

BENEVOLENT PATRIOT: THE LIFE AND TIMES OF HENRY
RUTGERS—PART TWO: "I HAVE BESTOWED MY MITE":
THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR YEARS

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In mid-September of 1776, Henry Rutgers mounted his horse and rode "with a slow step, and an anxious state of mind" across the fields of the family farm along the East River in Manhattan. As he rode off, he "contemplated my ... present situation, and my future prospects." Recent events justified his trepidation. The British army was hard on his heels. During the summer, an armada and expeditionary force sent to repress "the American rebellion" had arrived in the waters off New York. Comprising hundreds of vessels and more than 30,000 soldiers and sailors, it was a spectacle the like of which had never before been seen in the American colonies.¹

True to the "just and righteous" patriotic principles they had espoused during the colonial protest movement, Henry and his brother, Harman, joined the American forces. It is unclear what Henry did during the Battle of Long Island on August 27, but he was present on the island twice, including at Brooklyn Heights when the defeated Americans evacuated back to the city. What is more certain is that his brother was numbered among the casualties in that engagement who "fell in the Field fighting for the Liberties of his Country." Henry himself claimed that Harman was the first American killed in the battle. Perhaps Harman's reckless nature proved his undoing or his grenadier uniform presented an easy target, or he could have been killed merely by an unlucky bounce of a cannonball: he was supposedly struck in the chest, which would have made for a gruesome wound. Decades later, a fellow soldier still remembered Harman's horrifying death. Henry no doubt saw his brother's mangled body before he arranged to have it taken back to New York to their kinsman John Bancker's house. Harman was probably buried in the family vault in the New Dutch Church.²

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Whatever personal issues Henry and his family may have had with Harman, he did make the ultimate sacrifice for the cause.

To Henry fell the sad task of informing his relations about his younger brother's demise. On August 30, 1776, in the earliest extant letter written by him, Rutgers informed his brother-in-law Gerard De Peyster in Albany about his own state of mind: "More easily may it be conceived than expressed. But what shall I say—it is an act of Divine Providence. As such must submit to the hand that gave the Blow." He asked that De Peyster perform the "painful Task" of informing Rutgers' "distressed Parents," who had already fled to Albany, about their son's death: "open it to them in the most easy and gentle way, and ... use every argument with them to bear it with a Christian fortitude."³ Henry made no mention of his brother's wife, Dorcas.

The American posts on Long Island were "wholly abandoned," Rutgers reported, "as our situation there was very disadvantageous." After briefly returning home, he was then ordered to join the retreating rebels at Harlem Heights. The British army entered the city on September 15. Even in advance of their arrival, British sympathizers placed the "mark of confiscation" on the south door of the Rutgers house; according to a Hessian officer, "the houses of the rebels ... have all been marked G.R. [i.e., George Rex] and confiscated." In the postwar years the stigma of enemy occupation remained on the Rutgers house as a badge of honor.⁴

By joining the American army, Henry Rutgers had hazarded an estate worth more than that of any other New York City patriot. He exiled himself from it for more than seven years. The death of his brother, his own situation and that of his aged parents as refugees, his home occupied by the enemy, his patrimony in jeopardy, the defeat on Long Island—it must have truly seemed that his world had turned upside down.

"Desirous to Continue in the Service"

Shortly after the Battle of Harlem Heights on September 16, Rutgers was listed as a lieutenant "fit for duty" in the New York "levies" (i.e., recruits) in the Second Regiment under Colonel William Malcom in General John Morin Scott's brigade. Malcom and Scott were fellow New Yorkers; Scott had married a Rutgers cousin. Colonel Malcom recommended Rutgers along with a group of officers who were "desirous to continue in the service provided they have proper encouragement" (i.e., rank and pay). Lieutenant

Friday Morning New York Aug: 30 1776

Dear Bro:

In my last which I left with Cousin
 Heyer to forward, when I was ordered over to Long Island
 I was under the painful necessity of acquainting you with
 the unfortunate end of our poor Bro: Hartman who
 fell in the Field fighting for the Liberties of his Country
 The alarming account was soon bro't to me, I imme-
 diately went over and had been bro't to Town at John
 Brant's house, from whence he was buried

dear Bro: it is impossible to express the
 of my mind - More easily may it be conceiv-
 ed - But what shall I say - it is an act
 of Divine Providence. No man must submit to the
 hand that gave the Blow - But how will you dis-
 close it to my distressed Parents, if yet they are
 ignorant of it. Let me pray and beseech you to open
 it to them in the most easy and gentle way, and thro
 a painful Task, use every argument with them to
 bear it with a Christian fortitude, and may Heaven
 succeed your endeavours - I am again returned
 from the Island, and by Gods blessing am in
 perfect health - Our Posts here are wholly
 abandoned, as our situation here was very disadvan-
 tagious - I can be no more particular at this
 time - but conclude with my Duty and affections

First page of letter from Henry Rutgers to Gerard De Peyster, August 30, 1776. This is the earliest extant letter written by Rutgers. Source: CB—United States Letters, 1776.

Rutgers was present on October 28 at the Battle of White Plains with "the little disheartened band" of Americans who were "exposed to the inclemency of the season, destitute of ammunition, and of every other means of comfort or defence." Little knowing that the British had planned a nocturnal bayonet attack, he suggested to his fellow officers that they seek shelter from the rain in a deserted building located between the opposing forces. They were saved by a

nor'easter that providentially delayed the enemy. White Plains was apparently the novice officer's last combat experience.⁵

It is impossible to know exactly what Rutgers' role was at Long Island, Harlem Heights, or White Plains. The "fog of war" was particularly thick during these early battles. Engagements in the first few months of the conflict tended to be confused and confusing affairs, with mostly inexperienced American officers in command of largely undisciplined troops who were contesting with highly disciplined troops commanded by a professional officer corps.

More than 30 years later, an incident that allegedly happened at one of these battles—most likely White Plains—provided grist for the editors of a Federalist periodical who attacked the Jeffersonian Rutgers, then serving in the state legislature. Using the common device of a scurrilous letter "found ... in the street, open," the editors impugned Rutgers' Revolutionary War service in general ("*Tell us what ever he did*"). They then went on to level the more damaging charge that while he was once on picket duty he quit his post "because the night was so dark he could not see." Rutgers did not sue for libel, nor did he publicly respond to this attack. It may contain a kernel of truth and, if so, probably points more to inexperience than to cowardice. Or it may merely have been another salvo in the nasty newspaper wars between Federalists and Republicans.⁶

In April 1777, General Israel Putnam of Connecticut, who commanded posts in the Hudson Highlands, appointed Rutgers a "deputy muster master" of the army. The position was apparently considered more a civil than a military appointment, which, except at the staff officer level, did not bestow military rank. The position left its holder with an ambiguous status within the hierarchically minded army. For the remainder of the war Rutgers acted in an administrative capacity in overseeing the recruiting and mustering of troops and keeping records of the army's manpower. On September 12, 1777, for instance, a Massachusetts soldier wrote to his father that "this day we had a general muster of the whole brigade by the Muster Master Genl. ... Rutgers. We were all oblig'd to turn out." Another soldier recalled that the next month, Rutgers was a muster master in Colonel Udny Hay's regiment of artificers, who manufactured and repaired armaments. The role of muster master was, in a sense, a fulfillment of Henry Rutgers' aptitude for numbers and statistics as revealed in his college commencement oration.⁷

While not glorious, the task of muster master was crucial to the war effort. In order to conduct campaign operations; to garrison towns, forts, and posts; to guard prisoners; and to assess state quotas for troops and supplies, the commander-in-chief had to know how many "effectives" (i.e., men fit for duty) he actually had. In 1776, General Washington argued that without accurate troop returns, "it is impossible that the business of an Army can be conducted with any degree of regularity, or propriety"; he further said that it was of "the utmost importance to be frequently certified of our whole strength and Stores." Officers who were derelict in submitting rolls could be arrested, court-martialed, and cashiered. Muster masters also provided a check against fraud in that they ensured that regimental commanders actually furnished the men and equipment for which they were paid. In general, the monthly muster rolls, as well as the abstracts or returns that digested the information in them, were among "the most important documents kept by the Continental Army."⁸

No doubt in recognition of both his social status and his patriotism, the first state legislature that met at Kingston in September 1777 appointed Henry Rutgers a representative for the city and county of New York. He was appointed instead of elected because the British occupation made it "impracticable" to hold elections in the Southern District. Rutgers excused himself because of his military responsibilities, however, and consequently his seat was declared vacant.⁹

Deputy Muster Master Rutgers' circuit included posts in the Hudson Valley such as those at New Windsor, Fishkill, Peekskill, and West Point, and sometimes points beyond. The assignment was not without its aggravations and rigors. Officers were tardy or careless in submitting returns of their units in the prescribed form. Sometimes they would lump together "effectives" with "non-effectives" (i.e., those who were dead, wounded, deserted). One colonel rearranged his regiment in violation of congressional resolutions. Muster masters also had to guard against "petty frauds" and deception by officers. In one instance, troop movements required that Rutgers undertake an arduous ride of 50 miles in the dead of winter. In another, he returned "after a very tedious Jaunt" only to find there was no forage in the neighborhood for his horse. When traveling to distant posts, officers in the mustering department were "exposed to the rapacity & extortion of innkeepers and others." Traveling near a combat zone could also be dangerous:

at one point, Colonel Joseph Ward of Massachusetts, who commanded the muster master department, was captured. In order to safeguard their records and to have appropriate workspace, when not traveling, muster masters were obliged to "reside in quarters, a mode of living much more expensive than that of battalion officers." A fire at West Point also destroyed records. The job, no doubt, entailed drudgery: regimental and general musters generated reams of paper.¹⁰

"A Gentleman of Merit"

Rutgers' attention to duty was recognized by his immediate superior and fellow New Yorker, Lieutenant Colonel Richard Varick. In January 1779 Varick recommended him to John Jay, president of the Continental Congress (another New Yorker and King's College alumnus), to fill a vacancy created when William Bradford Jr. resigned due to ill health. Bradford took the opportunity of his departure to inform Congress about problems in the department. Varick pointed out that Rutgers was "a Gentleman of Merit" who was qualified "from a Years Service in a separate Department, unassisted." Consequently, acting on a recommendation of the Board of War, on April 6 Congress appointed Rutgers a deputy commissary general of musters in the Continental Army's Commissary General of Musters Department, with the rank of lieutenant colonel. The army's General Orders of April 15 pointed out that the new mustering officers were "to be respected and obeyed accordingly," which implies that that was not always the case. Rutgers thanked Varick for the "Mark of ... esteem" that his recommendation indicated. He continued: "Permit me to assure you that the consideration of having your advice in matters of moment will induce me to undertake the Duties of the department with some degree of heartfulness."¹¹ Henry Rutgers had now graduated to the status of a Continental staff officer.

A little more than two months after Rutgers received his Continental commission, however, long-standing grievances in the muster master's department came to a head. In June 1779 Azariah Horton Jr., an officer in the department who had been commissioned on the same day as Rutgers, traveled to Philadelphia to petition John Jay and Congress on behalf of his fellow officers. Their pay of \$45 per month was inadequate, Horton argued, to meet their expenses. Unlike the rest of the regular army or staff officers, they received only two rations per day, which occasioned

burdensome out-of-pocket expenses. Furthermore, "the nature of their duty is such ... as to require their taking Quarters among the inhabitants, & being subject to their exorbitant exactions." The "scattered state of the troops" obliged the officers to travel to "distant commands," so that even with "the strictest economy" they expended a month or more of their allowance in one trip. They were not permitted to draw clothes from the Continental stores, and they were also in limbo regarding allocations by state legislatures of clothing and other necessities to the officers of their respective lines. And they feared that they were not entitled to quotas of land that Congress had promised line officers at the termination of the conflict.¹²

In this "wasting posture," six officers of the department who were at "the Ne plus ultra of their Finances" had already retired, which further increased the workloads of the remaining officers. Overall, the officers of the department sought merely "to exist." The memorial concluded by requesting "a definitive answer, including in it a liberal & permanent provision for officers who have persevered in the discharge of their duty, for such a length of time, under so many & so great embarrassments." The delegates referred Horton's petition to a committee consisting of Henry Laurens, Joseph Spencer, and Nathaniel Scudder.¹³

Deputy Commissary General of Musters Rutgers may well have wondered what he had gotten into. Even before the memorial was submitted to Congress, he seems to have had pangs of regret. Writing to Richard Varick one month after his appointment, Rutgers compared the usefulness of Varick's studying law with his own situation: "I am wasting the same portion of time in pursuit of what will only serve the present, and be of no real advantage to me in future." But, Henry argued, "one Consolation with you I enjoy—I have bestowed my mite towards the Salvation of my Country."¹⁴

On June 25, the committee on the mustering department recommended pay increases and other benefits for the department, but the matter was immediately recommitted. Congress instead ordered the committee to consult with General Washington, who brought the matter before a council of general officers. On July 26 the council determined "that the department was now become unnecessary and the continuance of it inexpedient." Washington did point out, however, that as "a piece of Justice" the conduct of the mustering officers "has given satisfaction." The functions of the muster master general's department were to be merged with those

of the inspector general's department under Major General Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben. But the committee report on the matter was not submitted to Congress until November 29.¹⁵

Unaware that the fate of his department was already sealed, during the fall of 1779 Colonel Joseph Ward continued to lobby delegates in Congress on behalf of his charges. As late as December, Rutgers and his fellow officers were still "in suspense" about their futures; they were disappointed that "something decisive" had not yet been done. Responding to Richard Varick's question about his course of action "if Congress neglect us," Rutgers replied, "The answer is obvious—Resign." But he was "determined to wait the event of the good professions they have so liberally given."¹⁶

On January 12, 1780, Congress finally considered the committee report of the previous November on the petition of Azariah Horton: "Resolved, That the mustering department be discontinued, and the officers thereof discharged." In recognition of Washington's recommendation regarding the faithful service of the mustering officers, however, Congress also resolved that those officers who had served 18 months in the department were entitled to 12 months' pay. No provision was made to reimburse officers for their previous subsistence expenses. Since Henry Rutgers and Azariah Horton had only 11 months' service, they were not eligible for severance pay. Colonel Ward inquired about their status and was told they should petition Congress about "being so unfavorably distinguished from the other Officers."¹⁷

This state of affairs occasioned one of Lieutenant Colonel Rutgers' more caustic outbursts. Writing to Colonel Ward in February, Rutgers mentioned that he had already been apprised of Congress's action during a visit by Richard Varick. Rutgers pointed out that the muster master department had initially been established as a check upon the regular army: "Most people who know anything of the Nature of the Department are amazed at the Stupidity of the Measure.... Perhaps some members of Congress had friends out of employ & the good natur'd Baron [i.e., Steuben] had promised to shoulder them forward in his new fangled Department. Thank fortune and the ... Congress I am now disengaged." Rutgers also held little hope of being reimbursed by the public for subsistence money and extra expenses owed them.¹⁸

For some time, Rutgers had awaited "an honourable opportunity" to disengage. As to his future, he wrote,

New Windsor July 5. 1780

Sir

I was this moment favour'd with
 your very obliging Letter of the 1st Inst and return
 you many Thanks for that mark of distinction
 you are pleas'd to honor me with

Gratitude for former obligations
 only would urge me to accept of your generous
 proposal, abstracted from that duty I owe my
 Country, when my Services are required.

I shall therefore cheerfully accept of the Offer
 you are pleas'd to make me and endeavour
 by the strictest attention to merit that good
 Esteem you are pleas'd to entertain of me

I have very little acquaintance
 out of the Line of the Army, except with such
 Officers as have lately resigned. Should any
 of them wish to engage again I shall take
 the most early opportunity of acquainting
 you therewith

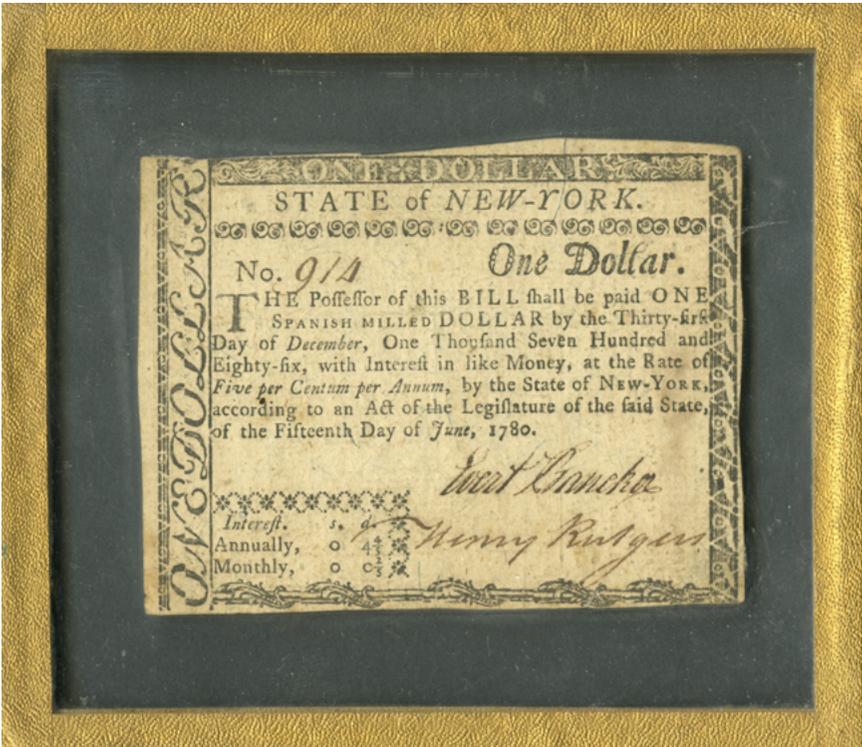
I am Sir With the greatest Respect
 Your most Obedt Serv^t
 Henry Rutgers

His Excell^t
 Governor Clinton

Henry Rutgers to George Clinton, July 5, 1780. Source: Henry Rutgers Collection (MC 1369).

I shall now retire to some secure retreat, if such can be found, until more prosperous times put's me in possession of my Estate now in the hands of the Enemy, and indeavor by care and industry to preserve the little I have saved from their Rapacious hands. The fruitful fields no doubt will amply repay my labour, and I shall enjoy the consolation of being secure from the Capricious decrees of Congress.¹⁹

Lieutenant Colonel Rutgers reflected the jaded opinion held by many, both soldiers and civilians, at this juncture of the war: "Good Heavens! Is this the virtuous C[ongress] The Body that excited the admiration of the World? How are the mighty fallen? Take a general View of their conduct, and all appears to be going wrong; Unless some providential affair in Europe turns up in our favor, I fear a scene of calamities await us." But, typically, Rutgers concluded by entrusting the future "to the care of the Good &



New York dollar, 1780, co-signed by Henry Rutgers. Source: R-Memorabilia (53/DO/132).

Gracious Being, who has led us through a gloomy path, and I trust at last will lead us to compleat Peace and Independence."²⁰

Henry Rutgers and his brother officers in the mustering department were victims of downsizing. Both staff officers and delegates in Congress viewed the merger of the functions of his department with the inspector general's department as a logical economizing measure. It was an interesting example of how the politics and the bureaucracy of both the army and Congress intersected. The fact that Congress procrastinated for so long—at least from 1778—in even addressing the department's grievances indicates that it was considered a very low priority. Indeed, amid "the complexity & infinitude of business"—raising troops and supplies, dealing with rampant inflation, trying to gain international credibility—it ranked low. The department's status was always a bit nebulous, and its ranking officers apparently were considered not on a par with those of the line, nor were they prominent or well connected. They also lacked influential friends in Congress to lobby on their behalf: George Partridge, the Massachusetts delegate who supposedly represented their concerns in Congress, ultimately wrote the resolution dissolving the department. Washington's comment in 1779 that the department "has hitherto been regarded rather as a civil than a military one" revealed much.²¹ In short, they lacked clout.

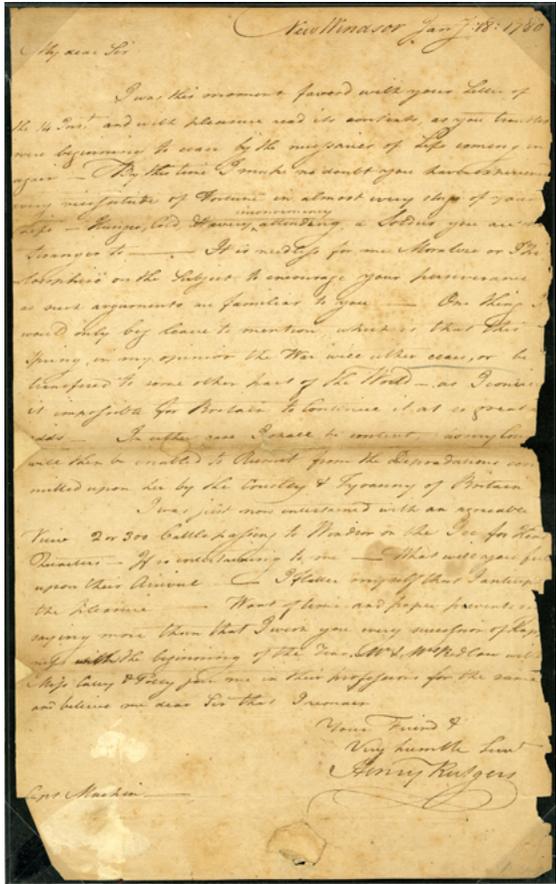
"I Am in Hopes We Shall Be at New York"

But Henry Rutgers was not to return to civilian life just yet. On July 1, 1780, Governor George Clinton, who also served as a brigadier general of New York troops, appointed Rutgers a "Lieut. Colonel in the Levies." Expressing "gratitude for former obligations" and acknowledging "that duty I owe my Country, when my services are required," on July 5 Rutgers accepted the appointment. He was ordered to Albany, where his first service would be "to collect & forwd. on the Levies." Thus, through the good offices of a patron, Rutgers was back in the role, on the state level, of overseeing recruiting. Around this same time, Clinton also appointed Rutgers a commissioner to cosign new emissions of paper money; his compensation was to be a quarter-dollar (or two shillings) for every 100 bills signed. Clinton's patronage provides an example of the importance of "connexions" in late 18th-century society. During part of his tour of duty, Rutgers apparently quartered at "Clinton House," the governor's seat in New Windsor.²²

The year 1779 saw three great personal losses for Henry Rutgers. On July 13 his father died in Albany; Henry lamented "the Loss of an Affectionate and indulgent Parent." As the only surviving male heir, he acknowledged that "the care of the family since that melancholy event more immediately devolves upon me." Even the royalist press in New York City noted the passing of Hendrick Sr., "a member of the Dutch reformed church, and a gentleman of very large estate in this city." That same year Henry's mother died in Albany under unknown circumstances.

Henry's spiritual mentor, the Reverend Archibald Laidlie, also died at Red Hook. These losses, added to his sister Elizabeth De Peyster's recent death, his brother's death in 1776, the ambiguous status of his department, and the precarious situation of the family birthright, must all have weighed heavily on his mind.²³

But the war years were not totally taken up with business or mourning. There were mundane diversions, such as watching a herd of several hundred cattle being driven to headquarters along the frozen Hudson. Occasions for socializing with family and friends presented themselves. Among Henry's social circle were his superior officers Joseph Ward and Richard Varick, other officers in his department, the engineer Captain Thomas Machin, and members of the Bedlow and the Bancker families, to



Henry Rutgers to Captain Thomas Machin, January 18, 1780. Source: Henry Rutgers Collection (MC 1369).

whom he was related. One cause of celebration was the marriage on October 11, 1781, of his niece Catherine Bedlow to Dr. Ebenezer Crosby, who held the prestigious position of surgeon in General Washington's personal bodyguard. The wedding was held in New Windsor, possibly at Governor Clinton's house.²⁴ The Crosbys' children would soon affect Henry Rutgers' life in significant ways.

With the war winding down, in November 1782 Rutgers wrote to his young nephew "Master Henry Bancker," who was in school in Albany. Uncle Henry expressed satisfaction with his young namesake's progress in subjects such as bookkeeping and hoped that he would devote the winter to learning navigation and surveying. He even offered to loan the boy his "case of Mathematical instruments" and related books, but with the admonition that "the instruments you must be very careful of, as they are costly, and none to be had at this time." Uncle Henry also predicted that after that winter, "I am in hopes we shall be at New York"—prophetic words, as it turned out.²⁵

"The Most Heterogeneous Community that Ever Assembled Together": Occupied New York

Henry Rutgers' native city had endured a long trial of enemy occupation. Shortly after the British arrived on September 15, 1776, a fire devastated a large portion of the lower city, including an iconic part of the skyline, Trinity Church. General Washington had wanted to raze the city but was forbidden by Congress. It is unknown whether the fire was accidental or deliberately set by American sympathizers. Another fire in August 1778 wreaked further destruction along the waterfront. The British occupied the defensive artillery emplacements built by the American army that ringed the Rutgers farm. The Royal Navy commandeered the shipyards immediately to the west of the property. British officials soon inventoried all the "derelict property ... in the different houses and stores, that were abandoned by the proprietors or tenants." Accounts of vacant buildings were also taken, "distinguishing the proprietors whether Rebels or friends to government"; "houses, stores & wharfs belonging to Persons without the British Lines, were considered as Rebel property & occupied as such without any charge to government."²⁶

Throughout the war, enemy forces were garrisoned along the East River in the vicinity of the Rutgers Farm. In October 1779, for instance, the German Bayreuth Regiment camped "near Corlears

hook," a point on the river a little east of the property; during that winter, the British 64th Regiment also cantoned near the same place, "one and a half miles from New York." The old Rutgers farmhouse in Bowery Lane was rented out for £5. In July 1781 two companies of loyalist troops paraded on "Rutgers's Field" and were reviewed by Brigadier General Samuel Birch, commandant of the city, "and a large concourse of spectators." The Rutgers Farm was also within sight of the notorious prison ships in Wallabout Bay across the East River. Thousands of American prisoners suffered and died aboard the ships, and many were buried in shallow graves in the mudflats, where in later years their remains were uncovered by the shifting tides.²⁷ During the occupation the city's population ebbed and flowed based on troop movements, arrivals and departures of fleets and of privateers, and migrations of refugee loyalists and marauders who came via posts such as Sandy Hook.

In 1778, the British made a ward-by-ward assessment of the property "on York Island" (i.e., Manhattan) "belonging to Persons in actual Rebellion." In the Out Ward, entered under "Henry Rutgers" (it probably meant his father), they assessed "12 Houses Out Houses & 80 [acres]." In addition to the Rutgers mansion, the buildings referred to were no doubt the brewery, malt house, barns, stables, and other outbuildings typical of an 18th-century farm, which were mentioned in Henry's father's will of 1775. In addition to their holdings in the Out Ward, the family also owned property in the East Ward: "Hendk. Rutgers & Co" owned four houses and lots assessed at £3600, and "Henry Rutgers" owned three houses and lots assessed at £2000.²⁸

The total assessed value of the Rutgers property in the Out Ward was £80,000, an enormous sum for the time and worth far more than that of any other city patriot who had fled. By comparison, the nearest assessed value of property in the Out Ward was £20,000, which itself was considerably more than any valuation in any other ward of the city. Of the £224,000 total assessed value in the Out Ward, the Rutgers property accounted for 28 percent of that amount.²⁹ The British themselves thus provided convincing evidence not only of the Rutgers family's affluence but also of just how much they had risked by joining the American cause.

Many buildings in the city were commandeered for other than their intended uses. The Middle Dutch Church, where Henry Rutgers had been christened, was used as a prison and as a riding school for dragoons; the North Dutch Church, the Reverend

Archibald Laidlie's church, was used as a barracks and a hospital. At various times during the occupation, the Rutgers mansion was enlisted to quarter officers, as a barracks, and as a hospital. Part of the brewhouse was used as a kitchen for the "Hessian hospital," which indicates that the nearby mansion was used as a hospital. In May 1782, Doctor Lauckhard, a Hessian physician, offered a reward for a horse that had strayed from a pasture at Corlears Hook near the hospital. Bodies of Hessian dead were no doubt buried on the Rutgers farm: one retrospective account claimed that "hundreds" of dead were buried there. In later years, macabre reminders of the occupation were occasionally unearthed during development projects. In 1785 and 1788, bodies were found buried in Catherine Street on the western boundary of the Rutgers farm; they were exhumed and reinterred elsewhere.³⁰

In July 1779, the newly appointed commandant of the city, Major General James Pattison, ordered that a repository for naval stores be established at "Rutgers's Brew house near the East River." In a town always wary of the "imminent danger in case of fire," in August a notice was published in the *New-York Gazette* ordering that "pitch, tar, turpentine, rosin, spirits of turpentine, or shingles" be removed from any house, storehouse, cellar, or wharf and transferred to "the brewhouse and ground adjacent, formerly occupied by Hendrick Rutgers." Merchants were to appoint someone "at their own expence" to safeguard their property there. Those who did not punctually comply with the order were to be fined £50, and if still tardy, were to be imprisoned. If imported naval stores were left on wharves instead of being transferred to the Rutgers depot, they would be forfeited and sold at auction. Cartmen who violated the intent of the order could be fined and lose their licenses.³¹

Occupying forces no doubt targeted the Rutgers property for spoliation because it was owned by a prominent rebel. Crops were trampled, gardens ruined, orchards and woodlots cut, and buildings and fences pulled down for firewood. The winter of 1779–80, in particular, was one of the most severe in memory. While the American army suffered in Morristown, thousands of British, German, and loyalist troops shivered in their cantonments in New York, on Staten Island, and on Long Island. A German officer reported on the situation in New York:

It is difficult to describe how greatly the garrison and especially the patients in the hospitals and under private care suffered during the extremely cold winter, for the deep snow made all roads impassable and we could barely clear footpaths. Our need was so great that ships were condemned and torn to pieces, and the trees of the beautiful avenues on York Island as well as the fruit trees had to be cut down ruthlessly. Fresh victuals were hardly to be had, nor did we have the price to pay for them. In short, it was real misery.

Ironically, the Rutgers farm was spared being broken up, probably because the British had appropriated the farm for official purposes: in July 1780 a proclamation gave notice that in order to provide relief for loyalists, "the houses and lands belonging to persons in rebellion ... will be divided (excepting such as are wanted for the King's service), and small lots assigned to distressed Refugee families."³²

After Cornwallis's surrender at Yorktown in October 1781, major operations wound down, and it became evident to realistically minded persons that some sort of settlement would be reached. On November 30, 1782, Britain recognized the independence of the United States—much to the chagrin of loyalists—in a provisional treaty of peace. In January 1783 Britain signed separate preliminary articles of peace with France and Spain, and on February 4 it proclaimed a general cessation of hostilities. The British in New York received official confirmation of the treaties on April 6 and proclaimed a cessation two days later. In response, on April 11, 1783, Congress issued a proclamation that ordered American forces "to forbear all acts of hostility."³³

In order to prevent violence and lawlessness, beginning in early April Governor Clinton coordinated evacuation plans for New York City with Sir Guy Carleton, who had succeeded Sir Henry Clinton as commander-in-chief. During the ensuing months, rebels who were outside the lines "were allowed free ingress & regress to & from New York on obtaining passports" in order "to view their Estates, take Inventories & unmolested or insulted to return." As the evacuation drew closer, owners could also take possession of their property; however, property that was still being used for official purposes, such as the naval depot on the Rutgers farm, was still detained. It is possible that Henry Rutgers personally

went into the city at this time, or he may have relied on his wide network of relations and friends to report on the condition of his property. One week before the British departed, Rutgers' brother-in-law Dr. Stephen McCrea petitioned Sir Guy Carleton regarding compensation for the removal of buildings on an estate at Corlears Hook that was being used as a store by the commissary general's department.³⁴

New York City had indeed endured an ordeal of enemy occupation. Despite promises, the British commanders never did restore government of the city to civilians. Inhabitants were, however, excused from paying taxes during the war years. The population had declined from a prewar figure of approximately 25,000 to 12,000. One British official characterized the garrison town as "the most heterogeneous Community that ever assembled together." As a result of the great fire in 1776, some poorer residents still lived in "Canvas Town," where sailcloth furnished shelter over ruined buildings. In general, providing for the basic needs of the poor occupied a good deal of the city commandant's time. Rents multiplied many-fold during the occupation. Crime, much of it committed by soldiers and sailors, was a chronic problem. Much as in rebel-held territory, prices for the "necessaries of life" were subject to runaway inflation. If victualing fleets were delayed or vessels captured, food became scarce, which gave rise to illegal trade with the rebels: the British provided luxury and manufactured goods, while in return the Americans furnished much-needed provisions. It was a nagging problem that officials often had to ignore. Long years of occupation meant that surrounding woodlots were denuded, resulting in periodic shortages of firewood. Although Hendrick Rutgers' brewery was no doubt despoiled, it did not suffer the fate of his cousin Elizabeth Rutgers' brewery in Maiden Lane, which was destroyed in a spectacular fire, possibly due to arson, shortly before the British evacuated.³⁵

For displaced patriots such as Henry Rutgers, as well as for those who remained behind enemy lines in New York, the war had truly been "a protracted, strenuous public event."³⁶ Those who had experienced the war had indeed run a gamut of emotions for over seven years. Some, such as Harman Rutgers, his parents, and Archibald Laidlie, did not survive the war. And the long-term survival of the "experiment in independence" was certainly not a foregone conclusion.

NOTES

Unless otherwise stated, manuscript collections are held by Special Collections and University Archives, Rutgers University Libraries, New Brunswick, New Jersey.

1. The only retrospective source in Henry Rutgers' (hereafter HR) own words regarding his Revolutionary War experience is "Colonel Rutgers's Address," *Magazine of the Reformed Dutch Church* 2 (October 1827): 212–"113" [i.e., 213]; he mentioned (p. 213) that he "had very recently left" his dwelling before the British arrived. On the arrival of the British expeditionary force, see Mark Mayo Boatner III, *Encyclopedia of the American Revolution*, 3rd ed. (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1994), 798 (hereafter cited as Boatner, *Encyclopedia*).
2. "Colonel Rutgers's Address," 212. It is unclear whether HR had a formal rank in the army at this time, but William McMurray commented that he "offered himself, as a volunteer," in *A Sermon Occasioned by the Death of Col. Henry Rutgers* (New York, 1830), 20 (hereafter cited as McMurray, *Sermon*). On the death of Harman Rutgers, see CB—United States Letters, HR to Gerard De Peyster, August 30, 1776. It is evident from the same letter that HR was on Long Island twice. Harman's death is also mentioned in "Extract of a Letter from New-York, dated August 27, 1776," in Peter Force, comp., *American Archives* (Washington, DC, 1848), 5th series, vol. 1, 1184; the extract originally appeared in contemporary newspapers: *Pennsylvania Ledger*, August 31, 1776, *Pennsylvania Packet*, September 3, 1776, and *Continental Journal*, September 19, 1776, all in *America's Historical Newspapers: Early American Newspapers, 1741–1922*, www.readex.com (hereafter cited as AHN online). On the battle of Long Island, see Boatner, *Encyclopedia*, 647–56; Thomas W. Field, *The Battle of Long Island* (Brooklyn, NY, 1869); and Henry P. Johnston, *The Campaign of 1776 Around New York and Brooklyn* (Brooklyn, NY, 1878). Johnston mentions (p. 198) that Harman Rutgers "was struck in the breast by a cannon-shot" and also that, according to family tradition, he was the first man killed in the battle. Much of the damage done by solid round shot was done when it bounced on the ground. Shortly after HR's death, the Reverend J. M. Mathews noted in his journal that Rutgers himself often acknowledged that Harman "was the first American that fell at the battle of Long Island." See Mathews, *Recollections of Persons and Events, Chiefly in the City of New York: Being Selections from His Journal* (New York, 1865), 103. A fellow soldier still remembered Harman's death 45 years after the event. See the William Crolius affidavit in

- George Cortelyea's pension application (S12712), Revolutionary War Pension Application Files, U.S. National Archives. On the aftermath of the battle and the evacuation of New York City, see Geo. Clinton to [the New York Convention?], September 18, 1776, in *The Public Papers of George Clinton, First Governor of New York, 1777–1795, 1801–1824*, ed. Hugh Hastings, 10 vols. (New York and Albany, 1899–1914), 1: 351–54.
3. Henry Rutgers to Gerard De Peyster, August 30, 1776; De Peyster had married HR's sister Elizabeth.
 4. *Ibid.*; "Colonel Rutgers's Address," 212. HR mentioned that the British "were conveyed, by water, to my dwelling house, which I had very recently left, but which had already received the mark of Confiscation ... and, my friends that mark I have taken care still to preserve on my door." The Hessian officer's comment is in *Revolution in America: Confidential Letters and Journals, 1776–1784, of Adjutant General Major Baurmeister of the Hessian Forces*, trans. and ed. Bernhard A. Uhlendorf (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1957), 50 (hereafter cited as Baurmeister, *Letters and Journals*). There are also several subsequent references to the mark of confiscation on HR's door, e.g., in McMurray, *Sermon*, 20. There is a possibility that the mark of confiscation was the "broad arrow," a symbol used to indicate government property: anticipating the British evacuation, in August 1783 "Brutus" asked in a broadside, "What was intended by marking our houses with G. Rex and an arrow, when the British army took possession of New-York in 1776?" See *To All Adherents to the British Government and Followers of the British Army Commonly called Tories, Who are at present within the City and County of New-York*, Early American Imprints (Evans), First Series, no. 44464. On the British entering the city see, for example, "Colonel Rutgers's Address," 212; Geo. Clinton to [the New York Convention?], in Hastings, ed., *Public Papers of George Clinton*, 1: 352; and Boatner, *Encyclopedia*, 800. A British version of the occupation is Gen. Wm. Howe to Lord Geo. Germain, September 21, 1776, in K. G. Davies, ed., *Documents of the American Revolution, 1770–1783*, 21 vols. (Dublin: Irish University Press, 1972–81), 12: 227–28.
 5. Rutgers was listed as a lieutenant "fit for duty" on October 4. See *Compiled Service Records of Soldiers Who Served in the American Army during the Revolutionary War* (Record Group 93), microfilm, U.S. National Archives. Around 1752, John Morin Scott had married Helena, daughter of Petrus (Peter) and Helena Rutgers. See "List of Colonel Malcom's Officers," in *Calendar of Historical Manuscripts Relating to the War of the Revolution, in the Office of the Secretary of State, Albany, N.Y.*, 2 vols. (Albany, 1868), 2: 27. The anecdote regarding White Plains is in McMurray, *Sermon*, 26–27n. On the battle of White Plains, see Boatner, *Encyclopedia*, 1200–1202.

6. "Robert Dub" to Colonel Henry Rutgers, January 27, 1809, in *The Balance, and New-York State Journal* (Albany), vol. 1, no. 8 (January 28, 1809), American Periodicals Series Online, www.proquest.com (emphasis in original). Harry Crosswell and Jonathan Frary published *The Balance*.
7. Memorial of Henry Rutgers, John Lush, and Jacob John Lansing to the Committee of the States, August 1, 1784, in *Papers of the Continental Congress*, U.S. National Archives, reel 51, item 41, vol. 8, p. 339 (hereafter cited as PCC). The memorialists were seeking compensation for wartime service. For more on this matter, see "Benevolent Patriot: The Life and Times of Henry Rutgers—Part Three: Back Home, 1783–1800," in this issue pp. 27–70.

On Rutgers as a muster master, see Paul Todd pension application (W1617); Shadrach Hurlburt pension application (S29915); and Gilbert Weeks affidavit in Michael Verlie pension application (S42593), all in Revolutionary War Pension Application Files, U.S. National Archives. Examples of muster rolls signed by HR are in *Revolutionary War Rolls, 1775–1783*, microfilm, U.S. National Archives.

8. On the importance of accurate returns, see General Orders, January 8, 1776, and George Washington to John Sullivan, June 16, 1776, both in *The Papers of George Washington: Revolutionary War Series*, ed. W. W. Abbot et al., 21 vols. to date (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1985–2012), 3: 52–53, 5: 11. The lack of primary sources on the Commissary General of Musters Department may be the result of devastating fires at the War Department in 1800 and at the New York State Library in 1911. There is also very little in standard secondary sources on the department, but see Charles H. Lesser, *The Sinews of Independence: Monthly Strength Reports of the Continental Army* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1976), Introduction, xi–xxxv; Robert K. Wright Jr., *The Continental Army* (Washington, DC: Center for Military History, 1983), 32–36, 87–88, 145; Fred Anderson Berg, *Encyclopedia of Continental Army Units: Battalions, Regiments and Independent Corps* (Harrisburg, PA: Stackpole, 1972), 115; and John George Rommel Jr., "Richard Varick: New York Aristocrat" (PhD dissertation, Columbia University, 1966). An illustration of a muster roll is in Wright, *The Continental Army*, [34]–[35]; the quote is from p. [35]. On fraud, see Richard Varick to Henry Sewall, December 2, 1778: "I wish only to suggest to you to guard against petty frauds by officers." In Dorson Sewall pension application (W8712), Revolutionary War Pension Application Files, U.S. National Archives. For further information about the muster master department, see John P. Butler, comp., *Index: The Papers of the Continental Congress, 1774–1789*, 5 vols. (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1978), 3: 3624–3625, under relevant entries.

9. *Votes & Proceedings of the Assembly*, September 1 and 10, 1777, and February 16, 1778. In *Records of the States of the United States*, microfilm, B.2, reel 6, p. 131–34.
10. The problems in the department were summarized in Wm. Bradford Jr. to John Jay, January 18, 1779, *PCC*, reel 91, item 78, vol. 3, p. 261, and Memorial of Azariah Horton ... on behalf of the officers of the Mustering Department, to John Jay, June 14, 1779, *PCC*, reel 50, item 41, vol. 4, p. 67. The posts where HR was assigned or visited can be traced in *Revolutionary War Rolls*, microfilm, U.S. National Archives, and in the letters from him to Richard Varick and to Joseph Ward cited below. On the routine functioning and problems of the department, see HR to George Clinton, June 24, 1777, in Hastings, ed., *Public Papers of George Clinton*, vol. 2: 48–49, and a series of letters from HR to Richard Varick, July 8 and August 12, 1778, and January 8 and 29, February 21, March 17, April 10, May 30, and December 24, 1779, all in Richard Varick Papers, New-York Historical Society. See also HR to Henry Sewall, January 22, 1779, United States Letters. On Varick, see Rommel, "Richard Varick," and *American National Biography*, 24 vols. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), s.v. "Varick, Richard" (hereafter cited as *ANB*). A popular treatment is Paul Cushman, *Richard Varick: A Forgotten Founding Father* (Amherst, MA: Modern Memoirs, 2010). See also HR to Joseph Ward, April 11, May 26, August 26, and December 24, 1779, and January 12 and February 21, 1780, all in Joseph Ward Papers, Chicago History Museum (formerly the Chicago Historical Society). Ward commanded the department; there is scant information about the department in William Carver Bates, "Col. Joseph Ward, 1737–1812: Teacher, Soldier, Patriot," *Bostonian Society Publications* 4 (1907): 69–72.
11. William Bradford Jr. to John Jay, January 18, 1779, *PCC*, reel 91, item 78, vol. 3, p. 261; Richard Varick to John Jay, January 28, 1779, *PCC*, reel 104, item 78, vol. 23, p. 157; Worthington Chauncey Ford, ed., *Journals of the Continental Congress*, 34 vols. (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1904–37), 13: 403–4, 425 (hereafter cited as *JCC*). John Jay to HR, April 7, 1779, *PCC*, reel 24, item 14, p. 81. See also John Fell's Diary, April 1, 6, 1779, and John Jay to Geo. Washington, April 8, 1779, both in Paul H. Smith et al., eds., *Letters of Delegates to Congress, 1774–1789*, 26 vols. (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1976–2000), 12: 271, 301, and 309; General Orders, April 15, 1779, in John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington*, 39 vols. (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1931–44), 14: 389; and Henry Rutgers to Richard Varick, April 10, 1779, Varick Papers, New-York Historical Society.
12. Memorial of Azariah Horton to John Jay, June 14, 1779, *PCC*, reel 50, item 41, vol. 4, p. 67. On Horton, see Richard A. Harrison,

- Princetonians, 1769–1775: A Biographical Dictionary* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1980), 86–88.
13. Memorial of Azariah Horton to John Jay (emphasis in original).
 14. Henry Rutgers to Richard Varick, May 30, 1779, Varick Papers, New-York Historical Society.
 15. *JCC*, 14: 770–71; Geo. Washington to Henry Laurens, Joseph Spencer, and Nathaniel Scudder, August 20, 1779, in Fitzpatrick, ed., *Writings of Washington*, 16: 134–36; Committee of Congress to Geo. Washington, Sept. 3, 1779, in Smith, ed., *Letters of Delegates*, 13: 448–49; *JCC*, 15: 1329–30.
 16. On Ward's lobbying Congress on behalf of his department, see Ward to Elbridge Gerry, *PCC*, reel 104, item 78, vol. 24, p. 101; Ward to Henry Laurens, reel 104, item 78, vol. 24, p. 105; Ward to Jesse Root, reel 104, item 78, vol. 24, p. 121; and Ward to Samuel Huntington, reel 104, item 78, vol. 24, p. 137. See also Joseph Spencer to Ward, August 23, 1779; Geo. Partridge to Ward, October 19 and [December 1], 1779, and January 3, 1780, all in Smith, ed., *Letters of Delegates*, 13: 402 and 14: 99, 243–44, 315. Henry Rutgers to Varick, December 23, 1779, Varick Papers, New-York Historical Society (emphasis in original).
 17. *JCC*, 16: 47; Samuel Huntington to Joseph Ward, January 14, 1780, and Elbridge Gerry to Ward, February 8, 1780, in Smith, ed., *Letters of Delegates*, 14: 345, 396; Wright, *Continental Army*, 145.
 18. Henry Rutgers to Joseph Ward, February 21, 1780, Ward Papers, Chicago History Museum (emphasis in original).
 19. *Ibid.* (emphasis in original).
 20. *Ibid.* (emphasis in original). For an example of another officer who became disenchanted during the course of the war, see *Winding Down: The Revolutionary War Letters of Lieutenant Benjamin Gilbert of Massachusetts, 1780–1783*, ed. John W. Shy (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1989).
 21. The quote is from Memorial of Azariah Horton to John Jay, June 14, 1779, *PCC*, reel 50, item 41, vol. 4, p. 67; George Washington to Henry Laurens, Joseph Spencer, and Nathaniel Scudder, August 20, 1779, in Fitzpatrick, ed., *Writings of Washington*, 16: 135.
 22. Henry Rutgers to Geo. Clinton, July 5, 1780, and Clinton's draft of a reply to Rutgers, July 8, Henry Rutgers Collection (MC 1369). On Clinton, see *ANB*, s.v. "Clinton, George"; E. Wilder Spaulding, *His Excellency George Clinton, Critic of the Constitution*, 2nd ed. (Port Washington, NY: Ira J. Friedman, 1964); and John P. Kaminski, *George Clinton: Yeoman Politician of the New Republic* (Madison, WI: Madison House, 1993). The state law authorizing the emission of money was passed on June 15, 1780. See *Laws of the State of New-York, Passed ... in the last Sitting of the Third session of the Legislature (1780)*; an example of an actual emission signed

by Rutgers is owned by Rutgers University Libraries. See also "An Act for the Payment of certain contingent Expences of this State," April 14, 1782, which states that Rutgers and others were to be paid 2 shillings for each 100 bills signed. Found in John D. Cushing, comp., *First Laws of the State of New York* (Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazer, 1984), 251–55; HR is mentioned on p. 253. In a letter to Joseph Ward of August 26, 1779, HR indicates his location as "Clinton House," the governor's residence. See Ward Papers, Chicago History Museum; several letters HR wrote to both Ward and to Richard Varick were datelined "New Windsor," which implies that he might have regularly quartered at the governor's residence. See also Richard Varick to Henry Sewall, December 2, 1778: "[Rutgers] resides at Governor Clintons seat at New Windsor, abt. 7 miles from West Point." Found in Dorson Sewall pension application (W8712), Revolutionary War Pension Application Files, U.S. National Archives; the latter source also includes a copy of a letter of introduction for Sewall from Varick to HR dated December 2, 1778.

23. The first quote is from HR to Thomas Machin, July 31, 1779, in the latter's wife's Revolutionary War pension application (W17081); the second quote is from HR to Joseph Ward, February 21, 1780, Ward Papers, Chicago History Museum. Hendrick Sr.'s death was reported in the *Royal Gazette* (New York), August 7, 1779, in AHN online. Rutgers' sister Elizabeth De Peyster had died sometime between 1775 and 1779. See I. N. Phelps Stokes, *The Iconography of Manhattan Island, 1498–1909*, 6 vols. (New York: Robert H. Dodd, 1915–1928; reprint Union, NJ: Lawbook Exchange, 1998), 6: 136 (hereafter cited as Stokes, *Iconography*).
24. On the cattle drive, see HR to Capt. Thomas Machin, January 18, 1780, Henry Rutgers Collection (MC 1369). On Machin, see Frederic R. Kirkland, ed., *Letters on the American Revolution in the Library at "Karolfred,"* 2 vols. (New York: Coward-McCann, 1952), 2: 91n2. On the wedding of Catharine Rutgers Bedlow and Dr. Ebenezer Crosby, see E. H. Crosby, "A Brief Account of the Ancestry and Descendants of William Bedlow Crosby ... and of Harriet Ashton Clarkson, His Wife," *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* 30 (January 1899): 9. E. H. Crosby was the grandson of HR's heir, William Bedlow Crosby.
25. Henry Rutgers to Henry Bancker, November 24, 1782, Henry Rutgers Collection (MC 1369).
26. On Congress's order to preserve the city and the subsequent fire on September 20–21, 1776, see *JCC*, 5: 733; John Hancock to Geo. Washington, September 3, 1776, in Smith, ed., *Letters of Delegates*, 5: 97; Geo. Washington to John Hancock, September 22, 1776, in Abbot, ed., *The Papers of George Washington*, 6: 369–70; Boatner, *Encyclopedia*, 801–2; Frank Moore, *Diary of the American Revolution*,

2 vols. (1860; reprint New York: Arno Press, 1969), 1: 311–14; and Stokes, *Iconography*, 5: 1020–24. A British version of the fire is in Gov. Wm. Tryon to Lord Geo. Germain, September 24, 1776, in Davies, ed., *Documents of the American Revolution*, 12: 230–31. On the defensive works in the vicinity of the Rutgers Farm, see David J. Fowler, "Benevolent Patriot: The Life and Times of Henry Rutgers, Part One: 1636–1776," *Journal of the Rutgers University Libraries* 68, no. 1 (May 2016): 78, and specifically the 1785 John Hills map cited in note 79. On the Royal Navy shipyards, see Stokes, *Iconography*, 5: 1214. On the confiscation of rebel property, see Baurmeister, *Letters and Journals*, 50, and "Statement of William Butler, Esq.," in Henry B. Dawson, ed., *New York City During the American Revolution: A Collection of Original Papers ... from the Manuscripts in the ... Mercantile Library Association of New York City* (New York, 1861), 150–53. The claim that the captured American spy Nathan Hale was executed in the Rutgers orchard was convincingly disputed by Henry P. Johnston in *Nathan Hale* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1914), 161–63; see also Stokes, *Iconography*, 5: 1024–25.

In addition to the sources cited above, other important primary sources on British-occupied New York are *The Twilight of British Rule in Revolutionary America: The New York Letter Book of General James Robertson, 1780–1783*, ed. Milton M. Klein and Ronald W. Howard (Cooperstown, NY: New York State Historical Association, 1983); *Official Letters of Major General James Pattison*, in *Collections of the New-York Historical Society for the Year 1875* (New York, 1876); Davies, *Documents of the American Revolution, 1770–1783*, especially vols. 10–21; *Report on American Manuscripts in the Royal Institution of Great Britain*, 4 vols. (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office 1909), which calendars original manuscripts in the British Headquarters Papers available on microfilm; *Journal of Lt. John Charles Philip von Krafft, 1776–1784*, in *Collections of the New-York Historical Society for the Year 1882* (New York, 1883); Ewald Gustav Schaukirk, *Occupation of New York City by the British* (New York, 1887; reprint New York: Arno Press, 1969); and John Austin Stevens Jr., *Colonial Records of the New York Chamber of Commerce, 1768–1784* (New York, 1867).

Some useful secondary sources on the occupation are Oscar Barck, *New York during the War for Independence: With Special Reference to the Period of British Occupation* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1931); Thomas Jefferson Wertebaker, *Father Knickerbocker Rebels: New York City during the Revolution* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1948); Wilbur C. Abbott, *New York in the American Revolution* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1929); William A. Polf, *Garrison Town: The British Occupation of New York City, 1776–1783* (Albany, NY: New York State Bicentennial Commission, 1976); and Robert Ernst, "Andrew Elliot, Forgotten

- Loyalist of Occupied New York," *New York History* 57 (July 1976): 285–320.
27. On the Bayreuth Regiment encampment, see Johann Conrad Döhla, *A Hessian Diary of the American Revolution*, trans. and ed. Bruce E. Burgoyne (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990), entry for October 31, 1779, p. 114; on other units stationed near the farm, see Baurmeister, *Letters and Journals*, 318–19, 387, 430, 510. On the Rutgers farmhouse, see Barck, *New York City during the War for Independence*, 248. On the parade of loyalist troops, see *New-York Gazette*, July 16, 1781, in AHN online. The units were the Independent Company of New-York Rangers and the Highland Independent Volunteers. On the British prison ships in Wallabout Bay, see Boatner, *Encyclopedia*, 894–95.
 28. "Estimate of the Value of the real Estates in the Out Ward of the City of New York, belonging to Persons in actual Rebellion [1778]," in *B. F. Stevens's Facsimiles of Manuscripts in European Archives Relating to America, 1773–1783*, 25 vols. (1889–98; reprint Wilmington, DE: Mellifont, 1970), 12: 1235.
 29. *Ibid.*
 30. On the commandeering of churches, see Thomas De Witt, *Discourse Delivered in the North Reformed Dutch Church ... in August 1856* (New York, 1857), 40, and Stokes, *Iconography*, 5: 1037, 1059, 1196, 1269; "Colonel Rutgers's Address," *Magazine of the Reformed Dutch Church* 2 (October 1827): 212. On Dr. Lauckhard's advertisement, see Kenneth Scott, comp., *Rivington's New York Newspaper: Excerpts from a Loyalist Press, 1773–1783* (New York: New-York Historical Society, 1973), 293. In 1835 "Joshua" made the claim regarding the Hessian dead. See Stokes, *Iconography*, 5: 1214. On the bodies unearthed in Catherine Street, see *Minutes of the Common Council of the City of New York, 1784–1831*, 19 vols. (New York: M. B. Brown, 1917), 1: 187, 356 (hereafter cited as *Min. Common Council, 1784–1831*).
 31. Stephen Payne Adye to Carl Wilhelm von "Hackenberg" [Hachenberg], July 29, 1779, in *Official Letters of Major General James Pattison*, 233; *New-York Gazette*, August 23 and September 20, 1779, in AHN online.
 32. Barck, *New York City during the War for Independence*, 113–17; Klein and Howard, eds., *New York Letter Book of General James Robertson*, 119–20; Baurmeister, *Letters and Journals*, 340–41; and "Proclamation regarding Rebel Property, July 12, 1780," in Klein and Howard, eds., *New York Letter Book of General James Robertson*, 137.
 33. On this sequence of events, see Davies, ed., *Documents of the American Revolution*, 19: 2231, and Guy Carleton to Geo. Washington, April 6, 1783, in *ibid.*, 21: 161–62; *Report on American Manuscripts in the Royal Institution*, 4: 16; Boatner, *Encyclopedia*, 848–49; and *JCC*, 24: 238–41.

34. "Statement of William Butler," in Dawson, ed., *New York City during the American Revolution*, 157–61; Geo. Clinton to Egbert Benson, April 8, 1783, and Benson's report to Clinton, April 17, 1783, in Hastings, ed., *Public Papers of George Clinton*, 8: 134–35, 140–44, and Stephen McCrea to Sir Guy Carleton, November 18, 1783, in *Report on American Manuscripts in the Royal Institution*, 4: 464. It is unclear whether McCrea was acting on his own or on HR's behalf; McCrea had married HR's sister Mary.
35. Regarding the restoration of civil government, which never materialized, see the proclamation of Governor James Robertson, April 15, 1780, in Klein and Howard, eds., *New York Letter Book of General James Robertson*, 91–94; Andrew Elliot quoted in Ernst, "Andrew Elliot," *New York History* 57 (July 1976): 315. On "Canvas Town," see Polf, *Garrison Town*, 10; a recollection of the "Burnt District" is in William Alexander Duer, *New-York as it Was, During the Latter Part of the Last Century* (New York, 1849), 7–8. On conditions in the city, see "Statement of William Butler," in Dawson, ed., *New York City during the American Revolution*, and Klein and Howard, eds., *New York Letter Book of General James Robertson*, passim. On the fire at the Elizabeth Rutgers brewery, see *Min. Common Council, 1784–1831*, 1: 182, 186, 376. This property was at the center of the precedent-setting legal case *Rutgers v. Waddington*. For more on this matter, see "Benevolent Patriot: The Life and Times of Henry Rutgers—Part Three: Back Home, 1783–1800," in this issue pp. 27–70.
36. The quote is from John W. Shy, "The American Revolution Today," in Shy, *A People Numerous and Armed: Reflections on the Military Struggle for American Independence* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), 7; Shy further points out that the war was "a process, which entangled large numbers of people for a long period of time in experiences of remarkable intensity." See Shy, "The Military Conflict Considered As a Revolutionary War," in *ibid.*, 197.