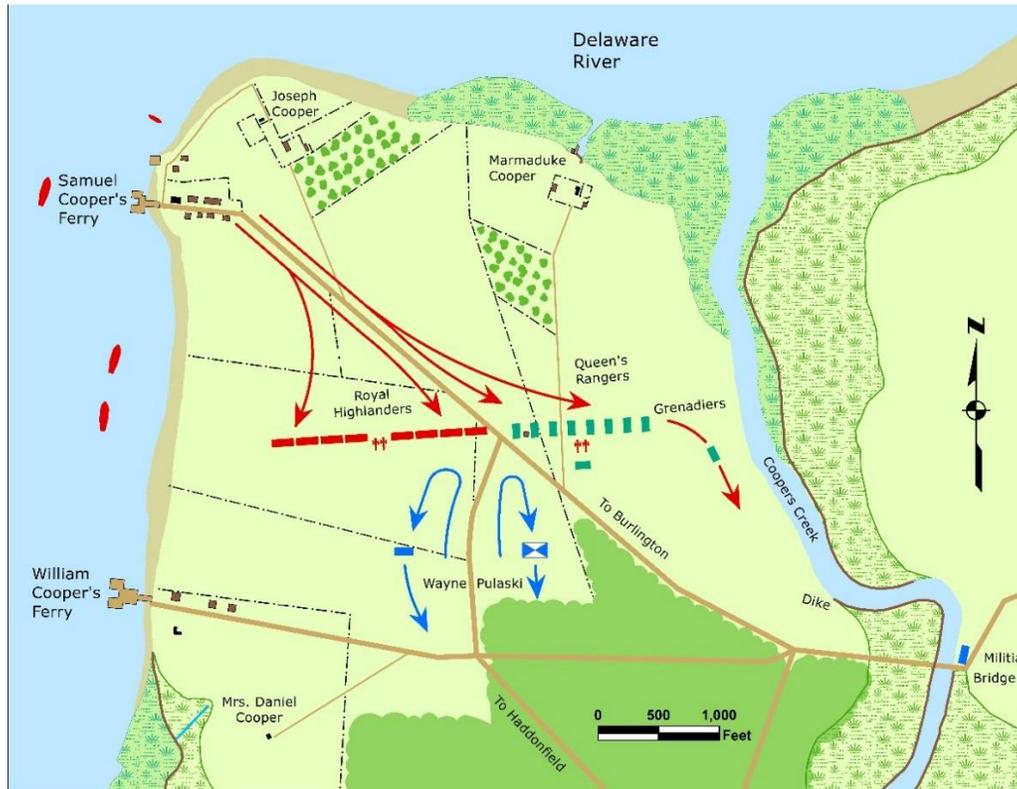


Coopers Ferry

During the American Revolution



A Report to
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1201 Eye Street NW (2287)
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in partial fulfillment of the requirements of grant GA-2287-13-011

Garry Wheeler Stone for the
Friends of the Indian King Tavern Museum, Inc.
28 September 2015

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Coopers Ferry, New Jersey, during the American Revolution
A Report to the American Battlefield Protection Program, the National Park Service¹

Garry Wheeler Stone, 28 September 2015

Coopers Ferry, the predecessor of the City of Camden, came into existence because of its location on the east bank of the Delaware River. The ferries were directly across the river from the City of Philadelphia, one of the largest English-speaking cities in the world. From Philadelphia, a ferry ride across the river led to a road network that led north to Burlington, the capital of West Jersey, or east to Great Egg Harbor and the Atlantic Ocean. Other roads led south towards the town of Salem. Travelers could access a shorter route to the southern counties of Salem, Cumberland, and Cape May via the Gloucester ferry, but it required a two-and-a-half or three mile ride or walk south of the city to Gloucester Point.

During the American Revolution, Coopers Ferry was a modest place composed of two ferry slips and the associated taverns, warehouses, and stables. Other buildings may have included barns and cottages for the ferry men. Pierre Nicole included an unfinished plan of Coopers Ferry in his 1784 version of *A Plan of the City of Philadelphia and Its Environs . . . 1778* (page 3, figure 1). The plan shows four buildings at William Cooper's ferry and eight at Samuel Cooper's—plus two other buildings at an old wharf.

Jacob Cooper had hopes of developing a town at Coopers Ferry. In 1773, he subdivided part of his 100-acre inheritance into streets and lots. However, although his "Town of Camden" lots sold well, they appear to have been held as investments by their owners. None was built upon at the outbreak of the Revolution (page 16, figure 6). The buildings by the ferries were surrounded by farmland. The land was part of Newton Township, Gloucester County. The township's market and the largest village in the county was Haddonfield, six-and-a-half miles to the east. The county seat was at Gloucester Town, four-and-a-half miles south east of Cooper's Ferry. The "Town" of Gloucester was barely a hamlet. It consisted of a ferry landing, a tavern, a courthouse, and a few houses. Most of the 17th-century house lots had been absorbed into farms.

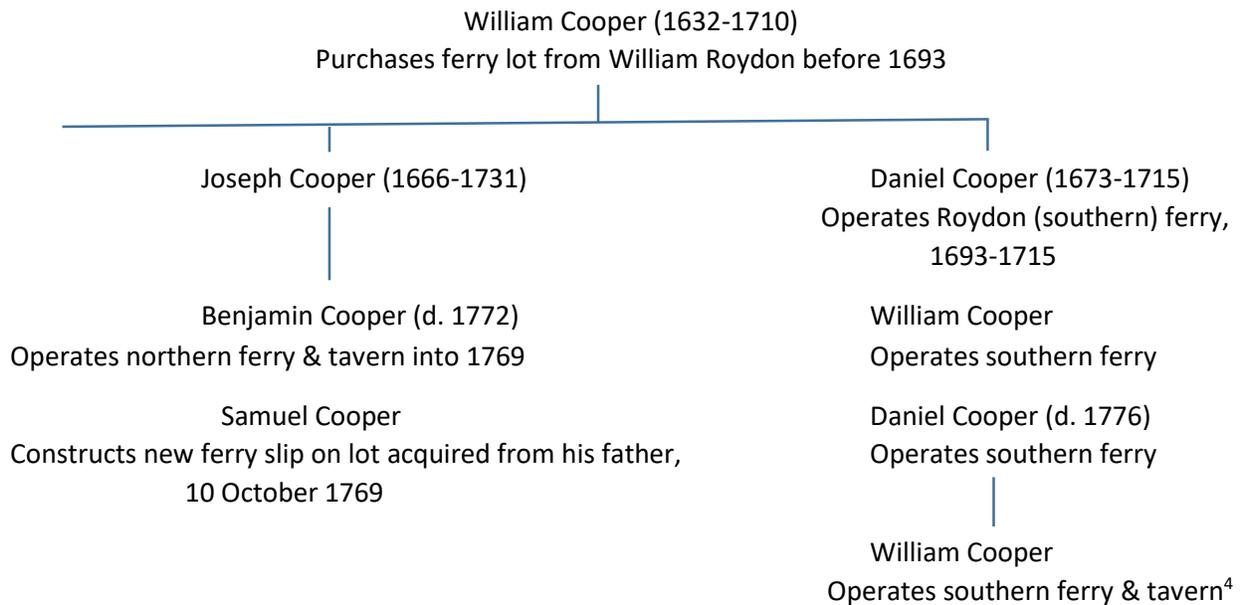
The county's sheriff—Colonel Joseph Ellis—owned one of the farms. Ellis was a veteran of the Seven Years War, commander of the county's second militia battalion, and an able administrator and politician. He was an ardent supporter of Independence. However, unlike some of his fellow radical Whigs, Ellis appreciated the dilemma that the war posed for members of the Society of Friends. He seems to have received votes from both sides of the Revolutionary divide. The New Jersey legislature nominated Ellis a militia brigadier-general in February 1777. Although Ellis declined the nomination, after the next appointee failed to perform adequately, Ellis was named "Colonel-Commandant" of the south Jersey militias. Newton Township and Coopers Ferry saw a great deal of Sheriff Ellis in 1777-1778.²

Coopers Point and its ferries took their name from the families that operated the ferries. They were the fourth and fifth generations of Coopers to live there. In 1682, Blacksmith William Cooper (1632-1710)

¹ A project jointly sponsored by the ABPP (grant GA-2287-13-011), the Friends of the Indian King Tavern Museum, Inc., the New Jersey State Park Service, Department of Environmental Protection, and Garry Stone, State Park Service volunteer.

² *Minutes and Proceedings of the . . . Joint-Meeting* (Trenton, Isaac Collins, 1780), pp. 16-19, 21. Ellis was a former member of the Society of Friends.

surveyed a tract of 300 acres at the confluence of the Delaware River and “Coopers Creek,” a tract initially called “Pinie Point.” Cooper had emigrated from England about 1679 and was one of the members of the Society of Friends who would dominate Gloucester County society for over a century. In 1688, William Cooper’s neighbor to the south, William Roydon, acquired a license from the county court to operate a ferry across the Delaware River. Roydon did not operate the ferry long, by 1693 selling it, a house, and 114 acres to William Cooper. William deeded it to his son Daniel in 1695. Daniel’s son William purchased another 300 acres of former Roydon land in 1723, thus consolidating in Cooper ownership the Delaware River waterfront directly across from 18th-century Philadelphia. By the 1730s, Benjamin Cooper, another of Blacksmith William Cooper’s grandsons, had started a second ferry.³



The war would not directly impact Coopers Ferry until the British invaded Pennsylvania in September 1777. However, its impact on the area had long been felt. Some of the county’s gentry and yeomanry subscribed to Philadelphia newspapers, others would have read the papers at taverns or heard the news from neighbors.⁵ William Cooper, operator of the southern ferry, and his cousin, Marmaduke Cooper, owner of one of Newton Township’s largest farms and a small farm at Cooper’s Ferry, had been

³ John Clement, *First Emigrant Settlers of Newton Township, Old Gloucester County, West Jersey* (Camden, NJ: Sinnickson Chew, 1877, reprinted, Camden County Historical Society, 1974), pp. 85-99; Charles S. Boyer, *Annals of Camden, No. 3: Old Ferries of Camden, NJ* (Privately printed, 1921), pp. 10-11, 20-21; John Clement, *Abstracts of Titles . . . Camden City, 1879*, manuscript, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Clement Papers, Collection 791, 3rd-floor vault, rack 45, shelf d, Gen CL-10.

⁴ For Samuel Cooper’s and his cousin William Cooper’s operation of ferries in 1778, see Washington Papers, 12:8, 348, 15:396; and N.J. State Archives, Tax Ratables (#784), Newton Township, February 1779, (#787), July 1782.

⁵ For a Deptford Township, Gloucester County farmer’s subscription to Hall & Sellers’ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 1775-1777, see Job Whitall, *The Diary of Job Whitall of Gloucester County, New Jersey, 1775-1779*. Transcribed by Florence DeHuff Friel (Woodbury, NJ: Gloucester County Historical Society, 1992), pp. 14, 15, 22, 39, 60, 163, 166, 170, 175, hereinafter, Whitall Diary; *New Jersey Archives*, 1st Series, XXIX (Newspaper Extracts X, 1773-1774):549, 556.

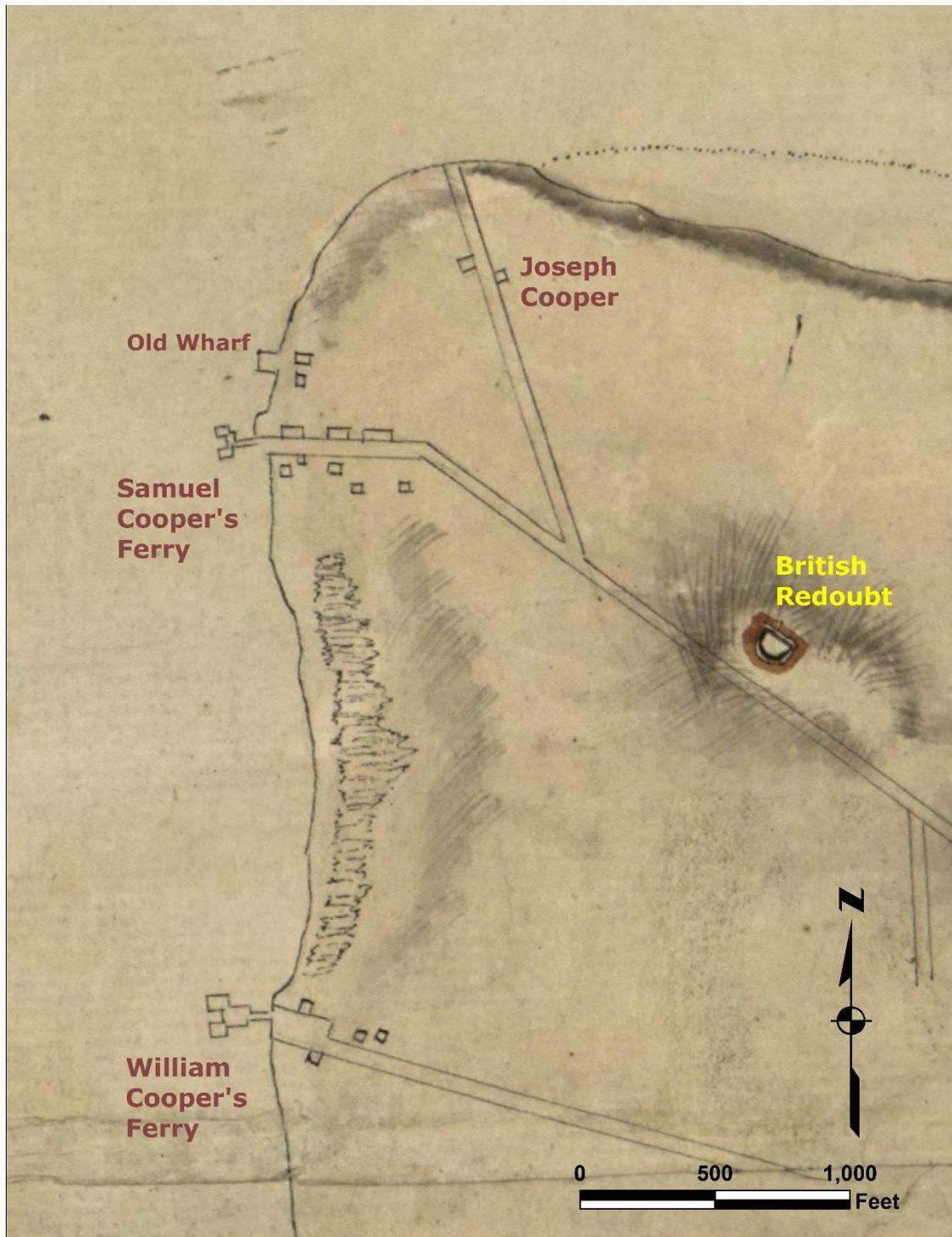


Figure 1: Coopers Ferry, June 1778
Detail from the eastern margin of
Pierre Nicole, Plan of the City of Philadelphia . . . 1778 (1784)
Library of Congress, Maps of North America, 1750-1789



Figure 2: Marmaduke Cooper's house at Coopers Ferry in 1936, now an archaeological ruin. The stone portion is believed to have been constructed by Joseph Cooper, Sr., before 1709. Isaac Cooper constructed the Flemish bond brick addition between 1731 and 1751. Historic American Building Survey, NJ-70, photograph: Nathaniel R. Ewan



Figure 3: Stone house built for Benjamin Cooper, 1734. The brick addition post-dates the Revolution. Benjamin's son, Joseph, lived here in 1778. The roof burned, November 2012. Undated early photograph copied by the Historic American Survey, NJ-304

members of the Gloucester County “Committee of Observation” created to enforce the boycott of British goods. All of the township’s property owners were impacted by the Revolution once the New Jersey’s Royal government had been pushed aside by a Provincial Congress, and the new legislature, dominated by radical Whigs, began imposing war taxes. The county militias were put on a war footing and pacifists who refused to serve were required to pay a modest monthly fine. Those refusing to pay had goods confiscated and sold to pay their taxes, fines, and court costs.⁶

The Revolution affected Gloucester County residents in other ways. Some militia men volunteered for the State Troops and died in the fighting around New York City during the summer and fall of 1776.⁷ Preparations for Washington’s attack on the Trenton garrison in late December had Pennsylvania troops and artillery being ferried from Philadelphia to Coopers Ferry, while supplies for Continental forces were shipped to Coopers Ferry. One shipment to Samuel Cooper’s warehouse, on 2 April 1777, was thirty barrels of pork.⁸

The war arrived—briefly—on the Delaware River shortly after Lexington and Concord. During May 8-9, 1776, two British warships tried to ascend the Delaware River, but were driven back by Pennsylvania gunboats. The war returned in late summer 1777. Sir William Howe, having given up in defeating Washington’s army in northern New Jersey, landed 18,000 troops at the head of the Chesapeake Bay on August 25th and defeated Washington at Brandywine Creek on September 11th. On September 26th, British and Hessian grenadiers paraded into Philadelphia, fifes and drums playing, and the grenadiers’ caps and the artillery horses decorated with greenery. Having been warned that rebel ships were stationed nearby and might rake Philadelphia streets with gunfire, the British brought six, 12-pounder field pieces. They immediately began constructing three batteries along the waterfront.⁹

The next morning, “2 rebel frigates and several galleys try to pass up river.” Gunfire from the British 12-pounders drove them back. In maneuvering, the Continental frigate *Delaware* ran around and was captured. This was one of several times that the Philadelphia 12-pounders would fire at enemy vessels in the Delaware. One of these times, a 12-pound round shot hit the roof of Joseph Cooper’s big stone house, tearing splinters out of an oak timber (page 4, figure 3).¹⁰

Over the next nine months, heavy gunfire would ring in the ears of Cooper Ferry residents many times. On September 29th, it was from British navy vessels firing at fire rafts sent against them; on October 2nd, British seamen cannonaded the Continental fort at Billingsport while landing troops to take possession.

⁶ *Minutes of the Provincial Congress and the Council of Safety of New Jersey* (Trenton: Naar, Day & Naar, 1879), Whitall Diary, pp. 16, 50, 55, 72-75, 107, 111, 145, 154, 197.

⁷ New Jersey State Archives, Revolutionary War slips for Benjamin Whitall of Deptford Township, NJ, captain of a company of State Troops, July-October 1777.

⁸ “The Military Papers of General John Cadwalader,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 32 (1908), pp. 152-154; Whitall Diary, p. 59.

⁹ Thomas McGuire, *The Philadelphia Campaign, Volume 1: Brandywine and the Fall of Philadelphia* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2006), pp. 133-261; Friedrich von Muenchhausen, *At General Howe’s Side, 1776-1779*, translated by Ernst Kipping, annotated by Samuel Stelle Smith (Monmouth Beach, NJ: Philip Freneau Press, 1974), p. 36, hereinafter cited as Muenchhausen.

¹⁰ Muenchhausen, p. 36; John W. Jackson, *The Pennsylvania Navy, 1775-1781: the Defense of the Delaware* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1974), pp. 123-125, hereinafter Jackson, *Pennsylvania Navy*; Charles S. Boyer, *Annals of Camden, No. 1: the Old Houses in Camden*, New Jersey (Privately printed, 1820), p. 5; Historic American Building Survey, the Benjamin Cooper House (NJ-304), data sheets.

While the British controlled Philadelphia, they did not have water access. Their naval vessels and supply ships were prevented from ascending the river by forts Mifflin (on Mud Island) and Mercer (on the Jersey shore), obstructions in the river, and by the galleys of the Pennsylvania and Continental navies. To enable supply ships to reach Philadelphia, the British would have to capture the forts and remove the obstacles from the river. The capture of the fort at Billingsport was only the first step in a process that would take over seven weeks.

On October 5th, a detachment of artillery men, heavily escorted, was sent down to the British fleet at Chester for howitzers and mortars. On October 7th, the garrison of Fort Mifflin spotted British engineers reconnoitering Province Island. Gunners at the fort and on galleys fired a hundred shot at the engineers and their escort.¹¹ The next night, the British began constructing a battery at the mouth of the Schuylkill. Rebel galleys, patrolling the river, heard the sound of digging and opened fire with grapeshot. Over the next five weeks, the gunfire would only escalate as British constructed batteries from which to bombard Fort Mercer. A British engineer, Capt. John Montresor, estimated that on October 11th, Continental gunners fired 3,000 shot at Montresor's construction crews.¹²

The British quickly learned that a land-based siege of Fort Mifflin would be a tedious, time-consuming process. Battery construction in the marshes of Province and Carpenter Islands was difficult, and the Continental forces were doing everything in their power to obstruct the work. Desperate to open the river to British shipping, the British commander, Sir William Howe, decided to shorten the process with coordinated infantry and naval attacks on the two forts. German infantry would capture Fort Mercer on October 22nd, and British naval and army forces would attack Fort Mifflin on October 23rd.

At 8 A.M. October 21st, twelve flat-bottomed boats left Philadelphia for Coopers Ferry with Col. Carl von Donop, Jaegers (light infantry), three regiments of Hessian Grenadiers, the Regiment Des Corps, their battalion field pieces, and two 5 ½-inch (24-pounder) howitzers. Shortly after landing, the Jaegers skirmished with New Jersey militia, some of whom withdrew over the Coopers Creek Bridge, while others withdrew into the woods. While the Jaegers kept the militia busy (fighting continued until late in the afternoon), Von Donop and the rest of the troops marched to Haddonfield. The next day, the Germans' attempt to storm Fort Mercer was a bloody failure. Eight officers and 143 non-commissioned officers and privates were killed and 266 officers and men were wounded, many fatally, including Col. von Donop. The following morning, before daybreak, the 1st Battalion of British Light Infantry and the 27th Foot crossed to Coopers Ferry to cover the retreat of the Germans. At Marmaduke Cooper's Pomona Hall plantation, two miles east of Coopers Ferry, the British met the Germans and decided to withdraw to Philadelphia.¹³

The British attack on Fort Mifflin was equally unsuccessful. To prepare for the assault, in the late afternoon of the 22nd, the British fleet attacked the rebel galleys and floating batteries protecting Mifflin. As the British broke off action about 8 P.M., two of their vessels, the 64-gun ship *Augusta* and

¹¹ John Montresor, *The Montresor Journals*, G. D. Scull, Editor (NY: N-Y Historical Society, 1882, available on line at archive.org), p. 463, hereinafter, Montresor Journal.

¹² Montresor Journal, 463-465.

¹³ Johann Ewald, *Diary of the American War: A Hessian Journal*, translated by Joseph P. Tustin (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979) pp. 97-102, hereinafter, Ewald Journal; Daniel Clymer to Washington, 26 October 1777, Philander D. Chase, Editor, *The Papers of George Washington, Revolutionary War Series*, vol. 14 (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2004), pp. 8-9.

the 18-gun sloop-of-war *Merlin* ran aground. The next morning, the Pennsylvania Navy attacked the stranded vessels with gunfire and fire ships. British naval gunfire foiled the fire ships, but about 11 A.M., the *Augusta* caught fire. At noon, the fire reached its magazine. The explosion—heard 16-miles away—broke windows in Philadelphia. The British were unable to refloat the *Merlin* and burned it. Throughout this, the British land batteries cannonaded the fort and two hundred British grenadiers waited in boats. When the battery ship *Vigilant* was unable to gain the west side of the fort, the assault was called off.¹⁴

The British reconciled themselves to a long siege and continued constructing batteries on Province and Carpenters Islands and smuggling ammunition into Philadelphia. Parallel, the garrisons of Forts Mifflin and Mercer labored to improve their defenses. The weather, however, forced a time out for both sides. From midday on October 26th through late into October 30th, torrential rain fell, flooding both Fort Mifflin and the siege works on Province and Carpenters Islands. Sections of earthwork were washed away. Then the weather cleared and work resumed. On November 10th, the British were ready. Capt. Montresor wrote in his journal:

*We opened our Batteries against Mud Island Fort, the whole consisting of two 32 pounders, six 24 pounders Iron, one 18 pounder, two 8 inch Howitzers, two 8 inch mortars, and one 13 inch mortar.*¹⁵

The discharge of the heavy guns could be heard for miles. The Continentals replied with five guns, but by noon four of them had been silenced, and the British cannonade was tearing the fort apart. Over the next four days, the destruction continued. Finally, on November 15th, the British were able to warp the ship *Vigilant* up to the west side of the fort. The *Vigilant* was a battery ship with sixteen, 24-pounders on its starboard (right) side. The gunners in Fort Mifflin hit her several times before she was in position, but then she was so close to the fort that from her masts, British marines were able to throw grenades into the fort. Then the *Vigilant* opened fire, leveling what was left of the fort. Continentals estimated that in one 20-minute period, the *Vigilant*, other naval vessels, and the shore batteries fired over a thousand shot into the fort. In Philadelphia and Coopers Ferry, the sound was that of continuous thunder. That night, the remnants of the garrison fled to Fort Mercer. Five days later, Lord Cornwallis approached Fort Mercer with 6,000 troops. The Continentals evacuated the fort, setting it on fire as they left.¹⁶

The fall of Fort Mercer left the American river fleet in a trap. Most vessels had been stationed south of the forts, protecting the forts and the obstructions in the river. Now the British were building a battery in the ruins of Fort Mifflin. The rebel navy attempted to escape before dawn November 20th, but the wind was unfavorable for the larger vessels. The galleys and guard boats, propelled by oars, set off at 3 A.M. and were at Bristol, Pennsylvania by late morning. The Continentals tried again the next morning, but the night was clear. There was no chance that the larger ships could pass by Philadelphia in the main channel. They and the floating batteries were burned. Despite artillery fire from the Philadelphia 12-pounders and the *Delaware* frigate, six shallower draft vessels, a brig, a schooner, and four sloops, were able to hug the eastern shore and escape past Coopers Ferry. The artillery fire did drive ashore

¹⁴ Jackson, Pennsylvania Navy, pp. 194-202

¹⁵ Montresor Journal, p. 474

¹⁶ Montresor Journal, pp. 474-478; Jackson, Pennsylvania Navy, pp. 230-259, 272-277.

one 8-gun schooner and a sloop.¹⁷ The schooner's crew burned their vessel as they abandoned it. November 22nd, seamen from the *Delaware* destroyed the sloop. On the 23rd, British supply ships began arriving at Philadelphia wharves.¹⁸

Then began a cold, dull winter for the residents of Coopers Ferry. There was no work for the ferrymen. New Jersey had outlawed transporting provisions to Philadelphia, and Colonel Joseph Ellis did everything in his power to enforce the ban. Moreover, although most of the residents of the neighborhood disapproved of the Revolution, Joseph Cooper and his brother Samuel, operator of the upper ferry, were Whigs. Samuel, although a pacifist, was a strong supporter of the Revolution. He, with his friend John Litle, operated a salt works on the Atlantic shore that supplied the Continental Army. When Samuel Cooper wrote Litle on November 28th, he was concerned that before he could move his goods, the "hellhounds" would march again through Coopers Ferry.¹⁹ But the British stayed on the west side of the river, and Samuel Cooper's letter of December 24th is about events around Philadelphia. Much of his letter of December 27th is taken up with the misfortunes of Loyalists attempting to carry provisions to Philadelphia:

I have several droll jokes to tell you about some of our old Acquaintances going out a *foraging* as they call it, but it is what an Honest man calls PLUNDERING. There is scarce a night but some of these gentry is taken and Brought to Haddonsfield.

John Cunningham that kept the Centre and Capt. Taylor that kept the Bull and Dog, is both Prisoners in Haddonsfield. Bill Austin with 23 others went down to Dutch Creek to plunder flour.²⁰ They went in a schooner they gave £500 for on purpose for the trade with a small schooner as a tender and 4 Barges. They got 200 barrels of flour on board and was going down the Creek, but they were overtaken by the Militia, when a smart firing begun and in a short time Capt. Austin put to the oposite side of the Creek leaving the Schooner and Barges and taking to the mud. In this affair every man but himself and three more were either killed, wounded or taken Prisoners. Poor encouragement for a young Beginner [sic].²¹

January 20th, Cooper treated his friend to a sequel to the "Battle of the Kegs." Shortly after Christmas, 1777, David Bushnell, a rebel inventor, launched a number of mines against the British shipping at Philadelphia. The mines were buoyed by wooden kegs, making the British leery of any floating object. According to Cooper:

This day there was a Grand Attack made by all the Shipping in the Harbor with Cannon and Small arms upon a poor Empty Barrel that was floating in the ice which they imagined to Be some kind of Fire Works. But the Barrel came off unhurt. The attack began at Warder's Wharf, with the tide at Ebb and till the Barrel reached the Old Fort, and then the tide turned and brought the

¹⁷ Was this when Joseph Cooper's stone house was struck by a 12-pound shot?

¹⁸ Montresor Journal, pp. 477-478; Jackson, Pennsylvania Navy, pp. 272-274.

¹⁹ Samuel Cooper, "Extracts from the Letters of Samuel Cooper, 1777-1778," edited by John W. Jordan, *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. X (1886), pp. 34-35. Hereinafter, Samuel Cooper, Letters.

²⁰ Dutch (now Duck) Creek is on the western shore of the Delaware River, just north of Bombay Hook, in Kent County, Delaware. For a similar incident at Dutch Creek in May, 1778, see Washington Papers, 15:146-148.

²¹ Samuel Cooper, Letters, p. 36.

poor Barrel back through the midst of a hot fire, but we have not hear of any lives lost. I think we shall have it in the Burlington Gazette [sic].²²

Cooper might have been less amused if some of the shot had ricocheted into Coopers Ferry.

During December, January, and early February, the British troops, especially the light troops (Jaegers, British light infantry, and Queen's Rangers), were frequently in the field. They made forays beyond the Philadelphia fortifications to protect farmers bringing provisions into the city, to cover foraging parties, and to protect wood cutters.²³ However, as hay, grain, and cattle became scarce on the west side of the Delaware, the British began thinking of the east side.

In February, the Continentals learned that the British were planning to forage in South Jersey. On February 19th, to preempt the British, Washington sent Anthony Wayne across the Delaware with infantry and a troop of the 1st Continental Light Dragoons under Brigadier-General Casimir Pulaski. Foraging in Salem and Gloucester counties, Wayne collected 150 head of cattle and 30 dragoon quality horses. On February 25th, from Haddonfield, Wayne wrote Washington that he was hoping to collect 250 head of cattle. The British had other ideas. The previous night, two battalions of British light infantry crossed to Billingsport, and that night about midnight the Royal Highlanders and the Queen's American Rangers crossed to Cooper's Ferry. According to Capt.-Lt. John Peebles of the Royal Highlanders they landed:

above the ferry house. We march'd immediately to the ferry Wharf where the Guns (4 three pors) were to land, but they held off some time on accot. of a few shot fir'd at them by a guard of militia that were at the ferry house and who ran off on our coming up. These things being got ashore the Detachmt. Proceeded with their Guns leaving a Field officers Guard to come up with the Waggons. We march'd to the Eastward thro' dirty road & arrived at Haddonfield about sunrise, where it was expected we should have fallen in with Genls. Wayne and Ellis who had a Detachmt collecting Cattle for the Rebell army, but they had got previous notice of our coming as they left Haddonfield last night about 11 o'clock [sic].²⁴

The next day, the British began foraging the surrounding area, meeting scattered resistance from the militia. As hay and livestock were collected, they were forwarded to Coopers Ferry. On the 28th, more troops, a detachment from the 4th Brigade under Lt.-Col. Enoch Markham, arrived at the Ferry to garrison it and to help protect the foragers.²⁵

When Wayne, at Mt. Holly, learned of the foraging, he hurried back. The evening of March 1st, Pulaski attacked an outpost a Kay's mill. That night, the British hurriedly evacuated Haddonfield in sleet and snow, not arriving back at Cooper's Ferry until 2 A.M. It was a bitterly cold night. Most of Highlanders squeezed into the buildings at the ferry, the rest of the huddled around fires. The Rangers were not as

²² Samuel Cooper, Letters, p. 36; Jackson, Pennsylvania Navy, pp. 288-289.

²³ Von Muenchhausen, pp. 46-48; Ewald Diary, pp. 110-121; Peebles Diary, pp. 154-165.

²⁴ John Peebles, *John Peebles' American War: the Diary of a Scottish Grenadier, 1776-1782* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1998), pp. 165-166. Hereinafter cited as Peebles' Diary.

²⁵ Peebles' Diary, p. 166; John Graves Simcoe, *Simcoe's Military Journal: a History of the Operations of . . . the Queen's Rangers* (NY: Bartlett & Welford, 1844; reprint edition, Arno Press, 1968), pp. 38-42; hereinafter cited as Simcoe's Journal; Von Muenchhausen, p. 79, note 89.

fortunate. With piles of hay occupying much of the area, their commander, Major John Simcoe, ordered the Queen's Rangers not to start fires. Despite these precautions, Joseph Cooper's barn caught fire and was destroyed.²⁶

The next morning, the weather cleared. As some hay remained a few miles east of the ferry, wagons were sent for it with an escort of 50 Queen's Ranger and Highland infantry and ten Queen's Ranger Hussars (light horse).²⁷ As the Hussars patrolled in front, they encountered Anthony Wayne, Count Pulaski, and 50 Continental light dragoons. The Hussars, foragers, and their covering party fell back to the ferry. Wayne and Pulaski followed. When the Continentals appeared at the edge of the woods, Lt.-Col. Stirling formed his troops—Highlanders to the right, Col. Markham's detachment in the center, and the Queen's Rangers to the left. However, the Continentals disappeared back into the woods, and, the wind having died down, the British began embarking. Some cattle, the Hussars and their horses, the artillery horses, and Colonel Markham's detachment were embarked.

The Continental troops had been exhausted by their forced march from Mount Holly. Wayne rested them at Haddonfield until he could ascertain the location of the British Light Infantry who had been foraging in southern Gloucester County. Learning that the Light Infantry were still to the south, Wayne, Count Pulaski, and Pulaski's light dragoons reconnoitered Coopers Ferry, capturing six sailors cutting firewood for their ship. The Continentals found the enemy gathered at the ferry waiting for the wind to die down so that they could embark for Philadelphia. Wayne rode back to where he had left an advance force of 50 infantry under Captain John Doyle, commander of a rifle company of the 1st Pennsylvania Regiment. Wayne ordered Doyle forward and sent word to Haddonfield for the remainder of the Continentals to "follow as fast as possible."²⁸

When Wayne and Pulaski, reinforced by Doyle's 50 infantry men, arrived back at Coopers Ferry, they found a vulnerable picket guard (outpost). Pulaski was "Impatient & Anxious to Charge" and Wayne wanted to halt the embarkation until the rest of his force could arrive. So Wayne spread out his small force and advanced on the picket guard's front and flanks, rapidly pushing it back to the Ferry. At this, Col. Stirling reformed his forces. The two field battalions²⁹ of the Royal Highlanders were again to the right. In modified open order, their 600 or so men would have formed a line about 1,000-feet long. To the left, nine companies of the Queen's Rangers advanced in company columns. In front was their light infantry company followed by two three-pounders. The artillery horses having been sent off, the guns were drawn—with "alacrity" by seamen from the naval vessels covering the embarkation.³⁰

²⁶ Peebles' Diary, p. 167; Simcoe's Journal, p. 43.

²⁷ Simcoe's Journal, p. 43.

²⁸ Anthony Wayne to George Washington, 5 March 1778, Philander D. Chase, Editor, *The Papers of George Washington, Revolutionary War Series*, vol. 14 (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2004), pp. 72-74; hereinafter cited as Washington Papers; Casimir Pulaski to Washington, 3 March 1778, Washington Papers 14, pp. 50-51, translated for the author by William Lawrence.

²⁹ For convenience in maneuvering, the 42nd divided the regiment into two field battalions. These were unofficial groupings, unlike the multiple battalions of even larger regiments like the 71st. Official battalions had their own command and administrative staffs.

³⁰ Wayne to Washington, Washington Papers, pp. 72-74; Simcoe's Journal, pp. 44-46; Peeble's Diary, p. 167.

As the Queen's Rangers advanced, they discovered enemies (Col. Ellis and 100 militia) on the north bank of Cooper's Creek. To protect his left flank, Simcoe sent his grenadier company to line the dike along the creek. While the grenadiers traded shots with Ellis's men, Simcoe with the rest of the Queen's Rangers occupied a low hill that commanded the woods to the south and the Cooper's Creek Bridge.

A few straggling shot were fired in front; the light infantry company was detached there, and supported by the Highlanders, who soon cleared the front; the battalion halted on the advantageous ground it had moved towards and at the entreaties of the sailors, a few cannon shot were fired at the enemy, who were near the bridge over Cooper creek till perceiving they were busy destroying it, they were no longer interrupted: the firing totally ceased, and the enemy retreated. Some few of the Rangers were wounded, among whom, Serjeant M'Pherson of the grenadiers died [sic].³¹

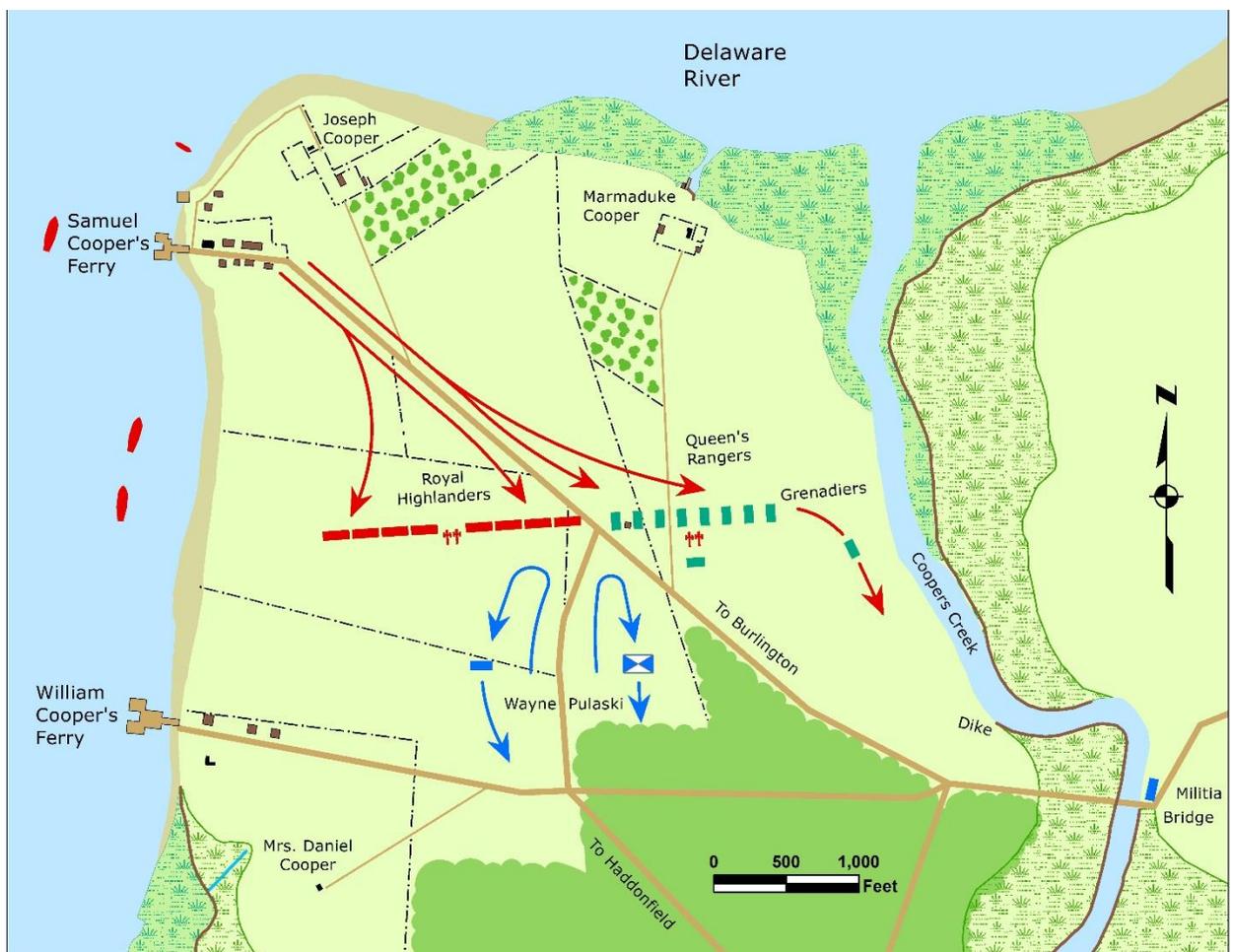


Figure 4.

³¹ Simcoe's Journal, pp. 45-46.

For a short time the skirmishing was noisy: Highlander volleys at Doyle's Continental infantry, aimed fire between the Queen's Rangers and Ellis's militia, shots from the 3-pounders, and naval gunfire from the ships covering the embarkation. Three Highlanders were wounded. Continental casualties are unknown, except for one conspicuous one, Pulaski's horse. Attempting to lure the Queen's Rangers into pursuing his dragoons into the woods, Count Pulaski dallied too long:

reining back his horse, and fronting the Rangers as they advanced, slowly waved with his scimeter for his attendants to retire; the light infantry being within fifty yards of him, he was called out to, "You are a brave fellow, but you must go away," to which not paying so much attention as he ought, M'Gill, afterwards quarter master, was directed to fire at him [sic].³²

The next day, Pulaski wrote Washington "I lost my own horse, a very good one, from a shot to the leg, and it cost me dearly." Pulaski was upset that, without an order from Washington, Wayne would not give him replacement horses for those that the dragoons had lost.³³

Wayne's skirmish with the British was unsuccessful. While he had delayed their embarkation, he had not been able to draw the enemy into the woods and away from the covering fire of their ships' guns. By the time that his main force arrived, it was getting dark. The Highlanders and Queen's Rangers pulled back to the ferry, embarked, and were in their Philadelphia quarters by eight or nine o'clock.³⁴

* * * * *

During the five-day British occupation of Coopers Ferry, Loyalists seem to have complained about their Whig neighbors. Samuel Cooper, operator of the upper ferry, and his brother, Joseph Cooper, were arrested. Three days after the British returned to Philadelphia, Samuel Cooper wrote his friend John Litle:

I make no doubt you have heard of me and Joseph Cooper being taken prisoners to Haddonfield and there put in the Guard House and Kept one Night and almost two Days, and our Wives never knew where we was gone till just before we came home. We had 200 men with us the whole time. After we came home you would scarce know the Point. I am so ----- that I cant write particulars, --- my loss is great, yours is more than you will Expect, Joseph Cooper is more than both of us.

P.S. I had like to forgot to mention they burning Joseph Cooper's barn [sic].³⁵

* * * * *

In March, conditions in Gloucester County worsened. On the 18th, the British began foraging in Salem County, and on the 22nd, they landed 80 Loyalists at Billingsport and began rebuilding the fort. The Loyalist landing sparked a mutiny in the Gloucester County militia. Col. Joseph Ellis reported to Governor Livingston that "Col: Otto's Battalion have chiefly revolted to the Enemy & have made Prisoners of a Number of their Officers . . . The Market to Philadelphia is now open nor is it in my Power to stop it." Washington sent the 2nd New Jersey Regiment to reinforce the militia. When Colonel Israel Shreve arrived

³² Simcoe's Journal, p. 45

³³ Pulaski to Washington, Washington Papers, 14: 50-51, translation by William Lawrence.

³⁴ Wayne to Washington, Washington Papers, 14: pp. 73-74; Peeble's Journal, p. 167.

³⁵ Samuel Cooper, Letters, pp. 39-40.

in Haddonfield, he wrote Washington “the Tories has got to such a height about Manty Creek and Woodberry that no Whig can pass safe.”³⁶

Shreve found that Colonel-Commandant Ellis had only 225 militia at Haddonfield (170 foot, 20 horse, and 35 artillery with two, 4-pounders). Still, with the 2nd New Jersey Regiment, this was more force than the Loyalists could muster. And Shreve, like Ellis, was familiar with the area, having farmed in Gloucester County just west of Woodbury.³⁷ Quickly, Shreve and Ellis began pushing south from Haddonfield, confiscating provisions on route to Philadelphia. April 3rd, a hundred men from the 2nd New Jersey marched towards Billingsport to rendezvous with 200 Salem and Cumberland militia for an attack on the Loyalist redoubt. However, the militia collided with a Loyalist sortie, and the attack was called off.³⁸

When the British learned that Haddonfield was strongly garrisoned, they took counter measures. The night of April 4-5, Lt.-Col. Robert Abercromby crossed the river with two battalions of light infantry. They landed at Gloucester Town about 1 A.M. and captured three of the four militia light horse sentries. The fourth escaped, swimming his horse across Newton Creek, and rode to Haddonfield. Ellis and Shreve quickly got their men under arms, loaded their supplies, and began marching for Mount Holly. Ten minutes later—about 3:30 A.M.—the British light infantry stormed the town, breaking down every door as they vainly searched for enemy soldiers and munitions. At daybreak, they marched for Coopers Ferry and Philadelphia.

At the Ferry, the Continentals had a guard post of forty infantry and two horsemen. It was a mixed detachment of militia and men from the 2nd New Jersey Regiment. By one of Ellis’s light horsemen, Shreve had sent a warning to Coopers Ferry for the guard to retreat across the Coopers Creek Bridge. Lieutenant John Hutchins and the 2nd New Jersey Continentals retreated across the bridge, but the post’s commanding officer, Major William Ellis, 2nd Regiment, Gloucester Militia, in a disastrous act of bravado, ordered them back. On the 6th, Colonel Shreve reported the unfortunate results to Washington:

the Enemy pushed Down Cut of[f] their Retreat, Lt Stout who is a brave officer fought them a Considerable time, until overpowered by Numbers was forced to Give way, no Retreat Left Some Broke through others Swam Coopers Creek and Got off, the 2 horsemen Got off, Eleven prisoners was Taken among them Major Ellis, Lt Stout & Hutchin [,] Stout Received 2 wound before he Surrendered, two of my Regt was found Dead on the Ground, one of them Bayoneted Some were killed in the Creek, Several are yet missing.³⁹

British engineer Capt.-Lt. Archibald Robertson noted in his diary that the light infantry “Kill’d An Officer an[d] 10 or 12 men and took 3 Officers and 31 men Prisoners.” This was the bloodiest incident in Coopers Ferry Revolutionary War history.⁴⁰

³⁶ Von Muenchhausen, pp. 48-50; Baurmeister, *Revolution in America: Confidential Letters and Journals 1776-1784 of Adjutant General Major Baurmeister of the Hessian Forces*, translated by Bernhard A. Uhlendorf (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1957), pp. 155-162, hereinafter, Baurmeister, Confidential Letters; Simcoe Journal, pp. 46-54;

³⁷ Gloucester County Mortgages, A:73. 154 (Gloucester County Historical Society, Woodbury, NJ).

³⁸ Washington Papers, 14:413-416.

³⁹ Washington Papers, 14:413-416

⁴⁰ Robertson Diaries, p. 166.

While the raid of April 5th caused Colonels Shreve and Ellis to move their base inland to New Mills (now Pemberton), they continued to aggressively patrol the Gloucester County shoreline to prevent smuggling to Philadelphia. While some provisions evaded detection, it was not practical to smuggle bulky firewood, and huge quantities were needed in Philadelphia for heating and cooking. By April, British wood cutting parties had cut most of the trees from Philadelphia north to Frankford and Germantown. On April 28th, Gen. Howe sent his chief engineer, Capt. John Montresor, and his quartermaster general, Sir William Erskine, to reconnoiter Coopers Ferry and its woods. They were escorted by the 1st Battalion of British Light Infantry and took with them a party of wood cutters. While Montresor contemplated how to fortify the area, General Erskine and his deputy, Archibald Robertson, surveyed the timber resources. On May 3rd, Colonel Israel Shreve described the visit in a letter to Washington.

A few Days ago 600 of the Enemy Came over to Coopers point, took a tour Round about a mile, Stole the Sheep and hogs from one farm, . . . it is Reported and beleaved their intent was to Vew the Wood Near the ferry. Every hour Expected over to Cut Wood, they Say they intend to Send over two thousand for that purpose, the Owners of the Wood have been very uneasy, and I beleave, Said Something to Endeavour to Save their Wood, but were Answered by Sir Wm Erskin, (who Came with the party) that he was Sorry to Distroy Such timber, but there was no help for it, as Wood could not be Got with Safety on the other Side, If I had a few more men, It Should not be very Safe on this Side [sic].⁴¹

The soldiers and wood cutters returned to Philadelphia that afternoon, but five days later the British were back at Coopers Ferry.⁴²

During May 3rd, Capt. Montresor landed at Coopers Ferry with the 55th and 63rd Regiments of British Foot, twelve Loyalist light horse (from Captain Richard Hovenden's Philadelphia Light Dragoons), and a working party of 400 men. The gun of the Cornwallis Galley protected their landing. Montresor immediately began the construction of four redoubts—small field fortifications. As the Loyalist horsemen patrolled the area, they spotted and pursued some rebels “took one and cut another's arm off.”

Each evening, the soldiers constructing the works returned to their regiments in Philadelphia, to be replaced by fresh workers the next day. The redoubts were completed May 6th. Parallel with redoubt construction, other British detachments collected forage. Col. Israel Shreve wrote Washington May 4th that the previous day the British had foraged Waterford Township five miles inland.

On May 5th, the rebels had their revenge on the Loyalist light dragoons. Major Alexander Clough with a detachment of Continental Light Dragoons reconnoitered Coopers Ferry, then “Sent two of the Militia horse in sight of their Lines, which as he expected brought out twelve of the enemies Light horse on whom he charged—two of them were wounded and dismounted, and two others made prisoners not

⁴¹ Washington Papers, 15: pp. 26-27

⁴² John W. Jackson, *With the British Army in Philadelphia, 1777-1778* (San Rafael, CA: Presidio Press, 1979), pp. 191, 223; Archibald Robertson, *Archibald Robertson: His Diaries and Sketches in America, 1762-1780* (NY: New York Public Library, 1930; reprint edition, Arno Press, 1971), p. 171; Montresor Journal, p. 487; Washington Papers 15:26-27.

far from their picket.”⁴³ The next day there was a similar incident. Brig-Gen. Sir William Erskine, “who might have proceeded a little bit too far reconnoitering in Jersey . . . was almost taken prisoner, but he escaped with the loss of four dragoons.” The following day, May 7th, the Coopers Ferry garrison was reinforced with two small provincial battalions—Lt.-Col. William Allen’s Pennsylvania Loyalists and Lt.-Col. Alfred Clifton’s Roman Catholic Volunteers. Brigadier-General Alexander Leslie crossed the river to take command.⁴⁴



Figure 5: A larger detail of Coopers Ferry from Pierre Nicole, Plan of the City of Philadelphia. Nicole left this portion of the plan unfinished. Only three of the four redoubts constructed by Montresor are shown. Nicole did not show Marmaduke Cooper’s farm, but he did show the lane to it. It begins in the road to the Coopers Creek Bridge immediately east of the rectangular redoubt. Nicole illustrated the other two redoubts as pentagons. This may reflect actual field conditions, as the sketch map of Coopers Ferry by an anonymous soldier (Figure 7, pp. 19-20) shows one rectangular redoubt and three oval redoubts. Note the hachure shading showing the high ground parallel to the road to the bridge and Burlington. This may be the “commanding ground” to which John Simcoe refers in his report on the skirmish of 2 March 1778.

⁴³ Washington Papers 15:33, 309; Montresor Journal, pp. 488-489.

⁴⁴ Von Muenchhausen, pp. 51-52.

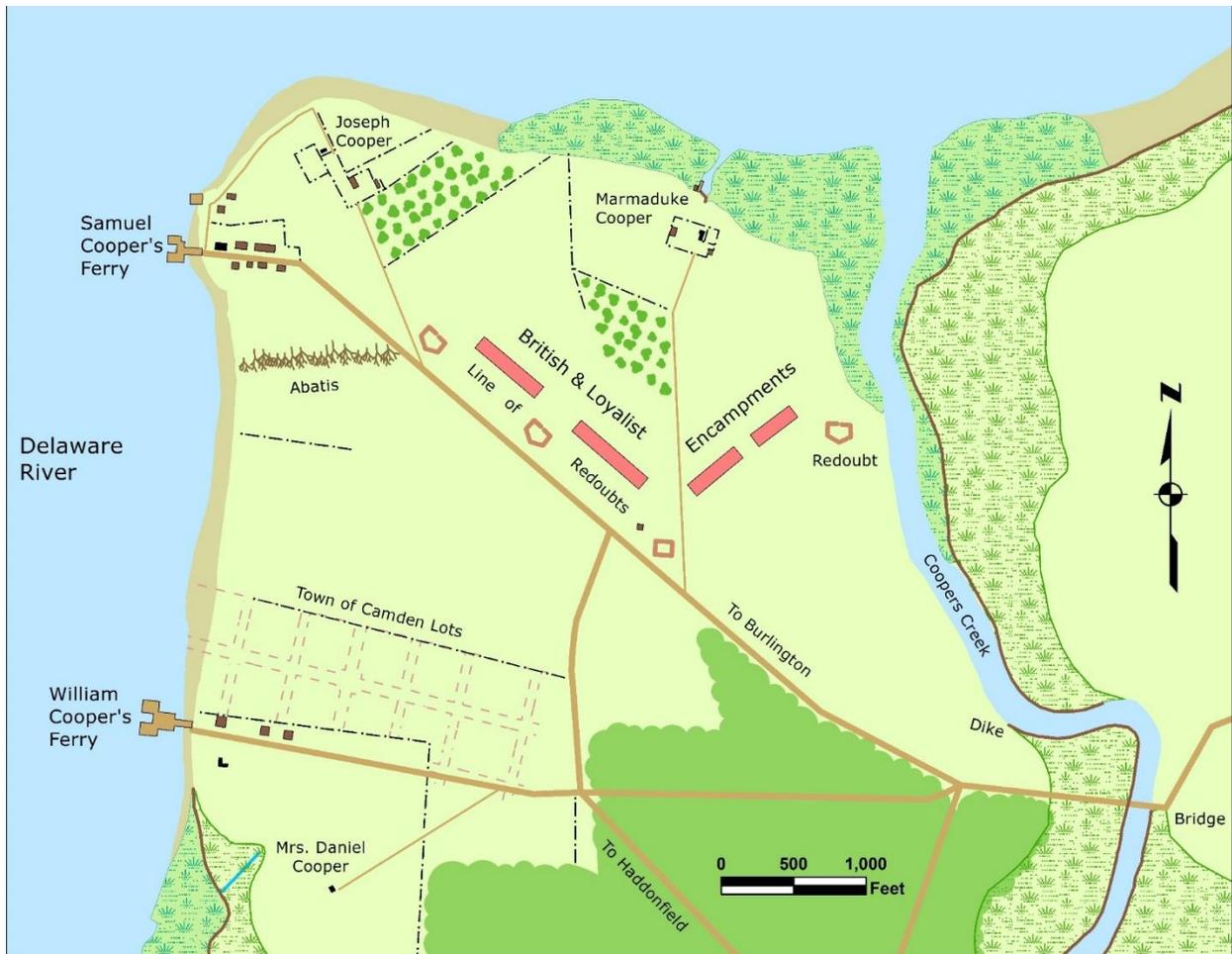


Figure 6: Coopers Ferry, Mid-May, 1778

ArcMap interpretation based on John Clement's deed research, Edward Fox's and Garry Stone's research in the Gloucester County road returns, the 1778 maps by Pierre Nicole and the anonymous soldier, and U.S. Coastal Survey field sheets T162 and T165. The base map that I used is the 1930 New Jersey Aerial Atlas as compiled and geo-referenced by Craig Coutros, GIS Office, New Jersey Department of Environmental Protection.

Washington responded to the growing enemy threat in New Jersey by ordering the 1st New Jersey Regiment to join Shreve. This kept Gen. Leslie cautious. On May 18th, Shreve wrote Washington that "the Enemy has been once as far as Haddonfield, they Do not Care to Stir out much, at night Draw in their piquets near their Redouts." On the 24th, he wrote Washington that the same situation continued, "they keep Close Quarters." By this time, it was clear that the British were leaving Philadelphia. On May 25th, Washington directed Brig-Gen. William Maxwell, commander of the New Jersey Brigade, to take the brigade's two remaining regiments (the 3rd and 4th) to New Jersey and establish a brigade headquarters at Mount Holly. Maxwell's orders were to "cover the country and annoy the enemy, should they attempt to pass through the Jerseys, which there are many powerful reasons to suspect."⁴⁵

⁴⁵ Washington Papers, 15:159, 212, 220-221.

Washington had “many powerful reasons”—for a week, the British had been packing to evacuate Philadelphia. On May 26th, regimental commanders were notified that most of the army’s women would take ship to New York. Only two women per company could march with the troops. On May 29th, the 7th and 26th Regiments of British Foot were told to prepare to cross the river. Lt.-Col. Alured Clarke, commander of the 7th, ordered an inspection of his men’s “arms, accoutrements, ammunition & necessaries.” They were to bring with them their “camp kettles, canteens, Tomahawks & every necessary article they were to carry on the march.” He warned his troops that Coopers Ferry was hostile territory:

Roll was ordered to be called often: no one allowed to quit camp: no soldier to go beyond the sentries as the regiments may be subject to sudden alarms & the men’s accoutrements must be hung up conveniently so that they may be able to turn out instantly and form up in front of their huts.⁴⁶

The enlisted men’s tents were already on board ships. At Coopers Ferry, hundreds of men scrounged material to build shelters from whatever they could find: fence rails, lumber, corn stalks, brush, tree branches, and similar materials. If the Coopers’ orchards had not been cut to build the *abatiss*, they may have furnished materials for huts.

The May occupation of Coopers Ferry devastated the gardens, fields, and woods. However, it would have been orderly, with neat lines of privates’ huts facing the perimeter, officers’ tents behind, and the company kitchens to the rear.⁴⁷ In June, however, order may have devolved into chaos as the equipment, baggage, provisions, horses, and men of a 21,000 person expeditionary force poured into Coopers Ferry. The British Army moved across the river in two phases. The first, beginning May 31st and largely complete by June 15th involved moving hundreds of vehicles, thousands of horses, and ton after ton of foodstuffs, baggage, and engineering equipment that included pontoon bridges. The troops were moved in four days, June 15th through June 18th.

On May 31st, several scow loads of wagons arrived at Coopers Ferry. On June 1st, 200 more wagons, 800 barrels of pork, and 3,000 sacks of biscuit were unloaded there. The process was watched carefully by Continental Army officers. On June 3rd, Capt. John Cummings of the 2nd New Jersey reported “We View them when we please Sometimes give them the Indian Shout.” More wagons, et cetera followed on the 2nd. The following week, the process sped up. On June 13th, field artillery, artillery horses, and the Quarter Master General’s wagons arrived. On the 14th, the infantry baggage wagons were unloaded at the ferries.⁴⁸

On June 14th, Samuel Cooper wrote his friend John Litle that he was

In the midst of trouble & confusion, locked up in my room, which is the only place with my Kitchen I have left to make use of,—the rest being all taken up with officers . . . I know you

⁴⁶ Von Muenchhausen, pp. 50-54; Peebles Diary, pp. 180-184; Order Book of the 7th British Foot Regiment, May 3-June 27, 1778 (NJ State Archives, Revolutionary War Records, Box 28, document 43).

⁴⁷ Frederick William Baron von Steuben, *Regulations for the Order and Discipline of the Troops of the United States* (Boston, MA: Thomas and Andrews, 1794; reprint edition, Dover, 1985), pp. 76-88.

⁴⁸ Washington Papers, 15:292-293, 309.

must feel for my Distressed Situation which is shocking and grows every day ten times worse. My house is surrounded with near 500 Waggon and tomorrow the Horses will come, next Day the Army. Tomorrow the Shipping is all to be gone by sunset. When you come Down, which I hope will be next week, you will see Destruction such as will shock you [sic].⁴⁹

On the 15th, when Stern's and Loos' brigades of Hessians arrived, there was not room for them at the Ferry. Protected by their numbers (about 1,900 men), they marched almost three miles towards Haddonfield and camped along the side of the road. On June 16th, the 17th Regiment of Light Dragoons and the last of the field artillery arrived. On the 17th, three thousand more men crossed: the Jaegers, Queen's Rangers, Hessian Grenadiers, four Loyalist units, officers' horses, and Generals Knyphausen and Grant with their staffs. They marched out the Haddonfield Road, past Stern's and Loos' brigades, the Jaegers meeting light resistance from Ellis' militia. Knyphausen's detachment camped that night with the head of the column on the outskirts of Haddonfield.⁵⁰

In Philadelphia, Sir Henry Clinton, the new British Commander-in-Chief, marched the remaining troops to the fortification on the outskirts of the city. There they lay on their arms through the night. Before daybreak on the 18th, the British foot brigades formed up and began marching around the city towards Gloucester Point. Behind them came the guards, grenadiers, and light infantry. At Gloucester Point, covered by the sixteen 24-pounders of the *Vigilant*, the troops climbed into boats and British Navy seamen rowed the soldiers across the river. By 9 A.M., 9,800 more British soldiers had been transported over the Delaware. At Gloucester Town, they burned their flat boats, cooked two days' provisions, and then marched to Haddonfield where they arranged themselves into two divisions for the march to New York. The vanguard of the first division was already marching. Coopers Ferry was no longer in a war zone.⁵¹

The war was not over. During June 23rd, after policing Philadelphia, a detachment of Continental troops crossed to Coopers Ferry and marched in pursuit of the enemy army.⁵² Until the end of the war, soldiers would cross the Delaware via the ferries and commissaries and quartermasters would gather supplies there, but no longer would exploding ships or artillery fire rattle windows or residents worry about errant cannon balls. Again, farmers could freely ship produce to Philadelphia. "Samuel Cooper's ferry" gained a new role as a port where prizes taken by Continental privateers were sold. There between August 12th and December 12th, 1778, auctioneers sold two sloops, a schooner, their contents, and portions of two other cargoes.⁵³

⁴⁹ Samuel Cooper's letters, pp. 40-41.

⁵⁰ Baurmeister, Confidential Letters, pp. 181-182; John Philip von Krafft, *Journal of Lieutenant John Philip von Krafft* (NY: N-Y Historical Society, 1883, reprint edition, Arno Press, 1968), p. 40, Peebles' Diary, pp. 188-189; George Athan Billias, *Journals . . . and British Army Orders: 1775-1778, Prepared by the New-York Historical Society* (Boston, MA: Gregg Press, 1972), p. 594.

⁵¹ Peebles' Diary, p. 189; John André, *Major John André's Journal* (Tarrytown, NY: William Abbatt, 1930, reprint edition, Arno Press), p. 74; Stephen Adye, [Artillery] Brigade Orders Commencing 17th June and Ending 31 December 1778, edited and published by Carson I. A. Ritchie as "A New York Diary of the Revolutionary War" in *Narratives of the Revolution in New York* (NY: N-Y Historical Society, 1975), pp. 234-235.

⁵² Washington Papers, 15:518-519.

⁵³ Charles S. Boyer, "Revolutionary Activities in and Around Camden," *Camden History*, vol. 1, no. 9 [n.d., but probably 1935], p. 12.

Figure 7 Analysis

Anonymous Sketch Map of Coopers Ferry, May 1778
Pencil, pen-and-ink, and watercolor, 21 by 26 cm.⁵⁴

This sketch map of Coopers Ferry appears to be the work of a British or Loyalist soldier based on several rides around Coopers Ferry in April and May 1778. The creator may have been an aide to a British officer or part of the officer's dragoon escort. From numerous mistakes, it is clear that the creator was not familiar with the area, but had visited the area both before and after Capt. Montresor fortified Samuel Cooper's ferry May 3–6, 1778. The soldier drew the sketch from memory without reference to field notes. Thus his sketch distorts geography and has no scale. While distances are noted on the sketch, some are inaccurate by 100%. These problems led to mistakes.

The mistakes include:

The same road or lane drawn in several locations. For example, the lane to Marmaduke Cooper's house is shown in three places, and there are two versions each of the road to Haddonfield and from William Cooper's ferry to the Coopers Creek Bridge.

The same geographic features shown in two locations. When reconnoitering the ferries in April, the creator noticed three sites that should be fortified, and on the sketch he identifies them as "Proper Advanced Posts not yet occupied" and identifies them on the map as A, B, C. He failed to realize that sites A and B were the same sites on which he depicts British redoubts constructed in May.

Nevertheless, the sketch's creator recorded valuable information. Some is known from other sources, while other is only provided by this sketch:

1. Confirms the owners/occupiers of the ferries and adjacent farms: Samuel, William, Joseph, and Marmaduke Cooper and the widow of Daniel Cooper.
2. Shows the locations of the four redoubts constructed by the British. While three are depicted by Pierre Nicole, his map of Coopers Ferry was unfinished and does not show the redoubt closest to Samuel Cooper's ferry.
3. The sketch is our only knowledge of the *abatis* protecting the ferry.
4. This is the only depiction of the area's extensive woodland.
5. Shows the lane to Marmaduke Cooper's house on a prominent ridge, as does Pierre Nicole's map. This ridge has been softened by urban development and is only suggested by 20th-century topographic maps.
6. Shows Marmaduke Cooper's orchard in the same approximate location as an orchard shown on the 1848 Coastal Survey map T162.

⁵⁴ Library of Congress Geography and Map Division, catalogued as "Map of the environs of Camden, N.J." Available on line from the library's American Memory web site: g3814c ar126200 <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc>.

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