



The Journal of America's Military Past

Formerly *PERIODICAL*



The battle of Little Big Horn, and the Custer battlefield, are uniquely American icons. This is as true for Custer's descendants as it is for Sitting Bull's. Until recently, the monuments on the battlefield told only one side of the story; laconic markers like the one for an Indian warrior with the ironic name, "Lame White Man," were the closest thing to any commemoration of the victors. *Photo courtesy of Richard Frederici.*

Volume XXX

Fall 2004
Whole Number 99

No. 2

Three Elements of Survival

By Noel B. Poirier

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

The author is a museum educator and military historian who lives in Williamsburg, Virginia.

"Ability to endure privation is one of the soldier's finest qualities: without it an army cannot be filled with genuine military spirit. But privation must be temporary; it must be imposed by circumstances and not by an inefficient system or a niggardly abstract calculation of the smallest ration that will keep a man alive. In the latter case it is bound to sap the physical and moral strength of every man."

Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*¹

Clausewitz's statement should be kept in mind when reading and interpreting the writings of Revolutionary War participants. Circumstances often dictated the quality, quantity and frequency with which soldiers received food, clothing and shelter. Those circumstances included the military and social rank of the individual, whether they were in camp or on the march, the theater in which they operated and countless others. Through the examination of a number of diverse sources, as well as those from a specific campaign (Virginia, 1781), we will explore the impact of circumstances or inefficiency on three elements of survival well-known to any soldier in any era.

There are three principle aspects of a soldier's life which are always necessary: food, clothing and shelter. These elements, as the basic factors of survival in general, are frequently mentioned in primary sources. The amount and type of food rations speak to the ability of armies to supply themselves, both in camp and in the field. The soldiery, officers and enlisted men alike augmented their regular rations a number of ways as circumstances allowed. How the soldiers were clothed is also a matter mentioned frequently in primary sources. More often than not, it is the absence of essential items that is enumerated in their letters and diaries. Some soldiers were in better positions than others, both monetarily and geographically, to augment their official allotments. The quartering of the troops,

whether in tents, houses or on board ship is also a subject that appears often in their writing. Luckily, these three components of survival are often mentioned in passing, freeing the researcher from many of the concerns about the author's motivation in mentioning them. Primary sources, and the examination of them, present the soldier's perceptions of their treatment as it relates to the three elements of survival. Regardless of what later historians have written, the perceptions of the common soldiery at the time of *their* writing *their* experiences was *their* reality. Those perceptions will be left to stand on their own, free from historical critique.

Food

The type and frequency of the food consumed by the Revolutionary War soldier was as varied as the soldiers themselves. The experiences of American soldiers were often very different from that of their British or Hessian counterparts. Time and distance also were considerable factors in determining the kind of rations soldiers received. American soldiers suffered periods of extreme privation during the war, while British forces often relied on supplies from the British Isles to augment their on-hand provisions. When the troops were away from camp, there the opportunity to augment their rations with items from the local populace presented itself. However, just as often, the march away from camp gave the men little opportunity to even stop and eat what little rations they carried. As one will discover, food played a critical part in the survival and comfort of the Revolutionary War soldier.

Joseph Plumb Martin carefully recounted many of his experiences during the Revolutionary War, including the food (or lack thereof) that he was issued or consumed. In the first few years of the war, Martin's rations included "bread...hard enough for musket flints" while on the march through New York City in 1776 and beef ("half bone") and flour while stationed at Barren Hill outside Philadelphia in 1777.² During the same period John Peebles, an officer in the British Army, commented that he, with some other officers, dined on "Tea coffee Punch negus wine & Plumb Cake."³ While Peebles, as an officer, may have had enjoyed such delicacies, the troops he commanded did not. While outside New York City in 1777, Peebles drew rations for his men resembling those consumed by Martin, consisting of "Bread & Rum...an allowance of fresh meat."⁴ The gulf between what Martin had available to him as opposed to Peebles can be seen in their accounts of type of food available to them around Thanksgiving 1777. Martin complained that his Thanksgiving feast was composed of "half a gill of rice and a tablespoonful of vinegar"

while Peebles grumbled about the prices of items like wine, rum and butter.⁵

The commanding officers of the American army were not ignorant of the sufferings of their soldiers. The Marquis de Lafayette penned a letter to Moses Hazen, complaining that he "had not a Bushell [sic] of Grain...and that the Army was to be Fed intirely [sic] with Salt Provisions."⁶ In contrast, and again demonstrating that recorded perceptions are a kind of reality, is the account of the Chevalier de Pontgibaud. Upon his arrival at Valley Forge, the Chevalier commented that the army was "well supplied with provisions, and...that tea and sugar formed part of their rations."⁷ British commanders were also well aware of the needs of their charges when it came to providing suitable provisions. British commanders and merchants in New York set the market prices for goods for the use of the Army occupying the city in 1779.⁸ The advantage of being a British officer with money and connections at home allowed for the ordering of personal provisions from the British Isles, even if they did take several weeks to arrive. Captain W. Glanville Evelyn requested that his father procure for him in Cork, Ireland "a cask of beef, another of tongues, two of butter, two of potatoes, and a hogshead of claret" and send it to him in Boston.⁹

The amount and quality of food available to the soldiery was also influenced by the theater and nature of their service. James Collins, who served in the backcountry of Georgia and South Carolina as a patriot guerrilla, often dined in the homes of local inhabitants. One night, while on a mission to reconnoiter the enemy's position, Collins dined on a supper of "bread, butter, and milk" provided for him by a Whigish family.¹⁰ Unfortunately, acting the part of the guerrilla also meant periods in which Collins had to go without provisions as well. Following a skirmish with a band of Loyalist troops, Collins and his compatriots "had nothing for man or beast to eat" and even the wounded received "little nourishment."¹¹ Serving as an irregular in the backwoods of South Carolina and Georgia created situations much like those found by troops on the march. The grade and number of provisions often depended where the troops stopped for the night to rest.

The Marquis de Lafayette was charged in 1781 with marching a small relieving force to defend the state of Virginia from raids by British troops stationed near Portsmouth, Virginia. The long march to the theater of operations afforded ample opportunity for the men to suffer from lack of food and water. Virginia, in spite of Lafayette's request to Governor Thomas Jefferson that "Provisions...will Require your Excellency's Attention", was unable to provide the necessary

sustenance to Lafayette's force.¹² This want of food is itemized in the diaries of officers who marched with Lafayette to Virginia. Captain John Davis of the Pennsylvania Line noted that Virginia "did not produce one drop of water" to drink and that they only managed to refresh themselves in an orchard along the road.¹³ Like Collins, though, being on the march also afforded the opportunity for dining in the homes of local inhabitants. Davis spent one afternoon in New Kent County, Virginia "drinking tea with a Mrs. Parke."¹⁴ A fellow officer in the Pennsylvania Line, William Feltman, managed to dine one rainy evening in a Tavern near Leesburg, Virginia; however, once on the march again, even he was "destitute of any refreshment."¹⁵ Josiah Atkins, a Connecticut soldier with Lafayette's force, wrote of receiving "good beef" which later turned out to be tainted.¹⁶ Atkins, while in Virginia, was exposed for the first time to a coarse meal biscuit referred to by him as a "Hoo-cake."¹⁷ Marching through the Virginia countryside in the spring of 1781 did allow for the occasional raiding by Atkins of local apple orchards.¹⁸ Once again though one can see the disparity between the food available to officers and enlisted men, even within the same army on the same campaign. A young ensign of the Pennsylvania Line commented that, while fleeing the battlefield near Jamestown, Virginia in July 1781, he was so "exhausted with hunger" that he could barely keep up with his unit.¹⁹ Shortly afterwards, Joseph Plumb Martin, while a part of the American army surrounding Cornwallis at Yorktown, commented that he and some of his fellows were reduced to searching "the woods and fields" for nuts to eat.²⁰

There is no question that the supplying of food to a large army either in camp or on the move was very demanding. There were many challenges to doing so for both the American and British armies in North America. Regardless of those challenges, one thing seems clear from the writings of contemporary observers. Officers, particularly British, were better provided for in terms of victuals than their enlisted counterparts. When on the move though, either by land or water, both officers and enlisted men were often reduced to considerably smaller and poorer quality rations than they were accustomed to. Other circumstances, like detached duty and marches also occasionally afforded the Revolutionary War soldier with the opportunity to augment their meager rations with items procured from the local populace or natural surroundings.

Clothing

Historians of the British and American armies of the American War for Independence have examined the uniforms of the respective

armies in detail in the past. Often there are clothing warrants and regulations that guide their research in determining the appearance of the Revolutionary War soldier. Deserter advertisements in period papers and contemporary drawings and paintings also provide a valuable guide. There are times, however, when the actual appearance of the Revolutionary War soldier may stray from the accepted norms using the above sources. In these cases it is useful to examine the writings of diarists and memoirists to learn how these men perceived their uniforms and the uniforms of their friends and foes alike.

As the varieties of foods consumed by the Revolutionary War soldier differed from one army to another and from one rank to another, so to did clothing allotments. The Continental Army, America's first, presented an interesting mix of uniforms and clothing. Dr. James Thacher, in describing the New England militia army surrounding the British in Boston in 1775, stated that they were clothed "in the style of country laborers."²¹ Upon his arrival outside Philadelphia in the summer of 1777, the Marquis de Lafayette commented on the appearance of the young Continental Army. The army was a "motley and naked array, the best garments are hunting shirts, large jackets of gray linen commonly worn in Carolina."²² The Frenchman Pontgibaud described the army at the same time as "poorly clad, and for the most part without shoes."²³ The British officer John Peebles recorded in his diary that an American prisoner described the Continental Army as having been "in great distress for want of Cloathing [sic] Shoes &ca.."²⁴ Surprisingly, during this same period, Joseph Plumb Martin is silent as to the quality or quantity of clothing issued to him as a private in the Continental Army. His only note about the uniforms of the army during this early period is to comment on the wearing of colored cockades by the officers of the line.²⁵ Lafayette, during the winter at Valley Forge, wrote to Henry Laurens, President of the Continental Congress, not to "forget our good cloathes [sic] for the sake of our naked shoulders [sic] (soldiers)."²⁶

The British Army, by contrast, seemed to look the part of a well-oiled, well-clothed fighting machine. Upon viewing the British army occupying Boston, Dr. Thacher described them as "uniformly clothed and armed."²⁷ Captain Evelyn requested of a correspondent that she acquire for him in London "blue cloth sufficient for two suits, with serge, &c., the proper quantity of regimental buttons, and two epaulettes."²⁸ Apparently Captain Evelyn intended to look the part of the dashing young officer. While Captain Evelyn concerned himself with his own appearance, John Peebles of the 42nd Regiment

acquired "2 pair of trousers for each man of the company" and made sure that his men had their "Grenadier Caps."²⁹ Peebles, throughout his service in America seemed truly concerned with the uniform and equipment of his soldiers, noting at one point that he "look'd into the state of the Compy's. & shoes" and found them "almost all worn out."³⁰ He also proceeded, throughout the conflict, to purchase fabric for the tailoring of items for his men.

As the war progressed, supply became more and more difficult for both sides, thus the uniform problems of the first few years for the Continental Army continued. The accounts of contemporary observers seem to indicate that the uniform of the average Continental Army soldier changed little from the earliest battles to the spring of 1781. That spring Lafayette marched his small army to Virginia to challenge Benedict Arnold and later Earl Cornwallis. Lafayette decried that "...our officers had...No Summer Cloathes [sic] and Hardly a Shirt to Shift. To these Common Miseries the Soldiers Added their Shocking Naked[ness and] a want of Shoes &c. &c."³¹ According to Josiah Atkins, the apparent "nakedness" of the men was somewhat mitigated when later that spring they were issued "one Holland shirt, one linning, one frock, and two pair of over-alls."³² The Pennsylvania Line that later joined Lafayette in Virginia was slightly better off, having enough clothes to wash prior to their march to Virginia.³³ Ebenezer Denny, also of the Pennsylvania Line, commented on the appearance of Atkins and his fellow Light Infantry, describing them as wearing "frocks and over-alls of linen."³⁴

The long march to Virginia from the Carolinas had also had an impact on the appearance of the British troops as well. While very few British observers commented on the quality of their clothing, according to the Private Martin, the British army surrendering at Yorktown "did not make so good an appearance." Martin may not have had the best vantage point for the show, however, and contrary to Martin's account, Dr. Thacher (an officer and perhaps more aware of the situation) reported that "the royal troops...exhibited a decent and neat appearance, as respects arms and clothing, for their commander opened his store, and directed every soldier to be furnished with a new suit complete."³⁵ The truth of the matter must lie somewhere in between.

Once again the circumstances of the observers influenced their perceptions of the quality of their clothing and accouterments. Officers stationed in garrison in New York could acquire fabrics and items that would allow them to appear neatly pressed at balls and dinners. Those British soldiers who were lucky enough to have a conscientious officer like Captain Peebles also suffered less than their

less well-cared-for counterparts. The American army, seemingly always on the move and short of cash and material, seemed less capable of fielding a truly uniform army. Instead, they came to rely on simple over shirts for the men, punctuated by the occasional regimental coat. There is also a theme of "nakedness" that finds its way into virtually every account of the clothing of the men who fought for American independence.

Shelter

Providing shelter for thousands of troops was a challenge for both sides during the American Revolution. Often that challenge was less or more difficult depending on the time of year or the location of the armies. The British upon their arrival in Boston set up "Camp on the Common" but were anticipating being in barracks within a "fortnight."³⁶ However, the British had difficulty getting their barracks built as a result of pressure placed on Boston's carpenters by the Sons of Liberty. Instead, the British troops were moved into vacant buildings scattered throughout Boston.³⁷ While his troops were having a difficult time finding comfortable lodging for the winter, Captain Evelyn managed to acquire for himself and his fellow officers a house in which to spend the winter.³⁸

While the British Army contented itself with staying within the warehouses and homes of the city of Boston, the American troops around the city were housed in a similar fashion. Dr. Thacher commented that his regiment quartered in a barracks on Prospect Hill, and then in a Roxbury house "large and elegant" and "formerly belonging to Governor Shirley."³⁹ It is not hard to imagine that the house was considerably less elegant when the regiment left. During this chapter of the war, men were coming and going from camp regularly, some arriving without even a firearm to their name. Following the British evacuation of Boston, Thacher's regiment, among others, entered the city and took up residence in "comfortable houses."⁴⁰

Upon arrival in New York, in an effort to check the British Army's desire to capture that city, the American troops were quartered much the way their British counterparts in Boston had been. Private Joseph Plumb Martin found himself housed in a dwelling along Stone Street, just opposite a beckoning wine cellar.⁴¹ British troops meanwhile had landed on Long Island and were being housed in "the farmer's houses and barns."⁴² Upon capturing the city of New York, the British Army set up outposts in towns in New Jersey. Captain Peebles men occupied storehouses in Brunswick, while the officers contented themselves with "Empty Dwelling Houses."⁴³

Occasionally the troops would be sent on detached duty, away from the main army and its well-supplied camp. Outside Philadelphia in 1777, Private Martin and his foraging party were put up in a "small house" in the center of Downingtown.⁴⁴ While Martin was able to spend his evenings on detached service in the homes of local inhabitants, those serving in the tumultuous back-country often found themselves sleeping under the stars at night. Following a skirmish with some local Tories, James Collins "dismounted in the woods and tied our horses...We lay down...weary with thinking, I fell asleep."⁴⁵ Lemuel Roberts, serving in the American army near Lake Champlain, spent one evening in a small house, sleeping on the floor and being "frequently trodden upon."⁴⁶

So much has been written about the sufferings of the Continental Army during the winters spent at Valley Forge and Morristown, that it is not surprising that it appears in many of the accounts of American soldiers. The Chevalier de Pontgibaud described the camp at Valley Forge as being "in a pitiable condition," one which caused the British in Philadelphia to "joke about it."⁴⁷ The Marquis de Lafayette commented that "the...soldiers lacked everything...Their feet and legs turned black with frostbite, and often had to be amputated."⁴⁸ Morristown was no better, and Martin described having to shovel away snow near Morristown so that he could pitch his tent.⁴⁹ Dr. Thacher recorded that at Morristown "the soldiers are destitute of tents" and Thacher himself slept on the ground wrapped in his greatcoat.⁵⁰ These conditions persisted until the men were able to build themselves log huts.

While the American army was suffering greatly at Valley Forge, Captain Peebles and his men were being quartered in the city of Philadelphia. "The Light Infantry goes into Barracks, the Grens. into the House of Employment," he wrote. Peebles, upon surveying the quarters, deemed them "some good & some bad," but none of his men were afflicted with the frostbite that plagued the American army.⁵¹ The continued sufferings of the American soldiers at Morristown were alien to their British counterparts opposing them in New York and on Long Island. While Dr. Thacher was lying in the snow wrapped in a greatcoat, Captain Peebles was billeted in "a pretty good room" with "the use of a Kitchen & Stable." His men, quartered just down the road, were being housed in huts, much like those of their American opponents.⁵²

Cold was not the only enemy a poorly quartered soldier had to face. Josiah Atkins noted during his march to Virginia the "many insects that trouble us" including ticks, spiders and chiggers.⁵³ Atkins later found himself drenched by a terrible thunderstorm because he,

and the other men of the Light Infantry, "have no tent to shelter us."⁵⁴ The Light Infantry were not the only troops who had to suffer the Virginia spring without tents. Captain Davis of the Pennsylvania Line found himself without a tent in June 1781 and as a result "got very wet this night with rain."⁵⁵ Davis often commented on the lack of shelter that he and his men suffered on their constant marches through the Virginia countryside. Eventually, he resigned himself to his plight, commenting "we lay down contented, destitute of any refreshment, Bedding or covering."⁵⁶ Lafayette's 1781 campaign in Virginia, with its constant marching and counter marching, gave the soldiers little opportunity for adequate shelter, officer and enlisted man alike.

Providing adequate shelter for the thousands of troops on both sides of the conflict proved difficult to say the least. The American Army, seemingly always on the march and lacking everything, found it sometimes impossible to meet the needs of the troops. Conversely, the British Army statically quartered in cities and well-supplied with funds, could better provide lodging for their rank and file. If the army was on campaign, both sides may find themselves sleeping under the stars, without the benefit of tent or roof. The Virginia Campaign of 1781 required that both armies stay on the march, with as little baggage as possible.

Conclusion

Clausewitz's quotation regarding the privations of soldiers raises questions about the indigence of soldiers who served in the American Revolution. How much of the sufferings of Private Martin and his fellow American soldiers was caused by their circumstances? What constitutes a circumstance? Does the failure of the Continental Congress to create a stable currency and provide adequate supplies for the Continental Army constitute an "inefficient system" or "niggardly calculations"? While one, on the surface, cannot argue with Clausewitz's assertion, he is very vague about what qualifies as a "circumstance." It is most fair to claim that the environment in which the Continental Army operated, *inefficient* politically and economically, created *circumstances* which prevented it from being adequately fed, clothed and sheltered.

The British Army had its own challenges to overcome to supply their troops operating in the American theater. While they maintained a mastery of the sea at the beginning of the war, making it easier to transport men and material, that advantage was mitigated with the entrance of France into the conflict. Nonetheless, it is safe to say that the British Army's circumstances were better than those of their

American foes, both in camp and on the march. Their principal advantage was their ability to purchase, with specie, the essential items necessary for an army in the field. Were there inefficient quartermaster systems? Were officers "niggardly" in the assessment of the needs of their men? Were there circumstances when the British Army suffered cold and hunger? Certainly. Nonetheless, having examined available sources, they did not suffer to the degree that their American foes did. Clausewitz asserted that if soldiers suffered privations caused by situations other than their immediate circumstances, "it is bound to sap the physical and moral strength of every man." While the morale of the Continental Army suffered greatly during the war, it is important to note that, deprived of adequate food, clothing and shelter for eight years, it remained in the field. Meanwhile the British Army in America, comparatively well supplied with material and treasure, was forced to sail home conquered and demoralized.

The last few pages of Joseph Plumb Martin's memoirs read like the ravings of a bitter, disappointed and cynical old man. His complaints about his treatment, and the treatment of other war pensioners and veterans, are so vitriolic that they sour an otherwise pleasant reading experience.⁵⁷ Whether his sufferings were always the result of "an inefficient system" as opposed to "circumstances" is open to debate. The last few pages of his work are a red flag to the careful historian. The examination of primary source documents is much like walking through a minefield in which the motivations and perceptions of the authors are hidden just beneath the surface. The discerning researcher, when examining these sources, must always bear in mind these "mines" when attempting to use the information to obtain a greater understanding of the experiences of American Revolutionary War soldiers in general. Whether the document is a diary, journal or memoir written years later, the author's perceptions *were* reality for them. For the researcher, this means that events *may not* have occurred the way the writer records them, in spite of the fact that the writer *may actually have taken part in them*.

ENDNOTES

1. Carl von Clausewitz. *On War*, ed. and trans. by Michael Howard and Peter Paret (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), 331.
2. Martin, 23 and 77.
3. John Peebles. *John Peebles' American War: The Diary of a Scottish Grenadier, 1776-1782*, ed. Ira D. Gruber (Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania: Stackpole Books, 1998), 81.
4. Peebles, 128.
5. Martin, 100. Peebles, 150.
6. Letter from Marquis de Lafayette to Moses Hazen, 18 February 1778, as found in Stanley J. Idzerda, ed. *Lafayette in the Age of the American Revolution, Selected Letters and Papers, 1776-1790, Volume I, December 7, 1776-March 30, 1778*. (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1977), 290.
7. Chevalier de Pontgibaud. *A French Volunteer of the War of Independence*, ed. and trans. by Robert B. Douglas (New York: The New York Times and Arno Press, 1969), 40.
8. Peebles, 379.
9. Letter from Captain W. Glanville Evelyn to Reverend Doctor Evelyn, 7 October 1775, as found in G.D. Schull, ed. *Memoir and Letters of Captain W. Glanville Evelyn* (Oxford: James Parker and Co., 1879; reprint, North Stratford, NH: Ayer Company Publishers, Inc., 2001), 68. (page citations are to the reprint edition).
10. James Potter Collins. *Autobiography of a Revolutionary War Soldier* (Clinton, LA: Feliciana Democrat, 1859; reprint, North Stratford, NH: Ayer Company Publishers, 1989). 30. (page citations are to the reprint edition).
11. Collins, 42-43.
12. Letter from Marquis de Lafayette to Thomas Jefferson, 3 March 1781, as found in Stanley J. Idzerda, ed. *Lafayette in the Age of the American Revolution, Selected Letters and Papers, 1776-1790, Volume III, April 27, 1780 - March 29, 1781* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1980), 368.
13. John Davis, "Diary of Capt. John Davis, of the Pennsylvania Line," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 1 (July 1893): 3.
14. Davis, 4.
15. William Feltman, *The Journal of Lieut. William Feltman of the First Pennsylvania Regiment, 1781-1782* (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1853), 3.
16. Josiah Atkins, *The Diary of Josiah Atkins*, ed. by Steven E. Kagle (New York: The New York Times and Arno Press, 1975), 19.
17. Atkins, 29.
18. Atkins, 35.
19. Ebenezer Denny. *Military Journal of Major Ebenezer Denny, An Officer in the Revolutionary and Indian Wars* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co., 1859), 37.
20. Martin, 237.

21. James Thacher. *Military Journal of the American Revolution*. (Hartford: Hurlbut, Williams & Company, 1862; reprint, New York: The New York Times and Arno Press, 1969), 27. (page citations are to the reprint edition).
22. Idzerda, *Lafayette in the Age of the American Revolution, Selected Letters and Papers, 1776-1790, Volume I, December 7, 1776-March 30, 1778*, 91.
23. Pontgibaud, 40.
24. Peebles, 162.
25. Martin, 25.
26. Letter from Marquis de Lafayette to Henry Laurens, 9 January 1778, as found in Idzerda, *Lafayette in the Age of the American Revolution, Selected Letters and Papers, 1776-1790, Volume I, December 7, 1776-March 30, 1778*, 228.
27. Thacher, 27.
28. Letter from Captain W. Glanville Evelyn to Mrs. Leveson Gower, 6 December 1776, as found in Scull, 43.
29. Peebles, 95 and 105.
30. Peebles, 170.
31. Letter from Marquis de Lafayette to Nathanael Greene, 17 April 1781, as found in Stanley Idzerda, ed. *Lafayette in the Age of the American Revolution, Selected Letters and Papers, 1776-1790, Volume IV, April 1, 1781-December 23, 1781*. (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1981), 37.
32. Atkins, 28.
33. Davis, 2. Feltman, 2.
34. Denny, 35.
35. Thacher, 289.
36. Letter from Captain W. Glanville Evelyn to Mrs. Leveson Gower, 31 October 1774, as found in Scull, 33-34.
37. Letter from Captain W. Glanville Evelyn to Reverend Doctor Evelyn, 31 October 1774, as found in Scull, 39.
38. *Ibid.*, 40.
39. Thacher, 37.
40. *Ibid.*, 41.
41. Martin, 20.
42. Peebles, 54.

43. Peebles, 106.
44. Martin, 105.
45. Collins, 42-43.
46. Lemuel Roberts. *Memoirs of Captain Lemuel Roberts*. (The New York Time and Arno Press: New York, 1969), 33.
47. Pontgibaud, 47.
48. Marquis de Lafayette's *Memoir of 1779*, as found in Idzerda, *Lafayette in the Age of the American Revolution, Selected Letters and Papers, 1776-1790, Volume I, December 7, 1776-March 30, 1778*, 170.
49. Martin, 166.
50. Thacher, 180.
51. Peebles, 155.
52. *Ibid.*, 232.
53. Atkins, 29.
54. *Ibid.*, 37.
55. Davis, 4.
56. *Ibid.*
57. Joseph Plumb Martin. *A Narrative of Some of the Adventures, Dangers and Sufferings of a Revolutionary Soldier*, ed. George F. Scheer (North Stratford, New Hampshire: Ayer Company Publishers, Inc., 2001), 283-294.

* * *

Yet it is peculiarly true of the British Army that it only gives of its best on a well-filled stomach. This is as true of training as of fighting. There is profundity, not merely a surface satire, in the old rhyme—"Battles may be fought and won, but the British Army dines at one."

— B. H. Liddell-Hart