

***“The common necessities of life ...”
A Revolutionary Soldier’s Wooden Bowl***

John U. Rees

**Dedicated to the late Sally Paxson Davis for her kindness and generosity
in sharing a family treasure.**

Artifacts connected to an individual Revolutionary War common soldier are rare, especially personal items like the mess bowl recently donated to Solebury Township Historical Society, Bucks County, Pennsylvania. That receptacle, belonging to an anonymous soldier, was left in the hands of a Solebury Township family, and passed from generation to generation down to the present-day. Having learned of its existence several years ago, in 2007 I was fortunate enough to learn the bowl’s whereabouts and arrange to examine it in person.

At the time of the War for American Independence the village of Aquetong , also known as Paxson’s Corner, was on the York Road, nearly midway between Lahaska and the Great (Ingham’s) Spring (Solebury Township, Bucks County, Pennsylvania., present-day Route 202/York Road and Aquetong Road, about 4 miles west of New Hope/Coryell's Ferry). “Rolling Green” the “fine Colonial mansion,” still to be seen on the north side of York Road, was owned by Benjamin Paxson at the time of the War for Independence. Paxson family history notes that, “a soldier, who was taken ill and died there after the army had moved on, was buried on the Paxson property.” In 1926 Henry D. Paxson told of ‘a relic preserved by the Paxson family ... a wooden bowl left by a Continental soldier from a southern State, who had been taken ill with a fever and was nursed by the family [until his death].’ The incident may have occurred during the Monmouth campaign, Henry Paxson claiming that Maj. Gen. Charles Lee’s Division of New England (not southern) regiments camped near the Paxson residence in 1778. In actuality Lee’s advance force, consisting of his own troops plus three Pennsylvania brigades, marched from New Britain, Pa., on 20 June 1778 and, after a halt at present-day Holicong, about 3 miles southwest of Rolling Green, continued past the Paxson residence to Coryell’s Ferry. They possibly left behind a sick comrade, but the anonymous soldier, too, may have belonged to one of Gen. George Washington’s other three divisions following Lee. While the date of the soldier’s stay and his home state cannot be corroborated, the incident could have occurred during the march to Monmouth, though large elements of the Continental Army passed numerous times along York Road from late 1776 through mid-June 1778.¹



The Paxson family home, “Rolling Green,” on the York Road, four miles west of Coryell’s Ferry Delaware River crossing (present-day New Hope, Pa./Lambertville, N.J.). The original section was built in 1748.

Until 1 January 2009 the bowl was owned by the family of the late Sally Paxson Davis. I met with Mrs. Davis in November 2007 at the home of her cousin Franca C. Warden, to study and measure the artifact. While most Continental soldiers’ mess bowls were likely carved or turned from a single piece of wood, the Paxson bowl is of stave construction, with three crude wooden bands surrounding the outside (two at the base), and a solid wood bottom. The wood bottom is slightly oval and dish-shaped, with the base curved and the top (inside of the bowl) flat. The edge of the wooden bottom (trapped between the outer staves, but loose enough to remove and examine) comes almost to a point. At first, given its construction and style, it seemed likely the bowl had been formed from a cut-down canteen. Subsequent information shows that the Paxson bowl was instead a purposely made food receptacle, not an ad hoc field conversion.²



Continental soldier's mess bowl. Unlike this example, most soldiers' bowls were likely carved or turned from a single piece of wood. This singular artifact, belonging to a soldier purportedly with Maj. Gen. Charles Lee's Division marching from Valley Forge to Monmouth in June 1778, was left in the hands of the Benjamin Paxson family of Bucks County, Pennsylvania, after the man took sick and died in their care. (Artifact courtesy of the late Sally Paxson Davis. Photograph by the author.)

Bowl dimensions are as follows: The base is oval, $4 \frac{3}{8}$ X $3 \frac{7}{8}$ inches; top of bowl (outside measurements), $5 \frac{1}{8}$ inches; bottom of bowl (outside measurements), $4 \frac{3}{4}$ inches at the widest; side staves are $\frac{3}{16}$ inch thick at top and $\frac{1}{8}$ inch at bottom; staves are $2 \frac{3}{4}$ inches high; side bands are crude, reminiscent of the bands on twig furniture. The top band is from $\frac{1}{4}$ inch to $\frac{3}{8}$ inch, the lower bands seem more uniform being about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch wide. Sally Davis had noted in an initial phone interview that the bowl was somewhat fragile, but during my examination I learned that the side staves and bands binding them are still tight and rather sturdy.



Bottom of soldier's bowl.

(Blanket is a copy of an original artifact; “Striped duffel , a trucking cloth of English manufacture, was found at Burr’s Hill, Warren Rhode Island, a seventeenth century burial site of Wampanoag Indians.” Florence M. Montgomery, *Textiles in America, 1650-1870* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2007), plate D21 (images following page 140).

(Reproductions of the Burr Hill blanket are available from Robert G. Stone, Weaver, robstoneweaver@comcast.net



Three-quarter view of soldier's staved mess bowl, showing outer and inner construction details.

Although we now know the bowl was not a converted canteen, it is interesting to note that not every Continental soldier had his own mess bowl, many having to share or else provide a substitute (see endnotes for more information on soldiers' eating gear). Two men told of makeshift utensils used during the war. Park Holland, first ensign, then lieutenant in the 5th Massachusetts Regiment, wrote in his memoirs,

To show our need for the common necessities of life, I mention that orders came with invitations for each [officer] bidden [to dine], to bring his plate, knife and fork, all of which articles were very scarce. I have known our foreign friends who were accustomed to dine from silver, for months together eat from a clean chip [of wood?], instead of a plate ... Our wants of the common conveniences were sometimes curiously supplied by our soldiers, in the manufacture of wooden spoons, bowls, plates, etc.³

John Howland (Col. Henry Babcock's Rhode Island State Regiment in 1776 and 1777) noted of the march to reinforce Washington's forces in December 1776,

Our condition ... was bad enough. Our day's ration which we drew in the morning, was a pint of flour per man. Some of us had canteens with only one head. This was fortunate for the possessor, as he could receive his flour in it, and with water mix it into dough to be baked on the embers. Some received their flour on a flat stone, if they could find one ...⁴

Even British soldiers experienced shortages. “Jonas,” a soldier in the British 68th Regiment, told of a meal while camped on the Isle of Wight in 1758:

I found my comrades all placed on the grass ... in a circle, and I had orders to fix the kettle in the center. Some had knives, while others had none; as to spoons and forks, we were all in one case, destitute, and no porringers or bowls, but to supply the want of the last, we took the kettle lid ...⁵

Military artist Don Troiani notes that soldiers’ eating receptacles during the period “must have been mostly wood as I have never dug any parts of pewter or tin ones after decades of digging on Rev[olutionary War] sites.” Given that wood was likely the rule, just how widespread staved mess bowls were among Continental troops cannot be known. Bowls made from a single piece of wood, such as the Royal Navy one pictured below, were likely more common, as turned and carved bowls were familiar household items in 18th century America. Several examples, discovered in the wreck of the HMS *Invincible* sunk off the Isle of Wight 20 February 1758, also place them in a British military context.⁶



Wooden bowl from the wreck of the HMS *Invincible*, sunk in 1758. A total of 11 wood bowls (ranging from 9 inches to 13.4 inches in diameter), the fragments of 13 other wood bowls, plus 1 pewter bowl, 1 gourd bowl, and the remains of a “green glazed stoneware” bowl were recovered from the *Invincible*. Image courtesy of John Broomhead, director Invincible Conservations Ltd. (<http://www.invincible1758.co.uk/>)

In any event, the Paxson family soldier's bowl, probably a veteran of Valley Forge and perhaps the 1777 Philadelphia Campaign as well, left the army in 1778, finding a home in Solebury for over two hundred years. In 2010, after a bit more wandering, and a bit of luck, it found its way back.

And, what of the soldier who took sick and was left by his comrades at Rolling Green? The only clue we have to his identity, or at least regional origin, is a note handed down with the bowl, likely written by a member of the Paxson family in the late 19th or early 20th century: "This mess bowl belonged to a revolutionary soldier who died & was buried on the farm when General Charles Lee moved troops from Valley Forge to Monmouth."⁷ Whether the soldier belonged to a regiment in Maj. Gen. Charles Lee's division cannot be verified, but is certainly possible, and given the Paxson note, even probable. Lee's troops were mostly New Englanders, as follows:

Maj. Gen. Charles Lee's Division
(3 brigades, 3,052 troops, plus 6 field pieces, 35 wagons and 117 horses)
Brig. Gen. Enoch Poor
 1st, 2nd, 3rd New Hampshire Regiments, 2nd, and 4th New York
Brig. Gen. James Varnum
 Combined 4th/8th Connecticut Regiments, Combined 1st/2nd Rhode Island Regiments
Brig. Gen. Jediaiah Huntingdon
 Combined 1st/5th and 2nd/7th Connecticut Regiments⁸

General Lee's division left Valley Forge proper on June 10 1778, nine days before the other divisions remaining at the winter camp marched for New Jersey. Sgt. Jeremiah Greenman, 2nd Rhode Island Regiment, recorded their move across the Schuylkill and progress to the Coryell's Ferry crossing of the Delaware River:⁹

T 9. [June 1778] Continuing att Camp att valley forge / Nothing Remarkeble.

W 10. this morn at the beet of the Genl. Struck our tents. marcht about a mild over Schollkills River & Piched out tents in a field in providence town Ship.

T 11 to S 14. Continuing in Camp in providence town Ship. ...

T 16 to T 18. Continuing in Camp near chalkiss ... last night about twelve oClock att the beet of the Genl. struck our tents / marcht about 4 milds & incampt in a large field

T 18. [June 1778] ... last night about twelve oClock att the beet of the Genl. struck our tents / marcht about 4 milds & incampt in a large field

F 19. this morn att the beet of the Genl struck our tents / marcht fore or five milds / Stopd a few moments then pushed on as far as Newbriton [New Britain, near Doylestown on modern-day Route 202] ware we halted about one oClock & piched our tents in a larg field ware we taried all day.

S 20. this morn the genl beet att two oClock / we Struck our tents / marcht about 7 milds & made a halt at a small town cal'd green town [Holicong]/ then pushed on in the rain / Crost the dilliware / pushed on about 5 milds to Amwell [Mount Airy, New Jersey] ware we piched our tents in a field ...

Along the way our unknown soldier became ill with one of a number of disorders plaguing armies at the time, including smallpox, camp fever, or dysentery. Sally Paxson Davis informed me that the soldier had been buried in an apple orchard on the Paxson

property where he died. (The apple orchard, no longer extant, was located east of the old Paxson home, between the barn and Aquetong Road.) Either a New Englander or New Yorker, the man was likely a white soldier, but could easily have been African-American (or African), or even Native-American (black soldiers made up around four percent of the Continental Army in 1778; numbers of Native-American soldiers are not known, but very small). He may have seen service in the campaigns of 1776 and 1777, or have been a short-term levy drafted from the militia of his state to serve only during 1778. Whoever he was, his story has been handed down to us thanks to a family with a real sense of history and a simple wooden bowl.¹⁰ (See endnote for details on an attempt to determine the soldier's identity.)



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A typical Continental soldier wearing a military cocked hat, regimental coat, breeches, and carrying a blanket sling (tumpline) in lieu of a knapsack. Illustration by George C. Woodbridge, from George C. Neumann, *Swords and Blades of the American Revolution* (Texarkana, TX, 1991).

Pictured below is the typical Continental Army warm weather wear consisting of linen hunting shirt and linen overalls. This soldier carries a camp kettle, one kettle was allotted to each six-man mess group. Illustration by Peter F. Copeland; "7th Virginia Regiment, 1777," Peter F. Copeland and Donald W. Holst, *Brother Jonathan* print series. Courtesy of the artist.





Illustrations drawn by a French officer in 1781 or 1782. Pictured are (left to right) soldiers from the Rhode Island Regiment and Hazen's Canadian Regiment. Howard C. Rice and Anne S.K. Brown, eds. and trans., *The American Campaigns of Rochambeau's Army 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783*, vol. I (Princeton, N.J. and Providence, R.I.,: Princeton University Press, 1972), between pages 142-143 (description on page xxi). Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University.



**Continental soldier in marching order, circa 1777-79. Having no haversack, his food would have been carried in his knapsack or the sheet-iron kettle he carries for his mess squad.
(Bob Krist, © 2010)**





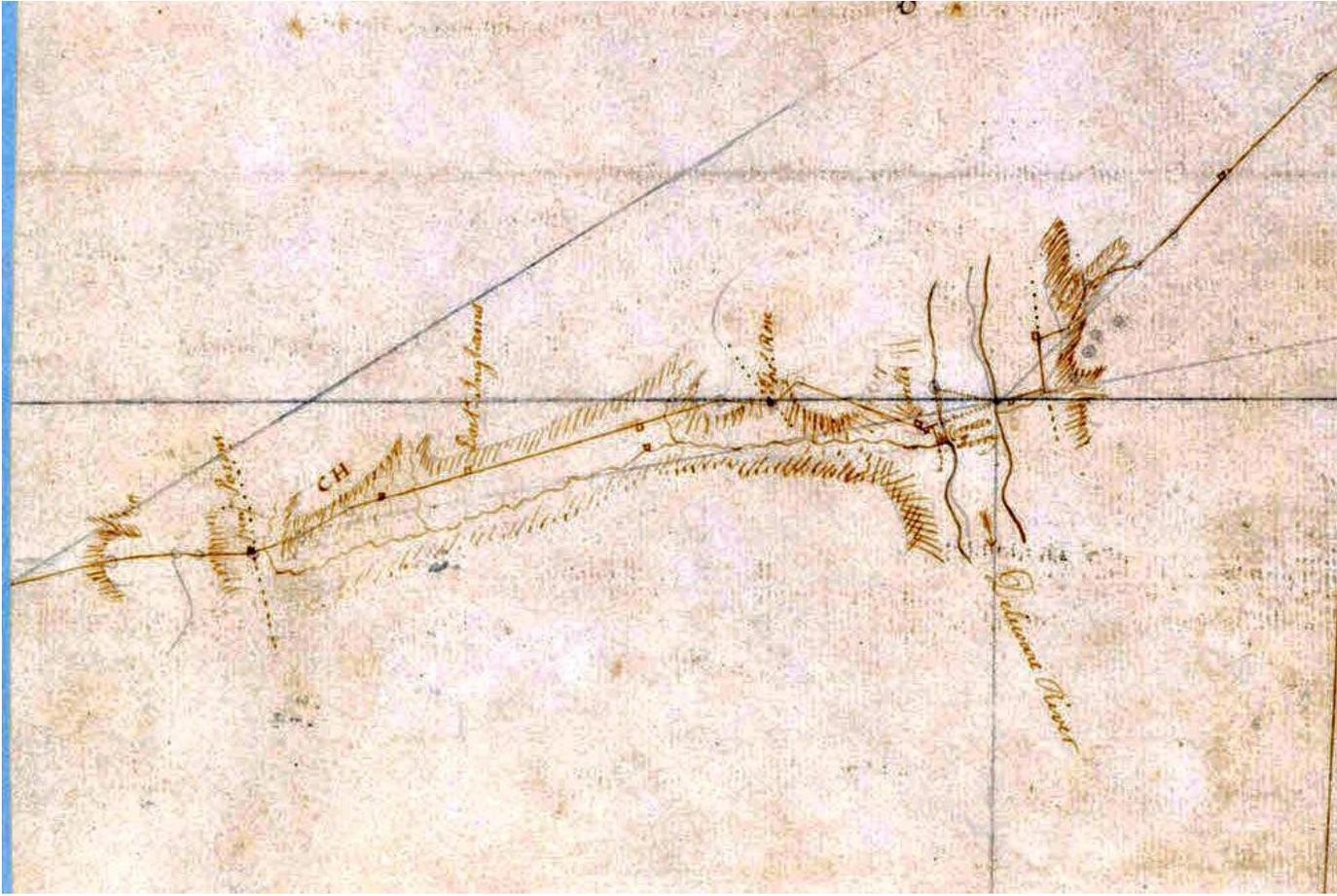
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Top

Soldiers of Capt. Andrew Fitch's company, 4th Connecticut Regiment, in their mess groups preparing an evening meal. (Model Company event, Putnam Park, Redding, Ct., 25 to 27 September 2009. Photograph courtesy of the recreated Corps of Sappers and Miners: www.thecorpsofsappersandminers.org)

Bottom

Non-commissioned officers' mess eating in their tent. (Capt. Andrew Fitch's company, 4th Connecticut Regiment, Model Company event, Putnam Park, Redding, Ct., 25 to 27 September 2009. Photograph courtesy of the recreated Corps of Sappers and Miners: www.thecorpsofsappersandminers.org)



Detail from Robert Erskine's map, "No 73 Crossing Correll's ferry towards Morristown to Ringoe's Tavern." The Coryell's Ferry crossing is on the right (east); the Benjamin Paxson home, "Rolling Green," can be seen on the west side, just left of the letters "CH." Erskine DeWitt Map Collection, New-York Historical Society.¹¹

Below are several more views of the mess bowl.



Also shown are horn spoon and cup, and hard biscuit.





Original soldier's bowl with a reproduction two-gallon sheet-iron camp kettle, horn spoon and cup (cup and spoon date at least from the 19th century), and hard biscuit, a staple often issued on campaign. The staved bowl looks to be a canteen half, but a collector with fifty years of experience with 18th century artifacts has seen several similar purposely-made bowls.



For additional works by the author on Revolutionary soldiers' food, see:
“**To the hungry soul every bitter thing is sweet.**”: Soldiers' Food and Cooking in the War for Independence” (To be published in *Military Collector & Historian*, 2010)

Subheadings:

“The manner of messing and living together”: Continental Army Mess Groups

 “Who shall have this?”: Food Distribution

 “A hard game ...”: Continental Army Cooks

“On with Kettle, to make some hasty Pudding ...”: How a “Continental Devil” Broke His Fast

1. The Army Ration and Cooking Methods.
2. Eating Utensils.
3. The Morning Meal.
4. Other Likely Breakfast Fare.

“**To subsist an Army well ...**”: Soldiers' Cooking Equipment, Provisions, and Food Preparation During the American War for Independence”:

 “‘All the tin Camp-kettles they can procure ...’: Iron Pots, Pans, and Light-Weight Military Kettles, 1759-1782”

Subheadings:

 “Tin Kettles, 1759-1771”

 “British Kettles in the American War, 1776-1781”

 “Continental Army and States' Militia, 1775-1780”

 “American Sheet Iron Kettles, 1781-1782”

 “Officers' Cooking Equipment”

 “Kettle Covers”

 “‘The extreme suffering of the army for want of ... kettles ...’: Continental Soldiers and Kettle Shortages in 1782”

 “‘A disgusting incumbrance to the troops ...’: Linen Bags and Carts for Carrying Kettles”

 “‘The Kettles to be made as formerly ...’

 Kettle Capacity and Weight, and Archaeological Finds”

Subheadings:

 “Kettle Capacity and Sizes, 1759-1782”

 “Louisbourg Kettle, Cape Breton Island”

 “Fort Ligonier (Buckets or Kettles?)”

 “Rogers Island (Bucket or Kettle?)”

 “1812 Kettles, Fort Meigs, Ohio”

 “Overview of Cooking Equipment, 1775-1783”

Military Collector & Historian, vol. 53, no. 1 (Spring 2001), 7-23.

“**The foundation of an army is the belly.**” North American Soldiers' Food, 1756-1945,” *ALHFAM: Proceedings of the 1998 Conference and Annual Meeting*, vol. XXI (The Assoc. for Living History, Farm and Agricultural Museums, Bloomfield, Ohio, 1999), 49-64. Part I. “‘I live on raw salt pork ... hard bread and sugar.’: The Evolution of Soldiers' Rations,” and, Part II. “Salt Beef to C Rations: A Compendium of North American Soldiers' Rations, 1756-1945” (For Verger, see endnote #34) (World Wide Web, www.revwar75.com/library/rees/belly.htm).

A complete list of Food History News military food columns, plus additional articles may be seen at <http://revwar75.com/library/rees/pdfs/Soldiers-food.pdf>

Afterword

By way of comparison, this artifact was offered for sale by Halsey Munson Americana (204 North Summit Avenue, Decatur, Illinois 62522). The origin is unknown, but the bands surrounding the staves are similar to those on the Paxson family soldier's bowl.

1750-1800 Staved Treenware Tray in Red Paint

(<http://www.halseymunsonamericana.com/StavedTreenwareTray.html>)

18th C. coopered tray in original paint. Pine staves and hickory, or possibly willow, hoops with the earliest form of tucked laps. Shrinkage of the pine staves loosened the hoops and at some point they were secured with tiny iron sprigs. The paint is what Mary Earle Gould called "coffin red" and the tray may have been used for corn kernels or wheat or possibly for bread-rising. 5"H x 10"W. Daily use treenware like this is rarely seen in untouched paint.

\$975







Acknowledgements

I first heard of the soldier's bowl about 15 years ago from a booklet written by Henry Paxson in the 1920's. I thought at the time that some Paxson family descendant possibly still had the bowl, but soon forgot about it. In 2006 Les Isbrandt asked me to write an article for the New Hope Historical Society newsletter. Writing about the Continental Army crossing at Coryell's Ferry during the 1778 Monmouth Campaign, recalling Henry Paxson's story I included a small note asking if anyone had information on the whereabouts of the Paxson family soldier's bowl. Receiving no leads, I eventually sent a letter to Edwin "Ned" Harrington, who called one day and told me, "I know about the bowl. My cousin Sally has it." That set the ball rolling, so that in November 2007 after several phone conversations with Sally, we met at Franca Warden's house, where, in addition to a really pleasant visit, I was able to examine and photograph the bowl. And that, with Ned's determination to see the bowl back in Solebury, the kindness of Franca Warden, and the generosity of Sally and Robert Davis and Caroline Davis Claytor, brings us to today, 231 years after the soldier was left behind in Solebury.

In addition to Sally Davis, Franca Warden, and Edwin Harrington, thanks also to John Broomhead, Don N. Hagist, Bernard Kazwick, Steve Rayner, Robert Selig, Don Troiani, Thaddeus Weaver, and Mathew White for providing invaluable information and advice for this work.

Endnotes

1. George MacReynolds, *Place Names in Bucks County, Pennsylvania* (Cornwall, N.Y.: The Cornwall Press, Inc., 1955), 10; Oliver Randolph Parry and Richard Randolph Parry, *Coryell's Ferry in the Revolution* (The Fanwood Press, 1915), 10; Henry D. Paxson, *Brief Itinerary of a Trip from Philadelphia to Washington Crossing and Other Points of Historic Interest in Bucks County, Pennsylvania* (Washington Crossing State Park Commission of Pennsylvania, 1926), 18.; A note accompanying the Paxson family bowl reads, "This mess bowl belonged to a revolutionary soldier who died & was buried on the farm when General Charles Lee moved troops from Valley Forge to Monmouth." (Mrs. Davis later informed me that the soldier was buried in an apple orchard on the Paxson property where he died. The apple orchard was located east or northeast of the old Paxson home, between the barn and Aquetong Road.) There is no signature on the note; from author's examination of artifact, November 2007. John Rees and Sally Paxson Davis, telephone conversation, 3 November 2007; John U. Rees, "'Reach Coryels ferry. Encamp on the Pennsylvania side.': The Monmouth Campaign Delaware River Crossing," *History in the Making* (The Newsletter of the New Hope Historical Society), vol. 4, no. 4 (December 2006), 1–12. Lee's Division comprised Varnum's Rhode Island, and Poor's and Huntingdon's Connecticut brigades; they left Valley Forge at 3:00 PM on June 18 1778. The three Pennsylvania brigades under Brig. Gen. Anthony Wayne marched two hours later on the same day.

2. Author's examination of the Paxson family soldier's bowl, November 2007. An expert in the field of 18th century artifacts noted that in his fifty years of collecting he has seen two other wooden bowls of the same type, confirming that the Paxson family bowl was indeed made for that purpose, not converted into a bowl from a cut-down canteen.

3. Jeffrey H. Fiske and Sally Ostergard Fiske, eds., *Journal of Park Holland: Soldier of the Revolution and Shays' Rebellion, Maine Surveyor, and Early Penobscot Settler* (New Braintree, Ma.: Towtaid, 2000), 16, 17. Examples of available dishes, bowls, and plates of the Revolutionary era are pictured in George C. Neumann and Frank J. Kravic, *Collector's Illustrated Encyclopedia of the American Revolution* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Stackpole Books, 1975), 110–114.

Continental Army Eating Utensils. Unless soldiers ate directly from camp kettles, several additional food containers were needed at mealtimes. One militia private described a repast prepared and consumed during a brief halt on a march. Taking the "Kittle of Pudding, [he] turned it out in six Piles on the Board" taken from a fence; a crude but practical substitute for bowls. Lt. Col. Henry Dearborn noted in December 1777 using "an old short handled frying pan in which we ware Obliged to Eat it I No other Platter ..." It is likely that bowls, when available, were also shared between several men. In 1776 the Connecticut militia were to be supplied with two thousand cooking pots and "four thousand Wooden Bowls." Supposing six men in a mess, this meant three soldiers to each bowl. Other documents list similar utensils. The receipt book of James Abeel, deputy quartermaster general and superintendent of stores at Morristown, New Jersey, shows a December 1778 issue of "38 Wooden Bowls, thirty six Trenchers & 36 wooden Dishes... for the use of the 1 Jersey Regt." Three monthly returns for Captain Maxwell's Company, 2d Massachusetts Regiment, in 1779 list a total of eight camp kettles and eight bowls, on hand or deficient, an indication that only one bowl commonly accompanied each kettle. In January 1781 Quartermaster General Pickering wrote of carts made to "carry all the kettles of a regiment, with one small bowl to each..." Seventeen months later Pickering described camp kettle covers, "which would be vastly convenient... as a dish to eat out of"; further evidence of common soldiers using communal eating receptacles.^A

Small quantities of cups, spoons, and bowls were included on returns of camp equipment actually in use. Deputy Quartermaster General Abeel's receipt book lists "Fifty Iron Cups" issued "for the use of Genl Maxwells Brigade" on 10 June 1779. The September to November 1779 returns of Captain Maxwell's 2d Massachusetts company show that while spoons were wanted for each man, none were on hand. And two August 1779 returns for units at or near West Point

(including the 2d Massachusetts) list wooden bowls, “Iron Cups” and “Iron spoons,” though not nearly enough for every man. Five more equipment returns for various Continental units from 1778 to 1781 show similar shortfalls of bowls, cups, and spoons, making it probable that some men ate directly from camp kettles, while others found their own bowls. It is also likely most men on their own procured spoons, knives, and iron or horn cups.^B

7. M.M. Quaife, ed., “Documents – A Boy Soldier Under Washington: The Memoir of Daniel Granger,” *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XVI, 4 (March 1930), 546.

Peter Force, *American Archives*, series 5, vol. I (Washington, D.C.: Published by M. St. Clair and Peter Force, 1853), 453; 31 December 1778, James Abeel Receipt Book, Lloyd W. Smith Collection, Morristown National Historic Park, reel 1, entry 656; 6 September, 5 October, 2 November 1779, Returns for Captain Maxwell’s Company (2d Mass. Regt.), 1775–1780, Folder 8E–10, WARS 8 VI, The Revolution, Box 5, Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association, Historic Deerfield Massachusetts; Timothy Pickering to Washington (with enclosed memorandum), 14 January 1781, George Washington Papers, Presidential Papers Microfilm (Washington: Library of Congress, 1961), series 4 (General Correspondence. 1697–1799), reel 74; Pickering to Peter Anspach, 26 June 1782, Miscellaneous Numbered Records (The Manuscript File) in the War Department Collection of Revolutionary War Records 1775–1790’s, (National Archives Microfilm Publication M859, reel 87), RG 93, NA, Washington, DC: GPO, no. 25345.

B. 10 June 1779, James Abeel Receipt Book 1778–1779, Lloyd W. Smith Collection, 69 reels, Morristown National Historic Park, reel 1, entry 656; 6 September, 5 October, 2 November 1779, Returns for Captain Maxwell’s Company commanded by Col. John Bailey (2d Mass. Regt.) 1775–1780, Folder 8E–10, WARS 8 VI, The Revolution, Box 5, Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association, Historic Deerfield Massachusetts; “A Return of Quarter–Master–General’s Stores in The Brigades at West Point & Constitution Island,” 1 August 1779, and “A Return of Quarter–Master–General’s Stores in the Second Pennsylvania Brigade... at Camp West Point,” 4 August 1779, Papers of the Continental Congress (National Archives Microfilm Publication M247, vol. 3, reel 192, 3, 145, 153).

A number of other returns emphasize shortfalls in army–issue eating utensils:

“A Return of officers and men Camp Equipage now Present in the 1st. Penna. Brigade Commanded by Coln. William Irvine” [included the 1st, 2d, 7th, and 10th Pennsylvania Regiments. The original return is broken down by regiment.]

June 3, 1778

Field Officers	10
Commissioned Officers	79
Staff Officers	14
Non Commissioned Officers	111
Rank and File	<u>729</u>

Wooden Bowls	4
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Camp Kettles	128 (kettles sufficient for 768 common soldiers in six–man messes)
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“A Return of officers and men Camp Equipage now Present in the 1st. Penna. Brigade Commanded by Coln. William Irvine” (Included the 1st, 2d, 7th, and 10th Pennsylvania Regiments. The original return is broken down by regiment.) Thomas Alexander, Brigade Quartermaster, 3 June 1778, Irvine Family Papers, 1777–1869, no. 1743A, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. (Courtesy of Joseph Lee Boyle)

“A General Return of Stores in The Quarter Master General’s Department with the Army under the Command of ... Major General John Sullivan on the Western Expedition Fort Sullivan, Tioga,” 21 August 1779.

Unit strength August 1779:

	Present <u>Fit for Duty</u>	Officers <u>and Staff</u>	N.C.O.’s and Privates <u>Present, Fit for Duty</u>
Maxwell’s Brigade (1 st , 2d, 3d New Jersey Regiments, and Spencer’s Additional Regiment)	1225	83	1142
Poor’s Brigade (1 st , 2d, 3d New Hampshire Regiments, 2d New York Regiment)	1049	85	964
Hand’s Brigade (4 th and 11 th Pennsylvania Regiments, German Regiment, Morgan’s Rifle Corps, Schott’s Rifle Corps)	800	66	754
Proctor’s Artillery (4 th Battalion, Continental Artillery)	147	16	131

	Camp Kettles with <u>Covers</u>	Camp <u>Kettles</u>	Iron <u>Cups</u>	Bowls and <u>Dishes</u>	<u>Canteens</u>
Maxwell’s Brigade		184	26	80	957
Poor’s Brigade		213		19	869
Hand’s Brigade		109			555
Proctor’s Artillery	13	39			180

Thomas Armstrong to Nathanael Greene, 21 August 1779, “A General Return of Stores in The Quarter Master General’s Department with the Army under the Command of ... Major General John Sullivan on the Western Expedition Fort Sullivan, Tioga,” Miscellaneous Numbered Records (National Archives Microfilm Publication M859, reel 94), no. 27523; Charles H. Lesser, *Sinews of Independence: Monthly Strength Reports of the Continental Army* (Chicago, IL and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1976), 124–125, July 1779 strength return; 138, Proctor’s Artillery Battalion return, October 1779.

“A Return of Quarter–Master–General’s Stores in The Brigades at West Point & Constitution Island,” 1 August 1779.

Col. Clark’s North Carolina Brigade (1st and 2d NC)

(126 officers, 541 rank and file present, fit for duty; 128 rank & file sick, on command, and on furlough)
122 camp kettles

Col. Bailey’s 4th Massachusetts Brigade (2d, 8th, 9th, Mass.)

(164 officers, 628 rank and file present, fit for duty; 229 rank & file sick, on command, and on furlough)
136 camp kettles
19 wooden bowls
30 iron cups

General Patterson’s Brigade (10th, 11th, 12th, 14th, Mass.)

(223 officers, 981 rank and file present, fit for duty; 147 rank & file sick, on command, and on furlough)
174 camp kettles
64 wooden bowls
32 iron cups

“A Return of Quarter–Master–General’s Stores in The Brigades at West Point & Constitution Island,” 1 August 1779, Papers of the Continental Congress (NA Microfilm Publication M247, vol. 3, reel 192, 3, 145, 153).

“Return of the Pennsylvania Division in the service of the United States, Commanded by The Honble Major General Arthur St: Clair. October 1st. 1779.”

4,032 rank and file (not including officers, staff, and non-commissioned officers)

covered kettles 60 good

common kettles 389 good, 41 wanting repair

bowls 51 good, 5 wanting repair

spoons 84 good

“Return of the Pennsylvania Division in the service of the United States, Commanded by The Honble Major General Arthur St: Clair. October 1st. 1779.” (Transcribed by Mathew Grubel, 6 October 2003, from pprox. ts in the collections of Morristown National Historical Park filed under United States Army, Returns. Original manuscripts at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.)

3d, 5th, 6th, 9th Pennsylvania Regiments, plus “Brigadier and others.”

The brigade returned 4 covered camp kettles (two with the 5th Regiment, two with the brigadier general), 196 camp kettles (61 (3d), 48 (5th), 41 (6th), 44 (9th), and two with the “Brigadier and others”), 36 wooden bowls (10, 17, 2, 6), and 20 iron spoons (12, –, –, 8).

Total brigade strength was:

3d (55 officers, 240 rank and file present, fit for duty; 80 rank & file sick, on command, and on furlough)

5th (51 officers, 201 rank and file present, fit for duty; 78 rank & file sick, on command, and on furlough)

6th (41 officers, 162 rank and file present, fit for duty; 42 rank & file sick, on command, and on furlough)

9th (40 officers, 138 rank and file present, fit for duty; 51 rank & file sick, on command, and on furlough)

“A Return of Quarter-Master-General’s Stores in the Second Pennsylvania Brigade ... at Camp West Point,” 4 August 1779

Papers of the Continental Congress (NA Microfilm Publication M247, vol. 3, reel 192, 3, 145, 153); Lesser, *Sinews of Independence: Monthly Strength Reports of the Continental Army*, 124, July 1779 return.

“Return of Quarter-Master General Stores on hand in the first Connecticut Brigade Commanded by J Huntington B.G.,” “Camp Highlands,” 25 May 1781.

1st. Regiment (45 officers, 147 rank and file present, fit for duty; 224 rank & file sick, on command, and on furlough)

42 camp kettles

7 wooden bowls

3d Regiment (42 officers, 187 rank and file present, fit for duty; 144 rank & file sick, on command, and on furlough)

73 camp kettles

18 wooden bowls

1 iron pot

1 brass kettle

5th Regiment (39 officers, 118 rank and file present, fit for duty; 177 rank & file sick, on command, and on furlough)

54 camp kettles

23 wooden bowls

Brigadier]. & staff

4 camp kettles

“Return of Quarter-Master General Stores on hand in the first Connecticut Brigade Commanded by J Huntington B.G.,” “Camp Highlands,” 25 May 1781, Miscellaneous Numbered Records (National Archives Microfilm Publication M859, reel 94), no. 27553;

Lesser, *Sinews of Independence: Monthly Strength Reports of the Continental Army*, 202, May 1781 return.

4. Edwin M. Stone, *The Life and Recollections of John Howland, late*

President of the Rhode Island Historical Society (Providence: George H. Whitney, 1857), 66 (World Wide Web), <http://tiny.cc/7THqK>.

5. Anon., *A Soldier's Journal, Containing a particular Description of the several Descents on the Coast of France last War, With an entertaining Account of the Islands of Guadaloupe, Dominique, &c., And also of the Isles of Wight and Jersey, To which are annexed, Observations on the present State of the Army of Great Britain* (London: Printed for E. and C. Dilly, in the Poultry, 1770) (Courtesy of Steve Rayner).

6. Don Troiani to author (email), 6 September 2008; John Broomhead, "The Royal Navy's First Invincible" (World Wide Web), <http://www.invincible1758.co.uk/> "Wooden Bowl" (Author's note: The "Invincible" bowl described above likely began service as a mess bowl; after it cracked and was repaired it may have been used as a receptacle for tar for seamen repairing the vessel.)

John Broomhead to author (email), 20 September 2008 3:19 AM; Broomhead to author (email), 26 September 2008 1:41 PM; John Broomhead to author, 18 October 2008, 3:27 AM, Microsoft Excel spreadsheet listing bowls recovered from HMS Invincible (excavations 1980–1992). A total of 11 wood bowls (ranging from 9 inches to 13.4 inches in diameter), the fragments of 13 other wood bowls, plus 1 pewter bowl, 1 gourd bowl, and the remains of a "green glazed stoneware" bowl were recovered from the *Invincible*.

5. Don Troiani to author (email), 6 September 2008;

John Broomhead, "The Royal Navy's First Invincible" (World Wide Web),

<http://www.invincible1758.co.uk/>

"Wooden Bowl [by John Broomhead]"

I remember only too well the day that I found this particular wooden bowl with markings to set the imagination going. On 19th July 1981, just three of us went out to the wreck site in Arthur Mack's 18ft fishing boat Wishbone. As usual, Arthur stayed up top while John Bingeman and I worked on the seabed. In the area designated as trench 'D', we came across many objects heavily coated in tar, spilt from a broken tar barrel close by. One of these objects was a superb wooden bowl. We carefully brought it to the surface where we washed it and emptied the thick mixture of sea bed clay and tar. Within the bowl was a pigment barrel but more exciting we found a complete and immaculate condition wooden spoon.

The bowl was unlike the ones already recovered, in as much it was extremely heavy construction, the top edge being around 12mm thick. So thick in fact, that around the top rim was carved eight broad arrows and probably more significantly, one very large arrow inside and right in the bottom.

When recovered, inside the bowl firmly stuck in the tar, was a wooden spoon. This spoon was clearly 'hand carved' and had 11 crosses also hand carved into the handle. There was a long split running from the top edge right down to, and half way across the base. At the top of this, someone had drilled a hole either side of the split and tried to effect a repair! The remains of hemp string can be seen in each hole as you can see from the image above. Because the bowl was repaired for further use, it indicates quite clearly that it could not have been used for liquid of any sort (soup, porridge etc.). BUT, there was a spoon still inside the bowl! This then asks another question – what then was the bowls original use?" (Author's note: The "Invincible" bowl described above likely began service as a mess bowl; after it cracked and was repaired it may have been used as a receptacle for tar for seamen repairing the vessel.)

6. John Broomhead to author (email), 20 September 2008 3:19 AM; Broomhead to author (email), 26 September 2008 1:41 PM; John Broomhead to author, 18 October 2008, 3:27 AM, Microsoft Excel spreadsheet listing bowls recovered from HMS *Invincible* (excavations 1980–1992). A total of 11 wood bowls (ranging from 9 inches to 13.4 inches in diameter), the fragments of 13 other wood bowls, plus 1 pewter bowl, 1 gourd bowl, and the remains of a “green glazed stoneware” bowl were recovered from the *Invincible*, as follows:

No. 2, 300mm (12 inches) wide by 5–6 inches high, rim wall 18mm, lathe turned, beech wood

No. 3, large bowl (photo used in article); made of elm wood.

No. 4, beech wood

No. 5, 300 mm = 11.8 inches, elm wood

No. 6, 9 inches wide by 3 inches high, elm wood

No. 7, 13 inches wide, beech wood

No. 8, 12.8 inches wide, beech wood

No. 9, 12.6 inches, beech wood

No. 10, beech wood, “a turned shallow wooden bowl”

No. 12, approx. 12 inches wide, beech wood

No. 14, 13.4 inches wide by 3.3 inches high, beech wood, “turned finely made food bowl”

Fragments of 13 other wooden bowls:

No. 15, fragment, beech wood

No. 16, 12.4 inches wide, beech wood

No. 17, beech wood

No. 18, beech wood

No. 19, beech wood

No. 20, beech wood, “lathe turned bowl”

No. 21, beech wood, “lathe turned bowl”

No. 22, beech wood

No. 23, beech wood

No. 24, 14.2 inches wide, elm wood

No. 26, beech wood, “marked with broad arrow”

No. 27, diameter about 13 inches, beech wood

No. 28, beech wood

1 pewter bowl:

No. 11, 9 inches wide by 1.7 inches high

1 gourd bowl:

No. 13, “hollowed out gourd”

No. 25, 5 fragments of a ceramic bowl, “green glazed stoneware”

7. The Paxson family soldier’s mess bowl and accompanying note were donated in 2010 by Sally and Robert Davis and their daughter Caroline Davis Claytor to the Solebury Township Historical Society (PO Box 525, Solebury, PA 18963; <http://soleburyhistory.org/>).

8. John U. Rees, “‘Reach Coryels ferry. Encamp on the Pennsylvania side.’: The Monmouth Campaign Delaware River Crossing,” *History in the Making* (The Newsletter of the New Hope Historical Society), vol. 4, no. 4 (December 2006), 1-12. Charles H. Lesser, *Sinews of Independence: Monthly Strength Reports of the Continental Army* (Chicago, IL and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1976), 68-69, 30 May 1778 return.

9. Robert C. Bray and Paul E. Bushnell, eds., *Diary of a Common Soldier in the American Revolution: An Annotated Edition of the Military Journal of Jeremiah Greenman* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1978), 119-120. The route of Lee's Division (and the rest of Gen. George Washington's army) to the Delaware can easily be traced today, following, more or less, modern thoroughfares. Beginning on the north side of the Schuylkill, at the site of Sullivan's bridge (Fatland Ford), proceed to Pawlings Road, travelling northeast to Egypt Road. Take Egypt Road east to Ridge Pike, then south on that road to Whitehall Road. Travelling east on Whitehall will bring you to Germantown Pike; turning right (south) takes you past the entrance to Norristown Farm Park, where General Washington stayed at Dr. Robert Shannon's mansion (still to be seen just inside the park's main entrance) overnight on June 19 1778. Lee's troops may have camped here on the night of 18 June, or travelled further before resting. Moving further south on Germantown Pike at the intersection with Swede Road turn left (east), and then turn left on Route 202/DeKalb Pike (known in the early 19th century as State Road). You will pass Gwynedd Friends Meeting (noted on an 18th century map as "North Wales Meeting"), and continue on to the intersection with Route 309/Bethlehem Pike. Turning left (northeast) Routes 202 and 309 merge for almost a mile, Route 202 then turns right (east) towards New Britain and Doylestown. In the center of Doylestown, at the intersection with Route 611/Main Street the old road goes straight, but now is one-way going west. To pick up the old Doylestown-Coryell's Ferry Road/Route 202 turn right on Main St., then left on Oakland Avenue, go straight (east) on Oakland to the intersection with Route 202, and turn right. Follow Route 202 to the intersection with Route 413/Durham Road in Buckingham. The old road turned right, then made a left (east) by Bogart's tavern (now called the General Greene Inn) on to the York Road. Heading east you will pass through Holicong ("Green Town"), and Lahaska, to the intersection with Aquetong Road; the Paxson house "Rolling Green" is on the left, on the west side of Aquetong Road. If you wish to go on to the Coryell's Ferry landing, where the army crossed over to New Jersey, continue east on Route 202. The old road (Old York Road) occasionally veers off to the right from the modern highway. As you near the river into New Hope, Ferry Street angles off to the right and leads down to the original site of the ferry landing.

10. Location of soldier's grave at Rolling Green, John Rees and Sally Paxson Davis, telephone conversation, 3 November 2007. "Return of the Negroes in the Army," listing 755 black soldiers in fifteen brigades of Gen. George Washington's main army at White Plains, New York:

Brigades	Present	Sick Present	On Command	Total	Percentage of Brigade Strength
North Carolina	42	10	6	58	4.8 % of rank
and file					
Woodford	36	3	1	40 (Virginia)	3.2 % " "
Muhlenberg	64	26	8	98 (Virginia)	6.8 % " "
Scott	20	3	1	24 (five regiments from Virginia, and one from Delaware)	1.6 % " "
Smallwood	43	15	2	60 (Maryland)	4 % " "
2d Maryland	33	1	1	35 (three regiments from Maryland, and German Regt.)	2.0 % " "
Wayne	2			2 (Pennsylvania)	0.15 % " "
2d Pennsylvania					0 % " "
Clinton	33	2	4	39 (New York)	2.8 % " "
Parsons	117	12	19	148 (Connecticut)	8.6 % " "
Huntingdon	56	2	4	62 (Connecticut)	4.7 % " "
Nixon	26		1	27 (Massachusetts, including one militia levy regiment)	1.6 % " "
Patterson	64	13	12	89 (Massachusetts)	5.7 % " "
Late Learned	34	4	8	46 (Massachusetts)	3.9 % " "
Poor	<u>16</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>27</u> (three New Hampshire regiments, and 2d Canadian Regt.)	1.8 % " "
Total	586	98	71	755	

21,209 rank and file in fifteen brigades (above)
755 black soldiers = 3.56 % of rank and file in the listed brigades

Average Number of Black Soldiers Per Regiment Within Each Brigade

North Carolina (1st and 2d Regts.)

average of 29 black soldiers per regiment

Woodford (2d/6th, 3d/7th, 11th/15th Regts.) Va.

average of 13 black soldiers per regiment or battalion

Muhlenberg (1st/5th/9th, 14th Regts., Grayson's Additional, and 1st & 2d State Regts.) Va.

average of 19.5 black soldiers per regiment or battalion

Scott (4th/8th/12th, 10th Va. and Delaware Regts.)

average of 8 black soldiers per regiment

Smallwood (1st, 3d, 5th, and 7th Regts.), Md.

average of 15 black soldiers per regiment

2d Maryland (2d, 4th, 6th Md. and German Regt.)

average of 8.75 black soldiers per regiment

Clinton (1st, 2d, 4th, and 5th Regts.), N.Y.

average of 9.75 black soldiers per regiment

Parsons (3d, 4th, 6th, 8th Regts.) Ct.

average of 37 black soldiers per regiment

Huntington (1st, 2d, 5th, 7th Regts.) Ct.

average of 15.5 black soldiers per regiment

Nixon ((3d, 5th, 6th Mass. and Wood's Mass. Militia Levy Regt.)

average of 6.75 black soldiers per regiment

Patterson (10th, 11th, 12th, 14th) Ma.

average of 22.25 black soldiers per regiment

Late Learned (2d, 8th, 9th) Ma.

average of 15.3 black soldiers per regiment

Poor (1st, 2d, 3d N.H. and 2d Canadian Regt.)

average of 6.75 black soldiers per regiment or battalion

(Note: At this time 8 companies per regiment)

John U. Rees, "They were good soldiers.' African-Americans Serving in the Continental Army, and General Glover's Soldier-Servants," *Military Collector & Historian*, vol. 62, no. 2 (Summer 2010), 139-141, <http://revwar75.com/library/rees/pdfs/glover.pdf>. For some discussion of Native-Americans in the ranks, see, Richard S. Walling, *Men of Color at the Battle of Monmouth, June 28, 1778: The Role of African Americans and Native Americans at Monmouth* (Hightstown, N.J.: Longstreet House, 1994). For short-term Continental Army levies, see, John U. Rees, "The pleasure of their number': 1778, Crisis, Conscription, and Revolutionary Soldiers' Recollections"; Part I. "Filling the Regiments by drafts from the Militia.': The 1778 Recruiting Acts"; Part II. "Fine, likely, tractable men.': Levy Statistics and New Jersey Service Narratives"; Part III. "He asked me if we had been discharged ...": New Jersey, Massachusetts, New York, Maryland, and North Carolina Levy Narratives," *ALHFAM Bulletin*, vol. XXXIII, no. 3 (Fall 2003), 23-34; no. 4 (Winter 2004), 23-34; vol. XXXIV, no. 1 (Spring 2004), 19-28.

"Left sick on the Road": An Attempt to Identify the Soldier Left at the Paxson Home,

"Rolling Green," June 1778. A note accompanying the Paxson family's wooden bowl reads, "This mess bowl belonged to a revolutionary soldier who died & was buried on the farm when General Charles Lee moved troops from Valley Forge to Monmouth."^A

That brief message, written in pencil, likely by Henry D. Paxson early in the 20th century, is our only clue for a go at identifying the bowl's original owner. In order to

proceed, two facts must be taken at face value; that the event of the soldier being left behind by the army occurred during the June 1778 march to Monmouth Courthouse, and that he belonged to a regiment with Maj. Gen. Charles Lee's division. These benchmarks alone lead to the daunting task of examining the muster rolls for all thirteen regiments in the three brigades marching under Lee. Given eight companies per regiment, this means studying at least one muster roll for one hundred and four companies; more than that number were consulted as later rolls often needed to be viewed to learn the fate of individuals listed as sick and absent. In the event returns were available for only ninety-five of those companies, and those and the soldiers' compiled service records were both useful resources. (This project was made easier by the online collection Fold3, originally called Footnote.com, <http://www.fold3.com/>)^B

General Lee's division left Valley Forge proper on June 10 1778, nine days before the other divisions remaining at the winter camp marched for New Jersey. Sgt. Jeremiah Greenman, 2nd Rhode Island Regiment, recorded their move across the Schuylkill and progress to the Coryell's Ferry crossing of the Delaware River:

T 9. [June 1778] Continuing att Camp att valley forge / Nothing Remarkeble.

W 10. this morn at the beat of the Genl. Struck our tents. marcht about a mild over Schollkills River & Piched out tents in a field in providence town Ship.

T 11 to S 14. Continuing in Camp in providence town Ship. ...

T 16 to T 18. Continuing in Camp near chalkiss ... last night about twelve oClock att the beet of the Genl. struck our tents / marcht about 4 milds & incampt in a large field

T 18. [June 1778] ... last night about twelve oClock att the beet of the Genl. struck our tents / marcht about 4 milds & incampt in a large field

F 19. this morn att the beet of the Genl struck our tents / marcht fore or five milds / Stopped a few moments then pushed on as far as Newbriton [New Britain, near Doylestown on modern-day Route 202] ware we halted about one oClock & piched our tents in a larg field ware we taried all day.

S 20. this morn the genl beet att two oClock / we Struck our tents / marcht about 7 milds & made a halt at a small town cal'd green town [Holicong]/ then pushed on in the rain / Crost the dilliware / pushed on about 5 milds to Amwell [Mount Airy, New Jersey] ware we piched our tents in a field ...^C

Given Sergeant Greenman's narrative, the sick soldier left at Rolling Green, along the York Road in the village of Aquetong, would have been separated from his comrades on June 20 1778.

The units that made up Lee's force were as follows:

Maj. Gen. Charles Lee's Division

(3 brigades, 3,052 troops, plus 6 field pieces, 35 wagons and 117 horses)

Brig. Gen. Enoch Poor

1st, 2nd, 3rd New Hampshire Regiments, 2nd, and 4th New York

Brig. Gen. James Varnum

Combined 4th/8th Connecticut Regiments, Combined 1st/2nd Rhode Island Regiments

Brig. Gen. Jedediah Huntingdon

Combined 1st/5th and 2nd/7th Connecticut Regiments^D

Along the way our unknown soldier became ill with one of a number of disorders plaguing armies at the time, including smallpox, camp fever, or dysentery. Sally Paxson Davis informed me that the soldier had been buried in an apple orchard on the Paxson

property where he died. (The apple orchard, no longer extant, was located east of the old Paxson home, between the barn and Aquetong Road.) Either a New Englander or New Yorker, he may have seen service in the campaigns of 1776 and 1777, or have been a short-term levy drafted from the militia of his state to serve only during 1778. The man was also likely a white soldier, but could easily have been African-American (or African), or even Native-American (black soldiers made up around four percent of the Continental Army in 1778; numbers of Native-American soldiers are not known, but much smaller). The muster rolls of the various regiments in Lee's division contain numbers of black soldiers. Some can be easily identified by their names: Capt. Benjamin Walker's company of the 4th New York included Cato and Dick, fifer and drummer, while Capt. Abner Prior's 5th Connecticut Regiment company listed Prince Negro and Plymouth Negro among the common soldiers. Similarly named men are scattered among most of the other regiments. Some black soldiers' names did not reveal their race. Former private Henry Hallowell, of Col. Rufus Putnam's 5th Massachusetts Regiment, in his pension deposition named several veterans, "In my ... company [there] was 4 negroes named Jephtha Ward, Job Upton, Douglas Middleton, and Pomp Simmons ... part of them called on me after their time was out. They were good soldiers."^E

Gleaning the muster rolls for every company in each regiment was an interesting enterprise for other reasons. The number of men left behind from some regiments' companies when the troops first marched was quite large and somewhat surprising (soldiers were listed sick at Valley Forge, Ephrata, Dunkerstown [near Ephrata], Yellow Springs, Reading, Wilmington, Downingtown, and several other locations). Similarly, the troops taken ill and dropped off along the way proved to provide a good rough guide for the route taken to Monmouth Courthouse, with sick soldiers remaining behind at North Wales, Coryell's Ferry, Amwell, Hopewell, Princeton, Rocky Hill, Cranbury, and Englishtown. The number of sick men eligible for consideration was reduced by the information given. Anyone listed as being absent and ill before the army marched were, of course automatically disqualified. Others left along the line of march had to be at a locale situated near the Paxson home, or noted with a generalized descriptor such as sick in Pennsylvania or sick absent.^F

Examination of the muster rolls for all thirteen regiments in Lee's Division (prior to crossing the Delaware River) reveal the following numbers of men to be considered, listed in five categories:

1 sick in North Wales
12 sick at Coryell's Ferry
1 sick at Delaware
6 left sick on the road
47 sick absent
130 noted as sick in Pennsylvania
(197 total)

These soldiers were largely gleaned from the June 1778 muster rolls, which were compiled in early to mid-July, after the Monmouth campaign was over. Where the June rolls were not extant, the July and August company lists were consulted. When a soldier listed as sick was considered a possibility, his status was followed on subsequent company rolls until: 1. He was disqualified as a candidate after his location is specified

and is a locale far from Aquetong Village on the York Road.; 2. He is listed as recovered and returned to his unit, or, 3. He is listed as dead.

At the end of this process, twelve men remained from seven regiments (see below): four from the 1st Rhode Island, one from the 2nd Rhode Island, two from the 1st New Hampshire, one from the 3rd New Hampshire, one from the 2nd New York, two from the 4th New York, and one from the 4th Connecticut. Those noted as sick in Pennsylvania (no specific location given) are the most probable candidates, while men listed as sick absent at unknown locations are still contenders, just one step removed. Regrettably, for our purposes, all of the men listed as either left sick on road, or sick at Coryell's Ferry were stricken from the possibles list, for one reason or another. A list forty-seven soldiers in the final phase of the study is included in the endnotes, showing, in part, the process by which they were retained as candidates or eliminated from consideration. One more caveat should be added to the others intrinsic with this study; two men were listed as died or dead on 27 June 1778, and another on 29 June, just before and after the June 28 Monmouth battle. They may have been killed in action or died of wounds, but since they were not listed as such, they were included. The same caveat could be applied to the others in our final list of candidates. All in all, this was perhaps an exercise in frustration, but a lead that needed to be explored. It is likely our unknown soldier will never be certainly identified.

Candidates for the Soldier Left at Rolling Green, Aquetong Village, Solebury Township, Pa.

1. Sick in Pennsylvania

1st Rhode Island

Wallen's Company

Abraham/Abram Pierce

June 1778, sick in Pennsylvania

August/September 1778 muster, listed as dead 1 September (5 other men are listed as dead on the same date, obviously not the actual date of their deaths).

On the same roll, listed as dead 1 September 1778:

Derick Vanzover ((June, listed as sick in Pennsylvania)

Richard Champlin (June, listed as sick in Pennsylvania)

?? James Hazard is listed as sick in Pennsylvania in June, still sick absent December 1778, no records after that.

1st New Hampshire

Emerson's Co.

William White

June 1778, sick in Pennsylvania

same until September 1778 muster roll, noted died 25 July 1778

Emerson's Co.

Josiah Wells

June 1778, sick in Pennsylvania

same until September 1778 muster roll, noted died 31 July 1778

2nd New York

Hallett's Co.

Hendrick Lent

June 1778, sick in Pennsylvania

July 1778, dead 10 July

4th New York

Titus's Co.

Henry Buckleman ??

June 1778, sick in Pennsylvania

July 1778, listed as dead 27 June 1778

Strong's Co.

Jonathan Mapes ??

June 1778, sick in Pennsylvania

July 1778, listed as died 27 June 1778

2. Sick Absent

4th Connecticut

McGregier's Co.

Caesar Stewart

June 1778, sick absent

Listed died 31 July 1778, on July muster roll

2nd Rhode Island

Allen's Co.

Stephen Weaver ??

June 1778, sick absent

July muster roll, listed as died 1 July 1778

3rd New Hampshire

Livermore's Co.

Joseph Bigford ??

June 1778, sick absent

July 1778, listed as died 29 June 1778

Notes:

A. The Paxson family soldier's mess bowl and accompanying note were donated in 2010 by Sally and Robert Davis and their daughter Caroline Davis Claytor to the Solebury Township Historical Society (PO Box 525, Solebury, PA 18963;

<http://soleburyhistory.org/>). An early study of the bowl may be viewed online at <http://www.soleburyhistory.org/pdf/newsletterwinter2010.pdf>

B. Henry D. Paxson, *Brief Itinerary of a Trip from Philadelphia to Washington Crossing and Other Points of Historic Interest in Bucks County, Pennsylvania* (Washington Crossing State Park Commission of Pennsylvania, 1926), 18. Regarding the scope of the search for the sick soldier, a more satisfying enterprise, not possible at present due to time constraints, would involve a comprehensive study of the entirety of Gen. George Washington's force moving from Valley Forge to the Coryell's Ferry crossing of the Delaware River. That would entail an additional four divisions (Wayne's, Lafayette's, DeKalb's, and Stirling's), amounting to fifty seven regiments in thirteen brigades. If each regiment was completely organized, such a study would comprise, in toto, four hundred and fifty six companies.

C. Robert C. Bray and Paul E. Bushnell, eds., *Diary of a Common Soldier in the American Revolution: An Annotated Edition of the Military Journal of Jeremiah Greenman* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1978), 119-120. For the march route of Washington's troops from Valley Forge to the Delaware River see endnote 9 above.

D. John U. Rees, ““Reach Coryels ferry. Encamp on the Pennsylvania side.’: The Monmouth Campaign Delaware River Crossing,” *History in the Making* (The Newsletter of the New Hope Historical Society), vol. 4, no. 4 (December 2006), 1-12. Charles H. Lesser, *Sinews of Independence: Monthly Strength Reports of the Continental Army* (Chicago, Il. And London: The University of Chicago Press, 1976), 68-69, 30 May 1778 return.

E. See endnote 10 (above) for sources on the location of the soldier’s grave, African American soldiers in the Continental Army, and short-term levies serving in the army. Henry Hallowell, "A Narrative of Henry Hallowell of Lynne, Respecting the Revolution in 1776, 1777, 1778, 1779 to January 17, 1780," Howard Kendall Sanderson, ed., *Lynn in the Revolution* (Boston: WB Clarke, 1909), 164.

F. Resources used, available online at Fold3 (<http://www.fold3.com/>):
Compiled Service Records of Soldiers Who Served in the American Army During the Revolutionary War (National Archives Microfilm Publication M881), Record Group 93, National Archives, Washington.

Revolutionary War Rolls, 1775-1783, National Archives Microfilm Publication M246, Record Group 93

Organizations

(The first number is the reel number for the microfilm edition.)

2 Connecticut

1st Regiment, 1777-80 (1-6)

3 (7-10)

4 (11)

5 2d Regiment, 1777-80 (22-25)

6 (26-29)

7 (30-32)

11 4th Regiment, 1777-80 (63-66)

12 (67-72)

13 (73-75)

5th Regiment, 1777-80 (86-90)

14 (91-93)

15 (94-96)

19 7th Regiment, 1777-80 (118-120)

20 (121-124)

21 (125-127)

8th Regiment, 1777-80 (128)

22 (129-131)

23 (132-134)

24 (135-137)

43 New Hampshire

1st Regiment, 1777-80 (2-5)

44 (6-12)

45 2d Regiment, 1776-83 (13-17)

46 (18-24)

47 (25-26)

3d Regiment, 1776-80 (27-33)

48 (34-38)

65 New York

67 2d Regiment, 1777-83 (22-26)

68 (27-30)

69 (31-37)

3d Regiment, 1775 (38)

3d Regiment, 1776 (39)

3d Regiment, 1776-80 (40-41)

70 (42-49)

4th Regiment, 1777-80 (51-54)

85 Rhode Island

1st Regiment, 1777-80 (1-11)

2d Regiment, 1777-80 (12)

86 (13-20)

87 (21-22)

Rhode Island Regiment, 1781-83 (23-32)

11. Robert Erskine (1735-1780) map, "No 73 Crossing Correll's ferry towards Morristown to Ringoe's Tavern," New-York Historical Society; title - Roads from Newborough to Fort Lee. No 36 / by Robert Erskine F.R.S. Geogr. A. U.S. and Assistants; format - 129.0 cm. wide by 85.0 cm.high, 1 map on 9 assembled sheets; description - Military topographic map. Covers Orange and Rockland Counties in New York and Bergen, Passaic, Morris and Essex Counties in New Jersey. Shows roads, buildings and owners' names, also landforms, wetlands and streams. Shows relief by hachures. Title proper from recto is the work of a later editor--Simeon DeWitt or his assign--subsequent to 1820. Index title, statement of responsibility, date, series title and series numbering also by Erskine, but on separate index sheet filed at head of series. Pen-and-ink, pencil on laid paper. Watermarks: "S & K" (twice), lily accompanied by monogram (twice), lily (once), Britannia accompanied by "CR" with pendant crown (twice) Stained, foxed, creased, frayed, cut, torn and abraded. Small burn holes. Cut into 3 pieces. Mounted on cloth, bound and cropped, disbound and silked by subsequent owners. Cleaned after removal of backings 1999; some fill remains. Lined with China paper. Sheathed in mylar. Upper half shows lines of latitude and "Longitude East from Philadelphia." Text in ink, lines in pencil. In pencil on recto: "No 36" In ink on verso, top fragment "No. 36"; across join between top and center fragments, "No. 36"; on bottom fragment, "36"; identifier - 004754_004747_004644. Erskine's maps are available online via New York University and NY-HS, "Witness to the Early American Experience," World Wide Web, <http://maass.nyu.edu/archives/> (search on keyword, "Erskine").

John Rees has written over 150 articles since 1986 on various aspects of the common soldiers' experience, focusing primarily on the War for Independence. Current works and interests include soldiers' food (1755 to the present day), Continental Army conscription (1777-1782), the organization and service of the late-war Pennsylvania battalions, officer's campaign and cooking equipment, and the common soldiers' burden.

John's work has appeared in the *ALHFAM Bulletin* (Association of Living History, Farm, and Agricultural Museums), *American Revolution* (Magazine of the American Revolution Association), *The Brigade Dispatch* (Journal of the Brigade of the American Revolution), *The Continental Soldier* (Journal of the Continental Line), *Gastronomica: The Journal of Food and Culture*, *Journal of the Johannes Schwalm Historical Association*, *Military Collector & Historian*, *Minerva: Quarterly Report on Women and the Military*, *Muzzleloader Magazine*, *On Point: The Newsletter of the Army Historical Foundation*, and *Percussive Notes* (Journal of the Percussive Arts Society). He was a regular columnist for the quarterly newsletter *Food History News* for 19 years writing on soldiers' food, wrote four entries for the *Oxford Encyclopedia of American Food and Drink*, thirteen entries for the revised Thomson Gale edition of Boatner's *Encyclopedia of the American Revolution*, contributed a chapter to Carol Karels' *The Revolutionary War in Bergen County* (2007), and two chapters to Barbara Z. Marchant's *Revolutionary Bergen County, The Road to Independence* (2009). A partial article list plus many complete works are available online at www.revwar75.com/library/rees . Selected Civil War monographs posted online at <http://www.libertyrifles.org/research/>.