

**THE WASHINGTON - ROCHAMBEAU REVOLUTIONARY ROUTE
IN THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY, 1781 - 1783**

An Historical and Architectural Survey

VOLUME I

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Further information may be obtained by contacting formally organized collector organizations. Listings of qualified archaeologist may be obtained by contacting formally organized archaeological associations.

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→ Appendix D is cross-listed in: **8. CHRONOLOGY OF THE MARCHES**

Map No.	Route Nos(s).	Location	Dates (1781)
1.	Route No. 1 Route No. 4	Gen. Hazen and New Jersey Regiments from Sneed's Landing in route to Paramus Gen. Lincoln from Suffern in route to Paramus	19-25 August
2.	Route No. 2 Route No. 3 Route No. 4 Route No. 5	Maj. Baumann's detachment from Sloatsburg past Ringwood in route to Pompton Gen. Washington/Col. Lamb from Suffern in route to Pompton Gen. Lincoln from Suffern in route To Paramus First French Brigade in route to Pompton Second French Brigade follows next day	24-27 August
3.	Route No. 2 Route No. 3 Route No. 4 Route No. 5	Maj. Baumann's detachment in route to Pompton to join Gen. Washington/Col. Lamb Gen. Washington/Col. Lamb with Maj. Baumann from Pompton in route to Two Bridges Gen. Lincoln in route to Paramus French Army through Pompton in route to Whippany	24-27 August
4.	Route No. 3 Route No. 5	Gen. Washington/Col. Lamb with Maj. Baumann in route to Two Bridges French Army from Suffern in route to Whippany	26-28 August
5.	Route No. 1 Route No. 4	Gen. Hazen through Paramus in route to Belleville Gen. Lincoln in route to Belleville	19-26 August
6.	Route No. 3	Gen. Washington/Col. Lamb with	27-30 August

- | | | | |
|-----|---|---|--------------|
| | Route No. 5 | Maj. Baumann in route to Chatham
French Army in route to Whippany | |
| 7. | Route No. 1
Route No. 4 | Gen. Hazen to Belleville in route
to Springfield
Gen. Lincoln to Bellville in route
to Springfield | 20-26 August |
| 8. | Route No. 1
Route No. 4 | Gen. Hazen from Belleville in route
to Springfield
Gen. Lincoln from Belleville in route
to Springfield | 21-27 August |
| 9. | Route No. 5 | French Army from Whippany in
route to Bullion's Tavern/
Liberty Corner | 27-28 August |
| 10. | Route No. 3
Route No. 3A
Route No. 5
Route No. 6
Route No. 8 | Gen. Washington/Col. Lamb
in route to Chatham
Rhode Island Regiment in route to
Springfield
French Army from Whippany in
route to Bullion's Tavern/
Liberty Corner
Col. Lamb in route to Middlebrook
Gen. Washington in route to Springfield | 28-29 August |
| 11. | Route No. 5
Route No. 6
Route No. 7
Route No. 8 | French Army from Bullion's Tavern/
Liberty Corners in route to Millstone
Col. Lamb in route to Bound Brook
Gen. Lincoln from Springfield in route
to Trenton
Gen. Washington from Springfield in
route to Trenton | 29 August |
| 12. | Route No. 1
Route No. 3A
Route No. 4
Route No. 6
Route No. 7
Route No. 8 | Gen. Hazen at Springfield
Rhode Island Regiment from
Chatham in route to Springfield
Gen. Lincoln at Springfield
Col. Lamb from Chatham in route
to Trenton
Gen. Lincoln from Springfield
through Westfield in route to Trenton
Gen. Washington from Springfield
through Westfield in route to Trenton | 29 August |

- | | | | |
|-----|-------------|---|---------------|
| 13. | Route No. 5 | French Army through Millstone in route to Princeton | 29-31 August |
| | Route No. 6 | Col. Lamb from Chatham through Millstone in route to Princeton | |
| | Route No. 7 | Gen. Lincoln from New Brunswick through Rocky Hill in route to Trenton | |
| | Route No. 8 | Gen. Washington from New Brunswick through Rocky Hill in route to Trenton | |
| 14. | Route No. 5 | French Army from Whippany in route to Bullion's Tavern/
Liberty Corner | 28-30 August |
| | Route No. 6 | Col. Lamb from Chatham in route to Rocky Hill | |
| 15. | Route No. 5 | French Army through Rocky Hill in route to Princeton | 30 August |
| | Route No. 6 | Col. Lamb through Rocky Hill in route to Princeton | |
| | Route No. 7 | Gen. Lincoln through Rocky Hill in route to Princeton | |
| | Route No. 8 | Gen. Washington through Rocky Hill in route to Princeton | |
| 16. | Route No. 5 | French Army from Princeton through Lawrenceville in route to Trenton | 30 August |
| | Route No. 6 | Col. Lamb from Princeton through Lawrenceville in route to Trenton | |
| | Route No. 7 | Gen. Lincoln from Princeton through Lawrenceville in route to Trenton | |
| | Route No. 8 | Gen. Washington from Princeton through Lawrenceville in route to Trenton | |
| 17. | Route No. 5 | French Army from Lawrenceville to Trenton | 1-2 September |
| | Route No. 6 | Col. Lamb from Lawrenceville to Trenton | |
| | Route No. 7 | Gen. Lincoln from Lawrenceville to Trenton | |
| | Route No. 8 | Gen. Washington from Lawrenceville to Trenton | |

VOLUME III

APPENDIX E: RESOURCE-SUPPORTING DOCUMENTATION

Note: For the purposes of Appendix E, the term "Documentation" usually only refers to printed materials included in the appendix for resources for which a documented connection with the marches of American and French forces through New Jersey exists.

It does not all or any primary or secondary source evidence that qualifies other resources such as "Witness Sites" for inclusion in this survey. For those sources, the reader is requested to consult the footnotes in the narrative as well as the titles in the bibliography.

Tab 1

Resource 1: Old Paramus Reformed Church

660 E. Glen Avenue
Ridgewood, NJ 07450

Documentation: Carol W. Greene, *From Church to Church* (typed ms, 2005)

Register Status: Part of the Paramus Reformed Church Historic District
(added 1975 - District - #75001121)

Resource 2: Zabriskie-Steuben House

Intersection of Main Street and Hackensack Avenue
River Edge, NJ 07661

Documentation: n/a

Register Status: National Register of Historic Places (NHR), added 1970 -
#70000381); part of the Steuben Estate Complex (added 1980 -
District - #80004403)

Resource 3: Campsite of Hazen's Regiment in Belleville.

The exact location of the campsite is unknown

Documentation: n/a

Register Status: n/a

Resource 4: Campsite of the New Jersey Line two miles south of Belleville.

The exact location of the campsite is unknown

Documentation: n/a

Register Status: n/a

Resource 5: Campsite of Hazen's Regiment on Hobart Gap along Hobart Road.
The exact location of the campsite is unknown

Documentation: n/a

Register Status: n/a

Resource 6: Campsite of the New Jersey Line.

The exact location of the campsite is unknown

Documentation: n/a

Register Status: n/a

Resource 7: Presbyterian Church

Morris Avenue/NJ-SR 22

Springfield, NJ 07081

Documentation: n/a

Register Status: NHR added 1990 - #90000668

Resource 8: Statue of Reverend Caldwell in front of Presbyterian Church

Documentation: n/a

Register Status: n/a

Resource 9: Historic Marker in front of Presbyterian Church

Documentation: n/a

Register Status: n/a

Resource 10: Cannon Ball House (also known as Hutchings Homestead)

126 Morris Avenue

Springfield, NJ 07081

Documentation: n/a

Register Status: NHR added 1977 - #77000915

Resource 11: Swaim House

South Springfield Avenue

Springfield, NJ 07081

Documentation: n/a

Register Status: unknown

Resource 12: Sayre Homestead (also known as Old Sayre Homestead)
Sayre Homestead Lane
Springfield, NJ 07081

Documentation: n/a

Register Status: NHR added 1979 - #79001529

Tab 2

Resource 13: Ringwood Manor
Sloatsburg Road (NJ-SR 72)
Ringwood, NJ 07456

Documentation: Richard Greene, *Ringwood Company - Founded 1740*
(typed ms, 2005)

Register Status: NHR added 1966 - District - #66000471, NHL 1966

Resource 14: Tomb of Robert Erskine
In front of Ringwood Manor

Documentation: n/a

Register Status: n/a

Tab 3

Resource 15: Segment of the "Secret Road" in front of the Manor House
and past Erskine's tomb.

Documentation: Richard K. Cacioppo, *Scenic Crossroads: The History of Wayne*
(Wayne, 1995), pp. 64-65.

Register Status: n/a

Resource 16: Long Pond Iron Works State Park and Museum
1304 Sloatsburg Road
Ringwood, NJ 07456-1799

Documentation: n/a

Register Status: n/a

See also Long Pond Ironworks NHR District added 1974 - #74001189, north-east
of West Milford on NJ 511 in West Milford

Tab 4

Resource 17: Battleship Maine Memorial
Intersection of Hamburg Turnpike and Ringwood Avenue
Pompton Plains, NJ 07444

Documentation: Evelin A. Struble, *In the Ramapos* (n.p., 1966), pp. 13-16)

Register Status: n/a

Resource 18: Marker on Newark-Pompton Turnpike in Pompton Plains

Documentation: n/a

Register Status: n/a

Tab 5

Resource 19: Ponds Church Marker

Newark-Pompton Turnpike north of Reformed Church

Pompton Plains, NJ 07444

Documentation: *The Church of the Ponds. A History with Reminiscences*

1710-1935 (Oakland, 1935), pp. 8-11.

Register Status: n/a

Resource 20: Pompton Meeting House (First Reformed Church)

529 Newark-Pompton Turnpike

Pompton Plains, NJ 07444

Documentation: n/a

Register Status: n/a

Tab 6

Resource 21: Campsite along Newark-Pompton Turnpike north of

Reformed Church in Pompton Plains

Documentation: French Campsite Map from Rice and Brown, *American*

Campaigns vol. 2.

Campsite map from the journal of unidentified officer of the

Soissonais Regiment in the Huntington Library, San Marino, CA

Register Status: n/a

Resource 22: Hopper Grist Mill Marker on NJ 202

156 Ramapo Valley Road

Mahwah, NJ 07430

Documentation: n/a

Register Status: n/a

Tab 7

Resource 23: Hopper Grist Mill Site on NJ 202

156 Ramapo Valley Road

Mahwah, NJ 07430

Documentation: NHR nomination

Register Status: NHR, added 1983 - #83001524

Tab 8

Resource 24: Arie Laroe/Sheffield/Lewis/Bugg House site and Indian Campsite
280 Ramapo Valley Road
Mahwah, NJ 07430

Documentation: Ramsey Historical Association, *Map of Ramsey and Mahwah*
(Ramsey, 1964)

Register Status: n/a

Tab 9

Resource 25: Laroe/Hopper/Van Horn House
398 Ramapo Valley Road
Mahwah, NJ 07430

Documentation: NHR nomination

Register Status: NHR added 1973 - #73001079

Resource 26: Laroe/Hopper/Van Horn House Marker
In front of Laroe-Van Horn House

Documentation: n/a

Register Status: n/a

Resource 27: Hopper Family Cemetery
On Hopper/Van Horn property

Documentation: n/a

Register Status: n/a

Resource 28: Continental Army Campsite of 25/26 August on Route 202
505 Ramapo Valley Road
Mahwah, NJ 07430

Documentation: n/a

Register Status: n/a

Resource 29: Henry O. Havemeyer/Continental Army Campsites Monument
505 Ramapo Valley Road
Mahwah, NJ 07430

Documentation: n/a

Register Status: n/a

Tab 10

Resource 30: Andrew Hopper House Site (Henry O. Havemeyer House)
510 Ramapo Valley Road
Mahwah, NJ 07430

Documentation: State Register of Historic Places Inventory No. 0233-31
Register Status: State Register

Resource 31: Henry O. Havemeyer House Plaque
510 Ramapo Valley Road
Mahwah, NJ 07430

Documentation: n/a
Register Status: n/a

Resource 32: Abandoned Road Section near Sun Valley Farm
near 800 Ramapo Valley Road
Mahwah, NJ 07430

Documentation: n/a
Register Status: n/a

Resource 33: Ramapo Valley Road Marker
near 888 Ramapo Valley Road
Mahwah, NJ 07430

Documentation: n/a
Register Status: n/a

Resource 34: Continental Soldiers Memorial Highway Marker
in townships along Ramapo Valley Road

Documentation: n/a
Register Status: n/a

Tab 11

Resource 35: John Bertholf's Mill Site
Ramapo Valley Road just north of Darlington Avenue
Mahwah, NJ 07430

Documentation: Bergen County Stone House Survey Form
Register Status: NHR added 1983, #83001463

Resource 36: Campbell's Tavern Site
Slightly less one mile south of Bertholf Mill

Documentation: n/a
Register Status: n/a

Resource 37: Garrison/Dater/Price House ruins
owned by Garret Garrison during the AWI (see No. 38)

Documentation: n/a
Register Status: n/a

Resource 38: Garret Garrison House (now called "Waternook")
980 Ramapo Valley Road
Mahwah, NJ 07430

Documentation: n/a
Register Status: NHR added 1983 - #83001508

Resource 39: Abraham Garrison/C.E. Chapman House and Farm
(now called "Kraus Farm")
1010 Ramapo Valley Road
Mahwah, NJ 07430

Documentation: n/a
Register Status: n/a

Resource 39a: John Bertholf House (now called "Amberfields")
1122 Ramapo Valley Road
Mahwah, NJ 07430

Documentation: See Resource 35

Resource 40: Demarest/Hopper House
21 Breakneck Road
Oakland, NJ 07436

Documentation: n/a
Register Status: NHR added 1983 - #83001490

Resource 41: Demarest House
213 Ramapo Valley Road
Oakland, NJ 07436

Documentation: n/a
Register Status: NHR added 1983 - #83001491

Resource 42: Jacob Demarest House
3 Dogwood Drive (252 Ramapo Valley Road)
Oakland, NJ 07436

Documentation: n/a
Register Status: NHR added 1983 - #83001493

Resource 43: Hendrick-Van Allen House and Mill
13-15 Ramapo Valley Road
Intersection of Ramapo Valley Road and Franklin Avenue
Oakland, NJ 07436

Documentation: n/a
Register Status: NHR added 1973 - #73001080

Resource 44: Marker 1 at Hendrick-Van Allen House and Mill
Documentation: n/a
Register Status: n/a

Resource 45: Marker 2 at Hendrick-Van Allen House and Mill
Documentation: n/a
Register Status: n/a

Resource 46: Van Winkle/Fox Hall
669 Ramapo Valley Road
Oakland, NJ 07436
Documentation: n/a
Register Status: NHR added 1983 - #83001578

Tab 12

Resource 47: Schuyler-Colfax House
2343 Paterson-Hamburg Turnpike
Wayne, NJ 07470
Documentation: Pompton Lakes Centennial (Pompton, 1995)
Register Status: NHR added 1973 - #73001133

Resource 48: Campsite of Lamb "5 Miles beyond Pompton on the road to the two
Bridges at the "Forks of Posaic" possibly near Mountain View.
The exact location of this campsite is unknown.

Documentation: n/a
Register Status: n/a

Resource 49: Campsite of Right Column along
Main Street (NJ-SR 124)
Chatham, NJ 07928

Documentation: n/a
Register Status: n/a

Resource 50: Marker on Main Street in Chatham
Documentation: n/a
Register Status: n/a

Resource 51: Jacob Morell House
63 East Main Street (opposite Presbyterian Church)
Chatham, NJ 07928

Documentation: n/a
Register Status: n/a

Resource 52: Site of the ovens in Chatham
"East of River Road on the Union County side of the Passaic."
Documentation: John T. Cunningham, *Chatham at the Crossing of the Fishawack*
(Chatham, 1967), p. 37.
Register Status: n/a

Resource 53: Bonnell Homestead
Watchung Avenue
Chatham, NJ 07928

Documentation: n/a
Register Status: n/a

Resource 54: Day/Dey Mansion
199 Totowa Road.
Wayne, NJ 07470
Documentation: n/a
Register Status: NHR added 1970 - #70000392

Resource 55: Section of original eighteenth-century road
near Ramapo Reformed Church (Island Rd. at W. Ramapo Ave.)
Mahwah, NJ 07430

Documentation: n/a
Register Status: n/a

Note: The Dutch Reformed Church at Romopock (also known as Island Church; Ramapo Reformed Church) itself is NHR added 1985 - #85002000

Resource 56: Lutheran Church Site
on Island Road near intersection with North McKee Drive
Mahwah, NJ 07430
Documentation: information provided by Ms Carol Greene
Register Status: n/a

Resource 57: Old Stone House
538 Island Road (= old King's Highway of 1703)
Ramsey, NJ 07430
Documentation: information provided by Ms Carol Greene
Register Status: NHR added 1977 - #77000846

Resource 58: Robert Erskine's Bellgrove Store Site
West Ramapo Avenue
Mahwah, NJ 07430
Documentation: information provided by Ms Carol Green
Register Status: n/a

Resource 59: Maysinger-Ramsey-Wright House
142 Island Road (north corner Beehive Court)
Mahwah, NJ 07430
Documentation: information provided by Ms Carol Greene
Register Status: Bergen County Historic Sites Survey # 0233-17

Resource 60: Moffatt Road Cemetery
on Moffatt Road between Island Road and Route 17
Mahwah, NJ 07430
Documentation: information provided by Ms Carol Greene
Register Status: Bergen County Historic Sites Survey # 0233-80

Resource 61: "Petersfield"
475 Franklin Turnpike
Allendale, NJ 07401
Documentation: information provided by Ms Carol Greene
Register Status: n/a

Tab 13

Resource 62: The Hermitage

335 N. Franklin Turnpike

Hohokus, NJ 07423

Documentation: NHR nomination

Register Status: NHR added 1970 - #70000379, NHL 1970

Resource 63: Campsite of Center Column of the Continental Army under

General Benjamin Lincoln on 25/26 August 1781

"within 3 Miles of Paramus."

Paramus, NJ 07652

Documentation: n/a

Register Status: n/a

Resource 64: Campsite of Lincoln's forces on 26/27 August 1781

"two Miles below Acquakenach Bridge [i.e. Passaic]."

Passaic, NJ 07057. The exact location of the campsite is unknown.

Documentation: n/a

Register Status: n/a

Tab 14

Resource 65: Dod's Tavern

Chapel Hill Road (633 South)

Lincoln Park, NJ 07035

Documentation: NHR nomination

Register Status: NHR added 1977 - #77000895

Resource 66: Widow Jacobusse House Site

Intersection of Alt 655, Main Street and Alt 504, Jacksonville Road

Lincoln, Park, NJ 07035

Documentation: n/a

Register Status: n/a

Tab 15

Resource 67: Henry Doremus House

490 Main Road (Rt. 202).

Montville, NJ 07045

Documentation: NHR nomination

Register Status: NHR added 1972 - #72000805

Resource 68: Henry Doremus House Marker
in front of Doremus House
Montville, NJ 07045

Documentation: n/a
Register Status: n/a

Tab 16

Resource 69: Abraham Lott-Lucas von Beverhoudt Archaeological Site
Beverwyck Plantation
Intersection South Beverwyck Road and US 46 in Troy Hills
Parsippany, NJ 07054

Documentation: NHR nomination
Register Status: NHR added 2004 - #04000430

Tab 17

Resource 70: Campsite of First French Brigade on 27/28 and 28/29 August 1781
67 Whippany Road/Lucent Technology Park (511 South)
Whippany, NJ 07981

Documentation: French campsite map from Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns* vol. 2.
Campsite map from the journal of unidentified officer of the
Soissonnais Regiment in the Huntington Library, San Marino, CA
French Army Reception Committee, *French Army Day in the
Township of Hanover, October 12, 1981: Rochambeau at
Whippany, 1781-1981* (Hanover Township, 1981)

Register Status: n/a

Resource 71: Marker in front of First Presbyterian Church
494 Route 10 West
Whippany, NJ 07981

Documentation: n/a
Register Status: n/a

Resource 72: Peter Kemble House Site (built about 1765)
Northwest corner of Kemble Avenue/Rte 202 and Tempe Wick Rd
Morristown, NJ 07960

Documentation: n/a
Register Status: NHR added 1986 - #86003115

Resource 73: Washington Headquarters (Ford Mansion)

Morristown National Historical Park

30 Washington Place

Morristown, NJ 07960

Documentation: n/a

Register Status: Morristown National Historical Park added 1966 - #66000053

Resource 74: F. Gerald New House

1270 Kemble Avenue

Morristown, NJ 07960

Documentation: n/a

Register Status: n/a

Resource 75: Jockey Hollow, site of 1778/79 Continental Army winter quarters

Administered by

Morristown National Historical Park

30 Washington Place

Morristown, NJ 07960

Documentation: n/a

Register Status: n/a

Resource 76: Van Dorn Mill

Intersection of NJ-SR 202 and North Maple Ave, toward

Somerville/I-287

Bernards, NJ 07920

Documentation: n/a

Register Status: n/a

Resource 77: Widow White Tavern Site Marker

South Finlay Avenue

Basking Ridge, NJ 07939

Documentation: n/a

Register Status: n/a

Resource 78: Lord Stirling Home Site

Lord Stirling Park and Environmental Education Center

96 Lord Stirling Road

Basking Ridge, NJ 07939

Documentation: n/a

Register Status: NHR added 1978 - #78001795

Resource 79: Bullions Tavern Site on Lyon's Road in Liberty Corner,
(there is an Exxon Station there in 2005)
Bernards, NJ 07920

Documentation: n/a
Register Status: n/a

Resource 80: Marker at the French Campsite of 29/30 August 1781
Documentation: n/a
Register Status: n/a

Tab 18

Resource 81: French Campsite of 29/30 August 1781, at the "English Farm"
Liberty Corner, NJ 07938

Documentation: French campsite map from Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns* vol. 2.
Campsite map from the journal of unidentified officer of the
Soissonnais Regiment in the Huntington Library, San Marino, CA
Register Status: n/a

Resource 81a: DAR Marker at French Campsite of 29/39 August 1781
Liberty Corner, NJ 07938

Documentation: Erected by the New Jersey Society, Daughters of the American
Revolution, on 17 September 2006, to commemorate the 225th anniversary of the
encampment of 1781
Register Status: n/a

Tab 19

Resource 82: Van Veghten Home
Van Veghten Drive (Finderne)
Bridgewater, NJ 08807

Documentation: NHR nomination
Register Status: NHR added 1979 - #79003253

Resource 83: Van Veghten Home Marker
In front of Van Veghten Home
Van Veghten Drive (Finderne)
Bridgewater, NJ 08807

Documentation: n/a
Register Status: n/a

Resource 84: John Van Doren House (Millstone)
NJ-CR 533 South between Manville and Hillsborough, NJ
Millstone, NJ 08844

Documentation: n/a
Register Status: n/a

Tab 20

Resource 85: French Campsite of 30/31 August 1781
Millstone, NJ 08844

Documentation: French campsite map from Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns* vol. 2.
Campsite map from the journal of unidentified officer of the
Soissonnais Regiment in the Huntington Library, San Marino, CA
Borough of Millstone in the Revolutionary War 1777-1782 (Map)

Register Status: n/a

Resource 86: Somerset Court House Marker
Millstone, NJ 08844

Documentation: n/a
Register Status: NHR Somerset Courthouse Green added 1989 - #89001216

Resource 87: Marker at crossing of Millstone River at Griggstown

Documentation: n/a
Register Status: n/a

Tab 21

Resource 88: Black Horse Tavern
1101 Canal Road
Griggstown (Franklin Township), NJ 08540

Documentation: Detail of Berthier Route Map "From Somerset Court House to
Princeton" showing the locations of the Black Horse Tavern
from Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, vol. 2, map 54.

Register Status: n/a

and

Resource 89: Red Horse Tavern
1135 Canal Road
Griggstown (Franklin Township), NJ 08540

Documentation: Detail of Berthier Route Map "From Somerset Court House to
Princeton" showing the locations of the Black Horse Tavern
from Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, vol. 2, map 54.

Register Status: n/a

Resource 90: Nassau Hall
Nassau Street
Princeton, NJ 08540

Documentation: n/a

Register Status: NHR added 1960 - #66000465, NHL 1960

Tab 22

Resource 91: French Campsite of 31 August/1 September 1781
along Stockton Street across from Morven
Princeton, NJ 08540

Documentation: French campsite map from Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns* vol. 2.

Campsite map from the journal of unidentified officer of the
Soissonais Regiment in the Huntington Library, San Marino, CA

Register Status: n/a

Tab 23

Resource 92: Morven (Richard Stockton House)
55 Stockton Street
Princeton, NJ 08540

Documentation: NHR nomination

Register Status: NHR added 1971 - #71000503, NHL 1971

Resource 93: Markers in Monument Drive
Off of Stockton Street
Princeton, NJ 08540

Documentation: n/a

Register Status: n/a

Resource 94: Thomas Clarke House
500 Mercer Road
Princeton, NJ 08540

Documentation: n/a

Register Status: in NHR Princeton Battlefield Site, added 1966 - #66000466
Princeton Battlefield State Park is an NHL, 1961

Resource 95: Trenton Victory Monument
Intersection of North Warren and North Broad Streets
Trenton, NJ 08600

Documentation: n/a

Register Status: NHR added 1977 - Object - #77000881

Tab 24

Resource 96: William Trent House (Bloomsberry Court) and Museum

15 Market Street
Trenton, NJ 08611

Documentation: NHR nomination

Register Status: NHR added 1970 - #70000388, NHL 1970

Tab 25

Resource 97: Old Barracks Museum (also known as Trenton Barracks)

Barrack Street
Trenton, NJ 08608

Documentation: Old Barracks Assoc. *Old Barracks at Trenton* (Trenton, 1951)

Register Status: NHR added 1971 - #71000506, NHL 1972

Tab 26

Resource 98: French Campsite of 1/2 September 1781

along Broad Street to the east of the Assunpink
Trenton, NJ 08611

Documentation: French campsite map from Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns* vol. 2.

Campsite map from the journal of unidentified officer of the
Soissonnais Regiment in the Huntington Library, San Marino, CA

Register Status: n/a

Tab 27

Resource 99: Continental Army Campsite from 29/30 August along Middle Brook

south of Main Street and East of the Middlebrook
Bridgewater, NJ 08807

Documentation: Somerset County Historical Society, *Middlebrook Encampment 1778-1779* (map)

Register Status: NHR Middlebrook Encampment Site added 1975 - #75001160

Resource 100: Campsite of the Continental Army from 30/31 August

along South Street/Stockton Road to Trenton
Princeton, NJ 08540

Documentation: n/a

Register Status: n/a

Resource 101: Continental Army Campsite from 31 August to 1 September 1781
Ferry Site for crossing the Delaware River
Trenton, NJ 08611

Documentation: n/a

Register Status: n/a

Tab 28

Resource 102: Campsite of the Center Column on 29/30 August 1781
Raritan Landing along River Road and in Buccleugh Park
between George Street and NJ-SR 527 (Easton Avenue)
New Brunswick, NJ 08901

Documentation: Rebecca Yamin, "Local Trade in Pre-Revolutionary New Jersey"
Northeast Historical Archaeology 21-22 (1992-1993), p. 124.

Register Status: n/a

Resource 103: Buccleugh Mansion (Colonial estate built in 1739, local DAR HQ)
200 College Ave., Buccleugh Park
New Brunswick, NJ 08901

Documentation: n/a

Register Status: NHR added 1977 - #77000883

Resource 104: Campsite of Second New York Regiment from 30/31 August 1781
At "half moon [tavern]"

The location of the "Half Moon Tavern" is unknown.

Documentation: n/a

Register Status: n/a

Resource 105: Campsite of the Second New York Regiment from 31 August to
1 September 1781

six miles south of Basking Ridge about half-way between
Liberty Corners and Martinsville.

The exact location of the campsite is unknown.

Documentation: n/a

Register Status: n/a

Resource 106: Campsite of Second New York Regiment on 1/2 September 1781
Seven miles south of Somerset Court House/Millstone in the
vicinity of Rocky Hill.

The exact location of the campsite is unknown.

Documentation: n/a

Register Status: n/a

Resource 107: Campsite of the Second New York Regiment of 2/3 September
between Lawrenceville and Trenton.

The exact location of the campsite is unknown.

Documentation: n/a

Register Status: n/a

Resource 108: Embarkation site for Continental Army forces in Trenton

Trenton Landing

between Landing and Lalor Streets, (vicinity of Route 29 Tunnel)

Trenton, NJ 08648

Documentation: n/a

Register Status: n/a

Resource 109: Red Bank Battlefield National Park (also known as Fort Mercer)

100 Hessian Avenue

National Park, N. J. 08063

Documentation: n/a

Register Status: NHL added 1972 - #72000796

Resource 110: Continental Army Campsite of 30 November/1 December 1781

"past the town one mile"

Trenton, NJ 08611

Documentation: n/a

Register Status: n/a

Resource 111: Continental Army Campsite of 1/2 December 1781

One mile further on the road toward Princeton

Trenton, NJ 08611

Documentation: n/a

Register Status: n/a

Resource 112: Continental Army Campsite of 2/3 December 1781

"at Somerset Court House"

Millstone, NJ 08835

Documentation: n/a

Register Status: n/a

Resource 113: Continental Army Campsite of 3/4 December 1781
"nigh wheir Gen. Lee was made Prisoner," i.e., White's Tavern
Basking Ridge, NJ 07939
The exact location of the campsite is unknown.

Documentation: n/a

Register Status: n/a

Resource 114: Continental Army Campsite of 4/5 December 1781
"Near Troy"
Parsippany, NJ 07054
The exact location of the campsite is unknown.

Documentation: n/a

Register Status: n/a

Resource 115: Continental Army Campsite of 5/6 December 1781
near "Pumpton"
Pompton, NJ 07444

Documentation: n/a

Register Status: n/a

Resource 116: Continental Army Campsite of 6/7 December 1781
"Rammapool"
The exact location of the campsite is unknown, possibly near/at the
Andrew Hopper House on 510 Ramapo Valley Road in Mahwah.

Documentation: n/a

Register Status: n/a

Tab 29

Resource 117: Barracks in Burlington
East Broad Street at Assiskunk Creek
Burlington, NJ 08016

Documentation: Detail of *1976 National Bicentennial - 1977 Burlington
Tricentennial Map* (Burlington, 1977)

Register Status: n/a

Resource 118: Site of Winter Quarters for Sappers and Miners
Green Bank, estate of Gov. William Franklin, on Delaware River
Burlington, NJ 08016

Documentation: n/a

Register Status: n/a

Resource 119: Campsite of the New York Line on 5/6 December 1781
"one mile from town."
Trenton, NJ 08611

Documentation:
Register Status: n/a

Resource 120: Campsite of the New York Line of 6/7 December 1781
"near Genl Herds" i.e., General Nathaniel Heard.
The exact location of this campsite is unknown.

Documentation: n/a
Register Status: n/a

Resource 121: Campsite of the New York Line of 7/8 December 1781
"Near Bown Brook"
Bridgewater, NJ 08807

Documentation: n/a
Register Status: n/a

Resource 122: Campsite of the New York Line of 8/9 December 1781
"to the half moon Tavern and Encamped."
The exact location of the "Half Moon Tavern" is unknown.

Documentation: n/a
Register Status: n/a

Resource 123: Campsite of the New York Line on 9/10 and 10/11 December 1781
Near Rockaway River
The exact location of the campsite is unknown.

Documentation: n/a
Register Status: n/a

Resource 124: Campsite of the New York Line on 11 to 14 December 1781
Pompton Plains, NJ 07444
The exact location of the campsite is unknown.

Documentation: n/a
Register Status: n/a

Resource 125: Winter Quarters of the New York Line
"moved on to their Hutting Ground at Pequanneck."
Pompton Plains, NJ 07444
The exact location of these huts is unknown.

Documentation: n/a
Register Status: n/a

Resource 126: Winter Quarters of the New Jersey Brigade, 1781 to 1782.
About 1,200 feet southwest of Tempe Wick/Jockey Hollow Roads
Morristown, 07960

Documentation: n/a
Register Status: n/a

Resource 127: Tempe Wick House
Tempe Wick Road, about 325 feet west of intersection with
Jockey Hollow Road
Morristown, 07960

Documentation: n/a
Register Status: n/a

Tab 30

Resource 128: Campsite of the French Army of 4/8 September 1782
Trenton, NJ 08611

Documentation: Schedule for the return march of French forces through New
Jersey, Rochambeau Papers, Library of Congress, vol. 3.
French campsite maps from Rice and Brown, *American
Campaigns* vol. 2.
Campsite maps from the journal of unidentified officer of the
Soissonnais Regiment in the Huntington Library, San Marino, CA

Register Status: n/a

Resource 129: Campsite of the First Brigade of the French Army
of 7/8 September 1782
Princeton, NJ 08540

Documentation: n/a
Register Status: n/a

Resource 130: Campsite of the First Brigade of the French Army
of 8/9 September 1782
Somerset Courthouse [i.e., Millstone], NJ 08835

Documentation: n/a
Register Status: n/a

Resource 131: Campsite of the First Brigade of the French Army
of 9/10 September 1782
Bullion's Tavern/English Farm
Liberty Corner, NJ 07938

Documentation: n/a
Register Status: n/a

Resource 132: Campsite of the First Brigade of the French Army
of 10/12 September 1782
Whippany, NJ 07981

Documentation: n/a
Register Status: n/a

Resource 133: Campsite of the First Brigade of the French Army
of 12/13 September 1782
Pompton, NJ 07444

Documentation: n/a
Register Status: n/a

Resource 134: Campsite of the Legion of 2/3 September 1782
Bordentown Road
Trenton, NJ 08611

The exact location of this campsite is unknown.

Documentation: n/a
Register Status: n/a

Resource 135: Campsite of the Legion from 3 to 7 September 1782
"on a height overlooking the Brunswick Road."
Kingston, NJ 08528

The exact location of this campsite is unknown.

Documentation: n/a
Register Status: n/a

Resource 136: Campsite of the Legion on 7/8 September 1782
"behind a bridge across the Raritan River."
New Brunswick, NJ 08899
The exact location of this campsite is unknown

Documentation: n/a
Register Status: n/a

Resource 137: Campsite of the Legion on 8/9 September 1782
Scotch Plains, NJ 07076
The exact location of this campsite is unknown.

Documentation: n/a
Register Status: n/a

Resource 138: Campsite of the Legion of 9 to 11 September 1782
"at the entrance to the passes that lead to Chatham facing the plain
and the road to New York."
Chatham, NJ 07928

Documentation: n/a
Register Status: n/a

Tab 31

Resource 139: Campsite of the Legion on 11/12 September 1782
"Fock River, junction of three rivers."
Glen Gray Road
Mahwah, NJ 07436

Documentation: Schedule for the return march of French forces through New
Jersey, Rochambeau Papers, Library of Congress, vol. 3.
Maps provided by Richard Greene

Register Status: n/a

Note: An alternative possible campsite for that night is at the Forks of the
Passaic/Two Bridges area, possibly near Mountain View.

Resource 140: Campsite of the Legion on 12/13 September 1782
near Paramus.
The exact location of the campsite is unknown.

Documentation: n/a
Register Status: n/a

Resource 141: Campsite of Lauzun's Legion from 26 to 1 November (?) 1782
Whippany, NJ 07981

The exact location of the campsite is unknown.

Documentation: n/a

Register Status: n/a

Resource 142: Sussex County Courthouse
Newton, NJ 07860

Documentation: n/a

Register Status: NHR added 1979 - #79001523

Resource 143: Pittstown Inn
350 Pittstown Road
Pittstown, NJ 08867

Documentation: n/a

Register Status: n/a

Resource 144: The Stockton Inn
1 Main Street
Stockton, NJ 08559

Documentation: n/a

Register Status: n/a

Resource 145: Reading's Ferry/Howell's Ferry
Stockton, NJ 08559

Documentation: n/a

Register Status: n/a

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Source: Acomb, Evelyn, ed. *The Revolutionary Journal of Baron Ludwig von Closen, 1780-1783* (Chapel Hill, 1958), pp. 112-115.

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Source: Rice, Howard C. Jr., and Anne S.K. Brown, eds., *The American Campaigns of Rochambeau's Army 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783* 2 vols., (Princeton and Providence, 1972), pp. 42-45.

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In 2005, Mr. Nittinger became the president of a new state-wide Washington-Rochambeau-Revolutionary Route (W3R-NJ) organization of private citizens determined to commemorate the marches of American and French troops to Yorktown. Since then Ms Sally de Barcza has taken over the reins of W3R-NJ to ably organize events for the 225th anniversaries of the March to Victory in 2006.

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My wife Barbara and our children Mary, Sebastian, and Hannah once again put up with weeks of travel and many more hours of me being closeted in my office. Thank You all.

Robert A. Selig, PhD
Holland, Michigan
October 2006

TIMELINE

- 1763 10 February. First Treaty of Paris ends the French and Indian War. France cedes Canada and territories east of the Mississippi to Great Britain.
- 1764 5 April. British Parliament passes the Sugar Act.
- 1765 22 March. British Parliament passes the Stamp Act.
24 March. British Parliament passes the Quartering Act.
- 1767 29 June. British Parliament passes the Townshend Act imposing duties on tea, paper, and other items imported into the colonies.
- 1770 5 March. British troops in fire on rioters. The event becomes known as the Boston Massacre.
12 April. Repeal of most of the Townshend Act duties.
- 1773 16 December. Boston Tea Party.
- 1774 31 March. British Parliament shuts down Boston Harbor under what the British call the Coercive Acts and colonists call the Intolerable Acts.
20 May. British Parliament passes the Quebec Act, sharpening the divide between Canada and the lower 13 colonies.
5 September. First session of the First Continental Congress. It adjourns in October.
- 1775 9 February. British Parliament declares Massachusetts to be in rebellion.
19 April. Battles of Lexington and Concord, the “shot heard ’round the world.”
10 May. First session of the Second Continental Congress begins.
14 June. Congress establishes the Continental Army and appoints George Washington its commander-in-chief the following day.
- 1776 April. Silas Deane sent to Paris to obtain military supplies and skilled military engineers for the Continental Army.
2 May. First shipment of arms and ammunition in support of the American rebels leaves France for the New World.
June. Hortalez & Company receives one million livres from French Government, and another million from Spain, via the French Minister.
4 July. Congress ratifies the Declaration of Independence.
- 1777 February. Duportail, first of about 100 French volunteers, joins Continental Army. By September 1777, Hortalez Cie. (Beaumarchais) already shipped 5 million livres worth of supplies to America.
31 July. Congress appoints the *marquis* de Lafayette a major-general.

- 12 October. British forces under General John Burgoyne are surrounded at Saratoga. They surrender within a week.
- 1778
- 6 February. French-American treaties of Amity and Friendship and Alliance signed.
 - 4 May. French treaty recognizing American independence ratified by US Congress.
 - 5 April. An *Acte Royal* sets 17 June 1778 as the starting date of hostilities with Britain.
 - 17 June. First naval engagement of the war between French and British.
 - 12 May. Charleston, South Carolina, falls to the British.
 - 23 June. Spain declares war on Great Britain.
 - 27 June. Naval battle off Ile d'Ouessant [Ushant] -- indecisive engagement between France and Great Britain (English Channel)
 - 28 June. Following the Battle of Monmouth, Lafayette returns to France and requests more assistance from the king.
 - 11 July -31 August. French Admiral D'Estaing's unsuccessful naval operations at New York and at Newport.
 - 7 September. French capture Dominica (West Indies).
 - 14 September. British capture St. Pierre-et-Miquelon Islands
 - 1 October. British capture Pondichery (India).
 - 9 October. Franco-American forces are defeated at Savannah, Georgia.
 - 13 December. British capture St. Lucia (West Indies).
 - 13 December. French capture St. Louis (Senegal).
- 1779
- 1 May. Unsuccessful French raid on Jersey Island. (English Channel)
 - 18 June. French capture St. Vincent (West Indies).
 - 4 July. French capture Grenada (West Indies).
 - 23 September -20 October. D'Estaing and Americans conduct unsuccessful siege to Savannah (Georgia).
 - 23 September. French troops at naval battle of Flambourgh Head (La Manche/English Channel) -- (*Bonhomme Richard vs HMS Serapis*)
- 1780
- Winter. Lafayette returns from France to Morristown, New Jersey, with the promise of more support from the king.
 - 21 February -12 May. French troops at failed defense of Charleston, SC.
 - 17 April, 15 & 19 May. British and French forces engage in naval battles off Martinique (West Indies).
 - 10 July. Commanded by Admiral de Ternay, a fleet carrying some 450 officers and 5,300 men under the *comte* de Rochambeau sails into Narragansett Bay in Newport.
 - 21 September. Generals Washington and Rochambeau meet at the Hartford Conference.
 - 25 September. Benedict Arnold's attempt to hand West Point over to the British fails.

- 1781 5 January. Unsuccessful French raid on Jersey Island. (La Manche/English Channel). British capture Dutch possessions in West Indies, South America, Ceylon and India.
- 16 March. British and French naval battle off the Chesapeake Bay (1st 'Battle off the Virginia Capes').
- 16 May. British and French naval battle of Porto Praya (Cape Verde)
- 10-12 May, French raid on St. Lucia (West Indies).
- 22-24 May. Washington and Rochambeau meet at Wethersfield, Connecticut, to discuss their strategy for the upcoming campaign.
- 26 May. Spanish and French capture Pensacola (Florida).
- 4 June. French forces capture Tobago (West Indies).
- 10 June. The French infantry leaves its winter quarters in Newport.
- 19 June. The Regiment Bourbonnais is the first French unit to cross into Connecticut from winter quarters in Rhode Island on its way to Philipsburg, New York.
- 21 June. Lauzun's Legion leaves Lebanon, Connecticut, for Philipsburg, New York, on a route covering the left flank of the French infantry.
- 6 July. French forces join the Continental Army near Philipsburg, NY.
- 18 August. The Franco-American armies depart Philipsburg for Virginia.
- 19 August. Brigadier General Moses Hazen's Canadian Regiment and the combined New Jersey regiments cross the Hudson at Sneedens Landing and march to Paramus.
- 21 August. The two regiments reach Springfield
- 24 August. Major Sebastian Baumann's detachment encamps at Pompton.
- 25 August. Coming from Suffern, New York American forces under Generals Washington and Lincoln enter New Jersey.
- 26 August. The First Brigade of French forces enters New Jersey.
- 27 - 28 August. The Continental Army is encamped on the heights between Springfield and Chatham.
- 31 August. Elements of the Continental Army reach Trenton.
- 1 September. The first elements of the Continental Army embark in Trenton for Philadelphia.
- 2 September. The Continental Army parades before Congress.
- 3 September. The First French Brigade parades before Congress.
- 4 September. The Second French Brigade parades before Congress
- 4 September. The last elements of the Continental Army have crossed the Delaware River into Pennsylvania.
- 5 September. At Chester Washington receives news of the arrival of Admiral de Grasse in the Chesapeake Bay.
- 5 September. British and French naval battle off the Chesapeake Bay (2nd 'Battle off the Virginia Capes').
- 9 September. The first elements of the Continental Army and parts of the French army embark at Elkton and sail two days later. The remainder begins its march to Baltimore.
- 12 September. The flotilla reaches Annapolis.
- 19-21 September. French army embarks in Annapolis.

- 26 September. The allied forces are re-united in Williamsburg.
 - 28 September - 19 October. American and French siege of Yorktown, VA
 - 19 October. Cornwallis surrenders.
 - 1 November. The first detachments of the Continental Army begin their march north to winter quarters. French forces will spend the winter of 1781-82 in and around Williamsburg.
 - 4 November. Admiral de Grasse sails from Yorktown for Martinique.
 - 26 November. French capture St. Eustatius (West Indies).
 - November- December. Continental Army troops march into and through Pennsylvania for their winter quarters 1781-1782 in Pennsylvania, New York, and New Jersey.
 - December. Lafayette sails back to France.
- 1782
- 6 January - 5 February. French and Spanish forces capture Fort St. Philip in Minorca.
 - 25- 26 January French capture St. Kitts (West Indies).
 - 18 February. British and French naval battle off Madras (India).
 - 20 February. French capture island of Nevis (West Indies).
 - 22 February. French capture Monserrat (West Indies).
 - 12 April. British navy under Admiral Rodney destroys French naval squadron under Admiral de Grasse in Battle of the Saints, West Indies
 - 1 July. Rochambeau's infantry begins its march north to Boston.
 - 6 July. British and French naval battle off Negapatan (India).
 - July through March 1783. Unsuccessful Spanish and French blockade of Gibraltar.
 - 14-24 July. Washington and Rochambeau meet in Philadelphia to discuss plans for the campaign of 1782.
 - 17-20 July. French forces are encamped in Alexandria, Virginia.
 - 24 July-23 August. French forces are encamped in Baltimore.
 - 28 July. Rochambeau rejoins his forces in Baltimore.
 - 8 - 31 August. French capture and destroy Fort Prince of Wales in Hudson Bay (Canada).
 - 25-30 August. French besiege and capture Trincomalee (Ceylon).
 - 23 August. Lauzun's Legion departs from Baltimore.
 - 29 August. Coming from Wilmington Lauzun's Legion is the first French unit to enter Pennsylvania and encamps in Chester
 - 30 August. Lauzun's Legion camps in Philadelphia. The Bourbonnais Regiment camps in Chester.
 - 31 August. With Rochambeau at its head, the Bourbonnais parades through Philadelphia before Congress and McKean. Lauzun's Legion rests in Philadelphia.
 - 1 September. The Bourbonnais rests in Philadelphia. The Royal Deux-Ponts parades through Philadelphia before Congress and McKean. The Soissonais camps in Chester. Lauzun's Legion leaves Philadelphia for Red Lion.

- 2 September. The Saintonge camps in Chester. The Soissonnais parades through Philadelphia before Congress and McKean. The Royal Deux Ponts rests in Philadelphia. Rochambeau and the Bourbonnais leave for Red Lion. Lauzun's Legion leaves Red Lion for Trenton.
- 3 September. The Saintonge parades through Philadelphia before Congress and McKean. The Soissonnais rests in Philadelphia. The Royal Deux Ponts leaves for Red Lion. The Bourbonnais leaves Red Lion for Trenton. Lauzun's Legion rests in Trenton.
- 6 September. The last French forces cross the Delaware into New Jersey
- 4-13 September. French forces cross New Jersey on the way to Boston
- 25 October - 22 December. Lauzun's Legion crosses New Jersey on its way to winter quarters in Wilmington.
- 30 November. Preliminaries of Peace between the United States and Great Britain signed in Paris
- 9-11 December. Coming from Newburgh, New York, Rochambeau crosses New Jersey on his way to Philadelphia
- 12 December. Rochambeau and his staff arrive in Philadelphia on their way to Baltimore. They stay until 2 January 1783
- 21-23 December: Lauzun's Legion passes through Philadelphia on its way to winter quarters in Wilmington, Delaware.
- 25 December. French infantry sails from Boston for the Caribbean

- 1783 20 January. Preliminaries of Peace are signed in Paris
- 10 February. Rochambeau arrives in Saint-Nazaire
- March - July. French participate in capture of Voloze; siege of Mangalore (India).
- 3 April. Hostilities end in the territory of the United States.
- 16 April. Peace is proclaimed in Philadelphia.
- 11 May. Lauzun's Legion sails out of Philadelphia for France.
- 20 June. British and French naval battle off Cuddalore (India).
- 3 September. Second Peace of Paris signed. Britain acknowledges the independence of the United States of America.
- 5 October. A final transport of 85 soldiers under Captain François Xavier Christophe baron de Hell of Lauzun's Legion sails from Baltimore on the *Pintade* and enters Brest on 10 November
- 2 November. Congress disbands the Continental Army.

- 1784 14 January. Congress ratifies the Treaty of Paris.

- 1787 7 December. Delaware is the first state to ratify the Constitution.

- 1789 4 February. George Washington is elected first president of the United States of America.
- 30 April. George Washington is sworn in as first president of the United States of America.

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Purpose of the Project

In a 1999 interview with the historical magazine *American Heritage*, renowned author David McCullough claimed that "When you're working on the Revolutionary War, as I'm doing now, you realize what the French did for us. We wouldn't have a country if it weren't for them."¹ Few historians of the war on either side of the Atlantic would dispute that there is a very large grain of truth in McCullough's statement. Still, the notion of Frenchmen fighting side by side with Continental soldiers for American independence comes as a surprise to most Americans: 225 years after Yorktown few Americans are aware of the critical importance of America's French allies during the Revolutionary War.

The support provided by French King Louis XVI toward the success of that war has been largely obliterated in the collective memory of the American people. Following the end of the war, the struggle between Federalists and Anti-Federalists over the future organization occupied the politically-minded while the vast majority of the population struggled to meet the challenges of life in the now independent United States. Then came the struggle with England that culminated in the War of 1812, which saw many a Revolutionary War veteran pick up his musket again. The Revolutionary generation was already thinning out when on 14 August 1824, the *marquis* de Lafayette arrived in New York on the packet *Cadmus* at the invitation of President James Monroe and Congress for what would become a triumphal tour of the country he had helped gain its independence. Traveling south from New York, Lafayette arrived in Philadelphia on 29 September 1824, where he was greeted by a parade that included 160 Revolutionary War veterans. Lafayette's tour culminated in a celebration attended by thousands of veterans and spectators on the battlefield of Yorktown on 19 October 1824. Almost a year later, on 9 September 1825, Lafayette sailed out of the mouth of the Potomac on the frigate *Brandywine* for France.²

Lafayette's visit had been the Swan Song of a Revolutionary War generation that was quickly passing away, taking their memories with them.³ As canals and railroads altered modes and patterns of transportation in the 1840s and 1850s, the memory of the "gallant" Frenchmen under General *comte* de Rochambeau, of their crucial contribution to American Independence and of the bond forged in the

¹ "There Isn't Any Such Thing As The Past." *American Heritage* Vol. 50. No. 1, (February/March 1999), pp. 114-125, p. 124.

² See Edgar Ewing Brandon, *Lafayette. Guest of the Nation. A Contemporary Account of the Triumphal Tour of General Lafayette* 3 vols., (Oxford, OH., 1954), and J. Bennett Nolan, *Lafayette in America Day by Day* (Baltimore, 1934), pp. 14-17.

³ See Sarah J. Purcell, *Sealed with Blood. War, Sacrifice, and Memory in Revolutionary America*. (Philadelphia, 2002), Lafayette's journey here on pp. 171-209, and John Resch, *Suffering Soldiers. Revolutionary War Veterans, Moral Sentiment and Political Culture in the Early Republic* (Amherst, 1999).

crucible of war, was covered by the mantle of Revolutionary War iconography. A prime example of this is given by Benson J. Lossing, who could write in 1852, that "a balance-sheet of favors connected with the alliance will show not the least preponderance of service in favor of the French, unless the result of the more vigorous action of the Americans, caused by the hopes of success from the alliance, shall be taken into the account."⁴

The tragedy of the Civil War and the turmoil of the Second Industrial Revolution brought massive economic and demographic dislocation in the 1860s and 1870s. As millions of immigrants from southern and east-central Europe settled mid-western and western America in the 1880s and 1890s, interest in the French alliance was increasingly confined to professional historians and Americans living in France. The celebrations of the centennials of the American and French Revolutions in 1876 and 1889 saw the publication of Thomas Balch's *Les Français en Amérique pendant la Guerre de l'Indépendance des États-Unis, 1777-1783*, published in Paris and Philadelphia in 1872.⁵ In 1881, Henry P. Johnston published the still useful *The Yorktown Campaign and the Surrender of Cornwallis*, and Edwin M. Stone followed suit with *Our French Allies ... in the Great War of the American Independence*, (Providence, Rhode Island, 1884).

In Paris, Henri Doniol published between 1886 and 1892 his ambitious *Histoire de la participation de la France à l'établissement des États-Unis d'Amérique. Correspondance diplomatique et documents* in five volumes.⁶ In 1903, Amblard Marie vicomte de Noailles' *Marins et Soldats Français en Amérique Pendant la Guerre de l'Indépendance des États-Unis, 1778-1783* ran off the presses in Paris. Supported by the *Society in France, Sons of the American Revolution*, founded in Paris in September 1897, the French Foreign Ministry in 1903 published a partial list of names in *Les Combattants Français de la Guerre Américaine 1778-1783*.⁷

A few years later, the First World War brought the renewal of an alliance that had flourished some 140 years earlier. "Lafayette, we are here!" an American officer is said to have pronounced over the tomb of the *marquis* in Paris in 1917. With Armistice Day 1918, the "debt to Lafayette" was paid. But the war "over there" also brought renewed interest in the earlier military cooperation during the Revolutionary War. When Boston banker Allan Forbes retraced the route taken by Rochambeau's forces in the early 1920s, he concentrated on the New England

⁴ Benson J. Lossing, *Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution* 2 vols. (New York, 1852), Vol. 2, p. 83, note 4.

⁵ An English translation appeared in two volumes in Philadelphia in 1891-1895.

⁶ A supplement volume bringing the history of events to the signing of the Peace Treaty of 1783 (the original volume 5 ends with the signing of the preliminaries of peace) was added in 1899.

⁷ Published in the United States as United States. Congress. Senate. Miscellaneous Publications. 58th Congress, 2nd Session. Document No. 77. (Washington, D.C., 1903-1904). For the German-speaking regiment Royal Deux-Ponts and the Irish regiments Walsh and Dillon the document lists "officiers seulement".

states of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut.⁸ His research ended at the New York State line; the Mid-Atlantic States were covered in but a single article.⁹ Forbes' efforts and recommendations remained without a follow-up, and even though a few determined individuals tried over the course of the century to revive the memory of the role of France in the Revolutionary War, it has until recently been left to town historians and private organizations such as the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Sons of the American Revolution, the Society of the Cincinnati or the *Souvenir Français*, to commemorate the Franco-American alliance.

All this changed in the late 1990s, when commemorative and preservation efforts that had begun in the State of Connecticut developed into a nation-wide effort to celebrate both the 225th anniversary of the American Revolution as well as the role of France in achieving American independence. In the Fall of 2000, both Houses of Congress passed "A Bill to require the Secretary of the Interior to complete a resource study of the 600 mile route through Connecticut, Delaware, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Virginia, used by George Washington and General Rochambeau during the American Revolutionary War." The bill was presented to President Bill Clinton on 2 November and signed into law on 9 November 2000.¹⁰ President Clinton's signature created Public Law No. 106-473, the *Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route National Heritage Act of 2000*. Similarly on 22 July 2002, the United States House of Representatives voted to make Lafayette an honorary citizen of the United States. This honor places Lafayette among only five others who were similarly honored.¹¹

The present resource survey of the Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route (W3R) commemorating the 225th Anniversary of the American Revolution in the State of New Jersey contributes to the federally mandated nine-state plus the District of Columbia National Historic Trail study authorized by Congress to be completed by 2006.

⁸ Forbes, Allan and Paul F. Cadman, *France and New England* 3 vols., (Boston, 1925-1929).

⁹ Allan Forbes, "Marches and Camp Sites of the French Army beyond New England during the Revolutionary War" *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* Vol. 67 (1945), pp. 152-167. Forbes' research notes seem to be lost; they are not in his papers in the Massachusetts Historical Society.

¹⁰ Concurrently First Lady and (then) Senator-elect Hilary Rodham Clinton designated the W3R a *Millennium Trail*, making properties along the route eligible for federal TEA-21 funds through each State's Department of Transportation.

¹¹ The Senate approved the Joint Resolution on 24 July 2002 and President George W. Bush signed it into law. The other honorees are Winston Churchill, Mother Teresa, Raoul Wallenberg, and William Penn and his wife Hannah. Since Lafayette was made a citizen of Maryland in 1785, historians such Louis Gottschalk have argued that Lafayette effectively became a US citizen when Maryland became one of the United States. See his *Lafayette Between the American and French Revolutions* (1950); Appendix III, and pages 145-147 of the main text. Congress already proclaimed Lafayette an honorary citizen in 1824.

The purpose of the W3R project in the State of New Jersey is manifold:

1. To identify the land and river routes that General Washington's Continental Army and the *comte* de Rochambeau's French forces took through New Jersey in August and September of 1781 on their way to Yorktown. Side trips by officers, e.g., visits to the Falls at Totowa are not included in this report.
2. To identify the routes of the return marches of the American forces in November and December of 1781, incl. the winter quarters of Second Continental Artillery and the Sappers and Miners in Burlington, the winter quarters of the 1st and 2nd New York Regiments near Pompton, and the winter quarters of the two New Jersey regiments near Morristown. Not included are the marches of the Continental Army through New Jersey to the Hudson Highlands in Spring 1782.
3. To identify the routes of the return march of the French forces in September 1782. Not included is the route of the passengers of the *l'Aigle* and *la Gloire* from Delaware through New Jersey to Yorktown Heights in New York State in late September 1782.
4. To trace the flanking route of Lauzun's Legion in September 1782 to Stony Point.
5. To identify the return route of Lauzun's Legion from Crompond/Yorktown Heights, New York, to Wilmington, Delaware, in November and December 1782 and the stay of the Legion in Burlington in November 1782. Not included is Rochambeau's journey from West Point to Baltimore for departure to France in November 1782.
6. To identify sites and resources along these routes.
7. To research and write a historical narrative of the campaign of 1781 around these sites that focuses on the marches rather than the siege and victory at Yorktown.
8. To provide recommendations to assist in developing a plan to interpret those sites within the context of the national W3R and the celebrations to commemorate the 225th anniversary of the march to, and victory of, Yorktown in 2006.

Identification of French routes except the routes taken by Lauzun's Legion was greatly facilitated by contemporary French route descriptions and maps of campsites. For the Continental Army we usually know only the names of the locations where these forces camped, but neither the routes how they got there nor where they camped. The identification of those routes and sites, though based on in-depth research, in many cases is only tentative. At the same time, the study is

also designed to allow for the statewide implementation of its recommendations should Congress decide not to proceed with a federal designation for the W3R.

1.2 Scope of the Project

The current report undertakes a historical and architectural survey of resources for the W3R in the State of New Jersey and to develop recommendations for interpretation of these sites. In addition, it is intended as a tool to provide information to support potential archeological surveys and excavations of the campsites, routes, and other physical evidence of the presence of the American and French armies in New Jersey from 1781 to 1783. This dual approach adheres to the template developed and followed by the states of Connecticut and New York.¹² Upon completion New Jersey will have the basis for joining the W3R National Historic Trail (if so designated by Congress). The W3R through the State of New Jersey will be one element of the greater W3R project aimed at designating the entire nine-state route a National Historic Trail administered by the NPS. It will also have the foundation needed to begin the research for nominating identified sites to the National Register of Historic Places, including portions of the trail where still in existence, and for a more inclusive interpretation of existing sites within the state.

1.3 Goals of the Project

The project has set itself three goals:

- 1) To collect, interpret, and evaluate American, French, British, and German primary and secondary sources for information concerning the French role in the American Revolutionary War with a view toward explaining the reasons, goals, and results for and of that involvement.
- 2) To review these sources for information about the presence of French and American troops in New Jersey and their interaction with the inhabitants of the state in 1781, 1782, and 1783.
- 3) To identify historic buildings and/or sites as well as modern monuments and markers associated with the campaigns of 1781, 1782, and 1783. This identification of above-ground resources, including portions of the trail where still in existence, and of the campsites (as archeological sites) should (where possible, necessary, or feasible) be followed by the research necessary to bring about

¹² See Robert A. Selig, *Rochambeau in Connecticut: Tracing his Journey. Historic and Architectural Survey. Connecticut Historical Commission* (Hartford: State of Connecticut, 1999) and *Rochambeau's Cavalry: Lauzun's Legion in Connecticut 1780-1781. The Winter Quarters of Lauzun's Legion in Lebanon and its March Through the State in 1781. Rochambeau's Conferences in Hartford and Wethersfield. Historic and Architectural Survey. Connecticut Historical Commission* (Hartford: State of Connecticut, 2000), as well as Robert A. Selig, *The Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route in the State of New York, 1781-1782. An historical And Architectural Survey* (Albany: Hudson River Valley Greenway, 2001).

nomination of these resources for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places or other appropriate state and/or national registers.

The route as identified in the historical and architectural survey will be determined by aboveground resources and described in relationship to the currently existing road patterns within the State of New Jersey. It will by necessity vary at different locations from the actual eighteenth-century routes taken by the Franco-American armies.

Goals 1) and 2) were achieved by research in American and European libraries and archives with a special focus on unknown and/or unpublished materials relating to the French role in the American Revolutionary War. Local historical research was conducted in the New Jersey State Historic Preservation Office, especially in the National Register of Historic Places files, the New Jersey Public Archives, the Historical Society of New Jersey, and in cooperation with individuals and libraries along the route during fieldwork in the Fall of 2004 and the Summer of 2005.

Within the parameters set in Goal 3) only structures and sites connected directly and through primary source materials (such as journals, diaries, letters, receipts, or maps) with the march of the infantry, artillery, and cavalry portion of Washington's and Rochambeau's armies in the Summer of 1781 and the Fall and Winter of 1782-1783, were included. Movements of French forces and/or of French officers or of American forces prior to the Summer of 1781, as well as sites connected with actions of Frenchmen in American service such as the *marquis de Lafayette*, are not covered in this report.

Fieldwork and photography were undertaken in the Fall of 2004 and the Summer of 2005. Copies of the final report are deposited in the offices of the New Jersey Historic Trust. French and German words are in italics unless they are included as English words in *Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary*, tenth edition. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are the author's.

1.4 Sources

The goal of this architectural and historical resource inventory and site survey of the march of the combined Franco-American armies to Virginia in the Summer of 1781 and back north again in the months thereafter is the identification of the routes of these forces and their location on the ground today. The necessity to speedily cross New Jersey, combined with the devastation years of warfare had wreaked in the state and the need to try and keep Sir Henry Clinton in New York guessing as to the real aims of the troops movements, forced the armies to use a number of different routes across New Jersey. But this richness and variety of routes, which once again confirms New Jersey's status as the "Crossroads of the Revolution," is matched by a relative paucity of primary source materials for the march.

On the American side there exists an extensive body of cartographic work for the marches of 1781, but it only covers the routes from Philadelphia to Yorktown and back. Once the decision to march to Virginia had been made, Washington ordered his cartographer Simeon DeWitt to draw up maps of the routes to be taken by the Continental Army to Yorktown. These maps are preserved as the Erskine-DeWitt Maps in the New-York Historical Society under the call numbers 124 A-U for the march from Philadelphia to Yorktown in August and September 1781, and 125 A-K plus half-sheet C 125 for the march from Yorktown to Elkridge Landing in November and December 1781. Unfortunately there are no maps for the routes of the Continental Army from Philipsburg, New York, through New Jersey to Philadelphia, but there are other contemporary maps of New Jersey drawn by DeWitt's predecessor Robert Erskine on which the route can be traced with the help of Orderly Books, diaries, and other primary source materials. Unlike the French maps, these maps are drawn to scale, with mile markers indicated on the maps where available. They do not show the campsites, however, but point out landmarks such as inns, churches, fords, ironworks etc, which makes these, in their majority unpublished maps, important resources for the W3R project as well as for state and local history.

The by far single most important source on the American side for the reconstruction of the history around the march are the papers of George Washington, which have been used extensively for this study and which are readily accessible via the internet. Equally important are potentially the papers of Henry Knox,¹³ and Benjamin Lincoln,¹⁴ which are available on microfilm, but in their cases too the very speed of the journey across New Jersey resulted in less than a half dozen letters each by these two generals.

Another potentially valuable source are diaries and journals kept by enlisted men and NCOs, many of which are unpublished. A list based on years of research can be found at <http://www.RevWar75.com>, and a few of them contributed greatly to this project. First and foremost is the unpublished journal of Sergeant-Major Hawkins of the Canadian Regiment, located in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, which provides much of the necessary information for one of the routes of the Continental Army.¹⁵ Another are the "Memoirs" of John Hudson, a 13-year-old boy-soldier in the 2nd New York Regiment, though written

¹³ The Henry Knox papers are held in the Massachusetts Historical Society, #3883121. There is an index to the 55 reels of microfilm. *Index to the Henry Knox papers owned by the New England Historic Genealogical Society and deposited in the Massachusetts Historical Society.*

¹⁴ The Benjamin Lincoln Papers are also held in the Massachusetts Historical Society. They are available on 13 reels of microfilm; an index is available as MHS Microfilm publication no. 3.

¹⁵ *Journal of Sergeant-Major John H. Hawkins, 1779-1781.* Manuscript Guide 273, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. Hawkins' journal is unpaginated.

Though relevant to the study of the Revolutionary war, this report does not include a discussion as to the reasons and motivations of individuals for keeping diaries or writing memoirs. The (limited) readership of this report is well aware of the fact that diaries, journals and memoirs often should not be taken at face value but should be compared with other primary sources.

decades after the war, provide a valuable source for the march of the rear-guard of the Continental army.¹⁶ Additional information can be gleaned from James Thacher's account and similar sources.¹⁷ Of little value was the best-known memoir by an enlisted man, the account penned by Joseph Plumb Martin, *Private Yankee Doodle* (Hallowell, ME, 1830; repr. Boston, 1962). Martin's account contains much information on the campaigns of 1781-1782, but covers the march through New Jersey in a single paragraph on p. 222 in the 1962 edition.

A unique source on individual soldiers and the war that can be easily overlooked but which have been very useful in research and writing of this study are the pension applications of Revolutionary War veterans in the National Archives in Washington, DC. The autobiographies attached to these applications are lengthy at times and full of information not found anywhere else. Particularly informative for the reconstruction of the 1781 and 1781 routes through New Jersey was an account entitled "Thomas Graton His Book", a journal kept by Thomas Graton of Massachusetts attached to his pension file. Graton joined the Company of Artificers for a five-month enlistment term on 2 August 1781 and marched to Yorktown and back with the Continental Army. Short as it is, Graton's "book" is valuable as the only primary source for the two-day route of General Lincoln and his brigade from Springfield to Princeton.¹⁸

Reconstructing the logistics behind the American march through New Jersey is both more difficult as well as easier than for the French side. It is more difficult, because unlike in the case of the French army, no route maps or instructions to the troops which roads they were to take have survived.¹⁹ This gap in our ability of reconstruct the march is filled in part by Orderly Books of regiments marching through New Jersey. These Orderly Books provide an immediate if very uneven source for the reconstruction of the march. Orderly books record the daily orders for each regiment, including the place where the regiment is at the time and where it was to march that day and set up camp. Most important for the reconstruction of the minutiae of the march is the Orderly Book of Colonel Lamb's 2nd Continental Artillery, which has survived in two versions (6/20 - 10/21/81 and 8/4 - 10/27/81) in the New-York Historical Society and is available on microfilm #143, reel 14, and NYHS microfilm #118.1, reel 12. Lamb's Orderly book is the only surviving source of its kind; of the five infantry regiments that made the march to Yorktown in 1781 -- 1st NJ, 2nd NJ, Canadian (Congress' Own), 1st RI, 1st NY, and 2nd NY -- one copy of the Orderly Book of the 2nd NY, covering the days from 24 September to 10 October 1781, has survived in the New York State

¹⁶ John Hudson's Memoirs were published, without title, in *Cist's Advertiser*, a weekly newspaper published by Charles Cist in Cincinnati, Ohio, in five installments beginning with Vol. 3, No. 3, 28 January 1846.

¹⁷ James Thacher, *A Military Journal during the American Revolutionary War, from 1775 to 1783* (1823, repr. Stamford, 1994).

¹⁸ Pension application of Thomas Graton, NARA W 14824, 34 p., 1 August 1767-29 September 1790, roll 1110, frames 302-325.

¹⁹ The exceptions to this rule are three letters by Washington to Colonel Philip Van Cortlandt who commanded the rear-guard of the Continental Army.

Library under catalogue No. 10464, vol. 10, part 1. Another copy covering the days from 26 September to 30 October 1781 is at NYHS, microfilm #149, reel 15, but both versions are too late for this study.

Except for a small group of about 85 Delaware recruits, the same regiments/units - 1st New Jersey, 2nd New Jersey, 1st New York, 2nd New York, 1st Rhode Island, Hazen's Canadians, Lamb's Artillery, the Light Infantry as well as the Commander in Chief's Guard, Joseph Plumb Martin's Corps of Sappers and Miners, and the Corps of Artificers - made the return march in November-December 1781. Fortunately the diary of Samuel Tallmadge, also of the Second New York Regiment, has survived for the march from Yorktown.²⁰ In addition there is the Orderly Book for Col. Lamb's Artillery Regiment as well. Lamb wintered in Burlington, New Jersey, from 7 December 1781 to 4 February 1782, and marched to the Highlands in August 1782. It is in the NYHS, microfilm #152; reel 15. But while this Orderly Book provides some detail for the day-to-day affairs of the regiment, it does not provide any information on the routes taken by Lamb.

Another potential source for the reconstruction of the logistical aspects of the march of the American forces are the papers of Quarter-Master General Timothy Pickering held by the National Archives and Records Administration in Washington, DC. As QMG, Pickering and his Deputy-QMGs and their Assistant-QMGs were responsible for feeding, clothing and housing the Continental Army.²¹ Just as in the case of the French Army, however, the speed of the march through New Jersey left Pickering very little time for correspondence: less than half a dozen letters have survived for the time the Continental Army marched through the state.²² Pickering in fact did not even accompany the troops through the state; that task was left to DQMG Colonel Henry Emanuel [sic] Lutterloh, but

²⁰ Almon W. Lauber, *Orderly Books of the Fourth New York Regiment, 1778-1780. The Second New York Regiment, 1780-1783 by Samuel Tallmadge and Others with Diaries of Samuel Tallmadge, 1780-1782 and John Barr, 1779-1782* (Albany, 1932), pp. 759-760. The Orderly Book unfortunately contains gaps from 17 June 1781 to 24 September 1781, and from 10 October 1781 to 19 August 1782, i.e. the times for the marches through New Jersey, but Tallmadge's diary fills that gap.

²¹ Pickering became QMG in August 1780. See Erna Risch, *Supplying Washington's Army* (Washington, D.C., 1981), esp. pp. 58-63. See also E. Wayne Carp, *To Starve the Army at Pleasure. Continental Army Administration and American Political Culture* (Chapel Hill, 1984). Charles Pettit remained assistant quartermaster general, Jabez Hatch was appointed deputy quartermaster for Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire, and Donaldson Yeates was DQMG for Maryland and Delaware. John Neilson was appointed deputy quartermaster for New Jersey, Ralph Pomeroy for Connecticut, and Richard Claiborne for Virginia. Pickering retained Nicholas Long in North Carolina and Hugh Hughes in New York. For Pennsylvania he appointed Samuel Miles deputy quartermaster. A "Life of Col. Samuel Miles written by himself" beginning on 4 February 1802, and focusing primarily on his service in the French and Indian War is in *Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, Am 1042.

²² The vast majority of the Timothy Pickering Papers, 29 linear feet, is located in the Massachusetts Historical Society in Boston and is available on 69 reels of microfilm. Frederick S. Allis, Jr., ed. *Timothy Pickering Papers, 1758-1829* published a guide to these papers. Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1966. Microfilm. 69 reels guide. Distributed by University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI.

the papers of Lutterloh have not survived and neither has a single letter by Pickering to Lutterloh. The only pertinent letter by Washington to Lutterloh was not written until 7 September 1781, from Head of Elk. That was well after the Continental Army had left New Jersey. A second DQMG that accompanied the Continental Army through New Jersey was Colonel Henry Dearborn, but the Washington Papers do not contain a single letter to Dearborn relative to the New Jersey Campaign, and the Pickering letters contain only a single letter of 21 August 1781. No collection of Dearborn Papers relative to the Yorktown Campaign has survived, and Dearborn himself in his *Revolutionary War Journals* covers the Yorktown Campaign in New Jersey all of two sentences.²³

This gap, however is filled in part by the paper trail the Continental Army left behind in the form of interest-bearing Loan Certificates issued by the DQMGs along the way. These certificates, which cover everything from purchases of food and firewood to crossing the Delaware at Trenton to ship rent for the passage to Yorktown to tavern bills to bridge tolls and compensation for pasturage, are preserved in many public and private repositories and in numerous record groups. In NARA, records pertaining to this time period can be found among the 126-microfilm reel record group entitled *Miscellaneous Numbered Documents*. More can be found on the microfilms in Record Group M 926, *Letters, Accounts, and Estimates of the Quartermaster General's Department 1776-1783*, which occasionally covers French purchases as well, and in the well over 100 microfilm reels of Record Group 93, Revolutionary War Rolls.

In the case of New Jersey, the papers of DQMG John Neilson provide a window into some of the logistical challenges the QMG Department faced in the Summer of 1781. During the less than two years that John Neilson served as DQMG in New Jersey, he handed out over 10,000 such certificates which help in reconstructing the routes taken by the Continental Army. Continental or "Federal" authorities, however, issued these certificates. They cover only part of the contributions of New Jersey to the 1781 campaign.²⁴ A potentially similarly large contributions was made by State authorities in the form of contributions in

²³ *Revolutionary War Journals of Henry Dearborn, 1775-1783*. Edited from the original manuscripts by Lloyd A. Brown and Howard H. Peckham. With a biographical essay by Hermon Dunlap Smith. (Chicago, 1939. Reprint, New York: Da Capo Press, 1971), p. 215.

²⁴ Neilson, John. "Papers ... kept as DQM for NJ, 1780-1782, Box 1" call no. Ac 589, Special Collections, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey. Neilson took over as DQMG from Moore Furman in September 1780. In almost all cases only the signed receipt that payment had been made, i.e., a small strip on left hand of the certificate, has survived.

Box 2 contains an account book beginning Trenton, 25 September 1780, with almost daily entries of horses being purchased or dying, materials being received and/or handed out etc. There is no noticeable increase in activity in Neilson's office in early September 1781, and no entry that can be tied explicitly to the 1781 campaign. There is no mention about French forces in the account book.

As of 16 July 1782, New Jersey had issued loan certificates with a nominal value of \$ 71,005.850,60 and a specie value \$ 12,170.609,60. New Jersey State Archives, RG: Dept. of the Treasury, SG: State Treasurer's Office, Series: Accounts of the State of New Jersey with the US Govt. 1775-1799.

kind. They were collected by contractors hired by the State to procure its share to the maintenance of the Continental Army.²⁵ Yet while these files provide a fascinating insight into the variety and amounts of victuals collected in the counties, they can rarely be tied directly to the August 1781 campaign through the State of New Jersey and are therefore of limited value to assess the additional burdens the campaign placed on its citizens.

A source that is unique for New Jersey for tracing the whereabouts of Continental Army troops is in the New Jersey State Archives, RG Legislature, Series: Inventories of Damages by the British and Americans in New Jersey, 1776-1782, Series # SLE 00003. On 20 December 1781, the Council and General Assembly of New Jersey passed an act to procure an estimate of damages done in the state by the British troops, the Continental Army, or by the New Jersey militia or of neighboring states. The act authorized appraisers in each county to make inventories for damage claims, and required them to file them with the legislature at their first sitting after each annual election. Though mostly focused on damages done by British forces, these two reels of microfilm provide like spotlights glimpses or where Continental Army was in 1781.²⁶

On the French side, the indispensable collection of primary source materials is the compilation of maps and route descriptions published by Howard C. Rice, Jr. and Anne S. K. Brown in their *The American Campaigns of Rochambeau's Army 1780, 1781, 1782, 1782*. 2 volumes, (Princeton and Providence, 1972). Volume 2 re-produces maps of the routes and campsites as well as the road descriptions that are located in the Rochambeau Papers, the Rochambeau Family Cartographic Archive (GEN MSS 146) at the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University and in other repositories world-wide. These maps were drawn mostly by Louis Alexandre de Berthier and, though not always to scale, provide the exact location of the campsites. These superbly edited volumes are indispensable for anyone interested in the march of Rochambeau's troops from Newport to Yorktown in 1781 and back to Boston in 1782. There are a very few sites and routes such as the route of Lauzun's Legion through Connecticut in June 1781, or the 1782-1783 winter quarters of Lauzun's Legion in Wilmington, that Rice and Brown either could not locate or that lay outside their immediate research interest, but for the march of French forces through New Jersey the itineraries and maps are complete. Unfortunately, the itineraries that are missing concern New Jersey: the flanking march of Lauzun's Legion from Philadelphia to Stony Point in the Fall of 1782, and the return march of the Legion from Crompond/Yorktown Heights to Burlington and Wilmington in November and

²⁵ See New Jersey State Archives, Record Group: Dept. of the Treasury. Sub-group: State Treasurer's Office, Series: Revolutionary War-Era Accounts of Taxes received in kind, 1781-1782. There are also thousands of receipts for payment of taxes in kind in the different counties in RG: Department of Defense, SG: Revolutionary War, Series: Numbered Manuscripts, 2 vols.

In RG: Military Records, SG: US Continental Army, Series: Quartermaster General and Commissary General Records, Contractors Records, are numerous receipts and certificates of the time period, but it is virtually impossible to tie the expenses to the Yorktown Campaign.

²⁶ For Cape May, Cumberland, Gloucester, Monmouth, Salem, and Sussex no inventories survive.

December 1781. In the absence of any account by a participant from Lauzun's Legion, the reconstruction of these routes has to be based a very few sources.

On the French side, orders and arrangements for the march as well as supply issues are addressed in itineraries and official orders for the march published in Volume 2 of Rice and Brown's *American Campaigns*. Berthier, an assistant quartermaster-general, provides a very detailed description of the order and organization of each column of the march until August 1781, but just as French forces enter New Jersey on 27 August, his account ends abruptly in mid-sentence. The same is true for another invaluable source for French troop movements, the *Livre d'ordre* of Rochambeau's little army, which allows a minute reconstruction of the daily life of the soldiers in America as well as the order and organization of the march to White Plains. The *livre*, the equivalent of an Orderly Book in the Continental Army, is preserved in the Archives Générales du Département de Meurthe-et-Moselle in Nancy, France, under the call number E 235. Unfortunately it too ends on 17 August 1781, the day before the troops got ready to break camp and set out for the march to Yorktown. A second volume for the siege of Yorktown and/or the march north in 1782 has not been found yet.

A continuation of sorts of the *Livre d'Ordre* is the "Journal des opérations du corps Français, Depuis le 15 Aôut", a brief 14-page manuscript narrative of the march of the French army to Virginia, the siege of Yorktown, and the surrender of Cornwallis. From the appearance of the handwriting throughout this volume, it seems that it is the original day-to-day record dictated by Rochambeau. For the return march of 1782, there exists a 19 1/2 page manuscript, partly autograph, with heading on first page, "1782", and heading on page 16", 1783", giving Rochambeau's narrative of events of 1782 and early 1783. Both of these manuscripts are in the Rochambeau Papers at Yale University, but neither of them covers the marches through New Jersey in more than a sentence or two.

An important source for French army logistics are the Jeremiah Wadsworth Papers in the Connecticut Historical Society. Wadsworth was the chief supplier for the French forces in America, and his agents supplied Rochambeau's troops throughout their stay on the American mainland. But here too, the very short time Wadsworth and his agents had to prepare for the march in August 1781, and the speed with which French forces crossed New Jersey combined with Wadsworth's ability to pay for his purchases in cash, has resulted in relatively few primary sources when compared to the march to across other states such as Connecticut or New York.²⁷

If sources such as the Orderly Books or the *Livre d'ordre* have hardly, if ever, been used in historical analyses of the 1781-1782 campaigns, personal accounts, letters, diaries, and memoirs by American and French military personnel have

²⁷ The vast majority of the papers of Jeremiah Wadsworth are preserved in the collections of the Connecticut Historical Society in Hartford, Connecticut, but some manuscripts can also be found in collections of the New-York Historical Society.

always formed one of the backbones of the historiography of the war. But here too a lot of new ground remains to be broken as historians have all too often focused their attention on only a few well-known and easily accessible sources rather than mine the treasure-trove of the many lesser-known materials available in out-of-the-way places. In an appendix to Volume 1 (pp. 285-348), of their *American Campaigns*, Rice and Brown provide a list of journals, diaries, memoirs, letters, and other primary sources available at the time of publication of their book. Since then, almost two dozen primary sources have appeared in European and American archives that can be added the 45 sources, i.e., accounts of events in America written by officers in Rochambeau's army listed by Rice and Brown. Most surprising is the fact that three journals/diaries/memoirs of enlisted men have come to light since 1972. The most important of these three is the journal of Georg Daniel Flohr, an enlisted man in the Royal Deux-Ponts, located in the Bibliothèque Municipale of Strasbourg, France.²⁸ Among the Milton S. Latham Papers in the Library of Congress can be found the *Journal Militaire* of an unidentified grenadier in the Bourbonnais regiment.²⁹ Finally there is the *Histoire des campagnes de l'Armée de Rochambaud (sic) en Amérique* written by André Amblard of the Soissonnais infantry.³⁰

Also added can now be a most valuable new source, the papers of Antoine Charles du Houx, *baron de Vioménil*, Rochambeau's second in command. Some 300 items and about 1,000 pages long, the Fonds Vioménil is preserved in the Académie François Bourdon in Le Creusot, France. This material has never before been used and sheds much new light on the decision-making process at the top of the French military hierarchy. For Lauzun's Legion, long the only component of Rochambeau's army without a contemporary eyewitness account, a manuscript journal kept by its Lieutenant-Colonel Etienne Hugau entitled *Détails intéressants sur les événements arrivés dans la guerre d'Amérique. Hyver 1781 à 1782. Hampton, Charlotte et suite* has come to light in the Bibliothèque municipale in the town of Evreux, France. Unfortunately for the same reasons given for the American participants, the Papers of Rochambeau in the Library of Congress³¹ or in the Beinecke Library at Yale University³², the Vioménil Papers or Hugau's *Details* do not contain much information on the marches through New

²⁸ *Reisen Beschreibung von America welche das Hochlöbliche Regiment von Zweybrücken hat gemacht zu Wasser und zu Land vom Jahr 1780 bis 84*. I am currently preparing an English translation and edition.

²⁹ Library of Congress, Milton Latham Papers MMC 1907.

³⁰ Amblard, who enlisted at age 19 in 1773, was discharged as a captain in 1793. His manuscript is located in the Archives Départementales de l'Ardèche in Privas, France. Passages from this journal can be found verbatim in the journal of unidentified officer of the Soissonnais regiment preserved in the Huntington Library in California and which also contains maps of all French campsites possibly copied from Berthier. For the return march his journal only contains a list of the towns the army marched through. See my "A New View of Old Williamsburg. A Huntington Library Manuscript provides another glimpse of the city in 1781." *Colonial Williamsburg. The Journal of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation* Vol. 22 No. 1, (Spring 2000), pp. 30-34.

³¹ This collection of about 1,800 items was used in its microfilm edition.

³² These Rochambeau Papers are catalogued under GEN MSS 308, Beinecke Library, Yale University.

Jersey. Fortunately in a brief account of the return march from Virginia to Yorktown Heights, dated "Camp de Pines Bridge, sur le Croton, 12 27 7bre 1782", Hugau provided the stopping points for the Legion between Trenton and Stony Point.³³

Among new sources not listed in Rice and Brown are the correspondence of Captain Charles Malo François *comte* de Lameth, aide-de-camp to Rochambeau and *aide-maréchal général des logis* (May 1781), and of his brother Captain Alexandre Théodor Victor *chevalier* de Lameth, who replaced Charles Malo François in the Summer of 1782.³⁴ Also unavailable in 1972 was the *Journal de l'Armée aux ordres de Monsieur le Comte de Rochambeau pendant les campagnes de 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783 dans l'Amérique septentrionale* kept by *comte* de Rochambeau's 21-year-old nephew Louis François Bertrand Dupont d'Aubevoye, *comte* de Lauberdière, a captain in the Saintonge infantry and one of his aides-de-camp.³⁵

The largest body of materials not listed in Rice and Brown concern the Royal Deux-Ponts regiment of infantry. One is a letter written by Jean-François de Thuillière, a captain in the Royal Deux-Ponts preserved in the Archives Nationales.³⁶ Another are two letters by Louis Eberhard von Esebeck, lieutenant-colonel in the Royal Deux-Ponts, dated Jamestown Island, 12 and 16 December 1781,³⁷ and the papers and letters by Colonel Christian de Deux Ponts, which have been in part deposited in and in part acquired by German archives.³⁸ Through the good offices of Ms Nancy Bayer I have also gained access to four letters written by her ancestor William de Deux-Ponts from America.³⁹ Sources that I have not yet seen are a journal kept by Dupleix De Cadignan of the Agenoïis and the journal of Xavier De Bertrand, a lieutenant in the Royal Deux-Ponts.⁴⁰

³³ Published by Gérard-Antoine Massoni, *Détails intéressants sur les événements arrivés dans la guerre d'Amérique. Hyver 1781 à 1782. Hampton, Charlotte et suite. Manuscrit de Claude Hugau, lieutenant-colonel de la Légion des Volontaires Etrangers de Lauzun* (Besançon: Université de Franche-Comté, 1996). Hugau's account can be found on pp. 219-227.

³⁴ The letters are in the Archives du Département Val d'Oise in Cergy-Pontoise, No. 1J 191 and 1J 337-338.

³⁵ Lauberdière's *Journal* is in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, France. See my "America the Ungrateful: The Not-So-Fond Remembrances of Louis François Dupont d'Aubevoye, Comte de Lauberdière" *American Heritage* Vol. 48, No. 1, (February 1997), pp. 101-106, and "Lauberdière's Journal. The Revolutionary War Journal of Louis François Bertrand d'Aubevoye, comte de Lauberdière" *Colonial Williamsburg. The Journal of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation* Vol. 18, No. 1, (Autumn 1995), pp. 33-37.

³⁶ The letter is catalogued under B4 172, Marine.

³⁷ John M. Lenhart, "Letter of an Officer of the Zweibrücken Regiment", *Central-Blatt and Social Justice*, Vol. 28, (January 1936), pp. 321-322, and Vol. 28, (February 1936), pp. 350-360.

³⁸ The papers of Christian von Zweibrücken deposited in the Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv - Geheimes Hausarchiv - in Munich are owned by Marian Freiherr von Gravenreuth; those deposited in the Pfälzische Landesbibliothek in Speyer were acquired at auction and are owned by the library.

³⁹ Anton Freiherr von Cetto in Oberlauterbach, Germany owns the letters.

⁴⁰ The journal is quoted in Régis d'Oléon, "L'Esprit de Corps dans l'Ancienne Armée" *Carnet de la Sabretache* 5th series (1958), pp. 488-496. Régis d'Oléon is a descendant of Bertrand.

These discoveries bring the total of known French sources to over 60, but their value for the New Jersey project varies greatly. For one, the location of the journals by Ollonne, Saint-Cyr, Menonville or Rosel listed in Rice and Brown is unknown. Three items listed by them are collections of maps drawn by engineers for the march and/or for the siege of Yorktown. Other primary sources such as the letters by the Armand de la Croix *comte* de Charlus⁴¹ or Gabriel-Gaspard *baron* de Gallatin, a *sous-lieutenant* in the Royal Deux-Ponts,⁴² are often only collections of letters written during different stages of the campaign. Though valuable for the information they contain, most of them say little or nothing about the march through New Jersey, viz. the journals kept by Brisout de Barneville (ends on 5 December 1781),⁴³ Cromot du Bourg,⁴⁴ William de Deux-Ponts,⁴⁵ Amblard or the anonymous grenadier in the Bourbonnais record not much more than a tabulation of miles marched and the names of locations passed. Many more end with the siege of Yorktown, e.g., William de Deux-Ponts and Cromot du Bourg, while others again, i.e., those of Ségur⁴⁶ or Broglie⁴⁷ begin only in 1782 when their authors arrived in America, though they contain detailed accounts of their encounter with British naval forces in the Delaware Bay. Of those officers who participated in the marches some, such as Blanchard, either marched ahead of the main army to check on campsites⁴⁸ or, as in the case of Lauberdière, followed behind the main army. The *chevalier* de Chastellux did not write a single word about the march,⁴⁹ neither did the *duc* de Lauzun,⁵⁰ and the

⁴¹ 24-year-old Armand de la Croix *comte* de Charlus was second in command of the Saintonge. The last known letter he wrote from America is dated 16 August 1781. The eight letters written by Charlus to his father are preserved in the collections of the Service Historique de l'Armée de Terre in Vincennes, series A13732, Nos. 59, 65,66,68,72,73,81,82.

⁴² Warrington Dawson, "Un Garde suisse de Louis XVI au service de l'Amérique" *Le correspondant* Vol. 324, Nr. 1655, (September 10, 1931), pp. 672-692, pp. 683-688.

⁴³ "Journal de Guerre de Brisout de Barneville. Mai 1780-Octobre 1781" *The French-American Review* Vol. 3, No. 4, (October 1950), pp. 217-278. It only contains a list of towns visited.

⁴⁴ Marie-François Baron Cromot du Bourg, "Diary of a French Officer, 1781" *Magazine of American History* Vol. 4, (June 1880), pp. 205-214, p. 214.

⁴⁵ William de Deux-Ponts, *My Campaigns in America* Samuel Abbot Green, ed., (Boston, 1868).

⁴⁶ Louis-Philippe *comte* de Ségur, "Extraits de Lettres écrites d'Amérique par le comte de Ségur colonel en second du Régiment de Soissonnais a la comtesse de Ségur, Dame de Madame Victoire 1782-1783" in: *Mélanges publiés par la Société des Bibliophiles Français (Deuxième Partie)* (Paris, 1903), pp. 159-205.

⁴⁷ Prince de Broglie, "Journal du Voyage du Prince de Broglie colonel-en-second du Régiment de Saintonge aux États-Unis d'Amérique et dans l'Amérique du Sud 1782-1783" in: *Mélanges publiés par la Société des Bibliophiles Français (Deuxième Partie)* (Paris, 1903), pp. 15-148.

⁴⁸ *The Journal of Claude Blanchard, Commissary of the French Auxiliary Army sent to the United States during the American Revolution* Thomas Balch, ed., (Albany, 1876). Blanchard was sick during the return march and "rested and kept quiet. Thus, my journal was almost laid aside. I will only say that we were not far from New York. We marched in military manner as far as the banks of the North river, where we arrived on the 15th [of September 1782]. I had some good lodging places, and especially in [New] Jersey, where there are many Dutch families. I lived alone there and was happy." *Ibid.*, p. 174.

⁴⁹ Chastellux did not become a *marquis* until the death of his eldest surviving brother in early 1784. See the introductory essay to Marquis de Chastellux, *Travels in North America in the Years 1780, 1781, and 1782*. Howard C. Rice, Jr., ed., 2 vols. (Chapel Hill, 1963).

Détails intéressants of lieutenant-colonel Hugau do not begin until after the siege of Yorktown. Desandrouins had the misfortune of losing his journal in the wreck of the *Duc de Bourgogne* in the Spring of 1783, and his surviving description of the march to Yorktown consists of 10 lines; those of the return march are four pages long.⁵¹ That leaves the journals of Clermont-Crèvecœur⁵² and Baron Closen⁵³ as the two single most important primary sources for the 1781 march of French forces through New Jersey.

The usefulness of the majority of journals is further impacted by the fact that virtually all officers who made the march to Yorktown kept their comments on the return march very short: Clermont-Crèvecœur's journal, an excellent source for 1781, devotes all of 20 lines to the return march a year later. Verger, who had sailed with the siege artillery to Yorktown in August 1780, partly fills that void.⁵⁴

Indispensable for biographical research on the 1,034 French officers serving in d'Estaing's, Rochambeau's, and St. Simon's forces as well as on the French officers in the Continental Army is Gilbert Bodinier, *Dictionnaire des officiers de l'armée royale qui ont combattu aux États-Unis pendant la guerre d'Indépendance 1776-1783* 3rd edition, (Chailland, 2001). Enlistment records or *contrôles* of enlisted personnel in Rochambeau's corps, indispensable for statistical data on his troops are preserved by the Service Historique de l'Armée de Terre in the Château de Vincennes;⁵⁵ only those of Lauzun's Legion are in the Archives Nationales in Paris.⁵⁶ On the American side Francis B. Heitman's, *Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army during the War of the Revolution* (Washington, 1893; many reprints) is still indispensable.

While the correspondence of officers such as Washington and Rochambeau is of the greatest importance for the identification of the route and the grand strategy

⁵⁰ *Mémoires de Armand-Louis de Gontaut, duc de Lauzun*, Edmond Pilon, ed., (Paris, 1928).

⁵¹ Fragments of his diary which survived his shipwreck in February 1783 are published in Charles Nicholas, *Le Maréchal de Camp Desandrouins* (Verdun, 1887), pp. 341-368.

⁵² Jean François Louis comte de Clermont-Crèvecœur had entered the Auxonne Artillery in 1769. His account of the American campaigns is published in *The American Campaigns of Rochambeau's Army 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783* Howard C. Rice, Jr. and Anne S. K. Brown, eds. 2 vols., (Princeton and Providence, 1972), Vol. 1, pp. 15-100.

⁵³ Acomb, Evelyn, ed., *The Revolutionary Journal of Baron Ludwig von Closen, 1780-1783* (Chapel Hill, 1958).

⁵⁴ Jean Baptiste Antoine de Verger, a Swiss officer, had entered the Royal Deux-Ponts as a 17-year-old *cadet-gentilhomme* in February 1780. His journal of the American campaigns is published in *The American Campaigns of Rochambeau's Army 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783* Howard C. Rice, Jr. and Anne S. K. Brown, eds. 2 vols., (Princeton and Providence, 1972), Vol. 1, pp. 117-188.

⁵⁵ The Bourbonnais *contrôles* are catalogued under 1 Yc 188 (1776-1783 and 4 February 1784 to 1786), Soissonais *contrôles* have the number 1 Yc 966 (1776-1783 and 4 February 1784 to 1786), the Saintonge *contrôles* are 1 Yc 932 (1776-1783 and 4 February 1784 to 1786), the Royal Deux-Ponts *côntrôles* are 1 Yc 869 (1776-1783 and 4 February 1784 to 1786). The *contrôles* of the Auxonne Artillery are listed as 10 Yc 1 (1776-1783 and 4 February 1784 to 1786).

⁵⁶ The Lauzun *contrôles* in the Archives Nationales have the catalogue number D 2c 32 (March 1780-1783) and 8 Yc 17 (beginning on 4 February 1784 to 1786).

behind the campaign, it is in the papers, letters, and accounts of its participants that one finds the details, the personal encounters, and the stories that bring the route to life. The same, of course, holds true for the American side, but the body of resources is infinitely larger. In his *Revolutionary America 1763-1789. A Bibliography* (2 vols., Washington DC, 1984), the last major bibliography published on the Revolutionary War, Ronald M. Gephart lists more than 20,000 items just in the holdings of the Library of Congress. Since then, thousands of titles have been added to those listed in Gephart's bibliography. Other valuable resources include Stetson Conn and Robert W. Coakley, *An Army Chronology of the American Revolution* (revised) (Washington, D.C., 1974); Joyce L. Eakin, *Colonial America and the War for Independence Special Bibliography 14*. (Carlisle Barracks, 1976); Terry M. Mays, *Historical Dictionary of the American Revolution* (Lanham, 1999); J. Todd White and Charles H. Lesser, eds. *Fighters For Independence: A Guide to Sources of Geographical Information on Soldiers and Sailors of the American Revolution* (Chicago, 1977); Robert K. Wright, Jr., *Continental Army. Army Lineage Series* (Washington, D.C., 1983); Charles H. Lesser, ed. *Sinews of Independence: Monthly Strength Reports of the Continental Army* (Chicago, 1976); and Howard H. Peckham, ed., *Toll of Independence: Engagements & Battle Casualties of the American Revolution* (Chicago, 1974).

Taken all together, the historiographical situation in New Jersey therefore presents the paradoxical situation of a multitude of routes, which have been reconstructed for this report. We know who was where and when in New Jersey. Yet this richness of routes is balanced by a relative paucity of primary sources that can be used to tell the story around the marches. On the one hand, this is caused by the brevity of the stay of French forces in New Jersey. Extended stays produce a longer and larger body of sources, but French, and American, forces cross New Jersey very quickly. For Rhode Island we have a large body of correspondence between Jeremiah Wadsworth and his agents in Newport as well as Rochambeau's Orderly Book, which allows us to construct a detailed picture of French presence in the state. In Connecticut we again have hundreds of letters and sources in the Wadsworth Papers and a seven-month stay of Lauzun's Legion in Lebanon. For the stay in White Plains, there is the singular source of more than 1,000 hand-written pages of oral history interviews conducted by John MacLean McDonald in the 1840s among Revolutionary war veterans. In Pennsylvania there is a large amount of material among the papers of the Continental Congress, while the Delaware archives contain a separate record group for claims dating to the Revolutionary War that were collected and organized for submission to Congress during the 1790s already.

During his research in New Jersey, consultant has found no equivalent to any of these sources, which means, that based on the current state of research, we know less than what we would like to know about the human aspects of the march to victory through New Jersey.

METHODOLOGY

2.1 Criteria for Selection: How Sites Were Chosen for Inclusion

Since this survey is conducted with a view toward the study currently conducted by the National Park Service regarding the eligibility of the Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route to be designated a National Historic Trail, the criteria for selection in this New Jersey resource inventory are those of the National Trails System Act [(Public Law 90-543) (16 U.S.C. 1241-1251) as amended through P. L. 106-509, November 13, 2000]. Of particular importance for the New Jersey inventory is Section. 3. [16USC1242] (a) (3), NTSA, which states that "National historic trails shall have as their purpose the identification and protection of the historic route and its historic remnants and artifacts for public use and enjoyment." Point (4) includes "Connecting or side trails, established as provided in section 6 of this Act, which will provide additional points of public access to national recreation, national scenic or national historic trails or which will provide connections between such trails" as potential components of a National Historic trail.

This historical and architectural survey study was also conducted in accordance with the Secretary of the Interior's *Standards for Identification and Evaluation* (NPS, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1983). A discussion of the general methodology to be utilized can be found in *Guidelines for Local Surveys: A Basis for Preservation Planning. National Register Bulletin 24* (Derry, Jandl, Shull, and Thorman, National Register of Historic Places, National Park Service, U. S. Department of the Interior, 1977; Parker, rev. 1985).

The criteria used for the evaluation of properties were based on those of the National Register of Historic Places, administered by the National Park Service under the supervision of the Secretary of the Interior. Properties listed in the National Register include districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects that are significant in American history, architecture, archaeology, engineering, and culture. Recognition of these resources is intended to contribute to an understanding of the historical and cultural foundations of the nation.

The National Register's criteria for evaluating the significance of properties, which were developed to recognize the accomplishments of all peoples who made a contribution to the country's history and heritage, state the following:

The quality of significance in American history, architecture, archaeology, engineering, and culture is present in districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects that possess integrity in location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, association and:

that are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history; or

that are associated with the lives of persons significant in our past; or

that embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or

that have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

Previous studies conducted in states along the W3R as well as for the NPS resulted in the establishment of these categories for resources along the route:

Campsites and Bivouacs

Buildings and Building Sites

Plaques, tablets, and markers placed by federal, state and local authorities, by patriotic organizations such as the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Sons of the American Revolution, the Society of the Cincinnati, or by historical societies

Tombstones and/or Grave Markers and other emblems

Archeological Sites: terrestrial and underwater

Natural Landscape Features

Paintings and Murals

Water Routes and River Crossings

Historic Road Segments

National Parks

State Parks

Historic Preservation/Education/Tourism Areas

Using the criteria developed in 2.3 above, the writer inspected and inventoried on site all resources listed in this report and identified 145 separate resources on 20 individual routes on nine major route segments taken by various components of the two armies in New Jersey. These major route segments are as follows:

A total of **26** land and water routes and route segments have been identified and inventoried for this report:

- 1) Route of the Left (eastern) Column of the Continental Army to Springfield
- 2) Route of Major Sebastian Baumann's Detachment
- 3) Route of Right (western) Column of the Continental Army to Chatham
- 4) Route of the Center Column of the Continental Army to Springfield
- 5) Route of the French Army to Trenton
- 6) Route of the Right (western) column of the Continental Army to Trenton

- 7) Route of the Center Column of the Continental Army to Trenton
- 8) Route of General Washington to Trenton
- 9) Route of General Rochambeau to Trenton
- 10) Route of the Rear-Guard to Trenton
- 11) Water Route of the Continental Army from Trenton to Philadelphia
- 12) Water route of Rochambeau from Philadelphia to Chester
- 13) Route of *Commissaire de guerre* Granville in September 1781
- 14) Route of the Return March of the Light Infantry and Artificers
- 15) Route of the Return March of the Artillery and Sappers and Miners
- 16) Route of the New York Regiments into New Jersey
- 17) Route of the New Jersey Regiments into New Jersey
- 18) Route of the Return March of the French Army through New Jersey
- 19) Route of the Return March of Lauzun's Legion through New Jersey
- 20) Route of the March of Lauzun's Legion through New Jersey to Delaware
- 21) Route of Rochambeau to Baltimore via Newton, Hackettstown, Baptistown and Philadelphia for Baltimore and France in December 1782

Not included as separate routes in this survey are

- 22) Marches of the Continental Army through New Jersey to the Hudson Highlands in the Summer of 1782
- 23) Route of General Washington from Philadelphia to Newburgh, New York, in the Spring of 1782
- 24) Route of the Passengers of the frigates *l'Aigle* and *la Gloire* through New Jersey in September 1782
- 25) Side trips such as the visits by French officers to the Falls at Totowa or Rochambeau's reconnaissances e.g., to Sandy Hook in September 1782
- 26) Sites mentioned in the journal of Lieutenant Ebenezer Wild who crossed New Jersey with a detachment of sick soldiers from 18 to 26 November 1781. The Light Infantry followed the same route a few days later.

In some cases the exact location of the campsites is unknown. Sites that were visited consecutively by detachments of the Continental Army and/or the French Army in August 1781, or during the return march of either the Continental Army in December 1781, or the French Army in 1782, they have only been listed once. For supplementary information on these sites see the "Chronology" as well the relevant chapters in the text of this report.

The presentation of the routes and road segments in this report presented their own particular challenge in that the combined forces crossing New Jersey in August 1781 marched many of the routes concurrently, which precluded a chronological presentation divided along American and French participants. Consultant therefore decided to present the routes of 1781 in columnar form as a means to show, where which segment and detachment was located at what point in time in August 1781. This issue does not arise for the return march, which is presented *chronologically* in the order in which they were visited by Washington's

and Rochambeau's troops. Geographically the routes are organized as a modern traveler following them would encounter them in the field when traveling from the New York State Line to the Pennsylvania State Line for the year 1781, and from the Pennsylvania State Line to the New York State Line for the year 1782.

The resources identified on these routes fall into nine different categories and groups:

- Campsites and bivouacs
- Buildings and building sites
- Plaques, tablets, and markers
- Monuments
- Historic Districts
- State Parks
- Historic Preservation Area
- Water Routes and River Crossings
- Archeological Sites: terrestrial and underwater

Within each category, the resources are divided according to their importance for the route. One group consists of "contributing sites", i.e., sites for which primary-source evidence in the form of a mention in a primary text or an American or French map exists that ties the resource to the W3R. The other group consists of "witness sites", i.e., resources that exist in 1781-1782 along the route but for which no specific mention in a primary contemporary source could be found.

2.2 The Form

Inventory Number. Each inventoried property is assigned an inventory number, which appears on the form. Site profiles and inventoried properties are arranged chronologically according to the marching sequence. Street names and street numbers are recorded as they appear in town records.

Historic Name. The historic name serves as shorthand for indicating the site's significance. In the case of commercial buildings, churches, and public buildings, the historic name is straightforward and represents the buildings earliest known use. With houses, the historic name is usually the name of the family that built it or who lived there for many years.

Date. Dates of construction are based on architectural evidence, information from primary and secondary sources (see bibliography), research files maintained by the New Jersey State Historic Preservation Office, original research in primary sources, and other historical documentation. The forms generally indicate the reason for ascribing a specific date to a building or site.

Materials. In cases where cement or other types of facing were applied to underpinnings it was not possible to determine, without access to cellars or scraping away the cement from the foundation of a monument, what the actual foundation materials were. "Asbestos siding" was checked off for houses with any type of rigid composition shingles; however, many of these are wood-pulp products containing no asbestos.

Dimensions. Building and monument dimensions are either taken from Tax Assessor's street cards or were determined by measuring the object itself in the field. The dimension of the elevation facing the street is given first.

Condition. Without extensive analysis, it was not possible to assess professionally the structural condition of any building.

Threats to Buildings and Sites. Unless the survey personnel had direct knowledge of a specific threat, "None known" was checked.

Wherever possible National Register of Historic Places or National Historic Landmark registration forms addressing these issues were attached to the site form.

2.3 Other Parts of the Survey Report

In addition to the inventory forms and site profiles, which form the core of the survey, the project report includes an overview of the French army of the *ancien régime*, and of French forces in America before their march with the Continental Army through New Jersey in 1781 and 1782. It also includes a discussion of primary resources still standing in the field as well as mention of resources listed in earlier sources that have since disappeared.

Parts of this report can be found in different form in previous reports for the States of Connecticut, New York and Delaware. Though the basic facts of history have not changed, historical research and writing is always "work in progress". As new sources come to light, details will change and so will the interpretation of events. The reader is therefore encouraged to contact the writer to add whatever he or she can to contribute toward the task of making the WASHINGTON - ROCHAMBEAU REVOLUTIONARY ROUTE a reality. The advancement of historical knowledge depends as much on sharing of information as it does on individual research.

LEGISLATIVE HISTORY OF THE WASHINGTON-ROCHAMBEAU REVOLUTIONARY ROUTE

When Forbes and Cadman published their *France and New England* in 1925, they indicated that an "effort has been made to get the State Park Commission of Connecticut to mark all the nineteen camp sites in that State and it is hoped that some time this will be done."⁵⁷ Thirty years later, the sites were still not marked and it was only in response to the establishment of an Interstate Rochambeau Commission that the General Assembly took up the issue again in 1956.

That commission was the brainchild of Charles Parmer, who took it upon himself to resurrect the memory of French participation, and to identify the route taken by French troops. In the Spring of 1951, Parmer began prodding state governments and patriotic societies for funds.⁵⁸ In 1952, the Colonial Dames of Virginia endorsed his proposal for a uniform marking of the route and on 16 January 1953, Virginia Governor John S. Battle appointed Parmer to head a *Rochambeau Commission*. Its purpose was "to arrange with other States for the uniform marking of the route taken in 1781 by General Rochambeau and his French forces (... and) to arrange for a joint celebration of the anniversary of the Rochambeau Victory March."⁵⁹

On 16 April 1953, Parmer called for a meeting of interested parties at Mount Vernon. The event was widely reported in the press; even President Dwight D. Eisenhower and French Foreign minister Georges Bidault sent congratulatory telegrams. Parmer was elected *General Chairman of the Interstate Rochambeau Commission of the United States* and by the Fall of 1953, "Rhode Island, Delaware, Pennsylvania, and Connecticut had appointed Commissions or Representatives to work with Virginia." New York, New Jersey and Maryland had "leaders of patriotic groups making plans to do the marking with State permission".⁶⁰ But interest in the project seems to have waned as fast as it had arisen. Parmer's Commission was continued until 1958, but only Connecticut seems to have carried out the task of identifying and marking the route. In its January 1957 session, the Connecticut General Assembly passed House Bill No. 2005, "An Act concerning erecting Markers to designate the Sites of Camps occupied by the French troops under Rochambeau." Approved on 4 June 1957, it appropriated \$ 1,500 and instructed the State Highway Commissioner to "erect roadside signs" in cooperation with Parmer's "Interstate Rochambeau Commission" and "local historical societies or fraternal community groups".

⁵⁷ Allan Forbes and Paul F. Cadman, *France and New England* 3 vols., (Boston, 1925) Vol. 1, p. 131.

⁵⁸ The writer is very grateful to Albert D. McJoynt of Alexandria, Virginia, for providing copies of correspondence and newspaper clippings he had acquired from Parmer's widow.

⁵⁹ The origins of Parmer's activities are outlined in his *Report of the Rochambeau Commission to the Governor and the general Assembly of Virginia* Senate Document No. 19 (Richmond, 1953).

⁶⁰ Parmer apparently never contacted Massachusetts for cooperation. The list of states involved is taken from his *Report of the Rochambeau Commission*, p. 10.

Pursuant to this legislation, the State Highway Commission placed 27 signs at or near known campsites of Rochambeau's army across the state.⁶¹

Parmer died in 1958 shortly after the dedication of the Fourteenth Street Bridge (I-395 between the Jefferson Memorial and the Pentagon) over the Potomac in Washington, DC, as the Rochambeau Memorial Bridge in October 1958.⁶² With him the project also died.⁶³

In his report to the General Assembly of Virginia of 1953, Parmer listed New Jersey as one of the states where "leaders of patriotic groups [were] making plans to do the marking with State permission". We have no reason to doubt Parmer's word, but if indeed any such plans were made or committees formed in the early 1950s, this writer has been unable to locate any trace of their existence or activities during his research in 2004-2005.

Nineteen years later, in 1972, Anne S. K. Brown and Howard C. Rice, Jr., published the authoritative and groundbreaking study *The American Campaigns of Rochambeau's Army, 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783*. Volume 2 of the work contains 204 pages of itineraries and texts followed by 177 contemporary maps, charts, and views of the routes taken by Rochambeau's army on the American mainland as well as in the Caribbean. These maps identified and definitely established the route of the main body of the French forces.

During preparations for the Bicentennial of the American Revolution, Representative Hamilton Fish of New York introduced on 16 April 1975, House of Representatives Concurrent Resolution 225. It called upon federal, state, county, and local governments to recognize the route taken by Rochambeau's forces as identified in the Brown and Rice work as "The Washington-Rochambeau National Historic Route". On 14 November 1975, the United States Department of the Interior as the supervisory body of the NPS informed Representative James A. Haley, Chair of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, that the department had no objections to the resolution. It recommended, however, that the word "National" not be used since the route was neither part of the NPS nor met the criteria of integrity required by the NPS.

The Sub-Committee on National Parks and Recreation held hearings on the resolution and the correspondence from the Department of the Interior dated 17 November 1975, and sent a favorable report to Haley, whose committee took up the resolution on 27 January 1976. In its report to the full House, Haley's

⁶¹ See Robert A. Selig, *Rochambeau in Connecticut: Tracing his Journey. Historic and Architectural Survey. Connecticut Historical Commission* (Hartford: State of Connecticut, 1999), 1957), p. 17.

⁶² United States 85th Congress, 1st Session, House Resolution H.R. 572, 3 January 1957, and Senate Bill S. 768, 22 January (legislative day 3 January) 1957.

⁶³ In September 1973, Mrs. Parmer was still asking French government officials to forward her the insignia of *Chevalier de la Legion d'Honneur*, which her husband had been awarded posthumously in May 1959.

committee recommended passage of the resolution creating the "Washington-Rochambeau Historic Route" albeit outside the National Park System. On 17 February 1976, the resolution declaring the recognition of the route "as one of the more useful and enduring educational patriotic accomplishments to come from the bicentennial of the American War for Independence" passed without objection as amended, and was referred to the United States Senate the following day.

More than five months later, on 21 July 1976, the Department of the Interior informed Senator Henry M. Jackson, chair of the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, that it had no objection to House Concurrent Resolution 225. Following a hearing by the Senate's Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation on 2 August 1976, Jackson's committee recommended on 5 August that the Senate pass the resolution as well.⁶⁴ The Senate passed the resolution on 25 August 1976.

Joint House-Senate Resolution 225 had asked that the states "through appropriate signing, call attention to the route," but failed to appropriate funds to pay for signs beyond the boundaries of Colonial National Historical Park in Yorktown, Virginia. Due to this lack of federal funds, a private "Washington-Rochambeau National Historic Route Committee" established itself in Yorktown, New York, and set up its own signs. Few of these signs seem to have survived.⁶⁵ But even without federal funds or markers, however, hundreds of re-enactors traced the route from Newport to Yorktown from 9-16 October 1981, to commemorate the bicentennial of the siege.⁶⁶

Concurrently a "Committee of the Bicentennial 1776-1976" was established by the French government. One of its tasks was the erection of markers along the "Washington-Rochambeau Route" in the State of Virginia (?) between Mount Vernon and Yorktown where this writer has seen them at three locations.⁶⁷ At the current stage of research it is unknown whether the French government in other states erected markers as well; there are none in New Jersey.

Almost twenty years passed before another effort to identify, mark, and protect the route began in Connecticut. In 1995, the Inter-Community Historic Resources

⁶⁴ See United States. Congress. House. Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. 94th Congress, 2nd Session, Report No. 94-799, *Recognizing the Washington-Rochambeau National Historic Route*, and United States. Congress. Senate. Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, 94th Congress, 2nd Session, Report No. 94-1145, *The Washington-Rochambeau Historic Route* (Washington, DC, 1976).

⁶⁵ The author has been unable to identify or make contact with any member of that committee, which seems to have disbanded at an unknown date though its markers in Connecticut are still maintained.

⁶⁶ The "Rochambeau. A Reenactment of His Historic March from Newport to Yorktown" project was sponsored by the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantation and directed by the Office of the Adjutant General of the state. The writer is grateful to Roy P. Najecki for sharing his folder of press releases and marching orders relative to that march. There also seems to have been some support in France for such a project; for the Bicentennial the idea of a commemorative route to Yorktown was promoted in the *Revue économique française* Vol. 104, No. 2, (1982).

⁶⁷ Images of some of these markers are at <http://xenophongroup.com/mcjoynt/vawrrmrk.htm>

Committee began its work of identifying and classifying known campsites according to their state of preservation and the danger of potentially destructive development. The Committee set itself the goal in October 1995 of having Rochambeau's route, already recognized as the "Washington-Rochambeau Historic Route" by the United States Congress, listed in the National Register of Historic Places as the "Revolutionary Road". Concurrently it asked State Representative Pamela Z. Sawyer to introduce legislation in the General Assembly to allocate the funds for the historical, archeological, and architectural research required for that registration. After three years, and with the help of 26 co-signers, the state legislature in the Spring of 1998 appropriated \$ 30,000 for the first of three annual phases to document the route through Connecticut as the first step toward having the entire route from Newport to Yorktown listed in the National Register.

Concurrently in June 1998, a commemorative initiative of the National Park Service began as an effort of Revolutionary War-related parks in its Northeast and Southeast regions to use the 225th anniversary of the American Revolution to enhance public understanding of events from 1775 to 1783. In collaboration with, but organizationally separate from this initiative, almost 50 local and regional historians and historically interested individuals from New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut met at Washington's Headquarters in Newburgh, New York, on 16 December 1999, to organize a Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route committee. Chaired by Dr. Jacques Bossière, the W3R functions as a working committee that is part of a broader initiative to commemorate the 225th Anniversary of the American Revolution. Its goals were, and are, the identification and preservation of the route itself and of historic sites along the route on a state level, and the creation of a National Historic Trail to promote inter-state heritage preservation.

The W3R Committee was soon successful in its lobbying efforts for funding for the national effort. On 3 July 2000, on the doorsteps of the Dean-Webb-Stevens Museum in Wethersfield, CT, site of the historic May 1781 meeting between Washington and Rochambeau, Representative John B. Larson announced that he had introduced on 29 June 2000, what has become the *Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route National Heritage Act of 2000*. That same day, his bill, entitled "A Bill to require the Secretary of the Interior to complete a resource study of the 600 mile route through Connecticut, Delaware, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Virginia, used by George Washington and General Rochambeau during the American Revolutionary War," was referred to the House Committee on Resources. Referred to the Subcommittee on National Parks and Public Lands on 14 August with an executive comment requested from the Department of the Interior, the bill, which by now had attracted 42 co-sponsors, was back on the floor of the House on 23 October where it passed under suspended rules by voice vote at 3:17 p.m.

Received in the Senate on 24 October 2000, where Senators Joseph Lieberman, Christopher Dodd, and eight co-sponsors had introduced an almost identical Senate Resolution 3209 on 17 October 2000, and read twice, it passed without amendment and by Unanimous Consent on 27 October 2000. A message on this Senate action was sent to the House the following day; the bill was approved on 9 November 2000.⁶⁸ President Clinton's signature on 4 December 2000 created Public Law No. 106-473, an "Act to require the Secretary of the Interior to complete a resource study of the 600-mile route through Connecticut, Delaware, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Virginia, used by George Washington and General Rochambeau during the American Revolutionary War." Unlike previous legislation, this bill allocated federal funds to the NPS to carry out a feasibility study that began in late 2001.

Though much remains to be done, New Jersey is the fourth of nine states to have completed a resource inventory, furthering the goal of the W3R to meet its 2006 deadline, the 225th anniversary of the march of the Franco-American armies to victory in Yorktown.

⁶⁸ Concurrently First Lady and Senator-elect Hilary Rodham Clinton designated the W3R a *Millennium Trail*, making properties along the route eligible for federal TEA-21 funds through each state's Department of Transportation.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

From Yorktown's ruins, ranked and still,
Two lines stretch far o'er vale and hill:
Who curbs his steed at head of one?
Hark! The low murmur: WASHINGTON!
Who bends his keen approving glance
Where down the gorgeous line of France
Shine knightly star and plume of snow?
Thou too art victor, ROCHAMBEAU!

John Greenleaf Whittier

4.1 France and Great Britain on the Eve of American Independence

On 6 February 1778, His Most Christian Majesty Louis XVI, By the Grace of God, King of France and Navarre, absolutist ruler *par excellence*, whose right to rule rested on his position as representative of God on earth and whose theory of government knew but subjects, not citizens, entered into an alliance with the self-proclaimed United States of America, an entity that was in a state of rebellion against fellow monarch George III, By the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland. Absolutist France backed and bankrolled a government that justified its existence by claiming to "derive[d] its just powers from the consent of the governed," which proclaimed the seditious idea that "all men are created equal," and which endeavored to turn subjects into citizens by endowing them with "certain unalienable rights" such as "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

In retrospect it is hard to imagine two allies more diverse than France and the United States in 1778. What formed the basis of their alliance, and what held it together, were not shared ideologies and ideals, nor common territorial or financial interests. France came to the assistance of a bankrupt, reluctant ally, and in the very treaty creating the alliance renounced all territorial gain in the New World. This decision had little to do with any sympathies for the ideology of the revolutionaries. In March 1776, the King told Vergennes how much he "disliked the precedent of one monarchy giving support to a republican insurrection against a legitimate monarchy".⁶⁹ A 1783 Memorandum "Motifs de la Guerre" in the Rochambeau papers⁷⁰ with annotations in the hand of Naval Minister de Castries

⁶⁹ Quoted in General Fonteneau, "La période française de la guerre d'Indépendance (1776-1780)" *Revue historique des armées* Vol. 3, No. 4, (1976), pp. 47-77, p. 48.

⁷⁰ Rochambeau Papers, GEN MSS 308, Box 1, folder 39, Beinecke Library, Yale University.

A book published by the *Association des Amis du Musée de la Marine* on the occasion of the Bicentennial of the American Revolution even carries one of these goals in its title. See Jacques Vichot, *La guerre pour la liberté des mers, 1778-1783* (Paris, 1976).

lists these three reasons for French involvement in the war. "L'Amérique, en prenant les armes, a voulu acquérir l'indépendance: la France a fait la guerre pour l'assurer cette indépendance pour assurer la Liberté des mers, et pour parvenir à affaiblir la puissance anglaise - taking up arms, America wanted to achieve independence: France fought the war to assure that independence, to assure the liberty of the seas, and to attain the weakening of English power." French policy, in other words, was guided by that long-standing principle of international relations, which postulated that peace in Europe and the world was best preserved by a more or less equitable balance of the great powers.

The Peace of Paris of 1763 had altered that balance of powers in favor of Britain and France's chief minister determined that the most effective way to restore the equilibrium was to confront Britain in her American colonies. For such a foreign policy France could count on the benevolent neutrality if not tacit support of her European neighbors. They too wanted to see British influence diminished though they would never consent to the equally undesirable prospect of crippling Britain to a degree where she would no longer be able to play her part in the European concert. It was for this goal that France spent over 1 billion livres between 1775 and 1783, it was for this goal that the *fleurs-de-lis* flew on the ramparts of Yorktown, and it was for this goal that His Most Christian Majesty threw all ideological considerations overboard, and provided the United States with the military and financial support she needed to win her independence.

The American Revolutionary War was both the last traditional war of cabinets as well as the first modern popular conflict in a century characterized by almost continuous warfare. From the outbreak of the War of the Spanish Succession in 1701, to the French Revolutionary Wars in the 1790s, Europe witnessed barely a dozen years of peace. In all of these wars, Great Britain and France fought on opposite sides. During the first half of the century, the Bourbon kings in Versailles were able to hold their ground against the Hanoverians in London, but the Seven Year's War from 1756 to 1763, appropriately known as the *French and Indian War* on this side of the Atlantic, ended in disaster. In the (First) Peace of Paris, France lost virtually all her possessions in India and in the New World, where Canada became British and Louisiana was given to Spain. All that was left of France's erstwhile globe-circling empire were the sugar islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe and the fever-infested swamps of Cayenne and French Guyana.

But there was some posturing behind France's ostentatious anger as well. Much as it may have hurt French pride, Étienne François, *duc de Choiseul-Stainville*, her chief minister during negotiations in 1762, had almost insisted that Canada be given to Britain. Despite the misgivings of many of his colleagues and popular opinion at home, which clamored for the retention of Canada, Choiseul realized that giving up the colony would free his foreign policy in the New World. His adversary Lord Bedford, the chief British negotiator, anticipated Choiseul's fondest dreams when he saw an alarming mirage emerge across the Atlantic. He wondered "whether the neighborhood of the French to our North American

colonies was not the greatest security for their dependence on the mother country, which I feel will be slighted by them when their apprehension of the French is removed."⁷¹ Bedford's worst fears soon became reality.

The loss of Canada had freed France's hands in the New World, and in the years after 1763 she kept a close watch on developments on America's Eastern seashore, where British policies created just the political climate she hoped for. French foreign policy after 1763, set itself three goals. First she had to try and isolate Great Britain on the continent. This task was made easier by Russia's war with the Sultan in Constantinople from 1768 to 1774, by Austria's continued attempts throughout the 1770s to trade Bavaria from the Wittelsbachs for the Netherlands, and by Prussia's considerable animosity with Great Britain for abandoning her continental ally in 1761, once Britain had achieved her war aims overseas. The second task had to be the strengthening of King Carlos III on the throne of Spain and of the Bourbon Family Pact of 1761, between the ruling houses in Paris and Madrid. As collateral, Paris needed to keep colonial tensions between Madrid and London simmering, especially over Florida, which had been given to Great Britain in 1763. Lastly she had to avoid all continental entanglements that could infringe upon her ability to wage war against Great Britain whenever and wherever the opportunity arose.

In February 1762, a full year before the (First) Treaty of Paris was signed, Choiseul declared that after the end of that war, he would pursue "only one foreign policy, a fraternal union with Spain; only one policy for war, and that is England."⁷² Versailles was convinced that the most effective way to hurt Great Britain and her trade, which was the foundation of her wealth, was through the separation of her American colonies. This would severely weaken British trade and sea power and to a corresponding increase in the relative strength of France. British policy versus her colonies, combined with the free hand France had gained with the cession of Canada, would give her the opportunity to achieve these goals.⁷³

The Seven Years' War had not only brought huge territorial gains for Great Britain; it had also resulted in some £137 million of debt. Interest on the debt amounted to £5 million annually, more than half the governmental revenues of some £8 million. Parliament in London wanted the colonies to help pay for these debts and asked them to defray one third of the cost of maintaining 10,000

⁷¹ In W. J. Eccles, "The French Alliance and the American Victory" in: *The World Turned Upside Down. The American Victory in the War of Independence* John Ferling, ed., (Westport, 1976), pp. 147-163, p. 148.

⁷² Ibid. See also the article by John Singh, "Plans de Guerre français 1763-1770". *Revue historique des Armées* vol. 3 No. 4 (1976), pp. 7-22. In a 1765 *Mémoire sur les forces de mer et de terre de la France et l'usage qu'en pouvait en faire en cas d'une guerre avec l'Angleterre* for Louis XV, Choiseul described the purpose of the war as "de se venger de l'Angleterre." Quoted *ibid.*, p. 15.

⁷³ The best introduction into this issue can be found in W.J. Eccles, *France in America* (New York, 1972).

redcoats in the New World. In 1764, Prime Minister Sir George Grenville received the House of Commons's approval to place import duties on lumber, foodstuffs, molasses, and rum in the colonies. The Sugar Act of 1764 was immensely unpopular in the New World and hostility increased even more when the Quartering Act of 1765 required colonists to provide food and quarters for British troops. Hard on its heels came the 1765 Stamp Act, probably the most infamous law concerning the colonies ever passed by a British Parliament. Vehement opposition forced the Commons to repeal the act in March 1766. To make up for the lost revenue, the Townshend Acts of 1767 levied new taxes on glass, painter's lead, paper, and tea.

Relations with the motherland had barely been smoothed over when long-standing military-civilian tensions in Boston erupted on 5 March 1770, when British troops fired into a mob.⁷⁴ The infamous *Boston Massacre* killed five people, including Crispus Attucks. In the Fall of 1773, tensions flared up again in Boston and all along the coast when East India Company tea ships were turned back at Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. A cargo ship was burned at Annapolis on 14 October and another ship had its cargo thrown overboard, once again, in Boston at the *Boston Tea Party* on 16 December 1773, to protest the new tax on tea. Parliament responded with what the colonists called the "Intolerable Acts" of 1774, which curtailed Massachusetts' self-rule and barred the use of Boston harbor until the tea was paid for.

Of equal, if not greater importance for the rapid deterioration of British-Colonial relations was the Quebec Act of 1774. This act not only granted Roman Catholics in Canada the freedom to practice their religion, more importantly, it placed all lands between the Great Lakes and the Ohio River under the administration of the governor of formerly French Quebec. With that decision, the House of Commons seemed to have closed off forever all chances of continued westward expansion. Until ten years earlier, the French had stood in the way of land-hungry colonists, now Parliament in London had assumed that role. When the First Continental Congress convened, after ten years of conflict with the crown, in Carpenters' Hall in Philadelphia on 5 September 1774, Great Britain had become the antagonist for expansion-minded colonists, who in ever larger numbers saw independence as a potentially viable option.

4.2 French Aid Prior to the Alliance of 1778

The war Choiseul had foreseen was about to break out. France was prepared militarily and politically. Ever since the Peace of Paris, Choiseul and his successor Charles Gravier, the *comte* de Vergennes, who replaced Choiseul as foreign minister in 1774, had embarked on an ambitious naval build-up. It called for a fleet of 80 ships of the line and 47 frigates, almost twice the 47 ships of the

⁷⁴ See Douglas Edward Leach, *Roots of Conflict: British Armed Forces and Colonial Americans, 1677-1763* (Chapel Hill, 1986). For the period following see John Shy, *Toward Lexington: The Role of the British Army in the Coming of the American Revolution* (Princeton, 1965).

line in French service in 1763. Helped by an enthusiastic response from provincial estates and the generosity of municipalities such as Paris, the French navy grew to 64 ships of the line, mostly of 74 guns, plus 50 frigates in 1770.⁷⁵ In 1765, Choiseul issued the first major new navy regulations since 1689, retired numerous incompetent officers, emphasized training, and the following year re-established the navy as an independent service within France's armed forces. Gabriel de Sartines, Choiseul's successor as navy minister (1774-1780), continued these programs. When France entered the war in 1778, her order of battle listed 52 ships of the line of at least 50 guns (plus 60 frigates) with total crew strength of about 1,250 officers and 75,000 men. They were arrayed against Britain's 66 ships of the line, and there was hope that Spain would join in the fight, adding another 58 fighting ships to the French side of the equation. Parity with Great Britain had been achieved; since she had to keep some 20 ships of the line close to home to counter the threat of French raids, naval superiority in select theatres of war such as the Caribbean had become a possibility.⁷⁶

The defeats of the Seven Years' War, particularly at Rossbach in 1757, had also laid painfully bare the inefficiency of the French army, which was "still basically functioning as in the days of Louis XIV."⁷⁷ Beginning in 1762, Choiseul's ministry carried out long-overdue reforms. At long last all infantry regiments were organized in a single pattern, equipment and training were standardized and recruiting was centralized. The *Maréchal* de Saxe's dream of the 1740s that some day the French army would march in step was coming true. The artillery was re-organized along the ideas of General Jean Baptiste de Gribeauval, and the cavalry got its first riding school.

Reforms were pushed further in 1774, when Louis XVI succeeded to the throne of France. The *comte* de Saint-Germain, Louis XVI's Minister of War, forbade the sale of officers' commissions, retired some 865 of over 900 colonels in the army and eventually abolished the King's Guards, including the Horse Grenadiers and the famous Musketeers, as too expensive. In March/April of

⁷⁵ On Vergennes' foreign policy, which closely followed Choiseul's goal of trying to fight the war against England overseas rather than on the European continent, see Jean-François Labourdette, "Vergennes et la Cour." *Revue d'histoire diplomatique* vol. 101 Nos. 3-4 (1987), pp. 289-321; Orville T. Murphy, "The View From Versailles. Charles Gravier Comte de Vergennes' Perceptions of the American Revolution". In: Ronald Hoffman and Peter J. Albert, eds. *Diplomacy and Revolution. The Franco-American Alliance of 1778*. (Charlottesville, 1978), pp. 107-149, and the still useful article by René Pinon, "Louis XVI, Vergennes et la Grande Lutte contre l'Angleterre". *Revue d'histoire diplomatique* vol. 43 (1929), pp. 37-64.

⁷⁶ By far the best account of the French navy is Jonathan R. Dull, *The French Navy and American Independence: A Study of Arms and Diplomacy, 1774-1787* (Princeton, 1975); annual lists of capital ships on pp. 351-378. At Yorktown in 1781, France enjoyed that temporary superiority that Choiseul had hoped for long enough to decide the outcome of the war.

⁷⁷ A good introduction with superb illustrations is René Chartrand and Francis Back, *The French Army in the American War of Independence* (London, 1991), pp. 6-14; the quote is taken from page 6, the regimental organization from p. 9. Additional information is in Samuel F. Scott, *The Response of the Royal Army to the French Revolution. The Role and Development of the Line Army 1787-93* (Oxford, 1978).

1776, all but a handful of regiments were reduced to two battalions; regiments with four battalions saw their 2nd and 4th battalions transformed into new regiments. The most famous of these newly created units is undoubtedly the *Gâtinai*s, created from the *Auvergne*, whose grenadiers and chasseurs stormed Redoubt No. 9 before Yorktown in 1781. Concurrently St. Germain also reduced the number of companies per battalion from nine to six and used the savings in officers' salaries to add personnel to each company.

The concept of a regiment consisting of two battalions of five companies each, as set up in the *ordonnance* of 25 March 1776 was further clarified on 1 June 1776. It set the strength of an infantry regiment at two battalions of five companies each and an auxiliary company of variable strength. Each regiment had one grenadier company consisting of 6 officers, 14 non-commissioned officers, 1 *cadet gentilhomme*, 1 surgeon's assistant, 84 grenadiers and 2 drummers for a total of 6 officers and 102 men. Besides the grenadiers stood one of the newly created *chasseur* or light infantry companies and four companies of fusiliers. The authorized strength of those companies stood at 6 officers, 17 NCOs, 1 *cadet gentilhomme*, 1 surgeon's assistant, 116 *chasseurs* (or fusiliers) and 2 drummers for a total of 6 officers and 137 men. A regimental staff of twelve, i.e. the Colonel, the Second Colonel, 1 Lieutenant Colonel, 1 Major, 1 Quarter-Master Treasurer, 2 Ensigns, 1 Adjutant, 1 Surgeon-Major, 1 Chaplain, 1 Drum-Major, and 1 Armourer. By the Spring of 1780, subsequent *ordonnances* had set the authorized strength of a regiment at 67 officers and 1,148 men (excluding the auxiliary company), which for bookkeeping purposes was fixed at 1,003 men for French, and 1,004 men for foreign, infantry.⁷⁸

When France decided to provide aid to the American colonies in 1775, the paper strength of her land forces amounted to some 140,000 men, though the actual strength was probably 8,000-10,000 men below that number.⁷⁹ Of these, some 77,500 served in one of the 79 French line regiments, about 12,000 in one of the eight German, three Irish, the *Royal Corse* and the *Royal Italien* regiments, and 12,000 served in one of the eleven regiments of Swiss infantry.⁸⁰ The royal household troops, including one regiment each of French and Swiss Guards, were authorized at almost 9,000 men. Almost 6,000 served in the artillery; the cavalry added about 22,000 men and the Light Troops about 3,500. The Ministry of the Navy had its own establishment of about 100 companies of Marines, six regiments of Colonial infantry, and several battalions of Sepoys in India. About 50,000 militia and another 41,000 men in the Coast Guard provided a reserve that could be mobilized for the defense of the kingdom in France proper.⁸¹

⁷⁸ Including the two *portes-drapeaux* (flag-bearers) and the *quartier-maître trésorier* (pay/quarter master). The strength of a regiment is that given by Kennett, *French forces*, p. 22.

⁷⁹ Scott, *Response*, pp. 217-222. The British army worldwide numbered 45,000 officers and men in 1775, 8,500 of whom were stationed in North America. See Dull, *French navy*, p. 346.

⁸⁰ Michel Pétard, "Les Étrangers au service de la France (1786)" *Tradition* Vol. 32, (September 1989), pp. 21-29.

⁸¹ Claude C. Sturgill, "Money for the Bourbon Army in the Eighteenth Century: The State within the State" *War and Society* Vol. 4, No. 2, (September 1986), pp. 17-30, p. 29, sets the total

During these same years, the army budget increased from 91.9 million livres in 1766, to 93.5 million in 1775. The relatively small increase in expenditures hides the real significance of the changes that took place within the French army during those years. The armed forces of 1775 had been thoroughly streamlined, and the funds available were spent much more efficiently. Through the reduction in strength of unreliable, but costly, elements such as the militia, detached companies, and separate recruit units, the paper strength of the armed forces had declined from roughly 290,000 to 240,000 men. Within the regular army, the guards had remained virtually unchanged and the foot contingent declined by 5,000 through the abolition of units such as the *Grenadiers de France* in 1771. A decrease in the number of foreign infantry, which cost the crown 368 livres per year as opposed to 230 livres for a French soldier, freed additional funds which were used to increase the number of French infantry, of mounted units from 25,000 to nearly 46,000, and of light troops.⁸² The introduction of the Model 1777 *Charleville* musket, a .69 caliber weapon that was lighter, stronger and more reliable than the .75 caliber Land Pattern muskets known as "Brown Bess" used by the British, completed these reforms.⁸³

The same holds true for the artillery. After 1765, it consisted of seven regiments named after the community in which they were stationed. In November 1776, each regiment was divided into two battalions of ten companies each: fourteen of gunners, four bombardiers, and two sappers. Each company consisted of four officers and 71 other ranks. Unattached were nine companies of sappers and six companies of miners for a total of 909 officers and 11,805 men authorized strength in the Royal Artillery, well above its actual strength of almost 6,000 men. However, though technically most advanced branch of the French military, the artillery always had problems keeping its ranks filled. But what it lacked in numbers it made up in quality: contemporaries considered the French artillery second to none, a well-deserved reputation as Cornwallis discovered at Yorktown.

These reforms, necessary as they were, brought St. Germain numerous and powerful enemies in the officer corps, but it was the introduction of a new and universally hated Prussian-style uniform in 1776, that caused his downfall in 1777, and replacement by the Prince de Montbarey (minister until 1780).⁸⁴ By

budgeted strength of the French army at 239,473 officers and men in 1775. This number does not include naval troops.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 22. In the 1740s a French soldier had cost 122 livres per year to maintain, a soldier in one of the Foreign regiments between 160 and 170 livres.

⁸³ On French arms manufacture see the excellent article by Jean Langlet, "Les Ingénieurs de l'École Royale du Génie de Mézières et les Armes de la Manufacture de Charleville dans la Guerre d'Indépendance Américaine". *Revue historique Ardennaise* vol. 34 (1999-2000), pp. 197-217.

⁸⁴ The Prussian-style uniform of 1776 was not officially replaced until February 1779. Since uniforms were replaced in three-years cycles with one third of a regiment receiving new uniforms each year, and since many units ignored the changes and kept using non-regulation equipment, Rochambeau's troops, even within individual regiments, wore a mix of at least two, if not three, different uniform patterns -- not to mentioned non-regulation uniform pieces. The *ordonnance* of

then, the French navy, infantry, cavalry, and artillery had been transformed into well-trained, efficient, and well-equipped organizations ready to take on the British foe once again. The fleet that Admiral de Grasse arrayed at the mouth of the York River in September 1781, and the troops that General Rochambeau would take to America and to victory at Yorktown, had little in common with the French army that had suffered defeat after defeat at the hands of Frederick the Great and the British between 1756 and 1763.

While politicians and administrators in Versailles were preparing for the impending war, they also kept a close watch on American developments. As early as 1767, Choiseul had dispatched the German-born and self-styled Baron Major-General Jean de Kalb on a secret fact-finding mission to the British colonies and his successor Vergennes followed this policy. Throughout the late 1760s and early 1770s, the French crown repeatedly sent agents to British America in order to keep informed of developments in the lower thirteen colonies.⁸⁵

Vergennes was well aware of the tense situation along America's eastern seashore when the First Continental Congress adjourned in October 1774, with an appeal to King George III to help restore harmony between Britain and the colonies. They also knew that the Congress had called on the colonies to boycott trade with Britain. As the tense winter months of 1774-1775, turned to spring, it became only a question of time until civil disobedience would erupt into open violence. That moment arrived in mid-April 1775, when patriots alerted by Paul Revere, William Dawes, and Samuel Prescott attacked British troops at Lexington and Concord on 19 April. On 10 May, the day the Second Continental Congress opened its debates, Colonels Ethan Allen and Benedict Arnold captured Fort Ticonderoga in upstate New York. Next colonials headed for Bunker Hill near Boston, where they repulsed British redcoats under General William Howe twice before retreating on 17 June 1775. Two days earlier Congress had appointed General George Washington Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Army.

The colonies were at war, and France stepped in to aid the rebellious colonies against the British motherland. America reached out, and France responded. From mid-March to early April 1775, a secret plan to aid the Americans was drawn up in Versailles. When news of Lexington and Concord reached Paris, the government of His Most Christian Majesty, despite all ideological differences, became the first foreign power to provide aid and support to the fledgling United States. In September 1775, Vergennes' emissary Julien-Alexandre Achard de

1776 had abolished the beloved bear-skin miters of the grenadiers but the order was widely ignored: in 1781, the grenadiers of the Saintonge are reported to have worn their mitres as they marched through Philadelphia.

⁸⁵ See Jonathan R. Dull, *A Diplomatic History of the American Revolution* (New Haven, 1985), pp. 63. On the German-born Kalb see A. E. Sucker, *General de Kale, Lafayette's Mentor* (Chapel Hill, 1966), pp. 59-79. Some of his reports are published in *Collection de Manuscrits contenant Lettres, Mémoires, et Autres Documents historiques relatifs a la Nouvelle France* (Quebec, 1885), vol. 4, pp. 315-334.

Bonvouloir arrived in Philadelphia to establish semi-official relations and to encourage the Americans in their rebellion. Concurrently Silas Deane arrived in Paris as Congress' commercial agent and covert representative. Deane had been instructed to buy clothes, arms, and ammunition for 25,000 men, and to negotiate treaties of alliance and commerce with the French.

To supplement Deane's efforts, Vergennes co-opted the playwright Pierre Augustin Caron de Beaumarchais, author of *The Barber of Seville*, into his service.⁸⁶ As early as the Fall of 1775, Beaumarchais had approached Vergennes with a plan to support the American rebels. In January 1776, Vergennes submitted the proposal to King Louis XVI, informing him that the plan was "not so much to terminate the war between America and England, as to sustain and keep it alive to the detriment of the English, our natural and pronounce enemies."⁸⁷ After some hesitation - in March Louis XVI told Vergennes that he "disliked the precedent of one monarchy giving support to a republican insurrection against a legitimate monarchy" -- the king eventually agreed to let Beaumarchais act as the secret agent of the crown.⁸⁸ In April 1776, substantial military supplies were made available to Beaumarchais, who set up the trading company of Roderigue Hortalez & Co. as a front to channel aid to the Americans. In June, Louis XVI granted Beaumarchais, i.e., the American rebels, a loan of 1 million livres.⁸⁹ Spain added another million in August.⁹⁰ With this covert backing and financial support of the Spanish and French governments, Beaumarchais' ships carried much-needed supplies to the Americans, frequently via the tiny Dutch island of St. Eustatius in the Caribbean.⁹¹

When news of the disaster at Long Island and the occupation of New York by troops under Sir William Howe in September reached Europe in late 1776, Versailles feared that Britain might succeed in snuffing out the rebellion. France and Spain stepped up their support. A royal order forwarded by Jose de Galvez, Minister of the Indies, to Luis de Unzaga, Spanish Governor of Louisiana, of 24

⁸⁶ Claude Van Tyne, "French Aid before the Alliance of 1778" *American Historical Review* Vol. 31, (1925), pp. 20-40.

⁸⁷ Quoted in "Beaumarchais, Pierre-Augustin Caron de (1732-1799)" in: *The American Revolution 1775-1783. An Encyclopedia* Richard L. Blanco, ed., 2 vols., (New York, 1993), Vol. 1, p. 107.

⁸⁸ Quoted in General Fonteneau, "La période française de la guerre d'Indépendance (1776-1780)" *Revue historique des armées* Vol. 3, No. 4, (1976), pp. 47-77, p. 48.

⁸⁹ On French expenditures see Robert D. Harris, "French Finances and the American War, 1777-1783" *Journal of Modern History* Vol. 48, (June 1976), pp. 233-258, and Claude C. Sturgill, "Observations of the French War Budget 1781-1790" *Military Affairs* Vol. 48, (October 1984), pp. 180-187.

⁹⁰ The best books on the subject are Buchanan Parker Thomson, *Spain: Forgotten Ally of the American Revolution* (North Quincy, 1976) with an overview of Spanish expenditures in support of the American rebels during the war on pp. 241-248, and Thomas A. Chávez, *Spain and the Independence of the United States. An Intrinsic Gift* (Albuquerque, 2002).

⁹¹ See J. Franklin Jameson, "St. Eustatius in the American Revolution" *American Historical Review* Vol. 8, No. 3, (July 1903), pp. 683-708. For more recent literature see Robert A. Selig, "The French Capture of St. Eustatius, 26 November 1781" *The Journal of Caribbean History* Vol. 27, No. 2, (1993), pp. 129-143.

December 1776,⁹² informed Unzaga that he would soon "be receiving through the Havana and other means that may be possible, the weapons, munitions, clothes and quinine which the English colonists (i.e., Americans) ask and the most sagacious and secretive means will be established by you in order that you may supply these secretly with the appearance of selling them to private merchants." Concurrently Galvez informed Diego Jose Navarro, governor of Cuba, that he would soon "receive various items, weapons and other supplies" which he was to forward to Unzaga together with "the surplus powder available" in Havana and "whatever muskets might be in that same Plaza in the certainty that they will be quickly replaced."

When Congress compiled its instructions to Arthur Lee and Benjamin Franklin, who were about to join Deane in France, in September 1776, it stated its needs in quite unusual candor. "As the Scarcity of Arms, Artillery and other military Stores is so considerable in the United States, you will solicit the Court of France for on immediate Supply of twenty or thirty thousand Muskets and Bayonets, and a large Supply of Ammunition and brass Field Pieces, to be sent under Convoy by France. The United States will engage for the Payment of the Arms, Artillery and Ammunition, and to indemnify France for the Expense of the Convoy." If possible, they were to "Engage a few good Engineers in the Service of the United States".⁹³ France met America's requests and by September of 1777, had dispatched clothing for 30,000 men, 4,000 tents, 30,000 muskets with bayonets, over 100 tons of gunpowder, 216 (mostly 4-pound) cannons and gun carriages, 27 mortars, almost 13,000 shells and 50,000+ round shot.⁹⁴

The last sentence in Lee's and Franklin's 1776 instructions points to another deficiency in the American military establishment: the Continental Army was desperately short of experts to work some of the sophisticated material provided by France, though there was no lack of applicants from all over Europe! As soon as Benjamin Franklin arrived in Paris in late December 1776, he soon found himself flooded with requests for employment in the Continental Army.⁹⁵ Deane had already entered into contracts with some twenty-seven (mostly French) officers, among them the *marquis* de LaFayette and fourteen additional officers, including the Baron de Kalb, who accompanied LaFayette to America on the *Victoire*. But he had also granted to Philippe Jean-Baptiste Tronson du Coudray,

⁹² Archivo Historico Nacional, Madrid, Estado Legajo 4224.

⁹³ Congress' instructions for Franklin of 24 September 1776, are published in William B. Willcox, ed., *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin. Volume 22 March 23, 1775, through October 27, 1776* (New Haven and London, 1982), pp. 625-630, the quote is on pages 627-628.

⁹⁴ Langlet, "Charleville", p. 200, estimates that over 100,000 muskets and pistols were sent to America.

⁹⁵ Before the war was over, Franklin received 415 applications for employment in the Continental Army; 312 applicants were French, the remainder came from all across Europe. See Catherine M. Prelinger, "Less Lucky than LaFayette: A Note on the French Applicants to Benjamin Franklin for Commissions in the American Army, 1776-1785" *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Western Society for French History* Vol. 4, (1976), pp. 263-270, p. 263. Deane's tendency to mix personal and public business for personal gain while serving as Congress' agent only added to the confusion and led to his recall in 1778.

gifted, but exceedingly vain artillery major, permission to recruit forty more officers on his own. The pressing need for experts, inexperience, and difficulties of communication led to numerous embarrassments. Deane had promised Coudray a commission as major general and command of artillery and engineers in the Continental Army: Henry Knox' and Presle du Portail's positions! Coudray's death by drowning at the Schuylkill Ferry in September 1777, saved Congress from this embarrassment, and caused Lafayette to comment that "the loss of this quarrelsome spirit was probably a fortunate accident."⁹⁶

Congress had a lot to learn, but it learned quickly. Once those start-up problems were overcome, Franco-American relations proceeded considerably more smoothly. Of the ten ships dispatched by Beaumarchais and that reached American shores between March and November 1777, only one ran into trouble with the British and had to be blown up with its thousands of pounds of gunpowder by the captain. The vast majority of the almost 100 foreign volunteers either hired by Deane, Lee, or Franklin with the tacit consent of the French crown for the express purpose of serving in America, whether they traveled on ships owned by Beaumarchais or whether they came on their own, whether they were French like the *marquis* de Lafayette, Presle du Portail or Pierre l'Enfant, Polish like Tadeusz Kosciuszko or Casimir Pulaski or German-speaking like Barons Steuben or de Kalb all brought much-needed expertise to the Continental Army, served faithfully and sometimes even laid down their lives for America's freedom.

The Continental Army put Beaumarchais' supplies to good use. The defeat of General Johnny Burgoyne and his army on 17 October 1777, by General Horatio Gates at Saratoga, was a major turning point in the American Revolutionary War. It was won by American soldiers, even if 90 per cent of the gunpowder used had been supplied by and paid for by France, and was used in the French model of 1763-1766 pattern muskets, which had become standard in the Continental Army. The victory at Saratoga proved to the French that the American rebellion could be sustained with a possibility of success. News of Burgoyne's capitulation reached Paris in the evening of 4 December 1777; on 17 December 1777, Vergennes promised to recognize the independence of the Thirteen Colonies, with or without Spanish support. On 30 January 1778, the king authorized the *Secrétaire du Conseil d'Etat* Conrad Alexandre Gérard to sign the Treaty of Amity and Commerce and a secret Treaty of Alliance on his behalf. On 6 February 1778, Gérard carried out the order and Deane, Franklin, and Lee signed for the United States. By these treaties, France offered "to maintain ... the liberty, sovereignty, and independence" of the United States in case of war between her and Great Britain. France promised to fight on until the independence of the United States was guaranteed in a peace treaty. The United States promised not to "conclude

⁹⁶ Gilbert Bodinier, *Dictionnaire des officiers de l'armée royale qui ont combattu aux Etats-Unis pendant la guerre d'Indépendance* (Château de Vincennes, 1982); the Lafayette quote on p. 464. Biographies can also be found in Blanco, *Encyclopedia*, passim; Coudray in vol. 1, pp. 405-406.

either truce or peace with Great Britain without the formal consent of the other first obtained".⁹⁷

On 13 March 1778, His Most Christian Majesty officially informed the Court of St. James of this decision. A week later, the three Americans were introduced to the king as *Ambassadors of the Thirteen United Provinces*, while Gérard in turn was appointed French resident at Congress in Philadelphia. Copies of the treaties reached Congress in early May, which ratified them unanimously and without debate and ordered them published without waiting for the French government to ratify the treaties as well.⁹⁸

A treaty of military alliance is not a declaration of war: but both sides understood it as such. Upon hearing the news, the Court of St. James on 15 March 1778 recalled its ambassador from France, which in turn expelled the British commissioners at Dunquerque. In early June, British ships chased the French frigate *Belle Poule* off the coast of Normandy. The *Belle Poule* held her ground and limped, badly damaged and with half of her crew dead or wounded, into Brest. Louis XVI responded by ordering his navy on 10 July 1778 to give chase to Royal Navy vessels.

4.3 The Failed Invasion of 1779 and the Decision to send Troops to America

The war France had expected since 1763 was on.⁹⁹ Choiseul had always wanted to fight it overseas, and Vergennes continued this policy. Even before the *Belle-Poule* affair, Vergennes had sent Admiral d'Estaing with 17 ships of the line, 6,200 naval personnel and 4,000 infantry to the Caribbean, where they arrived in July 1778. But the first two years of military cooperation did not go well. The siege of Newport in August 1778 ended in failure. So did the siege of Savannah in September and October 1779, which had been taken by British troops under Henry Clinton in December 1778. Once d'Estaing had raised the siege, British troops began the invasion of South Carolina where Charleston fell in May 1780.

⁹⁷ Ruth Strong Hudson, "The French Treaty of Alliance, Signed on February 6, 1778" *The American Society Legion of Honor Magazine* Vol. 49, No. 2, (1978), pp. 121-136. For the text of these treaties see the *Documents* section attached to this report.

⁹⁸ Alexander DeConde, "The French Alliance in Historical Speculation" in: *Diplomacy and Revolution. The Franco-American Alliance of 1778* Ronald Hoffman and Peter J. Albert, eds., (Charlottesville, 1981), pp. 1-38. Accompanied by Deane, Gerard reached Philadelphia in July 1778. From Rehoboth, William Vernon of Newport enthusiastically welcome the alliance and wrote to Samuel Vernon on 21 May 1778, "The News from France is grand, more then we cou'd expect, beyond our most sanguine expectations and hope we shall improve the present moment." Newport Historical Society, Vernon Papers, Box 49, folder 5.

⁹⁹ Spain hesitated until April 1779 to enter the war against Great Britain in the Convention of Aranjuez, while Great Britain herself declared war on the Netherlands in November 1780. An *Acte Royale* of 5 April 1779, set 17 June 1778, as the official date for the beginning of hostilities between France and Britain.

The apparent inability of French forces "to make a difference" in the war severely strained the alliance. But the criticism was quite undeserved: without massive French aid the Continental Army would probably not have continued to exist. France had been active in Europe as well. In February 1778, already, she had begun to concentrate troops on the Channel coast for a possible invasion of the British Isles. By 30 June, 28 battalions of infantry, some 14,000 officers and men, 10 escadrons of cavalry and 25 companies of artillery were concentrated in the Le Havre, Cherbourg, Brest and coastal areas. By the end of the year, the numbers had almost tripled to 71 battalions, and more troops were arriving daily. By late Spring 1779, 2,608 officers, 31,963 men, 4,918 *domestiques*, 1,818 horses plus large amounts of artillery, one quarter of France's armed might, was waiting near Le Havre to board almost 500 transports to take them to the Isle of Wight.¹⁰⁰

The interests of Spain, which had entered the war in April 1779, and whose interests lay in fighting Britain in Europe, Gibraltar, Minorca, and Portugal, not overseas, had largely dictated this policy. But Spain was not ready for war against Britain. French naval forces under 69-year-old Admiral d'Orvilliers spent valuable weeks in June and July cruising at the southern entrance of the British Channel, waiting for the Spanish fleet to arrive. The rendezvous for the two fleets had been set for 15 May. When the French and Spanish fleets finally joined up in the last days of July, smallpox was sweeping through the French fleet. D'Orvilliers had already lost 140 sailors, some 600 were in Spanish hospitals, and another 1,800 sick were on board his ships. On 15 August the combined fleets turned into the Channel only to be driven out by a violent storm. The next day d'Orvilliers received instructions that the place of attack for French land forces had been changed to the coast of Cornwall. First, however, he had to find and defeat the Royal Navy to gain control of the channel. On 25 August his lookouts reported the British fleet: 34 ships of the line, 8 frigates, and 20 smaller vessels carrying 26,000 sailors and 3,260 cannon commanded by Admiral Sir Thomas Hardy. The combined Franco-Spanish fleet consisted of 66 ships of the line, 12 frigates, and 16 smaller vessels. D'Orvilliers wanted to give battle out on the Atlantic, but Hardy stayed close to his homeports. Dangerously low on supplies, d'Orvilliers in the first days of September received with relief the order to return to Brest where he disembarked some 8,000 sick sailors. The campaign of 1779 was over. It had cost France the lives of hundreds of sailors and millions of livres with nothing to show for it. In October Montbarey called off the campaign. In November the army moved into winter quarters.¹⁰¹

Though they believed that there was a possibility of success, neither Louis XVI nor Vergennes had placed all their hopes on the successful invasion of Britain. The project went against decades of planning that had always assumed that the war would be fought in America. Now that the project had failed, the

¹⁰⁰ See also Marcus de la Poer Beresford, "Ireland in French Strategy during the American War of Independence 1776-1783" *The Irish Sword* Vol. 12, (1976), pp. 285-297 and Vol. 13, (1977), pp. 20-29.

¹⁰¹ All numbers from Fonteneau, "La période française", pp. 79-85.

voices in favor of fighting England in her colonies grew stronger again. The first suggestions of such an operation had surfaced in late 1777 as France was contemplating the recognition of the United States. That proposal had not been pursued, but now a most important voice was clamoring for just such an expedition: that of the Marquis de Lafayette, who had returned to France in the Spring of 1779. It may well have been at Lafayette's urging that Franklin addressed his memorandum to Vergennes in February 1779, suggesting the dispatch of a corps of 4,000 soldiers to America.¹⁰² In July, Vergennes asked Lafayette for a detailed memorandum on the feasibility of such an expedition, and ordered an internal study. When Admiral d'Estaing limped into Brest with his battered flagship the *Languedoc* in early December, the matter took on additional urgency. Louis XVI and his chief ministers feared that unless the new year would bring at least one case of successful Franco-American cooperation, the colonists might make peace with Britain, leaving France to continue the war by herself.

4.4 Rochambeau and the Troops of the *expédition particulière*

The decisive shift in favor of sending troops to America came in January 1780. The possibility of sending ground forces across the Atlantic for stationing on the American mainland had been discussed and rejected as impracticable even before these treaties were signed. Both sides were all too well aware of the historical and cultural obstacles that had grown up during decades of hostilities to assume an unqualified welcoming of French forces in the United States. France had hoped for a short war, but Sir Henry Clinton's successful foray into Georgia and South Carolina, combined with the failed sieges of Newport and Savannah in 1778 and 1779, had dashed all hopes of a quick victory for the Franco-American alliance. In the Fall of 1779, France and America needed a new strategy. The decision in January 1780 to dispatch ground forces formed the core of the new strategy.¹⁰³

Once again Britain's success had worked against her. Up until the Summer of 1779, even Washington had had reservations about French ground forces in America. But on 16 September 1779, French minister the *chevalier* de la Luzerne met with Washington at West Point to discuss strategy for 1780. With an eye toward the deteriorating military situation in the South he wondered "whether in case The Court of France should find it convenient to send directly from France a Squadron and a few Regiments attached to it, to act in conjunction with us in this quarter, it would be agreeable to The United States." Washington's reply as recorded by Alexander Hamilton indicated that "The General thought it would be very advancive of the common Cause."¹⁰⁴ Washington repeated his views in a letter to the *marquis* de Lafayette of 30 September 1779. In it he informed the *marquis* of his hopes that Lafayette would soon return to America either in his

¹⁰² See Lee Kennett, *The French Forces in America, 1780-1783* (Westport, 1977), pp. 3-17.

¹⁰³ A brief but concise analysis of the context of the decision to send Rochambeau to America is Jonathan R. Dull, "Lafayette, Franklin, And the Coming of Rochambeau's Army". This lecture which Dull presented to the Washington Association in Morristown in 1980 is available electronically at <http://njreporter.org>.

¹⁰⁴ The letter is on the web at <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/gwhtml/gwhome.html>.

capacity of Major General in the Continental Army or as "an Officer at the head of a Corps of gallant French (if circumstances should require this)".¹⁰⁵ Based on Luzerne's report of the 16 September meeting, and an excerpt of Washington's letter, which Lafayette had sent him on 25 January 1780, Vergennes decided that the time had come when French ground forces were welcome in the New World.

Following Vergennes' recommendation, the king on 2 February approved the plan code-named *expédition particulière*, the transportation across the ocean of a force large enough to decide the outcome of the rebellion in America. Naval forces in the Caribbean would be strengthened and put in a position to support the expeditionary force. In Europe, military action would be confined to diversionary actions, such as the siege of Gibraltar, aimed at binding British forces.

Once the decision to send troops was made, the next questions were 1) who would go, and 2) who would command? Vergennes and his colleagues agreed that the command did not call for brilliance, but for level-headedness, an ability to compromise, and a willingness to cooperate. Harmonious relations with the American ally as well as within the French force were of paramount importance. If the former pointed toward the appointment of the 23-year-old Lafayette, the latter all but ruled it out.¹⁰⁶ Lafayette's recent promotion to colonel in the French army had already ruffled quite a few feathers, and numerous officers made it very clear that they would not serve under the young marquis. In early February, the cabinet appointed Charles Louis d'Arsac chevalier de Ternay, a *chef d'escadre* with 40 years experience, to command the naval forces. For the land forces the choice fell on 55-year-old Jean Baptiste Donatien de Vimeur, *comte de Rochambeau*, a professional soldier with 37 years of experience who was more comfortable in an army camp than in the ballrooms of Versailles, and who had already been selected to command the advance guard in the cancelled invasion of Britain. On 1 March 1780, Louis XVI promoted Rochambeau to lieutenant general and placed him at the head of the expedition.

Both men wasted little time to get ready for the expedition. Ternay had been ordered to find shipping for 6,000 men. Rochambeau spent much of March at Versailles trying to have his force increased, but only succeeded in adding the 2nd battalion of the Auxonne artillery, some 500 men, a few dozen engineers and mineurs,¹⁰⁷ and 600 men from the *Légion de Lauzun* as a light force to the four regiments of infantry, some 4,000 men, he would be able to take. A

¹⁰⁵ The letter is on the web at <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/gwhtml/gwhome.html>.

¹⁰⁶ Lafayette never actively sought the command. He returned to the US shortly after the appointment of Rochambeau in March with Commissary Dominique Louis Ethis de Corny who was to make arrangements for the arrival of Rochambeau's troops. Congress made him a lieutenant colonel on 5 June 1780.

¹⁰⁷ The engineers were commanded by Colonel Jean Nicolas Desandrouins. Fragments of his diary which survived his shipwreck in February 1783 are published in Charles Nicholas, *Le Maréchal de Camp Desandrouins* (Verdun, 1887), pp. 341-368. The *mineurs* stood under Joseph Dieudonné de Chazelles. See Ambassade de France, *French Engineers and the American War of Independence* (New York, 1975).

Quartermaster staff under Pierre François de Béville, a medical department of about 100 under Jean-François Coste,¹⁰⁸ a commissary department under Claude Blanchard,¹⁰⁹ a provost department headed by Pierre Barthélémy Revoux de Ronchamp with a hangman and two *schlagueurs*, i.e., corporals tasked with meting out corporal punishment,¹¹⁰ not to mention the dozens of *domestiques*, i.e., servants for the officers, brought what was supposed to be the first division of the *expédition particulière* to about 6,000 officers and men. Everyone else would form part of a second division that Rochambeau hoped would join him in 1781.

4.4.1 The Officer Corps

These were only some of Rochambeau's problems. Once the numbers had been agreed upon, the decision as to which units to take was to be Rochambeau's. He chose them from among the forces quartered along the coast for the aborted invasion of England. Lee Kennett's description of Rochambeau's decision-making process, i.e., that the regiments selected "were neither the oldest nor the most prestigious regiments, in the army, but (Rochambeau) judged them to be well-officered and disciplined ... and at full strength" is only part of the story.¹¹¹ Outside considerations may have played a role in their selection as well. The upper echelons of the officer corps belonged to the top of aristocratic society whom Rochambeau could not afford to alienate. For the members of the *noblesse de race*, the wealthy and influential court nobility, promotion to high rank and participation in prestigious enterprises at an early age was a birthright. They alone had the influence and the money, 25,000 to 75,000 livres, needed to purchase a line regiment. Nobles such as François Jean, *chevalier* de Beauvoir de Chastellux, a member of the *Académie Française* since 1775, were too influential to be ignored once they expressed interest in the expedition.¹¹² Humble as ever, the *duc* de Lauzun recorded that he was simply "too much in fashion not to be employed in some brilliant manner".¹¹³

¹⁰⁸ See Louis Trenard, "Un défenseur des hôpitaux militaires: Jean-François Coste" *Revue du Nord* Vol. 75, Nr. 299, (January 1993), pp. 149-180, and Raymond Bolzinger, "A propos du bicentenaire de la guerre de l'Indépendance des États-Unis 1775-1783: Le service de santé de l'armée Rochambeau et ses participants messins" *Mémoires de l'Académie Nationale de Metz* Vol. 4/5, (1979), pp. 259-284.

¹⁰⁹ See *The Journal of Claude Blanchard, Commissary of the French Auxiliary Army sent to the United States during the American Revolution* Thomas Balch, ed., (Albany, 1876). See also Jean des Cilleuls, "Le service de l'intendance à l'armée de Rochambeau" *Revue historique de l'Armée* No. 2, (1957), pp. 43-61.

¹¹⁰ Unlike in the Prussian army, corporal punishment was not the norm in the French military: the term used in the original documents, *schlagueurs*, is derived from the German word *schlagen*, to hit someone.

¹¹¹ Kennett, *French forces*, p. 22.

¹¹² His *Travels in North America in the years 1780, 1781, and 1782* 2 vols., (Paris, 1786; English: London, 1787) form an invaluable source on revolutionary America but provide little information on the campaigns. A modern edition was published by Howard C. Rice, Jr., *Travels in North America in the Years 1780, 1781*

¹¹³ *Mémoires de Armand-Louis de Gontaut, duc de Lauzun*, Edmond Pilon, ed., (Paris, 1928), p. 242.

From among the French regiments Rochambeau picked the Bourbonnais, commanded by Anne Alexandre, *marquis* de Montmorency-Laval, who had become colonel of the Toraine regiment at age 23. He was all of 28 when he took over the Bourbonnais in 1775. The fact that Rochambeau's son, 25-year-old Donatien Marie was *mestre-de-camp-en-second*, i.e., second in command of the regiment, may well have influenced this decision. When Donatien became colonel of the Saintonge in November 1782, Charles Louis De Secondat, *baron* de Montesquieu, a grandson of the famous philosopher, took his place. Soissonnais' *mestre de camp* Jean-Baptiste Félix d'Ollière, *comte* de Saint Maisme was all of 19 1/2 years old when he took over that unit in June 1775. St. Maisme's second in command, 24-year-old Louis Marie, *vicomte* de Noailles, a son of the *duc* de Mouchy, was not only a member of the highest nobility, but also Lafayette's brother-in-law. He received his new position on 8 March 1780. When Noailles became colonel of the *Roi-Dragons* in January 1782, he was replaced by Louis Philippe *comte* de Ségur, the 29-year-old son of the minister of war. Though he had started his military career at the age of 5 (!) and become colonel of the Custine Dragoons at age 22, Adam Philippe, *comte* de Custine, the 38-year-old colonel of the Saintonge, was by far the oldest (and most difficult) of these regimental commanders. Since his second in command, 24-year-old Armand de la Croix *comte* de Charlus, appointed to the position in March 1780, was the son of the Navy minister, the decision of whether to take the regiment or not may not have been Rochambeau's alone.¹¹⁴

One stipulation imposed upon Rochambeau by the *marquis* de Jaucourt, who was in charge of the operational planning of the *expédition*, was that one third of the force consist of German-speaking soldiers. Jaucourt argued, overly optimistic as it turned out, that recruiting deserters from Britain's German auxiliaries could make up losses in such units.¹¹⁵ Politics may very well have decided the selection of the Royal Deux-Ponts. The Royal Deux-Ponts was 'suggested' to Rochambeau by Marie Camasse, Countess Forbach, a former dancer and morganatic wife of its founder and first *colonel propriétaire* Duke Christian IV of Zweibrücken.¹¹⁶ Their

¹¹⁴ A scathing analysis by an anonymous subordinate of some these officers in Bernard Fay, "L'Armée de Rochambeau jugée par un Français." *Franco-American Review* Vol. 2, (Fall 1937), pp. 114-120.

¹¹⁵ Kennett, *French forces*, p. 23. On 25 July 1780, only two weeks after Rochambeau's arrival, Joseph Reed, President of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, informed the chevalier de la Luzerne in response to his letter of the same date inquiring about the possibility of recruiting Hessian deserters, that there was no legal obstacle to French recruitment of these men. The next day, 26 July, Luzerne informed Rochambeau of the availability of these men and of their desire to serve either in Lauzun's Legion or in the Royal Deux-Ponts regiment and suggested that he send recruiting officers to Philadelphia. Luzerne to Rochambeau with insert of Reed's letter is located in Rochambeau Family Papers, Gen Mss 146, Box 2, No. 123, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

¹¹⁶ His brother Charles II August in 1776 succeeded Christian to the throne. Yet the regiment was qualified to participate for the campaign. On 27 March 1780, Rochambeau characterized it "comme aussi solide par sa composition qu'aucun régiment français et dans le meilleur état." J. Henry Doniol, *Histoire de la participation de la France a l'Établissement des États-Unis d'Amérique* 5 vols. (Paris, 1886-1892), Vol. 1, # 3733. Camasse presented Franklin a walking

eldest son Christian de Deux-Ponts, who had been two months short of his 20th birthday when he was given the Royal Deux-Ponts in 1772, had income from estates in Germany and France amounting to over 7,200 livres annually. He also enjoyed an annuity of 14,400 livres, 9,000 livres pay as colonel of his regiment, doubled to 18,000 livres for the American campaign, plus financial support from his mother, which brought his annual income for the American campaign to well over 40,000 livres!¹¹⁷ Second in command was his younger brother William, who distinguished himself during the storming of Redoubt No. 9 before Yorktown, and received his own regiment, the Deux-Ponts Dragoons, in January 1782.

The ships that left Brest in May 1780 were not necessarily carrying the "flower of the French nobility," but Rochambeau's staff was certainly rather heavily laced with court nobility. Competition for these positions was fierce. The slow pace of peacetime advancement in an army where promotion was strictly based on seniority left many officers hoping for an opportunity to "make a name for themselves" as the only way for faster advancement. War alone gave that opportunity. With Europe at peace and the fever-infested Caribbean an undesirable destination, the American campaign seemed to hold out hope for both distinction and survival. Rochambeau had been given blank commissions to fill these positions and subsequently spend much of his time trying to refuse sons, nephews, and favorites pressed upon him by members of the court.

The most famous among these is probably 26-year-old Axel von Fersen, son of the former Swedish ambassador to France and favorite of Queen Marie Antoinette. Men such as Fersen belonged to a group just below the very rich. In a letter to his father of January 1780, Fersen stated his fixed monthly expenses for, among others, room and board, three domestics, three horses, and a dog at 1,102 livres, though he promised he would try and economize in the future.¹¹⁸ Fersen became an aide-de-camp to Rochambeau. Antoine Charles du Houx *baron* de Vioménil, Rochambeau's second in command, not only secured appointments for about a dozen of his friends from the Polish campaigns, he also brought along his brother, a cousin, a son-in-law, and two nephews, as well as his eldest son, 13-year-old Charles Gabriel, who served as aide-de-camp to his father. Rochambeau took his son, *mestre de camp en second* of the Bourbonnais Regiment, as his *aide-major général de logis*. Custine's kinsman Jean Robert Gaspar de Custine became a *sous-lieutenant* in the Royal Deux-Ponts on 4 April 1780, three days after his

cane upon his departure from France; Franklin in turn willed the cane to George Washington; today it can be seen in the Smithsonian Institution.

¹¹⁷ These figures are based on the *Nachlass Christian Graf von Forbach, Freiherr von Zweibrücken* (Signatur N 73) in the Pfälzische Landesbibliothek Speyer, Germany.

¹¹⁸ *Lettres d'Axel de Fersen a son père pendant la guerre de l'Indépendance d'amérique* F. U. Wrangel, ed., (Paris, 1929), p. 46. English translations of some letters were published in "Letters of Axel de Fersen, Aide-de-Camp to Rochambeau written to his Father in Sweden 1780-1782" *Magazine of American History* Vol. 3, No. 5, (May 1879), pp. 300-309, No. 6, (June 1879), pp. 369-376, and No. 7, (July 1879), pp. 437-448. Eight letters from America to his sister were published in *The Letters of Marie Antoinette, Fersen and Barnave* O.-G. de Heidenstam, ed., (New York, 1929), pp. 6-13.

16th birthday. Quarter-Master General de Béville took his two sons as members of his staff as well. It was not just Frenchmen who wanted to see America with Rochambeau. Friedrich Reinhard Burkard Graf von Rechteren, a Dutch nobleman with 15 years service in the Dutch military, used his descent from Charlotte de Bourbon, his great-great-great-great-grandmother who had married William of Orange in 1574, to get himself appointed *cadet-gentilhomme* in the Royal Deux-Ponts on 11 March 1780.¹¹⁹ One of Rochambeau's nephews, the *comte* de Lauberdière, served as one of six aides-de-camp, another, George Henry Collot, as aide for quartermaster-general affairs.¹²⁰ When Claude Gabriel *marquis* de Choisy appeared in Brest on 17 April 1780, with five officers who wanted to sail to America, Rochambeau refused to take them. Choisy and his entourage, which by now had grown to ten officers, left Brest on the *Sybille* for Santo Domingo on 25 June 1780. There they found passage on *La Gentille* and sailed into Newport on 29 September 1780.

Rochambeau was also under siege by numerous French volunteers who had returned to Europe upon news of the treaties of 1778. They assumed that it would be better for their careers to serve out the war in the French rather than the American Army. Rochambeau realized that he needed not only their expertise, but since neither he nor many of his officers spoke English, their language skills as well. These appointments were much resented. When Rochambeau chose Du Bouchet as an aide, Charlus wrote scathingly in his diary that du Bouchet was but "a brave man who has been to America, [and] who has no other talent than to get himself killed with more grace than most other people".¹²¹ Another beneficiary of Rochambeau's need for "American" experts was the much-decorated de Fleury, who volunteered to serve as a common soldier when he could not find a position as an officer. Rochambeau appointed him major in Saintonge, which caused considerable grumbling among Fleury's new comrades.¹²² Men such as Fleury belonged to the lower nobility who provided about 90 per cent of the company-grade officers. They could hardly aspire to retiring as more than a major, and formed the vast majority of the officers in Rochambeau's army.¹²³ Though well

¹¹⁹ Rochambeau made Rechteren a captain *à la suite*, lending credence to Ternay's claim that the army contained "too many useless mouths". Kennett, *French forces*, p. 21. By 14 August 1780, Rechteren was sightseeing in Philadelphia; he returned to Europe as soon as Yorktown had fallen. His personnel file is in Service Historique de l'Armée de Terre, Vincennes, France, Yb 346.

¹²⁰ Kennett, *French forces*, p. 21. See also Robert A. Selig, "America the Ungrateful: The Not-So-Fond Remembrances of Louis François Dupont d'Aubevoye, Comte de Lauberdière" *American Heritage* Vol. 48, No. 1, (February 1997), pp. 101-106, and "Lauberdière's Journal. The Revolutionary War Journal of Louis François Bertrand d'Aubevoye, Comte de Lauberdière" *Colonial Williamsburg. The Journal of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation* Vol. 18, No. 1, (Autumn 1995), pp. 33-37.

¹²¹ Quoted in Vicomte de Noailles, *Marins et Soldats Français en Amérique pendant la guerre de l'Indépendance des États-Unis* (Paris, 1903), p. 161.

¹²² Gilbert Bodinier, "Les officiers du corps expéditionnaire de Rochambeau et la Revolution française" *Revue historique des armées* Vol. 3, No. 4, (1976) pp. 139-164, p. 140.

¹²³ 459 officers accompanied Rochambeau from Brest, 20 joined him between July 1780 and November 1783. Samuel F. Scott, "The Army of the Comte de Rochambeau between the American and French Revolutions" *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Western Society for French History* Vol. 15, (1988), pp. 143-153, p. 144. Twelve non-commissioned officers were

paid in comparison to common soldiers, a *capitaine en seconde* in the French infantry earned 2,400 livres per year in America, they were caught between their limited financial resources and the obligations required by rank and status.¹²⁴

These statistics do not tell us much about the lives of these men. A series of ten letters written by Count Wilhelm von Schwerin, a twenty-six-year-old sub-lieutenant of grenadiers of the Royal Deux-Ponts, partly in German, partly in French, between August 1780 and December 1781, to his uncle Graf Reingard zu Wied, fills some of this void. They provide a rare glimpse into the life -- and the precarious finances -- of a company-grade officer in America. In a letter of 16 March 1780, Schwerin laid bare his finances. His base salary was 60 livres per month; stoppages included 8 livres for his uniform and 2 livres to help pay the debts of a retired officer. His share to pay the salary of Georg Friedrich Dentzel, the Lutheran minister of the regiment, amounted to 9 sols per month.¹²⁵ That left him 49 livres 11 sols per month or 594 livres 12 sols annually. Anticipating the high cost of living in the New World, officer's salaries were doubled in March of 1780, raising Schwerin's net annual income to 1,309 livres 4 sols. His uncle added 48 livres per month, 576 livres per year, for a total of 1,885 livres 4 sols or 157 livres 2 sols per month.

In preparation for the expedition, the king had ordered that the officers be paid three months in advance plus 50 livres to buy tents, hammocks, shirts etc. For Schwerin that meant an additional 200 livres, but not much of it was spent on travel preparations. Some older officers retired rather than accompany the regiment to the New World. That meant that Schwerin had to pay the expenses arising from the *concordat* among the officers of the Royal Deux-Ponts. The *concordat* was an agreement stipulating that every time an officer left the

promoted to officer rank during the campaign. Samuel F. Scott, "Rochambeau's Veterans: A Case Study in the Transformation of the French Army." *Proceedings, the Consortium on Revolutionary Europe 1750-1850* (Athens, 1979), pp. 155-163, p. 157. Captain Jean François de Thuillière of the Royal Deux-Ponts joined his regiment in Newport in October 1780. Thuillière, recommended to Franklin by Camasse left Europe in early 1777. Captured twice by the British, he arrived in America just as his leave was about to expire. He returned to France only to find out that there was no place for him Ternay's ships and he had to sail with Choisy's group to Newport.

¹²⁴ All pay information is taken from *Ordonnance du Roi, Pour régler le traitement des Troupes destinées à une expédition particulière. Du 20 Mars 1780* (Paris, 1780).

¹²⁵ The minister had a remarkable career made possible by the French Revolution. Georg Friedrich Dentzel was born on July 16, 1755, in Bad Dürkheim as the son of a baker. From 1774 to 1786 he served as the Lutheran preacher in Royal Deux-Ponts. As senior of the Protestant clergy in Landau from 1786-1794, he was the founder and first president of the local Jacobin Club. In 1792, he was elected a member of *Assemblée Nationale* in Paris and commanded the defense of Landau in the Fall of 1793. Arrested and imprisoned in Paris he was released after the fall of Robespierre. By 1813 he was a brigadier in Napoleon's army and *Baron de l'Empire*. Retired as full general in 1824, he died in Versailles in 1828. He is the grandfather of Prefect Hausmann, the architect responsible for the reconstruction of Paris in the 1850s and 1860s.

Paul de St. Pierre, the Catholic priest of the Royal Deux-Ponts, lived an exciting life as well. Born Michael Joseph Plattner in 1746 in Dettelbach near Würzburg, he was back in the United States by late 1784 and living in Baltimore. St. Pierre became a missionary to the Indians and died in 1826 in Iberville, Louisiana.

regiment, each officer below him in rank, who would thereby advance in seniority, if not in rank, was to pay that officer the equivalent of two months of his own wages if that officer retired without pension, one month if he retired with a pension. Count Wilhelm's *concordat* in the Spring of 1780 amounted to at least 288 livres, the equivalent of 6 months wages. To make up for the four officers who could not pay their share of the *concordat* since they "already sit in prison because of other debts," each lieutenant of the regiment had to pay an additional 24 livres 11 sols 6 deniers.¹²⁶

Upon arrival in America, Schwerin had additional expenses that put a severe drain on his budget as well. The servant, whom he was required to keep, cost him 15 livres in cash wages and 35 livres for food each month plus 3 livres clothing allowance. His lunch alone cost him 80 livres per month in Newport, which left him with maybe 24 livres per month from his 157 livres income. In the evenings he ate "but a piece of bread" and lots of potatoes, as he ruefully informed his uncle, but at 22 sols for a pound of bread or 4-6 sols for a pound of potatoes even that was an expensive meal. Shoemakers in Newport charged 40 livres for a pair of boots, and just the material for a shirt was 9 florin or 18 livres 15 sols. A good horse, estimated by Fersen to cost about 50 louis d'or, or 1,200 livres in Newport, was simply out of reach for two thirds of the officers in Rochambeau's army. Schwerin was always borrowing money: in the Spring of 1781, he borrowed 1,200 livres from his colonel to equip himself for the campaign, which included hiring a second servant and purchasing a horse for 300 livres.¹²⁷ No wonder he concluded one of his letters by telling his uncle that those who had remained in Europe "would not believe how everyone is fed up with waging war in this country here. The reason is quite simple in that one is obliged to buy one's forage with one's own money, and no one gives you your ration that is your due in times of war." After Schwerin had returned to France, a compilation of his debts on 25 September 1783 showed them to be at 5,571 livres, the equivalent of nine annual peacetime incomes!¹²⁸

A final question to be asked here is: How much did the French officers reflect upon the reasons for fighting in this war? Did they know, or care, about the causes, and consequences, of their involvement in the American Revolution? To put it briefly: very few of them knew or cared. The war, wrote young *comte de*

¹²⁶ Schwerin's original correspondence was sold to an American collector in the early 1960s, its current whereabouts are unknown; all quotes are from copies made for the Library of Congress in 1930. See Robert A. Selig, "'Mon très cher oncle': Count William de Schwerin reports from Virginia." in the *Colonial Williamsburg. The Journal of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation* Vol. 22 No. 2 (Summer 2000), pp. 48-54, and "Eyewitness to Yorktown." *Military History* vol. 19 No. 6 (February 2003), pp. 58-64. Actual expenses may have been over 500 livres. The concordat of 23 July 1784 is in Régis d'Oléon, "L'Esprit de Corps dans l'Ancienne Armée" *Carnet de la Sabretache* 5th series (1958), pp. 488-496, pp. 493-495.

¹²⁷ *Sous-lieutenant* Nicolas François Denis Brisout de Barneville, aide to Baron Vioménil, largely confirms Schwerin's prices. "Journal de Guerre de Brissout de Barneville. Mai 1780-Octobre 1781" *The French-American Review* Vol. 3, No. 4, (October 1950), pp. 217-278, p. 245-46.

¹²⁸ The writer is grateful to Dr. Hans-Jürgen Krüger of the Fürstlich Wiedische Rentkammer for this information taken from an entry in the *Korrespondenz Findbuch* of the archives in Neuwied.

Lauberdière, had been caused by the "violent means employed by the ministry in England" to raise taxes "in violation of the natural and civil rights of her colonies". France came to the aid of the colonies, though one usually looks in vain for an explanation as to what these "rights" consisted of. In their journals individual officers more often talked of glory, honor, the opportunity to make a name for oneself, a chance to escape boredom, creditors, girlfriends as the recurrent theme for their joining the fight in America rather than the restoration of the balance of powers as the impetus for Franco-American co-operation.

4.4.2 The Rank and File

Unlike their officers, the rank and file of the *expédition particulière*, the non-commissioned officers and enlisted men, have remained largely a faceless mass of people. Thanks to the meticulous research of Samuel F. Scott, we know at least how many there were: Rochambeau took with him almost 5,300 soldiers. In June 1781, 660 re-enforcements were sent from France, 160 men were recruited in the US (all but one European-born) for a total of 6,038 men who served with Rochambeau's forces.

Non-commissioned officers promoted to their ranks after long years of service formed the backbone of the French army. Following the army reforms of 1776, a fusilier or chasseur company had 15 NCOs, five sergeants and ten corporals, while the smaller grenadier company had four sergeants and eight corporals. The sergeants formed the elite of a company's non-commissioned officers. Based on an analysis of the careers of over 20,000 men, Samuel F. Scott found that in 1789 more than half of all sergeants were under 35 years of age despite the often ten or more years of service it took to reach that rank. Every one of the eight to ten corporals too had reached his rank based on seniority after long years of service. According to Scott, "[c]orporals fell into three general categories: a minority of apparently talented soldiers who were promoted after four to six years' service, soldiers who followed a more common career pattern and were promoted around the time of their completion of their first eight-year-enlistment (sometimes as an inducement to re-enlist); and soldiers with long service, over ten years, who were promoted on this basis." More than three fourths of these men were under 35 years old.¹²⁹

Below them was the rank and file, and, unlike the Prussian military at the time, where Frederick the Great preferred older soldiers, the French army was a *young* army. In 1789, almost exactly 50 per cent of all enlisted men were between 18 and 25 years old, another 5 per cent were even younger. About 12 per cent had less than one year of service, but 60 per cent had been with the colors between four and ten years, another 20 per cent had served for over ten years. These data are confirmed in the troops of the *expédition particulière*. In the Royal Deux-Ponts we find that the regiment sailed from Brest in April 1780, with 1,013 men. The regiments La Marck and Anhalt provided 113 reinforcements in June 1781,

¹²⁹ Scott, *Response*, p. 8.

another 67 men were recruited in America between August 1780 and November 1782, for a total of 1,193 men who served with the Regiment.

If well over 90 per cent of all soldiers in the French regiments were French-speaking subjects of the King of France,¹³⁰ the treaty of March 1776 between Duke Charles and Louis XVI had stipulated that of the 150 recruits needed each year to maintain the strength of the unit, 112 (75 per cent) were to come from the Duchy of Deux-Ponts and surrounding areas. The remainder was to be drawn from German-speaking subjects of the King of France in Alsace and Lorraine, since the language of command in the regiment would remain German. A look at the age of the soldiers shows that 584 men (48.9 per cent) of the rank and file had been born between 1753 and 1759. Almost half of the men were between 21 and 27 years old by the time the regiment left for the United States. Some 736 soldiers (61.7 per cent) of the rank and file had signed up between 1773 and 1779, had up to eight years of service. Enlisted men could join at a very young age: the *enfants de troupe*, sons of soldiers or officers, were usually admitted at half pay at the age of six and served as drummers until the age of 16, when they could enlist as regular soldiers. The youngest drummer-boys in the regiment were but nine years old. Comparative data for the Bourbonnais confirm these findings. Most of its men were in their early 20s, the average age being 27; the youngest soldier was 12, the oldest 64.¹³¹

The biggest difference between the Royal Deux-Ponts and French units was in the religious affiliation of the soldiers.¹³² The French regiments were almost 100 per cent Catholic, while the Royal Deux-Ponts was almost 40 per cent Protestant.

Catholic:	732	62.0%
Lutheran:	269	22.8%
Reformed:	180	15.2%

	1181	100.0%

There is a general conception that the soldiers in the armies of the eighteenth century were the dregs of society, released from prison if not from the gallows in exchange for military service. In the case of the French army and the troops of Rochambeau, research has shown that this is clearly not the case. As a rule, these men did not come from well-established middle-class families, but rather from the un- and under-employed lower classes. Of over 17,000 people holding a city-issued license to beg within the city limits of Paris between 1764 and 1773, only 88 entered the army!¹³³ The most detailed report on any regiment, that on the

¹³⁰ Rochambeau's corps had at least one black soldier in its ranks: Jean Pandua, "un fils d'amour" according to his enlistment record, who had joined the Bourbonnais regiment as a musician in 1777; after five years of service he deserted in October 1782 near Breakneck in Connecticut.

¹³¹ Kennett, *French forces*, p. 23. The Touraine regiment of infantry, which Admiral de Grasse brought to Yorktown, kept an 80-year-old on its payroll.

¹³² Of twelve soldiers the religion is unknown.

¹³³ Quoted in Scott, *Response*, p. 19.

Royal Deux-Ponts compiled on 1 October 1788, a few years after its return from America, shows, not surprisingly for a pre-industrial society, that 875 (76.4 per cent) of its 1,146 men were peasants and "autres travailleurs de la campagne." The next largest group, 59 men (5 per cent) were tailors, 48 gave shoemaker as their profession, and 46 were masons. The rest were carpenters (24), butchers (22), wheelwrights (21) and an assortment of other trades.

If officers in Rochambeau's corps did not reflect much upon the causes of the war and the reasons for France's involvement, our knowledge of how enlisted men felt is even sketchier. It was only a few years ago, that three journals of enlisted men came to light. One is the *Journal militaire* of an anonymous grenadier in the Bourbonnais, which focuses almost exclusively on military events and contains little for the purposes of this study.¹³⁴ Neither does the journal of André Amblard of the Soissonnais, even though it does contain more observations about America and the Americans he met with than the grenadier journal. Only Georg Daniel Flohr of the Royal Deux-Ponts, expressed his views, unreflective as they were, about the American war in his *Account of the travels in America undertaken by the praiseworthy regiment von Zweibrücken on water and on land from the year 1780 until 1784*.¹³⁵ But even he says very little about the American cause or the reasons for his being in America. If he had heard about the ideas of independence, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, he neither mentions them nor does he apply them to himself, at least not during this phase of his life. Flohr and the French troops had come to America to put an end to the British "wreaking havoc on this beautiful country".¹³⁶

¹³⁴ Library of Congress, Milton S. Latham Journal-Miscellaneous Manuscripts Collection # 1902.

¹³⁵ Flohr's *Reisen Beschreibung von America welche das Hochlöbliche Regiment von Zweybrücken hat gemacht zu Wasser und zu Land vom Jahr 1780 bis 84* is located in the Bibliothèque Municipale, Strasbourg, France. It was first shown to the public in 1976. The writer is currently preparing an English language edition of the journal. See Robert A. Selig, "Private Flohr's America. From Newport to Yorktown and the Battle that won the War: A German Foot Soldier who fought for American Independence tells all about it in a newly discovered Memoir" *American Heritage* Vol. 43, No. 8, (December 1992), pp. 64-71; "A German Soldier in New England During the Revolutionary War: The Account of Georg Daniel Flohr" *Newport History* Vol. 65, Part 2, No. 223, (Fall 1993), pp. 48-65; "A German Soldier in America, 1780-1783: The Journal of Georg Daniel Flohr" *William and Mary Quarterly* Vol. 50, No. 3, (July 1993), pp. 575-590, "Georg Daniel Flohr's Journal: A New Perspective" *Colonial Williamsburg. The Journal of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation* Vol. 15, No. 4, (Summer 1993), pp. 47-53. Flohr returned to the United States in circa 1798, and ended his days as a Lutheran minister in Wytheville, VA, in 1826. See Robert A. Selig, "Private Flohr's Other Life: The young German fought for American Independence, went home, and returned as a man of peace" *American Heritage* Vol. 45, No. 6, (October 1994), pp. 94-95.

¹³⁶ The only child of Johann Paul Flohr, a butcher and small farmer, and his second wife, Susanne, Georg Daniel was born on 27 August 1756, and baptized on 31 August 1756, in Sarnstall, a community of some twenty families, and a suburb of Annweiler in the duchy of Pfalz-Zweibrücken. Orphaned at the age of five by the death of his father, Georg Daniel and the five children from his father's first marriage were raised in the German Reformed Church by their mother. Nothing is known about his schooling or the trade he learned. On 7 June 1776, shortly before his twentieth birthday, Flohr volunteered for an eight-year-term in the Company von Bode, of the Deux-Ponts. Regimental records describe him as 1.71 meter (5 feet 8 inches) tall, with black hair, black eyes, a long face, regularly shaped mouth, and a small nose.

THE EXPÉDITION PARTICULIÈRE IN RHODE ISLAND, 11 JULY 1780 TO 10 JUNE 1781

5.1 The Transatlantic Journey

To put an end to the British "wreaking havoc on this beautiful country" was indeed the goal of the *expédition particulière* assembled in Brest in March 1780. By 6 April, the troops were embarked; Rochambeau boarded the *Duc de Bourgogne*, one of only five 80-gun vessels in the French navy, on 17 April. Everything was ready, but for days the fleet had to wait in the rain for the wind to change. The first attempt to clear the coast failed, but on 2 May the convoy of 32 transports and cargo ships protected by seven ships of the line, four frigates, four flutes, a cutter and a schooner finally left Brest. Besides their crews of about 7,000 sailors, his ships carried the troops of the *expédition particulière*, about 450 officers and 5,300 men commanded by Rochambeau.¹³⁷ Conditions on board ship were less than comfortable.

Baron Ludwig von Closen, an *aide-de-camp* to Rochambeau as well as a captain in the Royal Deux-Ponts was traveling with two servants on the *Comtesse de Noailles*. The *Comtesse* was a 300-ton ship of about 95 feet length on the lower deck, a width of 30 feet and a depth of 12 feet in the hold. For the next 70 days, she was home to 12 naval and 10 army officers and their domestics, of crew of 45, and 350 enlisted men from the Royal Deux-Ponts. Given the limited space available, even officers had to sleep ten to a cabin. At mealtime, 22 people squeezed into a chamber 15 feet long, 12 feet wide, and 4 1/2 feet high.¹³⁸ Closen complained that odors from "men as much as from dogs," not to mention cows sheep and chickens, "the perpetual annoyance from the close proximity" of fellow officers, and "the idea of being shut up in a very narrow little old ship, as in a state prison," made for a "vexatious existence of an army officer ... on these old tubs, so heartily detested by all who are not professional sailors." Closen would have liked it better on the *Duc de Bourgogne*. In order to provide Rochambeau and his officers with the foodstuffs they were accustomed to, she even carried an oven to bake fresh bread! "There is nothing more ingenious," so the anonymous Bourbonnais grenadier, "than to have in such a place an oven for 50 to 52 loafs of bread of three pounds each! There is a master baker, a butcher, a cook for the officers and a scullion for the sailors and soldiers."

¹³⁷ The naval aspects have recently been expertly described in John B. Hattendorf, *Newport, the French Navy, and American Independence* (Newport, 2005), pp. 58-68; the numbers are from pp. 53-56. The frigates *Bellone* accompanied the fleet to Ushant before it returned to Brest. The *Gentille* sailed from Brest on 26 June and arrived in Newport via Martinique on 30 September.

¹³⁸ Closen, *Journal*, pp. 6-8. Jean Baptiste Antoine de Verger, a Swiss officer, had entered the Royal Deux-Ponts as a 17-year-old *cadet-gentilhomme* in February 1780; He also traveled on the *Comtesse de Noailles*, described as having 550 tons and carrying 250 soldiers. His journal of the American campaigns is published in *The American Campaigns of Rochambeau's Army 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783* Howard C. Rice, Jr. and Anne S. K. Brown, eds. 2 vols., (Princeton and Providence, 1972), Vol. 1, pp. 117-188.

For enlisted men, conditions were much worse. War Commissary Claude Blanchard traveling on the *Conquerant*, a 74-gun ship of the line that drew 22 feet of water at the bow had to share her with 959 men.¹³⁹ The anonymous grenadier of the Bourbonnais embarked on the *Duc de Bourgogne* claimed to have counted 1,432 persons on board at the time of departure, though the real number was probably closer to that recorded in the ship manifest, which was 1,089.¹⁴⁰ Either way, conditions were unimaginably crowded. Private Flohr, lodged on the *Comtesse de Noailles*, describes the first day of the journey thus: "Around 2 o'clock after the noon hour we had already left the French coast behind and lost sight of the land. Now we saw nothing but sky and water and realized the omnipotence of God, into which we commended ourselves. Soon the majority among us wished that they had never in their lives chosen the life of a soldier and cursed the first recruiter who had engaged them. But this was just the beginning; the really miserable life was yet to begin." Soldiers slept in linen hammocks, which were attached to spars on the four corners and described by Flohr as "not very comfortable". Since two men had to share a hammock, "the majority always had to lie on the bare floor." Flohr concluded by saying: "He who wanted to lie well had better stayed home".

Provisions on troop transports have always had a bad reputation, and the food served by the French navy was no exception. According to Flohr "these foodstuffs consisted daily of 36 loth *Zwieback* (=hardtack) which was distributed in three installments: at 7 in the morning, at 12 at noon and at 6 at night. Concerning meat we received daily 16 loth, either salted smoked ham or beef and was prepared for lunch. This meat however was salted so much that thirst was always greater than hunger. In the evening we had to make do with bad soup flavored with oil and consisting of soybeans and similar ingredients. Anyone who has not yet seen our grimy cook should just take a look at him and he would immediately lose all appetite." Since starvation was their only alternative, the soldiers forced the food down, living proof for Flohr of the proverb that "Hunger is a good cook." The soup was cooked in a huge copper kettle large enough to feed 800 to 1,200, sometimes up to 1,400 men at a time! These were huge kettles indeed: if everyone on board ship received 2 cups of soup per meal, it took 150 gallons of soup for 1,200 men. If we add another 20 per cent space for cooking to prevent boiling and spilling over, the kettles would have held a minimum of 180 gallons!¹⁴¹

¹³⁹ *The Journal of Claude Blanchard*, pp. 5-8.

¹⁴⁰ A ship the size of the *Duc de Bourgogne* (190 feet long, a 46 foot beam with a hold of 22 feet and a somewhat smaller draft) carried a regular crew of some 940 men. Most of them were needed to man its 80 cannons: it took 15 men to work just one of the thirty 36-pounders on the main deck during battle and hundreds more to operate the other fifty 18 and 8 pounders on board. All numbers are taken from Jean Boudriot, "The French Fleet during the American War of Independence" *Nautical Research Journal* Vol. 25, No. 2, (1979), pp. 79-86.

¹⁴¹ For a more detailed analysis see Robert A. Selig, "Nothing but Sky and Water: Descriptions of Transatlantic Travel from the Journal of Georg Daniel Flohr, Grenadier, Royal Deux-Ponts, 1780-1783" *Naval History* Vol. 13 No. 5, (September/October 1999), pp. 29-34."

A common complaint on all transatlantic passages was the poor quality and the small quantity of drink available. According to Flohr, each man received 1 and 1/2 *Schoppen* of "good red wine" distributed in three installments at morning, noon, and night with the meal. If they received *Branntwein* i.e., liquor, instead, he received 1/8 of a *Schoppen*. Of water they received "very little, most of the time only 1/2 *Schoppen* per day".¹⁴² This poor diet lacking in vitamins and minerals soon started to claim its victims, and Flohr witnessed "daily our fellow brothers thrown into the depths of the ocean. No one was surprised though, since all our foodstuffs were rough and bad enough to destroy us."

5.2 The Old World Meets the New World: An Overview

Arrival in Newport was anxiously awaited, and joy was universal when the convoy sailed into Narragansett Bay on 11 July 1780.¹⁴³ By 15 July 1780, de Barneville reported that "les boulangers," i.e., the bakers, and "les bouchers," i.e., the butchers", sont établis au camp". From now on the troops received their daily "1 1/2 pounds of bread plus 2 loth rice besides 1 pound of beef". The amount of food consumed by Rochambeau's men was enormous. Besides the vast quantities of bread, rice, and vegetables for almost 6,000 men purchased locally and what was shipped from France,¹⁴⁴ the troops seem to have supplemented their diet on their own. In late July 1780, Lafayette wrote to Washington that in Newport "Chicken (sic) and pigs walk Between the tents without being disturb'd."¹⁴⁵

Lafayette's pastoral landscape of "Chicken (sic) and pigs walk[ing] Between the tents" in the French camp in Newport "without being disturb'd" is deceiving. By sending troops to the New World, His Most Christian Majesty had taken a considerable risk: it was by far not certain that they would be welcome! Before

¹⁴² 1 *Schoppen* = about 1/2 pint or 1/4 liter.

¹⁴³ The *Île de France* with 350 men of the Bourbonnais got lost in fog and put into Boston.

¹⁴⁴ Barneville, "Journal", p. 254. All witnesses agree that the Germans did not handle the voyage very well. On August 21, Barneville wrote: "Le régiment des Deux-Ponts a été inspecté aujourd'hui. Il est superbe, mais il y a beaucoup de malades."

¹⁴⁵ Lafayette to Washington, July 31, 1780, published in *Lafayette in the Age of the American Revolution. Selected Letters and Papers, 1776-1780* Stanley J. Idzerda, ed., 5 vols., (Ithaca, 1979), Vol. 3, p. 119. That not all was as peaceful is suggested by the fact that on 31 August 1780, a French sergeant was executed for the murder of an American medical doctor in Newport, but the affair was hushed up so successfully that not even the name of the victim has survived. There were some, but extremely few problems with some naval personnel too. On 24 August 1781, Governor Greene informed Ternay's successor Barras that a George Irish "complains that he hath lost from his Estate in Brenton's Neck Twenty Sheep and Lambs which he hath great Reason to think have been taken by the People belonging to the Ship La Villée. He doth Monsieur Tillée the most perfect justice in being convinced that he had no knowledge of the Affair."

Based on the information provided by Irish, Greene offered a way out by declaring that he was "clearly of Opinion that the People of the said Ship have through Mistake or otherwise taken his Sheep. I beg the Favor of your Excellency to inquire into this Matter, and sensible of your Disposition to do Justices have no Doubt will cause it to be done to Mr. Irish." Rhode Island State Archives (RISA), Governor Greene Letterbooks, Vol. 4, Letters from the Governor, 19 January 1780 to February 1807.

Rochambeau's troops set foot on American soil only a small minority of Americans had ever met a Frenchman off the battlefield. Frenchmen too knew Americans as part of the British Empire, as enemies, not as allies, and fifteen years of uneasy friendship before the alliance of 1778 had not been long enough to wipe out old prejudices. More positive concepts of America as a continent inhabited by noble savages and English settlers forming lone outposts of European civilization in the American wilderness were mere ideals formed in the minds of *philosophes* rather than by reality.¹⁴⁶ "In the eyes of their American hosts", as Scott has pointed out, "most Frenchmen remained alien, objects of suspicion and potential hostility". Many Americans saw the French as "the adherents of a despicable and superstitious religion, as the slavish subjects of a despotic and ambitious prince, as frivolous dandies lacking in manly virtues, as physical and moral inferiors whose very dress and eating habits evidenced this inferiority."¹⁴⁷ They were not afraid to express their feelings, before, and even more so, after, the failed sieges of Newport and Savannah. Throughout its existence, the Franco-American alliance was under severe strains, and it is a testimony to the leadership capabilities of both Rochambeau and Washington that the military cooperation achieved any results at all.

Such likes and dislikes can only be understood within their broader historical, religious, and cultural context. For decades, the French had been the traditional enemy for New Englanders. Throughout the eighteenth century, ministers from Maine to Massachusetts had encouraged repatriated prisoners of the Franco-Indian wars to record their experiences and read them from the pulpits of their churches. Their accounts were invariably anti-French and anti-Catholic, and "confirmed the longstanding Protestant tradition that linked the Catholic Church with violence, tyranny, immorality, and theological error".¹⁴⁸ This practice had reached new heights during the French and Indian War and had been re-enforced as late as 1774. On 22 June of that year, Parliament had passed the Quebec Act, thereby extending the Province of Quebec south to the Ohio River and west to the Mississippi. The act not only ignored western land claims of Virginia,

¹⁴⁶ Durand Echeverria, "Mirage in the West: French *Philosophes* rediscover America" in: *Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité: The American Revolution and the European Response* Charles W. Toth, ed., (Troy, 1989), pp. 35-47. Most insightful analyses can be found in Jean-Jacques Fiechter, "L'aventure américaine des officiers de Rochambeau vue à travers leurs journaux" in: *Images of America in Revolutionary France* Michèle R. Morris, ed., (Washington, DC, 1990), pp. 65-82, and François Furet, "De l'homme sauvage à l'homme historique: l'expérience américaine dans la culture française" in: *La Révolution Américaine et l'Europe*, pp. 91-108. See also Pierre Aubéry, "Des Stéréotypes ethniques dans l'Amérique du dix-huitième siècle" *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* Vol. 6, (1977), pp. 35-58.

¹⁴⁷ Samuel F. Scott, "Foreign Mercenaries, Revolutionary War, and Citizen Soldiers in the Late Eighteenth Century" *War and Society* 2 (September 1984), pp. 42-58, pp. 42/45. For American attempts at counter-acting these images see William C. Stinchcombe, *The American Revolution and the French Alliance* (Syracuse, 1969), chapters VIII: "The Press and the Alliance," pp. 104-117, and chapter IX, "French Propaganda in the United States," pp. 118-132. The French side of the Atlantic is covered in Peter Ascoli, "American Propaganda in the French Language Press during the American Revolution" in: *La Révolution Américaine et l'Europe* pp. 291-308.

¹⁴⁸ Gayle K. Brown, "'Into the Hands of Papists': New England Captives in French Canada and the English Anti-Catholic Tradition, 1689-1763" *Maryland Historian* Vol. 21, (1990), pp. 1-11, p. 9.

Massachusetts, and Connecticut, but also guaranteed the traditional language, civil law, and the Roman Catholic faith of its new French subjects. The repeal of the act had been a major demand of American revolutionaries.

A telling example of the inter-dependence of Catholicism and oppressive government as seen by New Englanders was provided by James Dana, pastor of the First Church of Wallingford, Connecticut, in "A Sermon Preached before the General Assembly of the State of Connecticut at Hartford on the Day of the Anniversary Election, May 13, 1779." In this sermon, delivered more than a year after the signing of the Franco-American alliance, Dana reminded the legislators that "the preservation of our religion depends on the continuance of a free government. Let our allies have their eyes open on the blessings of such a government, and they will at once renounce their superstition. On the other hand, should we lose our freedom this will prepare the way to the introduction of popery."¹⁴⁹ Enough members of the Connecticut legislature remembered this warning in their spring 1780 session and refused to vote funds to supply the French even though Jeremiah Wadsworth had been hired by the French as their purchasing agent.¹⁵⁰ Despairingly Jedediah Huntington wrote to Wadsworth on 5 May 1780, of his fears that the French aid might not materialize at all: "I assure you I have apprehensions that our good Allies will [only] stay long enou' to cast upon us a look of chagrin and pity and turn upon their heels."¹⁵¹

What worried some of the legislators was the very idea of a military establishment. A century after the Glorious Revolution of 1688, the slogan of "No Standing Army!" was an integral part of American political culture and had indeed been one of the rallying cries of 1776. In the Declaration of Independence the revolutionaries accused King George of having "kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures". For many Americans, a standing army was a potential instrument of tyranny. That included their own Continental Army, which was reduced to a single regiment of 1,000 men as soon as the war was over!

In 1765, Baron de Kalb had reported that the Americans would not welcome a French army, a good ten years later, in May of 1776, John Adams declared unequivocally: "I don't want a French army here".¹⁵² In early 1778, Vergennes had sent agents across the ocean to probe American sentiments concerning the dispatch of an expeditionary force. Their reports were not encouraging either. A year later, an agent recorded that Americans were not at all disposed toward supporting foreign troops on their soil: "It seems to me that in this regard the Americans harbor an extreme suspicion." Other officers reported that they too had taken up the issue with the Continental Congress though without much

¹⁴⁹ Quoted in Stinchcombe, *American Revolution* chapter VII: The Pulpit and the Alliance, p. 96.

¹⁵⁰ Richard Buel Jr., *Dear Liberty. Connecticut's Mobilization for the Revolutionary War* (Middletown, 1980), p. 226. Interestingly enough, "the journals for this meeting of the legislature have disappeared."

¹⁵¹ "The Huntington Papers" *Connecticut Historical Society Collections* Vol. 20 (1923), p. 150.

¹⁵² Quoted in Kennett, *French forces*, p. 38.

success. "The most enlightened members of Congress, though convinced of the necessity of this course of action, have not dared to propose it for fear of alarming the people by the introduction of a foreign army."¹⁵³

Some French officers such as the *comte* de Clermont-Crèvecoeur, who believed that "the local people, little disposed in our favor, would have preferred, at that moment, I think, to see their enemies arrive rather than their allies", blamed the British. They "had made the French seem odious to the Americans ... saying that we were dwarfs, pale, ugly, specimens who lived exclusively on frogs and snails."¹⁵⁴ Others such as Brisout de Barneville, a 44-year-old a *sous-lieutenant*, was one of many who thought that the negative image of the French had at least partly been formed "by numerous French refugees," i.e., Huguenots who had settled in America.¹⁵⁵ Other immigrants from other parts of Europe had brought their fears and prejudices with them into the New World as well. In her memoirs, eight-year-old Eliza Susan Morton remembered this of that summer day in August 1781, when thousands of French troops on their way to Yorktown stopped opposite her house in Basking Ridge in New Jersey to refresh themselves at the spring. She and her family "were all in raptures at the sight of their new allies coming to fight their battles and ensure victory. Everyone ran to the doors and windows except Mrs. Kemper, who retired to her apartment with my grandfather. The cruel conduct of the French soldiers in Germany could not be forgotten by these immigrants from their fatherland. They refused to be comforted and bewailed with tears the introduction of these allies."¹⁵⁶

These fears are expressed in the diary of the Rev. Christian Bader of Hebron Moravian Church in Lebanon, Pennsylvania. On March 22, 1779, he recorded the rumor that "on the first of April the French fleet is to arrive at Philadelphia. Then all without exception are to swear allegiance to the king of France and, whoever does not, will be handed over to the French and stabbed to death."¹⁵⁷

The French of course had no intention of doing any such thing. The legislatures of Rhode Island and neighboring states officially and heartily welcomed their illustrious guests -- everyone among the educated had heard about Chastellux -- and after some initial apprehension the officially-ordered welcome became genuine as officers were welcomed into the homes of Newport as well.

¹⁵³ Quoted in Kennett, "L'expédition Rochambeau-Ternay," p. 92. See Lee Kennett, "Charleston in 1778: A French Intelligence Report" *South Carolina Historical Magazine* Vol. 66, (1965), pp. 109-111, for reports of anti-French riots, as well as Scott, "Strains", pp. 80-100.

¹⁵⁴ Crèvecoeur, "Journal," in Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, p. 21.

¹⁵⁵ "Journal de Guerre de Brissout de Barneville. Mai 1780-October 1781" *The French-American Review* Vol. 3 No. 4, (October 1950), pp. 217-278, p. 242.

¹⁵⁶ Eliza Susan Morton (1773-1850), was a daughter of New York merchant John Morton and Maria Sophia Kemper, whose father was a native of Kaub on the Rhine River. During the occupation of New York by the British the family lived first in Elizabeth and then at Basking Ridge. On a visit to Boston in 1794 she met and later married Edmund Quincy. She wrote her memoirs in 1821, which were published by her daughter Eliza Susan Quincy in 1864.

¹⁵⁷ John W. Heisey, "Extracts from the Diary of the Moravian Pastors of the Hebron Church, Lebanon, 1755-1814." *Pennsylvania History* Vol. 34 No. 1, (1967), pp. 44-63, p. 57.

High-ranking officers in Rochambeau's staff were quartered in Newport, and the close personal contact helped to overcome fear, prejudices and hostility.¹⁵⁸ Personal contact helped rectify many prejudices. On 21 July 1780, Royal Flint wrote to Jeremiah Wadsworth from Newport that: "The French Officers are the most civilized men I ever met. They are temperate, prudent & extremely attentive to duty. I did not expect they would have so few vices."¹⁵⁹ In a letter of 8 August 1781, to Abraham Barker of Tiverton in Rhode Island, Major Daniel Lyman wrote from Newport of "The most perfect harmony subsists between the French and Americans."¹⁶⁰ By early September, Fersen reported in similar terms, somewhat overly enthusiastic perhaps, that "there has not yet been a single complaint against the troops. This discipline is admirable. It astonishes the inhabitants, who are accustomed to pillage by the English and by their own troops. The most entire confidence exists between the two nations."¹⁶¹ On 22 January 1781, even William de Deux-Ponts could write to his administrator in Europe that he "could get used quite easily to America. I love the inhabitants very much." But since he was married and loved his wife "more than anything else in the world", he would return to Europe at the end of the war.¹⁶²

If there were tensions, they were caused more often by a clash of cultures based upon the social status and expectations of those involved rather than by ill will. Not surprisingly it was the court nobility that had the most difficulty adjusting to the New World. Some had hardly disembarked when they began to complain about the less than enthusiastic welcome. Fersen, though himself a member of that group, wrote his father how these "*gens de la cour*" were in "despair at being obliged to pass the winter quietly at Newport, far from their mistresses and the pleasures of Paris; no suppers, no theatres, no balls." The "simple necessities of life" with which Americans made do were quaint and fun to watch in others, but for a member of the high aristocracy such a life-style betrayed a serious lack of culture. Cromot du Bourg thought it "impossible to dance with less grace or to be worse dressed" than the women of Boston.¹⁶³ The *till*, a dance in this "still somewhat wild country", was "a sad piece of

¹⁵⁸ See Alan and Mary Simpson, "A new look at how Rochambeau quartered his army in Newport (1780-1781)" *Newport History* (Spring 1983), pp. 30-67; and Warrington Dawson, ed., "With Rochambeau at Newport: The Narrative of Baron Gaspard de Gallatin" *The Franco-American Review* Vol. 1, Nr. 4, (1937), pp. 330-34.

¹⁵⁹ Connecticut Historical Society, Wadsworth Correspondence, April–November 1780 Box 130a.

¹⁶⁰ Rhode Island Historical Society Providence, Mss 546: Daniel Lyman Papers.

¹⁶¹ In a letter of 8 September 1780, in Fersen, "Letters," p. 302. But by 25 April 1782, his patience with the simple life in America had apparently run out and he wrote to his sister: "We are still in this wretched little hole of Williamsburg, where we are bored to death. There is no society at all." Heidenstam, *Letters*, p. 12.

¹⁶² The writer is grateful to Ms Nancy Bayer, a descendant of William de Deux-Ponts, for providing copies of the correspondence of her ancestor in the possession of her cousin Anton Freiherr von Cetto in Germany.

¹⁶³ Marie-François Baron Cromot du Bourg, "Diary of a French Officer, 1781" *Magazine of American History* Vol. 4, (June 1880), pp. 205-214, p. 214.

stupidity".¹⁶⁴ Many French officers, such as Clermont-Crèveœur, thought the girls "pretty, even beautiful [but] frigid." Unless you "assume the burden of conversation, animating it with your French gaiety, [all] will be lost," and summed up his judgement by declaring that "one may reasonably state that the character of this nation is little adapted to society" -- at least not society as defined by the standards of Versailles and French court aristocracy.

As far as these men were concerned, the concept of *noblesse oblige* went beyond the intellectual horizon of the average American, who seemed "rather like their neighbors the savages". Their accounts are filled with complaints about the poor quality of American bread and monotonous dinners of vast amounts of meat washed down with innumerable toasts. In-between they drank either "very weak coffee",¹⁶⁵ Blanchard thought that "four or five cups are not equal to one of ours," or "vast amounts" of strong tea with milk. Eating seemed to be the major occupation for Americans, "who are almost always at the table; and as they have little to occupy them, as they go out little in winter and spend whole days along side of their fires and their wives, without reading and without doing anything, going so often to table is a relief and a preventive of *ennui*."¹⁶⁶ After dinner "each person wipes himself on the table-cloth, which must be very soiled as a result."¹⁶⁷ Looking back, such misunderstandings appear humorous, but one can only wonder about the hurt feelings of the host in Marion, Connecticut, in June 1781, when an officer, invited to tea, pointed to some sprigs on the table with the comment that "one do give dis de horse in my country." Another "felt insulted that his dog should be suspected of drinking" his milk from the "cracked bowl" that Tavern Keeper Asa Barnes had poured it in.¹⁶⁸ And all prejudices of the people of Windham, Connecticut, were confirmed when French soldiers, hardly encamped, came down upon the frogs in the town pond and feasted on them during that memorable night of 20 June 1781.¹⁶⁹

Some disagreements ran deeper and laid bare the acute cultural differences between the allies. In November 1778, Admiral d'Estaing informed the Navy Minister: "One must also fawn, to the height of insipidity, over every little republican who regards flattery as his sovereign right, ... hold command over captains who are not good enough company to be permitted to eat with their general officers (one must be at least a major to enjoy that prerogative), and have some colonels who are innkeepers at the same time." Much to his credit, however, d'Estaing continued "It is his knowing how to turn all that to advantage,

¹⁶⁴ "Letters of a French Officer, written at Easton, Penna., in 1777-78" *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* Vol. 35, (1911), pp. 90-102, p. 96.

¹⁶⁵ Clermont-Crèveœur, "Journal," p. 20

¹⁶⁶ Blanchard, *Journal*, p. 78.

¹⁶⁷ Closen, *Journal*, p. 51.

¹⁶⁸ Heman R. Timlow, *Ecclesiastical and other Sketches of Southington*, (Hartford, 1875), p. 53.

¹⁶⁹ Forbes, "Marches," p. 271 and p. 272.

to put it in its place and remain in his own that has most impressed me in the difficulties that M. le Marquis de Lafayette has overcome."¹⁷⁰

Compared to eighteenth-century France, New England society was a society composed largely of equals. In 1782, French traveler Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur observed that in America "the rich and poor are not so far removed from each other as they are in Europe." He defined an American as someone who had left "behind him all his ancient prejudices and manners", who saw no reason to defer to someone because he wore epaulettes or had a title of nobility.¹⁷¹ Commoners in France had no right to question a nobleman's actions, yet the constable of Crompond (modern-day Yorktown Heights, New York) arrested Rochambeau for damage done by his soldiers.¹⁷² The *chevalier* de Coriolis explained the strange rules of warfare in America thus: "Here it is not like it is in Europe, where when the troops are on the march you can take horses, you can take wagons, you can issue billets for lodging, and with the aid of a gendarme overcome the difficulties the inhabitant might make; but in America the people say they are free and, if a proprietor who doesn't like the look of your face tells you he doesn't want to lodge you, you must go seek a lodging elsewhere. Thus the words: 'I don't want to' end the business, and there is no means of appeal."¹⁷³ The *vicomte* de Tresson, a captain in the Saintonge whose father had commanded the regiment until replaced by Custine, put his finger squarely on the problem when he wrote his father: "Here they have more respect for a lout than they have for a duke in France."¹⁷⁴ Could it be that a colonist had just pointed out to de Tresson that here in America we "have no princes for whom we toil, starve and bleed."¹⁷⁵ Such language was anathema in the ears of a court nobility used to be accorded exactly that deference in Europe. They might find it amusing that the ranks of the New England militia contained "shoemakers who are colonels", who in turn asked their French counter-parts "what their trade is in France."¹⁷⁶ They might even chuckle as they told anecdotes such as this one by the *chevalier* de Pontgibaud:

One day I dismounted from my horse at the house of a farmer upon whom I had been billeted. I had hardly entered the good man's house when he said to me,
"I am very glad to have a Frenchman in the house."
I politely enquired the reason for this preference.

¹⁷⁰ D'Estaing is also pointing out one of the discrepancies of revolutionary ideology and political reality. In the French army, the colonel was expected to keep an open table for any officer of his regiment, no matter what rank he held. The letter from d'Estaing to Navy Minister Sartine, 5 November 1778, in Idzerda, *Lafayette*, Vol. 2, pp. 202/03.

¹⁷¹ Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur, *Letters from an American Farmer* (New York, 1957), p. 36.

¹⁷² Rochambeau's son in Jean-Edmond Weelen, Rochambeau, tells the story. *Father and Son. A life of the Maréchal de Rochambeau and the Journal of the Vicomte de Rochambeau* (New York, 1936), pp. 259/60; also in Forbes, "Marches," p. 271, and Rice and Brown, eds., *American Campaigns*, Vol. 1, p. 168.

¹⁷³ "Lettres d'un officier de l'Armée de Rochambeau: le chevalier de Coriolis" *Le correspondant* No. 326, (March 25, 1932), pp. 807-828, p. 818. Coriolis was Blanchard's brother-in-law.

¹⁷⁴ Quoted in Kennett, "Rochambeau-Ternay", p. 100.

¹⁷⁵ Crèvecoeur, *Letters*, p. 36.

¹⁷⁶ Cromot du Bourg, "Diary", p. 209.

"Well," he said, "you see the barber lives a long way off, so you will be able to shave me."

"But I cannot even shave myself", I replied. "My servant shaves me, and he will shave you also if you like."

"That's very odd," said he. "I was told that all Frenchmen were barbers and fiddlers."

I think I never laughed so heartily. A few minutes later my rations arrived, and my host seeing a large piece of beef amongst them, said,

"You are lucky to be able to come over to America and get some beef to eat."

I assured him that we had beef in France, and excellent beef too.

"That is impossible," he replied, "or you wouldn't be so thin."

Such was, -- when Liberty was dawning over the land, -- the ignorance shown by the inhabitants of the United States Republic in regard to the French.¹⁷⁷

But if the curiosity of Americans toward the noble titles of the court aristocracy could be ascribed to ignorance, their strange foodstuffs to local customs, their provinciality to remoteness from European culture, their greed, seen as lack of devotion to the cause of American liberty, bordered on treason. In Europe, food and lodging for the army would simply be requisitioned, but here everything had to be paid for, and quite dearly at that. The French government had been aware that their allies lacked virtually everything, and that Rochambeau's forces would have to bring much of their supplies with them. When Rochambeau arrived in Newport, conditions were worse than expected. In July 1780, he already pleaded with the War Minister: "Send us troops, ships and money, but do not count upon these people or their means", and added the sober warning that "this is going to be an expensive war".¹⁷⁸

What the French did not or could not bring they had to purchase at what was generally agreed were very high prices. Rochambeau felt himself "at the mercy of usurers".¹⁷⁹ Axel von Fersen vented his anger in January 1781, when he wrote to his father that "the spirit of patriotism only exists in the chief and principal men in the country, who are making very great sacrifices; the rest who make up the great mass think only of their personal interests. Money is the controlling idea in all their actions." They "overcharge us mercilessly ... and treat us more like enemies than friends. ... Their greed is unequalled, money is their God; virtue, honor, all count for nothing to them compared with the precious metal."¹⁸⁰ Schwerin thought the inhabitants of Newport treated the foreigners "fort mal honette" and were anxious to cheat them out of their money. Even Flohr complained that a 3-pound loaf of bread cost him 40 to 44 sols, though a common

¹⁷⁷ Pontgibaud was an *aide-de-camp* to Lafayette from September 1777, until after the siege of Yorktown. Charles Albert comte de Moré, chevalier de Pontgibaud *A French Volunteer of the War of Independence* Robert B. Douglas, trans. and ed., (Paris, 1826), pp. 50/51.

¹⁷⁸ Quoted in Kennett, *French forces*, p. 72.

¹⁷⁹ Quoted in Scott, "Strains", p. 91.

¹⁸⁰ Fersen, *Letters*, p. 371.

soldier like him received only about 150 sols cash per month which bought him an extra loaf of bread every eight or nine days but nothing more!¹⁸¹

Out of these words speaks as much frustration over the lack of activity as disappointment that the idealized French image of the self-sacrificing, virtuous American did not stand up to the test of reality. Upon arrival in Newport, the French, used to an economic system based on price and wage controls, received a lesson in free market economy and the laws of supply and demand. Colonel Thomas Lloyd Halsey of Providence, one of Wadsworth's business partners, explained to Peter Colt, one of their agents, the high freight costs in his accounts thus: "I am sure they might have been lower had they even had asked a day before they wanted but they never would or did. They commonly sent to me at Sunsett to obtain what they wanted for the Morning, which is no way of taking the advantage of Business."¹⁸² But trying to take "the advantage of Business" is a universal human trait, and Brisout de Barneville took the prices in stride when he declared that "The merchants sell to us just as dearly as ours did to the Spanish when they were in Brest last year."¹⁸³

Americans had long since lost faith in the paper money issued by their government and insisted that unlike their own army, the French pay in specie: gold or silver. Spend the French did, to the tune of millions, and much to the chagrin of the purchasing agents for the Continental Army, who found out that no farmer was willing to sell to them for worthless paper as long as Rochambeau's agents paid in livres or Pieces of Eight! Finance Minister Jacques Necker had arranged for a first-year credit of 7,674,280 livres in early March 1780, 2.6 million of which Rochambeau took with him in cash -- not in French livres, but in Spanish Milled Dollars, the famous Pieces of Eight, which were the most widely circulating currency in the colonies. But when Rochambeau arrived in Newport he found out that his purchasing agents had already spent some 700,000 livres. In addition he needed a minimum of 375,000 livres each month to keep his army going, on top of almost 90,000 livres he needed to prepare winter quarters for his troops. By the time an emergency shipment of 1.5 million livres in specie arrived on the *l'Astree* on 28 February 1781 in Boston, the navy, which had only brought half a million, was down to a mere 800 livres in cash. But Rochambeau was feeling the pinch as well. On 20 February, Carter had told Wadsworth from Newport that "The Intendant could not give me any hard Money, they have none, and have stopp'd the Pay of the Staff Officers."¹⁸⁴ In early May, Rochambeau's son brought another 6.6 million livres in cash and bills of exchange, but by the time the French and American armies joined forces at Philipsburg, they were almost gone too. To replenish French coffers, Admiral de Grasse brought another 1.2 million livres from Cuba in August 1781. Altogether there were nine

¹⁸¹ Schwerin had quoted 22 sols for a pound of better bread for officers.

¹⁸² Halsey to Colt, 23 October 1781, in CHS Wadsworth Papers, Original Correspondence July 1781 to February 1782. An autobiography of Colt, written in 1818 when he was living in Paterson, New Jersey, is in Special Collections, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, Ac 652.

¹⁸³ Barneville, "Journal", p. 241.

¹⁸⁴ CHS, Wadsworth papers Box 131, correspondence December 1780 to June 1781.

shipments of specie from France for a total of about 10 million livres, in both Spanish as well as French coin.

Unfortunately the military proficiency of New Englanders was vastly inferior, at least thus it appears in French journals, to their skills in "fleecing", to use Fersen's term, their allies. The French prided themselves in their expertise and derived great satisfaction from the high level of proficiency of the armed forces under their command. French officers, though impressed with the skill and even more so the devotion of the Continental Army, had little faith in the fighting abilities of the militia, an opinion shared by their American counterparts. They were not afraid of expressing their views, but few descriptions of that soldiery can match the pen of the chevalier de Pontgibaud describing Rhode Island and Connecticut militia gathering for the siege of Newport in 1778.

"Hardly had the troops disembarked before the militia, -- to the number I believe, of about ten thousand men, horse and foot, -- arrived. I have never seen a more laughable spectacle; all the tailors and apothecaries in the country must have been called out, I should think; -- one could recognize them by their round wigs. They were mounted on bad nags, and looked like a flock of ducks in cross-belts. The infantry was no better than the cavalry, and appeared to be cut after the same pattern. I guessed that these warriors were more anxious to eat up our supplies than to make a close acquaintance with the enemy, and I was not mistaken, -- they soon disappeared."¹⁸⁵

Company grade and junior officers with limited financial resources, *sous-lieutenants* like Schwerin who were sitting in their rooms at night eating potatoes, learning English, and counting the days until they might be invited to another evening event, men who had to turn each livre over twice before they decided to spend it, were much less concerned with the niceties of dancing, the simplicity of the food, and the home-made dresses of their hosts. Baron Ludwig Eberhard von Esebeck, the 40-year-old lieutenant colonel of the Royal Deux-Ponts informed his father in Zweibrücken how he "would never have believed ... that I should find in America the means of hunting deer and foxes. In Europe it is the *exclusive luxury of the great*. (my emphasis)"¹⁸⁶

From Philadelphia, French Resident Gérard had warned Vergennes that "the manners of the two peoples are not compatible at all. ... Should there be too close contact between the French soldier and the American colonists ... there can

¹⁸⁵ Pontigaud, *French volunteer*, p. 67. For other appraisals of the militia and the Continental Army see Orville T. Murphy, "The French Professional Soldier's Opinion of the American Militia in the War of the Revolution" *Military Affairs* Vol. 33, (February 1969), pp. 191-198 and Durand Echeverria, "The American Revolutionary Army: A French Estimate in 1777" *Military Affairs* Vol. 27, (1963), pp. 1-7 and pp. 153-62.

¹⁸⁶ John M. Lenhart, "Letter of an Officer of the Zweibrücken Regiment", *Central-Blatt and Social Justice*, Vol. 28, (January 1936), pp. 321-322, and (February 1936), pp. 350-360, p. 322. The letters are dated Jamestown Island, (Virginia) 12 December and 16 December 1781.

be no other result but bloody conflict."¹⁸⁷ Rochambeau heeded Gérard's warning and attempted to keep frictions at a minimum by imposing the strictest discipline and by keeping them closely confined to their quarters. But this policy only heightened a sense of alienation felt by many French soldiers who were living in a hostile country, devoid of fellow countrymen, where hardly anybody spoke their language, and where their faith was more or less openly despised.¹⁸⁸

As an enlisted man not used to finer foods, Flohr had few problems adjusting to the diet in New England. Bread was a staple for every French soldier who consumed nearly two pounds a day. By late summer already Blanchard's commissaries were unable to provide the almost 2 1/2 tons of flour the army and navy consumed every day. Not only did rations have to be cut, but the flour also had to be mixed with cornmeal, at least for the bread for the soldiers. But Flohr thought the bread, even with the corn meal, "very good" though "sold for a very high price". The "money of the inhabitants was made of paper, about the size of a playing card" and bearing "the seal of the province and the signature of the governor". It did not seem to have much buying power: one had "to add good words" i.e., plead, to get food if one tried to pay with these Continentals.

As they spent the winter of 1780/81 in Newport and began their march south in June of 1781, Rochambeau's troops marveled at a country where "all inhabitants are wealthy and well. One does not see a difference between rich and poor." Here "one does not see a difference between the Sunday clothes and their workday clothes," and women were "always dressed like ladies of the nobility". Many a time Flohr "wondered where their wealth came from since they don't work at all." Looking around he realized that this wealth was created by a relatively equal distribution and free ownership of land, where the absence of tenancy leveled social distinctions based on birthright and noble privilege. Americans were "not haughty at all. They talk to everybody, whether he be rich or poor," and common folk live "more ostentatiously than the nobility in Europe". That roles were reversed in America was driven home to Graf Schwerin in Philadelphia:

"On the last day of our stay in Philadelphia I was surprised to see a one-horse-chaise stop before my tent. In it sat two women and a man, who drove it. They said they were from Dierdorf; I asked them to get out of the carriage and recognized the one to be the Henritz who was a servant at the (your) castle and the other to be her sister, who has already been married to a beer brewer in Philadelphia for 18 years and who is very rich. I had dinner with them; they have

¹⁸⁷ Quoted in Kennett, "Rochambeau-Ternay", p. 100.

¹⁸⁸ Conflict erupted despite such precautions. In September 1778 a waterfront brawl in Boston between locals and sailors of d'Estaing's fleet resulted in the death of a French officer and a number of injuries; a similar incident occurred when the *Hermione*, a 32-gun frigate, put into Boston in 1780. In the winter of 1780/81, the crewmen of the *Surveillance* and the American *Alliance* went at each other, again in Boston, but this affair too was hushed up despite the fact that two American sailors were killed. French consul Holker told Desandrouins "plusieurs autres histoires qui viennent a l'appui de cette observation ..." Gabriel, *Desandrouins*, p. 363.

a perfectly furnished house. In the evening they introduced me to a man named Dichon who had been with you at Dierdorf. ... I had breakfast with him before our departure from Philadelphia. He has a superb house and lots of ready money, because he showed me a little chest full of Louis d'Ors."

The spirit of equality, opportunity, and freedom was not lost on members of the lower nobility in the officer ranks either: Lieutenant colonel Esebeck thought "no one could live more happily than here. There is a freedom here the like of which is found nowhere else." For hundreds of landless sons of impoverished peasants in the Royal Deux-Ponts, the strangely wonderful New World exerted a powerful temptation to desert.¹⁸⁹ Of 316 deserters from Rochambeau's corps who avoided recapture, 104 came from the Royal Deux-Ponts alone, another 186 deserters were German-speaking subjects of the king of France (mostly from Alsace and Lorraine) serving primarily in Lauzun's Legion. Many of them deserted around New York and during the march through Pennsylvania, where, as Flohr wrote, half of the regiment met friends and relatives anxious to help a fellow countryman disappear. Few Frenchmen on the other hand were prepared to venture into a country inhabited by locals anxious to make a livre or a louis d'or, by returning deserters to their units. A scant 26 deserters were French-speaking subjects of the King of France who successfully ventured out into the hostile environment of America.¹⁹⁰

5.3 Arrival in Newport

News of the anticipated arrival of Rochambeau's forces came to America with the *marquis* de Lafayette on the *Hermione*, who arrived in Boston on 27 April 1780. He was accompanied by Commissary Ethis de Corny, who had orders to make arrangements for the arrival of Rochambeau. Armed with an official letter of introduction by Congress, which had established a special committee in charge of Franco-American cooperation, as well as a letter by General Washington written from Springfield on 10 June, Corny set out for Rhode Island.¹⁹¹ Among the first tasks Corny tackled was that of establishing a hospital in Providence. But the town as well as the College were less than enthusiastic about serving once again as a hospital. Fearful of the diseases the soldiers and sailors might bring to Providence, a town meeting on 15 June even resolved "to adopt legal and proper Measures to prevent the establishment of an Hospital in this Town for receiving the Sick on Board the fleet of his Most Christian Majesty daily expected to arrive in this State from Europe."¹⁹² Concurrently it tried to divert Craig "to Tiverton and Bristol & examine the Barracks in Tiverton and the Buildings on the Estate in

¹⁸⁹ Lenhart, "Letter", p. 359.

¹⁹⁰ Scott, "Strains," p. 96. Six deserted in New England, the other twenty left in Virginia.

¹⁹¹ Accused of greed and irregular business activities, Corny returned to France in March 1781. Bodinier, *Dictionnaire*, p. 212.

¹⁹² The college had only begun to offer classes again on 10 May 1780. On 22 July 1780, the *Newport Mercury* published an announcement that no smallpox, yellow fever or any other contagious diseases had been discovered on the French fleet.

Bristol late belonging to Mr. William Vassal and now improved by Mr. Nathaniel Trales Jr. under a charge from this State, and if in their opinion they should be suitable and Convenient for the purpose that they take possession of Part or all of said Buildings and Apply to the Deputy Quarter Master General to have them immediately fitted in the best possible manner for the Reception of said sick as aforesaid." To make the task more palatable to Mr. Trales, the Council of War "further Resolved that any necessary Damage which the above mentioned Mr. Tales/Fales may suffer in Consequence of the taking the Buildings aforesaid now in his possession for a Hospital shall be hereafter Considered and that he shall have a reasonable compensation therefore."

But Corny preferred the college building in Providence and went back to the Governor and the Council of War. On 25 June 1780, its Minutes record that de Corny "has made a request to this Council in Writing conceived in the most pressing Terms that a suitable Establishment for an Hospital for the Invalids of the Army and Navy who are expected to arrive in this State from France to cooperate with the Army of these United States and hath therein suggested that the College Edifice in the Town of Providence was particularly adopted, fix'd and absolutely appointed by the Court of France and Doctor Franklin as a suitable Place for that Purpose ... It is therefore Resolved That the Request of the said Col. Corny be and the same is hereby granted, and that the College Edifice be deliver'd up to him for the Purpose aforesaid, by the Deputy-Quarters Master General in this Department."¹⁹³ That very same Sunday morning while College President James Manning was preaching in the First Baptist Meeting House, Corny took possession of the building. That, however, left the question of what to do with President Manning. At the same meeting the Council resolved that since the house of Rev. Manning "is situated so near said Edifice that it may be disagreeable to him to reside therein so long as the College may be improved as an Hospital," Deputy Quartermaster Bowen was to find another house for Manning. If Manning chose to move, Bowen thought it advisable to "cause the Vegetables growing in the Gardens of the said Mr. Manning to be appraised by three indifferent Persons, in order that compensation may hereafter be made him for any Damage he may sustain in said Gardens."¹⁹⁴ Corny had his way, however, and by early July, today's University Hall, had become once again a hospital.¹⁹⁵ On 1 July 1780, Royal Flint wrote to his employer Wadsworth that upon his arrival in Providence he found the "hospitals ... in great forwardness and provision is made for the sick on their first arrival".¹⁹⁶ These preparations turned out to be very necessary since the troops debarking from the convoy in the days following their arrival in Newport on 11 July 1780, were hardly ready to face a

¹⁹³ Rhode Island State Archives, Providence, Proceedings of the Council of War.

¹⁹⁴ The application for a hospital in the College is dated Providence, 24 June 1780, and in RISA, William Greene Papers Mss 468, Folder 5.

¹⁹⁵ For a discussion of the controversy surrounding this decision see Howard W. Preston, "Rochambeau and the French Troops in Providence in 1780-81-82." *Rhode Island Historical Society Collections* vol. 17 No. 1 (January 1924), pp. 1-23, pp. 3-5. A tablet commemorating the use of University Hall as a hospital for French troops was erected there in 1897.

¹⁹⁶ CHS, Wadsworth Correspondence, April – November 1780, Box 130 a.

British attack.¹⁹⁷ About 800 soldiers and some 1,500 sailors were afflicted with scurvy, and, according to Flohr, of companies 100 men strong, "barely 18-20 could still be used" to throw up defenses around the harbor. As the Newporters "could now daily see the misery of the many sick, of whom the majority could not even stand up and move ...they had very great pity on them and did all they could for them."

The hospitals were soon filled once the first sick began to arrive in Providence in mid-August. On 12 August 1780, the *Providence Gazette* announced: "Notice is hereby given, That a Number of Sick belonging to his Most Christian Majesty's Fleet and Army are to be sent to the College Edifice in the Town of Providence for whom will be wanted immediately a Quantity of fresh Provisions also Cider and Hay or Straw for which articles a Generous Price will be given, in Hard Money. It is earnestly wished that a full Supply may be immediately brought in; and it is hoped that No Person will be so sordid as to demand extravagant Prices from our great and generous Allies who have come so great a Distance to our Relief."¹⁹⁸ Despite this care, Flohr thought that "200-300 men [died] every day", but here he got his numbers confused: some 200 men was the total number of deaths. Twelve men of his regiment died during the crossing; another 58 died in Newport, and three in the hospital in Poppasquash. Without having fired a single shot, the Royal Deux-Ponts was 73 men short by the time it went into winter quarters on 1 November 1780.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁷ A review in the Vioménil Papers lists a total of 5,218 NCOs and enlisted men arriving in July 1780. A review of 1 September 1780 gives the following figures, which imply a loss of 47 men.

Saintonge:	1002
Soissonnais:	1024
Royal Deux-Ponts:	1008
Bourbonnais:	1052
Légion de Lauzun:	603 (review of 1 October, Archives Nationales, Paris, D2c32)
Ouvriers:	26
Mineurs:	24
Artillery:	432

=====
5,171 men

¹⁹⁸ In September 1780, Blanchard counted 380 sick in the hospital in Providence.

¹⁹⁹ Samuel F. Scott, "The Soldiers of Rochambeau's Expeditionary Corps: From the American Revolution to the French Revolution," in: *La Revolution Américaine et l'Europe*, Claude Fohlen and Jacques Godechot, eds., (Paris, 1979), pp. 565-578, p. 570, puts the death toll in the first four months at almost 200; the Royal Deux-Ponts lost another 8 men before the year was over - fully half of its 162 dead for the whole campaign.

Those who died in Providence were buried in the Old North Cemetery. Rhode Island Historical Society Mss 591 North Burial Grounds Records, 5 vols., has no record of burials of French soldiers. The cemetery was established in June 1700. Mss 9001-F Box 6: French Memorial, includes a hand-written history of the memorial by Rev. Frederic Denison of 1881 in which he suggests, without sources, that about 100 French soldiers might lie buried there. On 4 July 1882, a massive coffin-shape stone marker was dedicated on the grounds of the Old North Cemetery on Branch Street near the Y intersection of North Main Street (Route 1) and Branch Street.

In September 1780, the *vicomte* de Noailles lamented how the "gallant Frenchmen" had come to America "to deliver America entirely from the yoke of her tyrants", but all they seemed to be doing was waste time and money in Newport.²⁰⁰ Later that same the conference at Hartford between Washington and Rochambeau did not result in military action despite Horatio Gates' disastrous defeat at Camden on 16 August, and the treason of Benedict Arnold on 25 September. With nothing accomplished, at least so it seemed, the infantry and artillery went into winter quarters in Newport on 1 November.

The death of Admiral de Ternay and his grand funeral in December brought little distraction. In January, the Pennsylvania and New Jersey lines mutinied, and French officers were convinced that the Americans had reached the end of the line. In Newport, frustration about the forced inactivity resulted in at least three duels among officers. When André de Bertrier des Forest, a captain in the *Saintonge* with 22 years of service committed suicide on 5 March 1781, after a violent dressing down by Custine, his friends in the officer corps very nearly lynched the colonel. The naval expedition designed to capture Arnold in the Chesapeake in February resulted in the capture of the 44-gun *Romulus*, but Arnold was still free. A visit by Washington helped prop up morale; so did a second sortie to Virginia from which French Admiral Charles René chevalier Destouches, who had assumed command over the French fleet after the death of de Ternay, returned on 26 March, claiming victory in a naval battle since Admiral Marriot Arbuthnot had refused to renew the engagement.

The campaign of 1781 would have to produce results. Rochambeau's son returned from France with badly needed cash on 10 May 1781, (Rochambeau needed between 375,000 and 400,000 livres per month to keep his troops paid and supplied) but also with the news that the second division would not be coming after all. Rochambeau was advised to draw up plans for the coming campaign, possibly in cooperation with Admiral de Grasse, who had left Brest for the Caribbean on April 5, and who might be able to provide naval support. At Wethersfield in late May 1781, Washington and Rochambeau decided to join the forces on the North River, possibly for an attack on New York

²⁰⁰ So in a letter to Vergennes of September 1780, quoted in Kennett, *French forces*, p. 87.

THE MARCH TO PHILIPSBURG, 11 JUNE TO 6 JULY 1781

6.1 Order and Organization of the March

Preparations for the march to New York had been going on for months before the French forces broke camp. In April, Quartermaster-General Pierre François de Béville had used a visit to Washington's headquarters in New Windsor to inspect the roads from Newport to New York. Upon his return, his assistants began drawing maps and picking campsites. On 14 April, John Carter had written to Jeremiah Wadsworth: "The Quarter Master General sets off tomorrow to mark the Line of March, as soon as that is fixed the Intendant will describe the different Posts where he will want Forage, Wood, Cattle &a provided." Upon his return [from New Windsor], his assistants drew maps and picked campsites. On 25 April Carter told Wadsworth: "Late last Night the Intendant gave me his Orders respecting the Camps as far as Hartford," and by late April the routes and campsites to White Plains were settled. That apparently was not Wadsworth preferred route, for in a letter to Washington of 19 April, sent via Béville, he had suggested a route along the seacoast, but even though Washington supported such a route along the coast, Rochambeau decided upon a route to White Plains that went further inland, via Hartford and Danbury.²⁰¹ Concurrently Wadsworth began collecting the vast amounts of supplies needed to feed thousands of men and animals in the French columns. His agents spread out to purchase horses, hire ox-teams, and set up supply depots, and by mid-May he had also already hired "a number of Laborers employed in building Ovens and making the necessary preparations for the accommodation of said Army on their march."²⁰² Rochambeau's force was quite small by European standards: barely 4,800 officers and men on 1 March 1781.²⁰³

²⁰¹ On 20 April, he withdrew that suggestion since he had received in the meantime a note from Rochambeau in which the general indicated his preference for a march further inland. Washington too had liked the idea of taking a route along the coast as confirmed in his letter to Wadsworth from New Windsor, dated 30 April 1781. It reads in part "Dear Sir: ... General Beville having made the tour from Rhode Island to Camp, and back again on different routes, and having taken every precaution, to obtain an accurate knowledge of the Country and roads; will be able to advise and settle with the Commanding Officer of the french Army, which will be the most convenient route for the March of the Troops, taking every circumstance into consideration. On many accounts, the March on the Sea Coast would certainly be the most eligible, and indeed I see no considerable obstacle in the way of it, except the Ferries." Transcripts of these letters are available at the internet edition of the Washington papers at the Library of Congress website.

²⁰² Florence S. Marcy Crofut, *Guide to the History and Historic Sites of Connecticut* 2 vols., (New Haven, 1937), Vol. 1, p. 69. The location of the ovens is unknown. According to Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, Vol. 2, p. 12, the troops were to "draw four days' rations" in Hartford. Each division ... will be followed by a sufficient number of wagons to carry bread for four more days."

²⁰³ The table is based on information provided in U. S. Congress, Joint Committee on the Library, *Rochambeau. A Commemoration by the Congress of the United States of the Services of the*

REGIMENT	PRESENT OFFICERS AND MEN OF ALL ARMS	DETACHED	HOSPITALS		TOTAL
			Newport	Providence	
Bourbonnais	852	30	32	-	914
Soissonnais	971	8	16	-	995
Saintonge	882	2	26	1	911
Royal Deux-Ponts	912	-	21	-	933
Artillery	404	-	9	-	413
Mineurs	21	-	2	-	23
Workers (<i>ouvriers</i>)	24	2	-	-	26
Lauzun Infantry in Newport	330	12	13	-	355
Lauzun Hussars in Lebanon	212	15	6	-	233
	4,608	69	125	1	4,803

On 11 June 1781, a convoy of eight vessels accompanied by the 50-gun ship of the line *Le Sagittaire* carrying 592 infantry replacements and two companies, 68 men, of artillery, arrived in Boston from France. These replacements had been drawn from the regiments of Auvergne (71 healthy plus 7 sick) and Neustrie (19 plus 28) for the Bourbonnais; Languedoc (80 plus 6) for the Soissonnais; Boulonnais (112 plus 36) for Saintonge; Anhalt (46 plus 4) and La Marck (39 plus 36) for the Royal Deux-Ponts; and Barrois (31 plus 17) for Lauzun's Legion.²⁰⁴

Of the about 400 men healthy enough to join their units, 200 joined the garrison in Newport under Brigadier Claude Gabriel de Choisy did 260 men afflicted with scurvy. On 10 July 1781, Choisy's garrison numbered 436 NCOs and enlisted men, including 34 men who remained behind with the siege artillery. 104 men under Major Louis Aimable de Prez de Crassier of the Royal Deux-Ponts guarded the stores in Providence, 25 hussars were stationed in Lebanon, and another 118 men were detached to unspecified duties. A review on 10 July 1781, following arrival in White Plains showed barely 4,400 NCOs and enlisted men under his immediate command.²⁰⁵ If we subtract the men of Lauzun's Legion, who had traveled on a separate route, the columns that departed from Providence on 18 June numbered around 450 officers and 3,800 NCOs and enlisted men.²⁰⁶

French Auxiliary Forces in the War of the American Independence D.B.Randolph Keim, ed., (Washington, DC, 1907), p. 366.

²⁰⁴ Rochambeau Papers, Library of Congress, vol. 9, Letterbook 1, p. 131. 35 men of the regiment Languedoc for the Bourbonnais and 25 for the Saintonge are identified as "non arrive" but they seem to have joined their units within a few days.

²⁰⁵ The table is based on NARA, Military Service Records, Revolutionary War Rolls, 1775-1783. M246, Roll 136: Returns of the French Army Under Count Rochambeau, 1781-82 (six returns).

²⁰⁶ 1 June 1781, Rochambeau had written to Ségur, "Je laisse ici 400 hommes pour la protection de l'escadre avec les milices américaines aux ordres de M. de Choisy; 280 hommes pour l'expédition de M. de la Pérouse; plus de 200 soldats sont employés à conduire les chevaux de l'artillerie et aux différents services de la boulangerie et des hôpitaux. Le convoi et les recrues ne sont pas arrivés.

REGIMENT	PRESENT NCOs AND MEN OF ALL ARMS	DETACHED	IN HOSPITALS	TOTAL along the route
Bourbonnais	811	156	63	1030
Soissonnais	901	111	42	1054
Saintonge	853	115	44	1012
Royal Deux-Ponts	831	153	39	1023
Artillerie	381	100	30	511
Mineurs	-	23	-	23
Workers (<i>ouvriers</i>)	33	-	3	36
Lauzun's Legion	581	25	6	613
	4,391	683	227	5,301

The actual convoy that departed from Providence on 18 June, however, was much larger. Initially Rochambeau had requested 50 teams of four oxen each, but when Wadsworth insisted on at least six oxen per ton of freight, Rochambeau agreed to the six-ox teams, but wished that the 20 wagons of the general staff be drawn by four horses each.²⁰⁷ By 16 April, Wadsworth had already engaged fifty teams and promised to have 150 four-ox teams ready in Providence by 15 May at the latest.²⁰⁸ To conduct these teams, Rochambeau hired 239 American wagon conductors "for two dollars per day," recorded Lauberdière, and 15 mostly female cooks for the 210 wagons of four oxen each in the 15 brigades of his train.²⁰⁹

Il vous sera facile de juger, Monsieur que je n'aurai pas 3,000 hommes sous les armes à mener à la rivière de Nord." (Doniol, *Histoire*, p. 480)

²⁰⁷ Wadsworth to Rochambeau, 16 April 1781, Wadsworth Papers, CHS, and Rochambeau to Wadsworth, 18 April 1781, Rochambeau Papers, Library of Congress, vol. 9, Letterbook 1. By 18 April, Rochambeau had requested 150 wagon teams be at Providence by 5 May, among them 20 with four horses, the rest drawn by either four or six ox-teams if case Wadsworth insisted on the larger number. Concurrently he received orders "immediately to collect at the Different Posts Hay and Grain necessary for the Subsistance of the Horses and the Cattle for their daily Consumption, about 2,400 Rations of Hay and 3,200 Rations of Grain". On 3 June, Carter informed him that 20 horse wagons and 130 ox teams would be available at Providence by 10 June.

Once the march had begun, Rochambeau very quickly (on 20 June from Windham) began to complain about slow speed and the "great inconvenience with the wagons drawn by oxen, which don't arrive in camp until night and a very long time after the arrival of the troupes". Rochambeau to Washington, 20 June 1781, Rochambeau Papers, Library of Congress, vol. 9, Letterbook 1.

²⁰⁸ Wadsworth to Rochambeau, 16 April 1781, Rochambeau Family Papers, Gen Mss 146, Box 1, No. 61, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.

²⁰⁹ This includes the 14 wagons for Lauzun's Legion, though it is unknown whether that brigade was in Rochambeau's train. Lauberdière recorded that four oxen each drew the wagons but horses drew the artillery pieces. (fol. 60) That would bring the total number of draft animals to at least 840 oxen. On 29 July 1781, Wadsworth paid Thomas Lewis for "pasturing 994 Head Cattle" at "Elijah Bronsons Pasture" in Middlebury, Connecticut. French forces had camped there from 27 June through 1 July 1781. Wadsworth's "Account Book" for expenses incurred during the march to White Plains is published in NARA, Revolutionary War Pensions and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Microfilm Reel 2670.

The make-up of Rochambeau's wagon train is in "Etat Générale des voitures attelées chacune de quatre cheveaux ... don't la distribution à été faite le 15th de ce mois [June 1781]" Jeremiah Wadsworth Papers, New-York Historical Society, folder 11. Wadsworth's *Etat* is for horses, but Rochambeau wanted oxen. Names of drivers and cooks can be found in Kenneth Scott,

As officers completed their equipment, they hired servants and purchased horses. Each officer who kept a journal or wrote letters addressing the question of servants had at least one, if not two, servants, which they were not allowed to draw from the ranks.²¹⁰ Even company grade officers below the rank of captain, who had kept only one servant during winter quarters in Newport, viz., Count Schwerin, who in spite of his financial difficulties had spent 15 *livres* in cash wages and 35 *livres* for food each month plus a clothing allowance for his servant, hired a second servant and purchased three horses for the campaign started. Baron Closen, who was "starting out with two servants and four horses," acquired one of the most important status symbols of the eighteenth century, an African-American servant, when he hired Peter, "born of *free* parents in Connecticut,"²¹¹ who accompanied him to Europe in 1783. Rochambeau and his fellow generals had eight, ten, or more servants, some free, some enslaved. On 9 June 1781, the French advertised in the *Newport Mercury* that on Wednesday, 13 June, "at 10 o'clock in the morning, at Captain Caleb Gardner's wharf, A number of Negro Men, Women and Boys, lately captured by his Most Christian Majesty's fleet" would be sold to the highest bidder. In what seems to have been a pre-public sale, Rochambeau on 5 June 1781 acquired an unnamed African-American slave captured during Admiral Destouches' expedition to Virginia in February 1781 for 170 piastres.²¹² If the ratio of two domestics and three to four horses per officer was indeed observed throughout Rochambeau's little army, this would have added as many as 1,000 *domestiques*, the equivalent of a whole infantry regiment, and between 1,300 and 1,800 horses to the march.²¹³

"Rochambeau's American Waggoners, 1780-1783" *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register* vol. 143, (July 1989), pp. 256-262, based on *Etat Générale des voitures attelées chacune de quatre [cheveaux] ... dont la distribution à été faite le 15th de ce mois [June 1781]* in the Wadsworth Papers in the New-York Historical Society.

²¹⁰ That the officer servants were not taken from the ranks is confirmed by an advertisement in the *Newport Mercury* of 17 March 1781. "Gablus Detfrich, servant to an officer of the Royal Deuxpont's regiment, deserted with three others, all Germans, speaking very little English, on the 14th of March inst." Detfrich does not appear in the *contrôles* of the regiment. When Closen and Cromot du Bourg decided to take the land route from Baltimore to Williamsburg in September 1781, they traveled with two servants and five horses each. Acomb, *Closen*, p. 126.

²¹¹ Closen, *Journal*, p. 83 and p. 187.

²¹² Musée de Rennes, *Les Français dans la Guerre d'Indépendance Américaine* (Rennes, 1976), p. 83. The price, about 900 livres, was a bit more than 1/3 of the 100 guineas (=2,450 livres) the *marquis* de Laval had paid Wadsworth for a 10-year-old stallion in April 1781. Other officers such as Colonel Dillon of Lauzun's Legion seem to have purchased slaves at that time as well. Dr. William Tillinghast's Account Book contains an entry for 14 June 1781 for treating "Chev Diland's Negro Woman" which is repeated on 16 June for a woman and a child belonging to "Col. Deland's". Newport Historical Society, Vault A, Tillinghast Account Book 1777-1785. Blanchard bought himself a slave as well who ran away at the camp in White Plains. The flight and request for apprehension are recorded in Rochambeau's Orderly Book.

²¹³ Louis Alexandre de Berthier, the future marshal of Napoleon, confirms these numbers. On 21 September 1781, as he was about to leave Annapolis for Williamsburg, Berthier wrote that "Lauzun's Legion, the artillery horses, and the army wagon train formed a column numbering 1,500 horses, 800 oxen, and 220 wagons".

REGIMENT AND MEN OF ALL ARMS	PRESENT NCOs	DETACHED	In HOSPITALS along the route	TOTAL
Bourbonnais	811	156	63	1030
Soissonnais	901	111	42	1054
Saintonge	853	115	44	1012
Royal Deux-Ponts	831	153	39	1023
Artillerie	381	100	30	511
Mineurs	23	-		23
Workers (<i>ouvriers</i>)	33	-	3	36
Lauzun's Legion	581	25	6	613
	4,391	683	227	5,301

As the troops got ready to break camp, tensions ran high among the officers. No one wanted to share the fate of *aide-major-general* Du Bouchet, appointed chief of staff in Newport, who felt slighted though he was the perfect choice for the position. When Lauberdière offered to buy his horses since he would have no need of them in Newport, Du Bouchet took that for an insult and challenged Lauberdière to a duel. Lauberdière was "seriously wounded" in this *affaire d'honneur*, Du Bouchet was almost killed. Mauduit du Plessis, second to both of them, had to help pull Lauberdière's sword out of Du Bouchet's shoulder, where it had lodged underneath the collar bone. "For a few days" Lauberdière's life was in danger, but since he had defended his honor so valiantly in his first duel, he received "demonstrations of the most conspicuous concern ... from all his comrades and all the general and superior officers". Once the duelists had recovered, Choisy invited his officers to dinner where the two antagonists embraced. Lauberdière left Newport on 23 June; Du Bouchet sailed to Virginia with Barras.²¹⁴

With the preparations completed, the troops received orders on 10 June 1781, to embark in two divisions on dozens of vessels -- Lauberdière wrote of "une assez grande quantite de petits batiments pour les transporter et les bagages" -- the following day that would take them from Newport to Providence. Since "several of them ran aground," reported Clermont-Crèveœur, "most of the troops spent the night aboard these little craft, many without food. It was only the next day [12 June] with the help of the tide that the boats got up the river. All the troops disembarked on the 12th and camped beyond the town of Providence, where the army spent several days."²¹⁵

²¹⁴ Lauberdière's account is based on his *Journal*; on Du Bouchet see Morris Bishop, "A French Volunteer" *American Heritage* Vol. 17. Nr. 5, (August 1966), pp. 47, 103-108, as well as my "A French Volunteer who lived to rue America's Revolution: Denis Jean Florimond de Langlois, Marquis du Bouchet" *Colonial Williamsburg. The Journal of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation* vol. 21, No. 3, June/July 1999, pp. 16-25.

²¹⁵ Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, vol. 1, p. 27.

Over the next two days, the wagon train was assembled and assigned as well, so that on 16 June, Blanchard, who traveled with two servants ahead of the army, "set out in the morning for General Washington's camp ... stopping at the different places where our troops were to be stationed, in order to examine if anything was needed." At the same time Blanchard complained that "The Americans supplied us with nothing; we were obliged to purchase everything and to provide ourselves with the most trifling things. It is said that it is better to make war in an enemy's country than among one's friends."²¹⁶ At least initially he was also traveling with Quartermaster General Béville, whose task it was, as Carter informed Wadsworth on Friday, 15 June "to go before to mark the Camp" for the approaching troops.²¹⁷

That same day the replacements joined their units and on Monday, 18 June, the First Division set out for Waterman's Tavern in Rhode Island.²¹⁸ Rochambeau, who had left Newport with his staff on 12 June and arrived in Providence the same day, marched with the First Division. In Providence he established this order for the march:

The regiment Bourbonnais under *comte* de Rochambeau, to leave on June 18
The regiment Royal Deux-Ponts under *baron* de Vioménil, to leave on June 19
The regiment Soissonnais under *comte* de Vioménil, to leave on June 20
The regiment Saintonge under *comte* de Custine, to leave on June 21

The eight twelve-pounders and six mortars of the field artillery were divided into four detachments with one detachment attached to each of the divisions. Lauzun's Legion left Lebanon on 20 June, the day the First Division reached Windham, pursuing a route about 10-15 miles to the south of the main army, protecting its flank.

Each division was led by an Assistant Quarter Master General and preceded by *ouvriers*, i.e., workmen commanded by an engineer who filled potholes and removed obstacles.²¹⁹ Then came the division proper. In the case of the First Division, this meant that the *vicomte* de Rochambeau led the column.²²⁰ Then came the officers and men of the Bourbonnais and the guns of the field artillery drawn by horses. The seven wagons of Rochambeau's baggage headed the baggage train, followed by the ten regimental wagons (one per company) with the

²¹⁶ Blanchard, *Journal*, pp. 107/08. Blanchard reached the Continental Army on 26 June 1781.

²¹⁷ Carter to Wadsworth, 15 June 1780, Wadsworth Papers, Box 131, correspondence December 1780 to June 1781. This arrangement of the QMG marking the campsite a day or two ahead of the troops was maintained until all of the French forces had embarked in Alexandria, Virginia.

²¹⁸ Deux-Ponts, *Campaigns*, p, 113.

²¹⁹ The first division was preceded by 30 pioneers, half of whom carried axes, the second through fourth division by 15 pioneers, eight of which had axes.

²²⁰ The Second Division was led by Captain Charles Malo *comte* de Lameth, an aide-de-camp to Rochambeau until May 1781, the third by Captain Georges Henry Victor Collot, also a former aide-de-camp to Rochambeau, and the fourth by Louis Alexandre Berthier, upon whose journal this paragraph is based.

tents of the soldiers and the luggage of the officers. Each captain had been allowed 300 pounds, each lieutenant 150 pounds of baggage for a total of 1,500 pounds per regiment distributed on wagons drawn by 4 horses each. Staff was allowed a separate wagon; a wagon for stragglers completed the regimental assignment of twelve wagons.²²¹ Besides their muskets, the soldiers, dressed in gaiters, wigs, and tight-fitting woolen small clothes, carried equipment weighing almost 60 pounds. Behind the regimental train followed the three wagons assigned to Blanchard and the division's hospital wagons. Eight wagons carried the military chest under the supervision of de Baulny.²²² Wagons for the butchers, loaded with bread, with fodder, the "King's stock", and the brigade of wheelwrights and shoeing smiths brought up the rear. Even the Provost had his own wagon for the instruments of his trade. The make-up of the 2nd through 4th divisions followed the same pattern. Behind their QMG guide came the individual regiments, followed by a quarter of the field artillery, part of the baggage train of the headquarters staff led by the baggage of the general in charge of the division and the field hospital down to wheelwrights and shoeing smiths.

In order to avoid having to march in the heat of the day, the regiments got up early: *reveille* was around 2:00 a.m., by 4:00 a.m. the regiments were on their way. Captain Samuel Richards of the Connecticut Line, on leave at home in Farmington, Connecticut, in June 1781, recorded that "They marched on the road in open order, untill the music struck up, they then closed into close order. On the march - a quarter master preceeded and at the forking of the road would be stuck a pole with a bunch of straw at top to shew the road they were to take."²²³

The next campsite, usually 12 to 15 miles away, was reached between 8:00 a.m. and noon, and the soldiers set up their tents.²²⁴ Afterwards they received meat, bread, and supplies "in front of the camp".²²⁵ The meat was fresh: at all stops, a drove of a dozen or so oxen was waiting to be slaughtered or had been slaughtered just before the arrival of the troops.²²⁶ Upon arrival in Newtown, Jeremiah Wadsworth and his agents had waiting for them 2.520 bushel of corn, 316 1/2 bushels of oats, 62 tons 5 cwt. of hay, 19 tons of straw, 22 1/2 cords of wood, and 20 head of beef cattle. Until Newtown "we were much too far from the enemy to take any other precautions than those, which our own discipline required,"²²⁷ and the convoy proceeded "hardly militarily". The general officers

²²¹ All numbers from Berthier, "Journal", p. 246. Closen, *Journal*, p. 84, writes: "the general allotted 14 wagons to a regiment, two for each general officer and 2 for his six aides-de-camp. He kept only 4 for himself." Scott, "Waggoners", gives each regiment 15 wagons and five each to the general officers.

²²² César Louis de Baulny was the chief treasurer for the French forces.

²²³ *Diary of Samuel Richards, Captain of Connecticut Line War of the Revolution 1775-1781* (Philadelphia, 1909), p. 75.

²²⁴ Soldiers slept eight to a tent according to their *chambrées*.

²²⁵ Closen, *Journal*, p. 85.

²²⁶ See the letter by Carter to Wadsworth dated, Friday 15 June, in which he informed him that the next drove of oxen should be sent to Waterman's Tavern. CHS, Wadsworth Papers, Box 131, Correspondence, December 1780 to June 1781.

²²⁷ Deux-Ponts, *Campaigns*, p. 113.

lodged in a near-by tavern, the company-grade officers slept, two to a tent, with their men. The early arrival provided an opportunity to meet the locals who came from afar to see the French, and for dancing with the "beautiful maidens" of Connecticut, music courtesy of the regimental bands.²²⁸

6.2 The March of Rochambeau's Infantry to Philipsburg, 18 June - 6 July 1781

In the early morning of 19 June, the First Division crossed into Connecticut "one of the most productive in cattle, wheat, and every kind of commodity", so Clermont-Crèvecœur. "It is unquestionably the most fertile province in America, for its soil yields everything necessary to life. The pasture is so good here that the cattle are of truly excellent quality. The beef is exceptionally good. The poultry and game are exquisite. (It is) one of America's best provinces. ... This country has a very healthy and salubrious climate."²²⁹ From 22 June through 27 June the troops rested in East Hartford from where they marched via Farmington and Southington to Waterbury, a "village of 50-some houses", and Breakneck, an assemblage of "two or three houses."²³⁰ They crossed the Housatonic River and continued on to Newtown, which was "full of Tories". For the first time the soldiers also "saw much poverty there among the inhabitants as well as ruined fields and houses. This is the capital of the Tory country, and as you may well imagine, we took great precautions to protect ourselves from their acts of cruelty. They usually strike by night, when they go out in bands, attack a post, then retire to the woods where they bury their arms. ... These people are very difficult to identify, since an honest man and a scoundrel can look alike." The First Division rested at Newtown from 28 through 30 June; the Second Division arrived on 29 June and rested on 30 June.

6.3 The March of Lauzun's Legion to Philipsburg, 21 June - 6 July 1781

Lauzun's cavalry had left Newport for winter quarters in Lebanon, Connecticut, on 10 November 1781. Two days later, it took up camp in Windham, where it stayed for a week.²³¹ Next Lauzun and some 220 hussars found themselves in Lebanon. Assuming that only the best would be good enough for the duke, David Trumbull had offered Lauzun his home "Redwood", the only one with a carpet in it. Lauzun was not impressed. "I started for Lebanon on 10 November; we have not yet received any letters from France. Siberia alone can furnish any idea of Lebanon, which consists of a few huts

²²⁸ Rudolf Karl Tröss, "Die Regimentsmusik von Royal-Deux-Ponts vor Yorktown" in Tröss, *Royal-Deux-Ponts*, pp. 70-76, p. 70, gives the strength of the regimental band as 15 musicians. The French bands were in demand: on 13 September 1780, Ephraim Bowen invited Rochambeau and his officers to a ball in Providence. Rochambeau declined the invitation but offered to "send you the Band of Music, that you Desire". RIHS Mss 301, Bowen Family Papers folder 11.

²²⁹ Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, p. 28.

²³⁰ Breakneck is part of the present town of Middlebury, incorporated as a separate town in 1807.

²³¹ See Joshua Elderkin to D. Trumbull, November 8, 1780, and Dumas to D. Trumbull, written at 8:00 p.m. on 11 November 1780. CHS, Wadsworth Papers, Correspondence, July 1781 to February 1782.

scattered among vast forests", he wrote.²³² The legionnaires arrived none too soon; there was "no time to be lost for the barracks".²³³ It rained during much of October, and the first snow fell on 13 November. The men were cold and hungry in their barracks west of the Meeting House and on the southern end of the village street.

Relations between the hussars and the locals were not always cordial over the next few months, and visits by dignitaries such as Rochambeau in December 1780, Washington on 4-5 March 1781, did little to break the monotony of life. It was Lauzun and Chastellux who went squirrel hunting before dinner with the Governor but for enlisted men, such visits meant drill, polishing of equipment and parades.²³⁴ The hussars languished in "Siberia" until early summer, when replacements from the Regiment Barrois, which had arrived in Newport in early June, brought the strength of the Legion back up to about 600 men. By mid-June, Lauzun's Legion was gathered in Lebanon, ready and anxious for the campaign to begin.

The marching order for the Legion specified that on 21 June 1781; "Lauzun's entire Corps of Foreign Volunteers will leave Lebanon."²³⁵ From Lebanon, according to de Béville's itinerary, the Legion was to "proceed to camp along the Middletown road 7 miles beyond Colchester on the west bank of Salmon Brook opposite the landslide caused by flood waters".²³⁶ The march was to be 15 miles, a leisurely pace for cavalry and light infantry in a screening pattern. The second day's march on 22 June took them to Middletown where the Legion remained from 22 June through Sunday, 24 June 1781. The next time we encounter them is on Monday, 26 June when Ezra Stiles reported the presence of the complete Legion, all 600 men, in New Haven.

"This Afternoon arrived and encamped here the Duke de Lauzun with his Legion consist^s of 300 Horse & 300 foot Light Infantry. They pitched their Tents in the new Town half a mile East of the College. I paid my Respects to the Duke and was received very politely at the House of the late Gen. Wooster. He does not expect much from the Congress at Vienna, nor does he expect peace this year or next. He is marching to joyn G. Washington on N^o River."²³⁷ The following

²³² Lauzun, *Memoirs*, p. 194. See also Forbes and Cadman, "De Lauzun's cavalry at Lebanon, Connecticut" in: Forbes and Cadman, *France and New England* vol. 2, pp. 99-108, and Rowland Ricketts, Jr., *The French in Lebanon 1780-1781 Connecticut History* Vol. 36 No. 1, (1971), pp. 23-31, well as my *Hussars in Lebanon! A Connecticut Town and Lauzun's Legion during the American Revolution, 1780-1781* (Lebanon, 2004).

²³³ Dumas to David Trumbull, November 11, 1780, CHS, Jeremiah Wadsworth Papers, Correspondence, July 1781 to February 1782.

²³⁴ For a description of the squirrel hunt and dinner see Chastellux, *Travels*, vol. 1, p. 229/30.

²³⁵ The itinerary quoted here and subsequently is taken from Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, vol. 2, pp. 16 and 17. It is based on a document prepared by French Quarter-Master General de Béville.

²³⁶ The Major Sheldon is Dominique Sheldon (1760-1802), an Englishman attached to the Legion as mestre de camp on 5 April 1780, not Colonel Elisha Sheldon, of the Continental Army.

²³⁷ *Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles* Franklin B. Dexter, ed., 3 vols., (New York, 1901) vol. 2, p. 544.

day, 27 June, Stiles informs us that "The French Troops marched at six o'clock this morn^g" for Monroe. Monroe welcomed the French with a dance on 30 June 1781. That night, Lauzun and his officers went to sleep in the tavern kept by Nehemiah de Forest. Local lore has it that when a son was born to de Forest, Dillon gave the boy his sword for a memento; in gratitude the proud father named his boy "de Lauzun".²³⁸

6.4 The American Army and the Camp at Philipsburg

On 1 July, his 56th birthday, Rochambeau set out for Ridgebury, a village of maybe 80 houses. Here he received a letter from Washington dated 30 June 1781, asking him "to put your First Brigade under march tomorrow Morning (i.e., 1 July), the remaining Troops to follow as quick as possible, and endeavor to reach Bedford by the evening of the 2d. of July".²³⁹ While enjoying a ball in Monroe, Lauzun received orders from Washington via his aide Lieutenant-Colonel David Cobb in the evening of 30 June to march immediately to Bedford where Washington expected him in the evening of 2 July for an attack at Morrisania. Early next morning Lauzun broke camp in New Stratford and headed for Ridgefield where Lauzun and his men encamped along the ridge east of the North Salem Road some 9 miles south of the main army.

On 2 July, Lauzun's Legion joined Rochambeau and his First Brigade on the march to Bedford Village, where Lauzun's troops rested briefly before setting out on a night march to meet up with American General Benjamin Lincoln. Lauzun's troops were late in reaching Morrisania, the estate of General Lewis Morris, and occupied by the loyalists of James De Lancey. Once the enemy had become aware of Lincoln's movements, the two-pronged surprise attack on British posts failed.²⁴⁰ Following a brief encounter with De Lancey's Loyalists, Lauzun withdrew in the evening of 3 July. The next day his men joined Rochambeau's infantry on its march to Philipsburg where the French met up with the 4,000-man-strong Continental Army on 6 July 1781.

²³⁸ Forbes and Cadman, *France and New England*, vol. 1, p. 153. The same story is told about the son of John Norris in Ridgefield. Forbes and Cadman, *France and New England*, vol. 1, p. 147.

²³⁹ Quoted in Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, Vol. 1, p. 31, n. 31. In eighteenth-century military parlance, brigade usually denotes a tactical unit composed of infantry, cavalry, and artillery of varying size, though usually larger than one regiment, while division is often used for regimental size tactical units of multiple components, though the use of either term was flexible.

²⁴⁰ Both sides gave different reasons for the failure of the attack, each side blaming the other. A good brief overview is found in Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, Vol. 1, p. 32, note 33. See also Acomb, *Closen*, p. 89; *The Diaries of George Washington, 1748-1799*. John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., 3 vols., (Boston and New York, 1925), vol. 2, pp. 233/34, and Joseph Plumb Martin, *Private Yankee Doodle* (Hallowell, ME, 1830; repr. Boston, 1962), pp. 214-218. An older analysis is John Austin Stevens, "The Attempt upon the British Posts at Kingsbridge" in his "The Operations of the Allied Armies before New York, 1781" *Magazine of American History* Vol. 4, No. 1 (January 1880), pp. 4-9 and 34-41. See also Lloyd Ultan, *Legacy of the Revolution. The Valentine-Varian House*. (New York, 1983), pp. 50-53.

The Continental Army had spent a difficult winter around Morristown and in the Hudson Highlands. On 1 January 1781, the Pennsylvania Line had finally had enough and mutinied in Morristown. A settlement was reached on 9 January and the troops were furloughed until March. On 20 January about 200 men of the New Jersey Line mutinied in Pompton. This time the rebellion was put down by force and two men were executed on the 27 January 1781. As winter turned into spring, the Continental Army barely maintained its strength while Cornwallis was marching almost at will across the southern colonies. Despairingly Washington wrote on 9 April: "We are at the end of our tether, and ... now or never our deliverance must come".²⁴¹ The campaign of 1781 had to produce results.

But the very presence of French forces and the knowledge of their cooperation in the coming campaign already lifted many spirits. On 17 May 1781, Washington's aide Tench Tilghman wrote to Robert Morris from New Windsor that he was about "to set out tomorrow with His Excellency for Weathersfield where he is to have an interview with the Count de Rochambeau. ... The expectations of the people are high and perhaps they may expect a change more suddenly than it is possible to affect one."²⁴² One month later, on 18 June 1781, Thomas Rodney, Delaware's representative to Congress, reported from Philadelphia, of "this unlimited confidence we have placed in the Court of France and indeed when there (sic) own interests is not materially in view perhaps she may do better for us than we could for our selves." If a victorious peace could be achieved, Rodney was convinced that "if they give us our rank among the nations our Own natural advantages will soon lift us above them all."²⁴³

Others such as William Houghton argued caution. On 4 June 1781 he wrote to his friend Josiah Hornblower from Philadelphia: "It gives me not a little Uneasiness to find the publick Expectations so sanguine respecting the Arrival of the Second Division of the Armament at Rhode Island, because the event is so uncertain. ... The Court of France has given a Thousand Proofs of Attachment to our Cause, and of more than empty wishes for the ample Success of the Revolution. This no one can doubt, and were it not as plain as Fact can be, we know it is the Interest of that Nation. We ought therefore to be satisfied if every Thing is so constructed as best to promote, on the whole, the great End in view. ... To such a Pitch has our Controversy involved the Nations of Europe, that let Peace be settled where it will, it will be settled there, and we know the Importance of Power and Respectability at Hand."²⁴⁴

More immediately, however, he urged that "In the present Crisis it is uncommonly necessary to give the most ready, decided and effectual Dispatch to such Requisitions as may be made by Congress or the General. Could we raise up

²⁴¹ Washington, *Writings*, vol. 21, p. 439.

²⁴² *The Papers of Robert Morris, 1781-1784*. E. James Ferguson, ed., Vol. 1: February 7 - July 31, 1781. (Pittsburgh, 1973), p. 74.

²⁴³ Historical Society of Delaware (HSD) Rodney Collection Box 6, Folder 19.

²⁴⁴ William Houghton from Philadelphia to Josiah Hornblower, 4 June 1781. New Jersey Historical Society (NJHS) MG 10 Hornblower Family. Box 1, folder 3

the Spirit of five Years ago, and keep it in Operation but a few months, if no more, what could not be done! what Terms might we not dictate to our Enemies! Could we forget the Things that are behind, and banish the Desires of idle Pomp and sordid Gain; could we honestly exert ourselves in Confidence of the Blessings of Heaven, all would soon be well.”

Upon learning that the French forces had left Newport, Washington on 18 June ordered his troops quartered around West Point, New York, to leave their winter camp beginning on Thursday, 21 June and to join up with Rochambeau's forces approaching from Connecticut. As noted above, the surprise attack in cooperation with Lauzun's Legion against British forces around Morrisania on 3 July failed, and the Continental Army marched to the Franco-American camp at Philipsburg. On 8 July, Washington reviewed Rochambeau's troops, which, according to the *comte* de Lauberdière, "appeared in the grandest parade uniform. M. de Rochambeau took his place in front of the white flag of his oldest regiment and saluted General Washington. ... Our general received the greatest compliments for the beauty of his troops. It is true that without doubt those that we have with us were superb at our departure from France."²⁴⁵

The following day, Rochambeau returned the compliment, but he and his officers such as Baron Closen were in for a surprise. "I had a chance to see the American army, man for man. It was really painful to see these brave men, almost naked with only some trousers and little linen jackets, most of them without stockings, but would you believe it? Very cheerful and healthy in appearance. A quarter of them were negroes, merry, confident, and sturdy. ... Three quarters of the Rhode Island regiment consists of negroes, and that regiment is the most neatly dressed, the best under arms, and the most precise in its manoeuvres (sic)."²⁴⁶ " In beholding this army", the *comte* de Clermont-Crèvecœur "was struck, not by its smart appearance, but by its destitution: the men were without uniforms and covered with rags; most of them were barefoot. They were of all sizes, down to children who could not have been over fourteen."²⁴⁷ The *comte* de Lauberdière found the Continental Army "lined up in the order of battle in front of their camp. It was not a very pleasant sight, not because of the attire and the uniform of the regiments, because at present, and ever since they have been in the war, they are pretty much naked. But I remember their great accomplishments and I can not see without a certain admiration that it was with these same men that General Washington had so gloriously defended his country." What bothered him even more was that the Americans "lined up in the ranks according to seniority. This method infinitely hurts the eye and the beautiful appearance of the troops because it often places a tall man between two short ones and a short one between two tall ones." What a difference to the French line, which was "well lined up, of an equal height, well dressed."²⁴⁸

²⁴⁵ Lauberdière, *Journal de guerre*, fol.

²⁴⁶ Acomb, *Closen*, p. 89.

²⁴⁷ Clermont-Crèvecœur, *Journal*, in Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, Vol. 1, p. 33.

²⁴⁸ Lauberdière, *Journal de guerre*, fol. 74.

6.5 The Decision to March to Virginia

Naked and hungry, yet confident and cheerful -- such were the allies with whom Rochambeau had joined his forces for an attempt on New York, but the attack on Sir Henry Clinton never materialized. While New York may have been their primary objective, the two generals always tried to keep their options open. In the same letter of 13 June in which Washington had reminded Rochambeau "that New York was looked upon by us as the only practicable object," he had also suggested that "should we be able to secure a naval superiority, we may perhaps find others more practicable and equally advisable." The only person who could provide that naval superiority was Admiral de Grasse in the Caribbean, but the decision of where he would sail was de Grasse's. On 28 May, Rochambeau, who never liked the idea of attacking New York, wrote to de Grasse:

"There are two points at which an offensive can be made against the enemy: Chesapeake and New York. The southwesterly winds and the state of defense in Virginia will probably make you prefer the Chesapeake Bay, and it will be there where we think you may be able to render the greatest service. ... In any case it is essential that you send, well in advance, a frigate to inform de Barras where you are to come and also General Washington."²⁴⁹

As he was weighing the odds of a successful siege against New York, particularly after the Grand Reconnaissance of 21-23 July, Washington's thinking increasingly turned to Cornwallis. On 1 August he wrote that he "could scarce see a ground upon wch. to continue my preparations against New York, and therefore I turned my views more seriously (than I had before done) to an operation to the southward."²⁵⁰ For the time being, all the two generals could do was wait for news from de Grasse, who would determine the point of attack. When the frigate *Concorde* brought news on 14 August that de Grasse was headed for the Chesapeake they quickly shifted gears.

The campaign might yet produce results. But as de Grasse would only stay until 15 October there was no time to lose. The possibility of a southern campaign had always been an option, and Washington wrote in his diary: "Matters having now come to a crisis and a decisive plan to be determined on, I was obliged ... to give up all idea of attacking New York; and instead thereof to remove the French Troops and a detachment from the American Army to the

²⁴⁹ Doniol, *Histoire*, vol. 5, p. 475. Though it is customary to give de Grasse the title of *Admiral*, the rank did not exist in the navy of pre-revolutionary France. The office of *Amiral de France*, medieval in origin, was one of the Great Offices of the French crown, abolished in 1627, but recreated in 1669. Louis-Jean-Marie de Bourbon, *duc de Penthièvre* (1725-93) held the office from 1734 to the Revolution. De Grasse's title was *lieutenant general des armées navales*, which today corresponds to the rank of Rear Admiral.

²⁵⁰ Washington, *Diaries*, vol. 2, p. 249.

Head of Elk to be transported to Virginia for the purpose of co-operating with the force from the West Indies against the Troops in that State.”²⁵¹

On 22 August, he wrote to Governor Trumbull from King's Ferry. "I feel myself unhappy in being obliged to inform your Excellency that the circumstances in which I find myself at this late period have induced me to make an alteration of the main object which was at first adopted, and which has hitherto been held in view, for the operations of this campaign. It gives me pain to say that the delay of the several States to comply with my requisitions of the 24th of May last ... has ... lead to this alteration." As he had feared, and as had happened before, the states had not lived up to their obligations. But Washington needed French cooperation too. "Other circumstances, it is true, have had their weight in this determination; ... the fleet of the Count de Grasse, with a body of French troops on board, will make its first appearance in the Chesapeake."²⁵²

But if Cornwallis was going to be the new target, a decision would have to be made quickly, and it was, for if Washington had learned anything in his years as Commander in Chief of the Continental Army it was that he had to be flexible. On 15 August, the day after the decision to march to Yorktown had been made, Washington recorded in his Diary that he had "Dispatched a Courier to the Marquis de la Fayette with information of this matter -- requesting him to be in perfect readiness to second my views & to prevent if possible the retreat of Cornwallis toward Carolina. He was also directed to Halt the Troops under the Command of General Wayne if they had not made any great progress in their March to join the Southern Army." The following day he learned much to his relief in a letter from Lafayette, "that Lord Cornwallis with the Troops from Hampton Road, had proceeded up York River & landed at York & Gloucester Towns where they were throwing up Works on the 6th. Inst". Cornwallis had done exactly what Washington would have wanted him to do, and Lafayette, who had shadowed Cornwallis across Virginia since late April, now had but one task, and that was to keep Cornwallis at Yorktown until the arrival of Washington and Rochambeau. From now on, Lafayette had only one assignment: to make sure that Cornwallis would not leave the trap Washington was trying to set for him. On 15 August, the day after the decision to march south was made, he wrote to Lafayette from Dobbs's Ferry, that "you will immediately take such position as will best enable you to prevent their retreat thro' North Carolina. ... You will be particularly careful to conceal the expected arrival of the Count, because if the enemy are not apprised of it, they will stay on board their transports in the Bay, which will be the luckiest Circumstance in the World."²⁵³ That same day of 15 August, Rochambeau informed Barras in Newport that the arrival of 2,400 Hessian recruits in New York on the 11th and, even more importantly, the

²⁵¹ Washington, *Diaries*, vol. 2, p. 254.

²⁵² The letter to Trumbull is printed in *Collections of MA Historical Society* Vol. 10, p. 254.

²⁵³ Washington, *Diaries*, Vol. 2, p. 254. Washington's letter to Lafayette is in Washington, *Writings*, Vol. 22, p. 501-502.

expected arrival of de Grasse in the Chesapeake."²⁵⁴ Axel von Fersen, who took these letters over the 220 miles to Newport in 36 hours, (!) wrote to Count Creutz, the Swedish ambassador to France, from Newport at 8:00 a.m. on the 17th: "We expect the comte de Grasse at any moment; he is supposed to pull into the Chesapeake Bay to land his 3,000 troops under the command of M. de Saint Simon. We will march immediately to Virginia with our army to join up with him and to chase the English from that part of the country if we can. The escadre which is here goes to join M. de Grasse." These were French plans: "I don't know whether the army of General Washington will withdraw behind West Point".²⁵⁵

On the 16th, Rochambeau informed Ségur that with a British garrison of 11 to 12,000 men, "nothing could be done any more against" New York. In the hope that "Lord Cornwallis has not yet decamped from Portsmouth and has not evacuated all of Virginia", Washington would take 2,000 Americans plus the French march there.²⁵⁶ That day, Wadsworth wrote to his wife from Philippsburg: "My dear, I am well in Camp. Count Pherson will call on his return he must not come to this place but to King's Ferry where he will find or hear of the French army. Keep This [to] your selfe as it is a secret."²⁵⁷

When news that Cornwallis was indeed digging in at Little York near Williamsburg reached Franco-American headquarters later that week on 16 August,²⁵⁸ Cornwallis had stepped into the trap. But as the allied troops prepared to march south, Washington was still worried that Cornwallis might get away and was selecting alternative targets. On 17 August he wrote de Grasse that "it has been judged expedient to give up for the present the enterprise against New York and to turn our attention towards the South, with a view, if we should not be able to attempt Charles town itself, to recover and secure the States of Virginia, North Carolina and the country of South Carolina and Georgia. ... For this purpose we have determined to remove the whole of the French Army and as large a detachment of the American as can be spared, to Chesapeak to meet Your Excellency there. We would beg leave to take up so much of your Excellency's time,

²⁵⁴ Rochambeau's letter to Barras is printed in Doniol, *Histoire*, vol. 5, p. 524.

²⁵⁵ Fersen, *Lettres*, pp. 118-119. Cromot du Bourg suspected that something important was going on when on August 15 "the Count de Fersen was sent to Newport with the replies, which up to this time had been carried by an American dragoon." Cromot du Bourg, "Diary", p. 305.

²⁵⁶ Rochambeau's letter to Ségur is printed in Doniol, *Histoire*, Vol. 5, p. 526. Rochambeau's numbers were low: on August 15, Mackenzie recorded the strength of the British army in New York as 12,506 enlisted men of all ranks total fit for duty out of a total strength of 15,397. Mackenzie, *Diary*, p. 588.

²⁵⁷ Jeremiah Wadsworth to Mrs. Wadsworth, August 16, 1781. Jeremiah Wadsworth Papers, Connecticut Historical Commission, Hartford, CT. The next day, Lauzun recalled the hussar posts stationed between Hartford and Newport and asked David Trumbull in Lebanon to pay their bills and to send them on to Kings Ferry. *Ibid.*, David Trumbull Papers. Timothy Pickering's Quartermaster Department provided by the Second Continental Light Dragoons, and between Washington's Headquarters at New Windsor or later at White Plains courier service between Hartford and Litchfield.

²⁵⁸ Washington, *Diary*, Vol. 2, p. 255. "16th. Letters from the Marqs. de la Fayette & others, inform that Lord Cornwallis with the Troops from Hampton Road, had proceeded up York River & landed at York & Gloucester Towns where they were throwing up Works on the 6th. Inst".

as to point out to you the vast importance of Charles town and what advantages the enemy derive from the possession of it. It is the Centre of their power in the south. By holding it, they preserve a dangerous influence throughout the whole State, as it is the only port and the only place from whence the people can procure those Articles of foreign produce which are essential to their support, and it in great measure serves to cover and keep in subjection the State of Georgia. ... We are not sufficiently acquainted with the position of Charles town ... to enter into a proper mode of attacking it, or of the probability which we should have of succeeding. For these we will refer your Excellency to Brigadier Genl. Du portail Commander of the Corps of Engineers in the service of the United States, who will have the honor of presenting this. That Gentleman having been in Charles town as principal Engineer during the greater part of the seige, and in the Environs of it as a prisoner of War a considerable time afterwards, had opportunities of making very full observations, which he judiciously improved." It was for this purpose of getting troops south as quickly as possible that he also asked de Grasse to send "all your frigates, transports and Vessels proper for the conveyance of the French and American Troops" to Head of Elk.²⁵⁹



²⁵⁹ Washington, *Writings*, Vol. 23, pp. 7-11. A French translation of the August 17 letter to de Grasse is printed in Doniol, *Histoire*, Vol. 5, pp. 528/529. It took all of eleven days to inform de Barras of the change in plans and to get him to cooperate in the campaign. De Grasse had left it open for de Barras to join him: de Grasse had once been de Barras' junior in the service and under the eighteenth-century code of honor could have refused to serve under de Grasse. Much to the consternation of Washington and Rochambeau, Barras briefly floated the idea of an independent attack on Penobscot, but was quickly convinced to drop his plan. Heeding Rochambeau's request, De Barras also swallowed his pride for the greater good and slipped out of Newport with nine ships, including seven ships of the line, loaded with troops, supplies, and the siege artillery, on the night of August 24/25. He arrived in the Chesapeake two weeks later, right after de Grasse had drawn Graves' fleet south and away from the bay entrance.

THE WASHINGTON ROCHAMBEAU REVOLUTIONARY ROUTE IN THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY, 19 AUGUST TO 3 SEPTEMBER 1781

7.1 Observation of Sir Henry Clinton in New York City

Without reliable information as to the current whereabouts of Cornwallis, General Lincoln had already issued orders on 15 August that "The Army will hold themselves in the most perfect readiness to move at the shortest notice".²⁶⁰ Between Lincoln's order and 18 August, the day the first American units crossed the Hudson at Dobbs Ferry and French artillery departed from Philipsburg for Peekskill, the staffs of both armies had a number of equally important tasks that needed to be tackled concurrently. 1) To prepare the logistics for the march, 2) to spread a cover of secrecy and deception over the movements of the allied armies to hide their true destination as long as possible from the British in New York City, and 3) to establish a chain of observation posts on the New Jersey side of the Hudson to keep an eye on Sir Henry in the city.

The last task was the easiest. On 17 August, Colonel Elias Dayton received orders to "detach from the Brigade ... a Capt. and 50 [men], with Orders to patrol the Country between Closter and the New Bridge, the Officer must not consider either of these places as his post, but continue to range the intermediate space untill he receives further Orders."²⁶¹ During the night of 18/19 August, Dayton's and Hazen's units were ferried across the Hudson at Dobbs Ferry and the next day ordered "to the Heights between Chatham and Springfield". Colonel Sylvanus Seely with a battalion of New Jersey State Troops which the New Jersey Legislature had authorized the governor to call up on 27 June for a period of service of up to three months, was "to remain at Dobbs's Ferry [and to] keep scouts and Patroles towards Bergen, and to take every precaution ag[ains]t. a surprise."²⁶² In his *Diary* Washington added that these troops were to "cover a french Bakery at the latter place to veil our real movements and create apprehensions for Staten Island."²⁶³ In order to cover the area between Sneedens Landing in the north and Elias Dayton's detachment between Closter and New Bridge in the South, Washington ordered Scammel with his Light Infantry to take up positions near Kakeat. These detachments received orders to keep Washington informed of activities within British lines, or rather the lack thereof.

²⁶⁰ *Orderly Book for Major-General Lincoln's Brigade 1781*, Codex Eng 67, John Carter Brown Library, Providence, Rhode Island. In "General Orders" for Wednesday, 15 August, the parole was "Staten Island", the countersigns "Springfield Chatham".

²⁶¹ New Bridge is today's River Edge in New Jersey; Closter is today's Cresskill.

²⁶² All of Washington's correspondence is quoted from the transcripts of the George Washington Papers in the Library of Congress and available on the internet at <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/> search by name and date.

Though Washington ordered Seely to "remain at Dobb's Ferry" he meant Sneedens Landing on the New Jersey side of the Hudson. Not only would it have been very difficult to constantly send scouts toward Bergen from across the Hudson but General Heath was still encamped around Dobbs Ferry as well.

²⁶³ Washington, *Diaries*, vol. 2, p. 255.

7.2 Secrecy and Deception

Secrecy was vital, and in both armies as few officers as possible were informed of the change in plans. So was deception. All armies need bread to survive. But especially in the French army, bread constituted and constitutes an important ingredient of a meal. The establishment of large bakery operations could be interpreted as a sign that the army was going to stay in a given location for a while. In the context of the 1781, the bake ovens in Chatham, though necessary to feed the army on the march, also served an important function in the scheme of confirming in Clinton in the conviction that New York was the intended target of the campaign.

On 19 August, Washington had informed Dayton that "There will be a French Bakery established at Chatham. You are to furnish a small Guard for it, and give them any assistance they may want." In his *Diary* entry for the same date he added that Dayton was to "cover a french Bakery at the latter place to veil our real movements and create apprehensions for Staten Island."²⁶⁴ In his *Journal*, the *vicomte* de Rochambeau recounted that "in order to disguise our movements and to convince General Clinton that we were going to join action with Monsieur de Grasse on the right bank of the North River in order to take Staten island and make it easy for the fleet to force its way past Sandy hook, we had Villemanzy, commissaire des guerres, leave at once to establish a bakery at Chatham, New Jersey, which is only three leagues from Staten Island. His work was protected by a small body of Americans until the arrival of our advance guard. He was let into the secret and he was told that it was our intention to nourish the army from that bakery in its march to Philadelphia, but that we must persuade the enemy by all kinds of pretenses that the chief abject was an attack upon Staten Island. He did so well with this that he caused himself to be fired upon by the English batteries in trying to collect the bricks which were at the mouth of the Raritan."²⁶⁵

At the same time, these ovens, which produced much-needed bread for the French army, represented a potential target for a raid, and needed protection. On 28 August, Rochambeau requested military protection for the ovens, which Washington readily granted and informed the Frenchman from Chatham that he "will agreeable to your request, order a Detachment of Troops for the purpose of covering your Bake house in this place." Later that day, Antoine Charles du Houx, *baron* de Vioménil repeated this request to Washington from "Whipany's Camp at 8 OClock in the night". In his letter, Rochambeau's second in command asked Washington "to protect our Bakers in Chatam till we could be done with them. The Intendant told me today that it is a strong necessitée to keep them till

²⁶⁴ Washington, *Diaries*, vol. 2, p. 255. On the ovens, which stood "East of River on the Union County Side of the Passaic, just south of the turnpike," see John T. Cunningham, *Chatham at the Crossing of the Fishawack* (Chatham, N.J., Chatham Historical Society, 1967), p. 37. They were not dismantled until 1835.

²⁶⁵ Jean-Edmond Weelen, *Rochambeau. Father and Son. A life of the Maréchal de Rochambeau and the Journal of the Vicomte de Rochambeau* (New York, 1936), pp. 224/5.

the Second of September on purpose for to be able of giving bread to the army which would not be able to get any. I have the honores to beg your Excellency to give the orders that the use necessary to protect our establishment in Chatam till the day mentioned." The following day, Washington assured Vioménil that "A Detachment of Militia consisting of a Sub: and 25 Men, are already ordered for the Protection of your Bakery; about 400 more Men will lye near this Place which I think will be full Security so long as you mention."

If the attack on New York City was going to come from the New Jersey side of the Hudson, the allied armies would need boats. Washington integrated that aspect of an assault on New York into his plan as well. "During the passing of the French Army I mounted 30 flat Boats (able to carry about 40 Men each) upon carriages--as well with a design to deceive the enemy as to our real movement, as to be useful to me in Virginia when I get there as well with a design to deceive the enemy as to our real movement, as to be useful to me in Virginia when I get there," he recorded in his *Diary* on 21 August.²⁶⁶ Letters were written and sent via the most dangerous routes with the full intent that they be captured,²⁶⁷ and different rumors as to the purpose of the troop movement were spread. In addition, "Contracts are made for forrage to be delivered immediately to the French Army on their arrival at the last mentioned place. Here it is supposed that Batteries are to be erected for the security and aid of the Fleet, which is hourly expected." And though "some were indeed laughable enow", these ruses achieved their purpose, for as Colonel Trumbull recorded, "by these manœuvres and the correspondent march of the Troops, our own army no less than the Enemy are completely deceived".²⁶⁸

In his diary entry for 15 August, James Thacher of the Light Infantry also provides a vivid impression of the speculations circulating in camp at the time. "The real object of the allied armies in the present campaign has become a subject of much speculation. Ostensibly an investment of the city of New York is in contemplation - preparations in all quarters for some months past indicate this to be the object of our combined operations. The capture of this place would be a decisive stroke, and from the moment such event takes place, the English must renounce all hopes of subjugating the United States. But New York is well fortified both by land and water, and garrisoned by the best troops of Great Britain. The success of a siege must depend entirely on the arrival and cooperation of a superior French fleet, The enemy have a garrison on Staten Island, which is separated from Long Island only by a strait of two miles wide. The capture of this garrison would be a brilliant affair, and would essentially facilitate our operations against New York. General Washington and Count Rochambeau have crossed the North river, and it is supposed for the purpose of reconnoitering the enemy's posts from the Jersey shore. A field for an extensive encampment has been marked out on the Jersey side, and a number of ovens have

²⁶⁶ Washington, *Diaries* Vol. 2, p. 258.

²⁶⁷ One such example is given in Lossing, *Field Book*, Vol. 1, p. 781.

²⁶⁸ Trumbull, "Minutes," p. 332.

been erected and fuel provided, for the purpose of baking bread for the army. From these combined circumstances we are led to conclude that a part of our besieging force is to occupy that ground. But General Washington possesses a capacious mind, full of resources, and he resolves and matures his great plans and designs under an impenetrable veil of secrecy, and while we repose the fullest confidence in our chief, our own opinions must be founded only on doubtful conjectures."²⁶⁹

The only one who was deceived for long was Sir Henry in New York City, even though the intelligence service his adjutant Major John André had built up since the summer of 1780 kept him well apprised of developments on the American side.²⁷⁰ André's execution had been only a temporary setback; his successor Major Oliver de Lancey, son of the loyalist general, with a staff that included, among others Major Frederick Mackenzie and Captain George Beckwith, expanded and refined the system considerably. Clinton's spies had penetrated deep into the heart of the American camp: on 16 August, two days after Washington and Rochambeau had read de Grasse's letter informing them of that fact that he was sailing to the Chesapeake, and when all but a handful of high-ranking officers were ignorant of the change in plans, one of Clinton's spies informed Colonel Beverly Robinson that the French admiral was on his way north with 28 ships of the line. Clinton read the letter on 17 August, when no French or American soldier had yet taken down his tent, but the Royal Navy did not set sail from New York to meet the challenge until 31 August, a full two weeks later.²⁷¹

Clinton never had to wait more than 24 hours to know where the enemy armies were located, and some of his subordinates such as Mackenzie suspected on 21 August already -- the French had not yet reached the Hudson -- that the combined armies were on their way south: "I think it probable that if M. de Grasse does come, he will endeavor to go into Chesapeake. In this case their design is the destruction of Lord Cornwallis's Army." The next day he wrote: "I am strongly of opinion that the design of the enemy is against Lord Cornwallis. Should M. de Grasse come to America, and take possession of the Chesapeake with a Superior fleet, it will be impossible for us to give Lord Cornwallis any assistance."²⁷² The ovens in Chatham briefly confused the diarist, but by the 29th Mackenzie

²⁶⁹ Thacher, *Journal*, p. 269.

²⁷⁰ This is not the place to discuss why Clinton did what he did in July and August 1781. In justification of his actions Clinton would later write that the intercepted letters "gave me to understand that the enemy had in a grand conference come to a resolution of attacking New York with all the force they could collect." Quoted in Kennett, *French Forces*, p. 107. Suffice it to say that some of his subordinates such as General Robertson were baffled by the inactivity displayed by the Commander in Chief who was usually well informed of Franco-American plans. When Clinton suspected on 2 September that he was no longer the target of attack, it was too late: the Continental Army had already marched through Philadelphia. For Clinton's point of view see *The American Rebellion: Sir Henry Clinton's Narrative of his Campaigns, 1775-1782, with an Appendix of Original Documents*. William B. Willcox, ed., (New Haven, 1954).

²⁷¹ See Roger Kaplan, "The Hidden War: British Intelligence Operations during the American Revolution." *William and Mary Quarterly* Vol. 47, No. 1 (January 1990), pp. 115-138.

²⁷² Mackenzie, *Diary*, p. 595.

accurately predicted Franco-American plans. By 2 September "there seems to be no doubt but the enemy intend turning their utmost force against Lord Cornwallis". But on that very 2 September the deciphered copy of Rochambeau's report to La Luzerne of May 27 arrived in New York, confirming Clinton's fears that he would be attacked rather than Cornwallis.

When word of the arrival of de Grasse's fleet in the Chesapeake Bay reached New York in the evening of 3 September -- Washington and Rochambeau would not find out until two days later in the afternoon of 5 September -- Mackenzie worried that unless the French were beaten by the Royal Navy under Admiral Graves, "there will hardly be a possibility of relieving" Cornwallis.²⁷³ But Clinton still did not make a move: It was not until 6 September that he finally convinced himself that Cornwallis was in grave danger. By then it was too late. Colonel Ludwig Johann von Wurmb, commanding officer of the Hessian *Jäger* in New York, wrote to War Minister Friedrich Christian Arnold Freiherr von Jungkenn in Kassel on September 7: "May the almighty God favor our fleet that it will defeat the enemy so that we can come to the assistance of Lord Cornwallis; otherwise our situation will look bleak."²⁷⁴ Two days earlier, around 9:30 a.m. on 5 September, the look-out on the French frigate *Aigrette* cruising off Cape Charles reported approaching sails from east-north-east. By the end of the day, de Grasse had drawn Graves' ships far enough south to allow Barras' fleet to slip into Chesapeake Bay with the siege artillery. The Battle off the Virginia Capes had inflicted enough damage on Graves' ships to send him back to New York a few days later. Cornwallis was trapped, and the next time a British fleet approached Yorktown, Cornwallis had surrendered.

As the allied armies were crossing into New Jersey in mid-August, the thought of a decisive defeat of Cornwallis crossed the minds of few of the officers and men on the allied side. But as they got closer to Philadelphia did it become clear that New York was no longer the target of the campaign. On 26 August he had not yet been able "to make up my mind as to the object of our march." But at Whippany on 27 August, William de Deux-Ponts "learned, under the strictest secrecy from one of my friends, well informed, that all the manoeuvres by which we threaten New York are only a feint, that Lord Cornwallis is the real object of our marches, and we are going to direct then toward Virginia."²⁷⁵

On 29 August, Cromot du Bourg wrote in his diary that "Judging from the direction of our march, there is reason to believe that we shall not make any attempt on New York, nor yet on Staten Island. ... I am satisfied we are about to pay a visit to Cornwallis, who, it is said, is entrenched at Yorktown."²⁷⁶ Finally, on 31 August, the Continental Army had crossed the Delaware, Thacher wrote in

²⁷³ Ibid., p. 611. Mackenzie provides a good synopsis of the rumors and conjectures circulating in British-occupied New York. For rumors among the French see Robin's letter of August 15 in Abbé Robin, *New Travels through North America* (Philadelphia, 1783), p. 39.

²⁷⁴ Wurmb's letter is in the Jungkenn Papers in the Clements Library, Ann Arbor.

²⁷⁵ Deux-Ponts, *Campaigns*, p. 125.

²⁷⁶ Cromot du Bourg, "Diary", p. 377.

his diary: "Our situation reminds me of some theatrical exhibition, where the interest and expectations of the spectators are continually increasing, and where curiosity is wrought to the highest, point. Our destination has been for some time matter of perplexing doubt and uncertainty; bets have run high on one side that we were to occupy the ground marked out on the Jersey shore, to aid in the siege of New York, and on the other, that we are stealing a march on the enemy, and are actually destined to Virginia."

7.3 Order and Organization of the March

Once the decision to march to Virginia had been made, Washington chose the Light Infantry Battalion under Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Scammel consisting of two companies of a Captain, two subaltern officers, four sergeants and fifty rank and file each from the Connecticut Line and two companies Light Infantry from the New York Line commanded by Alexander Hamilton.²⁷⁷ In addition he picked the two regiments of the New Jersey Line, the two regiments of the New York Line, the Canadian Regiment (Congress' Own) under Brigadier General Moses Hazen, the First Rhode Island, and Colonel John Lamb's Second Continental Artillery to march with him to Yorktown.²⁷⁸

Strength of the Continental Army on the March through New Jersey

Regiment/Unit	Commanding officer	Strength
Commander-in-Chief's Guard	Captain Caleb Gibbs	70 officers and men
Rhode Island Regiment	Lt.-Col. Jeremiah Olney	360 officers and men
First New York Regiment	Colonel Goose Van Schaick	390 officers and men
Second New York Regiment	Colonel Philip Van Cortlandt	420 officers and men
Combined New Jersey Regiment	Colonel Mathias Ogden	400 officers and men
Canadian Regiment (Congress' Own)	Brigadier Moses Hazen	270 officers and men
Light Infantry Regiment	Lt.-Col. Alexander Scammel	380 officers and men
Second Continental Artillery	Colonel John Lamb	200 officers and men
Corps of Sappers and Miners	Captain James Gilliland	50 officers and men
Artificer Regiment	Lt.-Col. Ebenezer Stevens	150 (? Unknown)
Total:		2,720 officers and men

²⁷⁷ General Orders for 31 July 1781 stated that the light infantry companies "of the first and second regiments of New York (upon their arrival in Camp) with the two companies of [New] York Levies under command of Captains Sackett and Williams will form a Battalion under command of Lieutenant Colonel Hamilton and Major Fish.

²⁷⁸ This table is based on Charles H. Lesser, *The Sinews of Independence. Monthly Strength Reports of the Continental Army* (Chicago, 1975). The monthly strength reports are those for July; no reports for August have survived. The artillery had departed from West Point on 15 July and arrived at Philipsburg on 27 July.

The remainder of the Continental Army, also almost exactly 2,500 men, would stay behind in Westchester County under the command of General Edward Heath. Not all of these troops, however, left on the same day from White Plains or took the same routes to the rendezvous in Elkton. The First New Jersey under Colonel Mathias Ogden (14 officers, 22 NCOs and 149 rank and file and 198 officers and men detached), the Second New Jersey under Colonel Elias Dayton (18/37/171 and 180 detached) and Moses Hazen's Canadian Regiment (17/38/208 and 85 detached) ferried to New Jersey during the night of 18/19 August and took up positions near Springfield. The Second New York Regiment (23 officers and 398 NCOs and men fit for duty on the eve of the siege on 28 September 1781) was ordered to remain behind until 34 flatboats were finished and ready for use in the campaign. That detachment caught up with the Continental Army at Trenton. This left Washington with about 1,600 officers and men who departed with him from White Plains for Peekskill.²⁷⁹

Rochambeau's forces were considerably larger. On 1 August, not quite three weeks before departure for Virginia, he had about 4,200 men under his immediate command.²⁸⁰

Strength of the French Army on the March through New Jersey

UNIT	PRESENT NCOs and Men	DETACHED	IN HOSPITALS along the route	TOTAL
Bourbonnais	787	178	64	1029
Soissonnais	896	116	44	1056
Saintonge	851	115	77	1043
Royal Deux-Ponts	842	172	29	1043
Artillerie	239	240	31	510
Mineurs	-	23	-	23
Workers (<i>ouvriers</i>)	32	-	4	36
Lauzun's Legion	593	13	4	610
TOTAL	4,240	857	253	5,350

On 15 August, the day after the decision to march to Yorktown had been made, Washington recorded in his Diary that he had "Dispatched a Courier to the Marquis de la Fayette with information of this matter -- requesting him to be in perfect readiness to second my views & to prevent if possible the retreat of Cornwallis toward Carolina. He was also directed to Halt the Troops under the Command of General Wayne if they had not made any great progress in their March to join the Southern Army. The following day he learned much to his relief in a letter from Lafayette, "that Lord Cornwallis with the Troops from Hampton Road, had proceeded up York River & landed at York & Gloucester Towns where they were throwing up Works on the 6th. Inst." The risks the two

²⁷⁹ For a detailed chronology of the march of all forces through New Jersey and extended primary source materials to document the points raised in this narrative section see the following chapter.

²⁸⁰ NARA, Military Service Records, Revolutionary War Rolls, 1775-1783. M246, Roll 136: Returns of the French Army Under Count Rochambeau, 1781-82.

generals had taken were beginning to pay off as the pieces of the campaign were falling into place.²⁸¹

Preparing and executing the march tested the resourcefulness of the Quartermaster General Department to its limits. Since speed was of the essence, logistical planning and preparation for the march had to be kept to a minimum. On 17 September, Washington announced the schedule for the French army: it was to leave Philipsburg on Saturday, 18 August, and reach Trenton on Thursday the 29th. Washington explained "I have named no halting day because we have not a moment to loose."²⁸² On 18 August, the New Jersey Line and Hazen's Regiment ferried across the Hudson and received orders to move "to the heights between Chatham and Springfield".²⁸³ Concurrently the remainder of the Continental Army began its march north toward Peekskill.

The need of supplies for the army as well as for horses and wagons was immense and the task of providing draft animals and wagons lay with Quartermaster General Timothy Pickering, who had taken over the position from Nathanael Greene in 1780.²⁸⁴ Chief engineer Louis le Begue de Presle du Portail's "Estimate of the number of Horses & Oxen of the Main Army for the Campaign 1781 & of the cost of the Forage requisite for their Support for 182 days" allowed the Commander-in-Chief and his guard 64 horses and 24 oxen. Each regiment of Infantry was allowed 22 horses and 32 oxen; an artillery regiment had 20 horses and 40 oxen. Moses Hazen's regiment was allowed 26 horses and 24 oxen, the artificers 11 horses and 40 oxen, the Sappers and Miners 22 horses and 8 oxen. Staff, commissary, artillery conductors, traveling forges, ammunition wagons and carts for provisions added dozens more animals. The total estimate of animals needed for the main army amounted to 3,106 horses and 2,132 draft oxen for the campaign.²⁸⁵ In view of the financial situation and with virtually no credit left, both Washington as well as du Portail knew that it would be impossible to acquire such a huge number of animals. But it seems reasonable to assume that including horses owned privately by officers, there may well have been 500-600 horses and as well as 200-300 oxen with the Continental Army on its march through New Jersey.

²⁸¹ Washington, *Diaries*, Vol. 2, p. 254. Washington's letter to Lafayette is in Washington, *Writings*, Vol. 22, p. 501-502. "

²⁸² Washington, *Writings*, vol. 23, p. 7.

²⁸³ Washington, *Writings*, vol. 23, p. 25, and *Diaries*, Vol. 2, p. 255.

²⁸⁴ See E. Wayne Carp, *To Starve the Army at Pleasure. Continental Army Administration and American Political Culture, 1775-1783* (Chapel Hill, 1984), pp. 169-189.

²⁸⁵ National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), Miscellaneous Numbered Documents, Record Group 93, microfilm reel 92, No. 26624. New Jersey State Archives, Record Group: Military Records, The Quartermaster General and Commissary General Records, Contractors Records, Box 1, contains the Wagonmaster-General's Account Book, 1 March 1780. List of teams in Continental Service at the post of Tr[enton] shows 133 teams with 4-horses and 16 with two horses for a total 564 horses though more would be needed before the beginning of the campaign in June 1780.

This number is supported by a request from Major Thomas Cogswell on 11 July 1781, to Quarter-Master General (QMG) Timothy Pickering that the army needed 500 horses as soon as possible for the campaign.²⁸⁶ This request came on top of a request by General Knox of 1 July, in which he had asked for 205 horses for artillery and another 40 to draw the wagons loaded with spare ammunition.²⁸⁷ But the acquisition of even that relatively small number of animals, less than a quarter of du Portail's number, proved difficult. Many of the Continental horses had been farmed out for the winter across New Jersey and into Pennsylvania, but when Spring came and the Deputy-QMGs and their Assistant-DQMGs wanted to recall the horses, many farmers refused to release them without first getting paid for the maintenance and upkeep - in specie. Unable to provide the cash, the ADQMs either were forced to leave the animals with the farmers or to produce impress warrants for horses already owned by the Continental Army. Since these farmers were usually supportive of the American cause, impressment could be used as a last resort only. When it came to Loyalists, however, sheer necessity overruled all such considerations. On 20 July, the 1781 campaign had barely begun, Pickering informed his deputy Henry Dearborn that in order to meet Knox' request, Washington had consented to impress 100 large horses for the artillery from "the disaffected" in Bergen County. In war-ravaged Bergen County, even impressment did not produce the wanted result: a few days later, Pickering reported that the action had yielded only 52 horses.²⁸⁸ Eventually Heath's forces were denuded of as many wagons, horses, and ox-teams as Washington needed for the march to Virginia viz. on 23 August, the eve of the army's departure from Stony Point, two brigades of 40 ox teams each were diverted to Knox.²⁸⁹ But even that did not meet the needs of the army and from Chatham Washington granted Pickering on 28 August permission to impress whatever animals he needed. "In all cases on the present March, where the Draught Horses or Cattle of the Army shall fail, or where an additional number shall be absolutely necessary, and cannot be procured by hire, or in any other way, except by Military force; You are hereby authorized and directed to impress such numbers of Horses or Oxen as shall be required to perform the public Service, taking care to have it done in such a manner, as to secure the property of the owners as well, and with as little damage and inconveniency as the circumstances will admit."

Due to the short time available between the decision to march to Virginia and the beginning of the march, four days, there was very little time to conduct the

²⁸⁶ Timothy Pickering Papers, Microfilm Edition, reel 26, vol. 89, Letters received by Pickering, May 1781–August 1781, No. 341. The volume only contains acknowledgments of letters received, not the letters themselves.

²⁸⁷ Timothy Pickering Papers, Microfilm Edition Reel 26, Vol. 89, Letters received by Pickering, May 1781 –August 1781, No. 304.

²⁸⁸ Timothy Pickering Papers, Microfilm Edition, reel 26, vol. 127: Letters sent by Pickering, 10 May to 21 December 1781.

²⁸⁹ Timothy Pickering Papers, Microfilm Edition, reel 26, vol. 127: Letters sent by Pickering, 10 May to 21 December 1781. Washington repeated the order to Heath on 24 August, informing him that he had "to furnish the Teams required by the Qr. Mr. General without a moments delay; ... I am halted for want of them and have my movements, the success of which depends absolutely upon celerity, impeded."

usual preparations such as reconnoiter roads, inspect river-fords, prepare campsites, and to establish depots and hospitals in advance of the troops. Selecting routes, locating campsites, supplying troops and a multitude of other responsibilities connected with keeping an army functioning lay once again with Pickering, who had appointed Deputy-QMGs for the various states; in New Jersey this task fell to John Neilson, whose office, however, was located in Trenton. Since Pickering traveled ahead of the troops,²⁹⁰ the burden of getting the Continental Army across New Jersey lay on his chief assistants Colonel Henry Dearborn and Colonel Henry Emanuel [sic] Lutterloh, who accompanied the troops. AQMGs, commissaries, and purchasing agents often preceded the various detachments of the Continental Army by barely a day or two. Many decisions concerning supplies had to be made on the spot, which explains the dearth of correspondence and other primary source materials for the march of the Continental Army through New Jersey which stands in stark contrast to the multiple routes taken by these men. But even though only a single order by Pickering to reconnoiter the roads from Kings Ferry to Pompton is known to exist, and not even a single written road description or road map seems to have survived, there is enough information available to reconstruct in outlines the process of reconnoitering routes and campsites for the Continental Army as it marched across New Jersey in August 1781.

On 21 August, Pickering instructed Phillip Pye from King's Ferry "to examine immediately the state of the roads & bridges from hence to the hither end of Pompton from whence you will proceed by Ogden's iron works (without crossing the Ramapough) to the two bridges at the forks. From thence go back to the Yellow House & return to this place by the common road. Be pleased to note particularly all the places where the road & bridges need great repairs & where new bridges must be built for passing of many carriages, mention the size of the bridges necessary to be built. When you have proceeded on the first route as far as Ogden's iron Works (without crossing the Ramapough) be pleased to send back the express with your report in writing whether that road is practicable for carriages or not, & if practicable, what kind of repairs are requisite to render it a pretty good road."²⁹¹

As he was travelling ahead of the Continental Army, Pickering kept his DQMGs informed of what he found. On 31 August, he wrote to Dearborn from Philadelphia: "Colonel Neilson will show you a ford at Trenton which he was to try with a waggon if found practicable, you will cross the carriages there on this side of Bristol, instead of coming to Neshaminy Ferry, you take the right road at

²⁹⁰ On 27 August, Washington asked Samuel Miles from Chatham to procure some rooms in Philadelphia. Almost as an afterthought he added "These Arrangements would have been made through the Quarter Master General, but he having been left at Kings ferry to execute some business in his Department, and the time of his arrival being uncertain, I have thought proper to write to you myself on the subject, and to desire in the most earnest Manner, that neither labour or expence may be wanting in the performance of the important business now committed to you." Pickering only joined the army in Williamsburg.

²⁹¹ Timothy Pickering Papers Microfilm Edition, vol. 82. Pye's report is not in Pickering's papers.

the fork & go to a fording place - if the tide be up you pass up the river to the second fording place, which may be crossed at all time except in a fresh. The bottoms are good. I was particular in these enquiries yesterday as I passed. The 1st fording place is about a mile above shamminy ferry, the 2^d half a mile above that. I suppose all Cortlandt's reg^t. & their baggage may go down in the batteaux & their necessary teams go empty by land."²⁹²

And on 2 September, Pickering was already in Delaware, Dearborn accompanied by Jacob Hiltzheimer, a Continental ADQMG in Philadelphia, scouted out a campsite for the French forces: "Accompanied Colonel Dearborn, deputy quartermaster, over Schuylkill, to select a site for an encampment."²⁹³ The next day, 3 September, the first Division of the French Army marched into Philadelphia and "encamped on the Commons on the East side of the Schuylkill".²⁹⁴

It is telling, however, that not a single letter or note detailing routes has survived in the Pickering Papers for the time between 21 and 31 August when the armies crossed New Jersey, and the next surviving letter was written from Philadelphia on 6 September. Yet whether any additional letters, notes, or reports ever existed seems doubtful in view of the fact that instructions for the day's march were given to the troops verbally just before they set out. Most men in the Continental Army had already spent years in the state and were familiar with the roads. Once they knew their destinations for that day's march, they and their officers did not need instructions on how to get there. Entries such as this in Benjamin Lincoln's Orderly Book for 28 August on the eve of departure from Chatham are rare. "The different Routes and Orders of March will be given by the DQM Genl. On Parade at 4 o'Clock [a.m.]" The fact that even such brief entries are relatively rare, and that even the Washington's Head-Quarters Orderly Book for most of the days of the march does not even contain an entry for "Parole" and "Countersign" is another indication of the informality with which the troops hastened across New Jersey.²⁹⁵

The Papers of General Lincoln and General Knox are equally devoid of information on the march. The Lincoln Papers contain a single letter written on 21 August 1781 from "camp near king's Ferry"; the next letter is dated

²⁹² Timothy Pickering Papers Microfilm Edition, vol. 82.

²⁹³ *Extracts from the diary of Jacob Hiltzheimer, of Philadelphia, 1765-1798*. Jacob Cox Parsons, ed., (Philadelphia, 1893), p. 45

²⁹⁴ Jacob Hiltzheimer Diary, p. 45.

²⁹⁵ Orderly Book for MG Lincoln's Brigade 1781, Codex Eng 67, John Carter Brown Library, Providence, Rhode Island. Washington knew that once Philadelphia was reached even the Continental Army would need maps and ordered his map-maker Simeon DeWitt to proceed to Philadelphia to map out a road from there to Williamsburg. These maps are located in the New-York Historical Society. See also Albert H. Heusser, *George Washington's Map Maker. A Biography of Robert Erskine* (New Brunswick, 1928, repr. 1966).

“Trentown, Sept 1st 1781 7 o’clock.”²⁹⁶ In the Papers of Henry Knox there are even fewer letters, and if the Washington Papers in part fill the void for Lincoln (six letters), not a single letter by Knox to Washington for August 1781 has survived.

Yet in order to make the marches as smooth and fast as possible, everyone had to contribute information about the roads, including the commander in chief. On 27 August, Washington's aide-de-camp Tench Tilghman wrote to Philip Van Cortlandt, Colonel of the Second New York Regiment, from Chatham: "His Excellency desires me to inform you that he found the Road by Ogdens Iron Works difficult for the Boats, he therefore wishes you to keep upon the Road from Pompton to Morris Town untill you come to a place known by the name of Dodds Tavern."²⁹⁷ And to Lincoln he wrote on 28 August 1781: "The Columns should be provided with guides; for want of these the Artillery [Washington had traveled with the artillery] Yesterday came along a road which was sufficient to destroy half the carriages that passed over it."

If Washington recommended guides even for the Continental Army, the French were clearly dependent on people familiar with the roads. On 3 August, Pickering wrote Thomas Mullens, an Irishman who had served as a lieutenant colonel in the Continental Army and distinguished himself at Germantown and who now served as commanding officer of Rochambeau's guides.²⁹⁸ "The Guides to the American army, some of whom have been annexed to the French army, were engaged on the following terms Viz At Two hard Dollars each p day, Forage for two horses, A pound of bread and a pound of beef p day, and a Gill of rum when there is any for the army." As long as they were in French service, Rochambeau was only to provide provisions and forage and replace their horses in case they were killed. They would be paid by the Continental Army, but that changed on 18 August: in view of the precarious financial situation, Dearborn informed the French that the three guides in their service would henceforth have to be paid by them.²⁹⁹

As the Continental Army was preparing for the march to Yorktown, other logistical issues needed to be addressed as well. One of them was the issue of baggage. Since speed was of the essence the army needed to travel light, yet despite many prohibitions to the contrary officers tended to appropriate the wagons for their own use. On 21 August, Pickering had pointed out this evil to Washington. "I am opinion (sic) that the officers are greatly incumbered with unnecessary baggage the consequence of rest & expectation of marching very

²⁹⁶ Lincoln Papers, Microfilm Edition, reel 6, frame 191, has a letter from New Windsor dated 15 June, frame 210 has the orders of 4 July 1781 for the march to White Plains, and frame 243 has the letter of 21 August, which does not contain any information about the march.

²⁹⁷ Dodd's Tavern is still standing on Chapel Hill Road (633 South) in Lincoln Park. Chapel Hill Road becomes Pine Brook and then Two Bridges Road and then Passaic Avenue on the other side of the Passaic.

²⁹⁸ Bodinier, *Dictionnaire*, p. 412.

²⁹⁹ Pickering Papers, reel 26, vol. 82: Letters sent by Pickering 29 June 1781 to 2 January 1782.

little. I find I have too much myself of which I shall get rid before we leave this ground." In order to force his fellow officers to do likewise, Pickering suggested "to assign a reasonable number of carriages to the officers & then to keep their baggage wholly distinct from the men i.e. the tents & camp kettles - and that any officers baggage afterwards found in the tent waggons should be thrown out by the waggon master general and his deputy and conductors." Pickering proposed to allow the field officers of a regiment one closed waggon, another closed wagon to the regimental staff, the captains one closed and one open wagon, and three open wagons for the tents and camp kettles of the men.

As Pickering had requested, Washington announced the new rules in "General Orders" issued at Head Quarters at King's Ferry on Wednesday 22 August. In them, Washington clarified that "as the Detachment now under the particular direction of Major General Lincoln are to consider themselves as Light-troops who are always supposed to be fit for action and free from every incumbrance. He cannot help advising them to take the present opportunity of depositing at West Point such of their Women as are not able to undergo the fatigue of frequent marches and also every article of Baggage which they can in any wise dispence with and expects that Major General Lincoln and the Officers commanding Corps will pay particular attention to this seasonable admonition as they will thereby (in all probability) avoid evils which cannot be hereafter remedied though they may now be prevented.

As great inconveniencies have arisen in the transportation of Baggage from officers commanding regiments procuring a greater number of waggons than is their proportion and from not having the Tents and baggage of the officers conveyed in different Waggons from those that carry the Soldiers tents, to prevent such irregularities in future the Commander in Chief directs the following allowance of Waggons vizt.

To the Field Officer of a regiment, one covered waggon
To the regimental Staff Captains and Subs: two covered and one open waggons
To every hundred men one open Waggon.

And particularly enjoins it on commanding officers of regiments and corps to see that the tents and Baggage of the officers are convey'd in their proper Waggons and the Waggon Master General is directed to throw away any officers baggage that he finds loaded in those Waggons that are appropriated for the Soldiers Tents."

Two days later as the army was getting ready to leave Stony Point, Lincoln on 24 August implemented Washington's orders: "the Quarter Master General is instructed to throw away any officers Baggage that he finds loaded in those Waggons that are appropriated for the Soldiers Tents."³⁰⁰ The fact that these order

³⁰⁰ Lincoln Orderly Book, John Carter Brown Library.

had to be repeated on an almost weekly basis throughout the campaign is as good an indication as any how difficult it must have been to enforce them.

Another issue concerned camp followers. Even though the army frowned on women and their children accompanying it on the marches, their presence was ubiquitous. Women and children have always formed an integral part of any army, and the American Revolutionary War was no different. Even though their numbers were, at least in theory, strictly limited, and attempts were made to keep women of questionable conduct out of the camp and to keep those within closely supervised, Washington - and Rochambeau - found it impossible to do without them. The vast majority of these women were either wives of soldiers or women looking for employment primarily as washerwomen to keep the soldier's clean or for use in the hospitals.

The earliest available general return for the Continental Army of December 1777 gives the number of women drawing rations equal to that of an enlisted man at about one woman for every 44 NCOs and men or 2.5%. At the beginning of the 1781 campaign in June, a return for the brigades encamped at New Windsor (except the Connecticut Line) shows 137 women, one for every 32 men. Male-female ratios varied from a high of 1 woman for every 11 men in the artillery (429 men) and 1 for every 24 men in the Commander-in-Chief's Guard (69 men) to a low of 1 to 87 in the New Hampshire Brigade. Based on the research by John U. Rees, about 40 to 45 women, 1/3 of the 137 women listed in the return, can be reasonably expected to have accompanied the Continental Army on its march through New Jersey and on to Yorktown. Under 1781 garrison conditions, the number of female camp followers in the Continental Army stood at around 3% of the rank and file, somewhat higher for Washington's Lifeguard and technical troops such as the artillery, somewhat lower for Light troops. Under campaign conditions, numbers of female followers likely dropped to around 1.5 % or less of rank and file strength, again with the above exceptions.³⁰¹

Combined New Jersey Regiment	6 women (1% of strength)
First New York	5 women (1.5%)
Second New York	5 women (1.5%)
First Rhode Island	7 women (1.5%)
Moses Hazen's Regiment	4 women (2.0%)
Second Continental Artillery	9 women (4.0%)
Scammell's Light Battalion	4 women (1.5%)

³⁰¹ This tabulation is based on personal correspondence with John U. Rees and his articles "The Multitude of Women: An Examination of the Numbers of female Camp Followers with the Continental Army." *The Brigade Dispatch* Vol. 23 No. 4, (Autumn 1992), pp. 5-17; vol. 24 No. 1, (Winter 1993), pp. 6-16; and No. 2 (Spring 1993), pp. 2-6; "The Number of Rations issued to Women in Camp: New Material Concerning Female Followers With Continental Regiments." *ibid.*, vol. 28 No. 1, (Spring 1998), pp. 2-8 and No. 2, (Summer 1998), pp. 2-12, 13, as well as his "The Proportion of Women which ought to be allowed: Female Camp Followers With the Continental Army." *The Continental Soldier. Journal of the Continental Line* vol. 8 No. 3, (Spring 1995), pp. 51-58.

Washington's Life Guard	3 women (based on June 1781 return)
Corps of Sappers and Miners	1 woman (based on June 1781 return)
Corps of Artificers	2 women (estimate)
	=====
	46 women and an unknown number of children

By the time the Continental Army had disengaged from the British at New York in August 1781 and was making its way across New Jersey, it numbered about 2,650 rank and file. Though the preceding table is based primarily on estimates and patterns established before 1781, it provides a generous, though reasonable, estimate of the number of women that accompanied the army to Virginia.

In his General Orders of 22 August, Washington addressed that issue as well. He "cannot help advising them to take the present opportunity of depositing at West Point such of their Women as are not able to undergo the fatigue of frequent marches." Anticipating this order, Colonel Lamb had already ordered on 19 August that a return be made "of all the Women and Children in Camp, distinguishing those that have husbands and also Returns of the Husband's Names & whether they be in this Division of the Army or not."³⁰²

On 24 August, Lamb repeated in the "Orderly Book" of his regiment the General Orders of 19 June respect women and children on the march. "No Women will be suffered to ride in waggons or walk in the ranks this Campaign unless there are very particular reasons for it, of which the General Officer or officer commanding the Division or brigade to which they belong is to be the judge; a written permission only will avail; without this the officers of the day or police are not only authorized to turn them out, but requested to inflict instant punishment upon those who shall be found transgressors of this order."

And on 27 August, Lincoln issued this order: "Prior to the Commencement of our March this Morning the commanding Officers will inform the Women of their respective Corps that the General saw many of them, yesterday, from their proper Line of March strolling in gardens and Orchards – an irregularity which must not be repeated. Should any attempt it hereafter, they will be denied their Rations and prevented further from following the Army."³⁰³

French troops were campaigning in a foreign country, far away from their home bases. This explains why there were few women and even fewer children with Rochambeau's forces. In addition women "were not considered necessary to the administration of the army", as René Chartrand has pointed out. Therefore "women did not officially exist." The army very rarely approved marriages, but when it did, the women, though not allowed to live in the barracks, at least received a daily bread ration. Both Rochambeau's *French* and *Foreign* regiments brought women with them from Europe. In *French* regiments, women were but

³⁰² Lamb, Orderly Book, search under date.

³⁰³ Lincoln Orderly Book, John Carter Brown Library.

tolerated, but *Foreign* regiments such as the Royal Deux-Ponts were allowed 30 women each in the *capitulation* between the colonels of the regiments and the crown of 1 March 1760. On the march, they received 1 *sol* pay per day and a bread ration. Officially Rochambeau could have brought but 30 women and their children from the Royal Deux-Ponts. The number of camp followers in 1781 approached this total, but only 1/4 were from the Royal Deux-Ponts.

The most reliable numbers are in the embarkation lists of 1782. When Rochambeau's infantry left from Boston on Christmas Day 1782, it embarked 25 women and 4 children:

5 women or children for the Bourbonnais
6 women and 1 child for the Soissonnais
5 women or children for the Saintonge
6 women and 3 children for the Royal Deux-Ponts (at least two are girls, one but
4 years old)
3 women for the artillery

A slightly different list in the *Archives Nationales* gives 20 women and six children for the infantry regiments plus three for the artillery, with six women and three children for the Royal Deux-Ponts. The siege artillery as well as Lauzun's Legion wintered on the American mainland and left in May 1783. An embarkation list dated Philadelphia, 4 May 1783, gives 5 women as passengers "a la ration," i.e., soldier's wives, though it is unclear to which unit they belonged. That would bring the total number of women and children in the French army to 34 women and children.

In June 1781, Rochambeau hired waggoners and cooks in Connecticut for the march south; seven of the 15 cooks were female, but they were Americans and had not crossed the Atlantic with the French army. If they are added to the known total of American and French women and children, we arrive at a combined total of about 80-85 women and children who accompanied the allied armies across New Jersey.

One of the women accompanying the armies to Yorktown was Sarah Mary Matthews, born in 1756 in Blooming Grove, Orange County, New York. After her first husband William Read had been killed in an early battle of the Revolutionary War, she married Aaron Osborn in January 1780. Osborn was a commissary sergeant in Captain James Gregg's company of Colonel Goose Van Schaick's First New York Regiment. In the summer of 1781, she and the other women in her regiment -- in her old age she remembered the wives of Lieutenant Forman and Sergeant Lamberson as well as a black woman named Letta -- traveled with the regiment across New Jersey, working alternately as a seamstress, washerwoman, and baking bread for the soldiers. In Baltimore she boarded a ship and sailed down the Chesapeake Bay to Williamsburg. At the siege of Yorktown she cooked for four soldiers besides her husband, carrying water and taking care of wounded soldiers. At some point she encountered General Washington who asked her: "Young woman

are you not afraid of the bullets?" Her response was: "No, the bullets would not cheat the gallows".

The end of the war found Matthews at Continental Village in New York, and when Osborn left her for another woman in 1784, she took John Benjamin for her third husband in 1787. Forty years later, in 1837, Matthews applied for a pension and submitted her autobiography and Revolutionary War experiences as part application. Her application was successful and she lived to enjoy her pension for another twenty years. Sarah Matthews died on 26 April 1858, about 102 years old.

In order to avoid having to travel during the heat of the day, American as well as French forces got up early. The Orderly Book for Colonel Lamb's regiment of artillery provides first-hand insight into the order and organization of the march. On 19 August, reveille was beaten "at 1/2 past 2 Oclock, the Assemble at three, and the march will commence at 1/3 past three" with the baggage of the artillery preceding the park.

Once the crossing of the Hudson was completed and the march through New Jersey began, the Continental Army settled into a routine that had their march begin at 4:00 a.m.; camp for the day was reached in the early afternoon at the latest.³⁰⁴ Next came the distribution of food, especially beef, to the men, who were divided into messes: "One day's Provision will be drawn, and cook'd the Afternoon".³⁰⁵ Cooking of meals took place in the common kettle: "Every Mess must carry its own Camp Kettle," Washington had ordered on 19 June.

In the absence of pre-established depots, the troops were handed their food supplies for a number of days in advance with the order to prepare their meals in advance as much as that was possible. On 24 August, the day of departure from Stony Point, Lincoln distributed to the Continental Army two days worth of beef, 14 days soap and candles, and three days worth of flour with the instruction to bake bread "this afternoon."³⁰⁶ The French had the funds to pay locals to bake their bread for them, viz. on 28 June 1781, John Lloyd wrote to Wadsworth from Darby that he had been ordered by the French to provide a large quantity of bread. In order to meet the request, he had "distributed [the wheat flour] among the inhabitants to bake."³⁰⁷ The Continental Army "requested" locals to make their bake-ovens available to bake bread for the soldiers. On 8 September, Lincoln's Orderly Book records from Head of Elk that as the troops of the First Division were about to embark for the Chesapeake, they were to receive six days flour, four days pork and 2 days of beef. The flour was to be baked into bread that afternoon, "for this purpose the inhabitants must be requested to lend their Ovens". That was clearly an exception to the rule, however. The *comte de Lauberdière*, an aide-de-camp to Rochambeau, recorded that "They trouble

³⁰⁴ But on 26 August, Lamb and his column marched from "Forks of Posaick" as late as 5:30 a.m.

³⁰⁵ Lamb Orderly Book for 6 August 1781.

³⁰⁶ Lincoln Orderly Book, John Carter Brown Library.

³⁰⁷ Wadsworth Papers, Box 131.

themselves little with provisions: actually they are given just a bit of corn meal of which each soldier makes his own bread."³⁰⁸

Unless salted or smoked, beef spoiled easily in the summer heat. It was preferable to have a drove of cattle accompany the army and to slaughter the animals as needed. As the army began its march into New Jersey on 25 August, Lincoln ordered that "The Commissary will daily precede [with the Cattle] the Troops, to the place of Incampment & have the Beef ready to be issued on their arrival, in order to prevent delays, the provision returns will be made out every Evening."³⁰⁹ The number of cattle with the troops could be quite large -- John Hudson remembered that in Baltimore where the army "encamped on Howard's hill ... six hundred heads of cattle were slaughtered and salted for our use" on the final leg of the journey to Williamsburg.³¹⁰

At times, however, Pickering's supply system could not meet the needs of the soldiery and the DQMG had to resort to confiscation of supplies. Even before the campaign started, Quarter-Master General Timothy Pickering and his assistants were casting covetous eyes on supplies gathered for the French forces. On 29 May and again on 4 June, Morgan Lewis and Daniel Parker begged Wadsworth from Albany to order the delivery of the 4,000 barrels of flour they had purchased as his agents for the French Army. More importantly, in order to benefit from the French presence they had purchased another 1,700 barrels on their own account that were in danger of being seized by the New York State Government for the Continental Army. "By a warrant from the Governor 200 Bbs have already been seized from us."³¹¹ If this flour were to be confiscated, Lewis and Parker would be ruined.

Wadsworth saved this flour from confiscation, but eventually it ended up in American hands after all. On 18 August, Washington informed Rochambeau, that "Before Mr. Morris left Camp he made a proposal which he desired might be communicated to your Excellency. He informed me that he understood Mr. Tarlé had between two and three thousand Barrels of Flour upon the upper parts of the North River, and as he imagined it could not now be wanted in that quarter he made an offer of supplying you with an equal quantity to the southward, if that above should be delivered to our Commissary General. I shall be obliged by your making Mr. Tarlé acquainted with the above, and if it can be transacted upon the terms proposed by Mr. Morris, I shall be glad to know the exact quantity and where Mr. Tarlé would chuse to have the Flour which is to be given in exchange deposited."

³⁰⁸ Lauberdière, Journal, fol. 75.

³⁰⁹ Lincoln Orderly Book, John Carter Brown Library. From December 1779 to the end of the war in 1783, Ephraim Blaine served as Commissary General to the Continental Army. A comparison of direct quotes shows that this seems to have been the Orderly Book used by Andrew D. Mellick, Jr., *The Story of an Old Farm or Life in New Jersey in the Eighteenth Century* (Somerville, 1889), pp. 534-542, esp. pp. 535-537.

³¹⁰ Hudson Memoirs in *Cist's Advertiser* Vol. 3, No. 3, 28 January 1846.

³¹¹ Connecticut Historical Society, Jeremiah Wadsworth Correspondence, Box 131.

Rochambeau agreed to let the Americans have at least some of the flour as is evidenced in Washington's letter from Kings Ferry of 22 August. "Sir: You will oblige me by letting me know the Quantity of Flour which you propose to deliver to my Comm[issary]. General upon the North River, and where you would chuse to have the like quantity to replace it, delivered, and in what time. This last is particularly necessary to enable me to inform Mr. Morris, that he may make his purchases accordingly." And two days later he informed Morris that "Immediately after you left Camp I applied to Mr. Tarlé the French Intendant and requested to know the quantity of Flour which he could spare us and where he would wish to have it replaced. I have not been able to ascertain either of these points, but from a conversation which passed yesterday between Mr. Tarlé and Colo. Stewart on the subject, I do not imagine we shall obtain more than 1000 or 1200 Barrels in this quarter; and as the whole or the greater part which is to be given in return will be wanted to the southward, I think you may with safety prepare a few hundred Barrels in Philada. at which place the French will have a quantity of Bread Baked and the remainder at the Head of Elk and upon Chesapeake. The moment I know with more certainty, I will inform you."

From the very outset of the campaign, the Continental Army was living hand-to-mouth. All credit of Congress and its agents was long gone. On 25 October 1781, David Duncan wrote to John Davis, AQMG in Pennsylvania from Pittsburgh, "I assure you I can not do any thing without Money at this Place, the People have never been paid yet for their services or I may say for any thing due, and Promises will not answer to pay debts any Longer, they say they would not Trust their Father if in Public service, I cant blame them they have been Deceived so often since these times begun."³¹²

To meet the requirements of keeping any kind of army in the field, State authorities had long since resorted to both collecting tax payments in kind³¹³ and to handing out interest-bearing Continental loan certificates to farmers and merchants in exchange for their goods. Colonel Lamb's Orderly Book recorded for 25 August, the Continental Army was encamped barely three miles into New Jersey, that "The Officers Commanding Corps will appoint some Person to procure forage and Grain for their Horses, and receipt to Mr. Coldcloud, Forage Master to the Park, who will give the necessary Certificates." For the historian, however, they provide insight into the wide variety of services required to move the Continental Army across the state, viz., on 6 July 1782, Matthew Clark received a certificate for £ 1.10 of 4 Spanish Milled dollars for "two days service

³¹² John Davis Papers, Library of Congress.

³¹³ See New Jersey State Archives, Record Group: Dept. of the Treasury. Sub-group: State Treasurer's Office, Series: Revolutionary War-Era Accounts of Taxes received in kind, 1781-1782. There are also thousands of receipts for payment of taxes in kind in the different counties in RG: Department of Defense, SG: Revolutionary War, Series: Numbered Manuscripts, 2 vols. While these files provide a good insight into the kinds and amounts of victuals collected in the various counties, they are of little value to assess the additional burdens and requirements occasioned by the August 1781 campaign through New Jersey.

of his two horse team transporting stores for the Jersey Troops on their March to the Southward at 15/ p day." John Hight likewise received 30/ for "two days Service of his two horse Team employed to transport Baggage of the Jersey Line in Augt 1781 at two dollars a day". On 11 December 1782, John Shank received one for 10/ for "one days Service of two horses assisting to move the Artillery from Princeton to Trenton in Augt 1781." On 28 December 1782, Samuel Hunt received a certificate over £ 1:10 or 4 dollars for "1/2 Ton hay furnished a detachment of General Clintons Brigade [i.e., the New York Line] on their march from Virginia to Pompton in the Month of Decr 1781." Daniel Stockton received £ 3 15/ or 10 dollars for "5 days Service of a two horse Team employed carting wood for the Park of Artillery at Burlington." Thomas Johnston, who traveled with the wagon train of the army to Yorktown, received a certificate on 12 April 1782, for a total £ 31 3/ for "21 days service of a four horse Team employed with the Army from 13 Sept to 3 Oct. 1781 at 2 dols p day - 1 waggon delivered by the Waggonmaster of the Army, to the French Army £ 14 - Sundry harness with said waggon £ 1 8/." Lastly, for the way back Joseph Lewis received 58 Spanish Milled dollars for "29 days Service of a team removing the sick from Virginia to Philad. at 15/ p day".³¹⁴

But suppliers involuntary and voluntary alike, had a long and painful experience with such certificates, which, as the examples cited above show, were sometimes issued years after the service had been provided. Unlike in states such as Delaware, relatively untouched by the war where such Continental IOUs were hand-written, New Jersey had pre-printed forms that only needed to be filled out as the need arose - which was quite frequently. During the less than two years that John Neilson served as DQMG in New Jersey he handed out over 10,000 certificates.³¹⁵

Under these circumstances it was easy to see why Americans wanted to sell to the French. Unable to compete with the French silver that preceded Rochambeau's forces, Continental money and state emissions lost whatever value they still had. Wherever it went, resources for the Continental Army dried up, which for enlisted men often meant going hungry. In their need to raise cash, Continental Army officials occasionally even sold supplies to Wadsworth.

³¹⁴ These certificates are but a small sample taken from Neilson, John. "Papers ... kept as DQM for NJ, 1780-1782, Box 1" call no. Ac 589, Special Collections, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey. Neilson took over as DQMG in September 1780. In almost all cases only the signed receipt that payment had been made, i.e., a small strip on left hand of the certificate, has survived. The certificates cited here have the numbers 8167, 10879, 10880, 10904, 8086, 8054, and 8297.

³¹⁵ Box 2 of the Neilson Papers contains an account book beginning Trenton, 25 September 1780, with almost daily entries of horses being purchased, materials being received and/or handed out etc. There is no noticeable increase in activity in Neilson's office in September 1781, no mention of French forces and no entry that can be tied explicitly to the 1781 campaign.

As of 16 July 1782, New Jersey had issued loan certificates with a nominal value of \$ 71,005,850.60 and a specie value \$ 12,170,609.60. New Jersey State Archives, RG: Dept. of the Treasury, SG: State Treasurer's Office, Series: Accounts of the State of New Jersey with the US Govt. 1775-1799.

Azariah Dunham's *Daybook* records for 29 August 1781: "£ 312 15/ cash for (illegible number) heads of cattle".³¹⁶ Benjamin Tallmadge had foreseen this problem when he wrote to Wadsworth on 14 July 1780, "as you are Qgenl for the French I shall not be disappointed to find thro the Campaign that they are well fed & our Troops starving."³¹⁷

Once the campaign had started, his fears came true. On 21 August, James Hendricks wrote from Alexandria "Lord knows what will be done for provisions! Colo. Wadsworth & Carter, the French Agents have their Riders all round the Country, buying flour & beef with specie, this will effectively prevent the Commissioners from procuring any, as there is not a probability of the People letting the State Agents have an Ounce on Credit while they can get the French Crowns & Louis, I wish the Executive wou'd fall on some method to get the Cash from the French, and furnish the Supplies, without some method or other is fell on, the American Army will be starved."³¹⁸ There was no way "to get the Cash from the French", and their coffers empty, all that Continental Quarter-Masters could do was hand out certificates and, if all else failed, resort to impressment and confiscation of supplies, angering the very population upon whose support the army depended. As the Continental Army was approaching his state, Delaware DQM John Yeates warned Delaware Governor Caesar Rodney that "such actions were productive of the most disagreeable occurrences [since] the taking property indiscriminately ... never fails of giving much distress, and causing just murmuring."³¹⁹

In the face of hunger, the Continental Army, or at least some of its men, resorted to pillaging, so much so, that on 12 Sept. 1780, William S. Pennington of the Second Regiment of Continental Artillery wrote in his diary: "Plundering and Morouding has become so prevelant at this time in the Army that there is No Such thing as Security of Property to the inhabitants."³²⁰ As he sent him across the

³¹⁶ Dunham, Azariah. *Accounts: daybook of purchases, expenses etc as Superintendent of Purchases for the American Army, 1777-1786*. 3 vols., 23 items Rutgers University, New Brunswick. AD-3, Ac 18. The Daybook is part of Charles Deshler Papers. In a volume called: "Accounts (in ledger form) of rations issued to the militia and the Continental Army 1776-1781" contains a blank waggoner enlistment form.

³¹⁷ Tallmadge to JW from Cortland Manor on Croton 14 July 1780. CHS, Wadsworth Papers, Box 130a.

³¹⁸ NARA, Revolutionary War Records, Miscellaneous Numbered Records, Record Group 93, microfilm reel 92, No. 26743.

³¹⁹ Public Archives Division of Delaware, *Delaware Archives. Revolutionary War. In Three Volumes* (Wilmington, 1919), vol. 3 pp. 1357/58. Trying to justify the inevitable, Nathanael Greene had written to Joseph Reed on 1 August 1780 "It is impossible to carry on a war without oppressing the inhabitants in some degree; and however disagreeable and inconvenient it may be to the people, and to those in power, a regard to the common good and general safety will justify the measure."

³²⁰ William S. Pennington Diary, 4 May 1780-23 March 1781, p. 62. NJHS MG 234. On 10 September 1780, Ezekiel Cornell, one of Rhode Island's representative to Congress, wrote to Rhode Island Governor William Greene, from Philadelphia that letters from friends in Hackensack inform him that the army has not gotten paid or fed. Therefore "The army now live principally by

Hudson on the first day of the campaign, Washington had finished his order to Dayton and his New Jersey troops of 19 August with the admonition "I wish you to be particular in your orders to the officer, that he may take every effectual means in his power to prevent his men from Abusing the Inhabitants, which is a circumstance I am under the painful necessity of Observing, that your troops are too frequently charged with, and I fear not without foundation. By paying particular Attention to their conduct in this particular and punishing with severity offenders a stop May be put to further improprieties."

If the fact that the numerous prohibitions against plunder and pillage recorded in the Orderly Books are any indication for the frequency of the incidents, they must have been quite frequent indeed. Just one example: Lamb's Orderly Book records on 21 August: "Any Soldier who shall be detected in burning Rails or plundering the orchards or gardens of the Inhabitants may depend on being punished with the utmost severity." Only four days later while encamped at "Ramapogh" on 25 August, Lamb expressed his expectation "that the Officers will exert themselves to prevent the Inhabitants from being plundered, and the fences destroyed - any Soldier who shall be found guilty of such Extremities may depend on being punished with the utmost severity." This tendency to lawlessness was not lost on their allies. Baron Closen remarked that "It is to be noted that the American Army paid neither for wood nor forage, and in a way, for nothing in this country. *The soldiers plunder a great deal* (and almost by turns.)"³²¹

Onerous as this may have been to the inhabitants, these illegal activities provide another opportunity to trace the movements of the Continental Army. On 20 December 1781, the Council and General Assembly of New Jersey passed an act to procure an estimate of damages done by the British troops or their adherents, by the Continental Army, or by the militia of New Jersey or of neighboring states. The act authorized appraisers in each county to take inventories for each damage claim, and required them to file these inventories with the legislature. A look at some of the damage claims filed in townships along the Continental Army route in 1781 shows the variety of items some of the soldiers in the Continental Army found of interest. Daniel Demarest of Hackensack Township in Bergen County was fortunate: in 1781 he only lost one horse, 14 years old and 15 hands high, valued at £ 18, to the Continental Army. Nicholas Muishenger (?) in Franklin Township lost, among other items, "one Shoa", i.e., a recently weaned piglet, "Six months old", and valued at 7/6 as well as two knives and forks. His neighbor James Bogert recorded the loss of "two sheep and one Bee hive with honey", worth £ 2 4/. Albert Bogert of Harrington Township lost, among other items, "one gill glass, ...one temple spectacles"

plunder both for meat & forage. And will if they keep together I fear soon become freebooters. And I think every man must feel for the Inhabitants where the Army marches." RISA Letterbooks Letters to Gov. William Greene Vol. 15, 19 June to 10 November 1780. This is part of the background for the mutinies of January 1781.

³²¹ Acomb, *Closen*, p. 259.

worth 4/6, as well as two combs and "two English Book [s]" worth 4/. Barent Walderom also of Harrington Township lost "Nine Sheep at 12/0 each, ... six Bee hives with honey" worth £ 6, one gun valued at £ 2 10/, and ten bushels of potatoes³²² worth £ 1.³²³ Nicholas Cockorow of Saddle River had stolen a three-year-old steer worth £ 4, and a nine-month-old calf, valued at £ 1 4/. John Uryansen of New Barbadoes Township lost an assortment of items that included a gun with bayonet and cartridge box worth £ 5 8/, a saddle with harness at £ 3, breeches, a beaver hat, knee buckles, sheets, handkerchiefs, gowns, aprons stockings and even £ 3 5/ in hard money. Robert Arnold of Morris County reported the loss of three axes and a swarm of bees "he believes Stolen by the Continental Army he having found the ruins of the bees in direction of Camp." Also used without his permission were 40 acres of pastureland and three acres of rye.³²⁴

³²² The basic unit of weight in the British weights system is the grain based on the weight of a grain of barley, though monetary weights are based on the grain of wheat: three grains of barley weigh the same as four of wheat. This (barley) grain is called the troy grain and constant throughout the different systems of British weights though the pound in general use today is the avoirdupois pound of 7,000 grains (rather than the troy pound of 5,760 grains) of 16 ounces of 437.5 grains each.

Weights and measures in use in the UK were defined in a series of laws in 1824 and 1835/36, while those used in the US are still those of the eighteenth century. Up to and including the pound, the British and American systems are the same, but the hundredweight (cwt.) in England is 112 pounds (lbs.; a long hundredweight) while in the US the hundredweight is 100 lbs., (a short hundredweight). There are 20 cwt. to the ton, which makes a ton in the US weigh 2,000 lbs. (a short ton), and 2,240 lbs. (a long ton) in the UK.

16 drams = 1 ounce = 437.5 grains (1 grain = 0.0648 gram)

16 ounces = 1 pound = 7,000 grains

25 pounds = 1 quarters

4 quarters = 100 pounds = 1 hundredweight (= 45.36 kg but 112 lbs. or 50.80 kg in the UK)

20 hundredweight = 1 ton = 2,000 pounds

Liquid and dry measures have been the same in England since 1824 with 1 gallon = 4 quarts = 8 pints = 4.54 liters, and 8 gallons or 36.32 liters to the bushel. The liquid gallon in use in the US is the Queen Anne Gallon of 1707 of 231 cubic inches or 3.78 liters. The US bushel defined as a round measure with a plain and even bottom, 18.5 inches wide throughout and 8 inches deep, of eight gallons is for dry measure only. Based on the William III Gallon of 1696 of 268.8 cubic inches or 4.40 liters, this bushel holds 2,150.42 cubic inches or 35.24 liters. This means that the US hogshead as used in the eighteenth century, measured, and still measures, 63 gallons, while a hogshead in the UK since 1824 holds only 52.5 gallons.

³²³ The British Pound Sterling, identified by the symbol £ for the Latin *librum*, was divided into 20 shillings (symbol: s or / in accounts) of 12 pennies (symbol: d for Latin *denarius*) each or 240 pennies to the pound.

³²⁴ An amendment to the act, dated 27 December, stipulated that the appraisers were to meet beginning in August 1782. In the New Jersey State Archives these claims are filed in RG: Legislature, Series: Inventories of Damages by the British and Americans in New Jersey, 1776-1782, Subseries: War damages in New Jersey. Damage done by Continental Army troops are recorded for Bergen, Burlington, Hunterdon, Morris, and Somerset counties. No inventories for Cape May, Cumberland, Gloucester, Monmouth, Salem or Sussex County exist.

The British Pound, identified by the symbol £ for Latin *librum*, was divided into 20 shillings (symbol: s or / in accounts) of 12 pennies (symbol: d for Latin *denarius*) each or 240 pennies to

Sometimes this self-help had fatal consequences. On the way to Trenton, Lieutenant J. M. Green of the Rhode Island Regiment had "destroyed the property of an inhabitant," as he reported in a letter to General Benjamin Lincoln of 1 September. When he went to inform the owner of the "accident" and how he had done "all in my power to avoid injuring the hog," a man rushed at him and Green "was induced to drop the point of my Espontoon against which he rushed with such force that he buried the blade in his neck - the woman to whom I addressed myself accosted me in very indecent language which I did not think proper to return."³²⁵ Since "the troops were marching & being conscious of my own innocence I rejoined my blatoon."

Unlike their American allies, the French forces had ample cash - specie - to pay for their purchases. On 17 August, the day before the French artillery departed from White Plains, Wadsworth and Carter informed the French Intendant that "we are on the eve of a March where clearly expenditures of hard Money are absolutely necessary - and without it your service can not be assured." To meet these expenditures, they wanted to "be Monthly supplied with about four

the pound. The French monetary system followed the same pattern: 1 livre = 20 sols, 1 sol = 12 deniers, 1 livre = 240 deniers.

Reading New Jersey invoices and ledgers poses its own problems. Since Continental Dollars had no value any longer in 1781, the state returned to *specie* money, which meant that many accounts, including State accounts, used the dual entry system based on the British Pound and the Spanish Milled Dollar or Piece of Eight, which was the most commonly circulating coin in the colonies.

Minted in silver, it was similar in size and weight to the German *Taler* or the French *écu* of 6 livres. A little less than a troy ounce of British sterling silver (.925 fine silver, valued at 62 d or 5 s 2 d), a Spanish dollar was worth 54 d or 4 s 6 d. As the demand for silver coinage far exceeded the available supply, silver coins traded at a premium; the premium above the 54 d level was termed the "crying up" of coinage. In order to limit this "crying up," Queen Anne issued a proclamation in 1704, passed into law by parliament in 1707, which specified that a full weight Spanish dollar would pass in the colonies at 72 d or 6 s, a third above the sterling rate. Since 5 s were called a *Crown* in Britain, French *écus* were known as *French Crowns* in the colonies.

During the Revolutionary War, New England, Virginia, and the Carolinas adhered to this "Proclamation Rate" of a one third "upcrying" and currency issued at this rate was known as "Lawful Money" or "Current Money." The Middle colonies of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland set the exchange rate for a Spanish dollar at 90 d or 7 s 6 d, 66.66 per cent over sterling. To distinguish it from the "Proclamation Money", it was referred to as "Common Money" or "Pennsylvania Money", though "Lawful Money" (or "Current Money") appears in New Jersey ledgers as well. New York created its own rate of 96 d or 8 s to the Spanish dollar, a 78 per cent increase over sterling. This means that:

4 s 6 d British = 6 s Massachusetts = 7 s 6 d Pennsylvania = 8 s New York

Or, expressed in terms of the value of a pound sterling the exchange rates would be:

£ 1 (240 d) British = £ 1 6 s 8 d (320 d) MA = £ 1 13 s 4 d (400 d) PA = £ 1 15 s 7 d (427 d) NY

This paragraph is based on information found at www.coins.nd.edu/ColCurrency. The best book in print by far is John J. McCusker, *Money and exchange in Europe and America, 1600-1775: a handbook* (Chapel Hill, N.C., Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, VA, by the University of North Carolina Press, 1978).

³²⁵ Green to Lincoln, 1 September 1781, Benjamin Lincoln Papers, reel 6.

hundred thousand Livres - in Specie".³²⁶ The availability of cash to pay for purchases made the French welcome guests in New Jersey, but since cash payments leave no paper trail they not make the task of a historian any easier. Primary sources such as letters by Jeremiah Wadsworth, chief supplier to the French Army, are non-existent for the march through New Jersey. In the voluminous Wadsworth correspondence no letter exists for the days from 16 August to 4 September, when we have a letter written from Philadelphia. Just like his American counterpart, Wadsworth was traveling with the army and conducted his business orally.

Only when even money could not procure the needed supplies do we hear about French problems, e.g., in Washington's Diary of 19 August: "The want of Horses, or bad condition of them in the French army delayed the March till this day. The same causes, it is to be feared, will occasion a slow and disagreeable March to Elk if fresh horses cannot be procured & better management of them adopted." But these were only temporary problems that were solved by French silver. As wagons broke down and drivers deserted or were discharged and returned home, the French army hired replacements both individually as well as in groups on the march through New Jersey. On 2 September, a brigade of initially seven four-horse teams under Thomas Gardner was hired at 12/ per day and driver. Gardner, who served as Conductor at 10/8 per day, as well as the other drivers were from around Chatham and were paid four days expenses for their journey to Philadelphia where they joined the French service on 1 September.³²⁷ One of the teams hired was driven by Peter Fisher but was owned by Abraham Williamson of Amwell in Hunterdon County, who paid his driver Peter Fischer 3/9 per day or £ 22 6/3 for the 119 days he had spent with Williamson's team in French service in 1781.³²⁸

3/9 per day driving a team to Yorktown and back were within the generally accepted wage rate. On 19 July 1781, Williamson paid a day laborer 3/6 per day baling grass, hiring a man for cradling rye and wheat cost him 6/ per day, pulling flax 2/. At about the same time, in June 1781, he sold potatoes for 2/6 for a bushel and 2/12 if they were "of the red sort". Lastly, in the summer of 1781, Neilson paid for one day labor as much as 7/6 specie or up to 12/6 state money.³²⁹

³²⁶ Jeremiah Wadsworth Papers, Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, Box 143, French Army Papers.

³²⁷ Between 29 September and 7 October, another five teams joined the brigade. The teams were paid off in Williamsburg on 6 November 1781. Williamson's daily rate had been somewhat less at 11/3 per day. The receipt is in Jeremiah Wadsworth Papers, Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, Box 132.

³²⁸ Abraham Williamson, Farm Accounts 1778-1781. Call No. Ac 577, Special Collections, Rutgers University, New Brunswick. That means that Williamson/Fischer entered the French service at the latest on 4 September 1781. On 7 June 1783, his account book contains the entry "By driving Team in the french Service 3 months & 10 days a 3/9 pr day £ 18 15/." Fischer received 1/3 of the wagon rent as his wages.

³²⁹ Neilson, John. Papers ... kept as DQM for NJ, 1780-1782, Special Collections, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, Ac 589.

In his Account Book for 1781/82, Caleb Camp recorded similar wages.³³⁰ In 1781 (no closer date) he paid William Andrich 12/ for one day plowing, on 26 February 1781, he paid Moses Robards 5/ for "Oxen and Carriage one day", and on 26 July 1781, Amos Robards received "One days plowing for Buckwheat 10/," and "To the Oxen and plow one Day 5/." In December 1781, he paid Jep Harison 3 ½ d p/lb beef and 4 ½ d p/lb pork, while a bushel of wheat cost 8/ in March 1782. In his "Daybook" John Stevens recorded on 12 September 1781: "Paid Jacob Emory for his Sons work in Harvest 4 ½ Days at 2/6 hard Money 11/3." That would have bought the sons 1/2 gallon whiskey, for which Stevens on 13 February 1782 paid 5/ State Money at an exchange rate to specie of 2 ½ for 1.³³¹

Once under way, the columns of soldiers and wagons stretched for miles across the countryside. During the Monmouth campaign of 1778, Sir Henry Clinton informed Lord George Germaine on 5 July 1778 that "Under the head of the baggage was comprised, not only the wheeled carriages of every department, but also the bat horses, a train, which as the country admitted but of one route for carriages, extended near twelve miles."³³² Since Clinton's train consisted of about 1,500 wagons at the time, a train of 12 miles, including bat horses, averages out to about 42 feet per wagon or 125 wagons per mile. On its march through New Jersey, the Continental Army split up into two and sometimes three columns of two or three regiments. With their seven or eight four-horse wagons each plus artillery and supply wagons, its columns were relatively short. Nevertheless, it seems reasonable to assume that in view of the horses and oxen requested by General Knox and including the more than 200 horses with the Second New York regiment, the overall number of draft animals with the Continental Army not counting the horses of the officers was a minimum of 500 to 600 horses and 250 to 300 oxen.

French army columns were considerably longer. Just for the 189 wagons of four oxen each Jeremiah Wadsworth had drafted a minimum of 756 oxen. Dozens more "steaks on the hoof" accompanied the thousands of troops. 80 horses drew the twenty staff wagons, the artillery added about 500 horses and Lauzun's Legion contributed the animals of the 300 mounted hussars. Almost all of the about 400 officers had at least three horses for themselves and their servants, which may have added another 1,200 animals to the columns. Eyewitnesses such as James Hopkins of Bedford remembered the spectacle for the rest of their lives. Hopkins recalled in the 1840s that "The French infantry next day passed towards White Plains by the West Road passing North Castle Church (I believe). Their drums were beating all day long." Benjamin Hoyt of

³³⁰ Camp Family Business Records, Box 4. NJHS, MG 81. In July 1780 he had paid Sebedee Wilson 9/ for 1 day plowing plus 2/9 for the oxen; in July 1779, 1 day mowing cost 5/, gathering corn is 4/ per day in September 1779.

³³¹ Daybook John Stevens, NJHS, MG 409.

³³² Lieutenant General Sir Henry Clinton, K.B., to Lord George Germaine, 5 July 1778. State of the Forces under . . . Sir Henry Clinton, 3 July 1778 (Library of Congress, Mss. Division: PRO CO 5:96, p. 77).

Danbury recorded in 1830 of the return march of French forces from Danbury to Newton on 24 October 1782:

"I very well remember when the French Army under Count Rochambeau returned to Boston after the taking of Yorktown. ... When we had got on to the height of land above Deacon Hickok's we could see the Front of the Army had arrived as far as where Samuel Dibble lives and as far as we could see over Shelterrock Hill, a distance probably of two miles the troops continued to come in sight. ... I should judge now that they were 2 Hours in passing the Army and baggage waggons - which latter I think took up more space than the former I know that at the time I began to think had no End."

Rochambeau was crossing New Jersey in brigades of two regiments of 1,000 men each plus their staffs, servants, wagons and artillery supplements. If we apply the above formula of 125 wagons per mile and allow for delays and gaps in the column it is not unreasonable to assume a column stretching three miles or more along the roads. Since the daily marching distance was between 10 and 15 miles, the troops at the head of the column could already have covered one quarter of their route before van left camp.

In 1781, Whippany had maybe 30 houses and maybe 200 inhabitants,³³³ yet it is quite possible that close to 5,000 officers and men, their 2,000 horses and 700 oxen camped and grazed on the outskirts of the little town on 28/29 August 1781. These numbers point to logistical issues that Pickering and his staff could not have solved even if they had had ample funds at their disposal. New Jersey had been impoverished by years of warfare, and many supplies were simply not available. More importantly, no state or city in revolutionary America could maintain such large numbers of forces for long. In 1781, the colonies had about 2.5 million inhabitants; Philadelphia, the largest city, had 28,000 inhabitants in 1780, New York City had 23,000. A look at the next larger cities presents the following table.

Boston, MA	16,000
Charleston, SC	12,000
Newport, RI	11,000, fell to about 4,900 whites in June 1782
Baltimore, MD	10,000
Providence, RI	4,500
Williamsburg, VA	2,000

The whole state of New Jersey had about 170, 000 inhabitants, and Trenton, the largest city along the route, had more or less one hundred houses and 500 inhabitants. The more important Burlington, one of the two capitals of the Province, Perth Amboy being the other, had 1,326 whites and 103 blacks living in the township in July 1784. Communities that contained but a fraction of these

³³³ Lauberdière, "Journal", fol. 95, describes Whippany as "un village qui peut contenir trente maisons".

numbers could not very well feed thousands of men and their animals on short notice.

Again it is unfortunate for the modern historian that not a single note from Wadsworth or from the American side has survived that would give an idea of the magnitude of the supplies needed. But information that has survived for the march of the French Army through Connecticut can be used as a substitute. A "Return of Goods supplied the Army of France at Bolton on their March" lists "8 oxen, 11 sheep, 7 calves, 12 tons straw, 19 tons 18 cwt Hay, 25 cords wood, 94 bushels rye, 105 bushels corn." Another 148 bushels rye and 5 bushels corn that had been waiting for French forces at Bolton were shipped to Stanford.³³⁴ Upon arrival in Newtown, Connecticut, Wadsworth had waiting for them 2,520 bushel of corn, 316 1/2 bushels of oats, 62 tons 5 cwt. of hay, 19 tons of straw, 22 1/2 cords of wood, and 20 head of beef cattle. While the French army was encamped at Philipsburg, daily rations were 1 pound of bread, 8 ounces of corn, and 1 1/2 pounds of fresh beef. To meet this demand, Henry Champion of Colchester, Connecticut delivered 927 oxen and 356 sheep from 5 July to 11 August 1781.³³⁵

When the French army stayed in Baltimore during the return march of 1782, a table titled "Sundries Receiv'd Purchas'd & Deliver'd on the March from Williamsburg to Baltimore from the 2nd to the 23rd July Inclusive 1782" lists 270 beeves, 10 calves, 48 sheep supplied during those three weeks. In addition Wadsworth purchased for the French 1558 1/2 lbs. bread, 267 lbs. biscuits, 930 lbs. beef, 3 barrels pork, 176 1/2 lbs. bacon, 2096 half-pints rum, 3497 1/2 bushels corn, 608 1/2 bushels oats, 194197 lbs. hay, 2614 lbs. straw, 100 horse shoes and 1,000 horseshoe nails.³³⁶

The thousands of animals also required vast amounts of forage. The Continental Army's "Plan for Conducting The Quartermaster General's Department" of 14 July 1780, stipulated "That the ration of forage shall consist of fourteen pounds of hay and eight quarts of oats for a saddle horse, and sixteen pounds of hay and twelve quarts of oats, or other short forage equivalent, for a draught horse, per day: that in cases where either of the above articles cannot be furnished a double quantity of the other shall be considered as a compleat ration." French army regulations as laid out in the *Règlement concernant la composition de la ration de Fourrages aux troupes à cheval du 18 September 1777* laid out these rations per horse and day: ten pounds of hay, ten pounds of straw and two thirds of a bushel of oats Parisian measure. When straw was rare, the substitute could be 12 pounds of hay and only 6 pounds of straw, and when there is no straw at all, a horse was to receive 15 pounds of hay per day.³³⁷ To feed these horses, Pickering informed Colonel Hughes from Philadelphia on 3 September 1781, that

³³⁴ JW Papers, CTHS, Box 143.

³³⁵ Quoted in Chester M. Destler, *Connecticut: The Provisions State*. (Chester, 1973), p. 55.

³³⁶ JW Papers, CTHS, Box 143.

³³⁷ The measurements for the military were based on the measures valid in Paris. A bushel Parisian measure was about 13 liters; 2/3 of that are about 9 liters, which makes the food ration of a horse around 7 lbs.

“besides the corn at Trenton there are 5000 bushels of Oats in Bucks County purchased for our army.”³³⁸ But the horses needed to be shod as well. On 23 September 1781, Pickering informed DQMG Donaldson in Pennsylvania from Williamsburg that he was anxiously awaiting 7,000 pairs of horseshoes from Lancaster. He needed at least 3,000 pairs of them immediately via Head of Elk since the French needed some as well.³³⁹ Earlier in the campaign Pickering had offered the French to have their horses shod in the American camp, but the French, preferred their own smiths, and when needed hired locals. On 1 August 1781, Roger Bulkley of Colchester, Connecticut signed an agreement on behalf of Wadsworth and Elijah Buell for “three good Black Smiths at the french Camp for the term of five Months unless sooner discharged” for 50 Silver dollars p month for Each man” tools to be provided, “to be paid in Sickness as well as Health.”³⁴⁰

The economic impact of French forces and their tens of thousands of silver coins on the surrounding areas was immense and very much appreciated by the local populations. On 31 December 1781, John Jeffrey wrote to Jeffrey Whiting from Hartford: “Money is very scarce among the People in General, their daily Prayers are that the French Army may return soon to the part of the World that Money may again circulate amongst them.”³⁴¹ Well before the march had begun, French purchasing power had reached Philadelphia. George Nelson, an employee of the Quarter-Master Department recorded happily in his diary on 22 May 1781: “Laurince & I sold our Team to some French Men for £ 110 hard money.” When they got paid the next day, his share was “£ 56.18.10 Hard Money being more Cash than I have been able to realize since the War”.³⁴² A few miles down the road in Wilmington, Samuel Canby expressed the hope on 11 November 1781, that: “as I apprehend from the present prospect of things in our Country that people generally will rather be encouraged to go into Business more than there has been opportunity for these several Years past as there is nothing but Specie now Circulating as a currency.”³⁴³ Before departure from Dobbs Ferry, Wadsworth had asked for 400,000 livres cash to pay for the expenses of the march. Much of this money was spent in New Jersey among a population that very much appreciated the French King's livres.

Their preparations completed, there was one final task for Washington to complete as the armies set out for Virginia. General William Heath had to receive

³³⁸ Pickering Papers reel 26, vol. 82: Letters sent by Pickering 29 June 1781 to 2 January 1782.

³³⁹ Pickering Papers reel 26, vol. 82: Letters sent by Pickering 29 June 1781 to 2 January 1782.

³⁴⁰ CTHS, Ms 98887. On 27 July 1781, Pickering sent a letter to Béville, inviting “Any Gentlemen of the French army who choose to have their horses shod by my Smiths will be pleased to direct their orders to the Director of American Artificers. But to send no money. Their servants may give receipts to the director for the work that shall be done which I will at regular periods present with an account to you.” Ibid.

³⁴¹ Wadsworth Papers, CTHS, Box 132.

³⁴² Diary of George Nelson, AM 107, HSP.

³⁴³ Diary of Samuel Canby, Nov 1779 to Dec 1796. Photostat in Historical Society of Delaware from the original at Yale University.

his orders for the command outside New York City, which were dated at Dobbs Ferry, 19 August 1781.

Sir:

You are to take the Command of all the Troops remaining in this Department, consisting of the Two Regiments of New Hampshire, Ten of Massachusetts, and five of Connecticut Infantry, the Corps of Invalids, Sheldons Legion, the third Regiment of Artillery, together with all such State Troops and Militia as are retained in Service, of those which would have been under my own Command.

The Security of West Point and the Posts in the Highlands is to be considered as the first Object of your Attention. In order to effect this, you will make such Dispositions, as in your Judgment, the Circumstances shall from Time to Time require; taking Care to have as large a Supply of salted Provisions as possible constantly on Hand; to have the Fortifications, Works and Magazines repaired and perfected as far as may be; to have the Garrison, at least, in all Cases, kept up to its present Strength; to have the minutes Plans and Arrangements for the Defence and Support of this important Post perfectly understood and vigorously executed in Case of any Attempt against it. Ample Magazines of Wood and Forage are to be laid in against the Approaching Winter; the former should be cut on the Margin of the River, and transported to the Garrison by Water; the latter ought to be collected from the Country below the Lines, in the greatest Quantities possible, and deposited in such Places as you shall judge proper.

The Force now put under your Orders it is presumed, will be sufficient for all the Purposes abovementioned; as well as to yield a very considerable protection and cover to the Country, without hazarding the Safety of the Posts in the Highlands; this is to be esteemed, as it respects the friendly Inhabitants and Resources of the Country, an extremely interesting Object; but when compared with the former, of a secondary Nature.

The protection of the Northern and Western Frontier of the State of N York, as well as those Parts of that and other States most contiguous and exposed to the Ravages and Depredations of the Enemy, will claim your Attention. But as the Contingencies which are to be expected in the Course of the Campaign, may be so various, unforeseen, and almost infinite, that no particular Line of Conduct can be prescribed for them; upon all such Occasions, you will be governed by your own Prudence and Discretion, on which the fullest Confidence is placed.

Altho your general Rule of Conduct will be to act on the defensive only, yet it is not meant to prohibit you from striking a Blow at the Enemys Posts or Detachments, should a fair Opportunity present itself.

The most eligible Position for your Army, in my Opinion, will be above (that is on the North Side) of the Croton, as well for the Purpose of supporting the

Garrison of West Point, annoying the Enemy, and covering the Country, as for the Security and repose of your own Troops. Waterburys Brigade (which may be posted towards the Sound) Sheldons Corps, the State Troops of New York, and other light Parties, may occasionally be made Use of to hold the Enemy in Check, and carry on the Petit Guerre with them; but I would recommend keeping your Force as much collected and as compact as the Nature of the Service will admit, doing duty by Corps, instead of Detachments, whenever it is practicable; and above all exerting yourself most strenuously and assiduously, while the Troops are in a Camp of repose, to make them perfect in their Exercise and Maneuvres, and to establish the most perfect System of Discipline and Duty; the good of the Service, and Emulation of Corps, will I am perswaded, prompt the Officers and Men to devote their whole Time and attention to the pleasing and honorable Task of becoming Masters of their Profession."

7.4 The March through New Jersey

On 25 August, the van of the Continental Army entered New Jersey, but unfortunately for the modern historian they left precious few descriptions of what they saw. As noted above, the official papers of Washington, Pickering, Knox, and Lincoln as well as the Orderly Books of Colonel Lamb's Artillery and the Second New York regiments contain no information about what the soldiers saw or heard. Neither do contemporary sources such as the diaries of Samuel Tallmadge, the memoirs of Philip Van Cortlandt, John Hudson or Sergeant-Major Hawkins or Graton tell us anything about the towns the troops marched through, the people they met, or their way of doing things. But why should they? For an American soldier, the land he marched through contained no surprises. It was their home, filled with familiar things that were hardly worth recording. For the French officers and men this was very different. For them, New Jersey was a country they would most likely see only once in their lives and much of what they saw was new and worth recording. It is from their diaries, memoirs, and letters of those among them who took the trouble to record their experiences that we can learn much about life in revolutionary New Jersey. On the following pages an attempt will therefore be made to recreate the experiences of the French Army on its march through New Jersey as they are reflected in the writings of the participants.

The depth of recording and reflection on what he saw varies much from observer to observer. Some of the most astute comments can be found in Abbé Robin's *New Travels through North America*, published in Philadelphia in 1783. New Jersey, as the Abbé wrote from Princeton on 1 September 1781, is "wholly different from [the country] we have hitherto traversed: it is not, like Connecticut, covered with small hills lying close together, which render travelling difficult, obstruct the view, and prevent one from forming a clear idea of the whole scene. Many ridges of mountains, which seem to be branches of the Appalachian, stretch from north east to south west, and form intervals of vast and beautiful plains,

which the hand of the geometrician seems to have smoothed to a level. These plains are adorned with large and handsome edifices; and the country abounds with orchards, fields of wheat, rye, barley, indian corn, and flourishing woods. - The inhabitants, for the most part of Alsacian and Dutch descent, are gay, easy and engaging in their manners, and resemble the happy region they inhabit. Provisions are brought into our camp from all quarters; and those that bring them are commonly wealthy people, and very unlike our traders in fruits and pulse. You will often see the women decked with their head dresses and gauzes, riding in their farm waggons to market, drawn by the most elegant horses."³⁴⁴

Baron Closen agreed: "The Jerseys, where we are now (beautiful country!) abound in all kinds of produce. The inhabitants (who are of Dutch origin) have kept it neat and have retained their gentle and peaceful customs, and have been very friendly towards the army. It is a land of milk and honey, with game, fish, vegetables, poultry, etc. after leaving New York state, where misery is written on the brows of the inhabitants, the affluence in the state of the Jerseys seems to be much greater. There are also some lead and copper mines in the area near Elizabethtown, but, since the war, operations have been suspended; and, in general, North Americans do not care at all for labor underground, which the people of Peru and Chile like very much."³⁴⁵

Many accounts are not much more than tables of dates and locations. Count William de Deux-Ponts, second in command of the Royal Deux-Ponts regiment which forms part of the First Brigade, is typical of many records when he writes this about the places he stopped on the road across New Jersey:

On the 26th of August, we marched to Pompton.

On the 27th of August, we encamped at Hanover or Whippany, near Morristown.

On the 29th of August, we encamped at Bullion's Tavern.

On the 30th of August, at Somerset.

On the 31st of August, at Princeton.

On the 1st of September, we marched to Trenton, where we cross the Delaware.

We keep our tents, but today the trains ford the river. To-morrow morning the troops go over in boats.³⁴⁶

Following a brief discussion that "Every thing seemed to announce a siege of New York. The establishment of a bakery and other store houses at Chatham, 4 miles distant, from Staten Island" etc, Axel von Fersen, one of Rochambeau's aides-de-camp, wrote: "We crossed *Jersey*, which is one of the finest and most

³⁴⁴ Abbé Robin, *New Travels through North America* (Philadelphia, 1783), p. 41.

³⁴⁵ Acomb, *Closen*, pp. 111/2. For the remainder of his description of New Jersey, pp. 112 to 115, see the photocopies following page 118.

³⁴⁶ Cromot du Bourg, "Diary", pp. 124/125. The diary ends in October 1781. Following a brief discussion that "Every thing seemed to announce a siege of New York. The establishment of a bakery and other store houses at Chatham, 4 miles distant, from Staten Island" etc, Axel von Fersen wrote: "We crossed *Jersey* which is one of the finest and most highly cultivated provinces of America, and the army passed the 3d September at Philadelphia."

highly cultivated provinces of America, and the army passed the 3d September at Philadelphia."³⁴⁷

Cromot du Bourg, who also traveled with the First Brigade, is much more detailed in his description. On 26 August, the First Brigade of French infantry left its camp at Suffern crossed into New Jersey, "the road is superb. This is an open and well cultivated country, inhabited by Dutch people who are almost all quite rich. We arrived in good season, and the camps being set and the troops arrived, I thought I could do no better than to go to Totowa to see a cataract which is considered to be one of the most curious sights in this part of the country."³⁴⁸ Du Bourg was not the only officer who took the opportunity to see the Falls at Totowa. Officers who unlike enlisted had the time and leave to go sight-seeing, took advantage of these opportunities to further their education: William de Deux-Ponts, Clermont-Crèveœur, Baron Closen, and many others all made the detour to see the falls at Totowa.³⁴⁹

Accounts of their experiences of enlisted men during the campaign are extremely rare - only three are known to exist. One kept by an anonymous grenadier in the Bourbonnais Regiment records nothing more than the stations of the march through New Jersey. The other account, kept by André Amblard of the Saintonge, also contains no details about the march itself, though the one sentence Amblard penned about New Jersey is well worth quoting. "La fertilité & la beauté de cette province la fait nommer le jardin de l'Amérique, elle est ce Partie habitée par des Hollandois et des Allemands. - The fertility and beauty of that province causes it to be called the garden of America, it is that part inhabited by the Dutch and Germans." In his *Journal*, the *vicomte* de Rochambeau drew this interesting conclusion from his journey through New Jersey. "Here agriculture is followed and brought to perfection. But no great market centers will ever be established here because the two great cities of New York and Philadelphia are too near. The inhabitants of this section will never be more than the commission merchants for the dealers in these large cities."³⁵⁰

Georg Daniel Flohr, an enlisted man, kept the most extensive journal in the Royal Deux-Ponts Regiment, though he too confines his descriptions to a sentence or two. "On the 26th we broke camp again 14 miles to Pompton, a Gentleman's manor; this region is heavily settled by Dutch, but one also meet here and there a German already."³⁵¹ From Pompton on the 27th, so Cromot du Bourg, "we marched to Whippany by a fine road."³⁵² Whippany is quite a large

³⁴⁷ Fersen, "Letters", p. 438.

³⁴⁸ Deux-Ponts, *Campaigns*, p. 376. Deux-Ponts was sent to France after the victory at Yorktown. He did not return to America. Clermont-Crèveœur, "Journal," p. 20

³⁴⁹ Clermont-Crèveœur, "Journal", p. 42. For his account of the march through New Jersey on pp. 42 to 45 see pp. 119-122. Acomb, *Closen*, p. 112.

³⁵⁰ Jean-Edmond Weelen, *Rochambeau. Father and Son. A life of the Maréchal de Rochambeau and the Journal of the Vicomte de Rochambeau* (New York, 1936), pp. 256/57.

³⁵¹ Flohr, *Reisen Beschreibung von America*.

³⁵² The "extensive dwelling" was the Lott-Beverhoudt property.

place; the river of the same name, which is fordable, passes through it." Flohr described Whippany as "a small town in the mountains in a beautiful area; there we had a rest day and again numerous visits from the inhabitants."

Following the rest-day at Whippany, Cromot du Bourg recorded on 29 August, the march through Morristown, which he called "a very pretty town; it is situated on a little hill and in a very pleasant situation. It has sixty or eighty well-built houses. ... the road to Bullion's Tavern is fine and level; the troops arrived there early.' Flohr too like "Morristown or in German Moritz-Stadt, also a beautiful little town in a pleasant region, where one met here and there German inhabitants," and Lauberdière called Morristown a "petite ville assez jolie - a little village tolerably pretty".

On 30 August, Cromot marched with the troops of the First Brigade "to Somerset Court House, the distance to which is only twelve miles, over fine roads". Flohr described Somerset as "a little town in the plains and completely surrounded by fruit trees, a large number of them." Little town, in this case, denotes but seven or eight houses as opposed to the 30-some houses of Whippany, which Cromot du Bourg called "quite a large place".

At 4:00 a.m. on the 31st, Cromot received the order to deliver a letter to Rochambeau in Philadelphia "before dinner, if possible." The road to Princeton led "through some very disagreeable woods", though the town itself, in which Lauberdière counted about 80 houses, "is well built and pleasantly situated." Like all officers whose accounts have survived, Cromot du Bourg took the opportunity to further his military education by surveying the battlefield at Princeton and to take notes on the course of the battle. He did the same upon arrival in Trenton, which he found "not so pretty" as Princeton. By 3:00 p.m. on 31 August he had arrived in Philadelphia and delivered his letter.

Generals Washington and Rochambeau and their staffs themselves had arrived in Philadelphia around 1:00 p.m. on Thursday, 30 August, and proceeded to the home of French Ambassador de la Luzerne, where they lodged.³⁵³ That night they had dinner with Robert Morris, the new Superintendent of Finance.³⁵⁴ Following sight-seeing excursions through America's capital, the illustrious guests, so Baron Closen, one of Rochambeau's aides, were entertained at the home of Joseph Reed, president of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, in the evening of 1 September. The following day, 2 September, "I went with the generals to see the battlefield of Germantown," after which the group went "to dine at the home of M. [John] Holker, the French consul, who entertained us magnificently in his charming country house [i.e., Cliveden] 3 miles from Philadelphia."³⁵⁵

³⁵³ Acomb, *Closen*, p. 116.

³⁵⁴ Baker, *Itinerary*, pp. 235/36.

³⁵⁵ Acomb, *Closen*, pp. 119/120.

"I return to the camp at Suffern, which was charming. The Jerseys, where we are now (beautiful country!), abound in all kinds of produce. The inhabitants (who are of Dutch origin) have kept it neat and have retained their gentle and peaceful customs, and have been very friendly towards the army. It is a land of milk and honey, with game, fish, vegetables, poultry, etc. After leaving New York State, where misery is written on the brows of the inhabitants, the affluence in the state

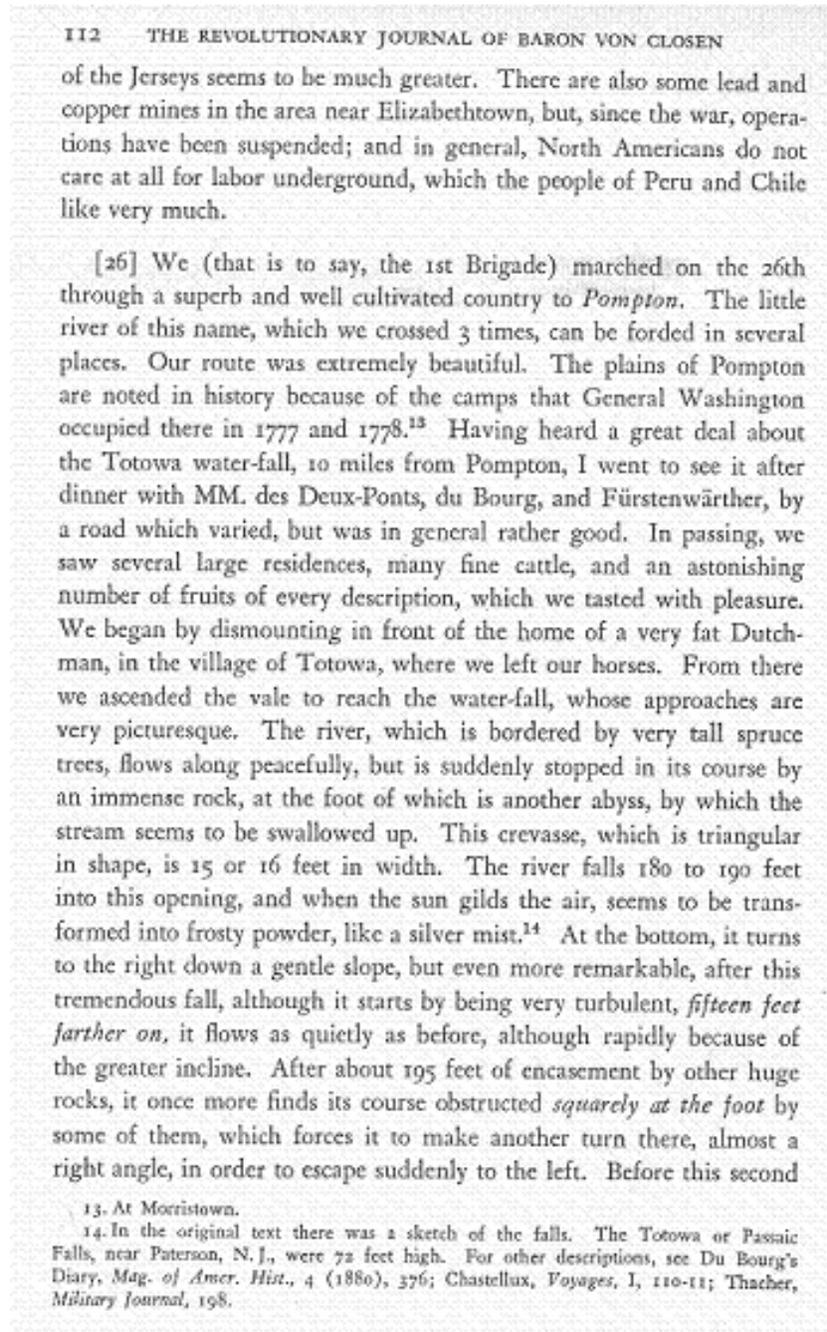


Figure 1.1: Baron Ludwig von Closen's account of New Jersey, 1781
 Source: Acomb, Evelyn, ed. *The Revolutionary Journal of Baron Ludwig von Closen, 1780-1783* (Chapel Hill, 1958), pp. 111-115.

bend, it is already flowing along peacefully; then it continues its course across the charming little valley, at the foot of which is located the aforesaid village of Totowa, which it crosses, and from which it takes its name. Two small crevasses can be seen, in addition, in the rocks, *opposite* the water-fall, but they are only two feet wide; on the other hand, they are so *perpendicular* that you look down to the level of the water as through a magnifying glass. This natural curiosity has only increased my desire to see the Niagara Falls, near Lake Champlain, which are 580 feet high (*prime desiderium!*).¹⁵

[27] On the 27th we marched to *Whippany* by a very beautiful road sixteen miles in length. MM. *Biberhaut* and *Lot*,¹⁶ the former Danish, have a grandiose residence three miles on this side of *Whippany*. Their ladies gave us a sumptuous dinner, and the excellent tea that Mademoiselle *Lot* served us revived our spirits. Besides being very pretty, the latter is very graceful and dresses very well. *Whippany* is rather a small place. A stream of that name, which can be forded, passes by it. The battalion of grenadiers and chasseurs was detached there on a height which commands the road from Chatham and Paulus Hook.

[28] The American army was stationed at Chatham while our 1st Brigade was at *Whippany*; the 2nd joined us there on the 28th. *Chatham*, *Springfield* (which is 4 miles from there), and *Paramus*, 5 miles away, are only 12 miles from the *West* River, which separates Staten Island from the Continent. Colonel Smith came on behalf of General Washington to request M. de Rochambeau to proceed about fifteen miles farther after dinner so that he might join him for dinner in Princeton the next day.¹⁷ How happy I was when the General told me to accompany him to Philadelphia! The disguise is gradually going to be removed from our campaign!!

MM. de Rochambeau, Chastellux, Fersen, Vauban, and I left

15. Niagara Falls are 167 feet high. A sketch of Niagara Falls is inset on a map in the Du Bourg Papers, and is to be found on Map No. 34 of the Rochambeau Collection.

16. This may have been the home of Abraham Lott, near Pompton, where Washington stayed in March, 1782. Lott's daughter married Colonel William Livingston of New Jersey. Fitzpatrick (ed.), *Writings of Washington*, XXIV, 95, XXV, 33, 174. The army halted in *Whippany* one day because of the movement of British troops to Staten Island. *Ibid.*, XXIII, 49, 58.

17. For Washington's invitation to dinner, see *ibid.*, 59.

Figure 1.2: Baron Ludwig von Closen's account of New Jersey, 1781
Source: Acomb, Evelyn, ed. *The Revolutionary Journal of Baron Ludwig von Closen, 1780-1783* (Chapel Hill, 1958), pp. 112-115.

Whippany at 4 o'clock in the afternoon in order to reach *Bullion's Tavern*, in the little village of Basking Ridge, after 15 miles on the road; the army will make its 22nd camp there. Four miles from Whippany we passed through Morristown, attractive and famous for the two winter quarters that General Washington established there in 1778 and 1779. Three miles farther on, after crossing *Second [Passaic] River* on a wooden bridge, one finds a fork in the road, that on the left leading to Basking Ridge and that on the right to *Mendham* and *Blackriver*. General *Lee's* corps took the latter on December 12, 1776, in order to join Washington's army, then in winter quarters in Newtown [Pennsylvania], on the other side of the Delaware; while the General and his family went to sleep in a residence 2 miles from this cross roads, on the left road and 8 miles from his troops.

I stopped at this house on purpose to learn the circumstances that could have caused General *Lee* to fall into the hands of the English; and those that were recounted to me were the same as those I had read previously, that is, that believing himself to be secure, since he was 40 miles from the English cantonment, he preferred to spend the night there with a simple guard consisting of a corporal and 4 men, since he was rather smitten with the lady of the house. One of this lady's cousins, who was jealous of him, went underhandedly to warn Colonel *Harcourt* (who commanded the English light cavalry and had been sent to observe *Lee's* corps) that the general was in this house with a small guard. This officer conducted himself with so much caution that he arrived like a bomb with 12 of his finest men at 4 o'clock in the morning, fell on the sentinel, broke down General *Lee's* door, and took him prisoner; his aide-de-camp escaped by the window. *Harcourt* has always been noted for these thrusts with partisans and rapid movements. This poor General *Lee*, whom the English even wanted to try, since he had originally served with them, will be blamed for this eternally.¹⁸

After a rather mediocre supper served by *Mademoiselle Bullion*,

18. General Charles Lee (1731-1782), who tried to undermine Washington's position, marched slowly south at Washington's orders. His troops were at Vealstown while he stayed at a Mrs. White's tavern in Basking Ridge, three miles away. He was surprised by a scouting party commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel William Harcourt of Burgoyne's Sixteenth Light Horse, who forced him to surrender. Lee's aide-de-camp, Major William Bradford, escaped by a ruse. Lee had served in the British army during the French and Indian War. Alden, *Lee*, 155-61.

Figure 1.3: Baron Ludwig von Clozen's account of New Jersey, 1781
Source: Acomb, Evelyn, ed. *The Revolutionary Journal of Baron Ludwig von Clozen, 1780-1783* (Chapel Hill, 1958), pp. 112-115.

I was rather happy to learn that I would have a bed. To be truthful, I had to share it with Colonel Smith, Washington's aide-de-camp.

[29] We left the 29th to dine at *Somerset Courthouse*, 12 miles farther on, where the army will make its 23rd camp. We crossed the chain of mountains in which General Washington took up a very strong position near Middlebrook, after the battle of Princeton, and thus forced the English to remain beyond the *Raritan* and allowed them to occupy only Brunswick and Amboy in the Jerseys. Cornwallis never dared to attack him there despite the great difference in the strength of the two armies!! When we reached the foot of the mountains, we crossed the *Raritan* on a fine stone bridge, near Bridge-water. *Somerset* is on the left bank of the little *Millstone River*, which flows into the *Raritan* near Brunswick. After a very good American breakfast, we pushed on to *Princeton*. There we dined with General Washington and continued on our way with him for 15 miles, as far as Trenton, where we slept. Altogether, we had travelled 45 [miles] that day.

This trip with the Generals was the more interesting, because it gave me the opportunity to learn from General Washington himself, while we were traversing the very terrain, the dispositions, movements, and other circumstances of the famous battles of *Trenton* and *Princeton* in 1776 and 1777, the details of which I very faithfully recorded in my collection. I was even lucky enough to procure the map of that of Trenton, which General Washington found to be very exact.¹⁹

The city of *Trenton* is on a charming site a half mile from the left bank of the Delaware. In spite of the ravages of the Hessians (who made themselves hated by their lack of discipline and of consideration for the peaceful inhabitants during their winter quarters in the Jerseys), there are still, nevertheless, several fine houses in Trenton. The one where the Assembly meets (since it can no longer do so in Elizabeth-town, capital of the Jerseys) and Governor Livingston's house, as well as two Presbyterian churches, are very fine buildings.

¹⁹ Du Bourg describes these battles in detail in his *Diary*; *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, 4 (1880), 378-79. He does not, however, mention the plan of the Battle of Trenton now to be found in the Du Bourg Papers, which has English place names but a French legend. It was copied from Map No. 18 in the Rochambeau Papers, which was the work of Lieutenant Andreas Wiederhold of the Hessian regiment of Knipphausen and has an English legend. Wiederhold was taken prisoner at Trenton and discussed the battle with Washington. A German version of his map was in the Marburg archives. Lowell, *Hessians*, 77, 91, 101, 103, 295.

Figure 1.4: Baron Ludwig von Closen's account of New Jersey, 1781
Source: Acomb, Evelyn, ed. *The Revolutionary Journal of Baron Ludwig von Closen, 1780-1783* (Chapel Hill, 1958), pp. 112-115.

As Washington was making the rounds in Philadelphia, his army, a little over 3,000 officers and men by now, crossed the Delaware on 1 September and marched seventeen miles to a camp at Lower Dublin, twelve miles from Philadelphia. The next day, 2 September 1781, they "Marched thro^d Philadelphia about five miles, encamped near the Schoelkill."³⁵⁶ The main body of the Continental Army left its camp on the Schuylkill on 3 September again for a ten-mile march to its next camp, which Lieutenant Sanderson in Scammel's Light Infantry recorded to have been about "three miles from Chester."³⁵⁷ On 4 September, the army "Marched through Chester, through Brandywine, through Wilmington -- encamp one mile from Wilmington."³⁵⁸

Coming on the Delaware from Trenton, Van Cortlandt too had reached Philadelphia on 1 September where he "halted one day to accommodate my officers" and wait for the arrival of the Continental Army. Following this brief stop-over on 1/2 September, Van Cortlandt's Second New York Regiment continued to use the Delaware River as a conduit and sailed on "to markees Hook where I remained a few days for the Army to pass and my men to wash their clothes" on 2 September.³⁵⁹ In the morning of 3 September, Hawkin's regiment and the Corps of Sappers and Miners set sail again on their boats and floated down the Delaware and cast anchor in Wilmington in the mouth of the Christiana River in the evening. Taking advantage of the rising tide the following morning, 4 September, the units followed the winding course of the Christina River to Christiana or Christiana Bridge, where they landed and began unloading their supplies.³⁶⁰

Water transportation, especially of heavy or bulky goods, was faster than transporting them on land and cheaper as well: freight charges on land were ten times the freight charges for water transport.³⁶¹ In a military context this meant primarily artillery and foodstuffs, and wherever possible Washington used the waterways along the route in 1781 to his advantage. From Trenton onwards, except for the short, 10-mile portage from Christiana to Elkton, Colonel Lamb's Second Continental Artillery, the Sappers and Miners, and Hazen's Canadian

³⁵⁶ Johnston, *Yorktown Campaign*, p. 170. The Continental Army campsite is most likely identical with that occupied by the French, which arrived there in the evening of 3 September. Stevens, "Route," p. 18. Thacher, *Eyewitness*, p. 273, has the light infantry encamped on 3 September, continuing its march through Wilmington on 4 September.

³⁵⁷ This would place it near the Morton Homestead southwest of Prospect Park, Pennsylvania.

³⁵⁸ Johnston, *Yorktown Campaign*, p. 170. See also Stevens, "Route," p. 18.

³⁵⁹ Judd, *Revolutionary War Memoir*, p. 60. Marcus Hook lies on the Pennsylvania side of the Delaware about a mile from the Delaware State line. James Thacher uses an almost identical line: "3d. We crossed the river Schuylkill, over a floating bridge, and encamped four miles from Philadelphia where we continued through the day, to give the men time to rest and wash their clothes." Thacher, *Eyewitness*, p. 273.

³⁶⁰ *Private Yankee Doodle* p. 223. Sanderson recorded that on 5 September, the army marched "through Christeen where the Park of Artillery landed the day before". Johnston, *Yorktown Campaign* p. 170.

³⁶¹ Buel, *In Irons*, p. 325 note 23.

Regiment traveled to Virginia on water. By 29 August 1781, Deputy Quartermaster Samuel Miles had 31 craft capable of carrying more than 3,200 men waiting for the armies at Philadelphia.³⁶² That same day, Washington informed General Lincoln that Rochambeau was "inclined to have the French Troops march by Land from Trenton to Head of Elk, which will give a larger proportion of Craft for the American Baggage and Troops. ... after a lot[tin]g a Sufficiency for the French Baggage &c ... first put on Board such heavy Stores and Baggage, Cloathg Tools Garrison Carriages &c,&, as Colo Lamb and you shall think proper, and then Embark the Troops on Board the Water Craft and let them fall down the River to Christiana Bridge as soon as possible."³⁶³

At Trenton on 31 August, Washington's diary recorded that "Count de Rochambeau and myself concluded it would be best to let the Troops march by land to the Head of Elk, and gave directions accordingly to all but the 2d. York Regiment which was ordered (with its baggage) to come down in the Batteaux they had in charge to Christiana bridge."³⁶⁴ The execution of this order can be followed in the journal of Samuel Tallmadge of the 2nd New York. At 8 a.m. on the morning of 3 September, the 2nd New York arrived in Trenton where "(we) put our boates in the delaware river put the baggage on board, and Imbarked about one Oclock." Some of the carriages were to be taken apart and put on board the batteaux for future use as Timothy Pickering told Henry Dearborn on 31 August. "As soon as the boats arrive, please to direct all the carpenters to repair any damage they may have sustained ... if 15 of the best boat Carriages are selected, they may be taken to pieces, put on board the boats, & with so many troops as they will carry, go to Christiana Bridge, from whence at two trips they may take all the boats over to the Head of Elk; or if inconvenient to take down more than ten carriages, they will of course take the boats over in three trips." The teams and the remainder of the carriages were to go to Christiana by land.³⁶⁵

The French army in the meantime made its way through Princeton, described by Flohr as "a pleasant little town in the plains, which little town is graced with a pretty college". The Abbé Robin thought, "The village of Princeton is inconsiderable, but remarkable for its charming situation, elegant houses, and above all a college built of stone, four stories high, having twenty-five windows in the front, in each story. In the college I saw two grand performances of mechanism; one of which represents the motions of the heavenly bodies, according to the system of Newton and Copernicus. The inventor is an American, and resides in Philadelphia."³⁶⁶

³⁶² Miles to GW, 29-30 August 1781. George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress, 1741-1799: Series 4. General Correspondence. 1697-1799, at <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem>

³⁶³ GW to Lincoln, Washington, *Writings* vol. 23, p. 71.

³⁶⁴ Washington, *Diaries*, Vol. 2, p. 258.

³⁶⁵ NARA, Record Group 93, Numbered Record Book, vol. 82 Target 3, microfilm reel 26, pp. 175-178.

³⁶⁶ Robin, *New Travels*, p. 42. The "mechanism" which is mentioned in numerous accounts, was the orrery created by David Rittenhouse in 1771 for the College of New Jersey. A similar orrery Rittenhouse had built for the College of Philadelphia (from 1755, it changed its name to

On 1 September, just as the Continental Army departed Philadelphia, the First Brigade of the French marched into town on Brunswick Road and turned left onto Broad Street where they encamped on the same ground that the Americans had just vacated on the east side of the Assunpink. The artillery camped opposite the Trent House.

Robin found Trenton "a very agreeable little town. ... It is the largest we have seen since our leaving Providence, and stands upon the eastern bank of the Delaware, twenty-seven miles above Philadelphia. This advantageous situation makes it a place of considerable trade, and intercourse with the capital of Pennsylvania, especially in the article of provisions. The Delaware is navigable this far up, for vessels of some tolerable burden, but afterwards becomes all at once so shallow, that a little above the town carriages may pass safely over at the fording places, when the tide is out. The shores of this river have nothing of that gloomy and savage aspect observable on the Hudson; they are, on the contrary, as level and pleasant as those of the Loire. The soil is light here, as well as in most other places we have seen, but at the same time very excellent. The maize, or Indian corn, a plant that infinitely exhausts the ground, grows luxuriant here, even in those lands which have been cultivated for a century past, and is in height from seven to eight feet; the stalks are plumb and vigorous, and the ears long and heavy."³⁶⁷

Commissaire des Guerres Claude Blanchard, more or less followed his own route behind the French forces, but his account is one of the most detailed by a Frenchman and well worth quoting at length. From Suffern to "Pompton, where I passed the night, ... the road is very level, it is in a valley tolerably well cultivated and pleasant. I lodged at the house of a Dutchman, John Van Gelder, who received me very well. The next day, at two, I dined at Whippany, where the army had stopped. The road which I followed continues to be fine, situated in a cultivated valley. Some wood is found there nevertheless. I observed fewer apple trees there than in the other provinces through which I had passed, but many peach trees. This valley is also very narrow and the mountains, which border on it, are barren; there are some sandy places in the valley itself. I saw nothing there but buckwheat and maize, and these farms are greatly in need of manure. In France these farms would be middling good. ... On the same day I came to spend the night at Bullion's tavern, after having passed through Chatham, a village where our ovens had been set up, which I was well pleased to visit, which caused me to go five miles farther and prevented my passing through Morristown, where General Washington had his quarters for a long time, and where the

University of Pennsylvania in 1791), is currently housed in the Van Pelt Library at the University of Pennsylvania. An "orrery" is a mechanical model of the solar system, invented c. 1700 by George Graham. It received its name from the English instrument maker John Rowley, who named a copy he made of Graham's machine "The Orrery" in honor of Charles Boyle, Earl of Orrery.

Robin is one of the very few observers who does not include a description of the Battle of Trenton in his account, but he does include a description of the Battle of Princeton.

³⁶⁷ Ibid., pp. 42/3.

Americans have some ironworks at Peekskill; I also lost the opportunity of visiting the country house of Lord Stirling, that American general whose nobility is somewhat contested. This country house is almost unique in these parts, where the dwellings resemble farmhouses; they have no gardens, no fences, no fruit-walls, only some apple trees, some peach trees and some scattered cherry trees, or forming what we call orchards. The road which I took to reach Bullion's tavern is not disagreeable; but the farms are still middling, they were sown with maize and buckwheat; I also saw a little hemp there.

On the 3d, I dined at Somerset, the same kind of country and the same road, and lay at Princeton, a pretty village, of about 60 houses; the inns there are handsome and very clean. ... My intention had been to spend the night at Princeton, but the weather was fine and I proceeded to Trenton, going forty miles in the day. Trenton, ten leagues from Philadelphia, is a pretty considerable village, of at least a hundred houses, situated on the Delaware. This village, or little city, is pretty and seems to announce the vicinity of a capital I made haste to leave it on the 4th, having learnt that our first division was already at Philadelphia and that the second arrived there on this very day. I crossed the Delaware in a ferry boat; it is neither broad nor deep at this place, but at the distance of four leagues it becomes as broad as the Loire below La Fosse."³⁶⁸

The French First Brigade had camped in Trenton, their last camp in New Jersey and Camp 25 of the march to Yorktown, on 1 September. The next morning, 2 September, the troops began the crossing of the Delaware, which, according to the French itinerary, was "about 800 yards wide" at the point of crossing. "There are generally 2 ferryboats and some sailboats available for crossing. This is the highest point for small vessels coming up river, as navigation is interrupted by the falls that are above the ferry. You can ford the Delaware above the falls, opposite Colonel Cox's house. The ford is good but care must be taken to face upstream against the current. As far as a point above the little island, after which you can head straight for the opposite bank."³⁶⁹ Clermont-Crèveccœur recorded in his "Journal: "We crossed the Delaware by ford and ferry. It is not deep here. In summer the average depth is only 2 to 3 feet; however, in winter it is very deep."³⁷⁰ The ferry that was used by French and American forces alike was the Trenton Ferry run by Hugh Rankin in 1781.

Once across the Delaware at Trenton, the French troops continued on PA-SR 1 to Morrisville where they veered south onto PA-SR 13. "At Bristol the army and the artillery separated, the former crossing the Neshaminy River by ferry, and the latter by ford 6 miles upstream ... We arrived very late in camp, having covered

³⁶⁸ Blanchard, *Journal*, pp. 133/5. Blanchard reached Philadelphia in the evening of 4 September.

³⁶⁹ Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, Vol. 2, p. 72. Cox owned the Trent House from 1778-1792.

³⁷⁰ Clermont-Crèveccœur, "Journal", in Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, Vol. 1, p. 45.

24 miles with our wagons."³⁷¹ Following PA-SR 13, they set up camp at the Red Lion Tavern.

The next morning, 3 September 1781, the First Brigade got ready to march into Philadelphia and to parade before Congress. Pickering with some relief informed Hugh Hughes that "Hitherto we have got along pretty well & with unusual rapidity".³⁷² Coming through Frankfurt and Kensington, the men entered the American capital on Frankford Avenue (PA-SR 13) onto Kensington Avenue which runs into/ends in North Front Street, from where they turned right onto Chestnut Street. As Thomas McKean, president of the Continental Congress, the members of Congress, Washington, Rochambeau, and other dignitaries greeted them from the balcony and steps of the building, the troops paraded past the Pennsylvania State House (Independence Hall), seat of the Continental Congress, and the home of the French Ambassador de la Luzerne. About two miles outside the city on the road to Chester (PA-SR 13), the troops entered their camp along the eastern banks of the Schuylkill. The following day, 4 September 1781, the Second Brigade joined the First Brigade for a day of rest.³⁷³

That afternoon, Whiting wrote to Jeffery from Philadelphia that "after a March of allmost 3 Weeks we arrived at this place yesterday and to morrow leave it for the Head of Elk which place we expect to embark and go to Virginia, the French Army are in fine health & Spiritts and like Philad^e very well. Yesterday they March'd into town and made a fine appearance as they were dress'd in their best Claoths & they are admired by the people of this City and every Mark of Respect is shown them which they truly deserve."³⁷⁴

³⁷¹ Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 45.

³⁷² Pickering to Hugh Hughes, DQMG in New York, 3 September 1781. Pickering also enclosed the commissions for Miles and Neilson. Timothy Pickering Papers Microfilm Edition, reel 26, vol. 82.

³⁷³ The French campsite is most likely identical with that occupied by the Continental Army, which had left for Chester in the morning of 3 September 1781. Stevens, "Route," p. 18. See also Clermont-Crèveœur in Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, Vol. 1, p. 46, or Acomb, *Closen*, p. 117

³⁷⁴ Jeremiah Wadsworth Papers, Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, Box 132.

26 August (15 miles) From Suffern to Pompton [Pompton Plains]. We crossed the river of that name

59. They were not yet in the Jerseys, but still in the state of New York, at the locality known today as the village of Stony Point. It was then within the limits of the township of Haverstraw and is so designated on the map in Vol. II, No. 63.

60. Clermont-Crèvecoeur's statement under this date (which he subsequently repeats, more plausibly, under 7 September, Elkton, Maryland; below, p. 51) is questionable, since Barras's squadron sailed from Newport only on 23 August, as recorded in Verger's journal (p. 135). It was not until 21 August that Fersen, Rochambeau's aide-de-camp, arrived back at headquarters from Newport bringing Barras's letter of 17 August announcing his intention of sailing for the Chesapeake "at the first favorable wind." Fersen (2), pp. 118-119; Von Closen, p. 107; Barras to Rochambeau, Newport, 17 August 1781, printed in Doniol, v, 524-526, original in the Paul Mellon Collection. Barras, who was preparing to go off on an expedition of his own to Newfoundland, acquiesced in this course only after the most urgent representations from Washington and Rochambeau (cf. their letters of 15 August 1781 in Doniol, v, 523-524, and *Writings of GW*, xxii, 499-500). It is thus possible that rumors of Barras's intention to sail

three times. It had many wooden bridges, also two fords. The road is excellent and very smooth. This country, known as the Jerseys, is populated by Dutchmen who seem very prosperous. The land is well cultivated and yields abundant harvests. Ten miles from Pompton, near a village called Totowa, is a waterfall [Passaic Falls] that is regarded in these parts as a great curiosity.⁶⁰ The river flows very tranquilly down to a rock ledge imbedded in its course, which contains a crevice about 15 feet wide into which the river rushes precipitately and falls in a cascade from 70 to 80 feet. The crevice gradually diminishes until it practically disappears at the foot of the ledge, from which the river emerges and resumes its course as quietly as before.

27 August (16 miles) From Pompton to Whippany. Four miles from Whippany we passed a very large estate in one of the most pleasant spots in the whole countryside.⁶¹ Whippany is a small village on the banks of a river of that name. We halted there on the 28th, and the Second Division joined us. Until then we had been marching down river and believed we were bound for Staten Island. What confirmed us in this belief was the fact that the American army and the Lauzun Legion had made a reconnaissance in the vicinity. A dummy camp had been pitched facing

could have been circulating among the lower ranks by 24 August; if so, Clermont-Crèvecoeur retrospectively expanded such rumors into a *fait accompli* when writing up his journal.

61. The route from Suffern, New York, through New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware to Elkton, Maryland, is described in Vol. II, Itineraries 3, 4, and 5, and maps, Nos. 50-60 and 64-76.

62. Several officers made an excursion from the Pompton camp on 26 August to see this famous "natural wonder," which is now in the city of Paterson, New Jersey. See, e.g., Cromot Dubourg (1), p. 176; Von Closen, p. 112; Deux-Points, p. 420. An elaborate description was penned by Chastellux, who visited the Falls in November 1780. Chastellux (4), 1, 104-105, and Plate facing p. 73.

63. The "large estate" was "Beverwyck," the property of Lucas von Beverhoudt, who was at this time sharing it with Abraham Lott, a patriot refugee from New York. See Vol. II, Itinerary 3, and map, No. 51. Several of the officers dined at Beverwyck (Von Closen, p. 113). Verger was entertained here when the army was marching northward in September 1782; see his journal, p. 164.

Figure 2.1: Comte de Clermont-Crèvecoeur's account of New Jersey, 1781
Source: Rice, Howard C. Jr., and Anne S.K. Brown, eds., *The American Campaigns of Rochambeau's Army 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783* 2 vols., (Princeton and Providence, 1972), pp. 42-45.

Staten Island, where fires were kept going for several nights in order to screen our march and keep the English thinking that we planned to besiege New York.⁶⁴ We were much surprised when General Rochambeau left for Philadelphia, thus upsetting our forecasts.⁶⁵

From Whippany to Bullion's Tavern [Liberty Corner] the road was very good. Five miles beyond Whippany we passed a pretty little town called Morristown containing between 60 and 80 houses. It is situated on a small hill in pleasant surroundings. The American army camped here in 1778. Their camp was behind the woods to the left of Whippany. The American general Sullivan was then at Chatham, 7 miles to the left of the town. General [Charles] Lee, who commanded an American force, was ordered to march from Morristown to Newtown [in Pennsylvania] on the other side of the Delaware, but while marching with his army the General and his staff took a different fork in the road from the rest of his troops. Learning of his blunder, the English sent out a body of light troops who captured the General and his staff while they were at lunch.⁶⁶

64. "In order better to conceal our movements from General Clinton . . . I immediately sent M. de Villenazy, *commissaire des guerres*, to set up a bakery at Chatham, which is only three leagues from Staten Island; his work was covered by a small corps of Americans until the arrival of our vanguard. I confided the secret to him and told him that my real intention was to feed the army from this bakery on its march to Philadelphia, but that the enemy must be persuaded by all sorts of demonstrations that the object was to attack the Hook at Staten Island." Rochambeau, *Journal des opérations*.

65. Washington to Rochambeau, Chatham, 28 August 1781: "I do not find that the force upon Staten Island is large, or thrown over for any other purpose than that of defence, for which reason it is submitted to Your Excellency's judgment to march your Troops in one or two divisions, as shall be most easy and convenient to them; their moving in two divisions, & on succeeding days, will occasion no delay, as the Second will be up by the time the first will have embarked. As I propose to go the lower Road I shall not have the honor of joining your Excellency till we arrive at Princeton, where I will order dinner to be ready at three O'Clock, that we may lodge at Trenton (12 Miles further). As this will be a journey of 54 Miles from Whippany I would suggest to you the expediency of making part of it this Afternoon. Colo. [William Stephens] Smith, one of my Aides, who is well acquainted with the Roads, will have the honor of attending you to the rendezvous at Princeton." *Writings of*

In the meantime, his troops were marching along 9 miles from there.

In 1779 the Americans camped again between Morristown and the river to great advantage, since they held the key to all roads in the countryside that led to this much frequented spot.⁶⁷

30 August (12 miles) From Bullion's Tavern to Somerset Courthouse [Millstone] the roads were superb and traveling was easy. We finally realized that we were leaving New York behind and marching to the Delaware, the river that flows past Philadelphia. We learned that M. de Rochambeau had just received a letter from the Marquis de La Fayette, commanding 1,500 troops in Virginia, saying that Lord Cornwallis had retired to York on the river of that name where he had entrenched himself. The plan of the campaign was at last unveiled, for it was now clear that we were marching against this general, though many happy events had yet to occur before this splendid operation was concluded.

31 August (12 miles) From Somerset [Millstone] to

GW, xxii, 58–59; the original letter, reproduced as one of our illustrations, is in the Paul Mellon Collection. "28 August — MM. de Rochambeau, Chastellux, Fersen, Vauban, and I left Whippany at 4 o'clock in the afternoon. . . ." Von Closen, pp. 113–114.

66. General Charles Lee was captured at Widow White's Tavern in Basking Ridge on 13 December 1776 by an English scouting party led by Lieutenant Colonel William Harecourt of the Sixteenth Light Dragoons. Many legends concerning the circumstances of Lee's capture soon flourished (see, e.g., Von Closen, p. 114). A strictly contemporary account by one of the captors, Colonel Banastre Tarleton (who was to be the Duc de Lauzun's opponent at Gloucester during the Siege of Yorktown in 1781), is in his letter to his family, dated Princeton, 17 December 1776. Richard M. Ketchum, ed., "New War Letters of Banastre Tarleton," *New-York Historical Society Quarterly*, 11, No. 1 (Jan. 1967), 61–81. Lee was subsequently exchanged, 21 April 1778, for General Richard Prescott, who had been captured by the Americans at Newport; Lee played a controversial role in the Battle of Monmouth, was court-martialed, and lived under a cloud until his death in Philadelphia, 2 October 1782.

67. For the role of Morristown, strategically situated in the New Jersey mountains, see Melvin J. Weig and Vera B. Craig, *Morristown National Historical Park, A Military Capital of the American Revolution*, National Park Service, Historical Handbook No. 7 (Washington, 1950, and later editions).

Figure 2.2: Comte de Clermont-Crèvecœur's account of New Jersey, 1781
Source: Rice, Howard C. Jr., and Anne S.K. Brown, eds., *The American Campaigns of Rochambeau's Army 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783* 2 vols., (Princeton and Providence, 1972), pp. 42–45.

Princeton the road was very good. This town is well built and pleasantly situated. There is a very handsome college here, which possesses some most interesting physics apparatus, including a clock that marks the passage of time in months and years, as well as the revolutions of the moon, of the earth around the sun, of this orb from tropic to tropic, and the course of the seven planets. This instrument, which is more like a terrestrial and celestial globe than a clock, seems most ingenious.⁶⁸ The English have done much damage to the college. This place is notable for the victory the Americans won here in 1777.

BATTLE OF PRINCETON⁶⁹

On 2 January 1777 General Washington, by a very bold and well-planned march, left Trenton (a town 4 miles from Princeton) at dusk with his whole army, leaving his fires lighted facing General Cornwallis, who had come to attack his camp. Taking a road the enemy could not have anticipated, he was joined en route by a body of militia and arrived at daybreak [3 January] at a point 1 mile from Princeton. On his left he noticed some English troops retreating in disorder down the main road. At his approach they turned and fled towards the camp of the Seventh [Seventeenth] Regiment 2 miles from the town, on the left. The American general ordered his troops to double their pace and had the good fortune to fall upon the Seventh [Seventeenth] Regiment before it could join forces with the rest of the English troops. This regiment beat a retreat but, on being hard-pressed by the Americans, surrendered in the vicinity of the Col-

68. The ingenious instrument was an orrery, completed in 1771 by David Rittenhouse for the College of New Jersey. See H. C. Rice, Jr., *The Rittenhouse Orrery, Princeton's Eighteenth-Century Planetarium, 1767-1954. A Commentary on an Exhibition Held in the Princeton University Library* (Princeton, 1954); and "A Check-list of Items shown in the Exhibition. . .," *Princeton University Library Chronicle*, xv, No. 4 (Summer 1954), 194-206. What is left of the orrery is now (1970) on display in William Charles Peyton Hall, Princeton's new astrophysics building.

69. Clermont-Crèvecoeur's recapitulation of the Battle of Princeton—like those of Trenton, Germantown, and Brandywine, included below—is a good example of the historical accounts that many of the officers inserted as a

lege, leaving 280 men as prisoners. The rest escaped into the woods and fell back towards Lord Cornwallis at Trenton.

Meanwhile, General Sullivan had been sent to take up a position at Kingston across the Millstone River, where he destroyed the bridge after his troops had crossed. General Washington had sent him there to prevent the enemy from being reinforced by their troops stationed at Brunswick, which he succeeded in doing.

After a desultory fire several fugitives formed up at the bridge. General Washington pursued them, dispersed them, and continued along the road to Rocky Hill from where he marched to Somerset [Millstone] and finally halted at Pompton Plains where he took up a position. Crossing the Millstone River by another bridge 3 miles below, which he also destroyed, General Sullivan joined him there. When his Lordship was informed of this affair, he marched rapidly to the support of his troops but arrived too late. He had the first bridge repaired and retired to Brunswick. (See map of the Jerseys.)

What is remarkable about this operation of General Washington's is that, being encamped in a very poor position facing the English at Princeton [Trenton], he must have expected Lord Cornwallis to attack him at daybreak. His poor position and the inferiority of his force facing the English prompted him to slip away during the night and fight the English on the road to Princeton. Had his army not been exhausted by several forced marches, he was planning to continue on to Brunswick to capture the rest of the British before Lord Cornwallis arrived.

matter of course in their journals (often copying or paraphrasing one another). Although lacking the authority of eyewitness accounts by participants, they are nevertheless interesting evidence of how the recent military operations of their allies were understood by the French in 1781. Such theoretical exercises in military history and topography formed part of the education of young officers during their campaigns. Berthier's journal (pp. 250-251) gives a glimpse of them at work on such "studies." General Chastellux, among others, set an example with the elaborate descriptions of American battles and battlefields included in his *Travels*. Cf. Samuel Stelle Smith, *The Battle of Princeton* (Moonmouth Beach, N.J., 1957), a convenient recapitulation, with maps.

Figure 2.3: Comte de Clermont-Crèvecoeur's account of New Jersey, 1781
Source: Rice, Howard C. Jr., and Anne S.K. Brown, eds., *The American Campaigns of Rochambeau's Army 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783* 2 vols., (Princeton and Providence, 1972), pp. 42-45.

September 1781

1 September (12 miles) From Princeton to Trenton the roads were excellent. This town is larger than Princeton but less well built and not as pretty. On its outskirts there is a large creek that is a branch of the Delaware and that is spanned by a bridge. The Delaware, where there is both ford and ferry, is half a mile beyond. This town is also notable because of two battles won here by the Americans. The first was fought on 24 [26] December 1776.

BATTLES OF TRENTON⁷⁰

The enemy had established their winter quarters along the Delaware at Trenton, Bordentown, and farther north at Princeton, Brunswick, etc. At the same time the American army was occupying barracks at Newtown and Wrightstown across the Delaware above Trenton. On the night of 24 [25] December 1776 General Washington took his army across the river on boats at McKonkey's Ferry, 9 miles above Trenton. Forming it into two columns, he led the right-hand column and put General Sullivan in command of the left, which was followed by the reserves. At daybreak the troops reached the various pickets the Hessians had posted along the roads leading into town. At the first alarm the latter rushed into the church, almost in the center of the town, where they defended themselves for some time against the right-hand column as it debouched along the road bordering the river. The enemy suffered heavy losses until Colonel Rall, their commander, decided to form them up on a small eminence nearby; thereupon General Washington deployed his column before the town on their left flank, while General Sullivan formed in front and the reserves filed through the small ravines to turn their right. Seeing himself surrounded, Colonel Rall surrendered with 1,000 men, while about 400 succeeded in crossing the bridge over the creek below Trenton and reaching the cantonments at Bordentown.

The second battle took place six days later. The General again crossed the river and took up a position behind the creek flowing south of Trenton along

70. Cf. Samuel Stelle Smith, *The Battle of Trenton* (Monmouth Beach, N.J., 1965).

which are 3 miles of impracticable marshes reaching to the edge of the woods. Cornwallis came up immediately with his whole force to attack him, leaving only one reserve corps of two regiments at Princeton to maintain communications with Brunswick, etc., and to halt, or at least retard, the march of the Americans. General Washington sent work parties into the woods to destroy the bridge over the aforementioned creek, obliging the English to seek other crossings, which the Americans defended foot by foot. In addition, two American battalions proceeded with a cannon to a height across the creek in front of Trenton. Pushing back the work parties after a spirited resistance, his Lordship sent the troops of his right flank to turn the two battalions, who discharged a lively fire upon them, recrossed the bridge, and joined their own army. Then the English general deployed his troops on a small eminence facing the creek where he had several batteries set up to knock out the American guns emplaced above the ravines across the creek. Near a mill at the left of the bridge General Washington had a redoubt thrown up to protect his left flank where the creek was fordable. His Lordship sent a column forward to turn his flank on this side, but it was obliged to retire before a brisk cannonade that lasted until night. The troops remained facing one another. From this position, as soon as it was dark, General Washington marched that same evening to Princeton for the operation I have already described in my journal under 31 August. I should mention here that the American army numbered 4,000 men and the English 10,000.

2 September (18 miles) From Trenton to Red Lion Tavern.

Figure 2.4: Comte de Clermont-Crèvecœur's account of New Jersey, 1781
Source: Rice, Howard C. Jr., and Anne S.K. Brown, eds., *The American Campaigns of Rochambeau's Army 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783* 2 vols., (Princeton and Providence, 1972), pp. 42-45.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE MARCHES THROUGH NEW JERSEY IN AUGUST AND SEPTEMBER 1781

8.1: 19 August 1781

*Right*³⁷⁵ (Major Baumann's) Column (Route Number 2):

Summary:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey

Manuscript References:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey

Route:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey

Resources Identified:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey

Center Column (Route Number 4):

Summary:

The Rhode Island Regiment of 298 officers and men plus 180 sick or detached, the First New York Regiment of 438 officers and men plus 129 sick or detached, Colonel John Lamb's Continental Artillery Regiment of 368 officers and men plus 174 sick or detached, and Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Scammel's Light Infantry of 214 officers and men plus 143 sick or detached (all figures from the July strength report), march north along the Hudson toward Peekskill where they will remain to assist the French army in crossing the Hudson River. Only an advance guard under Scammel continues its march until it reaches a camp in the vicinity of Kakeat (modern-day New Hempstead), New York.³⁷⁶

Route:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey

³⁷⁵ "Right (westernmost) Column" denotes that column of the Continental Army that marches furthest inland.

³⁷⁶ The diary of Lieutenant Reuben Sanderson of the Fifth Connecticut Regiment assigned to Scammel's Light Infantry confirms this itinerary. On 19 August, he was encamped at Kakeat, marched to Paramus on the 25th, on the 26th to "Second River," i.e. Belleville, on the 27th to Springfield, the 29th to New Brunswick, the 30th to Princeton, the 31st to Trenton, and on 1 September, after having crossed the Delaware, encamped at "Lower Doublan" 12 miles from Philadelphia. The diary is published in Johnston, *Yorktown Campaign*, pp. 170-173.

Manuscript References:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey

Resources Identified:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey

Left (easternmost) Column (Route Number 1):**Summary:**

Brigadier General Moses Hazen's Canadian Regiment (Congress' Own) of 17 officers, 38 NCOs and 208 rank and file strong with 85 officers and men detached (July strength report), the First New Jersey Regiment under Colonel Mathias Ogden, consisting of 14 officers, 22 NCOs and 149 rank and file, with 198 officers and men detached, and the Second New Jersey under Colonel Elias Dayton, 18 officers, 37 NCOs and 171 rank and file strong with 180 officers and men detached, are ferried from Dobbs Ferry across the Hudson to Sneedens and march to Paramus.

Manuscript References:

In a letter to Colonel Elias Dayton from Head Quarters at Philipsburg, dated 19 August 1781, George Washington writes:

Sir:

You will march immediately with the Jersey Line and Hazens Regt. to the Heights between Chatham and Springfield. You will take the most eligible position and encamp there.

You will give Colo[nel]. Seely orders to remain at Dobbs's Ferry untill Wednesday when he is to march and join you. You will order him, in a very particular manner, to keep scouts and Patroles towards Bergen, and to take every precaution ag[ains]t. a surprise.³⁷⁷

³⁷⁷ All correspondence to and from Washington is quoted from the transcripts of the George Washington Papers in the Library of Congress, available on the internet at <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/>, search by name and/or date.

On 30 July, Washington recorded in his *Diary* (p. 403) "Ordered the Jersey Militia, who were directed to Assemble in the first instance at Morristown to Dobbs ferry and there join the remains of the Jersey Brigade", which had arrived at Dobbs Ferry on 13 July. Seeley's troops were militia he had been authorized to raise for three months duty on 27 June. A return dated 10 August at Dobbs Ferry in the Washington Papers shows the militia at a strength of 13 officers, 3 additional staff, 20 NCOs, 6 drummers and fifers, and 222 rank and file fit for duty, with more men coming in. His command also included four companies of the New Jersey State Troops consisting of seven officers, 10 NCOs, 7 drummers and fifers, and 110 rank and file "ready for action."

In his *Journal*, Sergeant-Major John Hawkins of Hazen's Regiment records under 18 August 1781: "This Day about Noon we rec'd Orders to march at 4 o'Clock in the Afternoon." It is 7:00 p.m. by the time the regiment arrives at Dobbs Ferry and "about two Hours after Day break, the 19th" when the horses and teams have finally crossed the river.

After the men had crossed the Hudson during the night of 18/19 August, Hazen's regiment "halted about half a Mile from the River, where "The Jersey Line passed our Regt. about 1 o'Clock [on 19 August], and about 12 o'Clock (sic) our Regt. proceeded on. Just at dark our Regt. halted and rested this night in Houses and Barns in Paramus, about 2 Miles from the Church. ...The Jersey Line lay about three Miles in our Front."³⁷⁸

On 25 August, Washington instructs Colonel Sylvanus Seely with his New Jersey Militia to depart for Springfield on 27 August 1781 via New Bridge³⁷⁹ and "Acquacanacke," i.e., Passaic.³⁸⁰ This is the same route that the New Jersey Line and Hazen had taken a few days earlier.³⁸¹

An itinerary of the New Jersey Line in the New Jersey State Archives has the regiments cross the Hudson on 19 August. On 20 August, the New Jersey Line together with Hazen's regiment marches from Paramus to

Though Washington ordered Seely to "remain at Dobb's Ferry," he meant Sneed's Landing on the New Jersey side of the Hudson, frequently referred to as Dobb's Ferry in the eighteenth Century. Not only would it have been very difficult to send scouts toward Bergen from across the Hudson, but General Heath was still encamped around Dobbs Ferry as well and could keep an eye on the British in New York City.

Washington finished his letter with the admonition "I wish you to be particular in your orders to the officer, that he may take every effectual means in his power to prevent his men from Abusing the Inhabitants, which is a circumstance I am under the painful necessity of Observing, that your troops are too frequently charged with, and I fear not without foundation. By paying particular Attention to their conduct in this particular and punishing with severity offenders a stop May be put to further improprieties."

On Sneed's Landing see Lewis F. Owen, "The Town that was Robbed." *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society* Vol. 81 No. 3 (1963), pp. 164-180. 19 August was a Sunday, a departure date on Wednesday would have been 22 August, but since the combined armies were four days behind schedule when the crossing of the Hudson was finally accomplished, Washington adjusted Seely's instructions to Monday, 27 August.

³⁷⁸ Hawkins, *Journal*, un-paginated and with entries not always in chronological order, is in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

³⁷⁹"New Bridge" denotes the location of a drawbridge over the Hackensack River built in 1745. It is today part of River Edge.

³⁸⁰ The Township of Acquackanonk was created in the northern part of Essex County in October of 1693; in 1854, the Village of Acquackanonk became the town of Passaic. The County of Passaic was created on 7 February of 1837 by taking the township of Acquackanonk from Essex County and a large part of the township of Saddle River from Bergen County from parts of northern Essex and western Bergen County.

³⁸¹ The date of Washington's letter, 19 August, was a Sunday, a departure date on Wednesday would have been 22 August, but since the combined armies were four days behind schedule when the crossing of the Hudson was finally accomplished, Washington adjusted Seely's instructions to Monday, 27 August.

Second River and encamps.³⁸² On 21 August, they reach Springfield. Here they stay until 28 August. On 29 August, they camp at New Brunswick and reach Princeton on 30 August; on 31 August they march into Trenton and cross into Pennsylvania on 1 September.³⁸³

Route:

The New Jersey Line and Hazen's Regiment march to "Paramus, about 2 Miles from [i.e., North of] the Church." The New Jersey Regiments camp "three Miles in our Front", i.e., one mile south of the "Church."

In modern terms this means that following the crossing, they enter NJ-SR 501 past the intersection Old Hook Road, the old road to the Upper Closter Landing, to Madison Avenue, where they turn inland toward Paramus and the Hackensack River. At the intersection with River Road they turn south toward River Edge, i.e., the New Bridge settlement of the eighteenth century, and then on to NJ-SR 62 and south to Belleville.

Resources Identified:

Resource 1:

Old Paramus Reformed Church
660 E. Glen Avenue
Ridgewood, NJ 07450
Appendix B, p. 299, Appendix C, p. 331, and Appendix D, Map 1

Resource 2:

Zabriskie-Steuben House
Intersection of Main Street and Hackensack Avenue
River Edge, NJ 07661
Appendix B, p. 299, Appendix C, p. 333, and Appendix D, Map 5

French Army (Route Number 5):

Summary:

The French artillery leaves White Plains around 11:00 a.m. on 18 August, but bivouacs only four miles from camp.

On 19 August, the artillery marches to its next bivouac north of the Croton at Pines Bridge.

³⁸² On Saturday, 24 June 1797, the inhabitants of Second River changed the name of their settlement to Washington and to Belleville on Monday, 26 June 1797.

³⁸³ New Jersey State Archives, Record Group: Military and Militia, Subgroup: Adjutant General's Office, Series: Revolutionary War Research files, Box 2. Hereafter cited as NJSA, RG, SG, and Series.

Following a different route from the artillery, the French infantry begins its march from White Plains to its camp at North Castle. The grenadiers and chasseurs remain behind as a rear-guard.

Manuscript References:

In a letter to Rochambeau from Philipsburg of 17 August 1781, Washington writes:

Sir:

Upon a full consideration of all circumstances I am of opinion, that the march of the French Army under your command had better be by the following Route, and on the following days:

- *Sunday, 19th. to North Castle ... 14 Miles*
- *Monday, 20th. to Kings Ferry ... 18 Do.*

Allowing for the common chances of Winds and Weather it may take 'till

- *Thursday 22d. to cross the North River.*
- *Friday, 23d, to Suffrans ... 16 Miles*
- *Saturday 24, to Pumpton Meetg Ho ... 14 Do.*
- *Sunday, 25. to Whippany ... 15*
- *Monday, 26 to Bullions Tavern ... 15*
- *Tuesday, 27. to Somerset Ct House ... 14*
- *Wednesday 28 to Princeton ... 14*
- *Thursday, 29 to Trenton ... 12*

I have named no halting day because we have not a moment to lose, and because the Troops will more than probably, be detained sometime at Trenton; but if you should think it absolutely necessary, Whippany will be a good place for a halt, as there is a good Road leading from thence through Chatham (five Miles distant) to Elizabeth Town and Staten Island.

After crossing the North River, Your Excellency may, if you should prefer it, march by Brigades."

Route:

No French forces are yet in New Jersey

Resources Identified:

No French forces are yet in New Jersey

8.2: 20 August 1781

Right (Major Baumann's) Column (Route Number 2):

Summary:

At 10:00 a.m., Major Sebastian Baumann receives orders to set out for New Windsor.

Manuscript References:

General Henry Knox writes to Baumann from "New Windsor, 20 August 1781, 10^oclock AM

Dear Major Baumann,

Immediately on receipt of this letter Gen. Knox desires you to set out in order to meet him at this place. It will be proper to provide yourself with cloths and gear for a command of some considerable length. The General is very anxious for your arrival and requests you to be here before sunset this evening."³⁸⁴

Route:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey

Resources Identified:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey

Center Column (Route Number 4):

Summary:

Around 10:00 a.m., the army reaches Peekskill and immediately begins to cross the Hudson.

The forces under Scammel remain encamped near Kakeat, New York.

³⁸⁴ Henry Knox Papers, Microfilm Edition, reel 7, vol. 7.

Sebastian Baumann (1739-1803) was born in Frankfurt on the Main and educated in Heidelberg. Following brief service in the Austrian army he immigrated to New York around 1755 and served with New York State troops during the French and Indian War. On 30 March 1776, he was appointed a Captain in the New York artillery company that was organized between 6 December 1775 and 27 May 1776 as Captain Sebastian Baumann's Continental Artillery Company and assigned to the Main Army on 13 April 1776. In 1779, he became Commanding Officer of Artillery at West Point, a position he held until the summer of 1781. On 20 August 1781, he received the above order to join the main artillery train that was marching through New Jersey toward Yorktown. He died on 19 October 1803, the 22nd anniversary of the victory at Yorktown. Baumann is best known for a 1782 map of the siege of Yorktown.

Manuscript References:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey

Route:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey

Resources Identified:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey

Left (easternmost) Column (Route Number 1):**Summary:**

Hazen's Regiment and the New Jersey Line depart from Paramus and encamp in (Hazen) or near (New Jersey) Second River (Belleville).

Manuscript References:

Sergeant-Major Hawkins writes in his *Journal*:

Augt. 20. A little after Day Break proceeded and Passed by Paramus Church. Came to a small village called Tottoway (sic), where we halted, and took Breakfast. At this place we found the Jersey Line tho on the opposite Side of the Bridge. Having rested about an Hour we proceeded on. Came to a Small Village called Wesen (i.e., Wesel), and we halted and rested a little while then proceeded on to a long scattered tho' pleasant Village called Second River where we halted and encamped in a field. ... the Jersey Line lay below us about two miles.

Route:

Continuing south on River Road, Hazen and the New Jersey regiments cross the Hackensack at New Bridge and continue south on Main Street to Westminster Avenue, which they follow until they cross the Passaic River at Acquackanonk, i.e., Passaic. From there they follow Main Street into Second River, i.e., Belleville.

Along the way they pick up a patrol that had been stationed between Closter and New Bridge since 17 August, when Washington had ordered Colonel Elias Dayton to “to detach from the Brigade under your command upon the receipt of this, a Capt. And 50 [men], with Orders to patrol the Country between Closter and the New Bridge, the Officer must not consider either of these places as his post, but continue to range the intermediate space untill he receives further Orders.”

The identification this route is based on a comparison between Erskine-DeWitt maps 26, 110, 116 and 79B in the collections of the New-York Historical Society with the maps of William Faden, *The Province of New Jersey Divided into East and West, commonly called the Jerseys*. (Charing Cross, 1777) overlaid on a modern highway map.

Henri Crublier d'Opterre, a captain in the Corps of Engineers, owned a copy of the Faden map and used it to mark the route he took across New Jersey in August 1781. Usually his route marked on the map matches that of the French forces, occasionally, however, as in his route from Pompton through Totowa to the Falls of the Passaic and then through Horseneck to Morristown, it deviates from the route. It forms part of the Crublier Papers in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University.

Resources Identified:

Resource 3:

Campsite of Hazen's Regiment in Second River (Belleville)
Appendix B, p. 299, Appendix C, p. 334, and Appendix D, Maps 7,8

Resource 4:

Campsite of the New Jersey Line near Second River (Belleville)
Appendix B, p. 299, Appendix C, p. 334, and Appendix D, Map 8

French Army (Route Number 5):

Summary:

French artillery remains in bivouac north of the Croton near Pines Bridge.

French infantry rests at North Castle as it waits for its wagon train to catch up.

Grenadiers and chasseurs begin their march from White Plains.

Manuscript Resources:

No French forces are yet in New Jersey

Route:

No French forces are yet in New Jersey

Resources Identified:

No French forces are yet in New Jersey

8.3: 21 August 1781

Right (Major Baumann's) Column (Route Number 2):

Summary:

Baumann's detachment departs from New Windsor.

Manuscript References:

General Knox writes to Major Baumann on 21 August 1781:

Dear Major,

As soon as you join the Company of Artillery, Laboratory and artificers which march from this place (i.e., New Windsor) today you will assume the General Command - their route will be by through Smiths clove,³⁸⁵ Ringwood & Curtis's Tavern on Pompton Plains there you will receive further directions ----- You will oblige the Party to be on the march by the break of day each morning until you arrive ... at Curtis Tavern ... Which must be by the day after tomorrow certainly.

Should any teams be wanting on the march you will impress them without delay ...³⁸⁶

The exact size of Major Baumann's "Company of Artillery, Laboratory and artificers" is unknown. It is not listed separately on any return. During the reorganization of the Continental Army in January 1781, Washington took two under-strength companies from Lamb's 2nd Artillery Regiment and merged them "with Gibs Jones' separate Company of Artillery and Isaac Coren's company of laboratory technicians in the Regiment of Artillery Artificers." The two resulting companies were then assigned to the 4th Regiment of Artillery under Colonel Thomas Proctor. A regular company had a strength of 6 officers, 12 NCOs, and 53 rank and file.³⁸⁷

A Company of Artificers to be raised under Captain Stephen Clapp in western Massachusetts and Connecticut in May and June 1781, consisted of two officers who had to be carpenters, four NCOs, 50 privates and six cooks. The trades represented in the company were carpenters (25), smiths (15) wheelwrights (6), boat builders (4), saddlers (2), harness-makers (2) and the six cooks. The smiths had to know how to shoe horses, oxen, as

³⁸⁵ "Clove" is derived from *gleuf* of *kloof*, Dutch terms for "pass."

³⁸⁶ Henry Knox Papers, Microfilm Edition, reel 7, vol. 7.

³⁸⁷ Wright, *Continental Army*, p. 159.

well as how to make nails. It seems fair to assume therefore that the strength of Baumann's detachment was most likely less than 100 officers and men.³⁸⁸

Smith's Clove is a narrow valley south of West Point and about due west of Fort Montgomery. It runs from Suffern to Monroe, New York. Thatcher in his diary refers to it as "a fine level plain of rich land, situated at the foot of the high mountains on the west side of Hudson River. It is about fourteen miles in the rear of the garrison at West Point, and surrounded on all sides by the highlands."³⁸⁹ It was named after William Smith, the loyalist Chief Justice of the Province of New York until 1782, who was one of the original patentees. In 1801, the town's name was changed to Southfields, to Munroe in 1808, and to Monroe in 1818. There is still a Smith Clove Elementary School on Smith Clove Road.

Route:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey

Resources Identified:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey

Center Column (Route Number 4):

Summary:

By sunrise the Americans have crossed the Hudson and are encamped at Stony Point.

Washington establishes his headquarters in the home of Jeshua Hett Smith.

An advance guard under Scammel remains encamped near Kakeat, New York.

Manuscript References:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey.

Route:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey.

Resources Identified:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey.

³⁸⁸ Timothy Pickering Papers Microfilm Edition reel 26, vol. 82.

³⁸⁹ Thacher, *Diary*,

Left (easternmost) Column (Route Number 1):

Summary:

The combined New Jersey regiment and Hazen reach Springfield.

Manuscript References:

From the Journal of Sergeant-Major Hawkins:

Augt 21. At Day Break our Regt. struck Tents, the Baggage was loaded and the Regt. marched. Came to Orange Town in Essex County where the Regt. halted one Hour to rest and take some Refreshments, after which proceeded and about 2 o'Clock arrived in Springfield, (about 2 Miles from the settled Part of it) where the Regt. encamped in a Field, on a Height, and a very advantageous Post, being on the turn of the Road. The New Jersey Line is encamped about 2 Miles from us."

On 21 August, Washington writes to Colonel Sylvanus Seely from Kings Ferry.

Sir:

I shall not be able to reach Springfield, with the Army, as soon as I expected; for which Reason I desire you will continue to perform the Duties I directed Colo Dayton to enjoin on you, 'till you hear further from me, or from Genl Lincoln by my Order.

When the French Army have crossed the River and the whole are ready to take up a proper Line of March, you will be informed of it, and will be directed to proceed towards Springfield in such a Manner as will best correspond with the general Movement.

I beg you will be pointed in observing these Directions; that you will keep a good lookout, by Land and Water, towards York Island; and inform me of every Thing that stirs worth Notice; and of the Intelligence you may get from thence if it is of Importance sufficient to communicate it by Express.

Seely's acknowledgement of Washington's letter written from Dobb's Ferry on 21 August reads in part that

"as to the orders I received from Coll Dayton they were to Continue on this Ground untill the Morning of the 22nd and then to follow his Rout to Springfield."

Route:

From its camp in Belleville the combined New Jersey Regiment and Hazen's regiment break camp in the morning of 21 August and continue their march south toward Newark. Though neither the Erskine-DeWitt maps 79A or 15B, nor the Faden map show a road leading directly from Newark to Springfield, i.e., an equivalent of Springfield Avenue/Canton Avenue/NJ-SR 124, Hazen's *Journal* entry that the troops came to Orange Town postulates the existence of such a road. This road, parallel to or in part identical to (?) modern-day NJ-SR 510 which leads into Orange, would connect in Orange Town with Morristown Road to the intersection with NJ-SR 124, which leads into Springfield from the north and which is identified on Erskine map 67B.

Entering Springfield on NJ-SR 124, Hazen's Regiment and regiments of the New Jersey Line march directly to their campsites.³⁹⁰

Resources Identified:

Resource 5:

Campsite of Moses Hazen's Regiment on Hobart Gap along Hobart Road located "(about 2 Miles from the settled Part of [Springfield]) where the Reg[imen]t. encamped in a Field, on a Height, and a very advantageous Post, being on the turn of the Road."

Appendix B, p. 300, Appendix C, p. 335, and Appendix D, Maps 8,12

Resource 6:

Campsite of the New Jersey Line. The exact location of this campsite is unknown but most likely northward along the ridge of the mountains since one of the purposes of the camp was for the British in New York to see the campfires.

Appendix B, p. 300, Appendix C, p. 337, and Appendix D, Maps 8,10,12

Resource 7:

Presbyterian Church (1752)

Morris Avenue/NJ-SR 22

Springfield, NJ 07081

Appendix B, p. 300, Appendix C, p. 338, and Appendix D, Maps 8,12

³⁹⁰ What is today called Old Short Hills Road is not an eighteenth-century road.

Resource 8:

Statue of Reverend Caldwell next to the Presbyterian Church
next to the Presbyterian Church
Morris Avenue/NJ-SR 22
Springfield, NJ 07081
Appendix B, p. 300, Appendix C, p. 339, and Appendix D, Map 12

Resource 9:

Historic Marker in front of Presbyterian Church
next to the Presbyterian Church
Morris Avenue/NJ-SR 22
Springfield, NJ 07081
Appendix B, p. 300, Appendix C, p. 339, and Appendix D, Map 12

Resource 10:

Hutchings Homestead (also known as the Cannon Ball House)
126 Morris Avenue
Springfield, NJ 07081
Appendix B, p. 300, Appendix C, p. 339, and Appendix D, Map 12

Resource 11:

Swaim House
South Springfield Avenue
Springfield, NJ 07081
Appendix B, p. 300, Appendix C, p. 340, and Appendix D, Map 12

Resource 12:

Daniel Sayre House (also known as Old Sayre Homestead, 1745)
Ridgedale Avenue
Madison, NJ 07940
Appendix B, p. 300, Appendix C, p. 340, and Appendix D, Map 12

French Army (Route Number 5):

Summary:

Advance components of the French artillery reach Peekskill and cross the Hudson.

French infantry marches from North Castle to its camp near Hunt's Tavern.

Grenadiers and chasseurs rejoin the main army.

Manuscript References:

No French forces are yet in New Jersey

Route:

No French forces are yet in New Jersey

Resources identified:

No French forces are yet in New Jersey

8.4: 22 August 1781

Right (Major Baumann's) Column (Route Number 2):

Summary:

Major Baumann joins up (?) with his detachment and marches through Smith's Clove on NY-SR 17 toward Sloatsburg.

Manuscript References:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey

Route:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey

Resources Identified:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey

Center Column (Route Number 4):

Summary:

American forces assist the French artillery in crossing the Hudson from Peekskill to Stony Point.

General Washington remains quartered in the home of Jeshua Hett Smith.

An advance guard under Scammel remains encamped near Kakeat, New York.

Manuscript References:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey

Route:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey

Resources Identified:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey

Left (easternmost) Column (Route Number 1):

Summary:

The New Jersey Line and Hazen's Regiment remain in camp at Springfield.

Manuscript References:

The New Jersey Line and Hazen's Regiment remain in camp at Springfield.

Route:

The New Jersey Line and Hazen's Regiment remain in camp at Springfield.

Resources Identified:

The New Jersey Line and Hazen's Regiment remain in camp at Springfield.

French Army (Route Number 5):

Summary:

Remainder of the French artillery plus Lauzun's Legion cross the Hudson and camp near Haverstraw.

French infantry marches from near Hunt's Tavern to its camp near Peekskill.

Manuscript References:

No French forces are yet in New Jersey

Route:

No French forces are yet in New Jersey

Resources Identified:

No French forces are yet in New Jersey

8.5: 23 August 1781

Right (Major Baumann's) Column (Route Number 2):

Summary:

Baumann's detachment marches through Smith's Clove on NY-SR 17 toward Sloatsburg.

Manuscript References:

From his camp "near King's Ferry, Knox orders Baumann on 23 August 1781 to stop at

*"some convenient Ground North of & near to Posts mills" since "Colonel Olneys regiment or part of it has march'd to serve as a guard to your charge. You must draw provisions from the nearest place where there are any public provisions - inform me when you arrived - you will soon receive further orders."*³⁹¹

On 23 August, most of Colonel Olney's Regiment, i.e., the Rhode Island Regiment, is encamped at Stony Point. In order to reach Major Baumann, the Rhode Island Regiment would have taken the equivalent of modern-day NY-SR 17A going due east from Stony Point to its intersection with NY-SR 17 just south of Southfields.

There is, however, the possibility that these were the men that Washington had ordered Alexander McDougall on 19 August to send south from West Point.

"You will be pleased to direct all the detachments from Colo. Olneys Regt. whether at the point or upon any other duty immediately to join the Regt. at Kings ferry."

In view of Baumann's letter to Knox of 25 August (see below) it is doubtful whether any detachment of the Rhode Island Regiment did meet up with Baumann before his arrival in Pompton Plains.

Route:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey

Resources Identified:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey

³⁹¹ Henry Knox Papers, Microfilm Edition, reel 7, vol. 7. "Posts Mills" has not been identified.

Center Column (Route Number 4):

Summary:

American forces assist the French artillery in crossing the Hudson from Peekskill to Stony Point.

General Washington remains quartered in the home of Jeshua Hett Smith.

An advance guard under Scammel remains encamped near Kakeat, New York.

Manuscript References:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey

Route:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey

Resources Identified:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey

Left (easternmost) Column (Route Number 1):

Summary:

The New Jersey Line and Hazen's regiment remain in camp at Springfield.

Manuscript References:

The New Jersey Line and Hazen's regiment remain in camp at Springfield.

Route:

The New Jersey Line and Hazen's regiment remain in camp at Springfield.

Resources Identified:

The New Jersey Line and Hazen's regiment remain in camp at Springfield.

French Army (Route Number 5):

Summary:

The French wagon train completes its crossing of the Hudson and encamps near Haverstraw.

French infantry remains encamped at Peekskill.

Rochambeau visits West Point with Washington.

Manuscript References

No French forces are yet in New Jersey

Route:

No French forces are yet in New Jersey

Resources Identified:

No French forces are yet in New Jersey

8.6: 24 August 1781

Right (Major Baumann's) Column (Route Number 2):

Summary:

Major Baumann's detachment arrives at Pompton Plains.

Manuscript References:

Major Baumann writes to Knox from

"Pompton, Curtises Tavern 25 Augt 1781

Dear Sir,

I arrived here yesterday [24 August] between two and three o'clock in the Afternoon - your letter of the 23rd Inst. Signified that the party & stores were to halt North of Posts mills, but the whole is one mile South and in front of Custises House, having got there before your letter came to hand - I have been informed that the ground we lie on is marked out for the left wing of the French line."

Baumann offers "to move when they arrive" to a different location Knox may have chosen for his detachment.³⁹² The First French Brigade does not reach its camp at Pompton Plains until 26 August.

Route:

As they approach modern-day Sloatsburg on the "secret" Continental Road, which had been laid down by General Nathanael Greene and which ran from New Windsor/West Point, through Southfields and Tuxedo Park, along Tuxedo Lake (approx. NY-SR 17 to NJ-SR 17 to NJ-SR 511), they pass right in front of the Erskine Manor House. From there they march past Erskine's Tomb, and followed what will later become the railroad bed (which serves the mines until 1957, and which is still in existence minus the tracks, and trestles).

This road does NOT exist today. The modern traveler needs to take Sloatsburg Road/Eagle Valley Road out of Sloatsburg to Ringwood, where it becomes Ringwood Avenue (County Route 511) and continue on it into Pompton, about eight miles to the south, to the campsite.³⁹³

³⁹² Henry Knox Papers, Microfilm Edition, reel 7, vol. 7.

³⁹³ See Jim Ransom, *Vanishing Ironworks of the Ramapos* (New Brunswick, 1966).

Resources identified:

Resource 13:

Ringwood Manor
Sloatsburg Road (NJ-SR 72)
Ringwood, NJ 07456
Appendix B, p. 301, Appendix C, p. 341, and Appendix D, Map 2

Resource 14:

Tomb of Robert Erskine
Appendix B, p. 301, Appendix C, p. 343, and Appendix D, Map 2

Resource 15:

Segment of the "Secret Road" in front of the Manor House and past Erskine's tomb.
Appendix B, p. 301, Appendix C, p. 345, and Appendix D, Map 2

Resource 16:

Long Pond Iron Works State Park and Museum
1304 Sloatsburg Road
Ringwood, NJ 07456-1799
Appendix B, p. 301, Appendix C, p. 346, and Appendix D, Map 2

Resource 17:

Battleship Maine Memorial
Intersection of Hamburg Turnpike and Ringwood Avenue
Pompton Plains, NJ 07444
Appendix B, p. 301, Appendix C, p. 347, and Appendix D, Map 3

Resource 18:

Marker on Newark-Pompton Turnpike in Pompton Plains.
Appendix B, p. 301, Appendix C, p. 349, and Appendix D, Map 3

Resource 19:

Ponds Church Marker
Newark-Pompton Turnpike north of Reformed Church
Pompton Plains, NJ 07444
Appendix B, p. 301, Appendix C, p. 350, and Appendix D, Map 3

Resource 20:

Pompton Meeting House (First Reformed Church)
529 Newark-Pompton Turnpike
Pompton Plains, NJ 07444
Appendix B, p. 301, Appendix C, p. 351, and Appendix D, Map 4

Resource 21:

Campsite along Newark-Pompton Turnpike north of Reformed Church in Pompton Plains (identical with that of French forces of 26/27 August).
Appendix B, p. 301, Appendix C, p. 352, and Appendix D, Maps 3,4

Center Column (Route Number 4):

Summary:

American forces assist the First French Brigade in crossing the Hudson from Peekskill to Stony Point.

General Washington remains quartered in the home of Jeshua Hett Smith.

An advance guard under Scammel remains encamped near Kakeat, New York.

Manuscript References:

George Washington writes to General Benjamin Lincoln from his Headquarters at Kings Ferry, 24 August 1781:

Sir:

The Detachment under your Command is to march to Springfield in New Jersey, by two Routs; the left Column with which you will go, is to be compos'd of the light Troops, and York Regiments (if Courtlands should get up to you in time³⁹⁴) and four light field pieces with the Baggage

³⁹⁴ After the amalgamation of its line on 1 January 1781, New York had two regiments in Continental service: the First New York Regiment under Colonel Goose Van Schaick, and the Second New York Regiment under Colonel Philip Van Cortlandt. "Courtlands" denotes the Second New York Regiment. It did not join the Continental Army until it reached Trenton.

Hazen's Regiment and the First New York Regiment arrived in Albany on 5 July 1781, and embarked almost immediately for West Point, where they arrived on 10 July, " but not till the latter had mutinied on acct. of their pay & several had deserted. The other York Regiment [i.e., Van Cortlandt] were detained at Albany to bring down the Boats & boards," as Washington recorded in his *Diary* on 10 July. (p. 392) On 10 August, the First New York, and Hazen's

of these sev[era]l. Corps. The right column is to consist of the Parke of Artillery; Ordnance Stores; The Quarter Masters and Commissary Stores the Baggage of the Staff; the Cloathing, [30] Boats,³⁹⁵ and other things, covered by Colo. Olneys Regiment and the Corps of Sapr. And M[in]ers.

The left Column will March on the 25th. within 3 Miles of Paramus; 26th. two Miles below Acquakenach Bridge [i.e., Passaic], 27th. to Springfield. The right column will march the same day three miles beyond Suffrans. 26. 5 Miles beyond Pompton on the road to the two Bridges at the fork of Posaic. 27. Back of the Mountain to Chatham.

In these positions the whole will halt till further orders. The Jersey Troops are to be put in condition to march the moment you arrive at Springfield together with Hazens Regiment.

When the march is commenced from Springfield the following will be the Route and distances:

Regiments received orders to march immediately from West Point to Dobbs Ferry. The Second New York Regiment did not depart from Albany until 20 August and arrived at West Point in the evening of 23 August. The following day they joined the Continental Army at Kings Ferry.

³⁹⁵ On 29 July, Washington had recorded in his *Diary* that "Part of the Second York Regiment came down from Albany with such of the Boats as had been undertaken by Gen. Schuyler, & were finished. The light Infantry Company of the Regiment were ordered down with the next Boats & the remainder of the Regiment to bring down the rest when done." On 19 August, Washington instructed McDougall at West Point to "hold the four Companies of Courtlands ready to move to Kings ferry the moment the others come down the River. Should any small detachments from Van Schaick's or Hazen's yet remain above they are to be sent to Kings ferry likewise."

Schuyler had informed Washington from Albany on 21 July, that 84 bateaux were virtually completed and at least half were ready to be sent forward to the army. On 1 August he wrote in his *Diary*: "By this date all my Boats were ready--viz.--One hundred New ones at Albany (constructed under the direction of Genel. Schuyler) and the like number at Wappings Creek by the Qr. Mr. Genl.; besides old ones which have been repaired." (p. 404) On 10 July, Washington had recorded in his diary that "The Boats undertaken by General Schuyler, are, by his letters, in a promising way." (p. 391) But on 18 August, Washington had told Alexander McDougall from Dobbs Ferry that "I am much disappointed in not having the Boats sent from Wapping Creek to King's Ferry, as requested by Colonel Pickering. You will be pleased, on the receipt of this, to order One hundred and fifty Men to bring thirty of the aforesaid Boats to Kings Ferry; from whence the Men may return immediately to West Point."

Washington used these 30 boats as part of the deception scheme against Clinton. On 21 August he wrote in his *Diary*: "During the passing of the French Army I mounted 30 flat Boats (able to carry about 40 Men each) upon carriages--as well with a design to deceive the enemy as to our real movement, as to be useful to me in Virginia when I get there.as well with a design to deceive the enemy as to our real movement, as to be useful to me in Virginia when I get there."

*To bound brooke
to Rocky hill
--Trenton.³⁹⁶*

And when our destination is no longer a secret, you will send forward an Officer of activity and resource to Trenton, to arrange matters for passing the covered and such other Waggon as the Or. Master Genl. Shall think necessary, over the River; as also the Artillery, and such of the Ordnance Stores, as Genl. Knox, or the Officer commanding it may choose to send to the head of Elk by Land. The Troops, Common Baggage, and other things are to go by Water, if the means of transportation can be provided; but as this is scarcely to be expected, a due proportion of what is provided must be allotted to the French Army.

The Troops, Baggage and Stores which go by Water are not to halt at Phila[delphia]. But to proceed immediately to Christiana Bridge; or as near to it as circumstances will admit. Nor is there to be a moments unnecessary delay of any thing that moves by Land to the head of Elk.

The success of our enterprize depends upon the celerity of our Movements; delay therefore, may be ruinous to it. I do not hesitate in giving it as my opinion that every horse and Oxen should be Swam over the Delaware. A few Boats above and below the place they are made to enter the River, to give them a proper direction, will remove all difficulty and greatly facilitate the passage across."*

**At this point the draft has the following crossed off: "I have put Colo. Seeley who Commands the Jersey Militia in the vicinity of Dobbs ferry under your orders; it will be proper therefore to direct him to march for Hackensack on the same day that you march for Acqua Kanack; and for the Connecticut Farms the day you march for Springfield where or in that Neighbourhood he is [sic] remain, keeping constant patroles on the Sound as far as Amboy till the French Army has passed Princeton and then act under the orders he may receive from Governor Livingston."³⁹⁷*

³⁹⁶ The distances are not given in the letter.

³⁹⁷ After the French army had passed Princeton on 31 August/1 September, Governor Livingston ordered Seeley's forces to take up positions around Connecticut Farms, today's Union, New Jersey, until mid-October, when news of the surrender of Cornwallis ended the threat of a British invasion of New Jersey and the militia went home again. Mark V. Kwasny, *Washington's Partisan War 1775-1783* (Kent, OH, 1996), pp. 305-306. See also "The Orderly Book of Lieutenant John Spear

On 23 August, Knox had compiled a list of ordnance he was taking to Virginia: two 12-pounders, four 3-pounders, six 6-pounders, and three five-inch howitzers, all of brass, with the appropriate implements, carriages and 200 rounds of ammunition. In siege artillery he took three 24-pounders and twenty 18-pounders of iron and two 8-inch mortars, three 8-inch howitzers, ten 10-inch mortars, and six 5-inch mortars of brass, again with the appropriate implements and carriages as well as enough powder for 500 rounds.³⁹⁸

In his *Memoirs*, Van Cortlandt describes this meeting with Washington at Stony Point.

"Upon approaching him He took my (sic) by the arm and went some distance on the road and gave me his orders both written and verbill, which was to march to Chatham in N. Jersey taken all the boats Intrenching tool &c. and proceed with deliberation Informing him daily of my progress for which purpose he sent a dragoon every day, as my Command was of great importance being the Rear-Guard of the Army."³⁹⁹

On 24 August, Washington writes to Robert Morris:

"We have been delayed here longer than I expected, by the difficulty of crossing the North River. The American Troops march tomorrow Morning and I hope by the time we reach Springfield we shall hear of the arrival of the fleet in Chesapeak.⁴⁰⁰ After that, our design may be unmasked. It will take a very considerable number of Craft to carry us down the Delaware and I shall be obliged to you for keeping in mind my request, that you would assist the Qr. Mr. in procuring them and the Vessels in Chesapeak should he call upon you for that Purpose."

Route:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey

(July 17 to December 4, 1781)" *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society* 1 (1916), pp. 129-146. Spear's Orderly Book has the New Jersey Brigade at Connecticut Farms on 30 August; by 3 November it is in garrison in Newark.

³⁹⁸ Henry Knox Papers, Microfilm Edition, reel 7, vol. 7, image 38. Image 41 shows a list dated 30 August of artillery-related "Stores with the Army coming from Hudson's River."

³⁹⁹ *The Revolutionary War Memoir and Selected Correspondence of Philip Van Cortlandt* Jacob Judd, comp. and ed., (Tarrytown, 1978), p. 59.

⁴⁰⁰ Washington did not hear of the arrival of the French fleet until 5 September near Chester, Pennsylvania.

Resources identified:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey

Left (easternmost) Column (Route Number 1):**Summary:**

The New Jersey Line and Hazen's Regiment remain in camp at Springfield.

Manuscript References:

George Washington writes to Elias Dayton from Kings Ferry, 24 August 1781.

Dear Sir:

Be so good as to use your best endeavors to obtain intelligence from York and Staten Island, that we may know what effect our late movements have produced. Ascertain the strength of the enemy on Staten Island; and whether any Troops have arrived from Virginia. What Boats could, on an emergency, be procured between New Ark and Amboy for transporting Troops if they should be required. And hold your own Corps and Hazens Regiment provided with teams to move your light Baggage at any moment.

Let your Expresses (if you should have occasion to send any) come from Chatham by the two Bridges at the Fork, to Pompton and thence along the common Road to this place. I am etc."⁴⁰¹

Route:

The New Jersey Line and Hazen's Regiment remain in camp in Springfield.

Resources Identified:

The New Jersey Line and Hazen's Regiment remain in camp in Springfield.

⁴⁰¹ The "common road" is today's Ramapo Valley Road as opposed to the "secret road" or "continental road" Baumann was taking through the Clove.

French Army (Route Number 5):

Summary:

First French Brigade, the Regiments Bourbonnais and Royal Deux-Ponts crosses the Hudson and encamps near Haverstraw.

Second French Brigade, the Regiments Soissonnais and Saintonge remains encamped at Peekskill.

Manuscript References:

On 24 August, Jeffery Whiting, assistant to Jeremiah Wadsworth, writes to John Jeffery, Wadsworth's secretary in Hartford, from Peekskill:

“the French Army finished Crossing the Hudson this day - tomorrow we Cross and proceed to God only knows where.”⁴⁰²

Route:

No French forces are yet in New Jersey

Resources Identified:

No French forces are yet in New Jersey

⁴⁰² Jeremiah Wadsworth Papers, Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, Box 132.

8.7: 25 August 1781

Right (westernmost) Column (Route Number 3):

Summary:

Baumann's detachment remains encamped at Pompton Plains.

The column commanded by Colonel Lamb, and which includes General Washington, camps "three miles beyond Suffern" near the home of Andrew Hopper.

Manuscript References:

Around 4:00 a.m. on the morning of Saturday, 25 August 1781, the Continental Army (minus the New Jersey Line and Moses Hazen's Canadian Regiment already in Springfield, Scammel's Light Infantry and the Second New York Regiment which is still on its way from the Hudson Highland), breaks camp at Haverstraw, crosses the Mahwah Bridge and follows what was known as the "Upper Road" via Kakeat, the "English Church" at New Hempstead.⁴⁰³ Scammel's Light Infantry rejoins the Continental Army.⁴⁰⁴

About a mile into New Jersey on NJ-SR 202 the Continental Army splits into two columns. The Right Column consisting of the sappers, miners, baggage carts and the park of the Second Continental Artillery, and thirty flatboats on carriages -- commanded by Colonel John Lamb and under the protection of the First Rhode Island Regiment, separates from the infantry. Continuing on NJ-SR 202, it marches to Andrew Hopper's House about "three miles beyond Suffrans" and camps for the night.⁴⁰⁵

Thomas Graton of the Company of Artificers, which marches with the Right Column, records that on

⁴⁰³ See John Austin Stevens, "The Route of the Allies from King's Ferry to the Head of Elk." *Magazine of American History* Vol. 5 No. 1, (July 1880), pp. 1-20.

⁴⁰⁴ There is the slight possibility that Lincoln marched directly from Kakeat to Hohokus, picking up Scammel along the way, but the Orderly Book does not indicate locations for the dates between 22 August, when he is encamped at Haverstraw, and 27 August, when he is at Springfield.

⁴⁰⁵ A description of the march based on "an old order book of the light-infantry, now before me" is printed in Andrew D. Mellick, Jr., *The Story of an Old Farm or Life in New Jersey in the Eighteenth Century* (Somerville, 1889), pp. 534-542, esp. pp. 535-537. See the discussion of the boats under Footnote 21.

Benson J. Lossing, *The pictorial field-book of the revolution; or, Illustrations, by pen and pencil, of the history, biography, scenery, relics, and traditions of the war for independence*. 2 vols., (New York, 1850-1859), Vol. 1 p. 782, reproduces an image of the Hopper House where the Continental Army camped.

*"ye 25th marched to Cakeat into the State of New Jersey
Ramapool and encamped."⁴⁰⁶*

Route:

From the Haverstraw camp the Continental Army enters New Jersey on Ramapo Valley Road, NJ-SR 202. The right column under Colonel Lamb stays on Ramapo Valley Road until it reaches its campsite at the Andrew Hopper House near Ramapo Valley College.

Resources Identified:

Resource 22:

Hopper Grist Mill Marker on NJ 202
156 Ramapo Valley Road
Mahwah, NJ 07430
Appendix B, p. 302, Appendix C, p. 355, and Appendix D, Map 2

Resource 23:

Hopper Grist Mill Site on NJ 202
156 Ramapo Valley Road
Mahwah, NJ 07430
Appendix B, p. 302, Appendix C, p. 356, and Appendix D, Map 2

Resource 24:

Arie Laroe/Sheffield/Lewis/Bugg House site and Indian Campsite
280 Ramapo Valley Road
Mahwah, NJ 07430
Appendix B, p. 302, Appendix C, p. 357, and Appendix D, Map 2

Resource 25:

Laroe/Hopper/Van Horn House
398 Ramapo Valley Road
Mahwah, NJ 07430
Appendix B, p. 302, Appendix C, p. 358, and Appendix D, Map 2

Resource 26:

Laroe/Hopper/Van Horn House Marker
In front of Laroe-Van Horn House
Appendix B, p. 302, Appendix C, p. 359, and Appendix D, Map 2

⁴⁰⁶ Pension application of Thomas Graton, NARA W 14824, 34 p., Aug. 1, 1767-Sept. 29, 1790, roll 1110, frames 302-325.

Resource 27:

Hopper Family Cemetery

On Hopper/Van Horn property

Appendix B, p. 302, Appendix C, p. 360, and Appendix D, Map 2

Resource 28:

Continental Army Campsite of 25/26 August on Route 202

505 Ramapo Valley Road

Mahwah, NJ 07430

On the athletic fields/tennis courts of Ramapo Valley College
Commemorates Continental Army Campsites of 1777, 1778, 1780 and
1781.

Appendix B, p. 302, Appendix C, p. 361, and Appendix D, Map 2

Resource 29:

Henry O. Havemeyer/Continental Army Campsites Monument

505 Ramapo Valley Road

Mahwah, NJ 07430

On the athletic fields/tennis courts of Ramapo Valley College.
Commemorates Continental Army Campsites of 1777, 1778, 1780 and
1781.

Appendix B, p. 302, Appendix C, p. 362, and Appendix D, Map 2

Resource 30:

Andrew Hopper House Site (Henry O. Havemeyer House)

510 Ramapo Valley Road

Mahwah, NJ 07430

Washington spent the night of 25/26 August 1781 at the house. The
Hopper House was attached to this house to the south.

Appendix B, p. 302, Appendix C, p. 363, and Appendix D, Map 2

Resource 31:

Henry O. Havemeyer House Plaque

510 Ramapo Valley Road

Mahwah, NJ 07430

The marker is attached to the Havemeyer House.

Appendix B, p. 303, Appendix C, p. 366, and Appendix D, Map 2

Center Column (Route Number 4):

Summary:

The Center Column of the Continental Army under General Benjamin Lincoln marches to its camp "within 3 Miles of Paramus."

Scammel's advanced detachment, at Kakeat since 19 August, rejoins the Continental Army on the way to Paramus.

Manuscript References:

At about one mile into New Jersey on NJ-SR 202, a Center Column of the Continental Army commanded by General Lincoln and "compos'd of the light Troops, and York Regiments (if Courtlands should get up to you in time) and four light pieces with the Baggage of these sevl. Corps" separates from Colonel Lamb's column and General Washington, who remains with Colonel Lamb. The Center Column marches to "within 3 miles of Paramus", i.e., to around Hohokus.

Route:

Coming from the camp near Haverstraw, the Continental Army enters New Jersey on Ramapo Valley Road (NJ-SR 202). Shortly after it has entered New Jersey, this column branches off to the left onto Island Road (NJ-SR 85) until it hits Franklin Turnpike (NJ-SR 507) in what is now Ramsay and followed it past the Hermitage and the "Old Paramus Church" to its camp to "within 3 miles of Paramus."

Resources Identified:

Resource 55:

Section of original eighteenth-century road
near Ramapo Reformed Church
Mahwah, NJ 07430

This section of the "Old King's Highway of 1703" shown on Robert Erskine's maps runs through Ramapo Reformed Church Cemetery in north-south direction.

Appendix B, p. 306, Appendix C, p. 388, and Appendix D, Map 2

Resource 56:

Lutheran Church Site
on Island Road near intersection with North McKee Drive
Mahwah, NJ 07430

Shown on British General Howe's map and on Erskine maps, this was the site of a log church built prior to 1739. It was replaced in 1798 by Ramapo Reformed Church structure built jointly by Lutheran and Reformed congregations.
Appendix B, p. 306, Appendix C, p. 390, and Appendix D, Map 2

Resource 57:

Old Stone House
538 Island Road (= old King's Highway of 1703)
Mahwah, NJ 07430

This house, dating to ca. 1755, is identified on Robert Erskine's maps as "Wannamaker."
Appendix B, p. 306, Appendix C, p. 390, and Appendix D, Map 2

Resource 58:

Robert Erskine's Bellgrove Store Site
West Ramapo Avenue
Mahwah, NJ 07430

The store was originally located on Ramapough/Island Road/Old King's Highway before road was moved.
Appendix B, p. 306, Appendix C, p. 390, and Appendix D, Map 2

Resource 59:

Maysinger-Ramsey-Wright House
142 Island Road (north corner Beehive Court)
Mahwah, NJ 07430

The earliest sections of this house were built in the early to mid-eighteenth century. Bergen County Historic Sites Survey # 0233-17
Appendix B, p. 306, Appendix C, p. 391, and Appendix D, Map 2

Resource 60:

Moffatt Road Cemetery
on Moffatt Road between Island Road and Route 17
Mahwah, NJ 07430

The cemetery, which was used from the mid-eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries -- the earliest stone dates to 1749 -- was located at the

corner of Moffatt and Ramapough Rd/Kings Highway before the road was straightened to become Island Road.

Appendix B, p. 306, Appendix C, p. 391, and Appendix D, Map 2

Resource 61:

"Petersfield"
475 Franklin Turnpike
Allendale, NJ 07401

This property, which dates to about 1766, was the house of John Fell, a member of the Continental Congress from 1778 - 1780.

Appendix B, p. 307, Appendix C, p. 391, and Appendix D, Map 3

Resource 62:

The Hermitage
335 N. Franklin Turnpike
Hohokus, NJ 07423
Appendix B, p. 307, Appendix C, p. 392, and Appendix D, Map 1

Resource 63:

Campsite of Center Column of the Continental Army under
General Benjamin Lincoln on 25/26 August 1781
"within 3 Miles of Paramus."
Paramus, NJ 07652

The campsite was along River Road in the vicinity of the bridge over the East Saddle River in Hohokus about three miles north of Paramus.

Scammel's advanced detachment, at Kakeat since 19 August, rejoins Lincoln's column as it passes through Kakeat on its way to Paramus.
Appendix B, p. 307, Appendix C, p. 393, and Appendix D, Map 1

Left (easternmost) Column (Route Number 1):

Summary:

The New Jersey Line and Hazen's Regiment remain in camp in Springfield.

Manuscript References:

On 25 August 1781, George Washington writes to Sylvanus Seely:

Sir:

On the 27th. Instant you will commence your March with the Troops under your Command, from Dobb's Ferry on the Road by the New Bridge, thro' Acquacanacke [i.e., Passaic] to Springfield, where you will receive further Orders from Major Genl. Lincoln.

Route:

The New Jersey Line and Hazen's Regiment remain in camp in Springfield.

Resources Identified:

The New Jersey Line and Hazen's Regiment remain in camp in Springfield.

French Army (Route Number 5):

Summary:

The First Brigade of the French Army begins its march to its camp in Suffern.

The Second Brigade of the French Army crosses the Hudson and camps near Haverstraw.

Manuscript References:

No French forces are yet in New Jersey

Route:

No French forces are yet in New Jersey

Resources Identified:

No French forces are yet in New Jersey

Rear-Guard (Route Number 10):

Summary:

On 25 August, Washington sends this order regarding the 34 boats to the Second New York Regiment under Colonel Philip Van Cortlandt. The regiment was 23 officers and 398 NCOs and enlisted men strong,⁴⁰⁷ "which had not all arrived from Albany before we left King's Ferry."⁴⁰⁸

⁴⁰⁷ The strength is that of late September 1781. Lesser, *Strength reports*, p. 208.

⁴⁰⁸ Washington, *Diary*, p. 256.

Kings Ferry, August 25, 1781.

Sir:

You will take charge of the Clothing, the Boats, Intrenching Tools, and such other Stores as shall be committed to your Care by the Quarter Master General: With these you are to proceed (in the Order they are mentioned) to Springfield, by the way of Sufferns, Pompton, the two Bridges and Chatham.

When you arrive at Springfield you will put yourself under the Orders of Majr. Genl. Lincoln, or any other (your Senr.) Officer commanding at that place.

You will also, if occasion should require it, alter the above Route agreeably to Orders from either Major Genl. Lincoln or the Quarter M. Genl.

*You will be particularly careful to collect all your Men that are in a proper condition to march and will use your best endeavours to prevent destruction take charge of the Clothing, the Boats, Intrenching tools, and such other Stores as shall be committed to your care.*⁴⁰⁹

Manuscript References:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey

Route:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey

Resources Identified:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey

These boats carried Van Cortlandt's regiment, about 50 officers and men of the sappers and miners, Lamb's artillery, some 350 officers and men plus their cannon, Hazen's Regiment, some 260 officers and men, and the detachment in charge of the baggage from Trenton to Christiana.

⁴⁰⁹ See the discussion concerning Van Cortlandt's regiment and the issue of these boats as opposed to the 30 flatboats in Lamb's column above .

8.8: 26 August 1781

Right (westernmost) Column (Route Number 3):

Summary:

Baumann's detachment joins Lamb's column as it marches past Pompton Plains.

The combined troops march to their camp "5 Miles beyond Pompton on the road to the two Bridges at the "Forks of Posaic."⁴¹⁰

The Second New York Regiment encamps near the home of Andrew Hopper.⁴¹¹

Manuscript References:

On 21 August, Pickering had ordered Phillip Pye from King's Ferry

"to examine immediately the state of the roads & bridges from hence to the hither end [i.e., this side of] of Pompton from whence you will proceed by Ogden's iron works⁴¹² (without crossing the Ramapaugh) to the two bridges at the forks. From thence go back to the Yellow House⁴¹³ & return to this place by the common road.

Be pleased to note particularly all places where the roads & bridges need great repairs & where new bridges must be built for passing of many carriages, mentioning the sizes of the bridges necessary to be built. When you have proceeded on the first route as for as Ogdens iron works (without crossing the Ramapaugh) be pleased to send back the express with your report in writing whether that road is

⁴¹⁰ The "Forks of the Passaic" are the confluence of the Pompton and Passaic Rivers south of Pompton. Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, Vol. 2, p. 56.

⁴¹¹ Since the route of the Second New York Regiment is identical except for the campsite on the Lott-Beaverhout property on 29 August and between Princeton and Trenton on 30 August, with that of the French forces, the resources encountered on its march have not been listed separately. The Lott-Beaverhout site is listed in other itineraries, and only the campsite between Princeton and Trenton will be listed separately.

⁴¹² The "Ogden's Iron Works" mentioned here are not those situated near the village of Boonetown (Booneton, Boonton) on NJ-SR 202 on the Rockaway River (now submerged by the Jersey City Reservoir, about a mile and a half downstream from the center of the present town) about 12 miles south of Pompton and about as far to the west of the Forks which were also owned by the Ogden Family but rather the "Ogden" identified on the Faden map between the Ramapo and Ringwood Rivers in Bloomingdale just north of Pompton.

⁴¹³ The "Yellow House ... at the Cross Roads" in Pompton was the former home of Casparus Schuyler, and served as a tavern in 1781.

practicable for carriages or not, & if practicable what kind of repairs are requisite to render it a pretty good road.

The Commander in chief wants this information as soon as possible & I beg you therefore to make as much dispatch as possible."

The same day Pickering informed Washington of the instructions he had given to Pye.

"I have sent a person to examine the roads on the routes mentioned by Genl hand, & urged his returning as soon as possible. I have sent an express to go with him as far as Ogden's iron works (without crossing the Ramapough) to bring back his report whether that route be practicable for carriages. The inspector of the roads will then proceed as far as the two Bridges & return by Dods⁴¹⁴ thro' Pompton Plains to the Yellow House, from whence he is to go down to see the condition of the road to Ogden's iron works & the bridge there - to go back to the Yellow House & return hither in the common road."

That Washington and Lamb took this road outlined in Pickering's letter to the Forks of the Passaic is apparent from this letter by his aide-de-camp Tench Tilghman to Philip Van Cortlandt, Colonel of the 2nd New York Regiment from Chatham, 27 August 1781:

Dear Sir:

His Excellency desires me to inform you that he found the Road by Ogdens Iron Works difficult for the Boats, he therefore wishes you to keep upon the Road from Pompton to Morris Town untill you come to a place known by the name of Dodds Tavern, you there turn to the left and proceed to the Fork of Passaic; from thence you will take the same Road upon which the Artillery moved to this place [Chatham]; it is by the way of Colonel Cooks."⁴¹⁵

⁴¹⁴ Dod's Tavern is still standing on Chapel Hill Road (633 South) in Lincoln Park. Chapel Hill Road becomes Pine Brook and then Two Bridges Road and then Passaic Avenue on the other side of the Passaic River.

⁴¹⁵ "Colonel Cooks" is most likely Colonel Ellis Cook of Hanover in Morris County, who was commissioned a Lieutenant-Colonel of the Eastern Regiment of Militia in Morris County in 1776. That was also the road followed by the French army, which Van Cortlandt eventually followed all the way to Trenton. This letter indicates that Washington and Lamb followed Passaic Avenue to the campsite at Chatham.

Van Cortlandt's regiment carried 34 boats. In his memoirs, John Hudson of the Second New York Regiment, who had just celebrated his 13th birthday on 12 June 1781, writes that

*"We carried on our march boats so large that it took a wagon and eight horses to draw them and two inch plank in quantities, by the same conveyance. These were to enable us to form flotillas to cross our troops upon the water courses which lay in our route."*⁴¹⁶

That means that this regiment alone had 272 horses just for the wagons transporting the boats.

Graton recorded: "Ye 26th marched to Pompton and encamped nigh the two Bridges."

Route:

From its camp near Ramapo College, Colonel Lamb and Washington continue south on Ramapo Valley Road to the intersection with Doty Road in Oakland, where Ramapo Valley Road becomes Terhune Drive. Since they were not to cross the Ramapo they continued on the left bank of the river on Ridge Road and Black Oak Ridge Road to a camp about 5 miles south of Pompton, which places them in the center of Mountain View at the banks of the Ramapo River in Wayne Township.

Resources Identified:

Resource 32:

Abandoned Road Section near Sun Valley Farm
near 800 Ramapo Valley Road
Mahwah, NJ 07430
Appendix B, p. 303, Appendix C, p. 367, and Appendix D, Map 2

Resource 33:

Ramapo Valley Road Marker
near 888 Ramapo Valley Road
Mahwah, NJ 07430
Appendix B, p. 303, Appendix C, p. 368, and Appendix D, Map 2

⁴¹⁶ *Cist's Advertiser* (Cincinnati, Ohio) Vol. 3, No. 3, 28 January 1846.

Resource 34:

Continental Soldiers Memorial Highway Marker in townships along
Ramapo Valley Road
Appendix B, p. 303, Appendix C, p. 370, and Appendix D, Map 2

Resource 35:

John Bertholf's Mill Site
Ramapo Valley Road just north of Darlington Avenue
Mahwah, NJ 07430

Bertholf's Mill is most likely identical with the "Bartoli Moulin" of
Berthier's itinerary and located on the west side of Ramapo Valley Road,
on Darlington Brook just north of today's Darlington Avenue.
Appendix B, p. 303, Appendix C, p. 370, and Appendix D, Map 2

Resource 36:

Campbell's Tavern Site
Slightly less than one mile south of Bertholf Mill
Appendix B, p. 303, Appendix C, p. 371, and Appendix D, Map 2

Resource 37:

Garrison/Dater/Price House ruins
owned by Garret Garrison during the AWI (see No. 38)
Appendix B, p. 303, Appendix C, p. 371, and Appendix D, Map 3

Resource 38:

Garret Garrison House (now called "Waternook")
980 Ramapo Valley Road
Mahwah, NJ 07430
Appendix B, p. 303, Appendix C, p. 372, and Appendix D, Map 3

Resource 39:

Abraham Garrison/C.E. Chapman House and Farm
(now called "Kraus Farm")
1010 Ramapo Valley Road
Mahwah, NJ 07430
Appendix B, p. 303, Appendix C, p. 372, and Appendix D, Map 3

Resource 39a:

John Bertholf House (now called "Amberfields")

1122 Ramapo Valley Road

Mahwah, NJ 07430

Appendix B, p. 303, Appendix C, p. 372, and Appendix D, Map 3

Resource 40:

Demarest/Hopper House

21 Breakneck Road

Oakland, NJ 07436

Appendix B, p. 304, Appendix C, p. 372, and Appendix D, Map 3

Resource 41:

Demarest House

213 Ramapo Valley Road

Oakland, NJ 07436

Appendix B, p. 304, Appendix C, p. 374, and Appendix D, Map 3

Resource 42:

Jacob Demarest House

3 Dogwood Drive (252 Ramapo Valley Road)

Oakland, NJ 07436

Appendix B, p. 304, Appendix C, p. 374, and Appendix D, Map 3

Resource 43:

Hendrick-Van Allen House and Mill

13-15 Ramapo Valley Road

Intersection of Ramapo Valley Road and Franklin Avenue

Oakland, NJ 07436

Appendix B, p. 304, Appendix C, p. 375, and Appendix D, Map 3

Resource 44:

Marker 1 at Hendrick-Van Allen House and Mill

Appendix B, p. 304, Appendix C, p. 376, and Appendix D, Map 3

Resource 45:

Marker 2 at Hendrick-Van Allen House and Mill

Appendix B, p. 304, Appendix C, p. 377, and Appendix D, Map 3

Resource 46:

Van Winkle/Fox Hall
669 Ramapo Valley Road
Oakland, NJ 07436
Appendix B, p. 304, Appendix C, p. 378, and Appendix D, Map 3

Resource 47:

Schuyler-Colfax House
2321 Paterson-Hamburg Turnpike
Wayne, NJ 07470
Appendix B, p. 304, Appendix C, p. 379, and Appendix D, Maps 3,4

Resource 17:

Battleship Maine Memorial
Intersection of Hamburg Turnpike and Ringwood Avenue
Pompton Plains, NJ 07444
Appendix B, p. 301, Appendix C, p. 347, and Appendix D, Map 3

Resource 18:

Marker on Newark-Pompton Turnpike in Pompton Plains.
Appendix B, p. 301, Appendix C, p. 349, and Appendix D, Map 3

Resource 19:

Ponds Church Marker
Newark-Pompton Turnpike north of Reformed Church
Pompton Plains, NJ 07444
Appendix B, p. 301, Appendix C, p. 350, and Appendix D, Map 3

Resource 20:

Pompton Meeting House (First Reformed Church)
529 Newark-Pompton Turnpike
Pompton Plains, NJ 07444
Appendix B, p. 301, Appendix C, p. 351, and Appendix D, Map 4

Resource 21:

Campsite along Newark-Pompton Turnpike north of Reformed Church in Pompton Plains (identical with that of French forces of 26/27 August).
Appendix B, p. 301, Appendix C, p. 352, and Appendix D, Maps 3,4

Resource 48:

Campsite of Lamb "5 Miles beyond Pompton on the road to the two Bridges at the "Forks of Posaic" possibly near Mountain View.

The exact location of this campsite is unknown.

Appendix B, p. 304, Appendix C, p. 380, and Appendix D, Maps 4,6

Center Column (Route Number 4):

Summary:

Lincoln's forces march from their camp in Paramus to their next camp "two Miles below Acquakenach Bridge [i.e., Passaic]."

Manuscript References:

The Center Column is on its way from three miles north of Paramus to its camp two miles south of Passaic.

Route:

From its camp three miles north of Paramus, General Lincoln's column continues on River Road along the Saddle River to Hackensack where it enters Westminster Avenue, which it follows until it crosses the Passaic River at Acquackanonk, i.e., Passaic. From there the soldiers follow Main Street to the next camp "two miles below Passaic" From now on they will (most likely) be following the route of the Left Column, i.e., New Jersey Line and of Hazen's Regiment, to Springfield.

Resources Identified:

Resource 64:

Campsite of Lincoln's forces on 26/27 August 1781
"two Miles below Acquakenach Bridge [i.e. Passaic]."
Passaic, NJ 07057

The exact location of the campsite is unknown.

Appendix B, p. 307, Appendix C, p. 394, and Appendix D, Map 7

Other potential witness sites: See Route 1.

Potentially also of interest for the history of the Revolutionary War in New Jersey is a marker commemorating one of a series of communications beacons established across New Jersey located on 226 Hobart Road in Springfield.

Left (easternmost) Column (Route Number 1):

Summary:

The New Jersey Line and Hazen's Regiment remain in camp in Springfield.

Manuscript References:

The New Jersey Line and Hazen's Regiment remain in camp in Springfield.

Route:

The New Jersey Line and Hazen's Regiment remain in camp in Springfield.

Resources Identified:

The New Jersey Line and Hazen's Regiment remain in camp in Springfield.

French Army (Route Number 5):

Summary:

The First Brigade of French infantry leaves its camp at Suffern, crosses into New Jersey and camps at Pompton Plains.

The Second Brigade of French Army begins its march to camp in Suffern.

At mid-night 25/26 August, the last wagons and the rear-guard of the army cross over to Stony Point and without resting join the Second Brigade on its march to Suffern.

Manuscript References:

The First Brigade of the French Army is on its way to camp in Pompton Plains.

Route:

From its camp in Suffern, the French army crosses into New Jersey on Ramapo Valley Road (NJ-SR 202) and follows the route of Colonel Lamb's forces until the intersection with Doty Road in Oakland, where Ramapo Valley Road becomes Terhune Drive. Here they cross the Ramapo and turn left onto Jefferson Avenue and onto Colfax Avenue. Where Colfax ends they turn left onto Wanaque Avenue to the Battleship Maine Monument in the middle of a traffic circle, which was also the site

of a "Little Yellow House" memorial.⁴¹⁷ Here they turn right and follow Hamburg Turnpike to Junction 694 where they turn left onto the Newark-Pompton Turnpike (Alt NJ-SR 511). At the intersection of the Turnpike with Greenwich Street they turn left onto NJ-SR 23 South and at the 2nd exit right back onto the Turnpike which they follow to their camp north of the Reformed Church in Pompton Plains.

Resources Identified:

On their first day in New Jersey, French forces follow the route of General Washington and Colonel Lamb (Route 3) into New Jersey but camp in Pompton on the site of Major Baumann's (Route 2) camp. Route and resources are identified on Map 2 and up to that point identical to those of Routes 2, 3 and 4.

Rear-Guard (Route Number 10):

Summary:

Immediately upon receipt of the clothing, tools and other stores, Van Cortlandt was to march "in the Order they are mentioned" to "Springfield, by the way of Suffern's Pompton, the two Bridges and Chatham" as the rearguard of the army.⁴¹⁸

Tracing the route of the right wing of the Continental Army and of the French forces that had preceded him through Rockland County, Van Cortlandt spends the night of 26/27 August in Haverstraw.

Manuscript References:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey

Route:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey

Resources Identified:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey

⁴¹⁷ The memorial commemorating the Yellow House mentioned in secondary literature could be found during field work.

⁴¹⁸ Jacob Judd, ed., *Correspondence of the Van Cortlandt Family of Cortlandt Manor 1748-1800* (Tarrytown, 1977), p. 241.

8.9: 27 August 1781

Right (westernmost) Column (Route Number 3):

Summary:

From their camp at the "Forks", Lamb's forces reach their camp near Chatham.

The Second New York Regiment encamps near Curtis' Tavern.

Manuscript References:

It is only now that Washington officially informs Congress of his plans to march to Virginia.

Head Quarters, Chatham, August 27, 1781.

Sir:

I have the Honor to inform Congress, that my Expectation of the Arrival of the Fleet of Monsr. De Grasse, in the Chesapeak Bay, with some other Circumstances, of which Congress were informed in my Letter of the 2d. Augst., and in which very little Alterations have since taken place, have induced me to make an Alteration in the concerted Operations of this Campaign. I am now on my March with a very considerable Detachment of the American Army, and the whole of the French Troops, for Virginia.

As I expect a few Days will bring me to Philadelphia, I shall then have the Honor to open my Motives and Intentions to Congress, more fully than it may be prudent to do by Letter at this Distance. I have the Honor etc

Washington writes to Rochambeau from Chatham on 27 August 1781.

Sir:

By intelligence which I have received since my arrival at this place, I find that the enemy have been throwing Troops upon Staten Island. This circumstance, and a desire of bringing up the rear of the two Armies will induce me to halt the American Troops one day at Springfield, as I pray your Excellency to do those of the French at Whippany.

This halt will occasion no delay, as I could not, before this period, take measures to assemble the Vessels of Delaware, at Trenton, without announcing the object in view; but an Express being now gone for that purpose, I shall expect to have at least a part of them at that place by Friday next, to commence embarkation.

I shall set out the day after tomorrow for Philadelphia, and should be glad to know your Excellency's determination respecting your journey thither; if to precede your Army, we will appoint a rendezvous."

In his reply of the same day from Whippany, the only letter Rochambeau is known to have written during the march through New Jersey, the Frenchman informs Washington

Monsieur,

I have this moment received the letter of Your Excellency. I am making a halt here pursuant to your orders with the First Division which will be joined by the Second Division tomorrow afternoon. I am awaiting your orders to march the whole [army] the day after tomorrow. As far as I am concerned I shall join Your Excellency at that place which you shall think proper to set in order to precede our troops to Philadelphia and to make the necessary preparations.

*I am with respect ...*⁴¹⁹

Thomas Gratton recorded:

"Ye 27th marched to Chatham and encamped."

That same day Washington writes to Robert Morris

Chatham, August 27, 1781.

Dear Sir:

Accounts brought by several Vessels to Philada. and to the Eastward leave little doubt but that the Count de Grasse must have already arrived in the Chesapeake, or that he must be very soon there. The Count de Rochambeau and myself have therefore determined that no time ought to be lost in making preparations for our transportation from Trenton to Christiana and from the Head of Elk down the

⁴¹⁹ Rochambeau Papers, Library of Congress, vol. 9. The letter is not in the Washington Papers of the Library of Congress.

Chesapeak. I have written by this opportunity to Colo. Miles and have directed him immediately to engage all the proper kind of Craft for the navigation of the Delaware which can be found in Philada. or in the Creeks above and below it, and as your advice may be useful to him, more especially so far as respects procuring the Vessels at a distance from Philada., I have desired him to wait upon you for that purpose.

I shall also be obliged to you for using your influence with the Gentlemen of Baltimore to permit any Vessels which may be in that port to come up to Elk to assist us in transportation. I have little doubt, from the cheerfulness with which they furnished the Marquis last Winter, but they will comply with your requisition on the present occasion. But lest there should be a necessity for the interference of the Executive of the State, I have written to Governor Lee upon that and other matters. I inclose the letter under flying seal for your information, and you will be good enough to forward it by a Chain of Expresses which is established. Any Vessels which may be procured in Chesapeak should rendezvous as soon as possible in Elk River.

You will be pleased to make the deposit of Flour, Rum and Salt Meat at the Head of Elk which I requested in a former letter.

I am very fearful that about 1500 Bbls of salt provisions and 30 Hhds of Rum which I directed to be sent from Connecticut and Rhode Island under Convoy of the Count de Barras would not have been ready when the Fleet sailed from Newport. Should that have been the case, the disappointment will be great. I would wish you to see whether a like quantity of those Articles can be procured in Philada. or in Maryland, if we should find that they have not gone round from the Eastward.

I must entreat you, if possible to procure one months pay in specie for the detachment which I have under my command; part of those troops have not been paid any thing for a long time past, and have upon several occasions shewn marks of great discontent. The service they are going upon is disagreeable to the Northern Regiments, but I make no doubt that a douceur of a little hard money would put them in proper temper. If the whole sum cannot

be obtained, a part of it will be better than none, as it may be distributed in proportion to the respective wants and claims of the Men.

The American detachment will assemble in this neighbourhood to day. The French Army to morrow. I have the honor etc

Route:

From its campsite near Mountain View north of the Forks of the Passaic, Lamb's column remains on NJ-SR 202 until Fairfield Road, where they turn south-west and cross the Forks. Fairfield Road becomes Passaic Avenue, which the troops follow to their next campsite in Chatham. Upon arrival they set up their tents on Main Street (NJ-SR 124).

Resources Identified:

Resource 49:

Campsite of Right Column along
Main Street (NJ-SR 124)
Chatham, NJ 07928
Appendix B, p. 285, Appendix C, p. 367, and Appendix D, Map 10

Resource 50:

Marker on Main Street in Chatham
Appendix B, p. 304, Appendix C, p. 383, and Appendix D, Map 10

Resource 51:

Jacob Morell House
63 East Main Street (opposite Presbyterian Church)
Chatham, NJ 07928

Washington lodged here from 26-28 August 1781.
Appendix B, p. 305, Appendix C, p. 384, and Appendix D, Map 10

Resource 52:

Site of the ovens in Chatham
"East of River Road on the Union County side of the Passaic."

Source: John T. Cunningham, *Chatham at the Crossing of the Fishawack* (Chatham, 1967), p. 37.
Appendix B, p. 305, Appendix C, p. 385, and Appendix D, Map 12

Resource 53:

Bonnell Homestead
Watchung Avenue
Chatham, NJ 07928

Mrs. Bonnell is reputed to have baked bread all night to provide soldiers sleeping on her floors with food for their march to Yorktown. Appendix B, p. 305, Appendix C, p. 386, and Appendix D, Map 10

Resource 54:

Day/Dey Mansion
199 Totowa Road.
Wayne, NJ 07470
Appendix B, p. 305, Appendix C, p. 387, and Appendix D, Map 4

Other potential witness sites: Ward House, dated 1740, Talmadge Homestead, and Shepard Kollock's printing house where New Jersey journal was published (opposite Morrell House on Main Street) with marker in front of house.

Center Column (Route Number 4):

Summary:

Lincoln's forces leave their camp south of Passaic and reach their camp near Springfield.

Manuscript References:

Lincoln's forces reach their camp near Springfield.

Route:

From its camp south of Passaic, the forces under General Lincoln (presumably?) follow the route taken earlier by Moses Hazen's Regiment and the New Jersey Line to their camp near Springfield. (see the route description for the **Left Column** for 21 August)

Resources Identified:

Resource 5:

Lincoln's forces join Moses Hazen's Regiment encamped on Hobart Gap along Hobart Road located "(about 2 Miles from the settled Part of [Springfield]) where the Reg[imen]t. encamped in a Field, on a Height, and a very advantageous Post, being on the turn of the Road." Appendix B, p. 300, Appendix C, p. 335, and Appendix D, Maps 8,12

Resource 6:

Lincoln's forces join the New Jersey Line. The exact location of this campsite is unknown but most likely northward along the ridge of the mountains since one of the purposes of the camp was for the British in New York to see the campfires.

Appendix B, p. 300, Appendix C, p. 337, and Appendix D, Maps 8,10,12

Left (easternmost) Column (Route Number 1):

Summary:

The combined New Jersey regiments and Hazen's unit encamped near Springfield re-unite with Continental Army forces under General Lincoln.

Manuscript References:

The combined New Jersey regiments and Hazen's unit encamped near Springfield re-unite with Continental Army forces under General Lincoln.

Sergeant-Major Hawkins wrote:

"August 27. In the Course of this week part of the Main Army arrived via King's Ferry and encamped in our Neighbourhood."

Route:

The combined New Jersey regiments and Hazen's unit encamped near Springfield re-unite with Continental Army forces under General Lincoln.

Resources Identified:

The combined New Jersey regiments and Hazen's unit encamped near Springfield re-unite with Continental Army forces under General Lincoln.

French Army (Route Number 5):

Summary:

The First Brigade of the French Army marches to its camp in Whippany.

The Second Brigade of Rochambeau's infantry crosses into New Jersey and camps at Pompton Plains.⁴²⁰

⁴²⁰ Since the Second Brigade exactly follows the route of the First Brigade, the route taken by these troops has not been listed separately.

Manuscript References:

The First Brigade of the French army is encamped near Whippany.

Route:

After breaking camp in the morning of 27 August, French forces follow Comly Road (NJ-SR 504) to ALT NJ-SR 511 through Pompton Plains and Pequannock (the road is now called Ryerson Road) to Lincoln Park (now Comly Road) and NJ-SR Alt 633 West. At the intersection of Alt 633 West (Main Street) and 633 South (Chapel Hill Road) they pass Dod's Tavern on their left but continue on 633 to Towaco. A bit past Towaco they enter NJ-SR 202 and continue on to Montville Township. Here the eighteenth-century road is on the other side of the railroad tracks. NJ-SR 202 crosses the railroad tracks via an underpass (Widow Jacobusse's House stood at the intersection of Alt 655 and 504; you need to backtrack from the underpass to get there) to the Doremus House and Tavern. On NJ-SR 621 (Changebridge Road) the forces turn left toward Pine Brook. Next they turn right onto River Road and the right again on Horseneck Road. After they have crossed the river they turn left onto Knoll Road to Beverwyck Road which takes them through Lake Hiawatha. As they cross what is today I-80 they pass the Lott-Beverwyck archaeological site on their left. From Beverwyck Road they turn onto Reynolds Road which they follow into Hanover Township. Reynolds Road ends at Parsippány Road, where they turn left, cross the river twice and turn right on NJ-SR 511 to their campsite at 67 Whippany Road/Lucent Technology Park.⁴²¹

Resources Identified:

The campsite of the French Army north of the Reformed Church in Pompton is identical with the campsite of Major Baumann's detachment.

Resource 65:

Dod's Tavern
Chapel Hill Road (633 South)
Lincoln Park, NJ 07035
Appendix B, p. 308, Appendix C, p. 395, and Appendix D, Map 4

Resource 66:

Widow Jacobusse House
Intersection of Alt 655 (Main Street) and Alt 504 (Jacksonville Road)
Lincoln, Park, NJ 07035

⁴²¹ See: The 1981 French Army Reception Committee, *French Army Day in the Township of Hanover* (Hanover, 1981) for a brief historic overview of Whippany in 1781, maps and portraits of important actors of 1781.

Driving on NJ-SR 202 you cross the railroad tracks via an underpass; you need to backtrack from the underpass to get to the site.
Appendix B, p. 308, Appendix C, p. 396, and Appendix D, Map 4

Resource 67:

Henry Doremus House
490 Main Road (Rt. 202).
Montville, NJ 07045
Appendix B, p. 308, Appendix C, p. 397, and Appendix D, Map 4

Resource 68:

Henry Doremus House Marker
in front of Doremus House
Montville, NJ 07045
Appendix B, p. 308, Appendix C, p. 397, and Appendix D, Map 4

Resource 69:

Abraham Lott-Lucas von Beverhoudt Archaeological Site
Beverwyck Plantation
Intersection South Beverwyck Road and US 46 in Troy Hills
Parsippany, NJ 07054
Appendix B, p. 308, Appendix C, p. 398, and Appendix D, Map 6

Baron Closen and other French officers were entertained here on 27 August 1781; so was Lieutenant Verger on the march north in September 1782.

Colonel Van Cortlandt and the Second New Jersey stopped here for the night of 29/30 August 1781.

Resource 70:

Campsite of First French Brigade on 27/28 and 28/29 August 1781
67 Whippany Road/Lucent Technology Park (511 South)
Whippany, NJ 07981
Appendix B, p. 309, Appendix C, p. 399, and Appendix D, Maps 6,10

Resource 71:

Marker in front of First Presbyterian Church
494 Route 10 West
Whippany, NJ 07981
Appendix B, p. 309, Appendix C, p. 400, and Appendix D, Maps 6,10

Rear-Guard (Route Number 10):

Summary:

The Rear-Guard under Colonel Van Cortlandt camps in Suffern.

Manuscript References:

On 27 August 1781, Washington's aide-de-camp Tench Tilghman writes to Philip Van Cortlandt, Colonel of the 2nd New York Regiment, from Chatham.

Dear Sir:

His Excellency desires me to inform you that he found the Road by Ogdens Iron Works difficult for the Boats, he therefore wishes you to keep upon the Road from Pompton to Morris Town untill you come to a place known by the name of Dodds Tavern,⁴²² you there turn to the left and proceed to the Fork of Passaic; from thence you will take the same Road upon which the Artillery moved to this place [Chatham]; it is by the way of Colonel Cooks."⁴²³

In his diary, Samuel Tallmadge of the 2nd New York Regiment records

"Camp Harvistraw Monday Augt 27th 1781. Continued our march, proceeded on within three miles of Sovereance and Encamped [in Suffern]."⁴²⁴

Route:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey

Resources Identified:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey

⁴²² Dod's Tavern is still standing on Chapel Hill Road (633 South) in Lincoln Park. Chapel Hill Road becomes Pine Brook and then Two Bridges Road and then Passaic Avenue on the other side of the Passaic River.

⁴²³ "Colonel Cooks" is most likely Colonel Ellis Cook of Hanover in Morris County, who was commissioned a Lieutenant-Colonel of the Eastern Regiment of Militia in Morris county in 1776. That was also the road followed by the French army. Eventually Van Cortlandt followed the French route all the way to Trenton. This letter indicates that Washington and Lamb followed Passaic Avenue all the way to the campsite at Chatham.

⁴²⁴ Almon W. Lauber, *Orderly Books of the Fourth New York Regiment, 1778-1780, The Second New York Regiment, 1780-1783 by Samuel Tallmadge and others with diaries of Samuel Tallmadge, 780-1782 and John Barr, 1779-1782* (Albany, 1932), p. 758. Tallmadge had enlisted in May 1776, was promoted to ensign on 9 November 1777 and to lieutenant on 27 October 1781. The Second New York Regiment left King's Ferry in the morning of Sunday, 26 August 1781.

8.10: 28 August 1781

Right (westernmost) Column (Route Number 3):

Summary:

The troops of the Right Column of the Continental Army rest in Chatham.

The Second New York Regiment camps near Curtis' Tavern in Pompton.

Manuscript References:

From Chatham, Washington writes to Rochambeau on 28 August 1781.

Sir:

I do not find that the force upon Staten Island is large, or thrown over for any other purpose than that of defence, for which reason it is submitted to your Excellency's judgment to March your Troops in one or two division's as shall be most easy and convenient to them; there [sic] moving in two divisions succeeding days, will occasion no delay, as the Second will be up by the time the first will have embarked.

As I propose to go the lower Road I shall not have the honr. Of joining your Excellency till we arrive at Princeton where I will order dinner to be ready at three OClock that we may lodge at Trenton (12 Miles further). As this will be a journey of 54 Miles from Whippany I would suggest to you the expediency of making part of it this Afternn. Colo. Smith, one of my Aides, who is well acquainted with the Roads will have the honor of attending you to the rendezvous at Princeton."

Rochambeau, Chastellux, Fersen, Vauban, and Baron Closen take Washington's advice and leave Whippany at about 4:00 p.m. and spend the night at Bullion's Tavern, i.e., in Liberty Corner.⁴²⁵

Upon arrival of Lamb's detachment in Springfield, Washington orders that the Continental Army be re-organized into two columns, one consisting of three brigades, the other of a single brigade.

⁴²⁵ En route from Philadelphia, the *chevalier* de Chastellux stopped there for the night of 17/18 December 1780. Chastellux, *Travels*, vol. 1, pp. 183/4.

Chatham, August 28, 1781.

Sir:

The Troops composing the Detachment under your Command may, till they are united with the force in Virginia, be formed into three Brigades, viz: the light Infantry to be commanded by Colo. Scammell on the Right. The two York Regiments under Brigadr. Genl. Clinton on the left; and Hazen's Jersey and Rhode Isld. In the Center.

You will March to morrow at four OClock in the Morning, in two Columns, for Trenton. The left column is to consist of the three Brigades above (if Courtlands Regimt. Should join in time) the Baggage belonging to them, and 6 field pieces (two to each Brigade).

The right column will consist of the remaining artillery, Boats, Baggage, and Stores of every kind to be escorted by the Corps of Sappers and Miners.

The left column is to March through Westfield and Lamptown [Samptown in South Plainfield] to Rariton landing (above Brunswick): 30th. To princeton 31st. To Trenton.

The right column is to proceed thro' Scotch plains and Quibbletown to Bound Brooke: 30th. to Princeton 31st. to Trenton.

The junction of these two Columns will be at Kingston (three Miles short of Princeton) from whence the right column is to proceed, and be covered by the left.

I have not, as yet, made precise arrangements with the Or. Mr. General respecting the number of Waggon's and Teams which are to go on from Trenton to the head of Elk, and from thence to Virginia. And it is possible, as he is yet behind, and I shall set out early in the Morning for Philadelphia, that I shall not, for which reason I commit the matter to you, giving it as my opinion, that all the covered Waggon's, if no more, will certainly be wanted in Virga.

I foresee a difficulty which will arise from the deficiency of Water transportation from Trenton to Christiana bridge, and that is, how to a portion the Craft equally between the french Army and ours, without delay, as the Vessels will come up as they are engaged, and the American Troops ought to be the advance. Some delicacy must be used in effecting the latter, without the appearance of selfishness, and giving umbrage to our Allies by taking more care of ourselves than them."

Colonel Lamb's Orderly Book records for

"Tuesday, Chatham Augt 28th /81.

The General will beat at one OClock, the assemble at 1/2 past one, and the March commence precisely at 2 OClock.

Springfield, Tuesday Augt 28th /81

B[rigade] O[rder].

Capt. Savage's Company is to take the two 6 Poun. From Doughty's and is to join the Jersey Brigade and Capt. Doughty's is to take charge of the two Eight Inch Howitzers.

Division Orders [Springfield] August 28th 1781

The General will beat at three, the assemble half past, and the March precisely at 4 OClock. The different Routes, and order of March, will be given by the Dep^y QMGen^l on Parade, at 4 OClock.⁴²⁶

Route:

The troops are resting in Chatham.

Resources Identified:

The troops are resting in Chatham.

See Map 10

⁴²⁶ Brigade and Division orders are identified under the locale of Springfield where the headquarters were located rather than Chatham, where Lamb was.

Center Column (Route Number 4):

Summary:

The troops of the Right Column of the Continental Army rest in Springfield

Manuscript References:

Thomas Graton records:

"Ye 28th marched to Springfield and encamped."

Route:

The troops are resting in Springfield.

Resources Identified:

The troops are resting in Springfield.

See Map 10

Left (easternmost) Column (Route Number 1):

Summary:

The combined New Jersey regiments and Hazen's unit encamped near Springfield are re-united with the Continental Army.

Manuscript References:

Sergeant-Major Hawkins writes:

"This Day our Regt. received Orders to march Tomorrow 4 oClock."

Route:

The troops are resting in Springfield

Resources Identified:

The troops are resting in Springfield

See Map 10

French Army (Route Number 5):

Summary:

Rest Day for the First French Brigade at Whippany.
The Second Brigade arrives in Whippany

Manuscript References:

The French army takes a rest day at Whippany, which is about 4 miles from Springfield and 6 miles from Paramus.

Route:

Rest Day for the First French Brigade at Whippany.
The Second Brigade arrives in Whippany

Resources Identified:

Rest Day for the First French Brigade at Whippany.
The Second Brigade arrives in Whippany

See Map 9

Rear-Guard (Route Number 10):**Summary:**

The Rear-Guard under Colonel Van Cortlandt marches from Suffern to Pompton where it encamps.

Manuscript References:

From his headquarters at Chatham, Washington writes to Colonel Van Cortlandt on 28 August 1781.

Sir:

As the Army will march tomorrow Morning before you will probably have arrived, you will be pleased when you reach Col. Cook's to make yourself acquainted with the best Road leading above the Mountains towards Trenton, this you will pursue at least to Bound Brook, and from thence will continue the most direct Route to Trenton, with your Regiment and all the Stores and other Articles which have been committed to your charge. You will keep your destination a perfect secret for one or two days at least.

Later that day, Van Cortlandt replies from his camp in Pompton that

"I have just received your Excellency's order of this date" but informed Washington that "the best Rout is by the way of Troy to turn of by Bulls Tavern and then the road is very direct to Chatham the difference 24 or 25 Miles.

The regiment is encamped near the Yellow House (Curtiſſ' Tavern) some of the Boats are three Miles in the Rear, so that it will take them Two Days before they can arrive and perhaps it will be Fryday morning about Nine Oclock before they will all be in.

If your Excellency should think proper to direct my Rout through Troy an Express may meet me where the road turns of at Dodds Tavern tomorrow morning at Nine Oclock.

"Upon my arrival at Pumpton Plains [Washington] altered my rout but on my request permitted me to take a more circuitous one through Parsipany -- the road being better passing Mr. Lott & Beaverhout -- but not pass the junction of the Morristown Road with the Chatham untill the next morning then Instead of going to the Latter I must pass thro Morris and make an Expeditious March to Trenton."⁴²⁷

Tallmadge records in his *Diary* for 28 August:

"Struck Camp at 5 OClock and Continued our march to Soverance, from thence to Pumpton, and Encamped our Regt Escorting the battows which was transported by Land on waggons together with intrenching tools."

Route:

Colonel Van Cortlandt's regiment follows the route of the French Army (Route Number 5)

Resources Identified:

Colonel Van Cortlandt's regiment follows the route of the French Army (Route Number 5)

⁴²⁷ Quoted in Jacob Judd, ed., *Correspondence of the Van Cortlandt Family of Cortlandt Manor 1748-1800* (Tarrytown, 1977), p. 241.

The "junction of the Morristown Road with the Chatham" is today's NJ-SR 124.

8.11: 29 August 1781

Right (westernmost) Column (Route Number 6):

Summary:

Leaving at 2:00 a.m., Colonel Lamb and his column depart for Bound Brook.

The Second New York Regiment encamps near Troy on the Lott-Beaverhoudt property.

Manuscript References:

Washington writes in his *Diary* on 30 August:

"As our intentions could be concealed one March more (under the idea of Marching to Sandy hook to facilitate the entrance of the French fleet within the Bay), the whole Army was put in motion in three columns--the left consisted of the light Infantry, first York Regiment, and the Regiment of Rhode Island--the Middle column consisted of the Parke Stores & Baggage."

Sergeant-Major Hawkins records in his *Journal* for 29 August:

"At Half past two this Morning the Revelie beat, which was followed between three and four oClock by the beat of the General when the Baggage was loaded and the Regt under Arms and marched and just at fair day Break our Regt arrived at the Foundation of the burnt Church at Springfield.⁴²⁸ After waiting a little until the other Troops was under Way our Regt. took the Rear."

Next, Hazen with the

"Park, Boats, Baggage, and Stores of every kind" as well as the Sappers and Miners "passed thro the Village called the Scotch Plains and about 12 oClock arrived at Quibble-Town, where they halted and rested three Hours. Our Destination is kept so secret that our Officers are at a loss to know where they are going."

⁴²⁸ The Presbyterian Church on Morris Avenue had been burnt by the British on 23 June 1780, during the Battle of Springfield.

"When they [i.e., the troops] proceeded on, and passed thro a scattered old fashioned Village called Bound Brook, adjoining to which halted and encamped in a field at Middle Brook, about an hour before dark."

Colonel Lamb's Orderly Book records for 29 August that

"The General will beat at 3 o'Clock tomorrow Morning, the Assemble at half past three, and the march commence precisely at 4 oClock."

Route:

Leaving from their camp in Chatham, the troops march to Springfield on Main Street (NJ-SR 124), where they pass in front of Reverend James Caldwell's Presbyterian Church. Here they turn right/south-west onto River Road (NJ-CR 649) to Scotch Plains, where they enter onto Valley Road (NJ-SR 527), which they follow to its intersection with NJ-CR 531 through Watchung, where they turn south-east toward Quibbletown and New Market and NJ-SR 28.⁴²⁹

As they approach Bound Brook marching in on the Old Raritan Road, today obliterated by the railroad, they turn left in Bound Brook to the camp "in a field at Middlebrook." This may have been the site where Maryland troops had camped in the winter of 1778/79, though Hazen's observation preclude the possibility that the Maryland huts of 1778/79 were still standing in 1781.

Resources Identified:

Resource 99:

Continental Army Campsite from 29/30 August along the Middle Brook south of Main Street and East of the Middlebrook
Bridgewater, NJ 08807
Appendix B, p. 313, Appendix C, p. 431, and Appendix D, Map 11

This is the same site where Maryland troops had camped in the winter of 1778/79.

→ at Millstone this column enters the route taken by the French forces a few days later (Route 5)

⁴²⁹ John T. Cunningham, *Chatham at the Crossing of the Fishawack* (Chatham, 1967), p. 37, describes the march route thus: "westward through the village via Main Street and King's Road, on through Madison, along Division, Woodland and Garfield Avenues, toward Green Village."

Center Column (Route Number 7):

Summary:

General Lincoln and his column depart for New Brunswick.

Manuscript References:

Thomas Gratton records:

"Ye 29th marched to Westfield, Spanktown [a community between Westfield and Brunswick], Brunswick and encamped."

Route:

Leaving their camp in Springfield, General Lincoln's column turns south-west on roads now rearranged near Mountain Avenue (NJ-CR 635) to Westfield Avenue toward Mountainside (briefly on NJ-SR 22) and continuing on to Westfield where they enter Maple Avenue toward Samptown, today's South Plainfield. From Samptown they march to New Market on Old Raritan Road and then via Brunswick Road to Hoe's Lane to River Road and Landing Bridge. They cross the Raritan on Landing Lane and camp at Raritan Landing along River Road and in Buccleugh Park between George Street and NJ-SR 527 (Easton Avenue).

Resources Identified:

Resource 102:

Campsite of the Center Column on 29/30 August 1781
Raritan Landing along River Road and in Buccleugh Park
between George Street and NJ-SR 527 (Easton Avenue)
New Brunswick, NJ 08901
Appendix B, p. 314, Appendix C, p. 433, and Appendix D, Map 13

Resource 103:

Buccleugh Mansion (Colonial estate built in 1739, local DAR HQ)
200 College Ave., Buccleugh Park
New Brunswick, NJ 08901
Appendix B, p. 314, Appendix C, p. 434, and Appendix D, Map 13

→ at Kingston this column enters the route that will also be taken by French forces a few days later (Route 5)

French Army (Route Number 5):

Summary:

The First Brigade of the French army marches from its camp at Whippany to Bullion's Tavern.

The Second Brigade has its day of rest at Whippany.

Manuscript References:

The First Brigade marches from Whippany to Bullion's Tavern.

Route:

After it had broken camp on 29 August, the First Brigade continues to follow NJ-SR 511 toward Morristown, where the road becomes a one-way street opposing the direction from where the forces would have marched. Having passed Washington's headquarters (the road that needs to be followed today is Lafayette Avenue) and left onto Ridgedale and then right back onto Morris Avenue (NJ-SR 510) they march around the Morristown Green onto NJ-SR 202. Next they follow Mount Kemble Avenue (NJ-SR 202) past Jockey Hollow, the 1779/80 Continental Army camp (on their right) to Van Doran's Mills. Here they turn left onto North Maple Avenue, cross I-287 and turn right onto Oak Street toward Basking Ridge, march through Basking Ridge, and turn left onto Finley Avenue. At the intersection with SPUR 527 they take a right turn onto Lyons Road to Bullion's Tavern (Liberty Corner) and their next camp, Camp 22 since their departure from Newport, at the "English Farm" in Liberty Corner.

Resources Identified:

Resource 72:

Peter Kemble House Site (built about 1765)
Northwest corner of Kemble Avenue/Route 202 and Tempe Wick Road
Morristown, NJ 07960

The Kemble House was moved about 1/4 mile to the southward on NJ-SR 202.

Appendix B, p. 309, Appendix C, p. 403, and Appendix D, Map 9

Resource 73:

Washington Headquarters (Ford Mansion)
Morristown National Historical Park
30 Washington Place
Morristown, NJ 07960
Appendix B, p. 309, Appendix C, p. 404, and Appendix D, Maps 9,10

Resource 74:

F. Gerald New House
1270 Kemble Avenue
Morristown, NJ 07960
Appendix B, p. 309, Appendix C, p. 405, and Appendix D, Map 9

Resource 75:

Jockey Hollow, site of 1778/79 winter quarters of the Continental Army
Administered by Morristown National Historical Park
Appendix B, p. 309, Appendix C, p. 405, and Appendix D, Map 9

Resource 76:

Van Dorn Mill
Intersection of NJ-SR 202 and North Maple Ave, toward Somerville/I-287
Bernards, NJ 07920
Appendix B, p. 309, Appendix C, p. 405, and Appendix D, Map 14

Resource 77:

Widow White Tavern Site Marker
South Finlay Avenue
Basking Ridge, NJ 07939
Appendix B, p. 309, Appendix C, p. 406, and Appendix D, Map 14

General Charles Lee was captured by British forces while lodging in Widow White's tavern in December 1776. This incident is mentioned in many accounts.

Resource 78:

Lord Stirling Home Site
Lord Stirling Park and Environmental Education Center
Lord Stirling Road
Basking Ridge, NJ 07939
Appendix B, p. 309, Appendix C, p. 407, and Appendix D, Map 14

Resource 79:

Bullions Tavern Site on Lyon's Road in Liberty Corner,
(there is an Exxon Station there in 2005)
Bernards, NJ 07920
Appendix B, p. 310, Appendix C, p. 408, and Appendix D, Map 14

Resource 80:

Marker at the French Campsite of 29/39 August 1781
Appendix B, p. 310, Appendix C, p. 408, and Appendix D, Maps 11,14

Resource 81:

French Campsite of 29/30 August 1781, at the "English Farm"
Liberty Corner, NJ 07938
Appendix B, p. 310, Appendix C, p. 409, and Appendix D, Maps 11,14

Resource 81a:

DAR Marker at French Campsite of 29/39 August 1781
Liberty Corner, NJ 07938
Appendix B, p. 310, Appendix C, p. 411, and Appendix D, Maps 11,14

Rear-Guard (Route Number 10):

Summary:

Colonel Van Cortlandt and the Second New York Regiment march to their next camp at the Lott-Beverhoudt farm.

Manuscript Resources:

In the morning of 29 August, Van Cortlandt informs Washington from Dod's Tavern that he

"was favored with yours of this morning and shall proceed on immediately. The Boats and stores are all come up so that I Expect to reach Troy this Evening."⁴³⁰

Van Cortlandt in his *Memoirs* writes that

"after Dining with r. Lott & spending the afternoon with his family my camp being near his House & marched by Day Break next morning [i.e., 30 August] 24 miles."

⁴³⁰ Washington's letter to Van Cortlandt of 29 August has not survived.

Tallmadge's *Diary* records that on 29 August the regiment

"struck Camp at five OClock and proceeded on to Rockaway and halted, the continued our march and arrived at Troy about six OClock and Encamped on the roade Leading to Chatham."

Route, Rear-Guard:

Following the route that the French forces had taken a few days earlier though not necessarily the same campsites, the Second New York Regiment spends the night of 29/30 August at the Lott-Beverhoudt House, now an archaeological site.

Resources Identified:

Resource 69:

Abraham Lott-Lucas von Beverhoudt Archaeological Site
Beverwyck Plantation
Intersection South Beverwyck Road and US 46 in Troy Hills
Parsippany, NJ 07054
Appendix B, p. 308, Appendix C, p. 398, and Appendix D, Maps 4,9

8.12: 30 August 1781

Right (westernmost) Column (Route Number 6):

Summary:

Colonel Lamb departs for Kingston and on to Princeton.

The Second New York Regiment camps south of Morristown.

Manuscript References:

Sergeant-Major Hazen describes this day's march thus:

"August 30. The General beat at half past two oClock when the Tents was struck, the Baggage loaded, and about half an hour before Day Light our Regt. with the Artillery paraded and marched back to Bound Brook - took the right Hand Road over the Bridge and marched up the East Side of the Raritan. To what this Counter march back to Bound Brook was owing to an intended Feint or Ignorance I am at a Loss to tell, neither is it any Matter which.

Went a round about way passed over Millstone Bridge, and about two hours after through Somerset, a County Town - and a little while after another Town called Millstone.⁴³¹

About an Hour after halted about 3 Hours on the Road and took some refreshments after which proceeded on. Came to Rocky Hill halted about 2 Hours then proceeded on, and just at dark entered Princeton. Passed thro it and about one Mile and a half from it, on the Road to Trenton, halted and rested this night.

The rest of the Troops lay last Night a few Miles in our Rear."

Colonel Lamb has the

"General [beat] tomorrow morning four oClock, the Assemble at half past four, and the march will commence at five."

⁴³¹ Somerset Court House, i.e., Millstone on the Millstone River, is not identical with the community of Somerset about six miles to the north-east on the Raritan.

Route:

From their camp along Middlebrook the column doubles back to the Queens Bridge at Bound Brook and marches on the west side of the Raritan to the south-east on Easton Avenue to Cedar Grove of DeMott to Amwell Road, which it follows almost due West to Millstone. Staying on the east side of the Millstone River, they follow the river through Griggstown to Rocky Hill, where they cross the Millstone River on Washington Street (NJ-CR 518), and turn left on Princeton Avenue and again left on Mt. Lucas Road toward the crossing to Kingston on the other side of the river, where the left wing of the Continental Army had crossed the river. In Princeton, Mt. Lucas Road becomes Witherspoon Street, which took them right to Nassau Hall. Here they turn right onto NJ-SR 27 South/Nassau Street/ Princeton-Kingston Turnpike to their campsite "about one Mile and a half from it, on the Road to Trenton."

Resources Identified:

Resource 100:

Campsite of the Continental Army from 30/31 August
along South Street/Stockton Road to Trenton
Princeton, NJ 08540

Appendix B, p. 313, Appendix C, p. 432, and Appendix D, Map 17

This campsite and connected resources are (most likely) identical with those for the French Army the following day. See the resources listed under Route 5.

Center Column (Route Number 7):**Summary:**

General Lincoln and his brigade depart for Kingston and Princeton.

Manuscript References:

Benjamin Lincoln writes to Washington on 30 August from "Brunswic Landing":

My dear General,

The troops arrived here about 2 oClock in the afternoon yesterday - I went toward evening to Bound Brook where I met Colo. Lamb & everything in order. - as there are so many circumstances to be taken into consideration prior to a determination what number of waggons ought to proceed Southward and as we cannot avail of all of those

circumstances here, such as ye probability of a full supply of vessels at the Head of Elck, horses in Pennsylvania, (illeg.) when independent of those with us, Colo Pickering has just taken a resolution to wait on your Excellency this evening in Philadelphia to receive your Excellency further orders.

I expect we shall be on our ground about three this evening.

Thomas Gratton records:

"Ye 30th marched to (illeg.) mild Brook, Kingston and encamped."

Route:

Leaving their camp along River Road in New Brunswick early in the morning, the column enters NJ-SR 527 and marches through Franklin Park and Kendall Park to Kingston. Here it crosses the Millstone River and follows the Right Column of the Continental Army into Princeton, camping between Princeton and the Right Column.

Resources Identified:

This campsite and connected resources are (most likely) identical with the place where the French Army will camp the following day. See the resources listed under Route 5.

French Army (Route Number 5):

Summary:

The First Brigade marches from Bullion's Tavern to Somerset Court House.

The Second Brigade marches from Whippany to Bullion's Tavern.

Manuscript References:

The First Brigade of the French Army marches from Bullion's Tavern to Somerset Court House.

Route:

Turning right onto Martinsville Road/ Liberty Corner Road (NJ-CR 525) across I-78 in the morning of 30 August, the troops turn right onto NJ-CR 620 after about 1/4 mile onto Newman's Lane, then left onto Steel Gap Road and left again onto Foothill Road. Then follows a right turn onto Adamsville Road to the Old York Road., which was the original road. Adamsville Road is today cut off by I-287 and one has to follow

Foothill Road over I-287 (US 22), make a U-turn at Adamsville exit, take Finderne Avenue (NJ-CR 533) to Van Veghten Drive and the Van Veghten House. Following Finderne Avenue (NJ-CR 533) through Manville on Main Street, which becomes Millstone River Road, still NJ-CR 533, which they follow along the course of the Millstone River to Millstone. Here they set up the camp just south of Millstone, known as Somerset Court House in the 18th century, along the banks of the river south of the old Court House site.⁴³²

Resources Identified:

Resource 82:

Van Veghten Home
Van Veghten Drive (Finderne)
Bridgewater, NJ 08807
Appendix B, p. 310, Appendix C, p. 411, and Appendix D, Map 11

Resource 83:

Van Veghten Home Marker (In front of Van Veghten Home)
Appendix B, p. 310, Appendix C, p. 413, and Appendix D, Map 11

Resource 84:

John Van Doren House (Millstone)
NJ-CR 533 South between Manville and Hillsborough, NJ
Millstone, NJ 08844
Appendix B, p. 310, Appendix C, p. 414, and Appendix D, Map 13

Resource 85:

French Campsite of 30/31 August 1781
Millstone, NJ 08844
Appendix B, p. 310, Appendix C, p. 415, and Appendix D, Map 13

Resource 86:

Somerset Court House Marker
Millstone, NJ 08844
Appendix B, p. 310, Appendix C, p. 417, and Appendix D, Map 13

⁴³² The Somerset Court House burnt by Simcoe's raiders in 1779 was re-built at Somerville. Lauberdière described Somerset as having seven or eight houses. Lauberdière, "Journal," fol. 96.

Rear-Guard (Route Number 10):

Summary:

Colonel Van Cortlandt and the Second New York Regiment march from their camp at the Lott-Beverhoudt farm to Trenton.

Manuscript Resources:

Marching 24 miles that day, Van Cortlandt later claimed to have set up camp on 30 August "about 3 miles from Trenton" where he "was ordered to Incamp for all the army to pass me and then took my Boats to Trenton and Embarked my Regt."⁴³³

Tallmadge's *Diary* however states that on 30 August the regiment

*"struck Camp at day breake and proceeded on to
Morristown there halted, from thence to the half moon
[tavern] and Encamped."*⁴³⁴

Route, Rear-Guard:

Colonel Van Cortlandt's men follow the route taken by French forces.

Resources Identified:

Resource 104:

Campsite of Second New York Regiment from 30/31 August 1781

At "half moon [tavern]"

Appendix B, p. 316, Appendix C, p. 435.

There is no map since the location of the tavern is unknown.

⁴³³ Jacob Judd, ed., *The Revolutionary War 'Memoir' and Selected Correspondence of Philip Van Cortlandt* (Tarrytown, New York, 1976), p. 60.

⁴³⁴ The "Half Moon Tavern" about three miles south of Morristown and site of a camp of the New York Regiments on the return march as well, has not been identified.

8.13: 31 August 1781

Right (westernmost) Column (Route Number 6):

Summary:

Colonel Lamb and his troops depart from Princeton for Trenton.

The Second New York Regiment departs for Trenton.

Manuscript References:

Sergeant-Major Hawkins describes this day's march thus:

"August 31. Just at day Break the General beat - the necessary Preparations made - hazen's and Lamb's Regiments paraded and marched.

*Passed thro Trenton towards the Lower Ferry, close by which halted and encamped.*⁴³⁵

About an Hour after we encamped Col. Scammel's Corps of Light Troops, the Rhode Island and New Jersey Lines, and Part of the New York Line and Sappers and Miners passed us and encamped in our Front between us & the River. The French troops are encamped between us and Princeton.

About 6 oClock Part of our army embarked on board Shallops with the Artillery & Bagagge - the Waggon & Horses went by Land. Our Regt was among those that first embarked."

Joseph Plumb Martin of the Corps of Sappers and Miners arrives in Trenton at sunset of 31 August, but

*"instead of encamping for the night, as we expected, we were ordered immediately on board vessels then lying at the landing place, and a little after sunrise found ourselves at Philadelphia."*⁴³⁶

⁴³⁵There were two ferries where the armies could cross the Delaware, in Trenton and downstream in Lambertson, plus a ford further upstream. The first bridge across the Delaware in Trenton was built in 1806.

⁴³⁶ Joseph Plumb Martin, *Private Yankee Doodle* (1830; repr. Eastern Acorn Press, 1992) p. 222.

Route:

Departing from their camp along Stockton Avenue (NJ-SR 206, designated the Washington Victory Trail), the Right Column of the Continental Army marches to the Lower Ferry at the end of South Warren Street and its campsite along Broad Street in Trenton.

Resources Identified:

Resource 101:

Campsite of the Continental Army from 31 August to 1 September 1781
"close by" the Lower Ferry
Trenton, NJ 08611
Appendix B, p. 313, Appendix C, p. 432, and Appendix D, Map 17

The Lower Ferry was at the end of what was called Ferry Street, today's South Warren Street; the Continental Army Camp was most likely along Broad Street on the same site where the French army would camp over the next few days.

Center Column (Route Number 7):**Summary:**

General Lincoln and his brigade depart from Princeton for Trenton.

Manuscript References:

The Center Column marches from Princeton to Trenton.

In preparation for their arrival at the Delaware, Washington had written to Robert Morris from Dobbs Ferry on 17 August 1781.

Dear Sir:

I have in confidence imparted to you the alteration of our late plan and made you acquainted with our intended operations. Besides the provision necessary at the Head of Elk to carry the troops down the Bay a very considerable Quantity will be wanted in Virginia. I should suppose three hundred Barrels of Flour, as many of salt Meat and eight or ten Hhds of Rum would be sufficient at Elk. For what will be consumed in Virginia, I imagine the order must be general, as we can neither ascertain the number of Men which will be drawn together or the time they will be employed.

I have written to the Count de Grasse and have requested him to send up his light Vessels of every kind to Elk, but I would nevertheless wish to have all that may be at Baltimore and the upper parts of the Bay secured. I shall therefore be obliged to you to take measures at a proper time for that purpose. When that time will be and when you shall give orders for the deposit at Elk, I will hereafter inform you.

I shall direct the Quarter Master in due season to take up all the small Craft in Delaware for the purpose of transporting the Troops from Trenton to Christeen. Should he have occasion for advice or assistance from you upon this occasion I must request you to give him both.

I am confident it will be necessary to give the American Troops destined for southern service one Months pay in specie. This will amount to about ... [blank] dollars. If it will be possible for you to procure this sum you will infinitely oblige me and will much benefit the service. I shall also stand in need of a sum of specie for secret service. I suppose about 500 Guineas.

From Chatham, he had instructed Samuel Miles, DQMG for Pennsylvania in Philadelphia, on 27 August 1781.

Sir:

In consequence of a total alteration in our Plans, and the movement of a large Body of Troops to the Southward; I have despatched a Messenger for the sole purpose of having Provision made at Trenton, for the Transportation of them to Christiana by Water. You will therefore be pleased to have the greatest possible number of Sloops, Shallops and river Craft of all kinds, fit for the transportation of Men, Artillery and Baggage collected from every quarter where they can be found, and brought to Trenton by the 31st. Inst. at which time the head of the Column is expected to arrive: Let others be procured and ordered to follow to the same place, as fast as may be, untill Orders are received to the contrary.

You will use every exertion to have this business carried into execution without loss of time. I have also written to Mr. Morris on the subject, with whom I wish you to

converse and advise respecting the Places Mode &c. of obtaining the Craft; and I am persuaded he will afford you any assistance in his power.

I have delayed having these preparations made until this moment, because I wished to deceive the Enemy with regard to our real object as long as possible, our Movements have been calculated for that purpose and I am still anxious the deception should be kept up a few days longer, untill our intentions are announced by the Army's filing off towards the Delaware.

These Arrangements would have been made through the Quarter Master General, but he having been left at Kings ferry to execute some business in his Department, and the time of his arrival being uncertain, I have thought proper to write to you myself on the subject, and to desire in the most earnest Manner, that neither labour or expence may be wanting in the performance of the important business now committed to you. I am &c.

P.S. Be so good as to obtain Quarters for myself and family (half a dozen Gentlemen) at some convenient Private Lodgings, without mentioning particularly who they are for; if one house will not accommodate the Whole, the nearer the lodgings are the better. Also be pleased to forward the Letters to the Southward by Express.

On 31 August, Timothy Pickering writes to Colonel Dearborn from Philadelphia:

"Colonel Neilson will show you a ford at Trenton which he was to try with a waggon if found practicable, you will cross the carriages there on this side of Bristol, instead of coming to Neshaminy Ferry, you take the right road at the fork & go to a fording place - if the tide be up you pass up the river to the second fording place, which may be crossed at all time except in a fresh. The bottoms are good. I was particular in these enquiries yesterday as I passed. The 1st fording place is about a mile above shamminy ferry, the 2^d half a mile above that. I suppose all Cortlandt's reg^t. & their baggage may go down in the batteaux & their necessary teams go empty by land."⁴³⁷

⁴³⁷ Timothy Pickering Papers Microfilm Edition, vol. 82.

The letter reaches Dearborn, who is traveling with Lincoln, at the encampment of the Continental Army in Trenton. On 31 August, Lincoln writes to Washington from Trenton at "Noon":

Our van has passed the rear will be at the ferry in about one hour - no moment will be lost in loading the artillery stores &c. ...

As soon as I can ascertain the time I can have the ferry I will inform your Excellency of it.

We shall encamp tonight on the bancks of ye river by this I hope to prevent all desertion - few only have yet happened five or six only have repented (sic).

About 1 1/2 hours later, he receives Washington's letter from Philadelphia, dated 31 August 1781.

Dr Sir:

Upon Enquiry I have too much reason to fear we shall not be able to procure Craft eno' to embark all our Troops, Stores, Baggage, &c. upon the Water, in which Case some must go by Land. You will therefore be pleased to consult Colo Lamb respectg the Heavy Cannon, Carriages, Stores and Baggage, and find what will be most cumbersome and Heavy to transport by Land and let that have the first Chance in the Transports by Water; the quantity of these you will best judge by the Number and kind of Craft which you will receive; many if not all of the Covered Waggons with some others will possibly be found necessary to go by Land, with the light Field Pieces and perhaps some cannon Carriages; the Heavy Cannon, Mortars and Hoitzs with Cloathg and Entrenchg Tools will most conveniently go by Water; the Cannon to be divested of their Carriages.

Colo Nelson [i.e., Neilson] at Trenton informed me that he thought a Ford might be found, by which the Waggons and Carriages might be easily passed at that Place, and promised to make the Experiment. You will please to consult him on that Subject.

When you are on the Rout from Trenton I fancy there is a Road leading direct to a Ford across the Nesamuny Creek above the Ferry past Bristol; if so it will be most expeditious to pass by that Rout and avoid the Ferry which will be troublesome and occasion much Delay. I passed

myself by this Ford, and I think you will find such a Road as I mention.

The Troops which are the lightest and best able to march, and such as are least suspected of Desertion from disaffection, Want of Pay, or any other Cause, will, if Craft should fail, be best to march by Land.

You will send down as soon as the first opportunity presents 100 pickt Men who are acquainted with Water, and who are the most suitable on other Accounts, to assist in Embarkg and forwardg the Stores at this Place.

General Knox's Letter which accompanies this will help you to Determine respectg the Cannon and heavy Artillery Stores.

The Waggon and whatever else goes by Land, will proceed by the Shortest Rout, immediately to the Head of Elk; you will so order the Marches as not to encamp by or near this City; the Troops who march by Land, will move on by slow and easy Marches, so as not to be fatigued.

You will appoint an active Officer to superintend the Embarkation at Trenton, whose Arrangements must be calculated for Dispatch and to save Confusion: another Officer of like Character, must go on with the first Embarkation to Christiana, to superintend the Debarkation; with this Officer some Troops must go down to the place of Debarkation, to assist in unloadg, forwardg the Stores, &c.

You will please to use every Exertion for dispatch in your Movement, as not a Moments Time is to be lost.

P.S. Inclosed is a List of Craft sent up.⁴³⁸ The Topsail Vessels will not be sent, and the Wood Craft will be wanted for other Purposes from here. Send Colo Gouvion to me as soon as possible; let him come prepared to go directly to Virginia.

At "1/2 past 5 pm", Lincoln acknowledges receipt of Washington's letter and informs the Commander in Chief that

⁴³⁸ The list was probably Col. Samuel Miles's "List of water craft engaged at Philadelphia, Aug. 30, 1781." This shows altogether 31 craft: 4 wood flats, 4 schooners, and 23 sloops. The estimated total carrying capacity of these was 4,150 men. This list is in the Washington Papers as well.

"we have put and are putting on board the vessels the ordnance stores &c - I shall send in the same vessels the Corps of Artillery, Corps of Sappers & Miners, and also Colo Hazen's Regt. By sending Genl Hazen's Regiment suppose will be unnecessary to send the hundred men you mention I thought it was best to send whole corps and not a detachment on ye former mode would fully comply with the spirit of your order. The vessels I expect will leave this at about 7 oClock so as to be down early in the morning. I have under (illeg.) to wait on your Excellency's further orders.

The Light troops the Jersey Brigade & Col van Schaick's Regt will leave this in the morning.

As there are so many empty wagons I think the Troops, with their aid, will march with ease and dispatch this idea & the necessity the French will have for ye vessels has induced me to send none by water saving the invalids and those before mentioned.

I shall obtain one vessel to move such of the stores as are in our rear with Col Coartland and may not be exposed to rain - the other stores and the troops can go in ye same boats they have with them. Their waggons will be made light & sent round.

The moment I have made the necessary arrangements I will follow ye troops & wait on your Excellency in Philadelphia.

Later that day Lincoln receives a second letter from Washington, again dated Philadelphia, 31 August 1781.

Sir:

Since my Letter of this Mornng, upon Consultation with Count Rochambeau, I find that he is inclined to have the French Troops march by Land from Trenton to Head of Elk, which will give a larger proportion of Craft for the American Baggage and Troops. You will therefore notwithstanding my preceeding Letter, after alotg a Sufficiency for the French Baggage &c. they request first put on Board such Heavy Stores and Baggage, Cloathg Tools Garrison Carriages &c. &c. as Colo Lamb and you shall think proper, and then Embark the Troops on Board

the Water Craft and let them fall down the River to Christiana Bridge as soon as possible, reserving only such Number as will be necessary to cross by Land with the Waggons and Baggage that may go on in that Way; and the 100 Men to be sent to this Place.

General Knox has just mentioned that the Artillery Stores and the Pieces may best go on by land without any Change, as they are lightly loaded for the Purpose of easy Carriage and their Shiftg may occasion much Delay; you will think on that Circumstance.

In fordg the Waggons and Carriages you will be particularly Careful that no Accident happens by miscrossing, as that will create much Trouble and Delay.

The Q M G will direct what Number of spare Waggons, open as well as Covered ones, will be wanted to be taken along to the Christiana Bridge, for the purpose of transportation from that Place to the Head of Elk: these will also go on by Land. I am &c.

The Q M G will see the Boats comg on with Colo Cortlands Regt. put in Re, as soon as they Arrive; these will take down the Regt. which accompanies them and perhaps some other Matters.

Desire our A Q M at Trenton to give every Assistance in his Power to the French Troops, in crossing the Ferry, or in any other Circumstance in which they may need his Aid.

"In 1781, there were two or perhaps three ferries over the Delaware in close proximity to the town, - Trenton Ferry," the Old Ferry operated by Hugh Rankin in 1781" at the foot of Ferry Street, and a ferry, known as "Beatty's" with a landing somewhat west of the Calhoun Street Bridge. There was also a ferry about a mile down the river from Trenton Ferry known as the "New Ferry" which was conducted by Elijah Bond from his own property.⁴³⁹ The ferry as well as the landing were owned by William Trent, who on 7 June 1781, had charged the Continent £ 40.16.2 or 108 74/90 Spanish Milled dollars "for the Priveledge of the Landing at his ferry seven months and 13 days from 25 Octr to 7 June 1781."⁴⁴⁰

⁴³⁹ Hamilton Schuyler, *A History of Trenton, 1679 to 1929* (Trenton, 1929), Chapter 2: Trenton and Trentonians in the Revolutionary Era. Quoted from the internet edition available at <http://trentonhistory.org/Exp/His/revolutionary.htm>

⁴⁴⁰ The certificate for the landing account, No. 8170, is in John Neilson, Papers ... kept as DQM for NJ, 1780-1782, Box 2, Account Book beginning Trenton, 25 Sept. 1780 to 4 October 1782. Special Collections, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, Ac 589.

The ferrying of troops was also paid for with certificates. On 18 April 1782, Daniel Smith received an interest-bearing certificate, payable on 1 May, for £15.0.7 or 40 7/90 Spanish Milled Dollars For "one fourth of an Acct for ferrying the Army across the river Delaware in the Month of September 1781." ⁴⁴¹

Route:

The troops of the Center Column follow the route of the Right Column but camp between the Delaware River and the troops of the Right Column.

Thomas Grafton of the Artificers Company writes:

"Ye 31st marched to Princeton, Madenhead [i.e., Lawrenceville] Trenton and crossed over the Delaware River into Pensilvania State and encamped." For 1 September 1781, Grafton recorded however: "Returned to the east side of the River again and encamped till ye 3d then marched over the River 4 miles and encamped. Ye 4th marched to Bristol Frankford and encamped."

Grafton was in the Company of Artificers and his services were still needed in Trenton. ⁴⁴²

On 31 December 1782, Thomas Ashmore received an interest-bearing certificate from DQMG John Neilson for "10 days hire of his vessel transporting the Artificers of the Army and their Tools & baggage onto Christiane Bridge." ⁴⁴³

Resources Identified:

Resource 101:

Campsite of the Continental Army from 31 August to 1 September 1781
"close by" the Lower Ferry
Trenton, NJ 08611
Appendix B, p. 313, Appendix C, p. 432, and Appendix D, Map 17

⁴⁴¹ The certificate for the ferrying, No. 8082, is in John Neilson, Papers ... kept as DQM for NJ, 1780-1782, Box 2, Account Book beginning Trenton, 25 Sept. 1780 to 4 October 1782. Special Collections, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, Ac 589.

⁴⁴² He crossed the Delaware on one of the boats that the 2nd New York had brought from Stony Point.

⁴⁴³ The certificate, No. 2270, is in John Neilson, Papers ... kept as DQM for NJ, 1780-1782, Box 2, Account Book beginning Trenton, 25 Sept. 1780 to 4 October 1782. Special Collections, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, Ac 589.

The Lower Ferry was at the end of what was called Ferry Street, today's South Warren Street; the Continental Army Camp was most likely along Broad Street on the same site where the French army would camp over the next few days.

French Army (Route Number 5):

Summary:

The First Brigade of Rochambeau's infantry marches from its camp at Somerset Court House to its camp at Princeton.

The Second Brigade marches from its camp at Bullion's Tavern to its camp at Somerset Court House.

Manuscript References:

Following the same route that the Continental Army had taken a few days earlier, French forces on 31 August march south along the banks of the Millstone River from Somerset Court House. The First Brigade crosses the Millstone at Griggstown and continues to march south to Rocky Hill, where it takes Mount Lucas Road into Princeton and Camp 24 along Nassau Street (NJ-SR 206).

Route:

Following NJ-CR 533 past the Van Doren House through Blackwell Mills, today's Hillsborough, they cross the Millstone River at the intersection with NJ-CR 632 just south of Griggstown and follow Rocky Hill Road/Canal Road to Rocky Hill. Here they cross the river again on Washington Street (NJ-CR 518), and turn left on Princeton Avenue and again left on Mt. Lucas Road toward the crossing to Kingston on the other side of the river, where the left wing of the Continental Army had crossed the river. In Princeton, Mt. Lucas Road becomes Witherspoon Street, which took them right to Nassau Hall. Here they turn right onto NJ-SR 27 South/Nassau Street/Princeton-Kingston Turnpike to their campsite near the Stockton House.

Resources Identified:

Resource 87:

Marker at crossing of Millstone River at Griggstown
Appendix B, p. 310, Appendix C, p. 419, and Appendix D, Maps 13,15

Resource 88:

Black Horse Tavern
1101 Canal Road
Griggstown (Franklin Township), NJ 08540
Appendix B, p. 310, Appendix C, p. 421, and Appendix D, Map 15

The "Black Horse Tavern" is identified on French road descriptions.

Resource 89:

Red Horse Tavern
1135 Canal Road
Griggstown (Franklin Township), NJ 08540
Appendix B, p. 310, Appendix C, p. 421, and Appendix D, Map 15

The "Red Horse Tavern" is identified on French road descriptions.

Resource 90:

Nassau Hall
Nassau Street
Princeton, NJ 08540
Appendix B, p. 311, Appendix C, p. 422, and Appendix D, Map 16

Resource 91:

French Campsite of 31 August/1 September 1781
along Stockton Street across from Morven
Princeton, NJ 08540
Appendix B, p. 311, Appendix C, p. 423, and Appendix D, Map 16

Resource 92:

Morven (Richard Stockton House)
55 Stockton Street
Princeton, NJ 08540
Appendix B, p. 311, Appendix C, p. 424, and Appendix D, Map 16

Resource 93:

Markers in Monument Drive
Off of Stockton Street
Princeton, NJ 08540
Appendix B, p. 311, Appendix C, p. 425, and Appendix D, Map 16

Resource 94:

Thomas Clarke House - Princeton Battlefield

500 Mercer Road

Princeton, NJ 08540

Appendix B, p. 311, Appendix C, p. 426, and Appendix D, Map 16

Rear-Guard (Route Number 10):

Summary:

Colonel Van Cortlandt and the Second New York Regiment march from their camp at the Half Moon Tavern to a camp past Basking Ridge.

Manuscript Resources:

From "Camp Half Moon three miles from Morristown," Tallmadge on Friday, 31 August "struck Camp at five O'Clock and proceeded on to Backinridge there halted from then six miles further and Encamped."

Route, Rear-Guard:

The Rear-Guard follows the same route as French forces.

Resources Identified:

Resource 105:

Campsite of the Second New York Regiment from 31 August to

1 September 1781

six miles south of Basking Ridge about half-way between

Liberty Corners and Martinsville

The exact location of the campsite is unknown.

Appendix B, p. 316, Appendix C, p. 435; no map since location unknown.

8.14: 1 September 1781

Right (westernmost) Column (Water Route to Philadelphia, Route Number 11):

Summary:

Colonel Lamb and his troops embark on boats for Philadelphia.

Manuscript References:

By "12 oClock A.M." Colonel Lamb is in Philadelphia and orders

"Returns to be made immediately of the Number of Men in each Company expected to do duty in the Field, that Shoes may be drawn for them."

Captain James Duncan of Moses Hazen's regiment, which had accompanied the artillery and stores from Springfield/Chatham, records from Trenton that "the artillery stores with our regiment and some other troops embarked" are ordered to sail to Christiana Bridge in Delaware.⁴⁴⁴

On 1 September, Pickering informs his DQM Donaldson Yeates and ADQM Peter Wade, Yeates' assistant in Delaware, from Philadelphia that

"some American troops will embark at Trenton today, & arrive at Christiana Bridge as soon as the wind & tide will admit. I must request you to make such preparations as shall be necessary for their reception. Besides the troops there will be several hundred tons of Stores to be landed & transported from the Bridge to the Head of Elk."⁴⁴⁵

Sergeant-Major Hawkins describes this day's march thus:

"At daybreak (Sept. 1.) set sail, passed Bordentown, Bristol and Burlington and about noon appeared before the City of Philadelphia. Where we dropped Anchor in the Stream."

Route:

No American forces remain in New Jersey

⁴⁴⁴ W. F. Boogher, "James Duncan's Diary of the Siege of Yorktown." *Magazine of History* Vol. 2 (1905), pp. 407-416, p. 408. The diary contains no information on the route through New Jersey.

⁴⁴⁵ Timothy Pickering Papers Microfilm Edition, reel 26, vol. 82. In his letter to Yeates, Pickering estimated the stores to weigh 700 tons. At the outset of the march in June 1781, Wadsworth had insisted on six oxen per wagon. At a rate of five tons per wagon, these stores would have filled at least 140 wagons drawn by 840 draft animals.

Resources Identified:

Resource 108:

Embarkation site for Continental Army forces in Trenton
Trenton Landing
between modern Landing and Lalor Streets, (vicinity of Route 29 Tunnel)
Trenton, NJ 08648
Appendix B, p. 317, Appendix C, p. 436, and Appendix D, Map 17

During the 1780s, Trenton Landing (Lamberton) between modern Landing and Lalor Streets was the location of several wharves and was the most likely place of embarkation for the Continental Army. Once on board the vessels, the detachments did not land again until they had reached Philadelphia.

Center Column (Route Number 7):

Summary:

General Lincoln and his brigade embark for/depart for Philadelphia.

Manuscript References:

At "7 oClock" [a.m.] Lincoln writes to Washington from Trenton that

"I was the last evening honored with your Excellencys favor of yesterday afternoon on the receipt of it I applied to Colo Dearborn DQM General what number of Vessels were left and what number it would probably take to transport the French Artillery baggage Sick &c. on his report I found it impossible to take vessels enough for an other corps and leave a sufficcincy for the French. I therefore attended to the regulation which had been made prior to my receiving your letter. - the troops are all over & the rear of the waggons are just now passing we shall halt to night thirteen miles from Philadelphia - I will wait on your Excellency at 7 oClock tomorrow morning.

I will leave orders for Colo Court[landt] to send his waggons round light and shall bark (?) his regiment in the boats he has with him. one vessel will be [illeg.] to take in such flour as he may have with him and which must not be exposed to the rain.

*The Dukes legion is just now arrived.*⁴⁴⁶

⁴⁴⁶ Lincoln Papers, reel 6.

Route:

No American forces remain in New Jersey

Resources Identified:

No American forces remain in New Jersey

French Army (Route Number 5):**Summary:**

The First Brigade of French infantry marches from its camp at Princeton to its camp at Trenton.

The Second Brigade marches from its camp at Somerset Court House to its camp at Princeton.

Manuscript References:

The troops of the First Brigade march into Trenton and encamp.

Route:

Following NJ-SR 206 on 1 September through Lawrenceville, the troops of the First Brigade reach Trenton on Brunswick Avenue, their last camp in New Jersey, Camp 25, along Broad Street on the banks of the Delaware River.⁴⁴⁷

Resources Identified:

Resource 95:

Trenton Victory Monument

Intersection of North Warren and North Broad Streets

Trenton, NJ 08600

Appendix B, p. 311, Appendix C, p. 427, and Appendix D, Map 17

Resource 96:

William Trent House (Bloomsberry Court) and Museum

15 Market Street

Trenton, NJ 08611

Appendix B, p. 311, Appendix C, p. 428, and Appendix D, Map 17

⁴⁴⁷ The route has been traced by Henri A. de Bonneval, *American Revolution Bicentennial Celebration. March of the French Army Across the State of New Jersey* (typescript, n.p., n.d., 1976?). There are also two itineraries of the march in Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, Vol. 2, pp. 52-8 and 60-7.

Resource 97:

Old Barracks Museum

Barrack Street

Trenton, NJ 08608

Appendix B, p. 311, Appendix C, p. 429, and Appendix D, Map 17

Resource 98:

French Campsite of 1/2 September 1781

along Broad Street to the east of the Assunpink

Trenton, NJ 08611

Appendix B, p. 311, Appendix C, p. 430, and Appendix D, Map 17

Rear-Guard (Route Number 10):

Summary:

Colonel Van Cortlandt and the Second New York Regiment march to their next camp seven miles south of Somerset Court House/Millstone in the vicinity of Rocky Hill

Manuscript Resources:

For Tallmadge at "Camp Sumersset County" on 1 September,

"the Genl. Beat an hour previous to day light, struck Camp and proceeded on to Sumersset Court house, halted untill three OClock P.M. the Continued our march about Seven miles and Encamped."

On 1 September, Lincoln wrote to "Colo Courtland" from Trenton:

"As soon as possible after your arrival you will embark such Stores as may not be exposed to ye went (sic) on board of a vessel which will be given you by the QM. Some other Stores you will put into the boats now under your care in these and in the Vessel your regiment may with ease go to Christian bridge - your waggons under a proper Escort you will send by land let them go as light as possible and with dispatch."⁴⁴⁸

Route, Rear-Guard:

The Rear-Guard follows the same route as French forces.

⁴⁴⁸ Lincoln Papers, reel 6.

Resources Identified:

Resource 106:

Campsite of the Second New York Regiment on 1/2 September 1781
Seven miles south of Somerset Court House/Millstone in the vicinity of
Rocky Hill.

Appendix B, p. 316, Appendix C, p. 435; Map 15

8.15: 2 September 1781

Right (westernmost) Column (Water Route to Philadelphia, Route Number 11):

Summary:

No American forces remain in New Jersey

Manuscript References:

No American forces remain in New Jersey

Route:

No American forces remain in New Jersey

Resources Identified:

No American forces remain in New Jersey

Center Column (Route Number 7):

Summary:

No American forces remain in New Jersey

Manuscript References:

No American forces remain in New Jersey

Route:

No American forces remain in New Jersey

Resources Identified:

No American forces remain in New Jersey

French Army (Route Number 5):

Summary:

The First Brigade of Rochambeau's infantry leaves its camp in Trenton and crosses the Delaware River into Pennsylvania.

The Second Brigade of French forces marches from its camp at Princeton to its camp at Trenton.

Manuscript References:

The First Brigade of the French Army crosses the Delaware just as the Second Brigade arrives in Trenton.

Route:

From their campsite in Trenton the First Division of the French army marches to the ferry site (Resource 103) and crosses the Delaware.

Resources Identified:

Resource 101:

Campsite of the Continental Army from 31 August to 1 September 1781
Ferry Site for crossing the Delaware River
"close by" the Lower Ferry
Trenton, NJ 08611
Appendix B, p. 313, Appendix C, p. 432, and Appendix D, Map 17

During the late eighteenth century, there were three and possibly four ferry locations on the Delaware in Trenton and Lambertton, but the two main ferries in use in 1781-1783 were the Trenton Ferry and Bond's (or Lower) Ferry operated by Hugh Runyon in the 1780s. American and French forces camped close to, and made use of, this ferry located at the end of Ferry Street as well as the near-by ford to cross the river.

Rear-Guard (Route Number 10):**Summary:**

Colonel Van Cortlandt and the Second New York Regiment march to their next camp between Lawrenceville and Trenton.

Manuscript Resources:

On 2 September, Tallmadge recorded that

"at four O'clock struck Camp loaded the Bagage and proceeded on to prince Town, and halted to take breakefast, the Continued our march too Maidenhead town [i.e., Lawrenceville] and Encamped about Sunset."

Route, Rear-Guard:

The Rear-Guard follows the same route as French forces to Trenton.

Resources Identified:

Resource 107:

Campsite of the Second New York Regiment of 2/3 September
between Lawrenceville and Trenton
See Appendix B, p. 316, Appendix C, p. 436; Map 17

8.16: 3 September 1781

Right (westernmost) Column (Water Route to Philadelphia, Route Number 11):

Summary:

No American forces remain in New Jersey

Manuscript References:

No American forces remain in New Jersey

Route:

No American forces remain in New Jersey

Resources Identified:

No American forces remain in New Jersey

Center Column (Route Number 7):

Summary:

No American forces remain in New Jersey

Manuscript References:

No American forces remain in New Jersey

Route:

No American forces remain in New Jersey

Resources Identified:

No American forces remain in New Jersey

French Army (Route Number 5):

Summary:

The Second Brigade of Rochambeau's infantry leaves its camp in Trenton and crosses the Delaware River into Pennsylvania.

Manuscript References:

By early morning on 3 September 1781, the last of the French forces have left New Jersey.

Route:

No French forces remain in New Jersey

Resources Identified:

No French forces remain in New Jersey

Rear-Guard (Route Number 10):**Summary:**

The American rear-guard are the last troops to cross the Delaware on 3 September 1781.

Manuscript Resources:

Samuel Tallmadge records that on 3 September,

"the Genl beat at day break, Struck Camp and proceeded on to trentown, from thence to the Landing where we arrived about Eight OClock, there put our boates in the delaware river put the baggage on board, and Imbarked about one OClock and proceeded down the river halted at Brister, Burlington Laying near parrallel to Brister situated on the East side in the Jerseys Brister in Pennsylvania - proceeded on about Six miles below brister and Encamped amount 11 OClock at night."

Route, Rear-Guard:

Following the route taken by all preceding forces, the rear-guard marches directly to the Lower Ferry landing and sails to Philadelphia in the early afternoon.

The French wagon train has finished fording the Delaware and is encamped at the Red Lion Tavern in Pennsylvania.

On 4 September 1781, American DQMG John Neilson reports to QMG Timothy Pickering, his superior officer from Trenton, the conclusion of the crossing operation. No allied forces designated to participate in the operation at Yorktown remain in New Jersey.

"Sir, I have the pleasure to acquaint you that the duties required of the Department under my direction, with respect to the Movement of the Army, have been executed with all the dispatch and Success that could be expected from the Nature of the business. And I believe from what I could discover to the Satisfaction of the officers commanding the respective divisions. Fryday [i.e., 31 August] about noon the van of the Army under the Command of General Lincoln arrived here, and at 6 o'clock Saturday morning the whole of the remaining Troops and Teams had crossed the river, having precariously embarked the Artillery, Hazen's Regiment and heavy baggage on board the Shallops provided for the purpose. At ten o'clock on Saturday [i.e., 1 September] the first division of the French Army came in, which with the whole of their baggage were crossed by 7 o'clock Sunday morning; that day the 2d Division under the command of Count Viomenil arrived, and at Six O'clock Monday Morning they with all their baggage were on the Pennsylvani Shore. About this time [i.e., on 3 September] Colonel Cortlandt's Regiment together with the Boats, Quarter Master General's Stores, Clothiers Stores &c came into Town, Colonel Cortlandt's Regiment embarked in the Boats he had with him about two hours after, the Stores were embarked in the Vessels retained for that Purpose, and all the Teams crossed the river by two O'clock and the vessels with the stores sailed about four in the Afternoon. - A number of the Shallops were left by Genl Lincoln for transporting the Heavy Baggage of the French Army, which I informed them of on their arrival, but making any use of them observing to me they had Teams &c sufficient to carry all by land, upon which I immediately ordered all the Shallops except those retained by the Quarter Master & Clotheir Stores to Philadelphia, and to apply to Colonel Miles for further Instructions."⁴⁴⁹

⁴⁴⁹ NARA Misc. Numbered Records M859, film 14, reel 80, frame 38.

FROM ELKTON TO YORKTOWN, 9 SEPTEMBER TO 19 OCTOBER 1781

9.1 Embarkation at Elkton and Sea Journey to Virginia

Having quickly crossed the state of Delaware, Washington and the first units of the Continental Army reached Head of Elk in Maryland on Thursday 6 September, followed by French forces on 7 and 8 September. Once the American rear-guard arrived from Christiana on 9 September, the two armies were ready for the last leg of their journey to Yorktown. In exactly three weeks since departing from Philipsburg, New York, they had reached the banks of the Chesapeake. But speed was still of the essence: Sir Henry might still launch a rescue operation, Cornwallis might still break out of Yorktown, and de Grasse would only stay until 15 October. But Washington had more immediate concerns to deal with. On 17 August, he had already written Robert Morris from Dobbs Ferry that he would have to pay the army at least one month's salary in specie in order to induce it to march into Virginia. Morris was aware of Washington's needs, too, and recorded in his diary that "great S[y]mptoms of discontent had Appeared on their passing through this City" of Philadelphia.⁴⁵⁰ The discontent was real enough: in the six days between its departure from Trenton and arrival at Head of Elk on 6 September, eleven men, almost 10 per cent of its *de facto* strength, deserted from Lamb's Artillery regiment alone. On 6 September the situation had become critical and Washington repeated the request to Morris from Head of Elk, "intreating you in the warmest Terms to send on a Month's Pay at least, with all the Expedition possible". But Morris did not have the funds to pay the army and on 7 September asked Rochambeau for a loan of to \$26,600 Spanish dollars in specie to pay the troops, with the promise that he would return the money. But 26,600 Spanish Milled dollars, the famous Pieces of Eight or 143,640 livres, almost half of the 300,000 livres left in his treasury, was all Rochambeau could lend Morris to satisfy the demands of the American troops.⁴⁵¹ The effect of the French silver resonated for decades in the minds of the recipients.

"This day," 8 September 1781, wrote Major William Popham, "will be famous in the annals of History for being the first in which the Troops of the United States received one month's Pay in Specie -- all the civil and military staff are excluded. ... I cannot even obtain my pay as Captain in the Line."⁴⁵² For many a Continental soldier this was indeed the first and only times he ever received "real" money during his years of service. Private Joseph Plum Martin remembered, "we each of us received a MONTH'S PAY (sic), in specie, borrowed, as I was informed, by our French (sic) officers from the officers in the

⁴⁵⁰ Diary: September 1-5, 1781. *The Papers of Robert Morris, 1781-1784*. E. James Ferguson, ed., Vol. 2: August - September 1781 (Pittsburgh, 1975), p. 173.

⁴⁵¹ The amount is given in Morris to Lincoln, 8 September 1781. *Papers of Robert Morris*, Vol. 2, p. 220.

⁴⁵² Major William Popham, ADC, to Gov. Clinton of New York, 8 September 1781, quoted in Johnston, *Yorktown*, p. 173.

French army. This was the first that could be called money, which we had received as wages since the year '76, or that we ever did receive till the close of the war, or indeed, ever after, as wages."⁴⁵³ Private John Hudson of the First New York Regiment who had celebrated only his 13th birthday on 12 June 1781, recalled that it was at Elkton that "I received the only pay that I ever drew for my services during the war, being six French crowns, which were a part of what Robert Morris borrowed on his own credit from the French commander to supply the most urgent necessities of the soldiers. My comrades received the same amount."⁴⁵⁴

On 8 September orders went out that "The Commander in Cheafe guards, Light Troops, Genl Heasons Regt artillery Sappers & Miners & the artificiers Will imbarck as the first divison of American troops, care will be taken to keep as much as poseble Corps toghether."⁴⁵⁵ This first Division numbered around 1,450 officers and men. The combined New Jersey regiments of about 330 officers and men formed the Second American Division. There was no shipping space available for the two New York regiments, about 800 officers and men, and the Rhode Island Regiment, which were ordered to march with the French forces to Baltimore.

With most of the shipping space taken by the Continental Army, the total number of French troops embarked at head of Elk, four companies of Grenadiers, four companies of chasseurs, and about 300 men of Lauzun's infantry and artillery, numbered around 1,200 officers and men. Around 4:00 a.m. on 11 September, the small flotilla set sail for the Chesapeake. Annapolis was reached on 12 September, where unsettling news was awaiting them. De Grasse had sailed from Lynnhaven Bay on 5 September to meet a British fleet. The outcome of that naval engagement, which would also decide the fate of the land campaign, was anxiously awaited along the shores of the Chesapeake. News of de Grasse's victory reached Baltimore in the evening of 14 September and in the morning of 15 September the Continentals and the French grenadiers and chasseurs were on their way again. Around 8:00 p.m. on 19 September, 36 days after the decision to attack Cornwallis had been made, the first elements of the American Army anchored in the York River upstream from Pappahanuck. As it trickled in over the next few days, the Continental Army debarked at Archer's Hope upstream from the mouth of College Creek and marched into Williamsburg and its camp behind the College of William and Mary. The French grenadiers and chasseurs disembarked on 23 September at Burwell's Ferry a mile below the mouth of College Creek and encamped behind the Capitol.

On 9 September, even before the Head of Elk contingent was fully embarked, the remainder of the troops, between 3,800 and 4,000 Frenchmen, or still about 75% of the troops of the *expédition particulière*, including the artillery and 800 to

⁴⁵³ Martin, *Private Yankee Doodle*, pp. 222-23.

⁴⁵⁴ Hudson, "Reminiscences", *Cist's Advertiser*, 28 January 1846.

⁴⁵⁵ NARA, Record Group M 853 reel 8, vol. 52, p. 124.

1,000 Americans, had begun their march to Baltimore. Rochambeau had hoped to find enough shipping for at least two of his regiments in Baltimore but, taken aback by the questionable sea-worthiness of the craft assembled, the *baron* de Vioménil, Rochambeau's second in command, refused to embark his troops and decided to march overland to Virginia. The Americans had no such qualms and embarked at Fell's Point for Williamsburg on 16 and 17 September. Concurrently Vioménil decided to send Lauzun's close to 300 hussars ahead of the main army to Gloucester opposite Yorktown. At 5:00 a.m. on 14 September, Colonel d'Arrot and his men crossed the Patapsco River at Ferry Bar and headed for Virginia. On the evening of 15 September they crossed the Potomac at Georgetown. Dumfries, Fredericksburg and King and Queen Court House were stations on the road to Gloucester Court House, which was reached on 24 September.

In the evening of 17 September a courier reached Vioménil with the welcome news that transports from de Grasse had reached Annapolis. He immediately changed course and by 7:00 a.m. on 19 September, French troops had reached Annapolis where they set up camp on the grounds of St. John's College and (today's) US Naval Academy. Over the next few days the infantry, their baggage, as well as the field artillery embarked on the 15 vessels sent by Admiral de Grasse. As the now empty wagon train, estimated at 1,500 horses, 800 oxen, and 220 wagons by Louis Alexandre Berthier, set off for Virginia, the *Romulus* of 74 guns, the frigates *Gentile*, *Diligente*, *l'Aigrette*, the captured British frigates *Iris* and *Richmond*, and nine transports, sailed for the York River in the afternoon of 21 September where they arrived only 24 hours later. By 26 September the transports were unloaded and the troops encamped at Williamsburg. Two days later, the combined armies of Washington, Rochambeau and Lafayette set out for Yorktown.

9.2 The Siege of Yorktown

Washington and Rochambeau were waiting for them. As soon as the troops had been paid, Washington on 8 September had departed from Head of Elk to Baltimore. Anxious to reach Mount Vernon after a six-year absence, Washington left Baltimore early on the 9th and reached his estate after a sixty mile ride late that same evening. Rochambeau and his staff arrived the following day. On 13 September, the two generals continued their journey, reaching Williamsburg on 15 September. A visit to Admiral De Grasse on his flagship the *Ville de Paris* followed on 18 September. Even though de Grasse had agreed to extend his stay until the end of October, the generals were eager for the siege to begin.

On 29 September, Rochambeau sent Brigadier Claude Gabriel de Choisy, with 800 men from among the infantry serving as marines on the vessels of de Grasse to assume command at Gloucester from General George Weedon. This brought the allied forces there to about 2,900 men. Much to the surprise of the allies Cornwallis abandoned his outer defenses without a fight on 30 September. Three

days later, on 3 October, the *duc* de Lauzun with about 500 men of his legion, half of them mounted hussars supported by Lieutenant Colonel John Mercer's Select Battalion of the Virginia militia, crossed swords with some 240 horse of Lieutenant-Colonel Banastre Tarleton's British Legion and 350 infantry of the 23rd Royal Welsh Fusiliers. Both sides claimed victory but Lauzun had remained master of the battlefield. Choisy pushed his advance posts to within one mile of Gloucester, where they stayed for the remainder of the siege, effectively confining Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Dundas's garrison of around 1,100 men to its position at Gloucester Point.

American Army	
Continentals:	350 officers and 5,500 men (return of 9/26/1781; incl. 411 sick)
Militia:	3,300 officers and men
	→ 9,150 Americans
French Army	
Rochambeau's Forces:	425 officers and 4,500 men (return of 11/11/81; incl. 423 sick)
St. Simon's Forces:	225 officers and 3,300 men
	→ 9,250 French (incl. 800 Marines) ⁴⁵⁶
French Navy	
French Marines:	5,200 officers and men (minus about 800 Marines at Gloucester)
Ship crews:	24,000 officers and men (18,000 de Grasse, 6,000 Barras)
British Forces (plus German Auxiliaries and American Loyalists)	
8.885 effectives plus 840 naval personnel = about 9,700 rank and file on 9/15/81	
7,247 rank and file (4,750 fit for duty) plus 840 men naval personnel surrender	
Total: 8,100 rank and file. Most of the missing 1,600 men are casualties.	

Across the river in Yorktown the First Parallel was dug on 6 October at about 500 to 600 yards from British defenses, and on 9 October, French siege guns opened up on Cornwallis' troops. The completion of the Second Parallel closer to Yorktown was blocked by two detached earthen forts called Redoubts 9 and 10, located 400 yards in advance of the British inner defenses on the extreme right of the siege line. On 14 October, Allied artillery bombarded Redoubts 9 and 10 for most of the day, preparing them for the American and French assaults. That evening, American Light infantry under Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Hamilton took Redoubt No. 10 while French grenadiers of the Gatinais and Royal Deux-Ponts regiments carried No. 9. The capture of these redoubts enabled the besiegers to finish the Second Parallel and to construct the Grand American Battery within point blank range of the British inner defense line. On 16 October Cornwallis launched a morning attack, temporarily seizing two French batteries. That evening he attempted to ferry his troops across the York River to Gloucester Point, but a storm disrupted the operation. The following day, 17 October, a British drummer beat for a parley. On 18 October, two British officers, one

⁴⁵⁶ These 800 "marines" were infantry detachments drawn from the line regiments Picardie, Colonel-Général, Brie, Bresse, Maine, La Sarre, Bourbon, Monsieur, d'Angoumois, and Rohan for service as marines on board de Grasse's fleet rather than men from France's regular naval infantry.

American and one French officer met at the home of Augustine Moore to negotiate surrender terms. Washington granted them the same honors of war allowed Lincoln at Charleston the previous year. Around 2:00 p.m. on 19 October 1781, the British troops with their Loyalist American and German allies, colors cased and beating a British march, marched out of Yorktown to lay down their arms. On 27 October, St. Simon's troops began to re-embark, and on 4 November de Grasse, who never set foot on the American mainland, sailed out of Lynnhaven Bay for Fort Royal on Martinique.

It did not take long for news of the victory to reach New Jersey. Everyone celebrated according to his, or her, own style. Robert Livingston received the news in Philadelphia on 21 October, and sent out polite and formal letters congratulating his friends on the victory.⁴⁵⁷ Annis Boudinot was moved to poetry and wrote *Lucinda and Aminta, a Pastoral, on the Capture of Lord Cornwallis and the British army by General Washington*.⁴⁵⁸ The militia had no use for poems and celebrated the victory in its own memorable way. In his pension application, 95-year-old Christopher Vanarsdall, an orderly sergeant in Captain Cornelius Lott's Company of the Somerset County, New Jersey Militia, well remembered the celebrations.

"In the year 1781-2 he was frequently called out and served some times two or three weeks and some times less, in this situation we continued from 81 untill the Surrender of [Corn]Wallis at Little york in Va, when he was called upon by Capt. Lott upon hearing the good news to notify the men in the district to meet at Sommersett old Court-house to rejoyce, we all met and burnt all the tar barrels we could get, he well recollects that Capt. Lott got so drunk that he was unable to stand up, he laid down and beat yankee doodle with his elbows."⁴⁵⁹

On 27 October, St. Simon's troops began to re-embark, and on 4 November de Grasse' fleet sailed out of Lynnhaven Bay for Fort Royal on Martinique, where it arrived on 26 November 1781. The Continental Army too left for the north almost immediately after the siege was over. The Delaware detachment of about 85 men received orders to join General Greene in North Carolina. General Washington, who had received word of the death of his stepson, set off on his own route, which took him to Philadelphia. The New York and New Jersey Lines together with Moses Hazen's and the Rhode Island Regiment began to prepare for the march north.

⁴⁵⁷ An example is in Robert Livingston to John Stevens, NJHS, MG 409 Box 12 folder 6.

⁴⁵⁸ NJHS, MG 1221. Boudinot sent the pastoral to Washington, who on 22 July 1782 thanked her with a very flattering letter from Philadelphia.

⁴⁵⁹ NARA Collection M-804, Pension and Bounty Land Application Files, No. S32567.

36b. Lucinda and Aminta, a pastoral, on the capture of
Lord Cornwallis and the british army,
by General Washington.¹¹⁴

Scene,

A beautiful and spacious green
With shepherd's hamlets here and there,
And tufts of trees dispers'd between
Loaded with bounties of the year.
Here shady elms and apple groves, 5
With burnish'd fruit hang bending down;
While a fine view the scene improves,
Of a neat pleasant country town.
This spot enclos'd by verdant meads,
Thro' which there runs a murmuring stream, 10
Whose winding current thro' the reeds,
Dances to Cynthia's silver beam.¹¹⁵

Argument.

The news arrives of the surrender of Lord Cornwallis and his army to General Washington.¹¹⁶ A shepherdess who tends her sheep in a more retired part, hearing some demonstrations of joy, comes hastily to her friend and enquires the reason; which leads them into a conversation on the several events that had occurred since the begining of the war.—

Aminta.

Why is the village fill'd with general joy?
Why are the hamlets deck'd with wreaths of flowers?
Unusual pleasure gladdens every eye, 15
And social mirth resounds from all the bowers.

Figure 3.1: Annis Boudinot Stockton, "Lucinta and Aminta, a pastoral, on the capture of Lord Cornwallis and the british army, by General Washington." In: *Only for the Eye of a Friend. The Poems of Annis Boudinot Stockton* Carla Mulford, ed., (Charlottesville and London, 1995), pp. 106-112.

Deep in the shade of yon sequester'd dale,
I feed my flock, beside the purling rill,
Nor hear what tidings o'er our land prevail,
To cause our shepherds so much glee to feel. 20

Lucinda.
Nor to the shepherds is the joy confin'd,
Our maids and matrons keep this holiday.
Such glorious news! Cornwallis has resign'd
The british host to our great leader's sway.

Aminta.
'Tis glorious news indeed! Now play my lambs, 25
And frisk in sportive gambols o'er the green;
While we my friend beneath these spreading elms,
Will sit and talk of this surprizing scene.

Lucinda.
What time the sun in many an annual round,
Had brought the distant period to it's birth, 30
That empire travelling westward, sudden found
The clime to end his destiny on earth.
Then discord enter'd in the british court,
And threw a mist of error o'er the state,
The senate sworn it's freedom to support, 35
Stupid and blind urg'd on the nation's fate.¹¹⁷

Aminta
But first they try'd beneath our western sky,
To fix their tyrant monarch's galling chain;
Our shepherds spurn'd the yoke, to arms did fly,
And stain'd with hostile blood the virgin plain. 40
But ah! the painful conflict they endur'd,
Between the love of liberty and life,
And dread of ev'ry evil which assur'd
Must be their lot in such unequal strife.

Lucinda.
And drove by cruel treatment to despair, 45
They found resistance was their only plan,
Reverted back to Nature's pristine year,

Figure 3.2: Annis Boudinot Stockton, "Lucinta and Aminta, a pastoral, on the capture of Lord Cornwallis and the british army, by General Washington." In: *Only for the Eye of a Friend. The Poems of Annis Boudinot Stockton* Carla Mulford, ed., (Charlottesville and London, 1995), pp. 106-112.

When first society was form'd by man;
 That taught them from themselves redress to find,
 And choose protectors for their injur'd laws, 50
 They meet in crouds the sacred compact bind,¹¹⁸
 And bending low to heav'n refer their cause.

Aminta.

There goes a legend on these rural plains,
 That when the chiefs in solemn congress met,
 To ponder on their wrongs and find the means 55
 To free their country from impending fate.
 A lucid cloud broke in and fill'd the place,
 When lo, a radiant form conspicuous stood,
 Array'd in female majesty and grace,
 And shone confess'd the genius of this wood. 60
 My sons, she said, the awful die is thrown,
 The scale of empire trembles on the beam;
 To you 'tis given to cast the ballance down,
 And deck your Country with immortal fame.
 But one of you devoted now by fate, 65
 (Within this circle stands) to bear a load
 Which my prophetick tongue dreads to relate
 Nor could he stand unless upheld by GOD.
 But power supreme shall guard this heroes head,
 And steel his heart with fortitude divine— 70
 Shall form him fit your mixed bands to lead,
 And from confusion bring forth discipline.
 His manners gentle and his mind serene—
 His soul with martial ardor early fired;
 While native dignity shines thro' his mien, 75
 Lov'd by his friends and by his foes admir'd.
 This said, the chiefs with pleasing wonder struck,
 Look'd round the room to find this favor'd son,
 When from the shining mist the Genius broke,
 And to the fathers led her Washington. 80

Lucinda.

And then began the most amazing scene,
 That e'er tradition to our grandsires told:
 Oh! for the pipe of that renowned swain,

Figure 3.3: Annis Boudinot Stockton, "Lucinta and Aminta, a pastoral, on the capture of Lord Cornwallis and the british army, by General Washington." In: *Only for the Eye of a Friend. The Poems of Annis Boudinot Stockton* Carla Mulford, ed., (Charlottesville and London, 1995), pp. 106-112.

Who sung on *mantuan plains* of heroes bold,¹¹⁹
 Then would we sing by turns such deeds atchiev'd 85
 At Boston, Bunker's hill and Hudson's side,¹²⁰
 Which when we heard, our shepherds scarce believ'd,
 For foes internal ev'ry fact denied¹²¹
 But Washington o'er every foe prevail'd
 To gain each point which he so hard essay'd 90
 While they with vet'ran armies quit the field,
 And he encountering every hardship staid.
 Their ships convey them round to Hudson's stream,
 Where he by painful marches soon arrives—
 Renders abortive every sanguine scheme,¹²² 95
 And takes the forfeit of a thousand lives.¹²³

Aminta

But now the tempest blackens o'er his head,
 Sore beats the storm against our hero's breast,
 His troops discharg'd, from every quarter fled,
 And all his bulwarks by the foe possess'd. 100
 So I have seen a venerable oak,
 Resist the efforts of each howling blast;
 Tho' o'er it's root the angry surges broke;
 It brav'd their fury to the very last.

Lucinda.

Oh! I remember well that gloomy day, 105
 When on these fields our flying camp appear'd;
 Despair and hunger usher'd in their way,
 And pale distress in every aspect star'd.
 Then came our guardian with a chosen few,
 Collected in himself he calmly stood,— 110
 Bear up, he said, the contest we'll renew.¹²⁴
 And make misfortune terminate in good.
 The night came on, the battle sword was drawn
 In close array, the glimmering lights around;
 The soldiers anxious for the early dawn, 115
 Loaded with arms lay watching on the ground.
 When lo their *general* starts a deep design
 To seize the Hessian camp without delay,

Figure 3.4: Annis Boudinot Stockton, "Lucinta and Aminta, a pastoral, on the capture of Lord Cornwallis and the british army, by General Washington." In: *Only for the Eye of a Friend. The Poems of Annis Boudinot Stockton* Carla Mulford, ed., (Charlottesville and London, 1995), pp. 106-112.

Which lock'd in riot's arms then lay supine,
 Nor dream'd of danger on a festal day. 120
 His plan succeeds; the trembling captives cry
 For mercy at his hand; nor cry in vain:
 The gentlest treatment follow'd victory;
 The bravest spirits always most humane.
 Tho winters stern attillery poud forth hail 125
 And delaware was foaming to the sky
 They stemd the torrent met the boisterous gale
 And turn'd the morning sorrow into Joy

Aminta.

What next surpris'd us was the fam'd retreat,
 Round Derwent's stream to Princeton's verdant height: 130
 While at the distance of that shady seat,
 Four times our number lay prepar'd for fight.—125
 Deceiv'd by fires which did our camp surround,
 'Till hearing cannon thunder from afar,
 Amazement dire their counsels all confound, 135
 And add new terrors to the din of war.

Lucinda.

But our triumphant leader gain'd the hills
 On Raritan's meandering silver stream;
 Secures his camp and each attack repels,
 Till vict'ry, doubtful long, declares for him. 140
 Tho' often now a low'ring cloud will rise,
 Like Brandewine and Germantown's defeat,¹²⁶
 To keep our ardent minds in equal poize;
 Yet Burgoine's fate we never can forget,
 Wild as a roaring torrent from the north 145
 Replete with arrogance and proud disdain,
 He sends his cruel, savage allies forth,
 With proclamations foolish as prophane.
 But he that universal nature sways,
 And views the nations from his holy throne, 150
 The vaunter stop'd, and hedg'd about his ways,
 And made the vengeance threaten'd as his own.

Figure 3.5: Annis Boudinot Stockton, "Lucinta and Aminta, a pastoral, on the capture of Lord Cornwallis and the british army, by General Washington." In: *Only for the Eye of a Friend. The Poems of Annis Boudinot Stockton* Carla Mulford, ed., (Charlottesville and London, 1995), pp. 106-112.

Aminta.

When good Maecenas¹²⁷ in those peaceful shades
Was wont in rural elegance to dwell;
How he'd have sung of these heroic deeds, 155
Which we in homely phrase can only tell!
But ah! such themes for us are far too high;
To feed the flocks and keep the hamlet neat,
To spread the web beneath a show'ry sky
The line of life to us prefix'd by fate. 160

Lucinda.

And well, my friend, wise nature has assign'd
To us such different lots, tis very plain
Tho not the sex of men, the same in mind
We all are links of the great mystic chain.
And sure, to view with reason's mental eye, 165
The harvest rich, of freedom's glorious reign,
Must make our bosoms beat with rapturous joy,
Since 'tis by us it must descend to men.
But hark Aminta! now the songs begin
The ruddy Nymphs as sparkling as the sun, 170
In rosy chaplets deck'd responsive sing
The deeds of their beloved Washington.
Then join the dance, nor be the joy confin'd
And with the shepherds keep this holiday,
Such glorious news! Cornwallis has resign'd 175
The british host to our great leader's sway,

Song by the shepherdesses.

Bring now ye Muses from th'Aonian grove,
The wreath of vict'ry which the sisters wove,
Wove and laid up in Mars' most awful fane¹²⁸
To crown our hero, on Virginia's plain. 180
See from Castalia's sacred font¹²⁹ they haste—
And now already on his brow 'tis plac'd—
The trump of fame aloud proclaims the joy—
And *Washington is crown'd* reechoes to the sky.
Illustrious name, thy valour now has broke 185
Oppression's galling chain, and took the yoke
From off thy bleeding country—set her free,
And every heart with transport beats for thee.

Figure 3.6: Annis Boudinot Stockton, Lucinta and Aminta, a pastoral, on the capture of Lord Cornwallis and the british army, by General Washington." In: *Only for the Eye of a Friend. The Poems of Annis Boudinot Stockton* Carla Mulford, ed., (Charlottesville and London, 1995), pp. 106-112.

—For thee, Rochambeau, Gallia's vet'ran chief
 Sent by fair freedom's friend to her relief.¹³⁰ 190
 An arch triumphal shall the muse decree,
 And Heroes yet unborn shall copy thee.
 Our lisping infants shall pronounce thy name
 In songs our virgins shall repeat thy fame,
 And taught by thee the art of war, our swains 195
 Shall dye with british blood Columbia's plains.
 Viominells heroic brothers too
 Join'd in the lists of fame with Chateleau¹³¹
 Unfading garlands now await for you.
 And all the noble youth who in your train, 200
 In search of glory cross'd th'atlantic main.
 Blest with sweet peace in sylvan shades retir'd,
 Our future bards by your great deeds inspir'd,
 In tuneful verse shall hand this Æra down,
 And your lov'd names with grateful honours crown. 205

[October-November 1781; MS, NjHi (hand not ABS), also NjP; "Song by the
 Shepherdeses" printed as "On Hearing . . . of the Capture of Lord Cornwallis"
 in *New-Jersey Gazette*, November 28, 1781, 2, No. 36a]

Figure 3.7: Annis Boudinot Stockton, "Lucinta and Aminta, a pastoral, on the
 capture of Lord Cornwallis and the british army, by General Washington." In:
Only for the Eye of a Friend. The Poems of Annis Boudinot Stockton Carla
 Mulford, ed., (Charlottesville and London, 1995), pp. 106-112.

THE RETURN MARCH OF THE CONTINENTAL ARMY

10.1 Return March of the Continental Army: The Light Infantry Regiment

→ All resources for the return march of the Light Infantry are numbered as Resources 110 through 116 in Appendix B and C.

The journey of the troops who took the waterway to Elkton, i.e., the Light Infantry, artillery and Sappers and Miners, and was determined by the availability of water craft and the vagaries of wind and weather. Rather than as a compact complement, they made their way north from Elkton leisurely, to judge from the times that the marches began in the morning. What they all have in common, however, is that they followed the French army route of August 1781 as they marched across New Jersey. Among the first to leave was Colonel Elias Dayton, who recorded in his Diary on 1 November. "Left York in a Schooner called the Rachel, with a number of Shels & about 40 sick on boards. After a disagreeable passage of seven days arrived at the Head of Elk."⁴⁶⁰ The Light Infantry, the artillery and the artificers also began to embark in the days after 1 November for the journey to Head of Elk

A detailed itinerary is preserved in the journal of Lieutenant Ebenezer Wild of the Light Infantry, who had boarded the schooner *Liberty* with a detachment of invalids in Yorktown on Friday, 2 November 1781.⁴⁶¹ On 18 November "a little after dusk" he and his men landed and marched into Trenton. On the 19th they "Drew six days allowance of provisions. About 10 o'clk A. M. we began our march for Prince Town [Princeton] where we arrived about sundown. After getting our men into quarters (which were the public house of the town), I walked with Capt. Bradford to a tavern known by the sign of Hudebrass [Hudibras], where we put up for the night." On 20 November the detachment began its march at 9:00 a.m. via Millstone to Somerset, where it camped. Leaving at 9:00 a.m., Wild on 21 November marched to Basking Ridge, where the men spent the night. On the 22nd they began their march at 8:00 a.m. and reached Morristown "about 10 o'clk P.M., and took billets for our men about one mile & an half North of the town." The 23rd was a rest day, and on 24 November they made camp 10 miles from Morristown. The following day, 25 November, they marched three hours to Pompton, "where we halted for the day, it being very stormy. I took quarters with Capt. Bradford at Mr. Van Gilders." The 26th was again a rest day, mostly due to the bad weather, but on 27 November they left for King's Ferry and crossed the Hudson on the 29th. Finally, on 8 December, "The Light Infantry arrived in camp, and joined their respective Brigades and Regiments".

⁴⁶⁰ New Jersey Historical Society, Elias Dayton Papers, MG 94. The diary ends with that sentence.

⁴⁶¹ "Journal of Ebenezer Wild", *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings* Second Series, No. 6, (Boston, 1891), pages 78 - 160, p. 156.

Due to bad weather it was already 20 November 1781, two weeks after his departure from Virginia on 4 November that Thacher and his Light Infantry regiment began the process of debarkation at Elkton. After an outbreak of smallpox on board the frigate along the way they had been forced to land several officers and about 80 soldiers "liable to receive the infection" at the Virginia shore. They received orders "to march round by land". At Elkton "we met with our horses," and on 24 November, Dr. Thacher and the artillery began their march north. They crossed the Delaware River without stopping.⁴⁶² "Philadelphia, Trenton, Princeton, Bonbrook (Bound Brook) and Morristown" were past in quick succession. On 7 December, Thacher crossed the Hudson at King's Ferry. Next the Light Infantry moved into huts "erected the last winter by some of the Massachusetts troops, a short distance from the banks of the Hudson, and called New Boston; they afford us a very convenient and comfortable accommodation."⁴⁶³

Concurrently with Thacher marched Thomas Graton of the Company of Artificers, who left a similarly detailed itinerary as he followed the Light Infantry route to the Hudson.⁴⁶⁴ Having reached Philadelphia on 28 November, "Ye 29 marched nigh Trenton Ferry & encamped. Ye 30 Crost the Ferry to Trenton and past the town one mile and encamped. December ye 1 marched one mile and encamped. Ye 2 marched Madenhead. Princetown & took ye left hand Road to Rockey hills & milstone. Sumerset & encamped. Ye 3 marched to midles Brook Bridgewater & Bareskin Ridge & encamped nigh wheir Gen. Lee was made Prisoner. Ye 4 marched to Morristown & Troy & encamped. Ye 5 marched to Hannovah, Pumpton & encamped. Ye 6 marched Rammapool & encamped. Ye 7 marched to the Clove and encamped."

On 26 December, Graton received his discharge in Newburgh and returned home to Massachusetts.⁴⁶⁵

⁴⁶² Thacher, *Military Journal*, p. 303. Thacher and his unit sailed on the French frigate *Diligence*.

⁴⁶³ Thacher, *Journal*, p. 301.

⁴⁶⁴ Pension application of Thomas Graton, NARA W 14824, 34 p., Aug. 1, 1767-Sept. 29, 1790, roll 1110, frames 302-325.

⁴⁶⁵ That these troops were not immune to illegal foraging is evident from a certificate issued to Robert Bolmer for "appraising & estimating the damages done by the army on their march from Virginia to the North River on the farms of Ind (?) & Roelof Sebring in Decr 1781 - 7/ each p day." The receipt, No. 10.901, is in John Neilson Papers ... kept as DQM for NJ, 1780-1782, Special Collections, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, Ac 589. Sebring lived in the Raritan River Valley near New Brunswick.

10.2 Return March of the Continental Army: Second Continental Artillery Regiment

→ All resources for the return march of the Second Continental Artillery Regiment are numbered as Resources 117 and 118 in the Appendix B and C.

Upon reaching Philadelphia, Colonel Lamb's Second Continental Artillery and Joseph Plum Martin's Sappers and Miners, which had also taken the sea route, remained behind and were quartered in the Barracks for about two weeks.⁴⁶⁶ From there, they marched on 5 December to Bristol. Here they crossed the Delaware to Burlington, where they arrived on 7 December.⁴⁶⁷ While Lamb's artillery took their winter quarters in the barracks, "our corps of Miners were quartered in a large elegant house which had formerly been the residence of the Governor when the state was a British province."⁴⁶⁸

In anticipation of their arrival, Pickering had sent Robert Morris on 10 December a list of supplies needed for the troops. Since there was not enough space in Burlington for the horses of the artillery, Pickering suggested that they be into the "country to be wintered, Colo Neilson will place [the horses] out among the farmers back of Burlington."⁴⁶⁹ Pickering listed the supplies for those who remained in Burlington as:

Forage for 20 Horses 20 days 3 Tuns hay @ 70/	£ 10.10
150 bushels Oats @ 1/9	£ 13. 2.6
14 horses 10 days 1 Tun hay	£ 3.10
52 1/2 bush Oats	£ 4.11.10 1/2
Wood for the Officers & 300 Men 40 cords @ 20/ p cord	£ 40
	=====
Trenton 11 Decr 1781	£ 71.14. 4 1/2

⁴⁶⁶ The barracks in Philadelphia, built after Braddock's defeat in 1755, extended from Second to Third Street and St. Tammany to Green Street. The Parade Ground fronted Second Street, the officer's quarters were on Third Street. They were torn down after the Revolutionary War. Joseph Plum Martin described them as "very commodious. They were two stories high, with a gallery their whole length, and an ample parade in front; they were capable of sheltering two or three thousand men." *Private Yankee Doodle*, p. 246.

⁴⁶⁷ *Private Yankee Doodle*, p. 246. It marched to the Hudson in August 1782. The barracks in Burlington, built in 1758/59, were located on East Broad Street at Assicunk Creek. The Knights of Columbus currently occupy the site.

⁴⁶⁸ Green Bank, the estate of Gov. William Franklin, son of Benjamin Franklin and last Royal Governor of New Jersey, on the banks of the Delaware, no longer exists. The Sappers and Miners departed from Burlington for the Hudson in May 1782.

⁴⁶⁹ Pickering Papers vol. 28, p. 225.

A list of officers allowed at this time to have horses with the park of Artillery at Burlington shows this tabulation:

No of Horses	No of Horses necessary in Winterquart's
2 Colo Lamb	
2 Lt. Colo Stevens	
2 Major Bowman	
10 Captains of Artillery	
1 Adjutant	
1 Regtl quarter master	
1 Capt. Of Artificers	1
1 Brigade Qr Master	1
1 Waggon Conductor	1
1 forage master	
1 brigade commissary	
===	
23	
2 Genl Knox & aid (now at Philada)	
Major Doubty Inspector (do)	

Col. Lamb's Artillery Regiment marched to the Highlands in August 1782.⁴⁷⁰

The remainder of the Continental Army, i.e., the two New York Regiments, the New Jersey Line, Moses Hazen's Canadians and the Rhode Island Regiment, were charged with accompanying the prisoners to the north. They departed from Yorktown in the days after Sunday, 4 November, as well.

Anticipating their arrival, DQMG Neilson hired workmen and distributed materials "for repairing the Public buildings and repairing & fixing the Barricks at this place for a Hospital".⁴⁷¹ On 8 November, he receipted delivery of 250 bundles straw for sick in barracks," and on 30 November 1781", John Creamer Carpenter at this place" received 861 feet pine Scantling, 17 large pieces Scantling, 27 ½ lbs nails" for additional work in the barracks. On 15 February 1782 he received another "114 Feet scantling, 1782 Feet pine boards, 800 Feet cedar, 6 Shingles, 36 Lights Glass, 43 lbs Nails, 1 Barrell Tarr," though it is not clear whether this was for the hospital in the barracks or not.

⁴⁷⁰ Its Orderly Book for the time from 7 December 1781 to 4 February 1782, is preserved in the New-York Historical Society, microfilm: #152; reel 15.

⁴⁷¹ John Neilson, Papers ... kept as DQM for NJ, 1780-1782, Box 2, Account Book beginning Trenton, 25 Sept. 1780 to 4 October 1782. Special Collections, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, Ac 589.

10.3 Return March of the Continental Army: Moses Hazen's Canadian Regiment and the Rhode Island Regiment

→ Moses Hazen's Canadian Regiment and the Rhode Island Regiment did not enter New Jersey in the winter of 1781/1782

Upon arrival in Philadelphia, Moses Hazen's regiment branched off toward its winter quarters in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, where it performed duties guarding British prisoners. The Rhode Island regiment remained quartered in the barracks in Philadelphia. They did not leave their winter quarters until late May, when the "Account of Public Ferriages" provided by Hugh Runyan on 31 May ferried "470 men Rhode Island Regt" for £ 2 18/9 across the Delaware. Eight four-horse waggons paid £ 1 10/, 7 horses 2/7.⁴⁷²

10.4 Return March of the Continental Army: The New York Regiments

→ All resources for the return march of the New York Regiments are numbered as Resources 119 through 125 in Appendix B and C.

As they returned north, the regiments once again had to cross the ferry in Trenton to get to New Jersey. Since Neilson had no more funds in November 1781 that he had had in September, the "Account of Public Persons e& Transported across the Delaware at the old Ferry by Hugh Runyan" provides an fascinating insight into the return flow of men and personnel from the 1781 campaign. On 10 November Dr. Bodo Otto arrived at the ferry with one horse. On 30 November 1781, Washington's secretary Jonathan Trumbull arrived "with 1 chaise and three horses" and was charged 2/4 for the crossing.⁴⁷³

The next day the troops began to arrive in force, and Neilson's expenses rose considerably. On 1 December he crossed "681 foot [soldiers] 15 four-horse waggons 4 two-horse waggons 75 saddle horses 21 eight Ox teams (Bay State) £ 12 18/3d".⁴⁷⁴

⁴⁷² "Account of Public Ferriages" by Hugh Runyan in folder: Official papers ca. 1780-1782, in John Neilson, Papers ... kept as DQM for NJ, 1780-1782, Box 2, Account Book beginning Trenton, 25 Sept. 1780 to 4 October 1782. Special Collections, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, Ac 589. On 16 April, John Rogers and 75 men of regiment had already crossed, another 26 men belonging to RI Regiment crossed on 4 June. On 4 May, 25 soldiers had crossed from Elizabethtown to Philadelphia, and on 24 April, Lieutenant Beckham had crossed with 56 recruits for the regiment. No ferry account for the 1781 crossing has been found, though certificate No. 8082 for the ferrying in 1781 over £15.0.7 or 1/4 of the total cost, is in John Neilson, Papers ... kept as DQM for NJ, 1780-1782, Box 2, Account Book beginning Trenton, 25 Sept. 1780 to 4 October 1782. Special Collections, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, Ac 589.

⁴⁷³ The ferry account is also in John Neilson, Papers ... kept as DQM for NJ, 1780-1782, Box 2, Account Book beginning Trenton, 25 Sept. 1780 to 4 October 1782. Special Collections, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, Ac 589.

⁴⁷⁴ These were the troops of the Light Infantry and the artificers.

On 3 December, Lieutenant Colonel Barber certified that "about 600 men of the Jersey line under my command with seventeen four horse and ox teams and twelve riding horses" crossed the old ferry at a cost of £ 7 3/3d.

On 5 December, he crossed "345 foot, 16 four-horse waggons 1 Chase 32 Saddle horses 4 Cattle (York State)" for £ 6 8/4 minus 8/9 for errors. The Second New York Regiment of "520 men 14 four-horse teams, 12 riding horses" crossed at a cost to the public of "£ 3 5/ + £ 2 12/6d + 3/6."

The itineraries of the regiments bear out Runyan's account. Samuel Tallmadge and his Second New York regiment had received 440 prisoners on 3 November, and began the march north at 5:00 a.m. the next day. By 11 November, they reached Fredericksburg, and delivered the prisoners "to an officer of the Virginia militia".⁴⁷⁵ By 17 November they had reached Georgetown, and on Friday, 30 November camped at Christina Bridge in Delaware. The following day, 1 December, the troops completed their crossing of Delaware and camped at Marcus Hook in Pennsylvania.⁴⁷⁶ From there they continued their march through Chester and Darby and camped four miles north of Philadelphia on 2 and 3 December 1781.

On the evening of the 3rd, the four New York and New Jersey regiments camped at Lower Dublin in Pennsylvania. On the evening of the 4th, they were about two miles from the Trenton Ferry. In his *Revolutionary War Memoir*, Van Cortlandt partly confirmed this scenario when he remembered how he was in charge of the New York and New Jersey Brigades delivering 700 prisoners to the Virginia Militia in Fredericksburg. From there he continued his march to "Trenton in New Jersie where the troops of that State left me." As Runyan's ferry account shows, this meant that the New Jersey Line had marched ahead and crossed into New Jersey on 3 December already. Two days later, on 5 December 1781, the New York Line crossed the Delaware as well and "Encamped one mile from town". Retracing the route they had taken a few months earlier (and possibly following two days behind the New Jersey Line), the New York regiments marched through Princeton on 6 December. That night they encamped "near Genl Herds" i.e., General Nathaniel Heard.⁴⁷⁷ On 7 December, the New York regiments "Continued our march to Rariton River Steels Gap Near Bown Brook [i.e., Bound Brook] and Encamped".⁴⁷⁸ "Steels Gap" probably "Steeles Tavern" which is marked on Erskine map No. 55 in NYHS. This means that the New York troops marched towards the southbound French route of August 1781 on the south side of the first Wachung. Their camp could either be that of the Virginia Troops of 1778/79 to the west of the Middlebrook Gap or the Maryland Camp of 1778/9 to the east of the Gap.

⁴⁷⁵ Egly, *First New York*, p. 210.

⁴⁷⁶ Tallmadge, *Journal*, p. 767.

⁴⁷⁷ Tallmadge, *Journal*, p. 768. "Genl Herds" has not been identified.

⁴⁷⁸ The campsite at "Steels Gap" near Bound Brook has not been identified.

On 8 December, the regiments marched "to the half moon Tavern and Encamped". That entry means that rather than follow the route the First New York had taken in August 1781, the two regiments at Millstone chose the route taken by the French and the Second New York Regiment to the campsite Van Cortlandt had used on the march to Yorktown, since on 30 August, Tallmadge's *Diary* had recorded that the regiment "struck Camp at day breake and proceeded on to Morristown there halted, from thence to the half moon [tavern] and Encamped."⁴⁷⁹ On 9 December, the units marched to a camp on Rockaway River where they waited out a snowstorm on 10 December. By the time Pompton was reached on 11 December, the columns stopped moving, "the snow being about Eight Inches Deep." For the next few days the regiments "lay by", but on 14 December, they "moved on to their Hutting Ground at Pequanneck." On 23 December, Tallmadge moved into his hut where he spent the rest of the winter. The New York regiments remained around Pequannok/Pompton well into the summer of 1782 before they marched to Peekskill for the meeting with the French army in September.

Van Cortlandt again is partly correct when he remembered that "I continued my march with the N. York Brigade to Pumpton where I commenced to make Hutts for our Winter accomodation."⁴⁸⁰ Rather than stay in a hut, however, the Colonel made his headquarters in the Curtis' Tavern, better known as Yellow House. Here he hosted General and Mrs. Washington who arrived at the tavern headquarters on Thursday, 28 March 1782, and remained there until Sunday morning when they set out for Newburgh via Ringwood.⁴⁸¹

Almost immediately problems with the local populations began as well. Benjamin Zabriskie of Harrington Township claimed that on 20 December 1781, Continental Army soldiers stole "one homespun fulled Coat half worn, ... three Waist Coats half worn, . Seven pair of Pillow Cases at 7/6 P pair, ... one pair of Mittins, ... one Watchcoat half worn, ... one Jackit and Britches New homespun fuld, ... three new Shirts, ... Sixteen half Worn Dt., ... two wollen Sheets New, ... two hankercheifs New, ... two pair of Shoes New, ... two pair of Linnen Stockins half Worn, ... the Last takin By the Melitia." The damage amounted to over £ 42. James Jacobus of Pequannock in Morris County had stolen in December 1781, two hogs, six sheep, seven geese, three ducks, 30 fowl and three calves valued at £ 12 13/ 6d. he blamed the Continental Army "for they were then encamped near the sd Jacobus House & the Skins of some of the creatures was found near Camp". Stephen Crane of Morris lost one beehive and 39 fowl in December 1781.⁴⁸²

⁴⁷⁹ The "Half Moon Tavern" was located about three miles south of Morristown.

⁴⁸⁰ Cortlandt, *Memoir*, p. 65.

⁴⁸¹ Cortlandt, *Memoir*, p. 65.

⁴⁸² This listing, which is by far not complete, is taken from New Jersey State Archives, RG: Legislature, Series: Inventories of Damages by the British and Americans in New Jersey, 1776-1782, Subseries: War Damages in New Jersey.

The reasons for this theft of clothing and foodstuffs becomes clear when we read in Van Cortlandt's *Memoir* that his "troops being almost destitute of Clothing, no money to purchase any". In addition they were "often scantied for Provisions and obliged to labour hard to make the Huts warm and the weather Extream cold". Sheer necessity forced the men to take into their own hands the tasks that the QMG did not, or could not, fulfill.⁴⁸³

10.5 Return March of the Continental Army: The New Jersey Regiments

→ All resources for the return march of the New Jersey Regiments are numbered as Resources 126 and 127 in Appendix B and C.

Unlike for the New York regiments, there is no source such as an Orderly Book that details the route of the two New Jersey regiments to Morristown, where they spent the winter.⁴⁸⁴ Though it is known that the New Jersey regiments were ordered "take Post somewhere in the Vicinity of Morristown", for their winter cantonment, it is unknown how they marched there or when they arrived at Morristown. But it is fair to assume that the troops accompanied and followed the route (or possibly preceded) of the two New York Regiments and quite possible that they were housed in the old Pennsylvania Line huts at Mount Kemble.

On 1 April 1782, Washington, who had spent the winter, i.e., the weeks from 26 November 1781 to 22 March 1782, in Philadelphia, arrived at his headquarters in the Jonathan Hasbrouck House in Newburgh to await the outcome of peace negotiations in Paris.⁴⁸⁵ The Continental Army too remained stationary in its quarters until August 31, when it marched to a new encampment with "its right resting on Fort Verplank's Point or Fort Lafayette"⁴⁸⁶ to wait for the French troops marching north from Virginia.

⁴⁸³ Cortlandt, *Memoir*, p. 65.

⁴⁸⁴ William S. Stryker, *The New Jersey Continental Line in the Virginia Campaign of 1781* (Trenton, 1882), p. 26. As they passed Trenton on 5 December, Neilson delivered Elias Dayton 4,000 feet pine boards, presumably for huts.

⁴⁸⁵ On 23 March 1782, "Genl Washington with coach and 7 waggons" crossed Runyan's ferry; the public was charged £1 10/. John Neilson, Papers ... kept as DQM for NJ, 1780-1782, Box 2, Account Book beginning Trenton, 25 Sept. 1780 to 4 October 1782. Special Collections, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, Ac 589.

⁴⁸⁶ Lauberdrière, *Journal*, fol. 190. The Continental Army encamped there until 28 October.

THE RETURN MARCH OF THE FRENCH ARMY, 5 TO 14 SEPTEMBER 1782

11.1 The March of Rochambeau's Infantry

→ All resources for the return march of Rochambeau's infantry are numbered as Resources 128 through 133 in Appendix B and C.

As they were about to enter winter quarters at the beginning of November, French forces in Virginia had the following strength.⁴⁸⁷

Regiment	Commanding Officer	Men
Bourbonnais	<i>marquis</i> de Montmorency-Laval	ca. 70 officers and 1,025 men, incl. 221 detached and 105 sick
Soissonnais	<i>comte</i> de Saint Maisme	ca. 70 officers and 1,044 men, incl. 28 detached and 68 sick
Saintonge	<i>comte</i> de Custine	ca. 70 officers and 1,030 men, incl. 47 detached and 69 sick
Royal Deux-Ponts	Christian <i>comte</i> de Deux-Ponts	ca. 70 officers and 1,029 men, incl. 218 detached and 129 sick
Auxonne Artillery	de la Tour	ca. 50 officers and 497 men, incl. 210 detached and 48 sick
Mineurs	Captain de Chazelles	1 officer and 22 men
Workers	de la Chaisse	1 officer and 26 men, incl. 17 detached
Lauzun's Legion	<i>duc</i> de Lauzun	Ca. 45 officers and 550 men, incl. 8 sick
Total:		Ca. 375 officers and 5,293 men, incl. 741 detached and 427 sick

The French forces spent the winter of 1781/82 in and around Williamsburg, which became the site of the Rochambeau's headquarters and his staff; Rochambeau moved into the Wythe House once Washington had departed from Williamsburg. It also provided quarters for the Bourbonnais regiment, seven companies of the Royal Deux-Ponts, and part of Auxonne artillery. Jamestown hosted the remaining three companies of the Royal Deux-Ponts. Yorktown was the site for the Soissonnais regiment, and the grenadiers and chasseurs of the Saintonge regiment; the remainder of the Saintonge was quartered at Halfway

⁴⁸⁷ The total strength of Rochambeau's forces at the beginning of the siege in September 1781, was somewhat larger once losses incurred during the siege, ca. 75 officers and men, and about 75 staff officers, aides-de-camp, officers serving *à la suite*, and support personnel are added to the total presented here.

Inspection reports for 9-12 November 1781, in Fonds Vioménil. Académie François Bourdon, Le Creusot, France. The strength for Lauzun's Legion, stationed in Gloucester, is taken from a review of 1 October 1781 in Colonies D2c32, Archives Nationales, Paris, France.

It is unknown where the 741 detached men were stationed or what duties they performed.

House (on the road from Yorktown to Hampton and Back River). This regiment relocated to Hampton in February 1782, when the Lauzun's Legion vacated Hampton for Charlotte Court House. Hampton had been the camp of Lauzun's Legion until at the request of General Greene, the Legion relocated to the North Carolina border. At the time Choisy commanded the Legion, since the *duc* de Lauzun had departed for France with news of the victory at Yorktown. The Legion remained in the vicinity of Charlotte Courthouse, Virginia, until June 1782, when it returned north, staying briefly at Petersburg before marching with the French Army back to New York and Boston.⁴⁸⁸ Gloucester was the site for a detachment of 50 men and an artillery company and there were several other scattered camps for outposts and to establish courier services. There were several scattered, isolated camps for outposts and to establish courier services, e.g., between New Kent CH, New Castle [near present Old Church], and Lynch's Tavern.

Ten months after their arrival, on July 1, 1782, Rochambeau's forces broke camp and began their return march. Organization, schedule, and campsites were almost identical to that of the previous year though this time the troops marched the whole distance rather than cover parts of the route by boat. Until Fredericksburg was reached, the infantry marched again in four divisions a day apart; thereafter they marched in brigades:

- 1) The Bourbonnais under the command of the chevalier de Chastellux
- 2) The Royal Deux-Ponts under comte Christian de Deux-Ponts
- 3) The Soissonais under the vicomte de Vioménil
- 4) The Saintonge under the comte de Custine.⁴⁸⁹

This time, the siege artillery and 150 men of the Auxonne artillery remained at West Point, Virginia, as did 400 men, 100 each from each regiment, as a garrison at Yorktown and the sick. Because of the excessive July heat, the troops frequently began their march at 1:00 a.m., marching through the night.

The first camp was at Drinking Spring from 1-4 July (present vicinity of Norge); the 2nd was about two miles south of current Barhamsville, the 3rd at "Rarcliffe House," an uncertain location between modern Barhamsville and New Kent. Camp 4 from 4-7 July was at "Hartfield", a location believed to have existed about 3 miles northwest of New Kent Court House. The next camp was at New Castle, 5-9 July, where each division had an extra rest day, so two divisions shared the camp on 6, 7, and 8 July. The community has disappeared. It is believed to have been about a mile east of the modern bridge over the Pamunkey

⁴⁸⁸ The only eyewitness account of Lauzun's Legion in the American War is the journal kept by its Lieutenant-Colonel Hugau and edited by Massoni. On the stay at Charlotte Court House see Timothy S. Ailsworth et al., *Charlotte County. Rich Indeed* (Charlotte County, 1979), pp. 118-122.

⁴⁸⁹ Maps of the campsites and itineraries, where they vary from the 1781 march, can be found in Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, Vol. 2. The route of the return march was identical with the route taken by the wagon train in 1781.

River on US 360. The next stop was Hanover town, which is also no longer on modern maps (about 10 miles southeast of Hanover Court House). On 8 July the First Division reached Little Page's Bridge, also known as Graham's House, near Hanover Court House, on the north bank of the Pamunkey. Here Lauzun's Legion joined the army and assumed the vanguard position in the march.

Burk's Bridge, also known as Kenner's Tavern, camp 8, was located to the north of the Mattaponi river, most likely in line with the present US 301. Bowling Green, 10-13 July, Charles Thornton's House, 11-14 July, about 2 miles south of present day Villboro, on State Route 2, Falmouth, on the north bank of the Rappahannock River, Payton's Tavern or Payton's Ordinary, a few miles north of present day Stafford on US 1, were the next stops before Dumfries, where French troops camped on 15-18 July on the north bank of the Quantico Creek, near modern US 1. Next came Colchester, from where some French officers, such as Lauberdière, visited Mount Vernon to meet Martha Washington.⁴⁹⁰ Alexandria, 17-20 July 1781, was the final camp of the march north in Virginia.

On 24 August, the First Division, i.e., the infantry regiment Bourbonnais, departed Baltimore for White Marsh Forge, then came the camp at Lower Ferry and camp 24 at Head of Elk. Coming from Head of Elk, the First Brigade of the French forces camped on 29 August near Newport and was followed by the Second Brigade on 30 August. Without stopping again in Delaware, the French forces crossed over into Pennsylvania on 30 and 31 August 1781.

The First Brigade entered its Camp 26 at Chester in Pennsylvania on 30 August. On the 31st, the Bourbonnais approached Philadelphia, followed by the Royal Deux-Ponts on 1 September. Once again, French forces marched through the city in their full splendor on 2 and 3 September and camped to the north of the city. Almost exactly a year to the day that they had left New Jersey, French forces reached Bristol for the night of 4/5 September and rested at Trenton on 5 and 6 September.

If observations by French officers and enlisted men about New Jersey are relatively terse for the march to Virginia, they are even shorter, and fewer, for the return march. Clermont-Crèveœur devotes a single sentence to the march: we "stayed in Trenton until the 8th. From there we departed in two divisions and arrived on the 16th at the Hudson River."⁴⁹¹

⁴⁹⁰ See Lauberdière's description of the visit in my "America the Ungrateful: The Not-So-Fond Remembrances of Louis François Dupont d'Aubevoye, comte de Lauberdière" *American Heritage* Vol. 48, No. 1, (February 1997), pp. 101-106.

⁴⁹¹ Clermont-Crèveœur, "Journal", p. 78. Rochambeau's Letterbook, vol. 11, of the Rochambeau Papers in the Library of Congress, contains not a single letter by the general written between the departure of French forces from Philadelphia and their arrival in Peekskill.

The First Division or First Brigade was again formed by the Bourbonnais and the Royal Deux-Ponts, the Second Division, which followed one day behind, was again formed by the Soissonnais and the Saintonge.

Just like for the march to the southward in 1781, French quartermasters drew sketches of the campsites, but there are no detailed route descriptions as they exist for the 1781 march. Rather the description in the official "Journal de la Campagne 1782" in the Rochambeau Papers is quite brief:

"The army crossed the Jerseys in two columns. The Legion of Lauzun under the orders of the *comte* de Dillon formed that of the right. It marched without its train and bivouaced, via Brunswick, Scotland [i.e., Scotch Plains?], Chatham, Forks [of the Passaic?] and Tortowa [sic] behind the chain of the mountains that separated it from us, from where one can discern Staten-island and New York. During which time the army marched within reach to support it as well as informed by it on the other side of the same mountains on the route it had taken the preceding year."⁴⁹²

Rochambeau's infantry did indeed take virtually the same route across New Jersey it had marched in 1781, but for once again there is conflicting information for the route taken by Lauzun's Legion. A description in chart form of the routes taken across New Jersey has the Legion camp in Trenton on 2/3 September and reach Kingston on 3 September. Here it took a four-day rest until 8 September, when it left for New Brunswick. From New Brunswick it reached Scotch Plains on 9 September and Chatham on 10 September, where it rested for a day. The following day it reached the "Forks" and on 13 September rested at Pompton Meeting House, where it joined up with the Brigade Bourbonnais consisting of the Bourbonnais and the Royal Deux-Ponts. On 14 September, these troops camped in Suffern.⁴⁹³ A look at the map not only makes it unlikely that the Legion would have gone from the Forks to Pompton via the Falls of the Passaic and Paterson. More importantly, once it had reached Pompton, the Legion would no longer have been able to fulfill its mission of covering the flank of the infantry.

A third route for the Legion is outlined by Baron Closen. Following its two day rest at Chatham, he assigns the Legion a camp site on 11/12 September 1782 at "Fock River, junction of three rivers." If Closen meant indeed the Fock River, the men of the Legion, marching and riding north on Ramapo Valley Road, turned onto what is today Glen Gray Road at the Oakland Township line to their camp at Fock River. In order to reach Paramus the next day, they would have had to back-track briefly to Fike Road, which they had passed the previous day. Another possibility is that Closen really meant the Forks of the Passaic when he wrote Fock River from where the Legion would have been on track for a camp at Paramus via the Falls of the Passaic at Totowa on 12/13 September and possibly as late as 15 September 1782.

⁴⁹² "Journal de la Campagne 1782", Rochambeau Papers, Library of Congress, vol. 5.

⁴⁹³ The "Suite de la Marche de l'Armée partant de Trenton pour se rendre à King's Ferry sur la Riviere du Nord, en trois Divisions seulement" are taken from the Rochambeau Papers in the Library of Congress, vol. 3.

Such a route also is suggested by Closen's journal entry for 14 September. Closen does not mention that the Legion joined with the First Brigade but rather writes under 14 September that "The Lauzun legion is always some miles to our right. The General [i.e., Rochambeau] while passing through Kiakia [i.e., Kakeat, modern-day New Hempstead in New York State], 7 miles from the North River, inspected a camp that the legion will occupy until the whole army has crossed this river. The position will guard the only two roads coming from the enemy's side, one along the river and the other from the region called the *Clove*."⁴⁹⁴ The date of arrival in Kakeat is unknown, but if Rochambeau inspected a camp for the Legion as late as 14 September, 15 September suggests itself the earliest date of arrival.⁴⁹⁵ Such an itinerary which took the Legion from New Brunswick to Scotch Plains, Chatham, the Forks of the Passaic/Mountain View, Totowa/Paterson and Paramus to Kakeat/New Hempstead would have best met the strategic needs of Rochambeau, but it rests on a composite of information available in different sources rather than a single account.

Only Baron Closen⁴⁹⁶ and Verger, who had sailed to Virginia in August 1781 with the artillery and who had not been to New Jersey before, are more detailed in their descriptions. On 4 September, Verger, who traveled with the Royal Deux-Ponts in the First Division, recorded "Via Bristol to the Delaware, which we crossed near Trenton - 18 miles. The artillery forded the river. We camped to the left of Trenton and stayed there three days."⁴⁹⁷ Just like literally every French visitor to Trenton, Verger too included a description of the battle of Trenton in his account as well as observations on the local population: "Trenton marks the beginning of the Jerseys, which used to belong to the Dutch. Most of the inhabitants speak nothing but Dutch to one another. In my opinion New Jersey is one of the most fertile and best cultivated provinces to be seen."

Travelling in brigades on the same route that had taken them to Virginia and frequently using the same campsite, the first Brigade marched to Princeton on the 7th. Here Verger, again like all other accounts, enclosed a description of the College, which he visited, and informed his reader that "from behind the college one has a superb view of the surrounding country, which is very rich and well cultivated."

Somerset Courthouse [i.e., Millstone] was reached on the 8th, though without crossing it at Griggstown. "A new passage was opened up along the Millstone River, which was on our right all the way."⁴⁹⁸ Private Flohr described Somerset Court House as "a little town in a pleasant area; in this region one seen a multitude of apple trees; the *Seyder* or apple wine is very cheap there. We set up our camp very close to the little town and were completely surrounded by apple

⁴⁹⁴ Acomb, *Closen*, p. 239.

⁴⁹⁵ Lauzun's Legion did not cross the Hudson until 19 September. Acomb, *Closen*, p. 241.

⁴⁹⁶ For Closen's account see the following photocopies taken from Acomb, *Closen*, pp. 234-238.

⁴⁹⁷ Verger, "Journal", p. 163. The French camped on the same spot they had camped on in 1781.

⁴⁹⁸ Acomb, *Closen*, p. 235.

trees." Here, wrote Verger, "the grenadiers and chasseurs were detached to march ahead and take up advantageous positions on the flanks of the army".⁴⁹⁹ Next came Bullion's Tavern on the 9th, and then Whippany on 10 September. Here, wrote Verger, "we were only 16 miles from Staten Island, where the nearest enemy posts are located. While I was on guard duty at headquarters, I talked with an Indian who was carrying a letter from Fort Pitt to the President of Congress. He had his ears slit, like all the men of his tribe. I was invited to a party at the house of a Danish gentleman who had lived in this country for the past thirty years. His name is Biberhausen [von Beverhout]. He entertained us very well. He has a very fine estate. One of his woods was on fire, but that disturbed him very little. It is the custom of the country to let forest fires burn without doing anything to halt their progress.

We lost our way going out there with no little surprise we found ourselves near Chatham, heading straight toward the enemy, when we were set back on the right road. We remained two days at Whippany."⁵⁰⁰ Baron Closen who accompanied Verger wrote that along the way "we re-discovered the ovens that M. de Villemanzy had ordered to be constructed at Chatham last year to supply the army. They are in very good condition and are being used to provision the army until it reaches the North River. (You will recall these ovens had a rather good effect upon M. Clinton, since they fortified him in the fear that we were going to attack New York!)"⁵⁰¹

While his forces were encamped at Whippany, Rochambeau sent Mathieu Dumas, one of his assistant quartermasters-general to the coast "to reconnoiter it from as near as I could get without risking myself among the enemy pickets posted along the west bank of the Hudson on this side of Staten Island. A very intelligent American officer served as my guide. Taking along with us three well-mounted dragoons who knew the country perfectly, he conducted me to the very point of the Hook [Sandy Hook], where there is a sand bar that warships can cross only by unloading a part of their guns. We stopped at the highest dune, from the top of which, as we lay in the sand and out of sight, we counted, at our leisure, the 26 vessels of Admiral Pigot, at anchor outside the bar, and we observed their maneuvers as they crossed it and went up the river. Our return was no less lucky, and I owe it to my brother officer that I was able to accomplish this delicate mission to the satisfaction of General Rochambeau."⁵⁰²

On 12 September, the troops of the First Brigade marched to Pompton, where Verger "climbed a very high hill from which we could see the Hudson River."

The New York State Line was reached on 13 September, and the First Brigade of the French forces camped in Suffern. With that, the French forces were back at

⁴⁹⁹ The exact location of the positions of the grenadiers and chasseurs is unknown.

⁵⁰⁰ Verger, "Journal", p. 164.

⁵⁰¹ Acomb, *Closen*, p. 236/7.

⁵⁰² Mathieu Dumas, *Memoirs of his Own Time* 2 vols., (London, 1839), vol. 1, p. 102.

the New York State line from where they had begun their march to victory almost exactly 11 months earlier. On 13 September the First Brigade crossed into New York and encamped in Suffern (on the east side of Washington Avenue. Following the route (in reverse) it had taken the previous year, it marched the next day through Kakiat to Haverstraw, its 36th camp, where it rested for the next three days from September 14 to 16, at the same spot it had camped in August 1781. Rochambeau established his headquarters in the Smith House.⁵⁰³ The Second Brigade camped for two days, September 15 and 16, a bit further south along Railroad Avenue in West Haverstraw. On the 16th, Rochambeau crossed the river to inspect the camp laid out to the left of the Americans with the Saintonge forming the far left of the allied camp along the road to Yorktown Heights.⁵⁰⁴ As Rochambeau's forces crossed the Hudson a review⁵⁰⁵ on 17 September showed this strength:

REGIMENT	PRESENT OFFICERS AND MEN	ABSENTEES	TOTAL
Bourbonnais	758	214	972
Soissonnais	768	228	996
Saintonge	799	195	994
Royal Deux-Ponts	798	172	970
Auxonne Artillery	312	190	502
Mineurs	0	22	22
Ouvriers	476	80	556
	3,911	1,101	5,012

Once across, the troops marched past the Continental Army encamped close to the ferry landing via King's Ferry Road and the Albany Post Road to camp 37 of the return march, which was on the same spot where the Continental Army had encamped in July 1781 on its way to the Philipsburg encampment.⁵⁰⁶ From 17 to 23 September 1782, the French forces, with Lauzun's Legion nearest the Hudson, occupied the hills along the north side of Crompond Road between Washington Street and Lafayette Avenue.⁵⁰⁷

⁵⁰³ Acomb, *Closen*, p. 239.

⁵⁰⁴ "General headquarters was established at Peekskill Landing: the ovens for supplying the army were also built there. The administration and hospitals were housed in Peekskill Meeting-house." *Ibid.*, p. 241.

⁵⁰⁵ These data again based on Keim, *Commemoration*. Of the absentees, 477 were on special assignments and 631 were in the hospital. Rochambeau's troop contingent is about 1,000 men larger than on the march south, when the army had stood at about 3,400 officers and men. Since neither the siege artillery, the sick, nor Lauzun's Legion made the march to Boston, Rochambeau left Crompond with about 3,700 men.

⁵⁰⁶ Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, Vol. 2, p. 186, based on a note written on a map of the Peekskill camp drawn by Rochambeau's aide-de-camp Cromot du Bourg.

⁵⁰⁷ See John Curran, *The Attack at Peekskill by the British in 1777* (Peekskill, 1998), pp. 91-93, and Chester A. Smith, *Peekskill, A Friendly Town: Its Historic Sites and Shrines: A Pictorial History of the City from 1654 to 1952* (Peekskill, 1952), pp. 46, 125, and 148.

On the other side of the river, according to Clermont-Crèveœur, "we found 8,000 of the American army. Now they were all uniformed and well groomed. We were struck with the transformation of this army into one that was in no way inferior to ours in appearance. Their officers too were well turned out."⁵⁰⁸ Verger described the American camp thus: "The whole color-line of the American camp was bordered by a very beautiful arbor, decorated with various designs and coats of arms (which were very well executed) representing the different regiments. The American soldiers do not stack their arms in piles like ours but simply lean them against three posts set up in the form of a scaffold before their tents, which they erect on one line. From there we marched 4 miles to our camp at Peekskill. This was on top of an arid mountain surrounded by wilderness."⁵⁰⁹

On the 20th the French army passed in review before General Washington, and then, on the 22nd, Clermont-Crèveœur and his fellow officers "went to watch the maneuvers of the American army and were truly impressed. This proves what money and good officers can do to make good soldiers."⁵¹⁰ Dr. Thatcher described the scene thus: "The whole army was paraded under arms this morning in order to honor his Excellency Count Rochambeau on his arrival from the southward. The troops were all formed in two lines, extending from the ferry, where the count crossed, to headquarters. A troop of horse met and received him at King's ferry, and conducted him through the line to General Washington's quarters, where, sitting on his horse by the side of his excellency, the whole army marched before him, and paid the usual salute and honors. Our troops were now in complete uniform, and exhibited every mark of soldierly discipline. Count Rochambeau was most highly gratified to perceive the very great improvement, which our army had made in appearance since he last reviewed them, and expressed his astonishment at their rapid progress in military skill and discipline. He said to General Washington, "You have formed an alliance with the King of Prussia. These troops are Prussians." Several of the principal officers of the French army, who have seen troops of different European nations, have bestowed the highest encomiums and applause on our army, and declared that they had seen none superior to the Americans."⁵¹¹

On September 22, the day of the review, the *duc* de Lauzun, the *comte* de Ségur, son of the war minister, together with a large group of French officers returned from France with orders from court.⁵¹² Before the two armies parted,

⁵⁰⁸ Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, Vol. 1, p. 78.

⁵⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 165, with more descriptions of the American camp.

⁵¹⁰ Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, Vol. 1, p. 78. These reviews took place on Washington Hill on land behind St. Mary's Cemetery.

⁵¹¹ Thatcher, *Journal*, p. 322. See also Verger's description in Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, Vol. 2, p. 166 and note 154. The "Prussian" influence was in large degree due to the work of Baron Steuben, the Prussian-born Inspector General of the Continental Army, whom many French officers held responsible for this marked improvement. The Continental Army was between 5,500 and 6,000 men strong at the time.

⁵¹² They had sailed on the *Aigle* and the *Gloire*, which were pursued into the Delaware Bay by the British. The *Gloire* escaped but the *Aigle* was captured. Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, vol. 1, pp. 79/80.

Washington had the opportunity to decorate a number of French officers. Ségur had brought a number of crosses of the Order of St. Louis. Rochambeau asked Washington to do the honors and the American gladly attached the insignia of the military order to chests of the French officers.⁵¹³

Once the two allies had completed their farewells, the French troops departed on the 24th of September “in a single column” for an eight-mile march to Crompond/Yorktown where they entered their 38th camp of the march from Virginia around Hunt’s Tavern, where they would remain until October 22. Lauzun's Legion encamped on a hill about 2 to 3 miles to the south near Hanover Farms from where it could patrol the Croton and the crossing at Pines Bridge.⁵¹⁴

Following this one-month rest at Crompond, Rochambeau regrouped his troops into brigades for the impending march. His instructions indicated that in case the British were to evacuate either Charleston or New York, he was to take the army to Santo Domingo to await further orders. While a British evacuation of New York was remote, the evacuation of Charleston seemed imminent and eventually took place in December.

On 22 October, the First Brigade, consisting of the Bourbonnais and Royal Deux-Ponts, broke camp and began the march through Connecticut to Boston. On 29th, the First Brigade arrived in East Hartford and was joined by the Second Brigade the next day.

In East Hartford, Rochambeau announced to the troops that they were to march to Boston and embark for the West Indies while he would return to France. To accelerate the march "the artillery obtained permission to march, from now on, one day in advance of the 1st Brigade, for convenience, and set out early on its way" on 30 October. On 10 November the First Brigade reached Providence, and on 6 December, the French forces marched into Boston. In the morning of the 24th, Christmas Day, the French fleet raised anchor to sail to the West Indies, where news of the signing of the Preliminaries of Peace on 30 November 1782 reached the troops in mid-February 1783. In mid-April the troops sailed back to France, where they arrived in late June.

11.2 The March of Lauzun's Legion

→ All resources for the return march of Lauzun's Legion are numbered as Resources 134 through 140 in Appendix B and C.

On the march through Delaware and Pennsylvania to the river crossing at Trenton, Lauzun's Legion had remained with the French infantry. Once the river was crossed, however, and the French army was getting closer to New York City,

⁵¹³ Lauberdière, *Journal*, fol. 194.

⁵¹⁴ Acomb, *Closen*, p. 243.

the Legion took over its usual role was covering the (right) flank of the French army. Reconstructing its route, however, is difficult in the absence of an eyewitness account or route description. Lauzun was still in France, and few French officers devoted much space to the movements of the Legion in their accounts, and Dumas is already an exception to the rule when he even mentions the Legion in his *Memoirs* after the crossing of the Delaware. "The cavalry of the legion of Lauzun, commanded by Count Robert de Dillon, covered our right flank at the back of the eminences at the foot of which we marched."⁵¹⁵ On 2 September the Legion arrived in Trenton. The following day, the Legion, following in reverse the route French forces had taken the previous year, "proceeded 3 miles beyond Princeton, to a place named Kingston, where it where it took up a position beyond the Millstone River, on a height overlooking the Brunswick Road."⁵¹⁶ Along the way it established posts at New Market, i.e., Quibbletown, and Rocky Hill. The legion remained in Kingston until 7 September, when it marched to Brunswick, where it camped behind a bridge across the Raritan River.⁵¹⁷ From there it marched to Scotch Plains on 8 September, and to Chatham on the 9th. Here the Legion took up posts "à l'entrée des gorges qui conduisent à Chatham faisant face à la plaine et au chemin de New York - at the entrance to the passes that lead to Chatham facing the plain and the road to New York." The position was "behind the river on an eminence facing the road to Springfield, the famous position that General Greene had defended and guarded for a long time with inferior forces".⁵¹⁸

Baron Closen, who had accompanied Rochambeau to Chatham to see Greene's positions as well, "found the legion encamped" in Chatham on 11 September.⁵¹⁹ "It had bivouacked since leaving Kingston, so as to march more lightly (and without being burdened with wagons full of gear) where it might be needed. It is covering our right flank and always marches between the army and the enemy, which so far has not once tried to attack it; its camp is always a few miles from ours."⁵²⁰ More importantly, Rochambeau wanted to observe British activities on Staten Island, and for that purpose the Legion provided him an escort to Springfield. Later that day, the Legion marched to take up posts at "Fock River, junction of three rivers". During the night of 12/13 September, the Legion received orders to advance 8 miles to Paramus, where it camped on 13 September. "During this march we passed within six miles of the English lines, meaning within Paulus Hook, but our patrols saw nothing. ... on this march we saw the

⁵¹⁵ Dumas, *Memoirs*, p. 78.

⁵¹⁶ Acomb, *Closen*, p. 234. See also Massoni, *Details*, p. 185.

⁵¹⁷ In his brief account of the return march dated "Camp de Pines Bridge, sur le Croton, 12 27 7bre 1782", Hugau wrote that the Legion camped "en arriere d'un pont qui est sur la rivierre Raritan," i.e., behind a pond that is on the Raritan River." The account is published in Massoni, *Details*, pp. 219-227, the quote on p. 223.

⁵¹⁸ This reference to the Battle of Springfield of places the camp on the same ground that the New Jersey regiments had occupied during the march to Yorktown in August 1781.

⁵¹⁹ Massoni, *Details*, p. 201.

⁵²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 236. Chatham, according to Closen, "is not very pretty, and consists of about 20 houses." From Chatham, Rochambeau, Closen and the other aides-de-camp accompanied by 50 men, rode to Springfield.

celebrated position which General Washington maintained throughout the campaign with 10,000 militiamen against English forces commanded by Howe. ... on the 13th we saw the bay where our wagons rejoined us and we camped until the 18th when we passed the North River at King's Ferry." ⁵²¹

These lines indicate, that marching north from Paramus, on Colonel Dayton's route of 1781, the Legion possibly took up a post near Kakeat on 13 September, where it acted as the rear-guard of the army. It remained in Kakeat until 18 September when it rode to Stony Point to cross the river late that day.⁵²² From there it was on to the month-long camp at Crompond, today's Yorktown Heights.

THE RETURN MARCH OF LAUZUN'S LEGION, NOVEMBER 1782

→ The only resource listed separately for the return march of Lauzun's Legion in November 1782 is Resource 141 in Appendix B (p. 309) and C (p. 437)

As Rochambeau's troops departed from their camp at Crompond/Yorktown Heights for Boston and the Caribbean, Rochambeau, who did not foresee any use for cavalry in the campaign, suggested to Washington that the Legion, together with the siege artillery, remain behind. On 21 October 1782, the First French Brigade left its camp at Yorktown Heights for Salem. Lauzun's Legion stayed behind. "It was to leave in a few days, to re-cross the North River and return, by the same route by which the army had come, to Wilmington, where it is to spend its winter quarters, since the State of Delaware is within close reach of our detachment in Baltimore, and Pennsylvania, which abounds in excellent food and forage."⁵²³ Rochambeau left clear instructions for Lauzun. He was to remain on the American mainland as commanding officer of his Legion, which by now numbered about 550 officers and men. The siege artillery under the marquis de la Valette in Baltimore and the sick together formed another corps of about six hundred officers and men, which brought the total of French forces on the American mainland to about 1,150. He was to receive his orders from Washington, who had agreed to place his corps into winter quarters in Wilmington, though Lauzun was free to investigate other possibilities for winter quarters in Delaware or along the Chesapeake Bay as long as they would be close to the troops in Baltimore. Until the departure of Washington's army for winter

⁵²¹ Massoni, *Details*, p. 204.

"Paulus Hook was a set of fortifications held by the British at what is now Jersey City, where the old canal entered the Hudson, a few hundred yards north of Ellis Island. It has since been backfilled and developed. Originally a small peninsula surrounded by marsh, it connected the mainland by a causeway, and was the main landing point before the war for travelers going into Bergen County from New York City. The British Navy protected it and its position did not allow the Americans to try and hold it before the British arrival. The causeway could be crossed only at low tide." Six miles from Paulus Hook places the Legion in downtown Newark. Quoted from: <http://www.doublegv.com/ggv/battles/Paulus.html>

⁵²² Massoni, *Details*, p. 224.

⁵²³ Acomb, *Closen*, p. 259.

quarters, Lauzun was to take up a defensive position near Peekskill. If he should receive information from Admiral de Vaudreuil that there would be enough shipping space available for him to sail to the Caribbean he was to obey these orders and join Rochambeau. Rochambeau promised to leave him enough funds until January; thereafter he was to approach French minister de la Luzerne in Philadelphia for additional funds.⁵²⁴

Lauzun and his men immediately broke camp as well.⁵²⁵ Having crossed the Hudson, and following the instructions of taking "the same route by which the army had come", they followed the by now well-known route to Suffern and into New Jersey. During a weeklong stay at Whippany from 26 to (at least) 1 November, Jehoshaphat Starr supplied 17 sheep, 14 2/3 cords wood, plus large amounts of corn, straw oats, buckwheat and other supplies. The total cost to Wadsworth amounted to £ 708 16/ 7 2/3.⁵²⁶ A review of the legion taken on 1 November at Hanover Court House showed the Legion staff at six officers and six NCOs. The two hussar squadrons were 133 and 134 men strong, grenadiers numbered 98 men, there were 96 men in the chasseur company, and 95 artillerymen for a total of 568 officers and men.⁵²⁷

Over the next week, they retraced their steps following the road to the southward through Liberty Corner, Bound Brook, Kingston and Princeton to Trenton. Here Lauzun deviated from his instructions and rather than cross the Delaware and march through Philadelphia to Wilmington, rode on to Burlington, New Jersey. From Burlington, Lauzun wrote to Rochambeau in Newport that his Deputy QuarterMaster Collot had conducted "reconnaissances" in Wilmington and Burlington concerning winter quarters. Lauzun thought that Burlington offered the possibility of setting up without great expense very comfortable quarters for the cavalry since there were already "excellent barracks for the men". Burlington was "in all respects better than Wilmington".⁵²⁸ The chevalier de la Luzerne agreed with Lauzun's assessment, but Lauzun was having second thoughts. Crossing the Delaware either at Bristol Ferry or Cooper's Ferry might prove too difficult during the winter and make it impossible to get quickly to Baltimore and to the siege artillery in an emergency. More importantly, however, the "inhabitants of Burlington agreed to lodge the officers only after having made the greatest difficulties and with the greatest ill will". That did not bode well,

⁵²⁴ "Instructions laissées a Mr Le Duc de Lauzun par Mr le Cte de Rochambeau au camp de Crompond le 21 8bre 1782." Viomenil Papers, LB0075 No. 95. There is also a copy in Rochambeau to Lauzun, 22 December 1782, Rochambeau Papers, Library of Congress, vol. 11.

⁵²⁵ The editor of Lauzun's *Memoirs* (1929 edition, p. 252, note 287) states without naming a source that the Legion left Crompond on 27 October. The receipts in the Wadsworth papers refute that claim. That means, however, that the legion had almost two months to cover the same distance that it had taken a little over two weeks to cover in September 1782.

⁵²⁶ JW Papers, CTHS Box 144, folder October 1782. From 1 to 31 October, Jehoshaphat Starr, according to an account dated Burlington 12 November 1782, supplied Lauzun with 12 beeves, 17 sheep, wood, hay etc.

⁵²⁷ The review is in Archives Nationales de France, Colonies D2c32, Paris, France.

⁵²⁸ The accommodations described by Lauzun were the barracks in Burlington used by Colonel John Lamb's Second Continental Regiment of Artillery during the winter of 1781-82.

especially since across the river the situation was very different. "The inhabitants of Wilmington appear to be willing to deliver us (from our problem) by being disposed to do everything that suits us. But it will be necessary to completely build our quarters, and this expense, as we know from the reconnaissance of M Collot, will cost around eight hundred dollars." Lauzun hoped that the Governor of New Jersey would allow him to purchase and dismantle the stables and ship them to Wilmington. In the meantime he lodged his troops in the barracks and requested instructions from Rochambeau on how to proceed.⁵²⁹

Rochambeau's response to this inquiry has not survived, and Lauzun decided on Wilmington for winter quarters. On 26 November 1782, the Trustees of the Wilmington Academy discussed at their meeting how the

"Duc de Lauzun commanding a legion of the King of France's troops in the service of America has fixed upon our School-house as a barrack for those troops the ensuing winter; that they have had a conference with Col. Collot, Quarter-master of the troops in which he gave them expectations that he would pay the rent of any two rooms which the Trustees would hire for the accommodation of the Scholars and would at the expence of his master make such repairs upon the house as should be necessary for their own convenience and would have them done in such manner as would be most agreeable to the Trustees, and be of most permanent use to the School-house: But as nothing particular was stipulated between them and the Quarter-master has not given his workmen explicit directions in what manner to proceed Gov. Dickinson, Gen. Mifflin, Dr White, Saml Magaw, Ben. Wynkoop, Dr Way and Miers Fisher or any two of them are appointed a Committee to draw up and present to the Duc de Lauzun a memorial in the name of the Trustees requesting him to give directions to the Workmen to glaze the windows, and obey the orders of the Trustees in the manner of setting up the partitions &: and in their memorial to adduce such reasons as shall occur to them to convince the Duke of the propriety of Granting the request."⁵³⁰

No such memorial to Lauzun or Collot has come to light, and there the matter seems to have rested. In the meantime, Lauzun⁵³¹ and Collot traveled to near-by Philadelphia where on Monday, 16 December 1782; he in obtained a Congressional Resolution ordering the quartering of the Legion.⁵³²

"On motion of Mr. [Richard] Peters, seconded by Mr. [Thomas] McKean, Resolved, That the honorable the executive of the State of Delaware be, and hereby are requested to give the necessary directions for providing quarters for the

⁵²⁹ Lauzun to Rochambeau, 9 November 1782, Rochambeau Papers, Library of Congress, vol. 5, pp. 599.

⁵³⁰ Schools, Wilmington Academy (Manuscript), Folder 4, HSD. Present at the meeting were Benjamin Wynkoop, Joseph Shallcross, John Stapler, James Lea, Vincent Gilpin, Jonas Stidham, Thomas May, Nicholas Way, and Miers Fisher.

⁵³¹ On 4 December 1782, Lauzun wrote a letter to Governor Livingston from Philadelphia.

⁵³² The resolution is in the Journals of the Continental Congress at <http://memory.loc.gov> under the date.

troops of his Most Christian Majesty, serving with the army of the United States, now on their march."

Armed with this resolution of 16 December, Collot on 17 December paid a visit to John Lea, one of Wilmington's Justices of the Peace, Burgess Thomas Kean, and City Assessor Jacob Broom, who informed John Cook, Vice-President of Delaware.⁵³³ The winter quarters were approved and on 21 and 22 December, Lauzun's Legion marched through Philadelphia on its way from Burlington to Wilmington;⁵³⁴ the first review of Lauzun's Legion in Wilmington is dated 24 December 1782. That day, the First Squadron of Hussars consisted of seven officers (including a *cadet-gentilhomme*), 10 NCOs, the *fourrier-écrivain*, two trumpets, a medic, a farrier, and 118 hussars, five of whom were in the hospital, for a total of seven officers and 133 rank and file. The Grenadier Company had six officers, 15 NCOs, two tambours, and 79 grenadiers, five of whom were in the hospital. The Artillery Company had six officers, 18 NCOs, two drummers and 76 rank and file. The company was harder hit than the others were by disease: two sergeants, one corporal, one of the drummers and two of the enlisted men were in the hospital. The Chasseur Company had its full complement of seven officers though two officers are listed as absent. There were 18 NCOs, two drummers, and 76 chasseurs, two of which were in the hospital. The Second Squadron of Hussars finally numbered seven officers, 13 NCOs, two trumpets and 120 hussars, nine of who were in the hospital. Since the review at Crompond/Yorktown Heights on 17 October 1782, the artillery and the 2nd Squadron of Hussars had received one recruit each. The staff consisted of eleven officers (three are *à la suite*) and three enlisted men; three officers were absent, and the position of Major is listed as vacant. On Christmas Day 1782, Lauzun's Legion in Wilmington numbered 39 officers, 559 rank and file, and 281 horses.⁵³⁵

⁵³³ Revolutionary War, Box 32 No. 9, HSD. Born 20 March 1750, Henri Victor Collot joined the Chamborant Hussars in October 1765 and served as *aide-maréchal général des logis* in Rochambeau's army with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. Governor of Guadeloupe in 1792, he briefly came to the US as a British prisoner of war on parole after the surrender of the island in April 1794. Paroled in Philadelphia in 1796, he was approached by Pierre Adet, the French minister to the United States, to survey the lands west of the Appalachian Mountains and investigate how they could be claimed for France. Having completed his journey along the Ohio and Mississippi, despite American and Spanish suspicions and numerous arrests, he returned to Paris from Louisiana in December 1796. Based in part on Collot's information, Napoleon was able to acquire the Louisiana Territory from Spain on 1 October 1800, but sold it to the United States 2 1/2 years later. Collot died in Paris on 13 May 1805. Bodinier, *Dictionnaire*, p. 119. See also Neil A. Hamilton, "A French Spy in America. French Cartographer Victor Collot." *American History* Vol. 34 No. 3, (August 1999), pp. 22-27, and Clifford M. Lewis, "The Reconnaissance Expedition of two French Navigators." *West Virginia History* Vol. 43 No. 1, (1981), pp. 21-38.

⁵³⁴ CTHS JW Papers, Box 144 Folder November 1782, contains numerous receipts for wood and other supplies signed in Burlington during November 1782, viz. Edward Collins on 8 November 1782, supplied 820 lbs beef for which he received £ 20 10/. Another account with Starr covers the dates of 2 November to 27 November. There are receipts dated as late as Burlington, 21 December, when Edward Collins sold 44 lbs beef French weight.

⁵³⁵ The review can be found in Archives Nationales, Paris, (France) under Colonies, Marine D2c32.

RETURN MARCH OF ROCHAMBEAU TO BALTIMORE VIA NEWTON, HACKETTSTOWN, BAPTISTOWN AND PHILADELPHIA FOR BALTIMORE AND FRANCE IN DECEMBER 1782

→ All resources for the return march of Rochambeau are numbered as Resources 142 through 145 in Appendix B (pp. 310-311) and C (pp.439-443)

Though Rochambeau had accompanied his forces from their encampment at Crompond (Yorktown Heights) through Connecticut to Rhode Island, it had been decided that he would not accompany them to the Caribbean but return to France. While quartered in Providence, Rhode Island, the *comte* de Lauberdière on 1 December 1782, wrote in his journal, "we embraced our friends who were about to betake themselves where their desires called them and M de Rochambeau, his son, the *comte* de Vauban, and I mounted our horses to betake ourselves to Philadelphia. The Chevalier de Chatellux and his aides de camp, M. de Béville and a number of officers of the staff of the army. M de Choisy etc took the same route on different days with the same intention."

From Providence, the group reached Newburgh on 7 December but only spent one night in the Highlands. On 8 December, Rochambeau left Newburgh again in a heavy snowfall.⁵³⁶ In the evening the group reached Warwick on the New York - New Jersey State Line in the evening, where they spent the night, possibly at the inn kept by Mr. Smith frequented by Chastellux.⁵³⁷

⁵³⁶ On 14 December, Washington sent this farewell letter to Rochambeau from Newburgh.

I cannot, My dear Genl., permit you to depart from this Country without repeating to you the high sense I entertain of the Services you have rendered America, by the constant attention which you have paid to the Interests of it.

By the exact order and discipline of the Corps under your Command, and by your readiness, at all times, to give facility to every measure which the force of the Combined Armies was competent to.

To this testimony of your Public character I should be wanting to the feelings of my heart, was I not to add expressions of the happiness I have enjoyed in your private friendship. The remembrance of which, will be one of the most pleasing Circumstances of my life.

My best wishes will accompany you to France, where I have no doubt of your meeting the Smiles and rewards of a generous Prince; and the warmest embraces of Affectionate friends. I have the honor etc.

⁵³⁷ Chastellux (as well as Martha Washington) also stayed at this inn, the second oldest home in Warwick, built by Francis Baird in 1766. It is still standing at the intersection of Colonial Avenue, Main Street and Maple Avenue. See Chastellux, *Travels*, Rice, ed., vol. 2, p. 517 and p. 642, fn. 22. Smith was renting the tavern from Baird, when the group breakfasted there the next morning. Chastellux received this farewell letter from Washington from Newburgh, also dated 14 December 1782.

My dear Chevr: I felt too much to express anything, the day I parted with you; A Sense of your public Services to this Country, and gratitude for your private friendship, quite overcame me at the moment of our seperation, But I should be wanting to the feelings of my heart, and should do violence to my inclination, was I to suffer you to leave this Country, without the warmest assurances of an affectionate regard for your person and character.

Our good friend the Marqs. de la Fayette prepared me (long before I had the honor to see you) for those Impressions of esteem which oppertunities, and your own benevolent Mind has since

Following breakfast at Beard's Tavern, i.e., a tavern kept by Francis Baird across the State Line in New Jersey, the group spent the night of 9/10 December at Sussex Court House, today's Newton in Sussex County, after having traveled 14 miles that day. Newton had all of eight or ten houses, the Court House itself was described by Lauberdière as "un vilain Batiment," a bad building, but the tavern of Jonathan Willis was known as a good - and the only - place to stay.

From Newton the group took the road toward what is today Johnsonburg and Hackettstown through "bad country, mountainous, few inhabitants, much forest". Next came a place called "Johnson's Mill" and then "Burkirts's Tavern", where the group spent the night of 10/11 December. The following day, the group crossed the Delaware at "Robert's Sons Ferry"⁵³⁸ and spent the night of 11/12 December at Benet's Tavern in Pennsylvania, seven miles from the ferry and twelve miles from Philadelphia.⁵³⁹ On the evening of the 12th, Rochambeau had dinner with French ambassador de la Luzerne. Rochambeau remained in Philadelphia for three weeks before leaving for Annapolis on 2 January 1783. Following stops in Wilmington (2/3 January), Christiana (3/4 November) and Head of Elk 3/4 January), the groups arrived in Baltimore on 5 January, where it departed on the *Romulus* for Annapolis the same day. On 8 January 1783, Rochambeau, Chastellux, Choisy, Béville, 17 officers in all, embarked on the frigate *Emeraude*. Aware of British vessels lying in wait on the ocean, the frigate, using a strong north-easterly wind, after a six-day wait, sailed out of the bay about two hours before nightfall on 14 January 1783 with British frigates in hot pursuit.⁵⁴⁰ After a very fast crossing the vessel arrived at Saint-Nazaire on 10 February 1783.

improved into a deep, and lasting friendship, a friendship which neither time nor distance can ever eradicate.

I can truly say, that never in my life did I part with a Man to whom my Soul clave more sincerely than it did to you. My warmest wishes will attend you in your voyage across the Atlantic; to the rewards of a generous Prince, the Arms of Affectionate friends, and be assured that it will be one of my highest gratifications to keep up a regular intercourse with you by Letter.

I regret exceedingly, that our circumstances should withdraw you from this Country before the final accomplishment of that Independence and Peace which the Arms of our good Ally has assisted in placing before us in so agreeable a point of view. Nothing would give me more pleasure than to accompany you in a tour through the Continent of North America at the close of the War, in search of the National curiosities with which it abounds, and to view the foundation of a rising Empire. I have the honr etc.

⁵³⁸ I have been unable to identify a "Robert's Sons Ferry."

This itinerary is almost identical to that of Major DePrez of the Royal Deux-Ponts of August 1781, when he transported funds for Rochambeau's army from Boston to Philadelphia. The only difference is that DePrez was instructed to cross the Delaware at "Coriel's Ferry", today's New Hope, the terminus of the Old York Road. New Hope had been founded in 1681, as Wells' Ferry. In 1770 it became Coryell's Ferry after Emmanuel Coryell, whose family had for decades held the ferry rights on the New Jersey side of the river. When the whole town burned down in 1789, Benjamin Parry, a wealthy miller and the town's leading citizen, lost both his grist mills, but he rebuilt them and named them the "New Hope" mills because, he said, they offered new hope. See "Coryell's Ferry in the Revolution. Portions taken from an address by Oliver Randolph Parry in 1915" at http://www.newhopepa.com/History/Coryells_Ferry/coryell_hist_1.htm

⁵³⁹ Richboro at the intersection of PA-SR 232 and PA-SR 332 was known in the eighteenth century as "Bennetts" or "The Bear" or "The Black Bear" after its tavern-keeper and sign.

⁵⁴⁰ "Journal de notre navigation" Rochambeau Papers, Library of Congress, volume 13.

CONCLUSION

After six months in Wilmington, Lauzun, the 528 men left of his *légion*, and most of the remnants of the *expédition particulière* sailed from Philadelphia for Europe on 11 May 1783. The five frigates that took the remnants of Rochambeau's forces to Europe -- *la Gloire, la Danaë, l'Astrée, l'Active, Le St. James* -- carried 62 officers, 636 enlisted men, five "femmes de soldats" and 51 domestics to Brest, where they docked around 11 June.⁵⁴¹ The *expédition particulière* was over.

In an interview with *American Heritage* historian David McCullough declared: "We wouldn't have a country if it weren't for [the French]," And though historians should not speculate about "what ifs", the facts show that French support was indeed vital to the success of the Revolutionary War.

The shots fired at Lexington and Concord had hardly been heard in Paris when French financial and military aid began flowing to the rebellious colonies. Almost 100 volunteers provided crucial expertise for American artillery, engineering, and map-making. In February 1778, France became the first foreign country to recognize the United States as an independent nation. In the spring of 1780, the *comte* de Rochambeau brought over 5,000 officers and men across the ocean and forced the surrender of Lord Cornwallis fifteen months later. Rochambeau's forces had decided the outcome of the war.

In July 1780, Rochambeau arrived in Newport with over 5,000 officers and men; the ships that left Boston on Christmas Eve 1782 carried about 1,000 fewer men. About 700 men remained behind, the last of whom returned to France in November 1783. A final transport of 85 sick soldiers left Baltimore on 5 October 1783.⁵⁴² During the 30 months that the 492 officers and 6,038 men of the *expédition particulière* had been in, or on their way to and from America, about 600 men (including 70 in the six months following the return in 1783) died, though only about 75 of them from battle or battle-related wounds. Seven were executed, 316 men, of whom only 26 were native, French-speaking, soldiers, deserted. So did 80 men recruited in America. 140, including 30 "American" recruits, were discharged. Thirty-one officers and 14 enlisted men retired with military pensions in the New World. To put these figures into perspective: within six months of returning to France, Rochambeau's units discharged 832 men whose enlistment had expired!⁵⁴³

⁵⁴¹ The embarkation list is in Archives Nationales, Paris, Marine B/4/185. A final transport of 85 soldiers under Captain François Xavier Christophe baron de Hell of Lauzun's Legion sailed from Baltimore on the *Pintade* 5 October 1783, and entered Brest on 10 November 1783.

⁵⁴² Amblard de Noailles, *Marins et Soldats Français en Amérique pendant la guerre de l'Indépendance des États-Unis* (Paris, 1903), pp. 407-408.

⁵⁴³ Over one fourth of all desertions in the French forces occurred in the last three months before departure.

Rochambeau's troops were not the only French forces to fight in America before, or after, Yorktown. In fact, they represent only a fraction of the total number of Frenchmen fighting for American Independence, which historians have estimated at 18,000 soldiers and 31,000 sailors. In 1776, France had stationed 19 battalions of infantry in her Caribbean possessions; in the course of the war she sent another 29 battalions there for a total of 48 battalions. Rochambeau brought all of 8 infantry battalions with him in 1780. At Yorktown, Rochambeau suffered not even 200 casualties in dead and wounded. Between March and December 1781, the French navy operating in the Caribbean suffered over 5,000 casualties, the equivalent of almost the entire force under Rochambeau's command. In the defeat in the Battle of the Saints in April 1782, de Grasse suffered over 3,000 casualties, more than fifteen times those of Yorktown.

The French contribution to American victory becomes even more obvious when we look at the role of the French navy. It was Admiral de Grasse' fleet which kept the Royal Navy from making contact with Cornwallis when it sailed out to meet the challenge in the Battle of the Capes in early September 1781. Without the French fleet, British Admiral Graves might just have succeeded in rescuing Cornwallis from Yorktown. The Continental Navy would have been unable to stop him: in 1781, the Royal Navy had about 140 ships of the line of 74 guns or more, the French had 67 capital ships, Spain had 58, the Dutch 19, and the United States had none.

French expenditures for the war were enormous: Robert D. Harris sets the cost of the war for the years 1776-1782 at 928.9 million livres (as opposed to 2,270.5 million livres for the British), with another 125.2 million to be added for the year 1783. At the same time, the total ordinary income of the French crown stood at 377.5 million livres for the year 1776. 91 per cent of the cost of the war was funded by loans, and by the end of 1782, the total constituted debt of the French monarchy had reached 4,538 million livres. Even if the outlays for the war were not the primary cause of the French Revolution, there can be no doubt that an extra billion livres in debt and annual expenditures of some 207 million livres just to service the debt, did nothing to enhance the financial situation of the monarchy between 1783 and the outbreak of the revolution in 1789.⁵⁴⁴

But within the overall French war effort expenditures on the American war were minimal. According to Claude C. Sturgill, "all of the monies directly appropriated for the entire cost" of Rochambeau's forces amounted to exactly 12,730,760 livres or a little over 1 per cent of the total cost of the war.⁵⁴⁵ In addition the American rebels received 18 million in loans, to be repaid after the war, as well as outright subsidies of about 9 million from the foreign affairs department and other aid for a total of about 48 million livres spent in support of the American Revolution.

⁵⁴⁴ All figures from Harris, "French Finances," pp. 233-258.

⁵⁴⁵ Sturgill, "Observations", p. 183.

But whatever Royalist France did to support the America's struggle for Independence, nothing can alter the fact that it was American colonists who first challenged British authority. It was American colonists who first proclaimed that "All men are created equal." It was American colonists who risked their lives and their properties to fight for the "truths" which they, and after them the whole world, considered "to be self-evident". It was on their soil that the war was waged. It was they who suffered the devastation and hardships of the war. That no matter where their ancestors had come from in their search for freedom, they would stand together under the leadership of General George Washington and in the crucible of war create their own nation.

Every colony, large or small, from Massachusetts to Virginia, contributed to the success of this struggle. New Jersey was one of the hardest-hit and longest suffering colonies and this study confirms her position as the Crossroads of the Revolution. Her geographic position as the only available land-route from New York to Philadelphia placed her in a crucial position for the Yorktown campaign of 1781. Like so many times before, thousands of men and animals trod her roads again in 1781 and 1782. The support of her citizens was crucial, and they did not fail her. New Jersey can be proud of her contribution to the success of the Yorktown campaign and to American Independence.

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