

**J. ANTHONY HARNESS**

## ***THE LORD'S ORDERS***

In the late summer of 1778, Maj. Gen. George Washington's chief concerns were the defense of the vital Hudson Highlands, and the security of the storm damaged French fleet at Boston. To realize these two goals he had formed his main army in a line running from West Point to Danbury, Connecticut, choosing Fredericksburg, New York as his headquarters.<sup>1</sup>

On September 18<sup>th</sup>, Washington received the first warning of a possible British movement into New Jersey from Brig. Gen. William Maxwell, stationed at Elizabeth.<sup>2</sup> This alarm was followed on the 23<sup>rd</sup> by intelligence reports, from Col. George Baylor and Brig. Gen. Charles Scott, that told of a 5000 man British force landed at Paulus Hook and loose in northern New Jersey, and another 3000 enemy troops advancing from Kingsbridge, New York.<sup>3</sup> These columns were led by Lieut. Gen. Lord Charles Cornwallis and Lieut. Gen. Wilhelm von Knyphausen, respectively.

Washington warned Maj. Gen. William Alexander, Lord Stirling, on September 24<sup>th</sup> of these British maneuvers and ordered him to detach Brig. Gen. James Clinton's brigade from his division, and send it to Peekskill with orders to defend that area if the British advanced on it. Also, Stirling and his other two brigades were to join Washington at Fredericksburg.<sup>4</sup>

But four days later, on September 28<sup>th</sup>, Washington, feeling that he needed to bolster his troops in New Jersey, put his faith once again in the man he would trust over and over throughout the war for "important and quasi-independent service outside of his main lines."<sup>5</sup>

**He gave the defense of the state to Lord Stirling, with these instructions:**

**You will proceed forthwith into the State of New Jersey and take the command of the Troops there. These will consist of two continental Brigades under Brigadier Generals Maxwell and Woodford, and such of the Militia of the State as shall be collected on the occasion. . . You will make such a disposition of your whole force as**

shall appear to you best calculated to cover the Country—check the incursions of the enemy, and give them annoyance, if any opportunity should offer which may be, with prudence, embraced. It seems most probable the enemy have nothing more in contemplation than a Forage; but it is possible they may have some design against the Forts in the Highlands, you will take such a position as will have an eye to their security, that your Continental troops at least may have an easy communication with, and be able to succour (sic) them should the Enemy make an attempt that way. . . Genl Pulaski's Legion is on the March from Trenton. They may be hastened forward to join you.<sup>6</sup>



*William Alexander, Lord Stirling, By Harper & Brothers [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons.*

General Washington also wrote a letter to Lord Stirling on this date that explained his confidence in appointing Stirling to this post. “. . . there should be some officer of higher rank than any now there to take the direction of the whole.

Your knowledge of the country will give you a peculiar advantage for this purpose. . .”<sup>7</sup>

Lord Stirling rode south the next morning.<sup>8</sup> He moved through the Highlands toward Kakiat, N.Y., as rumors were that the British were marching toward that area.<sup>9</sup> When he arrived at Kakiat, about five miles above Mahwah, N.J., on the 30<sup>th</sup> he reported to Washington that Cornwallis' force had formed a line above Hackensack from New Bridge to the English Neighborhood, protecting nearly fifty vessels that were loading forage on the Hackensack River. He also confessed that he could not ascertain where Brig. Gen. William Woodford's Brigade was. Stirling had heard three tales of where they might be, all of which left them in jeopardy in his opinion.<sup>10</sup> And lastly, Stirling gave the Commander-in-Chief news of what he had learned of Maj. Gen. Charles Grey's bayonet attack on Col. George Baylor's 3<sup>rd</sup> Continental Light Dragoons at Old Tappan on the night of September 27.<sup>11</sup>

For the next several days, Stirling collected his forces and shuffled them across northern New Jersey to get the situation under control. On October 1<sup>st</sup>, he ordered Woodford forward to Paramus.<sup>12</sup> Stirling followed him with his command later that afternoon and had the enemy reconnoitered for the next two days from “Hackensack Bridge to Tapan,” determining their lines, and uncovering an enemy force of 600 men and two redoubts west of New Bridge.<sup>13</sup> On the morning of October 3<sup>rd</sup>, Stirling ordered Woodford, along with Col. Oliver Spencer's Regiment, the Goshen Militia, and part of his light horse, to remain at Paramus, while he advanced to Aquakanock on the Passaic River. There he expected to meet Maxwell and two regiments of his brigade, that he had ordered to march from Elizabeth with Brig. Gen. Nathaniel Heard's 1000 militia and Brig. Gen. William Winds' 600 men.<sup>14</sup>

Though Stirling could report the small success his whaleboats on Newark Bay had had against the enemy, having burnt 2 of the 23 forage vessels going down the Hackensack River that morning,<sup>15</sup> the larger part of his October 4<sup>th</sup> dispatch to Washington was glum. He couldn't see any way for his force to be proactive, “. . . from the position of the Enemy it is Vain to Attempt any thing more than to watch them well.” Count Pulaski hadn't arrived. “. . . I forwarded the letter to Count Poulasky by Express but I have heard Nothing of him or the Messenger, I have sent another this Morning to find him out.”<sup>16</sup>

At Aquakanock, he found the militia “all home Sick” and constantly seeking to return to their families.<sup>17</sup> He complained to Washington that “. . . General Heard informs me that out of 1000 he Marched here yesterday he has not 400 left, It is the Same with Genl Winds & at New Ark and Elizabeth Town. The Spirit of going home is universal under the pretence (sic) of haveing (sic) been Called out on a Sudden Alarm for two or three day's only. . .”<sup>18</sup>

Stirling had written that morning to New Jersey Governor William Livingston, his double brother-in-law and long time friend, before he wrote to Washington, asking for aid with the militia desertions.<sup>19</sup> Livingston quickly directed Wins and Heard to call up another two classes of militia, and ordered out an additional two classes from Burlington County himself.<sup>20</sup>

With these actions between September 30<sup>th</sup> and October 4<sup>th</sup>, Stirling labored to contain the British forage in Bergen County, while still having his troops positioned so that they could fall back and hold the passes to the Highlands according to Washington's ultimate command.

And though Stirling's boyhood friend,<sup>21</sup> British Lieut. Gen. Sir Henry Clinton, would be very happy if his army's incursion into Bergen County lured Washington down from his strong defensive positions, he had no intention of attacking the Hudson Highlands.

Clinton hoped, however, to use the activity of Cornwallis and Knyphausen, to draw American forces in New Jersey away from an amphibious raid he had planned for Egg Harbor.<sup>22</sup>

His targets were a base for American privateers at the Fox Burrows anchorage at Egg Harbor Inlet, an associated privateering center on the Mullica River at Chestnut Neck, the large number of saltworks in these sections,<sup>23</sup> and the area of the Forks, situated even further up the river, where Batsto Forge stood as a source of American munitions and other war matériel.<sup>24</sup> In fact, as Stirling arrived to the confused state of affairs at Kakiat on September 30<sup>th</sup>, that evening,<sup>25</sup> the British expedition under Commander Henry Colins RN, sailed from New York toward Egg Harbor with Captain Patrick Ferguson's embarked force, composed of Regulars from the 5<sup>th</sup> Regiment and Provincials from the 3<sup>rd</sup> Battalion, New Jersey Volunteers.<sup>26</sup>

Franklin W. Kemp's definitive work on the Egg Harbor foray, *A Nest of Rebel Pirates*, states that Governor Livingston was warned on September 29<sup>th</sup> of the enemy's preparations for a raid on the Jersey seaboard by Gen. Maxwell at Elizabeth, though the target itself was not known. And that in the predawn hours of the 30<sup>th</sup>, Livingston met with his Council of Safety, and that body decided to dispatch warnings to the shore villages under possible threat, and to Gen. Washington at Fishkill, NY.<sup>27</sup>



Egg Harbor Area – Detail of Map of the coast of New Jersey from Barnegat Inlet to Cape May. 1770's. Library of Congress Geography and Map Division.

Most of Maxwell's intelligence on this British movement came from Major Richard Howell,<sup>28</sup> a coast watcher who ran an observation post at Black Point, on the Shrewsbury mainland near the Sandy Hook Peninsula. As well as observing British shipping, Howell also ran spies into New York City to gather information on the enemy.<sup>29</sup> His communiqués were sent to Maxwell, who forwarded the reports to Stirling, and through both generals, as a redundancy measure, they were sent ultimately to Washington.<sup>30</sup>

Maxwell forwarded intelligence to Washington on October 8<sup>th</sup>, that summarized Howell:

... I recd a Letter from Major Howell dated the 4th Inst. says that on the 1st Inst. a Fleet of four Ships & eight Brigs Schooners & Sloops sailed to the Southward, designed as they imagined for Egg harbour; ...<sup>31</sup>

Thus, Egg Harbor had been discerned as the likely target of Colins, by American officers, and they pushed that information down the long, meandering intelligence webs that stretched across the chaotic New Jersey landscape, by sometime between the 1<sup>st</sup> and the 4<sup>th</sup> of October,

Colins suffered bad weather and unfavorable winds, and was delayed in

reaching Egg Harbor until October 5<sup>th</sup>,<sup>32</sup> and then could not get his larger ships across the bar for fear of grounding. By that time, the area had been put on the alert. Livingston's warning had reached the local militia at the Fox Burrows outpost, that commanded the Little Egg Inlet, on October 2<sup>nd</sup>,<sup>33</sup> and the four privateersmen there had escaped to sea.<sup>34</sup> Captain George Payne<sup>35</sup>, a tavern-keeper at Chestnut Neck, and an experienced Company Commander, who had fought in the Battle of Ironworks Hill that drew Hessian forces away from Trenton prior to Washington's attack, maintained observation of the enemy until Colins' galleys and smaller armed vessels entered the inlet.<sup>36</sup> Then the Fox Burrow detachment withdrew.

The British reports mention no armed opposition in the advance of their reduced task force up the Mullica River, but their progress was hindered by a lack of pilots, shoal water, and continual groundings, throughout October 6<sup>th</sup>.<sup>37</sup> So much so, that by that afternoon, when the shrinking flotilla of flatboats, tenders, and galleys carrying Ferguson's men finally reached the breastworks at Chestnut Neck, Colins could employ only his shallowest draft vessels for fire support.<sup>38</sup>

That would have been good news for the defense of Chestnut Neck. If the Americans there had been reinforced. But the men of Col. Richard Somers' 3<sup>rd</sup> Battalion, Gloucester County Militia, stood alone. There were only about 150 of them,<sup>39</sup> in artillery works that had no guns,<sup>40</sup> standing against those cannon that the British *had* been able to bring up the river. They faced the famed "Captain Rifle Ferguson,"<sup>41</sup> and his 300 Regulars<sup>42</sup>, veterans of Bunker Hill, Long Island, White Plains, Forts Washington and Lee, Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth,<sup>43</sup> and a hundred experienced Loyalist raiders.<sup>44</sup> They faced nearly as many jack-tars as soldiers, from Colins' puddle-fleet, that could be pressed into use as auxiliary troops.<sup>45</sup>

At 4 P.M. the British attacked. The 3<sup>rd</sup> Gloucester held firm against the enemy's close-in shore bombardment, but Colins' gunfire, such as it was, was still too much for them. It effectively suppressed the Jersey musketry. and with no vigorous American return fire, the British transports were easily able to navigate past the militia's emplacements and land Ferguson's force on Somers' left. Once ashore, Ferguson's flanking attack forced the disrupted Jerseymen from their works and drove them into the woods.<sup>46</sup> And the British razed Chestnut Neck to the ground.<sup>47</sup>

**But the Americans had been trying to brace Somers' men.**

Maj. Gen. Benedict Arnold received word of the impending attack on Egg Harbor on October 3<sup>rd</sup> in Philadelphia.<sup>48</sup> It is unknown through whom Arnold learned of the danger approaching Egg Harbor. Either Stirling, Maxwell, or Livingston may have informed him. Howell may even have taken such an

unorthodox step on his own. Three months before, the Major had reported vital intelligence to Maxwell, prior to the Battle of Monmouth Courthouse, by way of Arnold.<sup>49</sup> Or Arnold may have been informed of the developing situation by his commercial partners in the *Charming Nancy*, a trading vessel stranded at Egg Harbor while the New Jersey Court of Admiralty adjudicated her legal standing.<sup>50</sup>

In any event, the warning was passed to him, and Arnold ordered Col. Thomas Proctor's under-strength<sup>51</sup> artillery to proceed immediately for the defense of Egg Harbor.<sup>52</sup> The next day Arnold sent a reinforcement of 100 militiamen to follow Proctor.<sup>53</sup>

However, another day passed in Philadelphia before Congress, now also aware of the destination of Colins' naval force, issued orders to reinforce Egg Harbor on Oct. 5th.<sup>54</sup> They chose the problematic Brig. Gen. Count Casimir Pulaski for the task.

For the past two weeks Pulaski's Legion had received a series of conflicting orders, due to overlapping authority and the Army's long lines of communication. Pulaski had been waiting in Philadelphia for transit to South Carolina, when on September 17<sup>th</sup>, because of the British incursion into Bergen County, Congress gave him orders to march for Trenton.<sup>55</sup> Then Washington ordered him instead to Fredericksburg, NY on Sept. 19<sup>th</sup>, subject to Congress and the Board of War's confirmation.<sup>56</sup> But not aware of that order, Henry Laurens, the President of Congress, wrote to Washington on the 20<sup>th</sup> informing him of Congress' orders of the 17<sup>th</sup> for the Count to proceed to Trenton.<sup>57</sup> And as we saw earlier, Washington passed on the information that “. . . Genl Pulaski's Legion is on the March from Trenton. They may be hastened forward to join you . . .” on the 28<sup>th</sup> when he gave the command of the Jerseys to Lord Stirling.

Then on September 29<sup>th</sup>, unaware that Pulaski was yet still in Philadelphia, Washington ordered the Polish General to Paramus and put him directly under the command of Stirling.<sup>58</sup> But Congress, not aware of Washington's new orders, the next day directed Pulaski to Princeton, along with the rest of the available Continental troops in Philadelphia, to await Washington's possible directions.<sup>59</sup>

Washington most likely did not hear of Congress' last orders to Pulaski until October 7<sup>th</sup>, when he wrote to Lord Stirling to inform him of it.<sup>60</sup>

Notwithstanding these perplexing orders, Pulaski had remained in Philadelphia until October 3<sup>rd</sup>, dealing with his Legion's fiscal and legal troubles with Pennsylvania's civil authorities, his subsequent arrest by the County Sheriff, the interjection of the Board of War into these affairs, and the resulting official rebuke of his conduct by Congress.<sup>61</sup>

Unfortunately, by Oct. 5<sup>th</sup>, when Congress acted to defend Egg Harbor, Pulaski had at last left Philadelphia. He was in Trenton, en-route to Princeton. And his orders from Congress, to instead proceed to Egg Harbor, would take many



more hours to reach him, as he marched further away from his newest destination.<sup>62</sup>

But Lord Stirling had also acted on Major Howell's intelligence. He sent orders to deploy troops and vessels to the Egg Harbor region to Livingston at Princeton, as can be deduced from Livingston's letters to Stirling of the 6<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup>.

From Gov. Livingston's letter to Stirling of October 11, 1778:

“I informed your Lordship last night, that I had preferred your orders for the Troops in the vicinity of Trentown or Princeton marching to Egg Harbor to those of their march to Camp on account of the advice I had of the Enemy's motions in the former region.”<sup>63</sup>

Livingston next explains in this letter that he had previously neglected to deliver further intelligence that he had on the situation at Egg Harbor, and was writing to rectify that. Luckily, for the historical record, his preface repeated the news of the delivery of Stirling's orders to those troops, because his letter of October 10<sup>th</sup> can not now be found.<sup>64</sup>

Neither can most of Stirling's correspondence concerning the Revolutionary War be found. His grandson and biographer, William Alexander Duer, said it was gathered for preservation and later lost.<sup>65</sup>

But a recent search of the Library of Congress's web site has revealed these orders from Lord Stirling that Governor Livingston mentions, and that Lord Stirling informed Washington of on October 9<sup>th</sup>.

“... Count Poulasky is gone down to Eggharbour, I have sent such orders to Princetown as If there be occasion the troops fit for Service there may march to the Same place, . . .”<sup>66</sup>

These orders were sometime in the past hand-labeled in ink:

Lord Stirling,  
plan for (illegible)  
(illegible) the Refugees  
of Egg Harbor<sup>67</sup>

And are now designated by the Library of Congress website as:

William Alexander, Lord Stirling,  
October 1778, Plan for Attack on  
Egg Harbor, New Jersey<sup>68</sup>

The orders describe the deployment of troops for operations at Egg Harbor. Stirling's soldiers would be advancing into a fluid environment, and he had very little tactical intelligence to impart to them. The orders seem solid and deliberate, meant to avoid enemy ambush. And though vague by modern standards, they suggest the general idea for his ground units to make a two-pronged movement on



**Osborne Island and Egg Harbor Meeting House, coordinated with naval activity at the area of the inlet.**

**The dispositions he ordered should have allowed his local commanders to facilitate any counter-attacks they saw fit to dislodge the enemy if they were still ashore. But if the British had reembarked to their ships, his forces would also be positioned for a quick and sure reestablishment of American control over the region.**

**Lord Stirling's Orders read -**

**Two Armed Vessels drawing ten or twelve feet Water to take their Station at Fox Burrow Harbor**

**Two or three others drawing five Six or Seven feet to take Station at (ANCHORAGE SYMBOL) and Cover the landing**

**Eight or ten flat bottomed Boats to proceed from Coopers ferry or Ancocus to Blatsto (sic) furnace**

**The Necessary Artillery and provision from Burlington to the Same place**

**All the detachments to rendezvous (sic) at the Same place**

**One party of the troops to move from thence by land to the Meeting house and to Scourer (sic) the bridge and causeway from the Island.**

**The remainder to move down the River in the Boats and to land on the Island near (ANCHORAGE SYMBOL, AS BEFORE) under Cover of the Armed Vessels. A few Horse will be necessary for Intelligence.**

**When the business is done at the Island + Meeting H one party may Scourer (sic) the Coast up to Sandy Hook and return to their Quarters by Brunswick. The remainder may Escort the prisoners, Cannon, Boats.<sup>69</sup>**

**Obvious here, is that none of Lord Stirling's subordinate commanders or their units are named. Is this because Lord Stirling was not sure what units Governor Livingston would be able to deliver the orders to, or which would actually be available, after all of the back-and-forth and delay with the various movement orders? Or are there pages missing? Is there a lost preface to these orders which designates the officers/units assigned to this mission?**

**In spite of the unspecified recipients, if we look at the American units involved in the relief of Egg Harbor, it appears that Stirling's orders for the advancing land forces were followed. What is known is that:**

**American troops had arrived at the Forks near Batsto by October 7<sup>th</sup> and discouraged the British from attempting to press further up the river.<sup>70</sup> Colins**

mentioned Col. Proctor by name in this regard, in his report of his actions up to October 9<sup>th</sup>.<sup>71</sup> Proctor was even in the area before his troops, having reconnoitered his avenue of approach to Egg Harbor, and observing the British arrival from Fox Burrows with Maj. Payne.<sup>72</sup> Lord Stirling reported to Washington on the 11<sup>th</sup> that Brig. Gen. Pulaski had stopped the enemy's advance by his presence near the Forks.<sup>73</sup>

Pulaski deployed near Osborne Island, where his outpost was successfully surprised on the night of October 14<sup>th</sup> by Ferguson.<sup>74</sup>

Proctor, with less than half of the militia that was supposed to accompany him from Philadelphia,<sup>75</sup> encamped about two miles away from Pulaski<sup>76</sup> which would put him near the Meeting House at Little Egg Harbor.

American vessels saw action at the inlet on October 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> when two small privateers were taken by the British,<sup>77</sup> and on the 19<sup>th</sup> when Pulaski reports hearing an all day naval engagement<sup>78</sup> that resulted in the capture of an American sloop by Colins' armed boats.<sup>79</sup>

However, the local Egg Harbor area militia are not mentioned in Stirling's orders. Part of Somers' 3<sup>rd</sup> Gloucester withdrew to Leeds Point,<sup>80</sup> after the fight at Chestnut Neck, and kept the enemy's actions on the Mullica under observation with small unit reconnaissance patrols,<sup>81</sup> while the rest fell back to Somers Point to defend the Great Egg Harbor area from possible British sea raid.<sup>82</sup> The company of Batsto workmen, originally organized as specially exempt militia by Col. John Cox in 1777,<sup>83</sup> must have added its weight to Pulaski's and Proctor's forces as they arrived at the threatened ironworks, but there is no evidence that they advanced toward the enemy with the relief forces. There is also Pulaski's report to Congress of October 16<sup>th</sup> that complains that his aid, Major Julius Count de Montfort, who had been sent to the Forks to bring the militia forward, received no support from them, had been threatened with mutiny, and “. . . that even the colonel, who commanded and lives at the Forks, wanted to use him in a cruel manner.”<sup>84</sup>

Nor were 300 militiamen from Monmouth County under Col. Samuel Forman mentioned by Lord Stirling in these orders. They wouldn't start for Egg Harbor to reinforce Pulaski until sometime between October 10<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> according to Major Howell's intelligence journal.<sup>85</sup>

In the midst of Colins' venture, a fast sloop from New York brought a message from Admiral James Gambier RN, the new Commander-in-Chief, North American Station. His orders, received on October 10<sup>th</sup>, were for Colins to end the raid and return immediately.<sup>86</sup> But again contrary winds and shoals were against Colins, and his departure was delayed until the 20<sup>th</sup>.<sup>87</sup> Ferguson took this opportunity to strike Pulaski's outpost near Osborn Island on the 14<sup>th</sup>. It worked as a diversion, consuming American attention,<sup>88</sup> and protecting Colins' floundering

**fleet. But in the end, HMS *Zebra*, an armed sloop, was hopelessly grounded and with American strength increasing at Egg Harbor, she was scuttled and burned, and Colins at last withdrew his expedition.<sup>89</sup>**

**Lord Stirling was nearly a hundred miles away from the scene of the action, but his cursory orders for the defense of Egg Harbor greatly influenced the outcome of nearly two weeks fighting. Most notably, in saving Batsto from the enemy.**

**And though the British were able to level Chestnut Neck, wreck the captured British vessels anchored there, destroy the saltworks on the Bass River, overpower three American privateers, and punish General Pulaski's force in a daring night raid, Clinton may have neglected to mention in his later writings, the importance of the Batsto Iron Works in the purpose behind Colins' expedition. Indeed, Lt. Col. Stephen Kemble, Clinton's chief of intelligence at the time, would give the Army's part in the venture precedence over the Royal Navy's when he wrote:**

**Monday, Oct. 19<sup>th</sup>. Reported that Captain Rifle Ferguson had failed in his attempt upon Egg Harbor.<sup>90</sup>**



Two Armed Vessels drawing ten or twelve feet  
Water to take their Station at Fox Burrow Harbor

Two or three others drawing five six or seven feet  
to take Station at  $\&$  and cover the landing

Eight or ten flat bottomed Boats to proceed from  
Coopers ferry, or Ancooan; to Blaksto furnace

The necessary Artillery and provision from  
Burlington to the same place

All the Detachments to rendezvous at the same  
place

One party of the troops to move from thence by  
land to the Meeting house, and to secure the bridge  
and Cause way from the Island.

The remainder to move down the River in the  
Boats and to land on the Island near  $\&$  under cover  
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A few Horse will be necessary for Intelligence.

When the business is done at the Island & Meeting H  
one party may scour the Coast up to Sandy Hook and  
return ~~thence~~ to their Quarters by Boundwicks

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84

George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress, 1741-1799: Series 4. General Correspondence. 1697-1799 William Alexander, Lord Stirling, October 1778, Plan for Attack on Egg Harbor, New Jersey.

## POSTSCRIPT

An interesting item in the document itself, is Lord Stirling's use of an unmistakable map symbol to refer to an anchorage. It is the same symbol used on a long-known map of the Egg Harbor area that indicated an anchorage within fifty yards of Osborne's Island. Charles Boyer used the map in his 1931 work *Early Forges & Furnaces in New Jersey*, though not in direct reference to the Battle of Chestnut Neck. Franklin W. Kemp included it in his *A Nest of Rebel Pirates*, believing that the "untitled and anonymous," map probably dated from the time of the battle.<sup>91</sup> It can be found today in the on-line collections of the Library of Congress.<sup>92</sup>

Along with the landing near Osborne's Island, four other sites - of the nine denoted in the map key - are mentioned in Stirling's orders. They are: Fox Burrows Harbor, Batsto Furnace, Egg Harbor Meeting House, and the Bridge and Causeway from the Island (the wording of this last location is identical in both the orders and the map key.)

It begs one to presume that this schematic did, in fact, accompany Lord Stirling's orders for the defense of Egg Harbor in October of 1778.

1 Revolutionary War Series: Volume 17, 15 September – 31 October 1778, *The Papers of George Washington Digital Edition*, ed. Theodore J. Crackel, et al. (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, Rotunda, 2007-).  
<http://gwpapers.virginia.edu/editions/letterpress/revolutionary-war-series/volume-17-15-September-31-October-1778/>, viewed January 2016.

2 “To George Washington from Brigadier General William Maxwell, 9 September 1778,” Founders Online, National Archives, <http://founders.archives.gov>, viewed January 2016. Source: *The Papers of George Washington*, Revolutionary War Series, vol. 16, *1 July–14 September 1778*, ed. David R. Hoth. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2006.  
and “From George Washington to Brigadier General William Maxwell, 19 September 1778,” Founders Online, National Archives, <http://founders.archives.gov>, viewed January 2016. Source: *The Papers of George Washington*, Revolutionary War Series, vol. 17, *15 September–31 October 1778*, ed. Philander D. Chase. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2008. FURTHER NOTES FROM THIS DIGITAL SOURCE WILL BE MARKED †.

3 “To George Washington from Colonel George Baylor, 23 September 1778,” †,

and “To George Washington from Brigadier General Charles Scott, 23 September 1778,” †.

4 “From George Washington to Major General Stirling, 24 September 1778,” †.

5 “From George Washington to Major General Stirling, 28 September 1778,” †.

6 “Instructions to Major General Stirling, 28 September 1778,” †.

7 “To George Washington from Major General Stirling, 28 September 1778,” †.

8 “To George Washington from Major General Stirling, 29 September 1778,” †.

9 “From George Washington to Major General Horatio Gates, 30 September 1778,” †.

10 “To George Washington from Major General Stirling, 30 September 1778,” †.

11 Ibid.

12 “To George Washington from Major General Stirling, 1 October 1778,” †, and “To George Washington from Major General Stirling, 3 October 1778,” first letter †.

13 “To George Washington from Major General Stirling, 3 October 1778,” first letter †.

14 Ibid.

15 “To George Washington from Major General Stirling, 4 October 1778,” †.

16 Ibid.

17 Ibid.

18 Ibid.

19 Ibid.

20 This mobilization of Burlington militia is almost definitely for the defense of (then) Burlington County's Atlantic shoreline, that along with Old Gloucester County's, comprised the Egg Harbor Region. “To Major General Stirling from Governor William Livingston, 5 October 1778,” Carl E. Prince and Dennis P. Ryan, ed., *The Papers of William Livingston*, Volume 2: July 1777-December 1778 (Trenton: New Jersey Historical Commission, 1980), 455.

21 Alan Valentine, *Lord Stirling* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), 29.

22 Franklin W. Kemp, *A Nest of Rebel Pirates*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition (Egg Harbor City, NJ: The Laureate Press, 1966, 1993), 24.

and “To Lord George Germain from Lieut. General Sir Henry Clinton, 8 October 1778,” *The Remembrancer* (London: J. Almon, 1779), 151-152.

and “To Lord George Germain from Lieut. General Sir Henry Clinton, 25 October 1778,” *The Remembrancer* (London: J. Almon, 1779), 151.

23 “To Rear-Admiral James Gambier RN from Commander Henry Colins RN, 9 October 1778,” *The Remembrancer* (London: J. Almon, 1779), 154-156.

and “Report of Capt. Ferguson, of the 70<sup>th</sup> Regiment, to his Excellency Sir Henry Clinton from, dated Little Egg-harbour, Oct. 10, 1778,” *The Remembrancer* (London: J. Almon, 1779), 151-152.

24 “To Rear-Admiral James Gambier RN from Commander Henry Colins RN, 9 October 1778,” *The Remembrancer* (London: J. Almon, 1779), 155.

25 Ibid., 154.

and “To George Washington from Brigadier General William Maxwell, 8 October 1778,” †.

In which Maxwell delivers Major Richard Howell's intelligence reports.

26 “Report of Capt. Ferguson, of the 70<sup>th</sup> Regiment, to his Excellency Sir Henry Clinton from, dated Little Egg-harbour, Oct. 15, 1778,” *The Remembrancer* (London: J. Almon, 1779), 153.

27 Franklin W. Kemp, *A Nest of Rebel Pirates*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition (Egg Harbor City, NJ: The Laureate Press, 1966, 1993), 22.

28 Richard Howell would become New Jersey's third Governor, serving in that office from 1793 to 1801.

29 “From George Washington to Brigadier General William Maxwell, 8 October 1778,” †.

and “From George Washington to Major Richard Howell, 5 October 1778,” †.

and “To George Washington from Major Richard Howell, 9 October 1778,” †.



- 30 “To George Washington from Major General Stirling, 20 October 1778,” †. The system of duplicate messages is well seen in this letter and the corresponding editor's notes.
- 31 “To George Washington from Brigadier General William Maxwell, 8 October 1778,” †.
- 32 “To Rear-Admiral James Gambier RN from Commander Henry Colins RN, 9 October 1778,” *The Remembrancer* (London: J. Almon, 1779), 154.
- 33 “Report of Capt. Ferguson, of the 70<sup>th</sup> Regiment, to his Excellency Sir Henry Clinton from, dated Little Egg-harbour, Oct. 10, 1778,” *The Remembrancer* (London: J. Almon, 1779), 151.
- 34 “To Rear-Admiral James Gambier RN from Commander Henry Colins RN, 9 October 1778,” *The Remembrancer* (London: J. Almon, 1779), 154.
- 35 Rev. Norman Goos, “Carefully Planned Distractions Create Opportunities for Surprise Victories: The 3<sup>rd</sup> “Atlantic County” Battalion and the Famous Battles at Trenton and Princeton,” *Atlantic Heritage Center, 2010-2011, Sixty Third Yearbook with Historical and Genealogical Journal*, Vol. 16 Number 3, (December 2010,) 22.
- 36 Digital Library@Villanova University, Series LII Richard Somers (I), Letter, To: “Colonel Richard Somers” From: “Major George Payne,” [1778?]” <http://digital.library.villanova.edu/Item/vudl:262289#?c=0&m=0&s=0&cv=0&z=-1.3536%2C-0.0661%2C3.7073%2C1.3214>, viewed January 2016.
- 37 “To Rear-Admiral James Gambier RN from Commander Henry Colins RN, 9 October 1778,” *The Remembrancer* (London: J. Almon, 1779), 154-155.
- 38 Ibid. 155.
- 39 Franklin W. Kemp, *A Nest of Rebel Pirates*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition (Egg Harbor City, NJ: The Laureate Press, 1966, 1993), 24.
- 40 “To Rear-Admiral James Gambier RN from Commander Henry Colins RN, 9 October 1778,” *The Remembrancer* (London: J. Almon, 1779), 155.
- and ““Report of Capt. Ferguson, of the 70<sup>th</sup> Regiment, to his Excellency Sir Henry Clinton from, dated Little Egg-harbour, Oct. 10, 1778,” *The Remembrancer* (London: J. Almon, 1779), 152.
- 41 This British Army sobriquet for Captain Patrick Ferguson stems from his advancement of a breech-loading rifle of his own design. Lieut. Col. Stephen Kemble, “The Kemble Papers. Vol. I. 1773-1789,” *Collections of the New York Historical Society for the Year 1883*, (New York, 1884), 164.
- 42 Franklin W. Kemp, *A Nest of Rebel Pirates*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition (Egg Harbor City, NJ: The Laureate Press, 1966, 1993), 10.
- 43 Richard Cannon, Esq., “Fifth Regiment of Foot or Northumberland Fusiliers,” *Historical Records of the British Army*, (London, William Clowes and Sons, 1836), 42-49.
- 44 Franklin W. Kemp, *A Nest of Rebel Pirates*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition (Egg Harbor City, NJ: The Laureate Press, 1966, 1993), 13-14.
- 45 Ibid. Approximate number derived from Kemp's Order of Battle for British Forces. 14-15.
- 46 “To Rear-Admiral James Gambier RN from Commander Henry Colins RN, 9 October 1778,” *The Remembrancer* (London: J. Almon, 1779), 155.
- and “Report of Capt. Ferguson, of the 70<sup>th</sup> Regiment, to his Excellency Sir Henry Clinton from, dated Little Egg-harbour, Oct. 10, 1778,” *The Remembrancer* (London: J. Almon, 1779), 152.
- 47 Ibid.
- 48 “To George Washington from Major General Benedict Arnold, 11 October 1778,” †.
- 49 “To George Washington from Major General Benedict Arnold, 21 June 1778,” and the corresponding editor's notes. Founders Online, National Archives, <http://founders.archives.gov>., viewed January 2016. Source: *The Papers of George Washington*, Revolutionary War Series, vol. 15, May–June 1778, ed. Edward G. Lengel. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2006.
- 50 Richard K. Murdoch, “Benedict Arnold and the Owners of the *Charming Nancy*,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 84, issue 1, (January, 1960,) 39. <https://journals.psu.edu/pmhb/article/download/41541/41262>, viewed January 2016.
- 51 Franklin W. Kemp, *A Nest of Rebel Pirates*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition (Egg Harbor City, NJ: The Laureate Press, 1966, 1993), 23, and as noted there - Joseph Reed, President of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, in *Pennsylvania Archives*, Vol. VII 1778-79, 135.
- 52 “To George Washington from Major General Benedict Arnold, 11 October 1778,” †.
- 53 Ibid.
- 54 Leszek Szymanski, *Casimir Pulaski, A Hero of the American Revolution*, (New York, NY: Hippocrene Books, 1979, 1994), 207,
- and “To Major General Stirling from Governor William Livingston, 6 October 1778,” Carl E. Prince and Dennis P. Ryan, ed., *The Papers of William Livingston*, Volume 2: July 1777-December 1778 (Trenton: New Jersey Historical Commission, 1980), 457.
- 55 Leszek Szymanski, *Casimir Pulaski, A Hero of the American Revolution*, (New York, NY: Hippocrene Books, 1979, 1994), 200.

and "To George Washington from Henry Laurens, 20 September 1778," †.

56 "From George Washington to Brigadier General Casimir Pulaski, 19 September 1778," † and "From George Washington to The Board of War, 19 September 1778," †.

57 "To George Washington from Henry Laurens, 20 September 1778," †.

58 "From George Washington to Brigadier General Casimir Pulaski, 29 September 1778," †

59 "To George Washington from Henry Laurens, 2 October 1778," †, and Leszek Szymanski, *Casimir Pulaski, A Hero of the American Revolution*, (New York, NY: Hippocrene Books, 1979, 1994), 201.

60 "From George Washington to Major General Stirling, 7 October 1778," †

61 Leszek Szymanski, *Casimir Pulaski, A Hero of the American Revolution*, (New York, NY: Hippocrene Books, 1979, 1994), 198-206.

62 Leszek Szymanski, *Casimir Pulaski, A Hero of the American Revolution*, (New York, NY: Hippocrene Books, 1979, 1994), 206, and "To Major General Stirling from Governor William Livingston, 5 October 1778," Carl E. Prince and Dennis P. Ryan, ed., *The Papers of William Livingston, Volume 2: July 1777-December 1778* (Trenton: New Jersey Historical Commission, 1980), 455.

63 "To Major General Stirling from Governor William Livingston, 11 October 1778," Carl E. Prince and Dennis P. Ryan, ed., *The Papers of William Livingston, Volume 2: July 1777-December 1778* (Trenton: New Jersey Historical Commission, 1980), 461.

64 Ibid.

65 George E. Helmke, *Lord Stirling, William Alexander, Country Gentleman and New Jersey's Military Leader in the War for Independence*, (Basking Ridge, NJ: The Historical Society of Somerset Hills, 2000), 25.

66 "To George Washington from Major General Stirling, 9 October 1778," †.

67 "William Alexander, Lord Stirling, October 1778, Plan for Attack on Egg Harbor, New Jersey," *George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress, 1741-1799: Series 4. General Correspondence, 1697-1799.* [http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampagecollId=mgw4&fileName=gwpage053.db&recNum=997&tempFile=./temp/~ammem\\_4z0s&filecode=mgw&next\\_filecode=mgw&itemnum=1&ndocs=100](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampagecollId=mgw4&fileName=gwpage053.db&recNum=997&tempFile=./temp/~ammem_4z0s&filecode=mgw&next_filecode=mgw&itemnum=1&ndocs=100), viewed January 2016.

68 Ibid.

69 "William Alexander, Lord Stirling, October 1778, Plan for Attack on Egg Harbor, New Jersey," *George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress, 1741-1799: Series 4. General Correspondence, 1697-1799.* [http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampagecollId=mgw4&fileName=gwpage053.db&recNum=996&tempFile=./temp/~ammem\\_4z0s&filecode=mgw&next\\_filecode=mgw&itemnum=1&ndocs=100](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampagecollId=mgw4&fileName=gwpage053.db&recNum=996&tempFile=./temp/~ammem_4z0s&filecode=mgw&next_filecode=mgw&itemnum=1&ndocs=100), viewed January 2016.

70 Ferguson's report of October 10, 1778 to Clinton gives the impression that both Proctor and Pulaski had coalesced their forces at the Forks/Batsto area. "Report of Capt. Ferguson, of the 70<sup>th</sup> Regiment, to his Excellency Sir Henry Clinton from, dated Little Egg-harbour, Oct. 10," *The Remembrancer* (London: J. Almon, 1779), 151-152. and Arnold gives an account of Proctor's and Pulaski's general movements of early October in his letter of October 11, 1778 to Washington. "To George Washington from Major General Benedict Arnold, 11 October 1778," †.

71 "To Rear-Admiral James Gambier RN from Commander Henry Colins RN, 9 October 1778," *The Remembrancer* (London: J. Almon, 1779), 154-156

72 Digital Library@Villanova University, Series LII Richard Somers (I), Letter, To: "Colonel Richard Somers" From: "Major George Payne," [1778?] <http://digital.library.villanova.edu/Item/vudl:262289#?c=0&m=0&s=0&cv=0&z=-1.3536%2C-0.0661%2C3.7073%2C1.3214>, viewed January 2016.

73 Stirling's report on Egg Harbor is in his first letter to Washington dated October 11, 1778. "To George Washington from Major General Stirling, 11 October 1778," †.

74 "To Rear-Admiral James Gambier RN from Commander Henry Colins RN, 15 October 1778," *The Remembrancer* (London: J. Almon, 1779), 156. and "Report of Capt. Ferguson, of the 70<sup>th</sup> Regiment, to his Excellency Sir Henry Clinton from, dated Little Egg-harbour, Oct. 15, 1778," *The Remembrancer* (London: J. Almon, 1779), 153-154. and Pulaski to Congress, Ex. Doc. No. 120 49<sup>th</sup> Congress (2<sup>nd</sup> session) Senate (Original: P.C.C. M247.181) quoted in Leszek Szymanski, *Casimir Pulaski, A Hero of the American Revolution*, (New York, NY: Hippocrene Books, 1979, 1994), 211, and Pulaski to President Laurens, October 19, 1778, and Pulaski to President Laurens, October 21, 1778, quoted in Leszek Szymanski, *Casimir Pulaski, A Hero of the American Revolution*, (New York, NY: Hippocrene Books, 1979, 1994), 213-215, and Paul Bentalou, *A Reply to Judge Johnson's Remarks*, Baltimore 1826, p.36-37) quoted in Leszek Szymanski, *Casimir Pulaski, A Hero of the American Revolution*, (New York, NY: Hippocrene Books, 1979, 1994), 209-210. and Patrick Ferguson, writing as Egg-Shell, in an open letter to the President of Congress, countering Pulaski's report of the

engagement, in *The Royal Gazette*, publ. by James Rivington, New York, no. 220, Saturday 7 November 1778, p. 3, as quoted at <http://www.silverwhistle.co.uk/lobsters/ferguson.html> , viewed January 2016.

75 “To George Washington from Major General Benedict Arnold, 11 October 1778,” †.

76 “Report of Capt. Ferguson, of the 70<sup>th</sup> Regiment, to his Excellency Sir Henry Clinton from, dated Little Egg-harbour, Oct. 15, 1778,” *The Remembrancer* (London: J. Almon, 1779), 153.

77 Franklin W. Kemp, *A Nest of Rebel Pirates*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition (Egg Harbor City, NJ: The Laureate Press, 1966, 1993), 50.

78 Pulaski to President Laurens, October 19, 1778, quoted in Leszek Szymanski, *Casimir Pulaski, A Hero of the American Revolution*, (New York, NY: Hippocrene Books, 1979, 1994), 214.

79 Franklin W. Kemp, *A Nest of Rebel Pirates*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition (Egg Harbor City, NJ: The Laureate Press, 1966, 1993), 50.

80 Digital Library@Villanova University, Series LII Richard Somers (I), “Military Order, To: Colonel Richard Somers From: Head Quarters, Leeds Point, N.J., October 17, 1778,” <http://digital.library.villanova.edu/Item/vudl:262297#c=0&m=0&s=0&cv=0&z=0.4052%2C0.0323%2C1.8104%2C0.643>, viewed January 2016.

81 Rev. Norman Goos, private collection of pension applications of Atlantic County soldiers (present-day) from the NJ State Archives.

82 Digital Library@Villanova University, Series LII Richard Somers (I), “Military Order, To: Colonel Richard Somers From: Colonel Thomas Proctor, October 23, 1778,” <http://digital.library.villanova.edu/Item/vudl:262301#c=0&m=0&s=0&cv=0&z=0.0047%2C0.7847%2C1.1542%2C0.4114>, viewed on January 2016.

83 William S. Stryker, *Documents Relating to the Revolutionary History of the State of New Jersey*, (Trenton, NJ: The John L. Murphy Publishing Co., 1901) 409, <https://archive.org/details/ser2newjerseyrev01newjuoft> , viewed January 2016.

84 This most likely refers to Lt. Colonel Elijah Clark. Leszek Szymanski, *Casimir Pulaski, A Hero of the American Revolution*, (New York, NY: Hippocrene Books, 1979, 1994), 212.

85 Howell's intelligence can be found in the editor's notes for “To George Washington from Major General Stirling, 16 October 1778,” †.

86 “Report of Capt. Ferguson, of the 70<sup>th</sup> Regiment, to his Excellency Sir Henry Clinton from, dated Little Egg-harbour, Oct. 15, 1778,” *The Remembrancer* (London: J. Almon, 1779), 153, and “To Rear-Admiral James Gambier RN from Commander Henry Colins RN, 15 October 1778,” *The Remembrancer* (London: J. Almon, 1779), 156.

87 Harry P. Folger, 3<sup>rd</sup>, “The Battle at Chestnut Neck and The Affair at Little Egg Harbor, October 6, 1778 – October 22, 1778,” Col. Richard Somers Chapter, New Jersey Society, Sons of the American Revolution, <http://www.colrichardsomers.com/Pages/SuggestedReading.aspx>, 11, viewed January 2016.

88 An illustration of this point are the stern orders Col. Proctor sent out after Ferguson's raid on Pulaski's outpost. Proctor wrote to Somer's congregated militia that “. . . the Several Captains Commanding Company's will pay Suitable Attention to their duty, and the Conduct of their men, the Enemy laying so near this post as to give them every Advantage of Attacking at night if they think proper - And to prevent being Surprised the Soldiers are to lay on their arms during the night season and the Captains of the Day to Visit the outposts and to See the Continentals Alert on their Duty.” Digital Library@Villanova University, “Military Order, To: Colonel Richard Somers From: Head Quarters, Leeds Point, N.J., October 17, 1778,” viewed January 2016.

89 Neither Colins nor Ferguson mention the loss of the sloop H.M.S. *Zebra* in the reports to their superiors that were published. William S. Stryker, *The Affair at Egg Harbor New Jersey October 15 1778*, Col. Richard Somers Chapter, New Jersey Society, Sons of the American Revolution, <http://www.colrichardsomers.com/Pages/SuggestedReading.aspx>, 7, viewed January 2016.

90 Lieut. Col. Stephen Kemble, “The Kemble Papers. Vol. I. 1773-1789,” *Collections of the New York Historical Society for the Year 1883*, (New York, 1884), 164.

91 Franklin W. Kemp, *A Nest of Rebel Pirates*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition (Egg Harbor City, NJ: The Laureate Press, 1966, 1993), 43.

92 “Map of the coast of New Jersey from Barnegat Inlet to Cape May,” *Library of Congress Geography and Map Division Washington, D.C. 20540-4650 USA dcu*, <https://www.loc.gov/item/73691635/> , viewed January 2016.