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A Revolutionary Diary of Captain Paul Brigham

November 19, 1777—September 4, 1778

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CAPTAIN Paul Brigham of Coventry, Connecticut, who was later to be lieutenant governor of Vermont for many years and acting governor for a brief period, kept a diary during some, if not all, of his service in the Revolutionary War. Portions of this diary have recently been located. The portion published here provides occasion for a rough sketch of a prominent public official in the early history of the state and supplies data for the close student of the American Revolution.

From 1777 to 1781 Captain Brigham was a company commander of Continental troops in the Connecticut line. Although he was commissioned on January 1, 1777, he did not begin his active service until late in May, spending no doubt the intervening months, at least in part, in recruiting, supplying and organizing his company. Until the winter of 1780–1781 he was the commanding officer of the Fifth Company of the Eighth Regiment. With the consolidation of the Continental regiments undertaken during that winter he became on the records, at least, for a short time the head of a company in the Fifth Regiment. His Eighth Connecticut saw almost all of its service under Washington as part of the main American army. During the summer of 1777, however, it was stationed most of the time near or at Peekskill as part of the forces entrusted with the defense of the Highlands of the Hudson against an attack from New York. After Washington's defeat at Brandywine in September it was ordered, along with three other regiments, to join the main army near Philadelphia. It arrived in time to take part in the battle of Germantown on October 4, 1777. In this action it lost twenty-two men in killed, wounded and missing.

In November a detachment of its troops, including Captain Brigham and presumably his company, took part in the gallant but unsuccessful defense of Fort Mifflin on Mud Island (actually Port Island) in the Delaware. After it rejoined the "grand" army at Whitemarsh, the

regiment wintered at Valley Forge. In June 1778, it took part in the battle of Monmouth as part of General Varnum's brigade.

The remaining history of the Eighth Connecticut is the story of the all but uneventful and frustrating years between Monmouth and Yorktown which were passed by Washington's army in the general vicinity of New York. The light infantry company of the regiment took part in the famous attack on Stony Point in July 1779, but the rest of the record is barren of historic military actions. The Eighth spent most of the time near the Hudson between New York and the Highlands, although it wintered in Redding, Connecticut, in 1778-1779 and at Morristown, New Jersey in 1779-1780, the latter winter being even more severe than that at Valley Forge.¹

Prior to 1777 Captain Brigham had seen no military service in any important campaign of the Revolution. He did not respond to the "Lexington Alarm"—though many of his fellow townsmen did—or join the army around Boston. And he did not enlist in the army that gathered for the defense of New York. After the American evacuation of the city in September, 1776, Connecticut militia were ordered to the aid of Washington's defeated army. In this connection he is listed as a lieutenant in a militia regiment that served during the late summer and the autumn in what is now Westchester County, New York. But no mention of this service has been made in any other account of his military career, including his own and his wife's pension applications.² Before the Revolution he served, it has been stated, in the Connecticut militia in all ranks from corporal to captain.³ Be that as it may, compared to the war experience of most other officers in the Continental army in 1777 his own was very slight.

In April, 1781 he resigned his commission on the ground of ill health. That he suffered from some sort of chronic ailment is evident from his diary. That his ill health continued is indicated by his being sick at home in June, 1780.⁴ It appears that he was also at home and ill when he

1. For the source of this material on Captain Brigham and on the Eighth Connecticut Continental, see *The Record of Connecticut Men in . . . the Revolution 1775-1783* (Hartford, 1889), 127-140, 229, 348. [Hereinafter cited as *Conn. Men in Rev.*]

2. For record of this service, see *Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society, Rolls and Lists of Men in the Revolution, 1775-1783* (Hartford, 1901), VIII, p. 159-163. For the pension papers, see file W23695, National Archives.

3. See *Records of the Governor and Council of the State of Vermont*, (Montpelier, 1876), iv, 21-22. [Hereinafter cited as *Governor and Council.*]

4. The evidence for this is found in a letter from his lieutenant, Richard Gill, addressed to him at Coventry and dated June 5, 1780. The Lieutenant wrote sympathetically: "I hope your melancholy prospects may vanish in some measure with your disorder. . . ." It is clear from the letter that Captain Brigham for some reason was also at this time worried about his future in the army. For this letter, see folder enclosing *Captain Paul Brigham's Orderly Book, 5 December 1779*. Ms. Vermont Historical Society.

resigned. Although the nature of his trouble was never specified by him or others—and may never have been diagnosed—it could well have been malaria. In any case, he applied for transfer to the corps of invalids, offering at the same time his resignation in case the transfer was refused. However, his colonel, Isaac Sherman, concluded that his transfer to the invalid corps was so improbable that he would not send in Brigham's application for it to the commander-in-chief. In his letter of explanation to Captain Brigham, Colonel Sherman mentioned the difficulties in the way of his transfer as those arising "from many officers being transfer'd whom the commander in chief thinks was not entitled to it, as they were capable of field duty . . ." In short, the colonel thought that Washington would not transfer the captain and that it would therefore be best not to send in the application at all. But he did send in the resignation and that was accepted. In his letter to Brigham he referred to him as a "good" officer and in conclusion hoped he would not, as many others had, lose his "attachment to the military and those employed in the service."⁵

When Paul Brigham was commissioned captain on January 1, 1777 he was a few days short of his thirty-first birthday. He was then living in Coventry, Connecticut, where he had been born, the third child and second son of Paul Brigham. His father died less than four months after his birth and his mother, Catherine (Turner) Brigham, remarried four years later. Her second husband was Benjamin Carpenter, Jr. by whom she had two children before his death in February 1756 by drowning after falling through the ice. The ten year old Paul had thus been twice orphaned. No other record of his mother has been found, but an entry in her son's diary implies that she may have married again. Under date of January 22, 1780 he noted: "I wrote a letter to my Dad at Stockbridge." The fact that his mother is never mentioned in any part of his diary suggests that she may have died after her third marriage and before his military service.

Left behind in Coventry when the captain went to war were his wife, Lydia (Sawyer) Brigham, and their three sons, Thomas, Don Josephus and Paul W., ranging in age from eight years to seven months. He had a wife and children at home. A fourth child, a daughter, had died in infancy. But she was replaced by another daughter who was born to him and his wife in October, 1778 while he was in the service.⁶

5. For this letter dated 30 April 1781, see United States Pension Records, File Designation: Paul Brigham, Connecticut, W23695. National Archives, Washington, D. C.

6. For genealogical data on Paul Brigham, his mother and his wife, see *The History of the Brigham Family*, (New York, 1907), 113, 169-170; *A Genealogical History of the Rehoboth Branch of the Carpenter Family in America* (Amherst, Mass., 1898), 95, 174; *Mack Genealogy*, 2 vols. (Rutland, 1903), I, 344-345.

Little has been found concerning Paul Brigham's life prior to 1777. It is probable that he was a farmer, although nothing conclusive as to that has been uncovered. The fact that in 1781, after his military career was over, he bought a farm in Vermont intimates that farming had been his occupation. This is also suggested by his almost daily description of the weather in his diary and by his mention there on more than one occasion of a good "Growing Season" and other appealing aspects of nature. If he was a farmer, he also had some money, at least when he entered the service. In spite of having a family to support at home he could take quarters at an inn outside of camp whenever he desired. A captain's salary (with a family) would not have allowed such expenditures or supplied him with the several hundred pounds with which he bought property in Vermont very shortly after his resignation.

He had become interested in Vermont land before his arrival in the state. In fact, his diary under date of January 21, 1780 makes it clear that he was interested even before he had left the army. His record for the day included this entry: . . . had a Meeting of the Subscribers for a new Township in the State of Vermont appointed a Committee to Sign the Petition for the Grant of the town [&C]." Whether or not this particular petition had consequences, it is impossible to say. However, after he had left the army, in August, 1781, he and his elder brother, Thomas Brigham, were both included as grantees and proprietors in the charters of the towns of Roxbury and Orange issued by the state of Vermont.⁷

He and his wife and four children actually settled, nevertheless, in Norwich, Vermont, in the spring of 1782 and there was to be his home for the rest of his life. His settlement in Norwich was doubtless due, at least in part, to the fact that his wife's younger brother, Conant Sawyer, who had been a private in his company during the war, had lived in Norwich before the Revolution and had returned there in 1780 after his discharge from the army. Brigham, therefore, knew something of the town before he arrived.⁸ In any case, in September, 1781 while still resident in Coventry, he had purchased for three hundred pounds a one hundred acre farm there.⁹ At that price the land was surely already cleared and he was thus spared the rough work of removing the trees.

Although there is little or no ground to doubt that he operated his farm himself, some question arises as to whether he did all or even most of the work on it through the years. One suspects that he hired help for the greater part and that he was a sort of gentleman farmer. In one

7. See *State Papers of Vermont, Charters Granted by the State of Vermont*, II, 153, 174.

8. See *A History of Norwich, Vermont* (Hanover, N. H., 1905). 182-183, 245-246.

9. See *Brigham, Paul. Deeds dating from 1781 to 1834*. Ms. Vermont Historical Society.

document he is referred to as "Gentleman" and in others as "Esquire" but never as farmer or "yeoman."⁹ In the eighteenth century, it must be kept in mind, these terms had real meaning and the "Gentleman" or "Esquire" was superior to the farmer or "yeoman" economically and socially. And in Paul Brigham's case there is evidence both in his expenditures in the army and his considerable purchases of land, the latter to be mentioned later, that he was economically a notch or two above the ordinary settler and working farmer. Furthermore, his other activities, particularly in public affairs, about which more will be said below, made full time farming almost impossible for him.

His farm in Norwich and his grantee's rights in Orange and Roxbury were not by any means to be his only land purchases. In fact, he may be accurately described as something of a land speculator. During the first five years of his residence in Vermont he spent over £400 in the purchase of land or proprietors rights in Vershire, Royalton and Brookfield. By far the greatest share of his purchases were in Brookfield, of which he was proprietor's clerk. Thereafter he continued to buy—and presumably sell—land. He bought it both from its owners and at tax vendues in various towns, including, as well as his own town of Norwich, Brookfield, Vershire, Randolph, Sharon, Bridgewater, Montpelier and Hanover, New Hampshire.⁹ The various public offices that he held undoubtedly supplied him with information and opportunities for land purchases, particularly at tax vendues, of which he could with propriety take advantage.

Paul Brigham had a long and distinguished career in the public life of Vermont. Indeed, he may be fairly spoken of as an inveterate public official. As soon as the year after his settlement at Norwich he was elected to represent the town in the legislature—a very considerable tribute and probably a sign and a recognition at one and the same time of his superior economic position. The Eighteenth Century American loved an honest man of means in public office. Besides, he had, of course, been an officer in the Continental army and thus was doubtless a man of parts to many of the more humble settlers. He could be expected to look after their interests competently. In 1786 and in 1791 he was again elected town representative.¹⁰

Following his election to the legislature he began a career in public office both civil and military which, except for a brief interval, was to continue for almost forty years. At first this career centered in Windsor

10. For the record of most of his office holding, see *A List of the Principal Civil Officers of Vermont from 1777 to 1918* Edited by John M. Comstock. (St. Albans, 1918). See also *Governor and Council*, III, 26, 32, 180; IV, 17, 22.

County and he served there as assistant judge (1784–1787, 1790–1796), sheriff (1787–1790), judge of probate for the Hartford District (1791–1792, 1793–1794, 1801) and Chief Judge (1801–1802). These offices were elective and certainly provided part of the political strength which brought him state-wide offices. Before this ultimate phase of his career is discussed, brief mention may be made of his other offices. He was active in the militia and in 1791 attained the rank of major general of a division. He was for a time, at least, one of the land commissioners (1788) and on occasion, if not continuously, was a justice of the peace. And finally, he was a delegate to the constitutional conventions of 1793 and 1814 and, in spite of his retirement from all public office in 1820, to that of 1822.

From 1792 until his retirement from public life he was elected every year, except two, to state-wide offices. In the former year he was first chosen by the people of the state as a councillor,¹¹ that is, a member of the Governor and Council, which was both the executive body of the state and the severely limited upper house of the legislature. In the same year he was selected by a combined session of the Council and House of Representatives as one of the four presidential electors.¹² Like all of the other electors throughout the country, he voted for George Washington and, like a majority of them, for the Federalist, John Adams. He was reelected a councillor in 1793, 1794 and 1795. In 1796 he was first elected lieutenant governor. This was done, however, by a combined session of the legislature, since none of the candidates received a majority of the popular vote.¹³ He was thereafter reelected to that office by the people of the state every year through 1819, except for the years 1813 and 1814. In October, 1819 at his inauguration for the coming term and in his seventy-third year he announced that he would not offer himself again as a candidate for any public office.¹⁴ When he retired in October, 1820 he had served twenty-two terms as lieutenant governor of Vermont.

The high point in Paul Brigham's career came in 1797. Due to the absence of Governor Chittenden he presided as lieutenant governor over the February–March session of the Council. On August 25 Governor Chittenden died and Brigham became acting governor, as he was then called, although we would now call him governor. He served in this

11. In October, 1791 he had been elected to the Council by a combined session of the Council and House of Representatives to fill a vacancy. However, he had also been elected to the House of Representatives and continued to sit in that house during the session. See *Governor and Council*, IV, 10–23.

12. See *Governor and Council*, IV, 35.

13. *Governor and Council*, IV, 107–108.

14. *Governor and Council*, VI, 249–250.

capacity for over seven weeks until a new governor was inaugurated on October 16.¹⁵ In this connection it is worthy of note that no record has been found that he ever offered himself as a candidate for governor. He was apparently content with second place.

A few words are in order about his political affiliations. In the early years he was a Federalist, as his vote for John Adams in 1792 would indicate. But prior to 1813 he was elected lieutenant governor when both Federalists and Jeffersonian Republicans were elected governor. This was something of a tribute to him personally, but also, it would seem, a sign of his lack of strong commitment to either party. By 1813, however, he had "drifted," as one writer puts it, into the Jeffersonian camp.¹⁶ And it was this association with Jeffersonianism, rather than any personal element, which resulted in his defeat in 1813 and 1814 along with the Jeffersonian candidate for governor. The opposition to the War of 1812 in Vermont was strong and the Jeffersonian Party under President Madison had conducted the war. The elections in these two years were, nevertheless, very close and no candidate for governor or lieutenant governor obtained a majority of the popular vote. In both cases and for both offices, therefore, election was by the legislature.

Paul Brigham died at the age of 78 on June 15, 1824 after a long and distressing illness which, it is stated, he bore with fortitude and resolution. He was survived by his wife and children. His remains were accompanied to the grave "by a military escort and a large concourse of citizens from Norwich and the vicinity."¹⁸ He was thus a "public" man to the end.

The portrait of Paul Brigham himself that emerges from his diary and this meager essay can, of course, only be a provisional sketch, to be improved and corrected by broader and deeper study. That he was a brave man seems beyond doubt. He was engaged in three hard-fought actions: Germantown, Monmouth and the defense of Fort Mifflin. And at Fort Mifflin undetected cowardice or skulking would have been virtually impossible. He kept as friends, it should be noted, other officers engaged in that action. Characteristics other than courage are also evident. He showed genuine sympathy for his men in their cruel hardships and shared those hardships with them, when required to do so, without self-pity. He had a love of nature and, though a reticent New Englander, mentioned on occasion its appealing scenes of which he was witness. There was no hint of boasting in his account of events and no

15. *Governor and Council*, IV, 124-141.

16. Jacob G. Ullery, *Men of Vermont* (Brattleboro, Vt., 1894), 71-72.

political or religious cant. He wrote home from the army when opportunity offered and noted the good news he received from there. And went home promptly and directly when he got a furlough.

Yet, in spite of these qualities, it is hard to escape the suspicion, even on brief acquaintance, that he somehow stood apart a little and was detached. Although he did his duty, one finds no evidence that he did more than that. His diary will be searched in vain for any sign that he lived with the problems and fate of his company, his regiment, the army or the war. And there are signs—both in and out of his diary—of a certain detachment from them. He took no substantial part in the war, it will be remembered, prior to 1777, although many of his fellow townsmen did so.

There are other suggestions and instances of his detachment. His diary contains numerous references to his own comfort and convenience, including his dining and lodging out of camp and other similar personal items. This is natural. The point here, though, is not that he sought his own convenience or that he made reference to doing so. It is rather that the frequency and at times the length of these references seem to make his comfort crowd out his involvements in *his* story. In short, his convenience appears to have a disproportionate importance in *his* mind. Some rather striking comparisons are available in this connection. In his entry for June 28 he employs forty-four words to relate the Battle of Monmouth! Three days later he uses fifty-five words to describe his discovery and use of a cart hitched to a yoke of oxen. The heat, it seems, was so intense that the captain could not march. He therefore rode in the ox cart and caught up with his brigade in the cool of the evening. On January 1, 1778 twenty-four of his men were discharged at the end of their eight months service. Although they were not replaced at that time and their loss meant a radical reduction in his company's strength, he made no mention of it at all in his diary.¹⁷ But when his horse, his own personal property, was stolen in April 1780, he gave what was for him a considerable account over a period of days of his successful efforts for its recovery. When it came to noting anniversaries in his later diary (1779–1780), it was not the Battle of Germantown or the defense of Mud Island that he remembered but his safe return to the main army at White-marsh, his furlough and his own birthday.

In his political life the same lack of deep involvement appeared. For several years he did not identify himself clearly and firmly with any political party. He thus disassociated himself from any specific resolution

17. For these discharges, see *Conn. Men in Rev.*, 230–239.

of public issues. And, finally, although he was lieutenant governor for over twenty years, he apparently never sought the governorship and the ultimate responsibilities it involved.

Nothing written here is intended to deny that Paul Brigham was a good and brave officer. While others resigned from the Revolutionary army, he continued to serve for over three years and he risked his life. Nor is there any doubt that he was a competent and respected public official. Yet the thought will not dawn that, although he was concerned in the occasions of his time, he was somehow not deeply touched by their urgency.

There is little if any ground to doubt that Captain Brigham kept a continuous diary for at least the first three years of his service. Even though only four portions of his diary covering roughly a year and a half have so far been located, these contain internal evidence that they are parts of a whole and not instances of a sporadic effort. The last portion, which ended in April 1780, however, indicates that the whole diary may have been concluded at that time.

The four parts of the diary now available, with their present location, are as follows:

- (1) May 28–June 23, 1777. Ms. Vermont Historical Society. (A single sheet, either the original itself or, more likely, composed from it by the diarist.)
- (2) June 23–August 12, 1777. Published in *A History of Norwich, Vermont* (Hanover, N. H., 1905), 183–186.
- (3) November 19, 1777–September 4, 1778. Ms. Vermont Historical Society. (Captain Brigham's name does not appear on the manuscript but internal evidence and the handwriting leave no doubt at all about the identity of its author.)
- (4) October 2, 1779–April 5, 1780. Ms. Vermont Historical Society. (See the back of *Capt. Brigham's Orderly Book December 5, 1779*. The orderly book itself contains only one entry and a list of the original officers of the Eighth Connecticut Continental.)

Captain Brigham's diary has more value for the close study of the historian than it has interest for the general reader. It is, for the most part, a simple chronicle. He put down many, although not all, of the movements and activities of his regiment and other units of the army and made note of such routine events as infantry drill ("Exercise," he called it), musters, court martials, visits to the sick and whippings. But all this was usually set down with great brevity and without supplying

details which would provide more understanding of the army and the war. He made virtually no comment on occurrences himself and reported none by others. For example, in spite of his engagement in the Battle of Monmouth he gave no account of his part in the fighting or any reaction to the experience. His almost daily description of the weather can be of use to some students, but it is at times tedious and irksome. There is occasional notation of important developments outside the army, such as the Alliance with France or the arrival of the British Peace Commissioners, but there is, as usual, no reaction from him or any one else included. Yet there are, on the other hand, some glimpses of situations beyond fact that are arresting. There are the moving, terse descriptions of the hardships and sufferings on the march from Whitemarsh to Valley Forge and the simple account of a Thanksgiving Day without bread or vegetables and with poor beef. There is mention of a search made through the whole army for stolen goods, which was followed in the afternoon by a sermon to his brigade. And there are others. But for the most part it is a rather stark record and much of it will neither enlighten nor enliven most general readers.

The portion of the diary published here begins on November 19, 1777 at the very end of the campaign for Philadelphia. In the previous September the British had occupied the city. On October 4 Washington had made an attack on the enemy at Germantown and had finally been repulsed. On November 15 Fort Mifflin on Mud Island in the Delaware River below Philadelphia had been evacuated. The American detachment of originally about four hundred and fifty men, which had defended it, was compelled to cross the river at night to the New Jersey shore. The British now had free access to the city by water and their occupation was thus complete.

It is unfortunate that the available parts of the diary do not include either the Battle of Germantown or the defense of Fort Mifflin, in both of which Captain Brigham was engaged. Though eventually repulsed and forced to retreat, the American troops at Germantown made a disciplined and vigorous attack which came close to success. The defense of Fort Mifflin lasted five days and involved on the part of the British one of the most fierce and sustained artillery bombardments of the whole war and on the American side one of the most heroic and stubborn defenses of the entire conflict. Four days after the evacuation of Fort Mifflin the American troops, including not only the Fort Mifflin detachment but those from Fort Mercer on the New Jersey shore and other units as well, were all in retreat northward. Their destination was the main American army under Washington at Whitemarsh, Pennsylvania.

DIARY¹⁸

[November 19, 1777]

[. . .]¹⁹ and put up to Stay [. . .]²⁰ Joseph Law and Ric[hard] Guild Joined y^e com[pany]

On y^e 20th I went on [Guard?] at the G [General's?] Quarters Cap [. . .]²⁰ had a furlow to Go [home] all y^e Trops [Troops] paraded [at] 4 o'Clock

On y^e morn of [. . .]²⁰ there was Considerable firing this morning we marched to mount halle [Mount Holly, New Jersey] where we arived about 2 or 3 o'Clock and and found G [General] Huntington Brigade in Town I was Relieved from my Guard about 7 o'Clock

on 22 Lay Still in Quarters Col Morgans Reg^t came into Town I went to See the Iron works and Sliting mill

[. . .]²⁰ was very curious [. . .]²⁰ [Town] abounds in mills [. . .]²⁰ [such] Like works and [. . .]²⁰ Considerable [Busyness?] [. . .]²⁰ or here on Sunday [. . .]²⁰ Very Pleasant for [the] Season of y^e year [. . .] Reg^t moved out into Tents

on monday 24th worked all Day upon pay Rolls and muster Rolls had orders to be Ready to march

on y^e morning of 25th Very Pleasant for the Time of year our Boys Bought a Chease and Gave ten Dollers one half and half a Quarter which was £3:3:9 had orders to wait for further orders about marching I went out of Town to an old Hermit that had Lived 24 years in the woods with [without?] any [fire] as he Informed me his Beard was about 4 Inches Long and Somwhat Gray as he was 64 years old as I was Returning I Gave one Six of a Doller for one Dozen of Poor apples about Sundown our Brigade was ordered to march and marched this night I Lay cold

18. This transcription has copied the original as exactly as possible. The spelling of the manuscript and its punctuation—or, rather, the almost complete lack of punctuation—have been followed as closely as a worn and in places indistinct document has allowed. Only the paragraphing has been changed and a new line provided for each entry. For the most part, the original is written continuously without paragraphing, which makes reading and the location of specific dates difficult.

A few textual devices are used. Brackets are employed around conjectured words [home] and placed around the correct spelling of some misspelled words Trops [Troops] and abbreviated words G [General]. When the conjecture or correction is doubtful, a question mark is added [Guard?] or Tammange [Tallmadge?]. On occasion brackets are also employed around words or phrases inserted to elucidate the text, such as Haverstraw [New York] or River [Delaware River]. An ellipsis in brackets [. . .] indicates an illegible or missing word or words. Words in italics in brackets [*Day*] have been omitted from the original but are clearly intended or implied.

19. The manuscript diary begins in the middle of a sentence. Previous pages have undoubtedly been lost or destroyed. The document is in unbound but sewn booklet form. In size it is 5³/₄" X 3³/₄".

20. The first and third pages of the manuscript are partially destroyed and conjecture of the missing words is often not possible. The manuscript pages are otherwise whole.

On y^e morning of y^e 26th Expecte^d to move our Tents and Bagage after our Troups But we waited for orders all Day I Loged in Town this night on y^e 27th Expected our Troups Back again they ariveed [*sic*] about Sundown Esq^r [Patten?] and mr Brewster ariveed with a Quantaty of Cloathing for Coventry men²¹ I went on y^e Provost Guard and had the Care of 20 Prisoners

On y^e 28th marched to Burlington [Burlington, New Jersey] and Crossed y^e River [Delaware River] to Bristol [Pennsylvania] about Dusk had orders and marched to [folearends?]²² where I Tarried with my Guard our Trops ware in y^e woods without any Tents and it was a Stormy night with hail and Rain Exceding Bad for y^e Poor men

on y^e 29th a Stormy Day I Lay Still all Day with my Guard our Brigade marched before Break of Day in y^e midst of y^e Storm I heard this Evening that the Enemy had Got within 3 miles of Burlington and our Bagage had not Got over

On Sunday 30th I marched with my Guard Very Early and come and marched to Crooked Billet²³ and from thence about 3 miles and Staid all night

on y^e 1 Day of December marched my Guard Very Early to Head [Qr] [Quarters] and Got Instructions and then Delivered them into y^e Provost and Took a [. . .]²⁰ for them then [Came?] [. . .]²⁰ [and?] Joined the Re[giment?]²⁴

[. . .]²⁵

On y^e 5th about 4 o'Clock the whole Camp was alarm^d and Regi^t out until Sun an our [hour] high the alarm Continued all Day our Tents and Bagage was Sent of [off] and we continued all Day and night in our huts some Scarmishing [Skirmishing] happeed [happened] this Day²⁶ Very Cold and Tedious it was

21. The towns of Connecticut also sent clothes to their men in the army later when they were at Valley Forge. See *Conn. Men in Rev.*, 130.

22. No available map has thrown any light on the correct name of this place.

23. Crooked Billet Tavern and village in Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, now Hatboro.

24. The captain made the following entry in his diary for December 1, 1779: this Day Complets 2 years Since our Brigade arived at white Marsh [Whitemarsh, Pennsylvania] Hill where we Joined the Grand Army again after we had Left Forts Miffin and Mercer . . ."

25. Lower half of the third page of the original destroyed.

26. This was the skirmishing that preceded the abortive battle at Whitemarsh on December 7, 1777. After some initial successes General Howe decided that the strength of the American position established by General Washington was too great for him to risk an assault. He consequently withdrew his forces and returned to Philadelphia.

Unfortunately, as the reader will observe below, the portion of the diary covering December 7 has been torn out.

on y^e 6th [Pleasant?] and Still Cold [. . .]²⁵ arms all
[. . .]²⁵

and I Slept Quite Comfortable Turned out Early and Expected to
Come to a General Action Early on y^e morn of y^e 8th But y^e Day Passed
until Evening and no action

on the 9th it was Reported that y^e Enemy was Gone into philadelphia
at Day Break I went to See their [fires?] But could Discover none—Cold
and windy this Day I went out of Camp and Got me a Diner had a cold
night

on y^e 10th Clear and Cold made me a new hut and Did not Enjoy it all
night for we had orders to be Ready to march at 4 o'clock in y^e morning
this Day I had Iteligen^{ce} [Intelligence] that Jephura Titus was Dead and
had ben Some Days²⁷

on y^e 11th was up at 3 o'Clock and a Cold morning it was the whole
army was on y^e move this morning and part of our army crossed Schuyl-
likill [Schuylkill River] and found y^e Enemy there and we Could not Pass
Some of y^e Miletia that had Got acrost ware [mad^e] Prisoners²⁸ our
Brigade Loged in a wood about 15 miles from y^e City I and my Company
had nothing But y^e heavens for our Covering this Cold frezeing night

on y^e 12 a Pleasant morning But Clouded up and Looked Likely for a
Storm Ensⁿ Tilden Got Liberty to Leave y^e Service²⁹ Toward night it be-
gan to Storm with Snow and Continued Snowing all night y^e army
Crossed the River [i.e. the Schuylkill] this night our Devision Lay out in
y^e Storm all night and crossed about Break of Day

on y^e 13th it Cleared of [off] Pleasant we Incamped in y^e woods about
2 miles from y^e River Serg^t Merrifield came into Camp this Day and
Brought a man to Take his Place³⁰

Sunday 14th Expect^d to march Early But Did not march

monday the 15th Lay out and nothing to cover us But y^e heavens for 4
nights Together I went out of Camp about 2 miles had orders to march
at 1 o Clock

on Tuesday 16th morning Lay Cold Last nigt [*sic*] had a Rainy Day

27. Official records, on the other hand, have it that Jephura Titus, having enlisted for only eight months, was discharged January 1, 1778. See *Conn. Men in Rev.*, 238.

28. The attempted crossing was at one of the fords near Whitemarsh. The enemy consisted of the van of a force of 3,500 men led by Cornwallis on a foraging expedition.

29. Joshua Tilden was ensign of Brigham's company. See *Capt. Brigham's Orderly Book 5 December 1779*. Ms. Vermont Historical Society.

30. Abraham Merryfield was in the diarist's company. According to the records, at least, he had been reduced from sergeant to private July 18, 1777 and was discharged January 25, 1778. See *Conn. Men in Rev.*, 231. In the Revolutionary army a man might be discharged or released for a time if he supplied a substitute.

and Did not march had a uncomfortable Day and Lay on y^e wet Ground had News that Part of Cap^t Tammange [Tallmadge?]³¹ Comp^y was Taken by y^e Enemy Light Hors

wensday 17th wet and Bad for y^e men Last night Some have fits and Some Cholicks Lying on y^e wet Ground Bought a mare of Colo [Colonel?]³² to Ride home Expected to march this Day But Did not

On y^e 18th Being the Continental Thanksgiveing Lay Still and Did not march it Still continued Rainy and Dull weather I kept Thanksgiveing without Eating any Bread all Day our Beaf was Poor and no Sauce³³ and allowance³⁴ Very Short

On y^e 19th Last night it Cleared of [off] Cold this morning Loaded our Tents and prepared to march at a moments Warning about 9 o'Clo[c]k marched Through y^e mud 5 or 6 miles and Piched our Tents³⁵ I went a Little out of y^e Road and Staid all night

on y^e 20th went into Camp it was Cold and Clear Provisions Very Poor and Scarce not Enough [for?] to Seport the men [Comfortable?]

Sunday 21th [sic] Last night I had a Sick night Pleasant for y^e Time of year

on y^e 22th Still Continue^d not well the Doc^r advise^d me to Go out of Camp to Se if I could not [Recrute?] my health I travel^d almost all Day before I could fined [find] any Where that I Could Tarry at Last I Got a Place at one George Veslar^e

On Tuesday 23^d I took a Vommit³⁶ which made me Sick Enough Clouday and Looked Likely for Snow all Day

on y^e 24th Last night it cleared of [off] Cold and Clear Sent Conant³⁷ into Camp this morning he Came out to Se me a Little before night and Returned Back again

31. This is probably a reference to Benjamin Tallmadge, then an officer in Colonel Sheldon's Continental Light Dragoons and a distinguished soldier who did "secret service" for Washington and was instrumental in the retention of André as a prisoner at the time of Arnold's treason. He took part in the battles of Germantown and Monmouth and at the time of the above entry was almost certainly with Washington's army. However, he was at this time a major, not a captain, and commanded a troop or troops of horse, not a company. See *Conn. Men in Rev.*, 271. No other Capt. Tammange [Tallmadge] has been found.

32. Presumably the colonel of his regiment, John Chandler of Newton. See *Conn. Men in Rev.*, 229.

33. Greens or other vegetables.

34. Possibly the allowance or ration of flour or rum.

35. From the previous and subsequent entries in the diary it appears that this day marks the arrival of Captain Brigham's company at Valley Forge after its march from White-marsh. Washington later stated that the route of that march could be traced by the blood from the feet of the soldiers in the snow.

36. At the time of the Revolution vomiting, purging and blood letting were, of course, common remedies.

37. Conant Sawyer was Captain Brigham's brother-in-law, his wife's brother, and a private soldier in his company. See *Conn. Men in Rev.*, 237; also *Mack Genealogy* (2 vols: Rutland, Vt., 1903), I, 344-345.

On y^e 25th Clowday and Cold Chrismas we have This Day Cannon
ware heard This morning Towards night it began to Snow But it Snowed
But Little in y^e Evening there Came an officer and Took up his Logings
at my Lanlords that had Ben in y^e Russian Service 4 years and a half a
Garman By Birth³⁸ who Gave me a Cosiderable [*sic*] acount of the war
with the Turks

on y^e 26th Clowday and Cold I went into Camp This Day and Re-
turned Towards Evening it Began to Storm before I Got home

on y^e 27th it Stormed all night Clowday and Dull weather this Day

on Sunday 28th Last night it Snow^d and Still Continue^d to Storm all
Day I Scarcely went 40 Rods from the house

on y^e 29th Last night it Cleared of [off] Very Cold I went into Camp
this [Day] and Suffer^d much with y^e Cold before I Got home to my Q^s
[Quarters] we had a most Severe Cold night for y^e Time of year

on y^e 30th it was Clear and Cool Rec^d a Letter from my wife

on y^e 31th Clear and Cold Leiut Bingham³⁹ Got a furlow

on y^e 1st of January [1778] I went into Camp Return^d at Evening

on y^e 2 nothing [meteriel]

on y^e 3rd finished my Pay and Muster Roll for December

on y^e 4th Being Sunday I went into Camp our Reg^t was mustered⁴⁰ I
went out of Camp and Tarried all night

on y^e 5 I went into Camp Early and began to work upon my House

on y^e 6th worked all Day upon my hut 4 officers went for furlows this
Day

on y^e 7 worked on my hut

on y^e 8th Spent all Day over halling Cloathing accounts [Pr] orders
[Inform^d?] that a Soldier in 2^[nd] [pensylvania?] Battallion is to Suffer
Death

on y^e 9th went on a G [General] Court Martial and Towards night went
of [off] camp as far as my old friend [Allexanders]

on y^e 10th a fine Pleasent Coll [Cold?] morning Set out for Camp arived
in Camp found Ensn [Ensign] [Jactson?] [Jackson?]⁴¹ under Arest

38. It has not been possible to identify this foreign officer. Steuben, however, had not arrived at this time.

39. Thomas Bingham was First Lieutenant of Brigham's company. See *Captain Brigham's Orderly Book 5 December 1779*. Ms. Vermont Historical Society. See also note 47, *post*.

40. That is to say, inspected. When a unit was mustered, its clothing, arms and other equipment were checked as well as the physical condition of its men. And the names on its muster roll had to be accounted for.

41. Nathan P. Jackson was ensign of Captain (later Major) David Smith's company. See *Captain Brigham's Orderly Book 5 December 1779*. Ms. Vermont Historical Society. This record indicates that he resigned as ensign, while another asserts he was promoted first to second lieutenant and then to first lieutenant, both in January 1778! See *Conn. Men in Rev.*, 230.

Sunday 11th Very snowy Day as I almost Ever Saw
 on y^e 12th Very Pleasant Day as almost you will See for the Time of
 year I aplied for a furlow and was Denied [had] a Serg^t whiped one hun-
 dred Lashes on y^e Naked Back⁴²
 on y^e 13 Last night was Very Cold and frezeing night I went [*sic*]
 on 14th I went out of Camp 5 miles and Returned at Evening
 on 15 I went on fatigue at the New Bridge and it was Exceeding Cold
 Day
 on the 16th Last night was Cold Serg^t Mitchell⁴³ Came out of Philedel-
 phia and Inform^d that our Prisoners Suffered Very much
 on 17th Very Stormy Day I again aplied for a furlow as there was 2
 cap^{ts} appoint^d in our Reg^t yesterday did not obtain [*it*]
 Sunday 18th Very Stormy yesterday and Last night This morning I
 obtained a furlow Clear and Cold in y^e afternoon Set out and Crossed
 Schuyl Kill and went as far as [Haffilfingers?]
 on mon^d y^e 19 morning Set out for Delaware River I arived at Caralls
 ferry about Sundown Crossed and went 3 miles
 on y^e 20 Traveled 31 miles as far as mile [Branch?] Cloday Day
 Storm^d a Little
 on 21th arive^d at morristown [Morristown, New Jersey] to Breakfast
 from here to Pumpton a Very Pleasant Day
 on 22^d Cold and [Sharp] this morning Travelled to Kings ferry [New
 York] 32 miles⁴⁴
 On 23^d Last [night] Exceeding Cold Crossed the River [Hudson River]
 Went 6 miles to Capt Drakes at Peeks Kill [New York] Very Snowy
 night Last [. . .]
 on 24th arive^d at Danbury [Connecticut] Lost my watch on the Road
 Sunday 25th Clowday and Cold Set out from Danbury and Reached
 Waterbury at mr. Brunsson's [Tavern] 27 miles
 on monday 26th Set out for farmintown [Farmington, Connecticut]
 arived at farmintown and from thence to west Devision at Lanlord Sey-
 mors
 on y^e 27th Set out for Town [Hartford] arived in Town in the afternoon
 Set of [out] for home where I arive^d about 7 or 8 o'clock in PM

42. Presumably at the order of a court martial.

43. Sergeant William Mitchell of Captain Jesse Kimball's third company. He had enlisted May 26, 1777 for eight months and had been taken prisoner at the battle of Germantown, October 4, 1777. See *Conn. Men in Rev.*, 230, 231; also *Captain Brigham's Orderly Book 5 December 1779*. Ms. Vermont Historical Society.

44. King's Ferry connected Stony Point on the west side of the Hudson and Verplanck's Point on the east side and was a link in the principal highway from the New England states to the south.

on 3^d of march⁴⁵ I Set out for Camp it being a very Stormy Day Cold
 Snowy Day I arive^d at Hartford put up at Cap^t Seymors
 on 4th I went as far as Farminton Loged at mr^s Roots
 on 5th I ariv^d at Woodbury at Col Moeslyes
 on y^e 6th I arive^d at Danbury at mr Stars [Tavern] Heard of my watch^s
 being found Bruise^d to Pieces a Prety affair
 on the 7th Cap^t Drakes at Peeks Kill Storm^d Some this Day
 march y^e 8th Sunday I crosed at Kings ferry and Traveled as far as
 Pumpnton Pond
 on y^e 9th I arive^d at morristown had a Verry Snowey Day Tarded at
 Cap^t [Dawson^s?]
 on y^e 10 arive^d at Fleming town at the middle Branch of Raritan
 River—
 on y^e 11 I crosed Delaware at Corrells ferry and Put up at mr [Durins?]
 on y^e 12th I traveled Through mud and water until I arived a [at] my
 old Frinds (*sic*) Haffilfinger
 on y^e 13 arrived in Camp
 on y^e 14th Delivered in my furlow
 on 15th Sunday Lt [Inlee?]⁴⁶ was Brake and Drum^d out of Camp By
 all the Drums and Fifes in the army Some thing curious
 on y^e march 16th nothing
 on 17th 18th 19th obtained Leave for L^t Bingham to Resg^d [Resign] his
 Commision⁴⁷
 on the 20th Lt Brown⁴⁸ and Conant Sawyer obtained furlows
 on 21st I had a Billet to Dine with Ge Vernum [General Varnum]⁴⁹
 Very Cold and windy
 Sunday 22^d I acompanied Lt Brown out of Camp as far as Haffel-
 fingers and Sold him my hors Lt wells and Lieut Andrews⁵⁰ obtained
 [Leave] to Resine their Commisions and Set out for home

45. From January 27 through March 2 the captain was obviously at home with his family and he made no entries in his diary.

46. Considerable search has not made it possible to identify this officer. When officers were drummed out of camp, they were warned on occasion never to return. See Wright, John W., *Some Notes on the Continental Army: William and Mary College Quarterly*, April 1932, 2nd Series, XII, No. 2, 89.

47. Lieutenant Bingham's resignation took effect March 15, 1778 according to *Conn. Men in Rev.*, 230. See also note 39, *ante*.

48. Lieutenant Briant Brown of Woodstock, Conn. was second lieutenant in Captain Brigham's company. See *Captain Brigham's Orderly Book 5 December 1779*. Ms. Vermont Historical Society.

49. Brigadier General James M. Varnum of Rhode Island at this time commanded the brigade which included Captain Brigham's regiment.

50. Lieutenant Baze Wells was first lieutenant of the Third Company and Lieutenant William Andrews was second lieutenant of the first company of the Eighth Regiment. See *Captain Brigham's Orderly Book 5 December 1779*. Ms. Vermont Historical Society.

on 23rd I Got my things and Return^d to camp
 on 24th Began to [Exersise]⁵¹ heard that G [General] Smallwood had
 Ben atacked in his Lines at wilmington [Wilmington, Delaware] and
 [Prov^d] to [too] hard for the Enemy—
 on y^e 25 of march Cloudy Dull weather in the Evening I had Some
 Company to welcome me to Camp Cap^t Sanford⁵² arive^d in Camp—
 on the 26th I went on a Command⁵³ at the Gulf mill Clouday Rainy
 Day found Very [Good?] Quarters at mr. [Jones]
 on y^e 27 Clear and Coll [Cold?] one Deserter Came to our Guards this
 Day and two Last night to Reading the Last Evening
 on y^e 28 Day Very Pleasent and Warm I was officer of the Day I
 Visit^d the Guards By Day and night had a Clouday and Dark night
 on Sunday 29 Very Stormy Day of Rain and Snow as had ben the
 whole winter
 [on?] y^e 30 Stormy Sloppy Day uncomfortable Day Had an alarm
 this Evening
 on 31 of march [fair?] weather But Raw Cold the Enemy Come out
 Every Day by the Best [Intelgence]—
 on y^e 1 Day of April Very Pleasent Weather nothing metinable
 [mentionable] happened this Day
 on y^e 2 Day Rainy and wet at Evening it Thundered and Rain^d
 Exedingly hard and Some Lite Snow before morning and cold
 on y^e 3^d Very Clare and Cold
 on y^e 4th Some Stormy But Before night clear and Cold Was Reliv^d
 [Relieved] and Return^d to Camp
 on Sunday 5th Clear and Cold went on the Grand Parade and Saw the
 Barron [Baron Steuben] menuvre [maneuver] the Guards
 Sunday also went to head Quarters and Saw the Ge^a [General Wash-
 ington's] Life Guard Exercise G^l Lee arived at Head Quarters this Day
 on [. . .] 6th Pleasent Clear Spent Some Time in writeing on the Grand
 Parade in the morning Saw G^l Lee [on?] There with a Number of Ge^l
 officers

51. "Exercise" meant roughly what we would now call infantry drill. As of this date a general drill program for the whole army at Valley Forge was instituted under Steuben's direction. In the eighteenth century, of course, the maneuvers of such drill were actually employed in battle—and by the American army as well as by the British. See Christopher Ward, *The War of the Revolution* (New York, 1952), II, 553–555.

52. Captain Samuel Sanford of Milford, Connecticut, a company commander in the Eighth Connecticut. See *Conn. Men in Rev.*, 230.

53. To go "on command" was to be detached from one's own unit by specific order or "command" and be assigned to some other duty usually, although not always, out of camp.

on ye 7th Exercis^d the forenoon and afternoon as [useal?] [usual] Lt [Buell?]⁵⁴ arived in Camp from Bethlehem

on ye 8th I was officer of the Day [. . .] to Inspect the Brigade all the huts and the alleys and the Hospitals I found a Number Sick in the Rhode iland [Island] Hos^l [Hospital] and Col angel [Angell]⁵⁵ come to Vissit Them who Informed me that Cap^t [flag] [Flagg]⁵⁶ had Lost 13 men out of his company [Since] January 1st about 3 months and [8] Day^s

on ye 9th I went to [George] Veslars and Braugh [Brought] home my Chest I Saw the G^s Guard Exercise

on ye 10th I went on fatigue and had a french man to Direct our works

on ye 11th Rainy and [Lowerry?] Day

On Sunday 12 more Clear and Pleasent

on ye 13th Pleasent went on a Court Martial at Evening had 2 men whip^d in the Brigade

on ye 14th went on the Grand Parade this morn Exercise^d this Day went over the River

on ye 15 went over the River [Schuykill River] in order to have a pair of Boots made Last night was a Stormy night with Thunder and Rain a [as?] almost I ever knew on the Road over the River as I went to mr Robertsons to get my Boots I saw 2 young mourning Doves in the nests on the fence

on ye 16th Continued Stormy and Cloudy the Expected [Cartel]⁵⁷ is not Like to Take Place

on the 17th Apr^l Clear and Cool and windy Cold for the [Season?]

On ye 18th Rainy Cloudy Cold

Sunday 19th Clear and Plea[sent] at Evening the weather Chang^d Very Sudden with the most Volent [Violent] Gusts of wind Like a Huricane

on monday 20th Cold march winds I went out of Camp as far as the Commasary of Prisoners where I Saw Peach and Plum Trees all in the Bloom the news Confirm^d of Bill Howe [General Sir William Howe] Going home

on ye 21th [Clear] and Coll [Cold] this morning

on 22^d Pleasent it Being fast Day our Brigade and G Hunttons [Brig. Gen. Jedidiah Huntington] and G Knox [Brig. Gen. Henry Knox] [B]

54. Lieutenant Matthew Buell was in the Second Regiment and Lieutenant John Buell was in the Fourth Regiment. See *Conn. Men in Rev.*, 158, 183.

55. Colonel Israel Angell of the Second Rhode Island Continental Regiment. See F. B. Heitman, *Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army . . .*, 64.

56. Captain Ebenezer Flagg of the First Rhode Island Continental Regiment. See F. B. Heitman, *op. cit.*, 177.

57. That is, an exchange of prisoners of war with the British.

[Brigade] of Artillery assembled and was Entertaned [*sic*] By a Discorce
[from?] mr Ellis⁵⁸

on y^e 23rd Very Cold and windy

on y^e 24th Cold

on y^e 25 went out as far a [*sic*] Allexander^s this [*Day?*] went to the
Provost Guard a man Taken up as a Spy

on 26 Sunday Very Pleasent Day I heard of a Great fire that had ben at
new york Likewise of the Loss of one sub [subaltern] and 30 men Taken
near the Enemy Lines

On y^e 27 Pleasent weather

on y^e 28 Rec^d a Letter from Lt Brown heard a Smart Cannonade
29 and 30 nothing meteriel

I may Clowday Dull weather I was not well and Took a [Vomit] heard
some agreable news from france

May 2 Day Pleasent weather

3^d Pleasent Sunday had [Preaching] all Day had Very agre able news
from mr [Daines?] [Silas Dean?] as ambasador to the Court of france

on 4th Pleasent weather

on 5th fine weather

on y^e 6th This Day was Set a Part for a Day of Rejoiceing an acount of
the Court of france acknowledging the american States as Independ^t
and [forming] an [alliance] with Them—

on y^e 7 – 8 – 9 nothing meteriel

Sunday 10 mr Evins⁵⁹ Preached to the Division his Excellency attended
with the Lady washington

11th 12 and 13 Pleasent weather and agreable news I Spend all the
[. . .]⁶⁰ [subsistence] Rolls

on y^e 14 went to [Griffe John?] mills out of Camp to the audators and
made oath to my Subsistance Roll

on y^e 15 Exercise^d in the forenoon in the afternoon the whole Brigad
went in Platoons to wash in the River

on 16 Very hot weather

Sunday 17th a Large Detachment of 300 men to march to [morrow]
morn^g 5 o'clock under the Comm^d of Marquis Delle^{et} [LaFayette]⁶¹ the
Chief new [news] for Some Day [Days] has Ben about the Enemy^s
Leaveing Philedelphia

58. Rev. John Ellis of Franklin, Connecticut, chaplain of Brigadier General Huntington's brigade. See *Conn. Men in Rev.*, 144, 145.

59. Rev. Israel Evins was chaplain of the New Hampshire Continental Brigade.

60. Three words illegible.

61. This was the force of 2200 men—not 300—sent out under LaFayette for security and reconnaissance purposes which took up a position at Barren Hill. See entry and note for 20 May, *post*.

18 this morning the above mentioned Detachment march^d half Pay is Established by [Congress] 7 years after the War is [over]

On y^e 19 Doct^r Howe⁶² is Very Sick

on 20th went This morn to Doct^r Cockrans⁶³ Quarts after Some wine for Doc^{tr} Howe Before I got [home?] the Camp was alarmed the Enemy Came out Very Strong our Detachment under the Comm^d of the marquis fled across the River and Escape^d 64

on 21 Very pleasent and hot I went out to y^e Commasary of Prisoners —Doc^{tr} Howe Grows Exceding Low

On 22 Very Cool morning

on 23—13 [Defectors] [Came] in this Day wrote home by Denis Parker Sunday 24 hot and Dry weather Cap^t Davis⁶⁵ Came into Camp he had made his Escape out [of] Philedelphia Prison made a Vissit this Evening to cap^t [Betts]⁶⁶ was warned on a court martial of the Line

on 25th Doct^r Howe^s Life Still Despared of I went to y^e audators and Got an order for my Subsistence

on 26 had a fine Shower Rec^d my money

On y^e 27th Rainy Last night went on a B [Brigade] Court martial

on 28 Exercised this Day william [Belcher?]⁶⁷ whiped one hundred [Stripes]⁶⁸

on 29 went on the Bridge [Guard]

On 30 had orders to march at 3 o'Clock to morrow

on 31 Was not well Doct^r [Howe] Carried out of Camp [4 Days ago?]

on June 1—2^d Rainy Dull weather I was Very much [unwell]

on 3^d our Devision Paraded Expecting to march But had Counter orders Doct^r Howe Died This Day after a Violent and [Distressing?] fit of Sickness 24 Day of the Putried [Putrid] feaver⁶⁸

on 4 Day Doct^r Howe was Very Decently Buryed under arms

on the 5 I Rode out of Camp 4 miles to Col [Currier?] [Churry?]⁶⁹

62. Solomon Howe, surgeon's mate of the Eighth Connecticut. See *Conn. Men in Rev.*, 229.

63. Dr. John Cockran of Pennsylvania, Physician and Surgeon-General of the Middle Department. See F. B. Heitman, *op. cit.*, 129.

64. This was the successful extrication by LaFayette of his force at Barren Hill which had come close to capture by an enemy force over three times its size under Generals Howe and Clinton. See *Christopher Ward, op. cit.*, II, 564-567.

65. It has not been possible to identify this officer.

66. Captain Stephen Betts of the Second Connecticut Continental Regiment and of Stamford, Connecticut. See *Conn. Men in Rev.*, 158.

67. William Belcher was a musician in Captain Samuel Comstock's company in the Eighth Regiment. He had enlisted as recently as May. This chastisement did not prevent him from deserting in July later in the year. See *Conn. Men in Rev.*, 230-231.

68. "Putrid," "jail," "hospital" or "camp" fever were terms applied equally during the Revolution to both typhus and typhoid fever. The difference between the two had apparently not been clearly established at that time.

69. It has not been possible to identify this officer.

on y^e 6th had a Sick night Last night
on Sunday 7th Clowday Dull weather and a Very Rainy Day on y^e 4th
there was one Shanks Hanged as a Spy from the [. . .]⁷⁰ Howes army
on [. . .] y^e 8 Very Pleasent and Growing Season made a Vissit to Se Lt
[Jackson?]⁷¹ Maj^r [Hait] and Cap^t Smith⁷¹ Dined at Col [Churry?] this
Day

on y^e 9th Last night Very Coll [Cold] But Clear and Pleasent this morn-
ing went into Camp this Day Doct^r Howes Cloathing was Sold—the
whole army Expect to move to morrow

on y^e 10th I Rode about 4 miles to Se Cap^t Rice⁷² and then Rode [to ?]
our Brigade as they ware incamping about one mile from the Bridge the
whole army was on the move a Little in front of the front line and in-
camped.

on y^e 11th a Very Pleasant morn I Rode out with Col Churry and Mr^s
Churry to Col Thompsons⁷³ and as far as head Quarters and Returned
at Evening

on y^e 12th we have the certainty of the Commisioners⁷⁴ [Commissioners]
Being arived and that their [Perpocals] [Proposals] are sent to Congress
went into Camp Little or no news

Saturday 13th June Pleasant fine weather I went into Camp Little or no
news

Sunday 14th Pleasant Day went as far as mr mcfarlands Little or no
news

On y^e 15th as I went into Camp I saw Serg^t Johns⁷⁵ of Colo Bradleys
Reg^t who had ben Exchanged the Day before he inform^d me that John
Green and John Babcock⁷⁶ ware both Dead and that they Died in the
winter the whole army ware Remind^d to be in Rediness to march in this

70. One word, presumably a name or nickname, illegible.

71. Major Joseph Hait of Stamford, Connecticut was major and then lieutenant colonel of the Eighth Regiment. Captain David Smith of Waterbury, Connecticut commanded the first company of the Eighth and was later major of the regiment. See *Captain Brigham's Orderly Book 5 December, 1779*. Ms. Vermont Historical Society; also *Conn. Men in Rev.*, 229.

72. Captain Nehemiah Rice of Woodbury (or Northbury), Connecticut, was adjutant of the Eighth Regiment. See *Conn. Men in Rev.*, 229.

73. It has not been possible to identify this officer.

74. These were the Peace Commissioners headed by the Earl of Carlisle. They had been sent to America by the British government as a result of the capture of Burgoyne's army at Saratoga and the consequent conclusion of the alliance between France and the United States. The commission sought to satisfy peace sentiment in England and exploit peace sentiment and anti-French feelings in America. It offered peace with large concessions that came short of independence.

75. Sergeant Joel Johns of Captain Strong's company in the Fifth Regiment. Sergeant Johns had been taken prisoner at Germantown October 4, 1777. He deserted October 1, 1778. See *Conn. Men in Rev.*, 194.

76. Corporal John Green and Private John Babcock (Badcock) were both in Captain Brigham's company and were taken prisoner at the battle of Germantown October 4, 1777. See *Conn. Men in Rev.*, 231, 232.

Days orders by the Best accounts the Enemy are Chiefly over the [Jersies] Side [i.e. of Delaware River] and will Soon Take their Route to New York

on y^e 16th Very Pleasent Growing Season Rode with Col a Cross the Schuylkill to Camp Took a View of the front Line Dined at Col Frazers⁷⁷ and then Crossed the Bridge to our own incampment and then home Rec^d a Letter from Lt Brown

on the 17th went Erly to Camp and then to Head Quarters and obtained a Discharge for Lt Brown⁷⁸ and then Returned home had an Exceeding hot Day

on y^e 18th Exceeding hot night I Settled my Bill which was 14 Dollers and Set out for Camp I herd the Enemy had Left Philedelphia which Prove^d True G [General] Lees Devision march^d 4 or 5 miles and Encamped

on y^e 19th I Loge^d at Col Churrys Set out in the morn Came up with the Brigade about 2 o'Clock the whole Devision Pitched Tents Something Rainy Towards night

on y^e 20th Struk Tents at 3 o'Clock this morn and marched and Crossed the the Delaware at Carrels march^d about 3 or 4 miles Piche Tents

on y^e 21th Struck Tents at 3 Clock begand [*sic*] our march But Soon had orders to Turn Back and incamped on our old Ground His Excellency Crossed the River yesterday

on 22^d the Enemy [at] mount Holly [Mount Holly, New Jersey] yesterday Rainy night Last night Rec^d a Letter and 2 Shirts from home

on 23^d marched Early for Princes town [Princeton, New Jersey] Stop^d Short about 6 miles the army Took Different Routes. accounts warn that the Enemy Ware Between Trent [Trenton?] & Bourden town [Bordentown] our army Lay Still this night

on y^e 24th Lay Still this morn and our Baggage Came y^e [we?] heard that the Enemy had file^d of [off] to the Right and ware making their way towards Woodbridge

on the 25th marched and Left Princetown on our Right made a halt at Kingstown the Marqu^s [LaFayette] and G Wayne [General Wayne] went out with a Detachment—Exceeding hot this Day Lay out all This night marched Early in the morn

on y^e 26 Exceeding hot this Day Som Thunder and Rain. By the Best

77. It has not been possible to identify this officer.

78. With Lieutenant Brown's "discharge" Captain Brigham became the sole remaining officer of the original complement of his company. Ensign Tilden had resigned the previous December and Lieutenant Bingham after a furlough starting in January had resigned in March. Lieutenant Brown had been on furlough since March (see note 48, *ante*) and, as the diary indicates, resigned while at home. The captain rather shines here by comparison.

Intelligence the Enemy are making their way to the Hook [Sandy Hook, New Jersey] Woodfords and Varnum^s Brigades Began their march towards Munmouth [Monmouth, New Jersey] march^d 5 or 6 miles Lay out in an [orchard] on Ground Slept^t Very well with only my Great Coat on y^e 27th Began our march a Little Before Sunrise on this march we suffer much for Water to Drink Came within about 6 miles of the Enemy where we spent the Rest of the Day Exceeding Sharp Thunder and Liting [Lightning] and Som Rain at night

Sunday 28th Began our march Very Early had a hot Day many faint By the way Side We march^d down as far as Munmouth [Monmouth] where we Manuavre^d [Droved?] the Enemy Back 2 miles where we had a Smart Clash Lost But a [few men] But the Enemy Saw fit to Retreat I with Every Body Else was overcome with the heat⁷⁹

On y^e 29 Very hot morning I went to Vissit the wound^d was not well By Reason of Being [over?] heat

on y^e 30th By the Best Intelligence the Enemy Lost near 300 Killed and mortally wounded⁸⁰ had orders to march at 2 o'clock to morrow morn

on 1st of July march^d Early this morn Exceeding hot I was So much not well That I Could not march with the Brigade went a Little out of the Rode [when] I Saw a yoke of oxen yoke^d up and on a Cart with Bridle Bits in Eatch of their mouths and Leading Rains So as to Ride in the Cart and Guide Them in the Cool of the Evening I came up with the Reg^t at Spotwood [Spotswood, New Jersey]

on y^e 2^d Day we marched to Brunswick where there was the marks of the Enemys By Dstroying the Town Very much our Devison Crossed the River [i.e. the Raritan] and Encamp^d on the Heighths [sic] on the N. East Side of the River

on y^e 3^d Rainy Dull weather the army Lay Still in order to [Clean?] a General Court Martial Set This Day in order to Try Maj^r G [General] Lee—had Inteligenc That the Enemy had Sailed for New York

on y^e 4th had orders for a feu da joy [feu de joie] I went to the P M G [Pay Master General] this morning and Stop^d at Head Quarters in the

79. This action was, of course, the Battle of Monmouth. General Varnum's brigade, which included Captain Brigham's regiment, was heavily engaged. It had been ordered up by Washington himself to take position behind a hedge on the right and help to stop the British advance. This it managed to do after some severe fighting. As a result, however, before the battle was over—and again at Washington's order—the brigade was withdrawn to the rear to be refreshed. But of all this, alas, Captain Brigham says nothing. See Christopher Ward, *op. cit.*, II, 582.

80. The British admitted to four officers and 61 enlisted men killed and three sergeants and 56 men dead of heat prostration. See Christopher Ward, *op. cit.*, II, 585.

afternoon had a famous feu de joy the whole army Paraded fire^d thre [three?] Rounds Eatch 4 Times 13 Cannon⁸¹

on 5th Sunday went out of Camp and Dine^d had a fine Diner had orders to march at 3 o'Clock to morrow morning

on y^e 6th march^d This morning about 10 miles to a Place Called the Plains [Plainfield?] had a Good Day to march in

on y^e 7th Began our march Early and By 12 o'Clock arive^d at Springfield a Small Village

on y^e 8th marched Early This morning 7 miles to Newark mountain and Connecticut Farms a Very Good Country made a halt then marched about 5 miles to a Place about 2 miles Back of 2^d River [Passaic]

on y^e 9th had orders to Ly Still This Day was warned to attend a G [General] Court Martial at Col Meads⁸² Quarters Very warm weather went out of Camp on a hill where I had a View of New-york Staten Ileand and North River

on y^e 10th march^d this morning and Crossed Pasaic River to Statendam

on y^e 11th march^d to Paramas [Paramus] 10 miles Exceeding hot and Showery

on Sunday y^e 12th Lay Still the 2^d Line Cam up with us went out of Camp and Dine^d had Inteligenc that the Enemy was Thought would Leave New york Soon

on y^e 13th Som thing Cool made our muster Roll^s in order to be muster^d to morrow

on y^e 14th march^d to [Kakaatt] a fine Cool Day to march. I Saw mr Standley

on y^e 15 arrive^d at Haverstraw [New York] Staid all night

on y^e 16th Struck Tents Early Crossed the ferry⁴⁴ and Encamp^d on Vanplank [Verplanck] flat this Day Capt Mattocks arrive^d and Lt Kimberly and Robert Laine⁸³

81. A feu de joie was "a fire of musketry commencing at the right of the line and running, shot by shot, to its left and then back again along the second line to its right. . . ." It appears that in this case the firing was performed three times and that there were also four salutes by thirteen cannon.

82. Presumably Lieutenant Colonel Richard Kidder Meade of Virginia at this time aide-de-camp to Washington. See F. B. Heitman, *op. cit.*, 290. Lieutenant Colonel Matthew Mead of Norwalk, Conn. and the Fifth Connecticut Regiment had resigned on May 25, 1778. See *Conn. Men in Rev.*, 193.

83. Captain Samuel Mattocks of Hartford commanded a company in the Eighth Regiment. Lieutenant Ephraim Kimberly of Newtown, Connecticut was First Lieutenant in the Sixth Company of the Eighth Regiment. Robert Laine [Lane] was a private in Captain Brigham's company. See *Conn. Men in Rev.*, 230, 235, see also *Captain Brigham's Orderly Book 5 December 1779*. Ms. Vermont Historical Society.

on y^e 17th Dot^r Holmes⁸⁴ arive^d in Camp at 4 o'clock P M Struck our Tents and march^d as far as Peeks Kill on a high hill about half a mile from the Landing

on y^e 18th march^d about 14 miles to Crater Bridge and Incamp^d Major Hait went home

Sunday 19th Drew Cloathing of mr [Commisary] Little and Delivered To my Company

on y^e 20th had orders Last Evening To march Early This morning Began our march from Crater Bridge march^d about 10 or 12 miles and incamp^d on high Good Ground all the way was [Strung] with Cherries fine and Ripe

on y^e 21st fine Good weather mr Morey arive^d in Camp this morning Mr. Cushman arive^d in Camp I wrote home By him had orders This Day to Join G [General] Parsons⁸⁵ Brig^{de} [Brigade]

On y^e 22nd made Preparations to march this morn and march^d Down to white Plains [White Plains, New York] and Joined G [Parsons] Brigade

On y^e 23 was mustered major Hait arive^d in Camp

on 24th the whole army Dawn [Drawn?] on the heights above the Plains had Some Shirts Come for the officers

on the 25th Drew Some Cloathing for my Company Sent Some Small Things home By mr Morey

Sunday 26th Capt Smith arived in Camp

on y^e 27th Joseph Doubleday⁸⁶ went home on furlough at Evening had a fine [Seting] at the Majors⁸⁷ markee and a Drink of Good wine

on y^e 28th a Cloudy morning went over to the State Store in the afternoon went out to [Whortleburying] hard Thunder and Rain at Evening and in the night

on y^e 29th Very Pleasant hot morning

on y^e 30th hot weather it was Report^d that the Enemy had Sent a Reinforcement to Newport

on y^e 31st Very hot with Thunder and Rain one [Green?] [i.e. new?] Cont [Continental?] officer Brought in a Prisoner a Large Detachment

84. Doctor David Holmes of Woodstock, Connecticut, was surgeon of the Eighth Regiment. See *Conn. Men in Rev.*, 230.

85. Brigadier General Samuel Holden Parsons of New Haven. He commanded the First Connecticut Brigade at this time. See *Conn. Men in Rev.*, 141.

86. Joseph Doubleday and Joseph Doubleday, Jr. were both privates in Brigham's company. The son enlisted one week after his father in May 1777. But the father deserted 28 February 1779, while the son served out his three year enlistment and was discharged May 15, 1780. See *Conn. Men in Rev.*, 233.

87. Presumably Major David Smith regimental major of the Eighth Connecticut, to whom Brigham usually refers as "Captain Smith." See *Conn. Men in Rev.*, 229.

went out this Day Eight men Condemed to Die By this Days [orders?]

on ye 1st of August another Detachment marched this morning our People had a Small Brush with Enemy another Detachment in the afternoon

on Sunday 2^d had a Sarch [Search] Throughout the Army for to find Some Stolen Goods the whole Brigade assembled in the afternoon and had a Sermon Deliver^d by mr Dwight⁸⁸

on ye 3^d Very hot Cap^t Mattocks Came in and the whole Detachment we made out our muster Rolls

on ye 4th the Brigade was muster^d Thunder and Rain was warned to Go on Detachment Got on the Grand Parade about 6 o Clock marched a Little Before Dark marched about 3 miles and Lay all night in an old feild [*sic*]

on ye 5th Began our march about Sun Rise marched about 4 or 5 miles then halted Some Time then moved on within one mile of mile Square⁸⁹ and Lay all the afternoon a Little Before Sundown we march^d Back about a mile and half made a Little halt then march^d about a mile and one half on a Very high Hill and Lay all night had a Pleasant night

on ye 6th a fine Clear Morning Began our march Sun about an hour and half high went Down to mile Square and then filed of [off] to the Left and a halt on the Same Ground that we occupied the Day Before at Evening we marched Back and Loged on the Same Ground that we Loged on the night Before

on ye 7th marched To Camp this Day two Hessian officers Deserted and Came out To our guards

on ye 8th I went out of Camp as far as mr Yong and Breakfast^d with mr [Frisselle?] after I Got into Camp again made out my muster Rolls Exceeding hot weather

Sund [Sunday] ye 9th had orders This Day to Draught 3 Battalions of Light Troops to Be under the Command of G [General] Scot⁹⁰ to Keep Near the Enemies Lines. this Day Thunder and Showers and [. . .] had as hard a Shower as I Ever Knew it Gave us a most Teribl [terrible] Washing

on ye 10th Clowday and Dull weather

on ye 11th Still Continued Cool and Clowdy went on the Grand

88. Rev. Timothy Dwight of New Haven, chaplain of Parsons' brigade and later president of Yale. See *Conn. Men in Rev.*, 144.

89. A small area on the Bronx River between the present Yonkers and Mount Vernon.

90. Brigadier General Charles Scott of Virginia. See F. B. Heitman, *op. cit.*, 358. For some idea of his part in the Monmouth Campaign, see Christopher Ward, *op. cit.*, II, 573-581.

Parade this morning went to Gen^l Parsons and Swore to my Muster Rolls. in the afternoon I Took a Vommit

on the 12th Very Cool and a high wind Last night and this morning I had Liberty to Go home I sit [*sic*] out for home was Gone 17 Day and Returned on the 29th had Some as hot weather while I was Gone as I Ever knew

Sunday 30th attended Publick worship

on monday 31th Exercise^d made our [Muster] Rolls Sergant Lommis [Loomis]⁹¹ Came into Camp

on the 1 September was Mustered finished our Muster Rolls heard our People had Left Rhode Island and That our Troops at the Lines had a Scrape with the Enemy and Lost Several men⁹²

on y^e 2^d had Inteligence that G [General] Sullivan had not Left Rhode Iland I Took a walk as far as the Park of Arteliry [artillery]

on y^e 3^d Very Cool Last night nothing Meterial This Day

on y^e 4th Cold Last night I went as far as [Marannicks?] to Get Some Camp Stools made on my Return I heard That Gen^l Sullivan had Got Safe of [off] the Ileand [i. e. Rhode Island]

91. Sergeant Eleazer Loomis of Brigham's company. See *Conn. Men in Rev.*, 213.

92. This is a reference, of course, to the unsuccessful attack on the British at Newport. It was a joint effort by American military units under Major General John Sullivan and French military and naval forces.