.” S16776. , only obtained his freedom long after war. He says at White Plains but not Trenton or Princeton.
35. Drigas, James, Delaware Flying Camp, possibly Delaware Regiment, “Yellow complexion” Possible inclusion into Delaware Regiment ²⁹

DESERTED from my company, in Colonel John Patton’s Regiment, the following soldiers: James Osborn, American born, about 5 feet 10 inches high, and served in Capt. Caldwell’s company in the old Delaware Regiment.
 Lazarius Carmadon, American born, about 5 feet 7 inches high, has very sore eyes; by trade a tinner, and served in Capt. Darcy’s company in the old Delaware Regiment.
 Benjamin Jones, American born, a great rogue, and has enlisted several times; he served in Capt. Lattimore’s company in the Delaware Flying Camp.
 James Cole, a runaway, born in Scotland, about 5 feet 6 inches high, enlisted in Sussex county, and is harbored there.
 James Driga, American born, a yellow looking scoundrel, about 5 feet 7 inches high, is well known about Blackfoot, Sussex county.
 Huxey Waters, American born, a young lad, about 5 feet 10 inches high, by trade a weaver, and lately lived with his father in Sussex county; went off with Driga.
 John Jones, American born, a well made fellow, about 5 feet 8 inches high, a great sharpie, and lately lived in Queen Anne’s county.
 Richard Swift, American born, about 5 feet 9 inches high, by trade a shoemaker, and lately worked with his brother in the great Dover; he is a great rascal, and took to the mountains to avoid going to camp. Any person bringing any of the above deserters, so that they may be brought to the regiment, shall be entitled to TEN DOLLARS for each, and a certificate of discharge, paid by ALLEN M. LANE, Captain.

TO BE SOLD,
 By GEORGE RANKIN, at Mount Holly,
 A LOT of ground, containing 100 feet front and 462 feet depth, with a one story dwelling house, near 30 feet front, a good parlour and room adjoining, a large kitchen-

N. B. He has a number of empty hogheads to dispose of, both new and old.

The CONTINENTAL LOAN OFFICE for this State
 It removed to Dr. Shippen’s, jun. in Fourth Street, where certificates of the United States, on interest, are given for Continental money, by
 Philad. Jan. 23, 1777. THOMAS SMITH, Loan Officer.

Forty Dollars Reward.
 DESERTED from Capt. Archibald Anderson’s Company of the 2^d Maryland Regiment, at the head of Elk, on their way to Camp, the four following persons, viz.
 JOHN O’BRIAN, William Beaver, Charles Cooper, and William Braichie, who were enlisted in Talbot County, Maryland, and is supposed they will make for that place, as O’Brian and Beaver have wives near Talbot Court House, as they are well known in the county, think a particular description of them unnecessary. The above reward will be paid, or TEN DOLLARS for each, and reasonable charges, on delivering them to the commanding officer at Annapolis, or to me at Camp.
 Also, deserted from the late 2^d Independent Company of Maryland Regular Troops, the following persons, viz. John Polter, Leaverton, Nathan Harrington, Tobias Chapp, Edward Welch, Richard Eaton, Daniel Higgins, James White, William Jenkins, Hamilton Warren, Lewis Frasier, Job Barnes, John Buckly, and James Todd. A REWARD of TEN DOLLARS will be paid for each of them, on delivering them as aforesaid.
 ARCHIBALD ANDERSON, Captain, Second Maryland Regiment.
 N. B. At Five o’clock, Told is walking about this City.

tion, that said GRORDER
 Whoever takes up any of EIGHT DOLLARS per man from me, as an encouragement neglected to take up any of fa against him the left side of a They may deliver them to a Philadelphia, March 13.

RUN AWAY, on the 13th of Gloucester county, A Negro high, well made, about 24 y; with him, an old felt hat, a e flucting shirt, a pair of hor pumps, and one pair of sh Whoever takes up the said i mifter, or secures him in a y shall receive TEN DOLLAR he charges, if taken in Glou Cumberland; and if out the TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS paid, by
 N. B. The said Negro can markable large foot.

WAS LOST, April the 28th BOOK, with a broken tape, with two apartments, di to from the bottom. One f Dollar Bill, one or more Six Bill, four Half-Dollar Bills, & the amount of Twenty Penns cy. A Note of Hand from a cer with an Account of Eight Punc

²⁶ S34613 <https://revwarapps.org/s34613.pdf>

²⁷ *New York Journal*, February 22, 1776.

²⁸ MSS/4/837

https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/62337/records/128461?tid=&pid=&queryid=34318035-2e50-4e86-b4ac-1223955721d8&_phsrc=jtx4955&_phstart=successSource

²⁹ https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/4282/records/1382123?tid=&pid=&queryid=35417ad3-16b7-4a0a-a0c3-7b0eda738b1c&_phsrc=jtx8919&_phstart=successSource

36. Fisk, Pomp – Sargent’s 16th Continentals. Enlisted in December of 1775 on new establishment.³⁰
37. Fagan, Cato – Delaware Flying Camp, possibly Delaware Regiment- Based on name “Cato,” included. Descriptive List Dark Black Hair born mill creek hundred, another soldier born Barbadoes also described as “dark.”³¹
38. Fenton, Charles - Maryland Flying Camp “He was the son of a white woman named Margaret Fenton who was sold by the Anne Arundel County court for 21 years for having three "Molatto" children”
39. Forten, James - worked for Robert Bridges, sewing tents, haversacks, knapsacks during the campaign. Included as example of doings of free people of color.
40. Francis, Jacob – Sargent’s 16th Continentals. W459. Hunterdon County born and then died.
41. Francis, John – Likely service in Bucks Associators in December 1776 then enlisted at Solebury into 3rd PR by Jacob Drake, February 1777, connections to William Neely, and William Walker. Chance he was at crossing.
42. Freeman, Artillo - – Learned’s 3rd Continentals? Glover’s 14th Continentals? None of the above? His memory was failing. S44853 He did state that his “REVOLUTIONARY UNIFORM INVALUABLE”
43. Freeman, Devonshire – Webb’s 19th Continentals – Pension S. 36519, described as “colored man.” Contains details from December 1776 in supporting depositions by Prince Hull, Henry Bull, and Zachariah Blackman.³²
44. Fry, Windsor – Varnum’s 9th Continentals, “I Windsor Fry a coloured man,” BLW #3126-100-31 Dec 1789, pension s38709.³³
45. Gilman, Anthony – Nixon’s 4th Continentals, Stark’s 5th Continentals, unlikely. Pension S32729, “Being sold as a slave as a man of colour” Nixon’s Regiment, North Castle Return, November 1776 ³⁴
46. Glover, Caesar – Glover’s 14th Continentals, S32738, Extensive information in pension, but particularly in obituary. Born west Africa, captured and enslaved. Enslaved servant of Glover family at beginning of war.³⁵

³⁰ MSS/5/728

³¹ <https://www.fold3.com/image/7809394/6-page-2-us-revolutionary-war-rolls-1775-1783>

³² S. 36519

³³ S 38709, <https://www.fold3.com/image/22758056/fry-winsor-page-7-us-revolutionary-war-pensions-1800-1900>

³⁴ MSS/6/459

³⁵ “Ceasar Glover,” *Columbian Sentinel*, January, 19 1822, 2.

THE O. I O.

FOR THE INQUIRER
SONG.

Hie thee hence, Julia, to the greenwood tree,
That stands by the old Avon's side;
Hie thee hence, Julia, and there meet me,
At the coming up of the tide.

Hie thee hence, Julia, when the moon shines
bright,
When the dew drops have spangled the ground;
When the blue waters are dimpled with light,
And Zephyrus fan wastonly round.

Hie thee hence, Julia, at the midnight hour,
'Tis the time that's meetest for love;
When minstrels are harping within the Bower,
Hie thee hence to the sweet scented grove.

Hie thee hence, Julia, where woodbine and willow
Alternate their branches entwined,
Where the soft moss shall serve as a pillow,
O'er-hung with the sweet giantine. F. B.

SELECTED.

THE HOME-SICK LEGISLATOR.

Oh! dear beloved, acquiesce'd spot, ah, when
Shall I behold my peaceful home again?
My little babes—when feel their dear embrace—
When view the joyful tear bedew each face?
And then my wife—the partner of my joys,
The smiling mother of my girls and boys,
When shall I greet her?—When, O tell me when
Shall I behold my wife and babes again?

Toil, tumult, ceremony, vain parade,
Destroy my comfort, and confuse my head—
Motion—no motion—reference and report—
E. B. the doings of a General Court
Have worn my very spirits to the bone;
My peace has fled, my appetite is gone.

Ah! I was not made to legislate,
I cannot flatter, and I will not prate.
Let those whose nerves are stronger than a chain,
Who will not feel a kick, nor offence at pain—
Who love to bluster, prattle, and prepare
Speeches—like the very 'natives' stare—
Let such—like Newes, through legislation roam;
Give me my WIFE my CHILDREN, and my HOME!

From Bryant's Poems.

"In the midst of life we are in death."

SO live, that when thy summons comes to join
The innumerable Caravan, that moves
To the pale realms of shade, where each shall
take
His chamber in the silent halls of Death—
Thou go not, like the quarry slave at night,
Scowling at his dungeon; but, sustain'd and
sooth'd
By an unflinching trust, approach thy grave
Like one who wraps the drapery of his couch
About him, and lies down to pleasant dreams.

From the Boston Daily Advertiser.

Mr. Hale.—Seeing the notice in your
paper of the death of Caesar Glover, a col-
oured man, aged about 20, I send you the
following in relation to him. It was part
of a conversation had with him a year or
two since, when he came to the store to re-
ceive his monthly allowance, which many
merchants in town were accustomed to
bestow upon him.

Caesar Glover was born in Africa. When
about 3 years old, he, with a number of
other boys, strolled out one day some 2 or
3 miles from home, when they were fal-
len in with and immediately seized, by a
huller being thrown around their necks by
one of those numerous parties who go arm-
ed, seizing every black they find, and were
carried down to the shore, where they were
kept until an opportunity presented to make
sale of them. In about three weeks a ves-
sel appeared for slaves, when these poor
African boys (Caesar thought there were 8
from his neighborhood) were sold and crum-
maged into the vessels hold, with many
other miserable beings; and after the ves-
sel was loaded, they set sail for the Island
of Barbadoes. On their arrival, the slaves
were brought forth for sale.—Among the
purchasers, was the master of a Marblehead
sloop, named John Miles, who selected the
boy, (the subject of this notice,) took him
home with him to Marblehead, and kept
him for a cabin boy several voyages, dur-
ing which time he learned to speak Eng-
lish. How many years Caesar was with
Capt. Miles, he does not recollect. On
one of these voyages his master died, and
on the return of the vessel, he was offered
by his late master's widow to choose a
master for himself, when he offered him-
self to a gentleman by the name of Jon-
athan Glover, and the necessary agreement
being made by Mr. G. with Caesar's mis-
tress, he passed into his service and assumed
his surname. Here he lived about
twenty years. About this time he enter-
ed the war of the revolution, where he con-
tinued until its termination; after which,
all slaves having their freedom, under the
constitution of this state, Caesar came to
Boston, where he has ever since lived,
having always supported himself as a day-
labourer, principally on the Long wharf,
till within three or four years, when he has
subsisted in part upon the charity of indi-
viduals, and in part from his pension. He
has been twice married—has had no chil-
dren. His habits of life, it is believed, have

always been regular. He was never, I be-
lieve, known to be intoxicated, nor heard to
use any profane language. On enquiring of
him where he had attended church in Bos-
ton, his reply was, at the Brattle-street
church, until Dr. Thacher's death, since
which he had been to the African church,
at West Boston. On inquiring of him if he
belonged to the church, his reply was in
these emphatic words—"No, Sir, I never
had that given me." He said, however, he
never let a day pass without thanking God
for taking care of him. On being asked if he
had not fared as well since he left Africa,
in all the different situations in which he had
been as he thought he should if he had re-
mained in his native country, he said, "No."
He attested that as far as his recollection
served him, since he left Barbadoes, he
had ever received kind treatment from
both his masters at Marblehead, and had
lived comfortably since he came to Bos-
ton; still he would rather have remain-
ed in Africa—and the thoughts of his fa-
ther and mother, and his home, at once
brought tears into his eyes, and no further
questions were asked him. O.

From the American Daily Advertiser.

Mr. Poulson.

I have always been surprised that nei-
ther the builders of houses, nor the owners
of them, have ever adopted any plan in
building which would afford a permanent
facility of escaping from the upper rooms
of houses in case of fire.—In whatever part
of a house a fire commences, the stair ways
are generally the first to be consumed, and
they are often wholly consumed before up-
per rooms are much injured.

Although moveable ladders are deposited
in various parts of the city, yet they are
often out of order, and seldom produced
until too late to be of any service, and
when produced, they are often either too
long or too short to be applied to any par-
ticular window of a building.

The following cheap plan has suggested
itself to me, as being practicable and safe
and one which would, at all times, afford a
secure retreat from any part of the high-
est building.

In building the walls of a house, let a
space of six inches long and two feet square
be left in the inside of the wall, under one
of the windows in every room in the up-
per stories of the house, with a small iron
bar extending across. To this bar, let one
end of a rope or wire ladder, of sufficient
length to reach the ground, be permanen-
tly attached. The ladder may then be
rolled up and deposited in this space or box
to the other end of which access may be
had by raising a small lid, constructed for
that purpose, in the sill of the window.
The whole may be so constructed as not to
be visible, or in any way injure the appear-
ance of the room.

In case of fire, a female, or even a child
may raise the lid, throw out the ladder
and descend with safety, or enable firemen
or others, to ascend to their relief.

Had ladders of this kind been affixed to
every window in the upper rooms of the
Orphan Asylum, I have no doubt that most
if not all who perished in that building,
would have been saved.

Sir George Staunton, who attended
Lord Macartney on his embassy to China,
relates the following anecdote of old K'in
Long, emperor of China. He was enquir-
ing of Sir G. the manner in which physi-
cians were paid in England; when, after
much difficulty, his majesty was made to
comprehend the system, he exclaimed, "Is
any man well in England that can afford
to be ill? Now, I will inform you, (said he),
how I manage my physicians.—I have
four to whom the care of my health is com-
mitted; a certain weekly salary is allowed
them, but the moment I am ill, the salary
stops till I am well again. I need not in-
form you my illnesses are usually short."

The plainest man who pays attention
to the Ladies will sometimes succeed as
well as the handsomest man that does not.
Wilkes observed to Lord Townshend, "You,
my lord, are the handsomest man in the
kingdom, and I the plainest; but I would
give you half an hour's start, and yet
come up with you in the affections of any
woman we both wished to win; because
all those attentions which you would omit
on the score of your fine exterior, I should
be obliged to pay owing to the deficiencies
of mine."

J. H. RIDDELL,

Just received and offers for sale, on
very reasonable terms.
Superfine Floor,
First quality PINE WOOD,
do do Wicking,
N. E. Rum,
Brandy and Cider.

FOR SALE.

A FEW tons of English Hay by
2m 15th. JONATHAN SWAIN.

47. Green, Joseph – Read’s 13th Continentals, drummer.³⁶
 48. Hale, Aesop – Glover’s 14th Continentals. Likely enslaved by Hale family.³⁷
 49. Hall, Jude – Reed’s 2nd Continentals, W. 23,238, extensive work conducted by National Park Service on him.³⁸
 50. Hall, Primus or Primus Trask – Nixon’s 4th Continentals W751, BLW #26340-160-55³⁹
 51. Hall, Thomas – Galleyman, Pennsylvania Navy

T E N P O U N D S R E W A R D .

RAN AWAY the first of September last, from the subscriber, living in Montgomery County, Maryland, a Negro man named TOM SOMETIMES, calls himself TOM HALL, about 5 feet 5 or 6 inches high, his cloaths unknown; he was born in Philadelphia, and formerly lived in the Jerseys. Whoever takes up said Negro and secures him in any gaol, so that his master may get him again, shall have the above Reward, and if brought home reasonable charges, paid by

May 25, 1777. † **JOHN MUSGROVE.**

³⁶ RR <https://www.fold3.com/image/18394979/89-page-8-us-revolutionary-war-rolls-1775-1783>

³⁷ Moses Brown Orderly Book, Peabody Museum,

³⁸ W. 23,238 accessed <https://www.fold3.com/image/21438316/hall-jude-page-5-us-revolutionary-war-pensions-1800-1900>; “Jude Hall” accessed <https://www.nps.gov/people/jude-hall.htm>

³⁹ W751 accessed <http://revwarapps.org/w751.pdf>;

Active Duty Line

HALL, THOMAS _____ Rank **PVT.**

Company or Commander **CAPT. ISAAC ROACH** _____ **Unit** **PENNA. NAVY**

Time of service **APRIL 1-JULY, 1777** _____ **Mos.** _____ **Days** _____

Bounty £ _____ **Pay £** **4,10.0** _____ **Allowances £** _____ **Total £** _____

Duty **SERVED ON THE CONGRESS, AGE 29. ENLISTED OCTOBER 18, 1775**

TOTAL TIME OF SERVICE: 1 YEAR, 11 MONTHS, 12 DAYS.

MUSTER ROLLS OF THE CONGRESS, APRIL-JULY, 1777
Authorities: ~~Unit Records~~ **Line Operations (Year _____), "Military Accounts" Records of the**
Comptroller General, at D. P. R.

MA-3--10M

THE BASIC RECORD PROVES ACTIVE DUTY.

52. Hanibal Hanobal – Baldwin’s 26th Continentals.⁴⁰
53. Hart, Cato – Nixon’s 4th Continentals
54. Hayward, Titus - Nixon’s 4th Continentals.⁴¹
55. Haze, Hays, Cuff – Sargent’s 16th Continentals.⁴²
56. Hazzard, Henery – Lippitt’s Regiment.⁴³
57. Hazzard, Pharoah - Lippitt’s Regiment.⁴⁴
58. Hector, Edward Ned – Likely Pennsylvania Navy, appear on rolls of Courtney’s company of Proctor’s Pennsylvania Artillery in March along with other Pennsylvania Navy volunteers.
59. Hill, Primus – Porter’s Regiment⁴⁵
60. Howard, William – Delaware Regiment - July 30 1777 deserter ad “Howard served last year in the Delaware Blues,” William Howard late of Salem County, but born in Kent on Delaware, a weaver by

⁴⁰ MSS/7/235

⁴¹ <https://home.nps.gov/people/titus-hayward.htm>

⁴² MSS/7/644

⁴³ *Rhode Island Spirit of 1776*

https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/3897/records/512330?tid=&pid=&queryId=87425118-9d20-4e12-96dc-efb0942f2a56&_phsrc=jtx12276&_phstart=successSource

⁴⁴ https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/201254:1309?tid=&pid=&queryid=3f8456c2-fb9e-4bf2-9b05-21aaacb38334&_phsrc=jtx4313&_phstart=successSource; [Rhode Island, U.S., The Rhode Island 1777 Military Census - Ancestry.com](#)

⁴⁵ <https://www.fold3.com/image/11992294/78-page-13-us-revolutionary-war-rolls-1775-1783>;

trade, five feet 9 or 10 inches high, brown hair, of a yellowish complexion, blue eyes, thin visage, and very slow of speech: had on, a blue regimental coat, faced with red, white vest, coarse trousers, and a good felt hat. It is supposed he will follow his trade about Alloway's Creek."

61. Howe, Cato – Bailey's 23rd Continentals, W2354, BLW #12829-160-55
62. Hull, Prince – Webb's 19th Continentals
63. Indian, Stepney - 1st NY⁴⁶
64. Jackson, Abenego – Possibly Delaware Regiment or 1st Maryland. S10909, matches with pension w5858.
65. Jacklin Jackson, Ned - Bradley's Regiment, discharged Jan 1777. Ned Jacklin appears as "colored in censuses. ⁴⁷
66. James, Jamaica – Claimed to be at Battle of Trenton, but unclear, S44984
67. Jennings Peter – Names and some memories line up with Durkee's 20th Continentals, or Rhode Island troops. S4436
68. John, Shawnee Shaney - Hand's 1st Continentals, As name suggests, Shawnee. Was remembered by people in what is now Centre County, PA. Lee's Guard June 1776⁴⁸
69. Mason, Joseph – Chester's Regiment. Described Negro, died 16 April, 1778. ⁴⁹
70. Pollock, Mingo – Bradley's Connecticut State Troops. "He was a coloured man." Extensive pension (W. 17469) deposition that contains an incredible amount about their life in their community.⁵⁰
71. Mitchell, Abner - Bailey's 23rd Continentals. W15084 described "Colored" Jan 1, 1777 enlistment date suggests he was already there.
72. Mohegh, Philip – Glover's 14th Continentals, likely Mohegan
73. Morris, Nathaniel – 5th VR VAS759 "I John Henry Fitzgerald do certify that Nathaniel Morriss a black man was a Continental soldier belonging to the 5th Virginia Regiment"⁵¹
74. Negro, Orange – Likely Enslaved, Corps of Continental Marines

⁴⁶ https://www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/4282/images/miusa1775a_113613-00101?pId=1313093

⁴⁷ https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/4282/records/1083682?tid=&pid=&queryId=a6fcdb9d-9fd5-4d13-9ec1-4daa34938171&_phsrc=jtx10427&_phstart=successSource;
https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/7734/records/437903?tid=&pid=&queryId=e6f4bdaf-8a51-48ff-994d-7402ac062d8c&_phsrc=jtx10494&_phstart=successSource

⁴⁸ Lee's Life Guard accessed

https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/4282/records/946849?tid=&pid=&queryId=dee17c4e-fbff-497f-bee8-cf25f2e93aec&_phsrc=jtx7390&_phstart=successSource

⁴⁹ Rolls

accessed:https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/4282/records/1085437?tid=&pid=&queryId=b6e15b87-2939-491f-9996-500a28204b7d&_phsrc=jtx12428&_phstart=successSource

⁵⁰ W. 17469

⁵¹ VAS759 accessed: <https://revwarapps.org/VAS759.pdf>

75. Newport, Israel - Patterson's 15th Continentals. Described as Mulatto in Deserter ad in 1777 ⁵²

dark complexion, dark eyes, dark hair. William Phillips, an Irishman, aged 30, 5 feet 8, dark complexion, dark eyes, black hair. Nathaniel Day, of Wells, aged 21, 5 feet 8, the same description. Gershom Bolton, of Wells, aged 19, 5 feet 4, dark complexion, black eyes, black hair. William Grady, of Boston, aged 20, 5 feet 9, light complexion, dark eyes, dark hair. Joseph Arter, of Tauro, aged 17, 5 feet 4, dark complexion, dark hair. Isaac Newport, of Sandwich, a Mulatto, aged 21, 5 feet 2. William Thompson, of Sandwich, an Indian, aged 28, 5 feet 10. Samuel Wampes, of ditto, an Indian, aged 30, 5 feet 8. James Robbins, of ditto, an Indian, aged 27, 5 feet 6. Daniel Brown, of ditto, an Indian, aged 25, 5 feet 2. Moses Akins, of Great Barrington, a Dutchman, aged 22, 5 feet 10, dark complexion, dark eyes, dark hair. David Parday, of Nine Partners, aged 23, 5 feet 7, light complexion, grey eyes, brown hair. Peter Battalions, of Stockbridge, aged 48, 5 feet 8, light complexion.

76. Norton, William – Drummer Forrest's Company and Massey's company Associators, described as "mulatto" or "black."

77. Parker, Chester - Nixon's 4th Continentals. "Negro" on descriptive list. ⁵³

78. Parkhurst, Caesar, Huntington's 17th Continentals. ⁵⁴

79. Paugenit, Joseph – Nixon's 4th Continentals, Natick Indian. ⁵⁵

80. Pellom, Edward – Huntington's 17th Continentals. Described in warrant as "mulatto." ⁵⁶

81. Pero, Peter -1st NY, likely person of color based on first and last name, and other Peter Peros. Other names in bounty list to extend to January 1777, are possibly people of color. ⁵⁷

82. Peprill, John Pepperell – Poor's 8th Continental Regiment. "Mulatto belonging to Kittery." ⁵⁸

DEserted from Captain Oliver's Company in Col. Greaton's Regiment, the following Soldier's, viz. John Young, belonging to Kittery, about 5 feet 7 inches high, dark complexion, was a Soldier the last campaign in Col. Poor's Regiment. John Peprill, a Mulatto, belonging to Kittery, 5 feet 10, was a soldier in Col. Poor's regiment the last campaign. Ephraim Callis, of Almsbury, 6 feet high, was a soldier the last campaign. George Feither, 5 feet 8, light complexion, a Hessian, speaks broken English. Robert Richard, 5 feet 11, dark complexion, a little lame in one leg. Any Person who takes up any of the above Deserters, and will bring them to Roxbury, to the Regiment, or to Springfield, and deliver them to any Office of the Regiment, or confine them in any Goal, and give Information to any Officer of the Regiment, shall have TEN DOLLARS Reward, and all necessary Charges paid, by me
ROBERT OLIVER, Captain.

⁵² MSS/11/383

⁵³ MSS/11/482

⁵⁴ W. 18,425, Eli Widger for narrative of service; Gallup's Company, accessed https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/65720:61902?tid=&pid=&queryId=e33f3971-d799-4e37-a700-67c5ee702a&_phsrc=jtx890&_phstart=successSource

⁵⁵ Joseph Paugenit, accessed <https://www.nps.gov/people/joseph-paugenit.htm>

⁵⁶ Edward Pellom, S 36216. <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/196374123?objectPage=8>

⁵⁷ MSS/12/179; Bounty for extension to January, 1777 <https://www.fold3.com/image/10157239/1-page-35-us-revolutionary-war-rolls-1775-1783>

⁵⁸ MSS/12/132

83. Pompey, John – Pennsylvania Navy, Galley Warren.⁵⁹
84. Price, Peter – Bailey’s 23rd Continentals. Appears on pay lists for December of 1776. In a later descriptive list, he was described as “Mulatto.”⁶⁰
85. Primus, Job or Job Lathrop – Durkee’s 20th Continentals W10256, BLW #61201-160 -55, mentions of Trenton in pension.
86. Puckham, Stephen – Delaware Regiment, enlisted in Colonel David Hall's Company in the Delaware Regiment on 3 February 1776 and was listed in the muster in the barracks at Lewes Town on 11 April 1776. “The Puckhams descend from an Indian named John Puckham and Joan Johnson, the African American granddaughter of Anthony Johnson George, Levin and John Puckham were "other free" heads of Somerset County, Maryland households.” Discharged at end of year.⁶¹
87. Purdon, Thomas - Pennsylvania Navy, Servant or slave of Sharp Delany on Franklin, discharged to be mate at Trenton, Dec 15. A Thomas Purdon appears as “colored” in censuses.⁶²

PRUDEN, THOMAS		Rank	MARINE
Company or Commander	CAPT. NATHAN BOYS	Unit	PENNA. NAVY
Time of service	MAY 1-DECEMBER 15, 1776	Mos.	7 Days 23
Bounty £	Pay £ 2.5.0 3.0.0	Allowances £	Total £
Duty SERVED ON FRANKLIN. AGE 25. ENLISTED OCTOBER 27, 1775.			
SERVANT TO SHARP DELENY. (Nov., 1776) D D 15TH INST. TO ACT AS DOCTORS			
MATE IN TRENTON (DEC., 1776)			
MUSTER ROLLS OF THE FRANKLIN, MAY-DEC., 1776			

88. Rachel – 1st Maryland, Camp Follower, enslaved servant of Major Modesai Gist.
89. Bob – Son of Rachel
90. Raymond, Caesar – Glover’s 14th Continentals, enslaved servant.
91. Richmond, Salsbery – Bailey’s 23rd Continentals.
92. Rodman, Philip or Philip Wermesley – Lippitt’s Regiment, S39835, “A man of colour.” Tew’s Company Lippitt’s Regiment 2nd Trenton Princeton

⁵⁹ John Pompey, PAVC. Accessed https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/62200/records/695938?tid=&pid=&queryId=e6ec9694-2f1e-4691-983a-f8c05851e934&_phsrc=jtx7644&_phstart=successSource

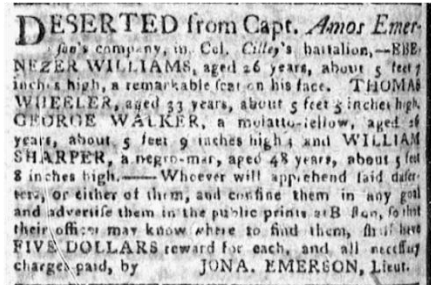
⁶⁰ MSS/12/772; Boston Gazette, July 14, 1777.

⁶¹ https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/509200:1309?tid=&pid=&queryId=356cd403-d31a-4a71-b0b9-d19061bc1d48&_phsrc=jtx3233&_phstart=successSource

⁶² 1820 Census

https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/7734/records/909273?tid=&pid=&queryId=37dd78c7-fb20-41eb-a71c-2ffb77a74dd&_phsrc=jtx8328&_phstart=successSource

93. Rouse, James – Enslaved Ferryman, Coryell’s Ferry, Was in King George’s War
94. Salem, Peter, Nixon’s 4th Continentals.⁶³
95. Semore, Thomas – Bailey’s 23rd Continentals, based on January 1st 1777 enlistment.⁶⁴
96. Flemming, Silas – Formerly Durham Slave, Appears in “Book of Negroes” Shaw, Alexander - 1st Maryland, enlistment 10 Dec 1776, which actually appears to be a reenlistment from independent company.⁶⁵
97. Shaw, Scipio- Nixon’s 4th Continentals.⁶⁶
98. Sharper, William – Poor’s 2nd Continentals or Stark’s 5th Continentals. According to one record, desertion came after January 2nd, implication of May 1777 deserter ad, is that he went on recruit leave, after the year was up, but whatever the case, he did return to the unit.⁶⁷



99. Shelton, Caesar – Claimed Service at Trenton as enslaved servant, S19764 Substitute for his master's son and was granted freedom.
100. Sidebottom, John – 3rd Virginia Regiment, John Sidebottom is recorded as a “Free White Male” in the 1820 federal census, but according to the pension application of Charles Lander (S31198), John Sidebottom and his brother Joseph were “Two Coulered men.” Another account stated that “I [George Harrison Sanford King] have a long account (and most interesting) of one Sidebottom of this area helping to carry wounded James Monroe, then a colonel [sic: Lieutenant], from the field of battle. Uncle JM never forgot Sidebotto (sic), a mulatto.” Lander said that Sidebottom the “bravest man.” Lander also stated that Sidebottom was a corporal who acted as a sergeant. Indeed, corporal in rolls.
101. Sidebottom, Joseph – 3rd Virginia Regiment, brother of John. w8727
102. Silas - Enslaved Man formerly owned by ferry operator, William Pettit at Beaumont’s Ferry
103. Simons, Lycas Licus - Durkee’s 20th Continentals R9584
104. Simons, Hewitt – Durkee’s 20th Continentals, brother of Lycus
105. Simons, Prentice – Durkee’s 20th Continentals, brother of Lycus

⁶³ Peter Salem, accessed: <https://www.nps.gov/people/peter-salem.htm#ftref11>

⁶⁴ MSS/13/983

⁶⁵ <https://www.fold3.com/image/10108954/4-page-139-us-revolutionary-war-rolls-1775-1783>

⁶⁶ <https://www.nps.gov/people/scipio-shaw.htm>

⁶⁷ Continental Journal, May 22, 1777; <https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/61902/records/37646>

106. Simmonds, Scipio – Glover’s 14th Continentals, Enslaved Servant.⁶⁸
107. Small, Nathaniel – Baldwin’s 26th Continentals. Veteran of Bunker Hill, studied by Quintal. Agreed to stay in army after Trenton.⁶⁹
108. Smith, Edward – Corps of Continental Marines, S41173 “Colored” man in censuses
109. Smith, Cato – Nixon’s 4th Continentals.⁷⁰
110. Somerset, Cuff – Nixon’s 4th Continentals.⁷¹
111. Spragues, Caesar – Learned’s 3rd Continentals, Wounded at Princeton, later “leg shot off” at Monmouth. “Leg Shot off” Monmouth Enlisted Jan 1 1777.⁷²
112. Stamper Stampfort - Pennsylvania Navy, enslaved galleyman. Married 1770 to free woman of color.⁷³
113. Sullivan, Noble - Enslaved Waiter to General John Sullivan
114. Sutton, Prince – Baldwin’s 26th Continentals, Enslaved servant in 1776 “Mr Eaton’s Negro man”
115. Sutphin, Stephen – Enslaved NJ Militia, NJ Militia at Princeton, Millstone, participated in campaign, not at crossing, representative of enslaved militia.⁷⁴
116. Tash, Oxford - Poor’s 8th Continentals.⁷⁵ wounded sometime in 1776. The Pension is the only source about 1776.
117. Thomas, Margaret – Free woman of color within Washington’s household.⁷⁶
118. Thomas, Peter – Possibly Poor’s 8th Continentals , listed “a Molatto”⁷⁷

⁶⁸ <https://www.fold3.com/image/283826315/196-orderly-books-jul-29-1775-sep-2-1775-page-78-us-numbered-record-books-1775-1790>

⁶⁹ <https://www.nps.gov/people/nathaniel-small.htm>

⁷⁰ MSS/14/358; <https://www.nps.gov/people/cato-smith-enlisted-and-enslaved.htm>

⁷¹ MSS/15/249

⁷² <https://www.fold3.com/image/19531457/spragues-caesar-page-1-us-revolutionary-war-pensions-1800-1900>; MSS/14/750

⁷³ https://www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/2383/images/32554_234052-00348?pld=65233

⁷⁴ <http://www.doublegv.com/ggv/battles/sutphin.html>

⁷⁵ W16155; <https://www.seacoastonline.com/story/news/2020/07/15/historically-speaking-life-and-times-of-oxford-tash/113785658/>

⁷⁶ <https://boston1775.blogspot.com/2006/11/margaret-thomas-free-black-woman-at.html>

⁷⁷ <https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/61902/records/13953?tid=&pid=&queryId=fab6c597-0713-489f-8bf1-1403536baeea&phsrc=jtx7561&phstart=successSource>; Norwich Packet, April 17, 1777

DESERTED from Capt. William Judd's Com-
 pany, Col. Wylls's Regiment, one Peter
 Thomas, an enlisted Soldier, a Mulatto, formerly
 an Inhabitant of the Massachusetts State, but has
 lately resided at Coventry, in the State of Connecti-
 cut; five Feet 9 Inches high, 23 Years of Age,
 very talkative, and is fond of Company. Who-
 ever will apprehend said Deserter, and return him
 to the Subscriber in Hebron, or to Mr. Adj. Hart
 in Hartford, shall have Five Dollars Reward, and
 all necessary Charges paid by
 SOLOMON TARBOX, junr. Lieut.
 Hebron, April 14, 1777.

- 119. Thomas, Titus - Bailey's 23rd Continentals, Service in Bailey's not listed in Mass Soldiers and Sailors.⁷⁸
- 120. Thomson Tomjon, Alexander – Bailey's 23rd Continentals, Last name spelling suggests person of color, name seems to match a Nantucket family.⁷⁹
- 121. Thompson, William, Patterson's 15th Continentals; Listed as Indian in deserter ad.⁸⁰

from Boston, of years, aged 19, 5 feet 4, dark complexion, black eyes, black hair. William Grady, of Boston, aged 20, 5 feet 9, light complexion, dark eyes, dark hair. Joseph Arter, of Tauro, aged 27, 5 feet 4, dark complexion, dark hair. Israel Newport, of Sandwich, a Mulatto, aged 21, 5 feet 2. William Thompson, of Sandwich, an Indian, aged 28, 5 feet 10. Samuel Wampee, of ditto, an Indian, aged 30, 5 feet 8. James Robbins, of ditto, an Indian, aged 27, 5 feet 6. Daniel Brown, of ditto, an Indian, aged 35, 5 feet 6. Moses Akins, of Great Barrington, a Dutaman, aged 22, 5 feet 10, dark complexion, dark eyes, dark hair. David Parday, of Nine Partners, aged 23, 5 feet 7, light complexion, grey eyes, brown hair. Peter Sackett, of Stockbridge, aged 48, 5 feet 8, light complexion, grey eyes, dark brown hair. Edward Whigh, of Becket, aged 25, 5 feet 4, dark complexion, dark eyes, dark hair. Elias Fly, of Becket, aged 22, 5 feet 7, dark complexion, dark eyes, dark hair. Benjamin John-

- 122. Till, Hannah – Washington's Household - Enslaved then Free Servant⁸¹
- 123. Till, Isaac – Washington's Household
- 124. Till, Sarah – Daughter of Isaac and Hannah
- 125. Tracy, William – Durkee's 20th Continentals, S35362 Battle of Trenton and Trenton remembered in Pension. Formerly "He was a slave, Will Primus"... "he went to New York was on Long Island at the battle near New York ... [and] was with the Army at Trenton at the time of the battle there ... he knows

⁷⁸ https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/4282/records/847485?tid=&pid=&queryId=1d1c7370-f956-4e88-9fa8-41ccc71b03d&_phsrc=jtx6784&_phstart=successSource;

<https://www.fold3.com/image/10115911/44-page-3-us-revolutionary-war-rolls-1775-1783;MSS/15/617>

⁷⁹ https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/8057/records/2228153?tid=&pid=&queryId=dd9aea8e-e125-4356-9a64-8d438ee93e75&_phsrc=jtx11618&_phstart=successSource

⁸⁰ MSS/15/663; Boston Gazette, July 7, 1777.

⁸¹ <https://allthingsliberty.com/2021/02/nineteenth-century-remembrances-of-black-revolutionary-veterans-tannah-hill-george-washingtons-cook/>

he served in the Continental Army & for one year at least in a company commanded by Capt Jedediah Waterman in Col John Durkee[’s] [20th Continental] Regiment” Tracy’s pension file also contains Silas Goodell’s deposition, stating he “was a Lieutenant in Col John Durkees Regiment in the year 1776 ... he recollects ... said Will a black man to have belonged to the ... Regiment in that year ... he saw him in October or November 1776 off against Fort Washington in New Jersey & that he believes he saw him at the battle at Trenton”

126. Trask, Primus - Nixon’s 4th Continentals, Agreed to stay extend term of service.⁸²

127. Twine, John - 5th or 3rd VR, “A Black Man” “Mulatto” Waggoner with 5th Virginia, Ran Away to British in January 1777. Joined Volunteers of Ireland. Wounded in British service.⁸³

*That year Menon! resided at Petersburg in ... ,
Sussex County & afterwards left his side and joined the
British Army at Trenton New Jersey in the year 1777*

128. Walker, William – Corps of Continental Marines, “Negro”

129. Washunks, Abel – Durkee’s 20th Continentals, enlisted Jan 1st 1777 which suggests already in Durkee’s already.⁸⁴

130. White, Archelaus – Nixon’s 4th Continentals, S43299, “Black man enlisted in my company”

131. White, Corpus – Bailey’s 23rd Continentals. Died 1778.⁸⁵

132. Wood, Robert - 3rd VR - Chief Justice John Marshall said he was a “man of color” in the 3rd VR in the early part of the war. s39909

⁸² MSS/16/27

⁸³ https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/3712/records/541?tid=&pid=&queryId=98dbe6ba-0293-417b-9a56-615cc2b74da7&_phsrc=jtx14180&_phstart=successSource

⁸⁴ https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/1309/records/81890?tid=&pid=&queryId=150c6e15-05d1-41e5-ae55-a1bad2b4ac62&_phsrc=jtx12377&_phstart=successSource

⁸⁵ <https://www.fold3.com/image/18396377/99-page-20-us-revolutionary-war-rolls-1775-1783>; MSS/17/52

STEPHENS'S BRIGADE ENCAMPMENT AT MCCONKEY'S FERRY

One basic question that had to be answered is which brigade of the army was encamped at McConkey's Ferry on the day of the crossing.

The answer was Adam Stephen's Brigade, the 4th, 5th, and 6th Virginia Regiments.

"The Army is to be arranged as follows[:] Generals Lord Stirlings, Mercers, Stevens's & La Roche de Fermoy's Brigades are to take post at and below Corells and McConkeys Ferry—Lord Sterlings Brigade to Continue at and near where his Head Quarters are—General Stevens next below it General Mercers below Stevens's[.] General de Formoy's Brigade and General Ewings Brigade to continue at this Post [Trenton Falls] and guard the River from Burdenton up towards Yearlies Ferry."⁸⁶

In Washington's orders situating the army written December 12, written at "Trenton Falls," the brigades of the army were positioned to defend ferries and fords, and as he explained a day later to John Hancock: "I cannot divest myself of the Opinion, that their principal Design is to ford the River somewhere above Trenton; to which Design I have had particular Respect in the new Arrangement, wherein I am so far happy as to have the Concurrence of the General Officers." To that end Washington "posted [each brigade] in such a Manner as to guard every suspicious part of the River and to afford Assistance to each other in Case of Attack." The original Dec 12 order suggested that Fermoy's Brigade was posted at Trenton Falls, but in his description of the arrangement the next day to Hancock, his ordering went "four Brigades of the Army under Generals Lord Stirling, Mercer, Stephen and D'Fermoy extend from Yardleys up to Coryels Ferry." Washington's orders to Ewing and Dickinson specifically placed Dickinson's force at Yardley's, and Ewing's just below Yardley's.

Going off of the orders, local traditions and recollections, and place names given in officers' correspondence, William Watts Hart Davis deduced that Fermoy's brigade was posted at Coryell's Ferry, Stirling's brigade at Blue Mounts Ferry, but failed to place Stephen's and Mercer's. In a day or two after Washington wrote his original orders, he must have shifted Fermoy's to Coryell's Ferry. The local tradition does match several pieces of evidence, including a notation in the accounts of the 1st Continental Regiment that notes a company was paid in Coryell's Ferry in mid-December. So, with Fermoy's in Coryell's Ferry, Stirling's at "Blue Mounts," and the order stating "General Stevens next below it," that would place Stephen's brigade at McConkey's.

How can we be sure that Stephen's brigade was posted at McConkey's?

1. Pensions
2. Letters
3. Because Stephen's brigade was first across the river Dec 25-26.
4. Because Stephen's brigade was stationed at McConkey's ferry after the crossing.

⁸⁶ <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/03-07-02-0239>

In his pension deposition, Sergeant John McCauley of the 5th Virginia Regiment, of Stephen's brigade explicitly stated that he was stationed at McConkey's Ferry and then returned to it after the battle:

"From thence we retreated before the British to New Brunswick – thence to Princeton – then crossed the Delaware below Trenton – **then marched up the river to McConkey's ferry. Here we remained until the 25 of December in the evening, then crossed the river**, marched to Trenton and on the 26 fought the battle with the Hessians Gen'l. Washington commanding us. **We then returned to the same Camp on the Delaware.**"⁸⁷

Other pension depositions of members of Stephen's brigade tell us that they were stationed at the ferry they crossed at, and then returned to it:

William Stark, 6th Virginia Regiment stated that he "returned back through the Jerseys before the British Army commanded by General Howe until we crossed the Delaware [River] at Trenton when pursuit was stopped. Soon after this General Washington **moved up the Delaware to a place I think called Currells Ferry about eight miles above Trenton where we remained until the attack & capture of the Hessians [December 26, 1776] after which the Army recrossed the Delaware & took up encampment on the same ground** but how long we remained at this place I do not recollect – we soon again crossed the River & took a position between Trenton & Princeton, at the latter place worthy chief part of General Howe's Army which Army after a few days advanced on us & pursued us to Trenton from which place General Washington retreated in the night & attacked the British Garrison at Princeton and carried it by killing & taking almost the whole of said Garrison. This I think was on the 3rd of January 1777."

William Walker of the 4th Virginia Regiment, again stated that they were stationed at the ferry and then returned back to the camp there: "The next [combat I] was [in was] at Currell's ferry on Christmas [Eve] morning 1776, being on **picket at that place** a party of the enemy fired upon our ferryboat, killing one man, when several fires passed from each side. The [next] day in the evening **we crossed the ferry** moving on to Trenton [December 26, 1776], the 4th Virginia Regiment being the vanguard. The Company to which I belonged being the oldest company commanded by Captain Wales who formerly had been an officer in the British Army were in the front of the whole. **After taking the Hessians we returned back to Currell's ferry** from which place I was sent as a guard with some wounded Hessians and sick Americans to a hospital which prevented me from being with my much beloved General and brothers in arms at the battle of Princetown."⁸⁸

Notice, of course, that the latter two pensioners thought that they were stationed at, and crossed at Coryell's Ferry. I explain why I think they believed that they were at Coryell's Ferry in another piece on Captain John Coryell, but I will point out here that Sergeant McCauley, who remembered that he was at McConkey's Ferry also remembered crossing at Coryell's Ferry later in 1777: "We then wheel'd back and scarcely halted until we crossed the Delaware at Carolls ferry." Unlike the other pensioners, McCauley knew that McConkey's and Coryell's were different places.

As William Walker of the 4th VR stated in his pension deposition, Stephen's brigade was indeed (after Monroe and Washington's detachments) "the vanguard." As the vanguard, they were the first brigade carried over the river, and then tasked with guarding the gathering place beyond Johnson's Ferry. Washington's orders for the operation explicitly stated that "General Stevens's Brigade to form the advanced party" for the crossing and

⁸⁷ <https://revwarapps.org/s7207.pdf>

⁸⁸ <https://revwarapps.org/s6340.pdf>

the attack, and that “General Stevens Brigade with the detachment of Artillery men [would] embark first” and then after crossing, “General Stevens will appoint a Guard to form a chain of centries round the landing place at a sufficient distance from the river to permit the troops to form.” And then in the assault on Trenton, “General Stevens’s Brigade to form the advanced party & to have with them a detachment of the Artillery without Cannon provided with Spikes and Hammers to Spike up the enemies Cannon in case of necessity or to bring them off if it can be effected. the party to be provided with drag ropes for the purpose of dragging off the Cannon. General Stevens is to attack and force the enemies Guards and seize such posts as may prevent them from forming in the streets and in case they are annoy’d from the houses to set them on fire.”

Although not explicitly stated, the likeliest reason Stephen’s brigade was sent over the river first, is the simple fact that they were already there and were already familiar with the area around the New Jersey side of the ferry, Johnson’s Ferry. McConkey’s was designated as the crossing point at least as early as December 19, and it was apparently several days before the crossing that Greene asked Philemon Dickinson to supply Stephen with local guides for the Trenton assault, suggesting that Stephen the choice of Stephen’s brigade as advanced guard, correlated with the choice of crossing. The last piece of evidence that Stephen’s brigade was posted at McConkey’s comes from a letter written to Leven Powell by Major George Johnston of the 5th VR on December 29 [?], 1776 “at McConkey’s Ferry.” The units of the Continental Army who participated in the crossing and the attack on Trenton were supposed to return to their previous established camp sites, for a multitude of reasons but the main reason was, put simply, that’s where they had been and so they were established there. If Johnston wrote from McConkey’s on any day preceding the foray into Jersey that culminated with 2nd Trenton and Princeton, he was suggesting to us that there is where they were stationed previously.⁸⁹

⁸⁹ Robert C. Powell, ed. *A Biographical Sketch of Col. Leven Powell, including His Correspondence during the Revolutionary War.* (Alexandria, Va., 1877), 45–46

WHO GOT THE ARMY ACROSS THE DELAWARE? THE LEGEND OF COLONEL GLOVER AND THE 14TH CONTINENTALS

From December 26, 1776 until 1854, the only people who took the time to note specific individuals who labored to get the army across the Delaware at McConkey's Ferry were locals, people from Hunterdon and Bucks counties and they only noted individuals, not organizations. But in 1855 three writers noted people and one organization who they thought ferried the army and it was not a coincidence. The writers were reacting to the unprecedented popularity of a painting, Emanuel Leutze's *Washington Crossing the Delaware* and interest in the details of the crossing that the painting provoked. Just who were the people who struggled against the snow and sleet, the current, and the ice flows to get Washington and the army across? In previous accounts and previous artistic renditions of the scene, the people who ferried were taken for granted. Comparing Thomas Sully's work of thirty years earlier, *The Passage of the Delaware* with Leutze's, illustrates why it was only after Leutze that writers noted the specific people who ferried the army. In Thomas Sully's work, intended to be "a work of history," the people laboring to cross the Delaware are in the deep background, literally faceless, literally overshadowed by the figures in the foreground, namely Washington, and Knox. The heroes of the scene, the protagonists, are Washington and Knox with Greene and Billy Lee playing a supporting role. In Leutze, an allegorical scene, the boat crew is in the foreground representing the American nation, heroically laboring to get Washington, the army, and the new republic across the river.

The differences between Sully's and Leutze's work reflected philosophical and aesthetic changes wrought by people in the thirty year gap. Sully's work was the story of great men, doing great things, while Leutze's reflected the democratization of American life idealized by both Leutze and his audience. By the 1830s, labor and the "common man" were lionized, and put on the level of "great men" like Washington, and that is reflected in Leutze, where the common laborers are nearly the equals of Washington in the composition of the painting. Thus, it is not surprising that the American public was enraptured by Leutze's painting while Sully's was virtually forgotten. With the popular phenomena of Leutze's painting, the crossing was transformed from an important but obscure prelude to the Battle of Trenton into a heroic historical event on par with the battle: "Washington's Crossing."

Leutze's work was widely copied, printed cheaply, and in 1853 was the subject a finely detailed steel engraving that was sold by the thousands further increasing its notoriety. Leutze's work, especially in engraved, mass produced copies was an antebellum cultural touchstone that created interest in who actually ferried the army. As one commentator wrote "every well household was bound to have a copy." Most Americans were familiar with the image, in some form, by 1855 and with the boatmen fully fleshed out and depicted as doing an important, apparently herculean task, three writers in 1855 anticipated that their audience would want to know who had ferried the Army that night.

One of the figures in the foreground struggling mightily to get Washington across the river is a man of color, so in 1855, in *Colored Patriots of the American Revolution*, William Cooper Nell made the connection between an engraving of Leutze's painting and interest in who was actually working: "In the engravings of Washington crossing the Delaware on the evening previous to the battle of Trenton, Dec. 25, 1776, a colored soldier is...seen pulling the stroke oar in that memorable crossing.

This colored soldier was PRINCE WHIPPLE, body-guard to Gen. Whipple, of New Hampshire, who was Aid to General Washington.”⁹⁰

Nell knew that his readers would be familiar with the engravings of Leutze’s work, and that they would be excited to know that the man of color in the boat with Washington was Prince Whipple. Nell did not provide any evidence for his assertion, but that was not the point of his work. By placing Whipple at the oar, he was putting a real person into an event that Americans had begun to think of as legendary and central to who they were as Americans. If it was not actually Prince Whipple, Nell knew that people of color were there, at the crossing, at Bunker Hill, at Yorktown, and everywhere else, and were agents of the Revolution, who were entitled to all of the rights of citizenship. Also published in 1855 were the second volumes of both Benson J Lossing’s *Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution* and Washington Irving’s *The Life of Washington*. Lossing’s work was the product of several years of travel and interviews with survivors of the Revolutionary period. In late 1848, Lossing travelled to “McConkey’s Ferry (now Taylorsville)” to see the sights of the place where the army “with Washington, crossed the Delaware, on the memorable night of that festival.” (14) Lossing stated that “the perilous voyage began early in the evening, in boats and bateaux, but it was nearly four o’clock in the morning before the little army was mustered on the Jersey shore.” Lossing anticipated that his audience would be interested in who had actually ferried that night, so he added a footnote: “Among the most prominent and active men engaged in ferrying the army, tradition has preserved the names of Uriah Slack, William Green, and David Laning.” (20) The names listed by Lossing were of local Bucks County and Hunterdon County men, familiar with ferrying and boating on that part of the Delaware River. Lossing undoubtedly drew these names from Barber and Howe’s 1844 work, or various newspaper versions of the same that stated “among the prominent and active men who were employed in ferrying over the troops, were Uriah Slack, William Green, and David Laning.” Lossing added the word “most” before “prominent and active men.” A subtle difference, but one that would become important later in the story.

Notice that Lossing did not credit John Glover and the 14th Continental Regiment with “ferrying over the troops.”

Lossing was well aware that Glover and his regiment had, in fact, participated in the evacuation of Long Island and New York City, so it is not as if he had never heard of Glover and his regiment, but no one told him and no one had ever written down that Glover and his regiment had ferried the army at McConkey’s. What people had told him and what had been well documented was that Glover and his regiment were elite, and that they had done boat duty at various places and Lossing lauded their boating prowess: “Colonel Glover, whose regiment was composed chiefly of sailors and fishermen from Marblehead and vicinity, was ordered to collect and man boats for the purpose [of the evacuation of Long Island], and General McDougal was directed to superintend the embarkation.” “For six hours those fishermen-soldiers plied their muffled oars; and boat after boat, filled with the champions of freedom, touched at the various wharves from Fulton Ferry to Whitehall, and left their precious burdens.” (Lossing, II, 606) Lossing mentioned John Glover and the 14th Continentals multiple times throughout his work, and clearly spoke to people familiar with

⁹⁰ William Cooper Nell, THE COLORED PATRIOTS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, WITH SKETCHES OF SEVERAL DISTINGUISHED COLORED PERSONS: TO WHICH IS ADDED A BRIEF SURVEY OF THE Condition and Prospects of Colored Americans. BOSTON: PUBLISHED BY ROBERT F. WALLCUT. 1855. 198.

their services, detailing their service at the evacuation of Long Island, the evacuation of New York City, and at various battles, yet when he wrote of the people who ferried the army the night of December 25-26th, he did not credit the 14th Continentals. **To reiterate: Lossing did not come across one shred of evidence that Glover's regiment was detailed to ferry the army at McConkey's Ferry. No one suggested to him that they had. No one previously wrote in memoirs. No one said so in a pension statement. No one said anything of the sort in a letter or journal. The only source that he had come across that said anything about specific people who ferried, an account of locals ferrying.**

In *The Life of Washington*, Washington Irving also anticipated that his readers would want to know who ferried the army and wrote: **“Colonel Glover, with his amphibious regiment of Marblehead fishermen, was in the advance; the same who had navigated the army across the Sound, in its retreat from Brooklyn on Long Island, to New York. They were men accustomed to battle with the elements, yet with all their skill and experience, the crossing was difficult and perilous.” THIS IS THE BASIS OF THE IDEA THAT GLOVER AND HIS MEN FERRIED THE ARMY AT MCCONKEY'S FERRY.** Irving's implicit answer to who ferried the army that night was Glover's 14th Continental Regiment, but his language suggests that he was speculating because his sentence reads like a hypothesis: ‘because Glover's regiment was “in the advance” and because it contained many sailors, and because the regiment ferried the army from Long Island, and because they were heroic laborers in the cause of freedom, they were the likeliest candidates to have ferried the army across the Delaware.’ Irving, like Nell, I would argue was specifically trying find people heroic enough to be the people in Leutze's painting, because that was what the public expected at that particular moment. The answer to “who ferried the army that night” couldn't be the mundane or prosaic “some local boatmen and ferrymen.” But in speculating that it was Glover's regiment, Irving was afraid of stating a mistruth, so he hedged in his statement. The reason Irving hedged was that his piece of evidence that he paraphrased was a convoluted speech by Senator John Davis that in turn was supposed to have quoted a speech by Henry Knox, that was, in turn, quoted in Sabine Thomas's Report on Fisheries in 1853. I wrote that last sentence to be as succinct as possible, yet it is as confusing as Irving's source material.

What we can be sure of is that by 1855, people were interested in who ferried the army that fateful night at McConkey's Ferry. What we can also be sure of is that by 1855, the people who had ferried the army that night were all dead, as no living person spoke up to say “I ferried that night, and it looked like this.” What we can also be sure of is that before 1855, there was only a very limited, and localized interest in the people who ferried that night. Before Leutze, the ferrymen and boatmen were taken for granted. Simply put, ferrymen were expected to ferry, and they did, and boatmen were expected to boat, and they did—those people did their job and it was literally unremarkable until more than sixty years after the event, but people like Washington Irving wanted the people who had done this incredible task, to be remarkable people, people like John Glover's 14th Continental Regiment.

In the latter part of 1776, John Glover and his regiment were an elite regiment. All of the surviving evidence suggests that contemporaries thought highly of John Glover and his regiment. In letters such as a letter from Henry Knox to John Adams, people wrote that Glover was destined for higher command while Washington begged to keep the 14th Continental Regiment intact. There are lots of primary sources that discuss Glover and his regiments feats, and lots of mentions of them in orders

and elsewhere, **yet there is not one reference to the 14th Continentals ferrying that night in army orders, in letters, in journals, in petitions, in memoirs, in family reminiscences, and in pension depositions.** If the 14th Continentals were detailed to ferry the army that night, it would have been in at least one set of orders, it would have been mentioned by an observer like Henry Knox, it would have been written in a letter or a journal, and it would have been mentioned by a veteran or a veteran's family member in a pension. They would have noted it and remembered it, because contemporary observers noted and veterans remembered exactly what the 14th Continentals had done, including ferrying operations, in particular, when the 14th Continentals helped save the army "by assisting with the ferrying of the army from Long Island." There is a simple reason that no one claimed that they ferried the army on Dec 25-26, and that is because they did not. The 14th Continental Regiment was an elite regiment in a crumbling army, an army tasked with launching a surprise attack on a feared Hessian garrison whose failure would mean the ruin of Washington and possibly the Revolution. Ferrying an army even in good conditions was hard work, ferrying an army in the middle of a nor-easter would have completely fatigued the 14th Continentals before they even began their march to Trenton. Unlike the evacuation of Long Island, Washington had control of the Delaware River, he had control of the boats on the river for weeks previous, and most importantly, he had other people to call on to ferry the army, people familiar with ferrying and boating on that part of the Delaware. This is not to denigrate Colonel, then General John Glover and the men of the 14th Continentals, this to say that Glover and the 14th were lauded at the time because they were a crack regiment, and it is because they were so highly thought of that they would not have been tasked with ferrying the army that night.

On January 30, 1797 General John Glover passed away. Modern readers will not be surprised that his obituaries stated his military career first, but they might be surprised by what is not mentioned: "as a military character, he stood high on the list of fame—and acted a very distinguished part in those judicious plans and arrangements, which led on to the capture of Gen. Burgoyne and his army." In the largest obituary, the author noted Glover's participation in the "capture of Burgoyne" and then that Glover "was the Officer of the Day, when Major Andre made his exit [from life]; which though the effect of necessity, deeply affected the heart of the General, and drew tears from every eye." The obituaries did not mention the signal service that Glover performed in 1776, but why would they? The writers all agreed that John Glover's participation in the Saratoga Campaign was his most important contribution to victory and the establishment of the United States. This might come as a surprise to some people who have chronicled Glover and his regiments in last hundred years, who would likely be surprised that that his obituaries did not include an account of Christmas night of 1776.

"The troops to be assembled one Miles back of McKonkeys ferry and as soon as it begins to grow dark the troops to be March'd to McKonkeys ferry and embark onboard the boats in following order under the direction of Colonel Knox."

"General Stevens Brigade with the detachment of Artillery men to embark first General Mercers next; Lord Stirlings next, Genl Fermoy's next who will march in the rear of the Second Division and file off from the Pennington to the Princeton Road in such direction that he can with the greatest ease & safety secure the passes between Princeton & Trenton. the Guides will be the best judges of this. he is to take two peices of artille[r]y with him.

St Clair Glover & Sargents Brigades to embark in order. Immediately upon their debarkation the whole to form & march in Subdivisions from the Right.”⁹¹

One important reason that Glover’s obituaries did not contain a mention of Christmas of 1776 is reflected in Washington’s Christmas Day orders governing the Trenton operation. Scrupulously read, the information implied or not included can tell us as much as the information that was included. On the 25th Glover’s Brigade, including the 14th Continentals were hutted and housed near Newtown, Pennsylvania, roughly six miles from McConkey’s Ferry. The operational orders include detailing specific groups to do specific tasks, especially groups that will have to travel to McConkey’s Ferry, notice that Glover and/or the 14th Continentals were not detailed to go to McConkey’s Ferry to oversee and undertake the ferrying operation. Implicit in the orders is that the people who were actually going to undertake the ferrying operation were already there. According to the orders, some’s brigade was due to arrive at McConkey’s and cross the Delaware, not first, or last, which might have suggested that they were detailed to ferry, but instead next to last. The two paragraphs tell us that the troops will be gathered at McConkey’s and will go onboard the boats “in the following order under the direction of Colonel Knox.” Washington, at minimum, chose Knox to oversee boat loading, if not the whole ferrying operation. In Knox’s letter to his wife describing the operation he does not mention Glover or his regiment but in previous letters, Knox did write about Glover and his regiment. Due to Irving’s account, but especially CC Haven’s 1856 account of the crossing (that was, in turn, based on Irving’s) that stated that John Glover superintended the ferrying operation at McConkey’s, later writers, including modern day writers have stated the same, without a piece of contemporary evidence. To prove that Glover had superintended the ferrying operation, CC Haven wrote that “James Wilkinson’s memoirs” said that he did, but Wilkinson’s account said no such thing. Wilkinson’s memoirs mention no one connected with ferrying that night except Henry Knox. Maybe Wilkinson did not know about Glover or his regiment then? But Wilkinson does mention the 14th Continentals and John Glover Jr., specifically in relation to the BATTLE of Trenton, suggesting that he did, in fact, know of Glover Sr and his regiment. In all likelihood, if the 14th Continentals had ferried the army that night, Wilkinson would have mentioned that fact and complimented them for both doing the incredibly laborious task of ferrying, but then fighting at Trenton.

With the benefit of hindsight, the December 25th orders provide all the evidence needed to definitely state that Glover did not superintend the crossing and that the 14th Continentals were not detailed to ferry the army as in the previous operations that Glover and the 14th Continentals were involved in, where Glover did superintend and where the 14th was detailed to do boat duty, like Long Island, there is an overwhelming documentary record. For the evacuation of Long Island, there are orders, dozens of descriptions in journals and letters, and multiple pension accounts while there is not one piece of evidence in any form that even implicitly suggests they were detailed to ferry that night.

If the basic goal of this project was “identifying the men and women of color who, directly and indirectly, contributed to George Washington’s legendary crossing of the Delaware River” then it logically follows that it was important to identify the people who “directly contributed” to the

⁹¹ <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/03-07-02-0341>

crossing by directly crossing the army that fateful night. I began with the people traditionally associated with the crossing, the 14th Continental Regiment aka “Glover’s Marbleheaders.” Ask anyone with a basic knowledge of the crossing, or ask your phone or your computer “who ferried the army at McConkey’s Ferry December 25-26,” and the inevitable answer is: “Glover’s Marbleheaders.” Glover and his regiments have been the subject of books, articles, internet think pieces, fiction, and at least one A&E historical movie and all of them unhesitatingly state that Glover’s regiment ferried the army over the Delaware. Even historians skeptical of the “Marbleheaders did it all, Dec 25-26” story, still give them the lion’s share of credit for the crossing, because they are almost obligated to. The latest work on the Marbleheaders even includes the crossing in the title: *The Indispensables: The Diverse Soldier-Mariners Who Shaped the Country, Formed the Navy, and Rowed Washington Across the Delaware*, as well as Leutze’s painting on the cover, because the painting, ostensibly, depicts the Marbleheaders.

With such works as O’Donnell’s in mind, I presumed that there was at least one contemporary source that explicitly stated that the 14th Continentals were tasked with ferrying the army, and presumably at least one member of the regiment would mention the crossing in a letter, or a pension account. Remarkably, the three 20th century works that focused on Glover and his regiments did not contain one verifiable contemporaneous source that stated that Glover’s men carried out the crossing, instead they cited late 19th century works for that claim. The central pieces of evidence were Samuel Roads’s *History and Traditions of Marblehead* (3rd Ed, 1897) followed by William Scudder Stryker’s *The Battles of Trenton and Princeton* (1898). In the various editions of Samuel Roads’s history, the central piece of evidence that Glover’s men ferried the army across the Delaware was a quoted section of Washington Irving’s *The Life of Washington* (1855) with the addition of a footnote that stated that “Capt. William Blackler, of Marblehead had command of the boat in which Washington was rowed across.” (Roads, 175). In Stryker’s work, the evidence for Glover’s regiment ferrying the army that night came from the “Diary of an Officer on Washington’s Staff” who wrote “Colonel Glover’s fishermen from Marblehead, Mass., are to manage the boats just as they did in the retreat from Long Island.” (361) and then “Glover’s men have had a hard time to force the boats through the floating ice with the snow drifting in their faces.” Earlier in the work Stryker wrote that at a council of war at the Keith house, at undetermined date, presumably around Dec 19, the officers agreed that the crossing would be difficult “but Colonel Glover told General Washington not to be troubled about that, as his boys would manage it.” (85) Citations were not particularly popular in the 19th century, making it difficult to trace where Roads and Stryker got their information from.

Coming up empty-handed going through Stryker and Roads for first hand accounts of the crossing, I returned to Patrick K O’Donnell’s work, *The Indispensables*. Reading through *The Indispensables* it becomes clear that O’Donnell did search out pension statements from Marbleheaders, and he quotes them throughout, but in the section on the crossing he did not quote any of the previously mentioned pension narratives. I then started going through the pensions he cited, and then sought out others. Surely one would mention the crossing. The fifteen pensions of members of the 14th Continentals and their families contained oodles of information of the regiment’s service in 1776. Most contained an outline of the regiment’s service in 1776 which, in turn, contained remembrances of the winter of 1776-77, including descriptions of the weather during the march to Trenton and the Battle of Trenton itself, and some even explicitly mentioned “ferrying,” but not at McConkey’s: Edmund Glover of the 14th reportedly “assisted in ferrying over the American Army across the [Long Island] Sound in its retreat after the Battle of Long Island.” (Edmund and Margaret

Glover, W 14793) But not one pension deposition, including the depositions of family and friends, contained even a vague allusion to Glover's men ferrying the army, Dec 25-26.

There was a large documentary trail regarding the 14th Continental's ferrying operation from Brooklyn to New York, but nearly nothing outside of a footnote in Roads's *History and Traditions of Marblehead* and a strange journal included in Stryker that said explicitly said that Glover's Regiment ferried that army that night. I returned to David Hackett Fischer's *Washington's Crossing*. Fischer wrote that "according to tradition, Washington crossed the river with Glover's Marblehead mariners, in a boat commanded by Captain William Blackler, with Private John Russell at an oar." The footnote tells us that "both Captain Blackler and Private Russell testified to that effect. They were believed in the nineteenth century, but twentieth-century accounts of the battle forgot them. Russell appears in a heroic pose and the wrong uniform on the Trenton Battle Monument" and then noted where that information came from:

Samuel Roads, *History and Traditions of Marblehead*, 3d ed. (Marblehead, Mass., 1897), 175; Salem Evening News, 27 Dec. 1926; Billias, Glover, 203.

The above citation was circular, Billias cited Roads and Stryker, and the Salem Evening News cited and quoted at length, Roads and Stryker, and Roads and Stryker cited no one. Thus began a search to find the earliest instance of Glover's regiment being credited with crossing the army and found it was in Washington Irving's *Life of Washington* published in 1855.

A year later, Charles C. Haven presented a paper to the Literary and Philosophical Society of New Jersey entitled "Washington and his Army During their March Through and Return to New Jersey, in December 1776, and January 1777." In the part describing the crossing he wrote: "Washington was to cross at McKonkey's Ferry, where the boats, under the charge of Colonel Glover, with the Marblehead fishermen, had been got in readiness. These hardy, sea-bred soldiers were engaged, for ten eventful hours, in ferrying over the last reserved hopes and fortunes of our country, through the booming ice crags of that stormy Christmas night. Without the aid of these brave fishermen and the stentorian lungs of General Knox, it is admitted, the army, with its artillery, could not have been got over, nor could the splendid results which followed, which turned the night of despair into a day of rejoicing throughout the country, have been realized." (Haven, 27) This is the first published statement that explicitly and unambiguously said that Glover's "fishermen" ferried the army that night. Haven drew from and paraphrased Irving's account, and clarified it: "These hardy, sea-bred soldiers were engaged, for ten eventful hours, in ferrying."

We know that Irving influenced Haven's account, because Haven says he did. Throughout his paper Haven credited Washington Irving for much of his narrative. In further describing the crossing and then the march and the Battle of Trenton, he stopped himself to say that it was better to just read Washington Irving's description and to look at Leutze's painting, as it was a topic "worthy of the pen of genius, and the pencil of our best painters to portray. Irving and Leutze have done it justice" and that he would say no more. To understand the crossing, and then the battle, Haven was adamant that his audience read Irving's passages in the *Life of Washington* and take a look at Leutze's Washington Crossing the Delaware.

In 1863, William P Upham published *Memoir of General John Glover, of Marblehead* which contained selections from Glover's letter books interspersed with narrative by Upham. There was a

gap in Glover's correspondence between November of 1776 to April of 1777, so Upham drew on Irving and Wilkinson and added some of his own embellishments: "When this movement was decided upon, Washington sent to the Camp for volunteers. Col. Glover had the honor of being the first to send back the answer "all ready;" and again his brave and hardy soldiers were selected to perform the most difficult part of the undertaking, the transportation of the troops and artillery across the swollen and rapid Delaware, filled with broken and floating ice. The night (Dec. 25th,) was intensely cold and wintry, and snow and sleet added to the difficulty of the passage; two or three soldiers were frozen to death; yet the men worked cheerfully and successfully, animated by the presence of Washington, who himself shared all their toils and sufferings. The passage was effected before daybreak, and by four o'clock the troops took up their line of march, Glover's Brigade leading the advance. One of his Captains, his son John Glover, discovered that the arms had been rendered unfit for use by the storm; this was immediately reported to Washington. His answer was " advance and charge." (Upham 20) Like other accounts derived from Irving, it contains a statement about Glover's Brigade "leading the advance" and then the John Glover Jr. anecdote from Wilkinson's account that replaced Sullivan with George Washington. (Wilkinson 128-129) Upham continued "Thus for the second time the American Army owed its preservation to the strong arms and unflinching courage of Glover and his Marblehead fishermen. It is said that the evening before the 25th Washington called a council of officers, and laid before them his plan, stating that the only difficulty was the apparent impossibility of crossing the river at that time; upon which Col. Glover, addressing the Commander in Chief, said: "You need not be troubled about that, General, my boys can manage it." (Upham 21)

Then Upham revealed where he received all of his material for that section, a speech given by Henry Knox. He introduced it thus "The following extract from a speech in the Massachusetts Legislature by Gen. Knox, who was chief of artillery in the affair at Trenton, is the only instance where justice appears to have been done to the brave men of Marblehead who rendered such good service on that memorable night." (Upham 21) What is clear is that Upham thought that that Knox said that the Marbleheaders ferried the army that night. But there is a gigantic problem: while Knox likely gave a speech complimenting Marblehead, no one, including the person who originally brought it up, knew exactly what Knox had said.

This is the "speech:" "Sir: I wish the members of this body knew the people of Marblehead as well as I do — I could wish that they had stood on the banks of the Delaware river in 1776 in that bitter night when the Commander in Chief had drawn up his little army to cross it, and had seen the powerful current bearing onward the floating masses of ice, which threatened destruction to whosoever should venture upon its bosom. I wish that when this occurrence threatened to defeat the enterprise, they could have heard that distinguished warrior demand "Who will lead us on? and seen the men of Marblehead, and Marblehead alone, stand forward to lead the army along the perilous path to unfading glories and honors in the achievements of Trenton. There, Sir, went the fishermen of Marblehead, alike at home upon land or water, alike ardent, patriotic and unflinching, whenever they unfurled the flag of the country."

By telling us that the speech was "the only instance where justice appears to have been done to the brave men of Marblehead" for ferrying, Upham was implicitly telling us that this was his only source for the ferrying claim. His phrasing suggests that he did look for other sources that said that Glover's regiment did the ferrying that night, but he came up empty, which was likely unsettling

given the plethora of descriptions of even minor actions that Glover's regiment engaged in and the praise showered on the Glover and his regiment for other actions, like the evacuation of Long Island that Upham discovered while going through Glover's papers. When one reads the Knox speech with Irving's narrative, it becomes clear that "the speech" was the basis for Irving's speculative claim in 1855. The seed of the ferrying legend was the Henry Knox "speech."

On January 21, 1839, Senator John Davis of Massachusetts took the floor to defend the duty on salt and the so-called "fisherman's bounty" that was funded by the duty. Davis argued that by subsidizing New England fishermen, they were creating a "nursery of seamen" who would be a strategic reserve of seamen that could be called upon during a war. Davis asked "what is your resource for seamen for the public ships?" and answered himself "It has naturally been the fisheries. The very crew of the gallant Constitution...[were] more than two-thirds fishermen. [who had benefitted from the salt duty and fishermen's bounty]. The fisherman's bounty was not for the big ship owners, but the owners of smaller vessels and individual sailors. In short, he said that the fisherman's bounty went beyond mere economic protectionism into to the protection of the United States in peace and war.

Near the end of his remarks, Davis took a moment to remind his listeners that the sort of people whose livelihoods and way of life would be affected by the end of the fisherman's bounty, and brought up the people of Marblehead and their service as sailors and soldiers. Davis then remarked that "after the close of the Revolutionary war, I am informed that an application was made by citizens of Marblehead to the Legislature of the State of Massachusetts, a town almost exclusively engaged in fishing, for the incorporation of a banking company. There were then some objections made to banks, as at this time, and to a bank at Marblehead serious objections were made. General Knox, a distinguished officer of the Revolution, being a member of the body, rose and expressed his surprise."

Before launching into an analysis of what Knox was said to have said, it is worth interjecting with several points:

- 1. As Davis openly admits, he was not present for Knox's speech.**
- 2. Davis does not actually know when the speech was given. We are told that the speech was given sometime "After the close of the Revolutionary war."**
- 3. There was no fact checking and it was expected that many speeches would contain bent truths or fabrications.**

If he was not present, and he does not know when it was made, how does he know what Knox said? Davis does say that Knox was a member of the Massachusetts legislature at some point. Indeed Knox was in the Massachusetts House of Representatives for the 1803-04 term, and it was in February of 1804 that citizens of Marblehead petitioned for a state chartered bank. While several other town's petitions were denied, Marblehead received a hearing, and received a charter in March. If Knox ever gave a speech in the Massachusetts legislature on the brave men of Marblehead, it had to have been in February-March 1804, but newspapers do not mention Knox giving a speech. The speech should have been noted in the journal of the proceedings of the Massachusetts House, but the journal was never published, and it appears that the manuscript no longer exists. Given that Davis did not know exactly when the speech was given, and that he was "informed" of the speech, it is unlikely that he was given a copy of the speech or notes on it.

He was likely given a broad remembrance of the speech though, and the person who did that was with little doubt, Harrison Gray Otis. By the 1830s, very few people could have said to have been friends with Knox, much less served with him in the Massachusetts Legislature, and been in contact with John Davis. The only person who meets all of these conditions was none other than Harrison Gray Otis, who was the Speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives during Knox's single term in in the Massachusetts House.

Harrison Gray Otis wrote in 1845 that he "served with [Knox] in the legislature of Massachusetts, and enjoyed the gratification of a perfect communion of political opinions and efforts in that stormy period. He did not profess the talent of debate, but was unaffectedly diffident of his oratorical powers. He was nevertheless a fluent and effective speaker. He had the gift of natural eloquence; his imagination was ardent, and his style sublimated perhaps to a fault. He often inscribed his notes upon the back of cards, a few of which he held in a lame hand and shuffled them over as if sorting them for a game of whist; and no man commanded more attention and respect..." (363) Knox likely gave a speech about Marblehead's services during the Revolution that Harrison Gray Otis paraphrased and related to Davis, which was then re-remembered and re-told to the Senate in 1839. If Knox did indeed give a speech about the crucial services of Marblehead during 1776, his own contemporary compliments to Glover suggest that while Glover's regiment at the Battle of Trenton may have been discussed, he likely heralded the Marbleheaders contribution to the evacuation of Long Island and New York City. It is even likelier that any compliments given to Marblehead and that son of Marblehead, John Glover mirrored what was stated in John Glover's own obituaries, but by 1839, in a speech to the Senate, a body totally unfamiliar with the evacuation of Long Island, but who were very familiar with the Battle of Trenton. In short, Davis wrote Knox's speech that he related to the Senate, but likely based it broadly on what he had been told by Harrison Gray Otis and tailored it for his audience, fellow Senators and secondarily newspaper readers.

This is how Davis's speech was originally reported and quoted:

And I will call your attention to one or two facts more on this branch of the subject. I desire to know why it is that we have deemed it expedient to pursue this policy through so large a portion of our national existence. What has been the result of that policy, what the sort of men, and what the service towards which they were looking? After the close of the Revolutionary war, I am informed that an application was made by citizens of Marblehead to the Legislature of the State of Massachusetts, a town almost exclusively engaged in fishing, for the incorporation of a banking company. There were then some objections made to banks, as at this time, and to a bank at Marblehead serious objections were made. General Knox, a distinguished officer of the Revolution, being a member of the body, rose and expressed his surprise

"That Marblehead should ask so small a privilege as that of banking, and that there should be opposition to it. Sir, said he, I wish the members of this body knew the People of Marblehead as well as I do. I could wish they had stood on the banks of the Delaware river in 1777, in that bitter night when the Commander-in-chief had drawn up his little army to cross it, and had seen the powerful current bearing onward the floating masses of ice which threatened destruction to whosoever should venture upon its bosom. I wish, that when this occurrence threatened to defeat the enterprise, they could have heard that distinguished warrior demand, Who will lead us on? and seen the men of Marblehead, and Marblehead alone, stand forward to lead the army along the perilous path to unfading glories and honors in the achievements at Trenton.

"There, sir, went the fishermen of Marblehead, alike at home upon land or water, alike ardent, patriotic, and unflinching, whenever they unfurled the flag of the country."

I have heard, also, and doubt not its truth, (said Mr. D.) that the national vessel called the Wasp, than which none was more glorious, unless, perhaps, the Constitution, was in the late war chiefly manned by sailors from Marblehead and other fishing ports, and the achievements of that vessel will best speak for their character. You know, sir, what battles she fought, and what victories she won, and you know her final melancholy fate, that she proceeded to sea, and was never heard of since. I have heard that the destruction of that vessel alone left sixty families

And this is how it appeared in 1853:

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Delaware, by the well-appointed army of the enemy, flushed by success, and panting for a last decisive victory. For a moment, the destruction of Washington, either from the waters in front or from the royal troops in rear, seemed certain. The heroic daring of the men who, perhaps, saved him, and with him their country, is nowhere related in history. But Henry Knox,* the chief of artillery, whose own services on the occasion will ever be remembered and excite admiration, has done them justice. After the peace, and while Gen. Knox was a member of the legislature of Massachusetts, an application was made by citizens of Marblehead for the charter of a bank. Their petition was opposed. He rose and stated their claims. "I am surprised," he said, "that Marblehead should ask so small a privilege as that of banking, and that there should be opposition to it. Sir, I wish the members of this body knew the people of Marblehead as well as I do. I could wish that they had stood on the banks of the Delaware river in 1777, in that bitter night when the commander-in-chief had drawn up his little army to cross it, and had seen the powerful current bearing onward the floating masses of ice which threatened destruction to whosoever should venture upon its bosom. I wish, that when this occurrence threatened to defeat the enterprise, they could have heard that distinguished warrior demand, 'WHO WILL LEAD US ON?' and seen the men of Marblehead, and Marblehead alone, stand forward to lead the army along the perilous path to unfading glories and honors in the achievements of Trenton. There, sir, went the fishermen of Marblehead, alike at home upon land or water, alike ardent, patriotic, and unflinching, whenever they unfurled the flag of the country."†

To remark now, that, in 1772, the tonnage of Marblehead was upwards of twelve thousand, and the number of polls was twelve hundred and three; that in 1780 the polls were but five hundred and forty-four; and that the tonnage at the peace was only fifteen hundred and nine; to state that nearly every able-bodied citizen was abroad, engaged in the public service, either "upon land or water;" to show from a document presented to the general court of Massachusetts, that, at the close of the contest, there were within the borders of this single town four hundred and fifty-eight widows, and nine hundred and sixty-six fatherless children—is to sum up its sufferings in the cause of freedom, and to prove that, as has been averred, "it was a mere wreck and ruin," when we emerged from the war. No other town in the United States, of the same population and property, lost so large a proportion of both, probably, as Marblehead.

It is related that Nelson, on his return to England after the attack on Copenhagen, visited his wounded in the hospital, and that, as he stopped opposite to a bed on which lay a sailor who had lost an arm,

* General Henry Knox was a native of Boston. In the Revolution he was chief of artillery. He held the office of Secretary at War after the peace, under the Confederation, and the same place under the administration of Washington. His wife was of a loyalist family, whose property was confiscated. The "Waldo patent," in Maine, formed a part of her father's estate, and the General, purchasing a large part of it, settled upon it, at Thomaston, where he built an elegant mansion, and where he died in 1806, at the age of 56.

† From a speech of Hon. John Davis, of Massachusetts, in the Senate of the United States, January 24, 1839.

Notice any differences?

When Irving wrote the section on the crossing in the *Life of Washington*, he had read John Davis's speech about Knox in Lorenzo Sabine's *Report on the Principal Fisheries of the American Seas: Prepared for the Treasury Department of the United States* published in 1853 and not an original

newspaper version from 1839. There was one crucial difference between the versions: while John Davis himself explicitly states that he did not know exactly when Knox gave the speech, and by implication, that he did not know the specifics of what Knox said, the speech is presented in Sabine's work as the words of Henry Knox, with no caveats. Sabine had, in reprinting Davis's speech without comment, created an unquestionable speech by Knox that guided Irving's narrative, but Irving still had a basic problem, as "Knox's speech" contradicted known facts about the crossing and the battle.

Reading the speech without inferring that it is the secret document that tells us they ferried the army that night, tells us that the army arrived at the Delaware in 1777, at the same time, in the middle of a storm, with ice chunks running fast on the river. According to the speech, everyone arrived at the same time and everyone was afraid to cross the river because of the ice chunks. The implication is not that they ferried the army, but that they volunteered to be ferried across the Delaware first to show that it could be done safely, which confused and continues to confuse writers. Another way of reading it is that they volunteered to go across first, possibly ferrying themselves in the process, but there is nothing in the speech that says they ferried the army. There are many problems with the speech as a historical source for the crossing but a large one is that its basics do not align with the contemporary sources. The army did not arrive at one time. Glover's Brigade arrived next to last. Glover's Brigade did not cross the river first. They did not "lead the army" that night, they were not in the advance corps of the army, or even Sullivan's division.

As implicit and incoherent as Irving's paragraph suggesting that it was Glover's marbleheaders who ferried the army that night, it was the origin of a legend that has continued to grow until the present day. After Irving suggested that it was Glover's regiment who ferried, other writers clarified his statement and made it explicit. Eventually enough writers and historians had made the same claims that they could cite each other to add to the sources cited. While others went farther and concocted evidence like a fake journal. Meanwhile starting around 1880, others claimed that particular Marbleheaders like William Blackler and John Russell Rhodes carried Washington across.

To understand how such a prominent historian as David Hackett Fischer could easily perpetuate the legend, it is a matter of looking at his citations. The works cited essentially cited themselves in one large circular citation. As an example of how that process worked, take for instance Upham's line that was quoted later by Stryker. As Upham suggested himself, his only primary source for the crossing was the Davis/Knox speech so he paraphrased this line from the speech: "Who will lead us on? and seen the men of Marblehead, and Marblehead alone, stand forward to lead the army" and created "when this movement was decided upon, Washington sent to the Camp for volunteers. Col. Glover had the honor of being the first to send back the answer "all ready." Creatively paraphrased, the same basic line could become the basis of multiple citations.

David Hackett Fischer also wrote that "according to tradition, Washington crossed the river with Glover's Marblehead mariners, in a boat commanded by Captain William Blackler, with Private John Russell at an oar." The footnote tells us that "both Captain Blackler and Private Russell testified to that effect. They were believed in the nineteenth century, but twentieth-century accounts of the battle forgot them. Russell appears in a heroic pose and the wrong uniform on the Trenton Battle Monument." The problem is that Blackler and Russell "never testified to that effect" and neither did

their families, at least before 1880. Indeed, Blackler and Russell were in Glover's Regiment, but not in 1776. William Blackler Sr, was crippled by the explosion of a cannon in 1775 and was completely out of the army in 1776. Although most 14th Regiment muster rolls for 1776 are gone, many officer lists for 1776 survive. Blackler does not appear on one, because he simply was no longer in the army. His son William Blackler Jr served as drummer for his father's company in 1775, but according to his widow's pension deposition, with his father gone, he did not enlist in 1776 and instead went to sea and was captured and it appears in the records. She did not claim that he ferried the army or that he was at the Battle of Trenton. Similarly, while John Russell was in Glover's Regiment in 1775, there is no evidence that he was in the regiment in 1776. The evidence that does exist shows a John Russell from Marblehead going to sea in 1776, and later joining a militia unit who performed local defense in December 1776. His elderly daughter applied for a pension late in the 19th century, and made no mention of the crossing or even Trenton.

Disentangling the web of citations that the various ferrying claims sit in, always bring us back to the first strands: Washington Irving and the John Davis speech. Every single piece of "evidence" since then was created with Irving and Davis in mind. The problem and the challenge now is to figure out who exactly did ferry the army that night and then allow them to take their position in the drama amidst the ice choked river, 250 years ago.

WHO CREWED THE BOATS AT MCCONKEY'S?

If Glover's 14th Continentals were not detailed to ferry the army that night, then who did? In the first half of the 19th century, the only people credited with ferrying the army were individuals. Only one veteran's deposition on behalf of the widow noted that William R Green, ferried the army at McConkey's Ferry.

It was only after Leutze's painting that people began to wonder who had actually done the ferrying that night, and by that time, the people who struggled against the ice and the snow were dead, leaving people like Washington Irving to speculate that it was Glover's Regiment. Building off of Irving, Charles Chauncy Haven of Trenton, NJ, presented a pamphlet history of the crossing and battle in 1856 that credited Glover's regiment with the crossing. In the 1860s, Haven decided to create a new edition with new information. Presumably, having read Haven's pamphlet, or having heard him speak, Allen Cuthbert detailed the services of his father, Anthony Cuthbert Jr., and the men under his command on the night of December 25-26. Unfortunately, Haven only printed portions of this letter, but Cuthbert's wording and his own footnote, as well as some of the edits and notes that Haven added in response to the letter suggest Cuthbert's primary purpose writing the letter, was to set the record straight on who ferried the army that night:

"In 1776 the company was ordered to join in two weeks the army in Jersey. 'Moulder's boys,' consisting of eighty-two lads, from 17 to 23, were detailed at the 'crossing of the Delaware by Washington' for boatmen's duty, my father then 2d Lieutenant, having in charge the boat in which Washington himself crossed,* while Captain Moulder and the 1st Lieutenant crossed with the two guns of the Company. Moulder's age was 60, my father 25 or 26, while all the rank and file were 23 and under, all '*along-shoremen*.' Ship Carpenters, Mast, Block and Sail-makers, Riggers, &c., a hardy set of youths belonging to the water service and amply equal to any boating duty."

*The writer received this account of his father's taking charge of Washington's boat from Mr Linnard, but it may not be correct."

This paragraph likely had a preface that took issue with Haven's 1856 account of the crossing: "Washington was to cross at McKonkey's Ferry, where the boats, under the charge of Colonel Glover, with the Marblehead fishermen, had been got in readiness. These hardy, sea-bred soldiers were engaged, for ten eventful hours, in ferrying over the last reserved hopes and fortunes of our country, through the booming ice crags of that stormy Christmas night. Without the aid of these brave fishermen and the stentorian lungs of General Knox, it is admitted, the army, with its artillery, could not have been got over, nor could the splendid results which followed, which turned the night of despair into a day of rejoicing throughout the country, have been realized." 27 1856 In Haven's description of the crossing, there was a lot for Cuthbert to take issue with. Cuthbert's father told him that his battery were detailed to ferry, and in Cuthbert's statement, he did not mention Glover. Cuthbert did not think Glover or his regiment had anything to do with ferrying. Parts of Cuthbert's letter can be read as a rebuttal to Haven, as well as Washington Irving's statements. Cuthbert likely wrote that Moulder's battery was "a hardy set of youths belonging to the water service and amply equal to any boating duty," in response to Haven's statement that Glover's regiment ferried the army because they were fishermen "sea-bred soldiers." River boating and river ferrying were not analogous with deep sea fishing, and Delaware River Durham boating was a skilled, specific trade, that Glover's men would not have been familiar with, although the

skillsets overlapped, they were quite different. To Cuthbert, it made more sense that Moulder's battery did the ferrying than Glover's.

Evidence that Haven received criticism and comment on the crossing from at least Allen Cuthbert appears in parenthetical citations of the above section that was reprinted in 1867. To the line ending "under the charge of Colonel Glover" Haven added "(who General Wilkinson states was here)" and to the next line ending "sea-bred soldiers" Haven added (together with Moulder's boys...). Someone, almost undoubtedly Cuthbert, wondered what the evidence was for Glover being "in charge of the boats" prompting Haven to claim that Wilkinson's memoirs stated that they did. But, of course, Wilkinson's memoirs did not. Haven likely confused Irving's account with Wilkinson's and confused Glover with Knox. Cuthbert's letter created at least a little doubt on the story of Glover's regiment ferrying, but to reject the story of Glover's regiment ferrying was to state that Washington Irving's confused statement in the *Life of Washington* was false, and Haven was about to make that claim about his now deceased hero, Irving. As Haven himself wrote, he thought that Irving's account was "perfect" and therefore unimpeachable. So instead of choosing Irving's account or Cuthbert's, Haven chose both, further perpetuating the legend.

The disturbing thing is that if Allen Cuthbert had not seen Haven's earlier work or heard him speak, and had not reacted, there would be no explicit evidence that Moulder's battery was detailed to ferry the army that night, a fate that has likely befallen at least one other Philadelphia artillery company, as well as detachments of the Pennsylvania Navy, and the far majority of local ferrymen and boatmen. Because besides Cuthbert's statement, there is nothing else stating that Moulder's battery was detailed to ferry.

Within Cuthbert's letter, there is one other piece of implicit evidence that Moulder's battery ferried that night. Haven included the parts of Cuthbert's letter with vivid descriptions, which included ferrying, 2nd Trenton, and Princeton. Remarkably, Haven did not include Cuthbert's description of 1st Trenton, and the presumable reason was because Cuthbert wrote that his father did not participate in the battle, because he (and at least part of the battery) were specifically detailed to ferry and to watch and maintain the boats. Ferrying in any conditions is hard work, but with ice and faster current, it would sap the strength of almost anyone, as multiple people attested to at the time, which will be discussed later in this piece.

Related to the strenuousness of ferrying brings us to the most questionable part of Cuthbert's account. Allen Cuthbert said that his father, "the 2nd Lieutenant" and the battery were detailed to ferry but added "Captain Moulder and the 1st Lieutenant crossed with the two guns of the Company." Anthony Cuthbert Jr., was, in fact, second in command of the battery, as Captain Lieutenant, and at multiple times during the campaign was the commander of the battery. Stryker later speculated that Moulder was captain, and William Linnard was 1st Lieutenant-- based in part on Cuthbert's letter and Wilkinson's account who said that Linnard was a subaltern in the company, but surviving evidence suggests that Linnard was a non-commissioned officer at the time.

I have come across three pensions for members of Moulder's battery in 1776, one of Clement Bonsall who was not with the battery in the winter campaign, Zebulon Applegate, who only joined Moulder's after December 26th, and a widow's pension for William Peck. The widow's pension contains no details of Peck's service but does include a certificate from William Moulder stating that Peck was at "Trenton and Princeton." Like many contemporaries, Moulder likely means the 2nd

Battle of Trenton and Princeton as Cuthbert's letter to Haven did not include an account of the First Battle of Trenton.

It seems then that of the various numbers given for Moulder's battery throughout the campaign, 82 (Allen Cuthbert), 67 (Dec 30 Rations), 48 (January 10), 68 (Jan 15), not one member of the battery who served with them in that campaign applied for a federal pension after 1832. There may be Pennsylvania state pension depositions from the 1810s-1830s, but some of them have been lost or discarded, while there may be a few waiting to be discovered and hopefully they might provide further detail.

Although there is only one piece of explicit evidence for Moulder's battery ferrying the army that night, there are several pieces of corroboratory evidence. One is the list above of trades. Notice the number of "ship and boat builders." Another is Joseph Moulder's relationship with the Pennsylvania Navy as a ship builder, and in 1775, an officer of the Pennsylvania Navy. Nathaniel Irish, the lieutenant, like Moulder was briefly an officer in the Pennsylvania Navy, but again was a boat builder and repairman, and had, in fact, designed several of the Pennsylvania Navy's gondolas. Anthony Cuthbert was a mast maker, and his family were river boatmen and ferry owners. Like all of the Philadelphia artillery companies at this point, they all had a very firm connection to the river trades and the Pennsylvania Navy.

The most important piece of corroboratory evidence is that Jehu Eyre's First Philadelphia Artillery Company was detailed to do boat repair, as well as boating and ferrying on the Delaware. As quoted in a 19th century biography of Jehu Eyre "As it was necessary to cross the river in boats through the floating ice, and an inspection of such as they could gather was necessary, Capt. Eyre on the 23d of December detailed [seven] men, who were boat builders, from his company, to repair the defective craft at "Trentown ferry."

Cuthbert's description of Moulder's battery as made up of "sail makers," "ship's carpenters," etc., etc., could have described Eyre's battery, as Jehu Eyre (along with his brothers) was a ship and boat builder, and his battery contained some of his employees (as well as at least one of his slaves). There are only two contemporary accounts of individuals ferrying on the 26th and both are from members of Captain Jehu Eyre's First Philadelphia City Artillery Company. Shortly after the 26th, Lieutenant John Browne of Eyre's battery wrote to the brigade commander, James Ewing, that Captain Jehu Eyre ordered Anthony Thomson "to manage one of the scows in getting over the arms, etc." Browne was referring to the day of the 26th, when captured Hessian stores, artillery, horses, wagons, muskets, were carried across the Delaware at Trenton's lower ferry. This particular ferrying operation is referenced in multiple pension accounts, including Jacob Francis's: after the surrender, the Hessian prisoners were "marched down to the old ferry below the Assunpink, between Trenton and Lambertton. Soon after that, a number of men from our regiment [Sargent's] were detailed to go down and ferry the Hessians across to Pennsylvania. I went as one, and about noon it began to rain and rained very hard. We were engaged all the afternoon ferrying them across till it was quite dark, when we quit. I slept that night in an old mill house above the ferry on the Pennsylvania side." And in William Mains of Hart's 2nd Bucks County Battalion, deposed that "We moved into Trenton and our orders were to bring over the prisoners and arms and it took us all day, till the sun down to bring them over as it was difficult on account of the ice." (s 2721)

By all accounts, this particular ferrying operation was extremely taxing. One member of Eyre's battery, wrote to the Pennsylvania Council of Safety that he and two other men were "permitted to return to Philadelphia, we being rendered Incapable of Duty by the Fatigue and cold we Received in Ferrying over the articles taken at Trenton" and declared that they all became sick from the conditions they experienced and "one of said three men has since died and myself Lays under the care of a doctor."

December 28 1776
Sir This is to Certify that the Bearer
Anthony Thomas Being ordered Yesterday
to Manage one of the Scaus in getting
over the Arms &c and to leave his Rifle
By Cap: John Eyre of y^e Train of Artillery
was unfortunately mislaid or carried off by
some designing Person in y^e Night
John Broune Lieut.
of y^e Train of Artillery
General Ewing Esq.

Greene's orders to Ewing from the 19th were likely for Eyre:

"Sir I am directed by his Excellency General Washington to desire you to send down to Meconkea ferry, sixteen Durham Boats & four flats. You send them down as soon as possible. Send them under the care and direction of some good faithful Officer."

Eyre was likely the reason that Greene sent orders to Ewing instead of Philemon Dickinson. During the summer campaign, three batteries of Philadelphia artillery turned out, and were commanded by Major Benjamin Loxley, but were supposed to have been commanded by a Colonel. In the winter campaign, command of the Philadelphia artillery devolved to Jehu Eyre. He was the highest ranking Captain, and in the April 1777 reorganization and officer elections that often confirmed officers' previous roles, Eyre was made Colonel of the Philadelphia Artillery battalion. As of early December, 1776 Eyre was effectively in command of the Philadelphia "Train of Artillery," including at least three batteries: his, Moulder's, and Peter Bruster's.

The battery that has not been discussed yet is Peter Bruster's, but what is currently known is that Peter Bruster was a serving Pennsylvania Navy officer who was put in charge of the remains of two Philadelphia City artillery companies, and that he was allowed to bolster them with Pennsylvania Navy sailors and marines. Similarly, there is evidence that Jehu Eyre's and Moulder's companies were bolstered by Pennsylvania Navy volunteers, and possibly included Pennsylvania Navy officers as well.

The only battery that can be definitively located in the period before the crossing was Eyre's battery who was stationed near Trenton. But the locations and assignments of the other two batteries are not known, and incredibly, are not known until after December 26th but they had left Philadelphia

early in December. What we can be certain of is that they were not with Cadwalader's Division below Trenton.

My reconstruction of what happened, that is, of course, subject to change: Greene ordered Ewing (who was definitely stationed at Trenton Falls) "to send down the boats" to McConkey's. Implying that many of the boats were secured upriver, which evidence supports. In turn Ewing tasked Eyre with that job, and Eyre, in turn, detailed at the very least, Moulder, and likely Bruster's batteries, as well as a detachment of the Pennsylvania Navy to gather up, bring down boats, and to fix boats either near McConkey's or if they needed more work or if too many boats needed work, then they would bring them down to Eyre's makeshift repair yard at the Trenton Falls. Philemon Dickinson's letter of the 24th is vague but suggests that the boats were already on the move "down" river, and possibly there were some already at McConkey's: "tis imagined the Enemy have had notice of the Boats being brought down to McConkys."

Who else ferried?

Every contemporary account of the crossing took the ferrymen and boatmen for granted, suggesting that many of the ferrymen and boatmen were ferrymen and boatmen in their everyday lives. Simply put, ferrymen ferrying, and boatmen boating, would not be remarkable.

This is one case where an absence of evidence is strong evidence that the crossing was performed by people familiar with ferrying and Durham boats, including people of color, both free and enslaved, who appear to be a sizable minority--if not the majority of professional ferrymen and boatmen on that part of the Delaware River. Even if enslaved boatmen and ferrymen (and civilian boatmen) had lived long enough to apply for pensions under the 1832 Act, many of them would not have accumulated enough military service, if any, to apply.

"The ferry men was Oblig'd to work all night" vs "We was ordered to Cross the ferry to go to Trintown"

From the commander of the army, all the way down to the private soldiers, all of the contemporary accounts of the crossing of December 25-26 obscure the people who actually crossed the army: Like Thomas Bradford's of Durkee's Regiment: "the 25 Day We was ordered to Cross the ferry to go to Trintown and Lay out all night and the 26th Day by Sun rise we Began to fire upon the Hessians and Les then one our we had Surrounded the town and took about one thousand Hessians and took 6 Cannon & 2 something & one thousand stands of arms and Returned Back again and Wayed into the river and got into the Boat and Cros the river got Back to our huts the 27th Day[.] I herd that their was 2 hessians and [one or two?] of our men Died with the Cold."

Henry Knox, Dec 28: "Accordingly a part of the army, consisting of about 2500 or 3000 passed the river on Christmas night, with almost infinite difficulty, with eighteen fieldpieces. The floating ice in the river made the labor almost incredible. However, perseverance accomplished what at first seemed impossible."

John Dewey of the 3rd Continental Regiment: 25th, Christmas Day — Gen. Washington, with part of his army, marched to Trenton, where was a body of the enemy stationed (Hessians and a number of light horse); we marched 4 miles to Brown's ferry; crossed Delaware river at to o'clock at night; marched 8 miles towards Trenton.

George Washington, 27 December: "Our party amounted to 2400 Men We crossed the River at McKonkey's Ferry 9 miles above Trenton The Night was excessively severe, both cold and snowey, which the Men bore without the least murmur. We were so much delayed in crossing the river, that we did not reach Trenton till eight OClock, when the division which the General headed in person, attacked the enemy's outpost."⁹²

Knox says that they "passed the river" but does not mention who passed them over. Whoever did it, he takes for granted. As the years passed and people wrote or stated their memories of the crossing, those people continued to take the people who crossed the army that night for granted. In his memoir, John Greenwood, of the 15th Continental Regiment, put it simply: "Over the river we then went in a flat-bottomed scow." In his pension deposition, Benjamin Titus, of the Hunterdon County militia stated "When we got to the ferry we found plenty of boats ready to take us over the river. There was ice running."⁹³

It was the boats that took them over, not the people crewing the boats. The people who crewed the boats were, apparently, in the minds of the people who crossed that night, part of the boats themselves and by implication, people quite familiar with the river and the Durham boats, unlike, Glover's men.

The only time the people who ferried soldiers across the Delaware were remarked upon is when something unusual transpired. In his journal, Sergeant John Smith of Lippitt's Rhode Island State Regiment wrote that the "The ferry men was Oblig'd to work all night to Get our Baggage over the Delaware & all the Next Day But Did not Get it all over until the Day after Being the 19th of Decr" Smith's brief entry is one of the only sources from the entire campaign that explicitly mentions "ferry men." The other accounts of this particular crossing/ferrying operation are typically vague: we "crossed [the] Delaware River at Easton." Smith only remarked on the ferrymen here because of the extraordinary effort they made to get the army and its baggage across the Delaware. The ferrymen did something remarkable, and Smith felt compelled to remark on it and if they had not, it is doubtful he would have mentioned that the ferrymen ferried, because that was what was expected of ferrymen. In all of the contemporary accounts of the 25-26 Dec crossing, not one mentions the people who moved the army across, because, simply put, because it was understood and assumed that ferrying and river boating was done by ferrymen and river boatmen. If the task had been done by people who were not ferrymen and river boatmen, then it would have been remarkable, and thus remarked upon.

Smith's Regiment was part of Sullivan's Division that arrived at the Delaware on December 18. In Sullivan's Division, was Glover's famed regiment of Marbleheaders. When they arrived at the Delaware, time was of the essence, but note that Smith very specifically says that the local ferrymen labored throughout the night to get the army across. While a part of Sullivan's force may have helped the local ferrymen, Smith makes it clear that the locals did the work and if there is any

⁹² <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/03-07-02-0352>

⁹³ W6287

doubt about who Smith meant, a letter from the Northampton Committee of Safety makes it clear that local ferrymen did that particular job.

On December 28, 1776, the Northampton Committee of Safety wrote the Pennsylvania Council of Safety to beg them to allow them to keep “three companies of the militia of the 1st Battalion of this county, consisting of about two hundred men...at home,” to defend the ferry, to keep an eye on local Tories, and to operate the ferry for the foreseeable future because a lot of the local militia was with the army, and the owner and operator of the ferry, Lewis Gordon, did not see fit to man the ferry in inclement weather. This led to a problem on December 26th, when “a party of Troops came from the Camp, [and were stuck] on the other side of the River in the snow till they were almost perished with cold, at last the Guard kept at the said Ferry...went over with the Flat and the Troops were obliged to Ferry themselves without the least assistance from the Ferrymen or any belonging to the House, and for all the ferrying [that] was demanded of the soldiers.” Previous to this incident, it was naturally assumed that the Easton ferrymen would ferry, but because of the weather, and the lack of local militiamen, the soldiers were obliged “to Ferry themselves” which enraged the Northampton committee.

Apparently it upset Pennsylvania’s leaders as well and in response to the Northampton request, shortly after, on January 2, 1777, the Pennsylvania Council of Safety “Resolved, That the Committee of Northampton County do immediately take the Ferry at Easton, kept by Lewis Gordon, under their direction, and cause it to be properly attended, and especially that all Soldiers and Expresses in the Continental Service be forwarded over the said Ferry, be solely under the control and direction of the said Committee of Northampton County.” Acting upon the resolution, the Northampton Committee put Captain Abraham Labar, the militia captain who commanded the armed guard since December 10, control of ferrying operations at Easton, and enlarged his command. Northampton ensured that ferrymen would ferry and that no one would ever have reason to complain that the ferrymen did not do the thing that everyone expected them to do.

Unlike the Easton ferry, the ferries from Coryell’s to Dunk’s Ferry below Trenton never experienced a shortage of guards or ferrymen. Armed guards from the Bucks County militia, in tandem with New Jersey militia, with the Continental Army, Pennsylvania Navy, and the Philadelphia militia ensured that every ferry was guarded and staffed. At minimum, McConkey’s Ferry was guarded by Stephen’s Brigade, Thomas Forrest’s Pennsylvania State Artillery battery and a Bucks County militia armed guard under the command of Captain Abraham DuBois. See pension deposition of Joseph Richardson, S. 22951

State of Pennsylvania
Northumberland County, Ct:

On this seventeenth day of August A.D. 1832 personally appeared in open Court, before the Honorable John Chapman, 1791, President and his Associates, Judges of the Court of Common Pleas of said County, Joseph Richardson, aged 73 years, who being first duly sworn according to law, doth, on his oath, make the following declaration, in order to obtain the benefit of an act of Congress passed June 7, 1832: That he entered the service of the United States in the year 1776 or 7, being then in his eighteenth or nineteenth year, under Captain Henry Latt - Lieut. Simon Vanarsdel - I entered the service in Northampton township, Bucks county, the first march to John's Ferry, on the Delaware - from thence to Trenton - thence to Amberg [the company marched to Amberg but I was sick and remained at Trenton] the next town I was under the command of Captain DuRoi, stationed at McConeys ferry and served under him two months. The next town I served under Capt. John Falkenell, and marched to Cal. Kerbrights, on the Delaware. - Our Col. was Joseph Kerbright - The next Captain I served under was John Hart for a period of two months. I was also at the Battle of Red Bank - John Keith was sent - I was also our major - the Captains name not recalled. I was absent upwards of two months in the service - five times of two months each. I was under Genl. Biddle, at Chestnut Hill, where we had a slight skirmish, and the army retreated across Mispachicon creek. Just before the British came to Philadelphia the prisoners were directed to be taken to Easton, and I piloted them thence, under direction of Captain Biddle.

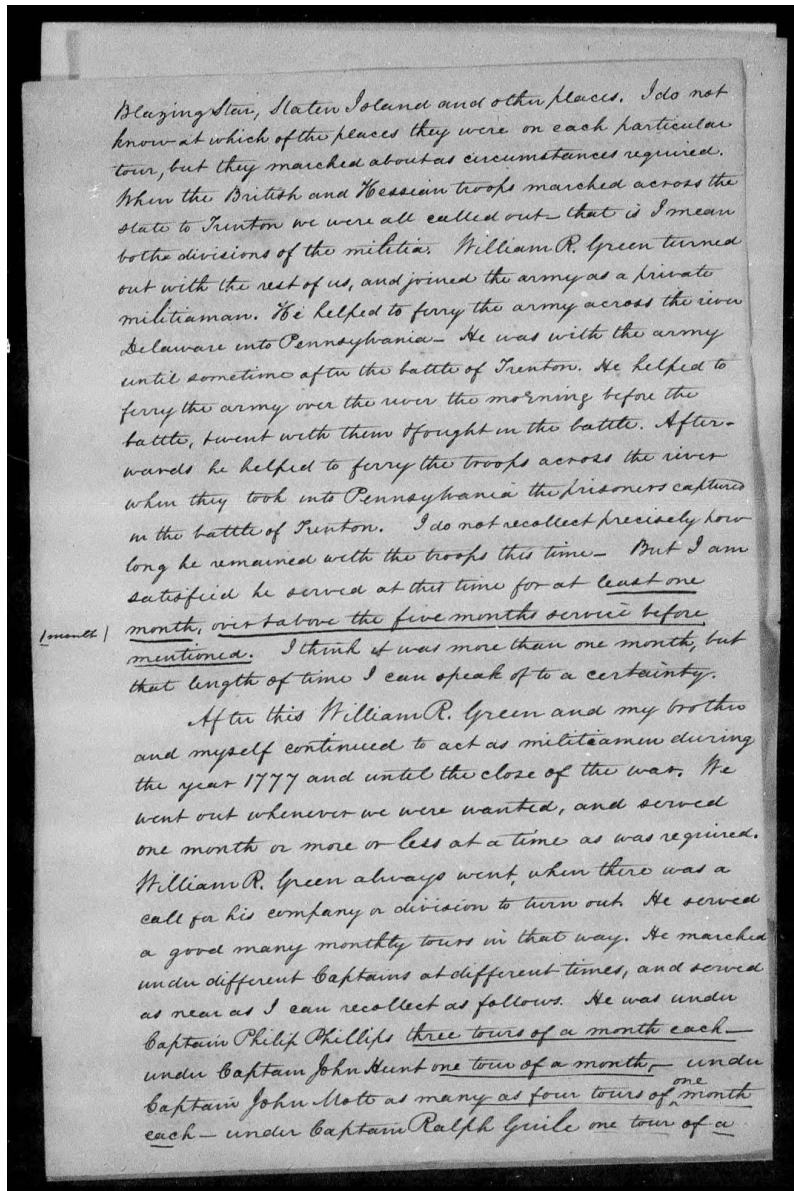
I hereby relinquish every claim whatever to a pension or annuity except the present, and declare that his name is not on the pension roll of the army of any state, or on that of the state of Penn^a.
 Given under my hand and seal this 17th day of August 1832.
 Joseph Richardson
 Col. W. Bright Secy

Although the armed guard at Easton could not be bothered to help ferry, William Mains's deposition suggests that at least some of the Bucks armed guards were familiar with ferrying and boating and willing to pitch in.

Ferrying Claims Before 1855

In support of his sister's claim for a widow's pension, in 1837, John Burroughs deposed that William R Green "helped to ferry the army over the river the morning before the battle, and went with them and fought in the battle. Afterwards he helped to ferry the troops across the river they took into Pennsylvania the prisoners captured at the Battle of Trenton." It is fantastically remarkable as it is

the only statement, anywhere, by a participant of the Battle of Trenton that names a person who physically ferried at McConkey's. In journals, letters, newspaper accounts, memoirs, only one person was mentioned as having participated in the crossing before this and that was Henry Knox, so this is it.



Looking through Green's records, as well as his pension tells us why he was detailed to ferry that night: because "he was raised as a ferryman." As his widow stated, Green was born into a family of ferrymen who owned a ferry on the Raritan River. During the Continental Army's retreat across New Jersey, he was detailed from the Flying Camp to ferry, and ferried on the Raritan, and then on the Delaware before the crossing of the 25th-26th, and then after he was occasionally detailed and hired to help ferry on the Delaware. In short, Green was a ferryman, who ferried the army, which was similar to a pension statement by William Mains who, although he did not ferry at McConkey's, stated that "as many of my company were familiar with boating, we did boat duty" Ferrying and river boating was a specialized skill, and they were available to do that work.

In 1843, a newspaper article about the Battle of Trenton appeared that was later edited and included in *Historical Collections of the State of New Jersey* in 1844, stated:

1844 “Among the prominent and active men who were employed in ferrying over the troops, were Uriah Slack, William Green, and David Laning.”

Benson Lossing paraphrased that line in a footnote:

1855 “Among the most prominent and active men engaged in ferrying the army, tradition has preserved the names of Uriah Slack, William Green, and David Laning.”

And William S Stryker noted that

1898 138 “Tradition gives us the names of some of the prominent men...who did good service on that eventful night. “William Green” “Uriah Slack and David Lanning” “and James Slack of Makefield Township, who was a boatman on the river.” “Some of these men helped at the crossing, and all marched with the army to Trenton.”

“Among the prominent and active men who were employed in ferrying over the troops”

Barber and Howe’s work was based on conversations with family members of the people of old Hunterdon County. Notice, of course, that they used the word “among,” meaning that there were others. Notice, again, that they used the word “prominent,” meaning well-to-do, local political leaders. Would “prominent” describe, for instance, the enslaved people owned by local militia leader, David Chambers? Barber and Howe focused on the “prominent” men of Old Hunterdon, not Bucks, or Philadelphia.

Stryker’s addition of James Slack is fascinating because Slack was the son of the ferry contractor at “Slack’s Ferry.” It would make sense that Slack ferried at McConkey’s. I have not found any evidence for Stryker’s claim, but Slack’s gravestone contains the remarkable line “he was one of that patriotic band of Revolutionary Whigs who zealously sustained the cause of American independence in 1776.” What evidence exists, suggests that Slack likely went with the Bucks Associators to Amboy in the summer 76, returned home, and turned out in December. But to have received the line “zealously sustained” in 1776 suggests that he went beyond other citizens of Lower Makefield.

In

Sacred to the memory of

James Slack Sr.

who departed this life

Jan. 31st, 1832

in the 76th year of his age

He was for 16 years a ruling elder
in the Presbyterian Church of Newtown
and he was one of that patriotic band of
Revolutionary Whigs who zealously sustained
the cause of American independence in 1776.
"How sleep the brave who sink to rest
by all their country's wishes blest"

In charge of Coryell’s and McConkey’s Ferries and ferrying operations appears to have been Captain John Coryell. I have a feeling more information will appear that will either confirm or deny this hypothesis. This hypothesis rests upon several circumstantial but nonetheless remarkable pieces of evidence.

1. Strangely, members of McConkey family do not appear to have been at the ferry.
2. The Northampton and Bucks County militia officers placed in charge of portions of the river by mid-December 1776 were the officers still in charge in March of 1777 and people tasked with particular activities were often confirmed in their roles. When Washington or Pennsylvania gave them specific commissions in 1777, they were often continuing and/or formalizing their previous positions.
3. In late February of 1777, Captain John Coryell was ordered to take charge of boats and ferrying on that part of the Delaware River. Coryell's Ferry was decided to be the best and most centrally located ferry. He was then officially put in charge of transport on the Delaware above Trenton, including ferrying.
4. Most of the Stephen's Brigade veterans who gave pension depositions, stated that they were stationed at "Correll's Ferry" not McConkey's.