

LD  
6051  
W5M  
HIST  
1950  
037

THE YORKTOWN PRISONERS

A Narrative Account of the Disposition of the British Army  
Which Capitulated at Yorktown, October 19, 1781

---

A Thesis

Presented to

the Faculty of the Department of History

The College of William and Mary

---

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

---

by

James Linwood Carpenter, Jr.

June 1950

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
INTRODUCTION .....	iii
Chapter	
I. THE DAY OF SURRENDER .....	1
II. THE EVACUATION OF THE MAIN FORCE .....	9
III. THE EVACUATION OF THE SICK AND WOUNDED .....	22
IV. THE DISPOSITION OF THE PAROLED OFFICERS .....	37
V. THE INTERNMENT IN VIRGINIA, MARYLAND AND PENNSYLVANIA .....	48
VI. CONCLUSION .....	66
APPENDICES .....	79
BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	88

## INTRODUCTION

For nearly 170 years the historian, both professional and amateur, has written and rewritten the story of the American Revolution. Each new account has professed to add new light on some previously neglected subject. In many cases this has been true, yet, with the exception of a limited number of specialized studies made available in recent years, all of the narratives, histories and biographies have as their central theme the struggle for independence of an oppressed people or the life story of one of the chief actors in the ordeal. Only a few writers have found the British side of the picture sufficiently attractive to employ it as their basic topic. As a result many sources, rich in Revolutionary material, have been virtually untouched, and significant chapters in our national history are yet to be told. This study has as its subject one of those neglected chapters.

During the month of September and the early days of October, in 1781, the combined armies of France and the American States succeeded in trapping at Yorktown, Virginia, a British force that had harassed the Southern Colonies for nearly two years. Aided by the French West Indian fleet, which blocked all hope of British reinforcements from the north, the Allied Armies began siege operations on the night of September 28. The defenders, though outnumbered more than two to one, resolved to hold their position.

The odds, however, were too great. After twenty days of sporadic fighting, the British commanding general, Lord Cornwallis, recognized his hopeless circumstances and in regard for his men, asked for a cessation of hostilities preliminary to capitulation. On the afternoon of the nineteenth of October, the defending army marched out of Yorktown to surrender their arms and accoutrements to the victors.

The story of the siege of Yorktown has been related competently, and in considerable detail. However, after recounting the events of the siege and the surrender ceremony, historians invariably have shifted the scene of their narratives to the final phases of the Revolution in the north and the south. By so doing, they have left untold an integral part of the Yorktown story. They have neglected to complete the record of the adventures of the nearly eight thousand men who surrendered their arms.

Who were these men? Where were they taken from Yorktown? What were their experiences at their places of internment? How long did they remain prisoners of war? And, finally, did all of them return to their homes?

These are the questions which are largely unanswered. It is with the purpose of at least partially filling that deficiency that this study has been undertaken. The form employed is that of a narrative, and it is admitted beforehand that the method has its limitations. However, because of the nature of the material

available and the subject to be treated, a narrative account seems the most suitable. Statistical data is introduced only where it is needed to clarify a point being discussed. Similarly, interpretations of questionable factors are avoided except when their insertion does not break the continuity of the story. No attempt is made to list all the county jails or houses of detention in which stragglers or escapees were held, attention being directed primarily to the main internment camps at Winchester in Virginia, at Frederick in Maryland, and at York and Lancaster in Pennsylvania. Throughout, the focus of the thesis is pointed to the activities of the main body of troops, individuals being introduced only when their experiences add interest to the narrative. To avoid unnecessary repetition, where the details of the period of internment are similar, the camp described is the one best known. In all, the study is no more than the simplicity of its title advertises.

## CHAPTER I

### THE DAY OF SURRENDER

The surrender of Cornwallis's Army at Yorktown has been called "the climax of the Revolution." Certainly it was the final significant land action in North America, and, coming when it did, it re-kindled among the war-weary patriots an air of optimism that was sufficiently strong to carry them through the final year of their struggle for independence. For nearly two years the legions of "the modern Hannibal" had devastated the countryside of the Southern Colonies, always eluding the forces who pursued them. Now, at last, the pursuit had ended. The wily Cornwallis had been trapped, besieged and forced to surrender. The victors were jubilant and from Yorktown swift couriers soon spread the joyous news to the cities and towns of the young nation. While the citizenry rejoiced and Congress paused to pass resolutions of gratitude and congratulations to the Allied Armies, the military staffs in Virginia resumed their normal business. Success had its handicaps. For the second time within four years, the colonies faced the problem of interning and provisioning a force of more than five thousand men. To this task the authorities, both civil and military, immediately turned their attention.

The combat personnel surrendered by Lord Cornwallis numbered as follows:

	<u>Officers</u>	<u>Rank and File</u>
British	217	4298
German	75	1862
Loyalist	79	445
	<u>371</u>	<u>6605</u>

Additional prisoners included four chaplains, 43 surgeons and mates, 18 quartermasters, and 130 men belonging to the provost, hospital, and commissary departments. This gave a grand total of 7171 prisoners to be paroled or interned.<sup>1</sup> Of these, 2139 were listed as sick or wounded,<sup>2</sup> who had to be maintained at Gloucester Point until they were fit to travel.

Preparations for the removal of those able to march began immediately following the surrender ceremony, the rank and file receiving first attention. Their destination and future treatment had been provided for in the Articles of Capitulation.

The soldiers to be kept in Virginia, Maryland, or Pennsylvania, and as much by regiments as possible, and supplied with the same rations or provisions as allowed to the soldiers in the service of America. A field officer from each nation, to wit, British, Anspach, and Hessian,

<sup>1</sup>Totals are taken from Thomas Durie's return of the prisoners, Papers of the Continental Congress, Letters of Washington, I, Part I, 331, in Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. The disproportionate number of Loyalist officers was due to the fact that some of the provincial commands had an officer with only one or two rank and file.

<sup>2</sup>Baron von Clozen, MS Journal of Baron Jean ... von Clozen, Aide to Count de Rochambeau, April, 1780 -- June, 1783, Transcript in French by W. C. Ford in Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. I, 381.

and other officers on parole in the proportion of one to fifty men, to reside near their respective regiments and be witnesses of their treatment, ...<sup>3</sup>

The British and German officers spent a good part of the evening of October 19, determining which of them would remain with the prisoners. Among the field officers this was decided by drawing lots. Lieutenant Colonel Lake, of the Guards, seems to have drawn the unlucky ballot among the British. However, because Lake was married, Major James Gordon, a bachelor, volunteered to take the post and was accepted.<sup>4</sup> Though there were four field officers with the two Hessian regiments, if one of them went with the prisoners his name is not given by any of the known contemporary journalists. Major von Beust, of the Bayreuth Regiment, was selected to command the two regiments of Anspachers.<sup>5</sup>

From the evidence available in reports, muster rolls and journals it would seem that the stipulation of Article V regarding the proportion of officers, to accompany the rank and file, was not followed by Cornwallis. If we accept the figures Washington dispatched to his Commissary General of Prisoners on October 25,<sup>6</sup> no less than one hundred and twenty officers would have remained in the colonies. Cornwallis, however, issued instructions that one captain and three subalterns of

<sup>3</sup>Article V, Articles of Capitulation. See Appendix B.

<sup>4</sup>R[oger] Lamb, An Original and Authentic Journal of Occurrences during the Late American War, from Its Commencement to the Year 1783 (Dublin, 1809), 423. Hereafter cited as Roger Lamb, Journal.

<sup>5</sup>Johann C. Doehla, Tagebuch eines Bayreuther Soldaten, des Johann Conrad Doehla aus dem Nordamerikanischen Freitskrieg von 1777 bis 1783 (Bayreuth, Germany, 1913), 154. Hereafter cited as Doehla, Tagebuch.

<sup>6</sup>John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745-1799 (Washington, 1937), XXIII, 263n. Hereafter cited as Fitzpatrick, ed., Writings of Washington.



4

each regiment must stay with the prisoners.<sup>7</sup> Under these orders a maximum of sixty-eight officers would have been interned. Enumerating the names listed in the various official documents and personal records, it appears that about seventy-five officers from the Yorktown prisoners were at some time or other resident in, or near the prison camps. Only the Germans seem to have followed the allowed ratio in the Articles of Capitulation.<sup>8</sup>

The manner of choosing the above officers varied among the different regiments. Some were appointed by the regimental commander. In the British units they followed the pattern set by the field officers.<sup>9</sup>

The officers who were not designated to go with the troops were provided for in Article VI, of the Articles of Capitulation.

The general, staff and other officers, not employed as mentioned in the articles, and who choose it, to be permitted to go on parole to Europe, to New York, or any other American posts at present in possession of the British forces, at their option and proper vessels to be granted by the Count de Grasse to carry them under flags of truce to New York within ten days from this date, if possible, and they to reside in a district to be agreed upon hereafter until they embark.

The disposition of these paroled officers will be dealt with in greater detail in a later chapter.

<sup>7</sup>Sir John Ross, Memoirs and Correspondence of Admiral Lord de Saumarez (London, 1838), II, Addenda, 341. Ross's work includes a brief biographical sketch of Sir Thomas Saumarez, brother of Lord de Saumarez. Sir Thomas was an officer with the Twenty-third Foot at Yorktown.

<sup>8</sup>Doehla, Tagebuch, 154-155. In contrast to the exactness of the Germans, the British followed no precise pattern. No less than six captains from the Guards went with the prisoners. Colonel James J. Graham, ed., Memoir of General [Samuel] Graham, with Notices of the Campaigns in Which He Was Engaged from 1779 to 1801 (Edinburg, 1862), 82.

<sup>9</sup>Graham, ed., Memoir of General Graham, 64; Ross, Memoirs and Correspondence of Admiral Lord de Saumarez, I, 341.

The day following the surrender proved to be a busy one for the Americans. Washington, anxious over the nearness of their position to the coast and fearful of an attempted rescue on the part of Clinton,<sup>10</sup> had hoped to start the captured army promptly on the way to the interior. However, due to the number and location of the men, the Continental Commissary of Prisoners was unable to complete his accounts in time and the departure had to be delayed an extra day.<sup>11</sup>

While Commissary Durie was obtaining musters of the various regiments and securing the paroles of the officers, the prisoners enjoyed a much needed day of rest. After "the hardships and sleepless nights of the siege,"<sup>12</sup> they were exhausted.<sup>13</sup> Their future prospects promised little respite from that weariness since they knew they faced a lengthy march to their places of confinement. The extra day within the town also afforded them an opportunity to collect and pack the few personal belongings they were to carry on the inland journey.

Some of Cornwallis' officers, availing themselves of the liberties granted them, went out to examine the entrenchments of the victors. The French accepted them as professional brothers and eagerly

<sup>10</sup>Henry P. Johnston, The Yorktown Campaign and the Surrender of Cornwallis, 1781 (New York, 1881), 151-152.

<sup>11</sup>John G. Fitzpatrick, ed., The Diaries of George Washington, 1748 - 1799 (Boston, 1925), II, 270.

<sup>12</sup>Doehla, Tagebuch, 158

<sup>13</sup>Journal of Baron von Cloesen, I, 378.

exchanged opinions. In contrast the Continental troops refused such civilities. M. le Abbe Robin observed that

... when they [the prisoner officers] went to visit those of the Americans, they were driven away with contempt and indignation. During the whole time they remained at York, I do not remember that they had the least connexion or intercourse with the Americans, while they lived upon familiar terms with the French, and sought upon all occasions to give them proof of their esteem.<sup>14</sup>

While it is true that many of the Americans took this opportunity to reveal their animosity toward the British, the feeling was not unanimous. Some of the provincial troops showed greater deference to their former enemies than to their own countrymen.<sup>15</sup>

Elsewhere at Yorktown, the military and civil staffs of the Continental Army made arrangements for the journey of the prisoners to Winchester, Virginia, and Fort Frederick, in Maryland, the two places selected for their confinement.<sup>16</sup> Early in the war it had become customary for the colonial agencies to assume control over prisoners residing in, or passing through their territories.<sup>17</sup> Hence, primary

<sup>14</sup>Claude C. Robin, New Travels through North-America; in a Series of Letters; Exhibiting, the History of the Victorious Campaign of the Allied Armies, under His Excellency General Washington, and the Count de Rochambeau, in the Year 1781. Translated /by Philip Freneau/ from the Original of the Abbe Robin, One of the Chaplains to the French army in America (Philadelphia, 1783), 65.

<sup>15</sup>Cf. below, 17.

<sup>16</sup>Fitzpatrick, ed., The Diaries of George Washington, II, 269-270.

<sup>17</sup>Provincial governments drafted the guards from the local militia and provisioned both the prisoners and their keepers. Accounts of the funds expended were reported to local or State committees responsible for such matters, who in turn made claims to the Continental Superintendent of Finances. The practice was expensive but unavoidable since Washington

authority rested with the Virginia Executive, the Government of Maryland later to share this responsibility. Accordingly, General Robert Lawson was ordered by Governor Nelson to take command of the escort of Virginia Militia who would guard the prisoners enroute to their stations.<sup>18</sup>

Lawson's instructions were to assume command of the column proceeding from Yorktown. Later, at Fredericksburg, he was to effect a meeting with the garrison coming up from Gloucester, and to take charge of those prisoners and such of their guard as continued as escort. At some point beyond this junction the prisoners allotted for Maryland were to be separated and sent on their way. Those destined for Winchester were to be placed under the immediate control of Colonel John Smith, County Lieutenant of Frederick, on arrival there. Provisions for the column were to be provided at regular intervals along the route and in the event they failed to materialize, Lawson was authorized to impress supplies.<sup>19</sup>

---

dared not weaken the Continental Army for these duties. The system was formally discontinued when the office of Secretary at War was created in November, 1781. Gaillard Hunt and others, editors, Journals of the Continental Congress (Washington, 1933), XXII, 413. By early spring, 1782, Continental troops had assumed guardianship.

<sup>18</sup>Letter from Governor Thomas Nelson to General Robert Lawson, October 20, 1781, H.R. McIlwaine, ed., Official Letters of the Governors of the State of Virginia. The Letters of Thomas Nelson and Benjamin Harrison (Richmond, 1929), III, 88. Hereafter cited as Official Letters of the Governors.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid. No attempt was made to transport the Gloucester garrison across the York River, and those troops marched for Fredericksburg under the escort of Colonel West's regiment of militia. See letter from General George Weedon to Governor Nelson, October 20, 1781, William P. Palmer, ed., Calendar of Virginia State Papers and Other Manuscripts, 1652 - 1781. Preserved in the Capitol at Richmond (Richmond, 1875), II, 560. Hereafter cited as Calendar of Virginia State Papers.



CHAPTER II

THE EVACUATION OF THE MAIN FORCE

Providence could not have provided a better day for the departure of the captive army. The weather was fair and warm. According to a prearranged schedule, the units of the Virginia Militia assigned as escort were paraded to await the formation of the prisoners. By ten o'clock the British regiments had filed out of their cantonments and had begun their march toward Williamsburg. It is probable that the citizens of Yorktown, making their way to church to celebrate the Nineteenth Sunday after Trinity, were relieved to see their former masters depart under close guard. At the same time many of them must have been awed by the spectacle of the several thousand veteran troops who marched out; and no doubt there were some among the town's residents who stood along the roadside until after three in the afternoon, when the German contingents finally departed.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>The departure of the troops is mentioned in all of the Yorktown journals. The basic facts for the description given above were selected from the following accounts: Doehla, Tagebuch, 159; Count William de Deux-Ponts, My Campaigns in America: A Journal Kept by Count William de Deux-Ponts, 1780-81, trans. Samuel Abbott Green (Boston, 1868), 152; William Feltman, "The Journal of Lieut. William Feltman, of the First Pennsylvania Regiment, from May 26, 1781 to April 25, 1782, Embracing the Siege of Yorktown and the Southern Campaign," Pennsylvania Historical Society, Collections, I (May, 1853), 323; Lieutenant Colonel David Cobb, "Before York Town, Virginia, October 1 - November 30, 1781," Massachusetts Historical Society, Proceedings, XIX (1881-1882), 69.



At the head of the long column rode General Lawson, in command of the escort.<sup>2</sup> With him were his staff and the various militia officers representing the counties whose men made up the guard. According to the practices of the times, these men were mounted, as were those British, German and Hessian officers who were able to procure horses.<sup>3</sup> Behind the column leaders, the prisoners marched by regiment,<sup>4</sup> their formation frequently broken by the baggage wagons of the officers, or small groups of women and children who chose to follow the troops on their long inland trek.<sup>5</sup>

The British regulars marched first in the column of prisoners, the steady scarlet pattern of their uniforms almost monotonous in its similarity. Only here and there could an observer have distinguished an individual regiment in the row on row of red coats. The height of the grenadiers, the pride of Cornwallis's Army, made them stand out among their shorter comrades, as did the shakos worn by the 23rd and 76th Regiments of Foot. The Seventy-First, the only one of the two Highland regiments at Yorktown who wore the tartan, had an

<sup>2</sup>"St. George Tucker's Journal," 394.

<sup>3</sup>Many of the horses belonging to the British Army had died, or been killed for the want of forage. Those remaining at the end of the siege were surrendered to the Americans. All officers were permitted to retain both their swords and their horses, unless the latter were claimed by the local inhabitants as stolen. *Ibid.*; Letter from Weedon to Washington, October 21, 1781, Washington Papers, MSS in Manuscript Division, Library of Congress).

<sup>4</sup>Deux-Ponts, My Campaigns in America, 152.

<sup>5</sup>Doehla says that 63 soldiers' wives and 14 children went with the troops from Yorktown. Tagebuch, 153). There is evidence that some of the English officers had wives or mistresses with them but apparently none accompanied the interned officers. Robin, New Travels, 65.

individuality all their own. They marched with green plaid kilts swirling about their knees, and bright green plumes waving in their bonnets. The artillerymen were in the blue which usually distinguished them in the eighteenth century armies. But these few independents were engulfed in the sea of scarlet before and behind them. The two Hessian regiments and the ones from Anspach and Bayreuth, bringing up the rear, made an abrupt and definite change from their allies. Except for the troops of Colonel von Bose (Hessians) who were uniformed in green, the German ranks were in blue.<sup>6</sup> Though now deprived of their battle accoutrements, the Germans retained their high knapsacks and marched with flasks and field kettles swinging about them.<sup>7</sup>

Ahead, behind, and probably sometimes alongside this resplendent column marched the three divisions of militia escort.<sup>8</sup> Some of the militiamen wore tattered fragments of uniforms<sup>9</sup> but since most of the companies were from the Piedmont and Shenandoah Valley counties,<sup>10</sup> many were undoubtedly clad in the fringed buckskins customary to the frontiersmen. In addition to their weapons, a number probably carried souvenirs of their recent triumph.

<sup>6</sup>Uniform descriptions are taken from interpretive charts and reproductions prepared from original sources by technicians of the National Park Service. They are available at Colonial National Historical Park, Yorktown, Virginia.

<sup>7</sup>Doehla, Tagebuch, 159.

<sup>8</sup>Feltman, "Journal," 323.

<sup>9</sup>Journal of Baron von Clozen, I, 378.

<sup>10</sup>Graham, ed., Memoir of General Graham, 66; Freeman H. Hart, The Valley of Virginia in the American Revolution, 1763-1789 (Chapel Hill, 1942), 95; J. T. McAllister, Virginia Militia in the Revolutionary War (Hot Springs, Va., 1913), passim.



This was the nature of the throng which filled the Williamsburg Road for several miles by late afternoon of the twenty-first. Because of their numbers and the time required to clear their cantonments, the column made little progress before nightfall. They chose a meadow about six miles from Yorktown for their first overnight stop and there camped "under the open sky" with "little to crumble and to bite."<sup>11</sup>

The nearness of the first stopping-place to the Allied camp enabled the curious to see more of the prisoners. After visiting them, M. Blanchard, the Commissary of the French Corps, made this interesting observation in his journal:

I saw them make their soup, go for wood, etc. The Germans preserved order and a certain discipline; on the contrary, there was very little order among the English, who were proud and arrogant. There was no call for this; they had not even made a handsome defense, and, at this very moment, were beaten and disarmed by peasants who were almost naked, whom they pretended to despise and who, nevertheless, were their conquerors.<sup>12</sup>

The following morning the march was renewed, passing through Williamsburg to the next camp site on a hill a mile beyond the town. Here the prisoners received their first full rations from the Americans. The provision allotted consisted of fresh meat, bread made from corn meal, and what vegetables the commissaries could purchase in the town.

<sup>11</sup>Doehla, Tagebuch, 159; Joseph G. Rosengarten, ed. and tr., "Popp's Journal, 1777-1783," The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, XVI (1902), 249. Hereafter cited as "Popp's Journal."

<sup>12</sup>Claude Blanchard, The Journal of Claude Blanchard, Commissary of the French Auxiliary Army sent to the United States during the American Revolution, 1780-1783, trans. William Duane and ed. Thomas Balch (Albany, N.Y., 1876), 153.

However, the soldiers were permitted considerable freedom, and those dissatisfied with such meager sustenance found a ready market for their "hard" money among the farmers and merchants of the vicinity.<sup>13</sup> Many probably enjoyed dairy products for the first time in weeks.

While the prisoners took advantage of their opportunities, General Lawson was busy reorganizing the escort and issuing special instructions to his command. His orders for October 22 were prefaced with a complimentary note to the British officers for the efficiency with which they performed their duties. According to Ensign Dennis, Adjutant of the Forty-third Regiment, Lawson further assured the officers that he intended to make their situation as agreeable as circumstances and his duty permitted, that he had at no time during the war deliberately caused distress to men who were prisoners of the American Army, and that he intended no such action on this occasion.<sup>14</sup>

This was undoubtedly a sincere gesture on the part of the commander of the escort, but what motivated it is open to speculation. He may possibly have hoped to allay any fears of reprisal or ill-treatment that still persisted<sup>15</sup> and to enlist the officers' support in the event of disorders among the men.

<sup>13</sup>Doehla, Tagebuch, 159; "Popp's Journal," 249.

<sup>14</sup>British General and Brigade Orders, Lord Cornwallis, Virginia and Yorktown, May 23 - Oct. 22, 1781, MS orderly book of the 43rd Regiment, in Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, II, 62-63.

<sup>15</sup>Cf. Letter from Aedamus Burke to Arthur Middleton, November 18, 1781, Joseph W. Barnwell, ed., "Correspondence of Hon. Arthur Middleton, Signer of the Declaration of Independence," South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine, XXVI (October, 1925), 189.

Lawson's reorganization of the escort was made necessary by the change in the availability status of certain county commands. Following the reduction of the British position at Yorktown, many of the militia companies retired to camp sites around Williamsburg. Some of these companies were assigned to the guard detail, and, though Lawson needed the rank and file of their complements, he could not use all of the officers. An additional problem was created by the loss of companies from Tidewater counties, whose instructions were to proceed only as far as Williamsburg, and there to join the American Army forming to join General Greene in the Southern Colonies.<sup>16</sup>

By way of resolving this problem of personnel, the militia officers commanding the three escort divisions were ordered to arrange their men in companies of fifty men, each company having as officers one captain, one lieutenant, and an ensign. There seems to have been an excessive number of the latter for they were instructed to draw lots to decide which would remain with the command. All supernumerary officers were discharged. The militia who had been encamped at Williamsburg were distributed equally among the three divisions of the guard, and their officers apportioned in accordance with Lawson's instructions.<sup>17</sup>

Lawson's orders for the prisoners related to their provisions and their conduct. Axes were distributed to the quartermasters of each regiment and the soldiers were informed that when they required

<sup>16</sup>McAllister, Virginia Militia, 155.

<sup>17</sup>British General and Brigade Orders, II, 63-65.

wood or water during the journey they must make application to an officer of the escort. He, in turn, was to direct a non-commissioned officer to accompany the prisoners on this detail and to see that they returned to the camping ground. Having been informed that some of the soldiers had stored personal belongings in the wagons appropriated for the transportation of the officers baggage only, Lawson ordered this circumstance corrected. To facilitate the provisioning of the column during the march, three days victuals were cooked and packed. A fresh meat supplement to these rations was provided for by the presence of one hundred head of beef, procured from the commissariat and driven ahead of the troops.<sup>18</sup> These arrangements concluded, the column was ready to continue toward its destination.

At five O'clock on Tuesday morning, October 23, the advance units of the escort moved out of Williamsburg.<sup>19</sup> Soon afterwards, the entire force followed, proceeding along the well-traveled woodland road which led to New Kent Court House. As the weather continued to be favorable and no incidents occurred to interrupt their advance, by nightfall the column had reached a point near Bird's Tavern, eighteen miles from Williamsburg.<sup>20</sup>

On the twenty-fourth the progress of the column was seriously hindered by a mutiny of some of the English soldiers. So firm were their intentions of rebellion that the militia was forced to fire on them, killing one man and wounding three others. Though a general mutiny was

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., II, 64-65.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., II, 63.

<sup>20</sup> Doehla, Tagebuch, 160.