

# THE BATTLE OF BROOKLYN

CLASSROOM  
MATERIALS  
FOR THE  
EXHIBITION

## THE BATTLE OF BROOKLYN

# ACKNOWLEDGMENTS



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THE BATTLE OF BROOKLYN

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## THE BATTLE OF BROOKLYN

# LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT



**T**he New-York Historical Society is proud to present this collection of educational materials and resources to accompany *The Battle of Brooklyn*. This exhibition offers a close examination of the critical events in 1776 that resulted in New York falling under British rule for the duration of the Revolutionary War. This period of the American Revolution has been overshadowed in popular memory by the more glorious Continental Army successes of Saratoga and Yorktown,

but the events surrounding the Battle of Brooklyn had far-reaching consequences for all those involved in the war for independence. *The Battle of Brooklyn* is on view September 23, 2016 through January 8, 2017.

These materials are made up of three units: The Gathering Storm, The Battle of Brooklyn, and After the Battle. Each includes classroom activities along with primary and secondary resources intended for use by teachers and students, and each supports the Common Core State Standards as well as the New York State Learning Standards for Social Studies. Elements within these classroom materials, including works of art, artifacts, documents, and maps, illustrate New York's

critical role in the early period of the American Revolution. The life stories provide a close personal look into the lives of both prominent and lesser-known individuals, highlighting how events played out on a personal scale and how individuals' actions had an impact on history.

The Education Division of the New-York Historical Society is committed to providing stimulating and useful materials and programming to enhance the teaching and learning of New York and American history. This collection of materials and resources has been designed both to complement and extend school visits to the exhibition, as well as help teachers and students from across the country address this pivotal,

though largely unknown, episode of American history.

To learn more about school programs designed for *The Battle of Brooklyn* and all education programs at the New-York Historical Society, contact us at 212-485-9293 or visit the Education Division online at [www.nyhistory.org/education](http://www.nyhistory.org/education).

Sincerely,

Louise Mirrer, Ph.D.

President & CEO

New-York Historical Society

Benson John Lossing, "New York in 1776 (from the North River)," n.d. Wood engraving. The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs: Print Collection, The New York Public Library. *The New York Public Library Digital Collections*.



The Battle of Brooklyn presents the dramatic story of the near-disaster that

threatened the outcome of the war for American independence. The Battle of Brooklyn was the largest single battle of the Revolutionary War, and yet it has been obscured over time because it ended in inglorious defeat for the Continental Army. This interactive exhibition of 90 objects and documents invites visitors to revisit this pivotal moment in American history and leave with a better understanding of the role New York City played in the early days of the fight for independence.

# THE BATTLE OF BROOKLYN

SEPTEMBER 23, 2016–JANUARY 8, 2017

## ABOUT THE EXHIBITION

### GALLERY 1:

## TOWARD A NEW NATION

The first gallery is a narrative of the events leading up to the Battle of Brooklyn divided into four sections. “The Antagonists” introduces visitors to the key political players in both Great Britain and the American colonies, and offers insights into their motivations. This section offers an opportunity to compare *Common Sense* and *The Deceiver Unmasked*, pamphlets published in the colonies in early 1776 that serve as a summary of political philosophies that drove ordinary men and women to support either the patriot or loyalist causes. Both sides acknowledged that the problem of representation in government needed to be rectified, but whether it could be achieved while remaining a part of the British Empire was an open question at the outset of the war.

“Why New York?” tackles the complicated political climate of the city of New York and addresses why the city was the site of the largest

battle of the revolution. This section features a few of the many broadsides and newspapers circulated in the city by Whigs and Tories anxious to make their case to the common citizen, and an impressive selection

of contemporary maps that make tangible the fact that the location of New York, in the middle of the Eastern Seaboard, made it a logical target for conflict. By controlling the Hudson River, which emptied into New York



Johannes Adam Simon Oertel, *Pulling Down the Statue Of King George III, New York City*, 1852-53. Oil on canvas. New-York Historical Society, Gift of Samuel Verplanck Hoffman.

CONTINUED

Bay, the British hoped to sever New England from the rest of the colonies to the south, especially Virginia, another hotbed of the Revolution.

“**I**ndependence: An Uneasy City Waits for War” invites visitors to experience the tension and paranoia that gripped the city in the weeks before the battle through the writings of those who witnessed it. Responses to the news of the Declaration of Independence take center stage, but there are also accounts of foiled assassinations, preliminary attacks by the British to test American defenses, and bungled attempts at diplomacy. The stress and fear of impending war took their toll. At the time of the battle, the population of New York, once the second largest city in the colonies with 25,000 inhabitants, had dwindled to just 5,000, and even that number concerned George Washington. Featured at the end of this section is a broadside issued by Washington on August 17, 1776, mere days before the battle, directing any New Yorkers not actively participating in the war effort to evacuate the city immediately.

“The British Settle In” rounds out the preliminary narrative with a selection of objects excavated at Richmond, Staten Island, that give visitors an impression of life in the British camps as the Royal Army amassed on the island over the course of the summer. There is also a consideration of the ways the war affected the lives of women in the New York area, and the important role women played in supporting the war effort.

GALLERY 2:

THE BATTLE OF BROOKLYN



The second gallery examines the battle itself in minute detail, from the invasion of Long Island to the retreat to Manhattan. It is divided into eight sections, the first five of which deal with the practicalities of waging war in the eighteenth century. “The Officers” is a display of portraits of the leading officers of the opposing armies, with a write-up on the reputation and the contributions of each. This section highlights the disparity in experience between the Royal and Continental Armies. All of the leading British officers at the Battle of Brooklyn were men with years of battle experience; most of Washington’s officers had never seen a pitched battle, and Washington himself had never had a command of this scale. “Dressed for Battle” brings to light

the wide variety of uniforms in use by the Continental Army. The lack of a standard uniform made it difficult for the troops to discern friend from foe in the chaos of a battlefield. Desperate for some kind of signifier, officers instructed their men to tuck tree branches in their hats before battle. Featured in this section is a rare linen hunting shirt that was adopted as the first piece of a standard uniform for the Continental Army. “The Scene of the Battle” considers the role topography played in the conflict. Brooklyn Heights, which overlooks Lower Manhattan from the westernmost edge of Long Island across the East River, was analogous to Dorchester Heights in Boston. American fortifications on Dorchester Heights had driven the British out of Boston; the British hoped to avoid that scenario in New York by capturing Brooklyn Heights before New York City. Long Island was divided by a range of hills, running east-west, created by

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glacial rock deposits at the end of the Ice Age. Gowanus Heights, a second ridge to the east of Brooklyn Heights, provided a formidable barrier for troops crossing the island, which was otherwise flat and marshy around the edges. The Americans selected Brooklyn Heights for a series of fortifications that overlooked the city, and fortified Gowanus Heights with a small contingent of troops intended to inflict heavy damage on the advancing British before falling back to the forts. This section includes a few soldiers' diaries that give firsthand accounts of the course of the battle.



Ridgeway after Alonzo Chappel, *Lord Stirling at the Battle of Long Island*, c. 1858. Engraving. New-York Historical Society Library.

“The Weapons of War” is a display of the weapons used by both sides, along with descriptions of how they were employed. Visitors may be surprised to find a model of a British landing craft among the weapons displayed, but these simple boats allowed General William Howe to deploy his troops throughout the New York area quickly and efficiently time and again.

The last three sections of this gallery deal with the events of the battle and the retreat to Manhattan. “The Defeat” covers how the American Troops on Gowanus Heights were surrounded by a successful flanking maneuver orchestrated by the British in the wee hours of the morning of August 27. Caught by surprise, the 3,300 Americans stationed on the

Gowanus Heights were forced into a disorganized retreat to Brooklyn Heights. Nine hundred Americans were taken prisoner, and another 200 were killed or wounded. To help visitors understand the events of the battle, this section includes an interactive display that shows the movement of troops from August 22 through August 29.

This gallery concludes with “The Retreat to Manhattan” and “A Flight in the Fog.” With the British threatening to attack and his back to the East River, Washington hatched a plan to move his entire force of 9,000 men out of the Brooklyn Heights fortifications in the dead of night. These sections include a “Then and Now” interactive showing Brooklyn locations related to the battle as they would have looked at the time and from the present day, and a projected interpretation of the evacuation that tells the story of how General John Glover and his regiments of sailors and soldiers worked all through the night to silently ferry the troops and their supplies across the treacherous currents of the East River to the safety of Manhattan under the cover of dense fog.

“**P**reparations and Fortifications” details how each side prepared for the battle over the summer of 1776. Of particular interest is an annotated copy of the Ratzler Plan. The Ratzler Plan was the most detailed map of New York City and Long Island available to the British officers, and this copy bears the notations of British Lieutenant General Hugh Earl Percy, providing visitors with an insight into how an officer prepared for battle.

CONTINUED

GALLERY 3:

## THE TIMES THAT TRIED MEN'S SOULS



The final gallery of the exhibition deals with the aftermath of the Battle of Brooklyn. A brief peace conference in early September, initiated by

General William Howe and his brother Admiral Richard Howe, was unsuccessful. By the middle of the month, British troops moved from Long Island into Manhattan, eventually forcing the Americans up the island toward Harlem and the fortresses on present-day Washington Heights. “The Execution of Nathan Hale” tells the story of Washington’s hapless attempt to gather intelligence about the British immediately following his retreat to Harlem. A British orderly book on display reveals that Hale, in no way a professional intelligence officer, was captured and executed on September 22, 1776.

“The Burning of New York” is a display of images and a firsthand account of the fire that swept through New York less than a week after the British took possession of the city, destroying a quarter of the city in one night. A highlight of this section is a broadside, dated September 23, 1776, that reveals that the British suspected the fire was the work of patriots trying to undermine their rule.

“The Peace Talks Fail” includes an image and account of Admiral Howe’s attempt to broker a peace with the colonies, hoping that the recent defeat may have weakened their resolve. Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and Edward Rutledge met with Howe on September 11, 1776, but flatly refused to consider any proposal that would return the colonies to British rule.

“The Prisoners” is a cluster of images and objects that reveal the horrendous conditions endured by Americans



Robert Clevely, *The British landing at Kip's Bay, New York Island, 15 September 1776, 1777*. Pen and ink, black and watercolor. National Maritime Museum, London.

imprisoned on the British prison ships in Wallabout Bay. A piece of the most notorious of the ships, the *Jersey*, is one of the highlights of this section. Almost three times as many Americans died aboard the prison ships than in all of the battles of the American Revolution combined.

The highlight of the section “A Loyalist New York,” which examines life in

the city after British occupation, is the Declaration of Dependence. This loyalist counterpoint to the Declaration of Independence was signed by 547 men in New York who hoped that by distancing themselves from the rebellion and reaffirming their loyalty, they might be allowed to live their lives unmolested in British-occupied New York.

CONTINUED

“The Flight to the North” is a narrative of Washington’s decision to retreat from New York City, and the string of ignominious defeats that eventually drove the Continental Army completely off the island of Manhattan. The British invaded Manhattan at Kips Bay on September 15, 1776, narrowly missing an opportunity to cut off Washington’s retreat up the island. A game of cat and mouse ensued, ending with the disaster at Fort Washington, so aptly captured in the featured watercolor *A view of the attack against Fort Washington and rebel redoubts*.

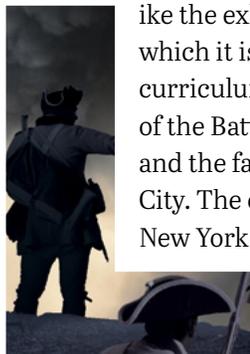
“The Times that Try Men’s Souls” features Thomas Paine’s *American Crisis*, a series of pamphlets he published in late 1776 and early 1777 to encourage colonists not to give up faith in the American cause, even in the face of the crushing setbacks the Continental Army had experienced. There is also a letter from George Washington to Henry Knox from 1781, in which he outlines a battle plan to recapture New York City, a goal he never fully gave up.

“A Farce in Two Acts” displays and recreates scenes from *The Battle of Brooklyn: A Farce of Two Acts*, a play allegedly written by General John Burgoyne and performed in New York for the British troops only a month after the actual battle. The play ends with the hope that the rebels will stop their nonsense and return to royal rule.



The “Aftermath” section of the exhibition examines some of the ways people have sought to commemorate the Battle of Brooklyn, and includes a full-size portrait of George Washington from New York’s City Hall. In 1846, Walt Whitman, then editor of the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, suggested that Americans celebrate August 27 as energetically as the Fourth of July. But the battle failed to catch widespread public attention, and is instead commemorated in local ceremonies at important battle sites to this day.

## ABOUT THE CURRICULUM



Like the exhibition from which it is drawn, this curriculum tells the story of the Battle of Brooklyn and the fall of New York City. The central role of New York in the early years of the American Revolution has been obscured

by the American victories that came earlier and later in the war, but the events surrounding the battle had a profound effect on the military strategies and attitudes of both sides. The materials selected for this curriculum will help bring this pivotal moment to life for your students.

These materials were developed to support the New York City Social Studies Scope and Sequence for the teaching of the American Revolution in grades 4, 7, 10, and 11. They are organized in three units: The Gathering Storm, The Battle of Brooklyn, and After the Battle. Each unit consists of a set of primary resources that include text, photographs, and artifacts. There are also seven Life Stories of a diverse selection of New Yorkers and key figures that will serve to personalize these cataclysmic events.

The Classroom Notes were written for teachers, although the opening background text for each unit may be useful for students as well. Classroom Suggestions include possible activities and discussion questions.

The units are designed for maximum flexibility in the classroom. The resources have been assembled as a collection of individual pieces that together address the topic at hand. But they can be used individually, or combined in other ways. Please feel free to make use of the items in this curriculum in whatever way works best for your classroom.

All materials in this curriculum can be reached by clicking the page numbers in the Table of Contents. Individual resources can also be reached by clicking the **bold text**. To return to the Table of Contents from any page, click on the page number in the lower right-hand corner. Double clicking on most resource images will take you to a printable version, minus the descriptive text. All full-screen versions of the resources can be accessed directly by clicking on the Printable Resources heading in the Table of Contents. All URLs in the text are live.



# UNIT 1: THE GATHERING STORM



**O**n April 23, 1775, a messenger from Boston arrived in New York and announced the news of the Battles of Lexington and Concord and the subsequent siege of Boston. The dissent that had been growing in the colonies had finally boiled over; the war between the colonies and the British had well and truly begun. Eager to support the American cause, a group of zealous patriots broke into the city arsenal and seized supplies intended for the British troops in Boston. Because of their quick action, New York's port and surrounding countryside was firmly in American hands at the outset of the war. The question was, how long would it remain so?



(Above) Johannes Adam Simon Oertel, *Pulling Down the Statue Of King George III, New York City*, 1852-53. Oil on canvas. New-York Historical Society, Gift of Samuel Verplanck Hoffman.

(Left) Joseph Wilton, *Fragment of the equestrian statue of King George III*, 1770-1776. Lead. New-York Historical Society.



## UNIT 1: THE GATHERING STORM CONTINUED

Even before he had forced the British out of Boston, General George Washington, commander in chief of the American forces, turned his attention to this question ([see Resource 2](#)). In January 1776, he dispatched General Charles Lee to New York and tasked him with fortifying the city and surrounding country against an attack by the British. Lee's early impressions were not favorable. First, the deep port and waterways surrounding the area would allow the British Navy, the most powerful in the world, unlimited access to the city from any number of landing points. Second, the city and surrounding area were rife with men, women, and children eager to prove their loyalty to the Crown by spying, providing food and provisions, and even enlisting with the British troops. In February, Lee wrote to Washington that he would "barrier the principal Streets, and at least if I cannot make it a Continental Garrison, it shall be a disputable field of Battle." Lee's opinion was that the

city could not be held, but might present a good opportunity to bleed the British forces. Nevertheless, Washington, his generals, and the Continental Congress were all in agreement that New York was worth defending, and that the feat could be accomplished. The Continental Army began to move to the city in March, making a major battle there all but inevitable.

Meanwhile, the British believed New York held the best hope of ending the war with minimal violence. General William Howe, commander in chief of the British Army in North America, and Admiral Richard Howe, commander in chief of the British Navy in North America, both had a deep respect for the colonists and sympathy for their cause ([see Life Story: The Howe Brothers](#)). They hoped a decisive victory in New York would both demoralize the Americans and sever transport of troops and communication among the colonies ([see Resources 1 and 2](#)). In late June, the Howe brothers began to gather ships and troops in New York Harbor, collecting the largest expeditionary force in Britain's history to that point ([see Resource 4](#)).

**W**hile the two sides prepared for battle, tensions in the city reached a fever pitch. Patriots and loyalists published impassioned pleas for their respective causes ([see Resource 3](#)); spies for both

sides were apprehended and brutally punished ([see Life Story: Lorenda Holmes](#)); and panicked citizens fled the city in droves ([see Resource 6](#)). On July 9, the entire tenor of the war changed in an instant when George Washington had the Declaration of Independence read to his troops. No longer were the patriots fighting as a show of strength to win concessions from their government; they were now traitors to the Crown fighting to establish a new nation. To celebrate this momentous occasion, a mob of New Yorkers tore down the statue of King George III in Bowling Green, hacked it to pieces, and sent it to a military depot in Connecticut, where local women turned the lead of the statue into musket balls to shoot at the British forces ([see Accompanying Image 1](#)). Eager to preserve any remnant of the old days, Connecticut loyalists secreted away fragments and buried them in Wilton, Connecticut, for safekeeping ([see Accompanying Image 2](#)). As this episode demonstrates, there was still a very active segment of the population who supported British rule.

In the wake of the Declaration of Independence, both the Americans and the British in New York prepared for battle. Generals Washington and Howe issued broadsides warning the public of the impending clash ([see Resource 6](#)), and issued orders to their troops to make ready for battle. All

told, over 68,000 men from both sides were camped in and around the city, an unprecedented concentration of forces.

**T**he evening of August 21, a terrible storm raged around the city for three hours, causing a torrential downpour, uninterrupted peals of thunder, and lighting strikes to earth. Thirteen American troops were killed outright by lightning strikes, and one was struck deaf, mute, and blind. Major Abner Benedict, an American officer from Connecticut, wondered whether the storm was an omen, or if the metal carried by the soldiers had increased and prolonged the storm's intensity. The very next morning, Admiral Howe's ships began transporting British troops to Long Island. The storm that had been gathering for the last eight months was about to erupt.



# UNIT 1: THE GATHERING STORM

CONTINUED



## SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES:

- Using **Resources 1** and **2**, create a class list of all the reasons New York City was selected as a battleground for the war. Follow up with a list of the reasons the Americans were at a disadvantage in the city.
- *The Deceiver Unmasked* (**Resource 3**), *View of the Narrows between Long Island & Staaten Island* (**Resource 4**), and the **Life Story of Lorenda Holmes** speak to the strong current of loyalist support in New York and the surrounding area. Return to these sources throughout your American Revolution unit to challenge students to view the events of the war from the loyalist perspective.
- Today, people living through major events are able to broadcast their experiences around the world using social media platforms like Twitter and Instagram. Ask the students to translate Mrs. A. Hampton's account of the attack on New York (**Resource 5**) into a single tweet that captures the seriousness of the day.
- Assign groups to the broadsides in **Resource 6**, and ask them to prepare a poster and quick speech based on the content of their broadside. When both sides have presented, ask the class to vote on which call to action they would heed, and discuss their reasoning.
- Invite students to choose a member of the **Beekman Family** at the start of your American Revolution unit and keep a journal of responses from their character's perspective throughout the course of your study.
- Compare the work and experiences of loyalist spy **Lorenda Holmes** with those of her male counterparts like **James Rivington** and Nathan Hale.

## DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

- Why was New York City central to the military strategies of both the Americans and the British?
- What problems did New York City and its surrounding areas pose to the Americans in the lead up to the Battle of Brooklyn?
- What do you think it would be like to live in the city in the days leading up to a major battle?

# WHY NEW YORK?

**W**illiam Faden (1749–1836) of Charing Cross, London, was one of the foremost cartographers and map publishers of his day. In 1771, he was named “geographer to the king.” In this official capacity, he produced maps of the colonies in North America for King George III that allowed the royal government and Parliament to more easily follow the unfolding events of the American Revolution. *The British Colonies in North America*, published in 1777, was one of the maps he produced during that time.

As this map demonstrates, the Hudson River was a natural barrier between the Eastern and Mid-Atlantic/Southern colonies. At the start of the war in 1775, the British controlled the northern approach to the Hudson by virtue of their extensive military presence in Canada. The Americans held the southern approach, thanks to the quick coup staged by patriots in New York City after the Battles of Lexington and Concord. The patriots lacked a fleet to shuttle troops and



William Faden, *The British Colonies in North America*, 1777. London: William Faden, New-York Historical Society Library.

supplies around the colonies via the sea, so controlling the river was vital to the American war strategy. To try to secure control of the river, George Washington ordered an offensive against the British in Canada in 1775.

By the summer of 1776, that campaign had ended in defeat, and both the British and the Americans turned their attention to New York City.

## DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

- How did the geography of the colonies affect the strategies of the Americans and the British?
- Why is the location of the Hudson River significant?

## THOUGHTS ON THE CITY

**T**hese excerpts succinctly explain the importance of New York City to both the British and American military strategy. Major General Henry Clinton first recommended that the British Army make capturing New York a priority in 1775. Clinton spent part of his childhood on Long Island while his father, George Clinton, served as governor of New York in the 1740s. During that time, he became very familiar with the terrain of the immediate area, and experienced firsthand how the city and Hudson River acted as a hub for communication among the colonies. In this passage, written after he resigned his command, he explains that the Eastern colonies (what today we call New England) were well-supplied with hardy fighting troops, but lacked the resources to support an army for any prolonged period of time, while the Mid-Atlantic and Southern colonies lacked the population to field a substantial army, but had the means to support one.

Governments to the eastward of Hudson's River teem with a robust and hardy race of men, who are seated in general in a mountainous and a strongly defensible country, accessible, however, from the sea by numerous bays and inlets, which afford most excellent harbors for shipping. The other eight to the south and westward of that river are somewhat less difficult for military operation, especially to a naval power...and the white inhabitants (who from constitution and climate are less qualified for war than their northern neighbors, and in the five more southern provinces are inferior in number to the blacks) cannot be so readily or in such force collected for their internal defense, from the comparative inferiority of their armed strength and their more scattered situation, having but few towns and living in general on their respective plantations. The southern provinces also were alone capable of furnishing the means of purchasing the necessary supplies for the war, their staple produce being the only wealth the Americans had to carry to European markets or to give them consequence with the princes of this hemisphere. And these two districts are entirely separated from each other by the River Hudson, which falls in to the sea at New York after forming a broad navigable communication for 170 miles between that city and Albany.

From this short description, which, it is presumed, is a pretty just one, the River Hudson naturally presents itself as a very important object, the possession of which on the first breaking out of the disturbances might have secured to Great Britain a barrier between the southern and Eastern colonies... For as long as a British army held the passes of that noble river and her cruisers swept the coasts, the colonists would have found it almost impossible to have joined or fed their respective quotas of troops.

New York affords us an Instance unfriendly to the Rights of Mankind. The Forces there are numerous and very Potent; should the Enemy get Footing there the Difficulty of dislodging them would be unconceivable. Witness Boston. That they intend it, is evident from the Situation of the place and Governor Tryons continueing on board the Dutches of Gordon. Immediate attention therefore should be paid to the Fortification and defence of that City. New York is a post of so Vast Importance to the Enemy as it communicates in a manner with the River St Lawrence that the keeping it from them should be esteemed almost inseparably connected with the General success of our Arms. Lord Dunmore affords another Instance of what mischief their getting any foothold may prove to the Grand Cause. If the Provincial Congress of that Province opposes the fortifying the place, you may be Assurd they intend to deliver it up to the Enemy as soon as they get Strong enough to take possession there. There is but one of two measures to be adopted. Burn or Garrison the City. The Whig Interest is upon the decline; If the Tide of Sentiment gets against us in that Province, it will give a fatal Stab to the strength and Union of the Colonies.

(Above) Nathanael, Greene. *Letter to Samuel Ward*, January 4, 1776. Ward Family Papers, MSS 776, Box 2, series 5, Rhode Island Historical Society.

(Left) Sir Henry Clinton, *The American Rebellion: Sir Henry Clinton's Narrative of His Campaigns, 1775-1782, with an Appendix of Original Documents*. William B. Willcox, ed. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954.

By seizing New York and gaining control of the Hudson, he believed the British Army would effectively cripple the American cause and force a capitulation.

General Nathanael Greene, the youngest general on Washington's staff, also flagged New York City as central to military strategy, but his letter raises uniquely American concerns. In a letter to Samuel Ward, a delegate to the Continental Congress, dated January 4, 1776, he (rightly) surmises that if the British were to gain control of the city, it would be impossible for the Americans to roust them, permanently cutting off the land route connecting the colonies. He also points out that the British could use the Hudson River as a conduit to bring troops stationed in Canada and the West to the front. His most compelling argument is that the Whig (patriot) cause was rapidly losing support in New York among the general population, and that losing the city to the British

## THOUGHTS ON THE CITY

CONTINUED

would be an enormous blow to the morale of the American troops and supporters throughout the colonies. His recommendation? Commit to defending the city, or burn it to the ground.

Commanders in Chief Washington and Howe both agreed with the assessments made by their subordinates, and in the spring of 1776 they began to withdraw troops from Boston to prepare for the next major engagement of the war.

**DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:**

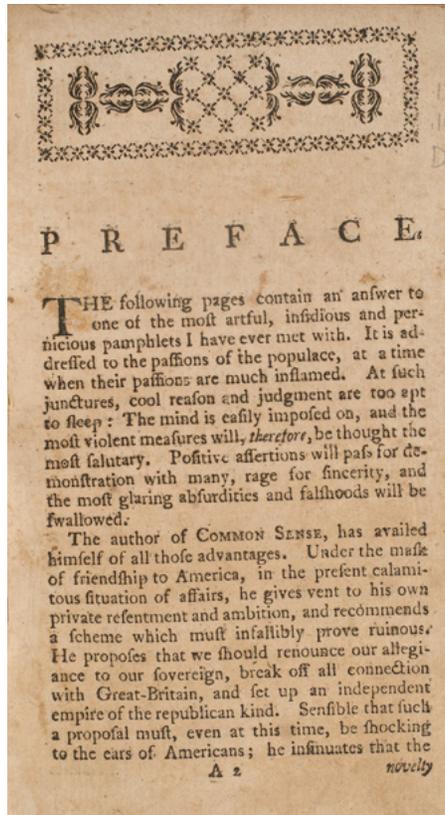
- What was the strategic value of the Hudson River to the Americans? To the British?
- Why is New York important to the Americans? To the British?

# THE DECEIVER UNMASKED

In January 1776, the rebel cause received a huge boost from the publication of Thomas Paine's *Common Sense*. Over the course of his 48-page pamphlet, which became the most widely read publication ever produced in the American colonies, Paine enumerated the many reasons remaining a colony of Great Britain was no longer in the public's best interest. He concluded that "until an independence is declared, the Continent will feel itself like a man who continues putting off some unpleasant business from day to day, yet knows it must be done, hates to set about it, wishes it over, and is continually haunted with the thoughts of its necessity." After reading his arguments, thousands of colonists agreed.

But not all. Loyalists throughout the thirteen colonies were incensed by *Common Sense*, and set about refuting it. In March of 1775, New York printer Samuel Loudon published Rev. Charles Inglis's *The deceiver unmasked; or, Loyalty and Interest United: in answer to a pamphlet*

entitled *Common sense*. Inglis was a curate of Trinity Church who had moved to the colonies in 1755 and become a staunch loyalist in the years of rising tension prior to the war. In his pamphlet, Inglis admits that the colonists have grounds for grievance against the monarchy, but insists that they can be resolved through closer cooperation with the British government. He believed that declaring independence would spell the destruction of the colonies, stating in his preface that Paine's "proposal, instead of removing our grievances,



Charles Inglis, *The deceiver unmasked; or, Loyalty and Interest United: in answer to a pamphlet entitled Common sense*, 1776. Pamphlet. New York: Printed by Samuel Loudon, New-York Historical Society Library.

would aggravate them a thousand fold. The remedy is infinitely worse than the disease. It would be like cutting off a leg, because a toe happened to ache."

Like Thomas Paine before him, Inglis published his rebuttal anonymously, which proved wise. A mob of furious Liberty Boys raided Samuel Loudon's workshop, destroying his printing press and burning

every copy of *The Deceiver Unmasked* they could find. Inglis was only able to reveal his identity after the city was safely in the hands of the British.

Read selected excerpts [here](#).

## FULL TEXT TRANSCRIPTION:

Charles Inglis, *The Deceiver Unmasked; or Loyalty and interest united: in answer to a pamphlet entitled Common sense./By a loyal American*, Ann Arbor, MI: Text Creation Partnership, 2008-2009. <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/evans/N32756.0001.001?view=toc>

## DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

- Who is the deceiver referred to in the title?
- How does Inglis propose resolving the conflict with England?

## WELCOME TO STATEN ISLAND!

General William Howe set sail for New York from Halifax, Nova Scotia, on June 9, 1776 with a fleet of 130 British ships carrying over 6,000 troops. The news sent shockwaves through the city—no fleet that size had ever been amassed in the North American colonies. Howe landed on Staten Island on July 2, where he met with a rejoicing populace and a local militia that immediately deserted the American cause to join their ranks. Howe’s men were pleased with their reception, as noted by a soldier of the 35th Regiment in a letter home: “On the 4th inst. we landed on this island and are in very comfortable cantonments amongst a loyal and liberal people, who produce us in plenty, and in agreeable variety, all the necessaries of life, most of which we had been long deprived of, during our late service in the eastern provinces.”

General Howe’s fleet was just the beginning. On July 12, Admiral Richard Howe arrived in New York on his flagship, *HMS Eagle*, the first ship of many that would bring soldiers and



Archibald Robertson, *View of the Narrows between Long Island & Staaten Island with our fleet at anchor & Lord Howe coming in—taken from the height above the water, 12 July 1776*. Ink drawing. Spencer Collection, The New York Public Library.

supplies from Britain. On August 1, forty-four additional ships carrying 3,000 men arrived from Charleston. Later that same week, twenty-two more ships arrived from England and Scotland. Finally, on August 12, more than 100 ships carrying nearly 9,000 soldiers arrived, the final official reinforcements. There were also many unofficial reinforcements who swelled the British ranks during

this time: all summer, local loyalists and defectors from the American forces made their way to Staten Island, and reports indicate that over 800 enslaved people took up Lord Dunmore’s offer of freedom in exchange for fighting for the British cause.

By mid-August, the British forces on Staten Island consisted of 24,000 soldiers, 30 warships, over 400

transport ships to move the troops quickly to the field of battle, and 10,000 sailors to operate the fleet. In comparison, Washington had 23,000 soldiers stationed in New York, only 19,000 of whom were fit for duty, and no fleet to speak of (for a further comparison of the two armies, see [Unit 2, Resource 7](#)).

**DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:**

- ▶ Why was the British fleet a major advantage?
- ▶ How would you feel if you were a New Yorker in the summer of 1776 watching all these ships amass in the harbor? What would you do?

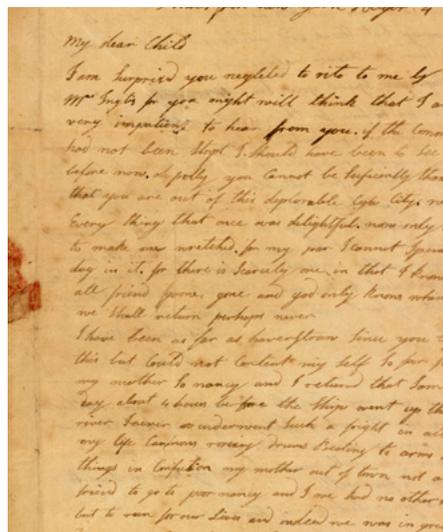
## FEAR AND DANGER IN NEW YORK

Before the outbreak of the war, New York's population was around 25,000, but the events of 1775 and 1776 caused this number to drop drastically. The first mass exodus occurred when the Sons of Liberty overthrew the colonial government in New York after news of the Battles of Lexington and Concord reached New York. Cadwallader Colden, a lieutenant governor of the Province of New York stationed in New York City, retreated to Long Island, and Governor Tryon moved the colonial government to the British ship *The Duchess of Gordon* in New York Harbor. By September 1775, a third of the city's population had followed suit. In early 1776, as it became clear that New York would be the next battleground, thousands more fled before the gathering storm, leaving behind homes and possessions that they were unlikely to ever recover. By July 1776, only about 5,000 residents remained.

Those who stayed faced grave dangers. In this letter to her daughter, Mrs. A. Hampton describes a



(Above) William Joy, *Forcing the Hudson River Passage*, ca. 1835. Oil on canvas. New-York Historical Society, Gift of the Travelers Insurance Company.



(Left) Mrs. A. Hampton to her daughter, [Three miles from New York], August 4, 1776. Richard Maass Collection of Westchester and New York State, courtesy of the Fales Library and Special Collections, New York University Libraries.

terrifying incident that took place the afternoon of July 12. To test the American defenses, General Howe sent the warships *Phoenix* and *Rose* sailing up the Hudson. The ships fired on the city, creating a full-blown panic among the general public, and

Washington's troops were unable to muster any effective response. Reports filed after the incident indicate that fewer than half the troops reported to their positions, and rumors circulated that many of those who did report for duty were drunk. Meanwhile, the captain of the *Rose* relaxed on deck, in full view of the troops on the shore, with a bowl of punch and bottle of claret, confident that the American cannons did not have the range to do serious harm to his vessel.

Click [here](#) for a transcription of this letter.

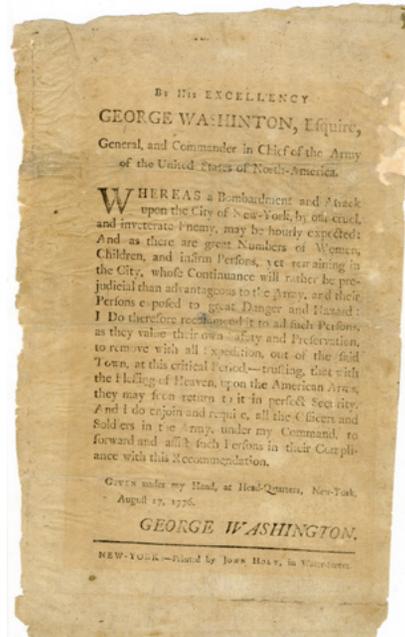
## DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

- ▶ What was life in American occupied New York like according to Mrs. A. Hampton?
- ▶ Why would a person choose to stay in such a dangerous situation?

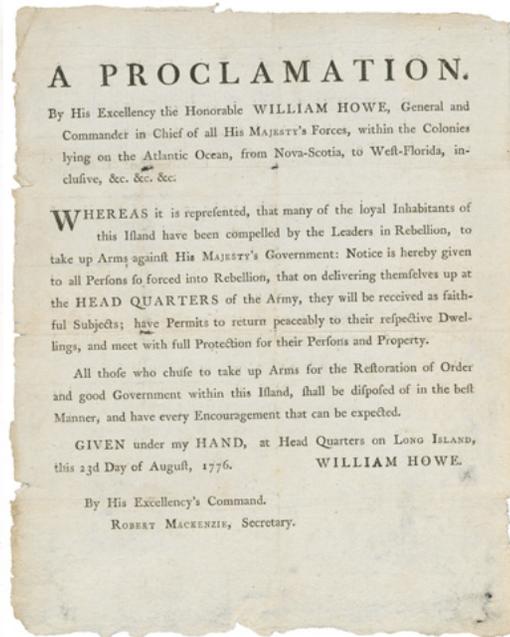
# PREPARING FOR BATTLE

To quickly share information with the general population, both the Americans and British printed and circulated broadsides. A broadside is a piece of paper printed on one side only that can be handed out or posted on a wall for passersby to read. In the late-eighteenth century, broadsides were most commonly used for advertisements and proclamations.

This pair of broadsides illustrates how the British and Americans approached preparing the general population of New York for the coming battle. Still unsure where exactly the British planned to attack, George Washington issued a proclamation on August 17, advising all non-military personnel, particularly women, children, and the infirm, to evacuate the city, citing that their presence might hinder military operations. He offers them no compensation for their abandoned homes and goods other than the hope that they will be able to return soon. Those who left risked losing everything.



(Left) George Washington, *By His Excellency George Washinton [sic], Esquire*, August 17, 1776. Broadside. New York: John Holt. New-York Historical Society Library.



(Right) William Howe, *A Proclamation by His Excellency the Honorable William Howe*, August 23, 1776. Broadside. New York: New-York Historical Society Library.

Only six days later, after invading Long Island and in the midst of his final preparations for battle, General Howe issued his own proclamation, inviting locals to join his ranks and promising “full protection” of property in return. He also assured readers that any who take up arms for

the British would be well cared for, a promise the Americans, with their limited resources, could not hope to match.

When all of these factors are considered together, it is not surprising that there was a steady

stream of Americans defecting to the British right up until the outbreak of the battle.

## DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

- What do these broadsides reveal about the outlook of Washington and Howe in the days leading up to the battle?
- What effect did these broadsides have on morale in New York?

## THE BEEKMAN FAMILY

The Beekmans were blessed with an impeccable family pedigree and one of the largest fortunes in pre-Revolutionary New York. Head of the family James Beekman (1732–1807) was the grandson of Wilhelmus Beekman, who arrived in New Amsterdam in 1647

on the same ship as Director-General Peter Stuyvesant. Wilhelmus's close relationship with Stuyvesant benefited the family enormously, and James built on the established family fortune by founding his own mercantile business to buy and sell goods from all over the world.

The nine children of James and his wife Jane enjoyed lives of luxury and opportunity that closely mimicked



(Left to Right) John Durand, *Jane Beekman*, 1767. Oil on canvas. New-York Historical Society, Gift of the Beekman Family Association; John Durand, *James Beekman, Jr.*, 1767. Oil on canvas. New-York Historical Society, Gift of the Beekman Family Association; Lawrence Kilburn, *Mrs. James Beekman*, 1761. Oil on canvas. New-York Historical Society, Gift of the Beekman Family Association; Lawrence Kilburn, *James Beekman*, 1761. Oil on canvas. New-York Historical Society, Gift of the Beekman Family Association.

those of the aristocracy in England. William, Abraham, James Jr., Jane, Catherine, Mary, John, Cornelia, and Gerard lived in Mount Pleasant, an English-style country manor with extensive grounds built in 1763 by James Sr. Mount Pleasant was located outside New York City at what today is First Avenue and 51st Street. All of the children received an education, the girls and younger boys at home with tutors, and the older boys away

at Princeton College. In addition to academics, all the children studied music and dancing in preparation for joining New York's vibrant social scene. The family employed multiple servants to see to the upkeep of their home and grounds, and also owned several enslaved people. Their expenditures on clothing, books, and other trappings of wealth routinely exceeded the yearly income of the average New York laborer. In an extravagant display

of his expendable income, James commissioned artist John Durand to paint portraits of his six living children (John, Cornelia, and Gerard had not yet been born; Elizabeth and an older John died prior to the commission). Today these portraits stand as a testament to a charmed

existence, and offer tantalizing hints at the personalities and pursuits of the family.

In the years leading up to the war, James Sr.'s business suffered under the taxes and embargoes enacted by the British Parliament, a fact he lamented often in correspondence with business contacts. Following the Battles of Lexington and Concord, he embraced the revolutionary spirit

## THE BEEKMAN FAMILY

CONTINUED

and the opportunity it presented to be free of British financial restraints. He threw his support behind the American cause, joining first the Committee of One Hundred and then the Provincial Congress of New York. His actions made him a traitor to his country, and put his family in considerable danger.

In the late summer of 1776, when it became clear that the British would soon occupy Manhattan, the entire Beekman family evacuated to the new seat of the Provincial Congress in Kingston, New York. Forced to leave in haste, and unable to bring everything with them, the family buried valuables on their property. They would spend the next seven years in exile, first in Kingston and later in Morristown, New Jersey.

In retaliation for this betrayal, the British seized Mount Pleasant and used it as a home for a succession of officers throughout the duration of war. Commander in Chief General William Howe, Joshua Loring (provost marshal of the prison ships), Commander in Chief General Henry Clinton, Baron Reisdell (commander

of the Hessian Troops), and General James Robertson all lived there over the course of the Beekman's seven-year absence. American spy Nathan Hale was held at the manor before being executed on September 22, 1776.

The Beekman family was only able to return to their home at Mount Pleasant in 1783, just ahead of the British evacuation of New York that marked the war's end. Family legend claims that George Washington stopped by to visit before his triumphant return to the city on November 20, 1783, but there is no specific evidence to support this. It is well-documented that James Jr. rode in the "Cavalcade of Citizens" as part of Washington's procession through the city, a triumph that must have felt all the sweeter after the many years of wondering if the family had backed the right government. The Beekmans remained close to Washington throughout his presidency, and continued to thrive in post-war New York.



Louis Grube, *William and Abraham Beekman House*, New York City, 1857. Oil on canvas. New-York Historical Society, Gift of Dr. Fenwick Beekman

## DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

- ▶ Why did James Beekman Sr. side with the Americans? How did his decision affect his family?
- ▶ The Beekman Family had wealth and connections to help them weather the war. What might the experience for patriots of lesser means have been?

## LORENDA HOLMES

Lorenda Holmes was a native New Yorker. Prior to the war she lived a life of “perfect tranquility” as a member of the highest social circles. Lorenda considered herself “a faithful and loyal” subject “attached to His Majesty’s Person and government.” In this respect, she was not alone. The loyalist population of New York was a clear and present danger for Washington and his troops in a way that it had never been in Boston. The American Army found itself surrounded by those willing to do whatever it took to undermine their efforts. Thousands of men from the city and surrounding areas flocked to join the British Army. Loyalist women like Lorenda, barred from combat, found other ways to support the Crown.

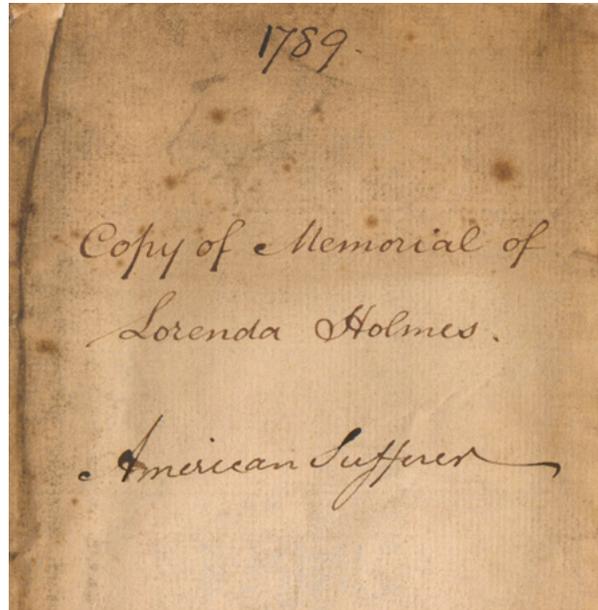
In March of 1776, Washington’s army took up residence in New York. Many beleaguered Tory families left the city only a month later. Lorenda chose to stay. She moved in with her Aunt Mary Smith on Dock Street, near the Royal Exchange. Shortly thereafter, the Americans seized the home and

forced them out. Now homeless, the two women moved in with their friend Mrs. Mortier, near Greenwich Street. Anxious to do her part to alleviate the stress and worry of those around her, Lorenda volunteered to be a courier, a person who carried letters to and from the ships in the harbor, which Washington had explicitly banned. One spring evening, after discovering

the American countersign for the day, Lorenda signaled the British man-of-war *Asia* with her handkerchief. The American guards threatened to shoot her if she didn’t stop, but Lorenda, “knowing their cowardice,” confident that her sex and gentility would protect her, continued her signaling undeterred. The captain of the *Asia* spied her signal and sent a boat to

retrieve her, ordering a complement of Royal Marines to cover her from the deck of the *Asia* to discourage the Americans from firing on her. The tide prevented the boat from coming directly to the dock, so Lorenda had to leap out to it, injuring her side in the process. After successfully completing her mission, Lorenda removed to Eastchester, New York, to be out of reach of the mob.

Lorenda returned to New York City in June, ostensibly to help her aunt, but in truth she was once again couriating letters. This time she delivered to a Mr. Ryan, a leather goods dealer who was in trouble with the Americans for refusing to accept paper money in exchange for supplies for the army. The letters she delivered contained instructions on how he could escape the city and where he might find refuge. When Lorenda arrived at their home, the Ryan family was in a panic, expecting the mob any minute. Ryan himself fled, leaving Lorenda with his bedridden, pregnant wife. That afternoon, an American mob stormed the house



Lorenda Holmes, *NORTH AMERICA: Compensation: Memorial and petition of Lorenda Holmes for compensation for loss of property in New York city, and Sufferings experienced when acting as a courier for the Loyalist cause, 1789.* The National Archives of the UK at Kew (TNA).

## LORENDA HOLMES

CONTINUED

and tore it to pieces looking for Ryan. The Committee of Safety, a group responsible for finding and punishing loyalist spies, captured Lorenda, one of its members crying out, “O we have got the damned Tory and the penny post at last” before ordering her to strip for a search and then posting her naked in a drawing room window of the house as punishment for her crimes.

After this brush with the mob, Lorenda returned to the home of Mrs. Mortier to meet her aunt, only to find that it had been taken as General Washington’s personal headquarters. Lorenda was being held prisoner in the house when the Hickey plot to assassinate Washington was discovered. By Lorenda’s account, she and her aunt were suspects, but as nothing could be proved against them, Washington gave them the countersign so they could escape in the dead of night. During the confusion of the attack of the *Rose* and *Phoenix* on July 12 (see Resource 5), Lorenda escaped the city once more, returning to Eastchester where she passed the summer in relative quiet.

Lorenda became active again when the British landed at Throgs Neck in November of 1776. A Mr. Crickston commissioned her to guide sixteen loyalist men through the woods around Eastchester to the water so they could swim out to join the British Army. Though the Americans could not officially prove her crime, that same evening an officer broke into her home and ordered her right foot be held to hot coals until it burned, saying he would “learn her to carry off Loyalists to the British Army.”

After the British victory at White Plains, Lorenda and a number of other displaced loyalists sought protection by joining with the Royal Army as it marched toward Fort Washington. Lorenda remembers this period as one of extreme cold and hardship. After fifteen days, the British captured the fort and granted refugees, including Lorenda, safe passage back to the city. Her friends urged her to leave for England immediately for her own safety. In her haste, she was forced to leave behind everything she owned.

Once in England, Lorenda did her best to start a new life. Her New York social connections afforded her introductions to genteel society. She met the queen, who on two occasions gave her gifts to help support her. In 1783, her Aunt Mary joined her in England following the evacuation of New York at the end of the war. The two women lived together from that time. Life was not easy—severe illness and money troubles plagued them. In 1789, after her aunt passed away, Lorenda petitioned the Lords of the Treasury for compensation for the losses she suffered in service to the Crown. She asked for compensation for over £2,000 worth of real estate and personal goods lost in the war, including two enslaved women. Her petition included a detailed account of her wartime experiences in her own words, a veritable treasure for modern historians. Whether some parts were embellished to make her case more sympathetic is nearly impossible to know for sure, but what is clear is that she lived an extraordinary life and provided invaluable service to her nation.

## DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

- Why were women valuable spies during the American Revolution?
- How do the punishments Lorenda endured compare with those of her male counterparts like Nathan Hale? Why was she treated differently?
- What does Lorenda’s story teach us about the experiences of women during the American Revolution?

## THE BATTLE OF BROOKLYN



# UNIT 2: THE BATTLE OF BROOKLYN

**B**y August 26, 1776, the stage was set for battle. General Howe commanded 20,000 troops on Long Island, where they occupied King's County in a line roughly parallel to the Gowanus Heights. The British Army was at the height of its power, well rested and provisioned, confident that the Americans did not pose much of a threat. They were not far wrong (**see Resource 7**). Washington had only 9,000 troops stationed at the fortifications on Brooklyn Heights, and in the passages through the Gowanus Heights, the British had the Americans outnumbered seven to one.



Ridgeway after Alonzo Chappel, *Lord Stirling at the Battle of Long Island*, c. 1858. Engraving. New-York Historical Society Library.



## UNIT 2: THE BATTLE OF BROOKLYN

CONTINUED

The largest disadvantage faced by the Americans was the disposition of their advance guard on the Gowanus Heights ([see Resource 8](#)). At about 2 a.m. on August 27, Howe set into motion a three-pronged attack intended to outflank the Americans stationed at the Gowanus Passes. Against the American left, General James Grant marched up the shore road to Martense Lane with 5,000 troops, where he was met by Lord Stirling leading a force of 2,000. But this attack, along with General Philip von Heister's column advancing toward the Flatbush Pass at the center of the ridge, was a feint intended to distract the Americans while Howe himself led a force of 10,000 to the east, through the Jamaica Pass, to take them in the rear. The maneuver was a success, and by 9 a.m., the Americans were surrounded.

Once the trap was sprung the American troops on the heights fell like dominos. Colonel Samuel Miles, stationed to the east of the Bedford Pass, was captured in the woods by the road with about 250 men. The American guards on the Bedford Road saw their men fleeing and began to run as well. The men stationed at Bedford Pass, just east of the Flatbush Pass at the center of the American line, heard the commotion and chose to flee rather than wait to be captured themselves. General John Sullivan, stationed at Flatbush Pass, realized he was all but surrounded and ordered a retreat ([see Resource 9](#)). General William Alexander, known as Lord Stirling, stationed at the far west of the heights, had acquitted himself well against the initial attack by General Grant, but could not continue to hold with the rest of the line in retreat. As his troops made their way up Porte Road, they found General Cornwallis blocking their path at the Vechte farmhouse. Stirling ordered his men to strike out across Gowanus Creek, while he took a contingent of 250 men to attack Cornwallis directly, hoping to buy time before surrendering to General Von Heister ([see accompanying image](#)). Upon witnessing this selfless charge from his vantage point at Cobble Hill Fort, Washington is reported to have cried out, "What brave fellows I must lose this day" ([see Life Story: General George Washington](#)).

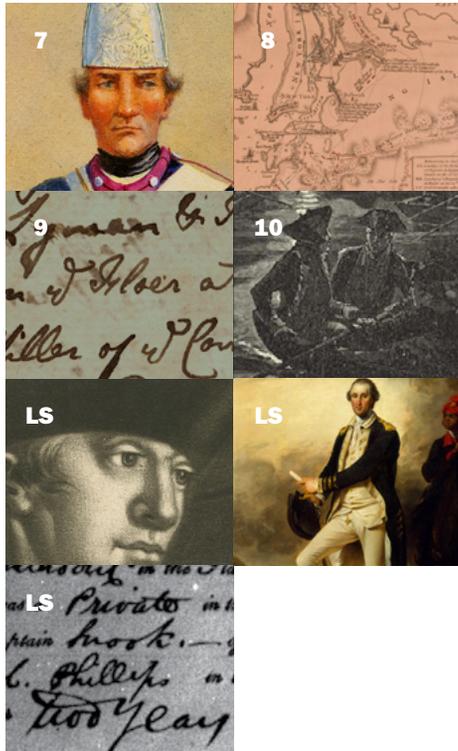
The Battle of Brooklyn, the largest pitched battle of the American Revolution, lasted only a few hours. By noon, those who could had already fallen back to the American fortifications on Brooklyn Heights. The day was a resounding victory for the British, who routed the Americans and suffered fewer than 400 total casualties. American casualties totaled around 1,100, with 200 killed or wounded, and 900 taken prisoner. Much to the dismay of his subordinates, who felt a direct attack on the Brooklyn Heights forts would shatter the Continental Army, General Howe ordered his men to dig trenches just outside the reach of musket fire from the forts. He was confident that the Americans were trapped, and that a siege was the best way to secure victory with minimal bloodshed ([See Life Story: The Howe Brothers](#)). Sure the British would attack any minute, Washington brought emergency reinforcements to Brooklyn Heights on August 28, bringing the total number of troops at risk to 9,000. A full assault would have ended the war for good, yet still Howe waited, digging trenches, convinced the Americans could not escape.

What happened next is the stuff of legend. As the British advanced a line of trenches toward the forts, Washington hatched a desperate plan to evacuate his entire force and all their supplies to Manhattan ([see Resource 10](#)). On the morning of August 30, the British awoke to find the fortifications on the heights empty. The Continental Army had survived to fight another day, but the defeat in Brooklyn put the entire American cause in grave danger.



# UNIT 2: THE BATTLE OF BROOKLYN

CONTINUED



## SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES:

- ▶▶ Create a class chart listing the strengths and weaknesses of the Continental and Royal Armies in the days leading up to the Battle of Brooklyn (**Resource 7**).
- ▶▶ Trace the movements of Jabez Fitch (**Resource 9**) and **Jacob Francis** on the map of the Battle of Brooklyn (**Resource 8**). Take the students to visit the sites of their service around New York, or use Google Earth to take a virtual tour.
- ▶▶ Study the methods used by **George Washington** and his commanders to successfully complete the evacuation from Brooklyn Heights (**Resource 10**), and then plan and stage a “top secret” operation as a class.
- ▶▶ **George Washington’s** appointment as commander in chief of the Continental Army was controversial. Stage a class debate of the pros and cons of his appointment to determine whether the students would have made the same call in 1775.
- ▶▶ The **Howe Brothers** were anxious to bring the war to a swift conclusion. Ask students to write a letter from the Howe Brothers to Continental Congress after the Battle of Brooklyn asking for peace.

## DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

- ▶▶ Why did the Continental Army lose the Battle of Brooklyn?
- ▶▶ What might the Continental Army have done that could have changed the outcome of the battle?
- ▶▶ Why is this battle important to the overall war?

## THE OPPOSING ARMIES

Despite having one of the largest professional armies in the world, Great Britain faced a troop shortage at the outset of the Revolutionary War. The British Empire encircled the globe, and every colony and outpost required a contingent of military personnel to protect it from the empire's many rivals. To make up this lack, the British government hired a force of 18,000 professional German soldiers, collectively known as the Hessians. Even as far away as North America, the Hessian forces had a reputation for their skill and brutality, and news of their imminent arrival struck fear into the hearts of the colonists. The Hessians and the British Army generally were made up of trained, disciplined, professional soldiers. *Hessian Private* demonstrates another major advantage enjoyed by the Royal Army: the government saw that all of their troops were well-outfitted and well-provisioned.

In contrast, the Continental Army was a ragtag bunch united only by their belief in the cause of independence. In 1776, the bulk of Washington's



Charles MacKubin Lefferts, *Uniforms of the American Revolution: Hessian Private, Erb Prinz Fusileer Regiment of Hesse-Cassel*, c. 1910. Watercolor, gouache, black ink, and graphite on board. New-York Historical Society.

troops were volunteer soldiers who had never seen a battlefield, and his officers had little more experience. The American forces were plagued by desertion and supply shortages, and at the time of the Battle of Brooklyn, a full quarter of the Continental Army was too ill with camp fever to take up arms. As demonstrated in *Third New York Regiment Private*, the backbone of the army was made up of



Charles MacKubin Lefferts, *Third New York Regiment Private, 1775*, c. 1910. Watercolor, gouache, black ink, and graphite on board. New-York Historical Society.

“gentlemen soldiers” who came to the field equipped with whatever they had on hand. The American carries a bedroll and canteen, while the Hessian is equipped with a cartridge box and bayonet. There was no standard uniform or gear for the Continental Army, and the Continental Congress struggled to resupply their troops in the fields. Volunteers had no training, no discipline, and were eager to get

back to their farms and businesses as soon as their tenure of service was up. Tension between commanding officers, who lamented their soldiers' lack of professionalism, and the soldiers, who lamented the lack of experienced leadership, was a problem throughout the war.

Despite their military superiority, the Hessians were impressed with the overall quality of life enjoyed by the colonists. When the British Army withdrew at the war's end, many Hessians chose to settle in America, drawn by the rich farmland and prosperous cities.

## DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

- ▶▶ What advantages did a professional army have over an army of volunteers?
- ▶▶ How could the Continental Congress seek to improve its army over the course of the war?
- ▶▶ What advantages did the Continental Army have over the Royal Army?

# JAMAICA PASS—THE FATAL FLAW

In order to reach the American fortifications on Brooklyn Heights, the British would have to march through one or more of the four passes through the Gowanus Heights—Martense Lane, Flatbush Pass, Bedford Pass, and Jamaica Pass. Anticipating that the British would wish to take the most direct route, General John Sullivan stationed about 800 men at each of the three westernmost passages, where they could take advantage of the natural bottleneck to inflict extensive damage on the advancing British troops before falling back to the main fortifications. But at the easternmost road, the Jamaica Pass, he stationed only five men with horses and orders to ride for help if the British appeared. This would prove to be the Continental Army's undoing.

On August 24, General Henry Clinton, who spent much of his youth on Long Island and was familiar with the terrain, took the advice of some local loyalists and proposed using the Jamaica Pass to “turn the flank” of the American troops stationed on

the Gowanus Heights by sneaking around behind them and cutting off their retreat. On August 26, General Howe gave the orders, and at 8 p.m., Clinton set out with 4,000 troops and some local Tory guides who promised to lead them to the southern end

of the pass without drawing the attention of the Americans. At about 2 a.m., the morning of the twenty-seventh, Clinton's men surprised and seized the five American horsemen stationed there. He didn't know it yet, but Clinton had just won the

battle in one simple stroke. Within a few hours, General Howe brought up an additional 6,000 British troops and, after ascertaining that the pass was otherwise unguarded, the full flanking force of 10,000 proceeded through the pass and down Jamaica Road to Bedford. While Generals Grant and von Heister distracted the Americans with attacks at the Martense Lane Pass and the Flatbush Pass, Howe's troops moved into position. At 9 a.m., they fired two cannons, signaling their success to the British troops on the other side of the heights and announcing their presence to the dismayed Americans, who suddenly found themselves surrounded.

See full map [here](#).

## DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

- ▶▶ What role did geography play in the Battle of Brooklyn?
- ▶▶ Why did Washington want to hold onto the Brooklyn Heights?
- ▶▶ What role did local loyalists play in the British victory?

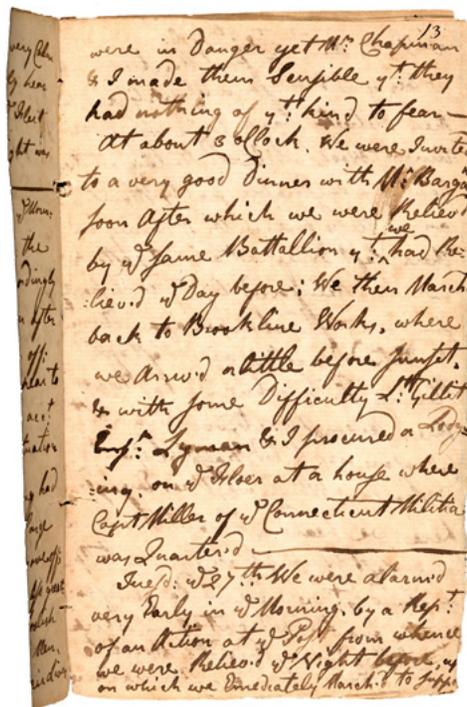


(Detail) William Faden, *A Plan of New York Island, with part of Long Island, Staten Island & East New Jersey, with a particular description of the engagement on the woody heights of Long Island between Flatbush and Brooklyn on the 27th of August, 1776*. London: William Faden. New-York Historical Society Library.

## THE BATTLE ACCOUNT

First Lieutenant Jabez Fitch was an American soldier with an uncommon dedication to writing in his journal. Born the son of a farmer in Norwich, Connecticut, in 1737, Fitch began keeping a regular diary in 1756 and continued keeping it until his death in 1812. Even the vagaries of war could not stop him.

Fitch was an experienced soldier, having served in the British Army during the French and Indian War, but when the call went out for volunteers to support the American war effort against the British in 1775, he was among the first to sign up. In July of 1775, he was appointed to the rank of first lieutenant in Captain Joseph Jewett's Company of the Eighth Connecticut Regiment. With his regiment, he traveled first to Boston and then New York, where he oversaw a team of men responsible for constructing parts of the city's fortifications. Throughout his travels and travails, Fitch kept up his habit of daily writing, and his diary is one of the most complete records of the American Revolution from the perspective of a soldier.



Jabez Fitch diary, 22 Aug. 1776 to 15 Dec. 1777, Manuscripts and Archives Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.

This passage, dated August 27, 1776, details Fitch's experiences right in the thick of the battle. Fitch's company was serving under Brigadier General Samuel Holden Parsons the morning of the twenty-seventh, and awoke to word that Lord Stirling's American troops to their right were under

attack by British General Grant. Parsons ordered his troops to march to support Lord Stirling, and all appeared to be going well, when they began to hear sounds of battle behind them. Realizing that they had been outflanked by the British, Stirling ordered his troops to retreat, but

his message never reached Parsons, whose men were soon surrounded. Fitch and his fellows attempted to break through the lines, but came up against Hessian troops, the fiercest fighters in the British arsenal. Fitch helped a wounded comrade to a quiet spot, and then surrendered to the British.

Fitch brought his diary, pen, and ink with him to the field of battle, so his account of events was recorded the same day. He would spend the next fifteen months as a prisoner of war in British custody, continuing to make a daily account of all he experienced.

Read the transcription [here](#).

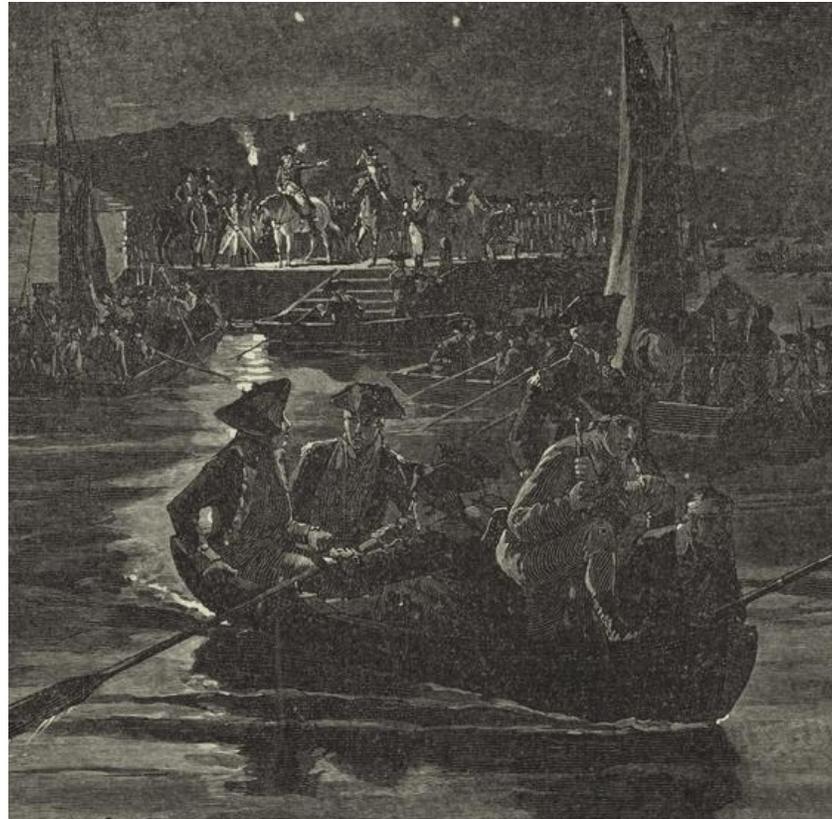
### DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

- ▶ Why is Fitch's diary a valuable historical source?
- ▶ What does this account reveal about the experience of the Battle of Brooklyn?

# THE SKILLFUL EVACUATION

On August 29, the Continental Army was in dire straits. Holed up in their fortifications on Brooklyn Heights, with their backs to the East River, the Americans had watched for two days as the British slowly advanced a line of trenches intended to trap them in their redoubts and force a surrender. A heavy storm soaked the troops who had no tents and little or no food, further damaging morale. At the rate the British were digging, it was estimated they would be in musket range of the Americans within twenty-four hours. Facing the loss of his army, and potentially the war, Washington planned a stealthy retreat under cover of darkness. He sent orders to General Heath at Kingsbridge to requisition every available boat in the New York area and send them to the ferry landing in Brooklyn that very night.

In the afternoon of the twenty-ninth, Washington told his 9,500 troops to be ready to march that evening, but gave no hint as to the actual plan. Most men assumed there was to be another battle. At 8 p.m., General John Glover's



Henry Alexander Ogden, *The Retreat from Long Island*, 1897. Engraving. Art and Picture Collection, The New York Public Library.

Massachusetts regiment of sailors and seamen—one of the few racially integrated units in the Revolutionary Army—began rowing the troops across the river to Manhattan. Some made

eleven trips across the treacherous currents of the East River before the night was over. To keep the operation a secret from the British, Washington issued orders that the evacuation

be conducted in absolute silence and darkness. Commanders passed instructions to the troops in whispers, no torches were used to light their way, soldiers muffled animal hooves and oars, and the men were forbidden to do so much as cough. General Thomas Mifflin and a reserve of 1,000 soldiers stayed behind to man the forts and maintain the illusion that they were full until the last possible moment. Washington himself oversaw the evacuation from horseback at the water's edge. When the breaking light of dawn threatened to give away the entire operation, a fortuitous fog rolled in, providing enough cover for the evacuation to be successfully completed. All told, 9,000 troops and all their artillery and supplies were evacuated to Manhattan over the course of a single night.

## DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

- ▶ Why did Washington decide to retreat from Brooklyn Heights?
- ▶ What factors made the retreat a success?

## THE HOWE BROTHERS

**R**ichard Howe, first Earl of Howe, and his brother William, fifth Viscount of Howe, rose together to become the joint commanders in chief of the British armed forces during the American War for Independence. Born March 8, 1726 and August 10, 1729, respectively, to Viscount Emanuel Howe and his wife, Charlotte, the brothers had childhoods of ease and comfort. Through their mother, they had ties to the British royal family, and were personally close with King George III, a fact that secured them early opportunity and very likely assisted them in their rise to power.

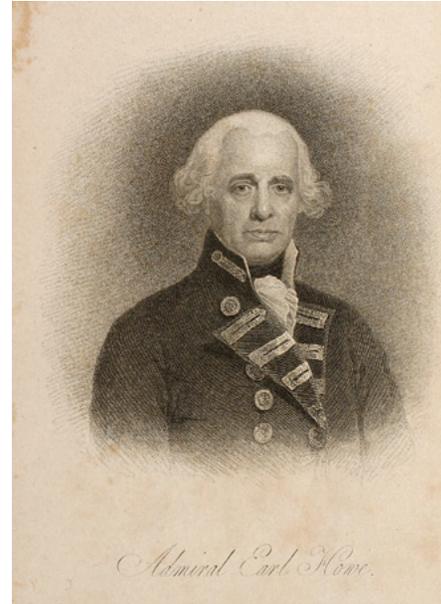
Prior to the outbreak of the American Revolution, the brothers Howe each achieved outstanding success in their respective fields. Richard Howe enlisted in the Royal Navy in 1739, and by 1775, he had attained the rank of admiral and was serving as commander in chief of the Mediterranean fleet. Richard inherited the title of viscount from his elder brother George, who died fighting in the Seven Years' War, also known as the French and Indian War. William



(Left) Richard Purcell (Charles Corbutt), *The Honorable Sir William Howe*, 1777. Engraving. London: printed by John Norris. New-York Historical Society Library. (Right) R. Cooper after John Singleton Copley, *Admiral Earl Howe*, n.d. Engraving. New-York Historical Society Library.

Howe bought a commission in the Army in 1746 and distinguished himself in the North American campaigns of the Seven Years' War. By 1775, he was a major general and had taken over his brother George's position as a member of Parliament (MP).

**B**oth William and Richard were fond of the American colonies, probably due to the fact that in



1758 the Massachusetts assembly paid for the construction of a monument in Westminster Abbey for their brother George, who was killed that year while leading Massachusetts troops against the French at Ticonderoga. As an MP, William opposed the Intolerable Acts in 1774, and he publicly derided the government's expectation that military force would be sufficient to bring the

colonies into line. He doubted the entire British Army and Navy would be sufficient to hold the vast territory of the colonies. In spite of his personal reservations, William recognized the conflict was an opportunity to advance his career. In 1775, King George III asked him to serve in North America, believing that his experience in the French and Indian War would give the British an edge in understanding colonial military tactics. William accepted with the hope of soon being promoted to commander in chief, and led the assault on Bunker Hill on June 17. Though the Battle of Bunker Hill was officially a British victory, it came at a heavy cost—there were over 1,000 British casualties, and William was censured for being too aggressive in the face of stiff resistance. In September 1775, William was appointed commander in chief, just as he had hoped, but his experience at Bunker Hill had changed him and would continue to affect his military strategies going forward.

While William maneuvered himself into command of the British Army

## THE HOWE BROTHERS

CONTINUED

in North America, Richard was hard at work back in England trying to gather the support necessary to become peace commissioner to the colonies. The idea of making peace was unpopular in the government of Lord North, the prime minister of Great Britain, where the general feeling was that the ungrateful colonies deserved to be crushed for their resistance. To gain support for his peace commission, he proposed a plan to simultaneously use the navy to make a show of force in North Carolina to intimidate the Southern colonies. Parliament was eager to have someone of Richard's skill in charge of the North American Navy, and he was appointed commander in chief for the fleet there in February of 1776, meaning the entire British military operation in the North American colonies was now under the command of one family. The peace commission was a stickier matter that took some months more to work out, but on May 11, Admiral Howe set out from England with permission to broker a peace with the rebellious colonies. Unfortunately, by the time he

arrived, on July 12, it was too late—the colonies had declared independence, making his commission moot.

**D**espite the fact that the peace commission was dead on arrival, both Howe brothers were committed to bringing the colonies back into the fold as peacefully as possible. William, perhaps eager to avoid another bloodbath on the scale of Bunker Hill, adopted a strategy of trapping the Continental Army in New York, rather than simply overwhelming them with their vastly superior forces. He hoped the colonists would become demoralized and would surrender with minimal bloodshed. At the Battle of Brooklyn on August 27, with the Invasion of Manhattan on September 15, and again at the Battle of Fort Washington on November 16, General Howe's troops won decisive victories. But he refused to follow up the attack and destroy the American Army once and for all, giving the Americans the chance to regroup and fight another day. Meanwhile, Richard carried out orders to blockade the colonies to the

best of his abilities, despite not having enough ships. He also continued to reach out to the Continental Congress, hoping to end the conflict and the colonies' claims to independence.

After about two years of mixed successes with their campaigns, William and Richard resigned from their positions as commanders in chief of the British North American Army and Navy. When they returned to England, they faced an official inquiry into whether they had criminally mismanaged the war effort, the result of which was inconclusive. They did not serve in the armed forces again for the duration of the war.

**DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:**

- Why were the Howe brothers sympathetic to the American cause?
- Why were the Howe brothers selected as commanders of the British forces in North America?
- How did General Howe's experience at the Battle of Bunker Hill change his military strategy?

## GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON

George Washington began his life on February 22, 1732 as the third son of a moderately prosperous tobacco planter and slaveholder in rural Virginia. His father's death in 1743 prevented George from receiving a formal education—instead, he received the equivalent of an elementary school education from a succession of private tutors, and earned a surveyor's license from the College of William and Mary in 1749. After the untimely death of George's elder half-brother and mentor Lawrence in 1752, the governor of Virginia appointed George to the rank of major in the Virginia militia, and named him one of the four district leaders of the Virginia militia.

George was eager to prove himself as a military leader, but his career got off to a rocky start. In 1754, he led a skirmish that helped to spark the French and Indian War. In 1755, he recommended splitting the British forces to speed up travel, a call that contributed to one of the most thorough British defeats of the war and the death of Commander General Edward Braddock. In 1758,



John Trumbull, *George Washington*, 1780. Oil on canvas. Bequest of Charles Allen Munn, 1924, Image ©The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Image source: Art Resource, NY.

he was involved in a friendly fire incident that caused the death of fourteen British troops. But despite his many missteps, George earned a reputation for courage and strength, and became a respected leader. He was named commander of the colonies'

first standing army, and undertook a rigorous training and battle campaign that made them one of the most successful regiments of the war. In the process, George developed a strong bias toward a standing army made up of professional soldiers over a militia

made up of untrained volunteers, an opinion that would only strengthen during the American Revolution.

In January 1759, George married the widow Martha Dandridge Custis. Their combined landholdings made him one of the wealthiest planters in Virginia. George and Martha led a life of luxury and refinement at Mount Vernon between the wars, and his social prominence led to a budding political career. He ardently opposed the various taxes and punishments imposed on the colonies in the interwar period, and was a leading voice for the boycott of British goods in 1769. In August of 1774, he was selected as a Virginia delegate to the First Continental Congress.

After the Battles of Lexington and Concord, John Adams proposed the formation of a Continental Army and recommended George for the position of commander in chief. He was not a unanimously popular choice. Some worried about putting a Southerner in charge of New England troops. Some felt that other candidates were more

## GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON

CONTINUED

qualified. George himself must have had some reservations, because at his confirmation on June 16, 1775, he stated: “Lest some unlucky event should happen, unfavorable to my reputation, I beg it be remembered, by every gentleman in this room, that I, this day, declare with the utmost sincerity, I do not think myself equal to the command I am honored with.” On this less than rousing note, George set out for Boston with the weight of war on his shoulders.

George’s command was littered with pitfalls. He was serving a government that was in its infancy, and he was unsure of how much authority he held. His army consisted of largely untrained and ill-equipped volunteers, many of whom enlisted for only a few months at a time. George had never been responsible for commanding an entire army and was learning as he went. Some of his own generals, chief among them Charles Lee, believed themselves to be a better choice for the command. Regardless, George managed to bring the ten-month siege of Boston to a successful conclusion, and headed

to New York confident that he would succeed again and put the colonies in a strong defensive position.

The Battle of Brooklyn and the subsequent retreat from New York in the fall of 1776 proved just how foolhardy those hopes were. The successful outflanking maneuver by Howe was likely due to George’s inexperience with troop command at that scale, but more unsettling was the behavior of his own troops in the days that followed. Thousands of demoralized militiamen left New York immediately following the battle, leaving George with a diminished force. Those who remained could not be counted on to stand strong against a British charge. George arrived at the Invasion of Kips Bay on September 15 to find his officers and troops fleeing. Anxious to prevent another rout, he tried to take command himself. He shouted at his fleeing men, beat those within reach with his cane, and brandished his pistols to try to intimidate others, but to no avail. Finally, his aides had to step in to lead him to safety.

On September 24, 1776, George wrote an impassioned letter to Congress decrying their situation and pleading for the establishment of a professional military. In the letter, he explains “to place any dependence on militia is, assuredly, resting upon a broken staff. Men just dragged from the tender scenes of domestic life—unaccustomed to the din of arms—totally unacquainted with every kind of military skill, which being followed by a want of confidence in themselves when opposed to troops regularly trained, disciplined, and appointed, superior in knowledge, and superior in arms, makes them timid and ready to fly from their own shadows.” As 1776 came to a close, one thing had become clear—if he hoped to succeed, George needed to drastically alter his approach to the war.

**DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:**

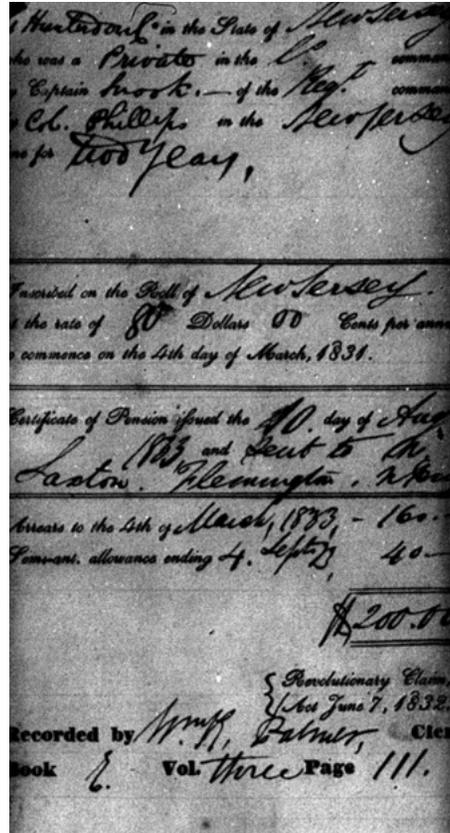
- Under what circumstance was George given a military appointment?
- What was George’s record during the French and Indian War?
- What challenges did George face when he became commander of the Continental Army?
- How did George feel about his army at the end of 1776?

## JACOB FRANCIS

Jacob Francis was born on January 15, 1754 in Amwell, New Jersey. His mother was African American, though it is unclear if she was free or enslaved. He never knew his father. It is also unknown if Jacob himself was considered enslaved or free at the time of his birth, but according to his own narrative, his mother bound him out as a servant until the age of 21 to Henry Wambough, who then sold his time to another man named Michael Hatt. Hatt, in turn, sold Jacob's time to Minner Gulick. All these transactions took place before Jacob turned 13. When Jacob was 13, Gulick sold his time to Joseph Saxton. For two years, Jacob traveled as Saxton's servant to and around New York, Long Island, and St. John's Island. They eventually traveled to Salem, Massachusetts, where Saxton sold Jacob's time to Benjamin Deacon. Jacob lived and served Deacon in Salem until he turned 21 in January of 1775. Once free, Jacob continued to live and work in Salem until October, when he "enlisted as a soldier in the United States service for one year." Having never seen his birth certificate, Jacob enlisted as Jacob Gulick, taking the surname of a previous

custodian. His mother then informed him the family name was Francis, and consequently he changed his name to Jacob Francis on his enlistment

papers. He served under Colonel Paul Dudley, a Sergeant in the Eighth Massachusetts Regiment (eventually renamed the 16th Continental Regime).



Jacob Francis Pension Application, Pension number W459, 1833. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington DC.

The Continental Army did not have a unified policy for the enlistment of free black men. Massachusetts, the setting for the first armed conflict of the Revolution, was quick to allow free black men to enlist, but specified "that no Slave be admitted into this Army upon any consideration whatever." Therefore, when Jacob enlisted there, he was legally allowed to fight. It is unclear from his narrative if he was part of an integrated regiment or if he was the only free black man in his regiment. Under General Putnam, one of the officers who voted to exclude free blacks from military service, Jacob's regiment helped drive the British from Boston and then marched to New York.

When Jacob marched with his regiment to New York in the early summer of 1776, his enlistment became illegal. In April 1775, New York had passed a law forbidding the enlistment of free blacks, which remained in effect until 1778. This discrepancy highlights the uneven and disorganized application of wartime policies.

## JACOB FRANCIS

CONTINUED

Regardless of his legal status, once Jacob's regiment arrived in New York, he helped to build fortifications at Hell Gate. According to Jacob, while waiting for further orders, "the Battle of Long Island took place." In August, Jacob's regiment was ordered to Long Island, but his regiment "did not get to join the army till the battle [of Brooklyn] had commenced and our army was on the retreat." They tried to cross a creek to get to the army, but "before we got to that creek our army was repulsed and retreating and many of them were driven into the creek and some drowned." Then, "the British came in sight, and the balls flew round us, and our officers, finding we could do no good, ordered us to retreat, which we did under the fire of the enemy." They retreated to their fortifications in Hell Gate before being sent to Westchester, where Jacob fought in the Battle of White Plains. He recalled being stationed "so near the British lines that I could hear the Hessians in the garrison." His regiment then retreated with the bulk of the Continental Army

to New Jersey, where in December and January, he fought in the Battles of Trenton and Princeton.

In 1777, when his enlistment expired, Francis returned home to his ailing mother. He did not collect his back pay from his Massachusetts regiment, instead enlisting in the New Jersey militia that same year. Soon after reenlisting he was captured by Hessian soldiers who were, in turn, ambushed by American militiamen. During the ensuing chaos Jacob made his escape. He fought in the Battle of Monmouth in June 1778, and continued to serve in the New Jersey militia until 1781.

In September 1789, Jacob married an enslaved woman named Mary, and soon after purchased her freedom. They settled in Flemington, New Jersey, and raised five sons. On July 4, 1826, Flemington held a celebration for its living American Revolutionary War veterans, and Francis was one of only two African Americans to be honored, which is how his name became memorialized. At the time, Francis had yet to receive payment for his many years of service.

An 1832 Act of Congress that expanded military pension benefits to include all those who had served at least two years in the Continental Army or state militia gave Jacob the legal recourse to claim his past-due compensation. He filed a pension claim (pictured here) detailing his service and exploits that included the testimony of several character witnesses. Congress granted his claim and his name was placed on the pension roll in 1833. He received eighty dollars in back pay before passing away on July 26, 1836 in Trenton. Mary Francis applied for and was granted his widow's pension in 1843. Jacob's and Mary's pension applications provide a rare glimpse into the life of an African American soldier.

## DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

- What was the Continental Army's policy on enlisting free black men?
- Where did Jacob travel during his time as a Continental soldier? What did he do?
- Why did Jacob struggle to get paid for his service?
- Why is Jacob's pension application a valuable resource for historians?

## THE BATTLE OF BROOKLYN



# UNIT 3: AFTER THE BATTLE

**N**ews of the Battle of Brooklyn sent shockwaves through the colonies. After landing in Manhattan, hundreds of Washington's militiamen picked up and returned home, leaving his army even weaker. On September 11, 1776 the Continental Congress sent Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and Edward Rutledge to a peace conference with Admiral Howe on Staten Island. The conference was short, as all three representatives refused to accept any agreement that would return the colonies to British rule. The war would continue, and Washington and his staff had to determine how best to proceed.



Robert Clevely, *The British landing at Kip's Bay, New York Island, 15 September 1776, 1777*. Pen and ink, black and watercolor. National Maritime Museum, London.



## UNIT 3: AFTER THE BATTLE

CONTINUED

What followed was a long, strenuous, demoralizing retreat up the island of Manhattan. With Long Island's abundant farms and provisions in the hands of the British, who could at any moment use their ships to cut off any hope of an American retreat, continuing to hold the city had become untenable. On September 13, Washington began evacuating his army to Harlem Heights, leaving the city intact behind him against his better judgment. On September 15, 13,000 British soldiers disembarked from flatboats at Kips Bay (see **Accompanying Image**), once again narrowly missing the chance to trap the Americans and finish them off (see **Life Story: General George Washington**). On September 16, the Americans rallied and successfully fought off British troops in the Battle of Harlem Heights. This victory served as a much needed boost in morale, but did not significantly improve

their position in any way, and so the retreat north continued over Kings Bridge and through the Bronx on into Westchester, where the British, stymied after landing at Throgs Neck and again at Pelham Bay, defeated the Americans at the Battle of White Plains on October 28, but again let them escape. At General Greene's urging, Washington left a garrison to hold Fort Mifflin under the command of Colonel Robert Magaw in a last, desperate attempt to maintain some kind of foothold in Manhattan. On November 16, the British captured that fort, too, along with 230 American officers and 2,600 soldiers (see **Life Story: Margaret Corbin**). The American pretensions to Manhattan had come to an ignominious end.

New York City fared little better. Although a steady stream of relieved Tories returned after the British took possession on September 15 and eagerly asserted their loyalty to the Crown (see **Resource 12**), a single devastating fire shortly after the American retreat demolished a quarter of the city (see **Resource 11**). Conditions were deplorable—overcrowding, trash, and the stench of unburied dead continued to plague inhabitants for the duration of the war. The thousands of American prisoners captured during the New York battles were thrown into makeshift prisons aboard ships in the harbor and essentially left there to die (see **Resource 14**).

For the Americans, these were truly “the times that try men's souls” (see **Resource 13**). Washington recognized that in order to win the war he needed to completely rethink his strategy. Yet even as he turned his attention toward the battles in New Jersey and beyond, Washington kept an eye on New York. He began a spy ring in the city, never abandoning the hope that it could one day be recaptured (see **Life Story: James Rivington**). In spite of this continued attention, the British occupied New York for the duration of the war. Washington did not reenter the city again until Evacuation Day, November 25, 1783 (see **Life Story: The Beekman Family**).



# UNIT 3: AFTER THE BATTLE

CONTINUED



## SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES:

- ▶▶ Using David Grim’s map of the damage of the Great Fire (**Resource 11**) and a modern map of Lower Manhattan, determine where the fire raged and take a walking tour of the extent of the damage.
- ▶▶ Conduct a close reading of the Declaration of Dependence (**Resource 12**), and then compare and contrast it with the Declaration of Independence. How do the writers characterize the rebellion and the British Crown? What does each side seek?
- ▶▶ Prisoners of war like **Jabez Fitch** were housed aboard prison ships in Wallabout Bay. Examine *Interior of the old Jersey prison ship* (**Resource 14**) for clues about the conditions aboard. Ask the students to write a first hand account of life on a prison ship from the perspective of one of the subjects of the engraving, or read *The New York Diary of Jabez Fitch* to learn more.
- ▶▶ Cryptography is the art of writing and breaking secret codes. Using the Life Story of **James Rivington** as an access point, study the history of cryptography with your students, and then invite them to create their own secret code.
- ▶▶ Ask students to write a response to Thomas Paine’s *The American Crisis* (**Resource 13**) from the perspective of Charles Inglis (**Resource 3**).
- ▶▶ Take a field trip to the **Margaret Corbin** memorial in Fort Tryon Park.
- ▶▶ New York City has many plaques and monuments commemorating important historic events and sites. Choose a site important to the Battle of Brooklyn and design a memorial or plaque commemorating the event that happened there.

## DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

- ▶▶ How did the loss at the Battle of Brooklyn affect the American troops and leadership? How did it affect New York City?
- ▶▶ How reliable are images and accounts of the events of the American Revolution? How can we effectively determine the value of a source?
- ▶▶ Why is it important to study moments of weakness in our nation’s history?

## THE GREAT FIRE

The British took possession of the city of New York on September 15, 1776 their advance troops met by a small but joyous contingent of Tories thrilled to be back under British rule. For the first week all seemed well. But just after midnight on September 21, a fire broke out at the “Fighting Cocks” tavern at Whitehall Slip, at the southern tip of New York. Winds from the southwest drove the flames quickly through the city, and no general warning or call for help could be issued because Washington had ordered all the city’s bells melted down for ammunition. The fire raged for 10 hours, destroying an entire mile of the west side of the island. About 1,000 buildings were lost, including the famous Trinity Church.

The British suspected enemy soldiers or ardent patriots were behind the blaze. They rounded up and interrogated 200 individuals, but eventually released all of them without charges. Whether the fire was an accident or arson remains a mystery to this day. Washington, who had been expressly forbidden to burn

(Right) Franz Xaver Habermann, engraved by J. Chereau, *Representation du Feu Terrible a Nouvelle Yorck*, ca. 1776. New-York Historical Society Library.



the city by Congress, claimed no part in the disaster, but was quite pleased with the outcome, noting in a letter to a friend: “Had I been left to the dictates of my own judgment, New York should have been laid in Ashes before I quitted it. . . . Providence—or some good honest Fellow, has done

(Left) David Grim, *This Plan of the City of New York...Shewing the Progress and Extent of the Great Fire*, 1804. New-York Historical Society Library.

more for us than we were disposed to do for ourselves.” The British never rebuilt the ruins, which became the site of a “tent city” that disgusted residents for the duration of the war.

*Representation du Feu Terrible a Nouvelle Yorck* is the only contemporary illustration of the

fire, but is essentially a work of fiction. French engraver Franz Xaver Habermann had never visited the Americas, so the buildings in the image reflect European architecture and cityscapes. The print shows several buildings engulfed in flames, Redcoats beating citizens, and African slaves looting, but contemporary accounts describe a night of desperate attempts to control the blaze and chaotic evacuations. The map, on the other hand, is the work of David Grim, a lifelong resident of New York who created several maps in his old age based on his memory of the city. Though his map was produced long after the event, it is likely the more accurate of the two sources.

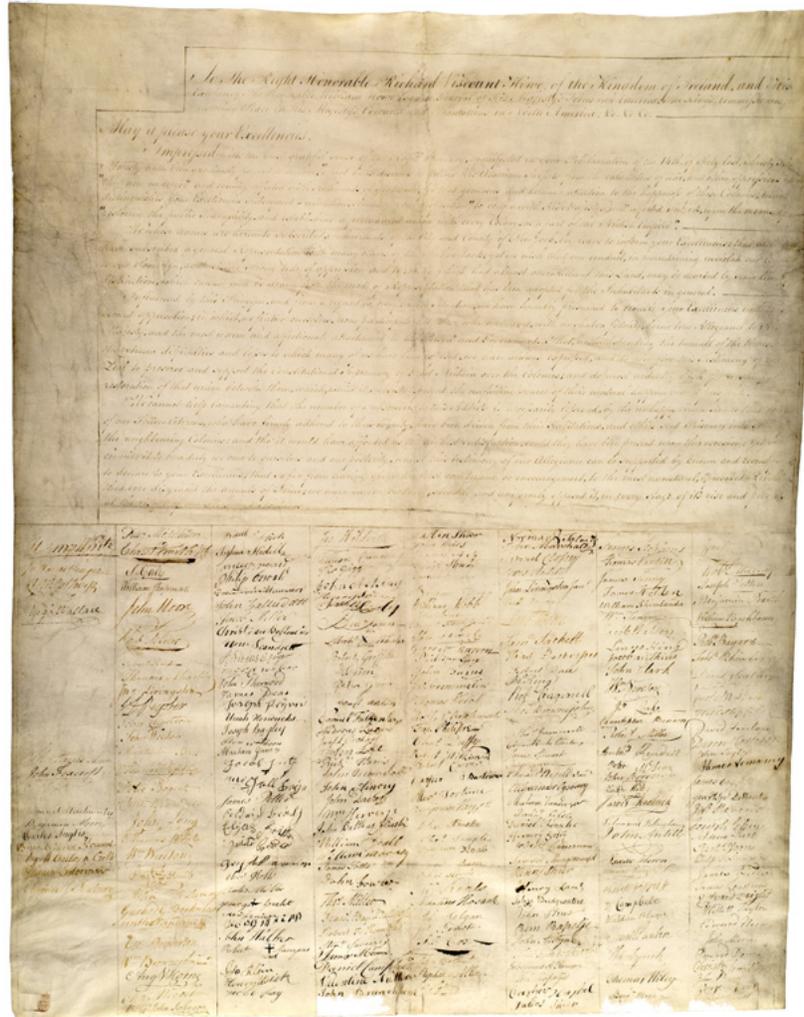
## DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

- ▶ Why was the Great Fire damaging to the British cause?
- ▶ Why was an engraver in France producing images of the American Revolution?
- ▶ Why was George Washington pleased to learn about the destruction of New York?

## THE DECLARATION OF DEPENDENCE

After the British took possession of New York City it became the capital of the loyalist cause. Loyalists who had fled the city when it was under patriot rule returned, and loyalist refugees from New Jersey and other surrounding areas fled to New York for protection.

Free from the oversight of the zealous Sons of Liberty and eager to demonstrate their loyalty to the British Crown, New York loyalists prepared this “Declaration of Dependence” as a direct counterpoint to the Declaration of Independence issued by the Second Continental Congress earlier in the year. This Declaration sat in Scott’s Tavern on Wall Street for three days in November 1776, where 547 loyalists from New York signed it. Combined with additional signatures from an earlier draft, over 700 men declared their loyalty to the Crown, twelve times more than those who signed the Declaration of Independence. The signers included farmers, freed slaves, wealthy merchants, and the leaders of some of New York’s most prominent families. But the bulk of the names



*Petition of 547 loyalists from New York City, November 28 1776, 1776. Manuscript. New-York Historical Society Library.*

belonged to New York’s working class, men like James Orchard, a baker who supplied bread for British troops, and James Stewart, a Greenwich blacksmith who joined the British Army.

The signers hoped the declaration would secure them better treatment and immunity from the corruption, violence, and requisition of property that befell New Yorkers immediately following the British occupation by proving they were not enemies of the Crown and could be trusted. After the war, many of those who signed this declaration emigrated to Canada or the British Isles, rather than face the ire of the new American government.

Read the transcription [here](#).

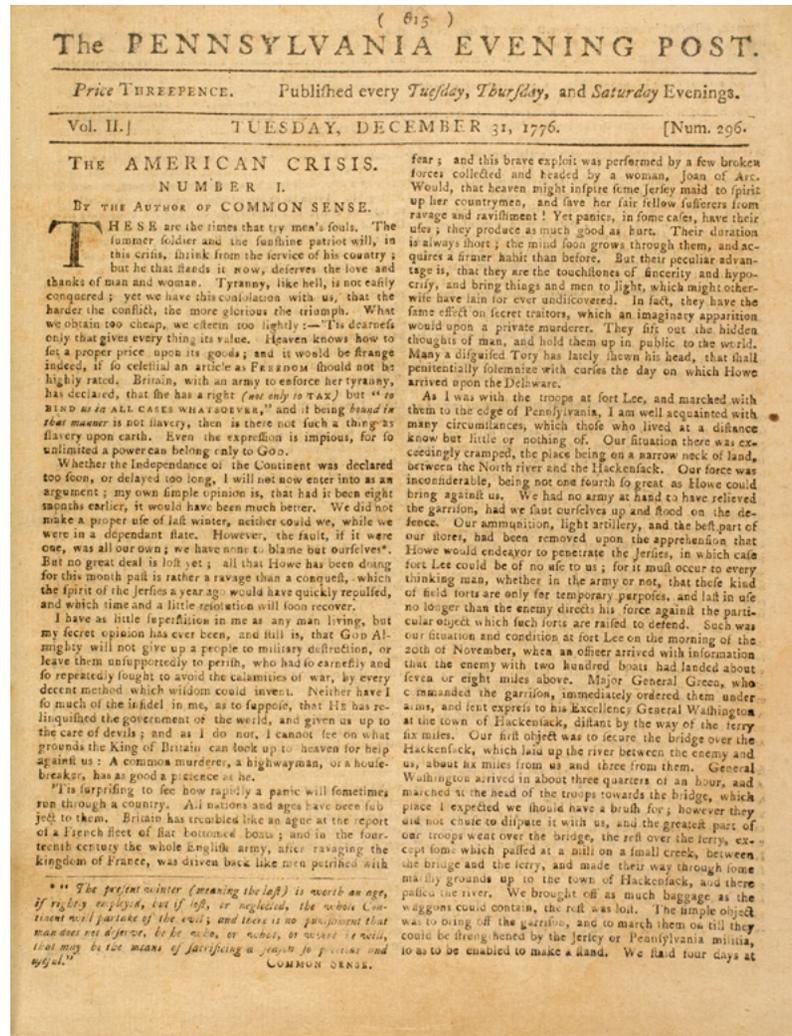
### DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

- Why did loyalists issue the Declaration of Dependence after New York had fallen to the British?
- How does this document characterize the patriots?

## THE AMERICAN CRISIS

The year 1776 was a devastating one for the American forces. After the debacle of the Battle of Brooklyn, the escape from New York, and the fall of Fort Washington, George Washington and his men were forced to retreat to New Jersey as a bitter winter set in. Morale among the troops and the general population was at an all-time low.

Thomas Paine, who had set the American cause afire at the start of the year with his pamphlet *Common Sense*, sought to breathe new life into the floundering rebellion at the year's end with a new series of pamphlets collectively known as *The American Crisis*. Paine was aide-de-camp to General Nathanael Greene at Fort Lee, and witnessed firsthand the disaster at Fort Washington and the retreat to Newark. Well aware of how dire the situation had become, Paine began his new work with a brief yet compelling summation of the mood that suffused the Continental Army: "These are the times that try men's souls." As with *Common Sense*, Paine wrote in plain English that



Thomas Paine, "The American Crisis Number 1," *The Pennsylvania Evening Post*, 31 December 1776. Philadelphia: Benjamin Towne. New-York Historical Society Library.

common men could understand, and he made a strong case for the ongoing War for American Independence, claiming "America will never be happy till she gets clear of foreign dominion." Paine urged his readers to not let the fear and chaos of war detract from their duties as citizens of the new nation, and warned those who were wavering that "Howe is mercifully inviting you to barbarous destruction." Paine understood that victory depended not on the technicalities of troops and supplies, but on the conviction of the colonists. Read excerpts [here](#).

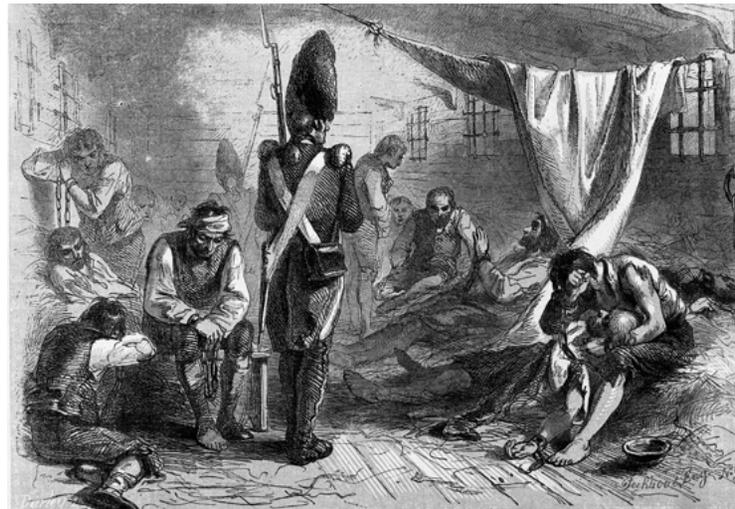
## DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

- What is the crisis referenced in the title?
- What is Paine's advice for the patriots?

# THE PRISON SHIPS

Traditionally, eighteenth-century rules of war allowed for the parole of prisoners of war. Prisoners would give their word not to bear arms again until formally released in a prisoner exchange, and in the meantime, they would be allowed to return to civilian life. This saved the armies on both sides from having to house and feed thousands of captives. But during the American Revolution, the British government was reluctant to make any kind of concession that would seem to legitimize the claims of the new Continental Congress, and so instead of classifying American prisoners as members of a foreign military eligible for parole, it labeled them rebels and traitors, making them common criminals who would need to be imprisoned for the duration of the war. After every major victory, they found themselves with hundreds of these prisoners, and had no clear plan for what to do with them.

After the fire of 1776, New York City did not have adequate buildings to house the residents of the city, let alone thousands of prisoners.



(Top) Charles Parsons, [Prison Ship Jersey], ca.1775-ca.1890. Engraving. The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs: Print Collection, The New York Public Library. (Bottom) Felix Octavius Carr Darley, engraved by Edward Bookhout, *Interior of the old Jersey prison ship, in the Revolutionary War*, 1855. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

Desperate for a solution, the British stripped twenty-five ships that were no longer seaworthy and permanently anchored them in and around Wallabout Bay to act as prisons. The most notorious of the prison ships in New York was the *Jersey*, pictured here.

Corruption in the management of the ships and the sadistic treatment of inmates by guards combined to make conditions aboard abominable. Over 11,500 prisoners died of starvation and contagious diseases, more American deaths than in all of the battles and campaigns of the Revolution combined. Corpses were unceremoniously thrown into the bay. The remains of those who died on the ships washed ashore in Brooklyn for the next century.

## DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

- ▶ Why did the British have so many captive American soldiers?
- ▶ What were the conditions aboard the prison ships? What happened to the men aboard them?

## MARGARET CORBIN

**M**argaret Corbin was born Margaret Cochran on November 12, 1751 on the frontier of western Pennsylvania. When Margaret, age five, and her brother were away visiting an uncle, a war party of Native Americans killed her father and kidnapped her mother. Margaret's uncle adopted and raised the children.

In 1772, Margaret married a farmer from Virginia named John Corbin, and when John enlisted in the Pennsylvania militia in 1775 to fight the British, Margaret went with him as a “camp follower.” She worked for John's regiment, receiving a small stipend to cook, clean, and care for the sick and wounded.

The Corbins' regiment marched to New York and was stationed at Fort Washington (located today at West 183rd Street and Fort Washington Avenue). On November 16, 1776, when the British attacked the fort, Margaret followed her husband into battle. John was a matross, responsible for loading cannons, and he fired upon the Hessians as their ships moved up the Hudson River. When John and

most of his team were killed, Margaret took over firing the cannon. Her aim was so excellent that the Hessians concentrated their fire on her to eliminate the threat she posed. Even so, her cannon was the last to stop firing. Margaret was found in critical condition. She had been hit by three musket balls and grapeshot, and had sustained wounds to her jaw and chest. Her left arm had been nearly severed, and would remain paralyzed for the rest of her life.

Margaret was paroled along with the other wounded prisoners, and she joined the Invalid Regiment at West Point, where she helped cook meals and gave aid to other wounded soldiers.



Herbert Knoetel, *Margaret Corbin*, c. 1955.  
Watercolor on paper.  
Courtesy of the West Point Museum  
Collection, United States Military Academy.

Margaret's injuries meant she could not work to support herself. Even simple tasks, such as dressing and feeding herself, had become impossible. Margaret also struggled to settle down into a traditional woman's role. Local women rejected her for her rough manner and drinking habit. But the soldiers she fought with remembered her courage, and stories about her contributions to the American cause made their

way to the Continental Congress. On July 6, 1779, in recognition of her service, Congress awarded her a lifelong pension, albeit one that was half the amount a man would receive. She was the first woman to receive a military

pension from the new government. A few years later, Congress also awarded her a clothing and rum allowance. General Henry Knox personally supplied her with a servant to help her bathe and eat. She died in 1800 in Pennsylvania at the age of 49.

Margaret Corbin did not receive full military honors upon her death. It wasn't until the New York State Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR) verified Margaret's record in 1926 that her remains were re-interred with full military honors at the West Point Cemetery. She is one of only two Revolutionary War soldiers buried there.

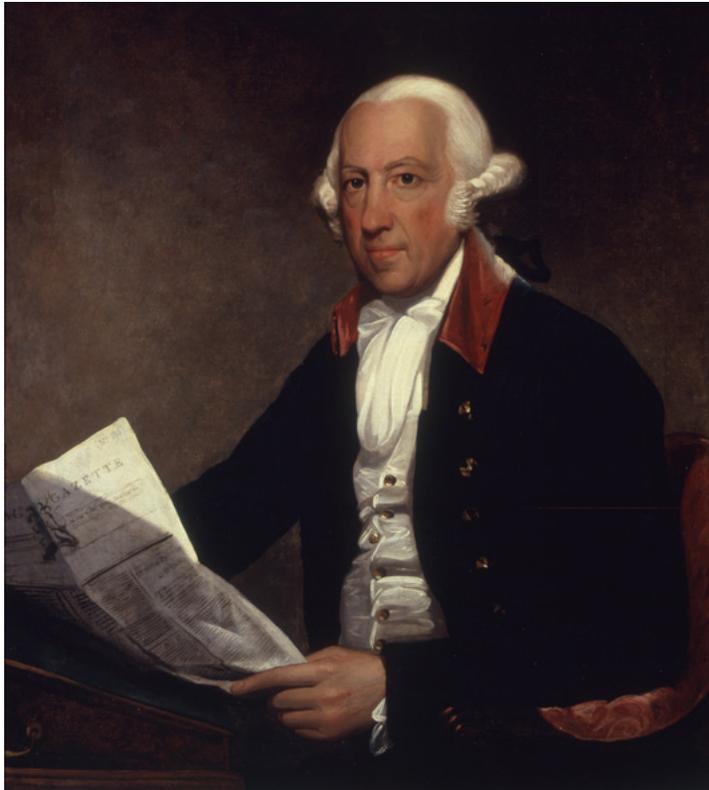
**DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:**

- What work did women traditionally do in a military camp?
- How did Margaret earn her pension?
- Why did Margaret struggle to rejoin civilian life after the war?
- Why is Margaret's story important?

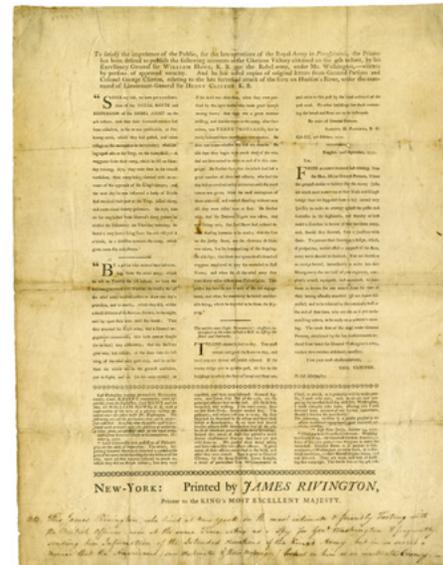
## JAMES RIVINGTON

James Rivington was born in London in 1724. The son of a bookseller and publisher, James was raised to work in the family trade. In 1742, he inherited a share of his father's business, but he promptly lost it gambling on horse races. In 1760, James moved to the American colonies for a new start. He spent his first year in Philadelphia before moving to New York and setting up a print shop on Wall Street.

James published a newspaper entitled *Rivington's New-York Gazetteer* in 1773. It quickly became one of the most widely circulated papers in



the colonies. His aim was to present a diversity of viewpoints on the political issues of the day, but over time the paper evolved to reflect his personal, hyper-conservative, loyalist outlook. On May 10, 1775, a mob led by the Sons of Liberty attacked his home and workshop, and he fled to



(Left) Ezra James, *James Rivington, Sr.*, 1806. Oil on canvas. New-York Historical Society, Gift of Dr. Samuel C. Ellis. (Above) James Rivington, *To satisfy the impatience of the public, for the late operations of the Royal Army in Pennsylvania, 1777. Broadside.* New York: James Rivington. New-York Historical Society Library.

a British warship in the harbor for safety. James continued to publish his paper with the help of assistants, and in November 1776, another Sons of Liberty mob destroyed his printing press. Effectively ruined, James chose to flee to London in early 1776.

While in London, James was appointed the king's printer for New York, which granted him royal support of his publishing and a yearly income of 100 pounds. After the British retook New York, James returned with a new press and a new newspaper, *Rivington's New York Loyal Gazette*, which he eventually renamed *The Royal Gazette*. This new paper earned a reputation for its utter disregard for the truth as it tried to lift loyalist spirits with false reports of Benjamin Franklin's assassination or Washington's new position as dictator. The paper was the equivalent of a modern-day tabloid, and even staunch loyalists were skeptical of its worth. Undaunted, James continued to publish his paper throughout the war.

At the war's end, the British troops evacuated New York on November 25, 1783, and many of the city's loyalists went with them. Much to everyone's surprise, James stayed. Why would someone who had spent nearly a decade disparaging the patriot cause choose to live under their new government? Because sometime between his return to the city and the

## JAMES RIVINGTON

CONTINUED

end of the war, perhaps as early as the summer of 1779, James Rivington had turned his coat and become a spy for the Americans!

**J**ames was a member of the Culper Spy Ring, a network of New York residents who used coded language and invisible ink to send George Washington intelligence on the British. James, code name 726, owned a coffee shop attached to his offices that was a popular gathering place for British officers. He made it possible for members of the Culper Ring to sit in the coffee house for hours so they could overhear the conversations of the officers. He also passed along his own pieces of information bound within the covers of books he sold. The men bringing the books to Washington, code name 711, never even knew there were letters inside. Over the years, James was able to pass along invaluable pieces of information, including the British naval fleet's code book.

Like any good spy, James covered his tracks well. There is very little evidence that explains why he had such a drastic change of heart. Was it frustration with life under British military rule? Dissatisfaction with the way the war was managed? Did James realize that an American victory was inevitable and decide he needed to make a change to protect his family? Or was he simply in it for the money? Regardless of his motives, James's ongoing campaign of virulent pro-British publications made a perfect cover for his subterfuge.

James lived out the rest of his days in New York, but he was never able to overcome his reputation as a pro-British zealot. Within a year of Evacuation Day, November 25, 1783, James's printing business went bankrupt, and when he passed away in 1802 at the age of 78, he was penniless.

**DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:**

- ▶ Why did George Washington establish a spy ring in New York?
- ▶ How did James Rivington's reputation make him a perfect spy?
- ▶ Why did James die penniless?
- ▶ Is Rivington's newspaper a valuable source of information for historians? Why or why not?

## THE BATTLE OF BROOKLYN



# EPILOGUE

by **Barnet Schecter**

**T**he British officer who carried to London the news of General Howe's triumph in the Battle of Brooklyn at the end of August 1776 returned to New York in mid-December to announce that all of Britain was ecstatic. The king conferred a knighthood, the Order of Bath, on Commander in Chief William Howe, who would henceforth be known as Sir William. Pleased with his successes, Howe settled comfortably into the elegant Beekman House, attended lavish parties, and indulged his penchant for gambling. He dispatched General Charles Cornwallis in half-hearted pursuit of George Washington and the Continental Army across New Jersey, but once again gave up the chase when the rebels crossed the Delaware River into Pennsylvania.

Washington re-crossed the Delaware ([see accompanying image](#)), and his stunning victories at Trenton and Princeton in late December and early January revealed that New York had been a hollow victory for the British Army. Despite defeating the rebels at Brooklyn, Kips Bay, White Plains, and Fort Mifflin, as well as capturing the city and its environs, General William Howe and his brother Admiral Richard Howe had failed to accomplish the one critical task that would win the war: destroying Washington's army.

On its face the New York campaign of 1776 was a series of defeats and retreats for the Americans, but in retrospect, the campaign was a victory in disguise. The need to keep a large number of their troops and ships in New York to protect their base of operations meant that the British Army was unable to come to the aid of General John Burgoyne at Saratoga in 1777 and Cornwallis at Yorktown in 1781, the two major turning points of the war. And while New York's vast harbor seemed the perfect naval base for the British, direct access to the Atlantic Ocean was limited to a narrow channel at Sandy Hook, New Jersey, surrounded by treacherous sand bars just below



George Washington Mark, *Washington Crossing the Delaware*, before 1850. Oil on canvas, New-York Historical Society, The Folk Art Collection of Elie and Viola Nadelman.

the surface. The fleet dispatched to rescue Cornwallis in Virginia waited a week at Sandy Hook before the right combination of tide and wind could carry them through the channel; they passed through to the ocean on the very day that Cornwallis surrendered.

New York also proved damaging to British and Loyalist morale. During the seven-year occupation of the city from 1776–1783, civilians endured the imposition of martial law, mandatory quartering of troops in their homes, repeated failures on the part of the officers to punish crimes committed by the troops, as well as rampant corruption and profiteering. The conditions in British New York alienated loyalist support and undermined British power in the region. The last British commander in New York, Sir Guy Carleton, tried to make reforms, but they proved to be too little, too late.

After the Treaty of Paris ended the war, George Washington and his troops marched triumphantly into the city on November 25, 1783 as Carleton's redcoats boarded their ships back to England, leaving behind the independent United States of America.



# GLOSSARY

**American:** A colonist who supported the idea of independence and/or fought for the Continental Army.

**Battles of Lexington and Concord:**

The first military engagements of the American Revolution. The battles took place on April 19, 1775 in Middlesex County, Massachusetts, which includes the towns of Lexington and Concord. The Americans successfully drove the British back to Boston, and began the open armed rebellion against the Crown.

**bound:** Refers to being bound to service. A common practice in early America, when a parent or family member would bind their child to another person as a servant or apprentice for a set amount of time.

**camp follower:** A civilian who works in or is attached to a military camp.

**commander in chief:** The military officer selected to oversee the entire army or navy during a war. All other officers report to the commander in chief.

**Committee of One Hundred:** The third iteration of an extra-legal group formed by New York residents to contest the legislation and policies of the British Crown and enforce boycotts of British goods. Created on May 1, 1775.

**countersign:** A signal or password given in reply to a soldier on guard duty.

**courier:** A person who delivers messages, packages, and mail.

**curate:** A member of the clergy employed to assist a rector or vicar. Considered able to save parishioners' souls.

**embargo:** A ban on trade.

**First Continental Congress:** A meeting of delegates from twelve of the thirteen colonies that met from September 5 to October 26, 1774 at Carpenters' Hall in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. They met to consider actions they could take against the British Intolerable Acts, and declared a boycott against British goods.

**grapeshot:** Ammunition consisting of a number of small iron balls fired together from a cannon.

**Harlem Heights:** Neighborhood north of 125th Street on the West Side of Manhattan, known today as Hamilton Heights. The actual Battle of Harlem Heights took place further south, in the area known today as Morningside Heights, but the American troops were deployed from Harlem Heights, which is how the battle got its name.

**Hell Gate:** A narrow tidal strait in the East River in New York City. It separates Astoria, Queens, from Randall's and Wards Islands

**interwar period:** Period between the French and Indian War and the American Revolutionary War.

**Kips Bay:** An area on the east side of Manhattan. Found today between East 23rd Street to the south, East 34th Street to the north, Lexington Avenue to the west, and the East River to the east.

**Loyalists:** American colonists who remained loyal to the British Crown during the American Revolutionary War. Also known as Tories, royalists, or King's men.

**matross:** A soldier of artillery, who ranked next below a gunner and assisted the gunners in loading, firing, and cleaning the guns.

**Member of Parliament (MP):** The representative of voters to Parliament.

**militia:** A group of citizen volunteers organized for military service. The Continental Army was comprised of militia at the start of the American Revolution.

**Parliament:** The representational branch of British government.

**Patriot:** A colonist of the Thirteen Colonies who rebelled against British control during the American Revolution, and in July 1776, declared the United States of America an independent nation.

**parole:** The release of a prisoner temporarily (for a special purpose) or permanently before the completion of a sentence, on the promise of good behavior.

**Provincial Congress of New York:** An organization formed by colonists in 1775, during the American Revolution, as a pro-American alternative to the more conservative Province of New York Assembly, and as a replacement for the Committee of One Hundred.

**redoubt:** A small, usually temporary, enclosed defensive structure.

**subterfuge:** Deceit used in order to achieve one's goal.

**traitor:** A person who betrays a friend, country, principle, etc.

**trench:** A long narrow ditch soldiers use for cover.

**Viscount:** A rank in the British nobility. Members of the British nobility inherit their wealth and status from their parents and wield great political and economic power in the country.

**Wallabout Bay:** A small body of water along the northwest shore of the New York City borough of Brooklyn, between the present Williamsburg and Manhattan Bridges. Wallabout Bay is the site of the Brooklyn Navy Yard.

**Whig:** A British political party known to be sympathetic to the American cause. Eventually, Whig became a term early American patriots appropriated to describe those who were opposed to British conservative policies and the conservative party, the Tories.



## SUGGESTED READING

### BOOKS

Berkin, Carol. *Revolutionary Mothers: Women in the Struggle for America's Independence*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005.

Billias, George Athan. *General John Glover and his Marblehead Mariners*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1960.

Burrows, Edwin G. and Mike Wallace. *Gotham: A History of New York City to 1898*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Burrows, Edwin G. *Forgotten Patriots: The Untold Story of American Prisoners during the Revolution*. New York: Basic Books, 2008.

Dann, John C. *The Revolution Remembered: Eyewitness Accounts of the War for Independence*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1980.

Fitch, Jabez. *The New York Diary of Jabez Fitch*. Edited by W.H.W. Sabine. New York: New York Times and Arno Press, 1954.

Kilmeade, Brian and Don Yaeger. *George Washington's Secret Six: The Spy Ring That Saved the American Revolution*. New York: Penguin, 2013.

McCullough, David. *1776*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 2005.

Schecter, Barnet. *The Battle for New York*. New York: Penguin, 2003.

Washington, George. *The Papers of George Washington, Revolutionary War Series*. Edited by Philander D. Chase and Frank E. Grizzard Jr. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1994.

### WEBSITES

**Daughters of the American Revolution, [www.dar.org/](http://www.dar.org/)** An organization founded by patriotic women who were originally excluded from male patriotic organizations. The organization and website aim to perpetuate the memory and spirit of the women and men who achieved American independence.

**National Archives Founders Online, <http://founders.archives.gov/>** Produced by the National Archives, in partnership with the University of Virginia Press, to make freely available thousands of records from George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, Alexander Hamilton, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, and James Madison in order to see firsthand the growth of democracy and the birth of the Republic.

**Journal of the American Revolution, <https://allthingsliberty.com/>** Online journal featuring blog posts, narratives, and historical investigation by scholars in an easily digestible form.

**Mount Vernon Educational Resources, [www.mountvernon.org/education/](http://www.mountvernon.org/education/)** A good source for teachers seeking out reproductions of primary documents and items pertaining to George Washington.

**Full Text Transcription of *Deceiver Unmasked*, <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/evans/N32756.0001.001?view=toc>**

**Full Text of First and Second American Crisis Pamphlets, [https://mises.org/sites/default/files/The%20Complete%20Writings%20of%20Thomas%20Paine,%20Volume%201\\_2.pdf](https://mises.org/sites/default/files/The%20Complete%20Writings%20of%20Thomas%20Paine,%20Volume%201_2.pdf)**



# SOURCE NOTES

The materials provided in this curriculum draw extensively on unpublished research for *The Battle of Brooklyn*, conducted by the exhibition team. In addition, the following sources were consulted for individual resource descriptions and life stories:

## UNIT 1: THE GATHERING STORM:

### Background Essay:

Barnet Schecter, *The Battle for New York* (New York: Penguin, 2003); “General Charles Lee to George Washington”, February 19, 1776, George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress; Litchfield Historical Society, “His Melted Majesty,” copyright 2016, [www.litchfieldhistoricalsociety.org/museum/exhibit6.php](http://www.litchfieldhistoricalsociety.org/museum/exhibit6.php) (accessed 5-12-16); Gary B. Nash, *The Unknown American Revolution: The Unruly Birth of Democracy and the Struggle to Create America* (New York: Penguin, 2005); David McCullough, *1776* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2005).

### Resource 1: Why New York?

Andrew Macnair, *Faden’s Map of Norfolk*, copyright 2005–2016, [www.fadensmapofnorfolk.co.uk/williamfaden.asp](http://www.fadensmapofnorfolk.co.uk/williamfaden.asp) (accessed 5-4-16); Carolina Antique Maps and Prints, *William Faden*, copyright 2006–2016, [www.carolinaantiqueprints.com/blogs/artist-biographies/7173916-william-faden](http://www.carolinaantiqueprints.com/blogs/artist-biographies/7173916-william-faden), (accessed 5-4-16); Barnet Schecter, *The Battle for New York* (New York: Penguin, 2003).

### Resource 2: Thoughts on the City

Barnet Schecter, *The Battle for New York* (New York: Penguin, 2003); Sir Henry Clinton, *The American Rebellion: Sir Henry Clinton’s Narrative of His Campaigns, 1775-1782, with an Appendix of Original Documents*, ed. William B. Willcox. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954); David McCullough, *1776* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2005).

### Resource 3: The Deceiver Unmasked

Edwin G. Burrows and Mike Wallace, *Gotham: A History of New York City to 1898* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); Judith Fingard, “INGLIS, CHARLES,” in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Vol. 5*, University of

Toronto/Université Laval, 2003, [www.biographi.ca/en/bio/inglis\\_charles\\_5E.html](http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/inglis_charles_5E.html) (accessed 5-24-16); Charles Inglis, *The Deceiver Unmasked; or Loyalty and interest united: in answer to a pamphlet entitled Common sense./By a loyal American*, Anne Arbor, MI: Text Creation Partnership, 2008–2009, <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/evans/N32756.0001.001?view=toc> (accessed 5-24-16).

### Resource 4: Welcome to Staten Island!

Barnet Schecter, *The Battle for New York* (New York: Penguin, 2003); “Letter from an officer in the 35th regiment, at Staten Island, July 9, 1776” in Margaret Wheeler Willard, *Letters on the American Revolution: 1774-1776* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1925), 341.

### Resource 5: Fear and Danger in New York

Edwin G. Burrows and Mike Wallace, *Gotham: A History of New York City to 1898* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); Barnet Schecter, *The Battle for New York* (New York: Penguin, 2003).

### Resource 6: Preparing for Battle

Massachusetts Historical Society, *Broadsides*, copyright 2016,

[www.masshist.org/collections/broadsides](http://www.masshist.org/collections/broadsides) (accessed 5-25-16); Edwin G. Burrows and Mike Wallace, *Gotham: A History of New York City to 1898* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

### The Beekman Family Life Story:

Philip L. White, *The Beekmans of New York: In Politics and Commerce, 1647-1877* (New York: New-York Historical Society, 1956); William Benford Aitken, *Distinguished Families in America, Descended from Wilhelmus Beekman and Jan Thomasse Van Dyke* (New York: Knickerbocker Press, 1912).

### Lorenda Holmes Life Story:

Lorenda Holmes, *NORTH AMERICA: Compensation: Memorial and petition of Lorenda Holmes for compensation for loss of property in New York city, and Sufferings experienced when acting as a courier for the Loyalist cause*, 1789. The National Archives of the UK at Kew (TNA).; Linda Grant De Pauw, *Founding Mothers: Women in America in the Revolutionary Era* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1994); Edwin G. Burrows and Mike Wallace, *Gotham: A History of New York City to 1898* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

## THE BATTLE OF BROOKLYN



# SOURCE NOTES

CONTINUED

### UNIT 2: THE BATTLE OF BROOKLYN

**Background Essay:** Edwin G. Burrows and Mike Wallace, *Gotham: A History of New York City to 1898* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); David McCullough, *1776* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2005); Barnet Schecter, *The Battle for New York* (New York: Penguin, 2003).

#### **Resource 7: The Opposing Armies**

Steven Schwamenfeld, “The Foundation of British Strength: National Identity and the Common British Soldier.” Ph.D. diss., Florida State University 2007, 123–124; Charles MacKubin Lefferts, *Uniforms of the Armies in the War of the American Revolution, 1775-1783* (New York: The New-York Historical Society, 1926).

#### **Resource 8: Jamaica Pass—The Fatal Flaw**

Sir Henry Clinton, *The American Rebellion: Sir Henry Clinton’s Narrative of His Campaigns, 1775-1782, with an Appendix of Original Documents*, ed. William B. Willcox, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954); Barnet Schecter, *The Battle for New York* (New York: Penguin, 2003).

#### **Resource 9: A Battle Account**

Jabez Fitch, *The New York Diary of Jabez Fitch*, ed. W.H.W. Sabine (New York: New York Times and Arno Press, 1954); Barnet Schecter, *The Battle for New York* (New York: Penguin, 2003).

#### **Resource 10: The Skillful Evacuation**

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## THE BATTLE OF BROOKLYN



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CONTINUED

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# CURRICULUM STANDARDS

## NEW YORK STATE LEARNING STANDARDS FOR SOCIAL STUDIES

### Standard 1: History of the United States and New York

Students will use a variety of intellectual skills to demonstrate their understanding of major ideas, eras, themes, developments, and turning points in the history of the United States and New York.

### Standard 5: Civics, Citizenship, and Government

Students will use a variety of intellectual skills to demonstrate their understanding of the necessity for establishing governments; the governmental systems of the United States and other nations; the United States Constitution; the basic civic values of American constitutional democracy; and the roles, rights, and responsibilities of citizenship, including avenues of participation.

## GRADE 4

<b>4.1: GEOGRAPHY OF NEW YORK STATE: New York State has a diverse geography. Various maps can be used to represent and examine the geography of New York State.</b>	<b>Unit 1</b>	<b>Unit 2</b>	<b>Unit 3</b>
<b>4.1a</b> Physical and thematic maps can be used to explore New York State's diverse geography.	X	X	
<b>4.1b</b> New York State can be represented using a political map that shows cities, capitals, and boundaries.	X	X	
<b>4.3: COLONIAL AND REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD IN NEW YORK: European exploration led to the colonization of the region that became New York State. Beginning in the early 1600s, colonial New York was home to people from many different countries. Colonial New York was important during the Revolutionary Period.</b>	<b>Unit 1</b>	<b>Unit 2</b>	<b>Unit 3</b>
<b>4.3b</b> Colonial New York became home to many different peoples, including European immigrants, and free and enslaved Africans. Colonists developed different lifestyles.	X		
<b>4.3d</b> Growing conflicts between England and the 13 colonies over issues of political and economic rights led to the American Revolution. New York played a significant role during the Revolution, in part due to its geographic location.	X	X	X

## GRADE 7

<b>7.3: AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE: Growing tensions over political power and economic issues sparked a movement for independence from Great Britain. New York played a critical role in the course and outcome of the American Revolution.</b>	<b>Unit 1</b>	<b>Unit 2</b>	<b>Unit 3</b>
<b>7.3a</b> Conflicts between France and Great Britain in the 17th and 18th centuries in North America altered the relationship between the colonies and Great Britain.	X		
<b>7.3b</b> Stemming from the French and Indian War, the British government enacted and attempted to enforce new political and economic policies in the colonies. These policies triggered varied colonial responses, including protests and dissent.	X	X	X
<b>7.3c</b> Influenced by Enlightenment ideas and their rights as Englishmen, American colonial leaders outlined their grievances against British policies and actions in the Declaration of Independence.	X		X
<b>7.3d</b> The outcome of the American Revolution was influenced by military strategies, geographic considerations, the involvement of the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) and other Native American groups in the war, and aid from other nations. The Treaty of Paris (1783) established the terms of peace.		X	X

## GRADE 10

<b>10.2: ENLIGHTENMENT, REVOLUTION, AND NATIONALISM: The Enlightenment called into question traditional beliefs and inspired widespread political, economic, and social change. This intellectual movement was used to challenge political authorities in Europe and colonial rule in the Americas. These ideals inspired political and social movements.</b>	<b>Unit 1</b>	<b>Unit 2</b>	<b>Unit 3</b>
<b>10.2c</b> Individuals and groups drew upon principles of the Enlightenment to spread rebellions and call for revolutions in France and the Americas.	X		X



# CURRICULUM STANDARDS

CONTINUED

## GRADE 11

<b>11.1: COLONIAL FOUNDATIONS (1607–1763): European colonization in North America prompted cultural contact and exchange between diverse peoples; cultural differences and misunderstandings at times led to conflict. A variety of factors contributed to the development of regional differences, including social and racial hierarchies, in colonial America.</b>	<b>Unit 1</b>	<b>Unit 2</b>	<b>Unit 3</b>
<b>11.1c</b> Colonial political developments were influenced by British political traditions, Enlightenment ideas, and the colonial experience. Self-governing structures were common, and yet varied across the colonies.	X		X
<b>11.2: CONSTITUTIONAL FOUNDATIONS (1763–1824): Growing political and economic tensions led the American colonists to declare their independence from Great Britain. Once independent, the new nation confronted the challenge of creating a stable federal republic.</b>	<b>Unit 1</b>	<b>Unit 2</b>	<b>Unit 3</b>
<b>11.2a</b> Following the French and Indian War, the British government attempted to gain greater political and economic control over the colonies. Colonists resisted these efforts, leading to increasing tensions between the colonists and the British government.	X		X
<b>11.2b</b> Failed attempts to mitigate the conflicts between the British government and the colonists led the colonists to declare independence, which they eventually won through the Revolutionary War, which affected individuals in different ways.	X	X	X

# COMMON CORE STATE STANDARDS FOR ENGLISH LANGUAGE ARTS & LITERACY IN HISTORY/SOCIAL STUDIES

## GRADES 6-8

<b>Key Ideas and Details</b>	<b>Unit 1</b>	<b>Unit 2</b>	<b>Unit 3</b>
1) Cite specific textual evidence to support analysis of primary and secondary sources.	X	X	X
2) Determine the central ideas or information of a primary or secondary source; provide an accurate summary of the source distinct from prior knowledge or opinions.	X	X	X
3) Identify key steps in a text’s description of a process related to history/social studies (e.g., how a bill becomes law, how interest rates are raised or lowered).	X	X	X
<b>Craft and Structure</b>			
4) Determine the meaning of words and phrases as they are used in a text, including vocabulary specific to domains related to history/social studies.	X	X	X
5) Describe how a text presents information (e.g., sequentially, comparatively, causally).	X	X	X
6) Identify aspects of a text that reveal an author’s point of view or purpose (e.g., loaded language, inclusion or avoidance of particular facts).	X	X	X
<b>Integration of Knowledge and Ideas</b>			
7) Integrate visual information (e.g., in charts, graphs, photographs, videos, or maps) with other information in print and digital texts.	X	X	X
8) Distinguish among fact, opinion, and reasoned judgment in a text.	X	X	X
9) Analyze a case in which two or more texts provide conflicting information on the same topic and identify where the texts disagree on matters of fact or interpretation.	X	X	X

## THE BATTLE OF BROOKLYN



# CURRICULUM STANDARDS

CONTINUED

### GRADES 9-10

Key Ideas and Details	Unit 1	Unit 2	Unit 3
1) Cite specific textual evidence to support analysis of primary and secondary sources, attending to such features as the date and origin of the information.	X	X	X
2) Determine the central ideas or information of a primary or secondary source; provide an accurate summary of how key events or ideas develop over the course of the text.	X	X	X
3) Analyze in detail a series of events described in a text; determine whether earlier events caused later ones or simply preceded them.	X	X	X
Craft and Structure			
4) Determine the meaning of words and phrases as they are used in a text, including vocabulary describing political, social, or economic aspects of history/social science.	X	X	X
5) Analyze how a text uses structure to emphasize key points or advance an explanation or analysis.	X	X	X
6) Compare the point of view of two or more authors for how they treat the same or similar topics, including which details they include and emphasize in their respective accounts.	X		X
Integration of Knowledge and Ideas			
7) Integrate quantitative or technical analysis (e.g., charts, research data) with qualitative analysis in print or digital text.	X	X	X
8) Assess the extent to which the reasoning and evidence in a text support the author's claims.	X		X
9) Compare and contrast treatments of the same topic in several primary and secondary sources.	X	X	X

### GRADES 11-12

Key Ideas and Details	Unit 1	Unit 2	Unit 3
1) Cite specific textual evidence to support analysis of primary and secondary sources, connecting insights gained from specific details to an understanding of the text as a whole.	X	X	X
2) Determine the central ideas or information of a primary or secondary source; provide an accurate summary that makes clear the relationships among the key details and ideas.	X	X	X
3) Evaluate various explanations for actions or events and determine which explanation best accords with textual evidence, acknowledging where the text leaves matters uncertain.	X	X	X
Craft and Structure			
4) Determine the meaning of words and phrases as they are used in a text, including analyzing how an author uses and refines the meaning of a key term over the course of a text (e.g., how Madison defines faction in Federalist No. 10).	X	X	X
5) Analyze in detail how a complex primary source is structured, including how key sentences, paragraphs, and larger portions of the text contribute to the whole.	X	X	X
6) Evaluate authors' differing points of view on the same historical event or issue by assessing the authors' claims, reasoning, and evidence.	X		X
Integration of Knowledge and Ideas			
7) Integrate and evaluate multiple sources of information presented in diverse formats and media (e.g., visually, quantitatively, as well as in words) in order to address a question or solve a problem.	X	X	X
8) Evaluate an author's premises, claims, and evidence by corroborating or challenging them with other information.	X		X
9) Integrate information from diverse sources, both primary and secondary, into a coherent understanding of an idea or event, noting discrepancies among sources.	X	X	X



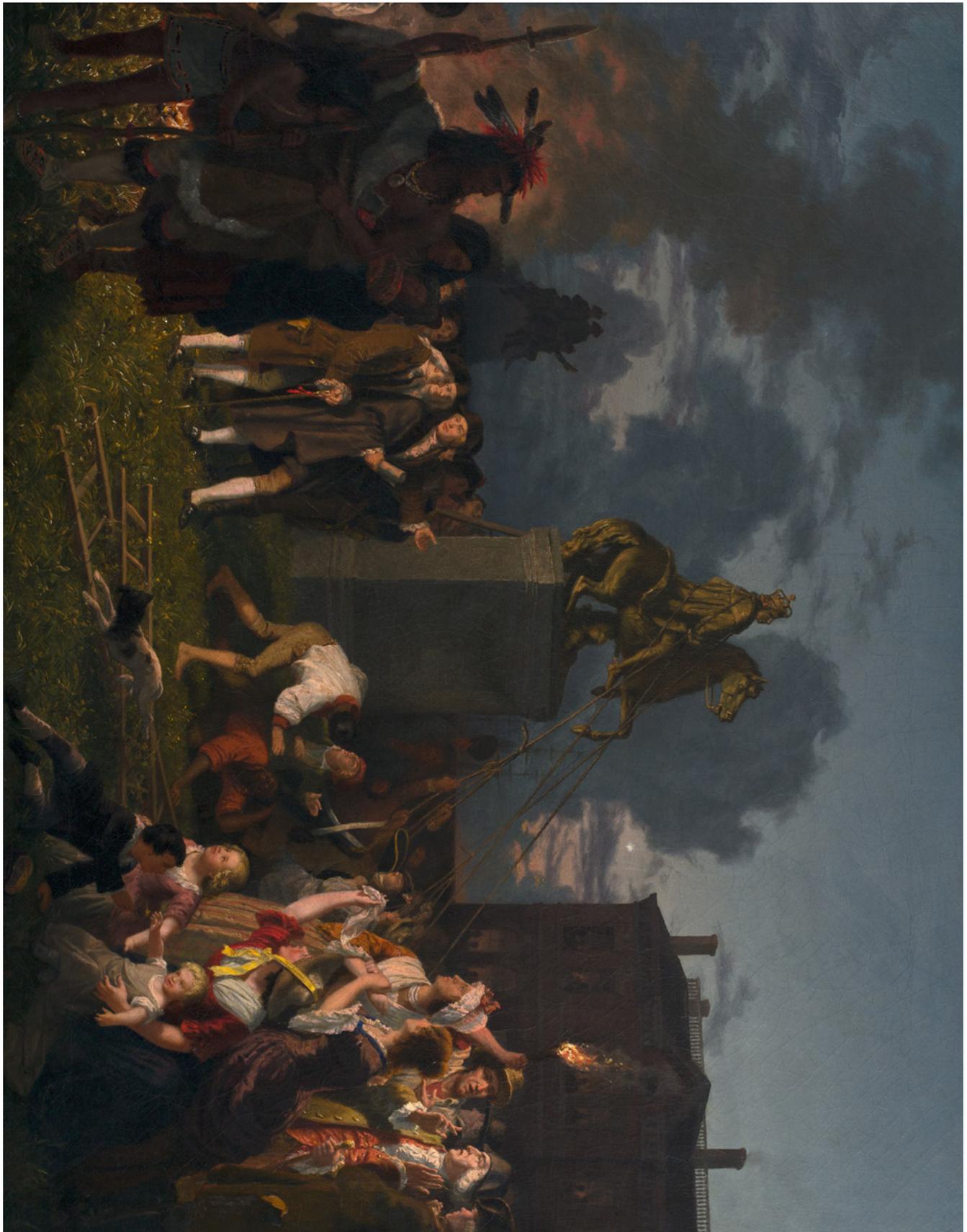
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**UNIT 1: THE GATHERING STORM (A)**

Joseph Wilton, *Fragment of the equestrian statue of King George III*, 1770-1776. Lead. New-York Historical Society.



**UNIT 1: THE GATHERING STORM (B)**

Johannes Adam Simon Oertel, *Pulling Down the Statue Of King George III*, New York City, 1852-53. Oil on canvas.  
New-York Historical Society, Gift of Samuel Verplanck Hoffman.



**RESOURCE 1**

William Faden, *The British Colonies in North America*, 1777. London: William Faden, New-York Historical Society Library.



**Governments to the eastward of Hudson's River teem with a robust and hardy race of men, who are seated in general in a mountainous and a strongly defensible country, accessible, however, from the sea by numerous bays and inlets, which afford most excellent harbors for shipping. The other eight to the south and westward of that river are somewhat less difficult for military operation, especially to a naval power...and the white inhabitants (who from constitution and climate are less qualified for war than their northern neighbors, and in the five more southern provinces are inferior in number to the blacks) cannot be so readily or in such force collected for their internal defense, from the comparative inferiority of their armed strength and their more scattered situation, having but few towns and living in general on their respective plantations. The southern provinces also were alone capable of furnishing the means of purchasing the necessary supplies for the war, their staple produce being the only wealth the Americans had to carry to European markets or to give them consequence with the princes of this hemisphere. And these two districts are entirely separated from each other by the River Hudson, which falls in to the sea at New York after forming a broad navigable communication for 170 miles between that city and Albany.**

**From this short description, which, it is presumed, is a pretty just one, the River Hudson naturally presents itself as a very important object, the possession of which on the first breaking out of the disturbances might have secured to Great Britain a barrier between the southern and Eastern colonies...For as long as a British army held the passes of that noble river and her cruisers swept the coasts, the colonists would have found it almost impossible to have joined or fed their respective quotas of troops.**

#### **RESOURCE 2A**

Sir Henry Clinton, *The American Rebellion: Sir Henry Clinton's Narrative of His Campaigns, 1775-1782*, with an Appendix of Original Documents. William B. Willcox, ed. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954.



**New York affords us an Instance unfriendly to the Rights of Mankind. The Forces there are numerous and very Potent; should the Enimy get Footing there the Difficulty of dislodging them would be unconceivable. Witness Boston. That they intend it, is evident from the Situation of the place and Governor Tryons continueing on board the Dutches of Gordon. Immediate attention therefore should be paid to the Fortification and defence of that City. New York is a post of so Vast Importance to the Enimy as it communicates in a manner with the River St Lawrence that the keeping it from them should be esteemed almost inseperably connected with the General success of our Arms. Lord Dunmore affords another Instance of what mischief their getting any foothold may prove to the Grand Cause. If the Provincial Congress of that Province opposes the fortifying the place, you may be Assurd they intend to deliver it up to the Enimy as soon as they get Strong enough to take possession there. There is but one of two measures to be adopted. Burn or Garrison the City. The Whig Interest is upon the decline; If the Tide of Sentiment gets against us in that Province, it will give a fatal Stab to the strength and Union of the Colonies.**

**RESOURCE 2B**

Nathanael Greene, *Letter to Samuel Ward*, January 4, 1776. Ward Family Papers, MSS 776, Box 2, series 5, Rhode Island Historical Society.





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# P R E F A C E.

THE following pages contain an answer to one of the most artful, insidious and pernicious pamphlets I have ever met with. It is addressed to the passions of the populace, at a time when their passions are much inflamed. At such junctures, cool reason and judgment are too apt to sleep: The mind is easily imposed on, and the most violent measures will, *therefore*, be thought the most salutary. Positive assertions will pass for demonstration with many, rage for sincerity, and the most glaring absurdities and falsehoods will be swallowed.

The author of COMMON SENSE, has availed himself of all those advantages. Under the mask of friendship to America, in the present calamitous situation of affairs, he gives vent to his own private resentment and ambition, and recommends a scheme which must infallibly prove ruinous. He proposes that we should renounce our allegiance to our sovereign, break off all connection with Great-Britain, and set up an independent empire of the republican kind. Sensible that such a proposal must, even at this time, be shocking to the ears of Americans; he insinuates that the

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*novelty*

### RESOURCE 3 PG.1

Charles Inglis, *The deceiver unmasked; or, Loyalty and Interest United: in answer to a pamphlet entitled Common sense*, 1776. Pamphlet. New York: Printed by Samuel Loudon, New-York Historical Society Library.



*novelty* of his sentiments is the only obstacle to thier success,---that, "perhaps they are not yet sufficiently fashionable to procure them general favour; that a long habit of not thinking a thing wrong, gives it a superficial appearance of being right, and raises at first a formidable outcry in defence of custom."

In this he imitates all other enthusiasts and visionary ~~assertors~~ of paradoxes, who were conscious that the common feelings of mankind must revolt against their schemes: the author, however, tho' he did not intend it here, pays a compliment to the Americans; for this amounts to a confession, that amidst all their grievances, they still retain their allegiance and loyalty.

With the same view, I presume, to make his pamphlet go down the better, he prefixes the title of *Common Sense* to it---by a figure in rhetoric, which is called a *Catachresis*, that is, in plain English, an abuse of words. Under this title, he counteracts the clearest dictates of reason, truth, and common sense. Thus have I seen a book written by a popish bigot, entitled, *Mercy and Truth; or, Charity maintained*; in which the author very devoutly and charitably damns all heretics.

I find no *Common Sense* in this pamphlet, but much *uncommon* phrenzy. It is an outrageous insult on the common sense of Americans; an insidious attempt to poison their minds, and seduce them from their loyalty and truest interest. The principles of government laid down in it, are not only false, but such as scarcely ever entered the head of a crazy politician. Even Hobbes would blush to own the author for a disciple. He unites the violence of a republican with all the folly of a fanatic.

**RESOURCE 3, PG.2**

Charles Inglis, *The deceiver unmasked; or, Loyalty and Interest United: in answer to a pamphlet entitled Common sense*, 1776. Pamphlet. New York: Printed by Samuel Loudon, New-York Historical Society Library.

a fanatic. If principles of truth and common sense, however, would not serve his scheme, he could not help that by any other method than by inventing such as *would*; and this he has done.

No person breathing, has a deeper sense of the present distresses of America, than I have---or would rejoice more to see them removed, and our liberties settled on a permanent, constitutional foundation. But this author's proposal, instead of removing our grievances, would aggravate them a thousand fold. The remedy is infinitely worse than the disease. It would be like cutting off a leg, because a toe happened to ache.

It is probable that this pamphlet, like others, will soon sink in oblivion---that the destructive plan it holds out, will speedily be forgotten, and vanish, like the baseless fabric of a vision; yet while any honest man is in danger of being seduced by it---whilst there is even a possibility that the dreadful evils it is calculated to produce, should overtake us; I think it a duty which I owe to God, to my King and country, to counteract, in this manner, the poison it contains. Nor do I think it less a duty thus to vindicate our honourable Congress, and my injured countrymen in general, from the duplicity and criminal insincerity with which this pamphlet virtually charges them.

The reader however must not expect that I should submit to the drudgery of returning a distinct answer to every part of a pamphlet, in which the lines in many places are out-numbered by the falsehoods; and where the author's malice and antipathy to monarchical government, misrepresented almost every thing relative to the subject. I

**RESOURCE 3, PG.3**

Charles Inglis, *The deceiver unmasked; or, Loyalty and Interest United: in answer to a pamphlet entitled Common sense*, 1776. Pamphlet. New York: Printed by Samuel Loudon, New-York Historical Society Library.

have done, notwithstanding what I conceive to be sufficient---I have developed his leading principles, and obviated such misrepresentations as are aptist to mislead the unwary. I have, moreover, shewn that his scheme is big with ruin to America---that it is contrary to the sentiments of the colonists, and that in a reconciliation with Great-Britain, on solid, constitutional principles, excluding all parliamentary taxation, the happiness and prosperity of this continent, are only to be sought or found.

I neither have, nor can possibly have any interests separate from those of America---any object in view but her welfare. My fate is involved in her's. If she becomes a conquered country, or an independent republic, I can promise myself no advantage or emolument in either case; but must inevitably share with millions in the evils that will ensue. This I can declare, before the searcher of hearts, is the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. Can the author of Common Sense do the same? Can he truly and sincerely say, that he has no honour, power, or profit in view, should his darling republican scheme take place? If not, than he is an interested, prejudiced person, and very unfit to advise in this matter. We should be distrustful of his judgment, and on our guard against what he recommends.

The author calls himself an *Englishman*, but whether he is a native of *Old England*, or *New England*, is a thing I neither know nor care about. I am only to know him by the features he hath there exhibited of himself, which are those of an avowed, violent Republican, utterly averse and unfriendly

**RESOURCE 3, PG.4**

Charles Inglis, *The deceiver unmasked; or, Loyalty and Interest United: in answer to a pamphlet entitled Common sense*, 1776. Pamphlet. New York: Printed by Samuel Loudon, New-York Historical Society Library.

unfriendly to the English constitution. He hath not prefixed his name to his pamphlet; neither shall I prefix mine to this. But as I fear his abilities just as little as I love his republican cause, I hereby pledge myself, that in case he should reply, and publish his name; I also, should I think it necessary to rejoin, shall publish my name. I honour genius wherever I meet with it; but detest its prostitution to bad purposes. The few faint glimmerings of it that are thinly scattered thro' this pamphlet, are but a poor compensation for its malevolent, pernicious design; and serve only to raise our indignation and abhorrence.

I hope the reader will distinguish where there is a real difference between this Republican's cause, and that of America. If not, and if he is not willing to listen calmly to truth, I advise him to stop here and lay down this pamphlet. But if the case be otherwise, I have only to beseech him, whilst perusing this treatise, to remember that it was written to promote our reconciliation with a King and nation, whom, not long since, we sincerely loved and esteemed. The bitterest enmity I know is that which subsists between those who were once friends, but have fallen out. On such occasions, and whilst our resentment is high, the advice which tends to gratify that resentment, may be the most welcome. But when our passions subside, our former affections will also return; and we shall then look upon him to be much more our friend who would calm our resentment, than him who would inflame it. From our former connection with Great Britain, we have already derived numberless advantages and benefits; from a closer union with her, on proper principles,

WC

**RESOURCE 3, PG.5**

Charles Inglis, *The deceiver unmasked; or, Loyalty and Interest United: in answer to a pamphlet entitled Common sense*, 1776. Pamphlet. New York: Printed by Samuel Loudon, New-York Historical Society Library.

we may derive still greater benefits in future. Duty, gratitude, interest, nay, Providence, by its all-wise dispensations, loudly call on both countries to unite, and would join them together; and may infamy be the portion of that wretch who would put them asunder.

February 16, 1776.



**RESOURCE 3, PG.6**

Charles Inglis, *The deceiver unmasked; or, Loyalty and Interest United: in answer to a pamphlet entitled Common sense*, 1776. Pamphlet. New York: Printed by Samuel Loudon, New-York Historical Society Library.

THE following pages contain an answer to one of the most artful, insidious and pernicious pamphlets I have ever met with. It is addressed to the passions of the populace, at a time when their passions are much inflamed. At such junctures, cool reason and judgment are too apt to sleep: The mind is easily imposed on, and the most violent measures will, therefore, be thought the most salutary. Positive assertions will pass for demonstration with many, rage for sincerity, and the most glaring absurdities and falsehoods will be swallowed.

The author of COMMON SENSE, has availed himself of all those advantages. Under the mask of friendship to America, in the present calamitous situation of affairs, he gives vent to his own private resentment and ambition, and recommends a scheme which must infallibly prove ruinous. He proposes that we should renounce our allegiance to our sovereign, break off all connection with Great-Britain, and set up an independent empire of the republican kind. Sensible that such a proposal must, even at this time, be shocking to the ears of Americans; he insinuates that the *novelty* of his sentiments is the only obstacle to their success,—that, “perhaps they are not yet sufficiently fashionable to procure them general favour; that a long habit of not thinking a thing wrong, gives it a superficial appearance of being right, and raises at first a formidable outcry in defence of custom.”

In this he imitates all other enthusiasts and visionary of paradoxes, who were conscious that the common feelings of mankind must revolt against their schemes: the author, however, tho’ he did not intend it here, pays a compliment to the Americans; for this amounts to a confession, that amidst all their grievances, they still retain their allegiance and loyalty.

With the same view, I presume, to make his pamphlet go down the better, he prefixes the title of Common Sense to it—by a figure in rhetoric, which is called a *Catachresis*, that is, in plain English, an abuse of words. Under this title, he counteracts the clearest dictates of reason, truth, and common sense. Thus have I seen a book written by a popish bigot, entitled, *Mercy and Truth; or, Charity maintained;* in which the author very devoutly and charitably damns all heretics.

I find no *Common Sense* in this pamphlet, but much *uncommon* phrenzy. It is an outrageous insult on the common sense of Americans; an insidious attempt to poison their minds, and seduce them from their loyalty and truest interest. The principles of government laid down in it, are not only false, but such as scarcely ever entered the head of a crazy politician. Even Hobbes would blush to own the author for a disciple. He unites the violence of a republican with all the folly of a fanatic. If principles of truth and common sense, however, would not serve his scheme, he could not help that by any other method than by inventing such as *would;* and this he has done.

No person breathing, has a deeper sense of the present distresses of America, than I have—or would rejoice more to see them removed, and our liberties settled on a permanent, constitutional foundation. But this author’s proposal, instead of removing our grievances, would aggravate them a thousand fold. The remedy is infinitely worse than the disease. It would be like cutting off a leg, because a toe happened to ache.

### RESOURCE 3 (EXCERPT)

Charles Inglis, *The deceiver unmasked; or, Loyalty and Interest United: in answer to a pamphlet entitled Common sense*, 1776. Pamphlet. New York: Printed by Samuel Loudon, New-York Historical Society Library.





**RESOURCE 4**

Archibald Robertson, *View of the Narrows between Long Island & Staaten Island with our fleet at anchor & Lord Howe coming in—taken from the height above the water, 12 July 1776*. Ink drawing. Spencer Collection, The New York Public Library.



**RESOURCE 5A**

William Joy, *Forcing the Hudson River Passage*, ca. 1835. Oil on canvas. New-York Historical Society, Gift of the Travelers Insurance Company.

3 miles from new york August 4<sup>th</sup> 1776

My dear Child

I am surpris'd you neglected to write to me by  
Mr Inglis for you might well think that I am  
very impatient to hear from you. if the Comm<sup>and</sup> had  
not been stop'd I should have been to see you  
before now. Oh polly you cannot be sufficiently thankful  
that you are out of this deplorable City where  
Every thing that once was delightful. now only serves  
to make one wretched. for my part I cannot spend one  
day in it. for there is scarcely one in that I know.  
all friend gone. gone and god only knows when  
we shall return perhaps never

I have been as far as haverstraw since you left  
this but could not content my self so far from  
my mother so nancy and I returned that some  
day about 4 hours before the ship went up the  
river I never so underwent such a fright in all  
my life Cannon roaring drums beating to arms all  
things in confusion my mother out of town not a  
friend to go to poor nancy and I we had no other refuge  
but to run for our lives and indeed we was in great  
Danger but I was insensible of it for the bullets

**RESOURCE 5B PG.1**

Mrs. A. Hampton to her daughter, [Three miles from New York], August 4, 1776. Richard Maass  
Collection of Westchester and New York State, courtesy of the Fales Library and Special Collections,  
New York University Libraries.

flown thick over our ~~heads~~ heads as we went up the  
Broomey but thank god we Escaped what we are  
reserved for heaven only knows

I hope you spend your time ~~more~~ more agreeable  
then we do here for there is nothing ~~to~~ to be heard  
but rumour upon rumour so that I think our time ought  
to be spent in supplicating god that he would be gracious  
and gather us from all places whence we are ~~scattered~~  
Scattered and bring us to our native place and that he  
would Establish us upon such foundations of righteousness  
and peace that it may nevermore be in the power  
of our restless adversaries to disturb us Dear Polly I have  
a good deal to say more but shall conclude at present  
with my earnest wish for your welfare from your

Affectionate Mother

N Hampton

P.S.  
Pray give my Love to M<sup>r</sup>s Inglis and her mother  
and all the rest of both families and kiss the dear  
Children for me and take good care of them  
we are all well mame and nancy joins in Love to  
you so farewell  
I send you a Lock of my hair

**RESOURCE 5B PG.2**

Mrs. A. Hampton to her daughter, [Three miles from New York], August 4, 1776. Richard Maass Collection of Westchester and New York State, courtesy of the Fales Library and Special Collections, New York University Libraries.



**RESOURCE 5B PG.4**

Mrs. A. Hampton to her daughter, [Three miles from New York], August 4, 1776. Richard Maass Collection of Westchester and New York State, courtesy of the Fales Library and Special Collections, New York University Libraries.

3 miles from new york August 4th 1776

**My Dear Child**

I am surprised you neglected to write to me by Mrs Inglis for you might well think that I am very impatient to hear from you if the communication had not been stopt I should have been to see you before now Oh polly you cannot be sufficiently thankful that you are out of this deplorable city where Every thing that once was delightful now only Serves to make one wretched For my part I cannot Spend one day in it for there is Scarcely one in that I know all friend gone, gone and god only knows whence we Shall return perhaps never

I have been as far as haverstraw Since you left this but Could not Content my Self So far from my mother So nancy and I returned that Same day about 4 hours before the Ships went up the river. I never underwent Such a fright in all my life Cannons roring, drums Beating to arms all things in Confusion, my mother out of town, not a friend to go to poor nancy and I we had no other refuge but to run for our Lives and indeed we was in great Danger but I was insenceable of it for the Bullets flew thick over our heads as we went up the Bowrey but thank god we Escaped What we are reservd for heaven only knows.

I hope you Spend your time more agreeable than we do here for there is nothing to be heard but rumour upon rumour So that I think our time ought to be Spent in Suplicating god that he would be gracious and gather us from all places whence we are Scattered and Bring us to our native place and that he would Establish us upon Such foundations of righteousness and peace that It may nevermore be in the power of our restless adversaries to disturbe us Dear polly I have a good deal to Say more but Shall Conclude at present with my Earnest wish for your welfare from your

**Affectionat Mother**

**A Hampton**

**PS**

Pray give my Love to Mrs Inglis and her mother and all the next of Both familys and kiss the dear children for me and take good care of them

we are all well mame and nancy joins in Love to you so farewell

I send you a Lock of my hair

**RESOURCE 5B (TRANSCRIPT)**

Mrs. A. Hampton to her daughter, [*Three miles from New York*], August 4, 1776. Richard Maass Collection of Westchester and New York State, courtesy of the Fales Library and Special Collections, New York University Libraries.



By His EXCELLENCY  
GEORGE WASHINGTON, Esquire,  
General, and Commander in Chief of the Army  
of the United States of North-America.

WHEREAS a Bombardment and Attack upon the City of New-York, by our cruel, and inveterate Enemy, may be hourly expected: And as there are great Numbers of Women, Children, and infirm Persons, yet remaining in the City, whose Continuance will rather be prejudicial than advantageous to the Army, and their Persons exposed to great Danger and Hazard: I Do therefore recommend it to all such Persons, as they value their own Safety and Preservation, to remove with all Expedition, out of the said Town, at this critical Period,—trusting, that with the Blessing of Heaven, upon the American Arms, they may soon return to it in perfect Security. And I do enjoin and require, all the Officers and Soldiers in the Army, under my Command, to forward and assist such Persons in their Compliance with this Recommendation.

GIVEN under my Hand, at Head-Quarters, New-York,  
August 17, 1776.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

NEW-YORK:—Printed by JOHN HOLT, in Water-Street.

**RESOURCE 6A**

George Washington, *By His Excellency George Washinton [sic], Esquire*, August 17, 1776. Broadside.  
New York: John Holt. New-York Historical Society Library.

# A PROCLAMATION.

By His Excellency the Honorable WILLIAM HOWE, General and Commander in Chief of all His MAJESTY'S Forces, within the Colonies lying on the Atlantic Ocean, from Nova-Scotia, to West-Florida, inclusive, &c. &c. &c.

WHEREAS it is represented, that many of the loyal Inhabitants of this Island have been compelled by the Leaders in Rebellion, to take up Arms against His MAJESTY'S Government: Notice is hereby given to all Persons so forced into Rebellion, that on delivering themselves up at the HEAD QUARTERS of the Army, they will be received as faithful Subjects; have Permits to return peaceably to their respective Dwellings, and meet with full Protection for their Persons and Property.

All those who chuse to take up Arms for the Restoration of Order and good Government within this Island, shall be disposed of in the best Manner, and have every Encouragement that can be expected.

GIVEN under my HAND, at Head Quarters on LONG ISLAND,  
this 23d Day of August, 1776. WILLIAM HOWE.

By His Excellency's Command.

ROBERT MACKENZIE, Secretary.

## RESOURCE 6B

William Howe, *A Proclamation by His Excellency the Honorable William Howe*, August 23, 1776. Broadside. New York. New-York Historical Society Library.



**LIFE STORY: THE BEEKMAN FAMILY**

John Durand, *Jane Beekman*, 1767. Oil on canvas. New-York Historical Society, Gift of the Beekman Family Association.

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**LIFE STORY: THE BEEKMAN FAMILY**

John Durand, *James Beekman, Jr.*, 1767. Oil on canvas. New-York Historical Society, Gift of the Beekman Family Association.



**LIFE STORY: THE BEEKMAN FAMILY**

Lawrence Kilburn, *Mrs. James Beekman*, 1761. Oil on canvas. New-York Historical Society, Gift of the Beekman Family Association.



**LIFE STORY: THE BEEKMAN FAMILY**

Lawrence Kilburn, *James Beekman*, 1761. Oil on canvas. New-York Historical Society, Gift of the Beekman Family Association.

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**LIFE STORY: THE BEEKMAN FAMILY**

Louis Grube, *William and Abraham Beekman House*, New York City, 1857. Oil on canvas. New-York Historical Society, Gift of Dr. Fenwick Beekman



## UNIT 2: THE BATTLE OF BROOKLYN

Ridgeway after Alonzo Chappel, *Lord Stirling at the Battle of Long Island*, c. 1858. Engraving. New-York Historical Society Library.



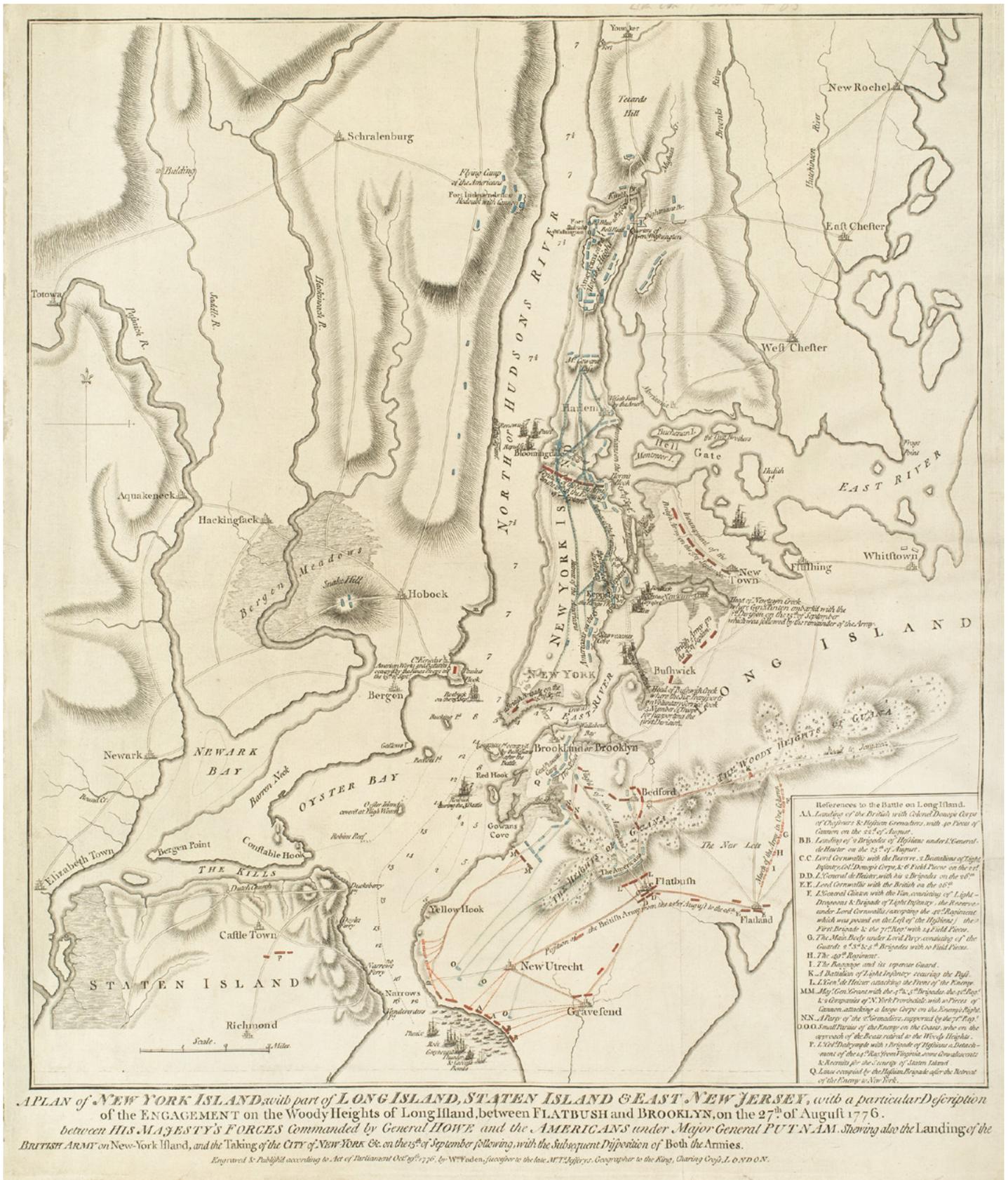
**RESOURCE 7A**

Charles MacKubin Lefferts, *Uniforms of the American Revolution: Hessian Private, Erb Prinz Fusileer Regiment of Hesse-Cassel*, c. 1910. Watercolor, gouache, black ink, and graphite on board. New-York Historical Society.



**RESOURCE 7B**

Charles MacKubin Lefferts, *Third New York Regiment Private, 1775.*, c. 1910. Watercolor, gouache, black ink, and graphite on board. New-York Historical Society.



**RESOURCE 8**

William Faden, *A Plan of New York Island, with part of Long Island, Staten Island & East New Jersey, with a particular description of the engagement on the woody heights of Long Island between Flatbush and Brooklyn on the 27th of August, 1776.* London: William Faden. New-York Historical Society Library.





**RESOURCE 8 (DETAIL)**

William Faden, A Plan of New York Island, with part of Long Island, Staten Island & East New Jersey, with a particular description of the engagement on the woody heights of Long Island between Flatbush and Brooklyn on the 27th of August, 1776. London: William Faden. New-York Historical Society Library.



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were in Danger yet M<sup>r</sup> Chapman<sup>13</sup>  
& I made them sensible y<sup>t</sup> they  
had nothing of y<sup>t</sup> kind to fear—  
At about 3 o'clock, we were invited  
to a very good Dinner with M<sup>r</sup> Barga<sup>n</sup>  
soon after which we were relieved  
by y<sup>e</sup> same Battalion y<sup>t</sup> had be-  
lieved y<sup>e</sup> Day before; We then Marched  
back to Brookline Works, where  
we arrived a little before sunset,  
with some Difficulty L<sup>t</sup> Gillit  
Capt Lyman & I procured a Lodge-  
ing on y<sup>e</sup> River at a house where  
Capt Miller of y<sup>e</sup> Connecticut Militia  
was quartered

---

Sept: 27<sup>th</sup> We were alarmed  
very early in y<sup>e</sup> Morning, by a Rep<sup>t</sup>  
of an Action at y<sup>e</sup> Post from whence  
we were relieved y<sup>e</sup> Night before, up-  
on which we immediately Marched to suppo

RESOURCE 9 (PG.1)

Jabez Fitch diary, 22 Aug. 1776 to 15 Dec. 1777, Manuscripts and Archives Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.



14<sup>th</sup> Party there; <sup>Aug: 27<sup>th</sup> 1776.</sup> We first March'd up into  
w<sup>th</sup> Edge of w<sup>th</sup> Wood, for a Blank Guard, &  
then Retreated back some way Recon-  
stituting w<sup>th</sup> Wood, while L: Sterling at the  
head of a considerable party Maintain'd  
an unsteady fire with w<sup>th</sup> Drums on  
their Left Wing; at about 7 o'clock  
we were Reinforced by several party  
from our Left, when we again Advanc'd  
& Entrench'd a Line on w<sup>th</sup> Left of L:  
Sterlings Party, where we had two or  
three severall Attacks, in which a L:  
Col: of ours was kil'd, & also Col Grant of  
w<sup>th</sup> Regulars; While we <sup>were</sup> thus Engaged  
here, we heard a Smart Fire Down  
our Left Wing, which gave us to App-  
rehend <sup>that</sup> we were in Danger of be-  
-ving our Retreat cut off, on which  
our Reg<sup>t</sup> were Order'd to March to-  
ward w<sup>th</sup> Hill, & on our Approaching

**RESOURCE 9 (PG.2)**

Jabez Fitch diary, 22 Aug. 1776 to 15 Dec. 1777, Manuscripts and Archives Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.

in Sight of y<sup>e</sup> Enemy to our Surprize  
we found our Apprehensions but too  
well grounded; After this we met  
with several small Attacks, in which  
we Generally Draught on the retreat,  
without much Loss, untill we  
found our selves Surrounded by y<sup>e</sup>  
Enemy, when we Attempted to join  
Lord Sterlings party, but found our  
selves likewise cut off from them.  
we then Collected our Scattered Force  
in y<sup>e</sup> best manner possible, & took  
our March over Pastward, with Inten-  
tion to brake through y<sup>e</sup> Enemy &  
Secure a Retreat y<sup>e</sup> way, but after  
crossing a thick Swamp, we came  
onto a Plain partly covered with Wood,  
where we soon found our selves be-  
tween two severall Sires from y<sup>e</sup> Hessi-  
an Troops; on which we again the-  
retreated

**RESOURCE 9 (PG.3)**

Jabez Fitch diary, 22 Aug. 1776 to 15 Dec. 1777, Manuscripts and Archives Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.

16  
Retreated into a Swamp, & Prepared to  
a Ground y<sup>t</sup> we had Occupied before,  
where we were again Attracted by a  
Small party who soon Retreated; we  
had now left Col: Clark & Gen: <sup>l</sup>Perkins  
on which a Number of our Officers As-  
sembled & concluded it best, as we were  
Intirely Surrounded by a Party, to re-  
-sign our selves up to them in final  
Partys, & each one take care for him-  
-self, accordingly, I went alone Down to  
a Northward, where I lit of Serg: <sup>l</sup>Whig  
who had his Leg Break, I carried him  
some way Down a Hill, & lay'd him  
in a Shade where I Left him; I then  
went up a hill to a Eastward, where I  
saw at a small Distance a party of Reg-  
-ulars, on which I Immediately Advanced  
to them, & gave up my Arms; They Treat  
me with Humanity &c

**RESOURCE 9 (PG.4)**

Jabez Fitch diary, 22 Aug. 1776 to 15 Dec. 1777, Manuscripts and Archives Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.

Diary N<sup>o</sup>: 1

17

Kings County on Long Island }  
Tuesd: Aug: 22<sup>th</sup> 1776 }

Having surrendered myself to the  
Regt: I was kept under the care of a  
Guard for some time, while some others  
likewise came in & surrendered; & at about  
5 o'clock, I was guarded by the Regt: over  
onto the Edge of Flat Bush Plain, where  
I see a large Body of Hessians Troop  
on a Hill at our Left; We then took  
a Turn to the Right, & was Marched by  
the Front of several Battalions of  
Hessians, where I see many Injuncts  
from those formidable Europeans; We then  
Marched through a considerable Wood, & came  
out to the Hill, where I first discovered the  
Enemy in the Morning; here we found

**RESOURCE 9 (PG.5)**

Jabez Fitch diary, 22 Aug. 1776 to 15 Dec. 1777, Manuscripts and Archives Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.

18 Aug: 27<sup>th</sup> 1776.  
greater part of two Brigades under Arms  
& Gen: Agnew at their Head, I was  
then conducted down to a Barn near  
road where I March'd homeward High  
before, & confin'd with a great number  
of Prisoners of different Reg: here I found  
Capt: Snowbridge Capt: Percival Lt: Fanning  
& Mrs: Gillit, & soon after Capt: Jewett  
was Bro: in who was wounded with a  
Stab of a Bayonet in his Breast, & also  
another in his Belly, the latter of which  
was supposed to be the Occasion of his Death.  
for he languish'd & suffered great Pain  
for about 36 Hours (viz) while I lived:  
I say that at about 5 in the Morning he  
Died — About sunset Officers pre-  
sent, being about 20 in Number, were  
Assigned a comfortable Room in a House

**RESOURCE 9 (PG.6)**

Jabez Fitch diary, 22 Aug. 1776 to 15 Dec. 1777, Manuscripts and Archives Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.

14  
High at hand, where I laid down on  
a Chaff Bed, but slept very little  
Wednesd: 28<sup>th</sup>. In the Morning a Surgeon  
was sent to Dress & Wound of our Prisoners,  
he also gave Capt Jewett some Physick,  
& attended on him several times this  
Day; But Maj<sup>r</sup>: Brown was our Officer  
& Principally attended us here on all  
Occasions, & treated us with great Hu-  
-manity & Complaisance; Genl: Grant  
also was so good as to make us a Present  
of a Side of Mutton, & order'd his Negro to  
Cook it for us; This Day there was a  
considerable firing of Small Arms, &c  
of Particulars, of which, we were not  
able to learn; Capt Jewett decay'd gra-  
-dually through the whole Day, but was not  
suppos'd dangerous, while near Night, I sat  
with him most of the Night, & slept but  
very little; the Capt: had his senses white about

**RESOURCE 9 (PG. 7)**

Jabez Fitch diary, 22 Aug. 1776 to 15 Dec. 1777, Manuscripts and Archives Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.

**TUESD: THE 27TH:** We were alarm'd very Early in the Morning by a Rept: of an Action at the Post from whence we were Reliev'd the Night before, upon which we Emeditely March'd to support the Party there; We first March'd up into the Edg of the Wood, for a Flank Guard, & then Retreated back some way Reconitring the Wood, while Ld: Sterling at the head of a Considrable party Maintain'd an unsteady fire with the Enimy on their Left Wing; at about 7 oClock we were Reinforc'd by several partys from our Left, when we again Advanc'd & Extended a Line on the Left of Ld: Sterlings Party, where we had two or three sevear Attacts, in which a Lt: Col: of ours was Kil'd, & also Col Grant of the Regulars; While we were thus Engaged here, we heard a Smart Fire Toward our Left Wing, which gave us to Apprehend that we were in Danger of having our Retreat cut off, on which our Regt: were Order d to March toward the Fire, & on our Approaching in Sight of the Enimy (to our Surprise) we found our Apprehensions but too well grounded; After this we met with several small Attacts, in which we Generally fought on Retreet, without much Loss, until we found ourselves Surrounded by the Enmy, when we Attempted to Join Lord Sterlings party, but found our Selves Likewise cut off from them, we then Collected our Scatter'd Force in the best manner possible, & took our March over Eastward, with Intention to brake through the Enimy & Secure a Retreet that way, but after croosing a thick Swamp, we came onto a Plain partly cover'd with Wood, where we soon found our selves between two sevear Fires from the Hessian Troops: on which we again Retreeted into the Swamp, & Repared to the Ground that we had Occupied before, where we were again Attacted by a Small party who soon Retreeted; we had now lost Col: Clark & Genll: Persons, on which a Number of our Officers Assembled & concluded it best, as we were Intirely Surrounded by the Enimy, to Resign our selves up to them in small Partys, & Each one Take care for himself, accordingly, I went alone Down to the Northward, where I lit of Sargt: Wright, who had his Leg Broak, I carried him some way Down the Hill, & Lay'd him in a Shade where I Left him; I then Went up the hill to the Eastward, where I see at a small Distance a party of Regulars, on which I Emeditely Advanc'd to them, & gave up my Arms; They Treated me with Humanity &c

**TUESD: AUGT: 27TH: 1776**

Having Surrendered myself to the 57th: Regt: I was kept under the care of a Guard for some Time, while some others Likewise came in & Surrendered; & at about 5 oClock, I was guarded by sd: Regt: over on to the Edge of Flat Bush Plain, where I see a Large Body of Hessian Troops on a Hill at our Left; We then took a Turn to the Right, & was March'd by the Front of several Batallions of the Hessians, where I Recd: many Insults from those formidable Europeans; We then March'd through a Considrable Wood, & came onto the Hill, where I first Discovered the Enimy in the Morning; here we found the greater part of two Brigads under Arms & Genll: Agnue at their Head, I was then Conducted down to a Barn near the Road where I March'd homeward the Night before, & Confin'd with a great number of Prisoners of Different Regts: here I found Capt: Trowbredge Capt Percivel Lt: Fanning & Ensn: Gillit, & soon after Capt: Jewett was Brot in who was Wounded with the Stab of a Bayonet in the Breast, & also another in the Belly, the Latter of which was sopus'd to be the Occasion of his Death, for he Languish'd & suffered great Pain for about 36 Hours while Third'd: the 29th at about 5 in the Morning he Died—About sunset the Officers present, being about 20 in Number, were assigned a comfortable room in a house nigh at hand, where I Laid down on a Chaff Bed, but Slept very Little.

#### **RESOURCE 9 (TRANSCRIPT)**

*Jabez Fitch diary*, 22 Aug. 1776 to 15 Dec. 1777, Manuscripts and Archives Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.





**RESOURCE 10**

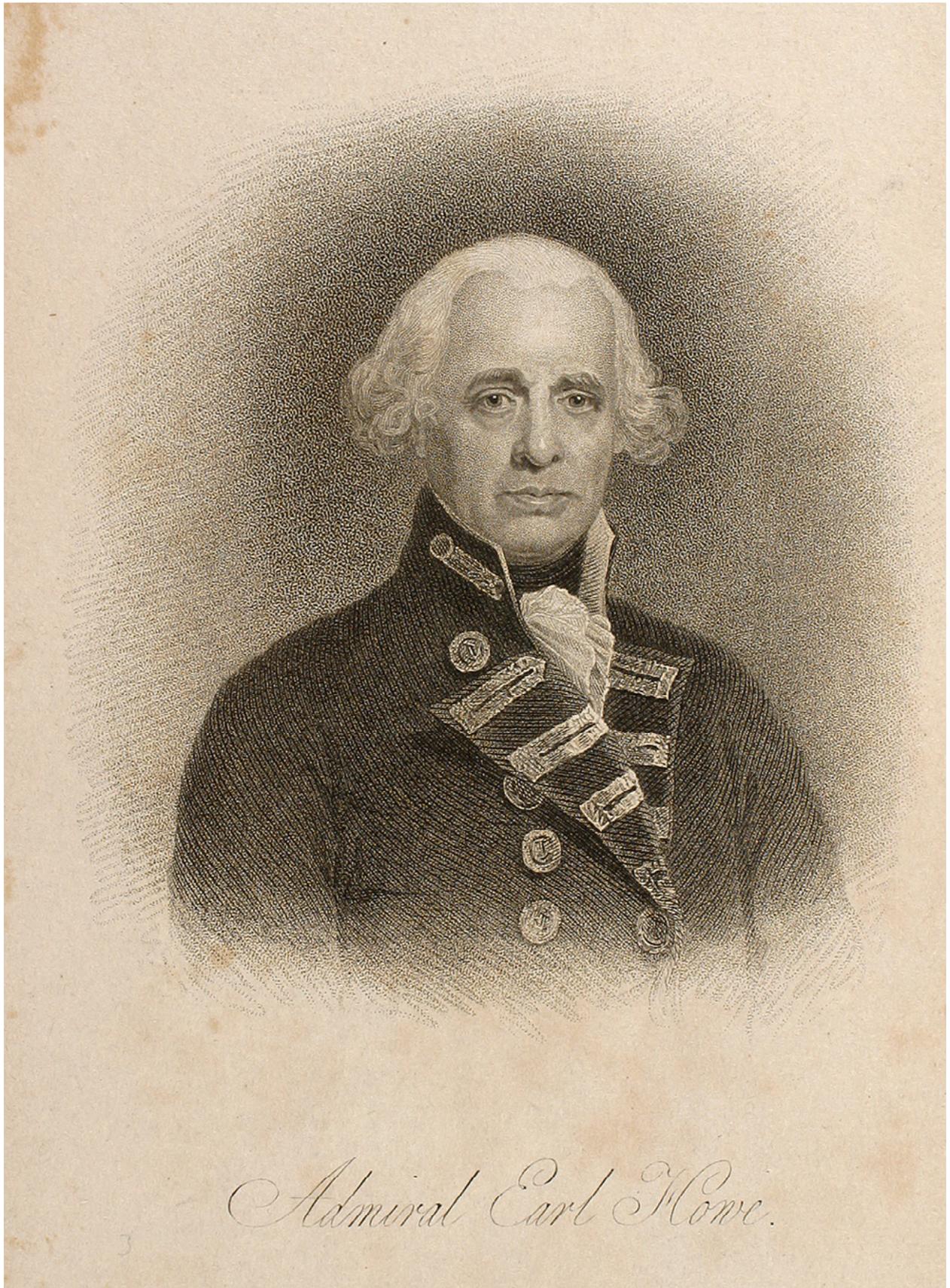
Henry Alexander Ogden, *The Retreat from Long Island*, 1897. Engraving. Art and Picture Collection, The New York Public Library.



**LIFE STORY: THE HOWE BROTHERS**

Richard Purcell (Charles Corbutt), *The Honorable Sir William Howe*, 1777. Engraving. London: printed by John Norris. New-York Historical Society Library.

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**LIFE STORY: THE HOWE BROTHERS**

R. Cooper after John Singleton Copley, *Admiral Earl Howe*, n.d. Engraving, New-York Historical Society Library.



**LIFE STORY: GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON**

John Trumbull, *George Washington*, 1780. Oil on canvas. Bequest of Charles Allen Munn, 1924, Image ©The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Image source: Art Resource, NY.

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**UNIT 3: AFTER THE BATTLE**

Robert Clevely, *The British landing at Kip's Bay, New York Island, 15 September 1776, 1777*. Pen and ink, black and watercolor. National Maritime Museum, London.



**RESOURCE 11A**

Franz Xaver Habermann, engraved by J. Chereau, *Representation du Feu Terrible a Nouvelle Yorck*, ca. 1776. New-York Historical Society Library.



### RESOURCE 11B

David Grim, *This Plan of the City of New York...Shewing the Progress and Extent of the Great Fire*, 1804. New-York Historical Society Library.



To the Right Honorable Richard Viscount Howe, of the Kingdom of Ireland, and His Excellency The Honorable William Howe, Esquire, General of His Majesty's Forces in America, the King's Commissioners for restoring Peace in His Majesty's Colonies and Plantations in North America, &c. &c. &c.

May it please your Excellencies.

Impressed with the most grateful sense of the Royal Clemency, manifested in your Proclamation of the 14th. of July last, whereby His Majesty hath been graciously pleased to declare, "That he is desirous to deliver His American Subjects from the calamities of War, and other oppressions, which they now undergo:" and equally affected with sentiments of gratitude, for your generous and humane attention to the happiness of these colonies, which distinguishes your Excellencies subsequent Declaration, evincing your disposition "to confer with His Majesty's well affected subjects, upon the means of restoring the public Tranquility, and establishing a permanent union with every Colony as a part of the British Empire."

We whose names are hereunto subscribed, Inhabitants of the City and County of New-York, beg leave to inform your Excellencies: that altho most of us have subscribed a general Representation with many other of the Inhabitants; yet we wish that our conduct, in maintaining inviolate our loyalty to our Sovereign, against the strong tide of oppression and tyranny, which had almost overwhelmed this Land, may be marked by some line of distinction, which cannot well be drawn from the mode of Representation that has been adopted for the Inhabitants in general.

Influenced by this Principle, and from a regard to our peculiar Situation, we have humbly presumed to trouble your Excellencies with this second application; in which, we flatter ourselves, none participate but those who have ever, with unshaken fidelity, borne true Allegiance to His Majesty, and the most warm and affectionate attachment to his Person and Government. That, notwithstanding the tumult of the times, and the extreme difficulties and losses to which many of us have been exposed, we have always expressed, and do now give this Testimony of our Zeal to preserve and support the Constitutional Supremacy of Great Britain over the Colonies; and do most ardently wish for a speedy restoration of that union between them, which, while it subsisted, proved the unfailing source of their mutual happiness and prosperity.

We cannot help lamenting that the number of Subscribers to this Address is necessarily lessened, by the unhappy circumstance that many of our Fellow-Citizens, who have firmly adhered their loyalty, have been driven from their Habitations, and others sent Prisoners into the neighbouring Colonies: and tho' it would have afforded us the highest satisfaction, could they have been present upon this occasion: yet we conceive it to be a duty we owe to ourselves and our posterity, whilst this testimony of our Allegiance can be supported by known and recent facts, to declare to your Excellencies; that so far from having given the least countenance or encouragement, to the most unnatural, unprovoked Rebellion, that ever disgraced the annals of Time; we have on the contrary, steadily and uniformly opposed it, in every stage of its rise and progress, at the risque of our Lives and Fortunes.

#### **RESOURCE 12 (TRANSCRIPT)**

*Petition of 547 loyalists from New York City, November 28 1776, 1776.* Manuscript. New-York Historical Society Library.



Price THREEPENCE.

Published every Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday Evenings.

Vol. II.]

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 31, 1776.

[Num. 296.]

## THE AMERICAN CRISIS.

## NUMBER I.

BY THE AUTHOR OF COMMON SENSE.

**T**HESSE are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of his country; but he that stands it now, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the conflict, the more glorious the triumph. What we obtain too cheap, we esteem too lightly:—'Tis dearness only that gives every thing its value. Heaven knows how to set a proper price upon its goods; and it would be strange indeed, if so celestial an article as FREEDOM should not be highly rated. Britain, with an army to enforce her tyranny, has declared, that she has a right (*not only to TAX*) but "*to BIND us in ALL CASES WHATSOEVER,*" and if being *bound in that manner* is not slavery, then is there not such a thing as slavery upon earth. Even the expression is impious, for so unlimited a power can belong only to GOD.

Whether the Independence of the Continent was declared too soon, or delayed too long, I will not now enter into as an argument; my own simple opinion is, that had it been eight months earlier, it would have been much better. We did not make a proper use of last winter, neither could we, while we were in a dependant state. However, the fault, if it were one, was all our own; we have none to blame but ourselves\*. But no great deal is lost yet; all that Howe has been doing for this month past is rather a ravage than a conquest, which the spirit of the Jerseys a year ago would have quickly repelled, and which time and a little resolution will soon recover.

I have as little superstition in me as any man living, but my secret opinion has ever been, and still is, that God Almighty will not give up a people to military destruction, or leave them unsupportedly to perish, who had so earnestly and so repeatedly sought to avoid the calamities of war, by every decent method which wisdom could invent. Neither have I so much of the infidel in me, as to suppose, that He has relinquished the government of the world, and given us up to the care of devils; and as I do not, I cannot see on what grounds the King of Britain can look up to heaven for help against us: A common murderer, a highwayman, or a house-breaker, has as good a pretence as he.

'Tis surprising to see how rapidly a panic will sometimes run through a country. All nations and ages have been subject to them. Britain has trembled like an ague at the report of a French fleet of flat bottomed boats; and in the fourteenth century the whole English army, after ravaging the kingdom of France, was driven back like men petrified with

\* "The present winter (meaning the last) is worth an age, if rightly employed, but if lost, or neglected, the whole Continent will partake of the evil; and there is no punishment that man does not deserve, to be who, or what, or where he will, that may be the means of sacrificing a season so precious and useful."  
COMMON SENSE.

fear; and this brave exploit was performed by a few broken forces collected and headed by a woman, Joan of Arc. Would, that heaven might inspire some Jersey maid to spirit up her countrymen, and save her fair fellow sufferers from ravage and ravishment! Yet panics, in some cases, have their uses; they produce as much good as hurt. Their duration is always short; the mind soon grows through them, and acquires a firmer habit than before. But their peculiar advantage is, that they are the touchstones of sincerity and hypocrisy, and bring things and men to light, which might otherwise have lain for ever undiscovered. In fact, they have the same effect on secret traitors, which an imaginary apparition would upon a private murderer. They sift out the hidden thoughts of man, and hold them up in public to the world. Many a disguised Tory has lately shown his head, that shall penitentially solemnize with curses the day on which Howe arrived upon the Delaware.

As I was with the troops at fort Lee, and marched with them to the edge of Pennsylvania, I am well acquainted with many circumstances, which those who lived at a distance know but little or nothing of. Our situation there was exceedingly cramped, the place being on a narrow neck of land, between the North river and the Hackensack. Our force was inconsiderable, being not one fourth so great as Howe could bring against us. We had no army at hand to have relieved the garrison, had we shut ourselves up and stood on the defence. Our ammunition, light artillery, and the best part of our stores, had been removed upon the apprehension that Howe would endeavor to penetrate the Jerseys, in which case fort Lee could be of no use to us; for it must occur to every thinking man, whether in the army or not, that these kind of field forts are only for temporary purposes, and last in use no longer than the enemy directs his force against the particular object which such forts are raised to defend. Such was our situation and condition at fort Lee on the morning of the 20th of November, when an officer arrived with information that the enemy with two hundred boats had landed about seven or eight miles above. Major General Green, who commanded the garrison, immediately ordered them under arms, and sent express to his Excellency General Washington at the town of Hackensack, distant by the way of the ferry six miles. Our first object was to secure the bridge over the Hackensack, which laid up the river between the enemy and us, about six miles from us and three from them. General Washington arrived in about three quarters of an hour, and marched at the head of the troops towards the bridge, which place I expected we should have a brush for; however they did not chuse to dispute it with us, and the greatest part of our troops went over the bridge, the rest over the ferry, except some which passed at a mill on a small creek, between the bridge and the ferry, and made their way through some marshy grounds up to the town of Hackensack, and there passed the river. We brought off as much baggage as the waggons could contain, the rest was lost. The simple object was to bring off the garrison, and to march them on till they could be strengthened by the Jersey or Pennsylvania militia, so as to be enabled to make a stand. We staid four days at

## RESOURCE 13 PG.1

Thomas Paine, "The American Crisis Number 1," *The Pennsylvania Evening Post*, 31 December 1776. Philadelphia: Benjamin Towne. New-York Historical Society Library.

Newark, collected in our out-posts, with some of the Jersey militia, and marched out twice to meet the enemy on information of their being advancing, though our numbers were greatly inferior to theirs. Howe, in my little opinion, committed a great error in generalship, in not throwing a body of forces off from Staten-Island through Amboy, by which means he might have seized all our stores at Brunswick, and intercepted our march into Pennsylvania. But if we believe the power of hell to be limited, we must likewise believe that their agents are under some providential controul.

I shall not now attempt to give all the particulars of our retreat to the Delaware; suffice it for the present to say, that both officers and men, though greatly harassed and fatigued, frequently without rest, covering, or provision, the inevitable consequences of a long retreat, bore it with a manly and a martial spirit. All their wishes were one, which was that the country would turn out and help them to drive the enemy back. Voltaire has remarked that King William never appeared to full advantage but in difficulties and in action; the same remark may be made on General Washington, for the character fits him. There is a natural firmness in some minds which cannot be unlocked by trifles, but which, when unlocked, discovers a cabinet of fortitude; and I reckon it among those kind of public blessings which we do not immediately see, that God hath blest him with uninterrupted health, and given him a mind that can even flourish upon care.

I shall conclude this paper with some miscellaneous remarks on the state of our affairs, and shall begin with asking the following question, Why is it that the enemy hath left the New-England provinces, and made these middle ones the seat of war? The answer is easy; New-England is not infested with Tories, and we are. I have been tender in raising the cry against these men, and used numberless arguments to shew them their danger, but it will not do to sacrifice a world to either their folly or their baseness. The period is now arrived in which either they or we must change our sentiments, or one or both must fall. And what is a Tory? Good God! What is he? I should not be afraid to go with an hundred Whigs against a thousand Tories, were they to attempt to get into arms. Every Tory is a coward, for a servile, slavish, self-interested fear is the foundation of Toryism; and a man under such influence, though he may be cruel, never can be brave.

But before the line of irrecoverable separation be drawn between us, let us reason the matter together: Your conduct is an invitation to the enemy, yet not one in a thousand of you has heart enough to join him. Howe is as much deceived by you as the American cause is injured by you. He expects you will all take up arms and flock to his standard with muskets on your shoulders. Your opinions are of no use to him unless you support him personally, for it is soldiers and not Tories that he wants.

I once felt all that kind of anger, which a man ought to feel, against the mean principles that are held by the Tories. A noted one, who kept a tavern at Amboy, was standing at his door, with as pretty a child in his hand, about eight or nine years old, as most I ever saw, and after speaking his mind as freely as he thought was prudent, finished with this unfatherly expression, "Well! give me peace in my day." Not a man lives on the Continent but fully believes that a separation must some time or other finally take place, and a generous parent would have said, "If there must be trouble, let it be in my day, that my child may have peace;" and this single reflexion, well applied, is sufficient to awaken every man to duty. Not a place upon earth might be so happy as Ame-

rica. Her situation is remote from all the wrangling world, and she has nothing to do but to trade with them. A man may easily distinguish in himself between temper and principle, and I am as confident, as I am that God governs the world, that America will never be happy till she gets clear of foreign dominion. Wars, without ceasing, will break out till that period arrives, and the Continent must in the end be conqueror; for, though the flame of liberty may sometimes cease to shine, the coal never can expire.

America did not, nor does not, want force; but she wanted a proper application of that force. Wisdom is not the purchase of a day, and it is no wonder that we should err at first setting off. From an excess of tenderness, we were unwilling to raise an army, and trailed our cause to the temporary defence of a well meaning militia. A summer's experience has now taught us better; yet with those troops, while they were collected, we were able to set bounds to the progress of the enemy; and, thank God! they are again assembling. I always considered a militia as the best troops in the world for a sudden exertion, but they will not do for a long campaign. Howe, it is probable, will make an attempt on this city; should he fail on this side the Delaware, he is ruined; if he succeeds, our cause is not ruined. He stakes all on his side against a part on ours; admitting he succeeds, the consequence will be, that armies from both ends of the continent will march to assist their suffering friends in the middle states; for he cannot go every where, it is impossible. I consider Howe as the greatest enemy the Tories have; he is bringing a war into their country, which, had it not been for him and partly for themselves, they had been clear of. Should he now be expelled, I wish with all the devotion of a Christian, that the names of Whig and Tory may never more be mentioned; but should the Tories give him encouragement to come, or assistance if he come, I as sincerely wish that our next year's arms may expel them from the Continent, and the Congress appropriate their possessions to the relief of those who have suffered in well doing. A single successful battle next year will settle the whole. America could carry on a two years war by the confiscation of the property of distressed persons, and be made happy by their expulsion. Say not that this is revenge, call it rather the just resentment of a suffering people, who, having no object in view but the good of ALL, have staked their own ALL upon a seemingly doubtful event. Yet it is folly to argue against determined hardness; eloquence may strike the ear, and the language of sorrow draw forth the tear of compassion, but nothing can reach the heart that is steeled with prejudice.

Quitting this class of men, I turn, with the warm ardour of a friend, to those who have nobly stood, and are yet determined to stand the matter out. I call not upon a few, but upon all; not on THIS state or THAT state, but on every state; up and help us; lay your shoulders to the wheel; better have too much force than too little, when so great an object is at stake. Let it be told to the future world, that in the depth of winter, when nothing but hope and virtue could survive, that the city and the country, alarmed at one common danger, came forth to meet and to repulse it. Say not that thousands are gone, turn out your tens of thousands; throw not the burthen of the day upon Providence, but "show your faith by your works, that God may bless you." It matters not where you live, or what rank of life you hold, the evil or the blessing will reach you all. The far and the near, the home counties and the backs, the rich and the poor, shall suffer or rejoice alike. The heart that feels not now, is dead. The blood of his children shall curse his cowardice, who shrinks back at a time when a little might have saved the whole, and made them happy. I love

**RESOURCE 13 PG.2**

Thomas Paine, "The American Crisis Number 1," *The Pennsylvania Evening Post*, 31 December 1776.  
Philadelphia: Benjamin Towne. New-York Historical Society Library.

the man that can smile in trouble, that can gather strength from distress, and grow brave by reflexion. 'Tis the business of little minds to shrink; but he whose heart is firm, and whose conscience approves his conduct, will pursue his principles unto death. My own line of reasoning is to myself as straight and clear as a ray of light. Not all the treasures of the world, so far as I believe, could have induced me to support an offensive war, for I think it murder; but if a thief break into my house, burn and destroy my property, and kill or threaten to kill me or those that are in it, and to "bind me in all cases whatsoever," to his absolute will, am I to suffer it? What signifies it to me, whether he who does it, is a King or a common man; my countryman or not my countryman; whether it is done by an individual villain, or an army of them? If we reason to the root of things we shall find no difference; neither can any just cause be assigned why we should punish in the one case and pardon in the other. Let them call me rebel, and welcome, I feel no concern from it; but I should suffer the misery of devils, were I to make a whore of my soul by swearing allegiance to one, whose character is that of a sottish, stupid, stubborn, worthless, brutish man. I conceive likewise a horrid idea in receiving mercy from a being, who at the last day shall be shrieking to the rocks and mountains to cover him, and fleeing with terror from the orphan, the widow and the slain of America.

There are cases which cannot be overdone by language, and this is one. There are persons too who see not the full extent of the evil that threatens them; they solace themselves with hopes that the enemy, if they succeed, will be merciful. It is the madness of folly to expect mercy from those who have refused to do justice, and even mercy, where conquest is the object, is only a trick of war. The cunning of the fox is as murderous as the violence of the wolf; and we ought to guard equally against both. Howe's first object is partly by threats and partly by promises, to terrify or seduce the people to deliver up their arms, and receive mercy. The ministry recommended the same plan to Gage, and this is what the Tories call making their peace; "a peace which passeth all understanding" indeed! A peace which would be the immediate forerunner of a worse ruin than any we have yet thought of. Ye men of Pennsylvania, do reason upon those things! Were the back counties to give up their arms, they would fall an easy prey to the Indians, who are all armed. This perhaps is what some Tories would not be sorry for. Were the home counties to deliver up their arms, they would be exposed to the resentment of the back counties, who would then have it in their power to chastise their defection at pleasure. And were any one state to give up its arms, THAT state must be garrisoned by all Howe's army of Britons and Hessians, to preserve it from the anger of the rest. Mutual fear is a principal link in the chain of mutual love, and woe be to that state that breaks the compact. Howe is mercifully inviting you to barbarous destruction, and men must be either rogues or fools that will not see it. I dwell not upon the vapours of imagination, I bring reason to your ears, and in language as plain as A, B, C, hold up truth to your eyes.

I thank God that I fear not. I see no real cause for fear. I know our situation well, and can see the way out of it. While our army was collected, Howe dared not risk a battle, and it is no credit to him that he decamped from the White Plains, and waited a mean opportunity to ravage the defenceless Jerseys; but it is great credit to us, that, with an handful of men, we sustained an orderly retreat for near an hundred miles, brought off our ammunition, all our field pieces, the greater part of our stores, and had four rivers to pass. None can say that our retreat was precipitate, for we were near

three weeks in performing it, that the country might have time to come in. Twice we marched back to meet the enemy, and remained out till dark. The sign of fear was not seen in our camp, and had not some of the cowardly and disaffected inhabitants spread false alarms thro' the country, the Jerseys had never been ravaged. Once more we are again collected and collecting; our new army at both ends of the continent is recruiting fast, and we shall be able to open the next campaign with sixty thousand men, well armed and clothed. This is our situation, and who will may know it. By perseverance and fortitude we have the prospect of a glorious issue; by cowardice and submission, the sad choice of a variety of evils, a ravaged country, a depopulated city, habitations without safety, and slavery without hope, our homes turned into barracks and bawdy-houses for Hessians, and a future race to provide for whose fathers we shall doubt of. Look on this picture, and weep over it!—And if there yet remains one thoughtless wretch who believes it not, let him suffer it unlamented.

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 31.

By the last advices from the Jerseys, we learn the enemy are every where flying before our army, who frequently take small parties of them. Since the affair at Trenton, it is said, we have taken four hundred, amongst whom are several officers.

Yesterday morning upwards of nine hundred Hessians, who were taken at Trenton, were brought to this city. The wretched condition of these unhappy men, most of whom, if not all, were dragged from their wives and families by a despotic and avaricious prince, must sensibly affect every generous mind with the dreadful effects of arbitrary power.

Last Monday seven of the lighthorse belonging to this city took nine lighthorsemen from the enemy, near Princeton, without firing a gun.

Last Thursday afternoon Col. Rohl died, at Trenton, of the wounds he received that morning.

College of Philadelphia, Dec. 31, 1776.

The Students and Scholars belonging to the College are desired to take notice that the schools will be opened again, on Thursday morning next. WILLIAM SMITH, Prov.

The public are hereby informed that any sick or wounded soldiers who come to this city, are to apply to the Board of Sick the corner of Gray's-alley, or to Mr. William Coates, tanner, in the Northern Liberties, from nine to twelve, and from two to five.

Dec. 31.

WILLIAM THORNE.

Wanted immediately, NURSES and ASSISTANTS to attend sick soldiers. Any persons, willing to serve in such capacity, by applying to the Board of Sick at the corner of Gray's-alley, will receive good encouragement.

December 31.

Philadelphia, Dec. 27, 1776.

THE Honorable Congress having appointed a Committee of their body to transact such Continental business in this city as may be proper and necessary, the said Committee give this public notice, that they meet every day, and sit from ten to three o'clock, at their office in Front-street, where Messrs. Barclay and Mitchell lately dwelt, opposite to Messrs. Conyngham, Nesbit and Company. All persons charged with public letters for the Congress, Board of War, Marine, or other Committees, are desired to take notice hereof, as such letters will be opened or forwarded by the Committee as the case may require.—ROBERT MORRIS, GEORGE CLYMER, GEORGE WALTON.

### RESOURCE 13 PG.3

Thomas Paine, "The American Crisis Number 1," *The Pennsylvania Evening Post*, 31 December 1776.  
Philadelphia: Benjamin Towne. New-York Historical Society Library.

**THESE** are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of his country; but he that stands it now, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the conflict, the more glorious the triumph. What we obtain too cheap, we esteem too lightly: 'Tis dearness only that gives every thing its value. Heaven knows how to set proper price upon its goods; and it would be strange indeed if so celestial an article as FREEDOM should not be highly rated. Britain, with an army to enforce her tyranny, has declared, that she has a right (not only to TAX) but "to BIND us in ALL CASES WHATSOEVER" and if being *bound in that manner* is not slavery, then is there not such a thing as slavery upon earth. Even the expression is impious, for so unlimited a power can belong only to God.

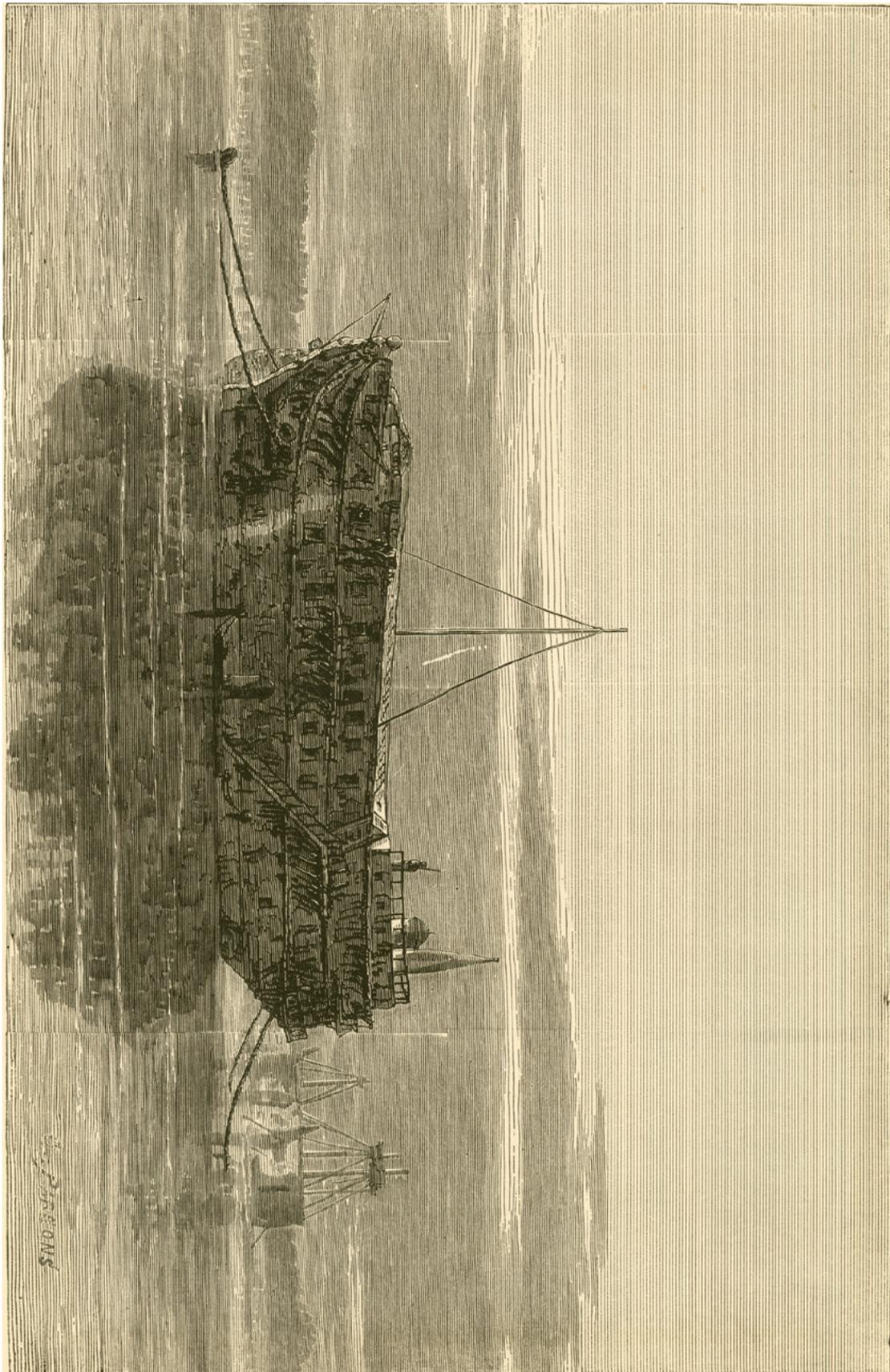
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**RESOURCE 13 (EXCERPT)**

Thomas Paine, "The American Crisis Number 1," *The Pennsylvania Evening Post*, 31 December 1776.  
Philadelphia: Benjamin Towne. New-York Historical Society Library.





**RESOURCE 14A**

Charles Parsons, [*Prison Ship Jersey*], ca.1775-ca.1890. Engraving. The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs: Print Collection, The New York Public Library.



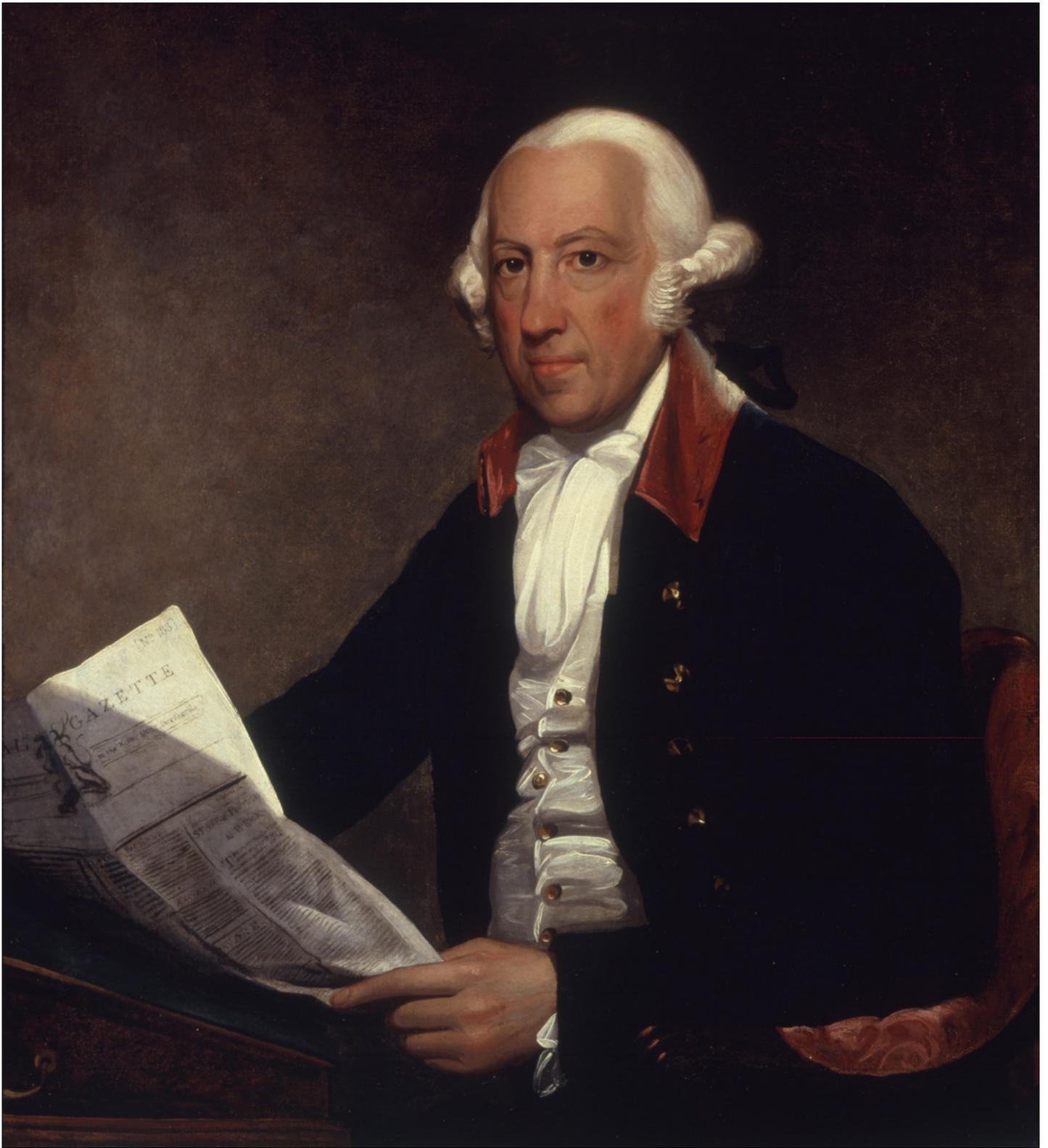
**RESOURCE 14B**

Felix Octavius Carr Darley, engraved by Edward Bookhout, *Interior of the old Jersey prison ship, in the Revolutionary War*, 1855. Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.



**LIFE STORY: MARGARET CORBIN**

Herbert Knoetel, *Margaret Corbin*, c. 1955. Watercolor on paper. Courtesy of the West Point Museum Collection, United States Military Academy.



**LIFE STORY: JAMES RIVINGTON (A)**

Ezra James, *James Rivington, Sr.*, 1806. Oil on canvas. New-York Historical Society, Gift of Dr. Samuel C. Ellis.

To satisfy the impatience of the Public, for the late operations of the Royal Army in Pennsylvania, the Printer has been desired to publish the following accounts of the Glorious Victory obtained on the 4th instant, by his Excellency General Sir WILLIAM HOWE, K. B. over the Rebel army, under Mr. Washington,—written by persons of approved veracity. And he has added copies of original letters from General Parsons and Colonel George Clinton, relating to the late successful attack of the forts on Hudson's River, under the command of Lieutenant-General Sir HENRY CLINTON K. B.

"SINCE my last, we have got a confirmation of the TOTAL ROUTE and DISPERSION of the REBEL ARMY on the 4th instant, and that their scattered remains had been collected, as far as was practicable, at Perkiomny creek, which they had passed, and taken refuge on the mountains in its vicinity; establishing a post also at the Trap, on the Schuylkill.—A waggoner from their camp, which he left on Monday evening, says, they were then in the utmost confusion, their camp being alarmed with an account of the approach of the King's troops; and the next day he was informed a body of British had attacked their post at the Trap, killed thirty, and made about seventy prisoners. He says, that on his way hither from Shetrod's ferry (where he crossed the Delaware) on Thursday morning, he heard a very heavy firing from sun-rise till past 8 o'clock, in a direction towards the camp, which gives room for conjectures."

"BY a person who arrived here last evening, from the rebel army, which he left on Tuesday the 7th instant, we have the following account:—That on the Friday the 3d the rebel army received orders to draw one day's provision, and to march; which they did, within a small distance of the ROYAL ARMY, in the night, and lay upon their arms until day-break: That they attacked the Royal Army, and a General engagement commenced; that both armies fought (as he says) very obstinately; that the Hessians gave way, but rallied; at the same time the left wing of the rebel army gave way, and in an instant the whole was in the greatest confusion, put to flight, and run (in his own words) as

if the devil was after them, when they were pursued by the light-horser who made great havoc among them; that there was a great number missing, and that the report in the camp, after their return, was THREE THOUSAND; but he verily believed there were double that number. He does not know whether they lost any cannon. He also says they begin to be much tired of the war, and are determined to make an end of it this campaign. He further says, that the rebels had lost a great number of their best officers, who had the day before received orders not to run until the word 'retreat' was given, while the most courageous of them observed, and were left standing without men till they were either taken or shot. He further adds, that the Delaware frigate was taken, and was sitting out; that Lord Howe had ordered several floating batteries to be made; that the fort on the Jersey shore, near the chevaux de frise, was taken, but he heard nothing of the shipping. He also says, that there were upwards of a hundred waggoners employed to carry the wounded to East Town; and when he left the rebel army they were thirty miles distant from Philadelphia. This person has been an eye witness of the last engagement, and when he came away he heard considerable firing, which he supposed to be from the shipping."

The vessels near Capt. FEMERICK's choppers intercepted on the route to Peck's Kill to destroy the stores and barracks.

TEAMS cannot lift to-day. You must remain and guard the stores to-day, and until you are driven off, unless relieved. If the enemy oblige you to quit the post, set fire to the buildings in which the stores of bread and flour are,

and retire to this post by the road eastward of the post road. No other buildings but those containing the bread and flour are to be destroyed.

By order of General Putnam.

SAMUEL H. PARSONS, B. G.

Fish-Kill, 5th October, 1777.

Kingston, 29th September, 1777.

SIR, FROM accounts received last evening, from the Hon. Major General Putnam, I have the greatest reason to believe that the enemy (who are much more numerous at New-York and King's-bridge than we supposed them to be) intend very specifically to make an attempt against the passes and fortresses in the highlands, and thereby at least make a diversion in favour of their northern army, and should they succeed, form a junction with them. To prevent their success in a design, which, if prosperous, would effect a conquest of the state, every nerve should be strained. You are therefore on receipt hereof, immediately to order into first Montgomery the one half of your regiment, completely armed, equipped, and accoutred, to continue in service for one month from the time of their having actually marched (if not sooner dismissed) and to be relieved by the remaining half at the end of that time, who are also to be put under marching orders, to be ready on a moment's warning. The weak state of the army under General Putnam, occasioned by the late reinforcements ordered from hence for General Washington's army, renders this measure absolutely necessary.

I am your most obedient servant,

GEO. CLINTON.

To Col. McGilghy.

Last Wednesday evening arrived the HARBELLEM tender, Lieut. KNIGHT commander, with dispatches from the Right Hon. Lord HOWE and the Hon. Sir WILLIAM HOWE, K. B. with a confirmation of the news of a glorious victory obtained over the rebels under Mr. Washington. The following are all the particulars that can be at present collected. In a short time the public will be presented with accounts under the sanction of authority, of letters from one of our best troops in the royal army, dated from LOGAN's camp in Germantown, October 9, 1777.

Lord Cornwallis took possession of Philadelphia on the sixth of September. The rebels, supposing General Howe had detached a considerable part of his army to his Lordship for the defence of the city, were on that account induced to attack us, which they did on the 4th instant; but they were

repulsed, and their army defeated. General Agnew, and Lieut. Col. Bid of the 15th, are the principal officers that we have lost. All the killed, wounded, and missing, of the royal army, since we left New-York, do not exceed 800. The prisoners, and others put into us, say they have lost six thousand in the action and since their defeat at Brandywine; so we have had several smaller actions with them before that of the 26th, in all of which we prevailed with every advantage. Indeed this attack of the rebels has proved a much severer chastisement than any they have yet met with from us. We pursued them many miles, and have taken fifty two of their officers. A great many of their officers were killed in the field, and after they were routed. Here is gone to General Clinton, by the floppy Haysen, Lieut. Knight's detail of particulars from the Commander in

Chief, to which, as it probably will be made public, I must refer you; and, as we are now preparing for another field day with Mr. Washington, I must abruptly take leave, assuring you I will forward some account of our further operations, should I survive the next battle."

The following, written by a person present in the above mentioned engagement, was received yesterday evening.

Engl New Jersey, October 12, 1777.

Glorious news from the southward: Washington knock'd up,—the bloodiest battle in America,—600 of his men gone,—100 waggoners to carry the wounded. General Howe is at present at Germantown,—Washington 30 miles back, in a shattered condition,—their heaviest frigates taken, and one detached. They are tired, and talk of finishing this campaign. The battle was on the 4th inst.

NEW-YORK: Printed by JAMES RIVINGTON, Printer to the KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

Mrs. This James Rivington, who lived at New York on the most intimate & friendly footing with the British Officers, was at the same time acting as a Spy for Genl. Washington & frequently sending him Information of the Intended Operations of the King's Army, but in so secret a Manner that the Americans (save Washington & their Messengers) looked on him as an inveterate Enemy.

LIFE STORY: JAMES RIVINGTON (B)

James Rivington, To satisfy the impatience of the public, for the late operations of the Royal Army in Pennsylvania, 1777. Broadside. New York: James Rivington. New-York Historical Society Library.





**EPILOGUE**

George Washington Mark, *Washington Crossing the Delaware*, before 1850. Oil on canvas, New-York Historical Society, The Folk Art Collection of Elie and Viola Nadelman.

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