REPORT OF THE PHASE I/II ARCHEOLOGICAL SURVEY, EVALUATION AND DATA RECOVERY OF 1803 AND 1805 NORTH MARKET STREETS BRANDYWINE VILLAGE (7NC-B-62) WILMINGTON, DELAWARE

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prepared for

The Wilmington Senior Center
1901 North Market Street
Wilmington, De 19802

by

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wounded men from the battle, and on 16 September by the Mirbach regiment (Kipping and Smith 1974:32-34; Retzer and Londahl-Smidt 1998:3). The British established their hospital in Wilmington and constructed earthworks and redoubts west and north of the town (Lincoln 1937:94-95). The occupation force consisted of over 2,200 men, a number nearly double the population of the town at the time (Lincoln 1937:96). British and Hessian forces departed from Wilmington in mid-October, having occupied the town for about one month. Upon their departure they destroyed their redoubts and closed the hospital.

American troops re-occupied the town in late December 1777 when Brigadier General Smallwood with his Continental brigade composed of Maryland and Delaware soldiers were ordered to take up winter quarters in the town (Ward 1941:256-261). Smallwood's force spent the winter of 1777-78 in Wilmington as an outpost garrison to the main army at Valley Forge and suffered many of the same supply shortages experienced by the Valley Forge encampment (Bodle 2002:208-209). The troops in Wilmington remained as a garrison for nearly six months until early June 1778 when they were recalled to join the main army (Bodle 2002: 239).

In 1781 Washington's army and its French allies headed south to besiege British troops at Yorktown, Virginia. Due to their strategic location on the main road south, Wilmington and Brandywine Village were again involved in the War. The town's involvement was much shorter during this campaign, although American and French troops did bivouac on the outskirts of the community (Rice et al. 1972). During the winter of 1781-82 a French military formation, Lazun's Legion, was cantoned in Wilmington (Selig 2003:114-139).

The effects of nearly seven years of warfare and the social and economic upheavals associated with war strongly affected the general character of the town and surrounding region, resulting in property damage, interruption of commerce, deterioration of overland and water transportation, destruction of agricultural crops and livestock, and diminished grain yields (Farris 1970:26; Warden 1998:18).

The surrounding region remained predominantly agricultural during this period. However, a decline in wheat prices and increased competition for good land throughout the region was accompanied in the area by a decline in the fertility of agricultural lands. Wheat was still the dominant crop produced, but poor farming methods, erosion, and soil exhaustion from over a century of farming contributed to the economic woes of Delaware farmers. Out-migrations of frustrated farmers for newly opened western lands created a labor shortage that made cultivation of exhausted and marginal lands less profitable. In the Delaware Piedmont, a period of reorientation and reorganization of the agricultural landscape occurred, as less productive and worn-out farms were abandoned and consolidated into the larger holdings of wealthier farmers (Herman 1987).

While agriculture was in a state of decline and fluctuation, commerce and manufacturing flourished, particularly in the Piedmont region. Between 1790 and 1810 commerce prospered as never before (Welsh 1956). After the Revolution the region saw relatively rapid industrial and urban growth, and the loss of agricultural jobs was partly offset by the development of new sources of industrial and commercial income and employment (De Cunzo and Catts 1990:59).

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, Wilmington could boast a community of 585 dwellings (Rogers and Easter 1960:25). The economic base for Wilmington shifted from shipping and commerce, which was focused along the Christina River, to manufacturing, focused on the Brandywine Creek. The shift was due to the city's intensive involvement in the wheat trade, and

the development of water-powered mills along the Brandywine (Figure 3). The harnessing of the Brandywine's water power created major textile, gunpowder, flour, and paper mills during the 1790s and 1800s, resulting in one of the most economically successful regions in the United States of the time (Hoffecker 1974; Klein and Garrow 1986:49).

The Brandywine Village of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century has been described as "ambiguous" because it occupied lands on both banks of the Brandywine River. Lands on the south bank of the River, which were officially part of Wilmington, were sometimes lumped with the "unincorporated village on the north side of the bridge" (Hoffecker 1974:55). Although the exact physical boundaries of Brandywine Village were not always clear, descriptions of its busy inhabitants paint a clear image of a vibrant and industrious community straddling both shores of the Brandywine River at the northern edge of Wilmington. Fifteen mill seats were created along the Brandywine by the start of the nineteenth century. Water power harnessed from the Brandywine was used not only for grist, saw, and fulling mills, but also for paper, powder, and textiles (Heite 1992:11).

By 1815 the population of Brandywine Village was approximately 300 inhabitants. One hundred and thirteen heads of household were enumerated with the portion of the village situated on the north side accounting for 65 houses. The village was composed of primarily coopers and millers, along with carpenters, millwrights, blacksmiths, watermen, shipbuilders, laborers, and shoemakers. During this period the inhabitants of Brandywine Village focused principally on residential and manufacturing activities. Retailing played a very small role, since most people in the village and in Wilmington shopped at the markets on Market Street and Second Street (Catts et al. 2001; Cooper 1992; Hoffecker 1974: 55-56).

The establishment of the Wilmington and Great Valley (W&GV) Turnpike in 1811 was a major local and regional event. Having its southern terminus in Brandywine Village, the pike was placed along the old roadbed of the Concord Road and was constructed during a period in U.S. history when turnpike building was booming. The petition for the W&GV Turnpike, signed by 190 citizens, noted that

> Among the roads which form the intercourse with the State of Pennsylvania, no one has been more neglected, or is capable of higher improvement, at reduced expences (sic), than the Concord road, leading from Wilmington towards West Chester, intersecting the line of the Turnpike road laid out from Philadelphia to New London crossroads (New Castle County Road Petition 1810).

The petition exudes a level of exuberance and anticipation that was in keeping with the intense spirit of community and development of the new nation. One Delaware historian has described the period from the end of the American Revolution to the War of 1812 as the time when Wilmington and the surrounding region had "its most cosmopolitan society, an intellectual and civic-minded era along with growing scientific interests and new impetus both to manufacturing and to shipping" (Eckman et al. 1938:271).

Census records for Brandywine Hundred, where Brandywine Village is located, indicate that the population of the project area rose steadily between 1800 and 1830, from 2,183 to 3,221 total inhabitants, an increase of approximately 67 percent. This increase was due in large measure to the proximity of the industrial and commercial center of Wilmington and the Brandywine River valley (De Cunzo and Catts 1990:54-57).

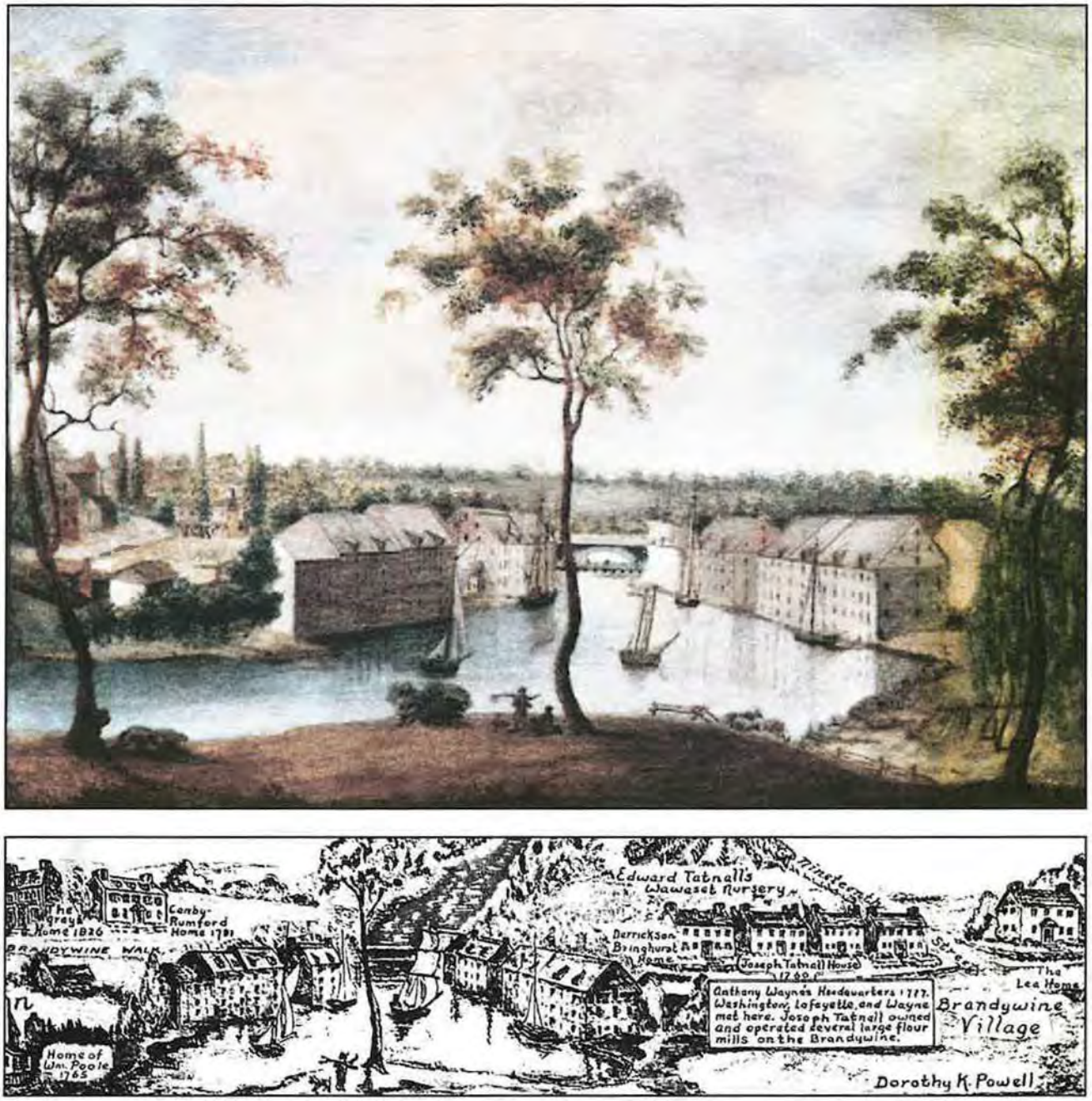

Figure 3. Brandywine Village as depicted in an oil painting c. 1820 (at top) by Bass Otis (Otis c. 1820) and, below, in a drawing of the Brandywine Watershed (Powell 1958). Note Joseph Tatnall's house in the row of houses fronting North Market Street.

3.2.4 1830-1880 (The Industrial Phase)

In the fifty years encompassed by this period, Wilmington gained prominence as the economic center of the state of Delaware. This period of Wilmington's history began with the coming of the railroad (1837) and closed with the tremendous growth and rise to prominence of the city's four main industrial enterprises: shipbuilding, railcar manufacturing, carriage making, and leather manufacturing. Other associated industries included machine, engine, iron, and tool works. The arrival of the railroad made the banks of the Christina River attractive locations for these industries, because it provided a significant improvement in the original land/water connection that had originally served as the focus of Wilmington's earlier economic prosperity. Ironically, then, the placement of the Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore Railroad through the core of the city helped to revitalize the Christina waterfront (Klein and Garrow 1984:49-50).

The economic crises of the early decades of the nineteenth century contributed to an agricultural revolution in Delaware, and farmers in the area began to diversify their production. Developments in industrialization, urbanization, and transportation significantly affected the project area (De Cunzo and Garcia 1992:25). By the middle of the nineteenth century, the approximately three-and-a-half miles of the Brandywine Valley between Brandywine Village and Rockland operated over a dozen factories and mills, including paper mills, cotton mills, woolen mills, powder factories, keg factories, grist and saw mills. The valley was also home for thousands of industrial workers and their families. Above the valley, in the uplands, family-owned farms supplied these industrial centers with livestock for transportation, wood for fuel and construction, stone for buildings, and grains, orchard products, and meat for food (Heite 1992:8).

The completion of the Philadelphia, Wilmington, & Baltimore Railroad to Wilmington in 1837 linked not only the city with urban centers to the north and south, but also provided Wilmington's hinterland, including the project area, with both sources for raw materials and markets for finished products (De Cunzo and Catts 1990:73). By the middle of the nineteenth century there were fourteen steam or water-powered cotton and woolen mills around Wilmington, and one contemporary remarked that "the manufactures of Delaware are more extensive than its commerce" (Myers 1849:40). The manufacturing centers along the Brandywine Valley contributed greatly to the dominance of industry, and the combination of a large labor pool, a good transportation system, a controlled power source, and access to raw materials allowed Piedmont industry to grow and prosper (De Cunzo and Catts 1990:73).

Farmsteads in Delaware at this time averaged a little over 200 acres, but those in the Piedmont were generally about 100 acres in size, and by the start of the period most farmers had between 60 and 70 percent of their acreage improved. In New Castle County, farmland accounted for nearly 90 percent of the total available land in the county. Between 1830 and 1880 both the total number of farms and the number of acres of land in cultivation grew, indicating that land previously considered agriculturally marginal, such as drained marshland, was brought under cultivation (De Cunzo and Garcia 1992:26). Piedmont farms during this period were intensively cultivated, with emphasis on dairying and feeder cattle, supplemented by wheat and market truck farming. Farms tended to be family-operated, with relatively little hired farm labor. By the middle decades of the century, the development of labor-saving farm machinery and the spread of mechanization aided farmers in increasing output and profiting from their relatively small holdings (De Cunzo and Garcia 1992:64).

Between 1830 and 1880, the population of Wilmington grew from 6,600 to 42,000 inhabitants, clear demographic evidence of the growth of industry in the city and the needs of an industrial

labor force (Goodwin 1986:104-113). The region immediately surrounding the city was still largely rural and agricultural. Brandywine Village saw considerable growth after the establishment of the Lammot Cotton Mill, or Eagle Mill, in 1855. The mill itself employed 235 people, and the population of the village increased to nearly 900 inhabitants by 1857. The population increase also brought with it a building boom of sorts, and worker housing was built along what is now 22nd Street (Hoffecker 1974:61-62). Brandywine Village continued to flourish as a separate community until it was finally incorporated into Wilmington as that city's Ninth Ward in 1869 (Hoffecker 1974: 55, 69). After that time, the village was counted in censuses as part of Wilmington, and ceased to maintain a separate identity.

3.2.5 1880-1940 (Urban Growth Phase)

During this period Wilmington's population more than doubled, reaching 110,000 by 1920. The area containing the community of Brandywine Village, the Ninth Ward, grew from 2,272 inhabitants in 1870 to over 18,000 fifty years later in 1920 (Hoffecker 1974:71). Factory labor was the dominant occupation of the former Brandywine Village's inhabitants and by the turn-of-the-century the city's economic base shifted from the manufactories, carriage works, and railcar factories along the Christina Riverfront to the new office structures erected between Ninth and Eleventh streets. During the early years of this period, the large landholders in Brandywine Village, including the Tatnalls, subdivided their lands into a grid system that reflected Wilmington's gridded streets (Hoffecker 1974:72). Initial development of the Ninth Ward was slow until the arrival of street cars which hastened residential development. In 1892 the development of a neighborhood along the new Baynard Boulevard became the focus of early twentieth century housing, further pulling residential and commercial activities from the area immediately north of Market Street Bridge (Hoffecker 1974:74).

"By the beginning of the twentieth century, Brandywine Village had lost much of its identity as a distinctive community. The old stone residences built by eighteenth-century millers on a country stream were now surrounded by the brick row houses and shops of a city" (Hoffecker 1974:75).

3.3 HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF 1803 AND 1805 NORTH MARKET STREETS

There is a striking similarity in the row of houses fronting North Market Street beginning with the house at 1801, continuing to its neighbors to the east, 1803, 1805, and ending with the house on the corner at 1807 (Figure 3 bottom). The four houses are built of Brandywine granite and all are five bays wide with a central doorway, two stories with a third story attic (Warren 1965:109-114). The interior plans are the same, a central stairhall with two rooms on either side, in usual Delaware fashion, one room deep. The first house in this row was 1801 built c.1770 by James Marshall. Joseph Tatnall built 1803 and 1807, the second one on the corner in the year 1803 where it is said he intended to move but never did, giving it to his son Edward. The fourth and latest house is 1805, built by Joseph's son Edward c.1849. As noted by Warren (1965:114), the houses are devoid of architectural ornamentation and considering the wealth of the Tatnalls, they are stark in their simplicity and anything but pretentious. He further suggested that the use of stone in the construction of these houses, rather than brick, might have been a practical use of the rock outcroppings on the north side of the Brandywine that were removed in building the millrace.

3.3.1 1803 North Market Street

Some time in the five years between his marriage in 1765 and 1770 a house, later known as 1803 North Market Street, was constructed by Joseph Tatnall along the western edge of the Village near the Brandywine River. At the same time Tatnall took over the mill, race construction operations, and water rights on the north bank from James Marshall (Hoffecker 1974: 87; Wright 1908). Tatnall and the other millers in the village were immensely successful in their merchant milling and "farmers up through Pennsylvania, even as far as Lancaster and Dauphin counties, sent their grain to these mills to be ground, and long lines of large white-covered wagons, sometimes as many as thirty, would block the streets for squares, waiting for hours at a time to unload" (Wright 1908).

For a brief time in September 1777 the Joseph Tatnall house is reported to have served as a "headquarters for General Anthony Wayne and others on Washington's staff" (Hoffecker 1974:87). According to a family descendant who was in turn quoting from Sara Tatnall's diary, General Wayne and "other prominent officers were quartered at the Tatnall House" (Wright 1908). Washington and Lafayette with their staffs met daily at the home to "hear reports and give orders" and it was at this time that the Tatnall family was quartered in the upper floors of the house (Wright 1908). When the British occupied Wilmington following the Battle of Brandywine the house reportedly served as quarters for British officers (Hoffecker 1974: 87; Wright 1908).

By 1797 Joseph Tatnall's taxable properties included 34.5 acres, 28.5 of which were improved. On his home property on Market Street he had a "good Stone House, two Wagon Houses and Stables" all valued at $276. In addition, Tatnall owned seven other properties, including two merchant mills valued at $2400, and four tenant houses (Tax Assessment 1797). Less than a decade later, Tatnall's holdings had increased to 38 total acres, 30 of which were improved. Tenant holdings had increased to ten additional properties, including mills, dwellings, and stables (Tax Assessment 1803-04).

Joseph Tatnall was one of the most successful merchant millers in Brandywine Village. At the time of his death in 1813 his estate was valued at $239,796.25 when it was divided among his children including Sara, Margaret, Esther, and Edward (Hoffecker 1974: 35). Tatnall's personal property was valued in his estate inventory at over $3,732 and included, in addition to household items, two hogs, four horses, two cows, one yoke of oxen, one chaise, one carriage, one cart, one "chaise sled," three tons of "old hay," two barracks of wheat, and "the time of a Black Boy who has four years to serve" (Joseph Tatnall Inventory, Appendix IV).

The stone house at 1803 North Market Street remained in the family for a few more generations. His second wife, Sara Rodman Paxson Tatnall, was able to remain in the house "for as long as she cared to live there," but moved a few years later to Bucks County, Pennsylvania (Hoffecker 1974: 87). By 1816, Joseph's son Edward inherited the property. Tatnall's holdings in Brandywine Hundred totaled 90 acres, 52 of which were improved. The house at 1803 North Market Street was valued at $810, and the "two merchant mills and cooper shops" were enumerated at $6,000 (Tax Assessment 1816). For a few years (1824 to 1827) the house was rented to John Bancroft, father of Joseph Bancroft, the founder of one of Wilmington's more prominent textile firms (Wilson 1962).

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house. The inventory provides some suggestions of lot usage, mentioning the "contents of Green House," as well as cider in bottles, barrels of apples, and livestock including one horse, a strawberry heifer and calf, a spotted cow, and a red cow and calf. Modes of transportation included a sleigh, a Rockaway wagon, one carriage, and one horse cart. Tatnall may have been fencing his property at the time of his death, since his inventory listed 80 dressed posts, 62 dressed rails, and a "lot of fence boards." Overall, Edward Tatnall's estate was valued at $9,919.76 (Edward Tatnall Inventory, Appendix IV).

The 1860 Census records the Joseph (II) Tatnall household as consisting of Joseph (miller and farmer) his wife, Sarah, their nine children, and three domestic servants (Hoffecker 1974: 87-88). By 1868 the property at 1803 North Market was a rectangular lot extending to Preston (now Tatnall) Street to the north (Figure 4). The configuration of the house included a small frame addition on the west gable end. No outbuildings were depicted in 1868. Eight years later, at the time of the National Centennial, the property map depicted two outbuildings on the northern half of the lot; one of these was situated immediately on Tatnall Street, while the other, smaller structure was located along the western property line (Figure 5).

Family ownership finally ended with the death of Joseph Tatnall (II) in 1895 (Hoffecker 1974: 87). By the turn of the century when *Baist's Property Atlas of the City of Wilmington* was published (Figure 6) the Tatnall estate property configuration had remained unchanged for nearly forty years. A single frame outbuilding was situated along the western lot line in 1901, and the building along Tatnall Street was no longer extant.

1803 North Market Street stood vacant for a short period after the death of Joseph Tatnall, when it was purchased by James J. Kelly circa 1910. By the late 1920s the rear section of the property had been subdivided and a duplex structure built at 1802/04 Tatnall Street. Two one-story frame and brick buildings associated with the Tatnall Street dwellings were present along the eastern side of the lot (Figure 7).

James J. Kelly resided at the house until his death in 1940, when the property was sold to Francis H. Kelly, no relation to the former owner (Wilson 1962). In the early 1960s a plan was announced by real estate broker James B. Shelnut for the razing of 1801, 1803, and 1805 North Market Streets to make way for high-rise apartments and other commercial structures. Local preservationists responded by forming Old Brandywine Village, Inc. (OBV) a non-profit group dedicated to the preservation of the significant historical structures within Brandywine Village. Within a few months the group had successfully purchased several historic properties including 1801 North Market Street (the Lea-Derrickson House), and had staved off the destruction of the other two homes (Hoffecker 1974). In the mid-1960s architectural renovations and even archeological investigations were undertaken at the Lea Derrickson House (Catts and De Cunzo 1993:178).

A second threat to 1803 North Market Street arose in August of 1969, when the owner of the property, Francis Kelly, announced that the property, along with 1805 North Market, was up for sale to potential commercial developers (Wilson 1969). At that time 1803 North Market Street contained a ground floor apartment occupied by Kelly and his wife, six other apartments, including a "spring house apartment" (Drews 1969). Displaying a remarkable ability to raise funds, OBV was able to purchase both properties in early 1970, with the help of a Parisian baroness, a great-granddaughter of Joseph Tatnall (Wilson 1970). Following the purchase OBV undertook renovations in the mid-1970s and then conveyed the property to the Wilmington

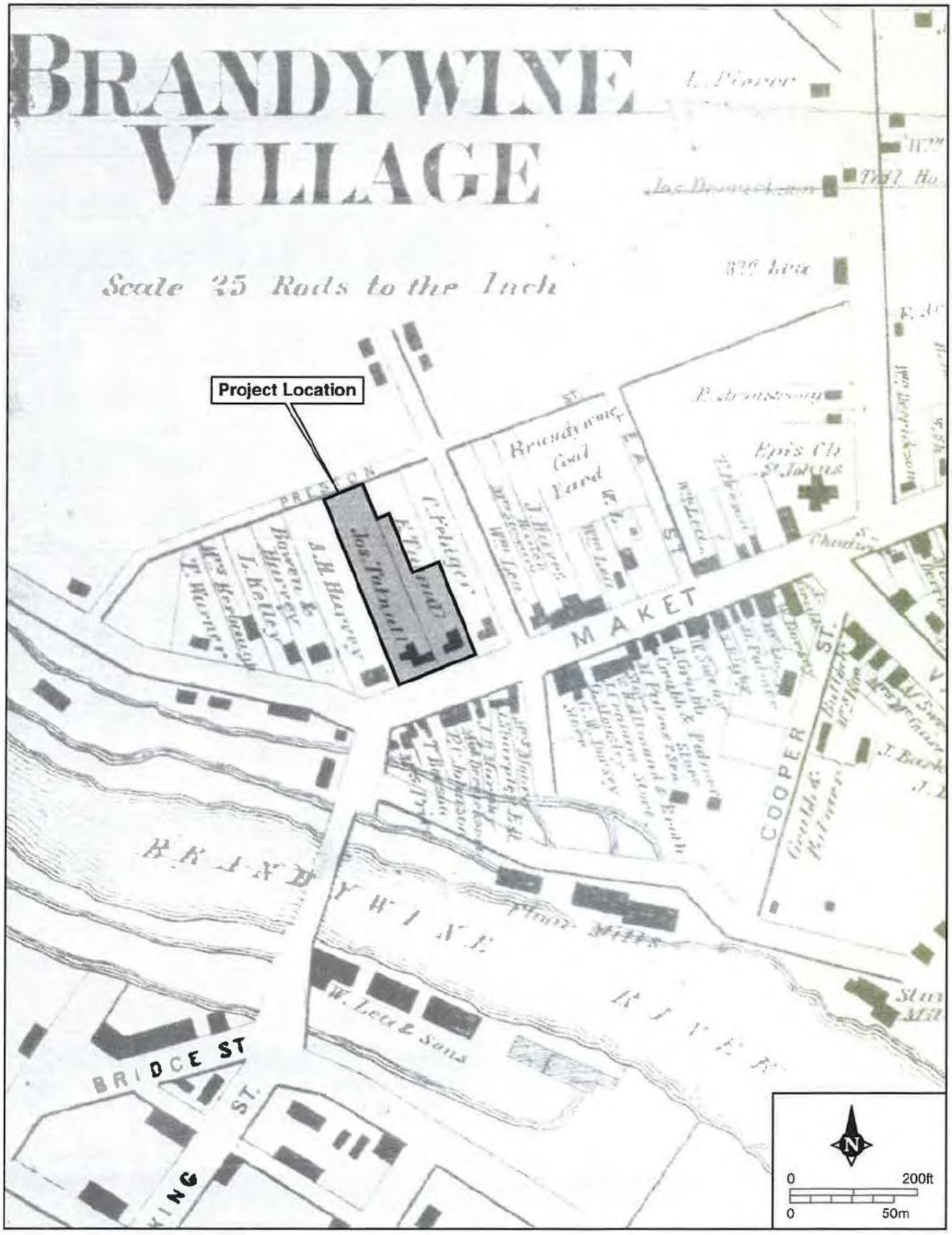


Figure 4. Detail of Beer's Atlas (1868) showing project location.

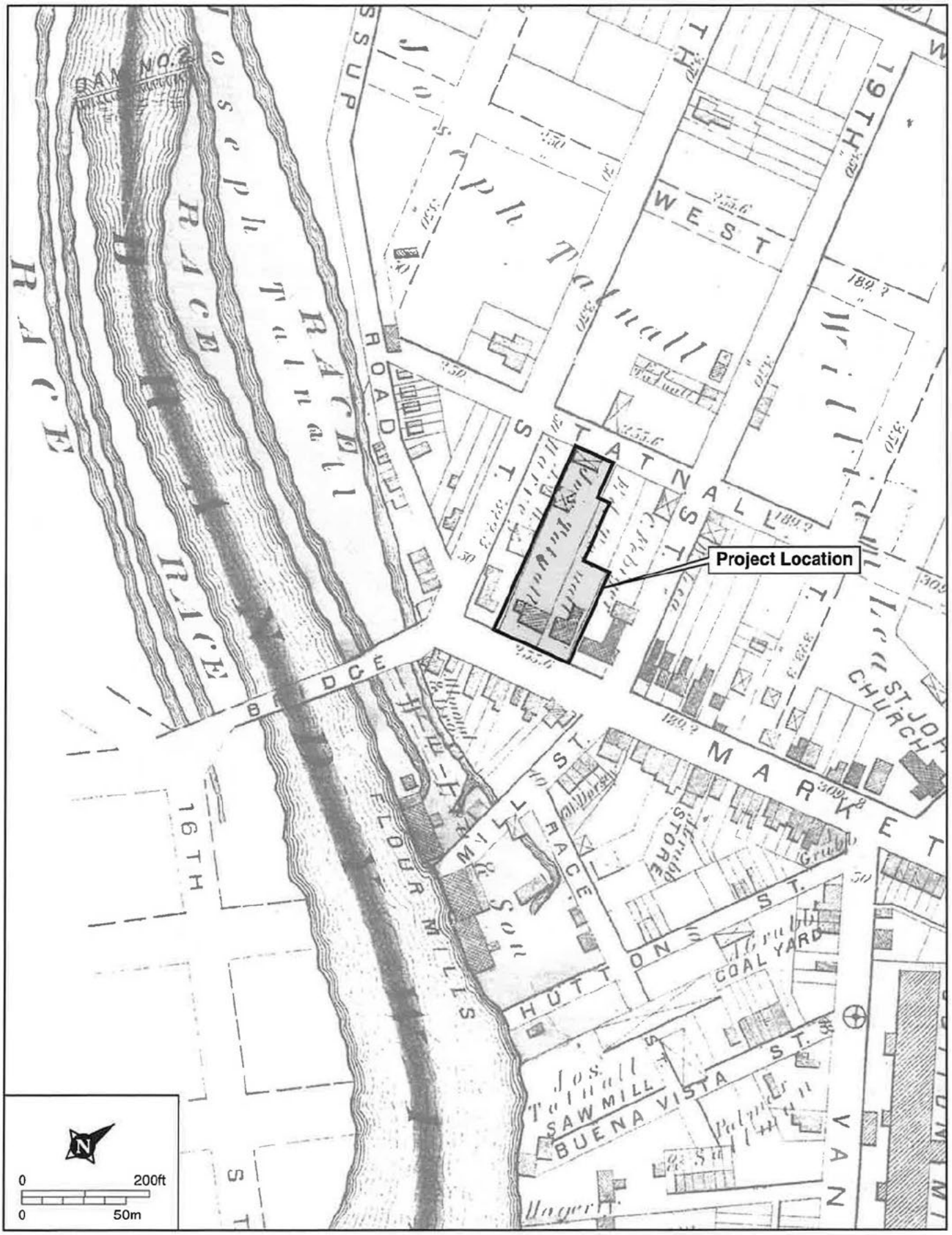


Figure 5. Detail of *Atlas of Wilmington* (1876) showing project location.

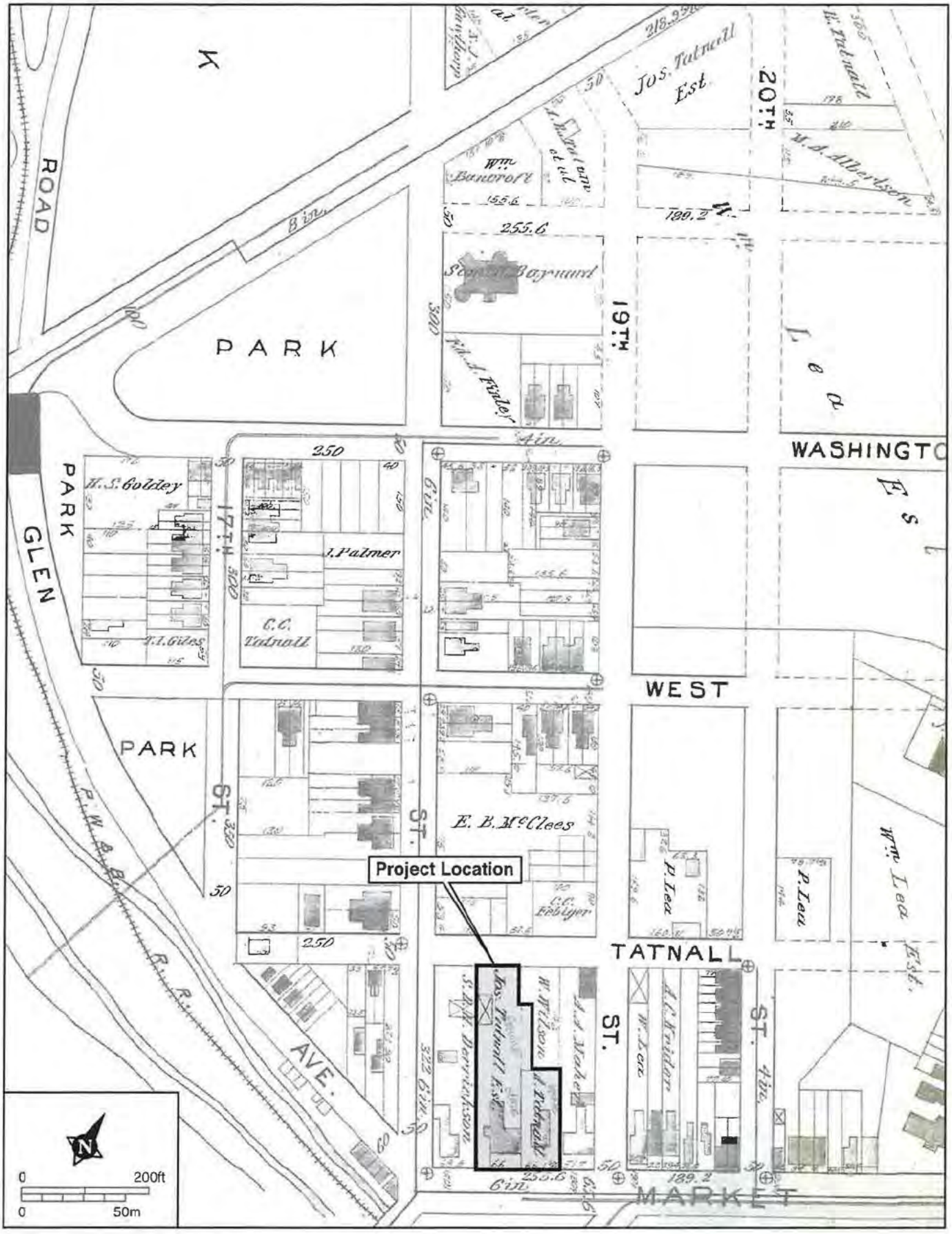


Figure 6. Detail of *Baist's Property Atlas of the City of Wilmington* (1901) showing project location.

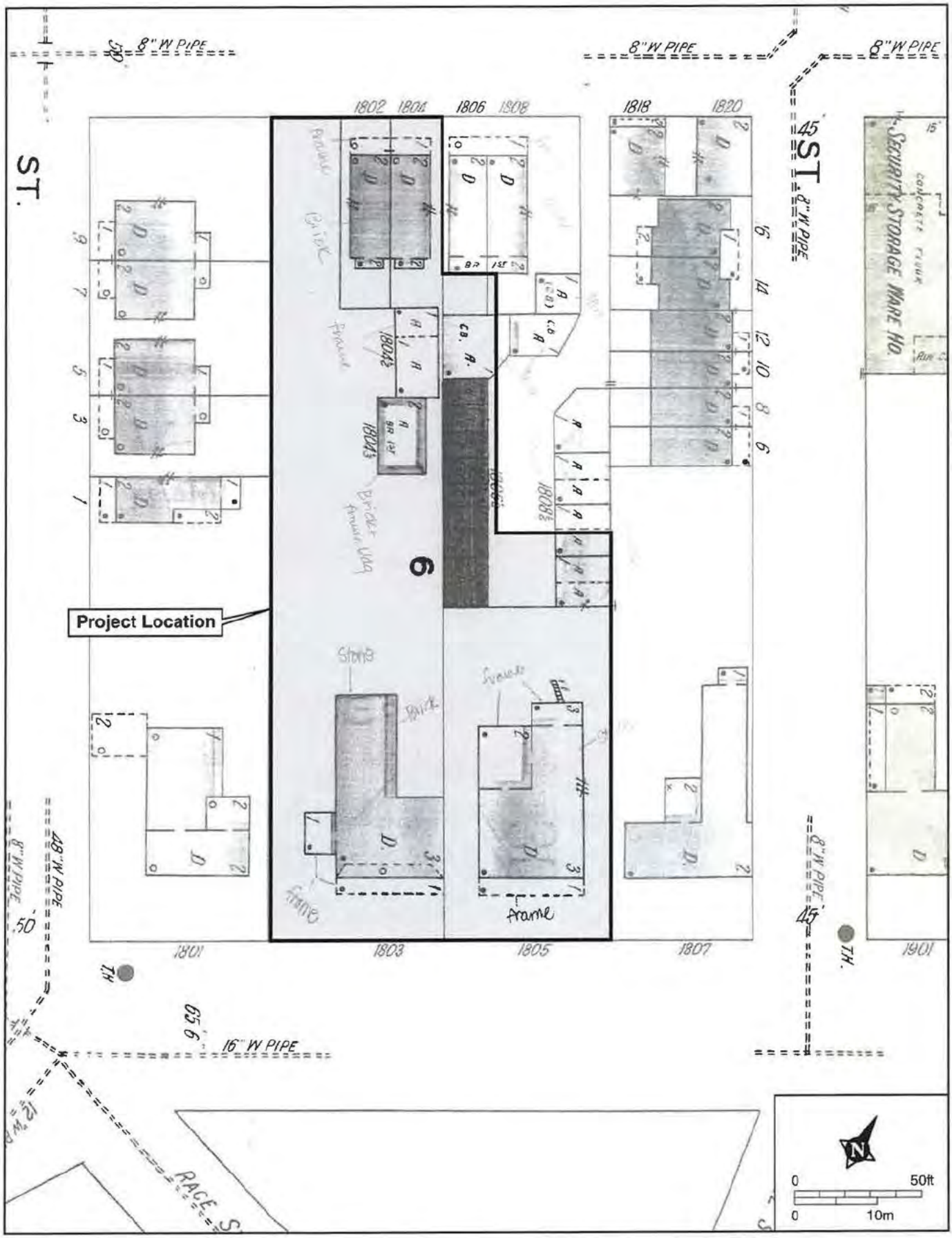


Figure 7. Detail of Sanborn 1927 map showing project location.

Senior Center (Chase n.d.; Hoffecker 1974:83). By the mid-1980s the property was identified on an insurance plat as an "historical" building, and a substantial springhouse addition was present (Figure 8).

3.3.2 1805 North Market Street

Joseph Tatnall's son, Edward, built the home at 1805 North Market Street circa 1850 (the will of Edward Tatnall suggests that the house was present by 1849). Before the house was built, one member of the family, Horace Tatnall, recalled that his grandmother said the land where the house was eventually built had been used for a flower garden attached to 1803 North Market Street (Wilson 1962). Edward's son, Henry Lea Tatnall and his wife, Caroline Gibbons, resided on the property until they moved from Brandywine Village to his wife's family house in 1869 (Hoffecker 1974: 88-89). Ownership was then transferred to Henry's brother Edward (II) Tatnall who maintained ownership until his death in 1898 (Hoffecker 1974: 89).

Historic maps of the property shed little light on the appearance and use of the rear yard at 1805 North Market Street. The map of Brandywine Village published in *Beers' Atlas of the State of Delaware* (1868), shows no outbuildings at all on the property, as does the *City Atlas of Wilmington* (Hopkins 1876) published eight years later (Figures 4 and 5). Both maps do indicate that the rectangular-shaped property at 1805 North Market Street extended from Market Street to Tatnall Street.

A detailed physical description during the late nineteenth century of the property including the rear yard was recorded by Edward's (II) daughter, Mary (Appendix III). Her account of 1805 North Market Street describes the lower terrace as being formally planted. The right side of a brick walk, presumably leading from the rear doorway located on the north side of the house, was planted with "flower beds laid out in geometric patterns, each edged with a narrow box border kept neatly trimmed to a certain height" (Tatnall 1952:143). Mary recalled that "on the left side [of the yard] was a large round bed, fully 25 feet in diameter full of lilies-of-the-valley; and in the middle a very large and handsome magnolia tree" (Tatnall 1952: 143). Located on the third terrace, some 200 feet behind the house was the privy described as "a nice brick structure with a lattice around it overgrown by a beautiful trumpet vine" (Tatnall 1952: 144). The distance Mary Tatnall recalls would place the privy near Tatnall Street, clearly a mistake because as her account continues "Back of these buildings the vegetable garden and the croquet ground and strawberry bed and fruit trees ran back to the next street" (Tatnall 1952:144).

After the death of Edward (II) Tatnall in 1898 the property was subdivided into two lots. By the time of the publication of *Baist's Property Atlas for the City of Wilmington* (1901), an "A. Tatnall" was shown as the occupant of the property, and the rear half extending to Tatnall Street was in the ownership of a "W. Wilson." (Figure 6). The house apparently served for a time as the rectory for St. John's Episcopal Church until it was purchased by Neal B. Kelly in 1910 (Wilson 1962). Kelly apparently modified the house after his purchase. By 1927 a two-story frame addition had been constructed at the northwest corner and a three-story frame addition was on the north end of the house; this latter addition included a fire escape (Figure 7). A series of brick garages had also been constructed in the area that previously contained the terraced gardens, and a duplex had been built on the Tatnall Street side of the property.

Francis Kelly inherited both 1805 and 1803 North Market Streets from his father in 1940 (Wilson 1962). Kelly used the building at 1805 North Market as an apartment building (Drews 1969). By

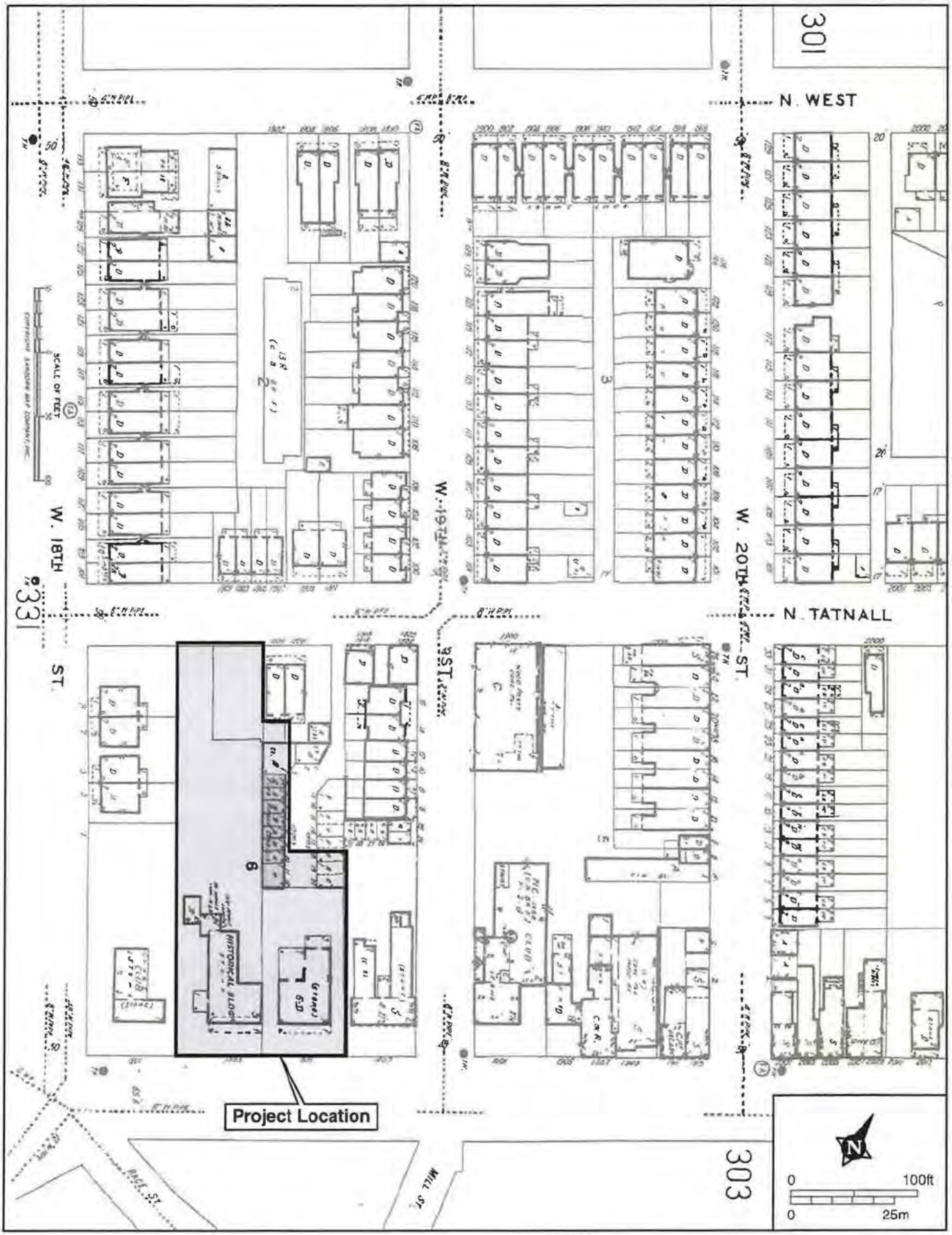


Figure 8. Detail of Sanborn 1965 map showing project location.

the time that he sold the land to the preservation organization, Old Brandywine Village, Inc. (OBV) the configuration and use had changed little since the late 1920s. The house contained nine apartments and the former terraced gardens were the site of twenty-one garages (Figure 8). These outbuildings were still extant as late as 1984. OBV purchased the house and property and undertook restoration work in the late 1970s, when the current occupant, The Wilmington Senior Center, acquired the property.

4.0 RESULTS OF PHASE I/II FIELD INVESTIGATIONS

The area surveyed included not only the rear yard presently covered with lawn, but also those sections currently capped by concrete walkways, pads, and drain lines. The employed archeological field strategy was three-tiered beginning with the GPR survey which sought to identify subsurface anomalies present within the rear yard surface of the 1803 and 1805 North Market Street lots. Within the area that was GPR surveyed, a number of linear and circular anomalies were identified. Further exploration in the portion of the project area currently covered by lawn was conducted with a series of nine measured units and eight smaller 50 cm diameter shovel tests (Figure 9). This sampling strategy provided information on the limits of intact yard surfaces and helped to further explore and classify some of the anomalies identified by the GPR. For discussion purposes, the project area was broken into three areas based upon the location and current condition within the rear yard.

4.1 AREA 1: FILLED AND GRADED SECTION ADJACENT TO TATNALL STREET

Area 1 represents the largest portion of the rear yard that is scheduled to be disturbed from the proposed work. This area encompasses approximately 1230 m² (0.30 ac.) extending south from Tatnall Street approximately 45 m (148.75 ft.) and continuing a maximum of 23 feet into the 1805 North Market Street lot from the western edge of 1803 North Market Street lot. The current field conditions within this portion of the project area consist of graded fill comprised of a gravel surface within the 1803 North Market Street lot (the majority of the area) and a poured concrete surface within 1805 North Market Street. The engineering plan indicates that final grade will be approximately 0.31 m (1 ft.) beneath the current grade in most areas. Although no GPR work was performed within this area, the stratigraphic evidence and depth of fill indicated by a bank cut along the western edge of the 1805 North Market Street lot and a shovel test near the southeastern corner of this same section suggest that the current construction plans would not impact any cultural resources within this portion of the project area.

4.1.1 West Wall Bank Cut and Shovel Test 1

Both profiles indicate that this portion of the project area has been extensively filled and graded. The bank along the western edge of 1803 North Market Street was cleaned in order to document the nature of fill deposits within this portion of the project area; the stratigraphic profile indicates that at least 85 cm of fill is present within this area (Figure 10). This depth corresponds to the vertical height of the bank and extends to the limits of archeological investigation. Stratigraphy in this section of the project area consisted of a dense fill consisting of yellowish red (5YR 5/8) silty clay loam mottled with strong brown (7.5YR 5/8) silty clay loam, approximately 45 cm in depth. Underlying this was a secondary fill deposit composed of very dark grayish brown (2.5Y 3/2) silt loam to loam with numerous brick fragments inclusions. At the base of the wall profile, from approximately 83 to 85 cmbgs, was the final recorded fill layer composed of strong brown (7.5YR 5/6) silty clay loam mottled with brown (10YR 4/3) silt loam.

4.1.2 Shovel Test 1

Within STU 1, excavation could not exceed 26 cm in depth due to the compact nature of the soil (or fill material), which contained high concentrations of gravel, cinder and ash. An intact natural horizon was not reached suggesting that this area has been heavily modified resulting in its

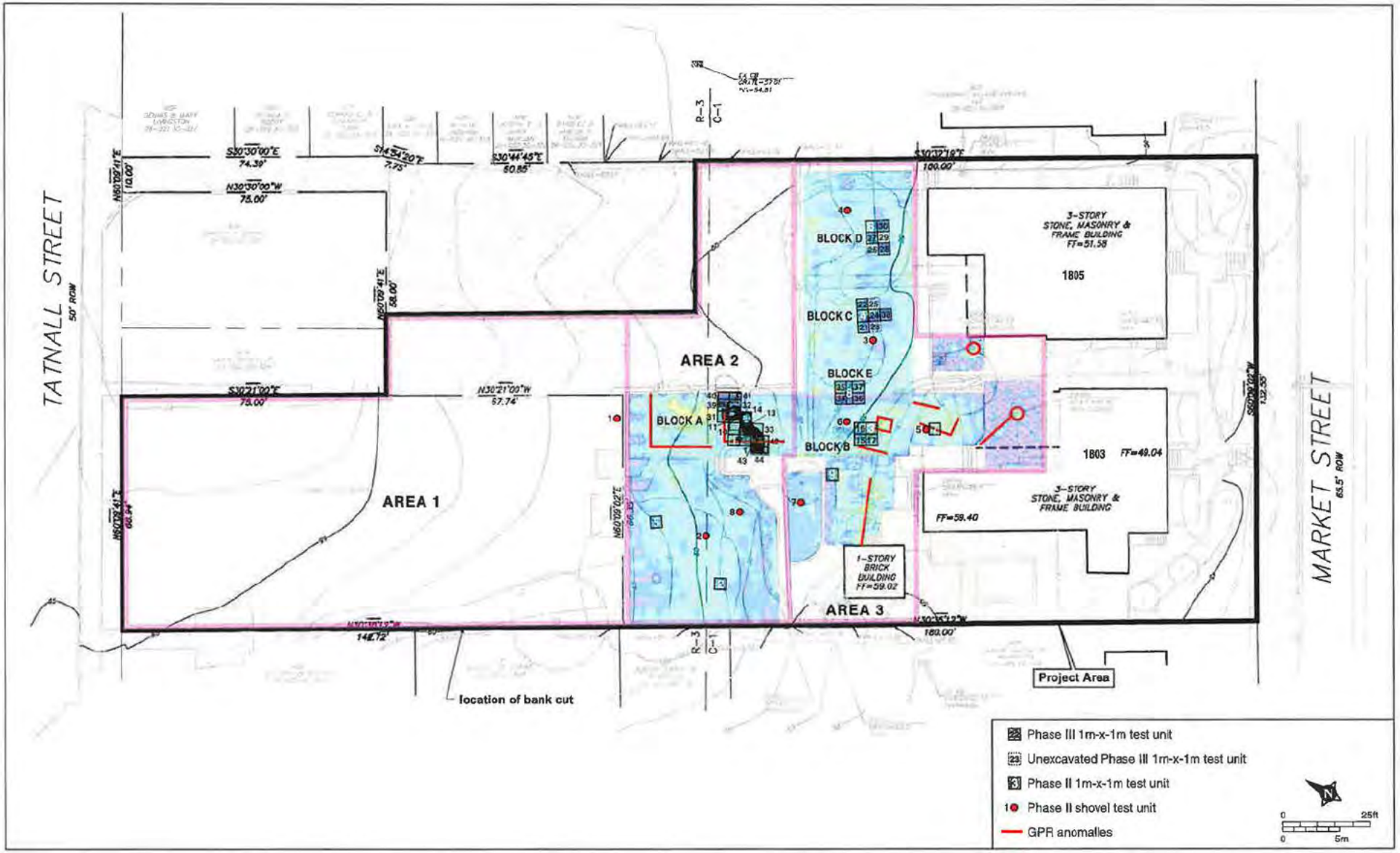


Figure 9. Project area, showing existing field conditions, tested areas, shovel test units, and excavation units (from Apex Engineering, Inc. 2004).

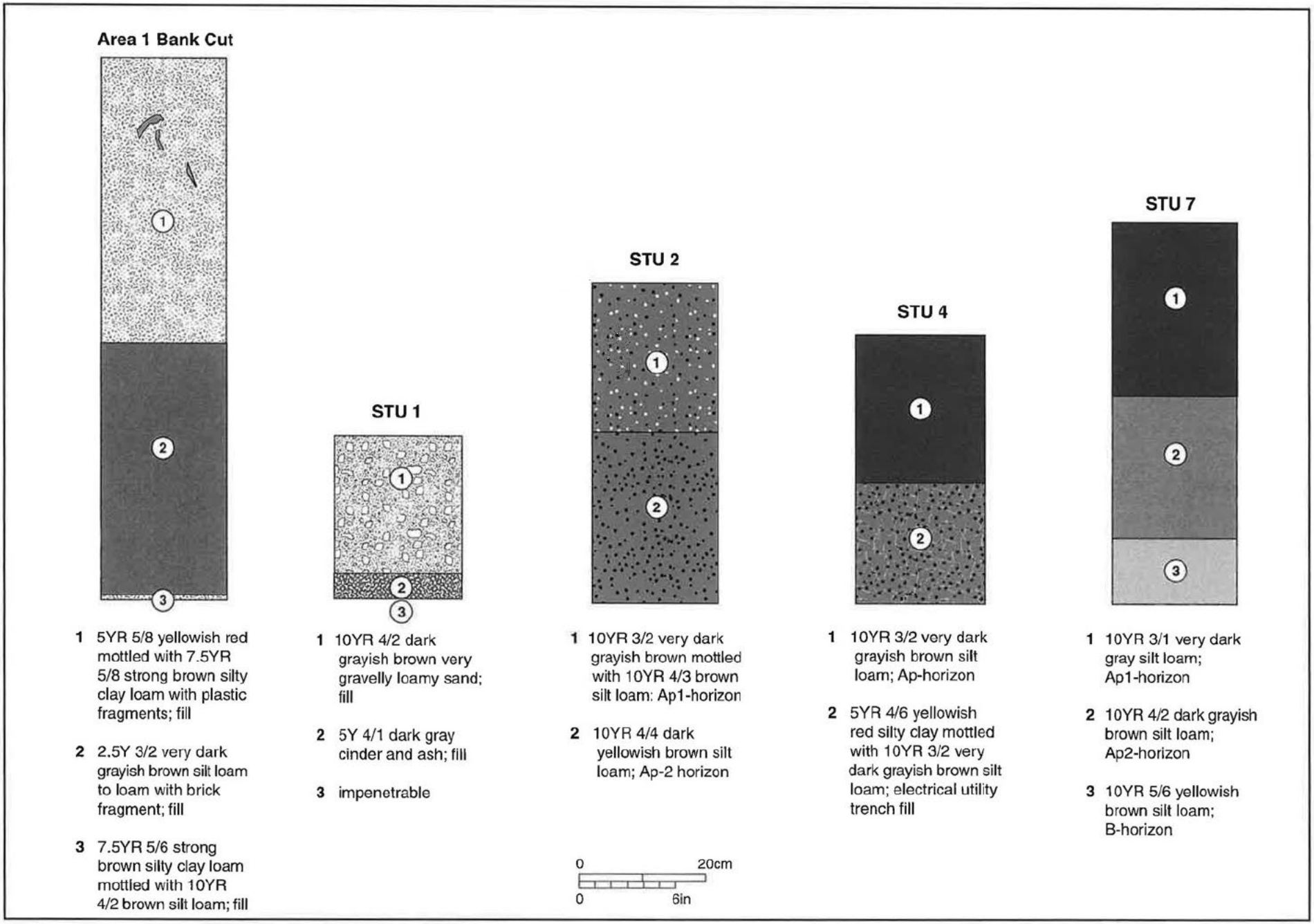


Figure 10. Representative soil profiles: Area 1 bank cut; STU 1, 2, 4, and 7.

current elevation grade. The depth of fill within the tested portion far exceeds the depth of disturbance by the proposed construction.

4.2 AREA 2: UPPER TERRACE

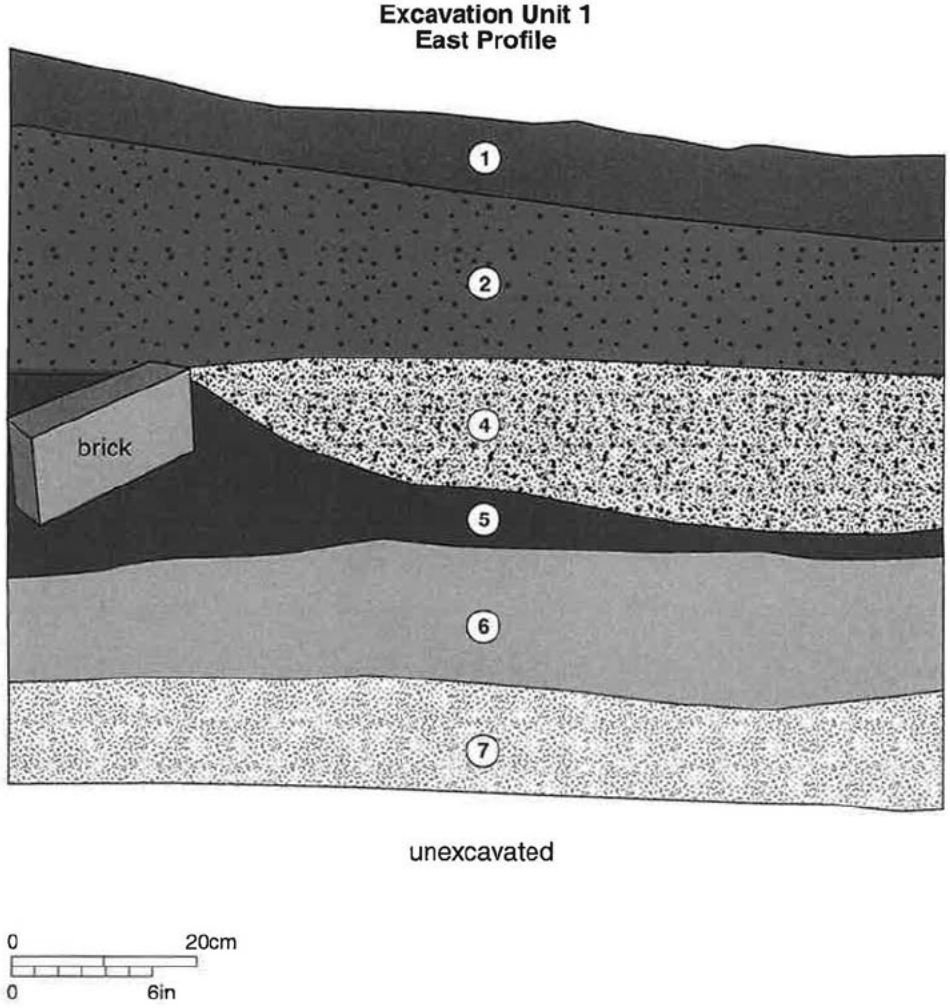
The upper terrace corresponds to the raised lawn surface within the central section of the 1803 North Market Street lot and a portion of the concrete pad enclosed by a chain link fence and concrete wall within 1805 North Market Street (Plate 4). This area, which accounts for approximately 623 m² (0.15 ac.), extends south from Area 1 approximately 15.5 m (51 ft.) to the southern edge of the chain link fence enclosure and has a maximum width of 40.2 m (132 ft.) or the approximate width of both 1803 and 1805 North Market Street. The concrete area was the site of a series of garage buildings present by the second decade of the twentieth century.

4.2.1 GPR Study

On the upper terrace, two sets of two linear anomalies intersecting at right angles were observed (Figure 9). These anomalies were positive relief features occurring at less than 50 cm below ground surface. The anomaly set to the northwest exhibited a vertical extent up to at least 1 m in depth but this is uncertain due to the attenuation of the signal within the anomaly. The other anomaly on the terrace did not have a vertical extent as great as the first. Both these anomalies were oriented with the property lines and other landscape features (walls, stairs, walks, etc.) observed at the surface.

4.2.2 Excavation Unit 1

EU 1 was placed on the upper terrace behind 1803 North Market Street approximately 3.66 m (12.0 ft.) from the 1803/1805 North Market Street lot line in order to further examine the L-shaped anomaly identified by the GPR survey (Figure 9). Encountered at the surface of the unit was the modern topsoil consisting of very dark grayish brown (10YR 3/2) silt loam that ranged in thickness from approximately 8 to 15 cm. Beneath this upper horizon were four discrete fill layers interpreted as historic landscaping/terracing deposits, corresponding to Levels 2 through 5 (Figure 11). Level 2 consisted of very dark grayish brown (10YR 3/2) silt loam mottled 15 percent with yellowish brown (10YR 5/6) silt loam. Thickness ranged from 11 to 19 cm. Underlying this layer was a relatively thin 0.5 to 10.5 cm layer of white (5Y 8/1) sand (representing decomposing mortar). This layer was present only within the southwestern quadrant of the unit. Once removed, the surrounding fill deposit consisted of very dark grayish brown (10YR 3/2) silt loam with a 50 percent mottle of yellowish red (5YR 4/6) silty clay loam. Excavated with this 3 to 19 cm thick fill deposit was a thin lens of black (10YR 2/1) ash in the southwestern quadrant. The base landscaping fill layer, designated as level 5, consisted of very dark gray (10YR 3/1) silt loam containing a high concentration of loose brick along the northern edge of the unit. Also present within the central portion of this layer was a shallow north to south orientated depression, designated as Feature 1. This linear trench may represent an erosion induced feature and may be the north-south orientated linear anomaly that was identified during the GPR survey. The base fill layer was highly variable in thickness, ranging from 1 cm in the southeast corner to over 25 cm in the northwest corner. Once removed, the intact historic Ap-horizon or plowzone was identified by the presence of an abrupt lower boundary at the base of the layer. This historic ground surface is capped by approximately 44.5 to 66.5 cm of historic landscaping fill deposits. Approximately 10 cm thick, this lower topsoil consists of brown (10YR 4/3) heavy silt loam and directly overlay the intact subsoil or B-horizon. Two features were identified in the subsoil, one of which appears to



1 10YR 3/2 very dark brown silty loam; Ap1-horizon (circa 1878-1967)

2 10YR 3/2 very dark brown silty loam with 15% mottling of 10YR 5/6 silty loam; fill (circa 1856-1960)

4 5YR 4/6 light reddish brown silty clay loam with 50% mottling of 10YR 3/2 silty loam; fill (circa 1856-1960)

5 10YR 3/1 very dark gray silty loam; fill

6 10YR 4/3 brown heavy silty loam; Ap-2 horizon (circa 1781-1837)

7 10YR 5/6 yellowish brown silty clay loam; B-horizon

Figure 11. East profile of Excavation Unit 1 showing stratigraphic profile of upper terrace.

Form 10-300
(July 1969)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES INVENTORY – NOMINATION FORM

(Type all entries – complete applicable sections)

RECEIVED Sep 17 1970 NATIONAL REGISTER

STATE:	
DELAWARE	
COUNTY:	
NEW CASTLE	
FOR NPS USE ONLY	
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE
71.210.0001	2/24/71

SEE INSTRUCTIONS

1. NAME

COMMON:
Brandywine Village (Historic District) (now a part of Wilmington, Delaware)

AND/OR HISTORIC:
Bokton (early Swedish homes) c.1640/ Brandywine c.1670-town separate

2. LOCATION

STREET AND NUMBER:
East boundary, Tatnall Street
South boundary Brandywine Creek, Other boun. irreg. see map

CITY OR TOWN:
Wilmington

STATE	CODE	COUNTY:	CODE
Delaware	~~07~~ 10	NEW CASTLE	003

3. CLASSIFICATION

CATEGORY (Check One)	OWNERSHIP	STATUS	ACCESSIBLE TO THE PUBLIC
☒ District ☐ Building ☐ Site ☐ Structure ☐ Object	☐ Public ☐ Private ☒ Both Majority Private	Public Acquisition: ☒ In Process ☒ Being Considered For park land along Brandywine Creek	☒ Occupied ☐ Unoccupied ☒ Preservation work in progress	Yes: ☐ Restricted ☒ Unrestricted ☐ No

PRESENT USE (Check One or More as Appropriate)

☐ Agricultural	☐ Government	☒ Park	☐ Transportation	☒ Comments	
☒ Commercial	☐ Industrial	☒ Private Residence	☐ Other (Specify)	Village or urban character	
☒ Educational	☐ Military	☒ Religious			
☐ Entertainment	☒ Museum	☐ Scientific			

4. OWNER OF PROPERTY

OWNER'S NAME:
Multi-ownership & Old Brandywine Village, Inc. owns 8 properties (Private) 3 Market St. stone houses, the Academy, and small house opposite, small park, playground on Creek shore, a stone double house in S.E. corner. (See map)

STREET AND NUMBER:
O.B.V. James Stewart DuPont Bldg.

CITY OR TOWN: Wilmington | STATE: Delaware | CODE: ~~07~~ 10

5. LOCATION OF LEGAL DESCRIPTION

COURTHOUSE, REGISTRY OF DEEDS, ETC:
Municipal Bldg. Recorder of Deeds ~~Register of Wills~~ City Planning Office

STREET AND NUMBER:
11 th and King Streets

CITY OR TOWN: Wilmington | STATE: Delaware | CODE: ~~07~~ 10

6. REPRESENTATION IN EXISTING SURVEYS

TITLE OF SURVEY:	2. 1966	3. 1967
1. Hist. Amer. Bldg. Survey	Del. Heritage Bldgs. areas in New Castle Co.	Study of Alternate Plan Design Pol
DATE OF SURVEY: 1934	1- ☒ Federal ☐ State ☐ County	2-3 ☒ Local
DEPOSITORY FOR SURVEY RECORDS:	2- Gr. Wilm. Devel. Council	3-Wallace, McHarg Roberts, and Todd
Library of Congress		
STREET AND NUMBER:	701 Shipley Street	1740 Cherry St.
CITY OR TOWN:	Wilmington, Del.	Phila. Pa.
Washington, D.C.	STATE:	CODE

FOR NPS USE ONLY
ENTRY NUMBER: 71.210.0001
DATE: 2/24/71

7. DESCRIPTION

CONDITION	(Check One) Runs the whole gamut	
	☒ Excellent ☐ Good ☐ Fair ☐ Deteriorated ☐ Ruins ☒ Unexposed	
	(Check One)	(Check One)
	☒ Altered ☐ Unaltered	☐ Moved ☒ Original Site

DESCRIBE THE PRESENT AND ORIGINAL (*If known*) PHYSICAL APPEARANCE

Brandywine Village was the original location of a group of flour mills, the homes of prosperous millers, mill workers, shop keepers and artisans. In general, the development of the small town was accomplished in the last quarter of the 18th century. At first the town was a separate entity on the north side of the Brandywine Creek, but soon became a part of earlier Wilmington, then developing on the south bank of the stream.

The Brandywine Creek flows approximately west to east for the area involved in the town and forms the south boundary. The total area of thirty acres reaches northeast from the creek in an irregular fashion. All of the mill and mill race sites are included, as are all the historic homes, large and small, and a small schoolhouse. Two mid-century churches are also included in this historic district.

The crossing of the creek, which has always been a problem due to the rocky stream-bed and the steep banks, is now accomplished by two modern bridges. These supplant three early wooden bridges, a still earlier ford, and a ferry. The creek was navigable at this point for the small sailing boats which served the mills. There were mills on both sides of the creek, but none of them survive in its original form. There are, however, continuous sections of exposed foundations which line both sides of the stream, some supporting later structures.

Market Street, the old toll road to Philadelphia from Wilmington and points south of the village, has always been the main street. Here developed the row of sturdy houses built of local Brandywine granite by the mill owners of the period. Six still remain in good condition while one is covered by a late store front. All are of good integrity of design, and although changes have been made, the character of the changes is, in the main, quite obvious and leaves little or no doubt of the original form and detail. For example, later additions of porches and shed dormers fail to obscure the original simple dignity of two stories of stone with a classic moulded cornice and a sloped roof paralleling the street.

Two of the seven houses have been restored, one serving as the headquarters of the Junior League of Wilmington, and the other owned and occupied by the Wilmington Senior Center. The whole row is placed high off the street level and back a generous dimension from the retaining walls at the line of the sidewalk. Of the seven houses mentioned above, three are owned by Old Brandywine Village, Inc., a private organization with strong historic and preservation interests and ideals.

The opposite side of Market Street is lined with small stores and other commercial activities housed within the walls of the old shops and homes of the less affluent members of the mill community, some of brick and some of frame construction. Store fronts and signs of the last century have, in general, obscured the original buildings. However, in many instances, second story windows and pitched roofs above the first stories attest to the former character of the row. Further houses of later date line Hutton,

SEE INSTRUCTIONS

8. SIGNIFICANCE

PERIOD *(Check One or More as Appropriate)*

☐ Pre-Columbian	☐ 16th Century	☒ 18th Century	☐ 20th Century
☐ 15th Century	☐ 17th Century	☒ 19th Century	

SPECIFIC DATE(S) *(If Applicable and Known)*

AREAS OF SIGNIFICANCE *(Check One or More as Appropriate)*

Aboriginal	☒ Education	☐ Political	☒ Urban Planning
☐ Prehistoric	☐ Engineering	☒ Religion/Philosophy	☐ Other (Specify)
☒ Historic	☒ Industry	☐ Science	
☐ Agriculture	☐ Invention	☐ Sculpture	
☒ Architecture	☐ Landscape Architecture	☐ Social/Humanitarian	
☐ Art	☐ Literature	☐ Theater	
☐ Commerce	☐ Military	☐ Transportation	
☐ Communications	☐ Music		
☐ Conservation			

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

In 1637 the earliest settler reached the land which later became Brandywine Village. This was Captain Jacob Vandever who took his small ship up the small stream, now the Brandywine Creek. Accompanied by his wife, he had sailed directly from Holland. Previously, in 1631, he had made an earlier trip to the New World and left a brother in New Amsterdam, who was a member of the Dutch East India Company and who prospered in Manhattan.

Shortly after his landing, it was discovered that his ship was leaky and unseaworthy. With the consent of a friendly Indian chief, Vandever and his crew laid claim to the landing place and built what was the first house in Brandywine Hundred. The first land patent was granted to Jacob Vandever in 1669 under the Duke of York and confirmed by re-survey in 1684-85. At that time the amount of land mentioned was 535 acres. The original log-hewn house and the brick one which followed have disappeared. Farm life prevailed on the whole Vandever Tract up to the time of the development of the flour milling industry.

Members of prominent families in the Village and surrounding areas gradually became involved in flour mill building and operation included the Marshalls in 1757, the Tatnalls and Leas in the 1770's. It was members of these families who built the stone houses on Market Street. They came into the period of their greatest prosperity in the Revolution when, after the Battle of the Brandywine in 1777, Joseph Tatnall became the chief supplier of flour for the Continental Army. The association was the start of a friendship with Generals George Washington, Lafayette, and Anthony Wayne, which grew and outlasted the war period.

In 1788 Oliver Evans, a local inventor, persuaded Joseph Tatnall and his partner, Lea, to install in their mill in the Village his idea of a mechanized mill system which proved very successful and was the first of its kind.

The Brandywine Academy was built in 1798 following a successful subscription of funds. The land was given by John Dickinson, the "Pen Man of the Revolution", and John Welsh. Dickinson had large property holdings in Brandywine Village, inherited by his daughter at his death in 1808/

The Academy served as a school for about 75 years, and also

SEE INSTRUCTIONS

9. MAJOR BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES

Delaware, A Guide to the First State-1938 by Fed. Writers Proj. W.P.A.
History of Delaware by Scharf - 1888
Historic Houses and Buildings Of Delaware by Eberlein -1962
Original Settlements On The Delaware by Ferris - 1846
Delaware History-- Delaware Historical Society
Three Centuries Under Four Flags by Lincoln -1937
Map by Amos Brinton --Old Brandywine Village, Inc. File
Early Architecture of Delaware by George F. Bennett -1932

10. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

LATITUDE AND LONGITUDE COORDINATES DEFINING A RECTANGLE LOCATING THE PROPERTY			OR	LATITUDE AND LONGITUDE COORDINATES DEFINING THE CENTER POINT OF A PROPERTY OF LESS THAN TEN ACRES	
CORNER	LATITUDE	LONGITUDE		LATITUDE	LONGITUDE
	Degrees Minutes Seconds	Degrees Minutes Seconds		Degrees Minutes Seconds	Degrees Minutes Seconds
NW	39 ° 45 ' 04 "	75 ° 32 ' 45 "		° ' "	° ' "
NE	39 ° 45 ' 13 "	75 ° 32 ' 25 "			
SE	39 ° 44 ' 58 "	75 ° 32 ' 14 "			
SW	39 ° 44 ' 49 "	75 ° 32 ' 34 "			

APPROXIMATE ACREAGE OF NOMINATED PROPERTY: 30 ACRES

LIST ALL STATES AND COUNTIES FOR PROPERTIES OVERLAPPING STATE OR COUNTY BOUNDARIES

STATE:	CODE	COUNTY	CODE
STATE:	CODE	COUNTY:	CODE
STATE:	CODE	COUNTY:	CODE
STATE:	CODE	COUNTY:	CODE

RECEIVED SEP 17 1970 NATIONAL REGISTER

11. FORM PREPARED BY

NAME AND TITLE:
Albert Kruse, F.A.I.A., State Preservation Coordinator

ORGANIZATION: Delaware Chapter, American Institute of Achhitects
DATE: July 26, 1970

STREET AND NUMBER:
123 Edgewood Road, Alapocas

CITY OR TOWN: Wilmington,
STATE: Delaware
CODE: 07

12. STATE LIAISON OFFICER CERTIFICATION

As the designated State Liaison Officer for the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (Public Law 89-665), I hereby nominate this property for inclusion in the National Register and certify that it has been evaluated according to the criteria and procedures set forth by the National Park Service. The recommended level of significance of this nomination is:

National ☐ State ☐ Local ☒

Name Leon deValinger, Jr.

Title State Archivist & State Liaison Officer

Date July 29, 1970

NATIONAL REGISTER VERIFICATION

I hereby certify that this property is included in the National Register.

Ernest A Connally
Chief, Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation

FEB 24 1971

Date

ATTEST:

William J Murtagh
Keeper of The National Register

Date DEC 30 1970

SEE INSTRUCTIONS

Form 10-300a
(Dec. 1968)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

STATE	
COUNTY	
FOR NPS USE ONLY	
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE
71.2.10.0001	2/25/71

Old Brandywine Village (Continuation Sheet) Description
(Number all entries)

Vandever, Buena Vista, and Race Streets and are of great value as supplementary, if not primary, interest to the community.

At the north end of the row of large houses on Market Street, at the corner of Concord Ave,, St. John's Episcopal Church was built in 1857 and consecrated in 1858. The church has been greatly expanded from a simple parish church to become the Cathedral Church of St. John. The first building was designed by John Notman of Phila delphia, who was a leading designer in the Gothic tradition of that time. The Notman plan was a simple cruciform type with a tall tower surmounted by a slender spire. Brandywine granite was used for all walls and the roof is of slate. The expanded group which is now the Cathedral Church is well arranged and allows the original design to hold its place in the complete composition. The use of the local granite makes the church compatible with the old houses.

North on Market St. on the east side stands the Brandywine Methodist Episcopal Church, also built in 1857. The present building is a very simple rectangular brick structure. The exterior is stuccoed and the surface is scored to simulate stone coursing. The roof is low-pitched, pedimented on the entrance or street front. Since the auditorium is on the second floor, the high arched windows with tinted glass express this use in contrast with the much lower windows on the first floor which houses church offices and the Sunday School. The architectural style follows the work of Benjamin Latrobe, William Strickland and Ammi B. Young who worked in Wilmington and nearby New Castle, and were doubtless an influence in the design of this building.

On Vandever Ave., just east of the intersection with Market St. stands the Brandywine Academy, founded in 1798, as attested by the oval date stone over the entrance. It is a two story building of stone with a generous attic surmounted by an octagonal cupola with bell, on a low square base. It housed a class room on each floor and also served as a meeting place for the village activities. Brandywine granite again plays its part in making Brandywine Village an integral architectural composition. The Academy is owned by Old Brandywine Village, Inc,, and has been restored by this organization. The first floor, as restored, portrays a classroom of the early 1800's, and the second floor is the meeting room for the Caesar Rodney Chapter of the D.A.R., whose members serve as guides in the schoolroom. It is used as a museum visited regularly by Delaware elementary school pupils studying Delaware history, and others.

Form 10-300a
(Dec. 1968)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

(Continuation Sheet)

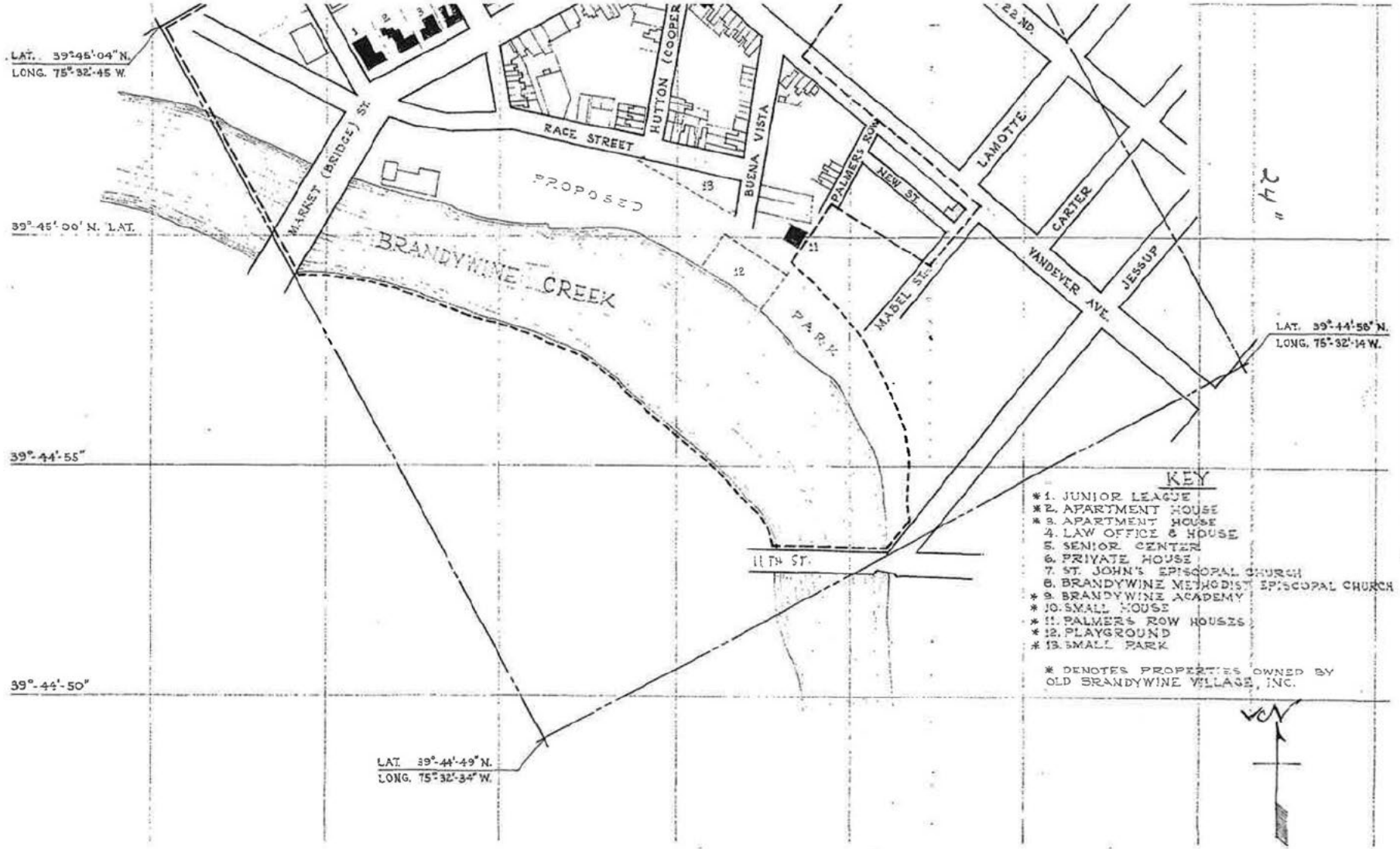
STATE	
COUNTY	
FOR NPS USE ONLY	
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE
71.2.10.0001	2/24/71

(Number all entries)

Old Brandywine Village- significance

housed the founding groups and original worshipers of the two churches founded in the Village; St. John's Episcopal and the Brandywine Methodists. From 1915 to 1943 the building was used as a branch of the Wilmington Institute Free Library. The Academy was founded as a privateschool and became a part of the Wilmington Public School system.

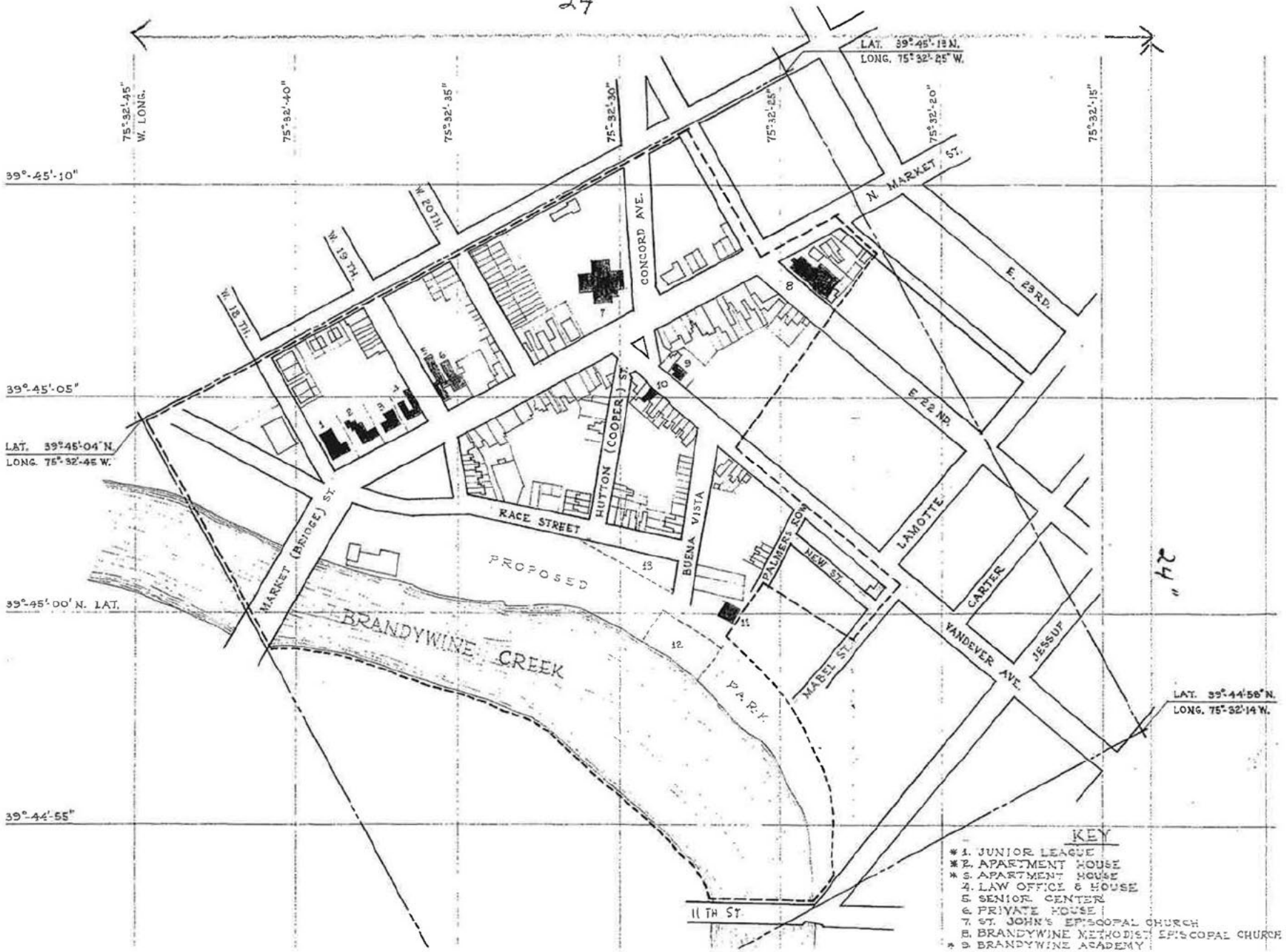
In 1824 General Lafayette re-visited Brandywine Village in a tour of the Eastern part of the states, so familiar to him in the war. The Village held a triumphant parade, crowds cheered and waved flags. The Academy bell was rung and the General visited with the Tatnalls and other friends of the war days.



OLD BRANDYWINE VILLAGE

WILMINGTON, DELAWARE

7-23-70.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LAT. 39°-45'-18" N.
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N. MARKET ST.
W. 20TH.
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CONCORD AVE.
E. 23RD.
E. 22 ND.
HUTTON (COOPER) ST.
BUENA VISTA
RACE STREET
MARKET (BRIDGE) ST.
PROPOSED
BRANDYWINE CREEK
PARK
PALMERS ROW
NEW ST.
LAMOTTE
CARTER
JESSUP
VANDEVER AVE.
MABEL ST.
11 TH ST.
42"
KEY
* 1. JUNIOR LEAGUE
* 2. APARTMENT HOUSE
* 3. APARTMENT HOUSE
4. LAW OFFICE & HOUSE
5. SENIOR CENTER
6. PRIVATE HOUSE
7. ST. JOHN'S EPISCOPAL CHURCH
8. BRANDYWINE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH
* 9. BRANDYWINE ACADEMY

JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

(https://allthingsliberty.com)

/ January 25, 2017

ROLLING ON THE RIVER: DELAWARE IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

by Kim Burdick(https://allthingsliberty.com/author/kim-burdick/)

Under English rule, trading vessels sailed back and forth from the Delaware River and Bay to Philadelphia, New York, the British Isles, Southern Europe, Madeira, and the West Indies. Raw materials were sent to England for manufacture, traded with non-British entities, and the proceeds spent on British-made goods. Daily runs between Cape Henlopen, New Castle and Philadelphia were key to the prosperity of what would become the State of Delaware.

Following the French and Indian War, reaction to British attempts to tax and regulate trade was so negative that Parliament repealed all but the tax on tea. The Tea Act quickly backfired. When news came in September 1773, that the tea ship *Polly* was on its way, it was obvious that the first Americans to meet her would be Delaware River pilots. They, along with Captain Ayres of the *Polly*, were warned not to bring that ship upriver. A handbill read, in part:

> *What think you, Captain, of a Halter around your Neck—ten Gallons of liquid Tar decanted on your Pate—with the Feathers of a dozen wild Geese laid over that to enliven your Appearance? Only think seriously of this—and fly to the Place from whence you came—fly without Hesitation—without the Formality of a Protest—and above all, Captain Ayres, let us advise you to fly without the wild Geese Feathers.* [1](# edn1)

Despite the threats, the *Polly* was intercepted south of Philadelphia. On Christmas Day, nearly seven hundred chests of tea ordered by the Quaker firm of James & Drinker were formally refused. The ship was stocked with fresh provisions and water, and Captain Ayres sent to "convey the tea back to its old rotting-place in Leadenhall Street."

When Parliament shut the Port of Boston, it seemed likely that Philadelphia might also be punished. On July 6, 1774, worried Delawareans met at the New Castle Courthouse, with Sussex Countians meeting separately in Lewes on July 23. Thomas McKean attended both meetings, reminding Delawareans that the Intolerable Acts prohibited farmers from ferrying their own wool, "though the rivers, waters, havens, etc. are given to us by our Charters." On August 1, delegates from all three counties met in New Castle. Caesar Rodney, Thomas McKean, and George Read, "or any two of them," were appointed to meet with "the sister Colonies ... in order that all may unite in promoting and endeavoring to attain the rights of the Colonies as British subjects." [2](# edn2)

That September, fifty-five delegates representing every colony but Georgia met in Philadelphia. Paul Revere rode into town on the 17th to present Massachusetts' statement, the Suffolk Resolves, suggesting that the colonies form their own military, refuse to pay British taxes, cut off trade with Britain and its colonies in the West Indies, and create their own government. The delegates agreed, appointing twenty-four members to create a list of American rights and grievances, devise redress, or secure Britain's acquiescence.

When London learned of the formation of this Continental Congress, a forty-four-gun British frigate began patrolling the Delaware River and Bay, interrupting commerce, collecting intelligence, and chasing smugglers.

A Second Continental Congress met on May 10, 1775. George Read, Caesar Rodney and Thomas McKean once again represented the Lower Three Counties. John Dickinson served as a Pennsylvania delegate. Although it was agreed that a Continental Army was needed, an Olive Branch Petition was drafted and approved. When this peace missive arrived in England, the King refused to read it, officially declaring the colonies to be in a state of rebellion. [3](# edn3)

Fear escalated. Henry Fisher of Lewes was asked to establish thirteen alarm posts following the river from Cape Henlopen, Mispillion River, Murderkill River, Bombay Hook, Port Penn, and further north to Philadelphia. The lower alarm posts were equipped with small boats and cannon.

In December, Esek Hopkins of Rhode Island was appointed commander-in-chief of the newly-created Continental Navy comprised of seven ships: two 24-gun frigates, the *Alfred* and the *Columbus*; two 14-gun brigs, the *Andrea Doria*, and the *Cabot*; and three schooners, the *Hornet*, the *Wasp*, and the *Fly*. Because the river was frozen, Hopkins' fleet had to wait in Philadelphia until February 11, 1776. Fearful that the Continental Naval Committee was "taking the Bread from their mouths," the Delaware River pilots asked Henry Fisher to be their spokesman. In response, the Naval Committee approved ten Delaware River pilots to serve as "scouts of the waterway" to send dispatches of enemy activity along the coast to Philadelphia throughout the war. [4](# edn4)

On March 27, Henry Fisher sent word that the British ship *Roebuck* and a tender had entered the mouth of the Delaware Bay. The Philadelphia committee immediately ordered four row galleys to report to the *Lexington* under command of Capt. John Barry, to "exert their utmost endeavors to take or destroy all such vessels of the enemy as they might find in the Delaware." Captain Lawrence with the *Salamander* and Captain Hause with the guard boat *Eagle* were sent to Lewes. The *Eagle* and supplies were to be placed at Henry Fisher's disposal.

Soldiers under Col. John Haslet were also deployed to Lewes. On April 7, one of the *Roebuck*'s tenders attacked an American merchant ship. Gunfire from the Delaware Continental Regiment and cannonfire from the merchant ship helped check the *Roebuck*. Haslet reported to George Read that he had the *Roebuck's* third lieutenant and three soldiers in custody. They had been taken from a tender about four in the morning after "the helmsman fell asleep [and] Providence steered the boat ashore." [5](# edn5)

The pension records of Samuel Lockwood, a volunteer in the Delaware militia, describe the events:

At Lewestown, Sussex County, state of Delaware, early in the beginning of the year 1776, served under Capt. David Hall, afterwards Colonel Hall ... alternatively guarding at the lighthouse which was on Cape Henlopen (about the distance of one mile from Lewestown) and working on the fort at Lewestown ... This whole year was occupied by the company to which he belonged by guarding at the lighthouse and working as aforesaid, always taking their muskets, etc., with them. And whenever they heard two cannons (which was the signal), they laid by their laboring tools, seized their arms, and repaired to the point where there was danger apprehended and again, when the alarm was over, returned to their work unless the time for their relief had arrived. [6](# edn6)

The *Roebuck* and the *Liverpool* began moving north. On May 8, 1776, thirteen row galleys and the Continental schooner *Wasp* attacked them below Chester, Pennsylvania. The exchange of fire lasted nearly four hours. At dusk, the *Roebuck* ran aground and the *Liverpool* was forced to anchor until the firing stopped. The next day, the *Roebuck* floated off the sand bar and the American row galleys resumed attack. Firing constantly, the *Roebuck* and *Liverpool* were chased six miles back down the river to New Castle, where they moored for the night. William Barry, an American prisoner on the *Roebuck*, reported that there were

many shots betwixt the wind and water: some went quite through, some in her quarter, and was much raked fore and aft ... one man was killed by a shot ... Six were much hurt and burned by an eighteen-pound cartridge of powder taking fire, among whom was an acting lieutenant, and several were hurt by splinters. [7](# edn7)

George Read wrote Caesar Rodney pleading for more powder and lead for the troops at Lewes.

On June 15, 1776, within sight of British war ships prowling the river, thirty Delawareans met in the New Castle courthouse. The men squabbled about the need for the change in government recommended by the Continental Congress and with each other about a proposal to create their own independent state. A state composed of only three counties, all bordered by the Delaware River, seemed both stupid and dangerous, and Rodney, McKean, Read, and all other colonial leaders would be accused of treason against Britain if America lost the war. Eventually, it was decided that the Lower Three Counties of Pennsylvania would be free not only from Britain, but also from governance by the Penn family.

Caesar Rodney was now Delaware's highest ranking officer, and although due to be at the Continental Congress, William Adair, a resident of Sussex County, noted in his diary, "June 19-20, Colonel Rodney came to try Tories with 1,000 men viz Colonel Haslet's Battalion, also a fair representation of riflemen to reduce a Tory insurrection here. Witnesses examined for four days. Tories ordered to bring in their arms and ammunition." On June 23-25, Adair wrote, "Robinson, Manlove and Ingram fled to Somerset, are raising an insurrection at Snow Hill."[8](# edn8)

On July 1, Thomas McKean angrily paid for a rider to hasten from Philadelphia to find Rodney. Delaware's vote on the Declaration of Independence was tied; Thomas McKean voting for, and George Read voting against. A second and final vote would be taken the next day. Caesar Rodney wrote to his brother that he arrived in Philadelphia "in time Enough to give my Voice in the matter of Independence." [9](# edn9)

Delaware was now asked to supply 600 men for a Flying Camp of militia units from New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland. They were assigned to guard the vulnerable coastline, protect the Continental Army's supply lines, suppress roving bands of Tories and act as a ready reserve when George Washington's army need reinforcement. 460 Delawareans were recruited. Their term expired on December 1, 1776. Two weeks later, Caesar Rodney's brother, Thomas, and thirty-five Kent Countians left Dover to join Washington and his men in Bucks County, Pennsylvania. In his diary, Thomas Rodney described Washington's crossing of the Delaware:

Our light Infantry Battalion (composed of the Dover company and four companies of Philadelphia militia under Captain George Henry) were embarked in boats to cover the landing of the Brigade. When we reached

the Jersey shore we were obliged to land on the ice, 150 yards from the shore. The River was also very full of floating ice and the wind was blowing very hard, and the night was very dark and cold, and we had great difficulty in crossing but the night was very favorable to the enterprise ... about 12 o'clock the remainder of my company came in, and in the evening, we heard of General Washington's success at Trenton and that he had captured 900 Hessians. [10](# edn10)

During the crossing, Delaware Regiment 's Col. John Haslet fell into the icy river. He survived, marched ten miles through the wintry blasts to fight the Hessian troops garrisoned in Trenton, then was killed on January 3 at the battle of Princeton.

Wartime activity in the Delaware River and Bay continued. A message was received from Jacob Bennett that he had been taken by a British ship of war south of Cape Henlopen and saw a local boat arrive carrying livestock for the British. On January 27, 1777, the General Assembly resumed session in New Castle. Orders for arresting Loyalists Boas Manlove and Thomas Robinson, Esquires, were read and laid on the table. In March, after evading several arrests, Manlove, Robinson, and colleague John F. Smyth, fled to the British ship *Preston*.

In Philadelphia, the Continental Congress ordered a survey of the Pennsylvania side of the river, noting places where the enemy might land. This was to extend "down the river as far as Christina Creek." Construction of forts at Billingsport and Red Bank, New Jersey, and Fort Mifflin on Mud Island, and installation of underwater obstacles called chevaux-de-frises, began while Britain's *Liverpool* and *Roebuck* continued to patrol.

In April, 1777, the Continental Congress advised Delawareans to prepare for an attack. New Castle's location on the river caused the Delaware Assembly to move inland to Dover. On April 10, British men-of-war appeared in the bay where an encounter took place between the British ships *Roebuck* and *Perseus*, and an American ship, *Morris*. On June 4, Sussex County resident William Adair noted in his diary, "Roebuck blowed off her guns in ye road, 2 ships came up the Bay" and again on the 9th, "The ships blowed off their guns today." In July Adair added, "Tories have robbed ten cattle in Mr. Kollock's vessel, clothing, houses at Indian River."[11](# edn11)

On July 21, 1777, two hundred and sixty-one British ships arrived in the Delaware Bay. A British inventory listed "twenty-seven battalions of British and eight of foreigners; one regiment of light dragoons; a detachment of Artillery, consisting of british riflemen, the Queen's rangers and four comp. of Pioneers."[12](# edn12) Their goal was to capture the rebel capital of Philadelphia. After learning from *Roebuck's* Capt. Andrew Snape Hammond about the *chevaux-de-frises* installed below Philadelphia, the ships turned south, rounding the Delmarva Peninsula to head north into the Chesapeake. These ships arrived at Head of Elk on August 25 and proceeded to land British troops.

Almost simultaneously, George Washington led 11,000 American soldiers down Philadelphia Pike into Wilmington. Washington wrote to John Hancock and William Livingston from Quaker Hill, "How far the Enemy have it in view to extend themselves in a Line from Bay to Bay, I cannot determine; but the idea has taken pace with many ... It is another Effort to seduce the people to give up their rights and to encourage our soldiery to desert." [13](# edn13)

Following the Battle of Brandywine on September 11, British Gen. William Howe dispatched the 71st Regiment (Frazer's Highlanders) and some Hessians under the command of Col. Johann von Loos down Concord Pike into Wilmington. Howe's purpose was to use Wilmington as a point of rendezvous with the British fleet. On October 5 news came from Lewes that "36 sail of the enemy ships went past this town up the Bay, and this evening 47 more were seen from the Light house standing in for the Cape, they have anchored in our road." On October 23, the British ship *Augusta* caught fire near Fort Mifflin and exploded, the blast causing bottles to rattle in Wilmington.

The winter of Valley Forge followed. Under Brig. Gen. William Smallwood's command, Delaware and Maryland soldiers garrisoned Wilmington, serving as a buffer between the American supply depots at Head of Elk and the British in Philadelphia. In March, George Washington at Valley Forge received good news from Captain John Barry:

> *Port Penn, March 9, 1778*
>
> *Dear General*
>
> *Tis with the Greatest Satisfaction Imaginable I inform You of Capturing Two Ships & a Schooner of the Enemy. The two ships were Transports from Rhode Island Loaded with forage One Mounting Six Four Pounders with fourteen hands Each the Schooner is in the Engineering Department Mounting Eight Double fortified four Pounders & twelve four Pound howitz Properly fitted in Every Particular & Manned with thirty-three men... the schooner is unloaded but have not as Yet the Manifest of the Cargo But are a Number of Engineering Tools on Board.*
>
> *... By the Bearer Mr John Chilton have Sent You a Cheese Together with a Jar of Pickled Oysters which Crave Your Acceptance. should have Remitted the Particulars Together with the Letters & Dispatch for General De hester Before But a fleet of the Enemys Small Vessels appearing in Sight Obliged me to Burn One of the Ships & am afraid the Other will share the same fate after Discharging her But am Determined to hold the Schooner at all Events. Inclosed You have the Articles of the Schooners Capitulation as we Sent a flag on Board her. After Boarding the two Ships & am Sir with Due Respect Your Excellncies Most Obedient Humbl. Servt*
>
> *John Barry*[14](# edn14)

The following day, Smallwood wrote to George Washington from Wilmington:

> *Our People were attacked at 2OClk off Pt Pen by a 20 Gun Ship & an Armed Sloop which it was supposed were convoying the Remainder of the Forage Fleet—I have received Intelligence that many of the Enemy are out of Philada above their Lines towards German Town but the Intelligence is not to be depended on. W.S.*
>
> *N.B. one of the Lieutenants gives an Account of 100 Transports being ordered 'round to Delaware abt the middle of this Month &c.* [15](# edn15)

That spring, Captain Snape Hamond ordered the *Pearl*, stationed between Chester and Reedy Point, to destroy all rebel boats found in Delaware's creeks. George Read reported that "a considerable body of the Enemy, supposed to be 700, landed this morning about Liston's Highlands and were on the march up the Thoroughfare Neck." The British ship *Camilla* proceeded to patrol between Reedy Island and Bombay Hook, removing the rebel boat *Fame* out of a creek just above Reedy Point. The commander of Delaware's continental regiment, Charles Pope, wrote to Caesar Rodney from Duck Creek that "30—or 40 marines landed & took off some cattle etc., & returned ... at eight o'clock this morning. The fleet consisting of about 35 sail weighed and stood Down the Bay."[16](# edn16) From Lewes, it was reported that a "fleet of 40 Sail" was seen going up the Bay and that "English burn the 2 last vessels ashore, ye woods burn. John Whiltbanck, Loyalist, Went with Negroes to ye English." [17](# edn17)

Because New Castle was dangerously close to the river, the Delaware Assembly once again met in Dover. Caesar Rodney was elected President of Delaware. In the spring of 1778, Caesar Rodney wrote:

> *We are constantly alarmed in this place by the enemy and refugees. And seldom has a day passed but some man in this and the neighbouring counties is taken off by the villains. So, that men near the Bay who I know to*

be hearty in the Cause, dare neither act nor speak lest they should be taken away and their houses plundered. [18](# edn18)

On May 4, a delegation from the British government that had been sent to attempt reconciliation was sailing past New Castle, where they waited for an armed sloop to take them to Philadelphia. One noted, "as we passed ... [we] were insulted by a party of riflemen who fired several shots at us, which, though striking at too great a distance to occasion the least alarm, yet manifested the malevolence as well as rashness of their intentions." [19](# edn19)

By June, nearly 300 British merchant ships and transports were anchored along Delaware's coastline. Many loyalist families, hoping to find sanctuary, left with these ships when the British evacuated Philadelphia. On July 11, Caesar Rodney noted that the enemy had entirely left the Delaware River, and that Admiral d'Estaing's large French fleet was patrolling the Delaware coastline.[20](# edn20)

Things remained relatively peaceful in Delaware until summer of 1781, when thousands of soldiers, horses, cattle and baggage trains crossed New Castle County, following Philadelphia Pike to the Wilmington riverfront, then Maryland Avenue through Newport and Stanton to Old Stanton-Christiana Road. Turning west at Christiana, they followed Old Baltimore Pike into Maryland. Their destination was Yorktown, Virginia.

After Yorktown fell the war was effectively over, but there was military action in the Delaware Bay when British Capt. Josiah Rodgers of the *General Monk* ordered the American ship *Hyder Ally* to surrender(https://allthingsliberty.com/2016/06/joshua-barney-victory-delaware-bay/). On April 8, 1782, American naval Lt. Joshua Barney replied with a broadside of grape, canister and round shot, killing some sailors and marines. He ordered his ship to port and unleashed another round of shot. The boats were so close that the enemies' shouted commands were heard. The quick-thinking Barney then gave his sailors quiet directions while in a loud voice ordering them to do something else. As he had apparently intended, the two vessels collided and their riggings became entangled. The Americans fastened the *General Monk* to their ship to prevent her breaking loose and fired broadside. After less than thirty minutes of close-quarters combat, the Americans captured both the *General Monk* and the *Charming Molly*. [21](# edn21)

Further upstate, constable Robert Appleton's house was plundered by Loyalists who took him captive, hauling him to Bombay Hook. Joined by six more men, the Loyalists demanded he preach a Methodist sermon. When he refused, he was whipped, forced to destroy official papers, and made to promise that he would never serve papers on Tories again. Serving another warrant a few weeks later, Appleton was again captured and beaten. [22](# edn22)

While these things were taking place, soldiers continued passing through the state, all needing food, clothing, and supplies. Among those headed north that summer was the duc de Lauzun, returning to America from France. The whole trip had been an unpleasant adventure:

We arrived off the coast of America, at the mouth of the Delaware ... at daybreak we sighted an English squadron of seven men of war bearing down upon us under full canvas. We were forced to raise anchor and enter the river without pilots ... M. de la Touche sailed two leagues farther up the channel, then seeing that no hope remained, decided to put ashore the packages from the court, the money, and passengers. We were put ashore about a league from the nearest habitation, without having brought away so much as a shirt a piece. I was still in a fever, I could barely stand, and I should never have been able to reach a house had it not been for a powerful negro who gave me his arm... the French and American doctors were agreed in their opinion that I must die before the end of the autumn... Then M. de Rochambeau sent one of his aides-de-camp with letters for the Chevalier de la Luzerne, and wrote bidding me do everything in my power to come to camp... I mounted a horse and rode to camp, death being no worse on the road than in Philadelphia.[23](# edn23)

On April 11, 1783, the Continental Congress declared the cessation of arms against Great Britain. In New Castle, a peace celebration was held along the banks of the finally quiet river.

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[1](# ednref1) Broadside printed in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), December 7, 1773.

[2](# ednref2) John Coleman, *Thomas McKean: Forgotten Leader of the Revolution* (Rockaway, NJ: American Faculty Press, 1975), 113-114.

[3](# ednref3) http://www.san.beck.org/13-4-AmericanResistance1763-75.html(http://www.san.beck.org/13-4-AmericanResistance1763-75.html). See also http://www.hobart.k12.in.us/gemedia/amrev/revwar/olivebra.htm(http://www.hobart.k12.in.us/gemedia/amrev/revwar/olivebra.htm)

[4](# ednref4) Tim McGrath, *Give Me a Fast Ship: The Continental Navy and America's Revolution at Sea* (New York: NAL Caliber Penguin Random House, 2015), 38-39. See also the Fisher papers at Historical Society of Delaware.

[5](# ednref5) J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Delaware, 1609-1888* (Philadelphia: I. J. Richards and Company, 1888), 1:227.

[6](# ednref6) Samuel Lockwood, reprinted in John C. Dann, *Revolution Remembered: Eyewitness Accounts of the War for Independence* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 166-167.

[7](# ednref7) John W. Jackson, *The Pennsylvania Navy, 1775-1781: Defense of the Delaware* (New Brunswick, NJ; Rutgers University Press, 1974), 51.

[8](# ednref8) Harold Hancock, "Revolutionary War Diary of William Adair," *Delaware History*, Volume 13 (1968-1969), 154-170.

[9](# ednref9) George Ryden, ed., *Letters to and from Caesar Rodney, 1756-1784* (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Delaware, 1933), Letter no. 87.

[10](# ednref10) Thomas Rodney, *Diary of Captain Thomas Rodney, 1776-1777* (Wilmington: Historical Society of Delaware.1888. On-demand reprint by Kessinger Publication), 12-24.

[11](# ednref11) Hancock, "Revolutionary War Diary of William Adair," 160.

[12](# ednref12) Robert Francis Seyboldt, *Contemporary British Accounts of Sir General Howe's Military Operations in 1777* (American Antiquarian Society, April 1930), 74.

[13](# ednref13) Philander Chase and Edward G. Lengel, eds., *Papers of George Washington, Revolutionary War Series* (Charlottesville, University of Virginia, 1994), 11:112.

[14](# ednref14) John Barry to George Washington, March 9, 1778, National Archives, Founders Online, http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/03-14-02-0080(http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/03-14-02-0080)

[15](# ednref15) William Smallwood to George Washington, March 9-10, 1778, National Archives, Founders Online, http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/03-14-02-0089(http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/03-14-02-0089).

[16](# ednref16) Ryden, *Letters to and from Caesar Rodney*, Letter no. 247.

[17](# ednref17) Hancock, "Revolutionary War Diary of William Adair," 164.

[18](# ednref18) Caesar Rodney to Thomas McKean, Dover, March 9, 1778. McKean Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[19](# ednref19) George James Howard, Earl of Carlisle, *Manuscripts of Earl of Carlisle* (London: Eyre and Spottiswood, 1897).

[20](# ednref20) Ryden, *Letters to and from Caesar Rodney*, Letter no.273.

[21](# ednref21) Mary Chase Barney, *A Biographical Memoir of the Late Commodore Joshua Barney* (Boston, Gray and Bowen, 1832), 114.

[22](# ednref22) Ray Raphael, *People's History of the American Revolution* (New York: HarperCollins. 2002), 147.

[23](# ednref23) Armand Louis de Gontaut Biron, Duc de Lauzun, *Memoirs of Lauzun*, translated by C.K. Scott Moncrieff (New York, NY, Brentanos, 1928), 214-21.

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Historical Marker Application

1. Proposed Marker Information

Suggested Marker Topic: Rev War Comes to Brandywine Village

Location: County: NCC City/Town: Wilm

2. Applicant Contact Information

Contact Name: William Conley Daytime Telephone: [redacted]

Email Address: [redacted]

Applicant Organization (if applicable): W3R Delaware and Brandywine Villlage Association

Street Address: [redacted]

City: Newark State: De Zip Code: 19711

3. Statement of Significance

On an attached sheet please explain in a thorough but concise typed statement why the proposed subject is important and why it should be commemorated with a marker. Refer to the guidelines and criteria when writing your statement.

4. Proposed Marker Location

Preferred Location (*Provide Exact Address, Directions, or GPS Coordinates*):
Brandywine Village Park 1800 N Market Street

Why was this location chosen:
Park is adjacent to homes of 1776 era when both Washington and Lafayett visited in 1777 and 1781. Gen Made Anthony Wayne HQ was there in 1777

Is the location on: Public Property: x Private Property ____

If on private property do you have permission from the owner? Yes____ No____

5. Background Information

Please provide on a separate sheet of paper a typed list of relevant facts, notes, and/or information pertaining to the proposed marker subject. This information will be helpful in beginning the research process and writing the marker text. (Please note that the Delaware Public Archives Staff will write and has the final say on marker text and will edit and revise to conform to research and format standards, including space limitations.)

will submit separately ... Funded by Sen M Henry Wilmington.. Unveiling event will be supported by Brandywine Village Ass, W3R Delaware and Francis du Pont . New W3
National Street sign will be unveiled simultaneously (Kim Burdick)

6. Funding

Historical markers are funded on an individual basis by local legislators. Financial support must be obtained from a local Senator or Representative only after the marker application has been approved by the Delaware Public Archives. Once support is gained the legislator will notify the archives staff and we will move forward with the production of a marker.

*Please complete all fields. Incomplete marker applications will not be reviewed or considered.

Revised 07/16

The Marshalls soon recognized that their capital resources were inadequate to complete their ambitious plan. In 1770 they transferred the project to Joseph Tatnall, a relative with more considerable means who was destined to be one of the most important millers ever to operate along the Brandywine. Joseph Tatnall was the son of Edward Tatnall, who had come to America in 1725 with his mother, Ann Tatnall. Edward married Elizabeth Pennock, the daughter of Irish Quakers. Among their children were Joseph and Mary Tatnall, who married William Marshall, thus making Joseph Tatnall and Marshall brothers-in-law. Tatnall sold his shares in mills on the south side to raise the funds with which he pushed the north race to completion. By 1772 four mills were grinding at the tidewater on the north bank. Tatnall owned two of these and had an interest in the third.[10] His principal partner was Thomas Lea, who married Tatnall's daughter Sarah. Another of his daughters, Margaret, married James Price, who was also an investor in the merchant mills. With the completion of the bridge and the north race, a new residential community began to develop on the north bank. Joseph Tatnall bought land there from Tobias Vandever and was among the first to build a home in this little hamlet that was soon to be known as Brandywine Village. The house, now 1803 Market Street, was constructed of Brandywine granite probably taken from the excavations for the north race. Next door James Marshall built a similar house, now 1801 Market Street, which later became the home of Thomas Lea.

The merchant millers were concerned with shipping as well as with the production of power and the grinding of grain. Beginning with Oliver Canby, millers bought both river sloops and shares in ocean vessels. Several millers owned shares in the brig *Nancy,* which made a number of voyages to the West Indies and Portugal with cargoes of flour and barrel staves in the years just before the Revolution. The *Nancy* returned carrying rum, sugar, molasses, coffee, and chocolate, items sold by commission merchants in Philadelphia on behalf of the brig's owners.[11] Like other eighteenth-century merchants, the Brandywine millers were represented by agents called factors who resided in the port cities with which they had trade connections. It was the factor's job to dispose of the incoming cargo at the best possible price and to

Joseph Tatnall (1740–1813).
From J. T. Scharf,
History of Delaware, 1888.

select the cargo and destination for the ship's voyage. Through these business relationships the merchants and millers on the Christina and the Brandywine were connected with the greater network of British imperial and other world markets.

The Revolutionary War caused a lengthy interruption in these mercantile patterns. When the war began the British stationed the man-of-war H.M.S. *Roebuck* in Delaware Bay to prevent Philadelphia and Wilmington merchants from carrying on overseas trade. Cut off from outside markets, the merchant millers were challenged by the task of distributing flour to the American army and people in a highly inflationary economy.

In its early stages the war was concentrated in Boston and then New York. It was not until the summer of 1777 that the British invaded Delaware and Pennsylvania, when a force of 17,000 commanded by General Sir William Howe sailed from its base

in Manhattan to the Chesapeake Bay and thence to the Elk River in Maryland. There the soldiers disembarked and began an overland march to Philadelphia. General Washington, eager to recoup his army's losses in the battles of Long Island and White Plains the previous year, shadowed the British movements, intent on attacking the enemy at some vulnerable place before Howe could reach his objective. On September 10 the Americans positioned themselves along the Brandywine about ten miles north of Wilmington at Chadds Ford, where Howe's forces would cross the river.

In the tense days that preceded the battle, Washington stationed his troops in the vicinity of Wilmington. General Anthony Wayne made his headquarters in the Joseph Tatnall house, and Washington and his staff attended meetings there.[12] It was probably at this time that Washington and Lafayette first met Joseph Tatnall. They seldom ever visited the region again without paying their respects to this Quaker miller, who is said to have promised the Virginia general, "I cannot fight for thee, but I can and will feed thee." Washington, recognizing the military significance of the mills, ordered the "runners" or upper millstones removed and carted to hiding places in Chester County where they would be safe from the British.

Noise of the battle at Chadds Ford carried downriver and was audible at Brandywine Village, where the residents of Wilmington and the Village waited anxiously for some sign of the outcome. Refugees from the battlefield limped into town with tales of the American defeat, soon followed by a contingent from Howe's army sent to occupy Wilmington and to secure whatever wheat and flour were stored there. The Tatnall house then became the lodgings for several British officers, who according to family tradition allowed the Tatnalls only one sleeping room on the ground floor but were otherwise polite and considerate.[13]

No doubt recalling the American attacks on British outposts at Princeton and Trenton the previous winter, the King's troops did not remain long in Wilmington, and in December 1777 the town was reclaimed by an American unit commanded by General William Smallwood. Washington ordered Smallwood to restore one of the mills to provide wheat for the army but cautioned him to supervise the operation closely and to be on the alert for British

raids.[14] In the spring of 1778 Howe abandoned Philadelphia and marched overland back to New York, thus ending the only interval in the war in which the mills and the village were the object of contention. For the remainder of the conflict the Brandywine millers provided flour to local inhabitants and contracted with Robert Morris, the premier merchant of Philadelphia, to supply the American army.

In the postwar period the Brandywine mills reached the peak of their importance. Obstacles to the free flow of trade that had marked the war years disappeared; the millers purchased grain from a wide area including Maryland, Delaware, Southern New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. Brandywine superfine was the most sought-after flour in the American market. In addition to these trade advantages the millers had leashed the Brandywine by the most efficient means known in the late eighteenth century, and they were among the first to adopt Oliver Evans' improved system for the operation of gristmills.

Oliver Evans, a mechanic and inventor from Newport, Delaware, developed his milling improvements in the 1780s. Evans'

Oliver Evans (1755–1819).
Engraving by W. G. Jackman.

before demolition, 1801 Market has fireplaces on either end and extensive interior wood paneling.

When the Marshalls proved unable to complete the race because of insufficient capital, James sold his house to Samuel Morton, another merchant miller, who in turn sold the property to Thomas Lea; the date is not known, but it may have coincided with Lea's marriage to Joseph Tatnall's daughter Sarah in 1785. Lea built another house, now 1901 Market Street, in 1801 but did not sell his first house until 1819, when his mill burned and he had need of ready capital in order to rebuild.

In the mid-1830s Jacob Derickson, the other man whose name has become attached to the house, bought the property. A well-to-do millwright in the Village, he bought the property as a wedding gift for his daughter Martha at the time of her marriage to Amor Hollingsworth Harvey, an executive in a Wilmington steam engine firm.[9] He died in the house in 1887, just as demolition of the wooden covered bridge was about to commence; in order to accommodate the funeral procession, the flooring of the old bridge was left intact until the hearse had crossed, and then workmen immediately fell to ripping up the boards.[10] Harvey left no sons, but his daughter, Sarah Derickson Harvey, married her cousin Jacob Derickson, and through her the house remained in the family until the time of its sale to O.B.V., Inc., in 1963.

The Thomas Shipley house, 16th and French streets, Wilmington, Delaware, in 1932. Photograph by Frank R. Zebley.

The Joseph Tatnall House, 1803 Market Street

This house, undoubtedly the most interesting in the Village from a historical point of view, was constructed ca. 1770[11] for Joseph Tatnall when he took over the mill and race construction operations on the north bank. It has undergone numerous remodelings since its original construction. Tatnall's descendants added a railing on the roof and a more elaborate doorframe, probably in the 1840s, in the regency style that was then popular. At the turn of the century more extensive changes were made. A Queen Anne porch was attached to the front of the house, the dormer windows were replaced by additions on both front and back that greatly enlarged the third floor, and an extension was put on the rear.

Tatnall lived in the house for over forty years. Before the Battle of the Brandywine, the house served as a headquarters for General Anthony Wayne and others on Washington's staff, and following the battle it was a dormitory for British officers during the Brandywine campaign in 1777. Both Washington and Lafayette were guests there on several occasions. In 1824, on a tour of the United States, General Lafayette made a point of stopping at the Tatnall house to inquire about the family. Washington also recalled Tatnall's hospitality during the war and called upon him there when he was President. Quaker austerity did not prevent Joseph Tatnall from furnishing his home in style. An inventory of his estate lists considerable furniture, including highboys, featherbeds, and a mahogany clock valued at $60. He also owned several rugs, considerable amounts of china and linens, and a carriage worth $100.[12]

After Tatnall's death in 1813 his second wife, Sara Rodman Paxson Tatnall, remained in the house for several years before moving to Bucks County, Pennsylvania. The next owner, Edward Tatnall, Joseph's son, leased the property to Joseph Bancroft in the mid-1820s for three years; Bancroft had just migrated from England and was then managing a cotton mill at Rockland prior to the formation of his own textile firm in 1831. In 1841 Edward's son Joseph, who married Sarah Richardson, moved into the house and lived there until his death in 1895.[13] It was this second Joseph Tatnall who modernized the house by adding the balustrade and other regency features. The 1860 census, which listed Joseph

THE WASHINGTON - ROCHAMBEAU REVOLUTIONARY ROUTE IN THE STATE OF DELAWARE, 1781 - 1783

A Historical And Architectural Survey

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Cover Illustration: Detail from Robert Erskine and Simeon DeWitt, *From the Anchor Tavern through Wilmington + Newport + past Christiana Bridge + across Couches Bridge over the South end of Iron Hill to a little past the division line into Delaware*. Map 124 B, Courtesy New York Historical Society.

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INTRODUCTION

2.1 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: 220 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. As the Revolutionary generation passed away in the 1820s and 1830s, and 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 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."[2]

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.[3] 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.[4] 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*.[5]

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

[3] An English translation appeared in two volumes in Philadelphia in 1891/95.

[4] 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.

[5] Published in the United States as United States. Congress. Senate. Miscellaneous Publications. 58th Congress, 2nd Session. Document No. 77. (Washington, D.C., 1903/4). For the German-speaking regiment Royal Deux-Ponts and the Irish regiments Walsh and Dillon the document lists "officiers seulement."

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 in the early 1920s, he concentrated on the New England states of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut.[6] His research ended at the New York State line; the mid-Atlantic states were covered in but a single article.[7] 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.[8] 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.[9]

The present resource survey of the Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route (W3R) commemorating the 225th Anniversary of the American Revolution in the State of Delaware contributes to this federally mandated nine-state (plus the District of Columbia) National Historic Trail study authorized by Congress to be completed by 2005.

The purpose of the W3R project in the State of Delaware is manifold:

1) To develop a plan to interpret a) the route that General George Washington's and the *comte* de Rochambeau's armies took through Delaware in the summer of 1781, b) the return march of the American forces in December of 1781, and c) the return march of French forces in the fall of 1782. A fourth component of the study is a historical analysis of the winter quarters of Lauzun's

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

[7] 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.

[8] 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.

[9] 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 145-47 of the main text. Congress already proclaimed Lafayette an honorary citizen in 1824.

Legion in Wilmington in 1782/83, and an identification of soldiers who remained in the United States after the departure of French forces in 1783 as a basis for the identification of descendants of these soldiers. A fifth component looks at the shipwreck of the French frigate *l'Aigle* in September 1782 off Duck Creek and the journey of its passengers, including such illustrious names as Lauzun, Vioménil, Broglie, Ségur, Montesquieu, Laval, Fleury, Talleyrand, Lameth, and Laval, through Odessa, Dover, Christiana, and Wilmington to Philadelphia. A sixth component looks at the celebrations during the return marches of the victorious armies as defining moments in American consciousness, and the 1783 festivities surrounding the birth of the dauphin of France.

2) Concurrently the study also is to contribute to, and form a component of, the greater W3R project aimed at designating the entire nine-state route a National Historic Trail under the National Park Service. In 2006, activities and projects connected with the new interpretations of the role of the State of Delaware during the American Revolutionary War should become an integral component of the celebrations commemorating the 225th Anniversary of the march of the combined Franco-American Armies through the First State.

3) At the same time, the study is also designed to allow for state-wide implementation of its recommendations should Congress decide not to designate the W3R a National Historic Trail.

2.2 Scope of the Project

The current report undertakes a historical and architectural survey of resources for the W3R in the State of Delaware 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 Delaware from 1781 to 1783. This dual approach adheres to the template developed and followed by the states of Connecticut and New York.[10] Upon completion in the spring of 2003, Delaware will have the basis for joining the W3R National Historic Trail (if so designated by Congress), to begin the research necessary for nominating identified sites to the National Register of Historic Places, including portions of the trail where still in existence, and for the re-interpretation of existing sites within the state.

2.3 Goals of the Project

The project has set itself five 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 Delaware and their interaction with the inhabitants of the state in 1781, 1782, and 1783.

[10] 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).

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

4) to interpret the return marches of the victorious armies and the 1783 festivities celebrating the birth of the dauphin of France as pivotal and defining moments in American national consciousness.

5) to identify French soldiers who remained in the United States after the departure of French forces in 1783.

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

Goals 1), 2), and 5) 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 Delaware State Historic Preservation Office, especially in the National Register of Historic Places files, the Delaware Public Archives, the Historical Society of Delaware, and in cooperation with individuals and libraries along the route during fieldwork in the summer of 2002. Goal 4) was accomplished through an evaluation of the enlistment records (*contrôles*) of Lauzun's Legion in the Archives Nationales de France.

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 1782/83, were included. Goals 4) and 5) provided additional resources based upon the application of the criteria of the National Trails System Act to this study (see 3.1 below). 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 summer of 2002. Copies of the final report are deposited in the offices of the State Historic Preservation Officer in Dover and with the Delaware Society, Sons of the American Revolution. 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.

2.4 Sources

The current study is based almost exclusively on primary sources. 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 to the 45 sources listed by Rice and Brown. Most surprising is the fact that

three journals or diaries of enlisted men have come to light since 1972. The most important of these is the journal of Georg Daniel Flohr, an enlisted man in the Royal Deux-Ponts, located in the Bibliothèque Municipale of Strasbourg, France.[11] Among the Milton S. Latham Papers in the Library of Congress in Washington, DC was found the *Journal Militaire* kept by an unidentified grenadier in the Bourbonnais regiment.[12] Finally there is the *Histoire des campagnes de l'Armée de Rochambaud (sic) en Amérique* written by André Amblard of the Soissonnais infantry.[13]

Another recently discovered resource is 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. These papers shed 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 an 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 suitte* has been discovered in the Bibliothèque municipale in Evreux, France.[14]

Other new sources 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.[15] Also unavailable in 1972 was the *Journal de l'Armée aux ordres de Monsieur de Comte de Rochambeau pendant les campagnes de 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783 dans l'Amérique septentrionale*, of Rochambeau's 21-year-old nephew Louis François Bertrand Dupont d'Aubevoye, *comte* de Lauberdière, a captain in the Saintonge regiment of infantry and one of his aides-de-camp.[16]

The largest body of materials not listed in Rice and Brown concerns the Royal Deux-Ponts regiment of infantry: a letter by Jean-François de Thuillière, a captain in the Royal Deux-Ponts preserved in the Archives Nationales,[17] two letters by Louis Eberhard von Esebeck, lieutenant-colonel in the Royal Deux-Ponts, dated Jamestown Island, 12 and 16 December 1781,[18] and the papers and letters by Colonel Christian de Deux Ponts, which have been in part deposited in and

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[11] *Reisen Beschreibung von America welche das Hochlöbliche Regiment von Zweybrücken hat gemacht zu Wasser und zu Land vom Jahr 1780 bis 84*. The writer is preparing an English translation and edition.

[12] Milton Latham Papers MMC 1907.

[13] 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. It is as yet unknown why numerous passages from his journal can be found verbatim in the journal of an unidentified officer of the Soissonnais regiment in the Huntington Library in California. See Robert A. Selig, "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.

[14] Published by Gérard-Antoine Massoni, *Détails intéressants sur les événements arrivés dans la guerre d'Amérique. Hyver 1781 à 1782. Hampton, Charlotte et suitte. Manuscrit de Claude Hugau, lieutenant-colonel de la Légion des Volontaires Etrangers de Lauzun* (Besançon: Université de Franche-Comté, 1996)

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

[16] Lauberdière's *Journal* is in the Bibliothèque Nationale, in Paris, France. See 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.

[17] The letter is catalogued under B4 172, Marine.

[18] 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.

in part acquired by German archives.[19] Through the good offices of Ms Nancy Bayer, the writer has also gained access to four letters written by her ancestor Wilhelm de Deux-Ponts from America.[20] I have not seen the journal kept by Dupleix de Cadignan of the Agenois,[21] nor that of Xavier de Bertrand, a lieutenant in the Royal Deux-Ponts.[22]

These discoveries bring the total of known French sources to over 60, but their value for the Delaware 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 are but collections of letters written during different stages of the campaign, many of which contain little or no information on the march through Delaware. Berthier's extremely valuable account ends on 26 August 1781, many more end with the siege of Yorktown, e.g., the accounts by Cromot du Bourg or William de Deux-Ponts. Others, i.e., those of Ségur or Broglie 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 campsites or, as in the case of Lauberdière, followed behind the main army. Others again, such as Brisout de Barneville simply give a list of miles (his journal ends 5 December 1781), just like that of the grenadier in the Bourbonnais. The *chevalier* de Chastellux did not write a word about the march,[23] neither did the *duc* de Lauzun, and the *Détails interéssants* 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.

The usefulness of the majority of journals is further reduced 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. Fortunately Verger, who had sailed with the siege artillery to Yorktown in August 1780, fills some of that void.

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 c*ontrôles* 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;[24] only those of Lauzun's Legion are in the Archives Nationales in Paris.[25] On the

[19] 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.

[20] The letters are owned by Anton Freiherr von Cetto in Oberlauterbach, Germany.

[21] The last known owner of this ms was Bernard Zublena, domaine de lagarde, 32 250 Montreal, Canada.

[22] 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.

[23] 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).

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

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.

If less than half of the accounts by officers in Rochambeau's little army have been published in their entirety, the situation is similar for accounts by American participants. The papers of major participants, such as George Washington, Henry Knox, or Benjamin Lincoln, are available either in print, on microfilm, or on the Internet. The best-known source on how enlisted men saw the war is still the account penned by Joseph Plumb Martin, *Private Yankee Doodle* (Hallowell, ME, 1830; many reprints). Martin's account contains much information on the campaign of 1781/82, as does the unpublished diary of Sergeant-Major Hawkins of the Canadian Regiment in the Pennsylvania Historical Society. So do other accounts listed in http://www.RevWar75.com. A unique source on individual soldiers and the war that can be easily overlooked are pension applications of Revolutionary War veterans in the National Archives (NARA) in Washington, DC. The auto-biographies attached to these applications are lengthy at times and contains information not found anywhere else. Some discharged or deserted soldiers from Rochambeau's regiments also applied for pensions, and their applications too shed light on the campaigns of 1781 and 1782.

Reconstructing the logistics behind the American march is easier than for the French side because the Americans, unlike the French who paid in cash for their purchases, left a paper trail of IOUs along the way. But these IOUs, which cover everything from purchases 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 many record groups. In NARA such records can be found in the 126-microfilm reel record group entitled *Miscellaneous Numbered Documents* and on the microfilms of Record Group M 926, *Letters, Accounts, and Estimates of the Quarter-Master General's Department 1776-1783*, which occasionally also covers French purchases, or on the over 100 microfilm reels of Record Group 93, Revolutionary War Rolls.

A second, more immediate, if very uneven source for the reconstruction of the march, are the Orderly Books of the regiments involved. 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. Of the five infantry regiments that made the march to Yorktown in 1781 -- 1st New Jersey, 2nd New Jersey, 2nd Canadian (Congress' Own), 1st Rhode Island, 1st New York, and 2nd New York -- only one copy of the Orderly Book of the 2nd New York (from 9/24 - 10/10/1781) has survived in the New York State Library (NYSL) # 10464, vol. 10, part 1; another copy (from 9/26 - 10/30/1781) is available at the New York Historical Society (NYHS), microfilm #149, reel 15. In addition, the Orderly Book of Colonel John Lamb's 2nd Continental Artillery has survived in two versions (6/20 - 10/21/1781 and 8/4 - 10/27/1781) in New York Historical Society microfilm #143, reel 14, and New York Historical Society microfilm #118.1, reel 12. Lastly, the Orderly Book of Lt.-Col. Jean Joseph Gimat's Light Infantry Regiment (Muhlenberg's Light Infantry Brigade, 5/18 - 10/30/1781), is available in the Connecticut Historical Society microfilm Reel 3, frames 939 to end and Reel 4, frames 4 - 10, as well as at NARA, M853, reel 8, vol. 52 (6/7 - 10/2/1781).[26] No Orderly Book for the march has survived of the Commander in Chief's Guard, of Joseph Plumb Martin's Corps of Sappers and Miners, and of the Corps of Artificers.

Except for the small group of 85 Delaware recruits and the 3rd and 4th Maryland Regiments, which had arrived at Yorktown from Maryland just a few days ahead of the Continental Army in September 1781, and which joined General Nathanael Green's forces in the Carolinas, the same

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

[26] A most exhaustive list of orderly books of all warring parties can be found at www.RevWar75.com.

units of the Continental Army that had marched south in August and September made the return march in November and December 1781. Unlike for the march to Yorktown, only one Orderly Book, that of the 2nd New York Regiment survived.[27] The next Orderly Book is for Col. Lamb's Artillery Regiment, which wintered in Burlington, New Jersey, from 7 December 1781 to 4 February 1782, and marched to the Highlands in August 1782, and which is preserved in the NYHS, microfilm: #152; reel 15.[28]

Within the holdings of the Delaware Public Archives a few Record Groups proved particularly helpful in the preparation of this report. Foremost among them is the unpublished sixth volume of the *Delaware Archives*, which contains a wealth of information on the war in 1781/82. An extremely helpful resource is RG 1315.6 Auditor of Accounts, Wastebook A,1784-1796, which contains entries such as the one for 21 June 1784: "William McClay and H. Darby for an order to enable them to pay for provisions purchased for the army under Genl Washington 703/17/1"[29] or "United States to State Treasury for hire of Houses for Quartering the French Troops as appears by the Certificates of George Craghead and John Lea Esqrs for which rent was pd as follows ... " which lists the names of the 41 property owners where French troops were quartered during winter quarters in 1782/83.[30] Equally important are RG 1315.7, Auditor of Accounts, Journal A, 1784-1800, and the John Dickinson Papers.

Within the collections of the Historical Society of Delaware, the collections entitled "Revolutionary War" and the papers of Thomas and Caesar Rodney, particularly their letters, contained much valuable information. Indispensable for the reconstruction of the presence of French forces in Delaware are account books such as the James Lea Receipt book 1784-1806 or the Lea Mills Account Book 1775-1783. Context is provided by the diaries of personages such as Samuel Canby (November 1779 to December 1796; Photostat; original at Yale University).

Any study of the march of the combined Franco-American armies through Delaware has to include an identification of the routes and their location on the ground today. On the French side, the indispensable collection of primary sources is the compilation of maps and routes published by Rice, Jr. and. Brown in their *The American Campaigns of Rochambeau's Army*. Volume 2 reproduces maps of the routes and camp-sites located in the Rochambeau Papers and the Rochambeau Family Cartographic Archive (GEN MSS 146) at the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University and in other repositories. These maps were drawn mostly by Louis Alexandre de Berthier and, though not to scale, provide the exact location of each camp sites. This superbly edited volume is 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 very few sites and routes such as the route of Lauzun's Legion through Connecticut in June 1781, the camp of Rochambeau's Second Brigade near Newport, Delaware, in September 1781,[31] or the 1782/83 winter quarters of Lauzun's Legion in Wilmington, that Rice and Brown either could not locate or that lay outside their immediate research interest. Using sources either not available to

[27] Almon W. Lauber, ed., *Orderly Books of the Fourth New York Regiment, 1778-1780. The Second New York Regiment, 1780-1783, by Samuel Tallmadge and Others*. (Albany, 1932). The two New York regiments wintered in Pompton, NJ; the return march is recorded on pp. 765-768.

[28] George Washington spent the winter 1781/82 in Philadelphia, as did the Rhode Island Regiment. The 2nd Continental Artillery, the Sappers, Miners, and Artificers lived in barracks in nearby Burlington, NJ. The two New Jersey regiments wintered in Morristown, NJ, Moses Hazen's Canadian Regiment was quartered in Lancaster, PA. Of the forces that had marched to Yorktown in August 1781, only the Light Infantry returned to the Hudson and wintered in Continental Village, NY.

[29] Delaware Public Archives, RG 1315.6 Auditor of Accounts, Wastebook A, 1784-1796, p. 32.

[30] Delaware Public Archives, RG 1315.6 Auditor of Accounts, Wastebook A, 1784-1796, p. 173, 24 August 1786.

[31] There is a map of that campsite in the journal of an unidentified officer of the Soissonnais regiment in the Huntington Library. The journal is listed in Rice and Brown, but apparently was not consulted.

Rice and Brown, or not used by them, this study is an attempt to fill in these gaps in our knowledge of the marches of the French forces through Delaware.

On the American side there also exists a complete body of cartographic work for the marches of 1781 from Philadelphia to Yorktown and back. Once the decision to march to Virginia had been made in August 1781, 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 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. There are no maps for the routes of the Continental Army from Philipsburg, New York, through New Jersey to Philadelphia, but there are many contemporary maps of New Jersey on which the route can be traced with the help of Orderly Books, diaries, and other primary source materials. Unlike the French maps, DeWitt's maps are drawn to scale, with mile markers indicated on them. They do not show the campsites, but since they point out numerous landmarks such as inns, churches, fords, ironworks etc, these mostly unpublished maps represent important resources not only for the W3R project, but for state and local history as well.

Among the published materials, the standard histories of Delaware yielded surprisingly little to no information. Reading these books one could get the impression that no French forces had ever been to Delaware. Even the usually thorough work by J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Delaware* 2 vols, (Philadelphia 1888), mentions Rochambeau only twice: once briefly in vol. 1, page 262, but not in connection with his march through Delaware, and a second time on page 481 in connection with Dr. Capelle, the medical doctor of Lauzun's Legion who remained behind in Wilmington in 1783; winter quarters are not mentioned at all. Anecdotal evidence is provided by Elizabeth Montgomery, *Reminiscences of Wilmington in familiar village tales, ancient and new* (Wilmington, 1851). Anna T. Lincoln, *Wilmington Delaware. Three Centuries under Four Flags, 1609-1937* (Rutlan, 1937) page 92 mentions the presence of the French at 606 Market Street, but does not have a word about Rochambeau. Neither do Carol E. Hoffecker, *Delaware. A Bicentennial History* (New York, 1977), or John. A. Munroe. *Colonial Delaware. A History* (Millwood, NY, 1978) mention Rochambeau or Lauzun in their indices.

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Criteria for Selection: How Sites Were Chosen for Inclusion

Since this survey is conducted with a view toward the study currently conducted by the NPS regarding the eligibility of the Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route to be designated a National Historic Trail, the criteria for selection in this Delaware 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 Delaware 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). These criteria were further refined by state-specific guidelines developed in cooperation with the Division of Historical and Cultural Affairs and the Delaware SHPO.

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:

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

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

c) 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

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

Previous studies conducted in other states along the W3R as well as for the NPS have resulted in the establishment of a number of categories for resources along the route:

1) Campsites and Bivouacs
2) Buildings and Building Sites
3) 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
4) Tombstones and/or Grave Markers and other emblems
5) Archeological Sites: terrestrial and underwater
6) Natural Landscape Features
7) Paintings and Murals
8) Water Routes and River Crossings
9) Historic Road Segments
10) National Parks
11) State Parks
12) Historic Preservation/Education/Tourism Areas (Historic Newport, Mount Vernon, Colonial Williamsburg)

Using the criteria developed in 2.3 above, the writer inspected and inventoried on site all resources listed in this report and identified thirty sites separate on seven different route segments taken by various components of the two armies in Delaware. These route segments are as follows:

Route 1: The Land Route of the Continental Army to Elkton, 3-9 September 1781
Route 2: The Water Route of the Continental Army to Christiana, 3-9 September 1781
Route 3: The March of the French Army, 5 – 7 September 1781
Route 4: The Return March of the Continental Army, 25 November – 5 December 1781
Route 5: The Return March of the French Army, 29 August – 1 September 1782
Route 6: The March of the Shipwrecked Party to Wilmington, 13-16 September 1782
Route 7: The Winter Quarters of Lauzun's Legion, 16 December 1782 to 11 May 1783

Routes/road segments in this report are listed *chronologically* as much as possible, since some routes were traveled concurrently, as they were visited by Washington's and Rochambeau's troops. Geographically they are organized as a modern traveler following the route(s) would encounters them in the field when traveling from the Pennsylvania State Line to the Maryland State Line for the year 1781, and from the Maryland State Line to the Pennsylvania State Line for the year 1782.

The 29 sites identified on these routes fall into nine different categories:

1) Campsites and bivouacs
2) Buildings and building sites
3) Plaques, tablets, and markers
4) Monuments
5) Historic Districts
6) State Parks
7) Historic Preservation Area
8) Water Routes and River Crossings
9) Archeological Sites: terrestrial and underwater

3.2 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 a 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 Delaware State Historic Preservation Office within the Division of Historical and Cultural Affairs, original research in primary sources, and other historical documentation. The forms generally indicated the reason for ascribing a particular 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.

3.3 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 Delaware 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.

3.4 Recommendations

The following recommendations are divided into two groups: those that should to be acted on by the State, Points 1) through 5), and those that require local coordination, Points 6) through 10).

1) Thirty sites have been identified in this report as connected with the W3R in Delaware, and while all deserving buildings are listed already on the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP), the campsites are not. Wherever possible an attempt should be made to work toward their protection and preservation by integrating them into the appropriate Delaware State preservation program with a view toward nomination to the NRHP. Such protective measures are also advocated in view of Recommendation 2).

2) Only a few of the sites are identified in the field as part of the W3R; most are not. This applies for well-established historic sites such as Cooch's Bridge as well as for lesser known sites such as the taverns of Christiana. Since some of these resources, especially the campsites, may prove tempting targets to relic hunters, protection of these sites is highly desirable.

3) The story of Delaware's role in the American Revolutionary War and in the campaign of 1781 needs to be told. Delaware's role is larger than the engagement at Cooch's Bridge on 3 September 1777, and Caesar Rodney's ride, and this project provides the opportunity to tell this story. The Resource Inventory produced by here should be rewritten and edited into a monograph intended for wider distribution to the general public. For further research, the edition and publication of the materials collected for volume 6 of the *Delaware Archives* is highly desirable. They are a rich source for the Revolutionary War history of Delaware, and it was here that this writer found many of the sources for this study. The already published volume 1 contained no item at all, volume 2 had two items, volume 3 had three, and there were none in volumes 4 and 5.

4) The names of the owners of 41 homes where French soldiers were quartered in the winter of 1782/83 are known, but the location of these homes has not yet been determined with enough accuracy to list them as individual sites. In the absence of a city directory for Wilmington (the first directory dates to 1814), the identification and location of these sites goes beyond the scope of this study but could be undertaken as part of the Ships Tavern District revitalization project. For such a task, which may require a title search for each and every one of these properties, the map of Wilmington drawn by Benjamin Ferris in 1785, and held by the Historical Society of Delaware, which lists property owners and lot sizes should prove a good starting point. The State of Delaware Department of Transportation reports for Wilmington Boulevard, Block 1191, and the report on Block 1194, Christiana Gateway, may also provide information on lot ownership and locations within the city. But the historical interpretation of the Ships Tavern District with a view toward the campaign of 1781 and Franco-American friendship and cooperation as a component of the renovation process presents a great opportunity to integrate historic preservation, education, heritage-based tourism, and economic revitalization.

5) Individual properties within the Ships Tavern District such as the “Tavern at the Sign of the Ship,” a place where George Washington stayed repeatedly and where Lafayette was lodged briefly after the Battle of Brandywine, could become anchors within this district. After the war it was owned by Patrick O’Flinn, a Revolutionary War veteran; in October 1824, it became the LaFayette Hotel after a visit by the *marquis* during his triumphal return to America. Similarly the anniversaries of the French return march through Wilmington (29 August – 1 September) with its concurrent celebrations could become components of the annual Labor Day festivities celebrating Franco-American cooperation during the Revolutionary War. Such festivities could be tied to the rich French heritage and tradition within Delaware. The restored Riverfront in Wilmington might be considered the site for a small visitor center and permanent exhibit on the Revolutionary War.

6) The restoration and maintenance of neglected historical sites, especially in the NRHP district in Christiana, should be initiated as soon as possible, focused on buildings and properties within that district, and accelerated for the 2006 anniversary. A concurrent step in the W3R project should be the compilation of a list of sites to be marked, once funds are available, as components

of the W3R, if possible in cooperation with other states such as Connecticut, which have already begun marking the trail. Concurrently, public and private owners and/or managers of historic sites and properties should be encouraged to integrate the W3R into the interpretation of their sites.

7) Identification and marking of known sites should involve local historical societies and interested groups rather than be done unilaterally by the state. By 2006, all of these sites should form a string of fixed points along which a state-wide inter-connected bicycle or automobile route or Heritage Trail supplementary to the national effort could be established. Concurrently local walking tours could be established, e.g., in Wilmington in the Lower Market Street Historic District/Ships Tavern District as its renovation proceeds.

8) Such a trail or trails should be advertised and described in tour guides, travel books, or brochures to enable historically interested tourists to trace the routes taken in 1781 and 1782.

9) In December 2000, First Lady and (then) Senator-elect Hillary 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. This, and other Federal funding opportunities for the preservation and interpretation of resources on the route, should be explored.

10) To implement these recommendations, coordination on the State and local level still need to be organized by the W3R Committee in cooperation with the DHCA and SHPO. For some of them, such as the publication of educational and tourism materials, other state agencies are already in place, which need to partner with the W3R. For others such as the development of the Ships Tavern District in Wilmington, the existing private-public partnership needs to be expanded to include the W3R. Depending on the extent and intensity of Delaware's commitment both to the national effort to commemorate the 1781 march to victory as well as to reinterpreting the role of Delaware within the broader context of the American Revolutionary War, the time and financial commitment needed may go beyond the resources of the currently voluntary W3R committee.

It is suggested that the State of Delaware take a closer look at the creation of an umbrella organization for historic resources in Delaware either outside or within the framework of the current Division of Historical and Cultural Affairs, such as a National Heritage Corridor or a National Heritage Area. The W3R could form the "spine" of such a Christiana River National Heritage Corridor district that stretches geographically from Claymont and the mouth of the Christiana to Iron Hill and to Dover and Odessa, encompassing a significant portion of the colonial history of Delaware. Working in partnership with historic preservation areas, such as the Historic Houses of Odessa, Brandywine Village State Park, the Pencader Heritage Area and Swedish heritage organizations/Kalmar Nickel and centered in the historic core of the NRH district of Christiana, it could not only help preserve this neglected jewel of Delaware history with its historic buildings, but transform it into a major tourist attraction in Delaware. Implementation of such a project would require a multi-year financial commitment from the state and support from the State's Congressional delegation until such a designation is achieved.

Parts of this report can be found in different form in previous reports for the States of Connecticut and New York. I am very grateful to Jack Shannahan, SHPO of the State of Connecticut, and to the Hudson River Valley Greenway for permission to integrate them into this report. 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."[32] 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 Rochambeau's troops. In the spring of 1951, Parmer began prodding state governments and patriotic societies for funds.[33] 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."[34]

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."[35] 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 to cover expenses 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." Pursuant to this legislation, the State Highway Commission placed a total of 27 signs at or near known campsites of Rochambeau's army across the state.[36]

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.[37] The project died with him as well.[38]

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

[33] 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.

[34] 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).

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

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

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

In his report to the General Assembly of Virginia of 1953, Parmer listed Delaware as one of four states that had "appointed Commissions or Representatives to work with Virginia" on marking the route.[39] We have no reason to doubt Parmer's word, but if there was indeed such a commission or representative this writer has been unable to locate any trace of their existence or activities during his research in the summer of 2002.

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 National Park Service (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 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.[40] 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

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[38] 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.

[39] *Report of the Rochambeau Commission* p. 10.

[40] 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).

Yorktown, New York, and set up its own signs. Few of these signs seem to have survived.[41] 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.[42]

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.[43] At the current stage of research it is unknown whether markers were erected by the French government in other states as well; there are none in Delaware.

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

[41] 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.

[42] 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: see the attached page from the *Revue economique française* Vol. 104, No. 2, (1982).

[43] Images of some of these markers are available at http://xenophongroup.com/mcjoynt/vawrrmrk.htm

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 Liebermann, 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 presented to President Bill Clinton on 2 November, who signed it on 9 November 2000.[44] President Clinton's signature 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.

Concurrently efforts were under way for a state-wide resource inventory in Delaware, where the Society of the Sons of the American Revolution (DESSAR) took the lead. In the summer of 2000, then DESSAR State President William H. Severns and DESSAR State Historian Dr. Ralph D. Nelson Jr. contacted the writer about the possibility of conducting research in Delaware. By the spring of 2001, the DESSAR was also in contact with State politicians such as Delaware House Majority leader Rep. Wayne Smith, and administrators such as Daniel R Griffith, Director of the Division of Historical and Cultural Affairs and State Historic Preservation Officer. Since funding a complete study of resources in the state went beyond the resources of the DESSAR, and attempts to secure funding from public or private sources seemed to end in failure, the DESSAR at the urging of Mr. Nelson in the fall of 2001 decided to fund a partial study of resources in Delaware. A proposal by this writer for such a study was approved by the DESSAR Board of Managers on 20 January 2002 and subsequently entered into in early February 2002.

By then Rep. Smith had taken an active interest in the project. Made aware of the project by Mr. Severns during an SAR dinner on 22 February 2001 (Washington's Birthday), Rep. Smith in November 2001 introduced the following resolution:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
141st GENERAL ASSEMBLY

HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 3

DIRECTING THE DELAWARE DIVISION OF HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL AFFAIRS TO WORK WITH THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE TO IDENTIFY AND MARK OUT THE EXACT ROUTE THROUGH DELAWARE TAKEN BY GENERALS WASHINGTON'S AND ROCHAMBEAU'S TROOPS.

WHEREAS, during the American Revolution, in the summer of 1781, General George Washington and French General Jean Rochambeau combined their troops and began a 600 mile march from Newport RI to Yorktown, VA; and

[44] 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.

WHEREAS, it was on this march where Generals Washington's and Rochambeau's troops fought in the decisive battle of Yorktown where they trapped a major British army and thus created a major turning point in the American Revolution; and

WHEREAS, without this first Franco-American alliance there would not have been the victory of liberty and democracy over British tyranny; and

WHEREAS, 2006 will mark the 225th anniversary of this historic march; and

WHEREAS, many of the historic sites are in danger of being lost to urban sprawl if they are not accurately documented and preserved; and

WHEREAS, a bill has been introduced in Congress that would direct the National Park Service to study the route for purposes of preserving the historic sites and creating a historic trail; and

WHEREAS, the Revolutionary troops camped in 40 locations on their way to Yorktown, and 55 on their way back, two of these encampments were in Delaware; and

WHEREAS, in Delaware, as in many states, there are few markers that denote these locations; and

WHEREAS, by connecting these landmarks along this historic trail people would be able to obtain a real geographic sense of the distances that had to be covered by the troops; and

WHEREAS, current plans for the trail include a self-guided auto route, hiking trails, campsites, visitors centers, signage, and literature; and

WHEREAS, creation of this historic route would be an opportunity to combine historic preservation with environmental preservation, resulting in the economic benefits of heritage tourism.

NOW, THEREFORE:

BE IT RESOLVED that the House of Representatives and the Senate of the 141st General Assembly of the State of Delaware, with the approval of the Governor, directs the Delaware Division of Historical and Cultural Affairs to work with the National Park Service, upon enactment of the relating legislation, to identify and mark out the exact route through Delaware taken by Generals Washington's and Rochambeau's troops, and prepare a brochure that discusses the history and importance of the journey.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Division of Historical and Cultural Affairs is to undertake this effort on their own, in cooperation with the Delaware Historical Society, if the bill does not become law.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that a suitably prepared copy of this resolution be forwarded to the director of the Delaware Division of Historical and Cultural Affairs.

On 20 November 2002, Mr. Ray Hester of Claymont agreed to coordinate the efforts in Delaware as Director, Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route, Delaware Chapter. Mr. Nelson and Mrs. Roger G. E. (Joyce) Franks, former State Regent of the Delaware Society Daughters of the American Revolution, joined Mr. Hester as founding members of the Delaware Chapter of the W3R. By early December, Mr. Griffith's office asked the writer to submit a proposal for a complete resource inventory in Delaware. Following initial meetings in Dover and Wilmington on 15-18 January 2002, and promises of support by the State, the DESSAR on 24 February 2002 changed its contract with the writer to the effect that DESSAR funds would be given to the state to allow full funding of the project proposal the writer had made to the state. Once State funding was assured, the contract and Purchase Order were executed in late April 2002. Though much remains to be done, Delaware is the third of nine states to have completed a resource inventory. The W3R is on schedule to meet its 2006 deadline, the 225th anniversary of the march of the Franco-American armies to victory in Yorktown.

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

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

5.1 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, whose theory of government knew but subjects, not citizens, a man who like his great-great-grandfather Louis XIV could proudly proclaim: *l'état, c'est moi!* - I am the state! - entered into an alliance with a government 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 maintained a bankrupt, reluctant ally, and in the very treaty creating the alliance renounced all territorial gain in the New World. The one and only reason why the France of Louis XVI would so generously share her resources with American rebels was a passion to defeat and to humiliate a common enemy, the desire for revenge, the urge to destroy the British *tyrannie des mers*, which threatened to swallow the final remnants of France's once powerful colonial empire that had survived the humiliation of 1763.[45] 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

[45]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 that aspect in its title. See Jacques Vichot, *La guerre pour la liberté des mers, 1778-1783* (Paris, 1976).

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 at this humiliation as well. Much as it hurt French pride, Étienne François, duc de Choiseul-Stainville, her chief minister during negotiations in 1762, had 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."[46] Bedford's worst fears soon became reality.

The ink was barely dry on the peace treaty when France began her preparations for the war of revenge that Louis XV and his ministers considered necessary to restore *la gloire* to the crown of Louis XIV. If revenge in America and India was one goal of French foreign policy after 1763 the restoration of French prestige and political influence on the European continent was another. How little she mattered in European affairs was driven home to France in 1764, when Catherine the Great had her protegée Stanislas Poniatowski elected King of Poland by the *Seijm* over France's opposition. Eight years later, France was forced to watch helplessly as Austria, Russia, and Prussia carved large chunks of territory out of France's traditional ally in Eastern Europe. The annexation of Corsica in 1769 was but a small plaster on the festering sore of French pride.

But the eastward orientation of three of Europe's five major powers also held advantages for France. Choiseul knew that France could not count on much help from other European powers in her quest for revenge. Unable to gain allies of her own, her 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 was given to Great Britain in 1763. Lastly she had to avoid all continental entanglements which 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."[47] In his policy of revenge, the possibility of a war in the New World loomed large in the mind of Choiseul. The French minister worked from the assumption that Great Britain had to be attacked where she was weakest, and that was in her American empire. 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

[46] 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.
[47] 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.

colonies. This would severely weaken British trade and sea power and since France would take over transatlantic trade from Britain, lead 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.[48]

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 redcoats in the New World. In 1764, Prime Minister Sir George Grenville received the House of Common'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.[49] 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.

5.2 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 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

[48] The best introduction into this issue can be found in W.J. Eccles, *France in America* (New York, 1972).
[49] 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, mostly of 74 guns, plus 50 frigates in 1770.[50] 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 a 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.[51]

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."[52] 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 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 *Gâtinais*, 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

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[50] On Vergennes' foreign policy, which closely followed Choiseuil'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.

[51] 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.

[52] 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).

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. [53]

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.[54] 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.[55] 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.[56]

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.[57] 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.[58]

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

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[53] 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.

[54] 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.

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

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

[57] 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.

[58] 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.

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).[59] By 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 Johann von 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.[60]

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 1774/75, 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

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[59] 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 1776 had abolished the beloved goat-skin miters of the grenadiers but the order was widely ignored: in 1781, the grenadiers of the Saintonge are reported to have wore their mitres as they marched through Philadelphia.

[60] See Jonathan R. Dull, *A Diplomatic History of the American Revolution* (New Haven, 1985), pp. 63. On the German-born Kalb see A. E. Zucker, *General de Kalb, 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.

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 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.[61] 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."[62] 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.[63] 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.[64] Spain added another million in August.[65] 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.[66]

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 December 1776,[67] 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."

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

[62] 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.

[63] 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.

[64] 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.

[65] 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).

[66] 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.

[67] Archivo Historico Nacional, Madrid, Estado Legajo 4224.

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."[68] 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.[69]

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.[70] 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, a 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 cynically that "the loss of this quarrelsome spirit was probably a fortunate accident."[71]

One of the officers recruited by Deane in the autumn of 1776 was Denis Jean Florimont de Langlois, marquis du Bouchet, the brother-in-law of Irishman Thomas Conway. Du Bouchet's *Journal d'un emigré; ou cahier d'un etudiant en philosophie*, the *Journal of an Emigrant; or Memorial of a Student of Philosophy*, almost 900 pages in three volumes completed in late 1822 or early 1823, provides a singular and enlightening insight into this semi-official and semi-legal phase of French aid. Observations such as those recorded by Du Bouchet shed a unique light the personalities and motivations of some of the volunteers for the Continental Army in 1775/76 as well as on the confusion that reigned in these early days of Franco-American cooperation.[72]

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[68] 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 627/28.

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

[70] 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.

[71] 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 here in vol. 1, pp. 405/6.

[72] Du Bouchet's manuscript is located in the Rare Books and Manuscripts Division of Cornell University Library. The writer is grateful to Lorna Knight, Curator of Manuscripts, for permission to quote the manuscript here and in Robert A. Selig, "A French Volunteer who lived to rue America's revolution: Denis

In late November 1776, Conway and du Bouchet set out for Le Havre. There the *l'Amphitrite*, a merchant ship of some 410 tons armed with 16 cannon, was waiting to take them to the New World. Loaded with 50 four-pound cannons, 10,000 muskets, 100,000 flints, and an assortment of war-related materials, she was under the command of one-legged Captain Nicolas Fautrel. Her cargo had been provided by Beaumarchais and was to be smuggled to Philadelphia.

But the *Amphitrite* carried an even more valuable human cargo: 21 French officers and ten Non-Commissioned Officers who had volunteered their services to the nascent Continental Army.[73] The *Amphitrite*'s passenger list is a veritable *Who's Who* of French volunteers. Among du Bouchet's travel companions there was indeed many an honest and professional officer who knew his trade and who would return to America with the troops of Rochambeau in 1780. Captain François Louis Teissedre de Fleury is as good an example of these men as can be found. Promoted to lieutenant colonel as a reward for his valiant defense of Fort Mifflin in November 1777, he was the only foreigner to receive one of the eight medals Congress had struck to celebrate American victories. He returned to France in September 1779, joined Rochambeau's expeditionary corps in 1780, and was among the conquerors of Redoubt No. 9 before Yorktown on 14 October 1781.

Other volunteers of note were Jean Joseph de Gimat de Soubadère, future aide-de-camp to Lafayette and a lieutenant-colonel in the Continental Army by 1778, and Jean-Baptiste de Gouivon, who served throughout the Revolutionary War and became an American colonel, as well as Louis François de Pommereul de Martigny, who served faithfully as a lieutenant in the artillery. There was Thomas Antoine de Mauduit du Plessis, another lieutenant in the artillery with a commission as captain from Deane in his pocket, who distinguished himself at Brandywine, Germantown, and later at Monmouth. In 1779, he accompanied Lafayette to France but returned with Rochambeau in 1780.

All of the NCOs were thoroughly professional soldiers who had served 10, 15, even 20 years, and who had been promised ranks in the Continental Army well beyond reach at home. These were men like François Parison, commissioned a captain by Deane, who returned to France in 1778 only to cross the ocean again in 1780 with Rochambeau. Du Bouchet's favorite traveling companion, the Irishman Thomas Mullens, had risen from common soldier in 1756 to sub-lieutenant in 1770 and would return to the New World as Rochambeau's *chef des guides*.

But there were others as well. Young Monsieur Déséspiniers had no military experience whatsoever but was made a major in the Continental Army as a courtesy to his uncle Beaumarchais. Sixty-year-old Philippe Hubert de Preudhomme de Borre, formerly a lieutenant colonel of the Regiment *Liègeois d'Orion* was clearly past his prime. Rewarded with a commission as brigadier for his troubles involved in crossing the Atlantic Ocean, he returned it less than five months later after the defeat at Brandywine in September to preserve his honor as a soldier which he saw threatened by having to command "such bad troops."[74] Some, like 26-year-old artillery officer Anne Philippe Dieudonné de Loyauté, commissioned a captain by Deane in November 1776, were doubtful assets at best. The future inspector general of artillery of Virginia had just been released from the prison in Pierre-en-Cize where his father had him incarcerated for 16 months to cure him of excessive gambling and womanizing. On the eve of departure, a distraught comtesse de Linanges appeared, pleading with de Loyauté to return to her. His "caprice

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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.

[73] There were also three domestics on board. A list of officers and NCOs on the *Amphitrite* is enclosed in a letter of 30 May 1777, by the Committee of Foreign Affairs to Washington at http://memory.loc.gov/

[74] Borre's letter of resignation as quoted in Bodinier, *Dictionnaire*, p. 389. He did not leave the United States from Charleston until January 1779.

… kept the idle public occupied," not to mention the ever-present British spies. Eventually it was only through the complicity of a harbor official, who as an old family friend chose to ignore an arrest order, that de Loyauté managed to escape "his mistresses as well as his creditors" and to "throw between them and himself the immensity of the oceans."[75]

On 14 December 1776, the *Amphitrite* with 12 artillery and engineer officers, eight infantry officers, and a medical doctor departed for the New World. Two days out, Coudray, who thought that Deane had undermined his mission, forced Fautrel to sail to the harbor of L'Orient where they arrived on 1 January 1777. There Coudray ordered Preudhomme de Borre off the ship in a most offensive manner and proceeded to Paris where he received yet another recommendation from Benjamin Franklin. In late January 1777, a total of now 27 officers and 12 NCOs, including Coudray and Borre, sailed from Nantes for Boston, where they arrived on 20 April 1777.[76]

Meanwhile in L'Orient, the *Amphitrite* too had once again set sail for America on 25 January 1777, this time with 25 officers on board but apparently without Coudray. Loyauté had used the three-week layover in L'Orient to form yet another "tendre liaison." According to du Bouchet he once again gave a disgusting "spéctacle au public" and had to be forced to re-embark for America. On the night before departure, Armand Charles Tuffin, marquis de la Rouërie, better known as Colonel Armand after the legion he would raise in the American colonies, [77] appeared on board and informed his fellow officers that he "absolument" had to get out of France. Du Bouchet assumed another "affaire d'honneur," i.e., a duel, as the cause for this sudden appearance, since Rouërie had recently wounded the comte de Bourbon-Busset, a cousin of King Louis XVI, in a duel over the love of a belle of the Paris Opera. Rouërie's "trust" in the actress "had been extreme," but apparently there had been some physical contact as well since of late a child had "unexpectedly … appeared on the scene." The marquis vehemently denied paternity, and in his "desperation" over this betrayal had wavered between suicide and "embracing the monastic life." A closer look showed the "rigors" of monastic life not to his liking, and he decided to "throw between his unfaithful" actress and himself "the immensity of the ocean" and to fight for American independence instead. Colonel Armand returned to France in 1784, but he never again wore the white uniform of the *ancien régime*. He did, however, acknowledge the son "unexpectedly" born in late 1776.

The arrival of dozens of foreigners, French and otherwise, with claims, if not proof, of high commissions in the Continental Army, combined with sometimes arrogant if not contemptuous behavior displayed by some of them, soon caused considerable friction with their American comrades-in-arms. Increasingly Americans refused to receive into their ranks some of the more quarrelsome "summer soldiers and sunshine patriots," as Thomas Paine called them, sent by Deane, Franklin, and Lee. [78] Du Bouchet found that out when he arrived at Stillwater, New York, in late August 1777. Gates was not pleased to see another Frenchman walk into camp: "'What do you want from me?' he said to me very brusquely." In his "very bad English" du Bouchet replied: "'Opportunities to gain your esteem, general. ... Would you have the goodness to allow me to join, as a volunteer, your front-line detachments?'" Growling under his breath how it "'would be very nice if all Frenchmen were that reasonable and moderate in their pretensions,'" Gates

[75] Unless otherwise indicated, all quotes are taken from the Du Bouchet ms at Cornell University.
[76] A "Memorandum" enclosed in a letter by Lee to Washington dated 27 February 1777, but now filed with the letter quoted in footnote 71, lists eleven additional names. Among them is "de Coudray - fit for the head of Artillery" and a "M. d'Montieu formerly undertaker of the Royal Manufacture of Arms," though one wonders what he could contribute to the military effort.
[77] On Colonel Armand and his legion see Blanco, *Encyclopedia* Vol. 1, pp. 40-44.
[78] French agents in America were well aware of the damage done by such adventurers who did nothing but "déshonorer la nation dans le nouveau monde," as one of them informed Vergennes. Quoted in Kennett, "L'expédition Rochambeau-Ternay," p. 91.

allowed him into camp. But when the newcomer dared to ask for a tent, he was immediately put into his place: "'They are only for the soldiers,' the general answered me very brusquely." Du Bouchet made himself a crude shelter from pine branches where he lived "like Robin Crusoe upon arrival on his island."

Even in pine branches Du Bouchet was more fortunate than men such as French Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Louis vicomte de Mauroy, hired by Deane as major general. Mauroy arrived on 13 June 1777, was not employed and was sent back to France. Major Ludwig Baron von Holtzendorff, whom Deane had commissioned a lieutenant colonel, served as a common soldier before his return to France in 1778.[79] No one in Coudray's company received a commission until after the "fortunate" death of Coudray in September 1777, when Congress promoted Coudray posthumously to major general and granted him the position it could not possibly give him while he was alive. Concurrently it passed legislation providing funds for the return of those officers in Coudray's entourage that it could not, or would not, employ to Europe.

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 Taduesz Kosciuszko or Casimir Pulaski or German like Baron von Steuben or Baron von 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 1763-66 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 either truce or peace with Great Britain without the formal consent of the other first obtained."[80]

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

[79] See the Baron de Holtzendorff Papers, South Caroliniana Library at the University of South Carolina.

[80] 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.

unanimously and without debate and ordered them published without waiting for the French government to ratify the treaties as well.[81]

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.

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

The war France had planned for since 1763 was on.[82] 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.

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.[83]

This policy had largely been dictated by 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. But Spain was nowhere near ready for war against Great 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, 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

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[81] 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.

[82] 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.

[83] 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.

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.[84]

Neither Louis XVI nor Vergennes had placed high hopes on the success of an 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 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.[85] 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 instance of successful Franco-American cooperation, the colonists might make peace with Great Britain, leaving France to continue the war by herself.

5.4 The *comte* de Rochambeau and the Troops of the *expédition particulière*

The decisive shift in favor of sending troops to America came in late January 1780. On 2 February, the king 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.[86] 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

[84] All numbers from Fonteneau, "La période française," pp. 79-85.
[85] See Lee Kennett, *The French Forces in America, 1780-1783* (Westport, 1977), pp. 3-17.
[86] 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.

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,[87] 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 Quartermaster staff under Pierre François de Beville, a medical department of about 100 under Jean-François Coste,[88] a commissary department under Claude Blanchard,[89] a provost department headed by Pierre Barthélémy Revoux de Ronchamp with a hangman and two *schlagueurs,* i.e., corporals who were experts with the cat-o'-nine-tails,[90] not to mention the dozens of *domestiques*, i.e., the 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 have to form part of a second division that Rochambeau hoped would join him in 1781.[91] But as Rochambeau's "wish-list" grew, so did Ternay's anger: the admiral saw no reason to take 140 horses across the ocean to please some members of the court. Each horse needed the space of ten men, vast amounts of forage and roughly 45,000 gallons of water to transport them across the ocean! The horses stayed behind.

5.4.1 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.[92] 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 *Academie Française* since 1775, were too influential to be ignored once they expressed interest in the expedition.[93]

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[87] 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).

[88] 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.

[89] 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.

[90] 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.

[91] Some 660 men reinforcements joined Rochambeau's forces in June 1781. The regiments Anhalt and Neustrie and additional artillery in the Second Division never came to America.

[92] Kennett, *French forces*, p. 22.

[93] 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

Humble as ever, the *duc* de Lauzun recorded that he was simply "too much in fashion not to be employed in some brilliant manner."[94]

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, his place was taken by Charles Louis de Secondat baron de Montesquieu, a grandson of the famous philosopher. 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.[95]

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 Germans. Jaucourt argued, overly optimistic as it turned out, that losses in such units could be made up by recruiting deserters from Britain's German auxiliaries.[96] Politics may very well have decided the selection of the Royal Deux-Ponts. The German 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.[97] Their 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![98] 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.

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

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

[96] Kennett, *French forces*, p. 23.

[97] Christian was succeeded to the throne by his brother Charles II August in 1776. 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'Établis-sement des États-Unis d'Amérique* 5 vols. (Paris, 1886-1892), Vol. 1, # 3733. Camasse presented Franklin a walking cane upon his departure from France; Franklin in turn willed the cane to George Washington; today it can be seen in the Smithsonian Institution.

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

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.[99] 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 army buddies 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 16th birthday. Quarter-Master General de Beville 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-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.[100] 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.[101] 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

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[99] *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.

[100] 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 August 14, 1780, Rechteren had a pass to go 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.

[101] 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.

who has been to America, [and] who has no other talent than to get himself killed with more grace than most other people."[102] 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. [103] 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.[104] Though well-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.[105]

A look at the Royal Deux-Ponts, its history and its officer corps, provides a sample of the troops of the *expédition particulière* in America as well as of the status of a foreign regiment in the army of the *ancièn régime.* The Royal Deux-Ponts was the result of a business agreement between Louis XV of France and Christian IV, *Herzog von Zweibrücken* (=Deux-Ponts), ruler of a duchy of 2,477 km^2 in southwestern Germany (incl. 495 km^2 in Alsace), inhabited by some 80,000 subjects. Trying to win favor with his powerful neighbor to the west, Christian, on 30 May 1751, entered into an agreement with Louis XV in which he promised to raise a battalion of infantry for France when and if needed. In return he was to receive an annual subsidy of 40,000 Rhenish Guilders (fl.) The need came with the outbreak of the Seven Year's War, and on 23 November 1755, Christian offered a "Regiment de deux Bataillons" for service with France. Louis XV accepted the offer and in April 1756 signed the contract that raised "deux mille hommes d'Infanterie" in exchange for 80,000 fl. annually.[106]

There were extra-military reasons for the creation of the Royal Deux-Ponts: Christian Graf von Forbach, Freiherr von Zweibrücken and his siblings.[107] Born on 20 July 1752, Christian was

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

[103] 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.

[104] 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 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 on Ternay's ships; he had to sail with Choisy's group to Newport.

[105] 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).

[106] Quoted in Wilhelm Weber, *Die Beteiligung des Regiment Royal-Deux-Ponts am amerikanischen Unabhängigkeitskrieg* Katalog der Ausstellung der Pfalzgalerie Kaiserslautern (Kaiserslautern, 1976).

[107] Duke Christian used his connections with Madame de Pompadour to improve the social status of his morganatic wife. In 1757, Louis XV of France provided letters of nobility, King Stanislas of Poland in his position as Duke of Lorraine elevated Maria Anne Camasse and her descendants to Counts and Countesses Forbach after the Seigneurie Forbach in Lorraine a few miles west of Saarbrücken, which Christian had bought for her in late 1756. One of the requirements for this ennoblement was a marriage under French law: on 3 September 1757, Christian once again tied the knot with Camasse, legitimizing his offspring. The story is told in Adalbert Prinz von Bayern, *Der Herzog und die Tänzerin. Die merkwürdige Geschichte Christians IV. von Pfalz-Zweibrücken und seiner Familie* (Neustadt/Weinstrasse, 1966). The most through history is now Henri Wilmin, *Histoire de Forbach des origines à la Révolution.* (Metz, 1998), esp. pp. 151-168: La Maison Zweibrücken-Forbach (1756-1793).

the eldest of seven children born to the Duke and Marie Anne Camasse. In June 1754, his brother Philippe Guillaume was born; by 1771 two more sons and three daughters had completed the family created by the union of duke and dancer. Though excluded from succession, Christian had every intention of providing for his children, and the Royal Deux-Ponts was raised and leased to the French crown as a means of support for his eldest sons. On 19 February 1757, the regiment was established with Duke Christian as *colonel propriétaire*; on 1 April it entered French pay.[108]

The French army reforms of 1776 effected the Royal Deux-Ponts as well. A treaty of 31 March 1776 specified that three quarters of all officer positions in the regiment be reserved for German nobles, the remainder was to go to French noblemen from German-speaking Alsace or Lorraine. The duke retained the right to recall the regiment when and if he needed it, provided it was not against the King of France or his allies.[109] In French units, well over 90 per cent of the officer positions were filled by native Frenchmen, the Royal Deux-Ponts, on the other hand, had a multi-ethnic officer corps drawn from all across Europe. More than half of the 69 officers who served with the regiment in America came from the Duchy of Zweibrücken, the Palatinate, twenty-one were French subjects from the German-speaking parts of Alsace and Lorraine; others came from as far away as Lithuania, Denmark, and the Tyrol.

Zweibrücken:	9
Alsace:	17
Lorraine:	4
Palatinate:	6
Switzerland:	6
Empire:	16
France:	4
Denmark:	1
Belgium:	1
Netherlands:	1
Luxemburg:	1
Sweden:	1
Tyrol:	1
Lithuania:	1

	69

A look at the age structure of the corps shows that fifteen officers were under 20 years old, another eighteen were under 25. Eleven more officers were under 30, and 25 officers or 36 per cent were between 31 and 50 years old. Most of them had received their commissions around their 14th or 15th birthdays, though it is doubtful these "child-officers" performed many of the

[108] For the treaty of 19 February 1757, see Rudolf Karl Tröss, "Die Gründung des Regiments Royal Deux-Ponts" in: Rudolf Karl Tröss, *Das Regiment Royal-Deux-Ponts* (typescript, Zweibrücken, 1983), pp. 9-17. See Robert A. Selig, "George Washington's German Allies: Das Deutsche Königlich-Französische Infanterie Regiment von Zweybrücken Or *Royal Deux-Ponts*. Part 1: 1756-1780." *Journal of the Johannes Schwalm Historical Association* Vol. 6 No. 4, (2000), pp. 52-59, Part 2: March 1780-June 1781, ibid. Vol. 7 No. 1, (2001), pp. 43-53, Part 3: July 1781-June 1783, ibid. Vol. 7 No. 2, (2002), pp. 29-43, and Part 4: June 1783-21 July 1791, ibid. Vol. 7 No. 4 (2003), pp. 42-52. The writer is not aware of similar regimental histories for Rochambeau's other infantry regiments or for the Auxonne artillery.

[109] The agreement is printed in Rudolf Karl Tröss, "Die Konvention vom 31. März 1776," in Tröss, *Royal-Deux-Ponts,* pp. 18-28. The second component regulating the employment of foreign troops was the *capitulation* between the colonel and the crown. The last *capitulation* of the *ancien régime* concerning German regiments was signed on 18 January 1760. See *Nouvelle capitulation accordée aux régiments allemands à commencer du premier mars 1760.* Service Historique de l'Armée de Terre, Chateau de Vincennes, Vincennes, France, call number: 1M 1771.

duties required of their rank. The youngest recipients of commissions in the Royal Deux-Ponts were Friedrich Baron von Schwengsfeld, who was 26 days short of his 9th birthday when he became *sous-lieutenant* in September 1769 and Christian Friedrich Baron von Glaubitz from Strasbourg, who became a *sous-lieutenant* on 9 October 1770, four days before his 11th birthday.

born before 1740:	13
1740-1744:	9
1745-1749:	3
1750-1754:	11
1755-1759:	18
1760-1764:	15

The two youngest *sous-lieutenants* of the regiment serving in America were born in 1764, i.e., 16 years old in 1780.[110] The oldest officer, Louis Aimable de Prez de Crassier, born in Switzerland in 1730, was already 50 years old. He had entered French service in 1747 as a *sous-lieutenant*, and after 33 years made major in April of 1780, when retirements and transfers brought some movement into the ranks. But he was still not married: he received permission to do so only as a 58-year-old in 1788.[111]

Not much younger were the *officiers de fortune*, soldiers who had risen through the ranks to reach *sous-lieutenant* after many decades of service. The most common stepping-stone toward the coveted commission was the position of one of the two *portes-drapeau* (color-bearers or ensigns) or *quartier-maître trésorier* (paymaster/quartermaster) of the regiment. Of the 12 officers in the Royal Deux-Ponts commissioned at age 26 or more, five were current or former *portes-drapeau*, three were or had been *quartier-maîtres trésorier*.[112] During the American campaign, both *portes-drapeau* were promoted to *sous-lieutenant* and replaced by men promoted from the ranks.

One of them was Jean Mathieu Michel Bayerfalck, born 1739, who had joined the regiment as a sergeant in 1766 with already eight years service in the Regiment de Berry. Promoted to *porte-drapeau* in 1772, he became a *sous-lieutenant* on 28 October 1781 after 23 years of military service. His place as *porte-drapeau* was taken over by J. Georg Hanck, who had joined the regiment at age 19 in 1758. By the time he became a *sous-lieutenant* in 1787, he had 29 years of service. The second *porte-drapeau* of the regiment, Jean Frederic Schleyder, had enlisted as a 17-year-old in 1759. He became *porte-drapeau* in 1777 and *sous-lieutenant* after 21 years on 15 April 1780. His place was taken by Philipp Wilhelm Sonntag, who had signed up at age 17 in 1774. When Sonntag decided to stay in the United States and resigned in May 1782, Jean Pierre Guillaume Mittmann became his successor. Born in 1739, Mittmann had joined the regiment in November 1756; he had almost 26 years of service in the summer of 1782. It took him another eight years to make *sous-lieutenant* in February 1790. Besides the *portes-drapeaux* the regiment had one true *officier de fortune*, an enlisted man who had risen from the ranks through long years of service via the *quartier-maître trésorier*. Born in Meissenheim in 1732, Henry Schanck had

[110] Joseph Louis César Charles *comte* de Damas, an *aide-de-camp* to Rochambeau, was all of 2 years and 9 months old when he became a *sous-lieutenant* albeit in the regiment Du Roi and thus outside the regular line infantry establishment, in August 1761. By April 1781 he was a *mestre-de-camp*, or colonel. Bodinier, *Dictionnaire*, p. 121.

[111] Officer data are based on the information given in Bodinier, *Dictionnaire*, passim. The number includes von Fersen and *quartier-maître trésorier* Charles Anton Baronheydt, who were transferred to the regiment in 1782, three promotions from the ranks to *porte-drapeau*, and Rechteren. Four officers -- two captains and two lieutenants -- stayed with an auxiliary company in Schlettstadt.

[112] The other four, Axel von Fersen (13 years), Louis Aimable de Prez de Crassier (10 years when he joined on 1 April 1757), Rechteren (15 years) and Joseph Chevalier de Stack (14 years) all have long years of service in other regiments before joining the Royal Deux-Ponts.

joined the Regiment de Bergh in November 1749 as a common soldier. On 30 November 1756 he transferred to the Royal Deux-Ponts where he was promoted to *sous-lieutenant* in August 1770. Ten years later, on 4 April 1780, he became a captain.

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.[113] 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 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.[114]

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

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[113] 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 1786-94 he was the founder and first president of the local Jacobin Club. In 1792, he was elected a member of *Assemblé 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.

[114] 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.

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.[115] 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 peace-time incomes![116]

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. Among those who put their thoughts on paper, the opinion of the young comte de Lauberdière is representative for that expressed in the vast majority of diaries and journals. The war, so 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, but one looks in vain for an explanation as to what these "rights" consisted of. Glory, honor, the opportunity to make a name for oneself, a chance to escape boredom, creditors, girlfriends; these are the recurrent themes found in the journals of participants. France entered the war not because she believed in the ideals of the revolution, and not because she wanted to fight FOR America. She entered the war because of the enemy she could fight AGAINST: Great Britain. By 1780, a whole generation of Frenchmen had grown up in the shadow cast upon the crown of the Sun King by the humiliation suffered in the Peace of Paris. This common enemy provided much, if not most, of the impetus for Franco-American co-operation. The comte de Lauberdière expressed the feelings of his age group as well as anyone when he wrote that France "was looking to take revenge for the peace of 1763."

5.4.2 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

[115] Nicolas François Denis Brisout de Barneville, a *sous-lieutenant* and aide to Baron Vioménil, largely confirms Schwerin's prices. See the "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.

[116] 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.

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.[117]

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, 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 Frenchmen,[118] 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 the 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.[119]

The biggest difference between the Royal Deux-Ponts and French units was in the religious affiliation of the soldiers.[120] The French regiments were almost 100 per cent Catholic, while the Royal Deux-Ponts was almost 40 per cent Protestant, broken down as follows:

Catholic:	732	62.0%
Lutheran:	269	22.8%
Reformed:	180	15.2%
		100.0%

[117] Scott, *Response*, p. 8.
[118] Rochambeau's corps had at least one black soldier in its ranks: Jean Pandua, "un fils d'amour" according 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.
[119] 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.
[120] Of twelve soldiers the religion is unknown.

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![121] The most detailed report on any regiment, that on the 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.[122] 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*.[123] 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."[124]

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[121] Quoted in Scott, *Response*, p. 19. There are no comparative data on recruitment from jails for the French army, but for the Fench army too such claims are often based on prejudice rather than hard evidence.

[122] Library of Congress, Milton S. Latham Journal-Miscellaneous Manuscripts Collection # 1902.

[123] 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.

[124] 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

6.1 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, two frigates, and two smaller warships finally left Brest with some 12,000 soldiers and sailors on board.[125] 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. [126] 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."

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.[127] The anonymous grenadier of the Bourbonnais embarked on the *Duc de Bourgogne* counted 1,432 persons on board at the time of departure![128] 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

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[125] The numbers for the size of the convoy differ; those given here are from Dull, *French navy*, p. 190.

[126] 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.

[127] *The Journal of Claude Blanchard*, pp. 5-8.

[128] Only about 500 of these men belonged to Rochambeau's army: 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.

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 a 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 people at a time! These were enormous kettles indeed: if everyone on board ship would get 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 had to hold a minimum of 180 gallons![129]

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."[130] 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."

Arrival in Newport was anxiously awaited, and joy was universal when the convoy sailed into Narragansett Bay on 11 July 1780.[131] The troops debarking in Newport over the next few days were hardly ready to face a British attack. 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." 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 Papishquash. 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.[132]

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[129] 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."

[130] 1 *Schoppen* = about 1/2 pint or 1/4 liter.

[131] The *Îsle de France* with 350 men of the Bourbonnais got lost in fog and put into Boston instead.

[132] 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.

By July 15, 1780, 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, the army needed 300 to 400 heads of cattle every six to eight weeks and kept an additional 200 heads in reserve around the camp as well as the salt pork it had brought over from France.[133] The troops seem to have supplemented their diet on their own: in late July 1780, Lafayette wrote to Washington that in Newport "Chiken (sic) and pigs walk Betwen the tents without being disturb'd."[134]

6.2 The Old World Meets the New World

Lafayette's pastoral landscape of "Chiken (sic) and pigs walk[ing] Betwen 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 Rochambeau's troops set foot on American soil only a small minority of Americans had ever met a Frenchman off the battlefield. Frenchmen 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.[135] "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." [136] 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.

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[133] 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 inspecte aujourd'hui. Il est superbe, mais il y a beaucoup de malades."

[134] 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.

[135] 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.

[136] 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. For Connecticut see Charles L. Cutler, *Connecticut's Revolutionary Press* Connecticut Bicentennial Series XIV (Hartford, 1975).

Such likes and dislikes, fears and apprehensions, 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." This practice had reached new heights during the French and Indian War and had been re-enforced as late as 1774.[137] On 22 June of that year, Parliament had passed the Québec 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, 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."[138] 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.[139] 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."[140]

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 had made his position very clear when he wrote: "I don't want a French army here."[141] In early 1778, Vergennes had sent agents across the ocean to probe American sentiments concerning the militarily desirable project of armed intervention by an expeditionary force. Their reports were less than encouraging as well. A year later, one agent recorded that the 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 later that year that they too had taken up the issue with the

[137] Gayle K. Brown, "'Into the Hands of Papists': New England Captives in French Canada and the English Anti-Catholic Tradition, 1689-1763" *The Maryland Historian* Vol. 21, (1990), pp. 1-11, p. 9.
[138] Quoted in Stinchcombe, *American Revolution* chapter VII: The Pulpit and the Alliance, p. 96.
[139] 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."
[140] "The Huntington Papers" *Connecticut Historical Society Collections* Vol. 20 (1923), p. 150.
[141] Quoted in Kennett, *French forces,* p. 38.

Continental Congress though without much 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."[142] 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."[143]

How uncertain even leading Americans were about military intervention became apparent when Lafayette approached Franklin with the idea in October 1779. The usually rather talkative American replied evasively that he had "no orders for troops, but large ones for supplies, and I dare not take any further steps than I have done in such a proposition without orders."[144] His request for instructions from Congress, mailed more than a month after the conversation with Lafayette, did not reach Philadelphia until March 1780, by which time Rochambeau's troops were ready to embark. When the French cabinet discussed the idea of sending troops to America, all it had to go by was Lafayette's enthusiasm and a letter by Washington of 30 September 1779, in which the latter promised a cordial welcome if Lafayette should return at the head of "a corps of gallant Frenchmen."[145] The cabinet concluded, rightly as it turned out, that Congress would rather not be forced to make a decision at that point in the hope that the saying "the enemy of my enemy is my friend" would apply once the French had landed. But just in case that welcome would not materialize, Rochambeau was authorized to either make for the West Indies or to seize Rhode Island by force until he could be evacuated.

Such fears proved to be unfounded. Upon arrival William de Deux-Ponts, *colonel-en-second* of his regiment, remarked that the French had "not met with that reception on landing which we expected and which we ought to have had. A coldness and reserve appear to me characteristic of the American nation."[146] Clermont-Crèvecœur 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." He thought the British were to blame. 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."[147] Nicolas François Denis Brisout de Barneville, at 44 still a *sous-lieutenant*, thought that the image of the papist French had at least in part been formed "by numerous French refugees," i.e., Huguenots who had settled in America.[148]

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. High-ranking officers in Rochambeau's staff were quartered

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[142] 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.

[143] 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.

[144] Quoted in Kennett, *French forces*, p. 8.

[145] *The Writings of George Washington* John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., 39 vols., (Washington, DC, 1931-1944), Vol. 16, p. 369.

[146] William de Deux-Ponts, *My Campaigns in America* Samuel Abbot Green, ed., (Boston, 1868), p. 91.

[147] Crèvecœur journal as edited by Rice and Brown, eds., *American Campaigns*, Vol. 1, pp. 15-100, p. 21.

[148] Barneville, "Journal," p. 242. In 1678, 12 Huguenot families established New Paltz in Ulster County, NY; in October 1686, Huguenot refugees established Frenchtown, 10 miles inland from Narragansett Bay, but there were Huguenot settlements all along the coast from Oxford, MA to New Rochelle, NY and Manakin-Town, VA and Jamestown, SC and every colony in-between, including in Delaware.

in Newport, and the close personal contact helped to overcome fear, prejudices and hostility.[149] By early September, Fersen could report, somewhat overly enthusiastic, 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."[150] 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.[151]

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 necessaries 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.[152] The *till*, a dance in this "still somewhat wild country," was "a sad piece of stupidity."[153] Many French officers, such as Clermont-Crèvecœur, 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,"[154] 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.*"[155] After dinner "each person wipes himself on the table-cloth, which must be very soiled as a result."[156] 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

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[149] Alan and Mary Simpson, "A new look at how Rochambeau quartered his army in Newport (1780-1781)" *Newport History* (Spring 1983), pp. 30-67; 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.

[150] In a letter of 8 September 1780, in Fersen, "Letters," p. 302. But by April 25, 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.

[151] 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.

[152] 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.

[153] "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.

[154] Clermont-Crèvecœur, "Journal," p. 20

[155] Blanchard, *Journal,* p. 78.

[156] Closen, *Journal,* p. 51.

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.[157] 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.[158]

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, 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."[159]

Compared to eighteenth-century France, New England society was a society composed largely of equals. In 1782, French traveler Hector St. John de Crèvecœur 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.[160] 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.[161] 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."[162] 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."[163] 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."[164] 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."[165] They might even chuckle as they told their friends and families anecdotes such as this one told by the chevalier de Pontgibaud:

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[157] Heman R. Timlow, *Ecclesiastical and other Sketches of Southington, Conn.* (Hartford, 1875), p. 53.
[158] Forbes, "Marches," p. 271 and p. 272.
[159] 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, November 5, 1778, in Idzerda, *Lafayette,* Vol. 2, pp. 202/03.
[160] Hector St. John de Crèvecœur, *Letters from an American Farmer* (New York, 1957), p. 36.
[161] The story is told by Rochambeau's son in 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. 259/60; also in Forbes, "Marches," p. 271, and Rice and Brown, eds., *American Campaigns*, Vol. 1, p. 168.
[162] "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.
[163] Quoted in Kennett, "Rochambeau-Ternay," p. 100.
[164] Crèvecœur, *Letters,* p. 36.
[165] Cromot du Bourg, "Diary," p. 209.

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.

"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. This lack of knowledge was caused by the difficulty of intercourse with Europe.[166]

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."[167]

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."[168] Axel von Fersen vented months of frustration 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."[169] 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, and with good reason. A 3-pound loaf of bread cost him 40 to 44 sols, though a common 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![170]

Few officers wanted to admit that New Englanders were no worse than the French were under similar circumstances. Only Brisout de Barneville declared that "The merchants sell to us just as

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[166] 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.

[167] Quoted in Kennett, *French forces*, p. 72.

[168] Quoted in Scott, "Strains," p. 91.

[169] " Fersen, *Letters*, p. 371.

[170] Schwerin had quoted 22 sols for a pound of better bread for officers.

dearly as ours did to the Spanish when they were in Brest last year."[171] More importantly, 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 Wadsworth's 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."[172]

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 piasters, 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 arrived in late February 1781, the navy, which had only brought half a million, was down to a mere 800 livres in cash. 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 shipments of specie from France for a total of about 10 million livres, first in Spanish, then in French coin.

Unfortunately the military proficiency of New Englanders was vastly inferior 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." [173]

[171] Barneville, "Journal," p. 241.
[172] Halsey to Colt, 23 October 1781, in Jeremiah Wadsworth Papers, Original Correspondence July 1781 to February 1782, Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, Connecticut. (CHS)
[173] 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

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)"[174]

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 be no other result but bloody conflict."[175] 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.[176]

For the Germans in the Royal Deux-Ponts the situation was different. Flohr remembered that he "got along very well with the inhabitants." As an enlisted man not used to finer foods, he 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.

Since the soldiers "could talk precious little with them, every one of us soldiers" tried to learn some English in order to "caress" the "beautiful American maidens." American-German relations ran smoothly. "In our vicinity we had two beautiful neighbors who lived in a wind-mill. One of them was named Hanne, the other Malle (Molly). We were especially welcomed by these girls because we (i.e., the Royal Deux-Ponts) were Germans, and they hold the German nation in very high esteem." By implication this means that the French nation was not held "in very high esteem." Germans were indeed well liked in Colonial America, and the Lutheran and Calvinist

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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.

[174] 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, December 12 and December 16, 1781.

[175] Quoted in Kennett, "Rochambeau-Ternay," p. 100.

[176] 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. On August 31, 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. 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 autre histoires qui viennent a l'appui de cette observation …" Gabriel, *Desandrouins*, p. 363.

co-religionists in the Royal Deux-Ponts were welcome anywhere in New England. Around New York Americans dropped such finer distinctions: "Whenever you entered a house around Suffern … the inhabitants would ask you if you wanted to stay with them and promised to hide you until *the French* were gone!"[177]

As they spent the winter of 1780/81 in Newport and began their march south in the early summer 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 owner-ship 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 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: Flohr's lieutenant colonel Esebeck thought that "no one could live more happily than here. There is a freedom here the like of which is found nowhere else."[178] For hundreds of landless sons of impoverished peasants in the Royal Deux-Ponts, the strangely wonderful New World exerted a powerful temptation to desert. Of 316 deserters from Rochambeau's corps who avoided recapture, 104 came from the Royal Deux-Ponts alone, another 186 deserters were German-speaking soldiers (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 dollar, or in this case a livre or a louis d'or, by returning deserters to their units. A scant 26 deserters (8 per cent of the total) were native Frenchmen who successfully ventured out into the hostile environment of America. And of those only six acquired their freedom in New England, the other twenty deserted in Virginia.[179]

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[177] The emphasis in the quote is mine. Punishment for desertion was eight years in chains, but of seven executions in America, five were for desertion. In one instance in the Royal Deux-Ponts in mid-August 1781, a captured deserter was sentenced "to be hung, but in consideration of the number of relatives he had in his Regiment M. de Deux-Ponts persuaded the General to consent that he should be shot, and he was so executed." Cromot du Bourg, "Journal," p. 306. Since Rochambeau could hardly afford to lose dozens of men to the executioner, the *schlagueurs* went into action: three Royal Deux-Ponts deserters who were handed over in early July "by some Americans, *good Whigs* (sic), … were flogged." Closen, *Journal*, p. 91.

[178] Lenhart, "Letter," p. 359.

[179] Desertion figures in Scott, "Strains," p. 96.

The vicomte de Noailles wrote that 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. [180] In September, the conference between Washington and Rochambeau at Hartford 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 for an attack on New York "as the only practicable object under present circumstances," as Washington reminded Rochambeau on 13 June. A march to the south had been ruled out for the time being because of the reluctance of New England and Middle Colony troops to fight in the southern colonies, and because the summer heat would decimate the troops too much.

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

THE MARCH TO PHILADELPHIA,
11 JUNE/2 JULY TO 4/5 SEPTEMBER 1781

7.1 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. French purchasing agent Jeremiah Wadsworth began collecting the vast amounts of supplies needed to feed thousands of men and animals -- just for the wagon train he drafted 855 horses, the artillery added 500 plus up to 1,500 horses for the officers and over 600 oxen -- in his columns. By mid-May he had also hired "a number of Laborers employed in building Ovens and making the necessary preparations for the accommodation of said Army on their march."[181] Rochambeau's force was quite small by European standards: barely 4,800 officers and men on 1 March 1781.[182]

REGIMENT	PRESENT OFFICERS AND MEN OF ALL ARMS	DETACHED	HOSPITALS		TOTAL	
			Newport	Providence		Re-enlisted
Bourbonnais	852	30	32	-	914	-
Soissonnais	971	8	16	-	995	2
Saintonge	882	2	26	1	911	1
Royal Deux-Ponts	912	-	21	-	933	-
Artillerie	404	-	9	-	413	-
Mineurs	21	-	2	-	23	-
Workers (*ouvriers*)	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	3

On 11 June 1781, just as he was about to leave for New York, a convoy carrying 592 infantry replacements and two companies, 68 men, of artillery, arrived in Boston, but only about 400 were healthy enough to join their units. These replacements had been drawn from the regiments of Auvergne and Neustrie for the Bourbonnais, Languedoc for Bourbonnais, Soissonnais, and Saintonge, Boulonnais for Saintonge, Anhalt and La Marck for the Royal Deux-Ponts, and Barrois for Lauzun's Legion. Of these 660 men, some 260 men afflicted with scurvy and 200 healthy arrivals remained with Choisy as a garrison in Newport. So did the siege artillery with some 30 officers and men, the sick, and a small detachment, about 90 men under Major de Prez

[181] 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. Crofut thinks they "may not have been used," but Wadsworth "operated a shuttle of wagons that carried bread baked in Hartford ovens westward to the French Army at successive camps as far as Newtown." Chestler Destler, "Newtown and the American Revolution" *Connecticut History* Vol. 20, No. 6, (1979), pp. 6-26, p. 16. According to Rice and Brown, eds., *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."

[182] The table is based on information in U. S. Congress, Joint Committee on the Library, *Rochambeau. A Commemoration by the Congress of the United States of the Services of the French Auxiliary Forces in the War of the American Independence* D.B.Randolph Keim, ed., (Washington, DC, 1907), p. 366.

of the Royal Deux-Ponts, which guarded the stores in Providence. Rochambeau added 200 men from his regiments to the garrison and was forced, much against his wishes, to detach 700 men to replenish the thinned ranks of the navy. Since Lauzun's Legion, almost 600 men, followed a separate route to the south of the main army, the French forces marching to New York through Connecticut numbered around 450 officers and 3,000 enlisted men.

But the actual convoy was much larger. Rochambeau again hired 239 American wagon conductors "for two dollars per day," recorded Lauberdière, and 15 mostly female cooks for the 210 wagons of six oxen each in the 15 brigades of his train.[183] As officers completed their equipment, they hired servants and purchased horses. Even a poor *sous-lieutenant* such as Schwerin kept two servants and three horses for the campaign. 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,"[184] 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.[185] 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![186]

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 *affair 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. [187]

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[183] This includes the 14 wagons for Lauzun's Legion, though it is unknown whether that brigade was in Rochambeau's train. The names of drivers and cooks are listed in Kenneth Scott, "Rochambeau's American Wagoners, 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.

[184] Closen, *Journal*, p. 83 and p. 187.

[185] Musée de Rennes, *Les Français dans la Guerre d'Indépendance Américaine* (Rennes, 1976), p. 83. The price, about 900 livres, was a bit more then 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.

[186] 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.

[187] Lauberdière's account is based on his *Journal* in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. On Du Bouchet see Morris Bishop, "A French Volunteer" *American Heritage* Vol. 17. Nr. 5, (August 1966), pp. 47, 103-108.

On 11 June 1781, the troops crossed over from Newport to Providence. Blanchard, who traveled with two servants, "set out in the morning (of 16 June) 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. 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."[188] 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.[189] Rochambeau, who marched with the First Division, had established this order:

The regiment Bourbonnais under the comte de Rochambeau, to leave on June 18
The regiment Royal Deux-Ponts under baron de Viominil, to leave on June 19
The regiment Soissonnais under comte de Viominil, 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.[190] Then came the division proper. In the case of the First Division, this meant that the vicomte de Rochambeau led the column.[191] 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 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.[192] 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.[193] 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.

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[188] Blanchard, *Journal*, pp. 107/08. Blanchard reached the Continental Army on June 26, 1781.
[189] Deux-Ponts, *Campaigns*, p, 113. His brief account of the march though Connecticut is on pp. 113/14.
[190] 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.
[191] 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 forth by Louis Alexandre Berthier, upon whose journal this paragraph is based. Somewhat different numbers are given in Destler, *Provisions State*, p. 54.
[192] 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, "Wagoners," gives each regiment 15 wagons and five each to the general officers.
[193] César Louis de Baulny was the chief treasurer for the French forces.

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."[194]

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.[195] Afterwards they received meat, bread, and supplies "in front of the camp."[196] Until Newtown was reached "we were much too far from the enemy to take any other precautions than those, which our own discipline required,"[197] and the convoy proceeded "hardly militarily." The general officers 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.[198]

7.2 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.[199] 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." [200] 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.

7.3 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.[201] 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,"

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[194] *Diary of Samuel Richards, Captain of Connecticut Line War of the Revolution 1775-1781* (Philadelphia, 1909), p. 75.
[195] Soldiers slept eight to a tent according to their *chambrées*, the precursors of the modern infantry squad.
[196] Closen, *Journal*, p. 85.
[197] Deux-Ponts, *Campaigns*, p. 113.
[198] 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.
[199] Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, p. 28.
[200] Breakneck is part of the present town of Middlebury, incorporated as a separate town in 1807.
[201] 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.

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 scattered among vast forests," he wrote.[202] The legionnaires arrived none too soon, there was "no time to be lost for the barracks."[203] 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. [204] 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.[205]

The marching order for the Legion specified that on 21 June 1781, "Lauzun's entire Corps of Foreign Volunteers will leave Lebanon."[206] 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."[207] 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^{g} 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."[208]

The following 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. 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."[209]

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[202] 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.

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

[204] For a description of the squirrel hunt and dinner with Trumbull see Chastellux, *Travels*, vol. 1, p. 229/30.

[205] For a more detailed analysis of the winter quarters and the subsequent march of the Legion through Connecticut see Robert A. Selig, *Rochambeau's Cavalry: Lauzun's Legion in Connecticut 1780-1781*. (Hartford, 2000).

[206] 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.

[207] The Major Sheldon mentioned here 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.

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

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

7.4 The Camp at Philipsburg and the Decision to March to Virginia

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."[210] 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.[211] 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.[212] 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.

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."[213] 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."[214] One month later, on 18 June 1781, Thomas Rodney, Delaware's

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[210] 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.

[211] The correspondence surrounding the Morrisania raid is in Washington, *Writings*, Vol. 22, pp. 291-331.

[212] 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.

[213] Washington, *Writings*, vol. 21, p. 439.

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

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."[215]

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."[216]

The following day, Rochambeau returned the compliment, but he and his officers such as Baron von 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 maneuvres (sic)."[217] "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."[218] 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."[219]

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.

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[215] Historical Society of Delaware (HSD) Rodney Collection Box 6, Folder 19.
[216] Lauberdière, *Journal de guerre*, fol.
[217] Acomb, *Closen*, p. 89.
[218] Clermont-Crèvecœur, Journal, in Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, Vol. 1, p. 33.
[219] Lauberdière, *Journal de guerre*, fol. 74.

"There are two points at which an offensive can be made against the enemy: Chesapeak and New York. The southwesterly winds and the state of defense in Virginia will probably make you prefer the Chesapeak 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."[220]

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 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."[221] 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.

Fortunately the tactical situation in the south had changed as well: Cornwallis had done exactly what Washington and Rochambeau would have wanted him to do. In late June, he had briefly occupied Williamsburg, but on 19 July, he began his march to Yorktown, where he started digging in on 2 August 1781. This was known in Philipsburg when the decision to march south was made. Everything was falling into place, but there was no time to lose. De Grasse would only stay until 15 October, and as 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 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."[222]

7.5 The March From Philipsburg to Philadelphia

From among the troops assembled at Philipsburg, Washington chose the Rhode Island Regiment, the First New York Regiment, the Light Infantry Regiment, the Second Continental Artillery, the Artificer Regiment and the Corps of Sappers and Miners, which, together with the Commander-in-Chief's Guard, amounted to about 1,500 officers and men.[223] The New Jersey Line and Hazen's Regiment, about 600 officers and men, received orders to move "to the heights between Chatham and Springfield" in New Jersey, and was immediately ferried from Dobbs Ferry across the Hudson to Sneeden's Landing.[224] The left column of the French army, artillery, and military chest, left Philipsburg on 18 August 1781, the right column, i.e., the infantry, departed on 19 August. The Americans marched along the Hudson, and the two armies met at Stony Point on 24 August. Two days later, they had finished crossing the Hudson to King's Ferry and were on their way into New Jersey. Here the Continental Army split up into two, sometimes three, groups and marched to Trenton via Paramus and Chatham while the French army followed a more direct route via Pompton Plains.

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[220] 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.

[221] Washington, *Diaries*, vol. 2, p. 249.

[222] Washington, *Diaries*, vol. 2, p. 254.

[223] Charles H. Lesser, *The Sinews of Independence. Monthly Strength Reports of the Continental Army* (Chicago, 1975), p. 208. The unit strength is that for 26 September 1781; no strength reports for August have survived. The strength for the Artillery and for the Sappers and Miners is that for July 1781, since their strength is not given in the September 1781 report. The strength for the Commander-in-Chief's Guard is that for June 1781. The numbers are rounded off to the nearest 10.

[224] Washington, *Writings*, vol. 23, p. 25, and *Diaries*, vol. 2, p. 255.

Regiment	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	330 officers and men
Canadian Regiment (Congress' Own)	Brevet 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	unknown
	Approximate total:	2,500

Deception and secrecy had been vital for the success of the plan, and in both armies as few of the officers as possible were informed of the decision to march to Virginia. Boats were built ostensibly for the purpose of crossing over to Staten Island from the Jersey Shore, ovens were built in Chatham, contracts for foodstuffs to be delivered in New Jersey were issued, letters were written and sent via the most dangerous routes with the full intent that they be captured, and different rumors as to the purpose of the troop movement were spread. And even though "some were indeed laughable enow'," wrote Washington's private secretary Jonathan Trumbull Jr., they achieved their purpose of keeping Clinton in New York and Cornwallis in Yorktown guessing long enough for the allied armies to disengage.[225]

Preceding their troops, Generals Washington and Rochambeau and their staffs had arrived in Philadelphia already around 1:00 p.m. on Thursday, 30 August, and proceeded to the home of French Ambassador de la Luzerne, where they lodged.[226] That night they had dinner with Robert Morris, the new Superintendent of Finance.[227] Following sight-seeing excursions through America's capital, they were entertained at the home of Joseph Reed, president of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, during the evening of 1 September.[228] The following day, 2 September, Baron Closen "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 magnificiently in his charming country house, 3 miles from Philadelphia."[229]

Behind them came their armies, which, as they approached the New Jersey-Pennsylvania State lines, converged on Trenton as the most convenient point to cross the Delaware River.[230] The French First Brigade camped in Trenton, their last camp in New Jersey and Camp 25 of the march to Yorktown, on 1 September. The next morning, the troops began the crossing of the Delaware, which was "about 800 yards wide" at the point of crossing. "There are generally 2 ferryboats and some sailboats available for crossing."[231] Once across, the troops continued to their 26th Camp at the Red Lion Tavern. Over the next three days, from 2-4 September, the Continental Army and the First and Second Brigades of the French army marched through Philadelphia into Delaware.

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[225] Jonathan Trumbull, "Minutes of Occurrences respecting the Seige of and Capture of York in Virginia." *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* vol. 14 (April 1876), pp. 331-338, p. 332.
[226] Acomb, *Closen*, p. 116.
[227] Baker, *Itinerary*, pp. 235/36.
[228] Acomb, *Closen*, p. 119.
[229] Acomb, *Closen*, pp. 119/120.
[230] There were only two ferries where the armies could cross the Delaware, in Trenton and downstream in Lamberton, plus a ford further upstream. The first bridge across the Delaware in Trenton was built in 1806.
[231] Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, Vol. 2, p. 72. The French crossed the Delaware "by ford and ferry." Clermont-Crèvecœur in Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, Vol. 1, p. 45.

THE WASHINGTON-ROCHAMBEAU REVOLUTIONARY ROUTE IN THE STATE OF DELAWARE

8.1 The March of the Continental Army through Delaware, 4 - 9 September 1781

Supplies for the Continental Army had been collected in Delaware throughout the spring of 1781. A "Return of Forage delivered by William Millan," receiver of Newcastle County, to William McClay, "Contl Storekeeper in Christiana," on 9 June 1781, lists 6 tons 7 cwts of hay, 125 bushels of rye, 92 ½ bushels of corn and 9 ½ bushels of oats."[232] McClay had forwarded these to Lafayette in Virginia, but much more would soon be required of him and his state.

Once the decision to march to Yorktown had been made on 14 August, the Continental supply system along the route shifted into high gear. As early as 16 August, John Yeates, Deputy Quarter Master of the Continental Army informed Caesar Rodney, President of the Delaware State, from Elkton that at Christiana there were presently "not provisions to subsist troops, or forage to pass teams or support any at the Post, a waggon or two is wanted to march the State troops which will be required with them during the Campaign, believe me thro' every period of the past business I have been under the utmost difficulties owing to the supplies not being made agreeable to the Stipulations." This was particularly troubling to Yeates since "I have [one word torn out] reason to expect the passage of troops soon thro' the State this happening in our present situation, it

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[232] "Return of Forage, 1781" Delaware Public Archives (DEPA) Military Records, Revolutionary War, Record Group 1800.066, Box 2, Folder 32. *A Guide to Revolutionary War Records in the Delaware Public Archives* (n.p.,n.d., typescript available at DEPA, Dover, Delaware), p. 7.

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 system are the same, but the hundredweight (cwt) in England is 112 pounds (lbs; a long hundred-weight) 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.

would not be in my power to give regular assistance, necessity in this case would tend to disorder and distress to individuals these considerations prompt me to pray your order and direction to any timely aid you think can be obtained. The Gentm who waits on you with this (Wm Wright) superintends the business of the post and will give you every other information in his power."[233]

Mindful of his experiences with the 1,500 Continental Army troops under Lafayette in early March 1781, Yeates also reminded President Rodney[234] that previous "Considerable movement. (sic) of the Army going on Southward (was) a circumstance from real necessity productive of the most disagreeable occurences, the taking property indiscriminately which never fails of giving much distress, and causing just murmering" and urged him to insist on the strictest discipline for the troops while providing the supplies needed so that the soldiery did not have to steal.[235]

Ten days later, Superintendent of Finance Robert Morris added his voice to those clamoring for supplies. "The State of Delaware is required to furnish Eight hundred

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[233] Historical Society of Delaware (HSD) Rodney Collection, Caesar Rodney, Box 6 Folder 20.

I interpret the words "passage of troops" in Yeates' letter as referring to Washington's and Rochambeau's armies. This would mean that Washington's orders to prepare for the arrival of his troops had traveled in 2 to 2 1/2 days from White Plains through New Jersey, Philadelphia, and Delaware to Elkton. That is not impossible: news of battles of Lexington and Concord on 19 April 1777 reached Newcastle within 5 1/2 days early in the morning of 25 April. William Wright was Deputy Quarter Master of the Continental Army at Christiana. While the town itself is called Christiana, the river on which it lies was officially designated as Christina by the General Assembly of Delaware in 1937.

[234] The Presidents of Delaware were elected for three year terms, and when Caesar Rodney's term expired, John Dickinson replaced him on 6 November 1781. Sworn in on 13 November, his 49th birthday, the day that the legislature adjourned after a 3 1/2 week session that had begun on 20 October, Dickinson resigned a year later on 13 December 1782, when he was elected Chief Executive of Pennsylvania. He was replaced by Nicholas Van Dyke on 1 February 1783.

The "General Assembly of Delaware" was bi-cameral and consisted of the House of Assembly of 21 representatives and a Council of nine members. The President or Chief Magistrate was elected by a joint ballot of all members of both houses. The legislature met three times each year, in January, April, and October. The proceedings of the Lower House can be followed in Claudia L. Bushman, Harold B. Hancock, Elizabeth Moyne Homsey, *Proceedings of the Assembly of the Lower Counties on Delaware 1770-1776, of the Constitutional Convention of 1776, and of the House of Assembly of the Delaware State 1776-1781* (Newark, 1986), and Claudia L. Bushman, Harold B. Hancock, Elizabeth Moyne Homsey, *Proceedings of the House of Assembly of the Delaware State 1781-1792 and of the Constitutional Convention of 1792* (Newark, 1988). Council Minutes have been published *as Minutes of the Council of the Delaware State from 1776 to 1792* (Dover 1886) pp. 656-7. It did not meet between 19 June, the end of the legislative session held in Lewes, and 25 October 1781, when it reconvened in Dover.

The President's Privy Council had two members each from the House and the Council. In 1781, Rodney's Privy Council consisted of Caesar Rodney, Nehemiah Tilton, James Raymond, and Isaac Griffin. It met only three times on 23 February, 7 April, and 4 October. The minutes of the Privy Council from 1778 to 1792 can be found in DEPA General Reference # 302. A copy of Delaware's constitution of 20 September 1776 is printed in Harold B. Hancock, *Liberty and Independence. The Delaware State During the American Revolution* (Wilmington, 1976), pp. 60-68.

Delaware's short-lived Council of Safety held its last meeting on 13 January 1776. See Leon de Valinger, Jr., "Council of Safety Minutes." *Delaware History* Vol. 1 No. 1 (January 1946), pp. 55-78.

[235] Public Archives Division of Delaware, *Delaware Archives. Revolutionary War. In Three Volumes* (Wilmington, 1919) Vol. 3, p. 1357-58. Referring to the inclination of some Continental Army soldiers to take what was not theirs, Baron Closen declared 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.)" (sic) Acomb, *Closen*, p. 259.

Barrels of Pork none of which as I am informed has yet been delivered," he wrote to Rodney on 26 August. In view of the armies approaching from the north, Morris urged haste. "The necessities of the Service render a Compliance with this Request so essential" that Rodney was to send whatever he had, even if it was less than the whole 800 barrels.[236] Armed with Morris' letter, William Wright immediately waited upon the governor, who on 1 September ordered State Treasurer General Samuel Patterson, Colonel Henry Darby, and Captain William McClay to procure the necessary supplies and authorized funds to cover expenses. Patterson's, Darby's, and McClay's purchasing agents spread out over the state, but almost immediately ran into problems. One example may suffice to illustrate the difficulties they had to overcome and potential areas of friction between continental, state, and local officials.[237]

On 2 September, Simon Wilmer Wilson informed Rodney from Cantwell's Bridge that Wright had stopped by the previous day on his return from Dover and ordered him "to provide for a number of troops" expected at Christiana "in a few days." Wright had indeed "sufficient powers" from the governor to order Wilson's cooperation, but Wilson claimed that since his "powers" had expired in January 1781, he lacked authorization "to act at present for the public." He had a "sufficient quantity" of flour and hay, although "not immediately at the port of Christiana," but without "an assessment laid in this County" for other supplies it would "not be in my power to furnish" them.[238] Rodney provided the necessary powers, but precious time was lost. But even if the supplies could be collected, they still had to be transported to their destination, and that cost money. William Millan informed Rodney from Cantwell's Bridge on 14 October that "nothing can be done without it." Like many others, Millan had "already advanced more Money for the public than I can afford, and my credit as a public officer is intirely exhausted." Without at least £ 50 "for the purpose of purchasing Casks, and paying the expenses of transportation" he saw himself unable to forward the supplies at hand.[239]

But despite such obstacles, supplies were collected and delivered. On 24 September, William Black and Evan Rice, submitted their "Acct of Suplays purchd … for the use of

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[236] Morris to Dickinson, 26 August 1781. DEPA RG 1800.099, Delaware Archives - Military, Vol. 6 (unpublished), microfilm frame 378. One barrel equals 31.5 Queen Anne (or wine) gallons.

[237] See Patterson's letter dated Christiana Bridge, 13 June 1782. “I would also mention to your Excellency that myself and three other persons were appointed to furnish General Washington's Army on the Expedition to Virginia last year Going and Coming. Two, of the named, has furnished you an account to lay before the House.” The "other persons' were McClay, Darby, and Black. DEPA, RG 9200D09.000, John Dickinson Papers, Box 2.

By the time he wrote this letter in 1782, Darby and McClay had laid their account before the house already. See DEPA, RG 1315.008, Auditor of Accounts, Wastebook A, 1784-1796 p. 32, which contains an order of 21 June 1784 to pay William McClay and Darby £ 703 s 17 1 d for provisions purchased for the army under General Washington in 1781. DEPA RG 1315.007, Auditor of Accounts, Journal A, 1784-1800, page 309, State Treasury to Darby & McClay, reverses the order, "their purchases being included in General Patterson’s Account" of 2 June 1783.

Patterson was a wealthy miller from Christiana who had been elected to the Continental Congress but did not serve. See W. Emerson Wilson, *Forgotten Heroes of Delaware* (Cambridge, 1969), pp. 55-56.

[238] Wilson to Rodney, 2 September 1781. DEPA RG 1800.099, Delaware Archives - Military, Vol. 6 (unpublished), microfilm frame 346.

[239] Millan to Rodney, 14 October 1781, DEPA RG 1300.000 Executive Papers Box 2, Correspondence 1781, typescript, microfilm frame 191. Original in W.S. Morse Collection, HSD.

the Troops under his Excelency Genrl Washinton on their March to the Southwd Septr 1781."[240] It listed

9 Beaves	76/10/-[241]
36 bushels of Indian Corn @ 3/-	5/08/-
50 1/2 bushels of oats @ 2/	5/03/-
144 1/2 bushels of shorts @ 10d	6/00/5[242]
192 1/4 bushels of bran @ 1/	9/12/3
38/2/9 "Ship Stuff" @ 8/	15/10/8[243]
9/0/3 buck wheat meal @ 4/	3/12/2 1/2
4/1/16 rye meal @ 12/6	2/14/8
9,482 sheaves of oats @ 2 d	81/10/4[244]
26/2/16 of hay @ 60/ per ton	79/4/1[245]

Including expenses the delivery cost the State of Delaware £ 295/13/7 *in specie* money.[246]

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[240] DEPA RG 1800.099, Delaware Archives - Military, Vol. 6 (unpublished), microfilm frame 790. For a most detailed analysis of yields, population to food ratios, and the strains the needs of the war placed upon the agricultural economy of revolutionary America with much valuable data on Delaware see Richard Buel, Jr. *In Irons. Britain's Naval Supremacy and the American Revolutionary Economy* (New Haven, 1998).

[241] "Beaves" or "beeves" are full-grown heads of cattle intended for use as meat. When Wadsworth bought cattle for the French forces in Newport, Rhode Island, in July 1780, he calculated it to "average 400 lbs each of Meat Beef," i.e., slaughtered, about half the weight of a head of cattle today. Wadsworth to Henry Champion, 15 July 1780, Jeremiah Wadsworth Papers, Letterbooks Box 151, CHS.

[242] "Shorts" is the coarse parts of meal. Richard M. Lederer, Jr., *Colonial American English - A Glossary* (Essex, 1985), p. 211.

[243] In July 1777, Samuel Dewees tells of biscuit being made of "shipstuff," usually the lowest-grade flour, and not in the best condition, when a large amount of flour "in danger of perishing" was ordered to be "baked into biskit for the use of the army." Samuel Dewees, *A History of the Life and Services of Captain Samuel Dewees ... The whole written (in part from a manuscript in the handwriting of Captain Dewees) and compiled by John Smith Hanna* (Printed by R. Neilson, 1844), p. 179. No measurement is indicated, but flour was measured in cwts/quarters/lbs.

[244] Three weeks earlier, on 4 September 1781, a Train Master of the Continental Army had allowed "Eight sheaves to make one Bushel of Clean oats." DEPA RG 1800.099, Delaware Archives - Military, Vol. 6 (unpublished), microfilm frame 423

[245] The hay is measured in tons/cwts/lbs.

[246] The British Pound Sterling, identified by the symbol £ for the Latin *librum*, was divided into 20 shillings (symbol: s) of 12 pennies (symbol: d for Latin *denarius*) each or 240 pennies to the pound. The French monetary system followed the same pattern: 1 livre = 20 sols, 1 sol = 12 deniers, 1 livre = 240 deniers.

Reading Delaware invoices and ledgers however poses its own problems. On 1 January 1776 and 1 May 1777, Delaware issued a total of £ 55,000 in indented bills of credit. They quickly lost their value, so that the General Assembly discontinued their status as legal tender on 4 November 1780. Since Continental Dollars had become valueless as well, the state returned to *specie* money, which meant 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," to Queen Anne issued a proclamation in 1704, passed into law by parliament in 1707, which specified that a full weight Spanish dollar

8.1.1 Route 1: The Land Route of Continental Army Troops

Any study of the march of the combined Franco-American armies through Delaware has to begin with the identification of the routes and their location on the ground today. On the French side this task is greatly facilitated by the compilation of maps and routes drawn by Louis Alexandre de Berthier published by Howard C. Rice, Jr. and Anne S. K. Brown in their *The American Campaigns of Rochambeau's Army 1780, 1781, 1782, 1782*. The maps and routes are accompanied by detailed itineraries for the march to Yorktown. On the American side there also exists a complete body of cartographic work for the marches of 1781 from Philadelphia to and from Yorktown, but there are no corresponding itineraries for the Continental Army. Its itineraries have been reconstructed from contemporary sources.

On 4 September 1781, the Continental Army marched from its camp “three miles from Chester” on Philadelphia Pike (US-R 13) through Chester and Naaman’s Corner across Naaman’s Creek on "a wooden bridge" and passed "by Robertson’s Mill a bit to the left" and on into present-day Claymont. "Robertson's Mill," which is clearly indicated on the French route map, was the home of Abraham Robinson on Naaman's Creek just south of the 20-mile marker, which is now relocated in the lawn in front of the Robinson House.[247] **(Resource 1)** From Naaman's Creek, "the fine road continues over flat ground for about half a mile. Then the terrain becomes uneven and stony, continuing so far as Shellpot's Creek, over which there is no bridge." Not far past the Robinson House the troops may have marched past a house on the right, clearly indicated on the French map, that became the home of famous illustrator Felix Octavius Darley in 1859.[248]

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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 Delaware 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).

[247] The itinerary follows that printed in Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, vol. 2, pp. 79-81. The Robinson House is situated on the right-hand side of the road into Delaware. The map drawn by George Washington's cartographer Simeon DeWitt in August 1781 for the march of the through Delaware clearly identifies the home of Abraham Robinson on the right-hand side of the road. The map is preserved in the *Erskine-DeWitt Maps* in the New York Historical Society (NYHS), Map 124 A. "Robinson's on Naamans Creek" was one of the mills from which Washington ordered the millstones removed in 1777. GW to James Potter, 31 October 1777, Washington, *Writings*, Vol. 9, p. 474.

[248] The house, which is today the Darley Manor Inn, most likely was already standing in 1775, and may be identical with the Anchor Tavern (see Footnote 249), but more research is needed for this identification.

As they approached Wilmington, they next marched past the *Anchor Tavern*, which was situated on the right-hand side of the road a little over a mile past the Robinson House. Next came *The Three Tuns* Tavern, which by 1804 had changed its name to *Swan Tavern* **(Resource 2)**, then across the *Stone Creek*, today's Stony Run, past the homes of Widow Callam, Edward Beeson and William Tussey to the Arthur Penny House located just before Mile Marker 25.[249] **(Resource 3)** About 1/2 mile from the Penny House they crossed "Shellpot's Creek to Allet's [Ellett's? (sic)] Tavern the terrain is still stony and mountainous." But first they would have seen a good quarter of a mile past Shellpot's Creek the home of Admiral Boscawen on the right, and about 1 1/4 miles after that the road from Concord joined Philadelphia Pike from the right.

About 1/4 of a mile further on they reached "Brandywine Creek" and "Milltown, because of the large number of mills above and below the bridge."[250] Before they crossed the Brandywine the troops passed Ellet's Tavern, which according to the French itinerary was located 1 1/2 miles from Shellpot's Creek. Modern Brandywine Village was one of the most important milling centers in the mid-Atlantic states in the eighteenth century.[251] **(Resource 4)** "On a small branch" of the Delaware River, according to Dr. James Thacher's account, "is erected eight very large and valuable stone mils, where an immense quantity of wheat is ground and bolted. The wheat is brought in vessels to the very door, and the flour taken off in return."[252] These mills were owned by a group of interrelated Quakers such as Thomas Shipley, whose daughter Elizabeth Shipley married Oliver Canby who is said to have built the first mill on the creek in 1742, and who in cooperation with his brother-in-law built a mill-race for the four mills working by the early 1760s. Their son Samuel Canby married Frances Lea, daughter of mill owner James

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[249] These houses are indicated on *Erskine-DeWitt* Map 124 B, but they have not yet all been identified positively. The Swan Tavern at Mile Marker 22 south of Harvey Road on Philadelphia Pike is *The Three Tuns* on the Erskine-DeWitt and Moore maps. S. Moore and T. W. Jones. *The traveller's directory, or, A pocket companion shewing the course of the main road from Philadelphia to New York, and from Philadelphia to Washington, with descriptions of the places through which it passes, and the intersections of the cross roads; illustrated with an account of such remarkable objects as are generally interesting to travellers; from actual survey* (Philadelphia, 1804), map 4. Where Edward Beeson's home is located on the map there is today the "Beeson Funeral Home." See George Fletcher Bennett, *Early Architecture of Delaware* (Wilmington, 1932) and Mary Sam Ward, *Inns and Taverns in Delaware (1800-1850)* MA Thesis, University of Delaware, 1968. Nancy Churchman Sawin and Barbara McEwing, *North from Wilmington by Oulde Roades and Turnpikes* (Wilmington, 1992) has a drawing of a "Three Ton Tavern" on p. 55. Neither this nor her other books such as *The Oulde King's Roade, including the Towns of Richardson Park … & Glasgow* (Hockessin, 1989), provide documentation as to the source of and for these images.

[250] Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, vol. 2, p. 80. The 156 feet long and 36 feet wide bridge had been built in 1765. A view of Wilmington as it presented itself to the troops is captured in a pencil sketch in the *Columbia Magazine or Monthly Miscellany* of April 1787. It is reproduced on the next page.

[251] Ibid, p. 71. On Brandywine see Peter C. Welsh, "Merchants, Millers, and Ocean Ships: The Components of an early American Industrial Town." *Delaware History* Vol. 7, No. 4, (Sept. 1957), pp. 319-336, which lists all relevant literature. Ellet's or Allet's Tavern may be the Brandywine Village Inn. More recent is the work by Carol E. Hoffecker, *Brandywine Village: the story of a milling community* (Wilmington, 1974).

[252] James Thacher, *Eyewitness to the American Revolution. The Battles and Generals as seen by an Army Surgeon* (Stamford, 1994), p. 274. The book was originally published as *A Military Journal during the American Revolutionary War* (Boston, 1823).

Lea, in 1775. Elizabeth Lea, another one of James' daughters, was married to Joseph Tatnall in 1765.[253]

One half mile across the Brandywine, the troops marched past the Academy[254] and followed Philadelphia Pike which by then would have become Market Street, down the hill toward the waterfront and the Christina River, called "Christiana Creek" on Erskine's map and "Cristine Creek" on the French map. Wilmington, as the French itinerary stated, "is a fairly sizeable town, well built and advantageously situated at the mouth of Christina Creek, which flows into the Delaware. … . This town, in spite of the rivalry of Philadelphia, carried on very extensive trade before the war. Ships coming down the Delaware can stop here to load tobacco that has been transported overland from Head of Elk … and bring flour and cattle from the Jerseys, which are a precious object of exchange for the West Indies."[255]

Thacher described Wilmington as "a handsome, flourishing village, situated on the Delaware river." In the absence of a census, the size of the town can only be estimated, but it probably doubled in size since it had changed its name from Willingtown to Wilmington in 1730, when 610 people are said to have been living there. By 1777, "it was said to have 335 houses and 1,229 inhabitants" about 200 fewer than the 1,432 persons on board the *Duc de Bourgogne* at the time of departure from Brest for Newport in 1780![256] Lieutenant Enos Reeves of the Pennsylvania Line who marched through Wilmington on his way to Virginia in early October 1781, described it as "a fine borough, has a number of regular streets, a Court House, Market house, and contains about 5 or 600 houses … with a fine Academy on the Hill."[257] Christiana Hundred, of which Wilmington was a part, had a total of 3,305 inhabitants in 1782. Yet small as it may seem, 1,200 inhabitants made Wilmington the largest town in Delaware, whose population is estimated at 42,500 whites and 7-8,000 African-Americans in 1781, or about the number of troops present on both sides during the siege of Yorktown.[258]

The arrival of the Continental Army more than doubled, at least temporarily, the number of Wilmington's inhabitants. The units that marched through town in the first days of September 1781 were the First Rhode Island Regiment of about 390 officers and men, the First New York of the same strength, Scammel's Light Infantry with about 380 officers and men, and the First and Second New Jersey of about 340 officers and men,

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[253] Samuel Canby's house stood at Fourteenth and Market; Tatnall's home, built in 1771, is still standing at 1803 Market Street in Wilmington. Today's James Marshall Building, 1801 Market Street, built in 1770-71, was owned by Thomas Lea in the 1780s.

[254] The "Academy" is the Wilmington Academy established in 1773 between 8th and 9th Streets and Market and King Streets in Wilmington. See E. Miriam Lewis, "The Minutes of the Wilmington Academy, 1777-1802." *Delaware History* Vol.3 No. 4 (September 1949), pp. 181-226, pp. 181-191.

[255] Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, vol. 2, p. 80.

[256] Anna Lincoln, *Wilmington, Delaware: Three Centuries under Four Flags, 1609-1937* (Rutland, 1937) p. 96.

[257] "Extracts from the Letterbooks of Lieutenant Enos Reeves, of the Pennsylvania Line [Sept. 1780-April 1782]." *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* Vol. 21 (April-October 1897), pp. 235-256, p. 239, in a letter written from Head of Elk on 7 October 1781. Reeves was with a group of reinforcements going to the south. His letters were published in six installments from October 1896 to January 1898. While in Wilmington he went "to see an old Mr. [Jacob] Broom, … who kindly received me and would make me stay to drink a Sling with him, of which he is very fond."

[258] Delaware's total white population in fall of 1782 was 42,816. Harold B. Hancock, *The Reconstructed Delaware State Census of 1782* (Wilmington, 1983), p. 7.

plus the artificers, for a total of about 1,500 to 1,600 men.[259] With them came also a few dozen women. John U. Rees, who has done extensive research on the subject, estimates that between 30 and 45 women were in Washington's army, about 25 of whom may have marched through Wilmington on 4 September 1781.[260]

The troops, however, did not camp in Wilmington, but continued their march on King Street onto Front Street. Here they turned right/west onto Lancaster Pike (DE SR 48) and left onto Maryland Avenue (DE SR 4) for their camp, which, as recorded by Lieutenant Reuben Sanderson who served with Scammel's Light Infantry, was "one mile from Wilmington, which was about 20 miles we marched that day."[261] A campsite one mile from the outskirts of Wilmington on the way to Newport places them in the vicinity of Canby Park on the slopes of Robinson Hill facing the Mill Creek of Richard Richardson's Mill.[262] Some of the men were familiar with the site: Continental troops had already camped once before in 1777. **(Resources 5 and 6)**

But the troops also brought with them hundreds of horses and draft oxen. An "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. All of this means that including horses owned privately by officers there may well have been 500-600 animals with the Continental Army in Wilmington that

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[259] These numbers are estimates based on strength reports for the Continental Army for September 1781 in Lesser, *Sinews of Independence*, p. 208, compiled as the units were preparing to lay siege to Yorktown. Numbers for early September may have been slightly different. No strength reports for August have survived. Approximately 950 officers and men took the water route through Christiana to Head of Elk.

[260] Personal communication to the author of 31 July 2002. See John U. Rees, "'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.

[261] Henry P. Johnston, *The Yorktown Campaign and the Surrender of Cornwallis 1781* (New York, 1881, repr. 1981), p. 170. Thacher served with Sanderson in the Light Infantry. Dr. Samuel Moore Shute, a 1st Lieutenant in the 2nd New Jersey Regiment, records that he marched to "2 miles below Wilmington" on 4 September after a camp at "the Plough." "The Plough" was 3 1/2 miles from Darby and 3 1/2 miles from Chester. See Moore, *The traveller's directory*, Map 2. It is about 19 miles from "the Plough" to Richardson Mill situated "2 miles below Wilmington." Type-script in DEPA RG 1800.066, Revolutionary War Records Box 2, Military Records 1775-1908, folder 31. The original is in the US Army Military History Institute.

[262] C. A. Weslager, *The Richardsons of Delaware* (Wilmington, 1957). On Richard (1720-1797) see pp. 46-57. Richard was married to Sarah Tatnall, sister of mill owner Joseph Tatnall. DeWitt identified the mill on his map as belonging to "Richard Robinson," a combination of Richard Richardson, the mill-owner, and Robert Robinson, on whose land some of the Continental Army encamped. Weslager, *Richardsons*, p. 52. An area map, which forms the inside cover page of Weslager's book, is reproduced on the following page.

day.[263] As it settled down for the night, the army distributed these animals over the meadows of the surrounding farms.[264] Since the army was unable to pay for it, the farmers received "Certificates" or IOUs, such as this one handed to Robert Robinson by Henry Dearborn.

"Camp near Wilmington Sept 5th 1781. This is to certify that Eighty horses & oxen have been pastured 6 hours on the farm of Robert Robinson for wh he is intitled to pay from the Public."

The certificate was allowed to be worth 30 shillings in 1790, though we don't know when or if Robinson received his compensation. Concurrently his neighbor Lance Stanard had 150 horses and oxen pasturing on his land on 5 September, and supplied 200 sheaves of hay and 260 sheaves of oats, which were valued at a total of £ 6 s 10 in 1790.[265]

As the troops set up their tents, at least some of the officers were invited into the homes of the local elite: Dr. Thacher records that he spent the evening with Dr. Ebenezer A. Smith and his brother, the Rev. William R. Smith, before continuing on the following day.[266]

Washington had spent the night of 4-5 September in Philadelphia, and left the city in the morning of Wednesday, 5 September 1781. What happened next constituted one of the happiest days in Washington's life. His secretary Jonathan Trumbull recorded the events of this momentous day in his journal. "About 3 miles below Chester meets an Express from Admiral de Grasse. The fleet arrived in the Chesapeak 26 ult^{o}. News welcome though strangely delayed. The General returns to Chester to meet and rejoice with Count Rochambeau, who was coming down by water, and to communicate the joy to Congress."[267] Rochambeau, who had wanted to see Mud Island, Red Bank and Billingsport, while his troops were resting near Chester, embarked on a ship in Philadelphia to sail there.[268] As they approached the shore, Baron Closen "discerned in the distance General Washington, standing on the shore and waving his hat and a white handkerchief joyfully. There was good reason for this; for he informed us as we disembarked that M. de Grassse had arrived in Chesapeake Bay with 28 ships of the line

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[263] National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), Miscellaneous Numbered Documents, Record Group 93, microfilm reel 92, No. 26624. The total estimate was for 3,121 horses and 2,132 oxen.

[264] See John U. Rees, "Soldier's Shelter on Campaign During the War for Independence: Tents in the Armies of the Revolution." *Military Collector & Historian* vol. 49 No. 3 (Fall 1997), pp. 98-107; No. 4, Winter 1997), pp. 156-167; vol. 53 No. 4, (Winter 2001-2002), pp. 161- 169. Food preparation is discussed in John U. Rees, "'To Subsist an Army well …' Soldier's Cooking Equipment, Provisions, and Food Preparation During the American War for Independence." *Military Collector and Historian* vol. 53 No. 1, (Spring 2001), pp. 7-23, with an addendum in No. 3, (Fall 2001), pp. 118-119.

[265] DEPA RG 1800.099, Delaware Archives - Military, Vol. 6 (unpublished), microfilm frame 422.

[266] Thacher, *Military Journal*, p. 274.

[267] Trumbull, "Minutes of Occurrences," p. 332. Three miles below Chester places Washington at Marcus Hook, about 1 1/2 miles from the Delaware State line.

[268] Rochambeau was accompanied on the excursion by Lauberdière and Major Mauduit du Plessis who had led the defense of Red Bank in 1777 while in the Continental Army. Lauberdiere, "Journal," fol. 102/03.

and 3,000 troops."[269] The capture of Lord Cornwallis in Yorktown had come within reach.[270] In Closen's eyes, Washington's joy represented a vindication of Rochambeau, "who must indeed have felt deep satisfaction in having the time draw near when his long-considered plans would be executed and in winning the approval of General Washington, who originally had been bent upon a campaign against New York."[271] Lauberdière recorded how "le témoignage de la joie des deux Généraux dans cette occasion n'est pas facile a rendre -- the expression of the joy of the two generals on this occasion is not easy to describe."[272]

Rochambeau spent the night of 5-6 September with his troops which were encamped about two miles outside the city on the road to Chester (US-R 13) along the Eastern banks of the Schuylkill. The following day, 6 September, he rode with his First Division into Delaware.

After he had communicated his "joy to Congress" from Chester, Washington, his aides, his Guard of about 70 officers and men, and two or three women, continued their journey.[273] In his "Minutes of Occurrences," Trumbull recorded that "At evening proceeds to Wilmington. 6. Breakfast at Christiana Bridge, where our boats, stores &c. are brought from Delaware Water through the Christiana Creek, debarked and carried across by land about 12 miles to the head of Elk."[274] Unfortunately Trumbull does not record where Washington stayed in Wilmington or in which of Christiana's taverns the group breakfasted, but he did take the time to write a letter to Robert Morris from Christiana on 6 September 1781.[275] Neither does Washington's expense account shed any light on this stay of the Commander-in-Chief in Delaware. Between 21 November 1780, and 6 September 1781, Washington kept no detailed expense account, and the first entry by Lieutenant William Colfax, who had assumed his duties as cashier to Washington on 6 September, dates from 8 September for a dinner at the Fountain Inn in Baltimore.[276]

The Continental Army had marched through Newport on 5 September, past the home of Jacob Robertson, through a "thinset wood"[277] and crossed the Red Clay Creek on "a wooden bridge" onto the Christiana-Stanton Road to Christiana,[278] where "you pass on the left a bridge and a road going to Dover." The triangular configuration of the roads converging on Christiana is clearly visible on the DeWitt map, and on a petition submitted by John Lewden to the legislature on 13 January 1781. In it, Lewden complained that the road from Newcastle was "subject to great wash in heavy Rain that

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[269] Acomb, *Closen*, pp. 121-123; the quote is on p. 123. The news that de Grasse had cast anchor in the Chesapeake Bay on 26 August came via General Mordecai Gist from Baltimore, where the 18-gun Cutter *Serpent* under Captain Arne de Laune had arrived on 4 September.

[270] Unbeknownst to Washington or Rochambeau, Cornwallis' fate was sealed that very afternoon in the Battle off the Capes when de Grasse's fleet prevented a British fleet from entering the Chesapeake Bay.

[271] Acomb, *Closen*, p. 123.

[272] Lauberdière, "Journal," fol. 104.

[273] Washington's letters to Congress and the chevalier de la Luzerne are dated "Chester, 3 p.m."

[274] Trumbull, "Minutes of Occurrences," p. 332.

[275] The letter is available in the online edition by the Library of Congress of the George Washington Papers.

[276] Washington's expense account is ibid. Series 5, Financial Papers, George Washington, September, 1781, Revolutionary War Expense Account, p. 19, image 37.

[277] Ella W. Johnson, *Story of Newport, a square little town in the state of Delaware* (Wilmington, 1963).

[278] On Christiana see Richard Rodney Cooch, *A History of Christiana, Delaware* (Christiana, 1976).

endanger the Eastermost End or Wing of the Bridge over the Creek."[279] Lewden's petition confirms Clermont-Crèvecœur's comment about the march that "the roads were very good at this season, but one could tell that in winter they could be very bad."[280] Comparing the high quality of roads near Wilmington as opposed to those in the country, Cromot du Bourg, one of Rochambeau's aides, also commented that "it is evident that the roads, which are good enough now, must be very bad in winter."[281]

Once past Christiana, "There are then no side roads and only a few dwellings, on the right and left, as far as the bridge called Cooch's Bridge."[282] DeWitt's map confirms this description: only the homes of Isaac Hershey and Robert Montur are identified on the Old Baltimore Pike between Christiana and Cooch's Bridge. At Cooch's Bridge, site of the only Revolutionary War battle fought on Delaware soil on 3 September 1777, **(Resources 7 and 8),** "there are three different roads. All three go to Head of Elk. The one you pass on the right before crossing the bridge goes around to the right of Iron Hill. The one straight ahead from the bridge goes over the crest of this same mountain. The road to the left beyond the bridge goes around to the left of Iron Hill. The shortest of the three roads is the one straight ahead, but is also the hardest for wagons; they should take the left-hand road after crossing the bridge. After having come around or over Iron Hill you go up over Gray's Hill. Then the three routes merge, first the right-hand road, then the left-hand road, a mile before reaching the bridge called Elk Bridge."[283]

Leaving his camp near Canby Park in the morning of 5 September, and passing Aiken's Tavern along the way,[284] Reuben Sanderson of Scammel's Light Infantry too recorded that he marched 14 miles from his camp near Canby Park and camped about 6 miles beyond Christina, which would put him on the east side of Iron Hill, about a mile from the Blue Ball Tavern and 2 1/2 miles from the Delaware-Maryland State Line. On 6 September he marched "10 miles" from this campsite to Head of Elk. Dr. Shute, who had camped "2 miles" below Wilmington, marched only 13 miles "to Iron Hill," where he spent the night. The next morning he marched 6 miles to "head of Elk & encamped in a cornfd."[285]

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[279] DEPA RG 1111, Legislative Petitions, 13 January 1781.

[280] Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns,* Vol. 1, p. 51. Lewden asked that the course of the road be altered and attached a drawing done by William McClay to his petition. For an August 1780 description of the extremely bad condition of this road see Wade Catts et al., *Phase I Archaeological Investigation of Old Baltimore Pike*. Delaware Department of Transportation Report No. 71 (Dover, 1989), p. 49.

[281] Cromot du Bourg, "Diary," p. 385.

[282] Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns,* Vol. 2, p. 81.

[283] Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns,* Vol. 2, p. 81. "Elk Bridge" crosses the Elk River about 1/2 mile outside Elkton. The three roads mentioned at Cooch's Bridge are Glasgow Road to the left or south, Baltimore Pike straight ahead, and River Road to Welsh Tract Church. None of them go over Iron Hill.

[284] Aiken's Tavern was on the east side of road leading from Newark to Middletown adjacent to land of Pencader Presbyterian Church. Glasgow was known as Aikentown after Mathew Aiken.

DEPA, Military Records, Revolutionary War, Record Group 1800.066, Box 2, Archibald Robertson Journal extracts, gives the following distances: "Head of Elk to Aiken's Tavern 4 ½ miles; To Couche's Mill 2; To Newark 3; White Clay Creek 2."

See also Wade Catts et al., *Tenant Farmers, Stone Masons and Black Laborers: Final Archaeological Investigations of the Thomas Williams Site*. Delaware Department of Transportation (Dover, 1990), pp. 16-20, for a brief discussion of Glasgow.

[285] Johnston, *Yorktown Campaign*, p. 170. Sanderson must have marched through Elkton toward the harbor; it is exactly 3 miles from Cooch's Bridge to the State Line and six mile to the center of Elkton. Thacher reports arriving at Head of Elk on 6 September, "having completed a march of two hundred miles in fifteen days." Thacher, *Military Journal*, p. 274.

8.1.2 Route 2: The Water Route of Continental Army Troops to Christiana

In the morning of 20 August, Colonel Moses Hazen's Canadian (Congress' Own) Regiment left its camp at Haverstraw, New York, and encamped between Springfield and Chatham, New Jersey, from 21 to 28 August. From there it marched to Princeton via Bound Brook on 29 and 30 August, and on 31 August 1781, it "passed thro' Trenton towards the Lower Ferry, close by which halted and encamped. 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 between us & the River and encamped in our Front; the French Troops are encamped between us and Trenton."[286]

This scenario is confirmed by Joseph Plumb Martin of the Corps of Sappers and Miners. Martin arrived 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."[287]

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.[288] 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 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.[289] 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."[290]

From Philadelphia, Washington had instructed Moses Hazen on 2 September to "proceed immediately to Christiana Bridge at which place I expect you will meet the Boats laden with Ordnance and other stores. You will make the proper general arrangements for the speediest transportation of them across to the Head of Elk. Colonel Lamb, or Lieut. Colo. Stevens will attend particularly to the assorting and forwarding the Ordnance Stores, which ought to be first carried over.

The "Blue Ball Tavern," still standing on DESR 273 west of Newark, is clearly visible on Colles' map.

[286] *Journal of Sergeant-Major John H. Hawkins, 1779-1781*. Manuscript Guide 273, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. Hawkins' journal is not paginated.

[287] Joseph Plumb Martin, *Private Yankee Doodle* (1830; repr. Eastern Acorn Press, 1992) p. 222.

[288] Buel, *In Irons*, p. 325 note 23.

[289] Samuel Miles to GW, 29-30 August 1781. George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress, 1741-1799: Series 4. General Correspondence. 1697-1799, available at http://memory.loc.gov/ammem

[290] GW to Lincoln, Washington, *Writings* vol. 23, p. 71.

It is of importance that the Road from Christiana Bridge to the Head of Elk, should be put in the best state; you will therefore take a view of it and appoint an active Officer acquainted with such business to go upon it with a party and make the necessary re[pair]s."[291]

Sergeant-Major Hawkins of Colonel Hazen's regiment recorded that pursuant to these orders from Trenton at "About 6 oClock, [on 31 August] part of our Army embarked on board Shallops with their Artillery and Baggage – the Waggons & Horses went by Land. Our Regiment was among those that first embarked. At Day Break (Sept. 1 [sic]) set sail, passed Bordentown, Bristol and Burlington and about noon appeared before the City of Philadelphia, where we dropped Anchor in the Stream."

Following a brief rest in Philadelphia, Hawkin's unit, the artillery, and the Sappers and Miners boarded their shallops again "and about 3 oclock the next Morning [(Sept. 2) sic.] set sail and about half past ten dropped Anchor about 2 Miles from [before] Chester." Again the rest was brief for Hawkins. Around 2:00 p.m. the shallops took advantage of the tide and tacked against the wind past Chester and Marcus Hook into the mouth of the Christiana River "just at Sunset." They did not stop at Wilmington but followed the winding course of the Christina River past Newport to Christiana or Christiana Bridge, where they arrived around midnight 2/3 September. Having spent the night as best they could, the units began unloading supplies "A little after Day Break" on 3 September. That evening Hawkins' "Regiment encamped in the Woods. Col. Lamb's Regt. of Artillery encamped on our Left." (**Resource 10**)

Joseph Plumb Martin's account of the journey from Philadelphia to Christiana is also worth quoting at length. After a stay of "some days … we [(the Miners) sic] left the city" and proceeded

"down the Delaware in a schooner which had her hold nearly full of gunpowder … to the mouth of Christiana Creek, up which we were bound.

We were compelled to anchor here on account of wind and tide. Here we passed an uneasy night from fear of British cruisers, several of which were in the bay. In the morning we got under weigh, the wind serving, and proceeded up the creek fourteen miles,[292] the creek passing, the most of its course, through a marsh, as crooked as a snake in motion. There was one place in particular near the village of Newport [Delaware] (sic) where you sail four miles to gain about 40 rods. We went on till the vessel grounded for lack of water. We then lightened her by taking out a part of her cargo, and when the tide came in we got up to the wharves and left her at the disposal of the artillerists."[293]

Hawkins' and Martin's accounts, which unlike Hawkins' was written years after the events, indicate that the Continental Army departed from Philadelphia at the same time on 2 September. Hawkins did not anchor for the night but continued on to Christiana and spent the night on board his ship. Martin, who sailed on a larger ship, anchored in the mouth of the Christina in Wilmington and arrived at Christiana some time during 3 September. This scenario is confirmed based on an entry in the Orderly Book of Colonel Lamb's 2nd Regiment of Artillery:

"Christiana Bridge, Sept. 3rd 1781 – 6 OClock a.m.

[291] Quoted from a transcript on the Library of Congress web site at http://memory.loc.gov/ammem
[292] It is 10 miles on land from the center of Wilmington to Christiana.
[293] Martin, *Private Yankee Doodle*, p. 223. One rod equals 5.5 yards.

As soon as the Tents are pitched and the Baggage carried up to the Ground, a fatigue party is to be turned out consisting of one Sup [erior officer], two Sergeants, two Corp [oral] s and twenty Matrosses, to disembark the ordnance and stores now on board the Vessells. – An officer from each Company to Superintend the mounting the Pieces and Ammunition belonging to their respective Companies."[294]

Help in this task was not far behind in the form of the 2nd New York Regiment under Colonel Philip Van Cortlandt which arrived in the early afternoon of 6 September. [295] On 21 August 1781, Washington recorded in his diary that "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."[296] John Hudson, who was with the 2nd New York as it began transporting the boats from Stony Point, New York, on 26 August across New Jersey to Trenton remembered them being "so large that it took a wagon and eight horses to draw them."[297]

At Trenton on 31 August, Washington's diary states 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."[298] 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.[299]

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[294] *Orderly Book: Colonel John Lamb's Second Regiment, Continental Artillery, Virginia.* 26 June – 30 December 1781. 85 pages, Library of Congress. There is no entry for 2 September. It also contains a gap between 4 September and 24 September, when it commences at Burwell's Ferry on the James River.

[295] In his diary, Van Cortlandt wrote simply that he proceeded from Philadelphia to Markus Hook, "passing Wilmington to the Head of Elk, where I left the Boats and Marched by land to Baltimore where I encamped on the Hill being a part of Mr. Howards Farm now a part of Baltimore City (13 September 1781)." Jacob Judd, ed., *The Revolutionary War Memoir and Selected Correspondence of Philip Van Cortlandt* (Tarrytown 1976), pp. 59-60. Lauberdière wrote that "pendant notre sejour à Philadelphie ils passerent au large de cette ville en descendant le Delaware pour se rendre à New Castle." Lauberdière, "Journal," fol. 100. Lauberdière had joined Rochambeau in Philadelphia on 1 September.

[296] Washington, *Diary*, p. 256. Eventually the Second New York transported 34 boats to Head of Elk.

[297] Hudson reminiscences were printed in volume 3 of the weekly *Cist's Advertiser* of Cincinnati, Ohio, in five installments between 28 January and 22 April 1846. The quote is from the installment of 28 January.

[298] Washington, *Diaries*, vol. 2, p. 258.

[299] NARA, Record Group 93, Numbered Record Book, vol. 82 Target 3, microfilm reel 26, pp. 175-178.

Following a day of rest, Tuesday, 4 September, in Philadelphia, the regiment continued on to Marcus Hook on 5 September. Tallmadge's journal continues:

> "Camp Marcushook Thursday Septr 6th 1781. Embarked about Six OClock Continued our march down to Wilmington passed by the town, and proceeded on to Newport there halted half an hour then Continued our march to Christeen Bridge where we arrived about one OClock and Encamped. Willmington, and Newport is situated on Christeen Creek, the latter in Delaware state."[300]

In 1781, Christiana was one of the most important shipping centers in Delaware and a crucial trading place on the route from Philadelphia to Baltimore. "Of the five routes from the northern Chesapeake to the Delaware, the portage between Head of Elk and Christiana Bridge was the most direct," and "sufficiently heavy to justify the maintenance of a regular shallop service between Christiana Bridge and Philadelphia."[301] More than a century old by 1781, Lieutenant Reeves described it as "small and ill built, containing 50 houses, some of which are very good."[302] Lauberdière on the other hand estimated it at 30-some houses and less than 200 inhabitants.[303] (**Resource 11**)

The arrival of Continental Army troops increased the population of the little town five-fold: the 2nd New York arrived with around 20 officers and 400 NCO's and rank and file, Moses Hazen's regiment had a strength of 21 officers, 42 NCO's and 204 men, while Colonel Lamb's artillery may have had close to 200 men. At Dobbs Ferry in July it was listed with 23 officers, 57 NCO's, and 83 rank and file, but some of its furloughed and/or detached men may have been re-called for the campaign. Martin's Sappers and Miners were around 50 officers and men strong.[304]

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[300] 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. 759-60. The Orderly Book contains gaps from 17 June 1781 to 24 September 1781, and from 10 October 1781 to 19 August 1782.

[301] Buel, *In Irons*, p. 323, note 8.

[302] Reeves, "Letter-Books," p. 239.

[303] Lauberdière, "Journal", fol. 106 v., gives Christiana "une trentaine de maisons."

The number of inhabitants is an estimate based on the statement that "Christiana's development began in earnest after the Revolution" and that "by 1800, Christiana Bridge could boast a population of 289 inhabitants and between 50 and 60 buildings, including 33 dwelling houses, wharves, storehouses, shops and taverns." Wade P. Catts, Jay Hodny, and Jay F. Custer, *"The Place at Christeen": Final Archaeological Investigations of the Patterson Lane Site Complex Christiana, New Castle County, Delaware* Delaware Department of Transportation Archaeological Series No. 74 (Dover, 1989), p. 34.

See also C. A. Weslager, "Christina, Christeen, Christiana: A Delaware Connection." *Names* Vol. 39 No. 3, (1991), pp. 269-276.

[304] These numbers are estimates based on the strength reports for Moses Hazen's Regiment and the 2nd New York for late September 1781 given in Lesser, *Sinews of Independence,* p. 208. They were compiled as the units were preparing to lay siege to Yorktown. The numbers for early September may have been slightly different. No strength reports for August have survived. The strength for Colonel Lamb's artillery and for the Sappers and Miners is that for July 1781, since the strength of these units is not recorded in the September 1781 report.

There is the possibility of a Revolutionary War encampment at the top of the hill along the road leading north out of the town (old Route 7). The site, known as the Marta Site, awaits further archaeological and historical investigation.

The 2nd New York and the artillery spent the next two days, 7 and 8 September, "Constantly imployed in Loading and transporting ammunition together with other stores to the head of Elk." The "Estimate of Money due on Contract made for the passage of the Army stores, Baggage &c. …from Christiana Bridge to Virginia, and from thence to the Northward Commencing 28 August 1781," provides a detailed account of the activities and Continental Army expenses in Christiana during the critical days of late August and early September 1781.[305]

Post at Christiana Bridge Land Transportation etc.
==========

For the Hire of Waggons to transport the stores & baggage to the Head of Elk 171/11/00	
For Pasturage 20 Horses two months @ 20/ per Month	40/00/00
For Pasturage 80 Oxen two months @ 10/ per	80/00/00
Carpenters bill for Sundry Services and nails	4/00/00
Blacksmiths bill for shoing horses & Cole taken for the Army	3/00/00
Labourers & fatigue men	25/00/00
Sundry lots of Grass taken for the Horses of the Army	35/00/00
Damages done the inhabitants fencing & wood purchased	40/00/00
Certificates given by Sundry Conductors for the Pasturage of Waggon Horses	50/00/00
Salary of one Assistant Clerk and Storekeeper	16/00/00
	==========
	£ 564/11/00

Once the task was completed, the 2nd New York in the morning of Sunday, 9 September, "struck Camp and marched to the head of Elk and Encamped."[306] They were joined in their march by a group of 85 recruits from Delaware under the command of Lieutenant Caleb Prew Bennett, who had been waiting for orders to join the Delaware Regiment fighting with General Nathanael Greene in the Carolinas. They assisted in the unloading of the artillery before joining Washington's Army and the 2nd Continental Artillery on the march to Yorktown.[307]

8.2 The March of the French Army Through Delaware, 5 – 7 September 1781

On 1 September 1781, the First Brigade of the French Army was encamped in Trenton and crossed the Delaware River on 2 September. On 3 September, the brigade paraded before Congress and its President, Delawarean Thomas McKean who had become President on 10 July 1781, following the resignation of Samuel Huntington of Connecticut, and encamped about two miles outside the city on the road to Chester (US-

[305] NARA, Revolutionary War Records, Miscellaneous Numbered Records, Record Group 93, microfilm reel 92, No. 26673. Additional expenses incurred at Head of Elk, included £ 250 "for the Hire of Waggons to transport the Stores etc from Christiana Bridge to this Place" that brought the total bill to £ 1,619/11.

[306] Tallmadge, *Diary*, p. 760.

[307] Charles W. Dickens, "Orderly Book of Caleb Prew Bennett at the Battle of Yorktown, 1781." *Delaware History* vol. 4 (1950), pp. 105-148, p. 108. Bennett's Orderly Book begins on 24 September 1781. These were the only Delaware troops that participated in the siege of Yorktown. Briefly attached to the 3rd Maryland regiment on 27 September, they were ordered to join the artillery park on 6 October and to receive their orders form General Knox. In November they were ordered to join their regiment in North Carolina. Christopher Ward, *The Delaware Continentals* (1941; repr. Wilmington 2001), pp. 471-473.

R 13) along the Eastern banks of the Schuylkill. The following day, 4 September, the Second Brigade joined the First Brigade.

After a day of rest on 5 September, the First Brigade decamped from Chester, its 28th campsite since leaving Newport, and marched on what would become Philadelphia Pike into Delaware on 6 September. Rochambeau's son, the vicomte de Rochambeau, stated the obvious when he wrote that Delaware "is much longer than it is wide. The inhabitants are numerous and very industrious. The land is well cultivated and it produces the same things that Pennsylvania does. Wilmington is the capital. It is inhabited largely by Quakers. It is given over to commerce and uses the creek which flows by its southeast portions to send out its ships. It has about 200 houses."[308]

Once they had reached the outskirts of Wilmington, the troops of the First Brigade, i.e., the regiments Bourbonnais and Royal Deux-Ponts together with Lauzun's Legion and its artillery and wagon train, veered right to march down West Street. At Fifth Street they turned right again and then left onto Pasture (=Washington) Street toward Front Street. Facing Front Street they set up camp on a line with Second Street on fields between today's Justison and Adams Street[309] **(Resource 12)** on the edge of Wilmington's Ships Tavern District. One of the sites pointed out to the soldiers was indeed the "Tavern at the Sign of the Ship" as the place where Lafayette had lodged after he had been wounded during the Battle of Brandywine.[310] **(Resource 14)**

With the arrival of the more than 2,000 officers and men of the First Brigade, the population of Wilmington increased 2 1/2 fold. With the men once again came a small number of women and children -- five women and children for the Bourbonnais, six women and three children for the Royal Deux-Ponts, and one or two women with the artillery.[311]

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[308] Vicomte de Rochambeau, "Journal," p. 251. The capital of Delaware was of course Dover.

[309] The French route is indicated on the map of the campsite in Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, vol. 2. The *corderie* indicated on the map is a rope walk on the property of Mordecai Woodward. See Historical Society of Delaware and The Delaware Society for the Preservation of Antiquities, *A Survey of Selected Historical Houses and Areas within the West Center Urban Renewal Project (Scheduled for Razing by the Urban Renewal Commission)* (np, nd) vol. 1, pp. 5-7 with a description of the Woodward houses on 701-703 West Street. Woodward had bought the property from his father Joseph in 1769; after his death in the summer of 1795, John Dauphin bought the land on 19 March 1796. (**Resource 13**)

The street names of Wilmington have changed since the 1780s. First Street was Front Street, but Second and Third Streets were always identified by their number only. Fourth Street used to be called High Street, Fifth was Queen Street, Sixth was Hanover Street, Seventh was Broad Street, Eighth was Kent Street, Ninth was Wood Street, Tenth was Chesnut Street, Eleventh was Elizabeth Street, Twelfth was Dickinson Street, Thirteenth was Franklin Street, Fourteenth was Washington Street, Fifteenth was Stidham Street.

[310] The tavern and its use by Lafayette after the Battle of Brandywine is mentioned in many journals, e.g., the *Journal de Guerre* of Andre Amblard, a grenadier in the Soissonnais regiment.

[311] When Rochambeau's infantry left from Boston on Christmas Day 1782, it had embarked 25 women and 4 children, including six women and one child for the Soissonnais and five women and children for the Saintonge. Three women accompanied the artillery. These numbers are based on the embarkation list in the Vioménil Papers, LB 0074, Académie François Bourdon, Le Creusot, France. A slightly different list in the *Archives Nationales* gives 20 women and six children for the infantry regiments, three for the artillery. 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 "à la ration," i.e., soldier's wives, though it is unclear which unit they belonged to. That would bring the total of women and children in the French army to 34 women and children. Archives Nationales, Paris, Marine B/4/185.

A large number of animals also accompanied the troops. Rochambeau's little army may well have had 2,000 horses -- just for the wagon train Wadsworth had drafted 855 horses, the artillery added another 500, and Lauzun's Legion had 300 mounted hussars plus horses for the officers -- and up to 800 oxen.[312] It is quite possible to up to 1,000 horses and oxen grazed on the outskirts of Wilmington that night. Unlike the situation for the American Army, however, where we can reconstruct the expenditures of the march in great detail, documentation for this aspect of the French presence is small. Rochambeau preferred to let his agent Jeremiah Wadsworth handle all aspects of supply. Wadsworth bought in bulk and paid in cash, and so did the French officers. They left no paper trail of IOUs behind, and while this was the preferred way of doing business for Delaware farmers and merchants, the historian laments the cash reserves of the French forces.

But even cash transactions left a trail in the account books of Wilmington millers and merchants. The presence of French forces and their bullion had an enormous economic and emotional impact on the cash-starved colonies. American historian Lee Kennett has estimated that between public and private funds, "French forces may well have disbursed 20 million *livres* in coin," possibly doubling the amount of specie circulating in the thirteen colonies.[313] Even if the amount of specie was closer to the estimate of Timothy R. Walton, who estimates that "on the eve of the American Revolution, about half the coins used in the British North American Colonies, some 4 million pesos (24 million livres) worth, were pieces of eight from New Spain and Peru," which would give a total of about 48 million livres in bullion circulating in the colonies, an infusion of 20 million was bound to have had a major impact on the economy.[314] But Kennett may still be right. James A. Lewis estimates inter-governmental loans between France and Spain (such as that for de Grasse in August 1781) at about 2 million peso. Loans arranged by private lenders added 3, possibly 4, million peso for a minimum of 30 million livres (at an exchange rate of 6 livres per peso), which, if added to Kennett's 20 million, would match Walton's 48 million livres.[315] Though the nine shipments of coin from France totaling approximately 10 million livres were in French coin, these inter-governmental loans were in Spanish coin, while the extensive trade with the French West Indies brought French colonial currency as well as Portuguese specie into the colonies. Wilmington and Delaware received their share of these funds.[316]

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[312] As it left Annapolis for Williamsburg on 21 September, Berthier wrote that "Lauzun's Legion [the hussars], the artillery horses, and the army wagon train formed a column numbering 1,500 horses, 800 oxen, and 220 wagons." Quoted in Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, vol. 2, p. 83.

[313] Kennett, *French forces*, p. 68. The remainder of Rochambeau's funds were in bills of exchange which often lost one third or more of their value as opposed to specie due to speculation, a constant source of friction between French and American authorities. But since it cost 1 livre to bring 4 livres in specie to the New World, the French reluctantly accepted the loss.

[314] Timothy R. Walton, *The Spanish Treasure Fleets* (Sarasota, 1994), p. 183.

[315] James A. Lewis "Las Damas de la Havana, el precursor, and Francisco de Saavedra: A Note on Spanish Participation in the Battle of Yorktown" *The Americas* Vol. 37, (July 1980), pp. 83-99. Lewis estimates inter-governmental loans such as the one for de Grasse in August 1781 at about 2 million peso, loans by private lenders at 3, possibly 4, million peso for a minimum of 30 million livres. These funds were vital for the French, and American war efforts.

[316] During archaeological excavations at the Patterson Mansion and tenant houses on the outskirts of Christiana, French colonial coins, identifiable by the mark "C" on them, were recovered. For an example of the currencies circulating in Delaware at the time see also the chapter on the robbery of the French treasury.

French purchasing agents preceded the marching columns, and with them came the much-needed bullion. Thacher admitted, "They punctually paid their expenses in hard money, which made them acceptable guests wherever they passed; and, in fact, the large quantity of solid coin which they brought into the United States, is to be considered as of infinite importance at the present period of our affairs."[317] On 24 August 1781, "7 French guines" show up for first time in the James Lea Mills Account Book of Brandywine Village. By early September, ½ Joes, pistols, doubloons, and guineas have completely replaced Continental dollars though Lea, like most merchants, continued to keep a separate column with the prices in Continental Dollars.[318] On 6 September 1781, the day Rochambeau's troops camped in Wilmington, we find the first entry for a sale directly to the French in the account book of the Lea Mills: "44 bushs left I am to sell @ 3/3 to french Army the Cash to be paid to Saml Baker in Second Street." This seems to have been corn meal belonging to a William Brown, but the price is quite a bit higher than the 2/6 or 3/- a bushel he had charged previously. The same is true for wheat, which had sold for 5/6 to 5/8, up to 6/3.[319] A few months later, on 11 November 1781, Lea's neighbor Samuel Canby expressed the hope 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."[320]

The laws of supply and demand were clearly at work, driving up prices to the disadvantage of the Continental Army. On 25 January 1781, Wadsworth lamented "the American Army is literally starving."[321] Once the campaign of 1781 had begun, such worries about supplying the Continental Army became common occurrences. In late August Robert Morris recorded in his diary that "Thomas Lowery, Esq. of N.J. this day informed me that his purchase of flour in that state was stopped by the buyers of the french army giving 21/ per Ct for flour that before he has readily obtained at 15 shillings."[322] A week earlier, on 21 August, James Hendricks, Deputy Quartermaster in Alexandria, lamented

> "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."[323]

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[317] Thacher, *Military Journal*, p. 266.

[318] "French Guines" are *Louis d'ors*, gold coins valued at 24 livres or 4 Pieces of Eight, "1/2 Joe's" are the golden Portuguese "Johannes" minted in Brazil valued at 8 Pieces of Eight, a "Pistol" is a Spanish gold coin worth 4 Pieces of Eight, and a "doubloon" is a Spanish gold coin worth 16 Pieces of Eight in the colonies.

[319] Lea Mills Account Book 1775-1783, p. 51. Ms Books Business L, HSD. "3/3" stands for 3 shillings 3 pence, "3/-" for 3 shillings, no pence etc.

[320] Diary of Samuel Canby, Nov 1779 to Dec 1796. Photostat in HSD from original at Yale University.

[321] Wadsworth Papers, Letterbooks, Box 151, CTHS

[322] Entry of 29 August 1781 in the diary of Robert Morris, quoted in Kennett, F*rench forces*, p. 133.

[323] NARA, Revolutionary War Records, Miscellaneous Numbered Records, Record Group 93, microfilm reel 92, No. 26743.

From Fredericksburg his colleague Richard Young sang a similar tune. "There are several men employed as Agents to purchase Corn, Flour &c. for the French Army for which they pay a generous price in hard Money, if this plan is pursued we shall not be able to furnish supplies with Certificates." Unless some action was taken, Young feared that "one Army will be well supplied, while the other is likely to suffer."[324] But without money there was not much that Washington or anyone else could do. One year later, on 15 October 1782, an officer in the First Rhode Island regiment was still complaining from Peekskill, New York, that local merchants avoided them "as they Would a Mad Dog" while the nearby French camp at Crompond "abounds in plenty."[325]

Rochambeau's officers were delighted with Wilmington. "The location of this city is one of the pleasantest and most favorable on the whole continent," wrote Baron Ludwig von Closen, one of Rochambeau's aides-de-camp. "The houses, many of which are on the banks of the Delaware, are all very well built, and their surroundings reveal the prosperity of the residents. Before arriving there, you cross the creek and the village of Brandywine."[326] Marching through Wilmington in the fall of 1782, Lieutenant Verger of the Royal Deux-Ponts also liked what he saw. Its "location is the most agreeable one could possibly find. Its streets are quite regular and its houses built of brick. It is on the Christiana River, whose banks are very gay."[327] Lauberdière wrote that following his visit to the battlefield of Brandywine, he went to Wilmington, which is "very well built, all houses there are made of brick. They form but one large and long street. I don't think this place is very healthy, the banks of the Delaware being very marshy on either side."[328]

Enlisted men could not leave the columns for sightseeing, but officers such as the vicomte de Rochambeau, Baron Closen, the comte de Lauberdière, or Cromot du Bourg used the opportunity provided by the march to Wilmington to see the battlefield of Brandywine, where Continental Army troops had fought British forces under General Howe on 11 September 1777. Washington himself, according to Cosen, had told him the details of the battle, heightening the officer's interest in the affair.[329] Cromot du Bourg, who rode with the Second Division, recorded that on 6 September "we marched to Wilmington over a very fine road. On arriving, the creek and village of Brandywine are passed, and next the town is entered. It is in one of the finest situations possible. The houses are very well built. This town is also on the banks of the Delaware. I turned off from the road to see the battle-field of Brandywine."[330] He returned to Wilmington on today's Concord Pike (DE SR 202), which merges with Market Street at Vandeveer Avenue on the left bank of the Brandywine in Brandywine Village. Georg Daniel Flohr of the Royal Deux-Ponts, one of the very few enlisted men who recorded his experiences, described his march thus. "On the 6th we broke camp again, 14 miles to Wilmington; that day we encountered along the way a pretty little town by the name of Brandywine on the Delaware River in a pleasant region near very low hills. That same day we continued on

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[324] NARA, Revolutionary War Records, Miscellaneous Numbered Records, Record Group 93, microfilm reel 92, No. 26743.
[325] Quoted in Scott, *Yorktown*, p. 99.
[326] Acomb, *Closen*, p. 124.
[327] Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns* vol. 1, p. 162. Verger had remained in Newport in June 1781 and sailed to Virginia with Barras. He does not mention Delaware on the return march of 1782.
[328] Lauberdière, "Journal," fol. 106 r.
[329] Acomb, *Closen*, p. 124, footnote 35. Lauberdière's *Journal* contains a long description of the battle of Mud Bank of 1777. (ff 101r - 106r)
[330] Cromot du Bourg, "Diary," p. 384.

to Wilmington, a pretty little town which is adorned with very pretty buildings; we set up our camp very close to the Delaware River."[331]

Rochambeau reputedly spent the night in a house on 606 Market Street, **(Resource 15)**, and local lore has it that the troops were also supplied by Mrs Hester Zane, who lived on the south-west corner of Fourth and Shipley Street.[332]

Following the route taken by the Continental Army the previous day past Richardson Mountain, called Roberson Mountain in the French itinerary,[333] the First Brigade continued its march on 7 September to Elkton, where it spent the night of 7-8 September. Along the way they marched through Newport, "a rather pretty place" of about 60 houses, and Christiana, a "rather cheerful little place with about 50 houses."[334] "Four miles past Newport one crosses a creek over a bridge called "Christians Bridge. … Christian's village is situated in a fortunate position and consists of 30-some houses. Two miles from there one crosses Kelley's Creek, which is ten miles from Head of Elk."[335] Commissary Claude Blanchard who traveled through Christiana on 8 September, went "to dine at Christian Bridge, where I did the honors of the public table to some Americans with whom I drank toasts. At night, I lay at the Head of Elk where I found our army."[336]

When the Second Brigade, i.e., the infantry regiments Soissonnais and Saintonge with their artillery component, broke camp in Chester on the morning of 7 September, it did not to stop in Wilmington but marched another five miles to a camp in Newport. The infantry camp was situated along the right-hand side of Route 4 or Market Street between Market and the Christina River east of the intersection with DE SR 41. **(Resource 16)** The artillery camped closer to the Christiana River. **(Resource 17)** The next day, 8 September 1781, the French army was once again united in Elkton.

[331] Flohr, *Americanische Reissbeschreibung*.
[332] John Gardner identifies this house as Rochambeau's lodging in a map accompanying in his foreword *to Enemy Views. The American Revolutionary War as recorded by Hessian Participants* Bruce E. Burgoyne, ed., (Bowie, 1996). The evidence is circumstantial; it is unknown where any other French officers stayed.
[333] Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns* vol. 2, p. 80.
[334] Acomb, *Closen*, p. 124.
[335] Lauberdière's "Journal," fol. 106 v.
[336] Blanchard, "Journal," p. 137.

FROM ELKTON TO YORKTOWN, 9 TO 28 SEPTEMBER 1781

Washington and the first units of the Continental Army reached Head of Elk/Elkton in Maryland on Thursday, 6 September. On 7 September, the First French Brigade joined them, while the Second Brigade, which had camped at Newport, arrived on 8 September. Once the American rearguard arrived from Christiana on 9 September, the two armies, "amounting in the whole to near seven thousand, with an amazing train of ordnance and military stores," were ready for the last leg of their march to Yorktown.[337] In exactly three weeks since departing from Philipsburg on Saturday, 18 August, the two armies had marched from Philipsburg through New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware and 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 for the Carolinas, and de Grasse would only stay until mid-October.

But for now Washington had more immediate worries. Up until the decision to march to Virginia was made on 14 August, Washington had warned of the reluctance of some of his troops to march to the southward. With the arrival in Elkton his fears seemed to come true. Desertion, a perennial problem in the Continental Army, was picking up and affected even Colonel Lamb's artillery, which, Baron Closen wrote, were "the elite of the country and are actually very good troops, well schooled in their profession. We had nothing but praise for them." But in the six days between its departure from Trenton on 31 August and arrival at Head of Elk on 6 September, eleven men, almost 10 per cent of its *de facto* strength, deserted from the regiment.[338]

The situation was tense. "When the American troops, brought by General Lincoln from the North River and composed of the *New York*, *Jersey*, and *Pennsylvania* lines, arrived in Elkton, they did not wish to continue their march or embark unless they

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[337] Major William Popham, ADC, to Gov. Clinton of New York, 8 September 1781, quoted in Johnston, *Yorktown*, p. 173. Popham's number of "near 7,000," i.e., 2,500-2,600 Americans incl. officers, and about 4,300-4,400 French officers and men, seems reasonable.

[338] The desertion figure is from L. Richard Pierson, *Colonel John Lamb's Second Continental Regiment of Artillery in the American Revolution 1775-1784* (Typescript, US Army Military History Institute, 1988) p. 206. Other units had problems too. Sanderson reports that on 3 September seven men of Captain Comstock's Company of Scammel's Light Infantry deserted while the regiment camped in Chester. Johnston, *Yorktown*, p. 179.

received part of their back pay, which had been owing them for a long time."[339] Closen's statement bespeaks the potential seriousness of the situation. The New Jersey and Pennsylvania Lines had already mutinied once that year in Morristown in January and might well do so again, while James Duane, a New York delegate to the Continental Congress, wrote Washington on 9 September that he had been "full of worry" about the New York Line.[340] On 17 August, Washington had already informed Morris from Dobbs Ferry that he would have to pay the army at least one month salary in specie. Robert Morris wrote in his diary that "great S[y]mptoms of discontent had Appeared on their passing through this City."[341] On 6 September, Washington repeated the request from Head of Elk.

Dear Sir:

Every Day discovers to me the encreasg Necessity of some Money for the Troops. I hope by this Time you are provided to give a Month's Pay. I (am) 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 enough funds to pay the army and asked Rochambeau on 6 September for a loan of $ 20,000 in specie to pay the troops, with the promise that he would return the money. Aware that de Grasse would bring 1.2 million livres worth of specie from Cuba, Rochambeau agreed to the loan, which depleted his treasury of more than one third of the 300,000 livres he had left. Washington was not assured that this would satisfy his restless soldiers. When Morris informed him of the loan, he responded on 7 September that "The Sum of 20,000 Dollars will fall much short of the Sum necessary."[342] He needed about $30,000 to meet the demands of his troops. Rochambeau increased his loan to $26,600. But 26,600 Pieces of Eight or 143,640 livres was all he

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[339] Acomb, *Closen*, p. 124. The italics are in the original. The Pennsylvania Line was not present; it was already in Virginia. In his *Journal de Guerre*, Lauberdière claimed that "it had always been the goal of our generals to hurry the march of the troops through Philadelphia to prevent desertion." fol. 97 v.

[340] Duane to GW, 9 September 1781, quoted in Kennett, *French forces*, p. 134. On the eve of the Yorktown Campaign, Lieutenant-Colonel Ebenezer Huntington of Norwich, Connecticut, wrote to his brother Andrew on 2 August 1781 a long and angry letter from Dobbs Ferry, New York. In it he warned that the soldiers "Complain of the Ill Usage they receive from the State, the more they Suffer the more the State insults them by their Neglect, you have no right to expect their Services a Moment Longer, … we have borne till we can bear no longer, you must pay us in Gold, or find other Servants, & those who ask no Wages." *Letters written by Ebenezer Huntington during the American Revolution* (New York, 1914), p. 94. Huntington went on to command a battalion of Light troops at Yorktown.

[341] Diary: September 1-5, 1781. *The Papers of Robert Morris, 1781-1784.* E. James Ferguson, ed.,Vol. 2: August - September 1781 (Pittsburg, 1975), p. 173.

[342] On 27 September he repeated his request from Chatham. "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." Lauberdière wrote that by the time the Continental troops arrived at Head of Elk, "grumbling had spread among them and reached their general and what was even more distressing to him was that many officers raised their voices and threatened him with nothing less than to let him march to Virginia by himself." Lauberdière admitted however that these "unfortunate troops were not usually paid, or clothed, and often poorly fed." Lauberdière, "Journal," fol. 106 v and 107 r. Most of the correspondence between Washington, Rochambeau, and Morris can be found at http://memory.loc.gov

could lend the Commander-in-Chief and his superior officer to satisfy the demands of the American troops.[343] 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."[344] For many a Continental soldier this was indeed the first and only time he ever received "real" money during his years of service. Private Martin remembered that "we each of us received a MONTH'S PAY, in specie, borrowed, as I was informed, by our French (sic) officers from the officers in the 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."[345] Another enlisted man, John Hudson of the First New York Regiment who had celebrated but 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."[346] The specie had an immediate effect on the morale of the troops and at least for now all discipline problems were solved.

But Washington's problems were not over yet. He had hoped that there would be a sufficient number of watercraft assembled at Head of Elk to transport his troops to Yorktown, but he soon learned, much to his chagrin, that his needs far surpassed the resources available to him. Initially only twelve sloops and eighteen schooners were waiting at Head of Elk, but dozens more were hired before the end of the year 1781. They were barely enough for half of the Continental Army, Rochambeau's grenadiers and chasseurs, the officers and men of the Auxonne artillery, and for the infantry of Lauzun's Legion, about 1,500 French and 1,500 Americans in all.

The Continental Army was the first to embark. The Order Book of Scammel's Light Infantry recorded the organizational structure of the Continental Army for the sea journey.

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[343] The amount is given in Morris to Lincoln, 8 September 1781. *Papers of Robert Morris*, Vol. 2, p. 220. Morris supplied the last $ 6,200, which brought the total to the $ 32,800 (177,320 livres) that Washington needed. It was less than half the 375,000 livres Rochambeau spent on his troops in a single month. Officers were excluded from the windfall -- "I cannot even obtain my pay as Captain in the Line," wrote Popham.

Morris repaid the money by February 1782, though not without confusion as to the applicable exchange rate. César Louis de Baulny, treasurer of the French army, converted the Milled Dollar at s 7 6 d or 90 d (=5 livres 5 sols), while Morris converted it at a premium rate of s 8 4 d or 100 d (=5 livres 8 sols), and the French tried to refund 4,935 livres to Morris that they thought he had paid beyond the 144,000 livres he owed. At 5 livres 8 sols per Milled Dollar, $ 26,600 amount to 143,640 livres or 23,940 écus rather than the 24,000 écus that Morris said the French had loaned him and which would have exchanged to 144,000 livres at 6 livres to the écu or French Crown. *Papers of Robert Morris*, Vol. 4 (1978), pp. 304-5 and pp. 330-332.

[344] Popham to Gov. Clinton of New York, 8 September 1781, quoted in Johnston, *Yorktown*, p. 173.

[345] Martin, *Private Yankee Doodle*, pp. 222-23. Martin says he sailed on the Schooner *Birmingham*, Capt. Trout, a nutshell of 18 tons. NARA, Revolutionary War Records, Miscellaneous Numbered Records, Record Group 93, microfilm reel 92, No. 26800, where her name is given as *Brumagin.*

[346] Hudson, "Reminiscences," *Cist's Advertiser*, 28 January 1846.

"Division Morning Orders Sept 8, 81

The Commander in Cheafe guards, Light Troops, Genl Heasons Regt artillery Sappers & Miners & the artificiers Will imbark as the first divison of American troops, care will be taken to keep as much as poseble Corps togather."[347]

Since "Genl Heasons" included the Rhode Island regiment, the First American Division as defined in this order was a little about 1,450 officers and men. The combined New Jersey regiments, about 330 officers and men and the 1st and 2nd New York, about 800 officers and men, formed the Second American Division. Since there was no shipping space available for them, they marched with the French forces to Baltimore.[348]

Anxious to reach his seat at Mount Vernon after a six-year absence, Washington "with Colo. Humphry only" left Baltimore "very early" on 9 September and after a sixty mile ride reached his estate that same evening. Accompanied by his two aides Fersen and Damas, Rochambeau reached Mt. Vernon the following day; on 11 September, Chastellux arrived with his retinue as well.[349] On 13 September, the generals continued their journey to Williamsburg, which they reached on 15 September. A visit to Admiral De Grasse on his flagship *Ville de Paris,* followed on the 18th. The commanders were ready for the siege to begin, but their troops were still far behind.

Around 4:00 a.m. on 11 September, Dr. James Thacher of Scammel's Light Infantry set sail from Head of Elk for the Chesapeake on the "Glasgow," a schooner with a burthen of 24 tons which he shared "with four other officers and sixty men."[350] The remainder of the troops, between 3,800 and 4,000 men, marched to Baltimore, where the remainder of the Continental Army embarked.[351] Without the necessary shipping space,

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[347] NARA, Record Group M 853 reel 8, vol. 52, p. 124.

[348] The route of the New York regiments can be followed in Lauber, *Diaries of Tallmadge,* pp. 760-762. About 200 Americans embarked in Annapolis.

[349] Trumbull, "Minutes of Occurrences," p. 333.

[350] Thacher, *Military Journal,* p. 274. It took him twelve days to cover the more than 300 miles to Williamsburg. The *Glascow*, Capt. Griffith, Master, was hired on 4 September. She served for 76 days at £ 1 s 9 per day. NARA, Revolutionary War Records, Miscellaneous Numbered Records, Record Group 93, microfilm reel 92, No. 26675 and 26800, where her burthen is given at 29 tons. A good recent overview is presented by Robert W. Tinder, "Extraordinary measures: Maryland and the Yorktown Campaign, 1781." *Maryland Historical Magazine* Vol. 95 No. 2, (Summer 2000), pp. 133-159.

Another account of the journey down the Chesapeake Bay replete with a "theatrical performance" on 14 September and an "elegant supper" on the 13th in Annapolis where he "cracked a few bottles of wine, broke a looking Glass & retired to rest on board our vessels" can be found in the Journal of Dr. Moore.

The Journal of Lt. Thomas Anderson of the Delaware Regiment. 1780-1782 (New York, 1867) records that on 8 May 1780, Anderson "set sail from the Head of Elk in Company with 50 Sail of Vessels being the Second Maryland Brigade destined for Petersburg … arriv'd on the 23d, 350 miles," which means that it took him 15 days to reach Petersburg in Virginia, about 30 miles up the James River from Jamestown. An "Estimate of Money due on Contract made for the passage of the Army stores, Baggage &c. …from Christiana Bridge to Virginia, and from thence to the Northward Commencing 28 August 1781," lists a total of at least 22 sloops, sixty schooners, as well as shallops and a number of smaller vessels employed in the campaign in 1781NARA, Revolutionary War Records, Miscellaneous Numbered Records, Record Group 93, microfilm reel 92, No. 26673.

[351] "An Estimate of Vessels taken into Transport Service at the Port of Baltimore for the Expedition Against general Cornwalis 1781. By David Pac A.D.Q.M." lists 79 sloops and

Vioménil and the forces under his command, still almost 75% of the troops of the *expédition particulière*, left Baltimore on 17 September. At Spurrier's Tavern, however, a courier reached Vioménil in the evening with news that transports from de Grasse had reached Annapolis.[352] Vioménil immediately changed plans. In the morning of 18 September, his troops turned toward Annapolis, which was reached around 7:00 a.m. on 19 September. Over the next few days the infantry with their baggage and tents as well as the field artillery embarked on 15 vessels sent by Admiral de Grasse. The *Romulus* of 74 guns, the frigates *Gentile*, *Diligente*, l'*Aigrette*, the captured British frigates *Isis* and *Richmond*, and nine transports, sailed late in the afternoon of 21 September 1781.[353] They arrived in the James River on 24 September and made their camp at Archer's Hope, at the mouth of College Creek Landing near Jamestown. Williamsburg was reached on 25 September. Three days later, the two armies set out for Yorktown. Concurrently Lauzun's cavalry, which had separated from the rest of the French army on 14 September, took up siege positions at Gloucester Point on 24 September.[354]

The empty French wagon train, and more importantly the hundreds of oxen and horses used to draw the regimental wagons and the artillery carriages, and the many horses owned privately by the officers still had to be brought to Yorktown. In the morning of 18 September, Vioménil had a meeting with de Tarlé, the French intendant. They decided to discharge some of the wagons that were no-longer needed. The majority of the craft and animals, however, together with their American drivers and civilian employees would take the land route to Williamsburg. Thirty American troops under the command of an officer who knew the roads would provide cover and guidance.[355] By the time the wagons reached Williamsburg on 6 October, the First Parallel was already dug outside Yorktown. On 9 October, French siege guns opened up on the British defenders. The completion of the Second Parallel was blocked by a portion of the British outer works -- two detached earthen forts called Redoubts 9 and 10, located 400 yards in advance of the British inner defense line on the extreme right of the siege line. On 14 October, Allied artillery bombarded Redoubts 9 and 10 most of the day, preparing them for the assaults. That evening, American troops under Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Hamilton took Redoubt No. 10, while the French 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. It was only a matter of time before His Lordship would surrender.

Delaware continued to serve as an important supply station and depot for the armies outside Yorktown. The list of requisition seemed unending. On 18 September 1781, Robert Morris asked Rodney for 500 barrels of salt to be delivered to Head of Elk.[356] On

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schooners, incl. 3 ships and 4 rowboats that were lost. They were taken into service between 30 August and 2 October with 2 late ships hired on 26 October. They were frequently used for around 90 days and thus into December 1781, i.e., for the return trip of the Continental Army northward after the siege of Yorktown. NARA, Revolutionary War Records, Miscellaneous Numbered Records, Record Group 93, microfilm reel 92, No. 26675.

[352] Vioménil to Rochambeau, 18 September 1781. Fonds Vioménil LB 0074-104.

[353] The names of the ships and number of troops on board can be found in Fonds Vioménil, LB0074-100.

[354] The itinerary for Lauzun's hussars can be found in the d'Arrot Papers which are part of the Lafayette-Leclerc Papers, MS 31.17, at the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation (CWF), in Williamsburg, Virginia.

[355] "Mémorandum du Baron de Vioménil pour une réunion avec l'intendant," dated 18 September 1781. Fonds Vioménil LB 0074-127.

[356] Morris to Rodney, 18 September 1781. DEPA RG 1300.000 Executive Papers Box 2, Military 1781, microfilm frame 497.

4 October 1781, Commissary General Ephraim Blaine informed President Rodney from Oxford Landing on the Choptank River in Maryland that the siege army consumed “Sixty thousand Rations per day.” He thought that the siege would be over in 20 days and urged that all supplies be forwarded to Choptank as expeditiously as possible. “Men who are day & night upon fatigue and exposed to the greatest Danger ought to be regularly Supplied with Provisions and every refreshment they are entitled to – for God sake give me every Assistance and let no excuse prevent the Commissioners from doing their duty.”[357]

Rodney forwarded the request to Isaac Carty, imploring him that "if you have any Flour at or in the neighbourhood of Duck Creek Send immediately to the nearest water on the Chesepeak."[358] The reports of William Millan, State Receiver of Supplies in Newcastle County, the county most affected by the march, give an excellent overview of the exertions of the State. A "State of Supplies in New Castle County" of 7 November 1781 shows that over the previous month he had delivered 2,074 cwts of flour with another 634 cwts in storage. He also had transferred almost 263,000 lbs of hay with another 80,500 lbs in reserve, 112 heads of cattle, 29,554 lbs of fresh beef and 20,632 lbs of "Pickled Beef," almost 3,500 bushels of rye, 1,021 bushels of corn, 15,664 bushels of oats with 136 more in reserve, 6 bushels of buckwheat, 120 sheaves of oats, 481 lbs of dried beef, 252 lbs of salt pork, 453 1/4 lbs of bacon, 10 gallons of rum, and 32 horses.[359]

A good month later, on 10 December 1781, Millan reported his receipts during November 1781. Among the items received "from the Taxable Inhabitants" of his county were 2,621 cwts flour, 2,955 lbs of fresh beef, 220 lbs pickled beef, 481 lbs of dried beef, 112 head of cattle, 28 horses 3,734 lbs of bacon and 331,210 lbs of hay. Most of these items were taxes in kind; but some of it was purchased "on Acct of the Delaware State. Millan collected " 440 lbs of the 481 lbs of dried beef, all of the bacon, 28 of the of the 112 heads of cattle and all but four of the horses. Only the 220 lbs of the pickled beef had to be paid for in cash. Virtually all of the receipts had already been delivered: 775 lbs of flour and 58,250 lbs of hay was all Millan had left.[360]

Support of a different kind was provided by Francis Bailey, publisher of *Freeman's Journal,* who sent his own encouragement from Philadelphia on 8 October 1781.

To Lord CORNWALLIS.

Hail great destroyer (equall'd yet by none)
Of countries not thy master's nor thy own!
Hatch'd by some Demon on a stormy day,

[357] Public Archives Division of Delaware, *Delaware Archives. Revolutionary War. In Three Volumes* (Wilmington, 1919) Vol. 3, p. 1357. The original is in DEPA, RG 1300.000 Executive Papers Box 2, Correspondence 1781, microfilm frame 189.

The Choptank River begins just south of Dover north of Willow Grove; Choptank Landing, the end-point of MD-SR 16 across the river from Windyhill, Maryland, is about 45 miles from Dover.

[358] Rodney to Carty, 7 October 1781. DEPA RG 1800.099, Delaware Archives - Military, Vol. 6 (unpublished), microfilm frame 616.

[359] DEPA RG 1800.099, Delaware Archives - Military, Vol. 6 (unpublished), microfilm frame 794. A partial return is ibid., frame 755. No return for supplies delivered during September 1781 has been found; they are presumably included in Patterson's expenses for the march.

[360] DEPA RG 1800.099, Delaware Archives - Military, Vol. 6 (unpublished), microfilm frame 730 and 738.

Satan's best substitute to burn and slay
Confin'd at last -- hemm'd in by land and sea,
Burgoyne himself was but a type of thee!
Like his to freedom was thy deadly hate,
Like his thy baseness and be his thy fate. -
To you like him no prospect nature yields
But ruin'd wastes and desolated fields;
In vain you raise the interposing wall
And hoist those *standards* that like *you* must fall
In vain you break old Charon's sable boat
Lest you to hell with negro souls should float;
In *you* conclude the glories of your race;
complete your monarch's and your own disgrace.
What has your Lordship's pilfering arms attaind?
Vast hoards of *plunder* and no State regain'd -
That must return, tho' you perhaps may groan,
Resign it, Ruffian, for 'tis not your own; --
Then, *Lord* and *Skater*, headlong to the brine
Rush down at once -- the devil and the swine!
Wouldst thou at last with *Washington* engage,
Sad object of his pity not his rage!
See, round thy posts how terribly advance
The chiefs, the soldiers and the fleets of France!
Fight while you can, for warlike *Rochambeau*
Aims at your head his last decisive blow;
A thousand ghosts from earth untimely sped
Can take no rest till you like them are dead;
Then die, my Lord -- that only chance remains
To wash away dishonourable stains;
For small advantage would your *capture* bring,
The plundering servant of a bankrupt king.

THE RETURN MARCH OF THE CONTINENTAL ARMY THROUGH DELAWARE, 25 NOVEMBER TO 1 DECEMBER 1781

Supplies were not limited to poetry or foodstuffs: Henry Fisher of "Lewistown," provided "Twelve Musquits four which are french Guns upon the Acct of Capt. Shelden" even though they were "out of Repair" and supplied another "four Guns upon my own

Acct which are to be Deliverd."[361] Spurred on by Bailey's fiery rhetoric and in cooperation with Rochambeau's troops and de Grasse's fleet, the Continental Army put Henry Fisher's "Musquits" to good use. On 17 October 1781, Cornwallis offered to negotiate surrender terms. On 18 October, two British officers, one American and French officer each met at the home of Augustine Moore to negotiate surrender terms. Around 2:00 p.m. on 19 October 1781, the British troops with their American and German allies marched out of Yorktown to lay down their arms. News of the victory reached Wilmington around 9:00 p.m. on Sunday, 21 October. Delawareans were overjoyed. "When the news arrived here of the surrender of lord Cornwallis, the citizens to manifest their joy, erected a flag pole near the state-house, on which were hoisted the American continental colours a little above those of the British. After thirteen platoons of musquetry were discharged, all the respectable citizens repaired to an entertainment provided for them, where thirteen patriotic drinks were drank: in the evening the town was illuminated, and every thing was conducted with the greatest decorum. One circumstance was remarkable: while the two flags were flying a westerly storm arose, and blew down that of the British while the other held its station -- A happy presage of its permanent stability."[362] Hopes ran high that independence might be just around the corner as Samuel Canby opined in his diary that "For my own satisfaction I make the following remark viz I find since the reduction of the post held by General Cornwallis at York & Gloucester … people seem … more disposed to expect an Independance might take place … ."[363]

On 27 October, St. Simon's troops began to re-embark, and on 4 November de Grasse's fleet sailed out of Lynnhaven Bay for Fort Royal on Martinique, where it arrived on 26 November. Following the same route that had taken them there, the Continental Army left Virginia for New York almost as soon as victory was won. Except for the 85 Delaware recruits, the same units that had marched to Yorktown, the 1st New Jersey, 2nd New Jersey, 1st New York, 2nd New York, 1st Rhode Island, Hazen's Regiment, Lamb's Artillery, the Light Infantry, the Commander in Chief's Guard, the Corps of Sappers and Miners, and the Corps of Artificers, returned north in November 1781. Colonel Lamb began loading his artillery as well as the captured British pieces on board ships on 28 October; by 4 November the first ships were on their way north. By 13 November, the first units reached Head of Elk and debarked.[364] Among them was Dr. Thacher, who had sailed up the Bay with the artillery and the Light Infantry and who crossed Delaware on 25 November without stopping.[365] The remainder of the troops, including the 2nd New York regiment, had also left Yorktown on Sunday, 4 November. But since the escorted prisoners of war into Maryland, they camped at Christina Bridge only on Friday, 30 November 1781. (**Resource 18**) The following day, 1 December 1781, the last units of the Continental Army had completed their crossing of Delaware and were encamped at Marcus Hook in Pennsylvania.[366] Washington himself had crossed Delaware on 26 November to receive a hero's welcome in Philadelphia.[367]

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[361] DEPA RG 1300.000 Executive Papers Box 2, Military 1781, microfilm frame 415.
[362] The celebration in Newcastle was reported in the *Pennsylvania Packet* of 1 November 1781.
[363] Samuel Canby Diary Nov 1779 to Dec 1796. Photostat in HSD from original at Yale University.
[364] Pierson, *Lamb's Artillery*, p. 215.
[365] Thacher, *Military Journal*, p. 303.
[366] Tallmadge, *Orderly Book*, p. 767.
[367] The celebrations, dinners, and addresses can be followed in the Philadelphia newspapers, i.e., the *Pennsylvania Packet*, the *Pennsylvania Journal*, and the *Freeman's Journal*.

But even a short stay in Delaware had to be prepared for and supplies organized, and as the state awaited the arrival of the Continental Army. At its meeting on Monday, 29 October 1781, the President's Council read a resolution just received from the Lower House.

> "In the House of Assembly, Saturday, October 27, 1781.
>
> Whereas it is expected that General Washington, with a part of the army under his command, will shortly pass through this State, by the post at Christiana Bridge, in New Castle County; therefore, for the immediate supply of that post with such provisions and forage as may be wanting on that occasion, it is *Resolved*, That Brigadier-General Paterson, Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Darby, Major James Black, and Captain William McClay, be authorized to procure and purchase, upon the credit of the Delaware State, such provisions and forage as they, upon consulting with Deputy Quartermaster Yeates, shall think necessary for the supply of the army aforesaid in their passage through this State, not exceeding the sum of one thousand pounds, specie, in its value."
> Debts to be due four months from time of contract, gentlemen are to submit an account of their contracts to President as soon after as conveniently may be."[368]

Spurred on by an urgent request from Yeates of 3 November 1781, Patterson, Darby, Black, and McClay went to work. The number of infantry troops and support personnel would be more or less the same as on the march to Yorktown two months earlier, Yeates told them. But the additional "ordinance alone is no less than two hundd and forty five pieces of Cannon." To meet the needs of the army, he requested that "thirty five Tons of Hay, from two to three Thousand Bushels of Indian Corn, thirty Cords of Wood and about thirty Cattle fit for slaughter for the Subsistence of the troops and their passage, together with the fatigue parties that must be retained and necessarily employed in assisting to the transportation of the different stores."[369]

On 10 November, Yeates informed Patterson from Head of Elk that northerly winds had kept the vessels from sailing up the Chesapeake. This caused considerable expense in Elkton, since the "several hundds of Work cattle which came down from the eastern States" and which were assembled in Head of Elk "together with the Horse teams require better than twelve tons of hay per day." His supply of foodstuff at Head of Elk and in the immediate neighborhood were exhausted and he implored Patterson to send as much hay as he could possibly collect to Christiana, even if expenses would exceed the £1,000 allowed him for the purchase of supplies.[370]

Based on his instructions from Rodney, Patterson, "well knowing the state of our bank," had expended but £500 for "hay, forage short, some Beeff wood" to meet the needs of the army, which he estimated at "about 4,000" men and he stored them in Christiana. He hoped that "their stay here will be short," as he told Rodney on 8

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[368] *Minutes of the Council of the Delaware State from 1776 to 1792* (Dover 1886) pp. 656-7.
[369] Yeates to Patterson, 3 November 1781, DEPA RG 1300.000 Executive Papers Box 2, Military 1781, microfilm reel 3, frame 463.
[370] Yeates to Patterson, 3 November 1781, DEPA RG 1300.000 Executive Papers Box 2, Military 1781, microfilm reel 3, frame 466.

November, and "they draw Rations at York Town of Beeff & Flour suposd sofitient for Trentown." The "Brass Cannon" and "a number of Invalids" had already arrived in New Castle County by 6 November, but, almost anticipating Yeates' letter on 10 November, he warned that "Contrary winds those few days" were delaying the arrival of the main body of troops, and the cattle, their drivers, and other personnel waiting for the arrival of the army from the southward were eating up his supplies. Patterson wanted instruction whether he should purchase additional supplies.[371]

The "contrary winds" continued to delay the arrival of Washington's troops until the last days of November, causing Patterson the additional expenses he had tried to avoid. When he submitted his final balance for "his Excellency Genl Washington and the army on their return from York Town in Virginia," the total bill amounted to £ 773 s 11 11d.[372] Included in the account were £ 28 for 28 days of "Procuring Forage for the Army on their return from Virginia" which were to be paid to McClay and Darby.[373] When Patterson closed his books in the summer of 1783, he submitted a detailed list of expenditures "for procuring at the expense of this State, Forage, and Provisions for the Army under Genl Washington on their March to & from Virginia." Included in this bill, which gives a good overview of the needs of an army on the march, were

50 1/2 oats in bushels
12,541 oats in sheaves
16 beaves
98/2/88 tons of hay
1,924 bran in bushels
38/3/9 Shipp Stuff
1,382 1/2 corn in bushels
972 shorts in bushels
9/0/3 buckwheat meal
4/1/16 rye meal
95 cords of wood[374]
400 head of 4 days pasturage @ 3 d each = £ 20
145 1/2 days of teams @ £ 1 s 2 6 d each
73 5/8 gallons of spirits
20 lbs soap
10 lbs candles

[371] Patterson to General Assembly, 8 November 1781. DEPA RG 1800.099, Delaware Archives - Military, Vol. 6 (unpublished), microfilm frame 389.
Auditor of Accounts, Journal A, 1784-1800. RG 1315.7 p. 106 contains this entry: "William McClay and H. Darby for Procuring Forage for the Army on their return from Virginia 28 days at 20 s = 28/00/00."

Samuel Canby recorded in his diary that “From the 25th of the last till the 5th of the present Month (December 1781) the New England, York & Jersey troops having been going by this place to their Winter Quarters in Jersey, the Pinsylvania Troops went from York to Join General Greene’s Army. The French Remain for the Winter at York Williamsburg & some other Towns.”

[372] Patterson to General Assembly, 8 November 1781. DEPA RG 1800.099, Delaware Archives - Military, Vol. 6 (unpublished), microfilm frame 554. Included in this amount are £ 250 "by Colo Bryan their Amts."

[373] DEPA, RG 1315.7, Auditor of Accounts, Journal A, 1784-1800, p. 106.

[374] A cord of wood measures 4 x 4 x 8 feet or 128 cubic feet. A tree with a usable height of 40 feet and a circumference of 75 inches yields one cord of wood.

All in all, treasurer recorded, supplies purchased by the state and delivered to the Continental Quartermaster at Christiana for the march of the Continental Army to and from Yorktown had cost the State of Delaware £ 1,104/10/11.[375]

The last units of the Continental Army may have had completed their crossing of Delaware by 1 December 1781, and be encamped at Marcus Hook in Pennsylvania, but for newly elected President Dickinson the demands on his state were not yet over.[376] The "invalids" returning from the south needed assistance, and on 1 December, Captain James Gilliland, had already dispensed 24 rations for 4 sick soldiers in the corps of Sappers and Miners. The following day, 2 December 1781, he requested "Rations to five men belonging to the Corps Sappers & Miners who are sick & therefore cannot be brought on at present for seven days."[377] On 3 December 1781, Washington asked Dickinson from Philadelphia to establish a hospital for Continental Army troops in Wilmington. Dickinson immediately went to work and informed Washington the next day that he could provide the building. As so often before, the Wilmington Academy was chosen for this task when Dickinson on 4 December sent a request to the Trustees of the College of Wilmington to turn the College into a hospital.[378] (**Resource 19**) The hospital also needed straw, firewood and supplies, but the treasury was empty and as he had done many times before, Dickinson was forced to dig into his private purse. To the State Quartermaster General he wrote that his "regard and compassion for the worthy and unhappy objects" suffering in the hospital left him no choice but to "have recourse to the same expedient which I adopted in my former letter to you, for obtaining waggons -- that is, to try what can be done, on my private credit." The 120 cords of firewood and 900 bundles of clean

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[375] DEPA, RG 1315.7, Auditor of Accounts, Journal A, 1784-1800, p. 100. A detailed list of expenditures dated 2 June 1783 and signed by Patterson, McClay and Darby for the same amount is in DEPA RG 1300.000, Executive Papers. This list is exclusive of supplies purchased by the Continental Army or of those collected as taxes in kind by the state.

[376] On Dickinson see Forrest McDonald and Ellen Shapiro McDonald, "John Dickinson, Founding Father." *Delaware History* Vol. 23 (1988-1989), pp. 24-38, and John H. Powell, "John Dickinson, President of the Delaware State." in: Carol E. Hoffecker, ed., *Readings in Delaware History* (Newark, 1973), pp. 41-65.

[377] Public Archives Division of Delaware, *Delaware Archives. Revolutionary War. In Three Volumes* (Wilmington, 1919) Vol. 2, p. 1006. On back of the paper is this entry: "Recd on the Within Order thirty five Rations by Order of Geo Latimer, Esq."

[378] Dickinson's correspondence with Washington on the establishment of the hospital can be traced in John H. Powell, "John Dickinson, President of the Delaware State, 1781-1782." *Delaware History* Vol. 1 No. 1 (January 1946), pp. 1-54, p. 42ff. Part 2 of this article was published ibid., Vol. 1 No. 2 (April 1946), pp. 111-134. See also Lewis, "The Minutes of the Wilmington Academy," p. 197, Minutes for 7 May 1782, where a committee is appointed to address Dickinson for "Compensation for the damages done to the School House & the Detention thereof by his Orders contained in a Letter the 4th Decr. last."

The Academy had been founded in 1773. For its use as a hospital by Continental Army troops in 1780 see the Meeting Minutes of 16 October 1780 in: Schools, Wilmington Academy, Folder 4, HSD.:

The Trustees taking into Consideration the present State of the School House, rendered unfit for the Reception of Scholars by the great Damages it has receiv'd from being made a public Hospital & for Barracks a considerable Time during the present War, which Damages on a reasonable Estimation amount to near five Hundred Pounds & no immediate Prospect of receiving any public compensation; it is resolved that in such Case rather than leave the Community deprived of the Advantages which may be reasonably expected from opening the School again under able Masters that each Trustee shall in his vicinity solicit Subscription for repairing the House and opening the School against the ensuing Spring …."

rye straw that Dr. George Latimer received cost Dickinson £ 150/15, which he hoped to pay off the following March.[379]

By late December, Washington's army was safely in winter quarters. Rochambeau's regiments had established their winter quarters in and around Williamsburg where they had to be supplied throughout the winter and spring of 1781/82. Like all other states, Delaware had to contribute its share to the maintenance of these troops as Robert Morris reminded Governor Dickinson on 4 December. "As soon as possible" Dickinson was to send "the specific Supply of Flour and salted meat of the States of Delaware and Maryland" for "the use of the Army of his Excelly the Count de Rochambeau" to Rochambeau's representative in Philadelphia for shipment to Virginia.[380] In the cover letter transmitting Morris' request, Commissary General Ephraim Blaine on 7 December urged "not to loose a moment's time in the execution of this business, as two vessels are waiting to receive the provisions, and a danger of the frost shutting up the Navigation in the Delaware" was imminent. Almost as a postscript he added there had been "a large Quantity of flour since last Summer at Duck Creek cross roads, what has been done with it"? If it could be found, Blaine would gladly take the flour as well as 200 bushels of corn -- or anything else that was available.[381]

That was easier said than done: sometimes the supplies had been collected, but could not be delivered. On 11 December 1781, William Millan informed the governor that once again he had virtually all the supplies requested from him collected at Cantwell's Bridge, but he could not get them to Christiana. "Your Excellency may perhaps be surprizd that I would keep any public Stores at hand when they are so much needed, but to this I wou'd beg leave to observe that I am unprovided with every necessary for forwarding them, no provision being made for Flour-Cards, Transportation, or any other expense attending them." He had plenty of paper money, "which when reduce'd to Specie Value was of little Account." He had already advanced £ 100 of his own money to pay freight and other charges, but his credit had now been expended and it was simply "not in my power to forward the Supplies without Assistance."[382]

Money lay at the root of Delaware's problems, and it affected the quality of supplies as well. In the same letter Millan told Rodney that since the assembly had failed to "specify the quality of the hay to be delivered, I was oblig'd to take such as was brought me, and in general it was of the worst kind, - I at first refus'd it and had frequent disputes about it." But without an order from Dover he had to accept these deliveries, which meant that "the Hay at hand is not by any means fit for Horses - at best it is no more than tolerable Cow Hay."[383]

Wilson's problems were not made any easier by Delaware farmers who rather sold for specie to the French than for Continental Dollars or on credit to their fellow countrymen. Purchased by Jeremiah Wadsworth with French silver, large amounts of foodstuffs made their way south. Throughout the fall of 1781, Thomas Lea sent large orders for shipping

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[379] Quoted in Powell, "Dickinson," p. 43.
[380] Morris to Dickinson, 4 December 1781. DEPA RG 1800.099, Delaware Archives - Military, Vol. 6 (unpublished), microfilm frame 358.
[381] Blaine to Rodney 7 December 1781 DEPA RG 1800.099, Delaware Archives - Military, Vol. 6 (unpublished), microfilm frames 358-59.
[382] Millan to Rodney, 11 December 1781. DEPA RG 1800.099, Delaware Archives - Military, Vol. 6 (unpublished), microfilm frame 359-360.
[383] Millan to Rodney, 11 December 1781. DEPA RG 1800.099, Delaware Archives - Military, Vol. 6 (unpublished), microfilm frame 359-360.

to Christiana Bridge. On 15 November 1781, Lea sent his largest order yet, 3,569 bushels of wheat, to Virginia, which he had purchased and milled on commission from “sundry” people on the account of Zebulon Hollingsworth of Cecil County, Maryland. Total cost including commissions, cartage, and freight of this single shipment was £ 1,002/10/2, the largest entry in the account book until then. But business continued to increase: another 9,333½ bushels followed on 21 January 1782 for a total cost of £ 2,553/3/8 ½.[384]

3 JULY 1782:
DELAWARE CELEBRATES THE BIRTH OF THE DAUPHIN

To be sure, when the *duc* de Lauzun and William de Deux-Ponts arrived in Versailles with the news of victory at Yorktown, the court was excited and glad. But just a few days after Lord Cornwallis' troops had laid down their arms outside that small seaside town on the Chesapeake, a much more exciting event had occurred in the private quarters of Queen Marie Antoinette. The birth of Louis-Joseph-Xavier-François, the long-desired *dauphin* and heir to the throne of France on Monday 22 October 1781, overshadowed the news from America.[385]

Known in Williamsburg by 10 January 1782, it was celebrated with a Te Deum and "a great fête" on 15 January.[386] American newspapers ignored the birth, and it was not until 9 March 1782, that the *Providence Gazette* reported it to its readers. There the affair rested until French minister Anne César, chevalier de la Luzerne, took up the birth as "a propitious occasion to reaffirm American loyalty to the alliance." Luzerne, according to Stinchcome, "carefully studied the needs of the alliance and attempted to arrange events accordingly. … Symbolically, the celebrations of the birth offered Americans a chance to bid farewell to the French, to recognize the value of their aid and alliance. This remained implicit in the celebrations, at least thirty to forty of which were held throughout the summer of 1782. In newspaper coverage at least eighty, and probably closer to one hundred, articles appeared in American papers describing the celebrations. No other event during the Revolution, with the possible exception of the Silas Deane affair, received so much concentrated attention in the American press."[387]

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[384] Lea Mills Account Book 1775-1783, Ms Books Business L, HSD. His business partner was Zebulon Hollingsworth, a son of Henry Hollingsworth of Cecil County, Maryland. See Bruce A. Bendler, *Colonial Delaware Assemblymen 1682-1776* (Westminster, 1989) p. 60.

[385] The dauphin born in 1781 must not be confused with his younger brother Louis-Charles, the "lost dauphin" of the French Revolution, who was born on 27 March 1785, and who died on 20 Prairial of the Year III of the French Revolution, i.e., 8 June 1795.

[386] Acomb, *Closen*, p. 171.

[387] The only scholarly investigation of the celebrations in America is William C. Stinchcome, "Americans Celebrate the Birth of the Dauphin" in: *Diplomacy and Revolution. The Franco-*

On 13 May 1782, four months after it was known in America, Luzerne officially informed Congress of the birth of the dauphin. The following day, 14 May, the Office of Foreign Affairs in Philadelphia sent a circular to the chief executives of all states, including President Dickinson, informing them of the event. Signed by Robert Livingston, the circular expressed the hope that the people of Delaware would "partake in the joy [of] an event that so nearly affects the happiness of their great and generous Ally."[388] Dickinson was on his way to the legislative session in Dover, which began on 27 May and was to run through 22 June. Dickinson took the matter up with the legislature, which on Wednesday, 19 June 1782,

> "Resolved, that His Excellency the President be desired to give such Direction as he may judge proper on Occasion for testifying the great and sincere Joy of this State on the happy Event, so interesting to His Most Christian Majesty and to France."[389]

Dickinson, a strong supporter of France and the French alliance knew of other celebrations and in order to ensure that the celebration in Delaware would be a memorable event got involved personally in the planing and preparation of the festivities. To enable the legislators to participate without other business on their minds, Dickinson scheduled the event for 22 June, the last day of the legislative session.[390] In a carefully prepared account to the *Pennsylvania Packet*, Dickinson described the festivities.

Dover, in the Delaware State, June 22, 1782

In pursuance of votes of the Council and House of Assembly, directions were given for "testifying the great and sincere joy of this State on the birth of the *Dauphin*, an event so interesting to His Most Christian Majesty and to *France*."

Preparations having been accordingly made, this morning a triumphal arch was erected in the middle of the square. The sides were formed by two pillars, of the most simple and solid order. the *Tuscan*, ornamented with the emblems of JUSTICE and HUMANITY. These supported the curve, and the whole was finished in the style of architecture proper for such a building.

On the top of one pillar was fixed a picture, representing three fleurs-de-lis -- the motto -- *HYEMEM NON SENTIENT --. On the top of the other another picture, representing the sun surrounded by thirteen stars -- the motto -- †SPIRITUS ITEM ALIT -- . On the highest part of the arch a third picture, representing a young eagle looking up at the sun and flying towards it -- the motto -- ‡PATRIIS VIRTUTIBUS --. Extending through-out the curve, in silver letters, these words -- §VOTA GALLIÆ ET AMERICÆ -- and under the capitals these letters, ‖S.P.Q.D.

At twelve o'clock the french and American colours were displayed on each side of the arch, with a continental salute from the artilery advanced on the right. A body of the

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American Alliance of 1778 Ronald Hoffman and Peter J. Albert, eds., (Charlottesville, 1981), pp. 39-72, the quote is on p. 56.

[388] DEPA, Executive papers, Correspondence Folder 2

[389] The resolution of Wednesday, 19 June 1782, is printed in Claudia L. Bushman, Harold B. Hancock, Elizabeth Moyne Homsey, *Proceedings of the House of Assembly of the Delaware State 1781-1792 and of the Constitutional Convention of 1792* (Newark, 1988), p. 86.

[390] The manuscripts describing the preparations for the festivities are in Dickinson's own hand. See Milton E. Flower, *John Dickinson. Conservative Revolutionary* (Charlottesville, 1983); on Dickinson's positive attitude toward the French Revolution see William J. Soler, "John Dickinson's Attitude Toward the French, 1797-1801." *Delaware History* Vol. 6 No. 4, (September 1955), pp. 294-298.

militia, under the direction of several officers of our troops, ranged themselves on a line with the artillery, and fired a feu-de-joye.

The highest satisfaction was expressed by every person present on the auspicious event, that contributes so much to the happiness of our august Ally and the French nation.

Afterwards the President and the Members of the Legislature, with several gentlemen of the army who were in town, and a large and respectable company dined together.

After dinner the following toasts were drank: ---

1. Long life and happiness to the Dauphin.
2. The United States.
3. His Most Christian Majesty.
4. The Queen and Royal family of France.
5. The friendly Powers of Europe.
6. General Washington and the Army.
7. Count Rochambeau and the French Army.
8. General Greene and the Southern Army.
9. The combined Fleets.
10. The Chevalier de la Luzerne.
11. Perpetuity to our Alliance
12. A safe and honorable peace -- or no Peace.
13. May the Independence of America add to the Happiness of Mankind in every other Part of the World.

And the day concluded with the greatest festivity and good Order.

* These perish not with winter
† The same spirit pervades them all
‡ With paternal virtues
§ The wishes of France and America
‖ The Senate and people of Delaware

The dinner was expensive: the state paid £ 38/15/00 to "Elizabeth Battell for the expense of an entertainment given at the Celebration of the birth of a Dauphin of France."[391] (**Resource 20**)

On 4 July 1782, Dickinson informed de la Luzerne of "the great and sincere Joy exprest for the Birth of the Dauphin" by the people of Delaware. "Perfectly convinced of the invaluable Advantages derived from his Most Christian Majesty's friendship," Dickinson expressed his "desire to prove, that we feel every Sentiment honest and grateful Men can entertain on such an Occasion." As he warmed to his subject, he expressed the hope that "this young Prince, we are persuaded, will be educated to regard the Inhabitants of the United States with Esteem. We consider him as our future Friend and hereditary Ally, and the Supporter of that System, which the Wisdom and Virtue of his illustrious father have contributed so much to establish." Realizing the implications of this paragraph -- it would be difficult indeed for the King of France to support a republican system - Dickinson left the paragraph out when he sent the letter and ended his letter on safe ground. He hoped that the young prince may "become a Blessing to France and these States - an Instructor of Monarchs - the Delight of the Human race - and

[391] DEPA RG 1315.7, Auditor of Accounts, Journal A, 1784-1800, p. 44, contains an order “in favor of Elizabeth Battell for the expense of an entertainment given at the Celebration of the birth of a Dauphin of France £ 38/15/00." See also James B. Jackson, *The Golden Fleece Tavern. The Birthplace of the First State* (Dover, 1987), with a description of the celebration on pp. 31-33. The tavern, which was kept by French Battell until his death in late 1781, stood on the north-east corner of the Dover Green and State Street.

then, diffusing Happiness on Earth, in a full Career of Glory, pursue his Way to Heaven."[392]

De la Luzerne thanked Dickinson profusely for the congratulations on 5 July. The ambassador assured Dickinson that "the name of an American will never strike his Ear, without joining to it the Idea of a Friend & and Ally." But de la Luzerne's hope of a perpetual alliance was not to become reality. Neither was his wish that "when one Day he shall ascend the throne of his ancestor, the Alliance will then have become Antient, and a long course of Friendship will have demonstrated that it is equaly indisoluble and mutually advantageous."[393] Louis-Joseph-Xavier-François died not even eight years old on 4 June 1789. The kingdom of his father was in turmoil and shaken to its very foundation. On 20 June 1789, two weeks after the young dauphin's death, the *Estates Générales* pledged in the Oath of the Tennis Court that they would not disband until they had given France a constitution.

THE RETURN MARCH OF THE FRENCH ARMY THROUGH DELAWARE, 29 TO 31 AUGUST 1782

The French forces had spent the winter of 1781/82 in and around Williamsburg. West Point, Virginia, became the camp of the French artillery, under Joseph Dieudonné de Chazelles. Hampton was the camp of Lauzun's Legion until February 1782, when at the request of Nathanael Greene the Legion relocated to the North Carolina border. 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 then to Boston.[394]

Williamsburg was the site of the Rochambeau's headquarters and his staff. 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

[392] Dickinson to Luzerne, 4 July 1782. DEPA, Executive Papers, Correspondence Folder 2, microfilm frames 501-02.
[393] Dickinson to Luzerne, 4 July 1782. DEPA, Executive Papers, Correspondence Folder 2, microfilm frame 505.
[394] On the Legion's stay at Charlotte Court House see Timothy S. Ailsworth et al., *Charlotte County. Rich Indeed* (Charlotte County, 1979), pp. 118-122.

the Royal Deux-Ponts. Yorktown provided quarters for the Soissonnais regiment, and the grenadiers and chasseurs of the Saintonge regiment; the remainder of the Saintonge was quartered at Halfway House (on the road from Yorktown to Hampton and Back River). This regiment relocated to Hampton in February 1782, once Lauzun's Legion had vacated Hampton for Charlotte Court House. 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.

Ten months after their arrival, on 1 July 1782, Rochambeau's forces broke camp and began their return march. Organization and schedule were almost identical to the previous year, though this time the troops marched the whole distance rather than cover parts of the route by boat.[395] Until Fredericksburg was reached, the infantry marched in four divisions a day apart; thereafter they marched in brigades until Baltimore:

1) The Bourbonnais under the command of the chevalier de Chastellux
2) The Royal Deux-Ponts under comte Christian de Deux-Ponts
3) The Soissonnais under the vicomte de Vioménil
4) The Saintonge under the comte de Custine.

The siege artillery, and 150 men of the Auxonne artillery, remained at West Point, Virginia. So did the sick and 400 men, 100 each from each regiment, who formed a garrison at Yorktown. Because of the excessive July heat, the march often began at 1:00 a.m. and ended at daybreak. 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. Two divisions shared the camp on 6, 7, and 8 July. This community has disappeared, but it is believed to have been about a mile east of the modern bridge over the Pamunkey River on US 360. The next stop was Hanovertown, 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 present US 301. Bowling Green, 10-13 July, Charles Thornton's House, 11-14 July, about 2 miles south of present day Villboro, on VASR 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.[396] Alexandria, 17-20 July 1781, was the final camp of the march north in Virginia. On the 25 July, the French army marched to about a mile beyond present-day Georgetown in Washington, DC, which was part of Maryland in 1782. Here they ferried across the

[395] Maps of the French campsites and itineraries, where they vary from the 1781 march, can be found in Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, Vol. 2, pp. 174-178. See, however, the note on pp. 172-74.

[396] See Lauberdière's description of the visit in 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.

Potomac to Baltimore, where they remained encamped for most of the month of August. On 24 August, the First Division, i.e., the regiment Bourbonnais, departed Baltimore for White Marsh Forge, then to Camp 23 at Lower Ferry, and Camp 24 at Head of Elk, where they arrived on 28 August.

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. Baron Closen described the route from Head of Elk as going through Christiana, "a rather pretty place, but not very large," across the White Clay Creek "on some rather good wooden bridges" and the Red Clay Creek, until he reached Newport, "a small town of about 40 houses. The division camped one-half mile from the place on very convenient ground."[397] **(Resouces 21** and **22)** Blanchard, who camped at Newport on 1 September, described it as "a small town situated on a creek, which communicates with the Delaware and is navigable."[398] And Private Flohr of the Royal Deux-Ponts recorded that "On the 30th we departed again, 17 miles to Peis Creek in a beautiful pleasant region where we set up our camp very close to the river called Peiss Creek. During that same day we also passed through a pretty little town called Christinatown or in German, *Christinastatt*, in a pleasant area near a very low mountain range, where one encountered many Germans once again.[399]

On the 30th (sic) we departed again, 16 miles to Chester, a pretty little town not far from the Delaware. That same day we also passed three pretty little towns; the first was called Newport, the second Wilmington, a very pretty town all adorned with numerous beautiful buildings, also situated very close to the Delaware River, the third was Brandywine, also a beautiful little town which is also inhabited almost exclusively by Germans. The fourth was Chester, very close to which we set up camp, and had very many visitors from among the inhabitants."[400]

Without stopping again in Delaware, the French forces marched through Wilmington down Philadelphia Pike over the next two days and crossed over into Pennsylvania on 30 and 31 August 1781. Blanchard described Wilmington in 1782 as a "city, built of brick, a mile from the Delaware, (that) is as large as Williamsburg and capable of growth."[401] It seemed to have grown indeed for Closen was amazed at the transformation of the town. Wilmington seems to have benefited more and longer than most cities from the prosperity brought by the thousands of Frenchmen in its vicinity. "Although I have already mentioned this place, I cannot keep from noting here how much enlarged and embellished I found it. They have built 50 brick houses, very handsome and spacious, since our passage, which make the main street charming. The dollars that the army spends wherever it marches are beneficial to the country, for you can perceive at a glance that they are prospering."[402]

The First Brigade entered its Camp 26 at Chester in Pennsylvania on 30 August. On 31 August the Bourbonnais approached Philadelphia, followed by the Royal Deux-Ponts on 1 September. Once again the French army paraded through Philadelphia before marching

[397] Acomb, *Closen*, pp. 228-29.
[398] Blanchard, "Journal," p. 172.
[399] Flohr's "Peiss Creek" is probably the White Clay Creek.
[400] There were but few Germans living in Brandywine at the time. See the first chapter of J. Emil Abeles, *The German Element in Wilmington. From 1850-1914* (MA Thesis, University of Delaware, 1948).
[401] Ibid., p. 173.
[402] Acomb, *Closen*, p. 229.

on to Bristol (4 September), Trenton, and Princeton. Somerset Courthouse was reached on 8 September. Bullion's Tavern on 9 September, Morristown on 10 September, and finally Whippany on 11 September. On 12 September the troops of the First Brigade marched to Pompton from which they reached the New York State Line on 13 September. On 16 September 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 Crompond/Yorktown Heights. As Rochambeau's forces crossed the Hudson on 17 September, a review showed this strength:[403]

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

As it had the previous year, Lauzun's Legion was covering the flank of the French army. Encamped near Paramus on 13 September, it rested one day before it took up a post near Kakiat on 15 September as the rear-guard of the army. Here it remained on 18 September when it rode to Stony Point, and crossed the river that day as well. 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. Camp 37 was established on the same spot where the Continental Army had encamped in July 1781 on its way to the Philipsburg encampment.[404] From 17 to 23 September 1782, the French forces, with Lauzun's Legion nearest the Hudson, occupied the hills on the north side of Crompond Road between Washington Street and Lafayette Avenue.

[403] 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 Yorktown Heights with about 3,700 men.

[404] 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.

On the other side of the river, Clermont-Crèvecœur, "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."[405] 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." [406]

On 20 September the French army passed in review before General Washington, and then, on 22 September, Clermont-Crèvecœur 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."[407] Dr. Thacher 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 head-quarters. A troop of horses 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."[408]

On 22 September, 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. Before the two armies parted, 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.[409]

Once the two allies had completed their farewells, the French troops departed on 24 September for an eight-mile march to Crompond/Yorktown Heights. Here they entered their 38th camp of the march from Virginia around Hunt's Tavern, where they remained until 22 October.

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[405] Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, p. 78.
[406] Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, Vol. 1, p. 165, with more descriptions of the American camp.
[407] Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, Vol. 1, p. 78.
[408] Thacher, *Military 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.
[409] Lauberdière, "Journal," fol. 194.

Following this one-month rest at Crompond/Yorktown Heights, 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 seemed 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 to Connecticut. The Continental Army too entered into what would be its final encampment. Dr. Thacher recorded that "At reveille on the 26th instant, the left wing of our army, under the command of General Heath, decamped from Verplank's Point and marched to the highlands; took our lodging in the woods, without covering, and were exposed to heavy rain during a night and day. Thence we crossed the Hudson to West Point, and marched over the mountain called Butter hill; passed the night in the open field and the next day reached the ground where we are to erect log huts for our winter-quarters, near New Windsor."[410] Once the American army had left, Lauzun's Legion too presumably retraced its steps to Peekskill, crossed the Hudson once again, and marched to Wilmington and winter quarters.

The First Brigade meanwhile continued its march and arrived in East Hartford on 29 October, where it was joined by the Second Brigade the next day. Here Rochambeau announced to the troops that they were to march to Boston and embark for the West Indies while he would return to France. On 3 November the artillery left for Bolton; on 4 November it was followed by the First Brigade. At Camp 47 from 5-7 November at Windham, the two brigades joined "in frightful weather." By now it was early November, and winter was upon New England. Clermont-Crèvecœur could not "express how uncomfortable we were while camping in a country where the cold was already very intense. We were frozen in our tents. And the tents were frozen so stiff that, after the pegs and poles were removed to take them down, they stood alone. So you can judge how cold it was."[411] On 9 November 1782, Rochambeau's troops crossed into Rhode Island.

Following three weeks of rest near Providence, the French forces on 4 December set out for Boston, which they reached on 6 December 1782. "Upon arrival we immediately embarked," wrote Private Flohr of the Royal Deux-Ponts, "the grenadiers and the chasseurs as well as the first fusilier company were embarked on the warship *Le Brave*. The remaining companies were put on a ship called *Isle de France*. A few days later we debarked again … . We were lodged in the city in an old magazine where we almost perished from the cold."

Nevertheless, departure was near for the troops of the *expédition particulière*. As they said their farewells to each other, even the *Boston Gazette and Country Journal* proclaimed in its issue of 9 December 1782, that the "Behaviour of these Troops … sufficiently contradicts the *infamous Falsehoods* and *Misrepresentations* usually imposed on the World by *perfidious Britons*." Then, wrote Private Flohr, "on the 19th and 20th we received orders to embark our regimental baggage. … . On the 22nd the ship was cut lose from the ice; it had frozen fast because it stood very close to the banks. In the afternoon of the 23rd we began to raise anchor. That was exactly the day before Christmas. Toward evening we sailed out of the harbor and around 5 in the afternoon we passed the narrows … In the morning of the 24th, Christmas Day, we raised anchor to sail to the West Indies. Around 10 o'clock we left the town of Boston."

[410] Thacher, *Military Journal*, p. 334.
[411] Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, vol. 1, p. 81.

Their route took the French infantry to the Caribbean, and then to the Spanish harbor of Porto Cabello in Venezuela on the South American mainland where they arrived in mid-February. The troops knew that Preliminaries of Peace between Great Britain and the United States had been signed on 30 November 1782, but it was not until they heard the news on 24 March 1783, that Great Britain and France has signed Preliminaries of Peace on 20 January 1783 as well that they could begin preparations for their return home. In the first days of April, Rochambeau's forces embarked for the French island of Santo Domingo. From here they began the long journey back to France. Most of the fleet reached Brest on 17 June, except for the ships carrying the Regiment Soissonnais, which had been diverted to the harbor of Toulon in the Mediterranean. More than three years after it had sailed from Brest, the *expédition particulière* was over for Rochambeau's infantry. The artillery and Lauzun's Legion too were already on the high seas and would be home soon as well.

THE JOURNEY OF THE FRIGATES *L'AIGLE* AND *LA GLOIRE*, 19 MAY TO 26 SEPTEMBER 1782

Charged with bringing the news of the Yorktown victory to France, the duc de Lauzun had left Yorktown on the frigate *Surveillante* on 24 October 1781, and anchored in Brest on the evening of 19 November 1781. Count William de Deux-Ponts, who sailed from Virginia on the frigate *Amazone* on 1 November, reached France even faster after a 20-day crossing. In February 1782, the baron de Vioménil, Rochambeau's second in command, also sailed for France with a list of needed supplies and the request for instructions for the 1782 campaign. But with the victory at Yorktown the relative importance of the theatres of war for France had shifted to the Caribbean and to India. For France, as well as for Britain, the war on the American mainland had become secondary. American independence by itself brought no material gain for France, conquests in the Caribbean and India would. Rochambeau would not get any substantial reinforcements and just enough funds to keep his army afloat. There was no need to be active in the nascent United States, and it was already late April 1782 before War Minister Ségur handed his instructions for Rochambeau to Vioménil. If the British should evacuate either New York or Charleston, he was to embark his troops on the ships of the marquis de Vaudreuil and sail for Santo Domingo. From there he was authorized to hand his command over to Vioménil and return home. Vioménil was to coordinate his plans with the marquis de Bouillé and Spanish General Bernardo de Galvez.

Unbeknownst to Ségur or Vioménil, the instructions Vioménil took with him to America when he set sail from Brest on the frigate *Gloire* on 19 Mai had already been surpassed by events in the Caribbean. Without instructions from France, yet realizing that the disastrous defeat of Admiral de Grasse in the Battle of the Saints on 12 April had voided whatever instructions he might receive from Versailles for the 1782 campaign, Rochambeau began his march to the north in July 1782. Still without instructions he met with Washington in Philadelphia on 19 July. Here the two generals agreed to concentrate their forces outside New York. Though they were fully aware that after the de Grasse' disastrous defeat the naval support indispensable for a successful attack on that city was highly unlikely, there was not much else they could do. On 16 September he crossed the Hudson at King's Ferry. Still without a word from France, Rochambeau set up camp on

23 September in Crompond, today's Yorktown Heights. Three days later Vioménil rode into camp.[412]

The baron was accompanied by a veritable "Who's Who" of the French court nobility. The victory at Yorktown had taken pro-American sentiments in Versailles to new heights. Everyone wanted to see the New World. Vioménil's entourage of twenty-nine officers not only included his 15-year-old son Charles Gabriel, but also the duc de Lauzun, who had wanted to return to America,[413] and Anne Alexandre de Montmorency, marquis de Laval, the former colonel of the Bourbonnais who returned as a brigadier. There was Charles Louis Victor prince de Broglie, the 26-year-old son of the maréchal de Broglie and new colonel-en-second of the Saintonge.[414] Broglie's travel companion was 29-nine-year-old Louis-Philippe comte de Ségur, son of the war Minister and recently appointed colonel-en-second of the Soissonnais.[415] Also in the party were Charles-Louis baron de Secondat de Montesquieu, the 32-year-old grandson of the famous philosopher who became colonel-en-second of the Bourbonnais in November 1782,[416] and 18-year-old Boson comte de Talleyrand-Périgord, Chastellux' aide-de-camp, whose brother, the bishop of Autun, would become one of the most famous personages of his age. Colonel comte de Vauban, the 28-year-old great grand-nephew of the famous marshal, came to serve as an aide-de-camp to Rochambeau. Also of that segment of the nobility which had had the "Honors of the Court" were Louis Alexandre Andrault, comte de Langeron, 22-year-old Alexandre chevalier de Lameth, Jean-Louis de Rigaud, vicomte de Vaudreuil, a cousin of the admiral, 21-year-old André Arsène de Rosset, vicomte de Fleury, the son of the duc de Fleury, 20-year-old Jean Frederic de Chabannes, marquis de la Palice, and Gabriel Marie vicomte de Riccé.

Below this elite of the French nobility stood members of the "noblesse d'epée" such as Claude Bernard Loppin, marquis de Montmort, Vioménil's son-in-law, the vicomte

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[412] See Scott, *Yorktown to Valmy*, pp. 96-99, Kennett, *French Forces*, pp. 158-162, and René Georges Pichon, *Contribution a l'Étude de la Participation Militaire de la France a la Guerre d'Indépendance des États-Unis 1778-1783* Thèse pour le Doctorate du Troisième Cycle (Paris, 1976), pp. 599-600.

[413] Lauzun's account of the journey is in Pilon, *Memoirs*, pp. 214-218.

[414]Broglie's account of the journey is printed in "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 François (Deuxième Partie)* (Paris, 1903), pp. 15-148, pp. 15-53.

[415] Ségur's account is printed in *Memoirs and recollections of Count Segur: ambassador from France to the courts of Russia and Prussia* 3 vols., (London, 1825)., vol. 1 pp. 274-345. It was published concurrently in French as *Mémoires, ou, Souvenirs et anecdotes* 3 vols., (Paris and London, 1825-26). See also "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 François (Deuxième Partie)* (Paris, 1903), pp. 159-205, pp. 160-168.

[416] Montesquieu, who had already fought at Yorktown, had sailed with Lauzun to France in November 1781. A biographical essay can be found in Raymond Céleste, "Un Petit-Fils de Montesquieu en Amérique (1780-1783)" *Revue Philomathique de Bordeaux et du Sud-Ouest* Vol. 5 No. 12 (December 1902), pp. 529-556. A brief account of his 1782 journey is published in Raymond Céleste, "Charles-Louis de Montesquieu a l'Armée (1772-1782))" *Revue Philomathique de Bordeaux et du Sud-Ouest* Vol. 6 No. 11 (November 1904), pp. 505-524, pp. 519-523. His letters describing the journey are published in Octave Beuve, "Un Petit-Fils de Montesquieu. Soldat de l'Indépendance Américaine (d'après des documents inédits)*" Revue historique de la Révolution Française et de l'Empire* Vol. 5 (January-June 1914), pp. 233-263, pp. 253-263. On 6 July 1782, Montesquieu wrote wrote from Rochefort that there were seven colonels, two majors, and 13 aides-de-camp waiting to board the *Gloire* with Vioménil. Beuve, "Montesquieu," p. 253.

Alexandre de Loménie, Edouard Arnoult chevalier de Fontenay, Louis Pierre Drummond, vicomte de Metfort, whose ancestors had followed the Stuarts to France, Dominique Sheldon, a 22-year-old Irishman attached to Lauzun's Legion as a colonel, and Charles Laure MacMahon, who had come to serve as Lauzun's aide-de-camp. From the lower ranks of the nobility came officers such as Philippe de Verton, Deslon De Montmeril, Louis de Champcenetz, and Mathieu Tisseul d'Anvaux. Carl Pontus Lillienhorn had been an aide-de-camp to the King of Sweden, and Vioménil's aide-de-camp Joseph Friedrich Freiherr von Brentano hailed from Regensburg in Bavaria. Also on board was Jean Ladislas Polleresky, the Major of Lauzun's Legion who returned from Europe.[417]

But despite these illustrious passengers the journey from the very start had not stood under a good star. On 19 May, the *Gloire*, a frigate of 26 cannon launched at St. Malo in July 1778 and commanded by the chevalier de Vallongue, sailed from Brest, but violent storm forced her into the harbor of Paimbbœf near Nantes for repairs.[418] While in harbor she received orders to sail for La Rochelle to meet up with the 40-gun frigate *l'Aigle*. Commanded by the chevalier de la Touche, a crew of 750 and "near three hundred Tons burthen more that the *Warwick*," the *l'Aigle* was "the largest Frigate ever built."[419] Deep in the bowels of each the two ships were casks containing between 1.2 million and 1.3 million livres in cash destined for Rochambeau. On 22 June, the *Gloire* anchored in La Rochelle, and on 15 July the two frigates finally left port. Two days out at sea, the l*'Aigle* collided with the frigate *Cérès*, which was escorting a convoy of merchant ships and sustained considerable damage.[420]

A full three weeks later, the two frigates reached the Azores, where they put in for three days on 5 August to replenish their supplies and give their sick time to recover.[421] On the night of 4/5 September, the two frigates fell in with the 74-gun ship *Hector*, a French ship of the line which had been taken by the British in the Battle of the Saints. They were badly damaged in the unequal contest and lost 12-15 dead and some 20 wounded.[422] The lookout had just sighted the coast of Delaware around 6:00 a.m. on 11 September, when they noticed a British squadron on the horizon. When a small British corvette leaving Delaware Bay mistook them for British vessels and ventured too close,

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[417] Biographical information on these officers can be found in Bodinier's, *Dictionnaire*. On Polleresky see below. Ségur counted 22 officers on the *l'Aigle* and eight on the *Gloire*. If Montesquieu's total is correct, 28 of these 30 passengers are identified by name in the primary and secondary sources used in this report.

[418] Dull, *French Navy*, p. 357, lists the *Gloire* with 26 guns; Broglie and Feilding give her 32 guns. See William Feilding to Basil Feilding, Earl of Denbigh, 8 October 1782, in: Marion Balderston and David Syrett, *The Lost War: Letters from British officers during the American Revolution* (New York, 1975), p. 220. Feilding was the captain of the 50-gun *Warwick*, which participated in the capture of the *l'Aigle*.

[419] Feilding, p. 221. The *l'Aigle* had only been purchased in March 1782. Dull, *French Navy*, p. 357.

[420] Ségur, *Mémoirs* Vol. 1, pp. 302.

[421] For an account of the stay on the Azores see Ségur, Mémoirs, Vol. 1, pp. 284-302. The fault for this long journey to the Azores lay with de la Touche. Hopelessly in love yet unable to board his mistress on the *l'Aigle* (it was against navy regulations to have women on frigates) she had embarked on a merchant vessel following l*'Aigle*. As the vessel was much slower than the frigate, de la Touche took her in tow. Realizing the impossibility of towing her all the way across the ocean, he abandoned her in the Azores, from where the two ships took separate routes. Finding more favorable winds than the *l'Aigle*, the merchant reached the Delaware the same day as the frigates and was captured, with de la Touche's mistress, by Elphinstone.

[422] Montesquieu numbered the losses at 20 or 25 dead. Beuve, "Montesquieu," p. 260.

de la Touche gave chase and took the prize. The capture of the *Racoon*, which took over two hours, was the "cause of our misfortune. We lost time."[423] Later that day, four months after the *Gloire* had first attempted to clear the coast of France, the frigates approached Delaware Bay. But the wind had changed and they were forced to anchor between Capes May and James to await a favorable wind before entering.

Later that evening, de la Touche sent a boat ashore to pick up pilots for the passage. Due to the strong winds and choppy seas, the boat capsized and most of the sailors drowned. The survivors returned to their ship without a pilot. At daybreak of 12 September, French lookouts saw the British squadron consisting of the *Lyon* of 64 guns, the *Centurion* of 50 guns, the *Warwick*, another 50-gun ship, two frigates, i.e., the *Vestel* of 28 guns and the *Bonetta*, and two smaller vessels bearing down on them. It stood under the command of George Keith Elphinstone, who had Prince William, third son of George III, as a midshipman on his flagship *Centurion*.[424]

Still without pilots, de la Touche and de Vallongue immediately cut their cables and headed up the bay. They ended up in the wrong channel and the larger *l'Aigle* struck ground repeatedly. As Elphinstone was gaining ground, de la Touche prepared for battle. When Elphinstone's larger ships touched bottom too, he suspended the chase. This gave the French time to procure two pilots, but their assessment of the situation spelled doom for the *l'Aigle*. [425] Within a short distance the river would become impassable. There was no hope that the *l'Aigle* would reach Philadelphia, but the smaller *Gloire* might be able to slip over the sandbanks. Vioménil called a council of war on board the *l'Aigle* around 3:00 p.m. It decided that the infantry officers should debark immediately and try to procure boats and wagons. Under cover of darkness the sailors would transport the casks containing the 2.5 million livres in cash for Rochambeau's army ashore and hand them over to the officers. The naval officers and ship crews would remain on board their frigates and fight.

Around 6:00 p.m. on 13 September, Broglie set foot on American soil "without servants, without coats, and with the lightest baggage imaginable." He and Vioménil found lodging with a "gentleman called Mandlaw" where Vioménil decided to put up his quarters.[426] Ségur and Lameth "together with the other passengers of *la Gloire*, set out with a negro guide to seek and to detain some boats." After about two hours they arrived "at the tavern of an American, named Pedikies, a short distance from the little river," who assisted them rather reluctantly. Only after numerous bribes could Ségur "induce the masters of several boats to execute our project" of transporting the money casks and personal belongings of the officers on shore. "They directly set out upon being paid, and

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[423] Beuve, "Montesquieu," p. 259. Ségur called it "a delay that proved fatal to us."

The corvette was the *Racoon* of 14 guns. Built in 1780, she was commanded by Lieut. Edmund Nagle. With the capture of the *l'Aigle*, the crew returned to British service, but the *Racoon* made it safely to Philadelphia with the *Gloire*.

[424] The list of Elphinstone's squadron is taken from Feilding, p. 220. Ségur listed one ship of 64, one of 50, two frigates and two other ships. Montesquieu counted twelve sails, a report in the *Pennsylvania Packet* of 19 September claims that eight British ships were involved.

Born in 1765, Prince William became King of England as William IV in 1830.

[425] William West, the pilot on the *Gloire*, received a certificate praising his services. A copy made from the original in the French Navy Archives and preserved in the Mustard Collection Box 3 Folder 22, HSD, is re-produced on the following page. The name of the pilot on the *l'Aigle* is unknown.

[426] This account is based on Broglie, "Journal," p. 29ff. Mandlaw told Ségur "that we were in a small division of the state of Maryland. " Ségur, *Memoirs and Recollections*, p. 313.

descended the river; when the sight of the English frigates alarmed them, and they either would not, or could not fulfill their promises."[427]

In the meantime Broglie and Montesquieu scoured the countryside for wagons to transport the money. Some 12 miles from "Mandlaw" Broglie encountered "*Outh's Tavern*." Here he managed to hire three wagons drawn by four horses each and a horse for himself and at 4:00 a.m. set out for Mandlaw's place. Along the way he encountered Lauzun, who informed him that about half of the money had already been brought ashore and put on a wagon obtained by Vioménil when two boats filled with about 100 "réfugiés" had appeared. Unable to transport the rest of the casks to shore, Vioménil had thrown them into the bay and set out for Dover, which lay about 17 miles away.[428] Broglie paid off his wagons and together with Lauzun set off to look for Vioménil.

By early morning of 14 September, Ségur, Laval, Lauzun, Talleyrand and the officers who had joined up them were about half-way to Dover when they encountered Vioménil's wagons which were escorted by Broglie, Vioménil's aide-de-camp Joseph Friedrich *Freiherr* von Brentano, a few soldiers and Broglie's American guide. They informed them that since the British as well as the refugees had disappeared, Vioménil had decided to return to the bay and to retrieve the seventeen casks containing approximately 500,000 livres from the water. Ségur, Lauzun, who was sick with fever, and Broglie were instructed to escort the almost two million livres to Dover where they were to await Vioménil's return. They reached the city "at three in the afternoon" and took quarters in Elizabeth Battle's tavern, where Vioménil joined them at around 11:00 p.m. on 14 September. (**Resource 20)** Fortunately "he had succeeded in saving the rest of our millions."[429]

The *l'Aigle*, however, was lost. As predicted by her pilots, the *l'Aigle* had run aground in the evening of 14 September. Facing superior British firepower and unable to escape, de la Touche cut down her masts and tried to scuttle her in five different places but was unsuccessful: stuck on a sandbank, she could not sink any further. De la Touche, and his crew, about 630 men in all, were taken prisoners. The following day British sailors had patched up the frigate enough to tow her out to sea.[430] The passengers on the *l'Aigle* had lost everything, or almost everything: Ségur was left with but four servants and "twelve or thirteen trunks."[431]

Ségur, Broglie, Lauzun, Vioménil and the officers spent the night of 14 to 15 September in Dover, which Broglie described as "a quite pretty little village, which has about 1,500 inhabitants. I made my entry into Anglo-American society under the auspices of M. de lauzun. I could not yet say more than a few English words; … I knew how to say to a young lady that she was *pretty*, and to a gentleman that he was *sensible*, which means good, honest, affable etc al at the same time."[432]

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[427] Ségur, *Memoirs and Recollections*, p. 314.
[428] Montesquieu thought he landed about 10 miles from Dover.
[429] Broglie, "Journal," p. 34.
[430] Feilding, p. 221. Feilding claimed that "we got the Ship off & have brought her safe to New York." On 14 April 1783 he wrote that "the *L'Aigle* Frigate … is gone to Antigua, she having sprung all her Masts in a gale of wind of Bermuda." Ibid., p. 225. Montesquieu wrote that "Les Anglois l'ont relevée et conduite à New-York," but there is no record that she ever entered British service. Beuve, "Montesquieu," p. 262.
[431] Ségur, *Mémoirs* Vol. 1, p. 376. Vioménil estimated his losses at 20,000 écus or 120.000 livres.
[432] Broglie, "Journal," p. 34.

Ordered by Vioménil to take the dispatches from Versailles to La Luzerne in Philadelphia, Broglie and Ségur departed from Dover on 15 September. Within two day they had reached Philadelphia. "It was exceedingly hot, but the beauty of the road, the charm of the country which I traveled, the imposing majesty of the forests that I passed through, the feeling of abundance which emerged from everywhere, the hospitality of the inhabitants, the almost universal innocence and gentility of the women all contributed to the delicious sensations that compensated me for the fatigue that I experienced during that constant trot on a bad horse."[433] Ségur

> could therefore only see Dover, in passing through it. It was the first American town to which fortune had conducted me. Its appearance struck me; it was surrounded with thick woods, because there, as in other parts of the thirteen States, the population was still scattered over an immense territory, a small portion of which was cultivated.
>
> All the houses in Dover, offered a simple but elegant appearance, they were built of wood, and painted in different colors. This variety in their aspect, the neatness which distinguished them, the bright and polished brass knockers of the doors, seemed all to announce the order and activity, the intelligence and prosperity of the inhabitants.
>
> To an eye familiar with the view of our magnificient cities, the foppery of our young fashionables and the luxury of our higher classes, contrasted with the coarse habiliments of our peasants, and the tatters of the vast crowds of our paupers, the difference exhibited on arriving in the United States, where the extremes of splendor and of misery are no where to be seen, is truly surprising.
>
> All the Americans whom we met were dressed in well made clothes of excellent stuff, with boots well cleaned; - their deportment was free, frank, and kind, equally removed from rudeness of manner, and from studied politeness; exhibiting an independent character, subject only to the laws, proud of its own rights, and respecting those of others. Their aspect seemed to declare, that we were in a land of reason, of order, and of liberty.
>
> The road on which I travelled was very wide, well marked out, and carefully kept in excellent order. In all the places where I stopped, the inhabitants received me with civility, and exerted themselves in procuring horses, both for myself and my guide.
>
> Every one appearing to feel a lively interest in public affairs, I found it necessary, before taking my departure, to reply as well as I could, to the numerous questions respecting the cause of the firing of cannon which had been heard on the Delaware, our landing, and the force of the enemy who pursued us. All these questions were interrupted by offers of glass after glass of Madeira wine, which I could not refuse without rudeness, nor accept so very often without inconvenience.
>
> Continuing my journey through a path like a fine garden alley, shaded by the oldest and most beautiful trees in the world, I scarcely went a mile without meeting with some habitation already old, and some new plantation. Before arriving at Christian bridge, situated about forty miles from Dover, I passed through several little towns, very well peopled. Christian bridge lies upon a height, at the bottom of which runs a small river that falls into the Delaware.

[433] Broglie, "Journal," p. 35.

> Upon entering a very cleanly inn that had been pointed out to me, the master of the house, whom, with much difficulty I succeeded in awaking, the night being advanced, informed me, that he could give me no lodging, his house being entirely occupied by French travellers.[434]

One of the "French travellers" turned out to be Louis de Champcenetz, an aide-de-camp to Vioménil, who had remained on board the *l'Aigle* until moments before she struck her flag and who informed Ségur of the events on the ship on the night of 14 September.[435] (**Resource 25**)

Before he could depart from Dover, Vioménil felt obliged to inquire of the fate of the *l'Aigle* and her captain and crew. On 15 September he sent a flag and a letter to Commodore Elphinstone inquiring about the condition of de la Touche, of de la Touche's younger brother, and of a Naval officer named du Quesne and requested that Elphinstone would "honor them" with all the attention they had earned "by their galantry and their zeal for the king's service." In return he assured the Englishman that "all the attentions Mr. de la Touche will meet with in his present situation, will be looked upon by us as if they were personal to every one of us; and I beg your excellency may be persuaded, that we shall remember them forever with the warmest acknowledgments." And while he was on the subject, he asked, that "If you find no inconveniency to return to the officers, who were passengers in this frigate, all the servants belonging to them, you will render them a service they will never forget."

Elphinstone obliged immediately and in a letter of the same day assured Vioménil that he had "studied to render the situation of that brave and distinguished officer as comfortable as the confusion of my situation would permit." Elphinstone apologized that "much will be lost" of the personal possessions of the passengers even though "my orders have been express to save every thing for the owners." The *l'Aigle* had been plundered but its crew and one suspects by some of his men as well, though Elphinstone put it much more diplomatically. The losses were "owing to the great number of men on board, and their being of different nations, left the whole night by themselves, as my men were all employed to save our frigates, which were both aground; since which time a variety of things have been thrown over-board in attempting to get off l'Aigle."

In the ultimate but fully expected courtesy of eighteenth-century warfare amongst civilized nations, Elphinstone informed Vioménil that "M. De la Touche, M. Son frere, and mons. Du Quesne have their paroles; and the necessity of getting upon my station prevents me from permitting all the other officers to depart on the same terms."[436]

Having met his obligations to de la Touche, the rest of the officers too departed from Dover later that same day, but at more leisurely pace. Dominique Sheldon's expense account in the Vioménil Papers traces the route in great detail. The first day's journey went only from Dover to "Duck Creek," modern-day Smyrna.[437] Expenses for dinner and

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[434] Ségur, *Memoirs and Recollections*, pp. 318-321.

[435] The inn was most likely the Shannon Hotel, which was considered the better of the two inns in Christiana. See Scott, *Geography*, p. 134.

[436] The correspondence is printed in the *Pennsylvania Packet* of 21 September 1782. Despite Elphinstone's assurance of a parole, de la Touche was not released.

[437] Duck Creek Village, at the head of navigation on Duck Creek, was settled in 1700, the village was laid out in 1718. See George L. Caley, *Footprints of the Past* (Duck Creek Historical Society, Smyrna 1965) The settlement was eclipsed by the founding of Duck Creek Cross Roads in 1768,

lodging ("souper, coucher") and firewood for the first night amounted to 149 livres. Lunch at Cantwell's Bridge, modern-day Odessa,[438] cost 90 livres (**Resource 23**) and was followed by dinner and lodging from 16 to 17 September in Christiana. Including drink for the militia, the bill ran to 150 livres, almost nine months wages for a common soldier. (**Resources 24** and **25**) Then came lunch in Wilmington for "tout le monde," the "whole world," at 155 livres, and supper, again for "tout le monde" in Chester.[439] Having crossed the Schuylkill River, the officers rode into Philadelphia late at night on 17 September.[440] On 17 September, Vioménil informed Versailles from Philadelphia about the seemingly unavoidable loss of the *l'Aigle*. But was it really unavoidable?

In Delaware the affair of the *l'Aigle* was not quite over yet. One of the passengers captured on the *Racoon* was its pilot Luke Shields from Lewes, a Tory who had his property confiscated and been placed on the excepted list of loyalists in 1778 for having piloted British vessels up the bay. After attempts to procure pilots had failed, de la Touche forced Shields to serve as pilot. Shields may have seen in this service his chance to have his name taken off the list and to return home. On 14 October 1782, French minister in Philadelphia de la Luzerne, asked President John Dickinson to lay before the Council of the State of Delaware Luke Shields' petition for pardoning "His preceeding Conduct," which "may have merited the animadversions of his Countrymen." But in view of his services on the *l'Aigle* he should be permitted to return to Delaware, especially since "he promises for the future to conduct himself in every respect as a Good Citizen."[441]

Dickinson submitted the request on 30 October, and there the matter rested. Six months later, on 5 March 1783, Shields reminded Luzerne that "You may remember my being taken Prisoner on board his Brittannic majesty's Brigantine, or sloop of War, Racoon Capt Neagle, by his most Christian Majesty's Ship L'Agle - Capt L'Touche, who upon the appearance of the british Ships in the Delaware, obliged me to take charge of L'Agle and pilot her up the Bay, - that after she grounded in the Delaware I was conveyed from thence a prisoner to Philadelphia where in a short time discovered a Publication in a New York Paper respecting my Conduct on board L'Agle.'

Caught between two fires but trusting in Luzerne's letter to Dickinson, he had tried to return home but was kept from entering Sussex County and "compelled to give security for my appearance at the then next Court of Oyer and Terminer … to be tried for my life for high treason."[442] "In order therefore to give a Testimony of our Friendship and attention to a generous Ally, who hath solicited the Pardon of the said Shields, Delaware's President Nicholas Vandyke on 13 June 1783, again recommended clemency. But the Assembly was in no mood to pardon the Tory. On Monday, 16 June 1783, "the Question was put, and *Passed in the Negative*."[443]

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which changed its name to Smyrna on 16 January 1806. It is unknown where the group ate and slept; the earliest known tavern, the “Smyrna House” inn, was only built in 1787

[438] According to Sally Schwartz, "Cantwell’s Bridge, Delaware: A demographic and Community Study" *Delaware History* Vol. 19 No. 1 (Spring 1980-81), pp. 20-38, p. 24, Cantwell's Bridge had 17 households and 149 inhabitants in 1780. The town changed its name to Odessa in 1855.

[439] Ségur described Wilmington as "a well built, commodious, and populous town, and which, from the great number of its shops, appeared a place of considerable commercial activity." Ségur, *Memoirs and Recollections*, pp. 323.

[440] The expense account reproduced on the following page is in the Vioménil Papers.

[441] Luzerne's letter is printed in *Delaware Archives. Military and Naval Records* 3 vols. (Wilmington, 1911-1916), vol. 2 (1912), pp. 940-941.

[442] Shields' letter to Luzerne ibid., pp. 941-942.

[443] Bushman, *Proceedings of the House of Assembly*, pp. 101, 164, and 166.

But maybe Shields did not deserve a pardon. Shields knew the bay as well as anyone. He knew that de la Touche was entering the wrong channel. But after he was pressed into service he seems to have continued to steer her in the wrong direction. Maybe there was no opportunity to turn around. Maybe the channel was too narrow. Maybe Elphinstone was too close already. But maybe it was no accident after all that the *l'Aigle* ended up on that sandbank.

LAUZUN'S LEGION IN DELAWARE, 24 DECEMBER 1782 TO 7 MAY 1783

14.1 A Brief History of Lauzun's Legion

Lauzun's Legion, one of the most colorful units in the French army, derived its name from its commanding officer and *colonel* Armand Louis de Gontaut-Biron, duc de Lauzun. Born in Paris on 13 April 1747, Lauzun became an ensign in the elite French Guards, commanded by his uncle the duc de Biron, three months before his 14th birthday; six months after he turned 20, he was breveted a colonel in the Guards. Not quite 19 when he married the 14-year-old Duchess Amélie de Boufflers, he lived separate from his wife and had no legitimate children.[444] In 1769, Lauzun fought in Corsica, five years later, in February 1774, he was colonel of the *Légion Royale*, but when the *légion* was dissolved in March 1776, Lauzun was without a military appointment.

His personal life had taken a turn for the worse as well. Lauzun and his wife had lived a grand life of balls, dances, and gambling -- as it was expected of a member of the highest aristocracy. By the fall of 1776, he had, according to his *Mémoirs*, amassed "dettes considérables" of at least 1,500,000 livres, almost half his assets of some 4 million. Encouraged by his enemies at court, Lauzun's creditors demanded payment at a most inopportune moment. Refusing the aid offered by the King, Lauzun sold his estates to the Prince de Guéménée for a life annuity of 80,000 livres, paid his debts, separated his remaining assets from those of his wife, and set her up independently. When the shots at Lexington and Concord signaled an opportunity for France to take revenge for the peace of 1763, Lauzun was free to embark on a new phase in his life.[445]

When Louis XVI signed the treaties of Amity and Friendship and of Military Alliance with the United States on 6 February 1778, France and Britain understood them as a declaration of war. France quickly realized that she was short of marines, from 260 men and four officers for a 110-gun man of war to 15 soldiers for a corvette of 16 guns, to provide the infantry supplement for the navy vessels. On 1 September 1778, *comte* de Sartine ordered the creation of the *Volontaires étrangers de la Marine*, eight *légions* of some 70 officers, four companies of infantry, one of artillery, one of workmen plus two escadrons of hussars each. A *compagnie générale* brought the *volontaires* to almost 600

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[444] On the possibility that Lagarde was Lauzun's son with the Polish Princess Czartoryska see Jacques LeBerger Carrière, "Augarde, dit Lagarde, fut-il le fils du duc de Lauzun?" *Mirroir de l'Histoire* No. 99, (1958), p. 345-350. The last two children of the *marquise* de Coigny may also have been Lauzun's.

[444] Besides the brief entry in Lauzun's *Memoirs*, see John Austin Stevens, "The Duke de Lauzun in France and America" *American Historical Magazine* vol. 2, No. 5 (September 1907), pp. 343-373, and the dual biographical essay on Lauzun and Chastellux by Arnold Whitridge, "Two Aristocrats in Rochambeau's Army" *Virginia Quarterly Review* vol. 40, No. 1 (Winter 1964), pp. 114-128.

[445] *Mémoires du Duc de Lauzun Général Biron* Jean-Jacques Fiechter, ed., (Paris, 1986), p. 191.

officers and 4,500 men. Raised mostly from German-speaking subjects of the crown and *étrangers*, i.e., foreigners, the *legions* were to double the number of marines.[446]

Lauzun volunteered his services as soon as war was declared and became *colonel propriétaire* of the *volontaires étrangers de la Marine*. He did not wait idly for the men to be recruited, equipped, and trained. In January 1779, he commanded the military force that conquered Senegal. Come April, he was back in Brittany with the Second *Légion* of his *volontaires* preparing for the attack on England. Commanded by Lauzun, the *légion*'s 32 officers, 523 infantry, and 156 hussars (in of June 1779) formed the vanguard of the first wave of the assault scheduled to cross the Channel. But the attack never came. In its place Louis XVI approved plans for the *expédition particulière,* the ferrying of ground forces to America under the command of Rochambeau. Since Rochambeau wanted light troops as well, Lauzun, eager to participate in the campaign, offered his services. "Too much in fashion not to be employed in some brilliant manner," Lauzun was promoted to brigadier and appointed to command the light troops on 1 March 1780.

Lauzun needed troops, but his *volontaires étrangers de la marine* were unavailable. The First Legion had been raised in the West Indies and participated in the capture of Grenada in July 1779. The Third Legion was stationed on the Île de France (Mauritius) in the Indian Ocean for deployment in India. But the Second Legion, quartered on the coast of Normandy, was available. On 5 March 1780, an *Ordonnance du Roi* suspended further recruitment for the remaining five Legions of the *Volontaires-étrangers de la Marine*. The preamble of the *ordonnance* further declared that those segments already raised and deployed in the colonies would be preserved, but out of the "surplus" the king wished to create "un nouveau Corps affecté (i.e., posted to) spécialment au service de la Marine & des Colonies."

In its first article, the *ordonnance* confirmed the continued existence and organization of the First and Third Legions of the *Volontaires étrangers de la Marine* created in 1778.

Article 2 suppressed the surplus of the general staff of the old *Volontaires*, its *compagnie générale*, its headquarters hussars, the *Volontaires étrangers de Nassau* attached to the Second *légion* since 1 June 1779, the three infantry companies created *à la suite* of the Second Legion on 4 August 1779, the company of grenadiers created for service in the colonies on the same day, and what was available in recruits of the Second Legion. Out of these men the *ordonnance* created a new corps to be known as the *Volontaires-étrangers de Lauzun.* (Article 3)

According to Articles 4 to 6, its infantry component consisted of two companies of fusiliers, a grenadier company, a company of *chasseurs*, and a company of artillery. Fusiliers and *chasseurs* each consisted of six officers, i.e., two captains and four lieutenants, 19 non-commissioned officers, i.e., a sergeant-major, five sergeants, ten corporals, a *fourrier-écrivain* or quartermaster-sergeant/clerk, a *frater* or medic, a noble officer aspirant called *cadet-gentilhomme*, two tambours "or other instruments" and 144 men each for a total of 171 officers and men. The grenadier company had the same number of officers but only four sergeants, eight corporals, and 84 enlisted men for a total strength of 108 officers and men.

Article 7 declared that its artillery or cannonier company was to have the same six officers of an infantry company, i.e., a *capitaine-commandant*, a *capitaine en second*, a

[446] Gerard-Antoine Massoni, "Le Corps des Volontaires-Etrangers de la Marine" *Carnet de la Sabretache* No. 135, (1998), pp. 9-14.

lieutenant en premier, a *lieutenant en second*, and two *sous lieutenants*. Its NCOs comprised a sergeant-major, five sergeants, ten corporals, a *frater*, a *fourrier-écrivain*, a *cadet-gentilhomme*, two tambours and 144 cannoniers for a total strength of 171 officers and men handling its four-pound guns. When the *volontaires étrangeres* were set up in September 1778, each Legion was to have four-pound guns *à la suédoise*, i.e., light artillery. The *ordonnance* creating Lauzun' Legion does not specify the number of guns for the new unit, but it seems fair to assume that it kept the four guns assigned to the original *légions* in September 1778.

Article 8 defined its cavalry component, two squadrons of hussars of one company each, as being comprised of two captains and four lieutenants, 14 non-commissioned officers, two trumpets, and 152 hussars for 174 men each. Article 9 declared that each of the four infantry companies and the two hussar escadrons was to be divided into four "divisions" of equal strength of 40 NCOs and men each.[447]

Article 10 established the staff of the Legion. It consisted of five officers with Lauzun as proprietary colonel and inspector at the top. The other positions were eventually filled by friends of Lauzun. René Marie *vicomte* de Darrot, who became *colonel commandant* on 1 April 1780.[448] Darrot as well as Robert Dillon, the Legion's *colonel-en-second*, had accompanied Lauzun to Senegal in the spring of 1779.[449] Claude Etienne Hugau, a long-time friend of Lauzun's and aide-major of the *volontaires étrangers de la marine* in 1778, became the Legion's lieutenant colonel,[450] while Jean Ladislas Polleréscky became its major.[451] The other members of the staff were one aide-de-camp each for the infantry and

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[447] Their names are recorded in a register 17 October 1783 following its return to France and in preparation for its transformation into a regiment of hussars. Archives Nationales de France, Marine D2/c/32.

[448] René Marie *vicomte* Darrot (1754 (or 1749?)-1821), became a *sous-lieutenant* in the *légion de l'Ile de France* in December 1767, and a lieutenant in the *Regiment de Pondichéry* five years later but never served in India. He took part in the conquest of Senegal and became colonel of Lauzun's Legion on 1 April 1780. A life-long royalist, he experienced the French Revolution in the Caribbean but returned to France in 1802. He died in Paris in 1821. Bodinier, *Dictionnaire*, p. 140.

[449] Robert Guillaume Dillon (1754-1837), was a captain in the Lorraine Dragoons when he transferred to the volontaires étrangèrs de la Marine in 1778. Following the conquest of Senegal, he became *colonel en second* in Lauzun's Legion and its commanding officer once Lauzun had sailed for France with news of the surrender at Yorktown. Colonel of the Lauzun Regiment of Hussars in July 1784, he was forced to retire after a riding accident in October 1787. He remained in France during the Revolution and died in Paris in 1837. Bodinier, *Dictionnaire,* p. 163. See also F. W. Van Brock, "Lieutenant General Robert Dillon, 1754-1831 (sic)." *The Irish Sword* vol. 14 No. 55 (1980), pp. 172-187, and idem, "Le Lieutenant General Robert Dillon." *Revue historique des Armées* (1985), pp. 14-29.

[450] Claude Etienne Hugau (1741-1820), entered the Regiment Bretagne as a common soldier in March 1761, but was already its *porte-etendard* in June 1765. Following service in India after 1769, he became lieutenant-colonel of Lauzun's Legion in 1780. He retired from military service in 1789, and embarked on a successful career as a civil servant. His *Details interessantes*, which he kept only during Lauzun's absence in France in between November 1781 an September 1782 as a record to justify his own conduct once the *duc* returned, provide a fascinating insight into the internal affairs of the Legion and are the only known eyewitness account of its stay in America. They contain no information on the Legion's winter quarters in Wilmington. Hugau died in Evreux in 1820. His *Détails* were edited and published by Gérard-Antoine Massoni, *Détails intéressants sur les événements dans la guerre d'Amérique. Hyver 1781 à 1782. Hampton, Charlotte et suitte. Manuscrit de Claude Hugau, lieutenant-colonel de la Légion des Volontaires étrangers de Lauzun.* (Besançon: Université de Franche-Comté, 1996. Maîtrisse d'histoire moderne).

[451] Jean Ladislas Polleréscky (1748-1828?), a German-born Slovak, was apparently one of the greatest scoundrels to have ever served in Lauzun's Legion. When he asked for leave to sail for

the cavalry,[452] a quartermaster-treasurer,[453] an ensign for the infantry (*porte-drapeaux)* and a cornet (*porte-étendard*) named de Vrigny for the hussars.[454] Lower ranks were to be held by two adjutants,[455] the "chirurgien" and his aide,[456] a priest,[457] a drum-major named

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Europe on 11 November 1781, Lieutenant Colonel Hugau placed him under arrest. Hugau feared that Polleresсky wanted to return to Europe since "there was nothing left for him to glean (i.e., to steal) in this country." Among the more serious charges in the 20-count indictment against Polleresky was that of running a horse-theft ring, but he also seems to have traded in slaves. The "beautiful table" he was supposed to have stolen and shipped to France, Item 5 of the indictment, is most likely the one still missing from Rosewood Plantation near Gloucester, Virginia. Since he had a letter from Lauzun approving his leave, he left Hampton for Europe on 13 November. His fellow officers declared they would never again serve with Polleresсky. They kept that promise, and the ostracized Polleresсky was back in Boston in late 1784. With the help of General Benjamin Lincoln, whom he had befriended before Yorktown, he purchased a farm in Dresden, Maine, in 1785. When General Henry Dearborn, another friend of Yorktown days, became Military Governor of the district of Maine in 1790, he appointed Polleresсky census commissioner. This was Polleresсky's first in a long line of civil service positions that included lighthouse keeper on the island of Seguin, and 25 years as town clerk, a position he still held at age 80 in 1828. His position is listed as vacant in the 1783 reviews.

Polleresсky's role as portrayed in Joseph Cincík, "Major John L. Pollerecký fought for America's Independence" *Slovakia* (September/December 1957), pp. 83-87, and George J. Krajsa, "Major Jan L. Polerecký. An Officer of Slovak Heritage in the American Revolution." *Jednota Annual Furdek* vol. 18 (1979), pp. 223-232, are pure fantasy.

[452] During winter quarters in Wilmington, Louis Henry du Beffroy (1745-post 1815), entered the *École militaire* in July 1756, became a cornet in the Royal-Dragoons in 1761, and aide-major for the *volontaires étrangèrs de la Marine* in 1778, and for Lauzun's hussars in 1780. Colonel of the 12th dragoons in February 1792, he resigned at the outbreak of the war with Austria, but did not emigrate. Bodinier, *Dictionnaire*, p. 41. Charles Georges Calixte Deslon De Montmeril (1747-1817), entered the Légion de Conflans in 1771, and became a captain and aide-major for the infantry of Lauzun's Legion in April 1780. He left for France on 1 February 1782, but returned with Lauzun on the *l'Aigle* in September. A captain in the Lauzun Hussars, he commanded a detachment of his regiment charged with protecting the king during the fight at Varennes. He fought with the counter-revolutionaries and di not return to France until 1803. By 1814, Napoleon had promoted him to *Maréchal de camp*. Massoni, *Détails*, p. 74.

[453] The quarter-master treasurer was Henri Sirjaques (1751-1832). A captain in the Lauzun hussars, he allowed himself to be captured by the Austrian army at Longwy with the treasury and all the papers of the regiment. He served against France until all emigrants were permitted to return in 1799. After 42 years of service he retired as a colonel in Napoleon's army in October 1814. Bodinier, *Dictionnaire*, p. 510.

[454] Denis Felix de Vrigny (1754-1803), became a dragoon in the Légion Royale in 1772 and Lauzun's *porte-étendard* in 1780. Promoted to lieutenant in 1782, he became *porte-étendard* of the Lauzun Regiment of Hussars in October 1783. Following a rapid rise to *général de brigade* in June 1793, he was suspended in July but reinstated in 1795. Retired in November of the same year, he returned to active duty in 1800, and died of a fever in Martinique in July 1803. The precise form, shape, and color of his standard are unknown. Massoni, *Détails*, p. 160. The Legion does not seem to have had a *porte-drapeau* for the infantry. The position is neither filled nor listed as vacant in the reviews.

[455] Maurice (or Martin) Pichon was born in Metz around 1755. Adjutant of the hussars of Lauzun's Legion on 1 April 1780, he became a lieutenant in the First Squadron after the death of Lieutenant Jacques Hartman outside New York on 18 July 1781. A lieutenant in the Lauzun Hussars in 1783, he emigrated in 1792. Massoni, *Détails*, p. 103, and Bodinier, *Dictionnaire*, p. 439.

During winter quarters in Wilmington, Jacint Laval was adjutant of the Legion. Born in Lyon around 1752, joined the *volontaires étrangèrs de la Marine* in December 1778, transferred to the Second Squadron of the hussars in Lauzun's Legion, and became adjutant on 19 June 1781. In the 24 December 1782 review "Sieur de Laval" is listed as present as "Adjutant d'hussards." Furloughed on 15 January 1783, he is listed as absent thereafter but returned to sail to Europe in May. Massoni, *Détails*, p. 162.

Louis Mory with a total of six tambours and four trumpets,[458] a master farrier named Nicolas Begel/Begelle/Bahel,[459] and a master saddler named Vollet as well as a gunsmith for a total staff to 10 officers and 19 NCOs and enlisted men. The strength of the unit was to be 1,196 officers and men. That strength was never reached and Lauzun never had more than 600 under his command.[460]

Article 11 decreed that the internal justice of the Legion was be handled by a provost. It was to be based on the same privileges and rights enjoyed by the other foreign regiments ("des autres régimens Étrangers") in the service of France.[461] Article 12 stated that in all other aspects of discipline, training, and service Lauzun's Legion was to be bound by the *ordonnances* of 26 March 1776, with the revisions and changes in effect for the French land forces on 5 March 1780.

While forming his new unit, Lauzun, appointed proprietary colonel in Article 13, was to compile lists with the names of all officers, NCO's and enlisted men, collect all arms and pay all salaries up to the date of dissolution of the units involved, close the books on

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The Legion does not seem to have had an adjutant for the infantry. The position is neither filled nor listed as vacant in the reviews.

[456] On the medical staff of the Legion see below.

[457] The Legion did not receive a priest until February of 1783, three months before its return to France. The Abbé Bandolle (or Baudolle) was present for the first time at the review in Wilmington on 25 February 1783. His wages are registered to begin with the last week of January 1783. He is present at the last review in Wilmington on 7 Mai 1783, and returned to France with the Legion.

[458] Mory was born in Lyon around 1751. He came to the *volontaires étrangèrs de la Marine* from the Royal Dragons in January 1779, and became tambour major of Lauzun's Legion in April 1780. Broken from the ranks on 1 July 1782 and integrated into the chasseur company, he was discharged in October 1783. Massoni, *Détails*, p. 168.

During winter quarters in Wilmington the tambour major was Joseph Badoux, born around 1754 in the canton of Freiburg in Switzerland. He transferred to the *volontaires étrangèrs de la Marine* from the Royal Dragons in January 1779, to the grenadiers of Lauzun's Legion in April 1780, and became tambour major in July 1782. He returned to France and was discharged in October 1783. Massoni, *Détails*, p. 170.

[459] Born in Lorraine in 1761, he deserted on 30 April 1782, and the position was left vacant thereafter. The master saddler was Vollet; his first name is unknown. The position of *armurier* was apparently never filled.

[460] On 21 July 1781, Antoine Vacar, a former *sous-lieutenant* in the *volontaires étrangers de la marine* who had been in charge of the Legion's recruiting station in Metz in the summer and fall of 1778, became provost for Lauzun's Legion. Bodinier, *Dictionnaire*, p. 542.

[461]The rights and privileges enjoyed by foreign regiments were codified in special agreements or *capitulations* between the colonels of the regiment and the French crown. These *capitulations* regulated the internal administration of a regiment such as pay, justice system, number of women and children permitted per regiment, exercise of non-catholic religions, language of instruction and command, recruitment etc. The last *capitulation* between the crown and the German regiments, signed on 18 January 1760, went into effect on 1 March 1760. The original is in SHAT, Vincennes, France, call number 1M1771.

By the 1770s, the colonels of many foreign regiments, e.g., the Duke of Zweibrücken who was *colonel proprietaire* of the Royal Deux-Ponts, were also sovereign rulers of their own states, who signed bilateral agreements with the French crown regulating the conditions under which these units could be used against whom. In the case of the Royal Deux-Ponts this meant for example that the King of France could not use the Royal Deux-Ponts in a war against the Emperor or against the *Herzog von Zweibrücken*. But these conditions were very narrowly defined and do not alter the fact that the "Foreign" regiments were trained, equipped, and officered like "French" regiments and were part of the crown's armed forces in an (usually) open-ended service agreement with and for France rather than allies with short-term treaty obligations.

the assets of the dissolved units, and send a report of these proceedings to the naval minister as ordered in Articles 14 to 18. He received the right to choose his own officers, but was instructed to keep the NCO's as much as possible in the ranks they had held previous to their integration into Lauzun's Legion.

Articles 19 and 20 gave Lauzun a free hand to organize the individual companies and to make the appointments of the NCOs. Article 21 ordered that a written record be kept of the proceedings setting up the Legion, and Article 22 decreed that the officers and men were to receive their pay without deductions either of the "four deniers" or the "capitation." These royal taxes were to be covered from the "masse."[462] Article 23 set up the pay scale, which ranged from 20,000 livres *per annum* for the duc de Lauzun to 720 livres for a "sous-lieutenant" and the "porte-drapeau" of the infantry and the "porte-étendard" of the hussars. The "colonel commandant" had 12,000 livres, the "capitaine-commandant" of each of the six companies received 2,400 livres, the "chirurgien-major" 1,200 livres, a "cadet-gentilhomme" in the infantry had 216 livres, in the hussars he received 270 livres. Among the NCOs, the "sergent-major" or "maréchal-des-logis en chef" in the hussars were the best-paid at 360 livres per annum, corporals had 186 livres in the artillery and infantry, but the "brigadier," his equivalent in the hussars, received 180 livres. A hussar received 132 livres per year, a fusilier or chasseur had all of 114 livres.[463]

Articles 24, 25, and 26 regulated stoppages and their administration, and Articles 27-30 dealt with the horses of the staff. Article 31 decreed that the uniform of the Legion would be the same as that set up for the *Volontaires-Etrangèrs de la Marine* on 1 September 1778, except for the hussars which were to wear the uniform of the "compagnie générale." But even though the color and style of the uniform of the companie générale is known, that does not necessarily mean that hussars in fact wore it in America. The pants of the "compagnie générale" were red, but the only known contemporary drawing of a Lauzun hussar shows the soldier wearing yellow pants, and in his *Details,* Lieutenant-Colonel Hugau suggest that the styles and colors of the uniforms were even more varied. During a review of the Legion in Baltimore in August 1782, Count Dillon and Lieutenant Jennings de Kilmaine wore white pants, Captain de Beffroy and Lieutenant Grabowsky wore yellow, and Captain de la Marle wore slate-colored pants instead of the regulation red worn by some of the officers.[464] Also unknown is the uniform worn by the gunners; neither the *ordonnance* of 1 September 1778, nor that of 5 March 1780, contains any information to that respect. Massoni, an expert on the Legion, thinks that they either wore the same uniform as the infantry, or the uniform of the French naval artillery.

Article 32 decreed that in all aspects not specifically dealt with in the *ordonnance,* the infantry and hussars were to be subject to and guided by the *ordonnances* valid for the infantry and the hussars. In practical terms that meant primarily the *Ordonnance du Roi Concernant l'Infanterie Françoise & Étrangère* of 25 March 1776 and the *Ordonnance du Roi Concernant les Hussards* of the same date. A second paragraph ordered all naval

[462] The *capitation* was a direct royal tax established in 1695, and levied on all individuals; it was based on an assessment of property that placed individuals in one of 22 professional and status groups called *états*. The *Quatre Deniers Pour Livre* was a royal surtax on the *capitation* -- a tax on a tax.

[463] These wages were increased by the *Ordonnance du Roi Pour régler le traitement des Troupes destinées à une expédition particulière* of 20 March 1780.

[464] The best history of the *volontaires* and the Legion is in Massoni, *Détails;* the uniform detail on p. 181.

administrators in France as well as in the colonies to carry out the instructions contained in the *ordonnance*. Countersigned by the duc de Penthièvre as *Amiral de France* -- the Legion was "au service de la Marine & des Colonies" -- the *ordonnance* went into force on 10 March 1780.

Even by eighteenth-century standards this was a unique unit. They were part of the French armed forces, light infantry and cavalry, but received their orders from the naval minister, except for promotions, pay, and of course its deployment for its entire existence! Its officers hailed from Sweden France, England, Ireland, Poland, and from sundry German states. The officers all conversed in French, the *lingua franca* of the eighteenth century, but the rank and file amongst themselves spoke eight different tongues. And by tradition and heritage they cursed in Hungarian.

The rank and file may have spoken eight different tongues, but in order to insure any kind of cohesion, instruction and command had to be conducted in a commonly understood language. But which one? The *capitulations* between the colonels and the French crown stipulated that in *régimens étrangèrs*, in *foreign regiments*, commands and instruction would be given in the language that most of the soldiers understood. That was German in the German regiments, German or French in the Swiss regiments, Italian in the Italian regiments. That does not mean that these units were "German" or "Italian" in the modern, post-French revolutionary sense of the word, because as René Chartrand has also pointed out, "The German regiments were not defined by nationality as such, but rather by the language of command used in the unit."[465] "Foreign Regiments" were "Foreign" if the language used was not French, but German or Italian.[466]

That does mean, however, that drill and instruction manuals had to be translated into those languages, and they were. There were bi-lingual German-French as well as German-only translations of the 1750, 1764, 1775, and 1776 ordinances regulating the drill and training of infantry, and the 1775 regulation is known to have been translated into Italian as well.[467]

The *volontaires étrangèrs de Lauzun* were by name and definition a foreign regiment, but what areas of Europe did the recruits come from? Massoni in his very thorough research on the Legion concluded that about half of the recruits for the infantry companies came from **German-speaking** -- German defined in linguistic, not political or ethnic terms -- parts of Europe. 19 per cent of the infantry originated in the various states of the Holy Roman Empire, 18 per cent from the Alsace, 13 per cent from Lorraine, and that the language of command was German.[468] There is evidence in the *Détails* of Hugau to confirm Massoni's research. As the *légion* broke camp outside Princeton, New Jersey, in the morning of 7 September 1782, Colonel Dillon "ordonné à chaque cap. d'infanterie

[465] René Chartrand and Eugène Lelièpvre, *Louis XV's Army (3): Foreign Infantry* (London, 1997), p. 7. The most thorough discussion of this issue can be found in André Corvisier, *L'Armée Française de la fin du XVIIe siècle au ministère de Choiseul. Le Soldat.* 2 vols., (Paris, 1964), vol. 2, pp. 257-274: "Le Recrutement Etranger." The language issue is addressed on pp. 262-265.

[466] This also applied to the Irish Brigade. Paragraph 35 of the *Ordonnace du Roi, concernant les régimens d'Infanterie irlandoise du 26 Avril 1775* and Paragraph 3 of the *ordonnance* of 14 May 1776 creating the regiment Walsh decree that "il n'y soit admis que des soldats Irlandois, Anglois ou Etrangers, défendant très expressément Sa Majesté aux officiers dudit régiment d'y recevoir, sous quelque prétexte que ce puisse être, aucun homme né en Alsace, dans la Lorraine ou dans toute autre province de sa domination."

[467] Ordinances concerning hospital service or the justice system were also translated into other languages.

[468] Massoni, *Détails*, p. 18.

de commander sa compagie pour la rompre parce que ne sachant pas l'allemand il a voulu me priver de commander l'infanterie comme a l'ordinaire." -- Dillon instructed each infantry captain to order his company to fall out, because, not knowing German, he wanted to deprive me (i.e., Hugau) of the command of the infantry as it was usual."[469]

But Lauzun's Legion was not a unified regiment: in America it consisted of two companies of infantry, i.e., the grenadiers and chasseurs, two squadrons of hussars, and an artillery company. It is almost certain that Lauzun's hussars spoke German as well. According to Massoni's research, 87 per cent of the Legion's hussars came from German-speaking parts of Europe -- 33 per cent from the Alsace, 30 per cent from Lorraine, 24 per cent from the various states of the Holy Roman Empire.[470] There is ample evidence that the hussar troopers spoke in German to each other. In a letter to David Trumbull in Lebanon dated 27 April 1781, William Bingham of Canterbury, Connecticut, complained facetiously of these "German Gentlm" of Lauzun's hussars who "understand nothing but what they have a mind to."[471] In an interview on 5 November 1845, William Griffen of Mamaroneck remembered a visit by a friendly party of hussars to his father's house. The "men took cider, - three or four barrels from us without paying, and Griffen told McDonald that "I think some of the Duke's legion - officers and men - were Dutch or German."[472]

More important for this study is the fact that the language of command and instruction in hussar units since 1773 at the latest was German.[473] On 22 June 1776, French War minister St. Germain had once again designated the hussar units as "étrangère." That means that the "French" hussars of the Legion had to be, and were, recruited in German-speaking Lorraine or Alsace to maintain a common understanding of the orders. When a new training manual was issued in 1777, St. Germain decreed that the *Ordonnance du roi, pour régler l'exercise de toutes les troupes à cheval* of 1 May 1777 be translated into German for use in hussar regiments.[474] Officers who could not give the orders in German were to be discharged.[475]

But no matter what language the troops spoke and what language was used on the company level, command words to maneuver a "Foreign" regiment within a brigade with French regiments would have had to be in French, and officers, all of whom spoke French, were trained to understand them. Otherwise, a "Foreign" regiment would not have been able to follow its own brigade. How this issue was solved is indicated by Hugau's example for the use of German in the Legion: as they received them from their

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[469] Massoni, *Détails*, p. 201.
[470] Massoni, *Détails*, p. 18.
[471] Jeremiah Wadsworth Papers, Correspondence, July 1781 to February 1782. CHS.
[472] McDonald Papers, Westchester County Historical Society, Elmsford, NY, Vol. 3, p. 403.
[473] See Jean and Raoul Brunon, Hussards. *Gouaches du général baron Jean-François-Thérèse Barbier peintes en 1789 comme lieutenant en premier au Régiment de Hussards de Chamborant et en 1803 comme colonel commandant le 2e Régiment de Hussards.* (Marseille, 1989), pp. 9-10: "La Langue Allemande."
[474] The translation was eventually published in 1786. See also Corvisier, *l'Armée Française*, vol. 2, p. 270, where he writes about hussars that "Les ordres durent bientôt être donnés en allemand," and that by the 1760s "Les hussards étaient devenus un corps allemand, surtout alsacien."

The most recent ordinance for the artillery was the *Ordonnance du roi concernant le corps-royal de l'artillerie du 3. Octobre 1774.* The writer is not aware that any ordinance for the artillery was ever translated into another language. The artillery was almost 90 per cent ethnic French.
[475] That the Regiment of Lauzun Hussars after 1783 spoke German is undeniable: an inspection report of 1786 states that "le défaut de la langue allemande fait qu'il (i.e., Robert Dillon) servirait plus utilement dans un autre corps." Quoted in Massoni, *Détails*, p. 53.

superiors, the officers were interpreting or translating the French commands into German as they passed them on down the chain of command.

But Lauzun's Legion had one more peculiarity that set it apart from other units. Standard equipment for the hussars was a curved *sabre à la hongroise* described in great detail in the *ordonnance* establishing the *volontaires étrangères de la Marine* similar to a 1767 French saber model. Some of them may have received a Model 1777 pistol, but most would have had the 1763 model, modified in 1766. The musket was either the cavalry carbine Model 1766, or the 1767 hussar carbine. What set the Legion apart from all French cavalry units was the fact that the Second Squadron of the hussars was equipped with lances. These lances were a personal touch added by Lauzun himself. They were mentioned nowhere in any official document relating to the Legion, nor are they mentioned at the dissolution of the Legion and its transformation into a regular hussar regiment in the fall of 1783. And yet we know that the Second Squadron had them. Describing how he and British Colonels David Dundas and Banastre Tarleton were trying to set up an ambush near Yorktown in 1781, the Hessian *Jäger*-Officer Captain Johann Ewald wrote: "...Here, all of a sudden the scene changed. This small body of horsemen, which was in the greatest disorder, suddenly ran into the entire corps under General Choisy. The Duc de Lauzun, who at this instant should have fallen on the head of these disorganized horsemen with a single troop, formed himself into two lines with 8 troops of his lancers and hussars, which amounted to 300 horsemen without the Virginia cavalry. This gave Dundas and Tarleton enough time to bring off their cavalry in orderly fashion, and to resist and withdraw toward Gloucester."[476]

Lauzun himself described the use of his lancers in the fight with Tarleton in the Battle of the Hook in Gloucester on 3 October 1781,[477] and Hugau mentions them as well in his *Détails*, when he wrote under the date of 2 April 1782, "que les réparations faites depuis Hampton et celles à faire aux armes à feu et aux lances serons à la charge du soldat."[478]

Within three weeks at most, a regimental size unit of cavalry and light infantry under the department of the navy had been created for Lauzun expressly for use across the ocean, and by late March 1780, he was set to go.[479] On 5 April, Lauzun, his staff, and most of his men boarded the 64-gun *Provence*, the rest embarked on the *Baron D'Arras*, some 60 men made the crossing on the *Lyon*. Due to a lack of shipping space, only some 250 men of the hussars, grenadiers, chasseurs, and cannoniers, some 600 men in all, made the crossing. Because of a lack of shipping space, the two fusilier companies, some 400 men and the hussar's horses were left behind. On 11 July 1780, the convoy sailed into Narragansett Bay. Lauzun's troopers were then deployed around Brenton Point, southwest of Newport. On 16 July, General Heath informed Washington that "The French troops are landed and encamped in a fine situation South East of the Town … . The troops make a good appearance. The Legion under the command of the Duke de

[476] Johann Ewald, *Diary of the American War* Tustin, ed., (Princeton, 1976), p. 330.
[477] Lauzun, *Mémoirs*, p. 208.
[478] Massoni, *Détails*, p. 99. The desertion of "un lancier" on 2 July 1782, ibid., p. 171.
[479] Uniform and equipment of the Legion are described in Vicomte Grouvel "Les Volontaires Etrangers de la Marine" *Le Passepoil* vol. 18, No. 1, (1938), pp. 5-8, Harry C. Larter, "The Lauzun Legion, French Navy, 1780-1783" *Military Collector and Historian* vol. 3, No. 1, (March 1951), pp. 40-42, Eugene Lelièbvre and René Chartrand, "Volontaires Etrangers de la Marine, 1778-1783. Volontaires Etrangers de Lauzun 1780-1783" *ibid.* vol. 24, No. 4, (1974), pp. 226-228, Albert Rigondaud, "The Lauzun Legion in America 1780-1783" *Tradition* No. 68, (1992), pp. 2-7, and by Peter J. Blum, "Some Notes on the Lauzun Legion" *The Soldier Shop Quarterly* Vol. 14, No. 4, (August 1970), pp. 1-3.

Lauzun, (the officer who took Senegal last year) is as fine a Corps as ever I saw; it is about 600 Strong." [480]

14.2 The Winter Quarters of Lauzun's Legion in Wilmington

On 21 October 1782, the First Brigade of Rochambeau's troops 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."[481] 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 its winter quarters in Continental Village, Lauzun was to take up a defensive position near Peekskill. If he should receive news from Admiral de Vaudreuil that contrary to expectation 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.[482]

On 27 October 1782, almost a week after Rochambeau's departure in mid-October, Lauzun and his men broke camp too.[483] Having crossed the Hudson, they followed the by

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[480] Washington, *Writings*, vol. 19, p. 211, footnote 66.

[481] Acomb, *Closen*, p. 259.

[482] "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 1780, Rochambeau Papers, Library of Congress, vol. 11.

[483] 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, which seems plausible. That means that they had almost two months to cover the same distance that it had taken a little over two weeks to march in September 1782.

During his stay at Verplanck's Point, Lauzun almost picked up a recruit for his Legion as the result of a court martial on 24 October 1782.

"George Ledween of Captn. Vanheers corps was found guilty of Desertion in breach of article 1st. Section 6th. of the rules and articles of war and sentenced to receive one hundred Lashes on his naked back.

The General approves the sentence of the Court but in consequence of the recommendation of the Duke de Lauzun and Colonel Dillon of the Legion of Lauzun he is pleased to remit the punishment he will join his corps." Quoted from Washington Papers at http://memory.loc.gov, searching under the date.

The review of the Legion held in Wilmington on 24 December 1782, indicates that beginning on the date of the court-martial, 24 October 1782, two recruits started drawing pay in the Legion, one in the Second Squadron of Hussars, and one in the Artillery Company. There is no evidence that Ledween joined the Legion; no soldier is identified in the *contrôle* as having enlisted in September or October 1782; the closest date is for Joseph Klisky, who is listed in the *contrôle* as having joined on 15 November 1782. He was discharged on 1 May 1782 since he had enlisted only for the duration of the war.

now well-known route to Suffern into New Jersey and camped at Hanover Court House on 1 November. A review that day showed the Legion staff at six officers and six NCOs. The two hussar squadrons were 133 and 134 men strong, the grenadiers numbered 98 men, there were 96 men in the chasseur company, and 95 artillerymen for a total of 568 officers and men.[484]

Over the next week, they retraced their steps following the road to the southward through Liberty Corner, Bound Brook, Kingston, Trenton, on to Burlington, New Jersey. From Burlington Lauzun wrote to Rochambeau in Newport that his Deputy Quarter-Master 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."[485] The chevalier de la Luzerne agreed with Lauzun's assessment, but Lauzun was afraid that in an emergency he would not be able to get quickly enough to Baltimore and the siege artillery. Crossing the Delaware either at Bristol Ferry or Cooper's Ferry might prove too difficult during the winter. 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, 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 for a reasonable amount of money the Governor of New Jersey would allow him to dismantle the stables and ship them to Wilmington. In the meantime he requested instructions from Rochambeau on how to proceed.[486]

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

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Jean Folmer of Pennsylvania joined the Second Squadron of Hussars on 5 November 1780. Congress had forbidden the recruitment of Americans into the French army and Folmer was the only American-born soldier to serve in any of Rochambeau's units. Having enlisted only for the duration of the war, he was discharged on 1 May 1783.

[484] The review is in Archives Nationales de France, Colonies D2c32, Paris, France.

[485] The accommodations described by Lauzun were probably the Continental Army barracks in Burlington used by Colonel John Lamb's Second Continental Regiment of Artillery during the winter of 1781-82.

[486] Lauzun to Rochambeau, 9 November 1782, Rochambeau Papers, Library of Congress, vol. 5, pp. 599.

> 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." [487]

No such memorial to Lauzun or Collot has come to light, and there the matter seems to have rested. In the meantime Collot traveled to near-by Philadelphia where on Monday, 16 December 1782, he in obtained a Congressional Resolution ordering the quartering of the Legion.[488]

> "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 troops of his Most Christian Majesty, serving with the army of the United States, now on their march for Wilmington."

In doing so, Collot followed Delaware's Quartering Act of 27 January 1779, which required Congressional requisition before Continental troops could be quartered in the state.[489]

> "Whereas by the Declaration of Rights of this State it is established That no Soldier ought to be quartered in any House in time of peace without the Consent of the Owner and in time of War in such manner only as the Legislature shall direct, - And whereas it is necessary during the present war with Great Britain to provide proper and convenient Quarters for the troops of the United States or any of them when necessarily ordered within this State or occasionally passing through the same,"

the Act stipulated that such requests be made either by the Congress or the Commander-in-Chief. Upon such a request, the President and Commander in Chief of the State of Delaware in cooperation with the requesting authority would authorize the quartering.

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[487] 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.

[488] The resolution is in the Journals of the Continental Congress at http://memory.loc.gov under the date.

[489] "An Act for the Quartering of Soldiers" of 27 January 1779. A copy of this act can be found in DEPA RG 1800.099, Delaware Archives - Military, Vol. 6 (unpublished).

Armed with the 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 immediately informed John Cook, Vice-President of Delaware.[490]

> Sir,
>
> Inclosed you will receive a Resolution of Congress of Yesterday this day delivered us by Colonel Collet – the Troops are coming in & we are under the necessity of Quartering them without your Order – the time being so short would not admit of delay until we should hear from you – hope under these circumstances you will excuse it – we are under the necessity of opening some of the Vacant Houses by force – and wish you to issue your Order to Confirm all our proceedings therein for time past present & to come relative to this Business agreeable to Law – as nothing but Absolute necessity would have induced us to Act in this manner – we have sent this by express – and have no doubt but you will take such notice thereof & Act in this business as the nature and exigencies of the Case requires.
>
> We are with all respect your most Obedient Hble Servts
> Jho Lea

Lauzun's Legion, which by now had spent about six weeks in Burlington, was not far behind, for "about the first of this Year (1783) came to this Town for Quarters the Duke de Lauzens Legion of French Troops, consisting of About 300 horse & about the same number of foot."[491] Canby's memory seems to have failed him here, for 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 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 supplement of seven officers though two officers are listed as absent. There were 18 NCOs, two drummers, and 76 chasseurs, two of whom

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[490] 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 Ecpedition of two French Navigators." *West Virginia History* Vol. 43 No. 1, (1981), pp. 21-38.

[491] Samuel Canby Diary November 1779 to December 1796, entry for January 1783. Photostat HSD, from the original at Yale University.

were in the hospital. The Second Squadron of Hussars finally numbered seven officers, 13 NCOs, two trumpets and 120 hussars, nine of whom 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.[492]

Upon arrival, the magistrates "issued an order to all the Inhabitants of the town to lodge each of them an Officer of the said Corps in their houses."[493] A list of the landlords is preserved in the Delaware Public Archives:[494]

"Auditor's Office 24th August 1786
United States to State Treasury for expenses of Quartering the French Troops, vizt

To Simon Johnston for House Rent 5..0..0
Sarah Allison do 7/10/00
Harlin Cloud do 5/0/0
John Ferris 7/10/0
Joseph Shallcross 7/10/0
Ralph Walker 7/10/0
Nicholas Robinson 7/10/0
Griffith Minshall 6/0/0
Sarah Richardson 7/10/0
John Richardson 4/0/0
Joel Zane 7/10/0
Patt: O Flynn Esq: 7/10/0
Samuel Preston Moore 7/10/0
Vincent Bonsall 5/0/0
John Hayes 7/10/0
Isaac Stroud 7/10/0
David Brinton 7/10/0
Bezaleel Bentley 7/10/0
Joseph Warner 9/0/0
Bancroft Woodcock 6/0/0
John Thilwell 7/10/0
Jacob Broom Esq: 7/10/0
Francis Robinson 7/10/0
James Chandler 7/10/0
Joseph Lawson 7/10/0
John Gruble 7/10/0
Thomas Kean Esq 7/10/0
John Crow 7/10/0

[492] The review can be found in Archives Nationales, Paris, (France) under Colonies, Marine D2c32.
[493] Deposition by Collot on 16 May 1783 in Coxe Papers, Tench Coxe Section, Incoming Correspondence, Box 12, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
[494] Auditor of Accounts, Journal A, 1784-1800. DEPA RG 1315.7 Page 159. The same list is also in ibid., Auditor of Accounts, Wastebook A, 1784-1796, p. 173, dated 24 August 1786: "United States to State Treasury for hire of Houses for Quartering the French Troops as appears by the Certificates of George Craghead and John Lea Esqrs for which rent was pd as follows vizt has same list of 41 names.

Richard Cheney 7/10/0
Sampson Babb 7/10/0
Elizabeth Rice 6/0/0
William Shipley 7/10/0
Benjamin McLean 5/0/0
Thomas May 5/0/0
John Jones 5/0/0
David Bush 7/10/0
Danil J. Adams 10/0/0
Henry Reynolds 7/10/0
George Taylor 5/0/0
Watkins Crampton 7/10/0
Samuel Canby 6/0/0 284/10/0

The above payments were made on Certificates given by George Craghead & John Lea Esqrs under the Act of General Assembly for Quartering soldiers."

At least one person was left off the list, for the Auditor's Office recorded on 24 October 1789, "United States for paying Dr. Nicholas Way for 5 Ms House Rent for Quartering French Troops 15/00/00."[495]

The landlords came from some of the wealthiest and best-known families in town, but unfortunately the list does not tell us which officer lodged with whom, and in the absence of a city directory it is almost impossible to establish the location of the residences mentioned on the list. In only one case are the identity of both renter and landlord known: Samuel Canby recorded that "we have a Doctor quartered with us (a Low Dutch Man his name Joseph Eugene Philip Capelle) (sic.)."

At a rate of one, sometimes two, officers per family, the 42 known homes would have been sufficient for the officers of the Legion and the remaining administrative and medical staff, but where did the enlisted men stay? We know that Collot had rented the building of the Wilmington Academy, but when the Legion arrived in Wilmington just before Christmas 1782, it numbered 559 men, far too many, one would think, to fit into a school building that had previously housed 30 students. Yet that seems to be just what Collot had done:

> "As to the Quartering of the Troops there was not in town one Building calculated to receive them. The College had been destroyed by the English and by the Militia in such a manner as to render it quite inhabitable (sic. Presumably he wanted to write: uninhabitable) without repairing it at a considerable expence. This was however the only measure to be taken to prompt the Quartering of the troops in a season already advanced. In consequence of which I proposed to the

[495] Auditor of Accounts, Journal A, 1784-1800. DEPA, RG 1315.7 Page 276. One of the Frenchmen mentioned in the case of the robbery of the French treasury lodged with Dr. Way, but his name is not known. Also missing on this list of landlords is Martin Delany, but he may have only rented the property. See the chapter entitled "The Robbery of the French Treasury."

The rent charged is in line with that in other accounts such as the James Lea Receipt book 1784-1806, Business L, HSD: "12 April 1784 24 pounds for a year of house rent" or "Received Ocbr 4th 1785 of James Lea Jr Five Pounds Eleven Shilling & 9d in full for a Quarter Rent Due Septr 27th 1785. Eliza Springer."

> Trustees to let me that Building to lodge the said troops during the Winter."

It is almost impossible to imagine the living conditions of hundreds of men lodged in a single building for four months, and Lea's letter of 17 December -- "we are under the necessity of opening some of the Vacant Houses by force" -- suggests the possibility that not all of them were indeed lodged in the Academy. (**Resource 26**)

And there were still the horses, 281 on 24 December, to be dealt with. For them, Collot built "Stables … at the expence of his Majesty … upon a lot entirely separate from the College and assigned for the said purpose by the Magistrates of the town." [496] In 1795, the land where they were located, "Grove Hill," belonged to Joshua Gilpin who described it thus:

> "This lot remains vacant with some wood on it - perhaps fenced from the time of purchase until the French troops were quartered at Wilmington, when temporary Stables were erected on it for the accomodation of De Lauzuns Legion- this was done I believe with the consent of Doc Way who undertook the care of the Lots in common with his own adjoining the whole being called the "Grove Lots."

The French commander left and I believe gave the Stables as a rent for the Lots -- when the troops quitted Wilmington which I think was in the Spring 1781 (sic) & that the occupation was the preceding winter. From that time they remained under Doc Ways care."

There were two lots on Grove Hill, "one laying between a Lot of Doc Ways on the west and a lot of Capt. Robinsons on the north, the other between a lot of Doc Ways on the north and (blank) street on the west and both bounded by King street on the west and Hanover Street on the east in breadth 4 1/4 rods each and length from Kings to Hanover Street." This description in the deed did not make any sense to Gilpin either, who added a note saying that "the street in 'blank' not filled up is Kent Street and the one he calls Hanover is French Street."[497] Kent is today's Eighth Street; a lot between Eighth and King and King and French streets places the lot in the north-west corner of Holloway Park, kitty-corner across from the Spencer Plaza Park. (**Resource 27**)

Given the number of sick in the 24 December 1782 review, 27 men, the establishment of a hospital was a high priority. Now that the Academy with its long history as a hospital had been taken over by the Legion for lodging, it seems unlikely that the building also housed the hospital, but it is unknown where the hospital was located.[498] Like everything else, the French had to repair that building as well: the Lea Mills Account Book contains this entry: "19 February 1783: M Lazaleer, director of the hospital in Wilmington, 2000

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[496] This sentence suggests that Lauzun had been unsuccessful in acquiring the stables in Burlington.

[497] Joshua Gilpin, Delaware Land Papers, vol. 1, HSD. The description is dated 22 March 1795.

Wadsworth and Carter continued to supply the Legion during winter quarters. See HSD, Business Papers Folder 1: " Wilmington, January 24, 1783. Andrew Alison £ 8/18/3 for delivery of hay."

[498] The Legion's hospital in Wilmington is mentioned briefly in Maurice Bouvet, *Le Service de Santé Français pendant la Guerre d'Indépendance des États-Unis (1777-1782)* (Paris, 1934), p. 100.

feet of pine boards 14/0/0."[499] M. Lazaleer is most likely identical with one of the two *gardes-magasins* of the hospital named "l'Arzillière." He departed for France on the appropriately named *duc de Lauzun* from Philadelphia on 15 May and reached Lorient on 28 June 1783.[500]

The *ordonnance* establishing Lauzun's Legion had set up seven medical positions: the chief surgeon, his assistant, and one *frater* in each of the companies or squadrons. The chief *Chirurgien* listed in the État-Major for the Legion in Wilmington was Anatole Joseph Girard, who had come with the Legion from France in 1780. As chief medical officer he received 1,200 livres *per annum* with a supplement of 800 livres for the American campaign. On 1 October 1781, he received a gratification on 300 livres and another 400 livres after the capture of Yorktown.[501]

His assistant was Dr. Joseph Capelle, who received an annual salary of 800 livres and a supplement of 600 livres. According to Bouvet, Capelle departed from Boston on the *Ariel* on Christmas Day 1782, but that seems unlikely, if not impossible -- Capelle had just moved in with Samuel Canby as recorded in his diary. "We have a Doctor quartered with us (a Low Dutch Man his name Joseph Eugene Philip Capelle)."[502]

Born in Flanders in 1757, Capelle decided to remain behind in Delaware when the Legion sailed out of Philadelphia in May 1782.[503] On 8 November 1783, Capelle married Mary Isabella Pearce at Old Swedes. Their son Marcus Eugene Capelle was baptized on 4 August 1784, but he did not live long. Three months later, on 5 November 1784, Caesar A. Rodney Jr. informed his father Thomas Rodney from Wilmington that "Mr Capell lost his son yesterday morning, which he very much lamented."[504] On 24 March 1787, a daughter named Maria May Capelle was born, and after more than ten years of marriage, a son and heir Henry Pearce Capelle entered this world on 31 December 1793. Dr. Capelle, who was one of the incorporators of the Delaware Medical Society, died at age 39 on 5 November 1796. He is buried in Plot 1038, Old Swedes Cemetery in Wilmington. (**Resource 28**)

In addition, every company and squadron of the Legion was to have a *frater* or barber with an annual pay of 279 livres, but only the name of one of them, Guillaume Schmitt, who wintered with the Legion in Wilmington and arrived in Brest on the *Gloire* on 11 June 1783, is known.[505]

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[499] Lea Mills Account Book 1775-1783, Ms Books Business L, HSD.

[500] Bouvet, *Service de Santé*, p. 105. The other *garde-magasin* was named Braconnier; he is the "Bracoigné, a person enjoying some office in the French hospital, who also lodged and boarded in the house of the said Martin" Delany, mentioned in the case of the robbery of the French treasury. He departed on the same ship as l'Arzillière. The writer has been unable to identify the "M (onsieur) de l'Orme" mentioned in the file.

[501] Bouvet, *Service de Santé*, p. 43. He was still chief medical officer of Lauzun's Hussars in 1789.

[502] Bouvet, *Service de Santé*, p. 35.

[503] J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Delaware* 2 vols, (Philadelphia 1888), page 48. The story as told by Scharf that Capelle came with Rochambeau (in 1780) but was "afterwards" placed on the staff of Lafayette is chronologically impossible, especially when connected with the Battle of Brandywine of 1777, when Capelle is supposed to have tried to dress the wounds of Lafayette. Capelle is also mentioned in Munroe, *Federalist Delaware*, p. 146n, p. 149, and p. 185. The writer has been unable to confirm the date of his birth; in personal communication with the author neither the SHAT, the Archives de la Marine, nor the Archives de la Service de Santé acknowledged possessing any information on Capelle.

[504] Rodney Collection, Caesar A. Rodney Box 4, folder 2 (May 1784-May 1788), HSD.

[505] Bouvet, *Service de Santé*, pp. 44 and 105.

Once settled in, the officers encountered few distractions. We have no news of balls or other entertainments as had been the weekly custom in Williamsburg, no news of officers going fox-hunting or of a building set aside specifically for gambling as Rochambeau had done in Newport. Not a single French or American eyewitness provides concrete details of how the officers, at least those who stayed in Wilmington, spent their free time. Lauzun was not among them. Though he wrote in his *Memoirs* that following the departure of the French infantry for Boston he "returned across the North River, and went to take up my winter quarters in the County of Delaware," he did not remain in Wilmington for long. He was present at the review of 24 December 1782, but when the French frigate *Danaë* arrived in Philadelphia the following week, Lauzun, looking for mail, rode to Philadelphia only to find out that he had lost the remnants of his private fortune in the gigantic bankruptcy of the prince de Guéménée in September. Seeking distraction, Lauzun traveled from Philadelphia to Newport, Rhode Island, where he spent the next three months. It was only when he heard in April that the Preliminaries of Peace had been signed, and that he was to return to France that Lauzun returned to Wilmington.[506]

Among the few distractions were the meetings of the local freemasons, Wilmington Lodge No. 14. [507] The first recorded monthly meeting of the lodge took place on 19 July 1781, in Bezaleel Bently's tavern. On 16 January 1783, at the first meeting of the lodge after the arrival of the Legion, its Lieutenant-Colonel Claude Etienne Hugau, “Br. Hugo,” attended as a "visiting brother." We don't know if Hugau returned or not, but on 20 March 1783, the commanding officer of the artillery company, Claude Joseph Guy Edouard Blondeau, "Br. Blando," is listed as a visiting brother, and he did return on 17 April 1783, when the lodge met at the home of John Thelwell.[508] By the time the lodge met again on 15 May 1783, the Legion was gone.

Much of the time of officers and men was spent on taking care of their horses, maintaining equipment, guard and other military duties, and weapons drills and exercise.[509] Various ordinances such as *the Réglement concernant la cavalerie* of 10 April 1773, the *Ordonnance du Roi Concernant les Hussards* of 25 March 1776, *the Ordonnance du Roi pour régler l'exercise de toutes les troupes à cheval* of 1 May 1777,

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[506] Lauzun, *Memoirs*, pp. 220-21.

[507] Wilmington Lodge No. 14, Records 1781-1805, HSD. The official history of the lodge does not mention the visits by the French officers. See Charles E. Green, *History of the M.W. Grand Lodge of the Ancient, Free and Accepted Masons of Delaware* (Wilmington, 1956). There were five active lodges in Delaware during the Revolutionary War: No. 5 at Cantwell’s Bridge, No. 14 in Wilmington, No. 18 in Dover, No. 33 at New Castle, and No. 44 at Duck Creek Crossroads (Smyrna).

That Masonry could build bridges between warring factions is evident from the entry for 18 April 1782: “Jeremia Parker and Charles Cook, Masters of two Flagg Vessels Lying in this Harbour for Permission to spend the Evening with the Worshipful Master and Bretheren of this Lodge.” Both were admitted.

[508] Claude Joseph Guy Edouard Blondeau (1747-post-1792), became a lieutenant in the Ornans Militia in 1748 in his father's company. By 1774, he was a sub-lieutenant in the Légion royale; in 1778, he became a captain in the artillery company of the *volontaires étrangères de la marine* and came to America in that capacity with Lauzun's Legion. A lieutenant-colonel in the summer of 1792, he emigrated in September and served in the armies of the counter-revolutionaries. Bodinier, *Dictionnaire*, p. 61.

[509] No orders and instructions for the winter quarters of Lauzun's Legion in Wilmington seem to have survived. The following paragraphs are based on ordinances for French cavalry in effect in 1781.

and the *Réglement provisoire sur le service de la cavalerie et des dragons en campagne* of 1778, governed the daily lives of officers and soldiers alike. The most important ordinances for the infantry were the *Ordonnance du Roi concernant l'infanterie française et étrangère* of 25 March 1776, the *Ordonnance du Roi pour régler l'exercice de ses troupes d'infanterie* of 1 June 1776, and the *Réglement provisoire sur le service de l'infanterie en campagne* of 1778.[510]

For Lauzun's hussars that meant that the men were divided into three groups based on their riding skills. Within their groups they were to practice riding three times a week under the supervision of their officers and particularly skilled NCOs and enlisted men serving as riding teachers. The last and worst class of horsemen was to practice more often with times and frequency set by the commanding officer. Only the first two classes were to practice in gallop; all were to practice only in single file. At irregular intervals the colonel was to exercise each of the squadrons of his regiment separately. In addition to these exercises, the troops during winter quarters, which was set to last from 1 November to 1 May, were to exercise on a company level once a week in a hall or covered riding area and go through the manual of arms with the horses either walking or trotting. They were to be supervised and commanded in these exercises which were to last about a hour, never more than 1 1/2 hours, by their officers and NCOs. During the winter months the officers were to give particular attention to instruct their men in using their sword in combat which was to be practiced twice a week sitting on a wooden horse. Weather permitting the regiment was to mount every two weeks for a march of about 2 1/2 miles to get the horses and men used to ride in groups and in columns. During winter quarters, officers and NCOs were to get theoretical instruction once a week.[511]

The Legion had just settled into its quarters in Wilmington, when it almost became a federal police force against the State of Pennsylvania. In December 1781, goods destined for British prisoners of war in Pennsylvania sent there under a flag of truce issued by Washington had been seized. Some "of the Seizers had pursued their claim under the law of the State & that in consequence the goods had been condemned & ordered for sale." On 24 January, Congress had ordered an inquiry. On 13 February 1783, the committee, "consisting of Mr. Rutledge, Mr. Ghorum & Mr. Lee," recommended "that the Secy. at War should be authorised & directed to cause the goods to be taken from the places

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[510] Most of these ordinances are available in the Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection at Brown University in Providence, Rhode Island, and in the library of the Society of the Cincinnati in Washington, DC.

A very thorough list of ordinances for all branches of the eighteenth-century French military based on holdings of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France can be found at: http://www.ifrance.com/patricemenguy

[511] *Réglement concernant la cavalerie* of 10 April 1773, paragraphs 37 to 40: "Des Jours d'Exercices." The drill and training schedule for new recruits, who were to be ready to join their squadrons after six months at most, were different.

The best source for reconstructing the daily routine of a unit are the orderly books, but not a single pre-1789 orderly book has survived; the last known copy of such a book was destroyed in an air raid on Tours in June 1940. It was published as *Le Livre d'ordres d'un Régiment d'Infanterie en 1781 d'après un manuscrit original.* Clement de la Jonquière, ed., (Paris, 1898). Jonquière did not publish the book in its original form but instead arranged the information topically.

Invaluable for the workings of an infantry regiment is Charles Victor Thiroux, *Manuel pour le corps de l'infanterie: extrait des principales ordonnances relatives à l'infanterie françoise & le plus journellement en usagë.* (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1781). The writer is not aware of a similar manual for the duties of light infantry, but Article 32 of the ordinance establishing Lauzun's Legion ordered that in all aspects not covered in the ordinance the Legion would be subject to the ordinances in force for infantry and hussars.

where they had been deposited, to employ such force as wd. be sufficient, and that the Duke de Lauzun whose Legion was in the neighbourhood, should be requested to give the Secy. such aid as he might apply for."

Under European conditions, the use of cavalry, especially of hussars, for police functions was standard practice, but would have been a complete novelty under American conditions, especially if foreign forces such as Lauzun's Legion would have carried them out. Not surprisingly

"This report was generally regarded by Congs. as intemperate, and the proposed recourse to the French Legion as flagrantly imprudent. Mr. Hamilton said that if the object had been to embroil this country wth. their Allies the expedient would have been well conceived.[512] He added that the exertion of force would not under these circumstances meet the sense of the people at large. Mr. Ghoram sd. he denied this with respect to the people of Massachusetts."

As the debate went back an forth, each side defending its position: "Mr. Lee on the part of the Come. said that the D. de Lauzun had been recurred to as being in the neighbourhood & having cavalry under his command which would best answer the occasion; and that the report was founded on wise & proper considerations.

Mr. Mercer, Mr. Williamson, Mr. Ramsay, Mr. Wilson & Mr. Madison, strenuously opposed the report, as improper altogether as far as it related to the French Legion, and in other respects so until the State of Pa. sd. on a summons refuse to restore the articles seized.

Mr. Rutledge with equal warmth contends for the expediency of the measures reported.

Mr. Mercer & Mr. Madison at length proposed that Congress sd. assert the right on this subject & summon the State of Pena. to redress the wrong immediately. The Report was recommitted with this proposition & Mr. Wilson & Mr. Mercer added to the Committee."[513]

We don't know how the dispute with Pennsylvania over the confiscated goods ended, but the duc de Lauzun and his Legion were not involved.

The legionnaires were good guests in Wilmington. Samuel Canby wrote of the behavior of the rank and file that they "conduct with more regularity & much more civility to the Inhabitants than any troops we have ever had in this town scarcely an instant of their stealing the smallest thing."[514] That would have come as a surprise to many inhabitants of Lebanon, Connecticut, site of the Legion's first winter quarter of 1780/81, and of Charlotte Court House in Virginia, sites of the 1781/82 winter quarters, where locals had voiced loud complaints about the legionnaires.

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[512] A note in the manuscript here reads: "This was an oblique allusion to Mr. Lee, whose enmity to the French was suspected by him &c. "

[513] The debate can be found at http://memory.loc.gov, searching the Journals of the Continental Congress under the date, Thursday, 13 February 1783.

[514] Samuel Canby Diary November 1779 to December 1796, entry for January 1783. Photostat HSD, from the original at Yale University.

In Lebanon, problems with the hussars had arisen almost from the day the troops had arrived in November 1780. On 6 February 1781, David Trumbull wrote to Wadsworth, that "since the artillery horses have been in Colchester," there had been no end of trouble because of language difficulties.[515] On 13 March 1781, William Williams, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, in an angry letter on behalf of his brother Dr. Thomas Williams berated Lauzun how the people of Lebanon had been promised "that the French Troops were kept under the best government and discipline and that the Inhabitants of Newport had not lost a Pig nor a Fowl by them, which was a great Inducement to provide them Quarters here. … but soon they began to pilfer and steal, which was, and is, in many instances borne." Lately, however, they had begun "to steal wood from Dr. Williams, … thirty or more trees, … much of his fence, four or five sheep, a number of Geese" and much more. Lately they had even threatened Williams' life for complaining to the duke. Williams demanded an immediate end be put to these practices, but it does not seem that he had much success: in his letter he even implied that some of these events took place with the tacit consent of the officers! From Canterbury, William Bingham sent David Trumbull a bill on 27 April 1781, and asked "Please to make Proper allowances for all miss understanding between those German Gentl. and me - for they understand nothing but what they have a mind to."[516] When they finally left in June 1781, Mary Williams, second daughter of Governor Trumbull, wrote her husband William "O how glad and how thankfull I shall be when theay are gone for never was I so sick of any people in my life. … joy go long with them and wish never to see another French man in my life."[517]

Unlike previous winter quarters, not a single incident of misbehavior during the Legion's four-month stay in Wilmington has come to light, which even Canby found surprising because "their pay is very Small, every five Days their pay is a quarter dollar."[518] How small was it? To say that the armies of the *ancien régime* were poorly paid is an understatement, but the French army ranked at the very bottom of the pay-scale. When the salary of the infantry was increased by 50 per cent for the *expédition particulière*, a fusilier received 9 sols 6 deniers per day or 14 livres 5 sols per month or 171 livres a year. The better-paid grenadier, as did a hussar, made 11 sols for a total of 16 1/2 livres per month or 198 livres per year. The highest-paid NCO of the line, a sergeant-major of grenadiers or hussars, had 486 livres per year, the *maréchal-des-logis-en-chef*, his equivalent in the hussars, even 540 livres. Before departure, the rank and file received one month pay plus 18 livres from the *masse générale* to equip themselves, and another 18 livres from this *masse* were distributed upon arrival in Newport.[519] But they also had to pay stoppages from their pay. The *ordonnance* of 20 March 1780, set food costs at 2 sols for bread, 1 sols 6 d for beef per day. This meant a monthly food bill for every NCO and enlisted man of

[515] Jeremiah Wadsworth Papers, Correspondence, July 1781 to February 1782, CHS.
[516] Jeremiah Wadsworth Papers, Correspondence, July 1781 to February 1782. CHS.
[517] Mary Williams to William Williams, 10 June 1781, William Williams Papers, CHS. For examples of misdeeds in Virginia see Hugau's *Détails*.
[518] Samuel Canby Diary November 1779 to December 1796, entry for January 1783, Photostat HSD, from the original at Yale University.
[519] The various regimental masses were the purses from which expenses of a regiment were met; stoppages were made from a soldier's pay to these accounts. To some *masses* such as the *masse de propreté* only some soldiers contributed, in this case only those soldiers with permission to work in their trades in town. All contributions to the *masse générale*, increased from 36 livres for the French infantry and 72 livres for the Foreign infantry to 48 and 84 livres for the American campaign, were covered by the crown.

3 livres for bread
2 livres 2 sols for beef
1 sols 6 deniers for 1 pound of salt per month
---
5 livres 3 sols 6 deniers

Also increased were the deductions for the *masse de linge et chaussure*, the regimental fund to pay for a soldier's uniform and for his shoes. NCOs contributed 16 denier per day to this *masse*, corporals and enlisted men half as much. That meant additional stoppages of 2 livres for a sergeant, and 1 livre for each hussar, fusilier, grenadier, or *chasseur*, leaving a fusilier or *chasseur* with 7 livres 18 sols 6 deniers per month. A grenadier or hussar received 10 livres 3 sols 6 deniers per month or 122 livres 2 sols per year after stoppages. A sergeant or *maréchal-des-logis en second*, who received 1 livres 4 sols per day or 36 livres per month before stoppages, was left with 28 livres 13 sols 6 deniers. A grenadier or artillery sergeant had 27 livres 6 sols, a sergeant in the chasseurs earned 22 livres 13 sols 6 deniers per month after stoppages. For corporals the numbers were 15 livres 3 sols 6 deniers for the hussars, 16 livres 18 sols 6 deniers for the grenadiers, and the artillery, 14 livres 13 sols 6 deniers for the chasseurs and fusiliers. [520] To put this figure into perspective: Axel von Fersen estimated that it cost him 20 livres a month to keep his dog! But since a French soldier was paid in specie rather than in paper, even 8, 9, or 10 livres was more than what a Continental Soldier would have received -- if he had been paid. A look across the battlefield shows that his British and German enemies were considerable better off. A common soldier in the British army received 8 pence a day or £ 1 pound per month, almost exactly 23 livres, though stoppages reduced his wages to some 19 livres. A soldier in a Brunswick regiment in British service had 16 shillings 1 penny 1 farthing for 4 weeks of service. After stoppages for food and clothing he was left with 14 shillings, a *Gefreiter* had s 16 4 p, just about 19 livres, 2 1/2 times the pay of a French fusilier.[521]

Canby's statement that the soldiers received 1 1/2 Spanish dollars or 8 livres 2 sols per month comes very close to the actual wage of a common fusilier. But account books were kept in pounds and shillings, not in livres or in Pieces of Eight. Since Canby reckoned a Spanish Milled Dollar or Piece of Eight at s 7 6 d, and one écu or 6 livres at s 8 4 d, which made 1 Piece of Eight = 5 livres 8 sols, 1 1/2 Pieces of Eight = 8 livres 2 sols. 1/4 Piece of Eight, five days worth of monetary wages, equalled 1 livre 7 sols or s 1 10 1/2 d.[522] What could a soldier buy with that amount of money? By Canby's own reckoning, 1 1/2 Spanish Dollars, 30 days, a whole month's monetary wages in the French army, were the equivalent of s 11 3 d Delaware currency -- and it was pitiful indeed. If s 3 9 d were the generally accepted daily rate for manual labor, s 11 3 d, a month's monetary wages in the French army, is exactly the same amount of money a slave-owner such as Thomas Rodney charged for three days of labor of "Peter Miller Negro" or what he paid "Jacob Miller's daughter 10 days of oats binding @ 3/9" per day.[523] It was very little even by French standards. Domestics, a traditionally poorly-paid group, in eighteenth-century

[520] This compilation of a soldier's income is based on figures given in Thiroux, *Manuel*, pp. 178-190, the *ordonnance* establishing Lauzun's Legion, and the *ordonnance* of 20 March 1780, *Pour régler le traitement des Troupes destinées à une expédition particulière*.
[521] Otto Elster, *Geschichte der Stehenden Truppen im Herzogtum Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel* 2 vols., (1899-1901; reprint Bad Honnef, 1982), Vol. 2, p. 388.
[522] See Samuel Canby, Accounts, 1773-1785 (Ms 6603, HSD) the entry for 17 January 1782:
"23 French crowns @ 8/4 = 9/11/8" and " 5 Spanish dollars @ 7/6 = 1/17/6"
[523] Rodney Collection. Thomas Rodney. Box 10, Folder 2, HSD. "An Account of Harvest Wages 1775." "5 days mowing @ 3 sh and 6 days raking @ 0/3/9= 1/17/6" for Peter Miller.

France received on average 250 livres per year, four times what a soldier stationed in France received! An enlisted man on work detail in Rochambeau's army, e.g., erecting fortifications in Newport, digging trenches outside Yorktown, or cutting firewood, was paid 20 sols, one whole livre, per day without any deductions, 2 1/2 times his salary as a soldier.[524]

Account books preserved in the Delaware Historical Society contain prices for a wide range of goods sold and purchased in Wilmington in 1782 and 1783. John Serrill's Account Book informs us that on 25 October 1782, 1 lb Coffee cost 0/2/4; on 26 November the price had risen to 0/3/0. A quart of rum, an item possibly of interest to a soldier, sold for 3/6 on 26 November 1782 -- but that was almost ten days salary (3/8) for one of Lauzun's chasseurs![525] On 15 December 1782, 3 lbs of rice sold for 0/2/0, on 21 December, 3 lbs of sugar cost 0/3/6, and on 27 February 1783, ½ bushel of corn sold for 0/2/6. Simon Wilson's account book lists "¼ lamb for 0/2/6" on 10 May 1783.[526] The Lea Mills Account Book on 6 August 1783 lists 1 lb of beef at s 4 9 d, bacon at s 9 6 d per pound.[527] Thomas Rodney in his Account Book on 2 January 1782 has an entry for 5 turkeys for s 12/6, 5 geese for s 10, 2 ducks for s 2.[528] A mare, 5 years old and 13 hands high, that sold for £ 10 or almost 240 livres on 11 March 1781 would have been almost twice the annual cash wage of 126 livres 7 sols of a hussar. On 5 June 1781, a bushel of potatoes weighing 60 lbs is listed in Alexander Porter's ledger of the Hamburgh Mill at 7/6 "gold or silver" - 20 days of cash wages for a fusilier. Beef was 8 d per pound on 4 March 1782 was cheap, but the "good milk cow and calf" which he bought in October 1781 for £ 11 silver or the bull calf he sold for £ 15 on 29 August 1782 were two, three annual cash wages of a soldier.[529]

These were low monetary wages to be sure, but the soldiers also received wages in kind such as food, clothing, shelter, and while stationed in France had opportunities to earn additional income while working in their trade. The value of these "social wages" offered by the military to a young man and potential recruit is difficult to assess, but it must have been attractive since the *ancien régime* was always able to find enough volunteers for its armed forces.

Attractive maybe in the environment of the Old World, but now the troops were in America, a land of plenty compared to France, and a land of freedom and opportunity. Given the possibilities offered in the New World, it is not surprising that throughout their stay in America, many of Lauzun's men liked the country well enough to want to escape the discipline of the military and stay for good. But Rochambeau did not discharge many soldiers while in America: every loss had to be replaced, preferably from France, and that was expensive. The only way out for the majority of troops was desertion, and push and pull factors, e.g., harsh treatment within the Legion and the lure of opportunity, caused many men to do just that. In his *Détails* Hugau claimed that it was due to the harsh discipline imposed capriciously upon the soldiery by Captain Louis Henry de Beffroy that the men deserted by the dozen: "a too harsh and maybe too partial discipline disgusted the men and caused them to desert." He accused Beffroy of "throwing soldiers

[524] See the entry for 26 July 1780, in Rochambeau's *livre d'ordre*, Archives Générales du Département de Meurthe-et-Moselle, Nancy, France, call number E 235.
[525] John Serrill Account Book 1782 to 1798, Ms 5920 Business S, HSD.
[526] Simon W Wilson “Account Statement 1781-1784.” in: H. F. Brown Collection, Caesar Rodney Papers, MS drawer, HSD.
[527] Lea Mills Account Book, 1775-1783, Ms Books Business L, HSD.
[528] Thomas Rodney Account Book, 1776-1789, Ms 5706 Personal R, HSD.
[529] Alexander Porter, ledger of Hamburgh Mill, 1 October 1769 to November 1783, HSD.

in jail indiscriminately and for all kinds of reasons, (of) humiliating the poor soldiers with punishments, of treating them ignominiously, of handing out three punishments at a time to the same person, prison, standing at the stake, and beatings with a stick." No wonder that soldiers such as the *chasseur* Jean-Claude Passant told Hugau that he "would rather stay with his girl-friend (*maitresse*) in a country that offered him the sweetness of liberty." Passant, born around 1753 in Franche Comté, however did not act on his anger, but returned to France where he was discharged in October 1783.[530]

Faced with the same options, many Germans and German-speaking soldiers in the Legion acted differently, for it is here that the multi-national character of the Legion, the sometimes checkered service record of its personnel, and its non-French ethnic composition asserted itself. Germans were more likely to desert in America than French. Of 316 deserters of Rochambeau's corps who avoided recapture, 104 were Germans or German-speaking soldiers of the German Royal Deux-Ponts. Another 186 were German-speaking soldiers mostly from Lorraine or Alsace in Rochambeau's other units; 132 of them belonged to Lauzun's Legion.[531] As early as December 1780, a complete patrol of hussars, horses and all, took off into the forests of Connecticut from their winter quarters in Lebanon. On 22 December 1780, a few days after the event, Rochambeau wrote to Lauzun how he was "angered by the desertion of your patrol, and you have taken the best precautions to prevent a recurrence, which is always that of not to taint yourself with the business of recruiting Hessian deserters, of whom as you know I have never had a good opinion."[532] It is unknown when that event occurred, hussars Kober and Sauker deserted on 12 December, LaTour and Jemme on the 18 December and Rochambeau's letter of 22 December acknowledged receipts of Lauzun's letters of 16 and 21 December -- but when one of the culprits was captured again, Lauzun decided to make an example of him. On 26 December 1780, Jacques Sauker, age 25, of the Second Squadron of Hussars, was executed by firing squad in Lebanon.[533]

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[530] Hugau, *Détails*, p. 161.

[531] Only 26 deserters were from French-speaking parts of France. For some of these men the New World did not keep its promise. DEPA, Executive Papers, Treasurer 1788, contains this entry:
"By orders of the overseer of the Poor of Mill Creek Hundred
1788 For keeping Lewis Luandres a Sick French Soldier from the beginning of April to May twentieth being seven weeks at 15 sh the first five week 3/15/0 and at 7 sh the last two weeks at 7/6 = 15 sh
For one gallon wine by order of the doctor 0/6/0
For one day with a horse helping him out of the County 0/5/0
For cash given him at his going 0/7/6
For the overseers at the poor 0/10/0
Total 5/18/6
Joseph Ball

Luandres may well have been on his way to Richmond. In July 1785, French consul Martin Oster wrote from Virginia that he had granted passports to 13 deserters to return to France under an amnesty granted by the king on 17 December 1784, and valid for six months beginning on 1 January 1785. J. Rives Childs, "French Consul Martin Oster reports on Virginia, 1784-1796" *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* Vol. 76, (1968), pp. 27-40, p. 37.

[532] Rochambeau to Lauzun, 22 December 1780, Rochambeau Papers, Library of Congress, vol. 7.

[533] Sauker's execution, one of five executions for desertion, is recorded in Colonies D2c32, Archives Nationales de France, Paris. The other four soldiers executed were Jean Gitter on 12 May 1782, Alexander Boucher on 17 May 1782, and Corporal Christoph Hand on (23 April 1781, all from the Grenadier Company and Corporal Joseph Frank from the Artillery Company, also on 23 April 1781. Sauker, Gitter, and Boucher were shot, Hand and Frank were hanged for "deserting to the enemy." Jacques Bergeot of the Chasseur Company was executed on 1 October 1781, for homicide. Since only two soldiers were killed in combat on 3 October 1781, and three men are

While the armies were encamped outside New York, a steady trickle of deserters continued to leave Rochambeau's army. On 10 August Frederick Mackenzie, an British officer in New York, recorded the well-established tendency of German soldiers to desert. "Four French Hussars came in yesterday afternoon, with their horses and appointments: Two more came in this Morning. There is no doubt but if the Armies were in the Field, and nearer each other, the desertion from the French troops would be very great. Many of them being Germans, particularly Duponts, and the Legion, wish to come in when they have an opportunity."[534] Entries listing French deserters can be found almost daily in his diary, e.g., two deserters on 11 July, five on 30 July, four farriers from the Legion on 1 August, "several" on 7 August, four from Saintonge on 16 August, etc. Adjutant General Baurmeister of the Hessians also reported the arrival of French deserters: 14 hussars, 11 grenadiers, 9 fusiliers and 5 artillerymen by 19 August.[535] During the fifteen months between the arrival of Rochambeau's forces in Newport and the siege of Yorktown, 16 hussars, 4 grenadiers, 2 cannoniers or artillerymen, and 1 chasseurs deserted.[536]

After a decline in the spring of 1782, only 3 men deserted in January and February 1782, the desertion rate for all units increased again as the campaign season approached. For Lauzun's Legion this meant that five men deserted in March and April, 16 men in May and June, and 15 in July and August 1782. Until then, most of the deserters had been hussars, but now other branches became affected as well. At the 1 November 1782 review at Hanover Court House in New Jersey, 4 grenadiers, 4 cannoniers, 8 chasseurs, and 22 hussars for a total of 38 men are known to have deserted during the months of September and October 1782. During the winter months and quarters in Wilmington, desertion slowed down again. At the review of 25 February 1783, the First Squadron of Hussars had lost only one man, the grenadiers two, the cannoniers had lost one, the chasseurs had kept their strength, and the Second Squadron of Hussars had lost four.

But as the departure date approached, the inspection reports record an increasing number of desertions. When the next review was conducted on 24 April, the Legion had lost another 15 enlisted men, two thirds of them from the Second Squadron of hussars. Four of the men had died, eleven had deserted. The total strength of the Legion stood at 13 officers (including Lauzun who had returned from Newport), NCOs, and enlisted men on the staff, 31 company-grade officers, 533 NCOs and enlisted men, and 287 horses. During the first 1 1/2 weeks of May, another 11 men deserted. When the Legion held its final review in Wilmington on 7 May 1783, the first Squadron of Hussars was down to 118 men from the 133 it had had on 24 December 1782. The grenadiers had 85 rather than 96, the cannoniers 86 rather than 96, the chasseurs 88 rather than 96, and the Second Squadron of Hussars was down to 103 from the 135 of December of 1782. On the eve of departure, the Legion had 41 officers, eight staff members, and 480 rank and file.[537]

But not all of the missing men had deserted: some had died, and some had been discharged.[538] And even with this *caveat*, these figures are somewhat misleading. In

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known to have died of combat-related wounds, the Legion had more men executed than were killed in battle!

[534] *Diary of Frederick Mackenzie* 2 Vols., (Cambridge, 1932), vol. 2, pp. 584-585.

[535] Bernhard A. Uhlendorf, ed., *Revolution in America. Confidential Letters and Journals of Adjutant General Major Baurmeister of the Hessian Forces* (New Brunswick, 1957), p. 459.

[536] Massoni, *Détails*, p. 128.

[537] The reviews are located in Archives Nationales, Paris, Marine D2c32.

[538] For details see Appendix 2: Members of Lauzun's Legion who remained in the United States.

defense of the Legion it should be said that many (44) of these deserters, at least those for 1780 and 1781, had once before deserted from Britain's German allies. They had not come with the Legion from France but had been recruited after Lauzun's arrival in America.[539] In late December 1780, Rochambeau ordered Lauzun to cease recruiting Hessian deserters, though he seems to have ignored the order.[540] And lastly, as American historian Samuel F. Scott has pointed out, the overall desertion rate for Rochambeau's forces in America, slightly over 5 per cent over 2 1/2 years in America, "is remarkably low" and well below the annual average of forces stationed in France proper.[541]

The problem of desertions were not confined to French land forces. Naval forces suffered from it as much as land forces, if not more. By June 1781, Barras' fleet was nearly 1,000 sailors short and Rochambeau had to detach 700 men to the navy to supplement the ship crews.[542] French sailors tended to desert to the Americans. In 1781, at least six French deserters from Ternay's fleet appeared on the roster of the American frigate *Concorde*. When fellow sailors forcibly carried a deserted sailor back onto a French warship, the town of Boston served the captain with a writ of *Habeus Corpus,* which the French captain honored![543] Delaware was not immune from this problem. On 8 October 1782, de la Luzerne asked Dickinson's help in manning a French frigate with the with the justification that "on m'assure qu'il y a plusieurs matelots François à Wilmington soit à terre soit sure les Vaisseaux Americains -- I have been assured that numerous French sailors are in Wilmington either on land or on the American vessels."[544] Ten weeks later, on 29 December 1782, La Luzerne informed Dickinson, who by now was chief executive of Pennsylvania, that there were four Frenchmen in the prison of the city of Philadelphia - Georges Manson, Nicolas Servin, Russ Talley, and Michel Lyon - and asked that these men be transferred to French warships.[545]

By late April, news of the signing of the Preliminaries of Peace between France and Great Britain on 20 January 1783 had reached the hussars in Wilmington and with it came orders for the Legion to return to France. A grateful Congress used the opportunity to pass a resolution of thanks for his services:

> "A letter having been read from the minister of France to the Secretary for Foreign affairs, requesting him to inform Congress of the proposed departure of the Duke de Lauzun's legion and other detachments of Count Rochambeau's army for France; and

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[539] The same is true for many of the deserters from the Royal Deux-Ponts: 35 of the 67 American recruits deserted again, comprising more than one third of the 104 men who deserted in America. See *A Journal by Thos: Hughes For his Amusement, & Designed only for his Perusal by the time he attains the Age of 50 if he lives so long (1778-1789)* E. A. Benians, ed., (Cambridge, 1947), p. 95: "Sept: 10th. A French recruiting party is at present beating up in this town (Philadelphia) for Husssars (or Light Horse); they offer twenty guineas bounty. An American party who were here lately gave six guineas at enlistment and a promise of 300 acres at the conclusion of the war. They pickt up 14 men out of this town, mostly deserters -- there are above a thousand German deserters settled at different farm houses within 30 miles of this town." For the names of these 14 men and their fates see Appendix 2.

[540] See Baurmeister, p. 406: "On the 8th of this month, (January 1781) a French recruiting command left Philadelphia with twenty-eight recruits, among whom were five Hessians and two Anspachers."

[541] Scott, *Yorktown*, p. 103.

[542] Kennett, *French forces*, p. 85.

[543] Kennett, *French forces*, p. 82 et passim.

[544] John Dickinson Letters 1782, DEPA.

[545] John Dickinson Letters 1782, DEPA.

> expressing, with the Duke de Lauzun, the sense that he and the other officers and men of this army entertain of the harmony which has subsisted between them and the inhabitants of these states, and of the hospitality with which they have been treated by them:
>
> Resolved, That the Secretary for Foreign affairs inform the minister of France, that Congress learn with pleasure the satisfaction which the Duke de Lauzun, and the officers and men of the French army in America express, in the harmony which has subsisted between them and the inhabitants of these states, since it exhibits at the same time a strong proof of the good disposition and discipline of the commanders, officers and men, and the just sense the people of this country entertain of the important services they have rendered.
>
> As a further testimony of which,
>
> Resolved, That the Secretary for Foreign affairs inform the Duke de Lauzun, and the officers and men under his command, that the United States in Congress assembled are highly sensible of their successful exertions in the cause of America, and of the strict attention which they have at all times paid to the rights of its citizens; and while they rejoice at the events which have brought tranquillity to these states, it adds to their pleasure to reflect, that it restores those who have been active in procuring it to their friends and their country."[546]

It is unknown whether the State of Delaware or the City of Wilmington sent a note of thanks to Lauzun on the eve of its departure. Neither the records of the state legislature or the Governor nor local records, such as the "Minutes of the Council, Wilmington, September 1771- 8 September 1783," and the "Minutes of the Proceedings of the Burgesses and Assistants of the Borough of Wilmington relating to Publick Affairs of the Corporation" mention such a note.[547]

We do know, however, that there was a meeting between the Trustees of the Wilmington Academy and Lauzun in early May that did not go well. The trustees had "waited upon" the duke "in order to request an indemnification" for damages done by his troops to the Academy. Lauzun had "answered he had no power to pay anything but what had been stipulated in the original convention and that the Trustees did not make a reply to this answer."[548]

But the Trustees were not prepared to let the matter rest that easily. At their next meeting 6 May 1783, they decided that “The same Committee viz: Thos Duff, Nicks Way Vincent Gilpin are requested to apply to two Magistrates of their County agreeable to

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[546] The resolution is available at http://memory.loc.gov in the Journals of the Continental Congress, under the date, Thursday, 1 May 1783.

[547] Both sets of minutes are located in HSD, Microfilm D 5.1.1, Reel 1.

[548] Deposition by Collot on 16 May 1783 in Coxe Papers, Tench Coxe Section, Incoming Correspondence, Box 12, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

Law & procure a Warrant for allowing a Compensation for the Use of the School House as Barracks for the Legion of the Duke de Lauzun the last winter."[549]

This was a venue often employed by Americans in order to get a final *écu* out of the French, the most famous case being that of Miller Hallock at Crompond. In order to appease his allies, Rochambeau had usually paid whatever amount of money was requested. But Collot was not prepared to give in so easily and responded with a deposition on 16 May 1783, disputing the claims of the trustees of the Wilmington Academy. In it, Collot declared that he had seen to it that all "necessary repairs were made at the expence of his Majesty." He had agreed "that the materials employed for that purpose should not be removed after the Departure of the Troops, that the Students who were thirty in number should be transposed and that an appartment should be provided in town at the King's expence for their reception." Even though he had spent 12,000 livres on top of "the rent of the appartment for the Students, … now the Troops being gone the Trustees claim rents which they pretend have been promised and the property of the Stables, which have been build at the expence of his Majesty for the horses of the Legion upon a lot entirely separate from the College and assigned for the said purpose by the Magistrates of the town, and which have been sold together with the horses to Mr. Jacob Broom."

No document indicating the success, or failure, of the Trustees' plan has survived; it did however prevent Collot from sailing for France as planned on the frigate *la Gloire* on 11 May 1783. That day, Lauzun, the 528 men left of his *légion*, and most of the remnants of the *expédition particulière* sailed from Wilmington. 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.[550] The *expédition particulière* was over.

Nine days later, on 20 June 1783, the *Volontaires étrangers de Lauzun* ceased to exist as well. It took considerable effort on the part of Lauzun to effect the transformation of his unit into a regular hussar regiment. The *Lauzun Hussards* were created by Royal *ordonnance* of 11 October 1783 and stationed in Lauterbourg in the Alsace in December. Five years later, an inspection report of 21 December 1788, a good six months before the outbreak the Great Revolution, showed the regiment, still under its *colonel proprietaire* the duc de Lauzun, one lieutenant short of its full supplement of 47 officers, plus four standard bearers, and a *cadet gentilhomme*. Its rank and file consisted of 592 NCOs and men, 56 short of its authorized strength of 648.

[549] Schools, Wilmington Academy (Manuscript), Folder 4, HSD. The notice about this meeting in the 24 May 1783 issue of the *Pennsylvania Packet* mentions the use of the building by Lauzun's Legion only indirectly. In it, the trustees promise that "The school-house will immediately be put into repair for the accommodation of the pupils," and "as there is no probability that it will be again occupied as a barrack for troops, the trustees expect that the inconveniences heretofore experienced by removing the scholars to private houses will not again occur." In 1792, the Academy unsuccessfully appealed to Congress for compensation for losses incurred during the war. It received a new charter in 1803, but unlike the near-by Academy in Newark, it never flourished and was closed by 1833, when the building was torn down.

[550] 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.

In the course of the army reforms of the summer of 1791, the Lauzun Hussars became the 6th Hussars and Lauzun lost his proprietorship. A year later, the revolutionary government in Paris had declared war on Austria, and the 6th Hussars had fallen completely apart. The majority of its officers deserted; when its chief administrative officer, American War veteran *quartier-maitre* Sirjacques, handed the regiment's funds, supplies, and records over to the enemy in August 1792, the unit had to be completely re-constituted. In the fall of 1792, the 6th became the 5th Hussars; the old 3rd or Saxe Hussars were erased from the army list after all but the 4th escadron had gone over to the enemy. As the war went from bad to worse, the revolution turned on itself. Among the victims was Lauzun, who had initially welcomed the revolution. Despite faithful service in the Vendée, he ascended the scaffold on 31 December 1793. Flamboyant to the end he shared his last meal with his executioner. Encouraging him to drink, he told the man: "You must need courage in your profession."

His regiment, the Fifth Regiment of Hussars, was dissolved as an active regiment in the French military on 1 January 1976, but survived through various reserve units until its final dissolution on 31 December 1992.

THE ROBBERY OF THE FRENCH TREASURY, 18 MARCH 1783

Some seven weeks after the departure of Lauzun's Legion from Philadelphia began a long-awaited postlude to their presence in Wilmington. At the Thursday, 26 June 1783, session of the Court of Oyer and Terminer, Gunning Bedford Jr. presented a widely watched case to the jury.[551] In his complaint, the State Attorney General alleged that around 8 p.m. on 18 March 1783, Richard Dowdle and John Clark of Newcastle County "feloniously and burglariously did break and enter" into the home of Peter Brodelet. Once inside they stole "ten thousand pieces of Silver Coin commonly called French Crowns of the Value of £ 4,168/13/4 lawful Money of the Delaware State," thereby acting "against the Peace and Dignity of the Delaware State."[552] The case had created quite a stir, it had in fact been so spectacular that it was even considered newsworthy in near-by Philadelphia. On 11 June, *the Pennsylvania Journal* had printed a letter from a correspondent in Wilmington outlining the case.

> Wilmington,
>
> April 5, 1783
> Sir,
>
> Agreeable to my promise, I have sat down to give you a full account of the robbery committed last spring on the French Treasury in this town -- the taking up of the villains, and recovery of great part of the money, two days since; and the little circumstances that fortunately lead to the discovery.
>
> The morning after the fact (sic) was perpetrated, Martin Delaney, who occupied the house, in then cellar of which the money was lodged,[553] Richard Dowdle, store keeper, of Christiana Bridge,[554] and one Clark, near Bush Town in Maryland, were immediately suspected by every person who knew them; Delaney and Dowdle were apprehended, and very

[551] The following account is based on "French Treasury Robbery" General Reference No. 590.1, DEPA.

[552] On 28 June 28, Robert Bryan, Treasurer of Newcastle County, was directed by William Killen and David Finney to pay Margaret Bail £ 32/14 "for our expenses at her house while holding a Court of Oyer and Terminer" plus 4 sh "for the Shff and sub Shff's Breakfast."

[553] In her *Reminiscenses*, Montgomery wrote that the robbery of the French treasury took place in the home of Abijah Dawes at 606 Market Street. (p. 287) Dawes (1748-1816) was a Philadelphia merchant who owned property in Wilmington. According to Montgomery, the owners of the house after Dawes were Gunning Bedford Jr., Thomas Massey, and Louis McLane. Charles E. Green, *History of the M.W. Grand Lodge of the Ancient, Free and Accepted Masons of Delaware* (Wilmington, 1956), pp. 19-27, includes a short biography of Bedford (1747-1812), stating that in 1781, Bedford, a 1771 graduate of Princeton and cousin of Delaware governor Gunning Bedford Sr., lived in a house on East Side of Market Street between 6th and 7th Streets, i.e., 606 Market. In 1783, Bedford became a member of Congress for Delaware. (p. 24) The circumstance of the case suggest that Delaney rented the property, and due to his many obligations in Dover, Bedford may well have rented it out. Rochambeau reportedly stayed there in September 1781.

[554] Dowdle seems to have kept a tavern as well. Having arrived in Christiana on Friday, 5 October 1781, Lieutenant Reeves recorded that "At night the most of the company *kept it up* (sic) at Doudles, where we sup'd and stay'd all night, and breakfasted next morning." Reeves, "Letter-Books," p. 239.

strictly examined. Both obstinately denied any knowledge of the crime. Delaney's conduct in particular preceding the theft, was so artfully covered, and he gave such plausible reasons for every part of it, that the most embittered suspicion seemed to give up the charge. Dowdle's was rather thin to prevent doubts. His examination would scarcely bear a rehearsal. His answers were weak and embarrassed. However, the Justices and Burgesses[555] thought it necessary to bind them over to the last May court. They then appeared, and the Judges continued to them bound over with new sureties until August next. From a few days after they were first apprehended, until Saturday last, suspicion seemed to have taken an (illegible), and a charge of guilt no more attented too, than the tedious rehearsal of an idle dream.[556]

On Saturday morning then, a man who has latterly been deservedly neglected by his former acquaintances, on account of his intolerable appetite for liquor, waited upon his friend to request a small favour -- it was granted -- they sat down, and the conversation directly began about the robbery. He was particularly acquainted with Delany: he knew him well. As it continued, the laugh acted a principle part; and the superior skill of Delany to manage a point of such magnitude; the ingenuity he could make use of to cover the crime; and, the daring imputence with which he would brave it out, were, tolerably well painted. He consistently mentioned Lallor (who was then in Wilmington) as the person, who changed the money for them. He had carefully watched their movements for some time, and, was fully convinced he was right. That little Negro girl of Delany's could give such information as would unravel the whole, if well managed. That Delany had, that morning, taken a lock from one of the closets in the upper chamber, and put it on the box of a chair, which, he said, Lallor had made him a present of. That he intended setting out early next morning (Sunday) with his wife, for his plantation near Cantwell's Bridge; and had filed the chair-box with *good old spirits* to treat his friends when they came to visit him; and that he had (Delany's own expressions) "a dam'd good brace of pistols, well loaded a long time, family pieces, and he would take them with him.

[555] In the 1780s, Wilmington's city government consisted of 2 Burgesses, 6 Assistants, 1 High Constable, 1 Petit Constable, 1 Town Clerk, 1 Treasurer, and 1 Assessor. Elections for city offices took place on the second Monday in September; candidates came from a small group of families that had a firm grip on these offices. On 8 September 1781 and 9 September 1782, Joseph Stedham and Thomas Kean were re-elected as Chief Burgess and Burgess, while Jacob Broom was re-elected Assessor. On 8 September 1783, Jacob Broom became chief burgess and assessor. Joseph Shallcross Sr. was elected Treasurer, Joseph Shallcross Jr. became Town Clerk. See Wilmington Mss Folder 1, HSD, which includes the "Wilmington Borough, Treasurer's Account, 6 September 1769 to 30 October 1817, the "Book of Ordinances," and the "Borough Ordinances," which record the election results. On the functioning of city government see John Cunningham, *History of the Government of Wilmington* (typescript, Wilmington 1939) in HSD.

[556] "Saturday last" was 29 March 1783.

Jacob Broom, who is one of the Burgesses of the town, and deserves the thanks of the community for his exertions in behalf of the public, soon had all this account laid before him; and, very judicially, concluded, that some of the transformed crowns would take an airing next day with the happy couple; and, accordingly, called a consultation of George Craghead, John Lea, and Thomas Kean, Esquires, stated the matter to them, and advised way-laying Delany at the Red Lyon, on his way down: This had not, for some reason, the desired effect, and the matter here rested until Tuesday morning, when Mr. Craighead and Broom accidently met in the street near to Capt. O'Flinn.[557]

That something ought to be done, that night, was warmly urged by Mr. Broom, and chearfully agreed to by Mestrs Craighead, Kean, and Lea; and accordingly six persons were carefully selected, and orders given them to watch for that night. These persons, with an ingenious and meritorious address, secreted themselves about ten at night near Delany's house. Expectation lengthened the time; but, take trust, servants of public virtue, they bore up against all the prevailing powers of sleep, till dawn of day, when they decried a man coming down the street in a sulkey -- saw him alight - hitch his horse to a fence, and walk to Delany's house - taking up the latch of the door and letting it fall three times. Saw Mrs Delany open the door, with a candle in her hand, and let him in. Waited about fifteen minutes, and see Mrs Delany again open the door, and let him out; upon which the guard started up, ran, and seized Mr. Lallor. They forced him back to Mr. Craighead's, and, in the presence of the Justices, found a pair of saddle bags across his right shoulder, the two ends curiously tyed round his waist, and his great coat on as common. Capt. Lea, one of the Justices, anxious to know the contents of the saddle bags, perhaps too hastily, thurst in his hand, and all besh-t (sic) his fingers; but, with his usual happiness of expression, humourously recounted the old adage, that shit-n luck was good luck. Nine hundred and ninety crowns were found in the saddle bags, and, from the filth about them, no one doubted but they were brought out of the little-house. Lallor denied having any knowledge of them, and only said, he got about five hundred of them of Delany, and the rest he brought from Philadelphia to speck with. He was directly committed to prison. A guard was immediately placed over Delany, messengers dispatched for Dowdle, and search took place in the little-house.[558] The people crowded to the place, and a little time produced twenty-two bags, containing 4400. Whilst this work was going forward, Dowdle was brought in, and both him and Delany had an opportunity of seeing the money produced from amongst the dirt. Dowdle still denied, asserted his innocence, and told them if he was guilty he deserved no mercy.

[557] Patrick O'Flinn was a Revolutionary War veteran who later ran the "Foul Anchor" or "Sign of the Ship" Tavern, later known as the "Happy Retreat" and again renamed LaFayette Hotel after the marquis' visit in 1824. Washington was a frequent visitor there. See Washington, *Diaries,* vol. 3, p. 215.

[558] The "little-house" is the privy or outhouse.

> Delany, when he understood Dowdle was undergoing a severe examination, seeing the money lay scattered before him; and, afraid Dowdle might take the lead and speak first, as the facts spoke for themselves, his spirits began to fail, his resolution gave way, and in agony cryed out for Capt. Lea, to whom he made confession; that Dowdle, himself, and Clark was the only person concerned; that his wife was in the secret; that Clark and Dowdle took as many as they could carry away the night of the robbery, and that Lollar was to change them in Philadelphia for dollars or gold, having for his trouble a generous commission. Dowdle and Delany were committed to goal, and are now in irons. Clark is not yet come to hand, though hourly expected and much wished for."

The investigation following the arrests brought more detail to light. The accused, while not rich, did not come from among the very poor either. Martin Delany, who was married with two sons and a daughter under 18 (in 1782), the alleged ringleader, had property with a taxable value of 25 pounds as well as an estate valued at £ 40, which is quite high.[559] So is Richard Dowdle's tax assessment in White Clay Creek Hundred at £ 16: most tax assessments are under £ 10![560]

As indicated in the newspaper account, they had been suspects from the beginning. The day after the robbery, on 19 March 1783, the first plaintiffs had appeared before John Lea, one of the Justices of the Peace[561] and Thomas Kean and Jacob Broom, Burgesses for Wilmington, to place bonds for appearance at the next court session. Richard Dowdle of White Clay Creek Hundred, accused by Brodelet under oath of having stolen the money, and Daniel W Lowler of New Castle (possibly a relative of Henry Lollar) placed bonds of £ 500 and £ 2500 each. Martin Delaney posted £ 5,000; and Alexander Montgomery £ 2,500. Peter Stonemetz and John Fowler, both of the Borough of Wilmington, placed bonds of £ 100 and £ 50 resp. offering to testify against Martin Delaney, whom Peter Brodelet had also charged as participating in the theft. But it took until the events in the early morning of 30 March before they could be arrested and charged.

Preparations for the trial began in early June, and Delaney was the first to be interrogated on the 4th. Delaney stuck to his account and blamed the robbery on Dowdle and Clark, who had promised him 1/3 of the loot if he let them rob the house. Confirming his initial confession, he insisted that Dowdle and Clark had taken about 2,600 crowns with them the night of the robbery and thrown the rest down his privy. A few days later the two returned for two more casks of coin, with Clark receiving “Six bagg and Some Loose Cash.” By the time he was arrested, Clark had spent about £ 7 (25 écus) and buried

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[559] Information on the accused is derived from Ralph D. Nelson et al., *Delaware – 1782. Tax Assessment and Census Lists* (Wilmington, 1994) and Harold B. Hancock, *The Reconstructed Delaware State Census of 1782* (Wilmington, 1983), Dowdle on p. 91. Unfortunately the census taker did not break his census down into age groups or gender; he simply listed the names of the male heads of households.

Martin Delaney's household consisted of 1 woman under 18, 0 at 18, 1 over 18, 3 men under 18, 0 at 18 and 2 over 18. Ibid., p. 36. The Delaware census of 1790 lists only the estate of Elizabeth Dowdle in Newcastle County. Also listed are the estates of Mathew and Michael Delaney, but no Martin Delaney. Mathew and Michael may have been the sons of Martin.

[560] No information is available on John Clark of Harford County, Maryland.

[561] The other Justice of the Peace was James Craighead.

the rest in the banks of the Bush River near Otter Point where Sheriff Osborne recovered 1,125 crowns. Besides that he had in his possession

31 French crowns (=écus)
2 (Spanish) dollars (=Pieces of Eight)
4 French guineas (=gold Louis d'or)
1 English guinea
"Broken money to the amount of £ 2/11/9"[562]

The next witness, Robert Hamilton, one of the posse that captured Lollar, testified on 5 June that he had heard that a certain Henry Lollar was to carry away a large amount of money from Delaney's house. Informed by Mr. Joseph Lawson, Innkeeper at the Cross Keys Tavern in Wilmington,[563] at daybreak on the morning of 4 June that Lollar was getting his carriage ready, he and Mr John Hill went out and watched what Lolar was doing. They observed him going into Delaney's house. After 15 or 18 minutes came back with a coat on and then he and five other men seized Lollar and found a saddlebag full of money under the coat with 982 crowns and took Lolar to Craighead. On the way there, Lollar had insisted that the money in the saddle was money Delaney had owed him.

The next witness was Patrick Murdock, a lodger in the house of Delaney who had been teaching mill-owner Thomas Lea some French and who had served as an interpreter most of the time. On 7 June 1783, Murdock testified that the plaintiff Peter Brodelet[564] had been a clerk to de Baulay, Paymaster General of the French forces in Wilmington. Brodelet was a fellow boarder, but so were a M "Bracoigné, a person enjoying some office in the French hospital, who also lodged and boarded in the house of the said Martin" Delany,[565] and a M de l'Orme. Murdock remembered how for weeks Delaney had kept talking about how easy it would be to steal the money stored in the basement. One evening, Dr. Nicholas Way had come to the house and informed Delaney that he had a house for sale.[566] Delaney immediately expressed an interest in the property, indicating that he would pay for it with money he would get from the sale of land his wife owned in the Jerseys.

On the day before the robbery, Dowdle had been visiting, and Clarke might have been there as well. On the evening of the day that the robbery was to occur, Delaney had told his lodgers that he would go to the Jerseys the next day to sell his wife's property. Almost

[562] Since they were minted of gold or silver, coins had a value in themselves irrespective of where they were minted or whose portrait or coat of arms they wore. In order to create smaller denominations, it was customary to cut them in halves, quarters, or even eighths, one-eighth of a coin being called a "bit." "Broken money" were the "bits and pieces" of coins that were weighed to determine their value.

[563] The Cross Keys Tavern stood near the south-west corner of Brandywine Cemetery at the junction of the Old King's Road and Kennett Turnpike.

[564] Peter Brodelet is not listed in Bodinier's *Dictionnaire.* Low-level administrators or doctors did not hold officer rank.

[565] A hospital guard "Braconnier" is mentioned as having departed from Philadelphia on board the *duc de Lauzun* on 15 May 1783. See Bouvet, *Le Service de Santé,* p. 105.

[566] Dr. Nicholas Way, the son of Francis and Mary Way, was born in Wilmington in 1750. He graduated from the University of Pennsylvania Medical School in 1771, was a delegate to the Ratification Convention in Dover in 1787, but gave up his practice in 1796 and moved to Philadelphia where he was appointed President of the Mint. He died on 7 September 1797 from Yellow Fever. Way, who lived on the corner of Third and Shipley owned a small farm on the borough line to the north-west of town, which he might have wanted to sell. Jeanette Eckman Papers Folder 29, HSD.

as a farewell, Delany then invited them all to play a game of cards -- in one of the upper rooms of the house rather than downstairs where they usually played. Looking back, Murdock now realized that the noise of the game, the freely flowing liquor, and the location on an upper floor, provided a perfect cover for the execution of the crime.

On 9 June, the interrogation report of John Clark the Sheriff of Harford County, Maryland, arrived in Wilmington with an apology for the delay: the delinquent had escaped and had to be recapture before he could be interrogated.[567] Clark claimed that it had all been Dowdle's idea, hatched some time in January 1783 when the two of them were together at Dowdle's home in Christiana. The next day the two of them had gotten together with Delaney who had outlined the plan, but told them that he needed some help to carry it out. To seal the agreement the three took an oath of secrecy and then they set a time for the enterprise. In his defense Clarke claimed that even after the oath he continued to refuse cooperation, but about six weeks later Delaney sent for him and Dowdle and together they went to Wilmington to Delaney's house to investigate the locale. The next day the robbery took place.

Much to the surprise of Bedford, one would assume, the jury acquitted the accused. But Bedford would not, could not, let the case rest and appealed the verdict. At a General Quarter Session of 18 August 1783, a new jury found Dowdle and Clark guilty of felony and burglary. But Henry Lollar, who had placed a bond of £ 4000 on 27 June 1783, following his first acquittal, was again acquitted upon payment of fees. The punishment for Dowdle and Clark was severe. The court ordered them to restore 15,616 crowns, i.e., double the amount of money that had been stolen but recovered, plus 9,768 crowns, four times what had been stolen but not recovered. The court had to be aware of the fact that the restoration of 25,384 crowns or 142,304 livres -- almost exactly the amount Washington had borrowed from Rochambeau to pay his army at Head of Elk -- went far beyond the financial means of the two criminals.

In addition, the court ordered

> "that they be whipped at the public whipping Post of the County, on Thursday the twenty first Day of this present Month August between the Hours of one and three o'Clock in the Afternoon with twenty one lashes each, on their bare Backs, well laid on, that they respectively, wear a Roman T as a Mark or Badge of their Crime of a red Color not less than four inches in length and one in breadt, on the outer part of the left Arm between the Shoulders and the Elbow at all Times that they shall travel or appear from their Habitations for the Space of six Months, and that they be committed to the public Goal until Restitution is made, Punishment inflicted, and costs of Prosecution be paid."[568]

[567] Apparently there had been a reward of £ 50 to solve the crime plus another 50 crowns for the capture of Clark plus expenses, all of which the Sheriff asked to be delivered to him in the return mail.

[568] The story of Delaware's Red Hannah is told in Robert Graham Caldwell, *Red Hannah. Delaware's Whipping Post* (Philadelphia, 1947). There is a good overview of Delaware's penal code on pp. 10-13, incl. wearing of letter "T" for thief. Delaware used public whippings longer than any state in the Union. As of 31 December 1945 there were still 24 crimes punishable by whipping and Delaware was the only state with public whipping posts in each of the three

Delaney was released upon payment of fees on a *Noli Prosequi* motion by Bedford[569] and ordered to place a recognizance of £500 with one surety for his good behaviour within three weeks lest he be committed while his case was pending "a certioari" before the Supreme Court.[570]

After three months in prison, Dowdle and Clark petitioned the court on 17 November 1783, to be sold into indenture. Their punishment, the petition read, had been “to receive Corporal Punishment” and to pay restitution. They had received their whipping and the sheriff had sold “all their Property both Real and Personal.” They had restored all the money they ever had but they still owed thousands of livres. Pleading that continued imprisonment would be tantamount to a sentence of death while costing the state money. They asked to be sold into indenture for up to seven years and the money be used to cover cost of prosecution and restitution to French crown. On 23 December the court ordered Clark to be sold, but Dowdle's the petition was rejected.

A few months later on 3 Feb 1784, Dowdle renewed his petition, and this time he was successful. Acknowledging that he has been justly convicted of larceny he pleads for mercy for the sake of his children and asks to be sold for 7 years indenture, the punishment for an insolvent debtor unable to make any restitution. For the time being the court released him upon posting bond (the amount is blank) and the promise that he would testify at the next session of the court against Henry Lallor who was charged with receiving part of the stolen money. On 13 April 1784, Lallor was tried before the Supreme Court, found guilty of a felony, fined £ 375, and "committed 'till the same with the Costs of Prosecution be paid."[571] With the sentencing of Lallor more than a year after the robbery had been committed, one of Delaware's most interesting court cases of the Revolutionary War periods had come to an end.

Delany got away free. On 13 April 1784, the court decided in "The Delaware State v Richard Dowdle: Hab. Corp. Writ returned. And now the Court, upon consideration, remand the Defendant into the Sheriff's Custody." The man who had instigated the whole robbery, was released from prison and sent home with instructions to the Sheriff to keep an eye on him.[572]

CONCLUSION

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 do to speculate about "what if's," the facts show that French support was indeed vital to the success of the Revolutionary War.

In February 1762, French foreign minister Choiseul had declared that he had "only one foreign policy, a fraternal union with Spain; only one foreign policy for war, and that is England." The shots fired at Lexington and Concord had hardly been heard in Paris

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counties. Between 1933 to 1944, 34 offenders were whipped in the Kent County Jail in Dover. It was not formally abolished and removed from the statues until 1972.

[569] *noli prosequi* is a legal term indicating that the prosecutor will drop all or part of a prosecution.

[570] *a certioari* means that a higher court, in this case the Newcastle County Supreme Court, had requested a transcript of the proceedings of the case for review.

[571] DEPA RG 2830.001, Newcastle County Supreme Court Continuance Dockets, Reel 1, frame 218.

[572] Ibid., frame 224.

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. The victory at Saratoga was won with French guns and French powder. 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. Yet the presence of Rochambeau's forces on the American mainland had consequences well beyond its small numbers: they 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 October1783.[573] 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![574]

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 disastrous 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

[573] Amblard de Noailles. *Marins et Soldats Français en Amérique pendant la guerre de l'Indépendance des États-Unis* (Paris, 1903), pp. 407-408.
[574] Over one fourth of all desertions in the French forces occurred in the last three months before departure.

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.[575]

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![576] 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.

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. Delaware was one of the smallest colonies, but her geographic as the fastest land-route from Philadelphia to Baltimore placed her in a crucial position for the Yorktown campaign of 1781. She did not fail. Thousands of men and animals trod her roads in 1781 and 1782, and tens of thousands of bushels of grains and flour floated up the Christiana River on their way to Yorktown. Records in her archives bear testimony to the burdens her citizens carried to bring this war to a successful conclusion. In the winter of 1782/83, she played host to Lauzun's Legion, the last remaining French combat forces on the mainland. Delaware can be proud of her contribution to the success of the Yorktown campaign.

In 1917, almost 135 years after France had helped America in her fight for independence, America "paid her debt to Lafayette." It was repaid again in 1944, when American troops under General Dwight D. Eisenhower helped liberate France. France honored General Eisenhower and his men with a *Voie de la Liberté* tracing their route from the beaches of Normandy to Paris and to victory. The 225th anniversary of the American Revolutionary War is the time for America to honor the comte de Rochambeau and his men with the Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route tracing their steps from Newport to Yorktown and victory. This study of the route through Delaware, funded jointly by the State of Delaware and by the Delaware Society, Sons of the American Revolution, the descendants of those who fought for America's independence between 1776 and 1783, is a vivid reminder that the Spirit of '76 is still very much alive. It shows the commitment of the citizens of Delaware to ensure that both, France's

[575] All figures from Harris, "French Finances," pp. 233-258.
[576] Sturgill, "Observations," p. 183.

contributions to America's struggle for freedom, and the sufferings of her own ancestors, will always be remembered.

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APPENDIX 1: DOCUMENTS

1) Treaty of Alliance between the United States and France (6 February 1778)

The most Christian King and the United States of North America, to wit, New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhodes island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, having this Day concluded a Treaty of amity and Commerce, for the reciprocal advantage of their Subjects and Citizens have thought it necessary to take into consideration the means of strengthening those engagements and of rendring them useful to the safety and tranquility of the two parties, particularly in case Great Britain in Resentment of that connection and of the good correspondence which is the object of the said Treaty, should break the Peace with France, either by direct hostilities, or by hindring her commerce and navigation, in a manner contrary to the Rights of Nations, and the Peace subsisting between the two Crowns; and his Majesty and the said united States having resolved in that Case to join their Councils and efforts against the Enterprises of their common Enemy, the respective Plenipotentiaries, impower'd to concert the Clauses & conditions proper to fulfil the said Intentions, have, after the most mature Deliberation, concluded and determined on the following Articles.

ARTICLE 1

If War should break out between France and Great Britain, during the continuance of the present War between the United States and England, his Majesty and the said united States, shall make it a common cause, and aid each other mutually with their good Offices, their Counsels, and their forces, according to the exigence of Conjunctures as becomes good & faithful Allies.

ARTICLE 2

The essential and direct End of the present defensive alliance is to maintain effectually the liberty, Sovereignty, and independence absolute and unlimited of the said united States, as well in Matters of Gouvernment as of commerce.

ARTICLE 3

The two contracting Parties shall each on its own Part, and in the manner it may judge most proper, make all the efforts in its Power, against their common Ennemy, in order to attain the end proposed.

ARTICLE 4

The contracting Parties agree that in case either of them should form any particular Enterprise in which the concurrence of the other may be desired, the Party whose concurrence is desired shall readily, and with good faith, join to act in concert for that Purpose, as far as circumstances and its own particular Situation will permit; and in that case, they shall regulate by a particular Convention the quantity and kind of Succour to be furnished, and the Time and manner of its being brought into action, as well as the advantages which are to be its Compensation.

ARTICLE 5

If the united States should think fit to attempt the Reduction of the British Power remaining in the Northern Parts of America, or the Islands of Bermudas, those Countries or Islands in case of Success, shall be confederated with or dependent upon the said united States.

ARTICLE 6

The Most Christian King renounces for ever the possession of the Islands of Bermudas as well as of any part of the continent of North america which before the treaty of Paris in 1763. Or in virtue of that Treaty, were acknowledged to belong to the Crown of Great Britain, or to the united States heretofore called British Colonies, or which are at this Time or have lately been under the Power of The King and Crown of Great Britain.

ARTICLE 7

If his Most Christian Majesty shall think proper to attack any of the Islands situated in the Gulph of Mexico, or near that Gulph, which are at present under the Power of Great Britain, all the said Isles, in case of success, shall appertain to the Crown of France.

ARTICLE 8

Neither of the two Parties shall conclude either Truce or Peace with Great Britain, without the formal consent of the other first obtain'd; and they mutually engage not to lay down their arms, until the Independence of the united states shall have been formally or tacitly assured by the Treaty or Treaties that shall terminate the War.

ARTICLE 9

The contracting Parties declare, that being resolved to fulfil each on its own Part the clauses and conditions of the present Treaty of alliance, according to its own power and circumstances, there shall be no after claim of compensation on one side or the other whatever may be the event of the War.

ARTICLE 10

The Most Christian King and the United states, agree to invite or admit other Powers who may have received injuries from England to make common cause with them, and to accede to the present alliance, under such conditions as shall be freely agreed to and settled between all the Parties.

ARTICLE 11

The two Parties guarantee mutually from the present time and forever, against all other powers, to wit, the united states to his most Christian Majesty the present Possessions of the Crown of France in America as well as those which it may acquire by the future Treaty of peace: and his most Christian Majesty guarantees on his part to the united states, their liberty, Sovereignty, and Independence absolute, and unlimited, as well in Matters of Government as commerce and also their Possessions, and the additions or conquests that their Confederation may obtain during the war, from any of the Dominions now or heretofore possessed by Great Britain in North America, conformable to the 5^{th} & 6^{th} articles above written, the whole as their Possessions shall be fixed and assured to the said States at the moment of the cessation of their present War with England.

ARTICLE 12

In order to fix more precisely the sense and application of the preceding article, the Contracting Parties declare, that in case of rupture between France and England, the reciprocal

Guarantee declared in the said article shall have its full force and effect the moment such War shall break out and if such rupture shall not take place, the mutual obligations of the said guarantee shall not commence, until the moment of the cessation of the present War between the united states and England shall have ascertained the Possessions.

ARTICLE 13

The present Treaty shall be ratified on both sides and the Ratifications shall be exchanged in the space of six months, sooner if possible.

In faith where of the respective Plenipotentiaries, to wit on the part of the most Christian King Conrad Alexander Gerard royal syndic of the City of Strasbourgh & Secretary of his majestys Council of State and on the part of the United States Benjamin Franklin Deputy to the General Congress from the State of Pensylvania and President of the Convention of the same state, Silas Deane heretofore Deputy from the State of Connecticut & Arthur Lee Councellor at Law have signed the above Articles both in the French and English Languages declaring Nevertheless that the present Treaty was originally composed and concluded in the French Language, and they have hereunto affixed their Seals

Done at Paris, this sixth Day of February, one thousand seven hundred and seventy eight.

C. A. GERARD

B FRANKLIN
SILAS DEANE
ARTHUR LEE

Source: *Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States of America.* Edited by Hunter Miller, Vol. 2, Documents 1-40: 1776-1818 (Washington, DC, 1931), pp. 3 - 27.

2) Act Separate and Secret (6 February 1778)

The most Christian King declares in consequence of the intimate union which subsists between him and the King of Spain, that in concluding with the united states of America this Treaty of amity and commerce, and that of eventual and defensive alliance, his Majesty hath intended and intends to reserve expressly, as he reserves by this present separate and secret act, to his said Catholick Majesty, the Power of acceding to the said Treatys, and to participate in their stipulations at such time as he shall judge proper.

It being well understood nevertheless, that if any of the Stipulations of the said Treatys are not agreeable to the King of Spain, his Catholick Majesty may propose other conditions analogous to the principal aim of the alliance and conformable to the Rules of equality, reciprocity & friendship.

The Deputies of the united states in the name of their constituents, accept the present Declaration in its full extent and the Deputy of the said states who is fully impower'd to treat with Spain, promises to sign on the first Requisition of his Catholic Majesty, the act or acts necessary to communicate to him the Stipulations of the Treaties above written; and the said Deputy shall

endeavour in good faith the adjustment of the points in which the King of Spain may propose any alteration, conformable to the principles of equality, reciprocity and the most sincere and perfect amity; he the said Deputy not doubting but that the Person or Persons impower'd by his Catholic Majesty to treat with the United States will do the same with regard to any Alterations of the same kind that may be thought necessary by the said Plenipotentiary of the United States. In Faith whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the present separate and secret Article, and affixed to the same their Seals.

Done at Paris, this sixth Day of February, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight.

C. A. GERARD

B FRANKLIN
SILAS DEANE
ARTHUR LEE

Source: *Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States of America.* Edited by Hunter Miller, Vol. 2, Documents 1-40: 1776-1818 (Washington, DC, 1931), pp. 29-34.

3) Preliminaries of Peace (30 November 1782)

Articles agreed upon, by and between Richard Oswald Esquire, the Commissioner of his Britannic Majesty, for treating of Peace with the Commissioners of the United States of America, in behalf of his said Majesty, on the one part; and John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, and Henry Laurens, four of the Commissioners of the said States, for treating of Peace with the Commissioner of his said Majesty, on their Behalf, on the other part. To be inserted in, and to constitute the Treaty of Peace proposed to be concluded, between the Crown of Great Britain, and the said United States; but which Treaty is not to be concluded, untill Terms of a Peace shall be agreed upon, between Great Britain and France; and his Britannic Majesty shall be ready to conclude such Treaty accordingly.

Whereas reciprocal Advantages, and mutual Convenience are found by Experience, to form the only permanent foundation of Peace and Friendship between States; It is agreed to form the Articles of the proposed Treaty, on such Principles of liberal Equity, and Reciprocity, as that partial Advantages, (those Seeds of Discord!) being excluded, such a beneficial and satisfactory Intercourse between the two Countries, may be establish'd, as to promise and secure to both perpetual

ARTICLE 1st

His Britannic Majesty acknowledges the said United States, Viz New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia, to be free Sovereign and independent States; That he treats with them as such; And for himself, his Heirs and Successors, relinquishes all Claims to the Government, Propriety, and territorial Rights of the same, and every part thereof; and that all Disputes which might arise in future, on the

Subject of the Boundaries of the said United States, may be prevented, It is hereby agreed and declared that the following are, and shall be their Boundaries Viz

ARTICLE 2nd

From the north west Angle of Nova Scotia, Viz that Angle which is form'd by a Line drawn due north, from the Source of St. Croix River to the Highlands, along the said Highlands which divide those Rivers that empty themselves into the River St Laurence, from those which fall into the Atlantic Ocean, to the northwesternmost Head of Connecticut River; thence down along the middle of that River to the 45th Degree of North Latitude; from thence by a Line due West on said Latitude, untill it strikes the River Iroquois, or Cataraquy; thence along the middle of said River into Lake Ontario; through the middle of said Lake, untill it strikes the Communication by Water between that Lake and Lake Erie; thence along the middle of said Communication into Lake Erie, through the middle of said Lake, until it arrives at the Water Communication between that Lake and Lake Huron; thence along the middle of said water communication into the Lake Huron; thence through the middle of said Lake to the Water Communication between that Lake and Lake Superior; thence through Lake Superior northward of the Isles Royal & Phelipeaux, to the Long Lake; thence through the middle of said Long Lake, and the water Communication between it and the Lake of the Woods, to the said Lake of the Woods, thence through the said Lake to the most Northwestern point thereof, and from thence on a due west Course to the River Missisippi; thence by a Line to be drawn along the middle of the said River Missisippi, untill it shall intersect the northern-most part of the 31st Degree of North Latitude. South, by a Line to be drawn due East, from the Determination of the Line last mentioned, in the Latitude of 31 Degrees North of the Equator, to the middle of the River Apalachicola or Catahouche; thence along the middle thereof, to its junction with the Flint River; thence strait to the Head of St. Mary's River, and thence down along the middle of St. Mary's River to the Atlantic Ocean. East, by a Line to be drawn along the middle of the River St Croix, from its Mouth in the Bay of Fundy to its Source; and from its Source directly North, to the aforesaid Highlands which divide the Rivers that fall into the Atlantic Ocean, from those which fall into the River Se Laurence; comprehending all Islands within twenty Leagues of any part of the Shores of the united States, and lying between Lines to be drawn due East from the points where the aforesaid Boundaries between Nova Scotia on the one part and East Florida on the other shall respectively touch the Bay of Fundy, and the Atlantic Ocean; excepting such Islands as now are, or heretofore have been within the Limits of the said Province of Nova Scotia.

ARTICLE 3d

It is agreed, that the People of the United States shall continue to enjoy unmolested the Right to take Fish of every kind on the Grand Bank, and on all the other Banks of Newfoundland; Also in the Gulph of St Laurence, and at all other Places in the Sea where the Inhabitants of both Countries used at any time heretofore to fish. And also that the Inhabitants of the united States shall have Liberty to take Fish of every kind on such part of the Coast of Newfoundland, as British Fishermen shall use, (but not to dry or cure the same on that Island,) and also on the Coasts, Bays, and Creeks of all other of his Britannic Majesty's Dominions in America, and that the American Fishermen shall have Liberty to dry and cure Fish in any of the unsettled Bays Harbours and Creeks of Nova Scotia, Magdalen Islands, and Labrador, so long as the same shall remain unsettled; but so soon as the same or either of them shall be settled, it shall not be lawful for the said Fishermen to dry or cure Fish at such Settlement, without a previous Agreement for that purpose with the Inhabitants Proprietors or Possessors of the Ground.

ARTICLE 4th

It is agreed that Creditors on either side, shall meet with no lawful Impediment to the Recovery of the full value in Sterling Money of all bond fide Debts heretofore contracted.

ARTICLE 5th

It is agreed that the Congress shall earnestly recommend it to the Legislatures of the respective States, to provide for the Restitution of all Estates, Rights, and Properties which have been confiscated, belonging to real British Subjects; and also of the Estates Rights and Properties of Persons resident in Districts in the Possession of his Majesty's Arms; and who have not borne Arms against the said United States: And that Persons of any other Description shall have free Liberty to go to any part or parts of any of the thirteen United States, and therein to remain twelve months unmolested in their Endeavours to obtain the Restitution of such of their Estates, Rights and Properties as may have been confiscated; And that Congress shall also earnestly recommend to the several States a Reconsideration and Revision of all Acts or laws regarding the premises, so as to render the said Laws or Acts perfectly consistent not only with Justice and Equity, but with that spirit of Conciliation which on the Return of the Blessings of Peace should universaly prevail. And that Congress shall also earnestly recommend to the several States, that the Estates Rights and Properties of such last mention'd Persons shall be restored to them; they refunding to any Persons who may be now in Possession the bond fide Price, (where any has been given,) which such Persons may have paid on purchasing any of the said Lands, Rights, or Properties since the Confiscation.

And it is agreed that all Persons who have any Interest in confiscated Lands, either by Debts, Marriage Settlements or otherwise, shall meet with no lawful Impediment in the prosecution of their just Rights.

ARTICLE 6th

That there shall be no future Confiscations made, nor any prosecutions commenced against any Person or Persons, for or by reason of the Part which he or they may have taken in the present War, and that no person shall on that account suffer any future Loss or Damage either in his Person, Liberty or Property; and that those who may be in confinement on such charges, at the time of the Ratification of the Treaty in America, shall be immediately set at Liberty, and the Prosecutions so commenced be discontinued.

ARTICLE 7th

There shall be a firm and perpetual Peace, between his Britannic Majesty and the said States, and between the Subjects of the one and the Citizens of the other, Wherefore all Hostilities both by Sea and Land shall then immediately cease: All Prisoners on both sides shall be set at Liberty, & his Britannic Majesty shall, with all convenient speed, & without causing any Destruction or carrying away any Negroes, or other Property of the American Inhabitants withdraw all his Armies Garrisons and Fleets from the said United States, and from every Port, Place, and Harbour within the same; leaving in all Fortifications the American Artillery that may be therein: And shall also order and cause all Archives, Records, Deeds and Papers belonging to any of the said States, or their Citizens, which in the Course of the War may have fallen into the hands of his Officers to be forthwith restored and delivered to the proper states and persons to whom they belong.

ARTICLE 8th

The Navigation of the River Mississippi from its Source to the Ocean, shall for ever remain free and open to the Subjects of Great Britain and the Citizens of the United States.

ARTICLE 9th

In case it should so happen that any Place or Territory belonging to Great Britain, or to the United States, should be conquered by the Arms of either, from the other, before the Arrival of these Articles in America, It is agreed that the same shall be restored, without Difficulty, and without requiring any Compensation.

Done at Paris, the thirtieth day of November, in the year One thousand Seven hundred Eighty Two

RICHARD OSWALD [Seal]
JOHN ADAMS. [Seal]
B FRANKLIN [Seal]
JOHN JAY [Seal]
HENRY LAURENS. [Seal]

[On the page of the original next after the above signatures, is the following, the brackets being in the original.]

Witness

The Words [and Henry Laurens] between the fifth and sixth Lines of the first Page; and the Words [or carrying away any Negroes, or other Property of the American Inhabitants] between the seventh and eighth Lines of the eighth Page, being first interlined CALEB WHITEFOORD

Secretary to the British Commission.
W. T. FRANKLIN
Sec. to the American Commission

Source: *Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States of America.* Edited by Hunter Miller, Vol. 2, Documents 1-40: 1776-1818 (Washington, DC, 1931), pp. 96-100.

4) Declarations for Suspension of Arms and Cessation of Hostilities (20 January 1783)

We the underwritten Ministers Plenipotentiary of the United States of North America, having received from Mr Fitz-Herbert, Minister Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty, a Declaration relative to a Suspension of Arms to be establish'd between his said Majesty and the said States, of which the following is a Copy. viz:

Whereas the Preliminary Articles agreed to and signed this Day between his Majesty the King of Great Britain, and his most Christian Majesty on the one Part, and also between his said Britannic Majesty and his Catholic Majesty on the other Part, stipulate a Cessation of Hostilities

between those three Powers, which is to Commence upon the Exchange of the Ratifications of the said Preliminary Articles; And whereas by the Provisional Treaty signed the thirtieth of November last, between his Britannic Majesty and the United States of North America, it was stipulated that the said Treaty should have its Effect as soon as Peace between the said Crowns should be established; The under-written Minister Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty declares in the Name, and by the express, Order of the King his Master, that the said United States of North America, their Subjects and their Possessions, shall be comprised in the suspension of Arms above-mentioned, And that they shall consequently enjoy the Benifit of the Cessation of Hostilities, at the same Periods and in the same Manner as the three Crowns aforesaid and their Subjects and Possessions respectively On Condition however, that on the Part and in the Name of the Said United States of North America, there shall be deliver'd a similar Declaration expressing the Assent to the present Suspension of Arms, and containing an Assurance of the most perfect Reciprocity on their Part.

In faith whereof, we, the Minister Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty, have signed this present Declaration, and have thereto caused the Seal of our Arms to be affixed, at Versailles this twentieth Day of January One Thousand seven hundred & Eighty three.

(signed)

ALLEYNE FITZ-HERBERT
(LS.)

We have in the Name of the said United States of North America & in Virtue of the Powers we are vested with, received the above Declaration and do accept the same by these Presents, and we do reciprocally declare, that the said States shall cause to cease all Hostilities against his Britannic Majesty, his Subjects and Possessions at the Terms or Periods agreed to between his said Majesty the King of Great Britain, his Majesty the King of France, and his Majesty the King of Spain, in the same manner as is stipulated between these , three Crowns, and to have the same Effect.

In faith whereof, We Ministers Plenipotentiary from the United States of America, have signed the present Declaration and have hereunto affixed the Seals of our Arms. At Versailles the twentieth of January one thousand seven hundred and eighty three.

JOHN ADAMS. B FRANKLIN

Source: *Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States of America.* Edited by Hunter Miller, Vol. 2, Documents 1-40: 1776-1818 (Washington, DC, 1931), pp. 108-110.

5) Declaration Signed in Paris by the American Commissioners (20 February 1783)

By the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the United States of America, for making Peace with Great Britain. A Declaration of the Cessation of Hostilities as well by Sea as Land, agreed upon between His Majesty, the King of Great Britain, and the United States of America.

Whereas Preliminary Articles were signed, at Paris, on the thirtieth Day of November last, between the Plenipotentiaries of his said Majesty the King of Great Britain, and of the said States, to be inserted in, and to constitute the Treaty of Peace to be concluded between his said Majesty, and the said United States when Terms of Peace should be agreed upon between his said Majesty and his most Christian Majesty: and Whereas Preliminaries for restoring Peace, between his said Majesty, the King of Great Britain, and his most Christian Majesty, were signed at Versailles, on the twentieth day of January last, by the respective Ministers of their said Majesties: and Whereas preliminaries for restoring Peace, between his said Majesty the King of Great Britain, and his Majesty the King of Spain, were also signed at Versailles, on the twentyeth Day of January last, by their respective Ministers: and Whereas, for putting an End to the Calamity of War, as soon and as far as possible, it hath been agreed, between the King of Great Britain, his most Christian Majesty, the King of Spain, the States General of the United Provinces and the United States of America as follows, that is to say.

That such Vessells and Effects, as should be taken, in the Channell and in the North Seas, after the Space of twelve Days, to be computed from the Ratification of the said Preliminary Articles should be restored on all Sides; that the Term should be one Month from the Channell and North Seas, as far as the Canary Islands inclusively, whether in the Ocean or the Mediterranean; two Months from the said Canary Islands, as far as the Equinoctial Line, or Equator, and lastly five Months in all other Parts of the World, without any Exception or any other more particular Description of Time or Place.

And Whereas the Ratifications of the said Preliminary Articles between his said Majesty, the King of Great Britain, and his most Christian Majesty, in due Form, were exchanged by their Ministers on the third day of this instant February, from which Day the several Terms abovementioned, of Twelve Days, of one Month, of two Months, and of five Months are to be computed, relative to all British and American Vessells and Effects

Now therefore, We, the Ministers Plenipotentiary, from the United States of America, for making Peace with Great Britain do notify to the People and Citizens, of the said United States of America that Hostilities, on their Part, against his Britannic Majesty, both by Sea and tend are to cease, at the Expiration of the Terms herein before specified therefor, and which Terms are to be computed, from the third day of February instant. And We do, in the Name and by the Authority of the said United States, accordingly warn and enjoin all their Officers and Citizens, to forbear all Acts of Hostility, whatever, either by Land or by Sea against his said Majesty, the King of Great Britain, or his Subjects under the Penalty of incurring the highest Displeasure of the said United States.

Given at Paris the Twentieth Day of February, in the Year of our Lord, One Thousand, Seven hundred and Eighty Three, under our Hands and Seals

JOHN ADAMS [Seal]
B FRANKLIN [Seal
JOHN JAY [Seal]

Source: *Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States of America.* Edited by Hunter Miller, Vol. 2, Documents 1-40: 1776-1818 (Washington, DC, 1931), pp. 113-114.

6) Treaty of Paris (3 September 1783)

In the name of the most holy and undivided Trinity.

It having pleased the Divine Providence to dispose the hearts of the most serene and most potent Prince George the Third, by the grace of God, king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, duke of Brunswick and Lunebourg, arch-treasurer and prince elector of the Holy Roman Empire etc., and of the United States of America, to forget all past misunderstandings and differences that have unhappily interrupted the good correspondence and friendship which they mutually wish to restore, and to establish such a beneficial and satisfactory intercourse , between the two countries upon the ground of reciprocal advantages and mutual convenience as may promote and secure to both perpetual peace and harmony; and having for this desirable end already laid the foundation of peace and reconciliation by the Provisional Articles signed at Paris on the 30th of November 1782, by the commissioners empowered on each part, which articles were agreed to be inserted in and constitute the Treaty of Peace proposed to be concluded between the Crown of Great Britain and the said United States, but which treaty was not to be concluded until terms of peace should be agreed upon between Great Britain and France and his Britannic Majesty should be ready to conclude such treaty accordingly; and the treaty between Great Britain and France having since been concluded, his Britannic Majesty and the United States of America, in order to carry into full effect the Provisional Articles above mentioned, according to the tenor thereof, have constituted and appointed, that is to say his Britannic Majesty on his part, David Hartley, Esqr., member of the Parliament of Great Britain, and the said United States on their part, John Adams, Esqr., late a commissioner of the United States of America at the court of Versailles, late delegate in Congress from the state of Massachusetts, and chief justice of the said state, and minister plenipotentiary of the said United States to their high mightinesses the States General of the United Netherlands; Benjamin Franklin, Esqr., late delegate in Congress from the state of Pennsylvania, president of the convention of the said state, and minister plenipotentiary from the United States of America at the court of Versailles; John Jay, Esqr., late president of Congress and chief justice of the state of New York, and minister plenipotentiary from the said United States at the court of Madrid; to be plenipotentiaries for the concluding and signing the present definitive treaty; who after having reciprocally communicated their respective full powers have agreed upon and confirmed the following articles.

Article 1. His Brittanic Majesty acknowledges the said United States, viz., New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia, to be free sovereign and independent states, that he treats with them as such, and for himself, his heirs, and successors, relinquishes all claims to the government, propriety, and territorial rights of the same and every part thereof.

Article 2. And that all disputes which might arise in future on the subject of the boundaries of the said United States may be prevented, it is hereby agreed and declared, that the following are and shall be their boundaries, viz. …

Article 3. It is agreed that the people of the United States shall continue to enjoy unmolested the right to take fish of every kind on the Grand Bank and on all the other banks of Newfoundland, also in the Gulf of Saint Lawrence and at all other places in the sea, where the inhabitants of both countries used at any time heretofore to fish. And also that the inhabitants of the United States shall have liberty to take fish of every kind on such part of the coast of Newfoundland as British fishermen shall use, (but not to dry or cure the same on that island) and also on the coasts, bays

and creeks of all other of his Brittanic Majesty's dominions in America; and that the American fishermen shall have liberty to dry and cure fish in any of the unsettled bays, harbors, and creeks of Nova Scotia, Magdalen Islands, and Labrador, so long as the same shall remain unsettled, but so soon as the same or either of them shall be settled, it shall not be lawful for the said fishermen to dry or cure fish at such settlement without a previous agreement for that purpose with the inhabitants, proprietors, or possessors of the ground.

Article 4. …

Article 5. …

Article 6. …

Article 7. There shall be a firm and perpetual peace between his Brittanic Majesty and the said states, and between the subjects of the one and the citizens of the other, wherefore all hostilities both by sea and land shall from henceforth cease. All prisoners on both sides shall be set at liberty, and his Brittanic Majesty shall with all convenient speed, and without causing any destruction, or carrying away any Negroes or other property of the American inhabitants, withdraw all his armies, garrisons, and fleets from the said United States, and from every post, place, and harbor within the same; leaving in all fortifications, the American artillery that may be therein; and shall also order and cause all archives, records, deeds, and papers belonging to any of the said states, or their citizens, which in the course of the war may have fallen into the hands of his officers, to be forthwith restored and delivered to the proper states and persons to whom they belong.

Article 8. The navigation of the river Mississippi, from its source to the ocean, shall forever remain free and open to the subjects of Great Britain and the citizens of the United States.

Article 9. …

Article 10 …

The solemn ratifications of the present treaty expedited in good and due form shall be exchanged between the contracting parties in the space of six months or sooner, if possible, to be computed from the day of the signatures of the present treaty. In witness whereof we the undersigned, their ministers plenipotentiary, have in their name and in virtue of our full powers, signed with our hands the present definitive treaty and caused the seals of our arms to be affixed thereto.

Done at Paris, this third day of September in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three.

D. HARTLEY (SEAL)
JOHN ADAMS (SEAL)
B. FRANKLIN (SEAL)
JOHN JAY (SEAL)

Source: *Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States of America.* Edited by Hunter Miller, Vol. 2, Documents 1-40: 1776-1818 (Washington, DC, 1931), pp. 115-121.

APPENDIX 2: EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY CURRENCIES

German Currency:

1 Gulden (= fl; gold, after circa 1500 silver) = 60 Kreuzer

1 fl rhein.	= 15 Batzen	= 60 Kreuzer	= 240 Denar	= 480 Heller
1 Albus	= 1 1/2 Batzen	= 6 Kreuzer	= 24 Denar	= 48 Heller
1 Batzen		= 4 Kreuzer	= 16 Denar	= 32 Heller
1 Groschen		= 3 Kreuzer	= 12 Denar	= 24 Heller
1 Kreuzer			= 4 Denar	= 8 Heller
1 Denar				= 2 Heller

1 Königstaler: 1 fl 20 Kreuzer rhein.
1 Laubtaler: 2 fl 20 Kreuzer rhein.
1 Dukaten: 5 fl rhein. (since 1559)
1 Karolin: 11 fl

Laubtaler is the term commonly used for the French *écu* of six livres, which was widely circulating in Germany, especially along the Rhine.

French Currency:

Louis (Gold)	= 24 livres	= 480 sous	= 5760 deniers	
Ecu (Silver)	= 6 livres	= 120 sous	= 1440 deniers	
Livre (Silver)		= 20 sous	= 240 deniers	
Sous (Copper)			= 12 deniers	
Liard (Copper)			= 3 deniers	

Franc = 1 livre, an administrative unit only.

English Currency:

Pound Sterling (silver)	= 20 Shillings	= 240 Pennies	= 480 Halfpennies	= 960 Farthings	
Shilling (Silver)		= 12 Pennies	= 24 Halfpennies	= 48 Farthings	
Groat (Silver)		= 4 Pennies	= 8 Halfpennies	= 16 Farthings	
Penny (Copper)			= 2 Halfpennies	= 4 Farthings	
Ha'penny (Copper)				= 2 Farthings	
Farthing (Brass)					
Guinee (Gold)	= 21 shillings (after 1707)				
Crown (Silver)	= 5 shillings				

Souvereign = £ 1 Gold coin, introduced in 1817

In 1849, a silver florin was introduced, worth 2 shillings.
In the cash-starved colonies in North America, Spanish coinage was widely used.

Spanish Currency:

Doubloon (Gold)	= 8 Escudos = 4 Pistols	= 16 Pieces of Eight	= 128 Reals
Pistol (Gold)	= 2 Escudos	= 4 Pieces of Eight	= 32 Reals
Escudo (Gold)	= 2 Pieces Of Eight		= 16 Reals
Piece Of Eight (silver)	= 1 Peso		= 8 Reals
Real (Silver)	= 8 Copper Pesos		
Peso (Copper)			

Piaster (silver) = 8 Reals = 1 Piece of Eight = 1 Spanish Milled Dollar = 1 Peso

Portuguese Currency:

Johannes (Gold, 1722) = 1/2 Dobra = 1/2 Doubloon = 4 Escudos = 8 Pieces of Eight
= 64 Reals = 48s. sterling (called a *Half-Joe* in America)

The chief trade coin and the most commonly circulating coin in the American colonies was the Spanish Milled Dollar or Piece of Eight. 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," to 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, the Piece of Eight was also known as a *Spanish Crown* while *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 "up-crying" 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% over sterling. To distinguish it from the "Proclamation Money," it was referred to as "Common Money" or "Pennsylvania Money," though "Lawful Money" appears in Delaware ledgers as well. New York created its own rate of 96 d or 8 s to the Spanish dollar, a 78% 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) = £ 1 6 s 8 d (320 d) MA = £ 1 13 s 4 d (400 d) PA = £ 1 15 s 7 d (427 d) NY

How did these currencies relate to each other? In 1764, Richard Wolters, British agent in Rotterdam, reckoned 1 Pistole at 17s. 2d.st., or 4s. 3.5d. st. per Piece of Eight.[1] In a letter of May 1780, Axel von Fersen wrote that 1 Piastre/Piece of Eight/Peso was worth 6 livres. Since he only paid 5 livres 5 sous in Brest, he hoped to make a profit upon arrival in Newport. Georg Daniel Flohr gave the value of 1 Spanish dollar at 2 fl 20 Kreuzer rhein., and according to Harris, "the

[1] Frank Spencer, An Eighteenth-Century Account of German Emigration to the American Colonies. *The Journal of Modern History* Vol. 28 (March-December 1956), pp. 55-59, p. 58.

British pound sterling was equal to 23.17 *livres tournois*" during the 1780s.[2] The Abbé Robin, a chaplain in one of Rochambeau's regiments in turn gave the value of a shilling in New England in the summer of 1781 as 22 sous 6 deniers or 22 livres 8 sous to the pound sterling.[3]

While stationed in Boston in the summer of 1775, Corporal Thomas Sullivan of the British 49th Regiment gave the value of a Spanish milled dollar at 4 s 6 d.[4]

Based on the value of the Piece of Eight in England and contemporary sources as well as admitting for currency fluctuations we get the following ***approximate*** exchange rates:

1 £ Sterling = 23 livres 3 sous 6 deniers
1 £ Sterling ~ 2.5 to 3.5 Pieces of Eight, depending on which state it is exchanged
1 £ Sterling ~ 9 fl 30 Kreuzer rhein.

1 Piece of Eight = between 6 s and 8 s, depending on which state it is exchanged
1 Piece of Eight = 2 fl 20 Kreuzer rhein.
1 Piece of Eight = 5 livres 5 sous

1 Livre = 24 Kreuzer rhein.
1 Livre = 10 d 1.4 farthing
1 Livre = 1 reales 1 copper peso

1 fl rhein. = 2 s 2 d
1 fl rhein. = 2 livres 10 sous
1 fl rhein. = 4 reales

[2] Robert D. Harris, "French Finances and the American War, 1777-1783" *Journal of Modern History* Vol. 48 (June 1976), pp. 233-258, p. 247, note 41.
[3] Abbé (Charles César) Robin, *New Travels through North-America: In a Series of Letters* (Philadelphia, 1783), p. 16.
[4] S. Sydney Bradford, "The Common British Soldier - From the Journal of Thomas Sullivan, 49th Regiment of Foot." *Maryland Historical Magazine* Vol. 62 No. 3, (September 1967), pp. 219-253, p. 243.

APPENDIX 3: SOLDIERS OF THE *VOLONTAIRES ÉTRANGERS DE LAUZUN* WHO DID NOT RETURN TO FRANCE WHEN THE LEGION SAILED FROM PHILADELPHIA IN MAY 1783

This tables are based on data contained in file Colonies D2c32, "*Volontaires étrangers de Lauzun*, 1780-1783," in the Archives Nationales de France in Paris, France. Colonies D2c32 contains inspection reports, requests for promotions, rewards, and administrative materials pertaining to Lauzun's Legion.

The last items in the file are *contrôles* or lists of all men known to have enlisted in the Legion between its establishment on 5 March 1780 and its transformation into a regular regiment of hussars on 14 September 1783. Not all of the men listed in D2c32 served in America; they are not integrated into these tables. D2c32 was compiled by the Legion's Quartermaster-Treasurer Henry Sirjacques in the fall of 1783 for the *marquis* de Castries, navy minister of Louis XVI, based on the *process verbale* conducted in Hennebon in the Bretagne on 10 October 1783. The *process* was part of the procedure of transforming the *volontaires étrangers de Lauzun* into the regiment of *Lauzun Hussards* that had been authorized by the *ordonnance de roi* of 14 September 1783. Sirjacques' cover letter to the *duc* de Lauzun, which is attached to the working copy of the *contrôle* in D2c32, is dated Hennebon, 17 October 1783. It advises Lauzun that an original had been sent to de Castries the same day.

The *contrôle* in D2c32 consists of nine parts.

1) *contrôle* of the First Squadrons of Hussars (fols. 1-16)
2) *contrôle* of the Company of Grenadiers (fols. 25-36)

3) *mutations* or changes for the First Company of Fusiliers stationed in Landivisiau in Brittany up to 1 April 1780 (fols. 41-58)

Of the 16 soldiers listed in the *mutations* as having been sent to Brest on 30 April 1780, one died, three were discharged, one deserted, and one was expelled from the ranks in America.

4) *contrôle* for Second Company of Fusiliers (fols. 66-83)

Of the 13 soldiers listed as transfers, five deserted and one died in America.

5) *contrôle* for the Company of Artillery (fols. 91-105)
6) *contrôle* for the Company of *Chasseurs* (fols. 111-123)
7) *contrôle* for the Second Squadron of Hussars (fols. 137-150)

8) a table entitled *volontaires étrangers de Lauzun* (fols. 161-162).

This table does not contribute to the present statistic.

9) a *surnumeraire à la suite de l'Embarquement* (fols. 163-168)

Of the 21 men identified in the *surnumeraire* as having served in America, two died, three deserted (one of them recruited in September 1780), and five were discharged, one of them on 1 May 1783, because he had been recruited (on 15 November 1782) for the duration of the war only.

As Lauzun was getting ready for the *expédition particulière*, he transferred from, and exchanged men with, the two fusilier companies to those components of the Legion who were sailing to America. Their names are recorded in 3), 4), and 9) and are integrated into this table with the company they were transferred to rather than the company they had enlisted in together with the names for the grenadiers, *chasseurs*, *cannoniers* and hussars recorded in the *contrôles*. The names are identified as to their origin in the footnotes to the table.

Troop strengths in the *contrôle* have been compared with those in the reviews of the Legion in D2c32, i.e., those of 1 October 1780, 1 October 1781, 28 February 1782, 1 November 1782, 24 December 1782, 24 April 1783, and 7 May 1783.

Of special importance are:

1) the review of 1 October 1781. It lists the reinforcements from the Regiment Barrois, which arrived in Boston on 11 June 1780. A table in the Rochambeau Papers in the Library of Congress gives their number as 48 men, 31 of whom were integrated into the Legion, the other 17 were too sick with scurvy and remained behind in Newport. The inspection report of 1 October 1781, identifies 39 transfers from Barrois, the *contrôles* list 47 men. The name or fate of the remaining soldier is unknown.

Of the eleven replacements for the Company of Grenadiers, two deserted, three died, the remaining six returned to France in 1783. All twelve replacements for the Company of Chasseurs returned to France, and of the 24 replacements for the Company of Cannoniers, one deserted and one died in America.

2) the reviews of 28 February 1782 and 1 November 1782. The men identified in them as transfers from the *volontaires de la division de St Simon* are identified properly in the *contrôle* as coming from the First Legion of Lauzun's *volontaires étrangers de la Marine*. The exact number of these transfers is unknown. The review of 28 February gives nine, the review of 1 November ten men, but the *contrôle* identifies only four men as transfers from the First Legion. The three transfers to the Second Squadron of hussars as well as the one transfer to the *chasseurs* all returned to France in 1783.

The table records all men for whom it can be proved based on the *contrôles* that they died, were discharged, deserted, or for some other reason such as being expelled from the ranks, remained behind in the United States. In eight cases it is unknown which company or squadron the soldiers served in. Their names are listed in a separate table at the end.

In addition there is a *contrôle* in Colonies D2c32 with the names of the men from the two fusilier companies who sailed for the Caribbean on 6 October 1781, with changes up to 1 November 1782. By that date, the two companies were down to 294 men from 410. 52 had died of natural causes, 37 had drowned in a shipwreck off the coast of Spain, 15 had deserted, eight had been discharged, three had been left behind in Spain, and one had been transferred. The men listed in this *contrôle* have not been integrated since these two companies never served on the American mainland.

Soldiers identified as transfers to another company or squadron are listed and counted with that unit, except for transfers to and from the Legion staff. These men are still listed here in the *contrôle*. The total number of transfers, primarily on 19 June 1781, as the Legion prepared for the Yorktown Campaign in Lebanon, Connecticut, was quite large though one-directional. Lauzun

tried hard to keep his two hussar squadrons up to strength and the review of 1 October 1781, shows that the grenadiers had received one transfer from the *chasseurs* while the First Squadron of Hussars had received seven transfers from the *cannoniers*, five from the *chasseurs*, and one from the Second Squadron. The Second Squadron had received six transfers from the *cannoniers* and six from the *chasseurs*.

In his cover letter to Lauzun, Sirjacques indicated that he had "corrected a few errors of double listings," but he missed at least one soldier. Jean ERNIST is listed both in the Second Squadron of Hussars with a desertion date of 15 November 1780, and in the *chasseurs* with a desertion date of 25 November 1780. Since the *chasseurs* are not listed in the review of 1 October 1780 as having either received a recruit or having suffered a desertion, ERNIST is listed here with the hussars.

All names are listed in alphabetical order rather than in the order in which they appear in the *contrôle*. The spelling of the proper names is that of the *contrôle*, which is often phonetic, e.g., *Schtetler* is a phonetic representation of *Stedler* etc. There are also entries such as "George Boulanger dit Becker" from Orvillier in "Lorraine Allemande" who served in the Grenadiers. In this case the scribe translated the German family name into French. The letters "U", "V" and "W" are all identical and used interchangeably in the *contrôle* and have been transcribed as used in it.

The spelling of place-names is that as it was deciphered from the document unless the modern spelling is known, then the modern spelling is used. The identification of states or provinces is that of the *contrôle* rather than that of 2003 borders. This applies not only to the Franco-German border area but in other parts of Europe as well, e.g., what is called "Courland" in the *contrôle* is today part of Lithuania.

Based on the data contained in D2c32, the 727 men could be identified as having served in the *volontaires étrangers de Lauzun* under the *duc* de Lauzun on the American mainland. Of these, 593 men had come from France either in 1780 or were replacements from the Regiment Barrois in 1781 (47 men). Four joined from the First Legion of the *volontaires de la marine* after Yorktown. In America the Legion also added 83 men, 59 of them before the siege of Yorktown, and 24 after the siege. Of these 59 men recruited before Yorktown, 3 returned to France, 4 died, 15 were discharged, and 37 deserted again; of the 24 post-Yorktown recruits, 5 returned to France, 2 died, 7 deserted, 9 were discharged, and one was expelled. Of these 727 men, 69 men died (incl. 6 American recruits), 131 men deserted (incl. 44 American recruits), 54 men were discharged (incl. 24 American recruits). Two soldiers were killed in combat on 3 October 1781, and three men are known to have died of combat-related wounds. Five soldiers were *chassé* in America after having run the gauntlet, six soldiers were executed, five for desertion and Jacques BERGEOT of the *chasseurs* for homicide. Charles ODET of the grenadiers was sentenced to eight years on the galleys for desertion on 19 January 1781. In May of 1783, 456 men returned to France, among them 8 American recruits.

One hussar, Louis Isaac Alexis Durand, born in Beauvais in July 1755, was recruited as a grenadier in Lauzun's Legion on 1 May 1780. Promoted to *cadet gentilhomme* of the Second Squadron of Hussars on 1 October 1780, he is counted with the officers.

The last official return of the Legion of 7 May 1783, gives the strength at 480 men, but it does not include the desertions and discharges that occurred during the last two days before departure from Philadelphia.

During his stay in Crompond/Yorktown Heights, New York, Lauzun may have picked up a recruit for the Legion as the result of a court martial held at Verplanck's Point, on 24 October 1782, where "George Ledween of Captn. Vanheers corps was found guilty of Desertion in breach

of article 1st. Section 6th. of the rules and articles of war and sentenced to receive one hundred Lashes on his naked back." General Washington approved "the sentence of the Court but in consequence of the recommendation of the Duke de Lauzun and Colonel Dillon of the Legion of Lauzun he is pleased to remit the punishment he will join his corps."[5]

The review of the Legion held in Wilmington on 24 December 1782, indicates that beginning on the date of the court-martial, 24 October 1782, two recruits started drawing pay in the Legion, one in the Second Squadron of Hussars, and one in the Artillery Company. But there is no record that Leween joined the Legion; no soldier by that name is identified in the *contrôle* as having enlisted in September or October 1782; the closest date for a recruit who joined the Legion that late in the war is that for Joseph KLISKY, who is listed in the *contrôle* as having joined on 15 November 1782. He was discharged on 1 May 1782, since he had enlisted only for the duration of the war.

The names of the three officers who were killed in combat, died, or remained behind in 1783, are listed separately at the end of this table.

Statistical Overview

	1st Squadron of Hussars	Grenadiers	Chasseurs	Cannoniers	2nd Squadron of Hussars	Un-known	Total
Total	176	144	111	115	173	8	727
Die	17	13	7	10	21	1	69
Desert	35	24	8	11	48	5	131
Discharged	8	15	8	7	15	1	54
Expelled	0	2	1	0	1	1	5
Executed	0	3	1	1	1	0	6
Killed/died of wounds	1	2	0	0	2	0	5
Galleys	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Return to France	115	84	86	86	85	0	456

[5] Quoted from Washington Papers at http://memory.loc.gov, searching under the date.

Premier Escadron d'Hussards

NAME	WHERE FROM	AGE	ENLISTMENT DATE	FATE
BEGEL, Nicolas[6]	Perquoville Lorraine	28	1779 July 4	Deserts 1782 April 30
BIKEL, Michel	Metersheim Lorraine	20	1779 February 10	Dies 1780 November 21
BLAISE, Michel	Klentaine Sarguemin	17	1778 November 7	Deserts 1781 August 10
BOUR, George	Kongrin Lorraine	21	1778 December 22	Deserts 1783 May 8
BOWY, Nicolas	Sarnsming Lorraine	21	1778 September 18	Deserts 1781 August 4
BRISKY, Nicolas	Longeville Lorraine	18	1778 November 7	Deserts 1782 June 12
BROSH, Jacob	Dresden Saxony	26	1781 May 6	Deserts 1781 June 19
CARLE, André	Pfalzburg Alsace	21	1779 January 1	Deserts 1783 May 8
CLARE, Pierre[7]	Ergville Lorraine	18	1778 November 7	Deserts 1783 May 8
COLIN, Jacob[8]	Remling Lorraine	21	1778 December 22	Killed in Action 1781 October 3
DEPAUW, Charles[9]	Gand Flanders	24	1779 July 15	Deserts 1782 May 30
DOSIA, Jacob	Crisvalle Lorraine	29	1778 December 22	Deserts 1783 May 2
EQUY, Jean	Roasenbars Alsace	30	1778 October 7	Deserts 1782 March 1
ESTRASER, Mathieu	Bliderhausen Württemberg	23	1779 January 19	*Congedié* [10] 1782 January 28
FORH, Henry	Cipitre/Lorraine Saarlouis	24	1779 February 1	Dies 1781 May 5
GRUNINGER, Joseph[11]	Ventenbarn Alsace	24	1779 January 13	*Congedié* [12] 1783 May 1
GUNCHELER, Frederic Wilhem[13]	Berlin Prussia	25	1780 August 26 in Philadelphia; arrived in camp 1780 September 22	Deserts 1780 October 7

[6] Begel was promoted to *maitre maréchal* or *maréchal expert* on 1 September 1780. The position was left vacant after his desertion.
[7] His brother Mathis CLARE, 17, enlisted the same day but was discharged in France on 10 October 1783.
[8] Jacob COLIN is one of two men identified as killed in the Battle of the Hook in Gloucester, Virginia, in combat with Lieutenant Colonel Banastre Tarleton's troops. The other man was Pierre DIDIER, also listed as Pierre DIETIENNE, age 23, in the Second Squadron of Hussars but with a note giving his proper name Pierre DIDIER. The *contrôle* states that he transferred to the Artillery Company on 7 November 1780, but the transfer is not noted in the review of 1 October 1781, he is listed with the Second Squadron of Hussars.
[9] DEPAUW transferred from the Second Squadron of Hussars on 1 May 1781.
[10] The term *congedié* can mean either "furloughed" or "discharged"; ESTRASER is one of the few enlisted men who were discharged without a fee.
[11] GRUNINGUER was discharged after he paid 200 *livres* to buy off the time remaining in his enlistment.
[12] The term *congedié* can mean either "furloughed" or "discharged"; GRUNINGUER was discharged.

HELLERMANN, André	Chanstall Amone	18	1779 September 13	Deserts 1782 January 7
HESSE, Jacob	Moustorf Alsace	20	1779 January 19	Deserts 1782 June 10
HIMBRICH, Jacques	Eschesbrueck Armstatt	19	1778 September 28	Dies 1781 January 10
HINDER, Antoine	Trier	26	1778 October 6	Deserts 1782 June 10
HOFFMAN, Daniel[14]	Zweibrücken Deux Ponts	25	1780 April 1	*Congedié* [15] 1782 May 1
JACOBY, Christian	Sachsen Gotha German Empire	20	1780 August 20	Deserts 1781 January 7
JACQUES, Jean	Oaster Lorraine	25	1778 September 7	Dies 1780 October 18
JOURDAINES, Jean	Sendine Hungary	28	1778 September 24	Deserts 1780 November 25
KLEIN(E), Louis	Strasbourg Alsace	22	1778 December 7	Deserts 1782 April 24
KLEIN, George	Louistal German Empire	27	1779 January 1	Deserts 1783 April 30
KLEIN, Jean[16]	Loupsa Hungary	26	1780 August 26 in Philadelphia; arrived in camp 1780 September 22	Deserts 1780 October 3
KOBER, Gregoire	Reinbach Kurpfalz	27	1778 September 29	Deserts 1780 December 12
LINGLER, Jean[17]	Keramberg Alsace	19	1779 January 13	Dies 1782 October 12
LOUX, François	Singlingen Lorraine	21	1778 November 29	Deserts 1782 April 6
LÖWENSTEIN, Philippe	Saarbrücken Lorraine	34	1779 January 30	*Reformé* [18] 1783 May 1
MAYER, Christian	Pressburg Hungary	19	1780 August 20	Deserts 1780 September 13
MAYER, Joseph	Rommenersheim Alsace	23	1779 April 4	Deserts 1781 August 10
MESEING, Paul[19]	Eelange Lorraine Allemand	15	1778 December 22	*Congedié* [20] 1780 August 31
MILLENER, Jean David	Gand Flanders	18	1778 September 4	Deserts 1782 July 28
MULLER, Morand	Hursingen Alsace	18	1779 February 3	Dies 1780 September 28

[13] GUNCHELER is one of 14 recruits a French recruiting party picked up in Philadelphia in August and September 1780 mentioned in *A Journal by Thos: Hughes For his Amusement, & Designed only for his Perusal by the time he attains the Age of 50 if he lives so long. (1778-1789)* (Cambridge, 1947), p. 95.
[14] HOFFMAN was discharged after he paid 200 *livres* to buy off the time remaining in his enlistment.
[15] The term *congedié* can mean either "furloughed" or "discharged"; HOFFMAN was discharged.
[16] KLEIN is one of 14 recruits a French recruiting party picked up in Philadelphia in August and September 1780 mentioned in *A Journal by Thos: Hughes For his Amusement, & Designed only for his Perusal by the time he attains the Age of 50 if he lives so long. (1778-1789)* (Cambridge, 1947), p. 95.
[17] LINGLER is one of 13 names identified as transfers from the Second Company of Fusiliers.
[18] The term *reformé* means that LÖWENSTEIN was invalided out of service.
[19] MESEING, who was only 17 in 1780, was discharged upon the order of the *duc* de Lauzun.
[20] The term *congedié* can mean either "furloughed" or "discharged"; MESEING was discharged.

NEISSE, Conrad	Saarbrücken Nassau	20	1781 November 5	Dies 1783 March 9
NOLDEN, Henry[21]	Cologne	22	1778 November 18	*Reformé* [22] 1783 May 1
PFLIEGER, Jean	Utterstaff Alsace	18	1779 February 14	Deserts 1781 August 4
REIME, Guillaume[23]	Schlettstadt Alsace	23	1781 September 30	*Congedié* [24] 1783 May 1
REINEVILLE, François	Guibling/Lorraine Sarregemuin	18	1778 December 22	Dies 1780 October 15
REITTER, Joseph	Hofftembourg Briseau	18	1779 January 13	Dies 1782 April 24
REMY, Nicholas [25]	Berthelemy Lorraine	19	1778 December 13	Dies 1783 January 24
RICHEL, Antoine	Eidesmann Alsace	19	January 13[26]	Dies 1780 November 10
SCHARSCHMIDT, Jean George	Pransfrisse Saxony	22	1779 January 13	Deserts 1783 April 30
SCHITZ, Joseph [27]	Amsterdam Netherlands	24	1780 August 30 in Philadelphia; arrived in camp 1780 September 22	Deserts 1780 October 11
SCHMIDT, André	Mildelsheim German Empire	18	1779 January 15	Dies 1782 March 1
SCHNEIDER, Pierre	Obermichelbach Upper Alsace	25	1779 February 17	Dies 1780 August 17
SCHTETOR, Jean	Horbesheim Bliescastel German Empire	22	1779 July 2	Deserts 1783 April 30
SCHTILPNER, Jean	Chambeau Saxony	29	1780 September 1	Deserts 1780 December 23
SIFFER, Bernard[28]	Hundelsheim Alsace	20	1778 October 14	Dies 1780 July 14
SIVQUES, Nicolas	Enviller/Three Bishoprics/Metz[29]	18	1778 November 7	Deserts 1782 April 6
SOMMARS, Jean	Birckel Electorate of Mainz	26	1781 March 2	Dies 1781 June 6

[21] NOLDEN is one of 16 soldiers listed in the *mutations* as having been sent to Brest on 30 April 1780. No date is given when he joined the *chasseurs*, but he transferred to the First Squadron of Hussars on 19 June 1781.

[22] The term *reformé* means that NOLDEN was invalided out of service.

[23] REIME had been recruited in America only for the duration of the war and was discharged when Lauzun's Legion sailed back to France in May 1783.

[24] The term *congedié* can mean either "furloughed" or "discharged"; REIME was discharged.

[25] REMY transferred from the *chasseurs* on after 1 September 1780.

[26] There is no year given for the enlistment in the *contrôle*, but it was most likely 1779.

[27] SCHITZ is one of 14 recruits a French recruiting party picked up in Philadelphia in August and September 1780 mentioned in *A Journal by Thos: Hughes For his Amusement, & Designed only for his Perusal by the time he attains the Age of 50 if he lives so long. (1778-1789)* (Cambridge, 1947), p. 95.

[28] SIFFER died on board the troop transport *duc de Chartres* in Newport harbor before the troops had debarked. He was most likely buried in Newport, Rhode Island.

[29] The Three Bishoprics (*Les Trois Evêques*) are Metz, Toul, and Verdun, which became French in 1552, as the price promised French King Henry II by Protestant German princes led by Maurice of Saxony for his assistance against Emperor Charles V.

SOUTTER, Antoine	Trier	26	1781 January 5	Dies 1781 May 5
STECKLER, Jean[30]	Neubreisach Alsace	17	1779 January 19	*Congedié* [31] 1783 May 1
STEINACKER, Jacques	Geflors Alsace	36[32]	1778 December 13	Dies 1781 November 1
VIGNERON, François	Zreinsbourg Alsace	??	1779 January 19	Deserts 1782 June 10
WACKERMANN, Jean George	Erquine Lorraine	17	1778 November 7	Deserts 1783 May 4
WAGNER, Etienne	Dislhurlec Lorraine	17	1778 December 22	Deserts 1783 May 7
WOLFF, Antoine	Chelken Alsace	23	1780 November 1	Deserts 1782 August 10

The total number of men enlisted in the First Squadron of Hussars is 176. Of the 159 men who came from France, 14 died, 27 deserted, 7 were discharged in America, one was killed in the Battle of the Hook at Gloucester on 3 October 1781.

The First Squadron of Hussars did not receive any replacements from France. According to the review of 28 February 1782, the squadron integrated two hussars from the First Legion of the *volontaires étrangères de la Marine* that had come to Yorktown from the Caribbean with the troops of the *marquis* de St. Simon on the fleet of Admiral de Grasse. No hussars are identified as such in the *contrôle*.

Of twelve men recruited in America prior to the siege of Yorktown, eight deserted, two died, and two joined the Lauzun Hussars in October 1783.

Of the five Yorktown recruits, one died, one (REIME) was discharged in Wilmington, Delaware, on 1 May 1783, because he had enlisted only for the duration of the war, one was discharged in Europe, and two joined the Lauzun Hussars in 1783.

Nicolas BEGEL was promoted from the squadron to *maitre maréchal* on the staff of the Legion on 1 September 1780. He is counted here in this table. After his desertion on 30 April 1782, the position was left unfilled. It is unknown whom he replaced on the staff.

Though the squadron had two trumpets, no musicians are identified in the *contrôle*.

No soldier is identified as "tiré de la compagnie generale."

[30] STECKLER was discharged after he paid 200 *livres* to buy off the time remaining in his enlistment.
[31] The term *congedié* can mean either "furloughed" or "discharged"; STECKLER was discharged.
[32] All ages given are those at the time of enlistment, e.g., 13 December 1778.

Compagnie de Grenadiers

NAME	WHERE FROM	AGE	ENLISTMENT DATE	FATE
BANNEQUIN, Pierre	Komdenart-paripant Lorraine	18	1778 December [33]	Dies 1780 October 1
BAUMGARTNER, Joseph [34]	Schlettstadt Alsace	28	1781 October 24	Deserts 1781 November 27
BENTZ, Frederic [35]	Lierra Isle de France	16	1778 December 22	Deserts 1783 May 8
BERTRAND, Mathurin[36]	Nantes Bretagne	25	1779 February 1	*Congedié*[37] 1783 May 1
BOUCHER, Alexandre [38]	Montélimar Dauphiné	28	1779 January 14	Executed 1782 May 17
BOURTENT, Henry	Bouillon Liège	28	1779 January 11	Deserts 1782 May 12
BOUTTEMY, Michel	Metz , Three Bishoprics [39]	32 [40]	1779 February 1	*Congedié* [41] 1782 December 1
BOUZEREL, Hubert	Ham sur heure Liège	25	1779 January 23	Dies 1781 July 16
BROGNARD, Jean Baptiste [42]	Saline Comté	17	1778 November 13	*Congedié* [43] 1783 May 1
BROSCHE, Jacob	Mittenbach Nassau-Orange	25	1781 September 21	Deserts 1782 July 18
CALBAC, Christophe	Theresheim Wittemberg	19	1779 July 2	Deserts 1781 August 3
CAMELOT, Antoine	Auvasse Limosin	24	1779 April 11	Dies 1780 October 7
CHARLIES, Lambert	Vipinel Principalité de Salm	31	1779 July 2	Deserts 1783 May 8

[33] There is no day given for the enlistment in the *contrôle*.

[34] BAUMGARTNER is one of seven grenadiers recruited in October and November 1781 from among the prisoners taken at Yorktown to serve for the duration of the war.

[35] BENTZ had enlisted in the *cannoniers* but transferred to the Grenadier Company on 1 July 1782.

[36] BERTRAND is one of 21 men identified in the *surnumeraire* as having served in America.

[37] BERTRAND was discharged after he paid 150 *livres* to buy off the time remaining in his enlistment.

[38] BOUCHER is one of five soldiers from Lauzun's Legion executed for desertion; BOUCHER left the colors on 13 May 1782. The other four soldiers executed were Jean GITTER (12 May 1782) and Corporal Christoph HAND (23 April 1781) from the Grenadier Company, Corporal Joseph FRANK from the Artillery Company (23 April 1781) and Jacques SAUKER (26 December 1780) of the Second Squadron of Hussars. BOUCHER, GITTER and SAUKER were shot, HAND and FRANK were hanged for "deserting to the enemy."

Jacques BERGEOT of the Chasseur Company was executed on 1 October 1781, for homicide.

[39] The Three Bishoprics (*Les Trois Evêques*) are Metz, Toul, and Verdun, which became French in 1552, as the price promised French King Henry II by Protestant German princes led by Maurice of Saxony for his assistance against Emperor Charles V.

[40] All ages given are those at the time of enlistment, e.g., 1 February 1779.

[41] The term *congedié* can mean either "furloughed" or "discharged"; BOUTTEMY was discharged "A la demande du Conseil Général," at the request of the Officers' Council of the regiment.

[42] BROGNARD was discharged after he paid 300 *livres* to buy off the time remaining in his enlistment.

[43] The term *congedié* can mean either "furloughed" or "discharged"; HOFFMAN was discharged.

CHENU, Nicolas	Kaimons Bar	21	1778 December 22	Dies 1780 October 18
COLOWSKY, Zacharie[44]	Bleischtorff Brunswick	25	1780 September 12	*Congedié* [45] 1783 May 1
COQUETTE, Nicolas	Dieulouir Lorraine	19	1779 January 7	Deserts 1781 October 21
D'AIGREFEUIL, Louis [46]	St. Pierre Martinique	28	1780 August 29 *Engagé a Philadelphie* Arrived in camp 1780 September 22	*Congedié comme Gentilhomme* [47] 1780 October 31
DANGLES, Louis[48]	Chalons-sur-Marne Bourgogne	22	1780 March 18	Deserts 1782 July 21
DELALOUVIER, Louis Adelay	Versailles Isle de France	19	1779 July 2	*Reformé par infirmité* [49] 1780 July 13
DOSSIN, Jean [50]	Remeldorfl Lorraine	23	1779 January 21	Dies of wounds 1781 October 19
FERCOUST, François[51] Sergeant	Metz Lorraine	19	1779 November 18	*Congedié* [52] 1782 January 25
FERDIOT, Jacques	Nehlembourg Alsace	25	1779 January 19	Deserts 1781 August 3
FRANCOIS, Charles [53]	Veley Normandie	32	1779 July 2	*Congedié* [54] 1783 May 1
FREIZELLE, Rudolph [55]	Dresden Saxony	24	1781 November 2	*Congedié* [56] 1783 May 1

[44] COLOWSKY had been recruited in America only for the duration of the war and was discharged when Lauzun's Legion sailed back to France in May 1783.

[45] The term *congedié* can mean either "furloughed" or "discharged"; COLOWSKY was discharged.

[46] D'AIGREFEUIL is one of 14 recruits a French recruiting party picked up in Philadelphia in August and September 1780 mentioned in *A Journal by Thos: Hughes For his Amusement, & Designed only for his Perusal by the time he attains the Age of 50 if he lives so long. (1778-1789)* (Cambridge, 1947), p. 95.

[47] The term *congedié* can mean either "furloughed" or "discharged"; D'AIGREFEUIL, who had enlisted as a simple grenadier, was discharged because he was of noble birth.

[48] DANGLES is one of 13 men identified as having been transferred from the Second Company of Fusiliers. He was first transferred from the hussars to the *chasseurs* (1 September 1780) and then to the grenadiers on 1 January 1781.

[49] The term *reformé* means that DELALOUVIER was invalided out of service; in his case because of *infirmité*, general weakness immediately upon arrival in Newport.

[50] DOSSIN died of wounds received by a "coup de feu" or gunshot on 6 October 1781. Corporal Denis JACOB of the Grenadier Company also suffered gunshot wounds on 6 October 1781 and died on 10 October 1781.

Jean SCHERRER of the Second Squadron of Hussars died of wounds he had received during combat with Lieutenant Colonel Banastre Tarleton's troops in Gloucester, Virginia, on 3 October 1781.

Henry HAUPT of the Chasseur Company died of a gunshot wound ("coup de feu") on 18 October 1782, presumably accidental since the Legion was encamped at Yorktown Heights, New York, at the time.
is one of two grenadiers wounded by a "coup de feu" or gunshot on 6 October 1781.

[51] FERCOUST transferred from the *chasseurs* on 1 May 1781, and was promoted to sergeant the same day. He is one of the very few soldiers discharged without paying a fee.

[52] The term *congedié* can mean either "furloughed" or "discharged"; FERCOUST was discharged.

[53] FRANCOIS was discharged after he paid 300 *livres* to buy off the time remaining in his enlistment.

[54] The term *congedié* can mean either "furloughed" or "discharged"; FRANCOIS was discharged.

[55] FREIZELLE is one of seven grenadiers recruited in October and November 1781 from among the prisoners taken at Yorktown to serve for the duration of the war.

GAMMIN, Antoine Augustin [57]	Tigui sur mer Picardie	20	1780 July 1 (sic)	Dies 1782 October 3
GEOFFROY, Jacques [58]	Paris Isle de France	21	1781 November 15	Deserts 1782 July 14
GEORGE, André	Luxembourg Empire	31	1780 November 15	Deserts 1781 September 13
GITTER, Jean [59]	Stenay Clermontois	33	1779 July 2	Executed 1782 May 15
GRANDISSART, Jean [60]	Givet Haynault	21	1778 November 1	Dies 1782 September 24
HAND, Christophe [61] Corporal	Bedelat Lorraine	25	1778 January 18	Executed 1781 April 23
HENRY, Lavier	Chandelon Alsace	24	1779 January 29	Dies 1780 November 6
HERRMANN Cristhian [62]	Schtarckard Prussia (Stargard)	36	1780 August 29 *Engagé a Philadelphie* Arrived in camp 1780 September 22	Deserts 1781 August 15
HERTRAND, Barthelmy called *Deslauriel*	Montpellier Languedoc	18	1779 January 6	Dies 1781 May 1
HESSE, Jean	Ernpireck Allemagne	28	1780 November 7	Deserts 1781 September 13
HOCK, Henry Paul [63]	Deux-Ponts (Zweibrücken)	18	1781 October 24	Deserts 1781 November 3

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[56] The term *congedié* can mean either "furloughed" or "discharged"; FREIZELLE was discharged.

[57] GAMMIN, whose name is the very last in the *contrôle*, is identified as having been transferred from the regiment Barrois on 1 July 1780, but the troops were on the high seas at the time. He is, however, counted among the eleven Barrois recruits in this table.

[58] GEOFFROY is one of seven grenadiers recruited in October and November 1781 from among the prisoners taken at Yorktown to serve for the duration of the war.

[59] GITTER is one of five soldiers from Lauzun's Legion executed for desertion; GITTER left the colors on 12 May 1782. The other four soldiers executed were Alexander BOUCHER (17 May 1782), and Corporal Christoph HAND (23 April 1781) from the Grenadier Company, Corporal Joseph FRANK from the Artillery Company (23 April 1781), and Jacques SAUKER (26 December 1780) from the Second Squadron of Hussars. GITTER, BOUCHER and SAUKER were shot, HAND and FRANK were hanged for "deserting to the enemy."

Jacques BERGEOT of the Chasseur Company was executed on 1 October 1781, for homicide.

[60] GRANDISSART is one of eleven replacements for the Company of Grenadiers of Lauzun's Legion from the Regiment Barrois sent from France which arrived in Boston on 11 June 1781.

[61] HAND is one of five soldiers from Lauzun's Legion executed for desertion; the date of HAND's desertion is unknown. The other four soldiers executed were Alexander BOUCHER (17 May 1782) and Jean GITTER (12 May 1782) from the Grenadier Company, Corporal Joseph FRANK from the Artillery Company (23 April 1781), and Jacques SAUKER (26 December 1780) from the Second Squadron of Hussars. GITTER, BOUCHER and SAUKER were shot, HAND and FRANK were hanged for "deserting to the enemy."

Jacques BERGEOT of the Chasseur Company was executed on 1 October 1781, for homicide.

[62] HERRMANN is one of 14 recruits a French recruiting party picked up in Philadelphia in August and September 1780 mentioned in *A Journal by Thos: Hughes For his Amusement, & Designed only for his Perusal by the time he attains the Age of 50 if he lives so long. (1778-1789)* (Cambridge, 1947), p. 95.

[63] HOCK is one of seven grenadiers recruited in October and November 1781 from among the prisoners taken at Yorktown to serve for the duration of the war.

JACOB, Denis [64] Corporal	St. Loup Franche Comte	27	1778 December 13	Dies of wounds 1781 October 10
KENAPPE, Jacob	Alzey Palatinate	21	1778 December 13	Deserts 1783 April 15
LATEIN, Jacob	Clamabareck Lorraine	43	1779 January 19	Dies 1780 December 4
LAUDERBACH, Jean Michel [65]	Freze Ansbach	21	1781 October 24	*Congedié* [66] 1783 May 1
LEBLANC, François Joseph [67]	Gouyterne Artois	21	1777 February 3 for eight years	Deserts 1782 July 21
LECRENIEZ, François Sergeant	Vic, Three Bishoprics[68]	48	1779 July 3	Dies 1780 August 14
LOBJOYE, Jean Leandre	Dombuer Picardie	18	1779 February 11	Deserts 1781 August 3
MARS, George[69]	Epagne Champagne	25	1779 January 26	Deserts 1782 June 11
MASCHARD, Joseph[70]	Toul Lorraine	17	1778 December 27	Dies 1781 August 23
MENARD, Victor	Brêle Picardie	36	1779 January 6	Deserts 1782 September 27
MORICETTE, Nicolas	Arbasel Franche Comté	35	1779 April 28	Deserts 1782 June 11
NOGUES, Jean Pierre [71]	Baguieres Bigorre	26	1781 March 4	Dies 1782 September 13
ODET, Charles [72]	Monteuil Isle de France	26	1779 July 2	Sentenced to galley service 1781 January 19
PACOT, François [73]	Bouttenheim Franckfort	22	1779 April 4	Expelled 1781 January 4

[64] JACOB died of wounds received by a "coup de feu" or gunshot on 6 October 1781. Jean DOSSIN of the Grenadier Company also suffered gunshot wounds on 6 October 1781 and died on 19 October 1781.

Jean SCHERRER of the Second Squadron of Hussars died of wounds he had received during combat with Lieutenant Colonel Banastre Tarleton's troops in Gloucester, Virginia, on 3 October 1781.

Henry HAUPT of the Chasseur Company died of a gunshot wound ("coup de feu") on 18 October 1782, presumably accidental since the Legion was encamped at Yorktown Heights, New York, at the time.

[65] LAUTERBACH is one of seven grenadiers recruited in October and November 1781 from among the prisoners taken at Yorktown to serve for the duration of the war.

[66] The term *congedié* can mean either "furloughed" or "discharged"; LAUTERBACH was discharged.

[67] LEBLANC is one of eleven replacements for the Company of Grenadiers of Lauzun's Legion from the Regiment Barrois sent from France which arrived in Boston on 11 June 1781.

[68] The Three Bishoprics (*Les Trois Evêques*) are Metz, Toul, and Verdun, which became French in 1552, as the price promised French King Henry II by Protestant German princes led by Maurice of Saxony for his assistance against Emperor Charles V.

[69] MARS is one of 13 men identified as having been transferred from the Second Company of Fusiliers.

[70] MASCHARD is one of 21 men identified in the *surnumeraire* as having served in America.

[71] NOGUES is one of eleven replacements for the Company of Grenadiers of Lauzun's Legion from the Regiment Barrois sent from France which arrived in Boston on 11 June 1781.

[72] ODET deserted on 8 December 1780, was captured on 15 January 1781 and sentenced to eight years galley service in chains, the standard punishment for desertion, on 17 January 1781.

[73] PACOT is one of five soldiers of Lauzun's Legion who were *chassé* in America after having run the gauntlet. The reason for the punishment was *friponnerie*, i.e., cheating or roguerie. The term used in the *contrôle*, *passé par les verges*, means "made to run the gauntlet."

The other four soldiers expelled from the Legion were Etienne PAUL (17 February 1782, no reason given) from the Grenadier Company, Nicolas WAGNER (11 September 1780; for *friponnerie*, i.e., cheating or roguerie) from the Chasseur Company, Guillaume Louis GUILLOT of the Second Squadron of

PAUL, Etienne [74]	Ansbach Ansbach	21	1781 October 24	Expelled 1782 February 17
PAVILLON, Jean Maurice[75]	Luzarche Ile de France	18	1778 November 18	Deserts 1782 September 27
PERDRIGEON, Joseph Corporal	Bourganteau Loiret	27	1779 December 13	*Congedié par infirmité* [76] 1783 May 1
PERIES, Louis Antoine	St. Germain Isle de France	25	1779 January 4	Dies 1780 November 29
ROZELLE, Vilhem [77]	Cassel Hessia	23	1781 October 24	Deserts 1781 November 27
SARIAN, Claude	Bujets Lyon	20	1779 July 2	*Congedié pour réforme* [78] 1782 January 12
SCHOLEZ, Frederic	Stoleberg Saxony	23	1780 November 18	Deserts 1781 September 13
SCHWARTZ, Jean [79]	Wolfenbutel Brunswick	21	1780 September 1	*Congedié* [80] 1783 May 1
VALLET, Jean François	Paris Isle de France	26	1778 November 18	*Congedié pour réforme* [81] 1782 February 12
VASSEUR, André Joseph [82]	Vaudreuil Picardie	22	1776 November 15 for eight years	Deserts 1782 May 12
VERDEL, Antoine[83] Musician	Sigulan Languedoc	23	1778 December 13	*Congedié* [84] 1782 December 16

Hussars (7 May 1783; no reason given), and François CORVASIER of the hussars (21 January 1783; for *friponnerie*, i.e., cheating or roguerie), though it is not known whether he had to run the gauntlet.

[74] PAUL is one of seven grenadiers recruited in October and November 1781 from among the prisoners taken at Yorktown to serve for the duration of the war.

PAUL is one of five soldiers of Lauzun's Legion who were *chassé* in America after having run the gauntlet. No reason for the punishment is given. The term used in the *contrôle*, The term used in the *contrôle*, *passé aux verger*, translates literally as "passed through the orchard."

The other four soldiers expelled from the Legion were François PACOT (4 January 1781; for *friponnerie*, i.e., cheating or roguerie) from the Grenadier Company, Nicolas WAGNER (11 September 1780; for *friponnerie*, i.e., cheating or roguerie) from the Chasseur Company, Guillaume Louis GUILLOT of the Second Squadron of Hussars (7 May 1783; no reason given), and François CORVASIER of the hussars (21 January 1783; for *friponnerie*, i.e., cheating or roguerie), though it is not known whether he had to run the gauntlet.

[75] Pavillon transferred from the First Squadron of Hussars to the grenadiers on 1 September 1780.

[76] *Congedié* can mean either "furloughed" or "discharged"; *Congedié pour infirmité* means that PERDRIGON was discharged because of a general weakness.

[77] ROZELLE is one of seven grenadiers recruited in October and November 1781 from among the prisoners taken at Yorktown to serve for the duration of the war.

[78] *Congedié* can mean either "furloughed" or "discharged"; *Congedié par réforme* means that SARIAN was discharged because of invalidity.

[79] SCHWARTZ had been recruited in America only for the duration of the war and was discharged when Lauzun's Legion sailed back to France in May 1783.

[80] The term *congedié* can mean either "furloughed" or "discharged"; SCHWARTZ was discharged.

[81] *Congedié* can mean either "furloughed" or "discharged"; *Congedié par réforme* means that VALLET was discharged because of invalidity.

[82] VASSEUR is one of eleven replacements for the Company of Grenadiers of Lauzun's Legion from the Regiment Barrois sent from France which arrived in Boston on 11 June 1781.

[83] VERDEL is one of 16 soldiers listed in the *mutations* as having been sent to Brest on 30 April 1780. No date is given for when he joined the grenadiers. He is the only soldier from Lauzun's Legion known to have been discharged free of any obligation because his enlistment had expired.

WEYCHMANN Jean Christoph [85]	Dresden Saxony	27	1780 August 30 *Engagé a Philadelphie* arrived in camp 1780 September 22	*Congedié* [86] 1783 (?) May 7

The total number of men enlisted in the Company of Grenadiers is 144. Of the 127 men who came from France, 13 died, 15 deserted, 8 were discharged in America, 3 executed, 2 expelled, 2 died of wounds, and one was sentenced to the galleys.

The Company of Grenadiers received eleven replacements from the regiment Barrois from France. Of these, two deserted, three died, two were discharged in Europe, and four became Lauzun Hussars in 1783. According to the review of 28 February 1782, the company integrated one grenadier from the First Legion of the *volontaires étrangères de la Marine* that had come to Yorktown from the Caribbean with the troops of the *marquis* de St. Simon on the fleet of Admiral de Grasse, but no grenadier is identified as such in the *contrôle*.

Of ten men recruited in America prior to the siege of Yorktown, five deserted. Three were discharged in Wilmington, Delaware, because they had enlisted only for the duration of the war, one was discharged after the payment of a fee. One, Louis D'AIGREFEUIL was discharged *comme gentilhomme*. He is counted in the statistics; Louis Alexis DURANT, who became the *cadet gentilhomme* of the Second Squadron of Hussars on 1 October 1780, is not counted here.

Of the seven Yorktown recruits, four deserted, two were discharged on 1 May 1783, in Wilmington, Delaware, because they had enlisted only for the duration of the war, one was expelled from the company.

Louis Alexis DURANT, recruited on 1 May 1780, was promoted to *cadet gentilhomme* of the Second Squadron of Hussars on 1 October 1780 in the place of Marie Laurent Deprez de Geneste, who had become *sous lieutenant* in the First Squadron of Hussars following the death of François de Sheldon de Dickford on 28 September 1780. He is not counted in this table.

Of the two identified drummers of the company, Joseph BADOUX became Tambour Major on 1 July 1782; he was replaced by George BOLL. BADOUX is counted in this table. The other tambour was Antoine VERDEL, who was not replaced when he was discharged in December 1782. Jean Rott, a transfer from the Second Company of Fusiliers, is also listed as a *musicien* in the *contrôle.*

Joseph BLANCHARD, is the only soldier identified as "tiré de la compagnie generale."

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[84] The term *congedié* can mean either "furloughed" or "discharged"; VERDEL was discharged.
[85] WEYCHMANN is one of 14 recruits a French recruiting party picked up in Philadelphia in August and September 1780 mentioned in *A Journal by Thos: Hughes For his Amusement, & Designed only for his Perusal by the time he attains the Age of 50 if he lives so long. (1778-1789)* (Cambridge, 1947), p. 95. WEYCHMANN was discharged after he paid 370 *livres* to buy off the time remaining in his enlistment.
[86] The term *congedié* can mean either "furloughed" or "discharged"; WEYCHMANN was discharged. There is no year given for his discharge in the *contrôle* but the date in May points to the year 1783.

Compagnie de Chasseurs

NAME	WHERE FROM	AGE	ENLISTMENT DATE	FATE
ANDRESSON, Jean [87]	Odmonsaxen Hesse Cassel	20	1781 December 25	*Congedié* [88] 1783 May 1
BERGEOT, Jacques [89] called *d'Amour*	Ugauth Baume	22 [90]	1779 January 16	Executed 1781 October 1
BERTRAND, François	Metz Lorraine	18	1778 December 22	Dies 1781 January 24
BIRKHOLTZ, Charles	Alheur Denmark	30	1781 January 21	Deserts 1782 January 18
BREMMER, Cristhian	Mecklenbourg Allemagne	24	1780 September 5	Deserts 1781 May 5
CHEVENOT, Claude François [91]	Nantes Bretagne	20	1780 April 1	*Congedié* [92] 1783 May 7
CHEVILLER, Guillaume[93]	Gray Franche Comté	16	1780 March 29	*Congedié*[94] 1783 May 1
DERIEZ, Henry [95]	Carbol Brunswick	25	1780 September 24	*Congedié* [96] 1783 May 1
DOUART, Michel	Maneville Lorraine	21	1779 January 11	Dies 1782 July 29
DOUSOUBRA, Antoine	Uhsel Limosin	17	1778 November 18	*Congedié* [97] 1782 September 1
DRIOZ, Barthelemy	Erkay, Three Bishoprics [98]	18	1779 January 11	Deserts 1782 June 30
DUPONT, Joseph [99]	Bruyere Lorraine	19	1779 February 2	Dies 1780 July 14
FORMANN, Claude [100]	Sarbriek Lorraine	25	1778 December 22	Dies 1780 June 21

[87] ANDRESSON had been recruited in America only for the duration of the war and was discharged when Lauzun's Legion sailed back to France in May 1783.

[88] The term *congedié* can mean either "furloughed" or "discharged"; ANDRESSON was discharged.

[89] BERGEOT was executed for *assassinat*, i.e., murder, committed during the siege of Gloucester.

Five more soldiers besides BERGEOT were executed during the Legion's stay in America. Grenadiers GITTER and BOUCHER and Hussar SAUKER were shot for desertion, Corporals HAND and FRANK were hanged for "deserting to the enemy."

[90] All ages given are those at the time of enlistment, e.g., 16 January 1779.

[91] CHEVENOT is one of 21 men identified in the *surnumeraire* as having served in America.

[92] The term *congedié* can mean either "furloughed" or "discharged"; CHEVENOT was discharged.

[93] CHEVILLER is one of 21 men identified in the *surnumeraire* as having served in America.

[94] CHEVILLER was discharged after he paid 150 *livres* to buy off the time remaining in his enlistment.

[95] DERIEZ had been recruited in the grenadiers in America only for the duration of the war and was discharged when Lauzun's Legion sailed back to France in May 1783. DERIEZ transferred to the Company of Chasseurs on 21 December 1780; his transfer is not noted in the *contrôle* of 1 October 1781.

[96] The term *congedié* can mean either "furloughed" or "discharged"; DERIEZ was discharged.

[97] The term *congedié* can mean either "furloughed" or "discharged"; DOUSOUBRA was discharged.

[98] The Three Bishoprics (*Les Trois Evêques*) are Metz, Toul, and Verdun, which became French in 1552, as the price promised French King Henry II by Protestant German princes led by Maurice of Saxony for his assistance against Emperor Charles V.

[99] DUPONT "mort a l'Hopital du camp devant Niewport."

[100] FORMANN died on board the *Fantasque* during the transatlantic crossing.

FRESSE, Joseph [101]	Letringen Lorraine	17	1778 September 24	Dies 1780 9 July
GERONIE, Pierre	Slasbourg Lorraine	31	1779 January 13	Deserts 1782 July 14
GOTTLIPPE, Jean	Ansbach	24	1782 January 2	Deserts 1782 April 15
HAUPT, Henry [102]	Eringbaye Hesse-Cassel	24	1780 September 11	Killed 1782 October 18
HERTZOG, François [103]	Closterneubourg Empire	25	1780 September 10	Congedié [104] 1783 May 1
KELLER, Jean George	Althdiche Hesse	22	1778 December 22	Deserts 1782 May 12
MASCZET, Michel[105]	Vervin Picardie	23	1780 March 6	*Reformé* [106] 1782 February 1
MAYER, Christian [107]	Alkerie Allemagne	22	1781 September 30 recrue en Philadelphie	Deserts 1782 June 6
MIGETTE, Jean François [108]	Beinville Lorraine	18	1778 December 13	Dies 1780 May 30
PICKLINE, Jean Henry[109]	Cassel Hesse	17	1780 October 13	Deserts 1782 February 15
SIMON, André[110]	Nassau Saarbrücken	23	1779 January 19	*Congedié*[111] 1783 May 1
VAGNER, Nicolas [112]	Monnez Isle de France	20	1779 January 19	Expelled 1780 September 11

[101] FRESSE died on board the *l'Ardent* during the transatlantic crossing.

[102] HAUPT died of a gunshot wound ("coup de feu") on 18 October 1782, presumably accidental since the Legion was encamped at Yorktown Heights, New York, at the time.

Two other soldiers, Corporal Denis JACOB and Jean DOSSIN of the Grenadier Company suffered gunshot wounds on 6 October 1781 and died on 10 and 19 October 1781 resp.

Jean SCHERRER of the Second Squadron of Hussars died of wounds he had received during combat with Lieutenant Colonel Banastre Tarleton's troops in Gloucester, Virginia, on 3 October 1781.

[103] HERTZOG had been recruited in America only for the duration of the war and was discharged when Lauzun's Legion sailed back to France in May 1783.

[104] The term *congedié* can mean either "furloughed" or "discharged"; HERTZOG was discharged.

[105] MASCZET is one of 16 soldiers listed in the *mutations* as having been sent to Brest on 30 April 1780. He joined the *chasseurs* on 1 September 1780.

[106] The term *reformé* means that MASCZET was invalided out of service;

[107] MAYER is one of 14 recruits a French recruiting party picked up in Philadelphia in August and September 1780 mentioned in *A Journal by Thos: Hughes For his Amusement, & Designed only for his Perusal by the time he attains the Age of 50 if he lives so long. (1778-1789)* (Cambridge, 1947), p. 95.

[108] MIGETTE died on board the *l'Ardent* during the transatlantic crossing.

[109] PICKLINE is also listed as BISJELINE in the *contrôle* with a note that this is a duplicate listing.

[110] SIMON is one of 21 men identified in the *surnumeraire* as having served in America. His brother Daniel served in the Second Squadron of Hussars.

[111] SIMON was discharged after he paid 150 *livres* to buy off the time remaining in his enlistment.

[112] VAGNER is one of five soldiers of Lauzun's Legion who were *chassé* in America after having run the gauntlet. The reason for the punishment is *friponnerie*, i.e., cheating or roguerie. The term used in the *contrôle, passé par les verges*, means "made to run the gauntlet."

The other four soldiers expelled from the Legion were Etienne PAUL (17 February 1782, no reason given) and François PACOT (4 January 1781; for *friponnerie*, i.e., cheating or roguerie) from the Grenadier Company, Guillaume Louis GUILLOT of the Second Squadron of Hussars (7 May 1783; no reason given), and François CORVASIER of the hussars (21 January 1783; for *friponnerie*, i.e., cheating or roguerie), though it is not known whether he had to run the gauntlet.

The total number of men enlisted in the Company of Chasseurs is 111. Of the 103 men who came from France, 6 died, 3 deserted, 6 were discharged in America, one was executed, and one was expelled.

The Company of Chasseurs received 12 replacements from the regiment Barrois from France. Of them was discharged in France on 10 October 1783, the other eleven became Lauzun Hussars in 1783. According to the review of 28 February 1782, the company integrated one *chasseur* from the First Legion of the *volontaires étrangères de la Marine* that had come to Yorktown from the Caribbean with the troops of the *marquis* de St. Simon on the fleet of Admiral de Grasse. He returned to France in 1783.

Of six men recruited in America prior to the siege of Yorktown, four deserted, one died, and one was discharged in Wilmington, Delaware, because he had enlisted only for the duration of the war.

Of the two post-Yorktown recruits, one deserted and one was discharged on 1 May 1783, in Wilmington, Delaware, because he had enlisted only for the duration of the war.

One of the two drummers, Laurent FLIGNY, *musicien*, born around 1760 in Paris, joined the Lauzun Hussars, Jean Nicolas BONDANGUIN, of Paris, born around 1762, *tambour*, was discharged on 10 October 1783.

A third musician, Joseph RAUCH, born around 1744 (!) in Varasdin, Croatia, is listed in the *mutations* as having been transferred to the *chasseurs*. He joined the Lauzun Hussars in 1783. Jean Baptiste LEROY, a transfer from the Second Company of Fusiliers, is also listed as a *musicien* in the *contrôle*.

Louis MORY, who had been the Legion's tambour major, was broken from the ranks and integrated into the *chasseurs* on 1 July 1782. He is also counted here rather than on the staff.

No soldier is identified as "tiré de la compagnie generale."

Compagnie d'Artillerie

NAME	WHERE FROM	AGE	ENLISTMENT DATE	FATE
APPIS, Jean [113]	Sax Kop	19	1781 December 25	*Congedié* [114] 1783 May 1
BECKER, Henry	Mollet Sarbrieck	32	1779 February 15	Deserts 1782 June 14
BOSSIER, Emanuel[115]	Pontandame Normandy	18	1778 December 22	*Congedié* [116] 1783 May 1
BOUILLIER, Agnan Sergeant	Orleans	49[117]	1779 January 4	Dies 1782 January 22
CHALAYE, Josephe Corporal	Nonay Vivaray	40	1779 January 1	Dies 1782 June 30
CLEMENT, Victor[118]	Bozier Languedoc	25	1780 April 12	Deserts 1781 August 10
COUBAILLON, Legec[119]	Clermont Auvergne	19	1779 July 1	Dies 1781 March 8
DANNEMAN, Nicolas	Saline Nassau	18	1778 October 15	Dies 1781 October 20
DE LINOT, Jean Baptiste	Montmedy Lorraine	19	1779 January 17	Deserts 1781 January 12
DEDOYARD, Theodore[120]	Liège	19	1780 March 7	Dies 1782 April 20
FRANK, Joseph[121] Corporal	Limbourg Friesen	21	1779 January 6	Executed 1781 April 23
GAYDE, Jean Etienne	Tarbel Languedoc	27	1780 October 26	Deserts 1783 April 17
HELDEBRANDE, Jacques	Lellingen Canton Curis	22	1778 November 1	Deserts 1782 August 13
JEANNEREL, Claude François [122]	Besançon Comté	23	1779 January 6	*Congedié* [123] 1783 May 1

[113] APPIS had been recruited in America only for the duration of the war and was discharged when Lauzun's Legion sailed back to France in May 1783.

[114] The term *congedié* can mean either "furloughed" or "discharged"; APPIS was discharged.

[115] BOSSIER was discharged *par grace* and after he paid 150 *livres* to buy off the time remaining in his enlistment.

[116] The term *congedié* can mean either "furloughed" or "discharged"; BOSSIER was discharged.

[117] All ages given are those at the time of enlistment, e.g., 4 January 4 1779.

[118] CLEMENT is one of 24 replacements for the Artillery Company of Lauzun's Legion from the Regiment Barrois sent from France which arrived in Boston on 7 June 1781. He had enlisted for eight years on 12 April 1780.

[119] COUBAILLON is one of 21 men identified in the *surnumeraire* as having served in America.

[120] DEDOYARD is one of 16 soldiers listed in the *mutations* as having been sent to Brest on 30 April 1780. No date is given for his integration into the *cannoniers*.

[121] HAND is one of five soldiers from Lauzun's Legion executed for desertion; the date of HAND's desertion is unknown. The other four soldiers executed were Alexander BOUCHER (17 May 1782) and Jean GITTER (12 May 1782) from the Grenadier Company, Corporal Joseph FRANK from the Artillery Company (23 April 1781), and Jacques SAUKER (26 December 1780) from the Second Squadron of Hussars. GITTER, BOUCHER and SAUKER were shot, HAND and FRANK were hanged for "deserting to the enemy."

Jacques BERGEOT of the Chasseur Company was executed on 1 October 1781, for homicide.

KENAUTZ, Jean [124]	Stetten Alsace	22	1779 February 19	*Congedié* [125] 1783 May 1
LE GRAS, Pierre Joseph [126]	Dore Cambresis	38	1779 October 1	Dies 1780 May 9
LEGOUT, Pierre[127]	St. Pierre Orleans	19	1778 December 18	Dies 1780 July 31
LEVY, Francois[128]	Mezière Lorraine	19	1779 March 1	Deserts 1781 January 12
MATTHIEU, Jacques Corporal	Giver Ardennes	20	1778 December 2	Dies 1781 July 27
PIERRAT, Valentin[129]	Latresse Lorraine	27	1779 January 13	*Congedié* [130] 1783 May 1
PIERSON, Charles	Luvigny Clermont	20	1779 January 21	Deserts 1780 October 10
QUENTELOT, Charles Louis [131]	Rethel Mazarin Champagne	19	1778 December 15	Dies 1781 October 26
REBE, Jacob	Ambacq Sorbracy	22	1779 January 13	Deserts 1782 August 13
ROMARGE, Henry	Liège	33	1779 February 9	Deserts 1783 March 12
ROSBACK, Pierre	Strasbourg Alsace	43	1780 April 5	Dies 1782 September 28
SCHERRES, Jean [132]	Eumone Haugle Hauten	19	1781 December 25	*Congedié* [133] 1783 May 1
SCHMIDT, Christian	Schlesingen Prussia	36	1781 January 21	Deserts 1781 June 27
SIBERT, Jean [134] Tambour	Charleshausen Hesse-Cassel	18	1781 January 21	*Congedié* [135] 1783 May 1
STOIR, Jean	Genbronne Lorraine	23	1779 February 13	Deserts 1782 August 13

[122] JEANNEREL was discharged *par grace* and after he paid 150 *livres* to buy off the time remaining in his enlistment. He is also listed as Claude François TANERES in the *contrôle* with a note that this is a duplicate listing.

[123] The term *congedié* can mean either "furloughed" or "discharged"; JEANNEREL was discharged.

[124] KENAUTZ was discharged *par grace* and after he paid 150 *livres* to buy off the time remaining in his enlistment.

[125] The term *congedié* can mean either "furloughed" or "discharged"; KENAUTZ was discharged.

[126] Le GRAS had 21 1/2 years of service in French regiments prior to his enlistment in Lauzun's Legion. He died on board the *duc de Chartres* during the transatlantic crossing.

[127] LEGOUT died on board the *l'Ardent* in Newport harbor.

[128] LEVY is one of 13 men identified as having been transferred from the Second Company of Fusiliers. The *contrôle* indicates that he enlisted in the Regiment Martinique that same year.

[129] PIERRAT was discharged *par grace* and after he paid 150 *livres* to buy off the time remaining in his enlistment.

[130] The term *congedié* can mean either "furloughed" or "discharged"; PIERRAT was discharged.

[131] The *contrôle* states that QUENTELOT was drawn from the regiment Barrois on 1 January 1782, which is patently wrong since he died already on 26 October 1781. It is assumed that he was one of the sixteen replacements from Barrois that arrived on 7 June 1781.

[132] SCHERRES had been recruited in America only for the duration of the war and was discharged when Lauzun's Legion sailed back to France in May 1783.

[133] The term *congedié* can mean either "furloughed" or "discharged"; SCHERRES was discharged.

[134] SIBERT had been recruited in America only for the duration of the war and was discharged when Lauzun's Legion sailed back to France in May 1783.

[135] The term *congedié* can mean either "furloughed" or "discharged"; SIBERT was discharged.

The total number of men enlisted in the Company of Cannoniers is 115. Of the 110 men who came from France, 10 died, 9 deserted, 4 were discharged in America, one was executed.

The Company of Cannoniers received 24 replacements from the regiment Barrois from France. Of these, one transferred to the grenadiers, one deserted and one died, the remainder returned to France in 1783.

According to the review of 28 February 1782, the company did not integrated any *cannoniers* from the First Legion of the *volontaires étrangères de la Marine* that had come to Yorktown from the Caribbean with the troops of the *marquis* de St. Simon on the fleet of Admiral de Grasse.

Of the three soldier recruited in America prior to the siege of Yorktown, two deserted and one was discharged again in April 1783 in Wilmington.

Both of the post-Yorktown recruits were discharged on 1 May 1783, in Wilmington, Delaware, because they had enlisted only for the duration of the war.

The two *musiciens* were Jean Louis Pacquet of Sasey, Clermont, age 17, who enlisted on 11 January 1779. He is listed in the *mutations*. Pacquet was discharged on 10 October 1783. Tambour Jean SIBERT was recruited in America in January 1781 only for the duration of the war and was discharged when Lauzun's Legion sailed back to France in May 1783.

The two tambours listed in the *contrôle* are Louis MASSY, enlisted in 1778 at age 24, from Levily in the Picardie, and Jean Baptiste Baron from Sedan, age 36 in 1778.

No soldier is identified as "tiré de la compagnie generale."

Second Escadron d'Hussards

NAME	WHERE FROM	AGE	ENLISTMENT DATE	FATE
ADAM LE GROM, Jean François[136]	Saargemünden Lorraine	28	1779 September 1	Dies 1783 February 15
BAUNGARD, Jean	Bouschback Hanover	23	1781 June 4	Deserts 1783 April 16
BAUR, George	Aubernau Alsace	28	1779 January 28	Deserts 1781 August 10
BAWER, Michel	Shipruck Lorraine	22	1779 July 2	Deserts 1783 April 30
BEAUDOUIN, Nicolas [137] called *St. Agnan*	St. Agnan Lorraine	40[138]	1758 May 28	Dies 1780 August 23
BEKER, Nicolas	Relingen Lorraine	16	1779 July 2	Deserts 1781 August 4
BERANGER, Jean [139]	St. Avold Lorraine	20	1779 February 15	Deserts 1782 June 14
BETDELSTER, Jean	Solbronne Alsace	16	1779 July 2	Deserts 1782 July 26
BIRG, Jean	Kasingen Württemberg	19	1779 January 3	Deserts 1781 August 4
BISCHOFF, Joseph	Vinsferrette Alsace	27	1779 February 17	Deserts 1783 April 30
BLANC, George [140]	Colmar Alsace	18	1779 February 17	Deserts 1783 April 30
BLAZER, Philippe	Kouvillier Nassau	22	1779 July 2	Dies 1782 May 28
BROUCK, Louis	Sarbrouk Nassau	23	1779 July 2	Deserts 1783 April 30
CHIPPRE, Louis [141]	Paris France	25	1781 January 7	*Congedié par réforme*[142] 1781 November 1
CLAUSE, Mathias	Ottingen Lorraine	21	1779 January 28	Deserts 1782 August 10

[136] ADAM was the *fourrier écrivain* of the squadron before his promotion to *adjutant* of the hussars on 15 January 1783, in the place of Jacint LAVAL, who had resigned his commission. After the death of ADAM the position of *adjutant* remained unfilled until October 1783.

[137] BEAUDOUIN served as *maréchal de logis en second*, the second-ranking NCO in this hussar squadron. He had first enrolled in the Royal Dragoons in 1758, and re-enlisted in April 1765 and April 1773 for eight years each. He was one of the senior NCOs with long service records who were transferred to the *volontaires étrangers*; the date of his transfer is unknown.

[138] His age, 40, is that at the time of his enlistment in the *volontaires* in 1778 or 1779 rather than at his first enlistment in 1758. His is one of the very few cases where previous service is identified.

[139] BERANGER had enlisted in the *cannoniers* but transferred to the Second Squadron of Hussars on 19 June 1781.

[140] BLANC had enlisted in the *chasseurs* but served in the Second Squadron of Hussars after 19 June 1781.

[141] It is unclear whether CHIPPRE was recruited and discharged in America, but very likely. Jean NAGUEL, the hussar immediately preceding him in the *contrôle*, was recruited on 4 January 1781 and is listed as "deserté en amérique."

[142] *Congedié* can mean either "furloughed" or "discharged"; *Congedié par réforme* means that CHIPPRE was discharged because of invalidity.

COULPE, Jean	Niterbourg German Empire	20	1780 April 10	Deserts 1783 May 8
CRAUSSE, François	Kederock Mainz	20	1778 November 7	Deserts 1783 May 8
CREMER, Jean	Sarsaland Hungary	25	1779 July 2	Deserts 1781 August 10
CRESNACK, Philippe	Kever	24	1779 January 15	Deserts 1782 September 17
DELAVAUX, François	Nemours, Three Bishoprics [143]	37	1779 October 14	Dies 1782 August 9
DIDIER, Pierre[144]	Angarde Nassau	25	1779 February 13	Killed 1781 October 3
DIDRICH, Stephanus	Wolfenbuttel Brandenbourg	28	1780 December 3	Deserts 1781 January 13
DINER, Christian[145]	Lordele Sarbrieg	21	1778 December 22	Deserts 1782 June 14
DORAND, Jean	Saarlouis, Three Bishoprics [146]	18	1779 July 2	Deserts 1782 July 26
DRIBER, Sebastien	Dasbach Alsace	19	1779 February 17	Deserts 1781 August 10
ERNIST, Jean[147]	Bouderkrein Courland	25	1780 August 20	Deserts 1780 November 15
ESXQUIT, Jean	Schlestadt Alsace	30	1782 September 10	Deserts 1782 October 8
FENICKEL, Adam[148]	Astroph Aldorphe	21	1779 February 13	Deserts 1783 April 16
FOLMER, Jean[149]	Guerwentein Philadelphia Pennsylvania	17	1780 November 5 arrived in camp 1781 January 15	*Congedié* [150] 1783 May 1
GEVIN, Pierre	Anponne Bourgogne	20	1778 November 18	Deserts 1783 April 18
GOSSIN, Fridoline	Bisel Alsace	25	1779 February 7	Dies 1782 September 24
GOULSE, Pierre	Homsdotal Lorraine	21	1779 July 2	Dies 1781 November 26

[143] The Three Bishoprics (*Les Trois Evêques*) are Metz, Toul, and Verdun, which became French in 1552, as the price promised French King Henry II by Protestant German princes led by Maurice of Saxony for his assistance against Emperor Charles V.

[144] Pierre DIDIER is one of two men identified as killed in the Battle of the Hook in Gloucester, Virginia, in combat with Lieutenant Colonel Banastre Tarleton's troops; the other man named Jacob COLIN in the First Squadron of Hussars. He is also listed as Pierre DIETIENNE, age 23, in the First Squadron of Hussars but with a note giving his proper name Pierre DIDIER. The *contrôle* states that he transferred to the Artillery Company on 7 November 1780, but since the transfer is not noted in the review of 1 October 1781, he is listed with the Second Squadron of Hussars.

[145] DINER had enlisted in the *chasseurs* but served in the Second Squadron of Hussars after 19 June 1781.

[146] The Three Bishoprics (*Les Trois Evêques*) are Metz, Toul, and Verdun, which became French in 1552, as the price promised French King Henry II by Protestant German princes led by Maurice of Saxony for his assistance against Emperor Charles V.

[147] In the *contrôle*, Ernist is also listed in the *chasseurs* with a desertion date of 25 November 1780.

[148] FENICKEL had enlisted in the *chasseurs* but served in the Second Squadron of Hussars after 1 September 1780.

[149] The French were not permitted to recruit American-born soldiers, and FOLMER is the only American known to have served in Rochambeau's army.

[150] *Congedié* can mean either "furloughed" or "discharged." FOLMER had been recruited in America only for the duration of the war and was discharged when Lauzun's Legion sailed back to France in May 1783.

GUILLOT, Guillaume Louis [151]	Farin Ile de France	29	1779 January 4	Expelled 1783 May 7
HALTER, Simon [152]	Lauterback Palatinate	50	1781 September 3 *recrue de Philadelphie*	*Congedié* [153] 1783 May 1
HAUSSER, François Joseph	Fister Alsace	17	1779 February 17	Dies 1781 August 8
HELLE, Joseph	Rumerland Alsace	18	1779 March 28	Dies 1780 August 23
HENBERIERG, Jean	Hambourg Franconie	19	1782 September 1	Deserts 1783 March 30
HERIOCK, Christophe [154]	Schwape Hesse	23	1781 September 3 *recrue de Philadelphie*	Dies 1783 April 12
HERMS, Jacob [155]	Zonaberg Brandenburg	29	1780 August 28 in Philadelphia; arrived in camp 1780 September 22	Deserts 1780 October 7
HERTEMONE, Joseph	Margkille Alsace	22	1779 July 2	*Congedié pour infirmité* [156] 1783 May 1
HOCKER, Pierre	Cassel Hesse	25	1781 May 3	Deserts 1781 August 10
HOULLE, Mathieu	Schoudedre Alsace	39	1779 January 28	Dies 1780 August 17[157]
JASE, Jacob	Veltern Manheim	18	1779 February 17	Dies 1782 September 27
JEMME, Jean	Dublin Ireland	27	1780 November 28	Deserts 1780 December 18
KENEL, Paul	Reibach Switzerland	19	1779 July 2	Deserts 1782 January 15
KHONNE, Nicolas	Melmich Achtoul	22	1779 July 2	*Congedié par réforme* [158] 1783 May 1

[151] GUILLOT is one of five soldiers of Lauzun's Legion who were *chassé* in America after having run the gauntlet. No reason for the punishment is given. The term used in the *contrôle*, *passé par le courroy*, literally means to "pass through the straps" or "belts."

The other four soldiers expelled from the Legion were Etienne PAUL (17 February 1782, no reason given) and François PACOT (4 January 1781; for *friponnerie*, i.e., cheating or roguerie) from the Grenadier Company, Nicolas WAGNER (11 September 1780; for *friponnerie*, i.e., cheating or roguerie) from the Chasseur Compagny, and François CORVASIER of the hussars (21 January 1783; for *friponnerie*, i.e., cheating or roguerie), though it is not known whether he had to run the gauntlet.

[152] HALTER had been recruited in America only for the duration of the war and was discharged when Lauzun's Legion sailed back to France in May 1783. He was recruited as the Legion was marching through Philadelphia on its way to Yorktown in 1781. He is also listed as HALLER in the *contrôle.*

[153] *Congedié* can mean either "furloughed" or "discharged," HALTER/HALLER was discharged.

[154] HERIOCK was recruited as the Legion was marching through Philadelphia on its way to Yorktown.

[155] HERMS is one of 14 recruits a French recruiting party picked up in Philadelphia in August and September 1780 mentioned in *A Journal by Thos: Hughes For his Amusement, & Designed only for his Perusal by the time he attains the Age of 50 if he lives so long. (1778-1789)* (Cambridge, 1947), p. 95.

[156] *Congedié* can mean either "furloughed" or "discharged"; *Congedié pour infirmité* means that HERTEMONE was discharged because of a general weakness.

[157] A note in the *contrôle* mentions a possible death date of 11 August.

[158] *Congedié* can mean either "furloughed" or "discharged"; *Congedié par réforme* means that KHONNE was discharged because of invalidity.

KINEE, Jean	Prinsberg Brandenbourg	24	1780 November 14 arrived in camp 1781 January 16	Deserts 1781 June 19
KINTZE, Henri	Laudebach Darmstadt	21	1778 November 18	Deserts 1783 April 16
KOCK, Paul	Lamberiche Lorraine Allemande	36	1779 July 2	Dies 1782 September 17
KRAPPE, Jean[159]	Sarguemind Lorraine Allemande	18	1779 January 19	*Congedié par grace* [160] 1783 May 1
KUHNE, Jean George[161]	Hegvern Hanover	28	1780 September 24	Deserts 1783 April 30
LA TOUR, Conrad	Wissembourg Allemagne	33	1780 November 22	Deserts 1780 December 18
LAMBERT, François [162]	Sarbrueck	20	1779 January 23	*Congedié* [163] 1783 May 1
LAVAL, Jacint	Lyon France	26	1778 December 13	*Congedié* [164] 1783 January 15
LAYER, Benedict[165]	Helerick Lorraine	24	1779 February 30	Dies 1780 July 12
LOFFINCK, Gaspard[166]	Meringen German Empire	34	1780 August 31 in Philadelphia; arrived in camp 1780 September 22	Deserts 1780 October 8
MANN, Jean	Schmiken Lorraine	18	1779 March 10	Dies 1782 January 22
MATHIEU, Jean	Louisbourg Wirtemberg	21	1781 November 1	Drowned [167] 1782 July 26

[159] KRAPPE was discharged after he paid 300 *livres* to buy off the time remaining in his enlistment.

[160] *Congedié* can mean either "furloughed" or "discharged"; *Congedié par grace* means that KRAPPE was discharged by special favor.

[161] KUHNE had enlisted in the *chasseurs* but served in the Second Squadron of Hussars beginning at an unknown date, possibly after 19 June 1781.

[162] LAMBERT had enlisted in the *cannoniers* but transferred to the Second Squadron of Hussars on 1 August 1781. He was discharged par grace and after paying 136 livres for his discharge to the *masse* of the Legion.

[163] The term *congedié* can mean either "furloughed" or "discharged"; LAMBERT was discharged.

[164] *Congedié* can mean either "furloughed" or "discharged." As an officer LAVAL could have gone on furlough but he resigned and was replaced by Jean François ADAM. He presumably remained in the United States .

LAVAL had became *adjutant* of the hussars on 19 June 1781, following the promotion of Martin Pichon to *sous lieutenant*. The date of LAVAL's promotion in the *contrôle*, 19 June 1781, is wrong by one month.

Pichon, born in Metz around 1755, had been *adjutant* of the hussars of Lauzun's Legion since 1 April 1780. He became a lieutenant in the First Squadron after the death of Lieutenant Jacques Hartman outside New York on 18 July 1781.

[165] LAYER died while still on board a troop transport in Newport harbor before the troops had debarked. The name of the ship is not indicated in the *contrôle* but it was most likely the *baron d'Arras*. He was most likely buried in Newport, Rhode Island.

[166] LOFFINCK is one of 14 recruits a French recruiting party picked up in Philadelphia in August and September 1780 mentioned in *A Journal by Thos: Hughes For his Amusement, & Designed only for his Perusal by the time he attains the Age of 50 if he lives so long. (1778-1789)* (Cambridge, 1947), p. 95.

[167] He is the only soldier known to have drowned, presumable when Lauzun's Legion was crossing the Susquehannah at Lower Ferry in Maryland on 26 July 1782.

MAYER, Jean[168]	Württemberg	27	1780 November 2 arrived in camp 1781 January 16	*Congedié par grace* [169] 1783 May 1
MAYER, Jean [170]	Sereuse Alsace	18	1779 February 13	Dies 1783 March 18
MORIN, François	Dion Clermontois	27	1780 December 6	Deserts 1781 January 13
MULLER, Joseph	Presbourg Hanover	28	1780 September 24	Deserts 1780 December 8
MULLER, Pierre	Dielbourg Lorraine	18	1781 October 31	Deserts 1783 May 4
NAGUEL, Jean	Berlin Prussia	24	1781 January 4	Deserts 1783 April 16
NOMMACKER, Jacob	Marviller Alsace	17	1779 July 2	Deserts 1780 September 13
REICHMANN, Joseph	Nassau Delbrug Nassau	22	1780 September 11	Deserts 1780 November 27
RESLER, Cristhian	Manheim Palatinate	22	1780 December 10	Deserts 1781 January 13
SAUKER, Jacques [171]	Hawebach Alsace	23	1779 January 14	Executed 1780 December 26
SCHEFER, Nicolas [172]	Schwalbach Nassau	24	1779 February 2	Dies 1780 July 15
SCHEFFLER, Bernard[173]	Anstingle German Empire	18	1779 January 6	Deserts 1783 May 8
SCHEIDER, Theibault	Hierdestein Alsace	22	1779 July 2	Dies 1780 August 17[174]
SCHERRER, Jean[175]	Waldighofen Alsace	22	1779 February 7	Dies of wounds 1781 October 22
SCHNEPFF, Joseph	Oberbournhaupt Alsace	18	1779 February 16	Deserts 1781 August 10
SCHREINMACKER, Charles	Warth Palatinate	40	1780 November 11 arrived in camp 1781 January 6	*Congedié* [176] 1782 July 1

[168] MAYER was discharged after he paid 400 *livres* to buy off the time remaining in his enlistment.

[169] *Congedié par grace* can mean either "furloughed" or "discharged"; MAYER was discharged.

[170] MAYER had enlisted in the *chasseurs* but served in the Second Squadron of Hussars after 19 June 1781.

[171] SAUKER is one of five soldiers from Lauzun's Legion executed for desertion; SAUKER left the colors on 12 December 1780. By the time of his execution on 26 December 1780, the hussars were in winter quarters in Lebanon, Connecticut, and the execution may have taken place in Lebanon. The other four soldiers executed were Jean GITTER (12 May 1782), Alexander BOUCHER (17 May 1782), and Corporal Christoph HAND (23 April 1781), all from the Grenadier Company and Corporal Joseph FRANK from the Artillery Company (23 April 1781). SAUKER, GITTER and BOUCHER were shot, HAND and FRANK were hanged for "deserting to the enemy."

Jacques BERGEOT of the Chasseur Company was executed on 1 October 1781, for homicide.

[172] SCHEFER died on board the troop transport *baron d'Arras* in Newport harbor before the troops had debarked. He was most likely buried in Newport, Rhode Island.

[173] SCHEFFLER is one of 21 men identified in the *surnumeraire* as having served in America.

[174] A note in the *contrôle* mentions a possible death date of 11 August.

[175] SCHERRER died of wounds he had received during combat with Lieutenant Colonel Banastre Tarleton's troops in Gloucester, Virginia, on 3 October 1781. Two other soldiers, Corporal Denis JACOB and Jean DOSSIN of the Grenadier Company suffered gunshot wounds on 6 October 1781 and died on 10 and 19 October 1781 resp.

Henry HAUPT of the Chasseur Company died of a gunshot wound ("coup de feu") on 18 October 1782, presumably accidental since the Legion was encamped at Yorktown Heights, New York, at the time.

SIMBERICHE, Joseph	Eseshaul Navarre	25	1779 July 2	Dies 1782 February 2
SIMON, Daniel[177]	St. Jean Saarbrücken	22	1779 January 13	Deserts 1783 April 16
SONTAYE, Mathias [178]	Mastriback Saxe	25	1781 September 3 *recrue de Philadelphie*	*Congedié* [179] 1783 Mai 1
STAUMEYER, Jean	Abertaronhaupt Alsace	24	1779 February 12	Deserts 1781 August 4
STIRCK, André [180]	Veterent Liguange	19	1779 January 21	Dies 1783 March 19
VEITENER, Louis[181]	Hessenbourg Hesse	19	1781 September 3 *recrue de Philadelphie*	Deserts 1782 September 3
WALBER, Auguste	Strasbourg Alsace	31	1780 November 8 arrived in camp 1781 January 16	Deserts 1782 January 15
WEICHMANN, Jean Frederic [182]	Fellingen Württemberg	50	1778 January 1[183]	*Reformé* [184] 1780 October 26
WEISSHAUT, Jean	? [185]	26	1779 January 15	Dies 1780 August 22
WEISTEIN, Jean Philippe	Zorlaum Brandenburg	20	1780 September 2	Deserts 1780 October 18
WOLWEBER, Henry [186]	Varsovie Pologne	23	1782 January 1	*Congedié* [187] 1783 May 1
YOUNG, Guillaume [188]	Ronquelle Nassau	20	1778 November 18	*Congedié* [189] 1783 May 7
ZELLUS, Ignaz	Marfler German Empire	27	1779 January 14	Deserts 1781 August 5

[176] *Congedié* can mean either "furloughed" or "discharged"; SCHREINMAKER is one of the few enlisted men who were discharged without a fee.

[177] SIMON is one of 21 men identified in the *surnumeraire* as having served in America. He transferred from the *chasseurs* to the Second Squadron of Hussars on 1 September 1782. His brother André continued to serve in the *chasseurs*.

[178] SONTAYE had been recruited in America only for the duration of the war and was discharged when Lauzun's Legion sailed back to France in May 1783. He was recruited as the Legion was marching through Philadelphia on its way to Yorktown in 1781. Sontaye is listed twice in the *contrôle*.

[179] *Congedié* can mean either "furloughed" or "discharged," SONTAYE was discharged.

[180] STIRCK had enlisted in the *chasseurs* but served in the Second Squadron of Hussars after 19 June 1781.

[181] VEITENER was recruited as the Legion was marching through Philadelphia on its way to Yorktown.

[182] WEICHMANN had previously served for 6 years each in the *légion de Conflans* and the *légion de Flandres* as well as two years under the Duke of Württemberg.

[183] The date of enlistment is given as "1 January 178" in the *contrôle* but the context points toward 1778 as the correct date.

[184] The term *reformé* means that WEICHMAN was invalided out of service; in his case because of *vetusté*, i.e., old age.

[185] No place of birth is given in the *contrôle*.

[186] WOLWEBER had been recruited in America only for the duration of the war and was discharged when Lauzun's Legion sailed back to France in May 1783. He was recruited as the Legion was marching through Philadelphia on its way to Yorktown in 1781.

[187] *Congedié* can mean either "furloughed" or "discharged," WOLWEBER was discharged.

[188] YOUNG was discharged after he paid 300 *livres* to buy off the time remaining in his enlistment.

[189] *Congedié* can mean either "furloughed" or "discharged"; YOUNG was discharged.

The total number of men enlisted in the Second Squadron of Hussars is 173. Of the 136 men who came from France, 19 died, 29 deserted, 5 were discharged in America, one was executed, one was expelled, and two were killed or died of battle-related wounds.

The Second Squadron of Hussars did not get any replacements from France. According to the review of 28 February 1782, the squadron integrated five hussars (the review of 1 November 1782 gives the number as six) from the First Legion of the *volontaires étrangères de la Marine* that had come to Yorktown from the Caribbean with the troops of the *marquis* de St. Simon on the fleet of Admiral de Grasse. The *contrôle* only identifies three men as having transferred from the First Legion. All three returned to France in 1783.

Of twenty seven men recruited in America prior to the siege of Yorktown, seventeen deserted. One died, four were discharged in Wilmington, Delaware, on 1 May 1783, because they had enlisted only for the duration of the war, one was discharged on 1 November 1781, one was discharged on 1 July 1782, one was discharged on 17 August 1782, one was discharged after the payment of a fee on 7 May 1783, and one joined the Lauzun Hussars in 1783.

Of ten men recruited in the weeks and months after the victory at Yorktown, two deserted, one was discharged on 17 August 1782, one was discharged on 1 May 1783, in Wilmington, Delaware, because he had enlisted only for the duration of the war, one drowned, and five joined the Lauzun Hussars in 1783.

Though the squadron had two trumpets, no musicians are identified in the *contrôle*.

No soldier is identified as "tiré de la compagnie generale."

Soldiers known to have served with Lauzun's Legion in America. Their unit was most likely the Second Squadron of Hussars

NAME	WHERE FROM	AGE	ENLISTMENT DATE	FATE
BACHK, Jean [190]	Munstre	21	1779 January 13	Deserts 1 August 1781
CORVASIER, François[191]	La Flèche Maine	34	1780 March 20	Expelled 1783 January 21
GUERINS, Jacob[192]	Krumberg Brabant	20	1780 February 19	Deserts 1780 November 30
JOURDANN, André [193]	Fachmingue Alsace	24	1778 November 1	Dies 1780 December 25
KLISKY, Joseph[194]	Chikanof Marovie	36	1782 November 15	*Congedié*[195] 1783 May 1
KOLB, Joseph[196]	Anemane Austria	23	1780 January 21	Deserts 1783 May 8
SCHNEIDERS, Jean[197]	Rotterdam Netherlands	24	1780 September 2	Deserts 1780 November 27
CHEINDRE, Jacques[198]	Soulmaetz Haute Alsace	17	1778 September 19	Deserts 1783 April 16

[190] BACKH had enlisted in the *cannoniers* but transferred "dans les hussards," i.e., to the hussars. No date or squadron is given in the *contrôle*.

[191] CORVASIER is one of 16 soldiers listed in the *mutations* as having been sent to Brest on 30 April 1780. The *contrôle* does not indicate whether CORVASIER was sent to America, but he is identified in Massoni, *Details*, pp. 79/80, as a participant in Polleresky's horse-hustling ring. No date is given when he joined the hussars.

CORVASIER is one of five soldiers of Lauzun's Legion who were *chassé* in America, though it is not known whether he had to run the gauntlet. He was expelled for *friponnerie*, i.e., cheating or roguerie.

The other four soldiers expelled from the Legion were Etienne PAUL (17 February 1782, no reason given) and François PACOT (4 January 1781; for *friponnerie*, i.e., cheating or roguerie) from the Grenadier Company and Nicolas WAGNER (11 September 1780; for *friponnerie*, i.e., cheating or roguerie) from the Chasseur Compagny. Guillaume Louis GUILLOT from the Second Squadron of hussars was expelled on 7 May 1783, no reason for the punishment is given.

[192] GUERINS is one of 16 soldiers listed in the *mutations* as having been sent to Brest on 30 April 1780.

[193] JOURDANN had enlisted in the *cannoniers* but transferred "dans les hussards," i.e., to the hussars, on 21 April 1780, i.e., before the departure from Brest. No squadron is given in the *contrôle*.

[194] KLISKY is one of 21 men identified in the *surnumeraire* as having served in America. No unit is indicated in the *surnumeraire*.

[195] KLISKY had been recruited in America only for the duration of the war and was discharged when Lauzun's Legion sailed back to France in May 1783.

[196] KOLB is one of 13 men identified as having been transferred from the Second Company of Fusiliers. No unit is indicated in the *contrôle*.

[197] SCHNEIDERS is one of 21 men identified in the *surnumeraire* as having served in America. The date indicates that he was enlisted in America and deserted before he was assigned to a unit.

[198] CHEINDRE is one of 13 men identified as having been transferred from the Second Company of Fusiliers. The *contrôle* states only "dans les hussards."

Officers, NCOs, and other personnel known to have served in America

During its stay in America, the Legion began with 35 company-grade officers, incl. the *cadets gentilhommes*, a staff of 10 officers, three officers *à la suite* and Lauzun's aide-de-camp Jean Henry *baron* de Fock, a Swedish-born nobleman. On the staff was also the *chirurgien*, the *tambour-major*, the *maréchal-expert*, and the *maitre sellier* for a total of 53. To these were added during the campaign the chaplain, a provost, an assistant to the *chirurgien*, and Charles Laure MacMahon, another aide-de-camp to Lauzun who came to with him in September 1782. Louis Isaac Alexis Durand, a grenadier, was promoted to *cadet gentilhomme* of the Second Squadron of Hussars on 1 October 1780, which brings the total number to 58 staff members, and the total number of troops known to have served with Lauzun's Legion to 785 officers and men.

Of these, *sous-lieutenant* Jacques Hartmann of the First Squadron of Hussars was the only officer who was killed in battle on Wednesday, 18 July 1781, outside New York City, and *sous-lieutenant* François de Sheldon de Dickford of the Second Squadron of Hussars died on 28 September 1780.

One member of the Legion's staff remained behind in America. It is unknown when Dr. Joseph Capelle, the Legion's assistant *chirurgien*, joined the *volontaires*; he is not listed in any review.[199] Born in Flanders around 1757, Capelle decided to remain behind in Delaware when the Legion sailed out of Philadelphia in May 1782. He died at age 39 on 5 November 1796, and is buried in Old Swedes Cemetery in Wilmington.[200]

The three men who were either transferred into the staff (Badoux) or out of the staff (Mory) or were discharged (Laval) or deserted (Begel) from their staff positions are listed with their companies.

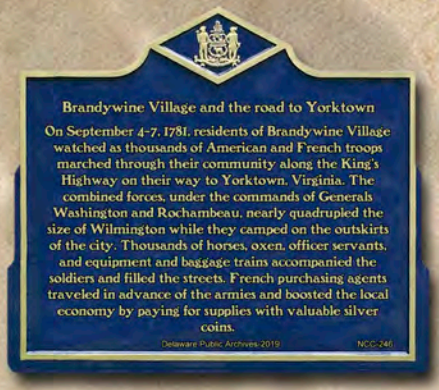
[199] This does not mean that he was not on the staff: Lauzun's aides-de-camp are not listed in any reviews, neither is the Legion's provost Vacar.

[200] J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Delaware* 2 vols, (Philadelphia 1888), p. 48. I have been unable to confirm his birth date given as in Scharff; in personal communication with the author neither the Service Historique de l'Armée de Terre, the Archives de la Marine, nor the Archives de la Service de Santé acknowledged possessing any information on Capelle. He is mentioned in Maurice Bouvet, *Le Service de Santé Français pendant la Guerre d'Indépendance des Etats-Unis, (177-1782)* (Paris, 1934), p. 43.

PUBLICK NOTICE

On the Evening of 22 August 2019, at 6:00 o'clock,
in the Village of Brandywine, there will be a ceremonie!

Brandywine Village, Wilmington, Delaware

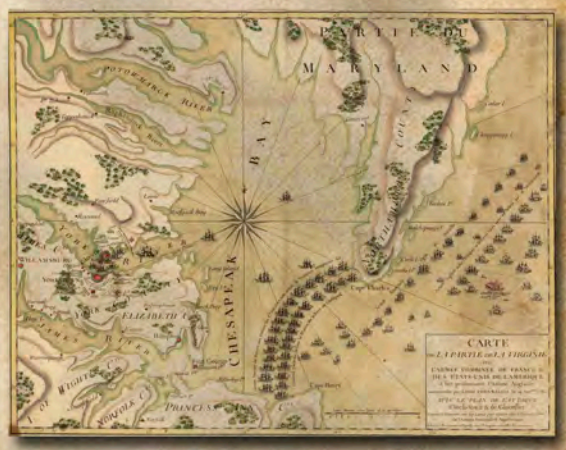


Generals Rochambeau and Washington

A new Delaware Historical Marker, developed by the Delaware Public Archives and funded by Senator Darius Brown, will be unveiled.

Brandywine Village
and the road to Yorktown 1781

From September 4 thru September 7 of 1781, the residents of Brandywine Village witnessed the passing of the 4,300 man French army, as it marched to victory against General Cornwallis and the British army encamped at Yorktown, Virginia. The French army under the command of General Jean Rochambeau, traveled down route 13 or the Kings Highway with 2000 horses and 300 wagons with their provisions. General Washington had preceded them by three days with the American army. After their victory, the French army again returned thru Wilmington and the Brandywine Valley in August of 1782. Rochambeau left his cavalry of 550 men behind in Wilmington (Lauzun legion) until the Spring of 1783 to guard the French detachment in Baltimore. The Legion bought their supplies in Wilmington in gold and silver coins which delighted the Valley merchants. The victory at Yorktown assured American independence and our deep appreciation to France!



The Yorktown Campaign

Surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown

Delaware Public Archives ...your window to the past!

Old Brandywine Village, Inc.

DELAWARE W3R Washington Rochambeau Revolutionary Route