

**The Fishkill Supply Depot
and Encampment During
the Years 1776-1778**

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I. INTRODUCTION

During the Revolutionary War, the village of Fishkill, New York was the site of a major supply depot and encampment for Washington's Northern Army. Fishkill was the site of the principal and probably the most extensive depository for military stores and provisions in the North. It is unique also in that it was occupied by Continental Troops for nearly the entire duration of the war, from 1776 through 1783. Fishkill was, in addition, a rallying point for militia, Continental Troops and new levies. It was at various times headquarters for the Commissary and Quartermaster Corps and numerous military officers, the site of a major hospital facility, and the meeting place of the Provincial Congress, Committee and Convention of Safety, a Committee of Correspondence, as well as the Commission for Detecting and Defeating Conspiracies in the State of New York. It is known that in addition to its function as a supply depot, upwards of 6,000 men encamped at Fishkill and many regiments wintered there through the years.

In the period from late 1776 to late 1778, the Fishkill Supply Depot and Encampment was conceived and born, and grew to maturity. In that period not only would magazines be deployed at Fishkill, but also barracks accommodating 2,000 or more troops, numerous huts, blacksmith's shops, a print shop, guardhouses, a prison, a paymaster's office, and a major hospital facility among others. Fishkill was a busy, exciting area during these early years, and made a significant contribution to the American war effort.

Yet, surprisingly little research has been conducted, and very little of that has been published or in other ways made available. Notable (though mostly unavailable) research has been done by Mr. Radford Curdy and Miss Barbara Buys, and works by Mr. Paul Huey and Messrs. Horace Wilcox and Stephan Bielinski are also helpful. But, there has not been any known sustained effort towards a thorough investigation of documents relating to the Revolutionary history of Fishkill. Archaeological investigation has been undertaken, but in most cases not until it was learned that certain areas faced imminent development. The site of the blacksmith's shop was excavated by a group of amateur archaeologists while a bulldozer literally hovered hungrily over the shoulders of the excavators. The shop's location is now marked by a new gas station. The supposed site of the upper barracks was sampled under similar circumstances, and is now noticeable as the site of a large shopping complex, the owners of which recently filed for bankruptcy. It would seem that since no major battles were fought at Fishkill, the village's contribution and that of the men who occupied it were inglorious and so have been grossly overlooked. This paper will attempt to demonstrate the significance of Fishkill in the early years of the war, and the effect of the war and the activity at Fishkill upon the lives of civilians, both loyalists and rebel, as well as the many soldiers who were involved.

II. PHYSICAL MAKEUP OF THE FISHKILL SUPPLY DEPOT

As hostilities with Britain over colonial independence commenced, few people in the small village of Fishkill could have suspected the major

role that locality would play in the conflict. But, the village occupied an extremely strategic position. It was close to the Hudson or North River, upon which supplies and men could be moved by the fastest transportation available at the time, yet it was far enough back from the river that it would be virtually impossible for a British force to initiate a surprise attack without warning being given in time to remove or destroy the supplies at Fishkill. Fishkill's greatest protection was the natural barrier formed south of it by the Hudson Highlands, a rugged mountainous area through which passed a single easily defended road, thus precluding even the thought of a British strike by land from the south. In a day when communications moved no faster than a rider on horseback, Fishkill was ideally situated as a communications center. Through it passed the main north-south road from Albany and Ticonderoga to New York City, and also the safest east-west route connecting New England with the southern colonies. The village would also serve as a convenient collection point for agricultural commodities which the nearby hinterlands supplies in abundance. Despite the presence of strong loyalist sentiments in other parts of Dutchess County, the people in and around Fishkill seem to have been for the most part sympathetic to the cause of independence, further adding to the security of the locale.

As early as June 10th, 1775, Fishkill was recognized as "...a proper place...for a magazine."¹ On August 14th, 1776, the Provincial Congress meeting at White Plains resolved to quarter troops at Fishkill, establish hospitals and depots for provisions, and "...convert the place into an

armed encampment."² Two weeks later they ordered "...the treasury and archives of the state..." removed to Fishkill and decided to hold sessions of the Congress there as well.³

From this beginning grew the extensive Supply Depot and Encampment. By late November 1778 when Lieutenant Thomas Amburey, a British prisoner taken at Saratoga, passed through the town, the facility was for the most part completed. He described Fishkill as "...the principal depot of Washington's army, where there are magazines, hospitals, workshops, &c. which form a town of themselves;...there are a great number of huts... and near the magazines are some well-constructed barracks, with a prison, surrounded by lofty palisadoes."⁴ A similar general description was given in 1780 by the Marquis de Chastellux.⁵ Further note was taken by Baron Ludwig von Closen when in 1781 he was invited to dine with General Washington and Alexander Hamilton at the quarters of Colonel Hazen at Fishkill. Von Closen reported well constructed barracks, plus "...several workshops and a great storehouse for food and forage..."⁶

Of the various structures which together formed the Fishkill Supply Depot, the existence of the barracks, prison, hospitals, guardhouse, paymaster's office, clothing store, huts, printing shop, saw mill, provost, stables, armory, workshops, post office, magazine, blacksmith's shop, storehouse, ordinance store and defensive fortifications have been confirmed in primary source documents. Others, such as bake shops, artillery park, wheelwright's shop, chandlers shops and sutlers shops have been found in secondary sources only. That is not to say of course, that this latter group did not exist at Fishkill. Indeed, given the type, intensity,

and duration of use for the various activities known to have been carried on, all of these facilities would seem to have been necessary. Supporting documentation probably exists, but has not been encountered in the course of this research.

In addition to the buildings constructed by and for the military occupants, a number of civilian residences and public buildings were pressed into service as the town expanded into a major governmental and military center. In this way, the house of Issac Van Wyck, nearest to the main portions of the Depot Encampment, became headquarters for the facility through most of the war,⁷ and was also the location of the Paymaster's Office⁸ and the scene of military courtmartial.⁹ The home of Abraham Brinckerhoff was used as a "public seminary...where Reading, Writing and Speaking correctly, the Learned Languages, with every branch of the Mathematiks, and polite literature, are faithfully taught; and a special regard had to the morals of youth..." because the building erected for that purpose has been "...occupied as a general hospital for the sick of our army..."¹⁰ Abraham's house was used to shelter the Marquis de Lafayette during a lengthy and severe illness late in 1778.¹¹ John Brinckerhoff's house is often credited with having been used as headquarters for General Washington when he was in the area,¹² but it seems more likely that Washington would have stayed in the larger and more conveniently located house of Abraham Brinckerhoff. It may be the John Brinckerhoff house that is referred to in a letter from Governor Clinton "to the Officers who have Quartered themselves at Colo. Brinckerhoff's" in which Clinton states that the officers have evidently taken up residence there without permission of the owner and orders them to leave the house

and "...provide yourselves with Quarters elsewhere..."¹³ The hatshop of Mary Bloodgood was confiscated for use as a guardhouse.¹⁴ Hugh Connor's Tavern was the meeting place for the Committee for Detecting Conspiracies¹⁵ and Theodorus Van Wyck's house served as a refuge for the family of John Jay.¹⁶ Major Henry Shenck allowed salt and other provisions to be stored in his cellar,¹⁷ while the houses of Hendrick Kip,¹⁸ and Gulian Verplanck¹⁹ were pressed into service as headquarters and residences for Baron von Steuben and other officers. All of the three churches in or near Fishkill were put to use. The Presbyterian church was used as a hospital²⁰ and the Episcopal church was also put to this use²¹ after the Provincial Congress had refused to meet there because it was so filthy and in poor repair.²² They removed to the well-built Dutch church nearby to hold their sessions, and this building was also used to confine prisoners.²³

Of the buildings constructed specifically as part of the Depot Encampment, the barracks have presented the greatest stumbling block to historians and archaeologists. Part of the problem is no doubt due to the fact that there was not just one single barracks or one single assemblage of barracks, but at least three distinct barrack complexes.

The first of these was ordered constructed in October 1776 and these barracks were designed to accommodate 2,000 men. They were to be built of earth or mud within a month under the direction of William Duer.²⁴ On October 31st, John McKesson wrote from Fishkill to General George Clinton that "...Judge Duer is about to have Barracks erected...on this side of the Highlands..."²⁵, and on November 7th he wrote that

Mr. Duer has a number of Carpenters and a Great Bustle here about the Building of Barracks in the mouth of the Highlands three miles from hence [Fishkill] for two thousand men. However, he has got Egbert Benson and

Melanchthon Smith, two honest fellows as overseers but they have not half enough of the Devil in them for that business...Two sides of each Barrack are to be mudwalls...²⁶

The barracks must have been completed by late December, as on the 30th, the Committee on Conspiracies heard a sworn statement from Corporal David Clark that "he was Yesterday Morning at the Lower Barracks in which John Kain is confined. Kain asked him 'what prisoners were in the upper Barracks'..."²⁷ This, however, is clearly an indication of two separate and distinct barracks complexes. Since the barracks for 2,000 men which were mentioned by McKesson were located 3 miles south of the village, these must be the lower barracks.

It is not clear whether the upper barracks were constructed at the same time or afterwards; they could even have existed prior to the construction of the lower barracks, but that seems unlikely. The fact that the lower barracks were those located 3 miles south is further substantiated by a complaint made by Commissary Agent Hendrick Wyckoff who stated on December 30th that "...the Removal of the Prisoners to the lower Barracks places them at so great a Distance from him, that for this & other Reasons he cannot transport their Provisions to them."²⁸ The upper barracks must have been close to the house of and on the property of Isaac Van Wyck, approximately half a mile south of the village. On February 6th, 1777 he complained that he

...daily sustains considerable damages from the soldiers cutting wood, had they taken Fire Wood equally from the several neighbors [he] would not have complained...There is on the adjoining mountain to the barracks Timber sufficient to burn without damaging the Inhabitants of the Town...²⁹

A map made by Robert Erskine in 1778 shows ten structures in two parallel rows of five each very near to Issac Van Wyck's on the opposite side of the road, and also shows a hospital and encampment area about three miles south.³⁰ Further complicating the matter is the fact that additional barracks were ordered built in September or October of 1778, as Colonel Morgan Lewis informed Clinton on October 28th:

Some few weeks since I received orders from the Quarter Master Genl. [Nathaniel Greene] to purchase all the Boards that could be procured...for the purpose of Building Barracks at Fishkill for the Reception of the Soldiery.³¹

Earlier in May 1777, the Schenectady Committee of Correspondence had received a request from "...Capt Banker Superintendent and Barks Master at Fishkill & for a Number of Dry board which were wanted for Barks &c at Fishkill..."³² No indication of where these additional buildings were located has been found, and it is possible that the references to "Building Barracks" could refer to maintenance or repair of existing structures especially when viewed in the light of a September 11, 1778 letter written "to Captain John Bancker at Fishkill of the absolute necessity of repairing the barracks there."³³ The "Barks" referred to, rather than being a poor spelling of "Barracks", might instead be "small boats with but one deck" as is listed for one of the definitions of the word in a contemporary dictionary.³⁴

Another problem with definition of terms could be the uses to which the words "barracks" and "huts" are put. Bailey's 1753 Dictionary defines hut as "a Soldier's Lodge in the Field" and barracks as "a Hut for Soldiers to lodge in..."³⁵, thus implying that the two words may have been used somewhat interchangeably. But, both Anburey and Chastellux

made clear reference to both barracks and huts. Anburey states that the

magazines, hospitals, workshops &c...form a town of themselves; they are erected near a wood, at the foot of a mountain, where there are a great number of huts...Near the magazines are some well-constructed barracks, with a prison...³⁶

Chastellux relates that at Fishkill the Americans had

...placed their magazines, their hospitals, their workshops, &c.; but all these form a town of themselves, composed of handsome large barracks built in the wood at the foot of the mountains...

and further mentioning that the barracks had garrets and cellars and were near the prison.³⁷ Both are in agreement on the mode of construction of the huts, Anburey saying that they were built

of little walls made with uneven stones, and the intervals filled up with mud and straw, a few planks forming the roof; there is a chimney at one end by the side of which is the door...³⁸

They disagree only in their evaluation of their comfort and habitability; Anburey declaring them a "miserable shelter... which must render their troops very sickly..."³⁹ while Chastellux found them comfortable and declared that troops "had passed whole winters in them without suffering or sickness."⁴⁰ This difference might be easily accounted when their respective backgrounds and situations are considered: Anburey was a captured British soldier perhaps too quick to discredit anything associated with his captors, and looking forward to the prospect of spending the winter of 1778 (and how many others?) perhaps in similar structures built by the Americans. Chastellux was a French envoy anxious to promote the American cause and so perhaps to give over-extravagant praise to his allies and their accomplishments, and was then enroute to lodgings at the relatively comfortable post at West Point where he would be given the best lodgings the Americans there could offer.

When the British Convention army, of which Amburey was part, encamped at Fishkill, they were probably located near the upper barracks area as they were traveling from east to west and marching them 3 miles south and then 3 miles back north would have wasted precious time and would have put the prisoners that much closer to a potential rescue attempt by British forces stationed in New York. Washington seems to have been very fearful of such an attempt and so probably did not wish the prisoners encamped any further south than absolutely necessary.⁴¹ Thus, it seems that Amburey's observations of the Depot Encampment were limited to the area containing the upper barracks, where he saw both huts and barracks. Chastellux, on the other hand, traveled southward from Fishkill towards West Point and recorded what must have been the lower barracks area:

Four or five miles from Fishkill I saw some felled trees and an opening in the wood, which on coming nearer I discovered to be a camp, or rather huts, inhabited by some hundred invalid soldiers.⁴²

Thus, it would appear that the lower barracks area was made up of huts rather than the noteworthy barracks he had seen to the north. Finally, Baron von Closen, who in attending his dinner engagement at Fishkill, like Amburey, probably did not visit the lower encampment area as he crossed the river and proceeded to dine with Colonel Hazen whose quarters were most likely in the village or possibly at Van Wyck's. He noted "...barracks for 400 men below [Fishkill Village], which are extremely well-constructed..."⁴³ These could well be the same well-constructed barracks noted by Amburey and Chastellux. Thus, it seems likely that the upper barracks area consisted of both barracks and huts, and that the barracks accommodated 400 men while the huts accommodated an unspecified number though perhaps they were built together with the lower huts as

part of the November 1776 structures designed to accommodate 2,000. The original upper encampment could, of course, have been expanded so that more than the original number of huts existed there. It is possible that only the substantial barracks were shown on Erskine's map because simple huts were not as noteworthy, or perhaps Erskine made his survey before additional huts or barracks were erected in the upper area.

The habitable structures, be they huts or barracks, were not used solely as living quarters for the soldiers. As previously noted, prisoners were confined in both the upper and the lower barracks. They were also used for housing the sick and the wounded, and it seems that the lower barracks area came to be used more for this purpose than the upper. The invalids which Chastellux saw were most likely Colonel Lewis Nicola's Regiment of Invalids, which was quartered at Fishkill through most of the war.⁴⁴

As early as January 4th, 1777, a man who "knew the armorers trade fairly well..." was reported in Fishkill⁴⁵ and soon thereafter an Armorers shop or Armory was created. In late February, the Committee of Safety at Kingston ordered that a quantity of steel and "...Twenty old tory Guns..." should be sent "...to Fishkill to the Armory kept in the Shop of Jacobus Cooper."⁴⁶ At least two other men, both from Colonel Lewis DuBois' Regiment, were assigned to assist in the work at the Armory.⁴⁷ Weapons were also made or repaired at the forge operated by John Bailey, a culter who had fled New York upon the British occupation of that city. A sword owned by George Washington and bearing the mark "J. Bailey/Fishkill" is presently on display in the Smithsonian Institution.⁴⁸

As previously noted, magazines were seen by Chastellux and Amburey, and Von Clozen also reported "...a great storehouse for food and forage..."⁴⁹ The term magazine in the 18th century did not apply solely to an accumulation of munitions but was used as well to denote a "Place for laying up Stores or other Commodities."⁵⁰ At Fishkill both munitions, clothing, and food for both men and animals were stored at various times, and will be discussed in more detail later.

Some sort of guardhouse was in existence by October 11, 1776 when McKesson reported "...eighteen or twenty prisoners yet in the Guard house here..."⁵¹ The Committee on Conspiracies sent many suspected Tories to the guardhouse, the largest single group comprising 37 individuals being sent on January 12, 1777.⁵² It consisted of more than a single room as implied by an order given that a particular prisoner sent there was to be confined "in the Room with the Guard..."⁵³ It must not have been a very secure building, or else was haphazardly guarded as on the night of December 19th, 1776, a group of 16 prisoners escaped, and again on March 7th, 1777, another 7 prisoners made for freedom.⁵⁴ After mid-April of '77, when the Commission on Conspiracies adjourned to Poughkeepsie, the main body of their prisoners were confined at that city and at Kingston.⁵⁵ But Fishkill continued to be a place of confinement with a prison being constructed sometime in late 1777 or early 1778. Lieutenant Amburey described the prison as being surrounded by palisades and stated that Tory prisoners were confined here until transportation by sloop could be arranged to convey them to New York City.⁵⁶

A printing office was established early in 1777 by Samuel Loudon, who like John Bailey, had fled from New York rather than risk living there.

under British occupation. His weekly newspaper, the New York Packett and American Advertiser, was printed at Fishkill beginning on January 16th, 1777 and continued until August 28th, 1783. Loudon was also appointed postmaster and State printer and operated in both capacities while in the village.⁵⁷

William Ellery, in passing through Fishkill on November 7th, 1777, recorded that he and his party "could get no provender for our horses but at the Continental stables."⁵⁸ This is the only contemporary reference to the stables that has been found, other than the designation of "Continental Stables" given to a structure located south of Isaac Van Wyck's on Erskine's 1778 map.

A sawmill was observed by Chastellux,⁵⁹ and in October of 1777 defensive redoubts were constructed south of Fishkill in the vicinity of the lower barracks, so as to protect the vital pass through the mountains.⁶⁰ Later, Udney Hay at Fishkill proposed more extensive fortification of this area in a letter to Clinton.⁶¹ Artillery pieces are often mentioned at Fishkill during this period, and part of the Depot probably included an artillery park where such heavy ordinance was stored.⁶² A wide range of artillery pieces are mentioned running from iron three pounders on field carriages, through 12 and 18 pounders, even including a brass 24 pound gun.⁶³

A hospital was ordered established at Fishkill on August 14th, 1776.⁶⁴ But, as is the case with so many other of the components of the Depot, because something was ordered established often did not mean that a new separate structure was constructed, at least not immediately. If an

existing building could be used for a public purpose, both considerable expense and valuable time could be saved in meeting an immediate need. Dr. Chauncey Graham's school building, known as the Academy, must have been requisitioned for this purpose in 1776, judging from an advertisement he placed in the New York Packett for June 1st, 1780 announcing the re-establishment of his school at Abraham Brinckerhoff's house because

...the house built in this place, for a public seat of learning, has been for upwards of four years past, and still is occupied as a general hospital for the sick of our army...⁶⁵

In December of 1778, Alexander McDougall found it necessary to order the Presbyterian church "...to be taken and occupied..." as a hospital because "...the barracks and Episcopal Church were so crowded with sick that their condition was rendered deplorable..."⁶⁶ It is possible that a separate building was erected to supplement or replace the space available in the confiscated public buildings, but no direct evidence of such a structure has been found.

A provost, presumably meaning an office for a military officer "whose business is to seize and secure Deserters,...as also to set Rates on Provisions in the Army"⁶⁷ was located at Fishkill.⁶⁸ A blacksmith's shop is shown directly across the Post Road from Isaac Van Wyck's home on Erskine's map. In May of 1777, Hugh Hughes wrote to General Clinton from Fishkill requesting a certain man who "...is a very useful Hand in the Smith's Department..." to be sent to the Depot. Smiths were evidently already working there but their workmanship must have left much to be desired because Hughes continued

if you can any ways spare him, it will help us greatly, if he answers the Character given him. Indeed, if he is but a common Hand, he is much better than some we have.⁶⁹

A Pay office was located at Fishkill in March of 1777.⁷⁰ Other components of the Depot mentioned by later historians such as bake shops, a chandlers shop, a wheelwright's, etc.,⁷¹ would seem to be necessary adjuncts to a facility the size of that at Fishkill.

III. SUPPLIES AND PROVISIONS

Probably the most important aspect of Fishkill during the Revolution was its function as a major supply base. Yet, this particular phase of the war is usually passed over rather superficially by historians when dealing with the American War for Independence. No army could hope to endure for eight long years without a strategically located, efficiently operated, and reliable source of supplies and provisions. And, this is what Fishkill seems to have become. The type of supplies maintained at Fishkill were surprisingly varied, and their quantities were often quite great.

When fortifications had to be built in the passes south of the Encampment, or along the Hudson at Forts Clinton and Montgomery (and later at Forts Arnold, Putnam and other works at West Point and Constitution Island) or when obstructions were prepared for the Hudson itself, Fishkill was called upon to furnish tools with which to do the work, and in return, each of these projects would help to insure the safety and security of the Depot. On May 19th, 1777, General George Clinton requested "...100 spades & shovels, 40 wheel & as many Hand barrows, 20 Crow Barrs, and 20 Sledges or Stone Hammers..."⁷² In November of the previous year, the Committee of Safety at Fishkill had ordered 300 axes collected and sent to New Windsor where lumber was being cut for the fortifications and obstructions further down the River.⁷³

Three essential raw materials for the war effort —iron, lead and lumber—were collected at Fishkill. In mid-December of 1776, the Committee of Safety authorized an expedition into Westchester County to carry off what supplies could be had easily and burn others that might be used by the British. Major Lockwood, who was given responsibility for implementing the raid, was told that he could draw powder and lead from Fishkill.⁷⁴ Iron from Fort Lee was ordered removed to the Depot the following February.⁷⁵ But, the quantity of iron at Fishkill evidently was not great, at least in June of 1777 because when Captain Machin, superintending the construction of the Highland defenses, asked for 10 tons of iron, Quartermaster Hughes lamented that he could not provide even "...the tenth Part of it..."⁷⁶ "Spars & Timber..." were shipped from Fishkill⁷⁷ and application for boards was made at least as far away as Schenectady.⁷⁸

Muskets, gunpowder and cartridges are mentioned among the supplies. The largest shipment of powder brought to the magazines north of the Highlands originated in France and consisted of 7,000 pounds of gunpowder as well as other munitions which arrived via the overland route from Providence, Rhode Island after a transatlantic crossing in the sloop "Nancy."⁷⁹ Although Fishkill was not the only place where munitions (or most other commodities for that matter) were kept, it appears to have functioned for the most part as the largest and most central depository. January 16, 1777 saw the Committee of Safety of the State appoint Captain James Weeks

...Assistant Commissary of the Arms, Ammunition and other military Stores...at this Place [Fishkill] : —that he receive into his Care all the Arms which shall be delivered in store at Forts Montgomerie and Constitution...and that he cause the same to be conveyed to this Place...without delay.⁸⁰

Muskets were also loaned out to unarmed militiamen by the Committee on Conspiracies,⁸¹ and they likewise saw to the distribution of cartridges at Fishkill.⁸²

Foodstuffs for man and for animals were stored at the Depot. Salt was collected at Fishkill before being sent to the store at Newburgh across the river.⁸³ In mid-July of 1777, Clinton wrote from Fort Montgomery to Henry Schenck informing him that

...30,000 W't of hard Bread is to be sent from this Post to the Army under his Excellency General Washington and that quantity to be replaced from Fish Kill...⁸⁴

Forage for cattle and horses apparently was not collected in quantity until ~~after~~^{later} in the war, but it seems likely that some would have been stored at Fishkill when it could be had easily. But it seems that this particular commodity was often in short supply. In November of 1778, Washington wrote to Congress mentioning "the exhausted state of the country [around Fishkill] with respect to forage..."⁸⁵ But by August of 1780, he could confide in Benedict Arnold that "Colonel Hay writes that he shall be able to lay up some stock of hay at Fishkill..."⁸⁶

Clothing was of such importance to Washington's army that persons engaged in its manufacture were exempted from militia duties.⁸⁷ This precious commodity was held in store at Fishkill at least as early as January 1st, 1777.⁸⁸ By June of that year, an acute shortage had developed and it was ordered that clothing detained at Fishkill which was intended for troops to the southward who needed it most acutely should not be issued to any other regiments.⁸⁹ But on the 22^d of June, Clinton ordered 300 shirts in the store at the Depot delivered to a New York militia

officer.⁹⁰ As 1778 drew to a close, the situation had improved but little, and used clothing was ordered returned to the clothing store at Fishkill rather than discarded.⁹¹

In addition to the supplies, various types of transport were kept ready at the Depot for distributing the stores or removing them quickly in time of crisis. Boats were stockpiled at Fishkill landing, and wagons were kept in the Depot area.⁹² Horses and teams were obviously necessary but often could not be kept readily at hand because of the lack of forage. Draft animals might better be kept on nearby farms where they could be actively employed, fed by the owner, and yet could be temporarily impressed for Continental service in an emergency. At such times, impress warrants would have to be issued and this was a rather involved procedure. In April 1778, General McDougall explained to Clinton:

Having determined to remove some of the public Stores at this town; I have examined the late act of your Legislature respecting the impressing of Forage and Teams; and find that unless we can obtain a warrant from a Justice of the peace none of the former can be commanded for the public Service.⁹³

In this case, Clinton issued special permission for McDougall to impress teams without the required warrant, but that permission was not granted until two days after it was requested, and probably did not reach McDougall until the third day after his request.⁹⁴

IV. FISHKILL AS GOVERNMENTAL CENTER

In addition to being a transportation and communications center and strategic military supply depot and encampment, the village of Fishkill became a center of government as well, serving temporarily as the meeting

place for a Committee of Correspondence, the Committee of Safety, the Committee (and later Commission) for Detecting and Defeating Conspiracies in the State of New York, and the Provincial Congress or Convention of the Representatives of the State of New York.

A Committee of Observation was organized shortly after hostilities erupted into warfare in 1775, and Dirck Brinckerhoff was appointed chairman. This committee met weekly from mid-July to mid-September of that year and went about determining the loyalties of local inhabitants, ascertaining the locations and quantities of arms in the neighborhood, and confiscating weapons from known Tories.⁹⁵

Upon the approach of a British army of occupation, the Provincial Congress was forced to flee New York City, coming first to White Plains and then, in September of 1776, meeting at Fishkill. The members first convened in Trinity Church, but since it was "...very foul with the dung of Doves and fowls, without any benches, seat or other Conveniences whatever...", they adjourned to the more substantial Dutch church.⁹⁶ The main task undertaken by this assembly was the formation of a constitution and state government. This objective was difficult to achieve as Henry Wisner reported in October that "...the Tories takes up full one half of our time;...the formation of government goes on very slow indeed..."⁹⁷ The Convention formed various committees to deal with pressing needs such as gathering clothing for the State troops,⁹⁸ and assumed responsibility for determining and implementing military expedients, such as calling out and positioning militia as circumstances warranted.⁹⁹ Though the many other functions assumed by the Convention and the extreme complexity of the problem of governmental formation would seemingly not allow

for speedy constitutional formation and implementation, such a plan was approved shortly after the Convention removed from Fishkill to Kingston in April of 1777, and much of the groundwork for this new State government was thrashed out in committee sessions held in the village.¹⁰⁰

Accompanying the Convention in their flight to Fishkill was the Committee of Safety. This committee had been established to act in place of the Convention when that body was not in session, and to perform much of the necessary legwork when the Convention was convened. The Committee met at Fishkill from early September 1776 through mid-February of 1777 when they removed to Kingston in advance of the other governmental bodies. During their stay in Fishkill, they saw to the repair of roads, the raising and maintenance of troops and arms, printing of public notices, funding the work to obstruct and protect the river, and reimbursing various claimants for funds expended in the service of the state and its patriot citizens.¹⁰¹

Because so much time had to be devoted to the examination of suspected Loyalists, the Convention established a special Committee for Detecting and Defeating Conspiracies. On September 21, 1776, The Committee consisting of John Jay, William Duer, Charles DeWitt, Leonard Gansevoort, Zephaniah Platt and Nathaniel Sackett, was appointed¹⁰² and began meeting in mid-October.¹⁰³ They quickly resolved

...to provide for the internal peace and security of this State, by removing from it all persons who are notoriously disaffected and inimical to the measures pursuing for the safety and defense of the United States of America.¹⁰⁴

To expedite the Committee's work in arresting Tories, a number of spies were employed who would often lure groups of Loyalists into prearranged

ambush and capture. The most notable of these spies was Enoch Crosby, of whom Nathaniel Sackett wrote to Captain van Gaasbeck on January 10, 1777:

I had almost forgot to give you directions to Give our friend an oppertunity of making his Escape Upon our plan you will Take him prisoner with this partie... his Name is Enoch Crosby alias John Brown I could wish that he may escape before you bring him Two miles on your way...but by no means neglect this friend of ours.¹⁰⁵

On an earlier mission, Crosby was assigned to gather intelligence of a group which, it had been learned, was planning to join the British. He was to be issued

...such Passes as will enable him to pass...without interruption; and with such others as will enable him to pass as an Emmisary of the Enemy amongst Persons disaffected to the American Cause.¹⁰⁶

By such means, Crosby was able to gather much in the way of "...very useful intelligence..."¹⁰⁷

Largely because both Jay and Duer were also members of the committee assigned to drawing up a state constitution and others members of the Committee on Conspiracies had similar pressing duties as members of the Convention, the Committee for Detecting Conspiracies was dissolved in February 1777 and replaced by a Commission to carry on this important work.¹⁰⁸ The members - Egbert Benson, Melancton Smith and Jacobus Swartwout - met for the first time on February 15th. Although Messrs. Jay and Sackett urged them to proceed on their task as there was urgent business to be taken care of and it seemed likely that the former Committee would not meet again, the Commissioners decided to proceed exercising their own discretion and best judgment as to their powers, and so promptly adjourned.¹⁰⁹ But the Commissioners soon took up where the Committee had left off, dealing with prisoners and examining the

supposed Loyalists. They continued meeting in the village until mid-April of 1777¹¹⁰ when a small pox epidemic, no doubt fueled by the severe overcrowding in the Fishkill area, forced the Commission as well as the other governmental bodies to abandon the village to its military and civilian occupants.¹¹¹

V. THE THREAT OF ATTACK

The importance of the Hudson River in controlling the colonies necessitated constant vigilance, and also gave rise to near paranoic fear for the safety of the Hudson Highlands which were the key to the river's control. During the Revolution, military intelligence was often contradictory, and especially because of the dilatory nature of communications, information gathered even by reliable observers was often outdated or completely revised by the time it reached American commanders. Decisions intended to counter real or imagined tactical movements by the British were subject even to total reversal by the officer issuing them originally, or by any of a number of officers further down the chain of command who might have received more recent or more pressing intelligence.

Thus, at Fishkill, which was such an integral part of the complex of fortifications and supportive posts in the Highlands, many alarms were sounded in the early period. If the American army was to survive, the essential and valuable supplies at Fishkill would have to be protected. In December of 1776, the Committee of Safety ordered General George Clinton to protect the southern land approach to Fishkill through the Highland passes, emphasizing that this task was to be his principal concern.¹¹² Just a few days later, the Convention of the Representatives of the State of New York, fearing an attack through the Highlands on the

east side of the river, called out the militia of Westchester, Dutchess and part of Albany county.

On March 23, 1777, the British launched an attack against Peekskill. Clinton, in reporting the attack, states that General McDougall, who was then in command of the troops and stores at Peekskill, "...removed the greater Part of the stores destroyed the Rest & now occupies the Pass leading into the Highlands."¹¹³ This movement had been anticipated, however, and the day before the attack Washington had sent urgent orders to General Putnam to remove all stores from Fishkill.¹¹⁴

On Saturday, May 3^d, a British force of about 2,000 troops under Sir William Erskine attacked the American post at Danbury, Connecticut. General John Sullivan reported that the British

...Burned 26 Houses Destroyed 1700 Tents 1600 [Barrels of] Pork & Beef 500 [Barrels of] Flour 2000 Bushels of oats & Cloathing for 500 men — they Tarried there till Sunday afternoon without opposition and then marched for Fish Kill to Destroy the stores there...¹¹⁵

Erskine's force was met, however, by a detachment of militia under General Worster of Massachusetts, and another force under General Arnold also attempted to engage the British who by then were withdrawing after encountering Worster's opposition.¹¹⁶

In July, Washington again feared an attack on Peekskill, and Clinton began shuffling troops accordingly. The regiments of Colonels Brinckerhoff, Luddington, Humphrey and Freer were dispatched to Peekskill. Other highland positions were strengthened by ordering Colonel Heathorn's regiment to Sydnam's Bridge and Colonels Woodhull's, Allison's, McClaughry's and Hasbrouck's regiments to Fort Montgomery.¹¹⁷ But, the suspected attack never materialized.

In the fall of 1777, there was again an alarm and many of the militia units were dispatched northward to confront a British invasionary army under Burgoyne. But the British must have seemed to be everywhere, as hostile forces had been reported in the Mohawk Valley near Fort Stanwix, and near the Vermont Town of Bennington. It was known that another British army was under move at New York and so strengthening of the river posts was vital. Despite nearly two years of work in preparing defenses for the river in the area of the Highlands, the British rather easily captured Forts Montgomery and Clinton. Under Admiral Vaughn, they moved upriver and destroyed the American encampment and supplies at Continental Village (between Peckskill and Fishkill) but apparently were not aware that supplies were also at Fishkill. In describing the attack on Continental Village, the British General Clinton informed Howe on October 9th:

Major General Tryon whom I detached this morning... to destroy the Rebel Settlement at the Continental Village has just returned and reported to me that he has burned Barracks for 1500 Men, several Storehouses, and many Waggons...I need not point out... the Consequence of destroying this Post as it was the only Establishment of the Rebels in that part of the Highlands and the Place from whence any neighbouring Body of Troops drew their supplies... 118

In response to Vaughn's incursion, General Putnam with a force of about 1,000 troops retreated to a position "three miles from Mrs. Van Wyck's"¹¹⁹ (the lower barracks area) and here at Fishkill his force was augmented by Connecticut Militia which was assembling in the village so that Putnam's force now included nearly 6,000 troops.¹²⁰ As the British continued upriver to burn Kingston and Clermont, Putnam's army advanced northward on the east side of the river paralleled by another detachment

under Clinton on the west side. The British fell back down the Hudson passing between these two forces and causing them, also, to reverse their direction of advance, scurrying futilely after the swift British raiders.¹²¹ Not until the British abandoned Forts Clinton and Montgomery on October 26th was the threat fully eliminated and some semblance of security regained. But throughout the remainder of the war, the British occupied New York City, a scant 60 miles below Fishkill, and their presence represented a constant threat to the security of the Highlands.

In the spring of 1778, another attack was feared and General MacDougall proposed removing the stores from Fishkill.¹²² This expected attack never came and the stores apparently were not removed. Again in November of 1778, when the British prisoners captured at Saratoga passed through Fishkill enroute from Cambridge to Virginia, one of their officers recorded that they were under especially heavy guard because Washington feared a British rescue attempt.¹²³ The American Commander-in-Chief delayed the movement of his troops into winter quarters until the Convention troops were safely across the river.¹²⁴

VI. THE HUMAN IMPACT

Fishkill was more than merely a place where lifeless provisions and stores were stocked, more than a place to be attacked or a place to be guarded. Fishkill was a place where men, women and children lived, where many suffered and even died. It was where many people loyal to the British government got their first taste of American freedom and tolerance by being thrown into confinement. At Fishkill many American

troops must have wondered how they could starve or die of disease in the midst of the major supply depot and medical facility of their army. It is hard to conceive of any resident of Fishkill being unaffected by what he experienced or saw in his village, through eight years of military activity. Fishkill became a living part of thousands of individuals whose lives were there affected, each in a different way.

Both Continental and Militia troops were needed at Fishkill, at first as reserve protection for the Highland positions, to protect and serve the governmental bodies convened at the village, and to guard prisoners. As the supply aspect of the town gained prominence, troops were needed to guard against a surprise attempt either by British regulars or local Tory sympathizers, to capture or destroy the indispensable munitions, provisions and clothing stored there. The increased concentration of supplies combined with Fishkill's strategic location made it a logical and common site for militia units to rendezvous.

But frequent scarcities of food and clothing made life anything but pleasant for the troops quartered there. Clothing became so scarce that a separate building had to be set aside for naked soldiers.¹²⁵ General Putnam confided to Washington in February 1778 that "...several hundred men are rendered useless, merely for want of necessary apparel..."¹²⁶

Even in November 1780 Chastellux encountered soldiers who

...had been sent here behind the lines because their clothes were truly invalid. These honest fellows... were not covered, even with rags; but their assured bearing and their arms in good order seemed to cover their nakedness...¹²⁷

Disease, especially smallpox, took a heavy toll. At the time that the Commissioners on Conspiracies were preparing to evacuate from Fishkill because of the prevalence of the pox,¹²⁸ Washington was ordering that the troops at Fishkill be inoculated.¹²⁹ But this appears to be a case of closing the barn door after the horse, and inoculation in the eighteenth century was dangerous and extremely controversial.

To make matters worse, soldier's pay was often hopelessly in arrears, and when payment was finally made inflation was so rampant that the currency or notes in which they were paid was almost worthless. The problem was so critical that Washington, writing from Fishkill, complained to LaFayette in October 1778:

A rat in the shape of a horse is not be bought at this time for less than 200 pounds; nor a saddle under thirty or forty, boots twenty, and shoes and other articles in like proportion.¹³⁰

The situation had come to a head at Fishkill the previous November when, as Hamilton reported:

The two brigades of Poors & Learneds would not march it appears for want of money and necessaries, several of the Regiments having received no pay for six or eight months past. There has been a high mutiny among the former on this account, in which a Captain killed a man, and was shot himself by his comrade...¹³¹

Sharing the hardships of Fishkill were literally thousands of Loyal British subjects, prisoners both civilian and military. On October 6, 1775, the Continental Congress had recommended the arrest of persons, who if allowed to continue free, might pose a threat to the American cause¹³² and by the 23^d of that month William Allison could report that there were 96 Tory prisoners confined in the gallery of the Dutch church in Fishkill.¹³³

Civilian prisoners confined at Fishkill appear to represent a wide range of backgrounds which was typical of the group referred to as Tories. They were persons who were rich or poor, educated or backward, upper, middle and lower class. Among those who refused to take the Oath of Allegiance at Fishkill were individuals who listed their occupations as merchant, judge, justice of the peace, attorney, innkeeper, farmer, potash maker, physician, sheriff and cordwainer.¹³⁴ Those who were confined or examined at Fishkill included some very influential and powerful Tory leaders, notably Beverly Robinson and Abraham C. Cuyler, the former mayor of Albany. Robinson refused to take the Oath of Allegiance on February 20th, 1777 and was granted a 4 to 6 week period for reconsideration, during which he fled to the safety of New York City.¹³⁵ Shortly thereafter he organized a Loyalist Regiment which gave valuable assistance to the British forces throughout the war.¹³⁶ Cuyler managed to escape from his confinement at Fishkill and his place was taken by the unfortunate Lieutenant who had been instructed to guard him.¹³⁷

The conditions under which prisoners were confined at Fishkill were far from pleasant. Aside from severe overcrowding, they were subjected to disease, poor or insufficient food, and occasional atrocities committed by their guards. When Commisary Wyckoff complained that moving the prisoners to the lower barracks made it impossible for him to transport provisions to them, the Committee on Conspiracies offered no assistance, declaring only that

...when M^r Wickoff accepted the office of Commisary he accepted all the Trouble attending the same and therefore so long as he chuses to keep the s^d office the Committee expect he will perform all the Duties of it.¹³⁸

Upon the recommendation of the Reverend Doctor Graham, John Davis, one of the prisoners, was ordered removed from the guard house when it was found that Davis was ill of a pox.¹³⁹ Another prisoner Graham had examined was sick with a fever, but was not ordered removed.¹⁴⁰ The sufferings of the prisoners often were shared by local residents in whose homes they were sometimes kept as in the case of Richard Southard who reported that

...a Negroe-man who had been taken [prisoner] with Rogers Rangers had been for the space of two weeks Billeted at his House that when the said Negroe was brought there he was almost dead That his family had been obliged to Nurse him for the space of Six weeks That he is now able to walk about but not work much and is destitute of cloathing and infested with Vermin Therefore Requested that he might if possible be removed from his place...¹⁴¹

On December 30th, 1776, it was reported that "...Christopher Patrie... was dead in the Guard house..."¹⁴² In early January, Major Ledyard, part of whose regiment had been assigned to guard duty, testified before the Committee on Conspiracies that "...one Willson, one of the Prisoners, after attempting to escape, and being brought back, was shot dead by one of the Guards..."¹⁴³

Military prisoners were not commonly kept at Fishkill, usually being ordered on to other points of detention. Thus, in November of 1778, approximately 5,000 individuals captured with Burgoyne at Saratoga, passed through the village. Lieutenant Anburey described the persons being confined in the palisaded prison as "...a number of unfortunate friends of Government..."¹⁴⁴

The Baroness von Riedesel's account of her crossing indicates that both military and civilian prisoners were treated more with contempt than compassion by the local inhabitants:

When we reached the Hudson River we stopped at the house of a boatman who favored us with a half-finished room without a windowpane. ...The woman of the house was a perfect fury. She finally allowed us...to eat breakfast...[but] we could not persuade her to give us a table for ourselves, and she did not let us sit at her table until she and her children and the servants had finished their breakfast...she left all her dirty dishes on the table, so that we had to wash them before we could use them. After we had finished she insisted that we wash everything again. ...At the slightest protest on our part she offered us to the door. She did everything she could to torment us...

Unfortunately, a storm came up, and it was so windy that the boatman assured us it would be dangerous to make the crossing. His wicked wife insisted that we go...[and so] we got into a small boat with one sail. As we put off from shore the boatman jumped out and left us only one of his men, who did not even know how to handle the rudder properly, with the result that... we sailed up and down the river in great anxiety for more than five hours before we finally reached the other shore.¹⁴⁵

VII. SUMMARY

In 1776, Fishkill had been a small, relatively quiet village. But by the end of 1778, it had been transformed into a bustling center of military activity. The Depot and Encampment at Fishkill, with its many physical appurtenances was quite extensive, and the various types of supplies, provisions and munitions stored there were essential to the success of the American Revolution. The war could not have been won without food, clothing, and shelter for the troops, and these Fishkill supplied with greater efficiency and consistency than did any other facility or locale during the conflict. Fishkill's contribution though grossly overlooked and understated previously, was surprisingly varied, and had far-reaching significance.

The town's pre-war rural agrarian character was for the most part lost amidst the comings and goings of armies, both American and British,

and of governmental bodies making plans and decisions to shape the lives of the contemporary populace and future generations as well. At Fishkill countless individuals were compelled to make a personal choice which would in many cases drastically alter the course of their own destiny. Fishkill, then, was more than merely a point on a map, for it focused far-reaching forces and changes upon its transient populace.

VIII. FOOTNOTES

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- 2 E. M. Rittenber, ed., Catalogue of Manuscripts and Relics in Washington's Headquarters Museum, Newburgh, N.Y. (Newburgh: Journal Printing House, 1890), p. 98.
- 3 Ibid., p. 97.
- 4 Thomas Anburey, Travels Through the Interior Parts of America, (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1923), Vol. II, p. 153.
- 5 Marquis de Chastellux, Travels in North America in the Years 1780, 1781 and 1782, trans. by Howard C. Rice (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1963), Vol. I, pp. 86-88
- 6 Baron Ludwig Von Closen, The Revolutionary Journal of Baron Ludwig Von Closen; trans. by Evelyn M. Acomb (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1958), pp. 61-62.
- 7 Harold D. Eberlein, The Manors and Historic Homes of the Hudson Valley, (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1924), pp. 176-177.
- 8 loc. cit.
- 9 Eberlein, p. 176.
- 10 Samuel Loudon, ed., New York Packett and American Advertiser (newspaper published at Fishkill), June 1st, 1780 quoted in the Yearbook of the Dutchess County Historical Society, Vol. 13 (1928), p. 52
- 11 Helen Wilkinson Reynolds, Dutch Houses in the Hudson Valley Before 1776 (N.Y.: Dover Publications, 1965), p. 352. See also J. Bennett Nolan Lafayette in America Day by Day, (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1934), p. 89. Nolan further claims that the Brinckerhoff house was at the time being "used as a Continental hospital."
- 12 Reynolds, p. 333.
- 13 Clinton Papers..., Vol. II, p. 651 dated January 6, 1778.
- 14 Helen Meyers, "Historic Interest Rekindled in Old Fishkill Encampment," published in Poughkeepsie Sunday Journal, May 22, 1962, p. 1-C.
- 15 Minutes of the Committee and First Commission for Detecting and Defeating Conspiracies in the State of New York. Published as Collections of the New-York Historical Society for 1924 and 1925, (N.Y.: published by the Society, 1924-25), hereafter cited as Minutes..., p. 97 is an example of numerous similar entries.
- 16 Reynolds, p. 398.

- 17 Eberlein, p. 184.
- 18 Robert E. Dean in Yearbook of the Dutchess County Historical Society, Vol. 3 (1916-18), pp. 11-12.
- 19 Reynolds, pp. 400-401.
- 20 T. Van Wyck Brinckerhoff, Historical Sketch and Directory of the Town of Fishkill, (Fishkill Landing, N.Y.: Dean and Spaight, 1866), p. 85 - letter from General Alexander MacDougall.
- 21 D. B. Bailey, Local Tales and Historical Sketches, (Fishkill Landing, N.Y.: Fishkill Standard Printing Office, 1874), p. 348.
- 22 Eberlein, pp. 176-177.
- 23 op. cit.
- 24 William Smith, Jr., Historical Memoirs (New York, 1956), edited by William Sabine II as quoted in Stephan Bielski and Horace Wilcox, The Fishkill Supply Depot: Historical Background-Interpretive Proposal prepared by the Office of New York State History, Education Department, November 1970, p. 2 and fn. 15.
- 25 Clinton Papers..., Vol. I, p. 406.
- 26 Ibid., Vol., pp. 418-419.
- 27 Minutes..., p. 55. John Kain, apparently a suspected Tory had been "...committed to the Custody of the Guard and...put in Irons" on December 22^d (p. 43), while two other prisoners mentioned in the December 30th minutes, John Maloyd and Jacobus Striker, who were reported confined in the upper barracks, had been committed to the custody of the guard that same day (p. 52).
- 28 Ibid., p. 56.
- 29 Rutenber, p. 98.
- 30 "A copy of the 'Erskine Military Map of 1778' is most easily found in the New York Historical Society Quarterly Bulletin for January 1923, pp. 128-129" quoted from Bielski and Wilcox, fn. 35.
- 31 Clinton Papers..., Vol. IV, pp. 218-219.
- 32 Minutes of the Albany Committee of Correspondence 1775-1779—Minutes of the Schenectady Committee 1775-1779, Alexander C. Flick, ed. (Albany: The University of the State of New York, 1925), Vol. II, p. 1096, Schenectady Committee minutes for May 8, 1777.

- 33 Calendar of the Correspondence Relating to the American Revolution of Brigadier-General George Weedon, Hon. Richard Henry Lee, Hon. Arthur Lee, and Major-General Nathaniel Greene. (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1900), p. 218, quoted from Paul R. Huey, Test Excavations at the Fishkill Barracks and Supply Depot Sites Fishkill New York (multigraph printed), Pine Brook, N.J., 1968, p. 21.
- 34 N. Bailey, An Universal Etymological English Dictionary, 15th Edition.
- 35 Ibid.
- 36 Amburey, p. 153.
- 37 Chastellux, pp. 86-87.
- 38 op. cit.
- 39 Ibid.
- 40 Chastellux, pp. 86-87.
- 41 op. cit., p. 154.
- 42 op. cit, p. 88.
- 43 Von Closen, pp. 61-62.
- 44 See chapter on "The Invalid Regiment and its Colonel" in John Clement Fitzpatrick The Spirit of the Revolution; New Light from some of the Original Sources of American History, (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1924).
- 45 Minutes..., p. 79. The man was Benjamin Worthy.
- 46 Clinton Papers..., Vol. I, pp. 560-563; p. 626.
- 47 Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 23, 57, 70.
- 48 For a description of the sword see Benson J. Lossing, Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution, (N.Y.: Derby and Jackson, 1850), Vol. II, p. 202.
- 49 Von Closen, pp. 61-62.
- 50 Bailey ...Dictionary
- 51 Clinton Papers..., Vol. I, p. 378-379.
- 52 Minutes..., pp. 70-71.
- 53 Ibid., Minutes for Dec. 22^d, 1776, p. 40.

- 54 Ibid., pp. 50, 181.
- 55 Ibid., pp. 238, 244.
- 56 Amburey, pp. 153-154.
- 57 A. J. Wall, "Samuel Loudon (1727-1813): Merchant, Printer, and Patriot" in New-York Historical Society Quarterly Bulletin, Vol. VI, (October, 1922), pp. 80-85. Copies of the New York Packett...are on microfilm at the New York Public Library.
- 58 William Ellery as cited in J. Harvey Cook, Esq. "Fishkill in the Revolution" in 1894 Yearbook of the Historical Society of Newburgh Bay and the Highlands, pp. 36-37, quoted from Barbara Smith Buys Notes on the Fishkill Supply Depot and Encampment, n.p., ca. 1968, p. 28 and fn. 83, 86.
- 59 Reported in Bielineski and Wilcox, p. 7, but not found in the Rice translation of Chastellux.
- 60 Mrs. Samuel Verplanck, Address given to the Dutchess County Historical Society Annual Pilgrimage, ca. 1917, printed in the Yearbook of the Society, Vol. 3 (1916-1918), p. 18.
- 61 Clinton Papers..., Vol. IV, p. 868.
- 62 Ibid., Vol. IV, pp. 468, 823, 867.
- 63 Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 665-667, 736-737, Vol. II, pp. 45, 83, 110.
- 64 Journals of the Provincial Congress, (Albany: J. Munsell, 1842), p. 63-64.
- 65 New York Packett...as quoted in Yearbook of the Dutchess County Historical Society, Vol. 13 (1928), p. 52.
- 66 Quoted in Brinckerhoff, p. 85.
- 67 Bailey, ...Dictionary.
- 68 Clinton Papers, Vol. IV, p. 262.
- 69 Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 782-783.
- 70 Ibid., Vol. I, p. 647.
- 71 Meyers, p. 1C; also James H. Smith History of Dutchess County (Syracuse: D. Mason & Co., 1882).

- 72 *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 829.
- 73 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 435-444; 458-459.
- 74 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 463-465.
- 75 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 562-626.
- 76 *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 29.
- 77 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 435-438.
- 78 Minutes of the Albany Committee of Safety..., Vol. II, p. 1096.
- 79 John A. Krout in Alexander C. Flick History of the State of New York, (N.Y.: Columbia University Press, 1933), Vol. IV, p. 136.
- 80 New York in the Revolution as Colony and State, a Compilation of Documents and Records from the Office of the State Comptroller, (Albany: J. B. Lyon Co., 1904), Vol. II, p. 51.
- 81 Minutes..., pp. 213-214.
- 82 *Ibid.*, pp. 80, 90, 214.
- 83 Clinton Papers..., Vol. II, p. 29, letter from Hugh Hughes to George Clinton.
- 84 *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 129.
- 85 Jared Sparks, ed., Writings of George Washington, (Boston: Russell, Odiorne and Metcalf and Hilliard, Gray & Co., 1834), Vol. VI, p. 126.
- 86 *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 139.
- 87 Clinton Papers..., Vol. I, pp. 479-483.
- 88 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 518-520.
- 89 Harold C. Syrett, ed., Papers of Alexander Hamilton, (N.Y.: Columbia University Press, 1961), Vol. I, pp. 264-265.
- 90 *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 47.
- 91 Samuel Tallmadge and others, Orderly Books of the Fourth New York Regiment 1778-1780 and the Second New York Regiment 1780-1783, ed. by Almon W. Lauber (Albany: The University of the State of New York, 1932), p. 41.

- 92 Henry Noble McCracken, Old Dutchess Forever! The Story of an American County, (N.Y.: Hastings House, 1956), p. 356. For a listing of Sloops known to have been employed at Fishkill Landing see Franklin D. Roosevelt, "Vessels at Fishkill during the Revolution in Yearbook of the Dutchess County Historical Society, Vol. 10 (1925), pp. 25-28.
- 93 Clinton Papers..., Vol. II, pp. 131-132.
- 94 Ibid., Vol. III, p. 140.
- 95 T. Van Wyck Brinckerhoff, Historical Sketch and Directory of the Town of Fishkill (Fishkill Landing, N.Y.: Dean and Spaight, published at the Fishkill Standard Office, 1866), pp. 75-83. Brinckerhoff published excerpts from the Committee's minutes which he described but he neglects to mention the location of this important manuscript.
- 96 Eberlein, p. 177.
- 97 Clinton Papers..., Vol. I, p. 368-369.
- 98 Ibid., Vol. I, p. 518-520.
- 99 Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 479-483.
- 100 Henry P. Johnston, ed., Correspondence and Public Papers of John Jay 1763-1826, (New York: Da Capo Press, Inc., 1971), Vol. I, p. 126n.
- 101 This paragraph is adapted from the section on the Committee of Safety in New York in the Revolution as Colony and State, (Albany: J. B. Lyon Company, Printers, 1904), pp. 133-137.
- 102 Clinton Papers..., Vol. 1, p. 359.
- 103 Minutes..., p. 1.
- 104 Ibid., p. 2.
- 105 Ibid., p. 420.
- 106 Ibid., p. 47.
- 107 Ibid., p. 93
- 108 Ibid., p. 128.
- 109 Ibid., p. 129.
- 110 Ibid., p. 235.
- 111 Ibid., p. 437.
- 112 Clinton Papers..., Vol. 1, p. 460.

- 114 Syrett, ed., Hamilton Papers, Vol. I, pp. 272-273.
- 115 Otis G. Hammond, ed., Letters and Papers of Major-General John Sullivan, published by the New Hampshire Historical Society as Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society, Vol. 13 (Concord, N.H.: 1930), pp. 334-336.
- 116 loc. cit.
- 117 Clinton Papers..., Vol. II, p. 61.
- 118 Franklin D. Roosevelt, "Events on Hudson's River in 1777" in Yearbook of the Dutchess County Historical Society #21 (1936), p. 110.
- 119 op. cit., Vol. II, p. 382.
- 120 Buys, p. 20. See also Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society published by the Society Hartford 1909, Vol. XII, p. 361-362 for a return of one of the militia companies at Fishkill during October.
- 121 Buys, p. 28.
- 122 Clinton Papers..., Vol. III, pp. 131-132.
- 123 Amburey, Vol. II, p. 154.
- 124 Sparks, ed., Writings of Washington, Vol. VI, p. 134.
- 125 Eberlein, p. 177.
- 126 op. cit., Vol. V, p. 225.
- 127 Chastellux, p. 89.
- 128 Minutes..., p. 437.
- 129 Sparks, Writings of Washington, Vol. VII, p. 432.
- 130 Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 78.
- 131 Syrett, ed., Hamilton Papers, Vol. I, p. 358.
- 132 Flick, History..., Vol. III, p. 337.
- 133 Clinton Papers..., Vol. I, p. 391.
- 134 Ibid., Vol. III, p. 602.
- 135 Minutes..., p. 148.

- 136 Eberlein, p. 160.
- 137 *op. cit.*, p. 38.
- 138 ibid., p. 56.
- 139 ibid., p. 23.
- 140 ibid., p. 20.
- 141 ibid., p. 88.
- 142 ibid., p. 51.
- 143 ibid., p. 71. The guard who had shot Willson was placed in irons to wait the judgement of the Committee.
- 144 Amburey, p. 153.
- 145 Marvin L. Brown, trans., Baroness von Riedesel and the American Revolution Journal and Correspondence of a Tour of Duty, (Kingsport, Tenn.: University of North Carolina Press, 1965), pp. 76-77.

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