Victory or Death End Notes

Works Cited

Battle of Princeton Mapping Project by John Milner Associates, 2010. Funded by American Battlefield Preservation Program (ABPP).

https://nebula.wsimg.com/5c5787575dcfe140c85a5a72b99d9597?AccessKeyId=30A63A38D8E C02E5C753&disposition=0&alloworigin=1

Cecere, Michael. Second to No Man but the Commander in Chief: Hugh Mercer: American Patriot. Berwyn Heights, MD: Heritage Books, 2015.

Chernow, Ron. Washington: A Life. London: Penguin Books, 2010.

Custis, George Washington Parke. *Recollections and Private Memoirs of Washington*. New York: Derby & Jackson, 1860.

Dwyer, William M. The Day is Ours! New York: Viking Press, 1983.

Ferling, John. *Almost a Miracle: The American Victory in the War of Independence*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Fischer, David Hackett. Washington's Crossing. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Fiske, John. *The American Revolution*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1891.

Freeman, Douglas Southall. George Washington, Volume IV. New York: Scribner's, 1951.

Hunter, Richard W. and Ian C. G. Burrow. "The Historical Geography and Archaeology of the Revolutionary War in New Jersey." *New Jersey in the American Revolution*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rivergate Books, 2005.

Lengel, Edward. Washington: A Military Life. New York: Random House, 2007.

Lossing, Benson. New History of the United States. New York: Gay Brothers & Company. 1875.

Lossing, Benson. *Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution: Volume II*. New York: Harper Brothers, 1859.

McCullough, David. John Adams. New York: Simon and Schuster, 2001.

McCullough, David. Seventeen Seventy-six. New York: Simon and Schuster, 2005.

Raum, John O. *History of the City of Trenton, New Jersey*. Trenton, NJ: W.T. Nicholson and Company, 1871.

Report to Congress on the Historic Preservation of Revolutionary War and War of 1812 Sites in the United States. American Battlefield Protection Program, National Park Service. 1996.

Speeches and Addresses by William E. Russell. Boston: Little Brown and Company. 1894.

Stryker, William S. *The Battles of Trenton and Princeton*. Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1898.

Trevelyan, George Otto. *The American Revolution: Part III*. London: Longmans, Green, and Company, 1907.

Tucker, Phillip Thomas. *George Washington's Surprise Attack: A New Look at the Battle That Decided the Fate of America*. New York: Skyhorse Publishing, 2014.

Unger, Harlow Giles. *The Last Founding Father: James Monroe and a Nation's Call to Greatness*. Philadelphia: Da Capo Press, 2009.

Welsch, William M. "Christmas Night 1776: How Did They Cross?" *Journal of the American Revolution*. 2013.

Weller, Jac. "Guns of Destiny: Field Artillery in the Trenton-Princeton Campaign 25 December 1776 to 3 January 1777" *Military Affairs*, Vol. 20, No. 1 (Spring, 1956). Pg. 1-15.

Wilkinson, James. Memoirs of My Own Times. Vol. 1. Philadelphia: Abraham Small, 1816.

Touring the Battlefield

Page xiii: "Beyond written histories," – Report to Congress on the Historic Preservation of Revolutionary War and War of 1812 Sites in the United States. American Battlefield Protection Program, National Park Service. 1996. pg. 16

Page xv: "The congested . . ." – Tucker, Phillip Thomas. *George Washington's Surprise Attack:* A New Look at the Battle That Decided the Fate of America. New York: Skyhorse Publishing, 2014. pg. xix

Page xviii: "visually accessible . . ." – Hunter, Richard W. and Ian C. G. Burrow. "The Historical Geography and Archaeology of the Revolutionary War in New Jersey." *New Jersey in the American Revolution*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rivergate Books, 2005. pg. 183

Page xviii: "America's most . . ." – Tucker, George Washington's Surprise Attack. pg. xix

Chapter One: The Darkest Hour: Fall 1776

Page 1: "The year 1776 is over . . ." – Fischer, David Hackett. *Washington's Crossing*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004. pg. 363

Page 3: "9,000 soldiers" – McCullough, David. *Seventeen Seventy-six*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 2005. pg. 105

Page 4: "I cannot but hope Providence" – Chernow, Ron. Washington: A Life. London: Penguin Books, 2010. pg. 61

Page 4: "as the Congress desire it" – George Washington to the Continental Congress, June 16, 1775.

http://www.loc.gov/teachers/classroommaterials/presentationsandactivities/presentations/timeline/amrev/contarmy/accepts.html

Page 5: "John Adams estimated" – McCullough, David. *John Adams*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 2001. Pg. 78.

Page 5: "The rebellious war now levied" – King George III Address to Parliament, October 27, 1775.

http://www.loc.gov/teachers/classroommaterials/presentationsandactivities/presentations/timeline/amrev/shots/address.html

Page 6: "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." – Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776. https://www.archives.gov/founding-docs/declaration-transcript

Page 7: 23,000 men – Chernow, Washington. pg. 244

Page 8: 32,000 troops – Chernow, Washington. pg. 244, McCullough, 1776. pg. 148

Page 8: "I thought all London was afloat." - Chernow, Washington. pg. 235

Page 9: "The Hessians and our brave Highlanders" – Fischer, Washington's Crossing. pg. 97

Page 9: "Are these the men" – McCullough, 1776. pg. 212

Page 10: 16,000 men – Freeman, Douglas Southall. *George Washington, Volume IV*. New York: Scribner's, 1951. pg. 241

Page 10: "Washington couldn't command" - Chernow, Washington. pg. 339

Page 10: "actuated by the most glorious cause that mankind" - McCullough, 1776. pg. 239

Page 11: 3,000 men – McCullough, 1776. pg. 243

Page 11: 5,000 men – Freeman, George Washington. pg. 241

Page 12: 6,000 British troops – McCullough, 1776. pg. 251

Page 12: "My dear Reed: I received" McCullough, 1776. pg. 254

Page 14: "The state was overrun" – Dwyer, William M. *The Day is Ours!* New York: Viking Press, 1983. pg. 181

Page 14: "a girl of thirteen years" – Dwyer, *The Day is Ours!* Pg. 187

Page 14: "there have been other" – Fischer, Washington's Crossing. pg. 179

Page 14: 1,500 soldiers – Fischer, Washington's Crossing. pg. 5

Chapter Two

Page 17: "I hope this is the dark part" – McCullough, 1776. pg. 247

Page 17: "Less than 3,000" – George Washington to John A. Washington, December 18, 1776. http://www.loc.gov/teachers/classroommaterials/presentationsandactivities/presentations/timeline/amrev/north/plains.html

Page 18: "In a word my dear" – George Washington to John A. Washington, December 18, 1776.

 $\underline{http://www.loc.gov/teachers/classroommaterials/presentations and activities/presentations/timeline/amrev/north/plains.html$

Page 18: "I would look forward" – George Washington to Lund Washington, December 10-17, 1776. http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/03-07-02-0228

Page 18: "You can form no Idea" – George Washington to John A. Washington, December 18, 1776.

 $\underline{http://www.loc.gov/teachers/classroommaterials/presentations and activities/presentations/timeline/amrev/north/plains.html}$

Page 19: "many of them were destitute" – Dwyer, The Day is Ours! pg. 130

Page 19: "the route was easily traced" – Fischer, Washington's Crossing. pg. 210

Page 19: "a man staggered out" - Fischer, Washington's Crossing. pg. 133

Page 20: "These are the times that" – Paine, Thomas. *The American Crisis*, December, 1776. http://www.ushistory.org/paine/crisis/c-01.htm

Page 20: "full power to order" – Fischer, Washington's Crossing. pg. 144

Page 21: "instead of thinking myself free from all civil obligations" – George Washington to the Executive Committee of the Continental Congress, January 1, 1777. http://founders.archives.gov/?q=Volume%3AWashington-03-07&s=1511311112&r=396

Page 21: his army of 5,000 – Freeman, George Washington. pg. 283, 297

Page 22: about 500 men – Freeman, George Washington. Pg. 297

Page 23: John Honeyman story – Fischer, Washington's Crossing. Pg. 537.

Page 23"some enterprise must" – Col. Joseph Reed to George Washington, December 22, 1776. http://founders.archives.gov/?q=pomroy&s=1511311111&r=15

Page 25: "I tremble for Philadelphia" – George Washington to Lund Washington, December 10-17, 1776. http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/03-07-02-0228

Page 27: "ten days more will" – George Washington to John Hancock, December 20, 1776. http://founders.archives.gov/?q=ten%20days%20more%20will%20put%20an%20end%20to%20 the%20existence%20of%20our%20Army&s=1111311111&sa=&r=7&sr=

Chapter Three

- Page 29: "Our affairs are now" Col. Joseph Reed to George Washington, December 22, 1776. http://founders.archives.gov/?q=Volume%3AWashington-03-07&s=1511311112&r=325
- Page 30: "For Heaven's sake" George Washington to Col. Jospeh Reed, December 23, 1776. https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/03-07-02-0329
- Page 30: about 2,400 Continental Fischer, Washington's Crossing. pg. 208
- Page 30: 1,500 man Hessian Fischer, Washington's Crossing. pg. 396
- Page 31: 800 Pennsylvania militiamen Fischer, Washington's Crossing. pg. 209
- Page 31: 1,200 Philadelphia Associators (Pennsylvania militia) and 600 Continentals Fischer, *Washington's Crossing*. pg. 209
- Page 32: Description of Trenton: Stryker, William S. *The Battles of Trenton and Princeton*. Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1898. pg. 90
- Page 33: "Victory or Death" Fischer, Washington's Crossing. pg. 220
- Page 33: "functioning more" Fischer, Washington's Crossing. pg. 366
- Page 34: "harebrained" Lengel, Edward. Washington: A Military Life. New York: Random House, 2007. pg. 164

Chapter Four

- Page 37: "It was as severe a night" Stryker, The Battles of Trenton and Princeton. pg. 133
- Page 37: "country clowns" Stryker, The Battles of Trenton and Princeton. pg. 420
- Page 37: "Let them come." Fischer, Washington's Crossing. pg. 204
- Page 39: "stentorian lungs" Fischer, Washington's Crossing. pg. 218
- Page 39: "every man had sixty" Fischer, Washington's Crossing. pg. 207
- Page 41: "not to worry" Stryker, The Battles of Trenton and Princeton. 85
- Page 41: "After a while it" Fischer, Washington's Crossing. pg. 212
- Page 43: 18 cannons Weller, Jac. "Guns of Destiny: Field Artillery in the Trenton-Princeton Campaign 25 December 1776 to 3 January 1777" *Military Affairs*, Vol. 20, No. 1 (Spring, 1956). Pg. 1-15. http://www.reenactor.ru/ARH/PDF/Weller_01.pdf
- Page 43: nearly 100 horses Welsch, William M. "Christmas Night 1776: How Did They Cross?" *Journal of the American Revolution*. 2013. https://allthingsliberty.com/2013/10/christmas-night-1776-cross/
- Page 43: "perseverance accomplished" Dwyer, *The Day is Ours!* pg. 233
- Page 44: "This made me despair" George Washington to John Hancock, December 27, 1776. http://founders.archives.gov/?q=Volume%3AWashington-03-07&s=1511311112&r=356

Page 44: "he had resolved" – Wilkinson, James. *Memoirs of My Own Times*. Vol. 1. Philadelphia: Abraham Small, 1816. pg. 132

Chapter Five

- Page 47: "We began an apparently" Dwyer, The Day is Ours! pg. 247
- Page 48: "many of our soldiers" Dwyer, The Day is Ours! pg. 247
- Page 49: "I recollect very well" Fischer, Washington's Crossing. pg. 228
- Page 49: 1,200 men Freeman, *George* Washington. pg. 311. http://www.reenactor.ru/ARH/PDF/Weller_01.pdf
- Page 50: "Fix Bayonets" Stryker, *The Battles of Trenton and Princeton*. 140, Fischer, *Washington's Crossing*. pg. 230
- Page 50: "Press on" Fischer, Washington's Crossing. pg. 231
- Page 51: "You sir!" Fischer, Washington's Crossing. pg. 232
- Page 51: "Soldiers, keep by your" Fischer, Washington's Crossing. pg. 228
- Page 53: "ate a piece" Raum, John O. *History of the City of Trenton, New Jersey*. Trenton, NJ: W.T. Nicholson and Company, 1871. pg. 155

Chapter Six

- Page 55: "Indeed I never" Fischer, Washington's Crossing. pg. 241
- Page 55: "Der feind!" Fischer, Washington's Crossing. pg. 240
- Page 57: "we advanced" Dwyer, *The Day is Ours!* pg. 258
- Page 58: "they behaved very" George Washington to John Hancock, December 27, 1776. http://founders.archives.gov/?q=Volume%3AWashington-03-07&s=1511311112&r=356
- Page 58: "these Guards we forc'd" Stryker, The Battles of Trenton and Princeton. pg. 371
- Page 58: "came to the Charge" George Washington to John Hancock, December 27, 1776. http://founders.archives.gov/?q=Volume%3AWashington-03-07&s=1511311112&r=356
- Page 60: "I am willing to go upon oath" Fischer, Washington's Crossing. pg. 426
- Page 61: "they pushed on" Stryker, *The Battles of Trenton and Princeton*. pg. 375
- Page 61: "Our noble countryman" George Washington to John Hancock, December 27, 1776. http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/03-07-02-0355
- Page 62: "their main body" George Washington to John Hancock, December 27, 1776. http://founders.archives.gov/?q=Volume%3AWashington-03-07&s=1511311112&r=356
- Page 63: "here succeeded a scene" Stryker, The Battles of Trenton and Princeton. pg. 371

- Page 63: "General Washington, on horseback" Fischer, Washington's Crossing. pg. 249
- Page 63: "position was an exposed" Wilkinson, Memoirs of My Own Times. pg. 129
- Page 63: "My God, Lieutenant Englhardt" Stryker, *The Battles of Trenton and Princeton*. pg. 156
- Page 64: "dealt death wherever" Wilkinson, *Memoirs of My Own Times*. pg. 130
- Page 65: "All who are my" Fischer, Washington's Crossing. pg. 246
- Page 66: "My brave lads" Fischer, Washington's Crossing. pg. 247
- Page 66: "The rebels attacked us" Fischer, Washington's Crossing. pg. 248
- Page 68: "My blood chilled" Fischer, Washington's Crossing. pg. 248
- Page 69: "Struck!" Wilkinson, Memoirs of My Own Times. pg. 130
- Page 69: "Major Wilkinson, this is" Wilkinson, Memoirs of My Own Times. pg. 131
- Page 69: 22 men Fischer, Washington's Crossing. pg. 405

Chapter Seven

- Page 83: "The weather was" Fischer, Washington's Crossing. pg. 255
- Page 85: "what can't men do" Fischer, Washington's Crossing. pg. 259
- Page 86: "As it is entirely" John Hancock to George Washington, January 1, 1777. http://founders.archives.gov/?q=Volume%3AWashington-03-07&s=1511311112&r=400
- Page 86: "Heard the unpleasant" Fischer, Washington's Crossing. pg. 260
- Page 87: "it is the damd Hessians" Fischer, Washington's Crossing. pg. 259-260
- Page 87: "are the worst troops" Fischer, Washington's Crossing. pg. 260

Chapter Eight

- Page 89: "a fair opportunity" George Washington to William Heath, December 28, 1776. http://founders.archives.gov/?q=Volume%3AWashington-03-07&s=1511311112&r=365
- Page 89: "a pursuit would" John Cadwalader to George Washington, December 27, 1776. http://founders.archives.gov/?q=Volume%3AWashington-03-07&s=1511311112&r=354
- Page 89: "if we can drive" John Cadwalader to George Washington, December 27, 1776. http://founders.archives.gov/?q=Volume%3AWashington-03-07&s=1511311112&r=354
- Page 90: "I am about to enter" George Washington to William Maxwell, December 28, 1776. http://founders.archives.gov/?q=Volume%3AWashington-03-07&s=1511311112&r=368
- Page 91: "worn down" Dwyer, The Day is Ours! Pg. 293.

Page 92: "My brave fellows" – Lengel, Edward. *Washington: A Military Life*. New York: Random House, 2007. pg. 196

Page 92: 3,000 men – Fischer, Washington's Crossing. pg. 274

Chapter Nine

Page 95: "Thirty minutes would" – Wilkinson, Memoirs of My Own Times. pg. 138

Page 95: 8,000 British troops – Fischer, Washington's Crossing. pg. 291

Page 97: 6,000 men – Fischer, Washington's Crossing. pg. 410

Page 98: 1,500 men – Fischer, Washington's Crossing. pg. 411

Page 98: "they were to kill" - Fischer, Washington's Crossing. pg. 293

Page 98: 1,000 men – Dwyer, *The Day is Ours!* pg. 313.

Page 102: "General Washington came" – Fischer, Washington's Crossing. pg. 302

Page 102: "They came on a third time." – Dwyer, *The Day is Ours!* pg. 324

Page 102: "dead bodies lay thicker" – Dwyer, The Day is Ours! pg. 332

Page 103: "his right hand hung" – Fischer, Washington's Crossing. pg. 309

Page 103: 100 men - Fischer, Washington's Crossing. pg. 412.

Page 104: "bag the old fox" - Fischer, Washington's Crossing. pg. 313

Page 104: "If ever there was" – Wilkinson, Memoirs of My Own Times. pg. 138

Chapter Ten

Page 115: "The night, although cloudless" – Wilkinson, Memoirs of My Own Times. pg. 140

Page 119: 700 men – Fischer, Washington's Crossing. pg. 329

Page 120: 450 – Fischer, Washington's Crossing. pg. 413

Page 121: 350 men – Fischer, Washington's Crossing. pg. 330

Chapter Eleven

Page 125: "Our fire was most" – Fischer, Washington's Crossing. pg. 331

Page 125: "reserved their fire" – *Battle of Princeton Mapping Project* by John Milner Associates, 2010. Funded by American Battlefield Preservation Program (ABPP). pg. 66

Page 127: "was inhumanly murdered" – *Battle of Princeton Mapping Project*, Appendix 24)

Page 127: "having received" – Battle of Princeton Mapping Project, Appendix 111 and 112)

Page 127: "brains out" – Battle of Princeton Mapping Project, Appendix 148)

- Page 127: "Lieut. Yates had" Battle of Princeton Mapping Project, Appendix 24)
- Page 128: "he received a wound" Battle of Princeton Mapping Project, Appendix 146 and 147)
- Page 128: "the Heat of Action" William Howe to George Washington, January 23, 1777. http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/03-08-02-0143
- Page 128: "Col. Haslet retired" Battle of Princeton Mapping Project, Appendix 110)
- Page 129: "The enemies fire" Stryker, *The Battles of Trenton and Princeton*. pg. 440
- Page 130: "From these stacks" Stryker, *The Battles of Trenton and Princeton*. pg. 440
- Page 130: "At this moment" Dwyer, The Day is Ours! pg. 347
- Page 131: "[Washington's] greatness" Battle of Princeton Mapping Project, Appendix 105)
- Page 131: "Gen. Washington having rallied" *Battle of Princeton Mapping Project*, Appendix 110)
- Page 132: "I never saw men" Fischer, Washington's Crossing. pg. 335
- Page 132: "It is a fine" Wilkinson, Memoirs of My Own Times. pg. 145
- Page 132: "My old associates" Fischer, Washington's Crossing. pg. 331
- Page 132: "I had a most dismal" *Battle of Princeton Mapping Project*, Appendix 60)
- Page 133: 232 of the 446 Fischer, Washington's Crossing. pg. 413
- Page 134: "the enemy were" Stryker, *The Battles of Trenton and Princeton*. pg. 451

Chapter Twelve

- Page 139: "Though we were" Dwyer, *The Day is Ours!* pg. 367
- Page 139: "Yesterday the remains" Battle of Princeton Mapping Project, Appendix 118)
- Page 140: "Cheer up!" Cecere, Michael. Second to No Man But the Commander in Chief: Hugh Mercer: American Patriot. Berwyn Heights, MD: Heritage Books, 2015. pg. 163
- Page 140: "This day the body" Cecere, Second to No Man. pg. 167
- Page 141: 14,000 effectives Fischer, Washington's Crossing. pg. 366

Chapter Thirteen

- Page 143: "On Christmas Day" Lossing, Benson. *Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution: Volume II.* New York: Harper Brothers, 1859. Pg. 14.
- Page 143: "It is with much concern" Stryker, *The Battles of Trenton and Princeton*. pg. 482
- Page 144: "America is never to" Fischer, Washington's Crossing. pg. 360
- Page 144: "the rebels carrying off" Stryker, *The Battles of Trenton and Princeton*. pg. 373

- Page 144: "had a fair prospect" Stryker, The Battles of Trenton and Princeton. pg. 482
- Page 144: "the joy diffused" Wilkinson, Memoirs of My Own Times. pg. 132
- Page 145: "the two late actions" Stryker, The Battles of Trenton and Princeton. pg. 472
- Page 145: "This has given them" Fischer, Washington's Crossing. pg. 260
- Page 145: "The achievements" Custis, George Washington Parke. *Recollections and Private Memoirs of Washington*. New York: Derby & Jackson, 1860. pg. 190
- Page 146: "the American community" Wilkinson, Memoirs of My Own Times.
- Page 147: "will be forever" Unger, Harlow Giles. *The Last Founding Father: James Monroe and a Nation's Call to Greatness*. Philadelphia: Da Capo Press, 2009. pg. 23
- Page 145: "Washington retreats like" Pennsylvania Journal, Feb. 1777, Fischer, *Washington's Crossing*. Pg. 428.
- Page 146: 8,000 redcoats Lengel, Washington: A Military Life. pg. 337
- Page 146: "Virginia stood almost alone" Virginia General Assembly Remonstrance to Congress, 1781. http://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/Remonstrance to Congress 1781.
- Page 146: "Massachusetts rejoices" *Speeches and Addresses by William E. Russell*. Boston: Little Brown and Company. 1894. pg. 98
- Page 147: "When the illustrious part" Fischer, Washington's Crossing. pg. 362
- Page 148: "Gentlemen, you will permit me" Ferling, John. *Almost a Miracle: The American Victory in the War of Independence*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007. pg. 556
- Page 149: "Defender of the women" George Washington to the Ladies of Trenton, April 21, 1789. https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/05-02-02-0095
- Page 148: "he would frequently" Custis, G. W. P. Recollections. Pg. 171.
- Page 150: "exquisite sensation" Lossing, *Pictorial Field-Book*. Pg. 39.
- Page 150: "at this awful" Fiske, John. *The American Revolution*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1891. pg. 268.
- Page 150: "until that hour" Fischer, Washington's Crossing. pg. 435/
- Page 150: "no single armed" Tucker, George Washington's Surprise Attack. pg. xviii
- Page 150: "This was a long and severe" Trevelyan, George Otto. *The American Revolution: Part III.* London: Longmans, Green, and Company, 1907. 113.

Appendix: Memory

Page 153: "I remember all . . ." – Abraham Lincoln Address to the New Jersey Senate, February 21, 1861. http://www.abrahamlincolnonline.org/lincoln/speeches/trenton1.htm

Page 153: "history has no parallel" - Lossing, Benson. *New History of the United States*. New York: Gay Brothers & Company. 1875. pg. 269

Page 153: "of all the pivotal moments" - Fischer, Washington's Crossing. Editor's Note.

Page 154: "achievements so stirring" - Lossing, Pictorial Field-Book. pg. 33