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 te 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

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[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, Viomenil, 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.

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[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 *contrôles* of enlisted personnel in Rochambeau's corps, indispensable for statistical data on his troops are preserved by the Service Historique de l'Armée de Terre in the Château de Vincennes;[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

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[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

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[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

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[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

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[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

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[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

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[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

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[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 Viomenil, 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 Ternay's ships and 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

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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

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[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

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[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

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[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]

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[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 Newport	Providence	TOTAL	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 Viomenil, to leave on June 19
The regiment Soissonnais under comte de Viomenil, 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 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]

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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 hundredweight) while in the US the hundredweight is 100 lbs, (a short hundredweight). There are 20 cwt to the ton, which makes a ton in the US weigh 2,000 lbs (a short ton), and 2,240 lbs (a long ton) in the UK.

16 drams = 1 ounce = 437.5 grains (1 grain = 0.0648 gram)
16 ounces = 1 pound = 7,000 grains
25 pounds = 1 quarters
4 quarters = 100 pounds = 1 hundredweight (= 45.36 kg but 112 lbs or 50.80 kg in the UK)
20 hundredweight = 1 ton = 2,000 pounds

Liquid and dry measures have been the same in England since 1824 with 1 gallon = 4 quarts = 8 pints = 4.54 liters, and 8 gallons or 36.32 liters to the bushel. The liquid gallon in use in the US is the Queen Anne Gallon of 1707 of 231 cubic inches or 3.78 liters. The US bushel, defined as a round measure with a plain and even bottom, 18.5 inches wide throughout and 8 inches deep, of eight gallons is for dry measure only. Based on the William III Gallon of 1696 of 268.8 cubic inches or 4.40 liters, this bushel holds 2,150.42 cubic inches or 35.24 liters. This means that the US hogshead as used in the eighteenth century, measured, and still measures, 63 gallons, while a hogshead in the UK since 1824 holds only 52.5 gallons.

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

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 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

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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.

[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.

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 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

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[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.

[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.

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]

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

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[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 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).

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]

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

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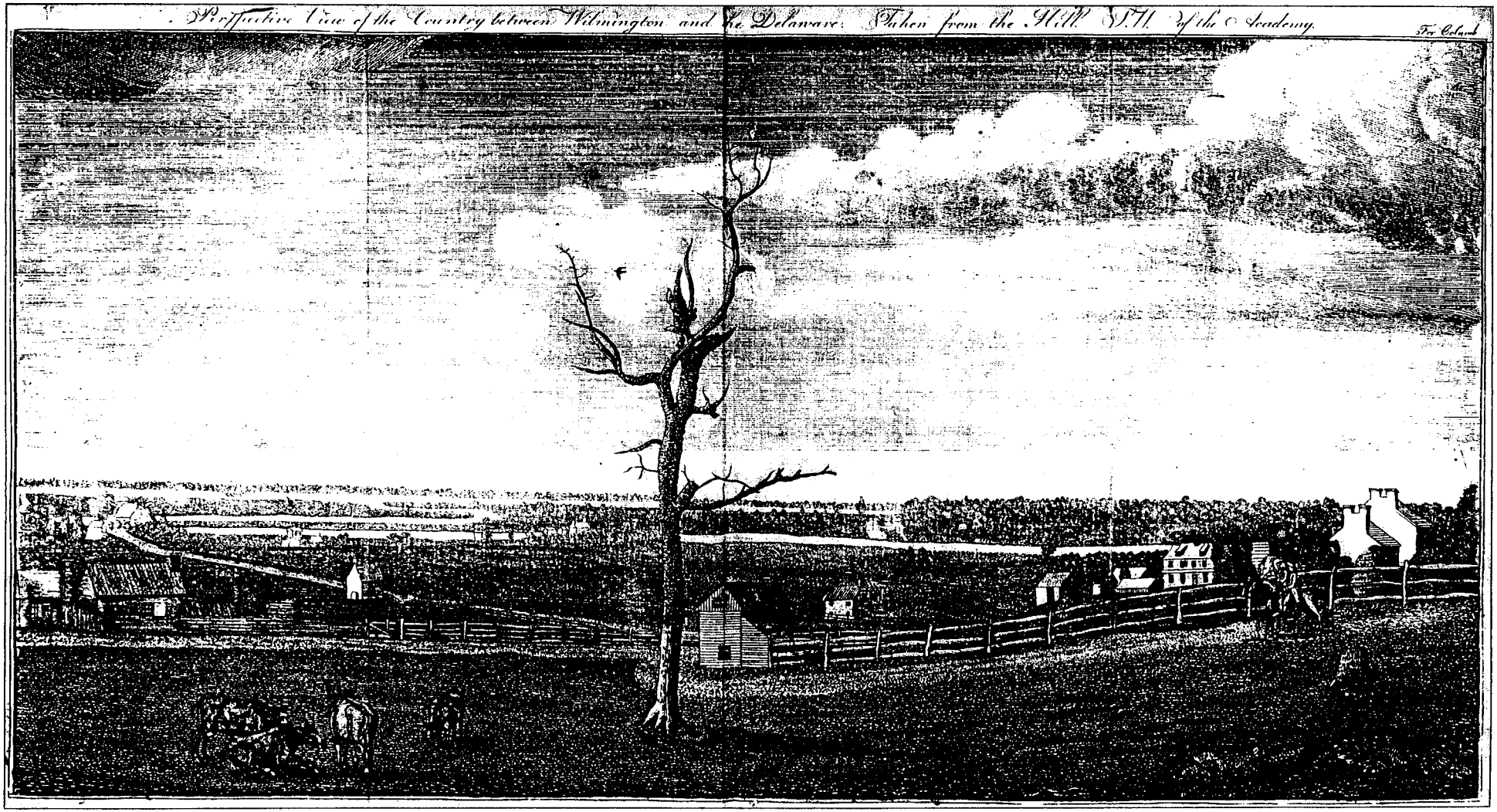
[247] The itinerary follows that printed in Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, vol. 2, pp. 79-81. The Robinson House is situated on the right-hand side of the road into Delaware. The map drawn by George Washington's cartographer Simeon DeWitt in August 1781 for the march of the through Delaware clearly 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.

[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.



"Perspective View of the Country between Wilmington and the Delaware. Taken from the Hill S.W. of the Academy."

***Columbia Magazine or Monthly Miscellany* Vol. 1 No. 8 (April 1787)**

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 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

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[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).

[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.

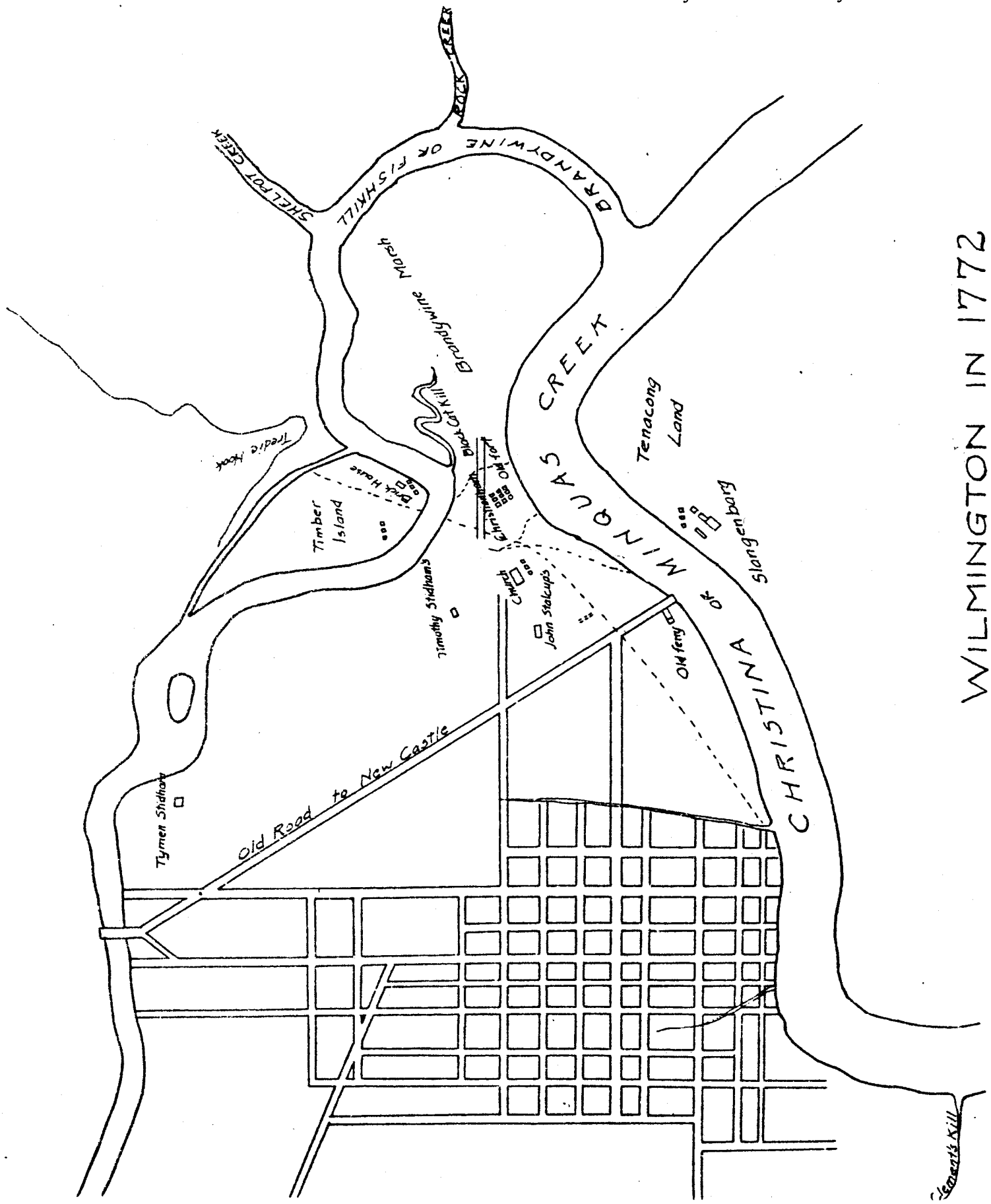
[254] The "Academy" is the Wilmington Academy established in 1773 between 8th and 9th Streets and Market and King Streets in Wilmington. See E. Miriam Lewis, "The Minutes of the Wilmington Academy, 1777-1802." *Delaware History* Vol.3 No. 4 (September 1949), pp. 181-226, pp. 181-191.

[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."

Copy of section of 1914 Atlas b
by Francis A. Price - original
owned by The History Store.



Wilmington 1772

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, 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,

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[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.

[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.

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 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°. 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 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

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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.

[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.

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 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

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[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).
[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.

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]

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

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[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.

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.

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.

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**)

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[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.
[291] Quoted from a transcript on the Library of Congress web site at http://memory.loc.gov/ammem

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.

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]

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[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.

[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.

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]

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)**

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[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.

[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.

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]

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	116/00/00
	£ 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]

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[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.

[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

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-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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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.

[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 Viomenil 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.

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]

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.

[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] Three weeks later, 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]

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,

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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, *French forces*, p. 133.

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

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 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]

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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.
[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.

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.

[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.

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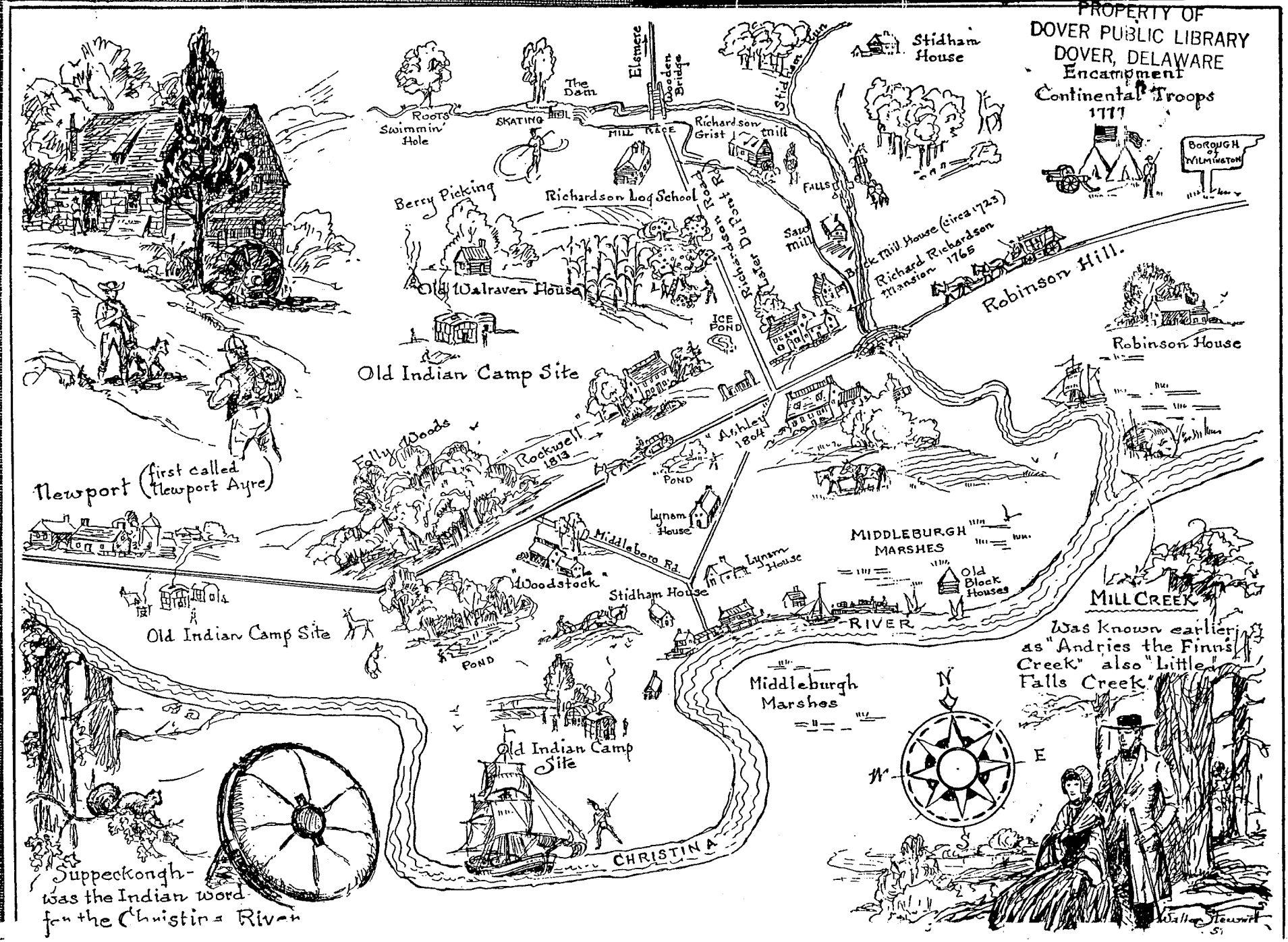

FROM ELKTON TO YORKTOWN, 9 TO 28 SEPTEMBER 1781

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 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

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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.

[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.

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 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

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[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

[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.

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.

"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 1,4500 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

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[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.

[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

3,800 and 4,000 men, marched to Baltimore, where the remainder of the Continental Army embarked.[351] Without the necessary shipping space, Viomenil 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 Viomenil in the evening with news that transports from de Grasse had reached Annapolis.[352] Viomenil 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, Viomenil 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

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£ 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 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] Viomenil to Rochambeau, 18 September 1781. Fonds Viomenil LB 0074-104.

[353] The names of the ships and number of troops on board can be found in Fonds Viomenil, 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 Viomenil pour une réunion avec l'intendant," dated 18 September 1781. Fonds Viomenil LB 0074-127.

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 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]

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

[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.

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,
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 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

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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.

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

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]

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[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.
[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.

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 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"

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[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 ...."

[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.

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 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]

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[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.

[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.

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]

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

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[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-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.

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 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

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[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.

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 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.

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[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.

[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.

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 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 Viomenil
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.

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[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.

[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.

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 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

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[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.
[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.

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 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.

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

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[402] Acomb, *Closen*, p. 229.

[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.

[405] Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, p. 78.

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.

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

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[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.

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."

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.

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[410] Thacher, *Military Journal*, p. 334.

[411] Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, vol. 1, p. 81.

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

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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

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, Viomenil's son-in-law, the vicomte 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 Viomenil'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

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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 Viomenil. Beuve, "Montesquieu," p. 253.

[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.

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, 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

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[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.

[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 reproduced on the following page. The name of the pilot on the *l'Aigle* is unknown.

Paris (France)

Extrait des documents conservés aux Archives de la Marine.

Nous Commandant la Frégate du Roy la Gloire, certifions que Le Nommé William West Pilote de Lewstown venu à Bord de la d^e Fregate le 13 7bre 1782, L'a Pilotée En Remontant La Delaware Jusques à Chester à Travers Tous Les Bancs et En présence de L'Ennemy Supérieur, avec une Intelligence, une Fermeté, et une Connaissance Parfaite des Lieux: et nous déclarons que c'est aux soins du dénommé cy dessus que le Roy doit l'Existance actuelle de la d^e fregate: en foi de quoy, nous luy avons délivré Le présent Certificat, Priant Mr de Marbois de traiter Le d^t Pilote comme le Meritent ses services. A Bord de la Gloire Le 18 7bre 1782. Signé Le Ch^r De Vallongue.

Command^t La d^e Frégate.

Nous certiffions La Présente Copyie Conforme à L'original Resté En nos mains Philadelphie 21 7bre 1782. Masson Chaureau & Comp^ie Agents de La Marine.

Certifié conforme: Paris, le 7 Septembre 1894.
Le Commissaire général Conseiller d'Etat,
Directeur de la Comp^ie générale,

Vue transmis:
Philadelphie, 15 Octobre 1894

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 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]

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[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.
[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.

Ségur, Broglie, Lauzun, Viomènil 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]

Ordered by Viomènil 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.
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> 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.
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> 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

[432] Broglie, "Journal," p. 34.
[433] Broglie, "Journal," p. 35.

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.

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 Viomenil, 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, Viomenil 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 Viomenil 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 Viomenil 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 Viomenil 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 lodging ("souper, coucher") 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, 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

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]

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.

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[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.

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Etat des Depenses faites

pour conduire le convoy de Dover à philadelphie

Duck creek payé pour la nourriture d'officiers, soldats, matelots,

tant pour souper couchés que pour le bois de la garde 149 ₶

cantwells bridge pour dîner — — 90 ₶

christeen pour coucher, et le raccommodage de tonneaux et pa

avoir donné à boire à la milice — 150 ₶

à Wilmington pour le dîner de tout le monde 155 ₶

chester le souper de tout le monde, et donné 48 à la

milice — 206 ₶

pour rafraichissement et passage du pont sur le Skulk

en arrivant à philadelphie — — 23 ₶

pour louage d'un cheval de Dover à philadelphie 44 ₶

depenses faites par m. de fontenay — 15 ₶

differentes depenses sur la route — 100 ₶

total 1032 ₶

D. Sheldon

Fonds Vioménil, Académie François Bourdon, Le Creusot, France

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 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

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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.

[446] Gerard-Antoine Massoni, "Le Corps des Volontaires-Etrangers de la Marine" *Carnet de la Sabretache* No. 135, (1998), pp. 9-14.

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 *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]

[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.

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 Polleresky became its major.[451] The other members of the staff were one aide-de-camp each for the infantry and the cavalry,[452] a quartermaster-treasurer,[453] an

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[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 Polleresky (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 Europe on 11 November 1781, Lieutenant Colonel Hugau placed him under arrest. Hugau feared that Polleresky 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 Polleresky. They kept that promise, and the ostracized Polleresky 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 Polleresky census commissioner. This was Polleresky'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.

Polleresky'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.

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 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]

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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 e 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.

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.

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 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

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[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.

[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.

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 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]

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[464] The best history of the *volontaires* and the Legion is in Massoni, *Détails;* the uniform detail on p. 181.

[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.

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 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]

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[468] Massoni, *Détails*, p. 18.
[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.

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 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

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[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.

make a good appearance. The Legion under the command of the Duke de 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 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

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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.

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.

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 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]

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[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.

[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.

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.

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

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[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).

[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.

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 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

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[491] Samuel Canby Diary November 1779 to December 1796, entry for January 1783. Photostat HSD, from the original at Yale University.
[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.

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
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]

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[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."

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 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

[496] This sentence suggests that Lauzun had been unsuccessful in acquiring the stables in Burlington.

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 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,

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[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.

[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.

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]

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*

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[505] Bouvet, *Service de Santé*, pp. 44 and 105.

[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.

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, 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 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."

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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.

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.

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

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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.

[515] Jeremiah Wadsworth Papers, Correspondence, July 1781 to February 1782, CHS.

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

3 livres	for bread
2 livres 2 sols	for beef
1 sols 6 deniers	for 1 pound of salt per month
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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

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[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.

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 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

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[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.

[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.

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 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

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[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.

[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

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]

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.

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 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.

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 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

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[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.

[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.

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 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

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[545] John Dickinson Letters 1782, DEPA.

[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.

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 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 Philadelphia. 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.

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[548] Deposition by Collot on 16 May 1783 in Coxe Papers, Tench Coxe Section, Incoming Correspondence, Box 12, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

[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 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

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[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.

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.

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]

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[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.

[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.

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. 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]

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[558] The "little-house" is the privy or outhouse.

[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*

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 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

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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.

[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.

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 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.

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[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.

[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.

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]

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]

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[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 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.

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 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.

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[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.

French expenditures for the war were enormous: Robert D. Harris sets the cost of the war for the years 1776-1782 at 928.9 million livres (as opposed to 2,270.5 million livres for the British), with another 125.2 million to be added for the year 1783. At the same time, the total ordinary income of the French crown stood at 377.5 million livres for the year 1776. 91 per cent of the cost of the war was funded by loans, and by the end of 1782, the total constituted debt of the French monarchy had reached 4,538 million livres. Even if the outlays for the war were not the primary cause of the French Revolution, there can be no doubt that an extra billion livres in debt and annual expenditures of some 207 million livres just to service the debt, did nothing to enhance the financial situation of the monarchy between 1783 and the outbreak of the revolution in 1789.[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 contributions to America's struggle for freedom, and the sufferings of her own ancestors, will always be remembered.

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[575] All figures from Harris, "French Finances," pp. 233-258.
[576] Sturgill, "Observations," p. 183.

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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 5th & 6th 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
JACOB, Denis [64] Corporal	St. Loup Franche Comte	27	1778 December 13	Dies of wounds 1781 October 10

[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.

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 1780 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 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.

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

[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.

[84] The term *congedié* can mean either "furloughed" or "discharged"; VERDEL was discharged.

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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[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, Cristhian	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.

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[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.

APPENDIX 4: RESOURCE PROFILES AND INVENTORY FORMS

List of Resources for the W3R in Delaware

Part I: The March of the Continental Army through Delaware, 4 to 9 September 1781

Route 1: The Land Route of Continental Army Troops

Resource 1: Thomas Robinson House
Philadelphia Pike
Claymont, Delaware

Resource 2: Swan Tavern
just south of Harvey Road on Philadelphia Pike
Claymont, Delaware

Resource 3: Arthur Penny House
Philadelphia Pike
Wilmington, Delaware

Resource 4: Brandywine Village State Park and Marker
Corner of Market Street and Race Street
Wilmington, Delaware

Resource 5: Continental Army Camp 1a, 4/5 September 1781
Canby Park
Maryland Avenue
Wilmington, Delaware

Resource 6: Richard Richardson House and Mill
Maryland Avenue
Wilmington, Delaware

Resource 7: Cooch's Bridge Monument
961 Old Baltimore Pike
Newark, Delaware

Resource 8: Thomas Cooch House
961 Old Baltimore Pike
Newark, Delaware

Resource 9: Continental Army Camp 1b, 5/6 September 1781
on the foot of Iron Hill along Old Baltimore Pike
Newark, Delaware

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

Resource 10: Continental Army Landing Site/Camp 1c
along Christiana Creek
Christiana, Delaware

Resource 11: Christiana Historic District
Christiana, Delaware

Part II: The March of the French Army through Delaware, 5 to 7 September 1781

Route 3: The March of the French Army

Resource 12: French Army Camp 1a, 5/6 September 1781
between Justison and Adams Streets on a line with Second Street
Wilmington, Delaware

Resource 13: Mordecai Woodward Ropewalk and Houses
701-703 West Street
Wilmington, Delaware

Resource 14: "Tavern at the Sign of the Ship" Marker
South-east corner of Third and Market Street
Wilmington, Delaware

Resource 15: Rochambeau Headquarters
606 Market Street
Wilmington, Delaware

Resource 16: French Army Camp 2a, 6/7 September 1781
near Stanton Shopping Center on DE SR 4
Newport, Delaware

Resource 17: French Army Camp 2b, 6/7 September 1781
Vicinity of Honeysuckle Drive
Newport, Delaware

Part III: The Return March of the Continental Army through Delaware, 25 November to 1 December 1781

Route 4: The Return March of the Continental Army

Resource 18: Continental Army Camp 2, 30 November 1781
Baltimore Pike
Christiana, Delaware

Resource 19: Continental Army Hospital
Wilmington Academy (Wilmington Opera House)
818 North Market Street
Wilmington, Delaware

Part IV: 3 July 1783: Delaware celebrates the Birth of the Dauphin

Resource 20: Golden Fleece Tavern
Corner of State Street and the Dover Green
Dover, Delaware

Part V: The Return March of the French Army through Delaware, 29 August to 31 August 1782

Route 5: The Return March of the French Army

Resource 21: French Army Camp 3a, 29/30 and 30/31 August 1782
near Stanton Shopping Center on DE SR 4
Newport, Delaware

Resource 22: French Army Camp 3b, 29/30 and 30/31August 1782
Vicinity of Honeysuckle Drive
Newport, Delaware

Part VI: The Journey of the Frigates *L'AIGLE* and *LA GLOIRE*, 19 May to 26 September 1782

Route 6: The March of the Shipwrecked Party, 13 to 16 September 1782

Resource 23: Cantwell's Bridge/Brick Tavern Site
Historic Houses of Odessa
Corner of Main and Second Streets
Odessa, Delaware

Resource 24: Christiana Tavern
Christiana Historic District
Christina, Delaware

Resource 25: Shannon Hotel
Christiana Historic District
Christiana, Delaware

Part VII: Lauzun's Legion in Delaware, 24 December 1782 to 7 May 1783

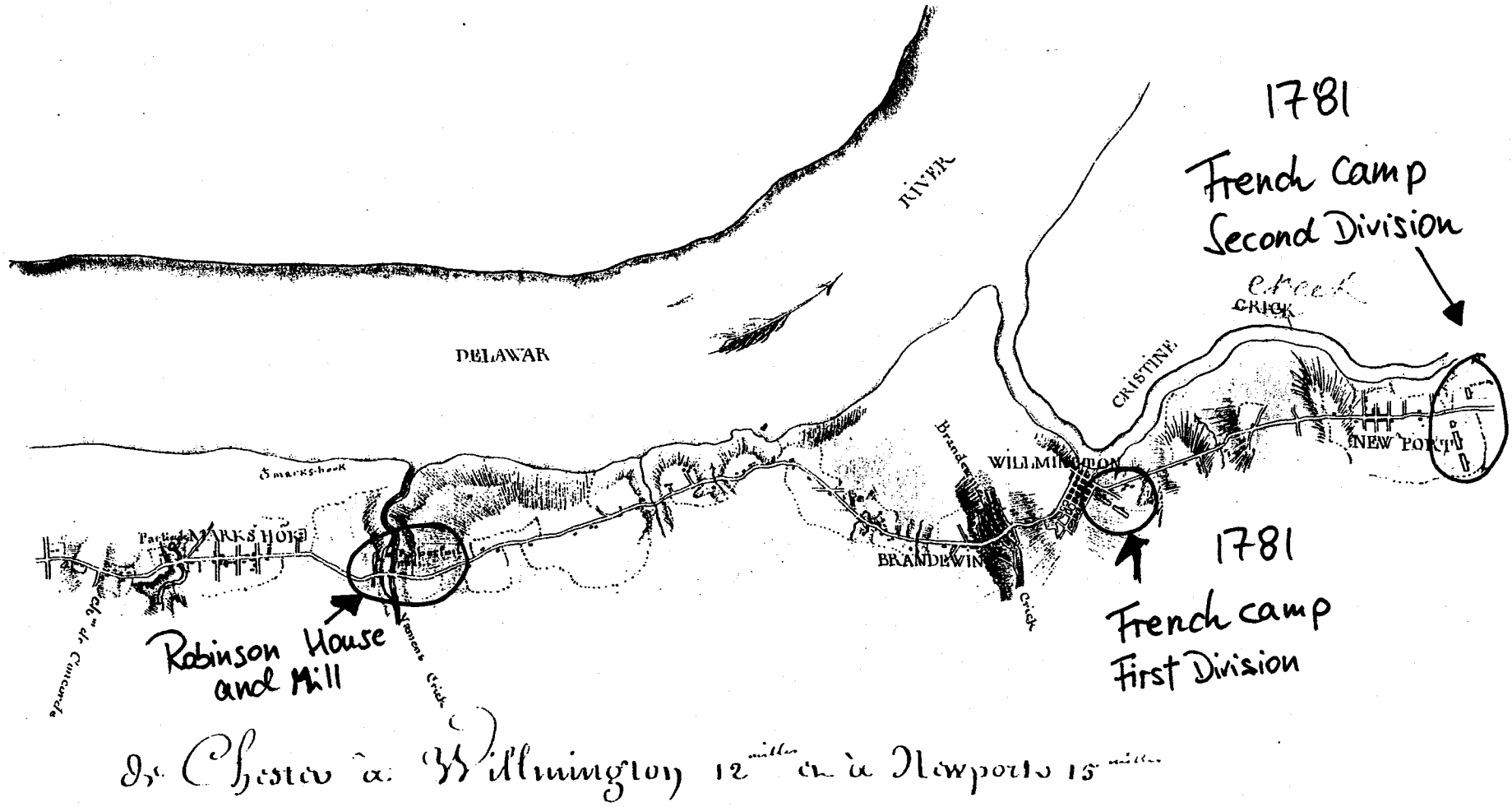
Route 7: The Winter Quarters of Lauzun's Legion

Resource 26: Lauzun's Legion Headquarters
Wilmington Academy (Wilmington Opera House)
818 North Market Street
Wilmington, Delaware

Resource 27: French Stables Site
between Eighth and King and King and French streets
Wilmington, Delaware

Resource 28: Grave of Dr. Joseph Eugene Philip Capelle (1757-1796)
Old Swedes Cemetery
South-east Corner of Seventh and Church Streets
Wilmington, Delaware

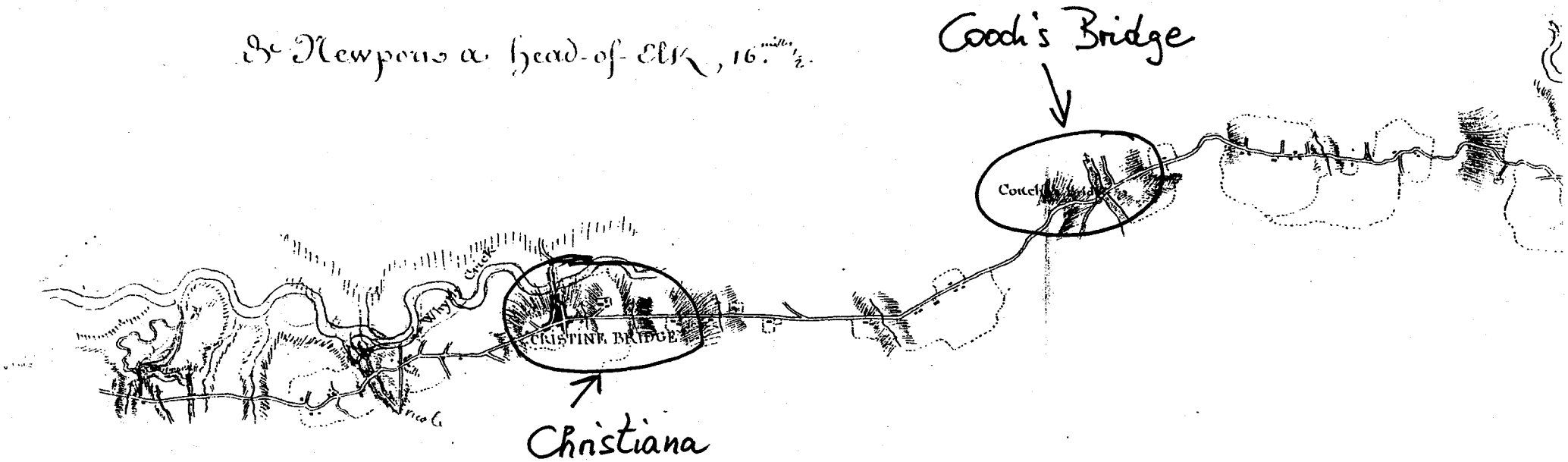
Note: All maps mentioned in the Resource Profiles are reproduced at the beginning of the section.



59 MARCH FROM CHESTER [IN PENNSYLVANIA] TO WILMINGTON AND TO NEWPORT [IN DELAWARE]

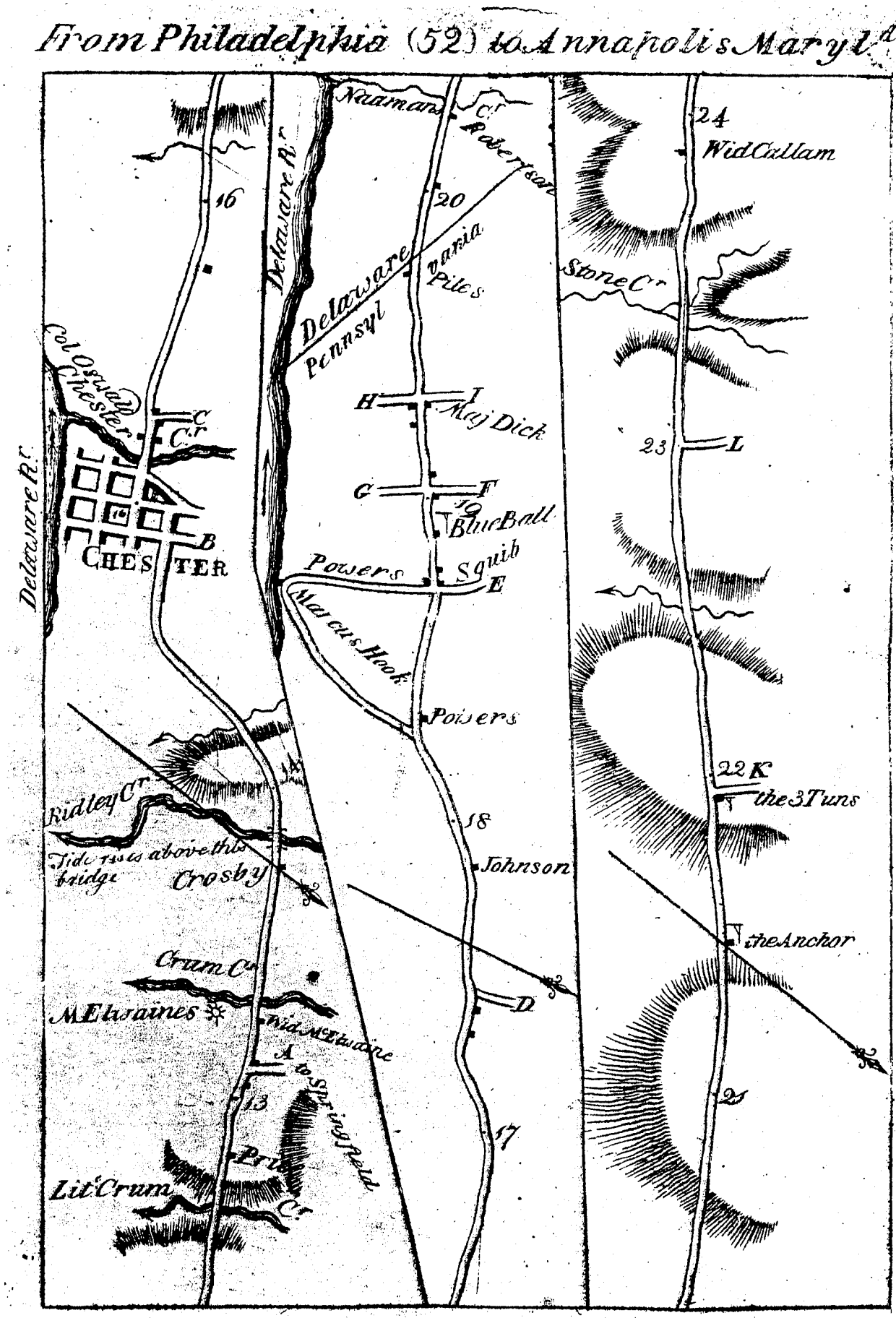
Howard C. Rice, Jr., and Anne S.K. Brown, eds., *The American Campaigns of Rochambeau's Army 1780,1781,1782, 1783* 2 vols., (Princeton and Providence, 1972) vol. 2.

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

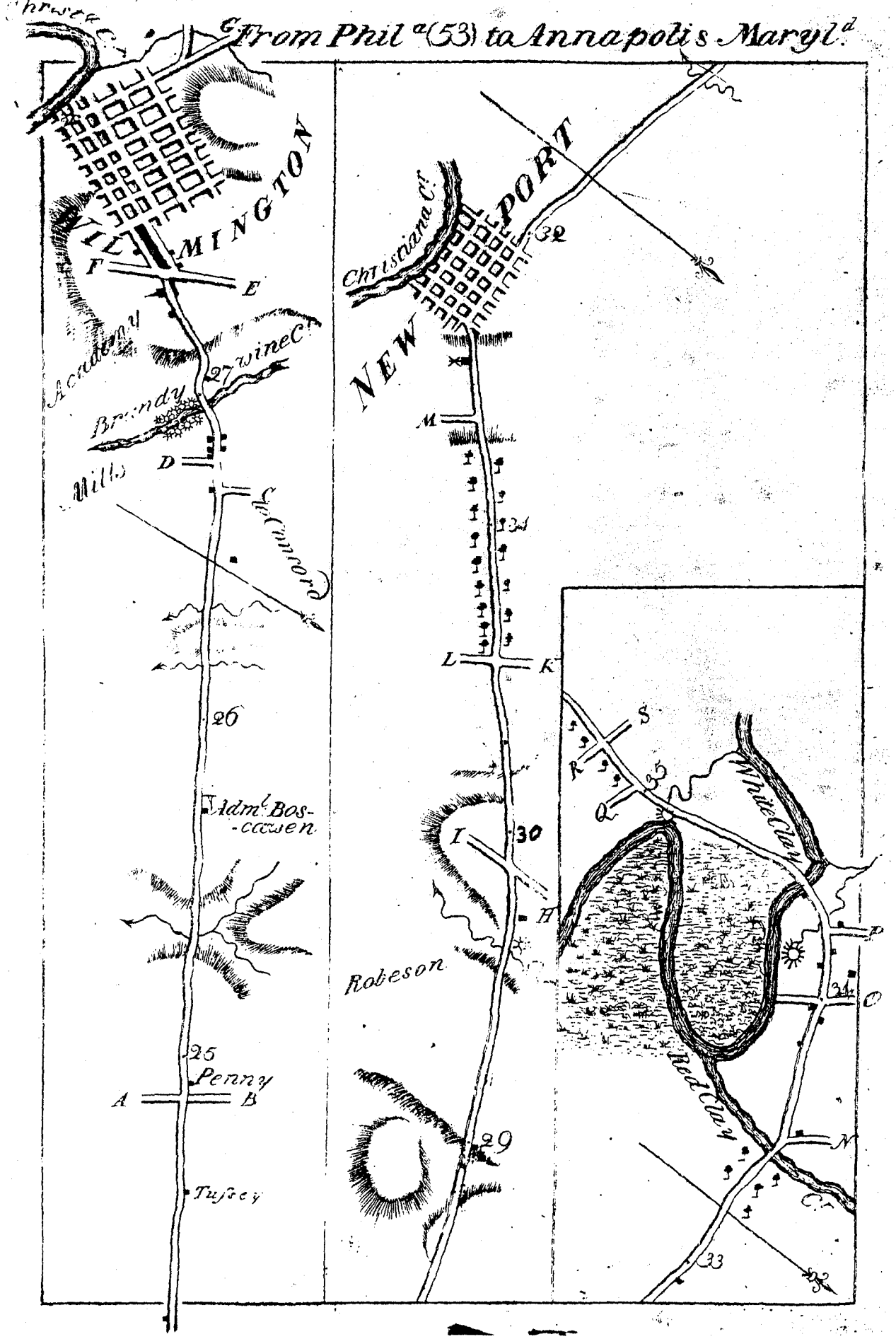


60 MARCH FROM NEWPORT [IN DELAWARE] TO HEAD OF ELK [IN MARYLAND]

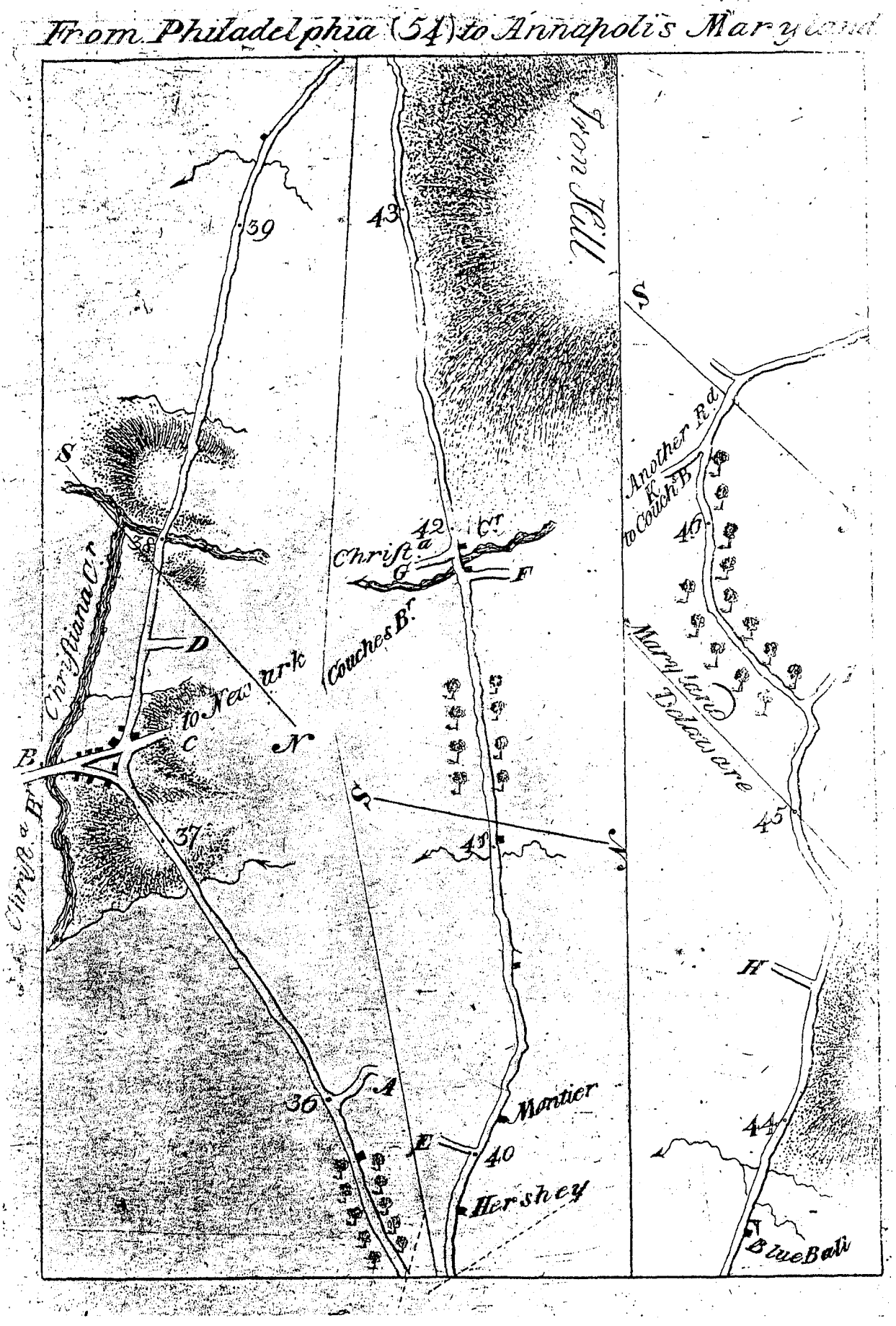
Christopher Colles, *A Survey of the Roads of the United States of America 1789*. Walter W. Ristow, ed., (Cambridge, 1961)

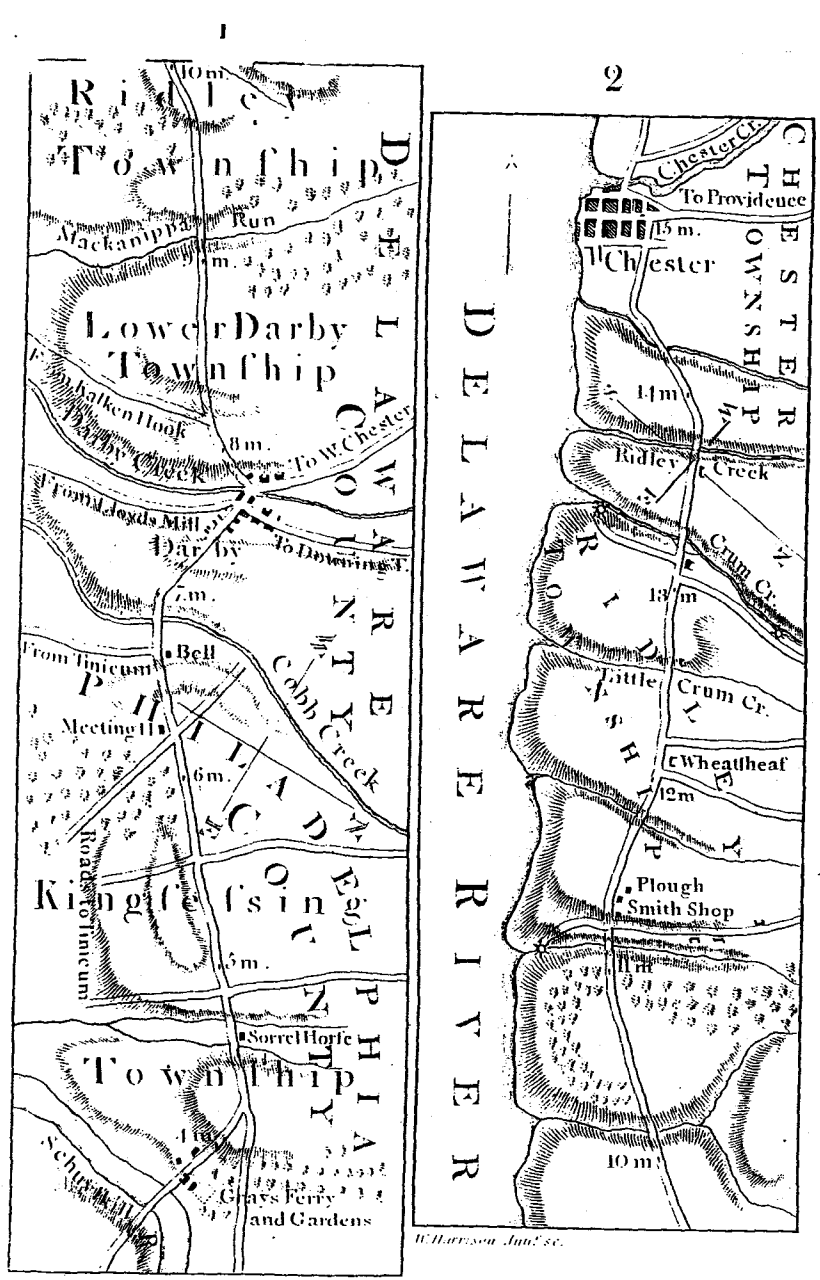


Christopher Colles, *A Survey of the Roads of the United States of America 1789*. Walter W. Ristow, ed., (Cambridge, 1961)

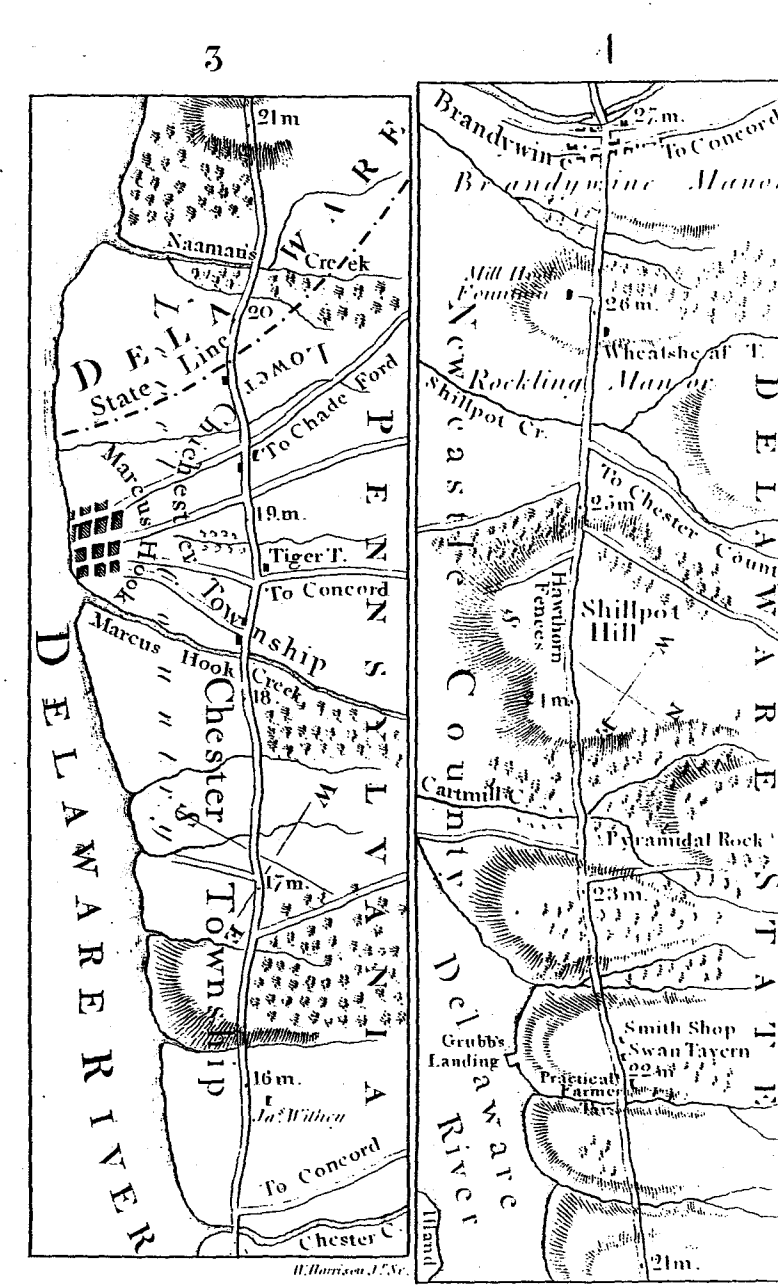


Christopher Colles, *A Survey of the Roads of the United States of America 1789*. Walter W. Ristow, ed., (Cambridge, 1961)



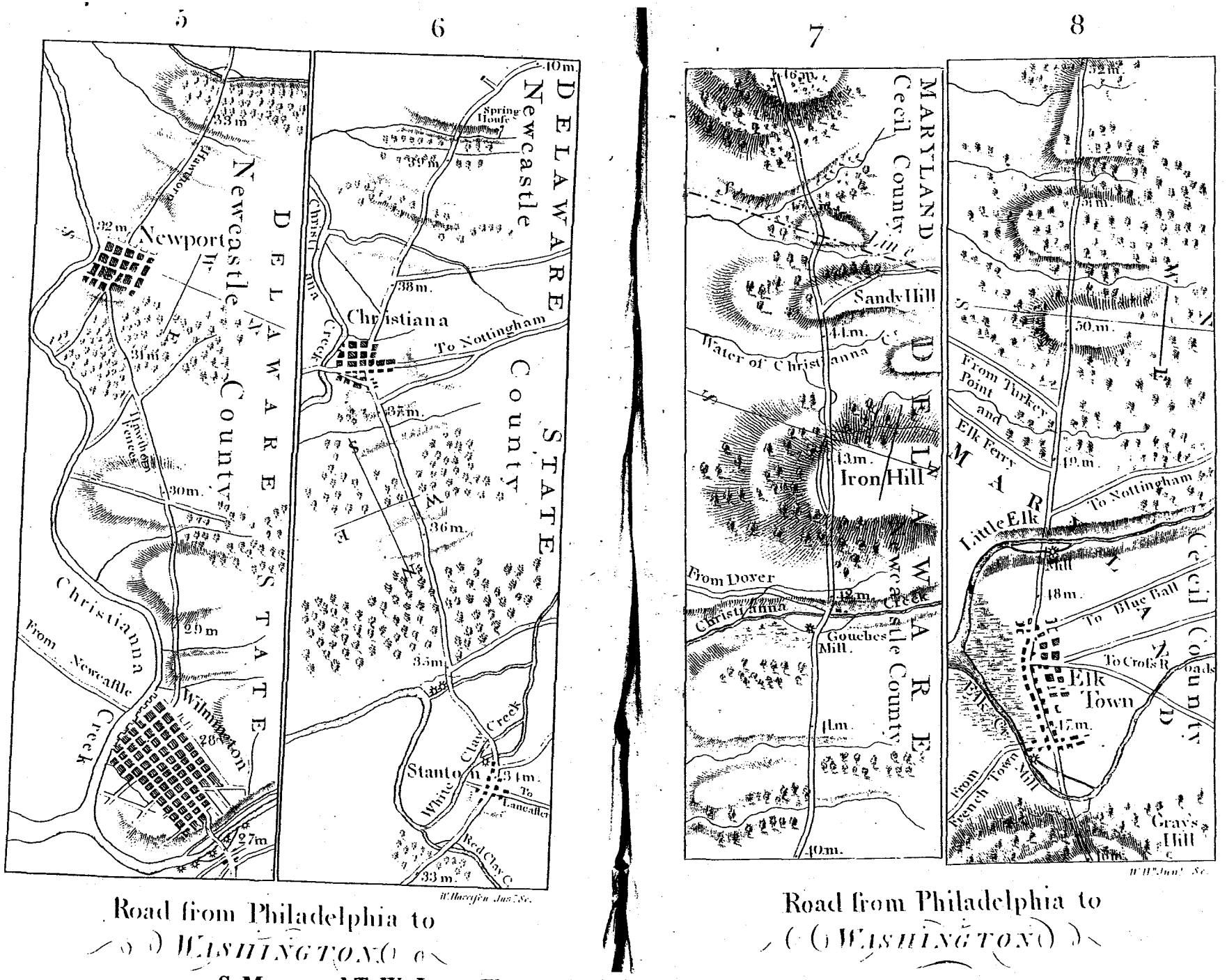


Road from Philadelphia to
(WASHINGTON)



Road from Philadelphia to
(WASHINGTON)

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)**



Road from Philadelphia to WASHINGTON

Road from Philadelphia to WASHINGTON

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)**

Resource 1

Name: Thomas Robinson House

Location: Philadelphia Pike
Claymont, Delaware

Historical significance: The Thomas Robinson House, named after General Thomas Robinson who bought the property in 1749, is one of the historically most significant buildings in Delaware. It stands on the remnants of a 1,000 acre tract patented in 1675 by Governor Edmund Andros. Owned by Abraham Robinson in 1781, it served as an inn and a popular stop on the route from Philadelphia to Wilmington.

Recommendation: The Robinson House is not marked in relation to the W3R. Proper identification of the site should be undertaken by the State of Delaware, the local historical society, or a fraternal community group such as the DAR, SAR, Society of the Cincinnati, or by the Souvenir Français.

Detailed research should be undertaken to document the stays of General George Washington there in August 1777, and similar oral traditions dating to the American Revolutionary War connected with this resource.

Sources: The map drawn by George Washington's cartographer Simeon DeWitt in August 1781 for the march of the through Delaware clearly identifies and names the home of Abraham Robinson on the right-hand side of the road. *Erskine-DeWitt Maps*, New York Historical Society, call number 124 A.

The series of route maps drawn by Louis-Alexandre Berthier and reproduced in Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, Vol. 2, Map 59, identifies it as "Robertson Mill."

It is also clearly identified on Map 52 of Christopher Colles, *A Survey of the Roads of the United States of America 1789*. Walter W. Ristow, ed., (Cambridge, 1961), p. 169.

It is no longer identified as a landmark in 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.

RESOURCE 1

Name: Thomas Robinson House

Location: Philadelphia Pike
Claymont, Delaware

The Robinson House at Naaman's, north of Claymont, west front view.

Resource 2

Name: Swan Tavern

Location: just south of Harvey Road on Philadelphia Pike
Claymont, Delaware

Historical significance: The Swan Tavern, known as "The Three Tuns" in the 1780s, was and is an important landmark on the road from Philadelphia to Wilmington. It is identified on all contemporary maps.

Recommendation: The tavern is not marked in relation to the W3R. Identification of the site could be undertaken by the State of Delaware, the local historical society, or a fraternal community group such as the DAR, SAR, Society of the Cincinnati, or by the Souvenir Français.

Sources: The map drawn by George Washington's cartographer Simeon DeWitt in August 1781 for the march of the through Delaware clearly identifies and names the tavern on the right-hand side of the road. *Erskine-DeWitt Maps*, New York Historical Society, call number 124 B.

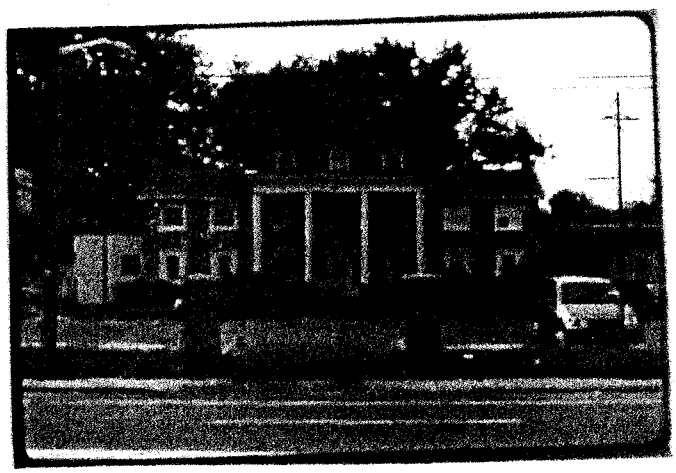
The series of route maps drawn by Louis-Alexandre Berthier and reproduced in Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, Vol. 2, Map 59, indicates a building at the location.

It is also clearly identified on Map 52 of Christopher Colles, *A Survey of the Roads of the United States of America 1789*. Walter W. Ristow, ed., (Cambridge, 1961), p. 169.

It is identified as the "Swan Tavern" in 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.

Note: The task of this resource inventory was not to list every seventeenth or eighteenth-century home still standing that American and French forces might have seen or might have marched past. The Swan Tavern, like the Arthur Penny House (Resource 3) are listed here primarily as examples for resources that could be considered contributing resources to the W3R. In the same category are resources such as the Hillis Mansion House and the Brinkle Maxwell House in Christiana, the "Blue Ball Tavern" on DE SR 273 west if Newark or the Hale-Byrnes House just south of Stanton on old DE SR 7.

RESOURCE 2



Name: Swan Tavern

Location: just south of Harvey Road on Philadelphia Pike
Claymont, Delaware

Resource 3

Name: Arthur Penny House

Location: Philadelphia Pike
Wilmington, Delaware

Historical significance: The Arthur Penny House was and is an important landmark on the road to Wilmington and identified on all contemporary maps.

Recommendation: The house is not marked in relation to the W3R. Identification of the site could be undertaken by the State of Delaware, the local historical society, or a fraternal community group such as the DAR, SAR, Society of the Cincinnati, or by the Souvenir Français.

Additional research should be undertaken to locate the sites of the homes of Widow Callam, Edward Beeson, William Tussey and Admiral Boscawen, all of which are clearly identified on contemporary maps.

Sources: The map drawn by George Washington's cartographer Simeon DeWitt in August 1781 for the march of the through Delaware clearly identifies and names the house on the right-hand side of the road just short of the 25 Mile marker. *Erskine-DeWitt Maps*, New York Historical Society, call number 124 B.

The series of route maps drawn by Louis-Alexandre Berthier and reproduced in Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, Vol. 2, Map 59, indicates a building at the location.

It is also clearly identified on Map 52 of Christopher Colles, *A Survey of the Roads of the United States of America 1789*. Walter W. Ristow, ed., (Cambridge, 1961), p. 169.

RESOURCE 3

Name: Arthur Penny House

Location: Philadelphia Pike
Wilmington, Delaware

Resource 4

Name: Brandywine Village State Park and Marker

Location: Corner of North Market Street and Race Street
Wilmington, Delaware

Erected: 1998

Medium: aluminum

Base: metal post
Dimensions: 28 inches high, 3 inches diameter

Dimensions of the plaque: 32 1/2 high at highest point, 40 inches wide

Type: marker with raised lettering and the seal of the State of Delaware set off at the top

The tablet shows no sign of wear and is in excellent condition.

The marker is in dark brown with silver lettering and a silver border. The reverse is blank.

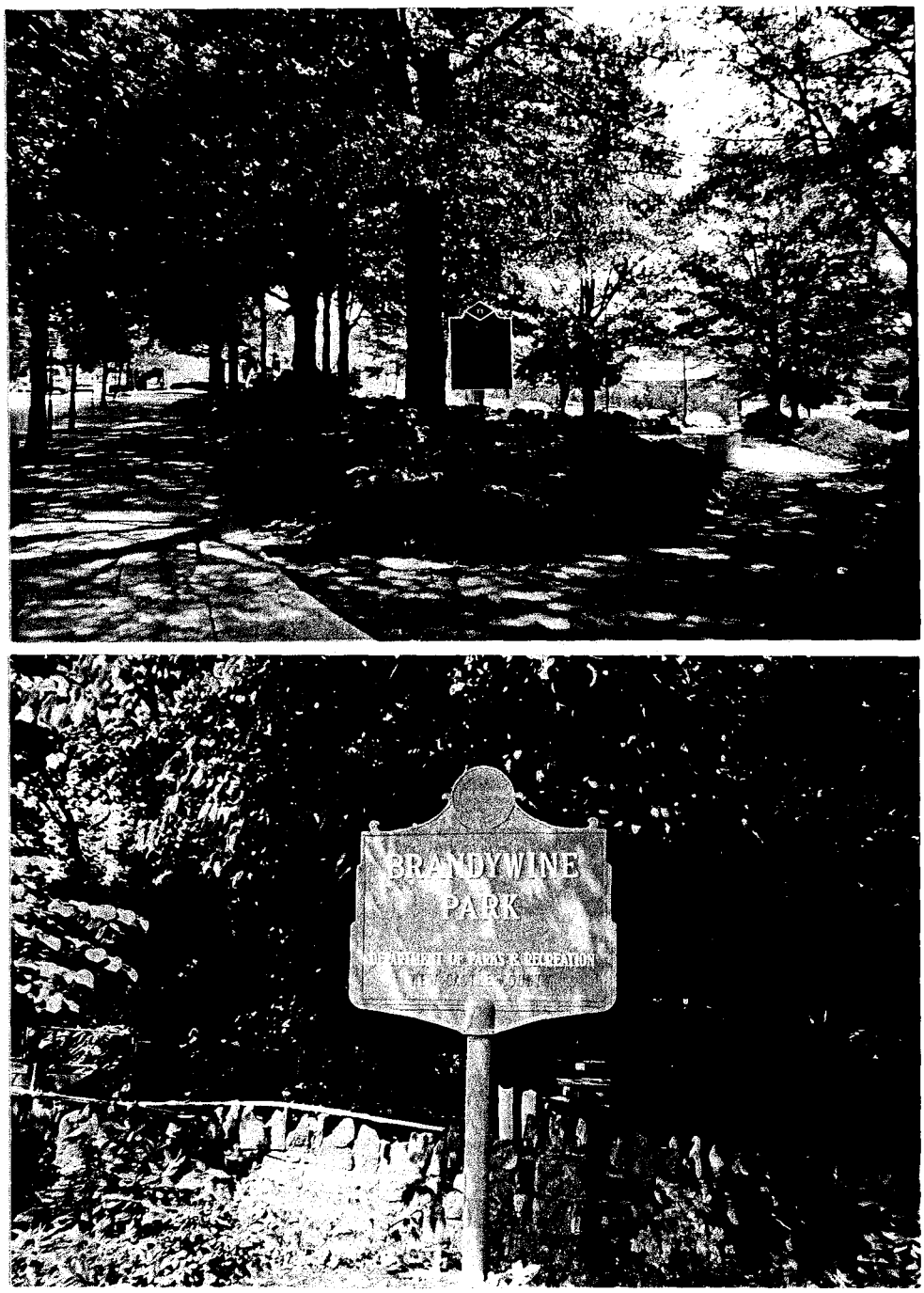
Historical significance: Brandywine Village was one of the most important milling centers in the mid-Atlantic states in the late eighteenth century. Ships with a draft of up to 11 feet carrying 3,000 bushels of grain could lie next to one of the 12 mills along the Brandywine, which ground 300,000 bushels of grain a year, employing approximately 200 people. Joseph Scott, *Geographical description of Delaware, also of the Counties respectively, with the towns in each county. To which is added a list of the hundreds with their population in 1800* (Philadelphia, 1807), pp. 165-170.

Recommendation: The site is not marked in relation to the W3R. Additional identification of the site could be undertaken by the State of Delaware, the local historical society, or a fraternal community group such as the DAR, SAR, Society of the Cincinnati, or by the Souvenir Français.

Sources: 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. More recent is Carol E. Hoffecker, *Brandywine Village: the story of a milling community* (Wilmington, 1974).

Note: Since the text of the marker does not contribute to the W3R in DE project, it is not reproduced here.

RESOURCE 4



Name: Brandywine Village State Park and Marker

Location: Corner of Market Street and Race Street
Wilmington, Delaware

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)

STATE: DELAWARE
COUNTY: NEW CASTLE
FOR NPS USE ONLY
ENTRY NUMBER | DATE

SEE INSTRUCTIONS

1. NAME [illegible]

COMMON: Brandywine Village (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: South boundary Brandywine Creek, East boundary, Tatnall Street Other boun. irreg. see map

CITY OR TOWN: Wilmington

STATE: Delaware | CODE | COUNTY: | CODE

3. CLASSIFICATION

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

PRESENT USE (Check One or More as Appropriate)

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

4. OWNER OF PROPERTY

OWNER'S NAME: Multi-ownership & (Private) Old Brandywine Village, Inc. owns 8 properties 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

CITY OR TOWN: DuPont Bldg. Wilmington | STATE: Delaware | CODE

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

6. REPRESENTATION IN EXISTING SURVEYS

TITLE OF SURVEY: 1. Hist. Amer. Bldg. Survey 2. 1967 Del. Heritage Bldgs. 3. 1967 Study of Alternate areas in New Castle Plan Design Pol.

DATE OF SURVEY: 1934 | 1- [X] Federal [ ] State [ ] County 2- [X] Local 3- [X] Local

DEPOSITORY FOR SURVEY RECORDS: Library of Congress | 2- Gr. Wilm. Devel. Council | 3-Wallace, McHarg Roberts, and Todd

STREET AND NUMBER: | 701 Shipley Street | 1740 Cherry St.

CITY OR TOWN: Washington, D.C. | STATE: Wilmington, Del. | Phila. Pa. | CODE

STATE: COUNTY: ENTRY NUMBER DATE FOR NPS USE ONLY

06/19/2002 DE STATE HIST PRESERVATION OFFICE

RESOURCE 4

Name: Brandywine Village State Park and Marker

Location: Corner of Market Street and Race Street
Wilmington, Delaware

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)

STATE: DELAWARE
COUNTY: NEW CASTLE
FOR NPS USE ONLY
ENTRY NUMBER | DATE

SEE INSTRUCTIONS

1. NAME [illegible]

COMMON: Brandywine Village (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: South boundary Brandywine Creek, East boundary, Tatnall Street Other boun. irreg. see map

CITY OR TOWN: Wilmington

STATE: Delaware | CODE | COUNTY: | CODE

3. CLASSIFICATION

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

PRESENT USE (Check One or More as Appropriate)

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

4. OWNER OF PROPERTY

OWNER'S NAME: Multi-ownership & (Private) Old Brandywine Village, Inc owns 8 properties 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

CITY OR TOWN: DuPont Bldg. Wilmington | STATE: Delaware | CODE

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

6. REPRESENTATION IN EXISTING SURVEYS

TITLE OF SURVEY: 1. Hist. Amer. Bldg. Survey 2. Del. Heritage Bldgs. 3. Study of Alternate areas in New Castle Plan Design Pol.

DATE OF SURVEY: 1934 | 1- [X] Federal [ ] State [ ] County [X] Local

DEPOSITORY FOR SURVEY RECORDS: Library of Congress | 2- Gr. Wilm. Devel. Council | 3-Wallace, McHarg Roberts, and Todd

STREET AND NUMBER: | 701 Shipley Street | 1740 Cherry St.

CITY OR TOWN: Washington, D.C. | STATE: Wilmington, Del. | CODE Phila. Pa.

STATE: COUNTY: ENTRY NUMBER DATE FOR NPS USE ONLY

06/19/2002 DE STATE HIST PRESERVATION OFFICE

7. DESCRIPTION

CONDITION	(Check One)						(Check One)	
	☒ Excellent	☐ Good	☐ Fair	☐ Deteriorated	☐ Ruins	☒ Unexposed	Runs the whole gamut	
	(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

06/19/2002 DE STATE HIST PRESERVATION OFFICE

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

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.

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06/19/2002 DE STATE HIST PRESERVATION OFFICE

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/Phi-	☐ Other *(Specify)*
☒ Historic	☒ Industry	losophy	_____
☐ Agriculture	☐ Invention	☐ Science	_____
☒ Architecture	☐ Landscape	☐ Sculpture	_____
☐ Art	Architecture	☐ Social/Human-	_____
☐ Commerce	☐ Literature	itarian	_____
☐ Communications	☐ Military	☐ Theater	_____
☐ Conservation	☐ Music	☐ Transportation	_____

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

In 1637 the earliest settler reached the land which later became Brandywine Village. This was Captain Jacob Vandover 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 diaappeared. 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 involvedin 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 1783 Oliver Evans, a local inventor, persuaded Joseph Tatnall and his partner, Lea, toinstall 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 "Penman of the Revolution", and John Welsh. Dickinson had large property holdingsin 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

06/19/2002 DE STATE HIST PRESERVATION OFFICE

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

(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.

06/19/2002 DE STATE HIST PRESERVATION OFFICE

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. Bonnett -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

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

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.

Chief, Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation

Date

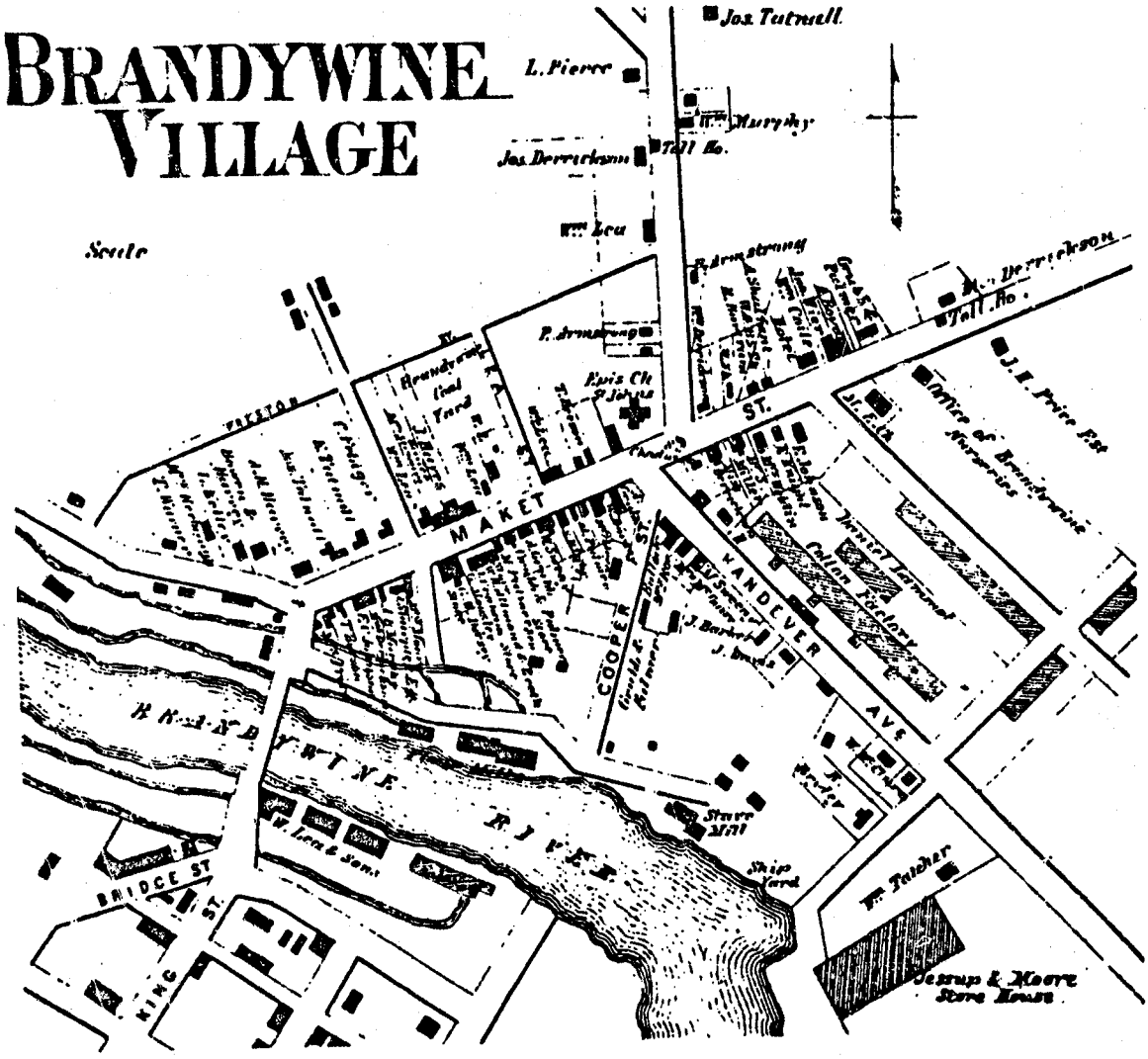
ATTEST:

Keeper of The National Register

Date

SEE INSTRUCTIONS

06/19/2002 DE STATE HIST PRESERVATION OFFICE



06/19/2002 DE STATE HIST PRESERVATION OFFICE

8 SIGNIFICANCE

PERIOD	AREAS OF SIGNIFICANCE -- CHECK AND JUSTIFY BELOW				
__PREHISTORIC	__ARCHEOLOGY-PREHISTORIC	__COMMUNITY PLANNING	__LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE	__RELIGION	
__1400-1499	__ARCHEOLOGY-HISTORIC	__CONSERVATION	__LAW	__SCIENCE	
__1500-1599	__AGRICULTURE	__ECONOMICS	__LITERATURE	__SCULPTURE	
__1600-1699	__ARCHITECTURE	__EDUCATION	X MILITARY	__SOCIAL/HUMANITARIAN	
X 1700-1799	__ART	__ENGINEERING	__MUSIC	__THEATER	
X 1800-1899	X COMMERCE	__EXPLORATION/SETTLEMENT	__PHILOSOPHY	__TRANSPORTATION	
__1900-	__COMMUNICATIONS	X INDUSTRY	__POLITICS/GOVERNMENT	__OTHER (SPECIFY)	
		__INVENTION			

SPECIFIC DATES

BUILDER/ARCHITECT

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

The flour milling industry greatly influenced the early development of Wilmington. The borough's location at the mouth of the Brandywine kept it from being an agricultural community. In 1742, Oliver Canby, a Quaker from Bucks County, Pennsylvania, came to Wilmington and realized the great potential of the creek that flowed nearby. Within fifteen years he had set up the first mill of consequence near the head of navigation at the northeast end of Orange Street. Next, Thomas Shipley and several others had a three-mile race dug and by 1762 had completed two of four mills along the south bank between the terminations of French and Market Streets. However, the era of the mills' real importance began in 1770. In that year Joseph Tatnall, Delaware's first great industrialist, had a mill race dug along the north bank, a feat which to this time had been considered impossible. Between 1770 and 1820, the number of mills increased from eight to fourteen. As early as 1774, a thriving trade was being carried on with the West Indies. By the 1780's, Oliver Evans had introduced his new milling machinery and greatly increased the volume of grain the mills could handle. Wilmington had become one of the most important and prosperous milling centers in the country.

The owners of the mills were Quakers: they championed abolition, care of the poor, penal reform, internal improvements, and were loyal patriots. As the Revolution commenced, Joseph Tatnall wrote George Washington: "I cannot fight for thee, but I can and will feed thee." His ledger shows large amounts of flour consigned to Robert Morris, financier of the Revolution. Washington considered the Brandywine mills very important. As the British approached, he ordered the top stones, or "runners," to be removed to render the mills unuseable. Those sent to carry out the orders found the stones too hard to move and so carried off the "spinnels, rines and ironnale heads [sic]." Washington, who also was a mill owner, knew that this action would not incapacitate the mills and ordered, once again, that the stones be dismantled and carried away. Only one of the mills was returned to use before the end of the Revolution.

Many foreign travellers who visited the United States after the Revolution often commented on the mills along the Brandywine. In 1782, Comte de Segur found it "a place of considerable commercial activity" and Elkanah Watson stopped here in 1784 "to examine the most extensive flouring mills on the continent." Moreau de St.-Mery, in 1794, described Wilmington and its mills as "magnificent." They had, however, reached their zenith by 1820; thereafter, the river Brandywine was associated more with the powder than the flour milling industry.

06/19/2002 DE STATE HIST PRESERVATION OFFICE

Form No. 10-300 (Rev. 10-74)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES INVENTORY -- NOMINATION FORM

FOR NPS USE ONLY

RECEIVED

DATE ENTERED

SEE INSTRUCTIONS IN *HOW TO COMPLETE NATIONAL REGISTER FORMS*
TYPE ALL ENTRIES -- COMPLETE APPLICABLE SECTIONS

1 NAME

HISTORIC

Brandywine Village Historic Distric (Amended)

AND/OR COMMON

2 LOCATION

STREET & NUMBER

Along the Brandywine, between the Market Street Bridge & the 14th Street Bridge; south to 16th Street and north to Tatnall Street, 22nd St. __NOT FOR PUBLICATION

CITY, TOWN

Wilmington __ VICINITY OF

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

One

STATE

Delaware

CODE

10

COUNTY

New Castle

CODE

002

3 CLASSIFICATION

CATEGORY	OWNERSHIP	STATUS	PRESENT USE	
X DISTRICT	__PUBLIC	X OCCUPIED	__AGRICULTURE	__MUSEUM
__BUILDING(S)	__PRIVATE	__UNOCCUPIED	X COMMERCIAL	X PARK
__STRUCTURE	X BOTH	__WORK IN PROGRESS	__EDUCATIONAL	X PRIVATE RESIDENCE
__SITE	PUBLIC ACQUISITION	ACCESSIBLE	__ENTERTAINMENT	X RELIGIOUS
__OBJECT	__IN PROCESS	__YES: RESTRICTED	__GOVERNMENT	__SCIENTIFIC
	__BEING CONSIDERED	X YES: UNRESTRICTED	X INDUSTRIAL	__TRANSPORTATION
		__NO	__MILITARY	__OTHER:

4 OWNER OF PROPERTY

NAME

Multiple Ownership

STREET & NUMBER

CITY, TOWN

__ VICINITY OF

STATE

5 LOCATION OF LEGAL DESCRIPTION

COURTHOUSE, REGISTRY OF DEEDS, ETC.

Public Building

STREET & NUMBER

Rodney Square

CITY, TOWN

Wilmington

STATE

Delaware

6 REPRESENTATION IN EXISTING SURVEYS

TITLE

Historic American Buildings Survey

9-1
Del - 11
Del - 30, 31, 32, 33, 34

DATE

1934

X FEDERAL __STATE __COUNTY __LOCAL

DEPOSITORY FOR SURVEY RECORDS

Library of Congress

CITY, TOWN

Washington,

STATE

D.C.

06/19/2002 DE STATE HIST PRESERVATION OFFICE

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CONTINUATION SHEET ITEM NUMBER 6 PAGE 2

Title: Historic American Engineering Record
(Wilmington South 18.453450.4399880)

Date: 1975 Federal

Depository: Library of Congress
Washington, D.C.

Title: Delaware Heritage Buildings and Areas in New Castle County

Date: 1966 Local

Depository: Greater Wilmington Development Council
701 Shipley Street
Wilmington, Delaware

Title: Study of Alternate Plan and Design Policies

Date: 1967 Local

Depository: Wallace, McHarg, Roberts and Todd
1740 Cherry Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Title: Survey of Delaware's Historic Sites and Buildings N-332, N-428

Date: 1970, 1975 State

Depository: Historic Preservation Section
Division of Historical and Cultural Affairs
Hall of Records
Dover, Delaware 19901

06/19/2002 DE STATE HIST PRESERVATION OFFICE

7 DESCRIPTION

CONDITION		CHECK ONE	CHECK ONE
_EXCELLENT	_DETERIORATED	_UNALTERED	XORIGINAL SITE
_GOOD	_RUINS	X ALTERED	_MOVED DATE_____
XFAIR	_UNEXPOSED		

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 streambed 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 fully restored, one serving as the headquarters of the Junior League of Wilmington, and the other owned and occupied by the Wilmington Senior Center. Three more houses are in the process of being restored. 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, five 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, Vandever, Buena Vista, and Race Streets and are of great value as supplementary, if not primary, interest to the communtiy.

At the north end of the row of large houses on Market Street, at the corner of Concord Avenue, St. John's Episcopal Church was built in 1857 and consecrated in 1858.

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06/19/2002 DE STATE HIST PRESERVATION OFFICE

7 DESCRIPTION

CONDITION		CHECK ONE	CHECK ONE
_EXCELLENT	_DETERIORATED	_UNALTERED	X ORIGINAL SITE
_GOOD	_RUINS	X ALTERED	_MOVED DATE_____
X FAIR	_UNEXPOSED		

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06/19/2002 DE STATE HIST PRESERVATION OFFICE

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Little remains above ground of the once-prosperous Brandywine flour mills located below the Market Street bridge in Wilmington. Nineteenth-century views of the river provide an interesting panorama of what eighteenth- and early nineteenth century travellers had called handsome, extraordinary, charming, superior or particularly pleasing structures. Constructed out of the gray granite, common to that area of the Brandywine, with gambrel or peaked roofs, the fourteen mill structures were located in closely-set rows on each side of the river. Each set of mills shared a common mill race, although they were not united by common ownership. In 1820, at the height of their prosperity, there were six owners of the mills.

By 1880, the mills on the south side of the Brandywine stopped grinding. This became the property of the City of Wilmington. In 1902, the Water Department who controlled the property installed two Holly vertical, three-cylinder triple-expansion steam pumping engines. One has been removed but the second, still in place and in

06/19/2002 DE STATE HIST PRESERVATION OFFICE

excellent condition, is housed in the original pump house. The straight classic lines of the buildings reflect their construction in the early twentieth century.

The north side of the stream holds what remains of the early mill buildings. A recent industrial archaeology project revealed that two fires destroyed almost all of the mill structures fronting on the river. The foundations of four of the structures remain, as well as parts of the walls of the job mill and corn mill and the entire warehouse structure. The stone sections of the modern Sayer laundry building are parts of the original mills. The Sanborn map of 1884 shows two warehouses and an office building standing behind the mills; these are still standing in a fair state of repair.

The warehouse structures pre-date the mills and the office building. They are of brick, the one with arched windows and doorways set in inset panels and corbelled dentils However, here the windows are square with heavy stone lintels. The office is also of brick, with segmental-arched windows of irregular sizes. A projection on the north wall houses paired windows. The cornice is boxed with dentils and the chimney has an interesting touch of the medieval.

Both of the mill races survive and are easily visible as they flow through Brandywin Park. On the south side, the race still serves the Wilmington Water Works.

06/19/2002 DE STATE HIST PRESERVATION OFFICE

8 SIGNIFICANCE

PERIOD	AREAS OF SIGNIFICANCE -- CHECK AND JUSTIFY BELOW				
__PREHISTORIC	__ARCHEOLOGY-PREHISTORIC	__COMMUNITY PLANNING	__LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE	__RELIGION	
__1400-1499	X ARCHEOLOGY-HISTORIC	__CONSERVATION	__LAW	__SCIENCE	
__1500-1599	__AGRICULTURE	__ECONOMICS	__LITERATURE	__SCULPTURE	
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X 1800-1899	X COMMERCE	__EXPLORATION/SETTLEMENT	__PHILOSOPHY	__TRANSPORTATION	
X 1900-	__COMMUNICATIONS	X INDUSTRY	__POLITICS/GOVERNMENT	__OTHER (SPECIFY)	
		__INVENTION			

SPECIFIC DATES

BUILDER/ARCHITECT

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.

The flour milling industry greatly influenced the early development of Wilmington. The borough's location at the mouth of the Brandywine kept it from being an agricultural community. In 1742, Oliver Canby, a Quaker from Bucks County, Pennsylvania, came to Wilmington and realized the great potential of the creek that flowed nearby. Within fifteen years he had set up the first mill of consequence near the head of navigation at the northeast end of Orange Street. Next, Thomas Shipley and several others had a three-mile race dug and by 1762 had completed two of four mills along the south bank between the terminations of French and Market Streets. However, the era of the mills' real importance began in 1770. In that year Joseph Tatnall, Delaware's first great industrialist, had a mill race dug along the north bank, a feat which to th time had been considered impossible. Between 1770 and 1820, the number of mills increased from eight to fourteen. As early as 1774, a thriving trade was being carried on with the West Indies. In 1788, Oliver Evans, a local inventor, persuaded Joseph Tatnall and his partner, Lea, to install his mechanical milling system in their mill. The first of its kind, it proved very successful. Wilmington fast became one of the most important and prosperous milling centers in the country.

The owners of the mills were Quakers: they championed abolition, care of the poor, penal reform, internal improvements, and were loyal patriots. As the Revolution commenced, Joseph Tatnall wrote George Washington: "I cannot fight for thee, but I can and will feed thee." His ledger shows large amounts of flour consigned to Robert Morris, financier of the Revolution. The association was the start of a friendship with Generals George Washington, Lafayette, and Anthony Wayne, which grew and outlasted the war period. Washington considered the Brandywine mills very important. As the British approached, he ordered the top stones, or "runners," to be removed to render the mills unuseable.

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Those sent to carry out the orders found the stones too hard to move and so carried off the "spinnels, rines and ironnale heads [sic]." Washington, who also was a mill owner, knew that this action would not incapacitate the mills and ordered, once again, that the stones be dismantled and carried away. Only one of the mills was returned to use before the end of the Revolution.

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 Tatnall and other friends of the war days.

Many foreign travellers who visited the United States after the Revolution often commented on the mills along the Brandywine. In 1782, Comte de Segur found it "a place of considerable commercial activity" and Elkanah Watson stopped here in 1784 "to examine the most extensive flouring mills on the continent.: Moreau de St. Mery, in 1794, described Wilmington and its mills as "magnificent." They had, however, reached their zenith by 1820; thereafter, the river Brandywine was associated more with the powder than the flour milling industry.

The milling industry had brought great prosperity to the Quakers who owned the mills along the Brandywine. They built fine homes of Brandywine granite on the hill overlooking the river. This row of houses forms one of the finest rows of structures using this material. At the crest of the hill is the Cathedral of St. John. This church, also built of Brandywine granite in the Gothic revival style, was designed by John Notman, a Philadelphi architect of some renown. There were many rows of mill workers houses as this was very much an industrial village. The well-designed mill structures along the Brandywine formed an early industrial complex. Then in the 1850's a large cotton factory was established here. Both of these industrial areas provide the excellent possibility for industrial archeology. In fact the Village, being quite compact until late in the nineteenth century, would provide an excellent historical archeology study.

One of the finest public buildings in the village constructed of Brandywine granite is the Academy. 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 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 private school and became a part of the Wilmington Public School system.

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9 MAJOR BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES

Eckman, Jeannette et al. Delaware: A Guide to the First State. 2nd ed. New York: Hastings' House, 1955.

Scharf, J. Thomas. A History of Delaware, 1609-1888. Philadelphia: L. J. Richards and Company, 1888.

10 GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

ACREAGE OF NOMINATED PROPERTY 33 acres

UTM REFERENCES

E. 18/453380/4399890
F. 18/453690/4399720
G. 18/453775/4399720
H. 18/453810/4399990

	ZONE	EASTING	NORTHING
A	18	453805	4400230
B	18	453775	4400260
C	18	453655	4400330
D	18	453250	4400090

VERBAL BOUNDARY DESCRIPTION

On the north side of the Brandywine, all of the original district boundaries are to be retained. On the south side of the Brandywine the boundary is to be amended to include that area on the south bank of the Brandywine between the Market Street Bridge and the Fourteenth Street Bridge which is north of 16th Street.

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

STATE	CODE	COUNTY	CODE

11 FORM PREPARED BY

NAME / TITLE

Albert Kruse, F.A.I.A. and Joan M. Norton, Architectural Historian

ORGANIZATION — DATE

Delaware Chapter, A.I.A. and Division of Historical and Cultural Affairs

STREET & NUMBER — TELEPHONE

Hall of Records — (302) 678-5314

CITY OR TOWN — STATE

Dover, — Delaware

12 STATE HISTORIC PRESERVATION OFFICER CERTIFICATION

THE EVALUATED SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS PROPERTY WITHIN THE STATE IS:

NATIONAL ___ STATE X LOCAL ___

As the designated State Historic Preservation 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.

STATE HISTORIC PRESERVATION OFFICER SIGNATURE Lauren [signature]

TITLE Director, Division of Historical and Cultural Affairs DATE 7/12/76

FOR NPS USE ONLY

I HEREBY CERTIFY THAT THIS PROPERTY IS INCLUDED IN THE NATIONAL REGISTER

DATE

DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF ARCHEOLOGY AND HISTORIC PRESERVATION

ATTEST: DATE

KEEPER OF THE NATIONAL REGISTER

GPO 888-448

06/19/2002 DE STATE HIST PRESERVATION OFFICE

Resource 5

Name: Continental Army Camp 1a

Location: Canby Park
Maryland Avenue
Wilmington, Delaware

Historical significance: On the night of 4/5 September 1781, Continental Army troops on their way to Yorktown camped in Canby Park along the Mill Creek and on the slopes of Robinson Hill facing the Mill Creek of Richard Richardson's Mill.

General Washington had spent the night of 4-5 September in Philadelphia and stayed the night of 5/6 September 1781 at an unknown location in Wilmington.

Recommendation: The site is not marked in relation to the W3R. Identification of the site could be undertaken by the State of Delaware, the local historical society, or a fraternal community group such as the DAR, SAR, Society of the Cincinnati, or by the Souvenir Français.

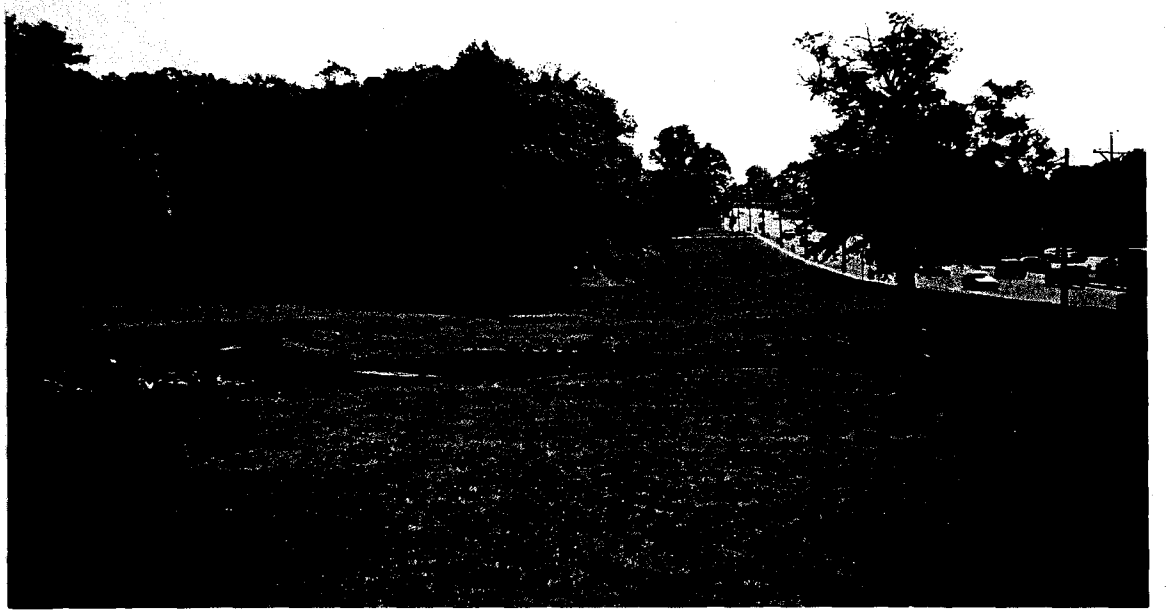
The site along the creek may also have potential as an archaeological site if or when the State of Delaware should decide to conduct archaeological survey of the W3R.

Sources: C. A. Weslager, *The Richardsons of Delaware* (Wilmington, 1957)

The map drawn by George Washington's cartographer Simeon DeWitt in August 1781 for the march of the through Delaware clearly identifies the site, though DeWitt wrongly identified the mill on his map as belonging to "Richard Robinson," a combination of the names of Richard Richardson, the mill-owner, and Robert Robinson, on whose land some of the Continental Army encamped. *Erskine-DeWitt Maps*, New York Historical Society, call number 124 B.

Both the mill as well as Robinson's property are also clearly identified on Map 53 of Christopher Colles, *A Survey of the Roads of the United States of America 1789*. Walter W. Ristow, ed., (Cambridge, 1961), p. 170 as "Robeson."

RESOURCE 5



Name: Continental Army Camp 1a

Location: Canby Park
Maryland Avenue
Wilmington, Delaware

Resource 6

Name: Richard Richardson House and Brick Mill House

Location: Maryland Avenue
Wilmington, Delaware

Historical significance: The Richard Richardson House, better known a Glynrich, and the adjacent Brick Mill House are two of the most important eighteenth-century domestic structures in Delaware. Richard Richardson (1720-1797) was married to Sarah Tatnall, sister of mill owner Joseph Tatnall.

On the night of 4/5 September 1781, Continental Army troops on their way to Yorktown camped in Canby Park along the Mill Creek and on the slopes of Robinson Hill facing the Mill Creek of Richard Richardson's Mill.

General Washington had spent the night of 4-5 September in Philadelphia and stayed the night of 5/6 September 1781 at an unknown location in Wilmington.

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Sources: C. A. Weslager, *The Richardsons of Delaware* (Wilmington, 1957)

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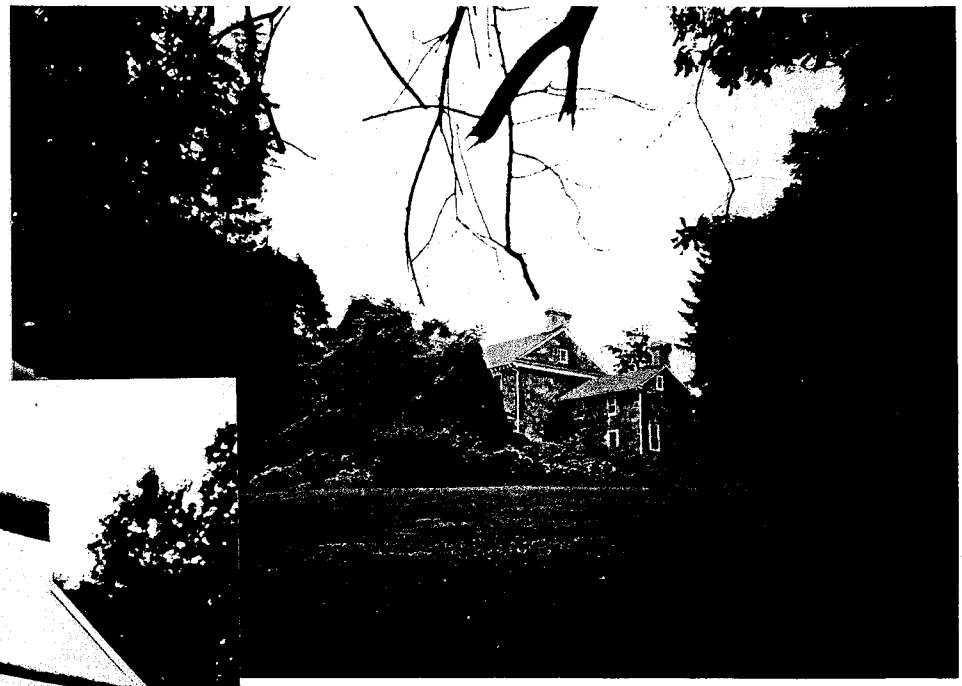
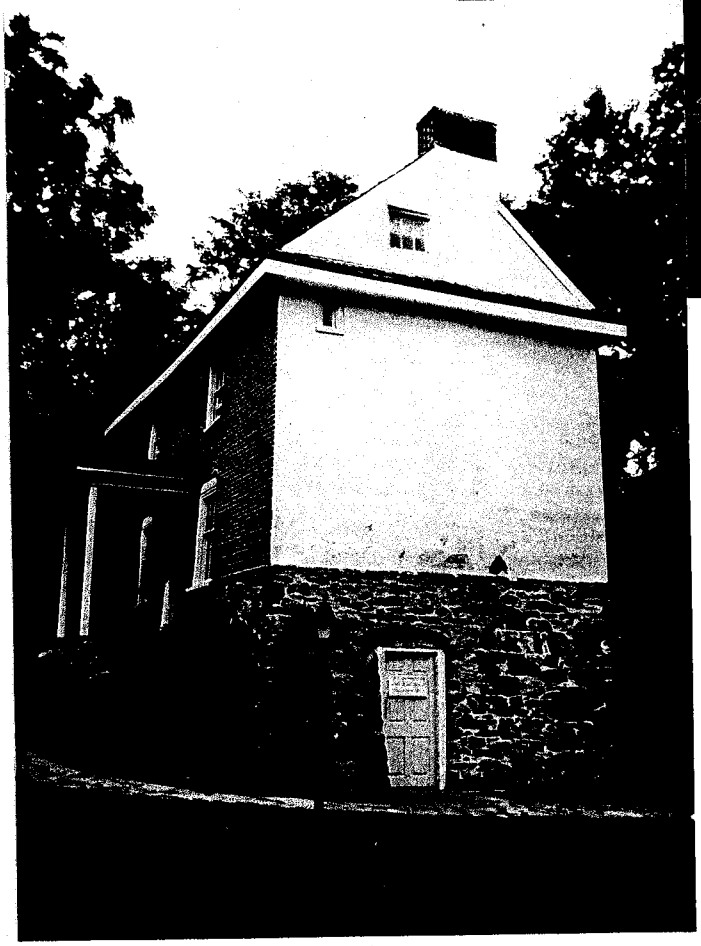
RESOURCE 6





Name: Richard Richardson House and Mill

Location: Maryland Avenue
Wilmington, Delaware

Form No 10-300 (Rev. 10-74)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES INVENTORY -- NOMINATION FORM

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SEE INSTRUCTIONS IN *HOW TO COMPLETE NATIONAL REGISTER FORMS*
TYPE ALL ENTRIES -- COMPLETE APPLICABLE SECTIONS

1 NAME

HISTORIC: GLYNRICH

AND/OR COMMON: The Richard Richardson House and The Brick Mill House

2 LOCATION

STREET & NUMBER: _NOT FOR PUBLICATION

CITY TOWN: Richardson Park X VICINITY OF — CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT: 1st

STATE: Delaware — CODE: 10 — COUNTY: New Castle — CODE: 002

3 CLASSIFICATION

CATEGORY	OWNERSHIP	STATUS	PRESENT USE	
_DISTRICT	_PUBLIC	X OCCUPIED	_AGRICULTURE	_MUSEUM
X BUILDING(S)	X PRIVATE	_UNOCCUPIED	_COMMERCIAL	_PARK
_STRUCTURE	_BOTH	_WORK IN PROGRESS	_EDUCATIONAL	X PRIVATE RESIDENCE
_SITE	PUBLIC ACQUISITION	ACCESSIBLE	_ENTERTAINMENT	_RELIGIOUS
_OBJECT	_IN PROCESS	X YES RESTRICTED	_GOVERNMENT	_SCIENTIFIC
	_BEING CONSIDERED	_YES UNRESTRICTED	_INDUSTRIAL	_TRANSPORTATION
		_NO	_MILITARY	_OTHER:

4 OWNER OF PROPERTY

NAME: Mark J. Connor

STREET & NUMBER: 402 Hillside Road

CITY TOWN: Greenville — _VICINITY OF — STATE: Delaware

5 LOCATION OF LEGAL DESCRIPTION

COURTHOUSE REGISTRY OF DEEDS, ETC: New Castle County Recorder of Deeds

STREET & NUMBER: 800 French Street

CITY TOWN: Wilmington — STATE: Delaware 19801

6 REPRESENTATION IN EXISTING SURVEYS

TITLE		
Historic American Building Survey	DEL-45 and 46	
Delaware Cultural Resource Survey	N-360, N-361	

DATE: 1936, 1979 — X FEDERAL X STATE _COUNTY _LOCAL

DEPOSITORY FOR SURVEY RECORDS: Delaware Division of Historical and Cultural Affairs

CITY TOWN: Hall of Records — Dover — STATE: Delaware

FORM AS SUBMITTED TO OA

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7 DESCRIPTION

CONDITION		CHECK ONE	CHECK ONE
__EXCELLENT	__DETERIORATED	__UNALTERED	XORIGINAL SITE
X_GOOD	__RUINS	XALTERED	__MOVED DATE_____
__FAIR	__UNEXPOSED		

DESCRIBE THE PRESENT AND ORIGINAL (IF KNOWN) PHYSICAL APPEARANCE

Located on a slight rise above Maryland Avenue and adjacent to the former milling complex in what is now Canby Park, Glynrich is the site of two important eighteenth century domestic structures--the Richard Richardson House and the Brick Mill House.

Situated approximately 200 feet to the southeast of the Richard Richardson House, the Brick Mill House is a three-bay, two-story, gable roof brick structure with Flemish bond and glazed headers on the facade rising from a full raised basement. Originally constructed with segmental arches over the first floor, six-over-nine windows, only the window to the left of the facade entrance retains its arch; the other to the right has been reworked. Second story windows are six-over-six. All shutters are modern replacements, though a pair of three-panel shutters, possibly original, was removed from the window to the left of the facade entrance in the late 1950's. The remaining walls are laid in common bond with six stretcher courses to one header course; the south wall has been completely stuccoed. Other notable features of the brick masonry include an abbreviated belt course above the facade entrance and belt courses at the eave line in the gables. Two small, six-light windows illuminate the attic space. A small, single-light rectangular window is found on the stuccoed south wall, placed just below the belt course near the facade. An identical window, subsequently bricked in, was situated on the north end, approximately two feet above the foundation near the rear of the house. Traditionally these windows have been referred to as "musket windows"; however, it is most likely that they were designed to light enclosed staircases. Two interior, end chimneys are placed off-center of the ridgeline. The original wooden shingle roof covering has been replaced with composition shingles.

A one-bay, hipped roof, wooden entrance porch supported by two chamfered wooden posts shelters a four-light transom doorway with plain surround. The main door has six raised panels on the exterior and six random width vertical boards on the interior and is attached to the frame by two 35 1/4 inch iron strap hinges.

Major exterior features, not a part of the original construction, are a garage with kitchen above, at the rear, and a frame lean-to at the south end.

In plan, this one-room-deep structure has two rooms on the first floor--a typical hall-and-parlor arrangement--and four rooms on the second floor. It appears that the original configuration of the second floor was hall chamber-and-parlor chamber.

The interior fitting of this structure is remarkably restrained. The window enframents rest on the stucco-clad stone foundation, forming a wainscot, projecting some three-to-four inches, around the first floor. The focal point of the smallest room on the first level, the north room, is the chimney wall. Now sealed, the fireplace is crowned by a moulded mantlepiece and is flanked to the right by a cabinet and a vertical plank, board-and-batten door with "H-L" hinges, which conceals an enclosed winding staircase to the second level.

The larger north room is similarly fitted. The most noteworthy interior refinement is the mantle shelf with cyma recta moulding and cyma reversa bed moulding. To the left of the chimney breast is a cabinet, with a two panel door; to the right an enclosed staircase, 52 1/2 inches at its widest point, winds to the second floor.

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Glynrich

On the north end, partitions, not part of the original construction, define a modern bath. Among notable features of the second floor is the chimney wall in the north bed chamber. The fireplace with moulded mantlepiece is flanked by a closet constructed of vertical planks. The closet door is formed by two beaded planks with two battens and is fastened to the enframement with "H-L" hinges. At the south end of the second floor, another board-and-batten door with "H-L" hinges reveals an enclosed, winding staircase to the garret. The flooring on the second level, as well as that in the garret, is of one inch thick, random width pine. The largest of these planks measures 16 1/2 inches wide.

A steep, winding staircase adjacent to the fireplace in the south room, provides access to the basement kitchen. An 11 x 14 inch timber lintel spans the sealed fireplace opening. A six-panel door, backed by vertical boards and attached to the frame by two, 31 1/2 inch strap hinges, opens to the grade on the south side.

The Richard Richardson house is a two-story five-bay, center-hall, double pile with a lower single pile two-story wing at the east end. The exterior walls are of stone. The gable roof of the main block rises from a bold modillion cornice on the facade and south end and from a boxed cornice on the rear and north end. Three over-sized dormers dominate the front and rear slopes. The wing is gable roofed with a boxed cornice. Both roofs are covered with asbestos shingles. Two massive, brick, interior end chimneys terminate the main block and a third brick, interior end chimney rises from the east end of the wing; all three chimneys have been stuccoed. The end walls are blank with the exception of a date stone bearing the date, "1765," on the west end and three-over-three windows in both gables. The symmetrically placed windows on the main block are nine-over-nine double-hung sash on the first and second floors, though originally twelve-over-twelve on the first floor and nine-over-nine on the second floor. Moulded sills on the main facade are of wood. The wing features six-over-six sash windows. All windows are shuttered; those on the main block have three raised panels; those on the wing have raised panels each, and are modern. Attached to the outer stile of each shutter is a twisted iron latch which secures the shutter in an open position when inserted in a wooden block protruding from the stone wall. Each pair of shutters also has a metal strap, which secures the shutters in the closed position when inserted into an opening in the opposed shutter and pinned from the inside.

The frontispiece entrance is composed of a crossetted architrave trim surrounding a transom light of five panels surmounted by a pulvinated frieze and a modillion cornice. This cornice forms the lower portion of a triangular pediment with modillions, which was removed when the five-bay, hipped roof porch was added around 1900. This porch is supported by a dozen chamfered, turned and reeded posts, three of which are bunched at each side of the entrance to support a cross gable pediment with a denticulated cornice surrounding a moulded placque.

FORM AS SUBMITTED TO OAHP

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HERITAGE CONSERVATION AND RECREATION SERVICE

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Glynrich

CONTINUATION SHEET ITEM NUMBER 7 PAGE 2

This domestic residence retains much of its original trim. Interior details include two-inch thick pine floor boards, six-panel doors framed by paneled jambs, fully paneled chimney walls featuring two tiers of paneling with chair rail, paneled window embrasures with crossetted architrave mouldings and paneled wainscoting. Walnut is used throughout. According with the Georgian mode, there are four rooms on the first floor flanking the central hall of the main block. To the southwest is the most elaborately finished room on the first floor. The doorway off the center hall, as well as the two paneled windows in this room, have crossetted architrave trim and paneled embrasures. The chimney wall is fully paneled with two tiers of paneling separated by a moulded chair rail. The rectangular opening of the fireplace in the projecting chimney breast has a crossetted architrave and is surmounted by a single-panel over mantle. This panel is surrounded by a crossetted architrave. A moulded cornice terminates the chimney breast and continues around the room. The remaining walls are plaster above paneled wainscoting and have been covered with modern wallpaper. Adjoining this room, is a room less elaborately finished with plastered walls covered with modern wallpaper, wooden cornice, baseboard, chair rail and a paneled window. A paneled corner fireplace with flanking cabinets completes the fitting of this room which has been modified with the addition of a modern kitchen and bath.

The principal room of the east end of the first floor is directly to the right of the main entrance. The prominent feature of this room is a fully paneled chimney wall with rectangular fireplace opening faced with imported Delft tile. Flanking the fireplace are built-in cabinets with two tiers of paneled doors and inside, shaped shelving. The mantle shelf appears to be a late addition. The walls in this room are plaster and decorated with baseboard, moulded chair rail and cornice. The paneled windows are surrounded by a simple architrave moulding.

Adjacent to this room is a less pretentious room, which, though it retains its original proportions, has been much altered in the process of adding a modern kitchen and bath. The fireplace in this room was closed and covered with decorative tile about 1929. The mantlepiece is Victorian. Access to each of the above described rooms was originally through doorways off the central hall. The main rooms are still entered in this manner; however, the doorways to the adjoining, rear rooms have been closed. Now, they are entered through doorways cut into the partition wall.

The walls of the central hall are plaster, covered with modern wallpaper and finished with paneled wainscot and moulded cornice. The reception hall in front is separated from the stair hall behind by a paneled surround with moulded trim. The paneled stairway is of the open-string variety with ornamental, scrolled brackets, newel posts in the form of Doric columns and turned balusters--two to a run. The newel posts and handrail are of mahogany. The stair rises in three flights to the second floor of the main block; paneled wainscoting opposite the balustrade echoes the details of its vertical profile.

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The finish of the second floor of the main block mirrors that of the first floor. Walnut is used throughout for window embrasures, paneled doors, door jambs and mouldings, wainscoting, chimney walls, and cornices. The central hall has paneled wainscoting, architrave moulding around doorways and a moulded cornice that encompasses the hall and stairway. The most elaborate room, and perhaps the most elegant of all rooms in the main block, that at the southwest corner, has a fully paneled two-tiered chimney wall, more elaborate than that in any other principal rooms, paneled wainscoting and moulded cornice. Here, there is a projecting chimney breast with rectangular fireplace opening and moulded surround. The mantlepiece appears to be a later addition. Above this mantlepiece is a two-panel overmantle. Paneled doors with original hardware flank the chimney breast. As in the room below, the remaining walls are plastered, covered with modern wallpaper, above paneled wainscoting and moulded chair rail. Adjoining this room, as on the first floor, is a room fitted with a paneled corner fireplace, paneled wainscoting and moulded chair rail. The paneled doorway, as well as the six-paneled doorway connecting these rooms, is original. The principal room of the east side was a double parlor with fully paneled end wall. A plaster wall now divides this room. The southeast room features a fully paneled chimney wall, rectangular fireplace opening with moulded surround and flanking cabinets with six-panel doors. The fireplace has been closed and covered with decorative glazed tile. The remaining walls are plaster finished with the same baseboard, chair rail and cornice arrangement seen elsewhere in this house. The adjoining room has been substantially altered with the addition of modern kitchen and bath fixtures. A fragment of floor-to-ceiling paneling, that was not removed during remodeling, is exposed near the entrance to the bath.

Access to the attic is through an enclosed two-flight stairway at the north end of the hall. The original stairway was of the winder variety and was entered through a door in the paneled chimney wall just to the left of the modern dividing wall.

Access to the wing was through a doorway, since sealed, adjacent to the fireplace in the northeast room of the first floor. Originally constructed as a one-room kitchen with servants' quarters above, the wing has been extensively altered and retains little of its eighteenth century character. The exterior door is a modern replacement and the three-light transom has been replaced by a wooden board. Aligned with the off-centre facade entrance is the original exterior rear door-a Dutch door with leaves 42 inches long and 38 inches high. Each leaf is supported by two 41 1/2 inch iron strap hinges. The upper leaf is glazed with two panes, the lower leaf is articulated with two wooden panels. Also, original is the box lock. Also hidden from view by the addition is an original six-over-six window. An enclosed staircase, just to the left of the entrance, leads to the upper floor. The six-panel door opening to the stairway seems to be original; however, the hardware is replacement. The upper floor space has been substantially modernized, but retains random width pine flooring and exposed floor joists. A winding stair leads abruptly to the attic space.

FORM AS SUBMITTED TO OAHP

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Glynrich

None of the original ancillary buildings, which included a large frame barn, a large frame stable, numerous wooden sheds and a slaughterhouse, survive. An asphalt driveway leads from Maryland Avenue to the front of the main house, circles a clump of conifer trees and low shrubs, then divides; one lane proceeding west to Race Street and one lane proceeding northeast.

FORM AS SUBMITTED TO O.A.H.P.

06/20/2002 DE STATE HIST PRESERVATION OFFICE

8 SIGNIFICANCE

PERIOD	AREAS OF SIGNIFICANCE -- CHECK AND JUSTIFY BELOW				
__PREHISTORIC	__ARCHEOLOGY-PREHISTORIC	__COMMUNITY PLANNING	__LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE	__RELIGION	
__1400-1499	__ARCHEOLOGY-HISTORIC	__CONSERVATION	__LAW	__SCIENCE	
__1500-1599	__AGRICULTURE	__ECONOMICS	__LITERATURE	__SCULPTURE	
__1600-1699	X ARCHITECTURE	__EDUCATION	__MILITARY	__SOCIAL/HUMANITARIAN	
X 1700-1799	__ART	__ENGINEERING	__MUSIC	__THEATER	
__1800-1899	__COMMERCE	__EXPLORATION/SETTLEMENT	__PHILOSOPHY	__TRANSPORTATION	
__1900-	__COMMUNICATIONS	__INDUSTRY	__POLITICS/GOVERNMENT	__OTHER (SPECIFY)	
		__INVENTION			

SPECIFIC DATES

BUILDER/ARCHITECT

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

The Richard Richardson House and the adjacent Brick Mill House, collectively known as Glynrich, are the only extant, tangible links to the extensive milling activities on the Mill Creek in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In addition, Glynrich is a physical reminder of the pervasive influence of the Richardson family, whose accumulated landholdings spawned four of the first modern suburban communities--Glynrich, Richardson Park, Ashley and Elmhurst--in this part of New Castle County. Architecturally, Glynrich is significant as it illustrates the shift in domestic architectural styles during the course of the eighteenth century. The Brick Mill House with its unusually fine brickwork and hall-and-parlor plan is indicative of the small scale vernacular architecture of the first half of the eighteenth century. The Richard Richardson House, with its stone walls, vigorous contrasting trim and symmetrical, five-part, center-hall plan represents one of the first examples in New Castle County of the shift, consonant with regional idiom, to the strict formal values of the Georgian mode in the second half of the eighteenth century.

On September 1, 1669, Governor Francis Lovelance confirmed the patent to a tract of land, of about one thousand two hundred acres on the Christina River, to Andries Andriessen, Seneca Broer, and Gysbert Wallraven. Included in this original land grant was the lower part of Mill Creek, then navigable for small boats, a tributary to the Christina Creek and Delaware River and a natural source of water power.

By 1684, the proprietors of this tract entered into an agreement in which:

> There is layd out for a mill a certain tract of land situate, lying and being on ye south side of a branch of Christiana Creek, commonly called Little Falls Creek.

Comprising some eighteen acres, this mill land on the Mill Creek, or as it was sometimes known in the seventeenth century, the Little Falls Creek, was the first of extensive land acquisitions by John Richardson and his descendants. Soon after his arrival from England in the middle of the seventeenth century, John Richardson established himself in New Castle, Delaware. Richardson was a successful businessman, and active member of the Society of Friends, an elected member of the New Castle Court, and in 1697, an elected member of the Assembly of New Castle County.

Realizing the potential commercial and agricultural value of the lands along the Christina, he began acquiring property there in 1687, including one-third interest in the gristmill on Mill Creek, and by 1703 was a principal landowner. When John Richardson died in 1710, his son, John Richardson II, took over his father's extensive land holdings, houses, and numerous other assets. In 1723, he acquired full rights to the gristmill, and soon after erected a larger mill with overshot wheel on the same site.

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FHR-8-300A
(11/78)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
HERITAGE CONSERVATION AND RECREATION SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES INVENTORY -- NOMINATION FORM

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Glynrich

CONTINUATION SHEET ITEM NUMBER 8 PAGE 1

It was John Richardson II who built the Brick Mill House probably in 1723, after acquiring full rights to the mill. The exact date of construction has not been established; however, it was standing in 1752 because it is mentioned in Richardson's will of that year. The surviving fabric of this structure--the unusually fine brickwork, including glazed headers and segmental arches on the first floor windows of the facade, the sense of verticality created by the raised basement, the interior proportions and the severely plain woodwork--suggests a much earlier construction date. The Brick Mill House is the oldest domestic structure in the Richardson Park area, is among the earliest in rural New Castle County, and is an outstanding example of small scale vernacular architecture of the first half of the eighteenth century.

John Richardson II had greatly expanded the family fortune with the income from, not only the gristmill, but also from foreign trade. His brigantines "Sally" and "Fox" and his sloop "Lark" sailed from his wharves and storehouses on the Christina laden with grain, lumber, staves and flour, and returned with cargoes of sugar, molasses, rum and salt. From his farmlands and orchards, and other investments he substantially increased his wealth.

When he died in 1755, a very rich man, his estate consisted of six hundred to eight hundred acres of land, farm and dwelling houses, a mill, a shipping business, and other assets including considerable cash balances.

The mill property was inherited by his son Richard. Richard Richardson chose the Brick Mill House as his residence, which he shared with his sister, Jane, until 1766 when she married Dr. John McKinley--later to become the first President, or chief governmental executive, of Delaware.

In 1765, ten years after the death of his father, Richard Richardson built the large stone house on a hill overlooking the Newport Pike, separated from the mill and the Brick Mill House by an expanse of sloping yard. One year later he moved into the house with his new bride, Sarah Tatnall, daughter of the prosperous Brandywine miller, Edward Tatnall.

When completed, this house was not only unsurpassed by any other local structure in its size and appointments, but it was also one of the first houses in New Castle County to be erected in the Georgian mode with a double file of rooms separated by a central hall and with five symmetrically placed openings on the facade.

Utilizing the rich materials of the Delaware Valley--granite, clay and lime--an architecture of stone, partly influenced by the rigorous simplicity of Quaker life, evolved as a distinct architectural style in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. By the middle of the eighteenth century, increasing wealth and a relaxed Quaker austerity produced a more refined and elegant architecture.

FORM AS SUBMITTED TO O.A.H.P.

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Glynrich

The Richard Richardson house emerges as an outstanding example of what has been termed "Quaker Georgian" architecture--Georgian in expression; yet reduced to functional simplicity. The wood trim--frontispiece entrance and window frames, paneled shutters with sturdy hardware, and a bold modillion cornice were painted a light color to offset the severity of the dark grey stone, which was quarried on the property. Paneled exterior window shutters on both floors is an unusual feature. The very fine interior woodwork of walnut, taken from trees on the property, though typically Georgian and no doubt derived from one of the numerous architectural guidebooks of the period, is remarkably restrained and suggestive of an earlier date. The Richardson House stands as an excellent example of a regional variant of something nearly approaching a national style.

In 1777, Continental troops stationed to hinder the British advance from the head of the Elk in Maryland, were camped on ground adjacent to the mill. Some of the soldiers as a prank "threw chunks of fat pork from the rations into the eye of the millstone saying that 'the mill wanted grease,' which, of course spoiled the meal." It was not until Richardson offered the commanding officer a bed in his house that the troops ceased "their further tormenting the pacifist and his family." In 1785, Richardson abandoned the old mill and erected a stone gristmill above the Mill Creek. He also added a sawmill near the site of the former gristmill.

Richard Richardson died in 1797, but generations of Richardsons lived in the house and operated the mills until 1887, when the ancestral property, including the Richardson House and Brick Mill House, was purchased by Henry C. Conrad of Wilmington. Conrad was a prominent lawyer, who held a number of public offices, including City Solicitor of Wilmington, Postmaster, Associate Judge of the State Supreme Court, and in 1924 was named State Archivist. In addition he was president of the Historical Society of Delaware for four years and was author of a three-volume history of Delaware. It was Conrad who added the five-bay Georgian Revival porch to the mansion facade around 1900, and it was he who christened the property "Glynrich." Conrad lived here until July 30, 1906, when it was sold to John W. Townsend, who in turn sold it to August J. Beste on March 31, 1913. Beste was responsible for many of the alterations to the Richard Richardson House, including the oversized dormers, added as a result of a July 4, 1929, fire, which destroyed the original roof. From Beste it passed into the possession of the present owner.

The Brick Mill House returned briefly to the Richardson family in 1905, but was again acquired by Henry C. Conrad in 1908 and subsequently sold to William D. Sinclair in 1910. In 1924, it passed from the Sinclair family to August J. Beste from whom it passed to the present owner.

FORM AS SUBMITTED TO OAHP

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OTHER WORKS BY THE AUTHOR

Delaware's Forgotten Folk, 1943

Delaware's Buried Past, 1944

Delaware's Forgotten River, 1947

The Nanticoke Indians, 1948

Brandywine Spring, 1949

Indian Place-Names in Delaware, 1950
(in collaboration with A. R. DUNLAP)

Red Men On The Brandywine, 1953

THE RICHARDSONS of DELAWARE

With the Early History of the Richardson Park Suburban Area

By

C. A. WESLAGER

Illustrated by

Walter Stewart

The Knebels Press

Wilmington, Del.

1957

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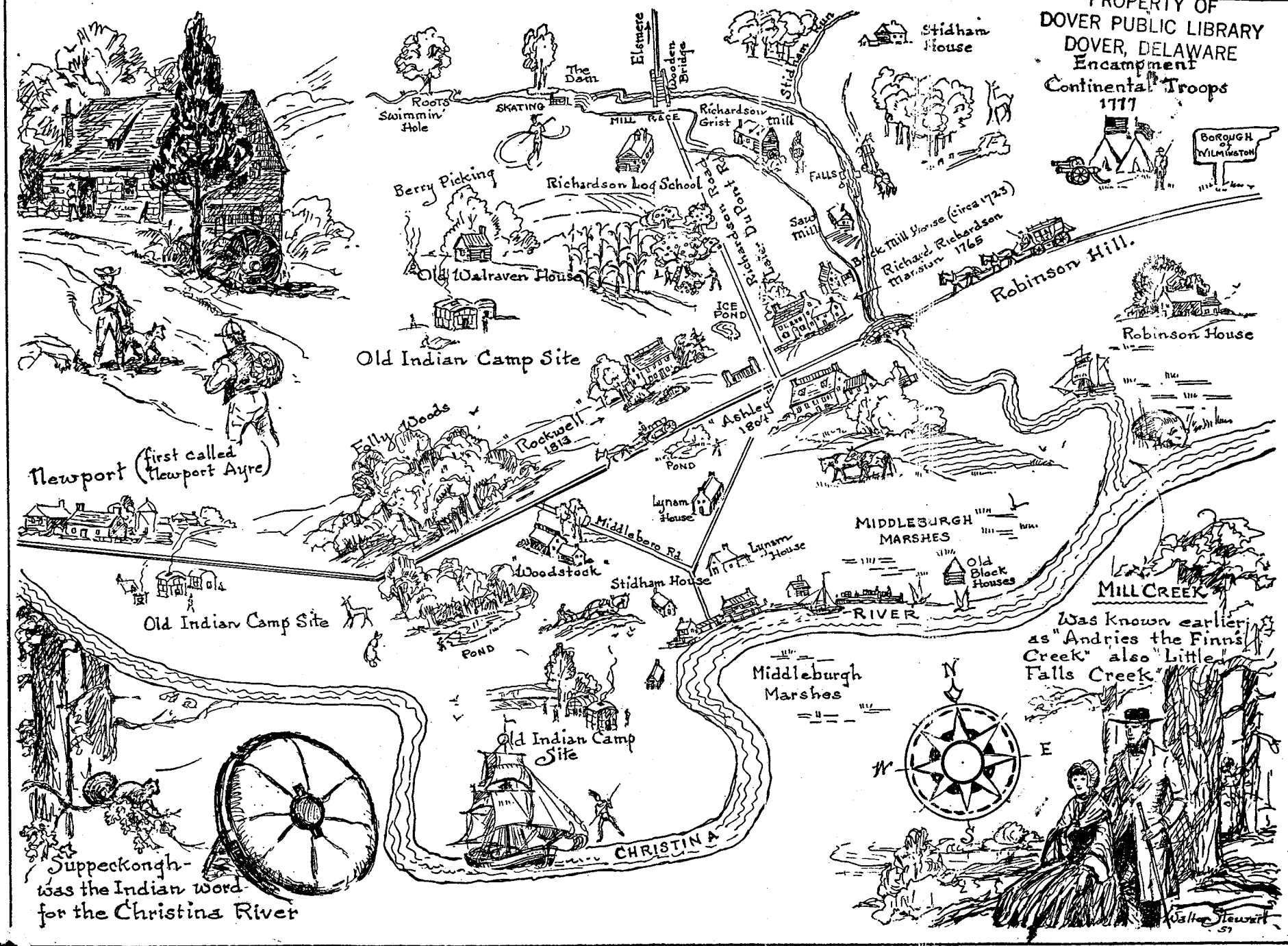

Resource 7

Name: Cooch's Bridge Monument

Location: 961 Old Baltimore Pike
Newark, Delaware

Historical significance: Cooch's Bridge Monument commemorates the Battle of Cooch's Bridge of 3 September 1777, the only Revolutionary War battle fought on Delaware soil.

Recommendation: The site is not marked in relation to the W3R. Proper identification of the site could be undertaken by the State of Delaware, the county or a local historical society, or a fraternal community group such as the DAR, SAR, Society of the Cincinnati, or by the Souvenir Français.

Sources: Edward W. Cooch, *The Battle of Cooch's Bridge* (Cooch's Bridge, 1940). *Proceedings at the Unveiling of the Monument at Cooch's Bridge, Tuesday afternoon, September 3rd, 1901* (Wilmington, 1902).

The map drawn by George Washington's cartographer Simeon DeWitt in August 1781 for the march of the through Delaware clearly identifies Cooch's Bridge as an important landmark. *Erskine-DeWitt Maps*, New York Historical Society, call number 124 B.

The series of route maps drawn by Louis-Alexandre Berthier and reproduced in Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, Vol. 2, Map 60, also identifies Cooch's Bridge.

It is also clearly identified on Map 54 of Christopher Colles, *A Survey of the Roads of the United States of America 1789*. Walter W. Ristow, ed., (Cambridge, 1961), p. 171.

It is also identified as a landmark in 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 7, though Moore and Jones called it "Gouches Mill."

Note: In the spring of 2003, Mr. Edward W. (Ned) Cooch sold to the State of Delaware the land and development rights for about 200 acres of land on the site of the Battle of Cooch's Bridge. This provides for the conservation of the only Revolutionary War battlefield in the state. At the same time the family created a $1.5 million fund for the maintenance and renovation of the Cooch-Dyatt Mills. The property had been in the family since Thomas Cooch immigrated from England in 1747.

RESOURCE 7

Name: Cooch's Bridge Monument

Location: 961 Old Baltimore Pike
Newark, Delaware

THEME: War for Independence

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)

STATE: Delaware
COUNTY: New Castle
FOR NPS USE ONLY
ENTRY NUMBER | DATE

1. NAME

COMMON: Cooch's Bridge Battlefield
AND/OR HISTORIC:

2. LOCATION

STREET AND NUMBER: Old Batlimore Pike, 1 mile east of State Route 896
CITY OR TOWN: Coochs Bridge
STATE: Delaware | CODE | COUNTY: New Castle | CODE

3. CLASSIFICATION

CATEGORY (Check One)	OWNERSHIP		STATUS	ACCESSIBLE TO THE PUBLIC
☐ District ☐ Building ☒ Site ☐ Structure ☐ Object	☐ Public ☒ Private ☐ Both	Public Acquisition ☐ In Process ☐ Being Considered	☒ 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)	
☐ Educational	☐ Military	☐ Religious		
☐ Entertainment	☐ Museum	☐ Scientific		

4. OWNER OF PROPERTY

OWNER'S NAME: Mr. Edward W. Cooch, Jr. (part of battlefield)
STREET AND NUMBER: 961 Old Baltimore Pike
CITY OR TOWN: Newark | STATE: Delaware 19711 | CODE

5. LOCATION OF LEGAL DESCRIPTION

COURTHOUSE, REGISTRY OF DEEDS, ETC: Courthouse
STREET AND NUMBER:
CITY OR TOWN: Wilmington | STATE: Delaware | CODE

6. REPRESENTATION IN EXISTING SURVEYS

TITLE OF SURVEY: Historical American Buildings Survey (Cooch House, 2 photos)
DATE OF SURVEY: 1936 | X Federal | State | County | Local
DEPOSITORY FOR SURVEY RECORDS: Division of Prints and Photographs, Library of Congress
CITY OR TOWN: Washington | D.C.

SEE INSTRUCTIONS

STATE | COUNTY | ENTRY NUMBER | FOR NPS USE

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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)* September 3, 1777

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

Aboriginal	☐ Education	☐ Political	☐ Urban Planning
☐ Prehistoric	☐ Engineering	☐ Religion/Phi-	☐ Other *(Specify)*
☐ Historic	☐ Industry	losophy	_____
☐ Agriculture	☐ Invention	☐ Science	_____
☐ Architecture	☐ Landscape	☐ Sculpture	_____
☐ Art	Architecture	☐ Social/Human-	_____
☐ Commerce	☐ Literature	itarian	_____
☐ Communications	☒ Military	☐ Theater	_____
☐ Conservation	☐ Music	☐ Transportation	_____

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

SEE INSTRUCTIONS

The only Revolutionary War engagement fought on Delaware soil was the skirmish or so-called battle of Cooch's Bridge, near the village of Newark, Delaware, on September 3, 1777. Advancing in the campaign to capture Philadelphia, the British army in a sharp skirmish here drove off American troops that were endeavoring to impede their advance. The British victory here, however, had no important effect on the campaign that led to the Battle of Brandywine and the British capture of Philadelphia. Still largely farmland, the battlefield has not greatly changed since 1777.

History

To provide a corps of light infantry for his army, Washington had 100 good soldiers selected from each of his six Continental brigades at the end of August 1777 and placed under the command of Brigadier General William Maxwell of New Jersey. With the officers included, this new corps numbered 720 men. They were to be "constantly near the Enemy and to give them every possible annoyance." Maxwell posted his corps in the neighborhood of Cooch's Bridge and Iron Hill on the upper waters of the Christina River in Delaware. On September 2 Washington warned Maxwell of the intention of the enemy to march next day and asked him "to be prepared to give them as much trouble as you possibly can."

On August 25, 1777 the British Army, 18,000 strong and led by Sir William Howe, landed near the Head of Elk, in Maryland, about 70 miles southwest of Philadelphia. On September 3 the British began their advance in two grand divisions, one commanded by Lord Cornwallis and the other by the Hessian general, Wilhelm von Knyphausen. At daybreak on September 3, Cornwallis, accompanied by Howe, took "the lower road to Christeen (Christiana) by way of Rikin's [Aiken's] Tavern in order to avoid Iron Hill. They had expected to join Knyphausen at the tavern (now the village of Glasgow, Delaware) "but did not perceive them." They pushed on through a "close" country, "the woods within shot of the road

06/18/2002 DE STATE HIST PRESERVATION OFFICE

8. Significance - continued

frequently in front and flank and in projecting points towards the Road."

Along this narrow road about nine o'clock in the morning the van of Cornwallis' column--Hessian and Anspach jagers, under Lieutenant Colonel Ludwig von Wurmb, followed by British light infantry with two small field pieces,-- was cautiously making its way when it met a sudden fire from Maxwell's men posted among the trees by the roadside. Wurmb formed his men, and there was a hot fire from both sides. The fieldpieces were brought into play; a detachment of Hessians shifted to the woods and attacked Maxwell's right flank; Wurmb charged with the bayonet. The Americans retreated up the road, took a new position under cover, and renewed their fire. Again they were driven back to another stand. The British light infantry entered the engagement; the Americans again retreated, keeping up a running fight. At one point "a body of Riflemen formed a kind of Ambuscade" and gave the British "several close, well-directed Fires." An attempt at getting into the American rear failed because "an impassable swamp" intervened, "which presented this spirited, little affair becoming so descisive" as it might have been. But Maxwell's men were now pretty well disorganized. Their retreat became a flight. They were pursued for some distance, but finally made their way to the main army on the White Clay Creek. The casualties were perhaps 30 or 40 killed on the American side and about as many killed or wounded on the British.

Knyphausen's column came up to Aiken's Tavern (Glasgow) just as this battle ended, and both columns encamped on a line extending from Glasgow on the south, north to Cooch's Bridge and then west to Iron Hill. The British Army occupied this position from September 3 until the morning of September 8, 1777, when they filed off to the left, through Newark, Delaware, and three days later defeated Washington in the Battle of Brandywine, just over the Delaware boundary line in Pennsylvania. On September 13, in a surprise raid, the British also captured Wilmington, Delaware, and Dr. John McKinly, President of Delaware.

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7. DESCRIPTION

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

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

The general area of the battle is probably more open now than it was in 1777. Most of the area, however, is still farmland so that battlefield is not greatly altered. On the west bank of the Christina River, just north of the bridge at Cooch's Bridge, stands the Cooch House. Built in 1760, this brick structure was occupied from September 3 to 8 by Cornwallis as his headquarters. Originally two-stories, a third story was added in 1865. Also added in the 19th century is the Greek Revival portico and exterior brick walls which were covered with stucco. At the entrance to the Cooch House estate is a large stone monument with several cannon commemorating the Battle of Cooch's Bridge.

The Cooch House is used as a private residence and is not open to visitors.

SEE INSTRUCTIONS

(1)

06/19/2002 DE STATE HIST PRESERVATION OFFICE

Form 10-300a
(July 1969)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

STATE	
Delaware	
COUNTY	
New Castle	
FOR NPS USE ONLY	
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

Cooch's Bridge Battlefield (Continuation Sheet)

(Number all entries)

Boundaries of Cooch's Bridge Battlefield Site:

Approximately 1,500 acres, including the site where the battle of Cooch's Bridge was fought on September 3, 1777, and the Cooch House, beginning at the northeast corner at latitude 39° 38' 35" - longitude 75° 45' 42", then going southeast about 7,600 feet to the southeast corner at latitude 39° 37' 21" - longitude 75° 43' 31", hence proceeding west about 9,800 feet to the southwest corner at latitude 39° 37' 17" - longitude 75° 45' 34", then continuing northwest 8,200 feet to the northwest corner at latitude 39° 38' 35" - longitude 75° 45' 42", hence going east about 9,200 feet to the point of beginning, the northeast corner.

Precise boundaries, as described above, are on record on a copy of U.S. Geological Survey Maps:

Newark West Quadrangle, Maryland-Delaware-Pennsylvania (1953), Elkton Quadrangle, Maryland-Delaware (1953), Newark East and Saint Georges Quadrangles, Delaware-New Castle County (1953), 7.5 Minute Series, on file with the Historic Sites Survey, Division of History, Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, National Park Service.

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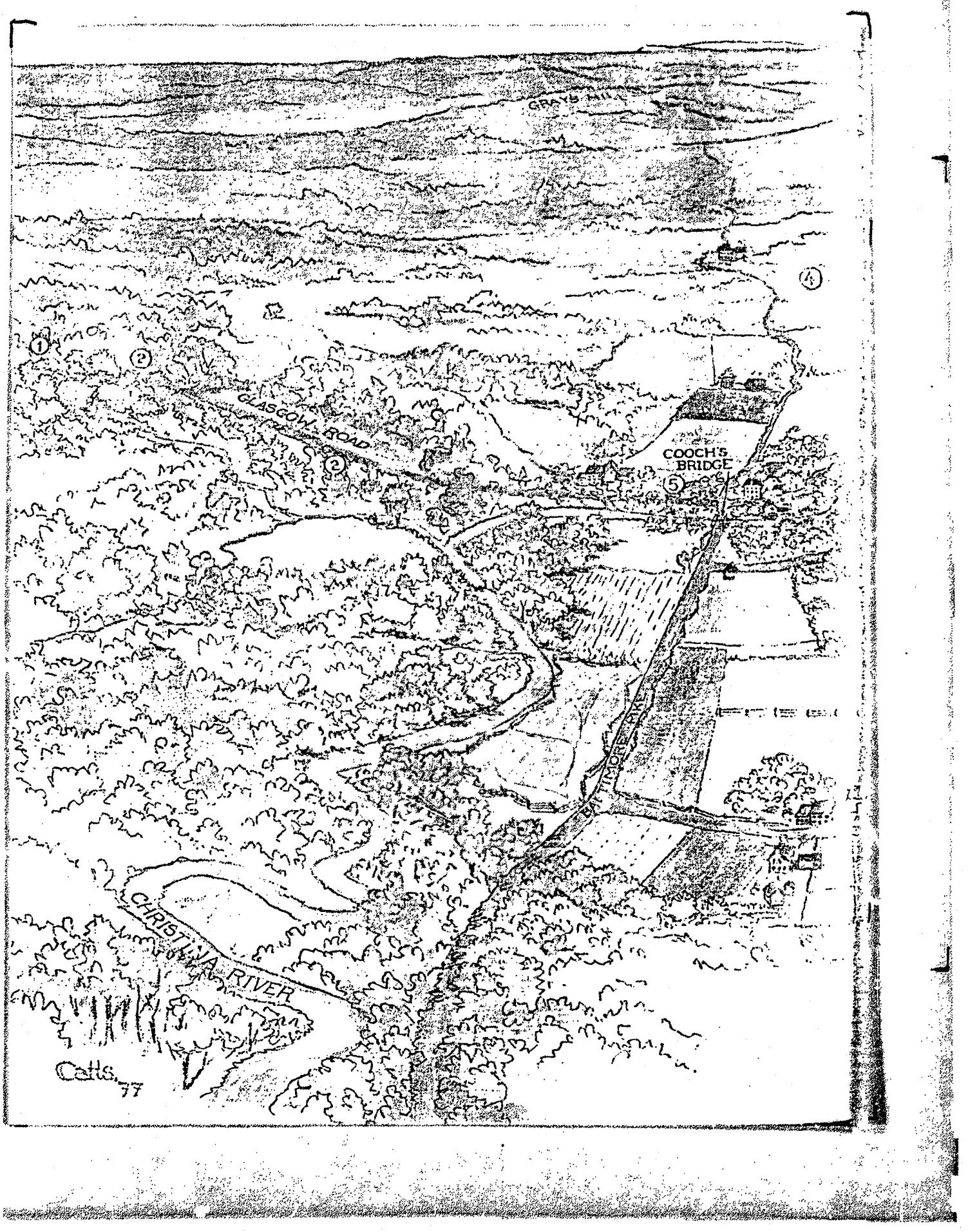

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Resource 8

Name: Thomas Cooch House

Location: 961 Old Baltimore Pike
Newark, Delaware

Historical significance: The Thomas Cooch House stands on the site of the Battle of Cooch's Bridge of 3 September 1777, the only Revolutionary War battle fought on Delaware soil. It is one of the most important revolutionary War sites in the state.

Recommendation: The site is not marked in relation to the W3R. Proper identification of the site could be undertaken by the State of Delaware, the county or a local historical society, or a fraternal community group such as the DAR, SAR, Society of the Cincinnati, or by the Souvenir Français.

Sources: Edward W. Cooch, *The Battle of Cooch's Bridge* (Cooch's Bridge, 1940). *Proceedings at the Unveiling of the Monument at Cooch's Bridge, Tuesday afternoon, September 3rd, 1901* (Wilmington, 1902).

The map drawn by George Washington's cartographer Simeon DeWitt in August 1781 for the march of the through Delaware clearly identifies Cooch's Bridge as an important landmark. *Erskine-DeWitt Maps*, New York Historical Society, call number 124 B.

The series of route maps drawn by Louis-Alexandre Berthier and reproduced in Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, Vol. 2, Map 60, also identifies Cooch's Bridge.

It is also clearly identified on Map 54 of Christopher Colles, *A Survey of the Roads of the United States of America 1789*. Walter W. Ristow, ed., (Cambridge, 1961), p. 171.

It is also identified as a landmark in 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 7, though Moore and Jones called it "Gouches Mill."

Note: In the spring of 2003, Mr. Edward W. (Ned) Cooch sold to the State of Delaware the land and development rights for about 200 acres of land on the site of the Battle of Cooch's Bridge. This provides for the conservation of the only Revolutionary War battlefield in the state. At the same time the family created a $1.5 million fund for the maintenance and renovation of the Cooch-Dyatt Mills. The property had been in the family since Thomas Cooch immigrated from England in 1747.

RESOURCE 8

Name: Thomas Cooch House

Location: 961 Old Baltimore Pike
Newark, Delaware

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)

STATE: Delaware
COUNTY: New Castle
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ENTRY NUMBER | DATE

SEE INSTRUCTIONS

1. NAME

COMMON: Cooch's Bridge Historic District

AND/OR HISTORIC: Cooch House, Dayett House and Mill, Armstrong House

2. LOCATION

STREET AND NUMBER: Old Baltimore Turnpike

CITY OR TOWN: (Cooch's Bridge) Newark

STATE	CODE	COUNTY	CODE
Delaware	10	New Castle	003

3. CLASSIFICATION

CATEGORY (Check One)	OWNERSHIP		STATUS	ACCESSIBLE TO THE PUBLIC
☑ District ☐ Building ☐ Site ☐ Structure ☐ Object	☐ Public ☐ Private ☒ Both	Public Acquisition: ☐ In Process ☐ Being Considered	☒ 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)	
☐ Educational	☐ Military	☐ Religious		
☐ Entertainment	☐ Museum	☐ Scientific		

4. OWNER OF PROPERTY

OWNER'S NAME: Edward W. Cooch, Dayett Mills, Inc., and others

STREET AND NUMBER: Old Baltimore Turnpike

CITY OR TOWN	STATE	CODE
Newark	Delaware	10

5. LOCATION OF LEGAL DESCRIPTION

COURTHOUSE, REGISTRY OF DEEDS, ETC: The Public Building

STREET AND NUMBER: Rodney Square

CITY OR TOWN	STATE	CODE
Wilmington	Delaware	10

6. REPRESENTATION IN EXISTING SURVEYS

TITLE OF SURVEY: Historic American Buildings Survey, No. Del-57

DATE OF SURVEY: 1937 ☒ Federal ☐ State ☐ County ☐ Local

DEPOSITORY FOR SURVEY RECORDS: Library of Congress

STREET AND NUMBER:

CITY OR TOWN	STATE	CODE
Washington, D.C.		

STATE: | COUNTY: | FOR NPS USE ONLY: ENTRY NUMBER | DATE

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7. DESCRIPTION

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

DESCRIBE THE PRESENT AND ORIGINAL (If known) PHYSICAL APPEARANCE

The complex of historic structures and sites around Cooch's Bridge includes the houses, mills, dams, and sites associated with more than two and a half centuries of industrial development. The industrial sites here, and the roads that served them, undoubtedly were important in Washington's decision to fight a holding action on the Christina during September of 1777.

The historic site stretches from William Cooch's upper dam to the tailrace of Dayett's Mill, and includes the sites of the first Cooch mill and of Sir William Keith's abortive ironmaking venture. William Cooch's mill of 1791, and the pre-Revolutionary Cooch mansion still stand in a much-altered condition. A raceway from the dams on the Christina and on Purgatory Swamp still provides the power for Dayett's Mill. The Dayett House, and the Armstrong House on the opposite bank of the Christina, are both nineteenth-century residences built by members of the Cooch family. On a line roughly between the Armstrong and Dayett houses, the old ford crosses the Christina; here the American troops made their stand as the British advanced up the road from Aiken's Tavern.

The Cooch House, in its present form, is a stuccoed brick structure, 2½ stories high with a low gable roof and a full-width portico. The Armstrong House, to the south, is a stuccoed brick Greek Revival structure with a small portico on the east frontage. The Dayett House, also of stuccoed brick, features a mansard roof and a recently-added portico. The Dayett Mill is 3½ stories high, of brick, with a mansard roof; it contains roller-mill machinery that

SEE INSTRUCTIONS

07/18/2002 DE STATE HIST PRESERVATION OFFICE

Form 10-300a
(July 1969)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

(Continuation Sheet)

STATE	
Delaware	
COUNTY	
New Castle	
FOR NPS USE ONLY	
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

(Number all entries)

7. DESCRIPTION (continued)---

can be operated by water or electricity. A railroad siding serves the mill. The foundations of the William Cooch mill are now surmounted by a modern barn. Thomas Cooch's mill site may be discerned as a depression in the meadow. The earlier mill dam, which may have served William Keith's abortive iron works, may be seen as an earthen bank near the Purgatory Swamp dam.

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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

Cooch's Bridge is the site of the third iron furnace erected in British America, and of the only Revolutionary battle fought on Delaware soil.

The land around Cooch's Bridge was near the eastern boundary of the Welsh Tract, a 30,000-acre grant to a group of Welsh immigrants who settled in western New Castle County during the first decade of the eighteenth century. Some of these settlers were millwrights, millers, and ironworkers who soon established mills and forges along the branches of the several creeks in the vicinity. Of these creeks, the Christina offered the best head of water for industry; since it flowed through the ore-rich Iron Hill region, the Christina was an ideal power source for ironworking. At least two blast furnaces were established at the foot of Iron Hill, and several forges are known to have operated nearby.

Sir William Keith, the Governor of Pennsylvania and The Three Lower Counties began buying land on the Christina in 1722, with the intention of establishing an iron plantation to be known as Keithsborough. There were already dams and mills on the land he bought; there may have been bloomery forges in operation on the property as well. Keith gave up his plan for an iron plantation in 1726, when he sold the mill seats to John England, the iron master at Principio in Maryland, who had

SEE INSTRUCTIONS

07/18/2002 DE STATE HIST PRESERVATION OFFICE

Form 10-300a
(July 1969)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

(Continuation Sheet)

STATE	
Delaware	
COUNTY	
New Castle	
FOR NPS USE ONLY	
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

(Number all entries)

8 STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE (Continued)-1

recently emigrated from Tamworth, Staffordshire. England and his heirs owned the property until the, sold it, in several parcels, to Thomas Cooch a few years before the American Revolution.

By the time Thomas Cooch arrived on the scene, iron manufacture at Iron Hill had virtually ceased; Cooch was a miller who bought up the better mill seats for development. He was an agressive businessman who chose the best properties and worked at every aspect of their development. On the eve of the Revolution, he had persuaded the County Court to rebuild the bridge at his mill, but the war interrupted his plans and left his mill and bridge in ashes.

After the British army landed on the Elk River in August 1777, General Washington sent a body of picked troops to fight a holding action at Cooch's Bridge while his army entrenched along Red Clay Creek near Stanton. On September 3, 1777, Howe left Head of Elk and Knyphausen moved from Buck Tavern(now Summit) with plans to meet at Aiken's Tavern (Glasgow), near the Continental position, and march on from there. The first shot was fired about a half-mile north of Aiken's and skirmishing continued for two miles beyond Cooch's Bridge as the American forces retreated. A letter from General van Wurmb to General von Jungkenn relates the heroic stand that took place.

> After the enemy had shot themselves out of ammunition the fight was carried on with the sword, they being finally put to flight. But they immediately made a stand again, and we drove them away a second time, when they took post beyond Christeen Creek at Cooch's Bridge.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
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8. SIGNIFICANCE (continued)--- page 2

The British tried to cut off the American retreat; had it not been for their inability to penetrate Purgatory Swamp, they might have succeeded.

It has been claimed that the Stars and Stripes were first unfurled in battle here. The flag had been adopted by Congress, June 14, 1777, and was carried in a parade in Philadelphia in August; however, the militia were still using state or regimental banners. The troops at Cooch's Bridge were a special light infantry brigade drawn from seventy regiments. Since colors are important in a battle, and since only the national flag would be meaningful to all of the regiment it is possible that it was carried.

During the battle, the British burned Cooch's Mill and took possession of his house, as a headquarters for General Cornwallis. The grist mill was not rebuilt until the property passed to Thomas Cooch's grandson, William, in 1791. This mill, just east of the bridge is still extant. In 1838, William Cooch, Jr. inherited the property from his father and built a new mill farther downstream. Around the time of the Civil War, the Cooch mansion was rebuilt in its present form. The land passed in 1870 to Levi Cooch, who conveyed it to Joseph and William Cooch in the same year. Their mill company, known as the Cooch Brothers, used the 3½-story brick building which still stands. It was run entirely by water power from the Christiana until it was remodeled in 1884. John W. Dayett bought Cooch's Mill in 1894 and added all the latest improvements. Twice gutted by fire, in 1916 and 1933, the Dayett Mill was restored each time and is still in operation,

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8. SIGNIFICANCE (continued)--- page 3

still using water power from William Cooch's 1792 dam on the Christina and from a smaller dam on Purgatory Swamp.

The Cooch Mansion is still in the possession of the Cooch family.

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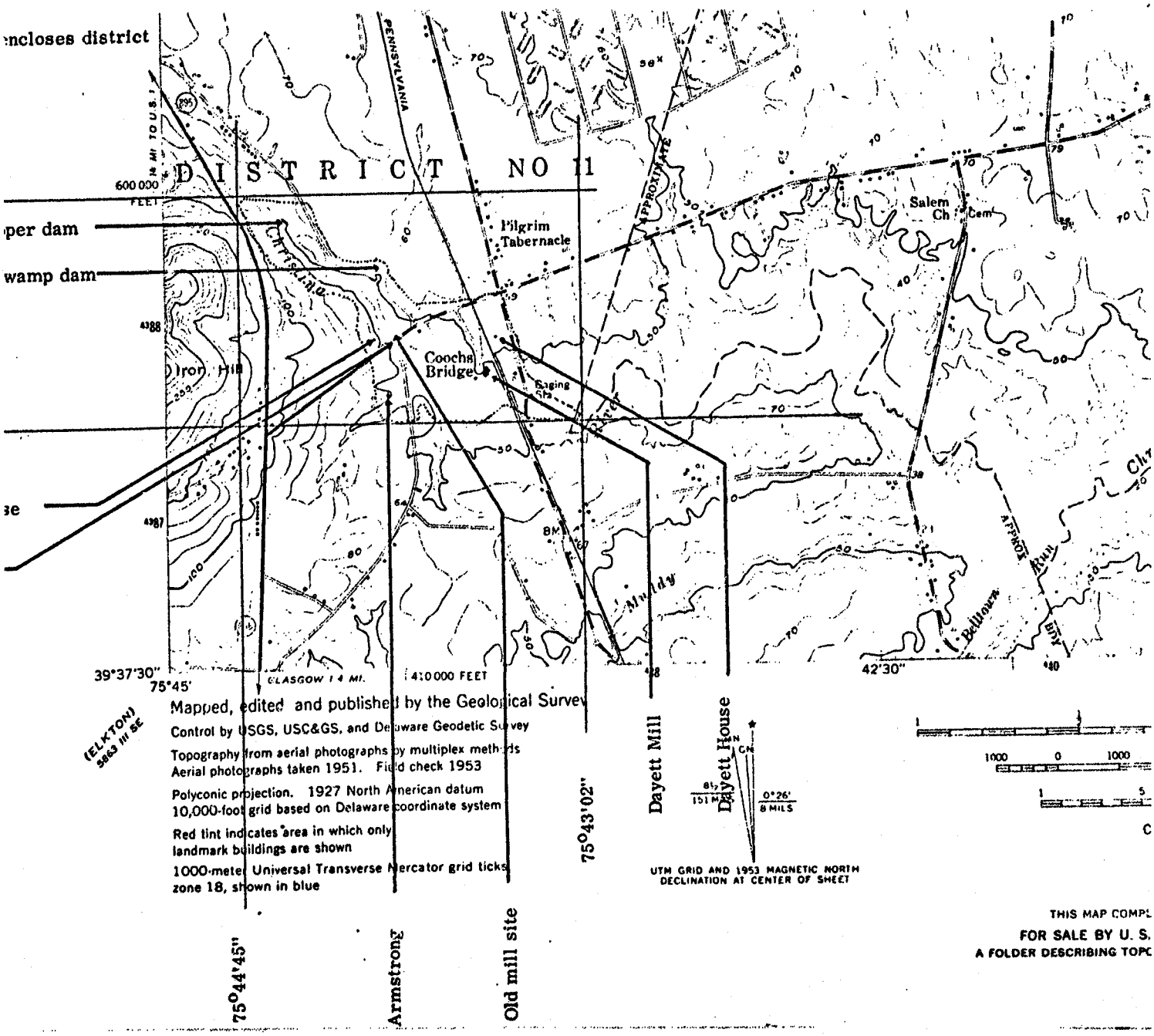

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9. MAJOR BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES

Cooch, Edward W. The Battle of Cooch's Bridge. Cooch's Bridge (Del.): Author, 1940.

Scharf, J. Thomas. History of Delaware, 1609-1888. 2 vol. Philadelphia: L.J. Richards & Co., 1888.

Biographical and Geneological History of the State of Delaware. Chambersburg (Pa.): J.M. Runk & Co., 1899.

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 °	38 '	48"	75 °	44 '	45"		°	'	"	°	'	"
NE	39 °	38 '	48"	75 °	43 '	02"							
SE	39 °	38 '	10"	75 °	43 '	02"							
SW	39 °	38 '	10"	75 °	44 '	45"							

APPROXIMATE ACREAGE OF NOMINATED PROPERTY: 200

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

11. FORM PREPARED BY

NAME AND TITLE:
Edward F. Heite, Joan M. Norton and Rosemary Troy

ORGANIZATION	DATE
Division of Historical and Cultural Affairs	10/17/72

STREET AND NUMBER:
Hall of Records

CITY OR TOWN:	STATE	CODE
Dover	Delaware	10

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 E. Berkeley Tompkins
Dr. E. Berkeley Tompkins

Title Director, Div. of Historical and Cultural Affairs

Date Nov. 27, 1972

NATIONAL REGISTER VERIFICATION

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

Chief, Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation

Date

ATTEST:

Keeper of The National Register

Date

SEE INSTRUCTIONS

07/18/2002 DE STATE HIST PRESERVATION OFFICE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
PROPERTY PHOTOGRAPH FORM

(Type all entries - attach to or enclose with photograph)

STATE	
Delaware	
COUNTY	
New Castle	
FOR NPS USE ONLY	
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

SEE INSTRUCTIONS

1. NAME
   - COMMON: Cooch's Bridge
   - AND/OR HISTORIC: Cooch House, Dayett House and Mill, Armstrong House
2. LOCATION
   - STREET AND NUMBER: Old Baltimore Turnpike
   - CITY OR TOWN: (Cooch's Bridge) Newark

STATE:	CODE	COUNTY:	CODE
Delaware	10	New Castle	003

3. PHOTO REFERENCE
   - PHOTO CREDIT: Graydon Wood
   - DATE OF PHOTO: June 1972
   - NEGATIVE FILED AT: Historic Registrar's Office, Hall of Records, Dover, Delaware
4. IDENTIFICATION
   - DESCRIBE VIEW, DIRECTION, ETC.

Dayett Mill, view from the south.

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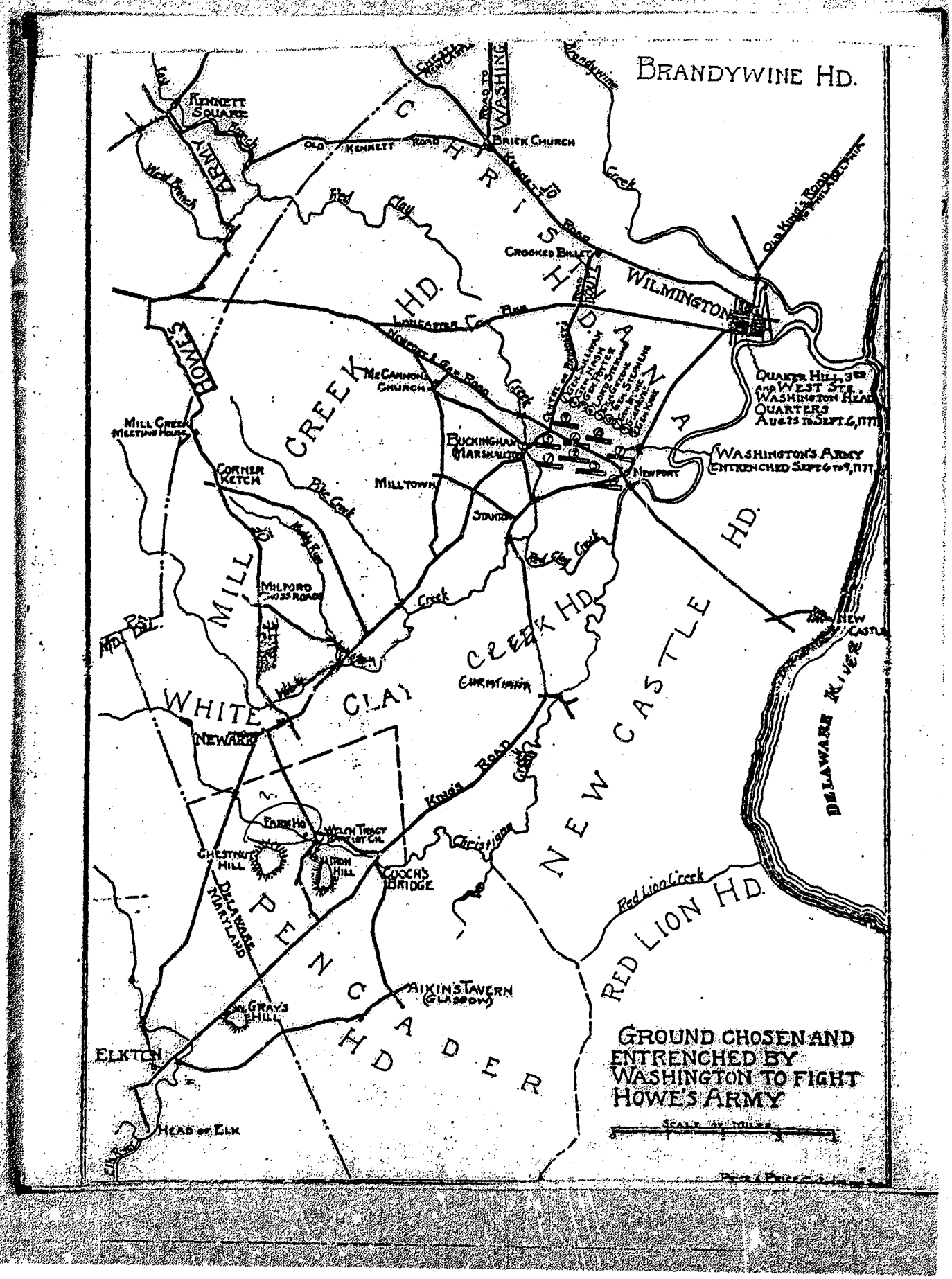
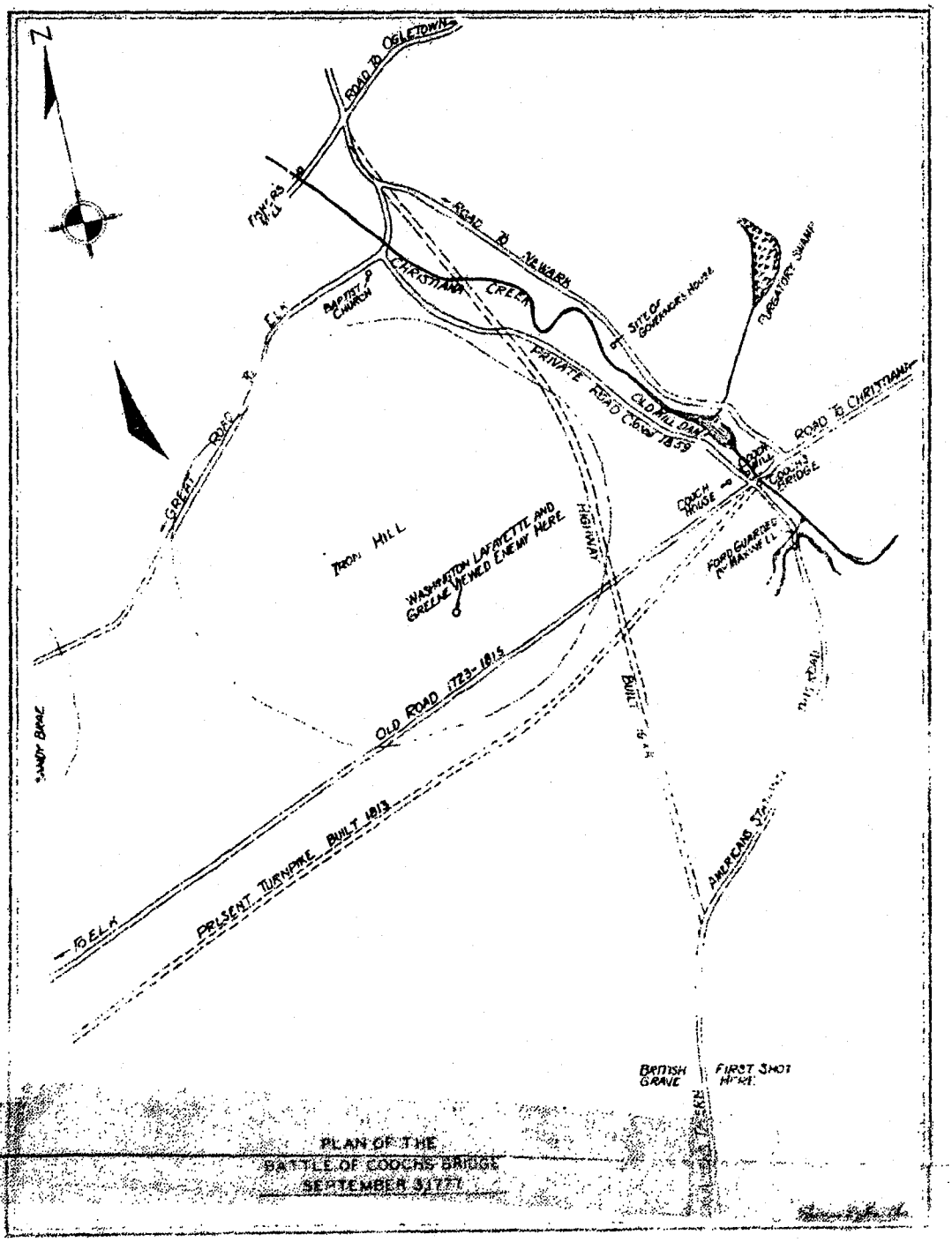


07/18/2002 DE STATE HIST PRESERVATION OFFICE



Plan of the battlefield at Cooch's Bridge. Present
as shown in dotted lines. Drawn by Thom[illegible]

07/18/2002 DE STATE HIST PRESERVATION OFFICE

HAER INVENTORY

1. NAME OF STRUCTURE	2. DATE	3. NATURE OF STRUCTURE	4. INDUSTRIAL CLASSIFICATION
Cooch's Mill	1792	Grist Mill	BULK: FOOD: [illegible]R (13.2

5. LOCATION- STREET & NUMBER: c. 1 mile east of the intersection of Old Baltimore Pike and 896, on the Pike
CITY OR TOWN: Newark COUNTY: Newcastle STATE: DE
6. USGS 7 1/2 QUAD & UTM GRID REF.: Newark E; 18.436970.4387930

7. OWNER OF PROPERTY: Cooch Family ADDRESS: Old Baltimore Pike Newark, DE 19711

8. CONDITION: EXCELLENT GOOD FAIR DETERIORATED X RUINS UNEXPOSED ALTERED ACCESSIBLE TO PUBLIC

9. DESCRIPTION & BACKGROUND HISTORY: NUMBER OF STRUCTURES; DIMENSIONS; FABRIC; STRUCTURE & FORM; SURVIVING MACHINERY, FITTINGS AND EQUIPMENT; APPROX. AREA OF SITE; ALTERATIONS; PRESENT USE; ENGINEER ARCHITECT DESIGNER; IMPORTANT EVENTS & INDIVIDUALS.

This mill was built by William Cooch, Sr., in 1792, downstream from the first Cooch mill. Destroyed by fire, it was rebuilt on the original foundation. It was replaced by the Dayett Mill. All that now remains of the original mill is the foundation upon which a barn has been since constructed. The date stone is clearly visible on the eastern wall.

This mill was powered by an overshot wheel, fed by the waters which now power Daytt Mill. The race is about 1 mile long.

10. PHOTOGRAPHS & SKETCH MAP ON REVERSE SIDE.

11. RELATED SOURCES OF INFORMATION: HISTORICAL REFERENCES (PUBLISHED ARTICLE) MANUSCRIPTS, REPORTS, DRAWINGS, PHOTOGRAPHIC RECORDS) CONTACTS (NAMES & ADDRESSES OF ANYONE WITH EYE-WITNESS ACCOUNTS OR RELEVANT INFORMATION); TAPE RECORDINGS.

James Richardson Owen and James Bishop Owen, A History of the Iron Hill Area, Newark, Delaware, Newark: Chamber of Commerce, 1972.

12. DANGER OF DEMOLITION OR DAMAGE YES X NO
NATURE OF THREAT:
13. PRIORITY: 4

14. EXISTING SURVEYS AND DATES: NHL X NR 4/11/73 HAER HABS X STATE N-190 X COUNTY X LOCAL X OTHER

15. INVENTORIED BY: YOUR NAME: Tommy C. Guider ADDRESS: 163 Elkton Rd, D-2 Newark, DE 19711 AFFILIATION: Hagley Museum DATE: June 1974

PLEASE RETURN TO THE HISTORIC AMERICAN ENGINEERING RECORD, NATIONAL PARK SERVICE, WASHINGTON, DC 20240

07/18/2002 DE STATE HIST PRESERVATION OFFICE

Resource 9

Name: Continental Army Camp 1b

Location: on the foot of Iron Hill along Old Baltimore Pike
Newark, Delaware

Historical significance: Coming from their camp in the Robinson Hill/Canby Park area, Continental Army troops on their way to Elkton encamped along Baltimore Pike on 5/6 September.

Recommendation: The site is not marked in relation to the W3R. Proper identification of the site could be undertaken by the State of Delaware, the county or a local historical society, or a fraternal community group such as the DAR, SAR, Society of the Cincinnati, or by the Souvenir Français.

RESOURCE 9

Name: Continental Army Camp 1b

Location: on the foot of Iron Hill along Old Baltimore Pike
Newark, Delaware

Resource 10

Name: Continental Army Landing Site/Camp 1c

Location: along Christiana Creek
Christiana, Delaware

Historical significance: Following the Christina River past Newport, the first units of the Continental Army arrived at Christiana Bridge around midnight on 2/3 September. Over the next few days, thousands more American troops landed to unload their equipment for portage to Elkton. The last troops departed in the morning of Sunday, 9 September 1781.

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." Richard Buel Jr. *In Irons. Britain's Naval Supremacy and the American Revolutionary Economy* (New Haven, 1998), p. 323, note 8.

Recommendation: The site is not marked in relation to the W3R. Proper identification of the site could be undertaken by the State of Delaware, the county or a local historical society, or a fraternal community group such as the DAR, SAR, Society of the Cincinnati, or by the Souvenir Français.

Sources: The map drawn by George Washington's cartographer Simeon DeWitt in August 1781 for the march of the through Delaware clearly identifies Christiana Bridge. *Erskine-DeWitt Maps*, New York Historical Society, call number 124 B.

The series of route maps drawn by Louis-Alexandre Berthier and reproduced in Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, Vol. 2, Map 60, also identifies Christiana Bridge.

It is also clearly identified on Map 54 of Christopher Colles, *A Survey of the Roads of the United States of America 1789*. Walter W. Ristow, ed., (Cambridge, 1961), p. 171.

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). Richard Rodney Cooch, *A History of Christiana, Delaware* (Christiana, 1976). C. A. Weslager, "Christina, Christeen, Christiana: A Delaware Connection." *Names* Vol. 39 No. 3, (1991), pp. 269-276.

Note: See also **Resource 24** and **Resource 25**.

RESOURCE 10

Name: Continental Army Landing Site/Camp 1c

Location: along Christiana Creek
Christiana, Delaware

Resource 11

Name: Christiana Historic District

Location: Christiana Historic District
Christiana, Delaware

Historical significance: Following the Christina River past Newport, the first units of the Continental Army arrived at Christiana Bridge around midnight on 2/3 September. Over the next few days, thousands more American troops landed to unload their equipment for portage to Elkton. The last troops departed in the morning of Sunday, 9 September 1781.

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Sources: The map drawn by George Washington's cartographer Simeon DeWitt in August 1781 for the march of the through Delaware clearly identifies Christiana Bridge. *Erskine-DeWitt Maps*, New York Historical Society, call number 124 B.

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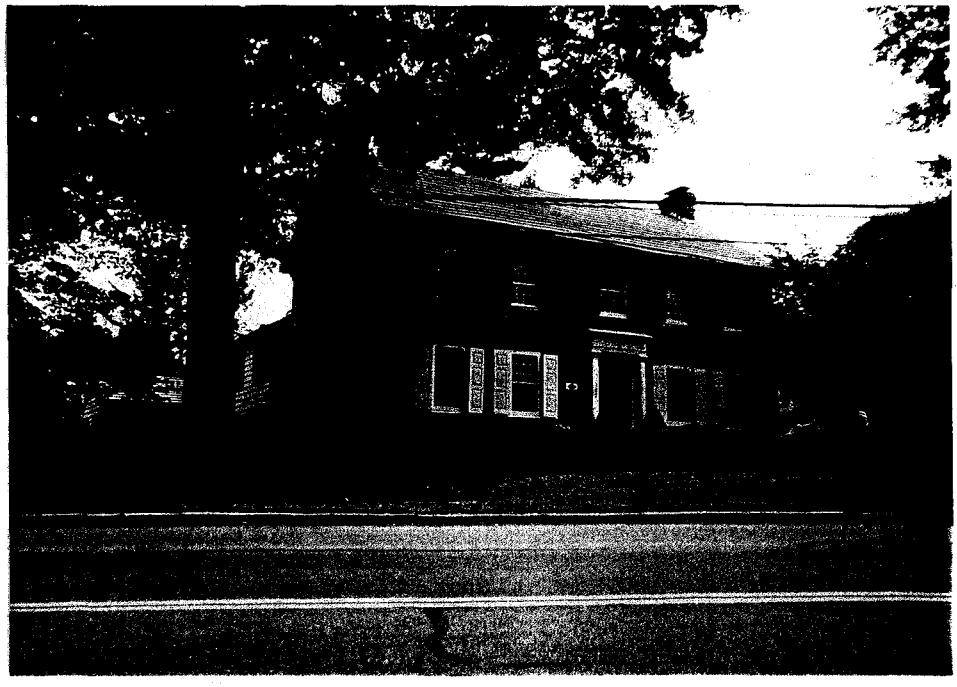
Note: see also **Resource 24** and **Resource 25**.

RESOURCE 11

Hillis Mansion House



John Lewden House

Name: Christiana Historic District

Location: Christiana, Delaware

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)

STATE: DELAWARE
COUNTY: New Castle
FOR NPS USE ONLY
ENTRY NUMBER | DATE

1. NAME

COMMON: Christiana Historic District
AND/OR HISTORIC:

2. LOCATION

STREET AND NUMBER: Intersection of Delaware Route 7 and Delaware Route 273
CITY OR TOWN: Christiana
STATE: Delaware | CODE: 10 | COUNTY: | CODE: 003

3. CLASSIFICATION

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

PRESENT USE (Check One or More as Appropriate)

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

4. OWNER OF PROPERTY

OWNER'S NAME: Too numerous to list
STREET AND NUMBER:
CITY OR TOWN: | STATE: | CODE
STATE: Delaware

5. LOCATION OF LEGAL DESCRIPTION

COURTHOUSE, REGISTRY OF DEEDS, ETC: New Castle County Court House
STREET AND NUMBER: Rodney Square
CITY OR TOWN: Wilmington | STATE: Delaware | CODE: 10
COUNTY: New Castle

6. REPRESENTATION IN EXISTING SURVEYS

TITLE OF SURVEY:
DATE OF SURVEY: ☐ Federal ☐ State ☐ County ☐ Local
DEPOSITORY FOR SURVEY RECORDS:
STREET AND NUMBER:
CITY OR TOWN: | STATE: | CODE

FOR NPS USE ONLY
ENTRY NUMBER
DATE

SEE INSTRUCTIONS

06/19/2002 DE STATE HIST PRESERVATION OFFICE

7. DESCRIPTION

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

DESCRIBE THE PRESENT AND ORIGINAL (if known) PHYSICAL APPEARANCE

Christiana's Historic District contains a group of houses which are fairly homogeneous in their proportions and designs. The district contains approximately thirty houses, the majority of which are of simple frame construction. Though a number of these structures have been physically altered over the years, nine significant brick edifices have undergone minimal structural change. These nine brick structures, therefore, offer tangible evidence of the village's prosperous past as a thriving commercial center.

The village of Christiana Bridge, which was established on the northern bank of the Christiana River in White Clay Creek Hundred, was at the head of tidewater navigation. By 1739, approximately ten structures had been erected between the bridge and the fork of King's Highway, which led from the White Clay Creek Bridge to the Welsh Tract. These roads were of great importance to the community's development, for they connected Christiana Bridge with Philadelphia and the province of Maryland. Though log houses were among the first structures erected in the village, substantial brick dwellings were also constructed.

Situated at 29 East Main Street is the Brinkle-Maxwell House (N-1480). It is a three-bay,two-and-one-half-story Federal-style brick dwelling, apparently erected around 1786. It is the only federal-period brick dwelling now in the village, which was originally constructed on a side hall plan. Though contemporary additions abut the structure on the north, east, and west, the main portion remains intact. The facade, now covered with stucco, features gabled dormers, a box cornice with molded trim, as well as panelled shutters on the first floor level, and louvered blinds on the second. The recessed doorway topped by a simple arched transom contains a six-panelled door, with reeded surrounds and a granite doorsill.

In keeping with the building tradition of the area, this structure was erected on a stone foundation. Unusual for the area, however, is a pair of end chimneys connected by a parapet wall.

Though the interior is plain, simple chair rails, baseboards, and cornice trim are found in each room. The chimney breasts which protrude into each chamber are adorned with wooden mantle pieces of popular eighteenth and nineteenth-century styles.

The main open-string staircase with panelling also features plain square balusters and a molded handrail which terminates with a simple turned newel post.

SEE INSTRUCTIONS

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(July 1969)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

(Continuation Sheet)

DELAWARE

COUNTY: New Castle

FOR NPS USE ONLY

ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

(Number all entries)

7. Description (Page 2 - continuation):

As early as 1767, a messuage or tenement valued at 130 pounds, had been erected on this lot by James Partridge, a farmer. Documentation, however, specifically notes that by the year 1786 a brick house valued at 575 pounds had been recently constructed. John Brinkle, Jr. inherited this brick structure and lot from his father, John Sr., a farmer of Kent County and a captain in the Continental Army.

On May 23, 1787, this brick house, then in the tenure of a John McDowell, was conveyed to Solomon Maxwell, a commission merchant. The Maxwell family continued to own the house and property for twelve years.

Adjacent to Brinkle-Maxwell House, at 2 King's Highway, is the Jones Mansion House lot (N-1594). Here, one of the village's oldest domestic structures had been erected before 1752.

The present dwelling is a substantial six-bay, two-and-one-half story brick dwelling built according to Delaware's traditional plan, with interior end chimneys. The facade features a simple box cornice with molded trim, and has panelled shutters on the first floor level and louvered blinds on the second, and a plain Victorian veranda.

The definite break in the brickwork, left of the main facade entrance, clearly indicates two distinct periods of construction. The earliest portion is three bays wide and features a belt course and segmented brick arches above each end and basement window. First floor window surrounds on this section are tenoned and are topped with unsophisticated brick lintels.

The left three-bay facade, also laid in Flemish bond, was probably constructed in the nineteenth century. This portion is adorned with unusual gothic arch shutters and is abutted at the rear by a lower, two-and-one-half-story structure, that may originally have been a separate outbuilding.

This mansion house lot was owned by Dr. Rees Jones, Christiana's first known physician, who owned the seventy-five acre tract on which the village of Christiana Bridge was eventually established. It became a part of the estate of Dr. William McMechen, Christiana's second practicing physician, in 1764. Mary McMechen, wife of Dr. McMechen, inherited the house from her father, Thomas Ogle, one of the original nine tenants in common who had purchased Dr. Jones' estate in 1759.

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NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
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DELAWARE	
COUNTY	
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FOR NPS USE ONLY	
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

(Number all entries)

7. Description (Page 3 - continuation):

Adjacent to the Jones Mansion House Lot is a two-story, asbestos shingled structure. This double dwelling house, of late eighteenth-century or early nineteenth-century origin, features a box cornice with molded trim and a plain Victorian porch.

Situated on Meeting House Hill, just above the junction of the original King's Highway with the road to Newport, is the Christiana Presbyterian Church (N-1477). The present brick church, erected in 1857, measures approximately sixty-feet by forty-feet and cost approximately $4,938 to build. It is the only building in the village erected in a pseudo-gothic style that features buttresses and crenelated battlements at both the roof line and top of the tower. The entire structure was stuccoed in the early twentieth-century.

The Society of Presbyterians were among the first religious groups to establish themselves in the village. As early as 1738, they had erected a small frame church measuring approximately thirty-six feet by twenty-six feet. This edifice was sold on July 4, 1857 at a public auction and was replaced by the present structure. Dr. Jones and his wife Anna,granted the churchyard site to the Presbyterians by their deed of August 19, 1752. The first minister was Charles Tennent.

Among the prominent village citizens who supported the church during the eighteenth century were: John Read and Thomas Montgomery (merchants of White Clay Creek Hundred), Dr. Rees Jones and wife, Samuel Patterson (Brigadier General in the Delaware Militia), and Joel Lewis (United States Marshal under President Jefferson's administration).

Adjoining the Presbyterian Church property is the Joel Lewis House (N-1604). The two-story-and-attic brick dwelling on this property was built before 1799. Unlike any other private residence in the village, it was built into a hill thereby enabling the basement to function as part of the living quarters. The facade features a simple box cornice with molded trim and solid panelled shutters at the first floor level. In keeping with the Delaware tradition, it is one-room deep and was constructed with interior end chimneys. Later, in the nineteenth century, a brick addition was added to the northeastern corner of the structure with a chimney flued into the original end chimney, thus creating an unusual chimney arrangement.

Though the interior of this residence has been altered over the years, it still retains its original wooden mantels with reeded trim, that are characteristic of the Federal period.

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DELAWARE	
COUNTY: New Castle	
FOR NPS USE ONLY	
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

(Number all entries)

7. Description (Page 4 - continuation):

Joel Lewis, Christiana's only known hatter, first acquired the property on February 22, 1775. John Vaughan, a physician of Christiana, obtained the property from Lewis on September 11, 1798, only to return it to the grantor within a year's time.

Joel Lewis had become one of Christiana's more prosperous merchants by 1798, and eventually became a United States Marshal under the Jefferson administration.

The five acres adjacent to the Lewis property, bounded by the road to Newark and the Christiana Turnpike, was once owned by John Hall, the village's only known tobacconist. It was eventually conveyed to Abraham Cannon, a merchant, on March 22, 1844. Today, this acreage contains four modern houses, one corner store, and four two-story asbestos shingled dwellings of possible eighteenth or nineteenth-century origin. Each of these early residences feature interior end chimneys, square attic windows, and a box cornice with molded trim. At the northern end of this lot stands the Methodist Episcopal Church (N-1625). This large rectangular brick building was built in 1857 and remodeled in 1929.

Christiana's first Methodist church was organized in September, 1827. The congregation bought a frame house from Samuel Johnson and moved it to this site, where it served as the first meeting house.

By August 2, 1856, the Trustees unanimously resolved to build a new church. A building committee composed of Benjamin Peters, Abraham Cannon, J. R. C. Oldham and others were selected. The plans for the new church, drawn and submitted by a Mr. Hand, were accepted by the committee. The new church, which cost approximately $4,000 to build, was dedicated on June 26, 1858.

Directly across from Hall's five acres, on the northwest corner of the main intersection, stands the Christiana Inn (N-1479).

It is a commodious three-bay, two-story brick structure which was standing before 1770. Like its neighbors, this house was built on a solid stone foundation. Each of the two street facades are laid in a Flemish bond pattern with a molded brick water table, segmented window arches and a box cornice with an unusually heavy molded trim. Unlike the other brick dwellings in the village above the bridge, the inn contains a pedimented gable on each end.

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DELAWARE	
COUNTY	
New Castle	
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ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

(Number all entries)

7. Description (Page 5 - continuation):

The Christiana Inn was one of the village's two principal eighteenth-century taverns. In all probability, it may have been the place where General Washington dined, lodged or rested on his numerous visits to Christiana. According to Washington's diary, he dined and lodged at Christiana Bridge on May 8, 1775, while enroute to Philadelphia. During the months of July, September, October, November and December of 1795, he either breakfasted, dined, rested or was lodged, at the village at least five times while traveling between Mt. Vernon and Philadelphia.

This structure thrived as a public house of entertainment well into the nineteenth-century. Among its numerous proprietors were Joseph Janvier, Nicholas Cline, and Jediah Davidson. By 1815, David Armstrong had become the proprietor of the inn.

It was here, at his residence in Christiana Bridge, that a special election was held in 1820 for the purpose of electing a Captain, a First Lieutenant, a Second Lieutenant, and an Ensign for the volunteer company of Union Guards. Having viewed the "fluctuating events" which had followed each other in rapid succession on the Continent, many residents of New Castle County had agreed to organize a volunteer company of light infantry that would be prepared to take action at a moment's notice. Among the sixty-seven subscribers were the following Christiana landowners: David Armstrong, John Boyd, Abraham Cannon, John Hall, John and Thomas Montgomery and Isaac Price.

The seven lots adjoining the Christiana Inn were all a part of George Hillis Sr's. village property. By the end of the nineteenth-century, at least two blacksmith shops, one wheelwright shop, two small frame dwellings, and one brick house had been erected on it. Situated on this property today is a nineteenth-century brick residence, three small twentieth-century, asbestos shingled houses, and two, two-story, late eighteenth or early nineteenth-century dwellings. Each of these early residences, like others in the town, have interior end chimneys, box cornices with molded trim, and square attic windows.

The seventh lot from the corner contains Christiana's finest Georgian house above the bridge. The Hillis Mansion House at 29 South Old Baltimore Pike (N-1478), is a five-bay, two-story-and-attic brick residence. The Flemish-bond facade is embellished by a box cornice with molded trim, a raised belt course, a molded brick water table, and solid panelled shutters at the first floor level. An eight-panelled entrance door is

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(Continuation Sheet)

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DELAWARE	
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(Number all entries)

7. Description (Page 6 - continuation):

surrounded by a wooden door jamb with crosetted corners. In keeping with the local building tradition, the house was constructed one-room deep, with interior end chimneys, solid end walls, and a lower ell.

Like its neighboring houses, it too, was built on a stone foundation. Unlike any other brick dwelling in the village, however, the house was originally designed in a center-hall plan.

The interior of this Georgian mansion is quite handsomely finished. The entrance hall features an open-string staircase with turned balusters.

Simple chair rail and cornice trim adorn the interiors of each first-floor room. A projected chimney breast with panelled sides trimmed with quarter-round molding are featured in the parlor. Crosetted corners embellish both the over-mantel and the fireplace surround, under the mantel shelf.

Heavy cornice trim enriches the panelled end wall of the dining room. Flanking each side of the closed fireplace are eighteenth-century cupboards.

Though the deeds for this property are ambiguous, documentation indicates that this was the dwelling house of George Hillis, Sr., cordwainer of Christiana. According to Hillis' will, dated December 31, 1770, his dwelling house and the property contiguous to the Christiana Inn were bequeathed to his old friend, Ann Ravey, with the understanding that upon her death it would descend to his daughter, Elizabeth Adams. The wharves and stores at Christiana Bridge which were occupied by his son-in-law George Adams, a shallopman, were also bequeathed to Elizabeth. In 1775, when George Adams died, these same wharves and stores were bequeathed to his son Levi who, in 1787, went into partnership with Solomon Maxwell as commission merchants. Eventually, both the mansion house and inn became the property of John Hall, the village's only known tobacconist.

Directly across from the original Hillis property are a number of late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century frame dwellings, intermingled with a few modern houses. The oldest dwellings, homogeneous in their proportions and designs, are small, two-story frame dwellings with stone foundations, box cornices, and small, square attic windows.

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7. Description (Page 7 - continuation):

Stratigically situated at the corner of Road 273 and the Old Baltimore Pike is a large, modern, brick fire station. Directly across from the volunteer fire company station is the Shannon Hotel (N-1476).

The oldest section of this brick edifice was erected on a stone foundation. It is a three-bay, two-story residence with a Flemish-bond facade and a water table. The exterior of this facade contains a box cornice with plain molded trim; panelled shutters are found on the first floor, with louvered blinds at the second floor level. Unlike the other private dwellings, a pent eave was constructed across the original three-bay facade.

The interior of this residence was designed in a modified Penn's Plan.

The rectangular entry hall has a closed-string staircase with short, turned balusters, square newels, and unusual diagonal beaded sheathing on the body of the staircase. Behind this entry hall is a narrow room with a large fireplace flanked by panelled side cupboards.

Panelling and heavy cornices in the second-story rooms are confined to the fireplace walls above the center corner chimneys. In keeping with the local tradition, the fireplaces are constructed with a recessed fire box within a larger opening.

A small, two-bay clapboard addition maintained as a store was added to the original three-bay structure in the nineteenth-century.

On May 21, 1735, when James James, Jr., a village merchant, conveyed this original ten-acre lot to John Welsh, a blacksmith of New Castle Hundred, several messuages and tenements had already been erected. At Welsh's request, the property was conveyed to his three daughters - Rebecca Janvier, Susannah John, and Frances Alrichs on September 11, 1739.

Adjacent to the hotel lot is a small, two-story frame dwelling house with painted roof-line trim, a large stucco residence, and a two-story, three-bay dwelling house with a box cornice and molded trim.

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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/Phi-	☒ Other (Specify)
☐ Historic	☐ Industry	losophy	Local history
☐ Agriculture	☐ Invention	☐ Science	
☒ Architecture	☐ Landscape	☐ Sculpture	
☐ Art	Architecture	☐ Social/Human-	
☒ Commerce	☐ Literature	itarian	
☐ Communications	☒ Military	☐ Theater	
☐ Conservation	☐ Music	☐ Transportation	

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

As an historic district, the entire village of Christiana represents an area that has been enriched by historical events, commercial enterprises, cultural, educational and religious developments.

The village of Christiana, on the north bank of the Christiana River in White Clay Creek Hundred, was established on a tract known as "Eagle's Point". This seventy-five-acre tract was originally surveyed for John Ogle, a large landholder of the Hundred, as early as December 8, 1683.

"Eagle's Point" was conveyed to Christiana's first known practitioner of "physick", Dr. Rees Jones, on July 29, 1731, and was resurveyed for Dr. Jones under a warrant from Thomas Penn, July 10, 1741. Dr. Jones died intestate and without issue on December 1, 1754, thus creating doubt concerning the right, title, and claims to his real estate. The matter was, however, settled by April 9, 1759, when John Emes, a nephew of Dr. Jones, was recognized as the only true heir-at-law. On April 9, 1759, John Emes, late of "South Britain" but then of Baltimore County, Maryland, conveyed the major portion of Dr. Jones' estate to nine tenants in common.

The grantees - Thomas McKean, Esq., Thomas Ogle, William Patterson, Hugh Thompson, John McCarty, John McClughan, John Montgomery, George Hillis, and George Adams, received all the real estate of Dr. Jones on the north side of the Christiana Bridge for £50. As successful yeomen, merchants, innkeepers and cordwainers, each of the common tenants eventually contributed to the village's economic prosperity.

By the time of the Revolution, Christiana Bridge had become a considerable commercial center. Wharves and storehouses near the river's bank had been established in the 1760's. Of the twenty-two merchants and shopkeepers known to have worked the village between 1735 and 1800, only four were not residents of either Christiana Bridge or of White Clay Creek Hundred. At least three Philadelphia merchants bought property in the village - Isaac Jones (1745), Joseph Beddome (1749),

SEE INSTRUCTIONS

brick

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(Number all entries)

8. Significance (Page 2 - continuation):

Thomas Montgomery (1766), and one merchant from Cecil County, Maryland - Tobias Rudolph (1761). John Montgomery, who was one of the original nine tenants in common of the Jones' estate, became one of Christiana's more prosperous merchants. His inventory, dated 1765, contains such various goods as remnants of poplin, India damask, shalloon, manchester velvet, carpenter hammers, spelling books, testaments, knives, ivory pins, snuff and snuff boxes, japanned snuffers and boxes, and looking glasses.

Since it stood along the principal highway connecting Philadelphia to Baltimore, at the head of tidewater navigation, Christiana Bridge became an important center during the War for Independence.

Battalions under command of Colonels George Evans, Hunter and Udree, were ordered by General Washington on August 27, 1777, "to march to Christiana and there halt till further orders ... always [keeping the men] near their quarters, that they may be ready to move at a moments warning." By September 2, 1777, " ... the enemy from Bohemia [had] advanced some distance on the New Castle road and [were located] about ten miles from Christiana Bridge ..." The following day, September 3, Washington's letter addressed to the President of Congress noted "advance Picketts, at Christiana." By September 16, 1777, General Washington recorded that Colonel Gist was at Christiana Bridge with about 700 men.

General Lafayette enroute to Virginia, to command an expedition against Benedict Arnold, landed 1200 troops here, with cannon, stores, and ammunition, March 2, 1781. The Council of Maryland issued warrant to impress carriages, teams and drivers for his use at Christiana Bridge and vessels, hands, etc., at Head of Elk.

By a 1780 Act of Assembly, Christiana Bridge was chosen to be Delaware's supply depository from which the "whole of Salt, Salt Meat, Flour, and Rum" was to be collected and deposited. The "York Regiment" was ordered with its baggage to come down in batteaux to Christiana Bridge on August 31, 1781. Two days later, on the second of September, 1781, Brigadier General Moses Hazen was instructed by General Washington "to proceed immediately to Christiana Bridge at which place I expect you will meet the Boats laden with ordnance and other stores." The same correspondence also noted that "the road from Christiana Bridge to the Head of Elk should be put in the best repair ..."

GPO 921.724

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(Number all entries)

8. Significance (Page 3 - continuation):

After the Revolution, one of the village's largest and most productive commercial businesses was established. On March 1, 1787, Solomon Maxwell and Levi Adams, both residents of White Clay Creek Hundred, established the firm of "Maxwell & Adams". This newly formed company was primarily engaged in the business of buying flour on commission. By January 1793, Solomon Maxwell and Levi Adams jointly operated a shallop business that received, stored, and delivered wheat for Brandywine millers. The firm continued to grow. By the year 1793, a new partner - Levi Hollingsworth - had joined the business and the company's name was changed to "Maxwell, Adams, & Co."

By 1816, there were a total of thirty-six structures standing in the village. Twenty-one of these were frame houses, as compared with eight brick dwellings, two storehouses, one granary, one blacksmith's shop, two stores, one shop, and an undetermined number of wharves along the river bank. By 1822, a tobacco shop had been established by Christiana's only tobacconist - John Hall. Several wheelwright shops had been erected in the village by the 1830's.

Education always played an important part in the community's development. As early as 1752, a schoolhouse had been erected in the village near the Presbyterian Church. This school was finally incorporated in 1804. Though the original structure is no longer standing, it is important to realize that it was among the earliest buildings to have been erected in the community. The school had been established to teach the "English language, Arithmetric, and such other branches of knowledge as are most useful and necessary ..." to children of the inhabitants of the village.

After 1800, the village of Christiana continued to enjoy its economic prosperity for only a relatively short time. The completion of the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal in 1829, and the later development of the Delaware Railroad, bypassed the village which rapidly declined.

06/19/2002 DE STATE HIST PRESERVATION OFFICE

9. MAJOR BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES

New Castle County: Deeds, Wills, Letters of Administration, Inventories, Tavern Petitions, Surveyor General Returns, Warrants and Surveys, and Orphan Court Records.
Books: Baird, Betty J. - A Proud Heritage - August 1967;
Conrad, Henry C. - History of the State of Delaware - Wilmington: Henry C. Conrad, 1908.
Fitzpatrick, John C. - The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources - United States Government Printing Office - Washington - 1944.

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 ° 40 ' 02 "	75 ° 39 ' 47 "		° ' "	° ' "
NE	39 ° 40 ' 02 "	75 ° 39 ' 25 "			
SE	39 ° 39 ' 49 "	75 ° 39 ' 25 "			
SW	39 ° 39 ' 49 "	75 ° 39 ' 47 "			

APPROXIMATE ACREAGE OF NOMINATED PROPERTY: 20 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

11. FORM PREPARED BY

NAME AND TITLE:
Madeline E. Dunn, Historic Site Surveyor

ORGANIZATION: Division of Historical & Cultural Affairs
DATE: 1974

STREET AND NUMBER: Hall of Records

CITY OR TOWN: Dover
STATE: Delaware
CODE:

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 Russell M. Peterson

Title _____

Date 11/18/74

NATIONAL REGISTER VERIFICATION

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

_____
Chief, Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation

Date _____

ATTEST:

_____
Keeper of The National Register

Date _____

SEE INSTRUCTIONS.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
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ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

(Number all entries)

Representation in Existing Survey:

Name	Survey of Delaware's Historic Sites & Buildings
Brinkle-Maxwell House	1480
Jones Mansion House Lot	1594
Christiana Presbyterian Church	1477
Joel Lewis House	1604
Christiana Methodist Episcopal Church	1625
Christiana Inn	1479
Hillis Mansion House	1478
Shannon Hotel	1476

L –

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

(Continuation Sheet) 2

Delaware	
COUNTY: New Castle	
FOR NPS USE ONLY	
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

(Number all entries) Major Bibliographical References (continued)

ibid - The Diaries of George Washington 1748-1799 - Houghton Mifflin Company - Boston and New York

Scharf, J. Thomas - History of Delaware 1609-1888 - Philadelphia: L. J. Richards & Company, 1888.

Weslager - C. A. - Delaware's Forgotten River - Hambleton Company Inc; - Wilmington - 1947

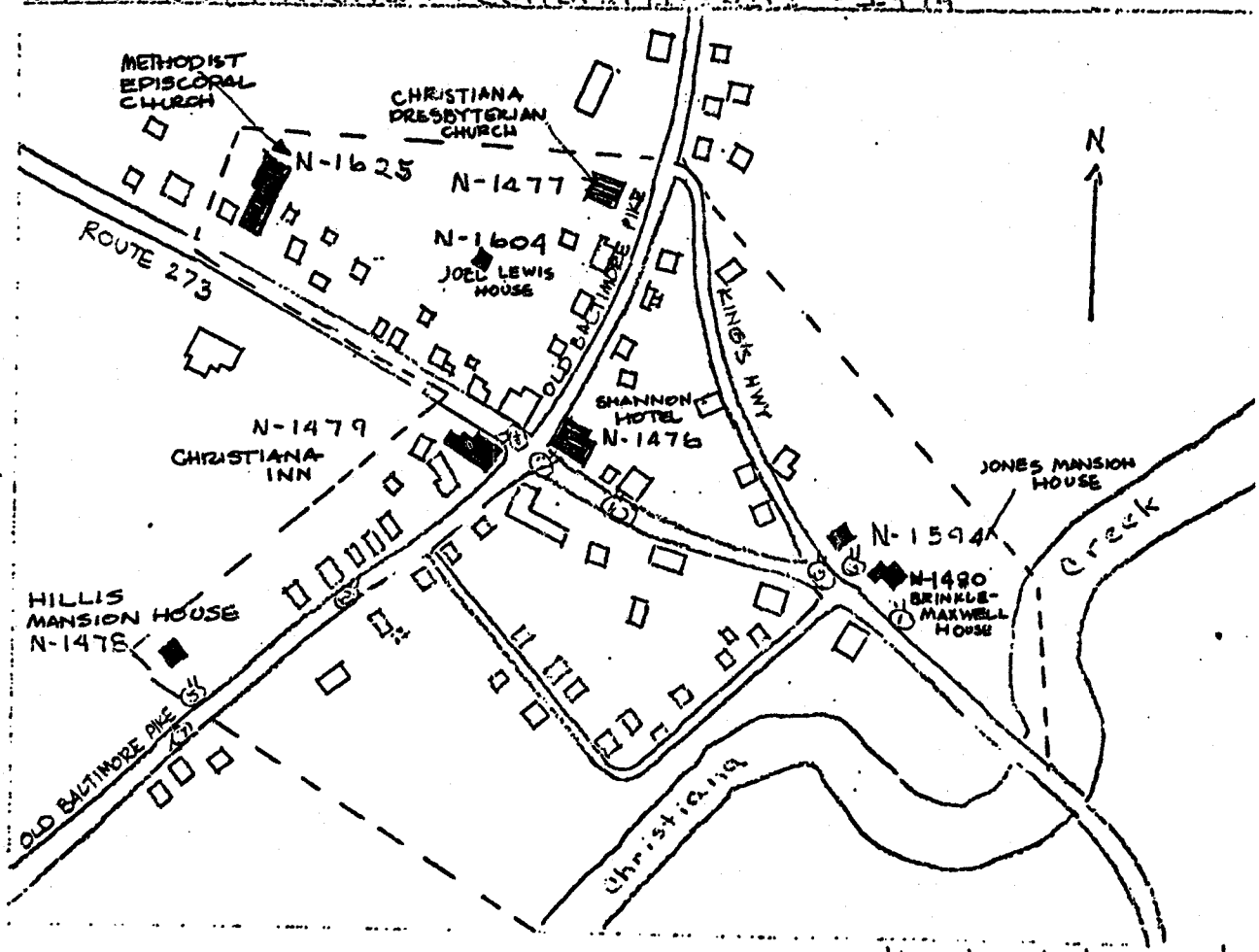
Miscellaneous:

The Delaware Gazette 1793-1796
Beers Atlas - 1868
Baist's New Castle County Map - 1893
State and County Papers 1842-1872
Laws of the State of Delaware 1700-1852

L -

06/19/2002 DE STATE HIST PRESERVATION OFFICE

Christiana Historic District
Historic Preservation Section
Division of Historical & Cultural Affairs - 1974



Key to photographs

06/19/2002 DE STATE HIST PRESERVATION OFFICE

Resource 12

Name: French Army Camp 1a

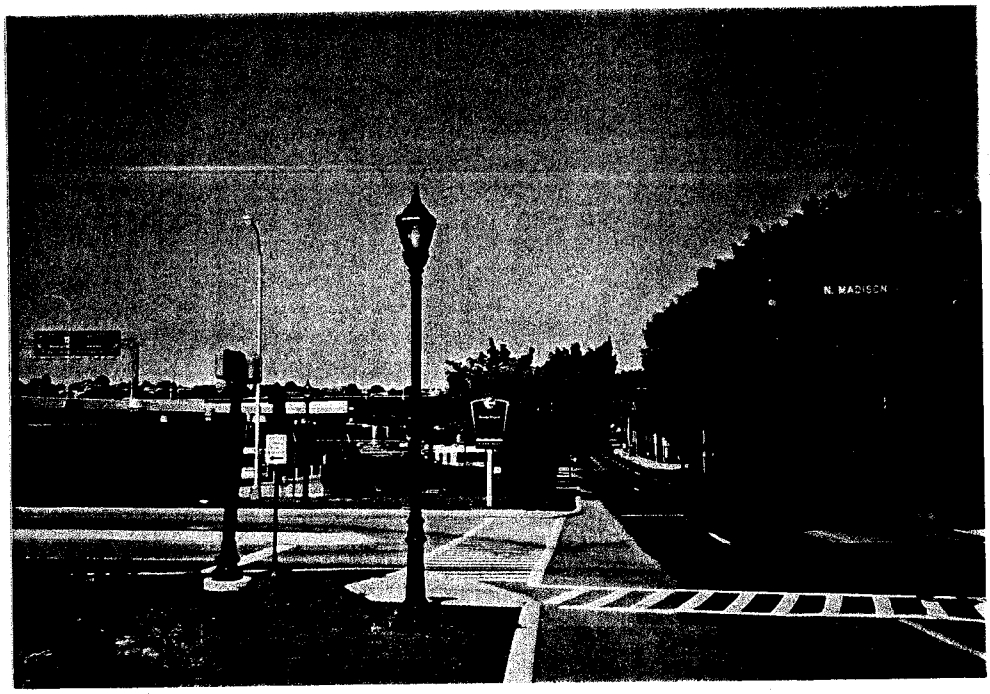
Location: between Justison and Adams Streets on a line with Second Street
Wilmington, Delaware

Historical significance: Coming from Chester, Pennsylvania, the First Division of the French Army, more than 2,000 officers and men up to 1,000 horses and oxen, camped on this site on 6/7 September 1781.

Recommendation: The site is not marked in relation to the W3R. Proper identification of the site could be undertaken by the State of Delaware, the county or a local historical society, or a fraternal community group such as the DAR, SAR, Society of the Cincinnati, or by the Souvenir Français.

Sources: The campsite is clearly identified in the series of encampment maps drawn by Louis-Alexandre Berthier and reproduced in Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, Vol. 2, Map 75.

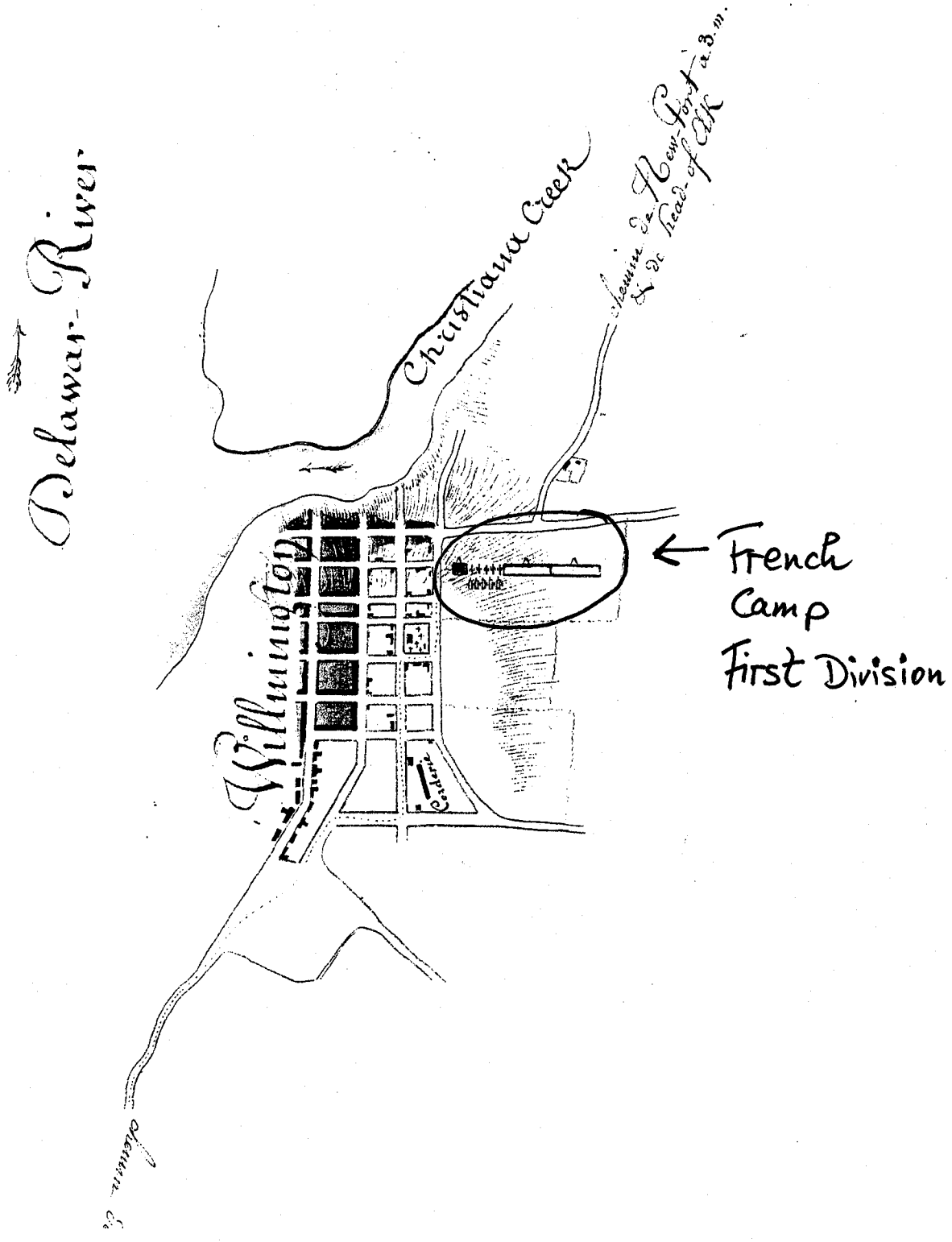
RESOURCE 12



Name: French Army Camp 1a

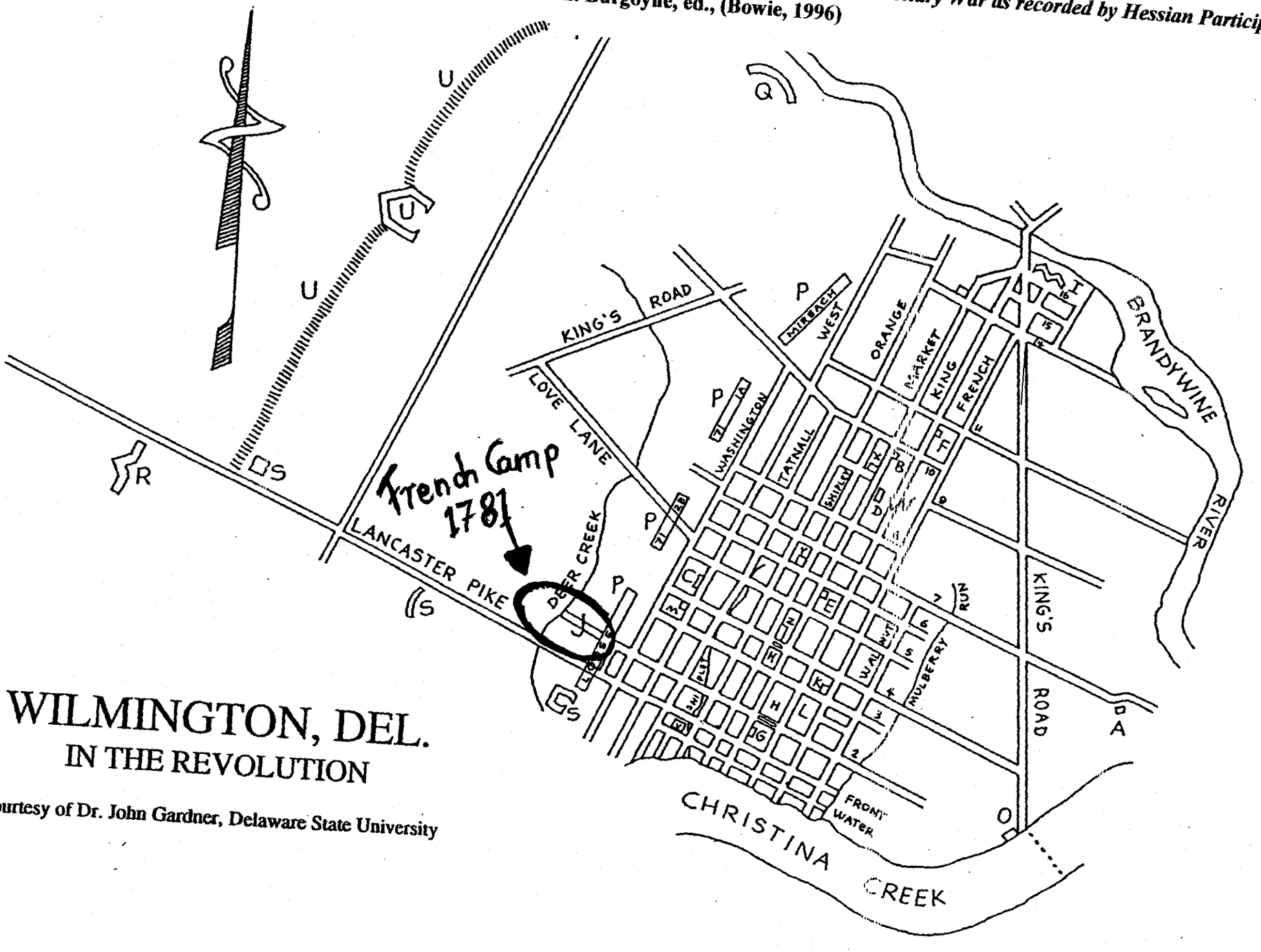
Location: between Justison and Adams Streets on a line with Second Street
Wilmington, Delaware

29. Camp à Willmington le 6. Septembre, 11. miles N.E. de Chester.
1781



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

Enemy Views. The American Revolutionary War as recorded by Hessian Participants Bruce E. Burgoyne, ed., (Bowie, 1996)



WILMINGTON, DEL.
IN THE REVOLUTION

urtesy of Dr. John Gardner, Delaware State University

Resource 13

Name: Mordecai Woodward Ropewalk and Houses

Location: 701-703 West Street
Wilmington, Delaware

Historical significance: Mordecai Woodward's Ropewalk, the *corderie*, is clearly indicated as a notable landmark on the encampment map drawn by Berthier for the 6/7 September encampment of the First Division of Rochambeau's army.

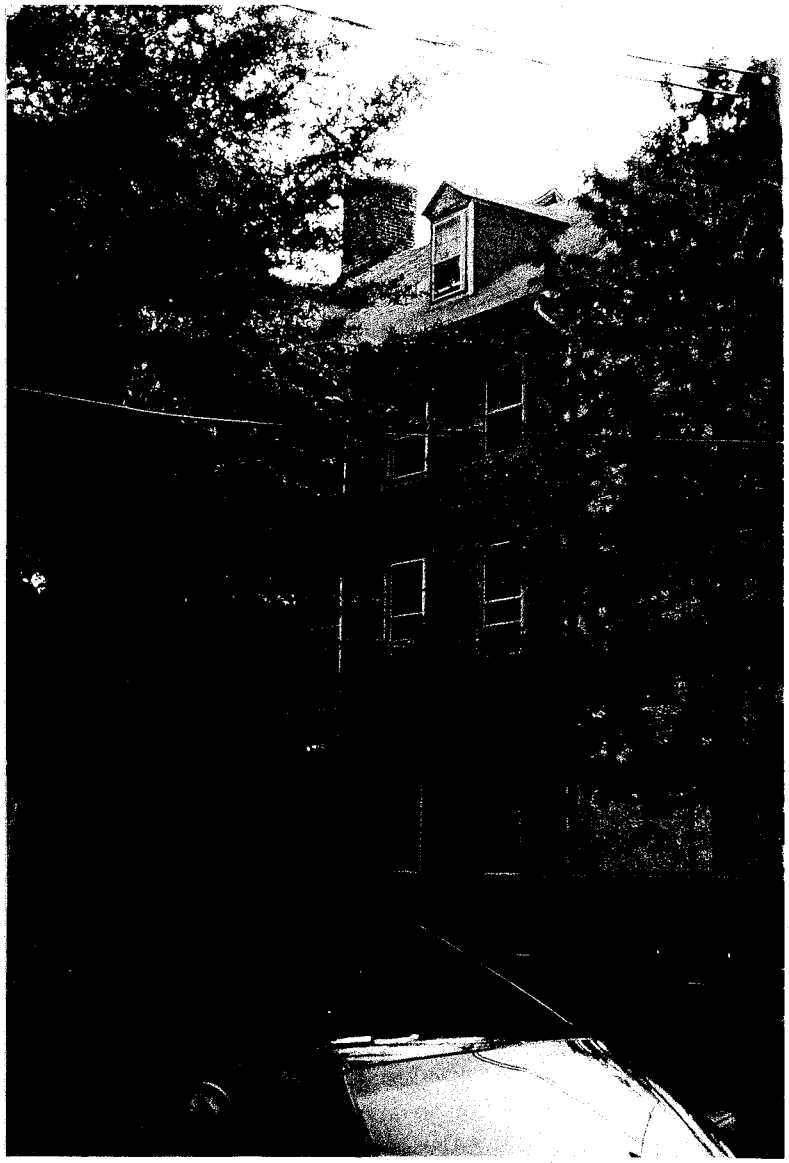
Mordecai Woodward. Woodward had bought the property from his father Joseph in 1769; after his death in the summer of 1795, John Dauphin bought the land on 19 March 1796.

Recommendation: The site is not marked in relation to the W3R. Proper identification of the site could be undertaken by the State Delaware, the county or a local historical society, or a fraternal community group such as the DAR, SAR, Society of the Cincinnati, or by the Souvenir Français.

Sources: 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.

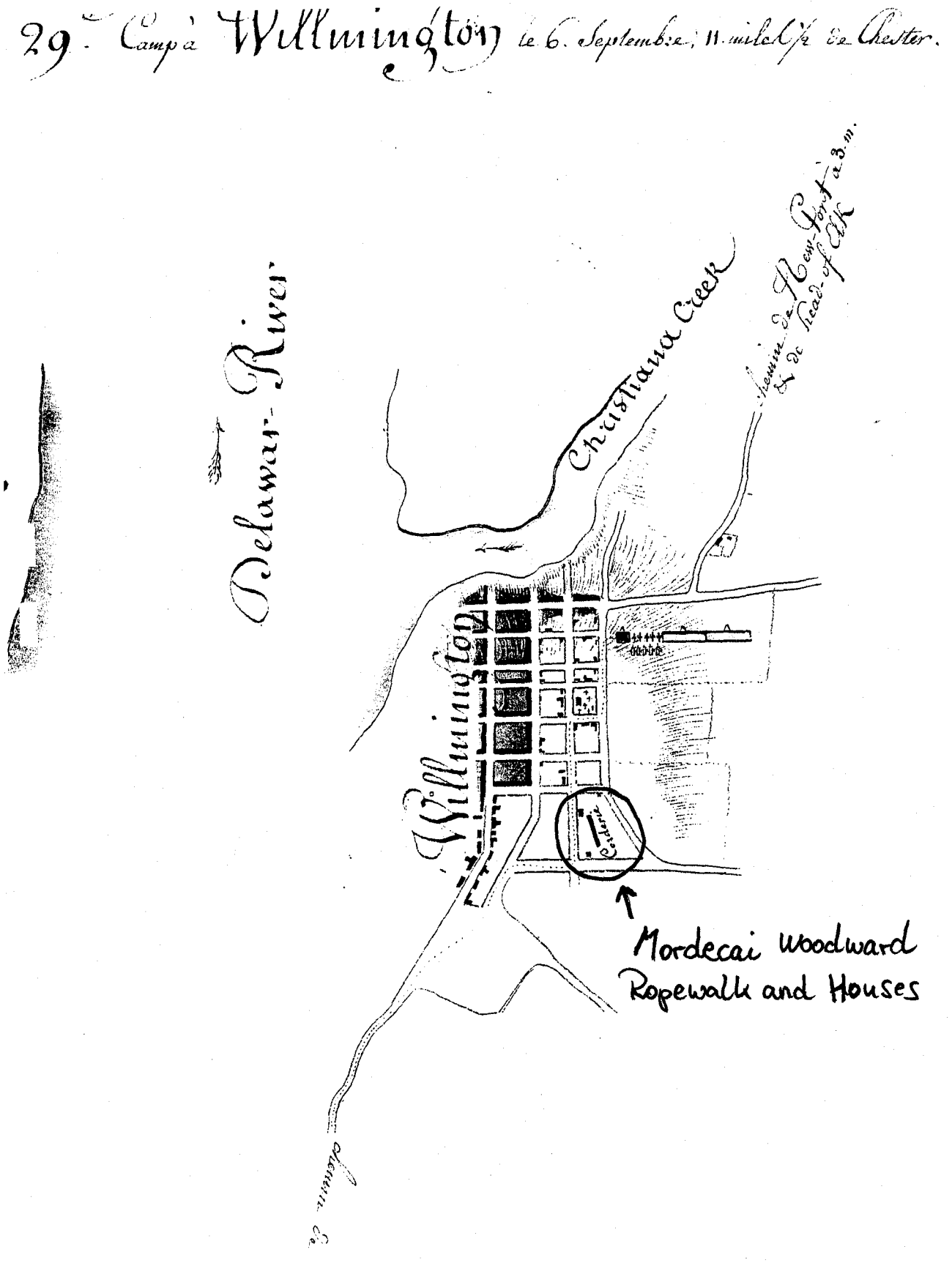
The ropewalk (*corderie*) is clearly identified in the series of encampment maps drawn by Louis-Alexandre Berthier and reproduced in Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, Vol. 2, Map 75.

RESOURCE 13



Name: Mordecai Woodward Ropewalk and Houses

Location: 701-703 West Street
Wilmington, Delaware



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

Form No. 10-300 REV. (9-77)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES INVENTORY -- NOMINATION FORM

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DATE ENTERED

SEE INSTRUCTIONS IN *HOW TO COMPLETE NATIONAL REGISTER FORMS*
TYPE ALL ENTRIES -- COMPLETE APPLICABLE SECTIONS

1 NAME

HISTORIC: Woodward Houses

AND/OR COMMON:

2 LOCATION

STREET & NUMBER: 701-703 West Street — NOT FOR PUBLICATION

CITY, TOWN: Wilmington — VICINITY OF

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT: one

STATE: Delaware — CODE: 10

COUNTY: New Castle — CODE: 002

3 CLASSIFICATION

CATEGORY	OWNERSHIP	STATUS	PRESENT USE	
__DISTRICT	__PUBLIC	X OCCUPIED	__AGRICULTURE	__MUSEUM
X BUILDING(S)	X PRIVATE	__UNOCCUPIED	__COMMERCIAL	__PARK
__STRUCTURE	__BOTH	__WORK IN PROGRESS	__EDUCATIONAL	X PRIVATE RESIDENCE
__SITE	**PUBLIC ACQUISITION**	**ACCESSIBLE**	__ENTERTAINMENT	__RELIGIOUS
__OBJECT	__IN PROCESS	X YES: RESTRICTED	__GOVERNMENT	__SCIENTIFIC
	__BEING CONSIDERED	__YES: UNRESTRICTED	__INDUSTRIAL	__TRANSPORTATION
		__NO	__MILITARY	__OTHER:

4 OWNER OF PROPERTY

NAME: Messrs. John Price and Ceno Iubatti

STREET & NUMBER: 701 West Street

CITY, TOWN: Wilmington — VICINITY OF

STATE: Delaware — 19801

5 LOCATION OF LEGAL DESCRIPTION

COURTHOUSE, REGISTRY OF DEEDS, ETC.: City/County Building

STREET & NUMBER: 800 French Street

CITY, TOWN: Wilmington,

STATE: Delaware — 19801

6 REPRESENTATION IN EXISTING SURVEYS

TITLE: Delaware Cultural Resource Survey — N-1458

DATE: September, 1978 — FEDERAL X STATE __COUNTY __LOCAL

DEPOSITORY FOR SURVEY RECORDS: Hall of Records

CITY, TOWN: Dover

STATE: Delaware — 19901

FORM AS SUBMITTED (NPS)

06/20/2002 DE STATE HIST PRESERVATION OFFICE

7. DESCRIPTION

CONDITION		CHECK ONE	CHECK ONE
_EXCELLENT	_DETERIORATED	_UNALTERED	X ORIGINAL SITE
X GOOD	_RUINS	X ALTERED	_MOVED DATE_____
_FAIR	_UNEXPOSED		

DESCRIBE THE PRESENT AND ORIGINAL (IF KNOWN) PHYSICAL APPEARANCE

The Woodward Houses are located at 701-703 West Street in a mid- to late-nineteenth-century neighborhood of mostly brick row houses in Wilmington, Delaware.

The 3½-story house at 701 is built entirely of quarried granite. A gable roof with two gable-roofed dormers and a box cornice with bed molding surmounts this structure with an L-shaped, side-hall plan. Double-hung windows, 9-over-9 on the first floor and 6-over-6 on the second and third floor, make up the 3-bay facade. A short staircase with a decorative wrought iron balustrade leads up to the front entrance, which is recessed by raised paneling and enframed by a simple classical frontispiece, probably added about 1840. A transom rests above the front door which has 6-raised panels. The reverse side of this door is beaded batten held in place by HL hinges.

The main hallway contains all of its original details including baseboard, chair rail, and raised 6-paneled doors. Also located in this hallway is a Federally-styled, open-string staircase with a paneled base, turned balusters, ramped hand rail, and an attenuated turned newel. The chair rail, which continues from the hallway up the staircase, is also ramped and "supported" by engaged newels.

A raised-paneled door leads from the hallway to the parlor. The architectural detail in this room dates from the Federal Period (c. 1780-1820). Wide architraves encase the windows and door. A paneled wainscoting with reeded molding beneath the chair rail surrounds the room. The mantel, situated on the chimney breast of the west wall, came from a late-eighteenth-century house on Front and Market Streets in Wilmington.

The rear parlor, or dining room, maintains its Georgian character. Although the period cabinet doors and the fireplace surround were added in the twentieth century, most of the paneled wall, the chair rail, baseboards, and the French doors are original.

The kitchen, located at the end of the hallway, contains the original large walk-in fireplace with a Dutch oven door and crane hooks still intact. A horizontal indention in the brickwork above was probably an area used for powder horn drying. Except for the exposed hand-hewn beams and the random-width, pinewood floors, the architectural detail in this room is not original. A small room with an exit to the back yard is located behind the kitchen.

The second floor of the house contains two bedrooms, a sitting room, and a modern bathroom. Except for the bathroom, these areas retain their eighteenth-century qualities. The front bedroom, the largest room in the house, has a fireplace with a Georgian architrave and a simple early-nineteenth-century mantel. The central bedroom also contains a fireplace with a similar architrave set in a raised-paneled wall with two closets. The authentic chair rail and baseboard molding surrounds this room.

There are two rooms in both the third floor and attic. The architectural components in these rooms consist of simple baseboards, architraves, and raised 6-paneled doors.

FORM AS SUBMITTED TO O.A.H.P.

06/20/2002 DE STATE HIST PRESERVATION OFFICE

Although 701 and 703 West Street appear to be identical, 703 is 3 feet shorter in both length and width than 701. The main section of the house at 703 is built of stone, faced with pebble-dash stucco; the rear ell is built of brick. A gable roof with one gable-roofed dormer and a box cornice with bed molding meets the front but not the rear roofline of the gable of 701. The facade of 703 is 3-bays wide, consisting of double-hung, 6-over-6 windows. The staircase, balustrade, and front entrance to 703 are without difference to those at 701, except that the reverse side of the front door is not beaded-batten.

The interior of the house at 703 was altered in the mid-nineteenth century and then in the 1930's to accommodate apartment dwellings. The only surviving eighteenth-century architectural details in the main hallway are the ramped chair rail and the paneled base of the staircase, which was remodeled about 1930.

The entrance to the first floor apartment is located at the end of the hallway; it leads directly into the dining room just past the entrance to the parlor on the right. The former entrance to the large parlor was located in the hallway to the right of the main entrance. Now filled with modern paneling, the entrance was defined by elliptically-arched simple wooden molding.

The parlor, which was probably enlarged in the mid-eighteenth century, contains a classically-styled wooden mantel decorated around the fireplace with blue and white tiles, believed to be English Minton tiles, which date from about 1860-70. The baseboards, window and door architraves consist of simple wooden molding.

One wall of the dining room contains a wooden, mid-nineteenth-century mantelpiece and wall cabinet. Some eighteenth-century window architraves remain in this room. The remainder of the molding in this room dates from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

A modern kitchen, bathroom, and two small rooms are located beyond the dining room.

The second floor contains two apartments, one of which appears to have an eighteenth-century fireplace and surround. The doors and moldings in these areas date from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The third and fourth floors are another apartment. Most of the original eighteenth-century woodwork remains in these sections.

The attached Woodward Houses stand alone on the odd side of the 700 block of West Street with a parking lot to the north and a low-story laundry center to the south.

06/20/2002 DE STATE HIST PRESERVATION OFFICE

8 SIGNIFICANCE

PERIOD	AREAS OF SIGNIFICANCE -- CHECK AND JUSTIFY BELOW				
_PREHISTORIC	_ARCHEOLOGY-PREHISTORIC	_COMMUNITY PLANNING	_LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE	_RELIGION	
_1400-1499	_ARCHEOLOGY-HISTORIC	_CONSERVATION	_LAW	_SCIENCE	
_1500-1599	_AGRICULTURE	_ECONOMICS	_LITERATURE	_SCULPTURE	
_1600-1699	X ARCHITECTURE	_EDUCATION	_MILITARY	_SOCIAL/HUMANITARIAN	
X 1700-1799	_ART	_ENGINEERING	_MUSIC	_THEATER	
X 1800-1899	_COMMERCE	_EXPLORATION/SETTLEMENT	_PHILOSOPHY	_TRANSPORTATION	
_1900-	_COMMUNICATIONS	X INDUSTRY	X POLITICS/GOVERNMENT	_OTHER (SPECIFY)	
		_INVENTION			

SPECIFIC DATES

BUILDER/ARCHITECT

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

The Woodward Houses are significant as the only known, extant, eighteenth-century stone houses of a side-hall plan in the City of Wilmington, Delaware. They are excellent examples of the Georgian style of architecture which was prominent in Wilmington during this period.

According to the Delaware historian, Jeannette Eckman, 701 and 703 West Street were constructed in 1745 and 1760 respectively. A map drawn by a French military cartographer in 1781, and featured in The American Campaign of Rochambeau's Army, 1780-83, pictures what appears to be these houses with a "corderie", or ropemaking operation, behind them. The Federal Period interior architectural detail indicates that part of the interior of 701 was probably altered between the years 1780-1820.

Originally located on 65 acres of ground, known as South Shallcross Marsh, the Woodward Houses fronted West Street which was laid in the year 1739-40. Joseph Woodward, a Quaker ropemaker from West Chester, Pennsylvania, purchased the property around 1745. He probably built the houses when he established his ropemaking business on the same grounds. In 1769, when he sold the property to his son, Mordecai, the deed mentions a ropewalk which was used in the production of sailing ship rigging. As ropemakers, the Woodward family played an important role in Wilmington's shipbuilding industry of the eighteenth century.

When Mordecai Woodward died in 1795, John Dauphin, a French immigrant, purchased the property consisting of 8½ acres of land, a stone dwelling, a covered ropewalk, and a frame for the preservation of hemp. Around the turn of the century, James Ashton Bayard took ownership. He was a member of the prominent Bayard family of Delaware, Maryland, and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. His father, Joseph H. Bayard, the elder, was one of the negotiators for the settlement of the War of 1812. He, himself, was an eminent Delaware attorney who served in Congress as Senator for nearly 20 years. In 1885 he, and his wife Ann Frances, sold the property to another notable Wilmington family - the Edward Tatnall family. The Tatnall family was important in the business community of Wilmington and the Village of Brandywine.

There is a legend associated with the Woodward Houses. It is written that the house at 703 contains a hearthstone which was a section of the platform where Thomas Jefferson stood to read the Declaration of Independence to the people of Philadelphia.

FORM A[illegible]

06/20/2002 DE STATE HIST PRESERVATION OFFICE

Form No 10-300a
(Rev 10-74)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES INVENTORY -- NOMINATION FORM

FOR NPS USE ONLY
RECEIVED
DATE ENTERED

CONTINUATION SHEET ITEM NUMBER 8 PAGE 2

Most of Wilmington's eighteenth-century houses were destroyed during the development of Wilmington in the mid-nineteenth-century development. Because of their location, the Woodward houses were not incorporated into the city proper until about the same time. This might explain how they survived destruction. Almost all of the remaining structures of the eighteenth century were razed by the Urban Renewal Program of 1950-70. Therefore, the Woodward Houses have become rare examples of Georgian architecture in Wilmington, Delaware.

FORM AS SUBMITTED TO O.A.H.P.

06/20/2002 DE STATE HIST PRESERVATION OFFICE

9 MAJOR BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES

Deed records from the Recorder of Deeds Office, City/County Building, 800 French Street Wilmington, Delaware.

Eckman, Jeannette. Delaware - A Guide to the First State (New York, 1955)

The American Campaigns of Rochambeau's Army 1780-83 Vol. II (Princeton, N.J., 1972)

10 GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

ACREAGE OF NOMINATED PROPERTY Less than 1/2 acre

QUADRANGLE NAME Wilmington South QUADRANGLE SCALE 1:24,000

UTM REFERENCES

	ZONE	EASTING	NORTHING		ZONE	EASTING	NORTHING
A	18	452620	4390300	B			
C				D			
E				F			
G				H			

VERBAL BOUNDARY DESCRIPTION

The nominated property is a rectangular lot 130' by 55', bounded on the north by a parking lot, on the south by a modern commercial building, on the east by West Street, and on the west by another parking lot.

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

STATE	CODE	COUNTY	CODE
STATE	CODE	COUNTY	CODE

11 FORM PREPARED BY

NAME / TITLE

Jean Nixon, Historic Preservation Planner/ Mr. John Price, owner

ORGANIZATION — DATE

City of Wilmington, Department of Planning — Nov. 1978

STREET & NUMBER — TELEPHONE

[illegible] - City/County Building — (302) 571-4147

CITY OR TOWN — STATE

Wilmington — Delaware 19801

12 STATE HISTORIC PRESERVATION OFFICER CERTIFICATION

THE EVALUATED SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS PROPERTY WITHIN THE STATE IS

NATIONAL ___ STATE ___ LOCAL X

As the designated State Historic Preservation 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

STATE HISTORIC PRESERVATION OFFICER SIGNATURE [signature]

TITLE Acting Director, Div. of Historical & Cultural Affairs DATE 1/29/79

FOR NPS USE ONLY

I HEREBY CERTIFY THAT THIS PROPERTY IS INCLUDED IN THE NATIONAL REGISTER

DATE

KEEPER OF THE NATIONAL REGISTER

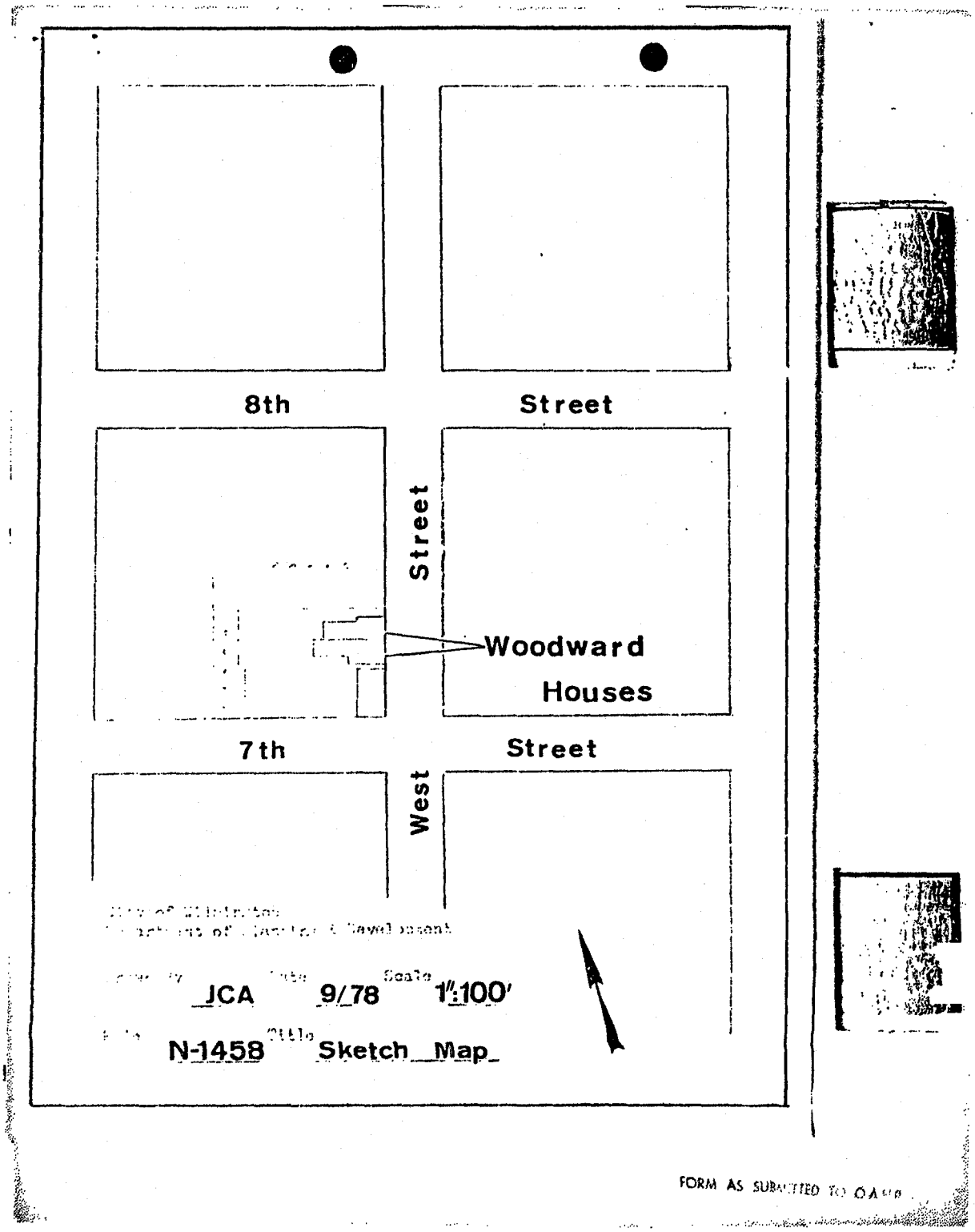
ATTEST DATE

CHIEF OF REGISTRATION

FORM AS SUBMITTED TO OAHP

GPO 921-803

06/20/2002 DE STATE HIST PRESERVATION OFFICE



FORM AS SUBMITTED TO OAHP

06/20/2002 DE STATE HIST PRESERVATION OFFICE

1160
H67

A SURVEY

OF

SELECTED HISTORICAL HOUSES AND AREAS LOCATED WITHIN THE WEST CENTER URBAN RENEWAL PROJECT

[SCHEDULED FOR RAZING BY THE URBAN RENEWAL COMMISSION]

OF

WILMINGTON, DELAWARE

THIS REPORT WAS PREPARED

BY

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF DELAWARE

IN

CONJUNCTION WITH

THE DELAWARE SOCIETY FOR THE PRESERVATION OF ANTIQUITIES

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF DELAWARE

DALE FIELDS	EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
GLADYS M. COGHLAN	MANUSCRIPT LIBRARIAN
CARYL AIMEE PROUD	RESEARCH ASSISTANT
RUTH T. PEOPLES	RESEARCH ASSISTANT

THE DELAWARE SOCIETY FOR THE PRESERVATION OF ANTIQUITIES

W. EMERSON WILSON	HISTORIAN
ALBERT KRUSE	ARCHITECT

Mordecai Woodward, who built these houses, was a rope maker by trade and conducted his business on the land surrounding the houses. The houses are good representatives of a type of house built during the latter part of the eighteenth century in or near the town of Wilmington and as such merit preservation. The integrity of design is good as is their structural condition, and therefore, they are of good educational value. The surrounding neighborhood is fair as is their importance to it. This type of house gives character to an area and should be preserved.

These houses stand on land that was glebe land of Trinity Church and were subject to the payment of quit rent. They date from between 1769, when Mordecai Woodward bought the property from his father, Joseph, and August 18, 1795, when the administrators had to sell the property in order to satisfy the debts against it.

The Woodward family came from the area around West Chester, Pennsylvania. Joseph Woodward and his wife, Rachel, were attracted, as were other members of the Society of Friends, to the Wilmington area probably through the efforts of the Shipley family. As Joseph owned a considerable amount of property in the area, it has not been possible to pinpoint his place of residence. However, the property on West Street contained a rope walk in 1769 when it was sold to Mordecai.

Mordecai Woodward continued the rope manufactury as is shown in the inventory of his estate made in the year 1795, when his death occurred. As he died intestate, letters of administration were granted to Edward Gilpin and John Ferris. The inventories compiled by the administrators and the appraisers, Caleb Seal and Edward Hewes, are in the posses-

sion of The Historical Society of Delaware and are interesting not only from the contents of each room, but also in that they list the arrangement of the rooms of the house. The first floor consisted of a back chamber and a front room; the second floor has a large front chamber, a small front chamber and a back chamber; the third floor has the same room arrangement as the second floor. It is not possible to tell from the inventory if the kitchen was part of the house or not. At the end of the inventories, it is listed as a kitchen with a kitchen chamber, together with a cellar, beehive, hog pen and an entry to the downstairs.

John Dauphin, a French immigrant, purchased the property on March 19, 1796, and it is described as consisting of eight and one half acres, with two stone dwelling houses, a covered rope walk, and a frame house for the preservation of hemp. At his death on the 25th of June, 1796, Jane Dauphin, his wife, inherited the property and continued the manufacture of rope as is shown in the 1814 Directory which lists Frederick Dauphin, her son, as a rope maker.

In 1822, Jane Dauphin sold the property, including the two houses and the rope walk, to Dr. Thomas Shivers, Jr. in settlement of her debts to him. In 1832, the property was sold in settlement of debts to Thomas Shivers, Sr. at a sheriff's sale.

James Asheton Bayard, purchased all the land for $6,025.00. Bayard was a member of a family prominent socially in Maryland, Delaware, and Philadelphia. His father, James A., the elder, served in Congress and as one of the negotiators for the settlement of the War of 1812. He, himself, was a prominent Delaware attorney and served in Congress as a Senator for nearly twenty years. It is highly likely that he

bought the property as an investment, rather than a dwelling.

In 1835, he and his wife, Ann Francis, sold the property to a member of another prominent Wilmington family, Edward Tatnall, in a division of three lots. The first contained the houses which at present are 701-703 West Street.

The Tatnall family was prominent in the business community of Wilmington and the village of Brandywine.

Resource 14

Name: "Tavern at the Sign of the Ship" Marker

Location: South-East Corner of Third and Market Streets
Wilmington, Delaware

Historical significance: The "Tavern at the Sign of the Ship" was one of the few sites specifically pointed out to Rochambeau's soldiers as the place where Lafayette had been treated after he had been wounded during the Battle of Brandywine.
Owned by Patrick O'Flinn, a Revolutionary War soldier, it was later known as the "Happy Retreat." Following Lafayette's visit in October 1824, it was renamed the "LaFayette Hotel." Anna T. Lincoln, *Wilmington Delaware. Three Centuries under Four Flags, 1609-1937* (Rutlan, VT, 1937), pp. 132 and 198. Washington stayed at the tavern as well.

Recommendation: The site is not marked in relation to the W3R. Proper identification of the site could be undertaken by the State of Delaware, the county or a local historical society, or a fraternal community group such as the DAR, SAR, Society of the Cincinnati, or by the Souvenir Français.

Sources: Mary Sam Ward, *Inns and Taverns in Delaware (1800-1850)* MA Thesis, U of DE, 1968)

Dedication of the Marker: 1932

Medium: metal

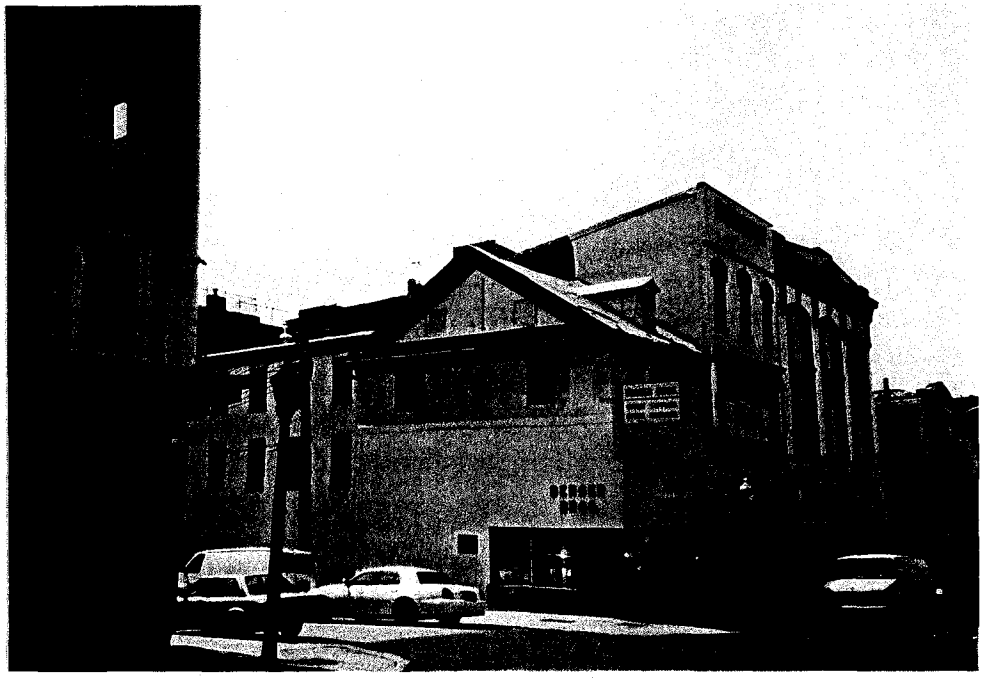
Dimensions: 30 inches wide, 22 inches high

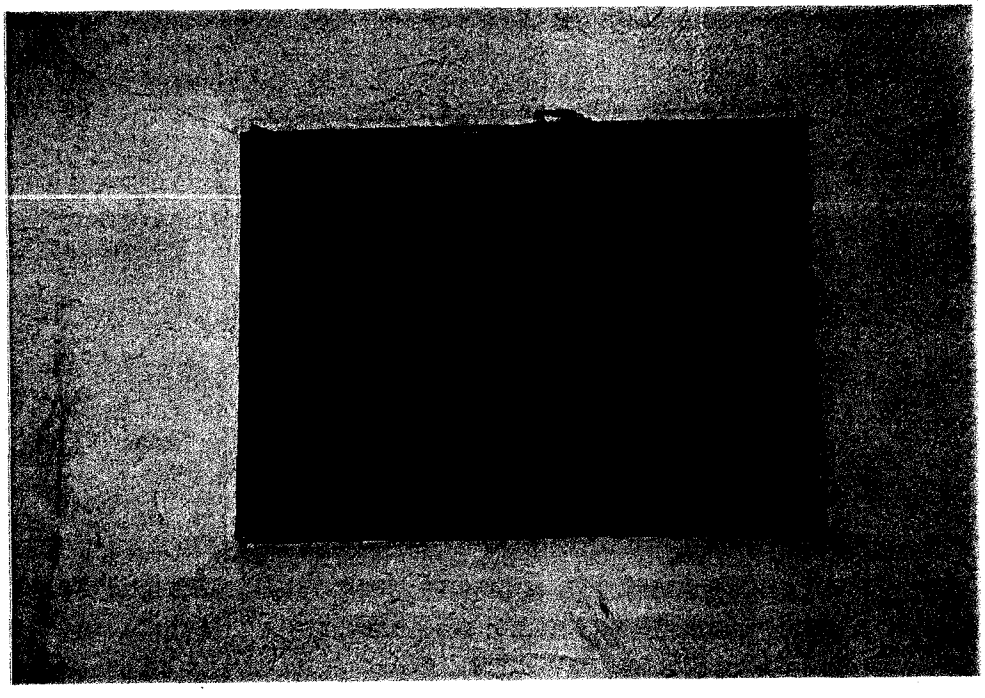
Type: plaque with raised lettering and the seal of the State of Delaware at the top

Inscription: || SIGN OF THE SHIP TAVERN || SITE OF THE FAMOUS TAVERN OF REVOLUTIONARY || DAYS, KNOWN AS "THE SIGN OF THE SHIP." JOHN || MARSHALL WAS THEN INNKEEPER. OFFICERS || OF CONTINENTAL ARMY WERE QUARTERED HERE || WASHINGTON, LAFAYETTE, AARON BURR || AND COMMODORE PERRY WERE AMONG || ITS DISTINGUISHED GUESTS.|| CAPTAIN PATRICK O'FLINN, OFFICER OF || AMERICAN REVOLUTION, WAS PROPRIETOR || 1791 TO 1818 || HISTORIC MARKER COMMISSION - 1932 ||

The plaque shows strong sign of wear and is in need of maintenance.

RESOURCE 14

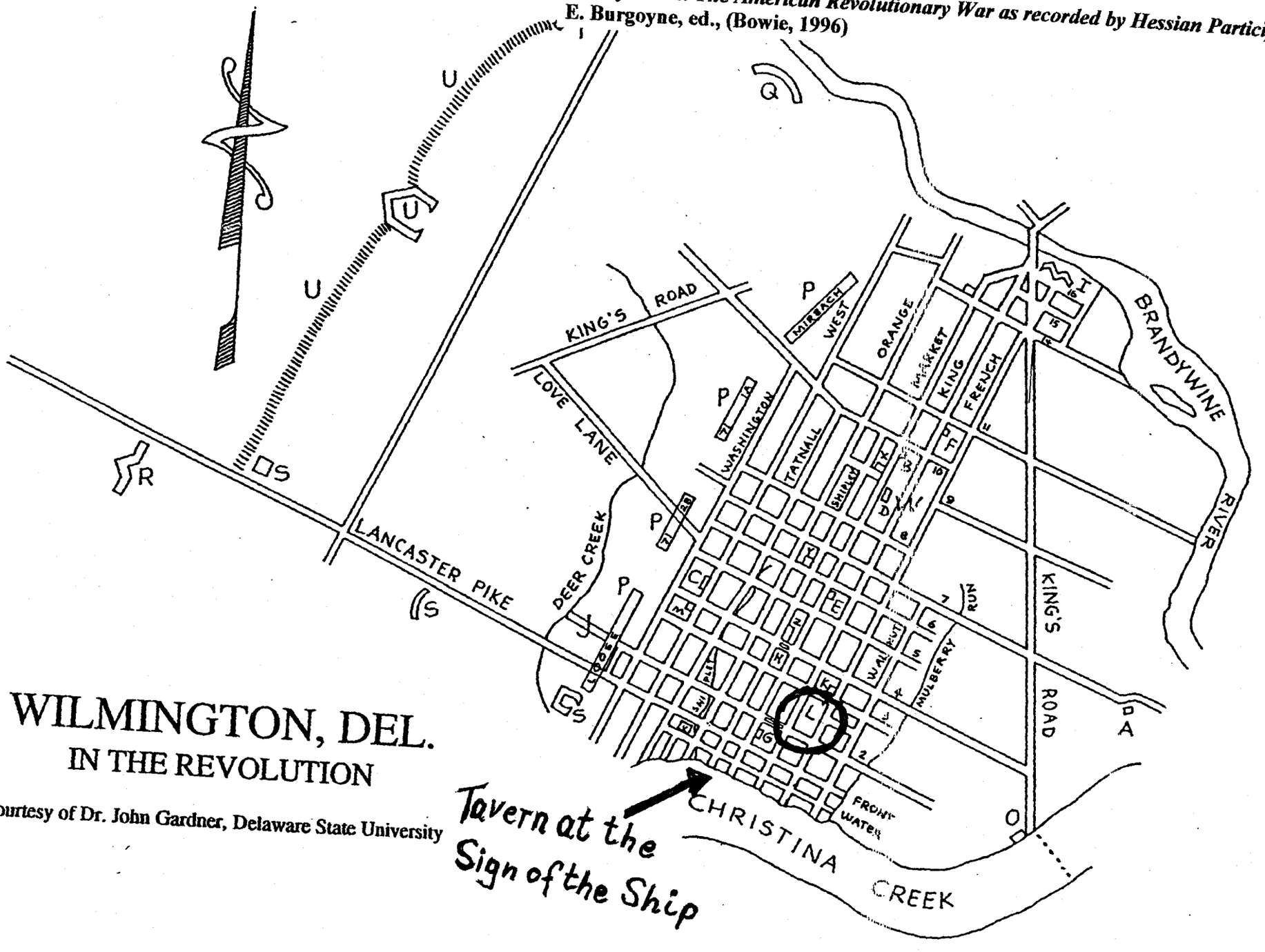




Name: "Tavern at the Sign of the Ship" Marker

Location: South-east corner of Third and Market Streets
Wilmington, Delaware

Enemy Views. The American Revolutionary War as recorded by Hessian Participants Bruce E. Burgoyne, ed., (Bowie, 1996)



WILMINGTON, DEL.
IN THE REVOLUTION

Courtesy of Dr. John Gardner, Delaware State University

Resource 15

Name: Rochambeau Headquarters

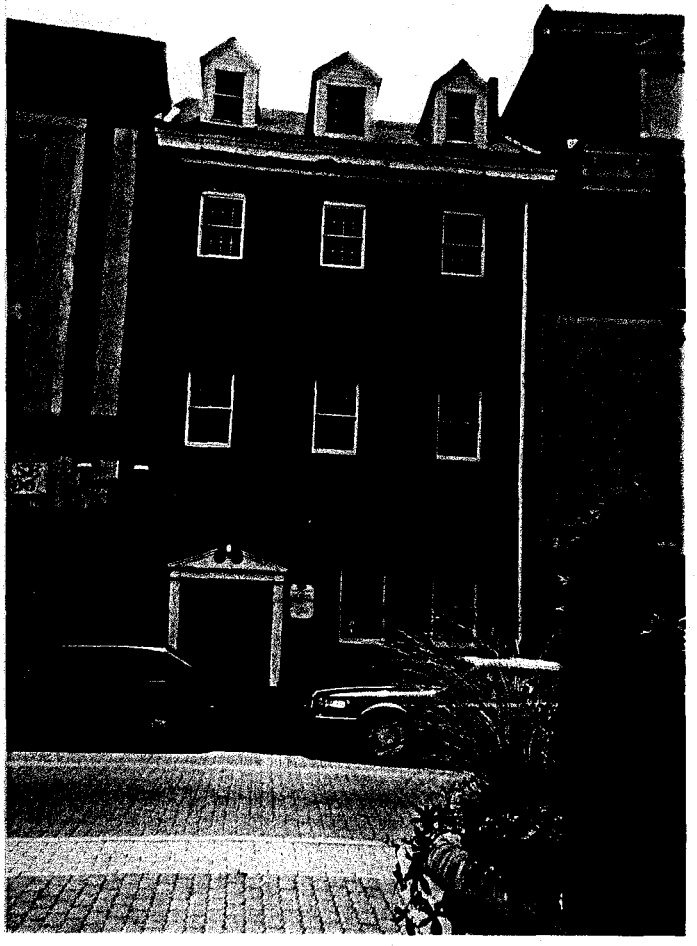
Location: 606 Market Street
Wilmington, Delaware

Historical significance: Rochambeau, who was traveling with his First Division, spent the night of 6/7 September 1781 in this house. Known today as the Louis McLane House, it was owned in 1781 by Judge Gunning Bedford Jr.
The evidence is circumstantial; it is unknown where any other French officers stayed.

Recommendation: The site is not marked in relation to the W3R. Proper identification of the site could be undertaken by the State of Delaware, the county or a local historical society, or a fraternal community group such as the DAR, SAR, Society of the Cincinnati, or by the Souvenir Français.

Sources: Map drawn by Dr. John Gardner map accompanying in his foreword *to Enemy Views. The American Revolutionary War as recorded by Hessian Participants* Bruce E. Burgoyne, ed., (Bowie, 1996), and personal communication from Dr. John Gardner and Dr. Barbara Benson of the Historical Society of Delaware.

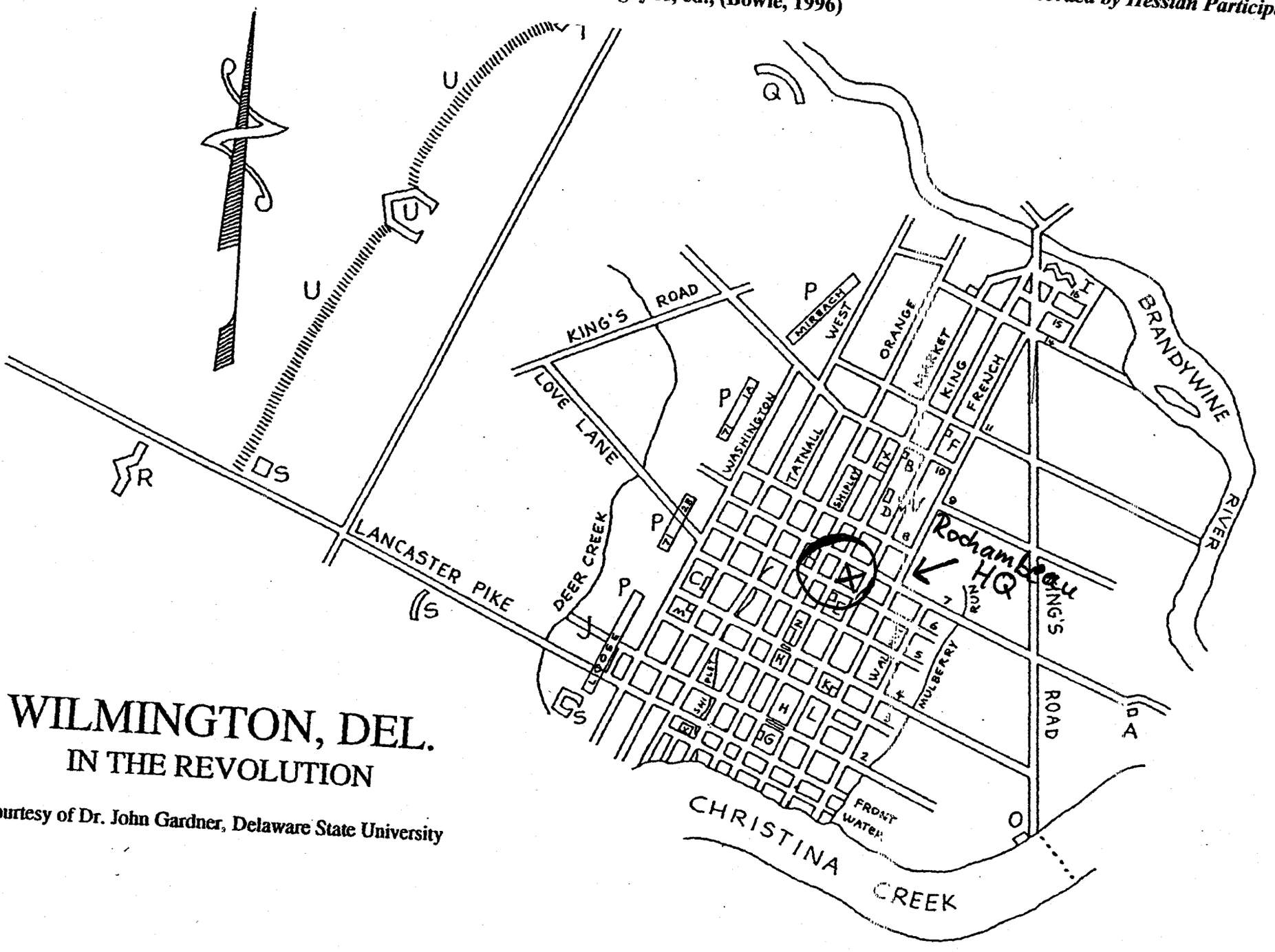
RESOURCE 15



Name: Rochambeau Headquarters

Location: 606 Market Street
Wilmington, Delaware

Enemy Views. The American Revolutionary War as recorded by Hessian Participants Bruce E. Burgoyne, ed., (Bowie, 1996)



WILMINGTON, DEL.
IN THE REVOLUTION

Courtesy of Dr. John Gardner, Delaware State University

N-156

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)

STATE: Delaware
COUNTY: New Castle
FOR NPS USE ONLY
ENTRY NUMBER | DATE

SEE INSTRUCTIONS

1. NAME

COMMON: Louis McLane House
AND/OR HISTORIC: Louis McLane House

2. LOCATION

STREET AND NUMBER: 606 Market Street
CITY OR TOWN: Wilmington

STATE:	CODE	COUNTY:	CODE
Delaware	10	New Castle	003

3. CLASSIFICATION

CATEGORY (Check One)	OWNERSHIP		STATUS	ACCESSIBLE TO THE PUBLIC
☐ District ☒ Building ☐ Site ☐ Structure ☐ Object	☐ Public ☒ Private ☐ Both	Public Acquisition: ☐ In Process ☐ Being Considered	☒ 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)	
☐ Educational	☐ Military	☐ Religious		
☐ Entertainment	☐ Museum	☐ Scientific		

4. OWNER OF PROPERTY

OWNER'S NAME: Oscar D. Tanenbaum & Samuel Wachtel
STREET AND NUMBER: 606 Market Street
CITY OR TOWN: Wilmington
STATE: Delaware
CODE: 10

5. LOCATION OF LEGAL DESCRIPTION

COURTHOUSE, REGISTRY OF DEEDS, ETC: Public Building
STREET AND NUMBER: Rodney Square
CITY OR TOWN: Wilmington
STATE: Delaware
CODE: 10

6. REPRESENTATION IN EXISTING SURVEYS

TITLE OF SURVEY:
DATE OF SURVEY: ☐ Federal ☐ State ☐ County ☐ Local
DEPOSITORY FOR SURVEY RECORDS:
STREET AND NUMBER:
CITY OR TOWN:
STATE:
CODE:

STATE: | COUNTY: | FOR NPS USE ONLY: ENTRY NUMBER | DATE

06/18/2002 DE STATE HIST PRESERVATION OFFICE

7. DESCRIPTION

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

DESCRIBE THE PRESENT AND ORIGINAL (If known) PHYSICAL APPEARANCE

Once one of the handsomest eighteenth-century houses in Wilmington, the Louis McLane House has suffered the fate of so many urban structures in the process of being converted to suit commercial needs. Very little of the original fabric remains, apart from the exterior brick work. Even this has seen alterations on the first two floors of the facade.

A twentieth-century storefront completely obliterates the first floor of the three-and-a-half-story, three-bay structure. Formerly an arched and keystoned doorway marked the right bay of this story. On the second floor there is evidence of three windows, each having a semi-circular arched top with radiating voussoirs. A nineteenth-century photograph shows only rectangular shuttered windows where the bricked-in arches and picture window now are. The windows of the third floor remain relatively unchanged, while the single, gable-roofed dormer is now flanked by two more of a slightly smaller size. These dormers admit light into the attic story, of which some of the original fabric is still visible although in rather poor condition. The third-floor interior is completely hidden by a tar paper covering over the floor and walls. The first and second floor have been completely gutted. All that is left to be reminiscent of its former elegance and eighteenth-century craftsmanship is the finely detailed, denticulated cornice and the Flemish bond brick coursing which has been painted white in this century.

SEE INSTRUCTIONS

06/18/2002 DE STATE HIST PRESERVATION OFFICE

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		_____
☐ Agriculture	☐ Invention	☐ Science	_____
☐ Architecture	☐ Landscape Architecture	☐ Sculpture	_____
☐ Art		☐ Social/Humanitarian	_____
☐ Commerce	☐ Literature		_____
☐ Communications	☐ Military	☐ Theater	_____
☐ Conservation	☐ Music	☐ Transportation	_____

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

This town house on the east side of Market Street in Wilmington was built by a well-to-do merchant and industrialist, Rumford Dawes, during the middle years of the eighteenth century. It was occupied by Judge Gunning Bedford, Jr. before he moved to his country seat, Lombardy, in 1792. Bedford was a member of the Continental Congress in 1783 and Attorney General of Delaware in 1784. He also served as a member of the Delaware General Assembly. At the Constitutional Convention of 1787, he threatened that Delaware might ally itself with a foreign power unless the small states received equal representation. However, the most famous owner of the house at 606 Market was Louis McLane.

Louis McLane was born at Smyrna in 1784, the son of Allen McLane, a famous Revolutionary War officer. He was, however, to surpass his father's fame in the political field. As a rising young attorney McLane moved into the house on Market Street in 1815, the year in which he became president of the Wilmington branch of the Farmers Bank. In 1817, he became a member of the United States House of Representatives, where he served until 1827. Although a Federalist in a Republican Congress, he was from 1823 to 1827 chairman of the Ways and Means Committee. From 1827 to 1829, he was United States Senator. He resigned when President Jackson appointed him minister to England and it was perhaps in this position that he best served his country, creating there a great feeling of good will and high esteem for the United States. He returned to serve as Secretary of the Treasury from 1831-3 and Secretary of State in 1833-4. His great desire to become a judge was never fulfilled, for he retired from public life in 1834 because of political pressure in Washington.

After his resignation from Jackson's Cabinet in 1834, McLane moved from Delaware to become president of the Morris Canal and Banking Company in New Jersey. He was President of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad from 1837 to 1848, except for 1845-1846, when he took leave to return to England to serve as minister and to negotiate the Cession of Oregon. He died at Baltimore in 1857.

SEE INSTRUCTIONS

06/18/2002 DE STATE HIST PRESERVATION OFFICE

Form 10-300a
(July 1969)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

(Continuation Sheet)

STATE	
Delaware	
COUNTY	
New Castle	
FOR NPS USE ONLY	
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

(Number all entries)

8. STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE (continued)---

Martin Van Buren, Stephen Van Rensellaer, and other public figures of the period, visited here frequently. The McLane children born here included Robert McLane, congressman, Governor of Maryland and U.S. Minister to China and France; Louis McLane, Jr., President of Wells Fargo Express Company and one of the originators of the Pony Express; Allan McLane, later President of the Panama Pacific steamship line; and Lydia McLane, later the wife of General Joseph Eggleston Johnston, C.S.A.

06/18/2002 DE STATE HIST PRESERVATION OFFICE

9. MAJOR BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES

Biographical and Geneological History of the State of Delaware. Chambersburg (Pa.): J. M. Runk & Co., 1899.

Art Work of Wilmington, Delaware. Chicago: W. K. Parish Pub. Co., 1893.

McLane, Catherine M. Biography of Louis McLane. Unpublished.

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	44	32	75	33	02
NE	°	'	"	°	'	"							
SE	°	'	"	°	'	"							
SW	°	'	"	°	'	"							

APPROXIMATE ACREAGE OF NOMINATED PROPERTY: Under ½ acre

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

11. FORM PREPARED BY

NAME AND TITLE:
Joan M. Norton, Historic Site Surveyor

ORGANIZATION: Division of Historical and Cultural Affairs
DATE: 10/13/72

STREET AND NUMBER:
Hall of Records

CITY OR TOWN: Dover
STATE: Delaware
CODE: 10

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 E. Berkeley Tompkins
Dr. E. Berkeley Tompkins

Title Director, Div. of Historical and Cultural Affairs

Date 11-27-72

NATIONAL REGISTER VERIFICATION

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

Chief, Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation

Date

ATTEST:

Keeper of The National Register

Date

SEE INSTRUCTIONS

06/18/2002 DE STATE HIST PRESERVATION OFFICE

Form 10-301
(July 1969)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
PROPERTY MAP FORM

(Type all entries - attach to or enclose with map)

STATE	
Delaware	
COUNTY	
New Castle	
FOR NPS USE ONLY	
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

SEE INSTRUCTIONS

1. NAME

COMMON: Louis McLane House

AND/OR HISTORIC: Louis McLane House

2. LOCATION

STREET AND NUMBER:
606 Market Street

CITY OR TOWN:
Wilmington

STATE:	CODE	COUNTY:	CODE
Delaware	10	New Castle	003

3. MAP REFERENCE

SOURCE:
USGS Map, Wilmington South Quadrangle, 7.5 minute series

SCALE: 1:24000

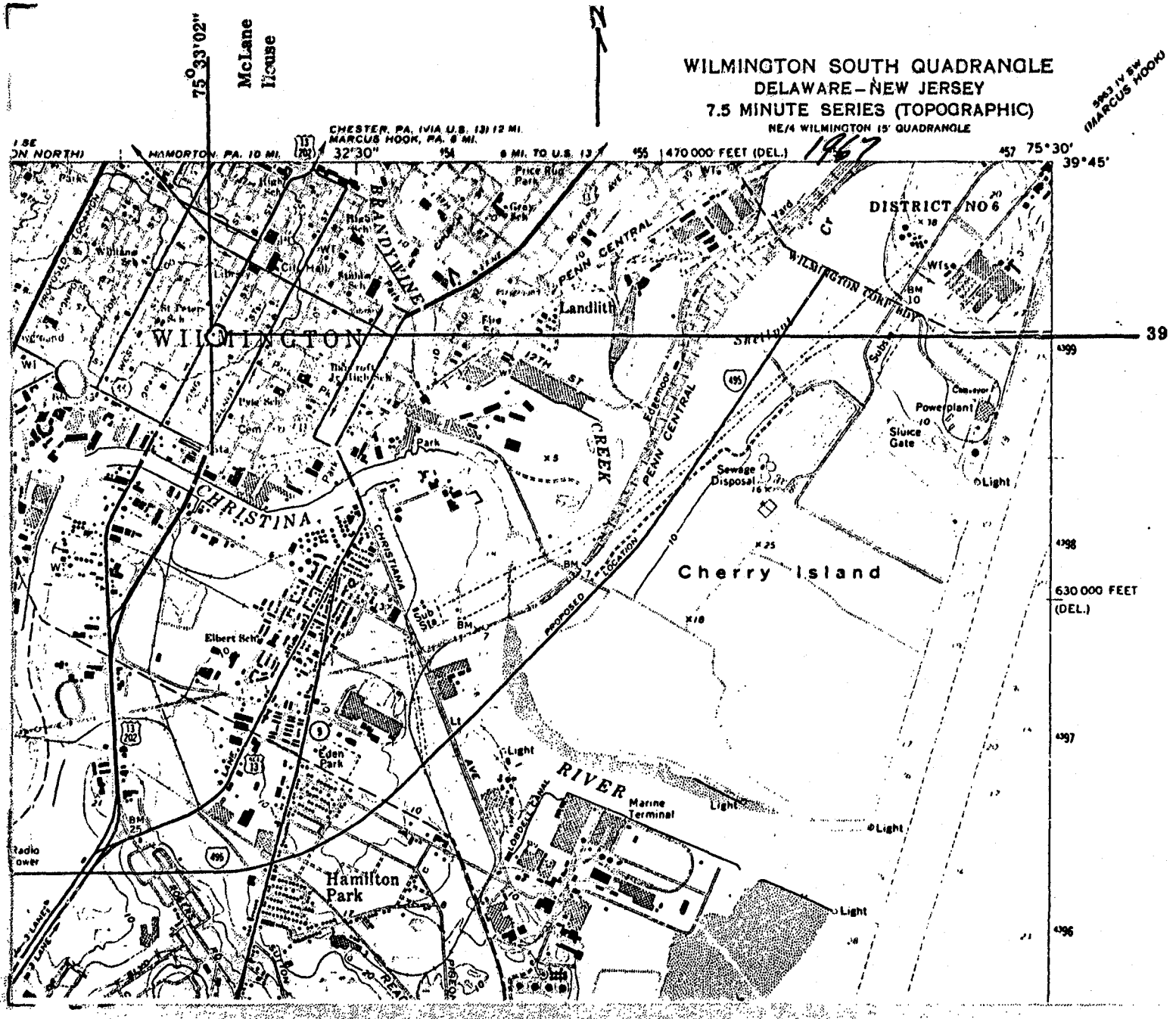
DATE: 1967

4. REQUIREMENTS

TO BE INCLUDED ON ALL MAPS

1. Property boundaries where required.
2. North arrow.
3. Latitude and longitude reference.

06/18/2002 DE STATE HIST PRESERVATION OFFICE



06/18/2002 DE STATE HIST PRESERVATION OFFICE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
PROPERTY PHOTOGRAPH FORM

(Type all entries - attach to or enclose with photograph)

STATE	
Delaware	
COUNTY	
New Castle	
FOR NPS USE ONLY	
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

SEE INSTRUCTIONS

1. NAME

COMMON: Louis McLane House

AND/OR HISTORIC: Louis McLane House

2. LOCATION

STREET AND NUMBER:
606 Market Street

CITY OR TOWN:
Wilmington

STATE:	CODE	COUNTY:	CODE
Delaware	10	New Castle	003

3. PHOTO REFERENCE

PHOTO CREDIT:

DATE OF PHOTO:

NEGATIVE FILED AT:

4. IDENTIFICATION

DESCRIBE VIEW, DIRECTION, ETC.

Photostat from Art Work of Wilmington - Louis McLane House, 1893
(4th from right)

06/18/2002 DE STATE HIST PRESERVATION OFFICE

UNIVERSITY OF DELAWARE
NEWARK, DELAWARE
19711

COLLEGE OF ARTS & SCIENCE
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
127 MEMORIAL HALL
PHONE: 302-738-2371

July 11, 1972

HISTORIC REGISTRARS
OFFICE
JUL 13 1972
RECEIVED

Mr. Edward Heite
Hall of Records
Dover, Delaware 19901

Dear Ned:

Please consider for listing on the National Register of Historical Sites the building at 606 Market Street in Wilmington. This building was built by the well-to-do Wilmington merchant Rumford Dawes in the 18th century as his home. After the Revolution it was occupied by one of the leading French families that took refuge in Wilmington from the Haitian revolutions, and it also became the town house of Gunning Bedford, Jr., probably before he moved to "Lombardy" on the Concord Pike. In 1813, Louis McLane bought the house from Rumford Dawes' heirs and brought his bride here. It was then one of the handsomest houses in Wilmington, and something of its beauty may be seen by anyone standing acro. the street and looking at the facade above the street-floor store front.

In this house McLane lived while he made his political reputation, as Congressman (winning more elections to the House than any other Delawarean), Senator, Minister to England, Secretary of the Treasury, and Secretary of State. For a time while he resided here he was the most powerful (by which I mean most influential) man in the United States, except for his friend President Andrew Jackson. At this house he was visited by prominent Congressmen and Senators, cabinet members and diplomats, vice presidents and future presidents.

Sincerely yours,

John A. Munroe

JAM/jcg

06/18/2002 DE STATE HIST PRESERVATION OFFICE

Resource 16

Name: French Army Camp 2a

Location: near Stanton Shopping Center on DE SR 4
Newport, Delaware

Historical significance: Coming from Chester, Pennsylvania, the Second Division of the French Army, more than 2,000 officers and men up to 1,000 horses and oxen, marched through Wilmington and camped on this site on 6/7 September 1781.

Recommendation: The site is not marked in relation to the W3R. Proper identification of the site could be undertaken by the State of Delaware, the county or a local historical society, or a fraternal community group such as the DAR, SAR, Society of the Cincinnati, or by the Souvenir Français.

Sources: The campsite is not identified in the series of encampment maps drawn by Louis-Alexandre Berthier and reproduced in Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, Vol. II. The location of the campsite is almost identical with that of Camp 25 of the return march on 29/30 and 30/31 August 1782. See Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, Vol. II, map 135. For the location of the campsite in 1781 see also Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns* Vol. 2, p. 80.

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

Note: see **Resource 21**.

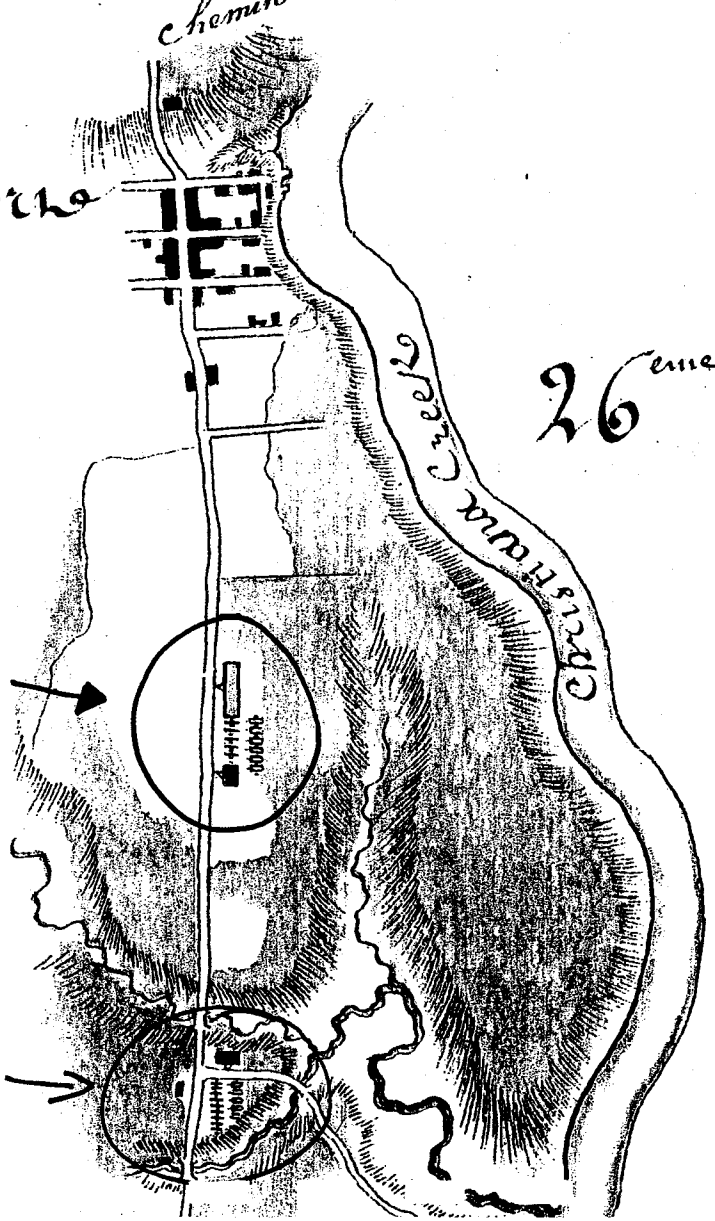
RESOURCE 16

Name: French Army Camp 2a

Location: near Stanton Shopping Center on DE SR 4
Newport, Delaware

25eme Camp a Newport le 29 Aoust 16 Miles 1/2
d'Head of Elk

1782



26eme Camp à Chester le 30 d
15. Miles de New

Howard C. Rice, Jr., and Anne S. K. Brown, eds.,
The American Campaigns of Rochambeau's Army, 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783
2 vols., (Princeton and Providence, 1972), vol. 2.

de Philadelphie

Resource 17

Name: French Army Camp 2b

Location: Vicinity of Honeysuckle Drive
Newport, Delaware

Historical significance: Coming from Chester, Pennsylvania, the Second Division of the French Army, more than 2,000 officers and men up to 1,000 horses and oxen, marched through Wilmington to Newport. The artillery camped on this site on 6/7 September 1781.

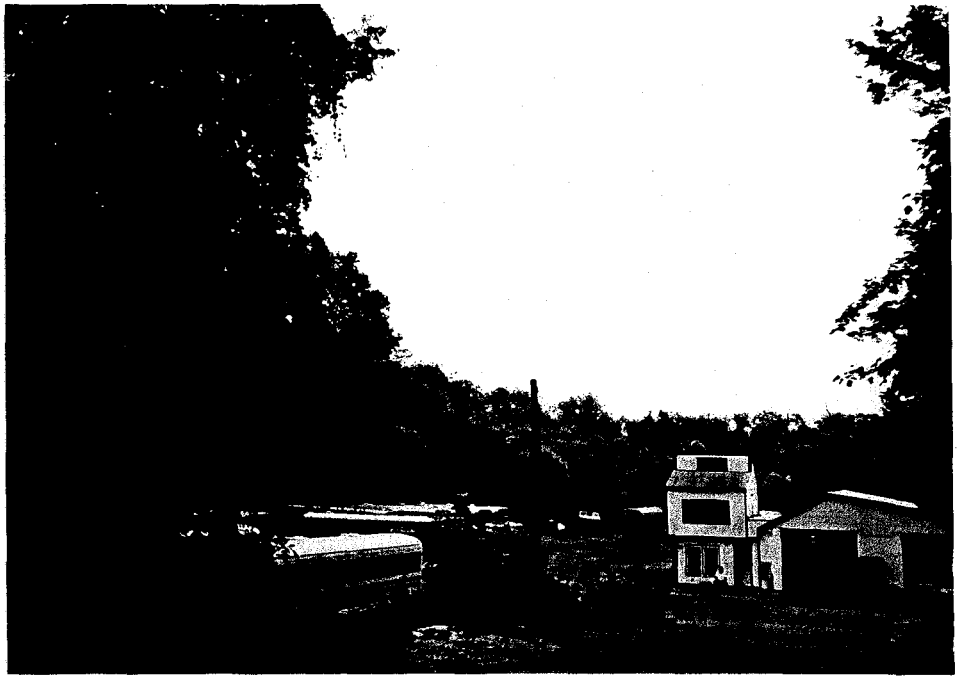
Recommendation: The site is not marked in relation to the W3R. Proper identification of the site could be undertaken by the State of Delaware, the county or a local historical society, or a fraternal community group such as the DAR, SAR, Society of the Cincinnati, or by the Souvenir Français.

Sources: The campsite is not identified in the series of encampment maps drawn by Louis-Alexandre Berthier and reproduced in Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, Vol. II. The location of the campsite is almost identical with that of Camp 25 of the return march on 29/30 and 30/31 August 1782. See Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, Vol. II, map 135. For the location of the campsite in 1781 see also Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns* Vol. 2, p. 80.

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

Note: see **Resource 22.**

RESOURCE 17

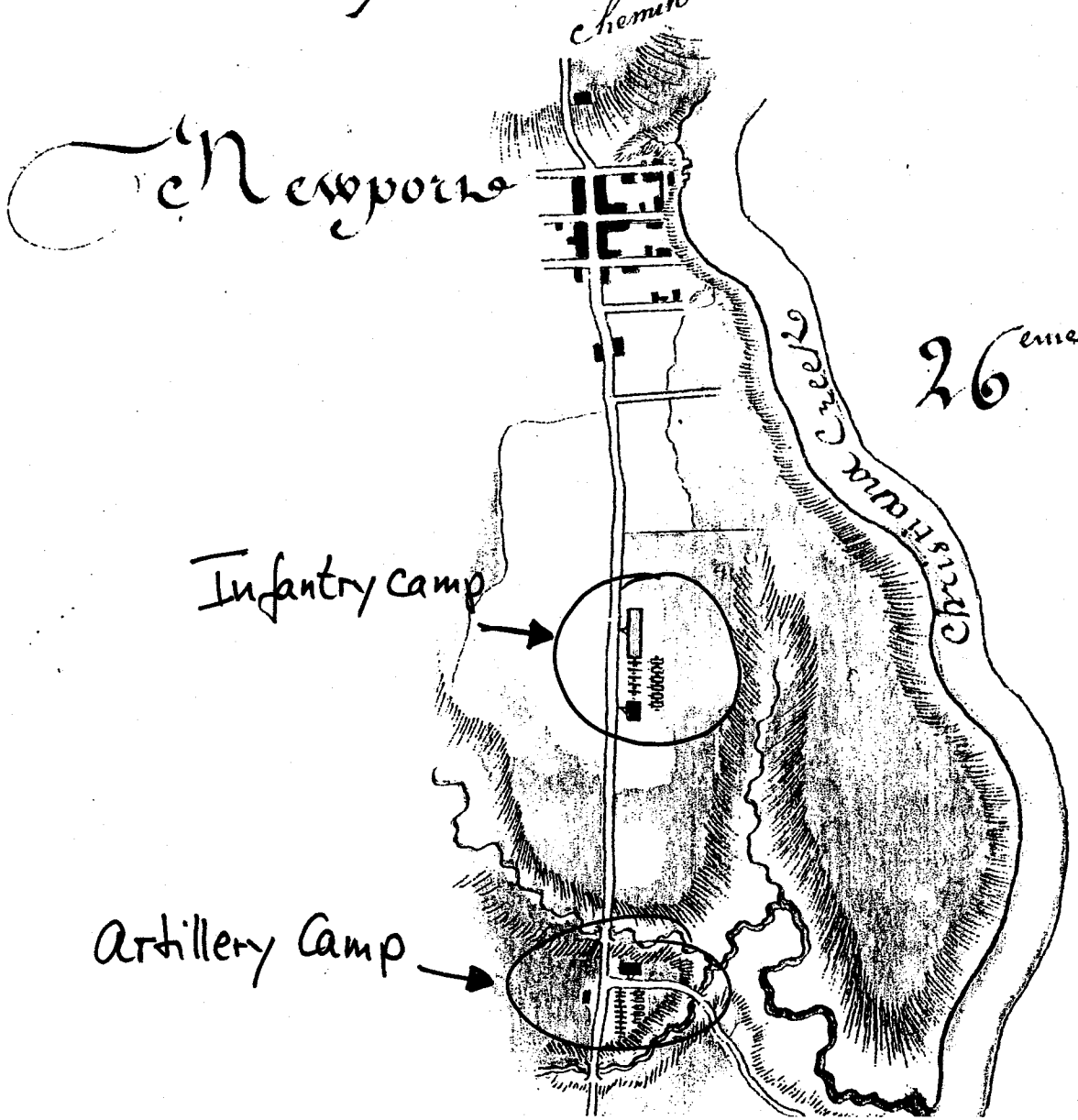


Name: French Army Camp 2b

Location: Vicinity of Honeysuckle Drive
Newport, Delaware

25eme Camp a Newport le 29 Aoust 16 Miles 1/2
1782
d'Head of Elk

Note: This map shows the campsites for 1782. The campsites in the fall of 1781 were at almost the same location.



26eme Camp à Chester le 30 (
15. Miles de Ne

Howard C. Rice, Jr., and Anne S. K. Brown, eds.,
The American Campaigns of Rochambeau's Army, 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783
2 vols., (Princeton and Providence, 1972), vol. 2.

de Philadelphie

RESOURCE 18

Name: Continental Army Camp 2

Location: Baltimore Pike
Christiana, Delaware

Resource 18

Name: Continental Army Camp 2

Location: Baltimore Pike
Christiana, Delaware

Historical significance: Following the victory at Yorktown, the Continental Army departed from Yorktown in early November. The 2nd and 4th New York Regiments, which had left Yorktown on Sunday, 4 November, camped at Christina Bridge on Friday, 30 November 1781. The following day, 1 December 1781, they crossed Delaware and camped at Marcus Hook in Pennsylvania, on their way to winter quarters in Pompton, NJ.

It is more than likely that other units of the Continental Army camped at Christiana Bridge as well on their march north, viz. the Rhode Island Regiment, which spent the winter 1781/82 in Philadelphia. 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, but they did not stop in Delaware.

Recommendation: The site is not marked in relation to the W3R. Proper identification of the site could be undertaken by the State of Delaware, the county or a local historical society, or a fraternal community group such as the DAR, SAR, Society of the Cincinnati, or by the Souvenir Français.

Unlike for the march to Yorktown, however, only the Orderly Book for the 2nd New York Regiment has survived, and further research is necessary to determine possible encampments of Continental Army troops in Delaware in November 1781.

Sources: 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 return march is recorded on pp. 765-768, the encampment in Christiana on p. 767.

Resource 19

Name: Continental Army Hospital

Location: Wilmington Academy (Wilmington Opera House)
818 North Market Street
Wilmington, Delaware

Historical significance: The Wilmington Academy which stood at the site now occupied by the Opera House, had been established in 1773 between 8th and 9th Streets and Market and King Streets in Wilmington. Throughout the Revolutionary War the building was used by all sides as a hospital. It closed in 1802.

For its use as a hospital by Continental Army troops in 1780, and the ensuing damage see the Meeting Minutes of 16 October 1780:

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 ...."
in: Schools, Wilmington Academy, Folder 4, HSD.

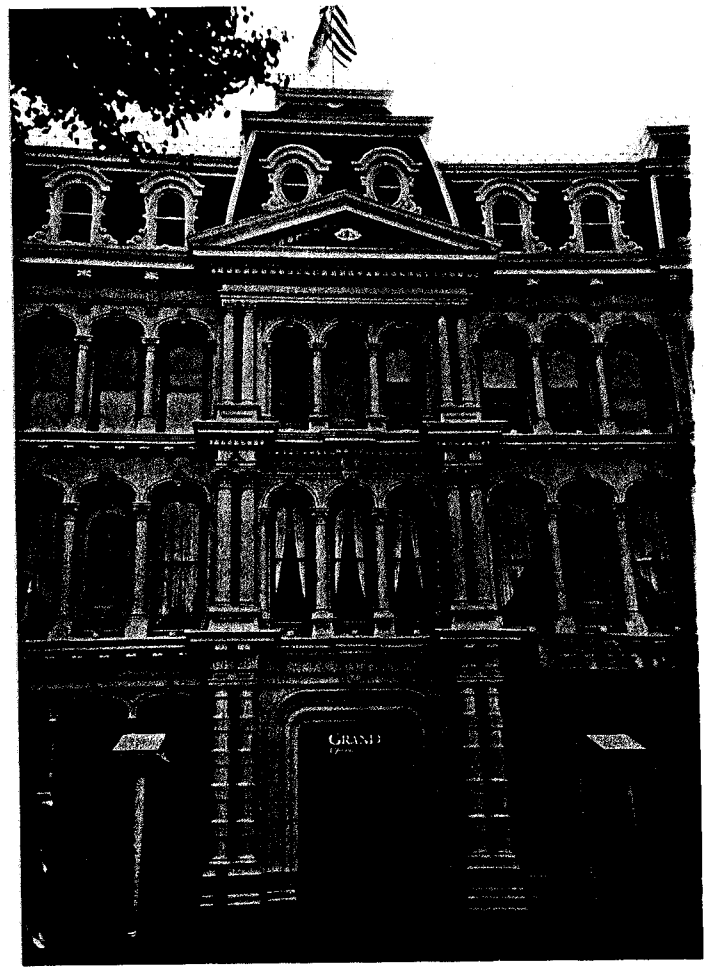
In 1792, the Academy was compensated for its losses.

Recommendation: The site is not marked in relation to the W3R. Proper identification of the site could be undertaken by the State of Delaware, the county or a local historical society, or a fraternal community group such as the DAR, SAR, Society of the Cincinnati, or by the Souvenir Français.

Sources: E. Miriam Lewis, "The Minutes of the Wilmington Academy, 1777-1802." *Delaware History* Vol.3 No. 4 (September 1949), pp. 181-226.

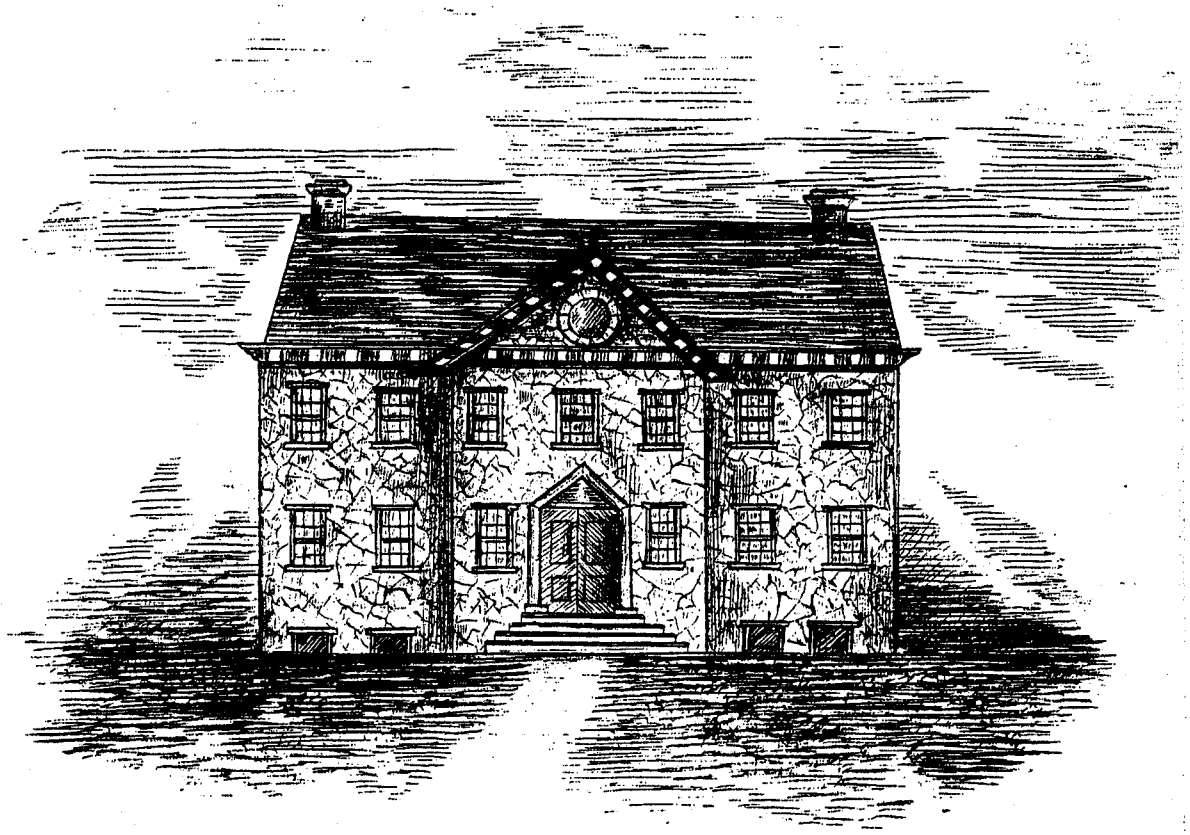
Note: In 1782/83 it served as HQ for Lauzun's Legion. See **Resource 26**.

RESOURCE 19



Name: Continental Army Hospital

Location: Wilmington Academy (Wilmington Opera House)
818 North Market Street
Wilmington, Delaware



The old "Wilmington Academy", Founded 1773.

Historical Society of Delaware
Schools, Wilmington Academy
Folder 4

74.17.3

SECOND CONGRESS

OF THE

UNITED STATES:

At the First Session, begun and held at the City of PHILADELPHIA, in the State of Pennſylvania, on Monday the twenty-fourth of October, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-one.

An ACT *to compenſate the Corporation of Truſtees of the Public Grammar-School and Academy of Wilmington in the State of Delaware, for the occupation of, and damages done to the ſaid School, during the late war.*

BE *it enacted by the* SENATE *and* HOUSE *of* REPRESENTATIVES *of the United States of America in Congreſs aſſembled*, That as an indemnification to the corporation of Truſtees of the public grammar-ſchool and academy of Wilmington in the ſtate of Delaware, for the uſe and occupation of the ſaid ſchool, and the damages done to the ſame by the troops of the United States, during the late war, there be granted to the ſaid corporation of Truſtees, a reaſonable compenſation, payable out of any unappropriated money in the treaſury of the United States, which compenſation ſhall be aſcertained by the accounting officers of the treaſury.

JONATHAN TRUMBULL, *Speaker of the Houſe of Repreſentatives.*

JOHN ADAMS, *Vice-Preſident of the United States, and Preſident of the Senate.*

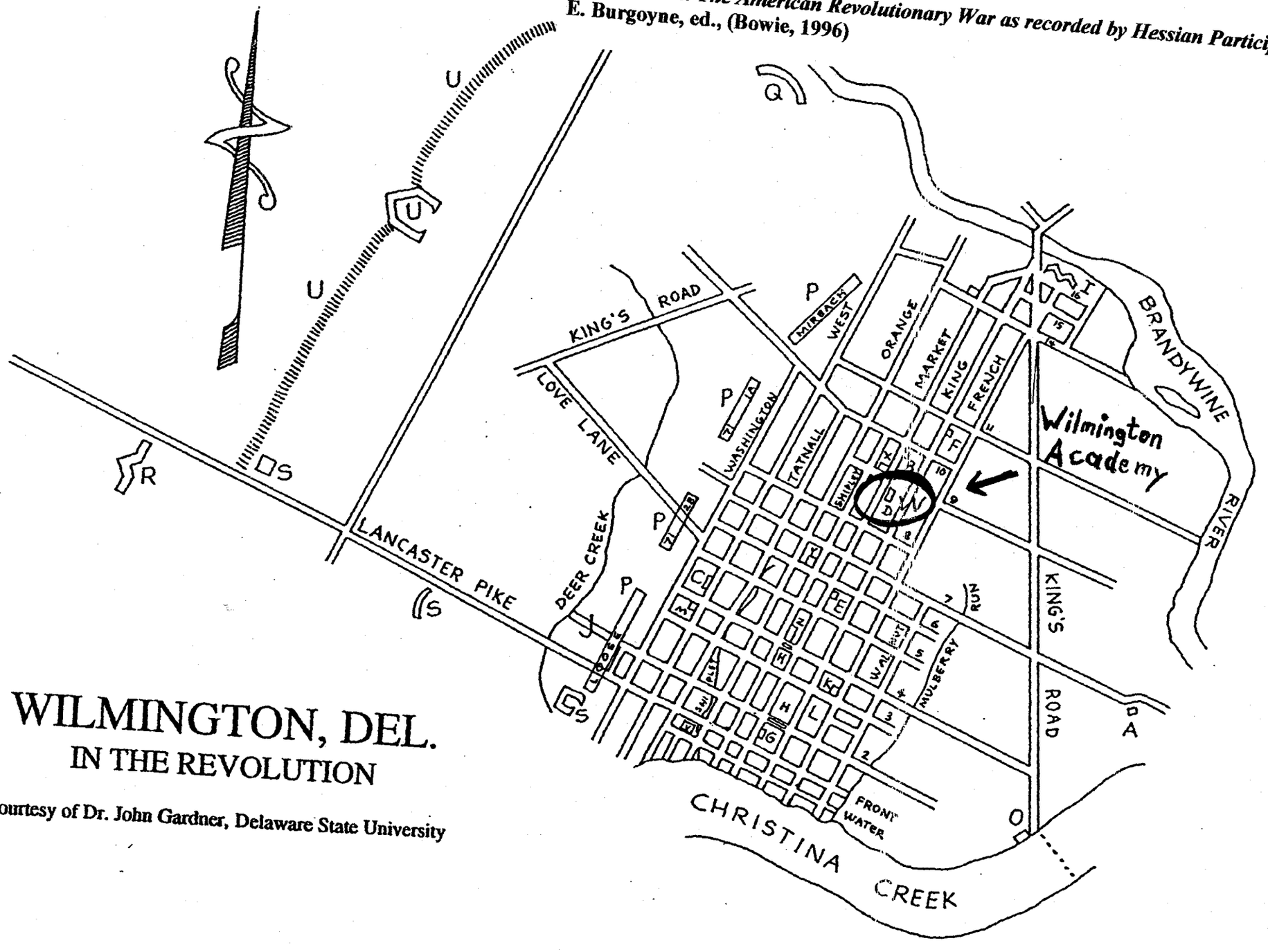
APPROVED, April thirteenth, 1792.

G°. WASHINGTON, *Preſident of the United States.*

DEPOSITED among the Rolls in the office of the Secretary of State.

Secretary of State.

Historical Society of Delaware
Schools, Wilmington Academy
Folder 4



WILMINGTON, DEL.
IN THE REVOLUTION

Courtesy of Dr. John Gardner, Delaware State University

Enemy Views. The American Revolutionary War as recorded by Hessian Participants Bruce E. Burgoyne, ed., (Bowie, 1996)

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)

STATE: Delaware
COUNTY: New Castle

FOR NPS USE ONLY

ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

SEE INSTRUCTIONS

1. NAME

COMMON: The Masonic Hall and Grand Theater

AND/OR HISTORIC: The Masonic Temple and Grand Opera House

2. LOCATION

STREET AND NUMBER: 818 North Market Street

CITY OR TOWN: Wilmington

STATE	CODE	COUNTY	CODE
Delaware	10	New Castle	003

3. CLASSIFICATION

CATEGORY (Check One)	OWNERSHIP		STATUS	ACCESSIBLE TO THE PUBLIC
☐ District ☒ Building ☐ Site ☐ Structure ☐ Object	☐ Public ☒ Private ☐ Both	Public Acquisition: ☐ In Process ☐ Being Considered	☒ 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) Masonic meetings	Includes theater, shops, offices &meeting rooms
☐ Educational	☐ Military	☐ Religious		
☒ Entertainment	☐ Museum	☐ Scientific		

4. OWNER OF PROPERTY

OWNER'S NAME: Masonic Hall Company of Wilmington

STREET AND NUMBER: 818 North Market Street

CITY OR TOWN	STATE	CODE
Wilmington	Delaware	10

5. LOCATION OF LEGAL DESCRIPTION

COURTHOUSE, REGISTRY OF DEEDS, ETC: Registry of Deeds, Public Building

STREET AND NUMBER: 11th and King Streets

CITY OR TOWN	STATE	CODE
Wilmington	Delaware	10

6. REPRESENTATION IN EXISTING SURVEYS

TITLE OF SURVEY:

DATE OF SURVEY: ☐ Federal ☐ State ☐ County ☐ Local

DEPOSITORY FOR SURVEY RECORDS:

STREET AND NUMBER:

CITY OR TOWN	STATE	CODE

STATE: COUNTY: ENTRY NUMBER: DATE: FOR NPS USE ONLY

Site of Wilmington Academy

06/19/2002 DE STATE HIST PRESERVATION OFFICE

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

The University of Delaware is today the principal institution of higher learning in the State. Although it has held this position for a half-century or more, the institution's earlier history was marked by a series of crises that sometimes threatened its very existence.

Old College, and the subsidiary structures that surround it, stand as reminders of the struggles and sacrifices that produced the present insitution. Although the old Delaware College buildings still are an integral part of the University complex, the center of activity has moved to the new campus buildings farther to the south.

Old College

Old College has dominated the hill above Main Street since 1833, but Delaware College had its beginnings nearly a century earlier. Francis Alison, pastor of the New London Church in Chester County, Pennsylvania, began the school in a small way in his home.

The Presbyterian Synod of Philadelphia had planned to open a seminary in 1739, but the war with Spain interfered with fund-raising efforts. As an alternative, the Synod adopted Alison's school as its own in 1743. Nine years later, Alison left to become professor of moral philosophy at Philadelphia Academy. After a brief stay in Maryland, the school was transferred to Newark in 1764. Thomas and Richard Penn, the proprietors, granted the academy a charter two years later. Contributions solicited from the Penns and from others in England, including Lord North and Samuel Johnson, enabled the trustees to start an endowment fund.

The Revolution and subsequent unsettled conditions forced the school to close from 1777 to 1780 and again from 1796 to 1799. Shortly after the school was revived, the trustees began to plan for its expansion into a college. In 1818, they were authorized to raise money through a lottery and in 1821 through a tax on stage lines and steamboats. In 1833, New Ark College was chartered, and construction of the present Old College was begun. The academy trustees, searching for an architect, settled on a design by Charles Bulfinch of Boston, the Architect of the Capitol. The trustees'

SEE INSTRUCTIONS

06/19/2002 DE STATE HIST PRESERVATION OFFICE

Resource 20

Name: Golden Fleece Tavern

Location: Corner of State Street and the Dover Green
Dover, Delaware

Historical significance: On 22 June 1782, the Golden Fleece Tavern was the site of the official celebrations for the birth of the dauphin of France.

Recommendation: The site is not marked in relation to the W3R. Proper identification of the site could be undertaken by the State of Delaware, the county or a local historical society, or a fraternal community group such as the DAR, SAR, Society of the Cincinnati, or by the Souvenir Français.

Sources: 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. Mary Sam Ward, *Inns and Taverns in Delaware (1800-1850)* MA Thesis, U of DE, 1968).

Note: French officers from the *l'Aigle* and *la Gloire* also stayed at the Golden Fleece during the night of 14/15 September 1781.

Since the text of the marker does not contribute to the W3R in DE project, it is not reproduced here.

RESOURCE 20

Name: Golden Fleece Tavern

Location: Corner of State Street and the Dover Green
Dover, Delaware

K399 See also K-209

Form No 10-300 (Rev 10-74)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES INVENTORY -- NOMINATION FORM

FOR NPS USE ONLY
RECEIVED
DATE ENTERED

SEE INSTRUCTIONS IN *HOW TO COMPLETE NATIONAL REGISTER FORMS*
TYPE ALL ENTRIES -- COMPLETE APPLICABLE SECTIONS

1 NAME

HISTORIC: Dover, Brother's Portion

AND/OR COMMON: Dover Green Historic District

2 LOCATION

STREET & NUMBER: Between North, South, and East Streets and Governors Avenue — NOT FOR PUBLICATION

CITY, TOWN: Dover — VICINITY OF — CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT: One

STATE: Delaware — CODE: 10 — COUNTY: Kent — CODE: 001

3 CLASSIFICATION

CATEGORY	OWNERSHIP	STATUS	PRESENT USE	
X DISTRICT	PUBLIC	X OCCUPIED	AGRICULTURE	X MUSEUM
BUILDING(S)	PRIVATE	UNOCCUPIED	X COMMERCIAL	X PARK
STRUCTURE	X BOTH	WORK IN PROGRESS	EDUCATIONAL	X PRIVATE RESIDENCE
SITE	PUBLIC ACQUISITION	ACCESSIBLE	ENTERTAINMENT	X RELIGIOUS
OBJECT	IN PROCESS	YES: RESTRICTED	X GOVERNMENT	SCIENTIFIC
	BEING CONSIDERED	X YES: UNRESTRICTED	X INDUSTRIAL	TRANSPORTATION
		NO	MILITARY	OTHER:

4 OWNER OF PROPERTY

NAME: State, County, City Governments, and Private Owners

STREET & NUMBER:

CITY, TOWN: — VICINITY OF — STATE:

5 LOCATION OF LEGAL DESCRIPTION

COURTHOUSE, REGISTRY OF DEEDS, ETC.: Kent County Court House

STREET & NUMBER: The Green

CITY, TOWN: Dover — STATE: Delaware

6 REPRESENTATION IN EXISTING SURVEYS

TITLE: Survey of Delaware Historic Sites and Buildings (See Description for Numbers)

DATE: 1973-1976 — FEDERAL X STATE — COUNTY — LOCAL

DEPOSITORY FOR SURVEY RECORDS: Hall of Records

CITY, TOWN: Dover — STATE: Delaware

07/18/2002 DE STATE HIST PRESERVATION OFFICE

7 DESCRIPTION

CONDITION		CHECK ONE	CHECK ONE
_EXCELLENT	_DETERIORATED	_UNALTERED	X_ORIGINAL SITE
X GOOD	_RUINS	X_ALTERED	_MOVED DATE_____
_FAIR	_UNEXPOSED		

DESCRIBE THE PRESENT AND ORIGINAL (IF KNOWN) PHYSICAL APPEARANCE

The Dover Green Historic District contains most of the inhabited part of eighteenth-century Dover. Reflecting Dover's continuing role as county seat and state capital, the district contains a related group of public buildings, open squares, churches, commercial buildings, office buildings, and residences from all periods during the past two-and-a-half centuries. Since Dover is the capital and county seat, its architecture has always been somewhat more pretentious and stylish than the architecture of surrounding towns.

The district is centered around the Green, established as the Court House Square in 1722. Around this square are preserved, in active use, buildings that illustrate all periods of Dover's history. On the edges of the district are two other eighteenth-century public squares that were laid out to accommodate an Anglican church and a Presbyterian meeting house, respectively. All the buildings in the district continue in active use, many for their original purposes. More than fifty buildings in the district can be termed "historic" in the context of this nomination. The numbers in parentheses refer to the list below and map 3, attached. Shading on the map indicates previous National Register entries.

South of the Green:

The block of State Street between South Street and Water Street contains four eighteenth-century structures. They are the John Banning House (1), Christ Church (4), Christ Church Rectory (41), and 508 South State Street (42). The Banning House and the Rectory are brick houses, two rooms deep, built during the decade of the Revolution. The Banning House is four bays wide, while the Rectory has five bays. They each were built originally to contain both a shop and a residence. The Banning House has been stuccoed, but its brickwork is Flemish bond, as is the brickwork of the Rectory. Christ Church, already on the National Register, is one of the oldest structures in the district. 508 South State Street is one of the few surviving, frame, eighteenth-century houses in the district. The land on which it stands was owned by Caesar Rodney, signer of the Declaration of Independence, who may have built the house. It is a five-bay, clapboard structure with a gambrel roof, one room deep. The other structures in this block were built during the nineteenth century, except the modern highway yard buildings. The Vaughn Law Office (3) reflects a modified form of the Cottage Gothic style, with a central pedimented cross gable. The small houses on the west side of State Street between the highway yard and 508 are two-story frame buildings (42), typical of the average Dover homes built during the second half of the nineteenth century. They stand on the sites of rental houses owned by Bertles Schee before 1768.

The buildings on the block between Water Street and the Green are predominantly eighteenth-century in style. The Bradford-Loockerman House, the King Dougall House and Store House, and the LeFevre House are the earliest structures in this block.

The Bradford-Loockerman House (5), already on the National Register, was built in two sections. The original five-bay, brick portion, dating to around 1747, is Georgian in detail. The later nineteenth-century addition on the south is frame. The garden to the south and east of the house was created during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries on land that has been owned by the Loockerman family and

07/18/2002 DE STATE HIST PRESERVATION OFFICE

their descendents for two centuries. A small, gambrel-roofed frame house that once stood in the garden has been moved to a site on Water Street.

The LeFevre House (40) was built early in the eighteenth century. It is a five-bay, two-story, stuccoed brick house with original panelling and some original hardware. A small office wing, typical of the eighteenth century in Delaware, extends the facade to the north. Victorian trim has been added to the exterior.

Also in this block is the Eagle Tavern (6), previously nominated to the National Register, which shares a party wall with the Bradford-Loockerman House. Built before 1793, it has Flemish-bond brickwork, which has been covered by ashlar stucco, wooden lintels, and a portico. The interior was altered in the nineteenth century and then Georgianized in the twentieth century. Some interior panelling survives.

Another structure of note in this block is the McDowell-Collins Store House (34) which is an early nineteenth-century, frame structure used both as a store and as an office during the nineteenth century. It has been reduced in width to three bays and is covered by many of its original clapboards.

The remaining structures in this block, while not built during the eighteenth century, reflect the style of the period. The only modern intrusions in the block are the Schmittinger and Rodriguez Law Office (36) which was built recently in the eighteenth-century revival style, the Allee Building (33) on the corner of the Green and State Street, the Georgian-revival Hopkins House (35) next to the McDowell-Collins Store, and 420 South State Street.

North of the Green:

The block between the Green and North Street is lined by nineteenth-century commerical buildings. On the northeast corner of the Green and State Street stands the Flemish-bond Parke Building (16), a remnant of the Capitol Hotel built around 1835 on the site of a much earlier tavern that had been operated by the Battell and Cummins families. The hotel was partly dismantled about fifty years ago to make a garden for the Ridgely property on the Green next door. Extending along the east side of State Street to North Street is a row of nineteenth-century office and commercial buildings (17) on the former tavern property. At North Street, a vest-pocket park has replaced the Hinkle store building, a large, brick, nineteenth-century structure that stood on the site of the former tavern stables. The intervening structures gradually replaced the row of small houses and shops that had lined the tavern yard. The one twentieth-century building on the block, a small optometrist's office, replaced a plank house that was said to have been moved from the old jail lot across State Street.

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The west side of this block of State Street contains the best-preserved row of Victorian commercial buildings (18) in Dover. The most ornate of these is the Central Law Building at 312 South State Street, with its 1888 date stone. Built during Delaware's peach prosperity period, it is brick with yellow and black terra-cotta ornaments. Four more brick commercial buildings complete the group. All are three stories high, retaining most of their Victorian exterior trim.

The Green:

The Green, historically and architecturally, is the best-known part of the district. The open square, originally a town market ground, has been a landscaped park since 1846. State Street bisects it, and a roadway outlines its perimeter. During the eighteenth century, the square was surrounded by both brick and frame structures. Few of these early buildings have survived in their original form. Many were remodelled and embellished and some have been torn down and replaced. The eighteenth-century structures that remain in their original state are the Small Frame House, the Old State House, the Parke-Ridgely House, row of three houses (18-22 The Green), and the Terry, Terry, and Jackson Law Office.

The Small Frame House (8) is the oldest documented frame structure on the Green, built before 1793. It is a two-bay, one-and-a-half-story frame house with a pitched roof broken by two shed-roofed dormers. It is typical of the small frame structures that lined the Green during the eighteenth century. The only other intact early frame structure on the Green is the Terry, Terry, and Jackson Law Office (31), built after 1790 in the Federal style. It is a three-bay, clapboard structure with a pitched roof broken by arched dormers. The frontispiece of the main doorway contains a fanlight and arched pediment.

The Parke-Ridgely House (15) is the earliest documented house on the Green. A portion of it dates to around 1728. It has been enlarged and remodelled, but much of its eighteenth-century exterior and interior detail remains. Glazed headers embellish the Flemish-bond brickwork. The main part of the house is five bays, while the office wing to the north is two bays. This office has been raised from a single-story wing to two stories and is now covered by the rebuilt main roof. Extensive additions have been added to the rear.

The row of three houses (18-22 The Green) are of brick, Federal in style, built late in the eighteenth century. The Rodney House (25) incorporates an eighteenth-century structure within its walls, but the present structure is essentially the result of a rebuilding around 1812. The Old State House (11) at the east end of the

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Green was built between 1788 and 1792. Although greatly altered through its long history, it is now being restored to its original appearance; it is already registered.

Around the middle of the nineteenth century, the Green changed in appearance and function from a market square to a landscaped park. In like manner, many of the houses on the Green were either remodelled in the latest styles or torn down and replaced by structures of contemporary styles.

The Dr. James Sykes House (9) in the southeast corner of the Green was originally built between 1812 and 1815. During the 1850's it was completely remodelled in the Italianate style. The roof was raised to add a third floor. Pressed brick was added to the facade, and marble to the fireplaces; elaborate plasterwork embellished the ceilings. A new stone frontispiece was added to the front door.

Likewise, the Joshua Fisher House in the southwest corner of the Green was remodelled in the same style at the same time as the Sykes House. Around 1790 Fisher built a brick house on the lot. In the 1850's Joseph P. Comegys remodelled and virtually replaced it with the present house. The interior is Italianate, with high ceilings, graceful elaborate stairway, a Greek entrance hall, marble fireplace surrounds, and elaborate ceiling plasterwork. This house also has a stone frontispiece. The Italianate style is also evident in other structures on the Green including the Henry Stout House (20), 10 The Green (21), the Kirk Building (13), and the Hope Building (14).

During the 1850's a bank, a church, and a public office building were built on the Green. The former Baptist Church (29), now the Century Club, on the south side of the Green is Greek Revival, with its Palladian window, keystoned lintels, and classic doorway, finished in 1852. The old Farmers Bank Building (26) and the old County Building (12) reflect similar styles. Both are built of brick in the Italianate idiom.

The pressed brick facade of the bank is laid in mechanical bond and is embellished with a moulded brick border below the bracketed cornice. The three-bay facade is delineated by brick pilasters. Raised brick surrounds embellish the triple arched windows on the first floor and the double arched windows on the second floor. The frontispiece of the arched doorway opening repeats the detailing in the brickwork and cornice. A moulded brick watertable marks the basement level. On the south side of the building, a wide veranda with decorative wooden scrollwork and turnings gives access to a frame wing of the main structure. Originally, this wing served as living quarters for a bank officer.

The old County Building is faced entirely in pressed brick laid in mechanical bond. Raised brick pilasters delineate each bay on the front and sides of the building. A raised brick belt course and moulded brick water table mark the first

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and second floors. Below the cornice is a raised brick border and above each of the double segmentally-arched windows are radiating voussoirs. The center bay of the facade is marked by a cross-gable and pierced by a triple arched window. The pedimented frontispiece of the door echoes in detail the decorative brickwork. The building, which once faced the Green, was moved within this century and rotated on a 90% angle so that it now fronts on Court Street.

During the transformation of the Green, in 1873, the Old State House (11) was greatly altered to conform to the new styles. Soon thereafter, the present Kent County Court House (7) was built in the latest style, but it has since been remodelled in the Georgian style.

The Second Empire style is exemplified by the Captain James P. Wilds House (27) at the west end of the Green. This frame house has a high mansard roof, rusticated siding, dormer windows, and porch; it has changed little since it was built. The First National Bank (19), an older Flemish-bond building, received a mansard roof and ornate lintels at about the same time. It stands on the first Dover jail site.

The Cottage Gothic style is evident in 16 The Green (22); the original eighteenth-century frame house was embellished with cross-gables, scroll trim, and vertical battened siding on the front, while the sides and rear retained clapboard siding.

On the site of the eighteenth-century Chew Mansion stands the 1912 Supreme Court Building (10), a former wing of the State House now being remodelled to become a free-standing structure.

North Street, Governors Avenue, and Water Street:

Three streets on the boundaries of the district have historically been occupied by rental housing, stable yards, servants' quarters, and such light industries as blacksmith shops, granaries, and, later, garages and laundries. These areas today continue in this function. North Street has always been the "back yard" for the Green on the south and for the Loockerman Street commercial district on the north. Today it affords rear access for several Green properties, contains a few nineteenth-century frame rental houses, and such subsidiary facilities as parking lots.

Governors Avenue, formerly High Street, was originally only four blocks long, but was extended late in the nineteenth century to become a main crosstown thoroughfare parallel to State Street.

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During the eighteenth century, the properties on the east side of Governors Avenue were backs of the Green and King Street properties. During the nineteenth century, frame houses were built along the street, largely for rental. At least two houses were moved from other parts of town. Inhabitants of the blocks behind the Green were largely white, working-class. Business places have always been interspersed among the houses along this street. North of Water Street, a majority of the original nineteenth-century houses still stand, mixed with business establishments. In this area also is found Meeting House Square, site of the Delaware State Museum, a National Register property outside the district.

The present course of South Street is a short distance south of its eighteenth-century location. The street's present location is on higher ground than the original planned site, which would have been in the bed of Meeting House Branch. The valley of the Branch, now largely occupied by the Division of Highways yard, was Dover's first industrial district. The branch was once dammed to provide power. A sawm[illegible] a basket factory, tanyards, and other industries were built along the branch. Archaeological remains probably survive under the fill, since modern grade is much higher than the original and foundations are shallow. Upstream, Meeting House Branch was polluted by gas plant waste, which gave it the nickname of "Tar Ditch." Effluvia from the tar and the tanyard eventually caused an indignant citizen to buy and fill in the tan pits and caused the town fathers to reroute the branch through a sewer. Elm Terrace, a modern residential street on the approximate original route of South Street east of State, is built over fill dumped in former tan pits. The west end of Elm Terrace stands on fill over the original swampy tract laid out for a church square on the 1717 plan. The east end of Elm Terrace lies over a part of the valley of Meeting House Branch that is thought to have been a dock. The archaeological remains of the dock are probably covered by fill.

Water Street west of State Street contained at least one small house during the eighteenth century. A few still survive as a neat black residential block between State Street and Governors Avenue. On the 1717 plan, Water Street should have been Long Street, the 150'-wide avenue to the river. At King Street, a square was originally planned but abandoned when the Green was laid out in 1722. On the rear of the 200-acre townsite, Eden Hill, a National Register property, was built as a visual termination for the west end of Water Street. West of the present Penn-Central tracks, this original street is now an unused avenue of trees leading to the front of the house.

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DOVER GREEN HISTORIC DISTRICT INVENTORY

1. John Banning House, Old Academy K-218 (529 South State Street), 1770's house and shop, brick, Georgian.

2. 509 South State Street K-375, 19th century, frame.

3. Vaughn Law Office K-376 (507 South State Street), 19th century, frame, Cottage Gothic.

4. Christ Church K-106 (South State and Water streets), early-18th-century, brick church, Georgian, National Register of Historic Places.

5. Bradford-Loockerman House K-104 (419 South State Street), ca. 1747, brick, Georgian, National Register of Historic Places.

6. Eagle Tavern, Murphey House K-377 (417 South State Street), before 1791, brick tavern house, Georgian, nominated to National Register of Historic Places.

7. Kent County Court House K-296 (South State Street and the Green), 1875, brick, neo-Georgian.

8. Small Frame House K-217 (49 The Green), before 1791, frame.

9. Dr. James Sykes House K-226 (45 The Green), 1812-1815 and remodelled 1850's, brick, Federal and Italianate.

10. Supreme Court Building, Site of Chew Mansion K-323 (East end of the Green), 20th century, brick, neo-Georgian.

11. Old State House K-115 (East end of the Green), 1790, brick, Georgian.

12. Old County Building, Welfare Building K-363 (Court Street), 1858, brick, Italianate.

13. Hope Building K-366 (21 The Green), 1850's, brick, Italianate.

14. Kirk Building K-224 (15 The Green), 1858, brick, Italianate.

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DOVER GREEN HISTORIC DISTRICT INVENTORY

15. Parke-Ridgely House K-206 (9 The Green), c. 1728, brick, vernacular.

16. Parke Building, Capitol Hotel K-212 (3 The Green), 1830's, brick, Italianate.

17. 321-301 South State Street K-212, 19th century, brick, Italianate.

18. 300-312 South State Street K-367, 19th century, brick row.

19. First National Bank Building K-367 (4 The Green), 19th century, brick, Second Empire.

20. Henry Stout House K-368 (8 The Green), 19th century, brick, Italianate.

21. 10 The Green K-315, 19th century, brick Italianate.

22. 16 The Green K-369, 18th century, frame, Cottage Gothic embellishments added 19th century.

23. Row of three houses K-210 (18-22 The Green), 18th century, brick Federal, with later additions and alterations.

24. 24 The Green K-370, early 19th century, brick, Federal.

25. Rodney House, Watson House K-215 (26 The Green), late 18th century, brick, Federal.

26. Old Farmers' Bank Building K-225 (30 The Green), 1850's, brick, Italianate.

27. Captain James P. Wilds House, Site of Manlove Homestead K-211 (34 The Green), 1870's, frame, Second Empire.

28. Joshua Fisher House K-220 (36 The Green), 1790, brick, remodelled extensively 1850's, Italianate.

29. Baptist Church, Dover Century Club K-214 (The Green), 1852, brick, Greek revival.

30. 46 The Green K-371, 19th century, frame.

31. Terry, Terry, and Jackson Law Office K-223 (48 The Green), 18th century, frame, Federal.

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32. 54 The Green K-372, 19th century, brick, Federal.

33. Allee Building K-373 (South State Street and the Green), 20th century, brick, neo-Georgian.

34. McDowell-Collins Store House K-345 (408 South State Street), 19th century, frame.

35. 410 South State Street K-378, 19th century, brick.

36. Schmittinger and Rodriguez Law Office K-379 (414 South State Street), 20th century, brick, neo-Georgian.

37. 420 South State Street K-380, 20th century, brick, neo-Georgian.

38. King Dougall Store House K-381 (424 South State Street), 18th century, brick.

39. King Dougall House K-365 (426 South State Street), 18th century, brick.

40. LeFevre House K-232 (436 South State Street), 18th century, brick, Georgian.

41. Christ Church Rectory K-219 (502 South State Street), 18th century, brick, Georgian.

42. 508, 512, 516-518 South State Street K-231 and K-382, 18th and 19th centuries, frame.

43. Industrial Complex

44. Row of 19th-century houses on South Governors Avenue.

45. 19th century North Street structures.

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8 SIGNIFICANCE

PERIOD	AREAS OF SIGNIFICANCE -- CHECK AND JUSTIFY BELOW				
__PREHISTORIC	__ARCHEOLOGY-PREHISTORIC	X_COMMUNITY PLANNING	X_LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE	__RELIGION	
__1400-1499	X_ARCHEOLOGY-HISTORIC	__CONSERVATION	__LAW	__SCIENCE	
__1500-1599	__AGRICULTURE	__ECONOMICS	__LITERATURE	__SCULPTURE	
__1600-1699	X_ARCHITECTURE	__EDUCATION	__MILITARY	X_SOCIAL/HUMANITARIAN	
__1700-1799	__ART	__ENGINEERING	__MUSIC	__THEATER	
__1800-1899	X_COMMERCE	__EXPLORATION/SETTLEMENT	__PHILOSOPHY	__TRANSPORTATION	
__1900-	__COMMUNICATIONS	X_INDUSTRY	X_POLITICS/GOVERNMENT	__OTHER (SPECIFY)	
		__INVENTION			

SPECIFIC DATES

BUILDER/ARCHITECT

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

The Dover Green Historic District has retained its original character since it was laid out in 1722. Although individual buildings have been replaced or altered, land-use has remained constant, and new buildings have been compatible with existing construction.

Government:

In 1683, William Penn first introduced the idea of a town to be called Dover as the court town for Kent. The scheme for broad parks and avenues in Dover was similar to Penn's contemporary plan for Philadelphia. The county bought 200 acres of a tract called Brothers Portion in 1694 and erected a court house shortly thereafter. Streets, squares, and lots were laid out in 1717, but there is record of only one lot sold at that time. In 1722, a new court house was built on the highest part of town. A new court house square, now called the Green, was established there.

Two other squares, Church Square and Meeting House Square, also appeared on the 1717 plan. Like the original 1717 Court House Square, the Church Square was found to be unsatisfactory; around 1734, its location also was shifted to higher ground. Long Street, originally planned at 150 feet wide, was narrowed to 60 feet. Even though the plan was altered and simplified, it remained the rigid gridiron that was to characterize American towns thereafter.

The old court house was sold in 1723 to John Lindsay, who established a tavern there. After the tavern complex burned in the 1860's, Kent County reacquired part of the site, where the present court house was built in 1875.

A scheme to replace the 1722 court house was interrupted by the Revolution. In 1777, the British threat to New Castle caused the capital to be moved to Dover. In 1788, the proposed new court house was begun, but now it was to serve both the state and the county. Until the county vacated its interest in 1873, the State House served both levels of government, and after 1829, also served as town hall. In 1856, the county built a new Italianate office building, designed by Alonzo Reynolds, next to the State House. Moved to a site a short distance away, this structure is now the Welfare Building. The court house of 1875 was originally a three-story building, now reduced to two stories and heavily remodelled in the neo-Georgian taste.

Public offices now occupy other buildings on the Green that were built as business or residential structures. However, these structures have retained their earlier outward appearance.

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Architectural:

Around 1849, the character of the Public Square changed radically. Formal plantings and grass transformed the market square into a formal park. The weekly markets moved out of the district, and continue today on a private lot at the west end of South Street.

Soon thereafter, most of the buildings on the Green were replaced or altered. The result of this rebuilding was the mid-Victorian architecture that characterizes the Green.

A public building, a bank, a commercial building, and a church built during this period still stand on the Green, virtually unaltered.

The Farmers Bank in the 1850's replaced its former quarters with a large brick building on the west side of the square. The county building and its near neighbor, the Kirk Building, were built at this time. A Baptist church and several new residences also were built on the square during the period. Several other houses were rebuilt, practically from the ground up.

Another period of prosperity, twenty years later, saw three mansard roofs built on the Green, reflecting the Second Empire style. Two of these mansards, on the State House and the First National Bank, were parts of massive modernizations. The third crowns the Wilds mansion, which replaced the old Manlove homestead next to the Farmers Bank.

For the ornate styles of late Victorian architecture, the block of State Street between the Green and North Street offers several examples, notably the Central Law Building of 1888, a skilled example of embellished and colored brickwork.

During the twentieth century, three examples of the prevailing Georgian-revival style have appeared: the remodelled court house, the wings of the State House, and the Allee Building at 44 The Green. The Allee Building is a copy of the house in Philadelphia where the Declaration of Independence was drafted.

Social/Humanitarian:

As the center of county and state affairs, the old heart of Dover has witnessed the presence of nationally-known figures. The Reverend Charles Inglis, who was at Dover from 1759 to 1764, later became first Bishop of Nova Scotia. His wife and infant child are buried in Christ Church graveyard. Francis Asbury, one of the first Methodist bishops, preached at the court house and took Holy Communion at Christ Church from his friend Samuel Magaw, the rector. Magaw and his Presbyterian colleague, John Miller, were instrumental in preventing bloodshed between Tory and Continental militia during the uprising of June 1776, Black Monday. Asbury's colleague, Richard Whatcoat, died on the Green at the home of Richard Bassett, where the old Farmers Bank building now stands.

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Mount Vernon owes its survival in great measure to Mrs. Joseph P. Comegys, who looked after the property while Ann Pamela Cunningham, Regent of the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, was isolated behind Confederate lines. Her daughter, Harriet Comegys, served as regent of the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union between 1909 and 1929. Their house is the Joshua Fisher House at 36 The Green.

Mabel Lloyd Ridgely, who lived in the Parke-Ridgely House, was instrumental in the preservation and the 1912 restoration of the Old State House. Throughout her life she led efforts for the preservation of Dover's heritage. She was the founder of the Friends of Old Dover, th· local historical society which works for the preservation of Dover Green and surro ding area. Mrs. Ridgely was a member of the Public Archives Commission for more than a half-century; she was largely responsible for shaping Delaware's official policy toward historical matters.

Education:

One of the best-known educators to live in the district was Judge Willard Hall, acclaimed the founder of Delaware's free school system. His house, the former Eagle Tavern, stands a block from the John Banning house, which served as Dover's academy and later as a free public school.

Political:

John M. Clayton was the most famous statesman to live in the district. He lived for a time in the now-demolished Chew Mansion; he is said to have had his first office in the Dr. James Sykes House. He died at the home of George Truitt Fisher, known as the Joshua Fisher House, and is buried at Meeting House Square. Clayton is best known for his role in framing the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, which paved the way for an American canal across Panama.

Caesar Rodney, whose famous ride to Philadelphia in July of 1776 put Delaware on record for independence, lived in a house at the corner of the Green and Bank Lane that survives in part within a later structure.

Lincoln's proposal for compensated emancipation, a last vain attempt to avoid war, was carried to Delaware slaveholders by George P. Fisher, a resident of the Green. Fisher was unsuccessful, but Lincoln appointed him Chief Justice of the District of Columbia as compensation for a faithful service in which he suffered considerable abuse. Fisher is also known for his recollections, a valuable source document in Dover history.

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Richard Bassett, a signer of the Constitution, lived in a house where the Old Farmers Bank now stands. He also owned the LeFevre House at State and Water streets, the only Delaware house still standing that is associated with him.

Historical Archaeology:

Since land-use records in the Dover Green district are virtually complete, the district lends itself to study by social historians. Since the seventeenth century, new construction in the district has continued on a small scale, unlike other established eastern urban centers where sites have been obliterated by subsequent large buildings. This combination of scale, documentation, and continuity marks the heart of Dover as an ideal research laboratory for historical archaeology. In connection with the Old State House restoration, important archaeological research has already begun. If parts of the Division of Highways property ever are cleared, the industrial sites there should be found. Since Meeting House Branch has been filled in stages since the eighteenth century, the entire southern end of the district must be regarded as a potential archaeological site.

Because of the deep fill and shallow footings, the industrial sites probably remain undisturbed by later intrusions. At least two tanyards, a sawmill, a basket factory, and other water-powered mills have stood here. Below State Street, Meeting House Branch was naviagble; the dock area is therefore still subject to archaeological interpretation.

Commerce:

Always in the eighteenth century, taverns surrounded the centers of government. Three such taverns are known to have operated in the district. The Sign of King George (later the Sign of George Washington and then Liberty Hall) stood on the present site of the Kent County Court House. The John Bell family ran the tavern throughout most of the eighteenth century. During the nineteenth century, the tavern complex became a hotel run by William C. Fountain until it burned down in the 1860's. Shortly afterwards, Kent County purchased the property for the present court house.

French Battell's tavern was located on the site of the present Parke Building or Capitol Hotel lot. Here people stayed while the county courts were in session and when the legislature met in Dover. A room in this tavern served as the temporary council chamber before the State House was built. During the nineteenth century, this establishment was completely rebuilt to become the Capitol Hotel.

The Eagle Tavern, or Murphey House, was originally built as a tavern house by the John Bell family, who operated Liberty Hall at the north end of the same lot. John Freeman, husband of Nice Bell, was the first Dover postmaster; it is possible that the Eagle Tavern was the first post office in Dover.

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There is no record of the place where the Delaware Convention ratified the Constitution on December 7, 1787. The event probably occurred in one of the taverns.

Landscape Architecture:

The Dover Green is an important specimen of the Victorian ideal of a formal town square. Elsewhere in the district, gardens of several periods reflect changing concepts in landscape gardening. The Ridgely and Bradford boxwood mazes were laid out early in the present century, expressing a generation's idea of the "colonial" style. Between the Dr. James Sykes House and the Supreme Court Building is a much older remnant of a boxwood garden. Elm Terrace, a residential street laid out just after the First World War, was Dover's first departure from the gridiron plan, having been laid out on a curve along the bank of Tar Ditch by a trained architect who was conscious of the newest ideas of suburban design.

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10 GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

ACREAGE OF NOMINATED PROPERTY 50.0459

UTM REFERENCES

	ZONE	EASTING	NORTHING
A	18	454600	4333540
B	18	454820	4334180
C	18	454900	4333880
D	18	455000	4333760
E	18	454810	4333710
F	18	454600	4333540

VERBAL BOUNDARY DESCRIPTION

The district is bounded on the west by the center line of Governors Avenue; on the north by the center line of North Street; on the east by the center line of Federal Street, the center line of East Street, and by a line continuing the center line of East Street to its intersection with an eastward extension of the center line of South Street; and on the south by the center line of South Street and its eastward projection to a point where it intersects with the southward projection of the center line of East Street.

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

STATE	CODE	COUNTY	CODE
STATE	CODE	COUNTY	CODE

11 FORM PREPARED BY

NAME / TITLE: Susanne N. Fox, Research Archivist; Edward F. Heite, Historic Registrar.

ORGANIZATION: Division of Historical & Cultural Affairs

DATE: January 1976

STREET & NUMBER: Hall of Records

TELEPHONE: 302-678-5314

CITY OR TOWN: Dover

STATE: Delaware

12 STATE HISTORIC PRESERVATION OFFICER CERTIFICATION

THE EVALUATED SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS PROPERTY WITHIN THE STATE IS:

NATIONAL ___ STATE ___ LOCAL X

As the designated State Historic Preservation 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.

STATE HISTORIC PRESERVATION OFFICER SIGNATURE Laurence Lee

TITLE Director, Division of Historical and Cultural Affairs DATE 4/23/76

FOR NPS USE ONLY

I HEREBY CERTIFY THAT THIS PROPERTY IS INCLUDED IN THE NATIONAL REGISTER

DATE

DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF ARCHEOLOGY AND HISTORIC PRESERVATION

ATTEST: DATE

KEEPER OF THE NATIONAL REGISTER

GPO 892-453

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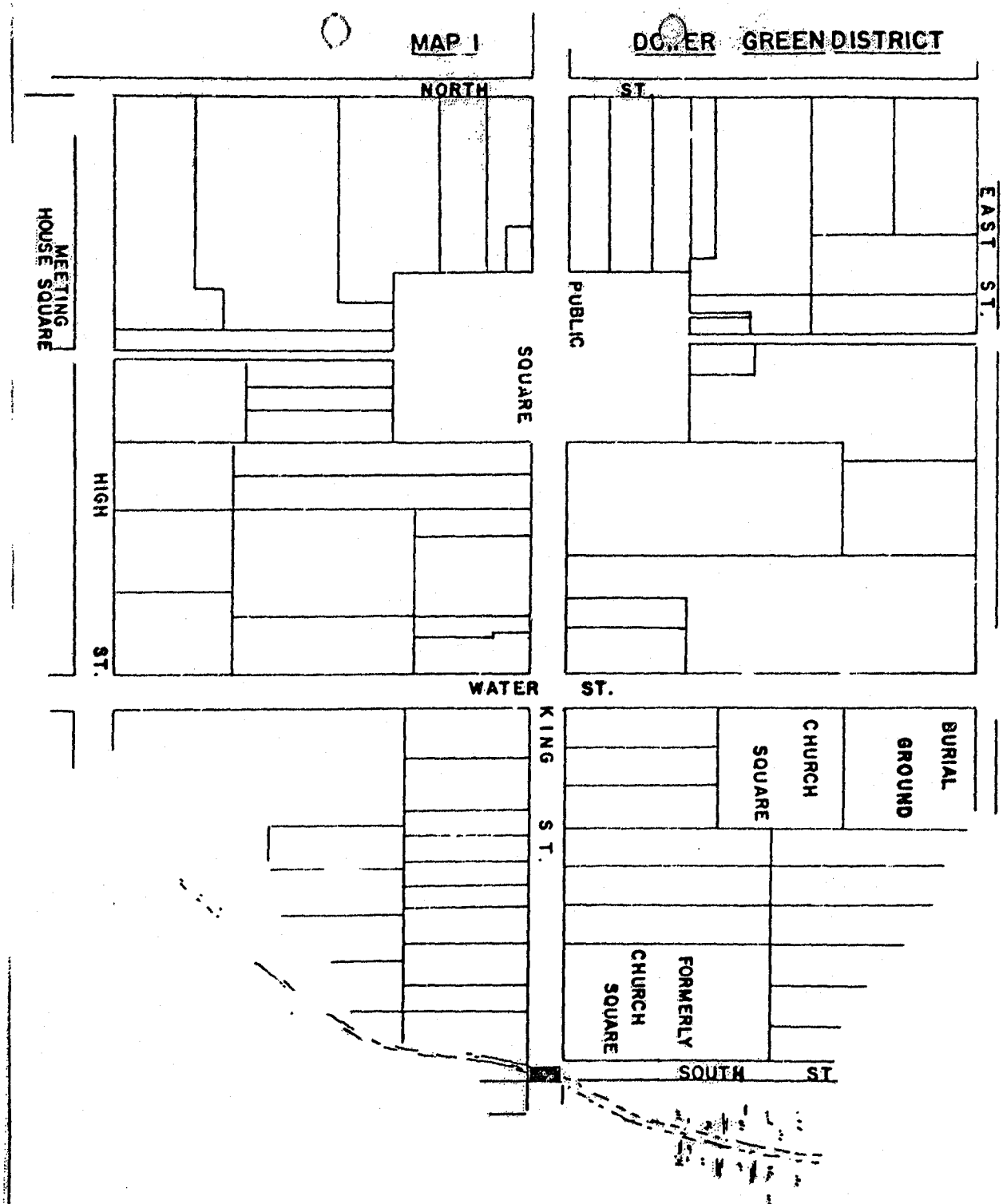

DOVER CIRCA 1787

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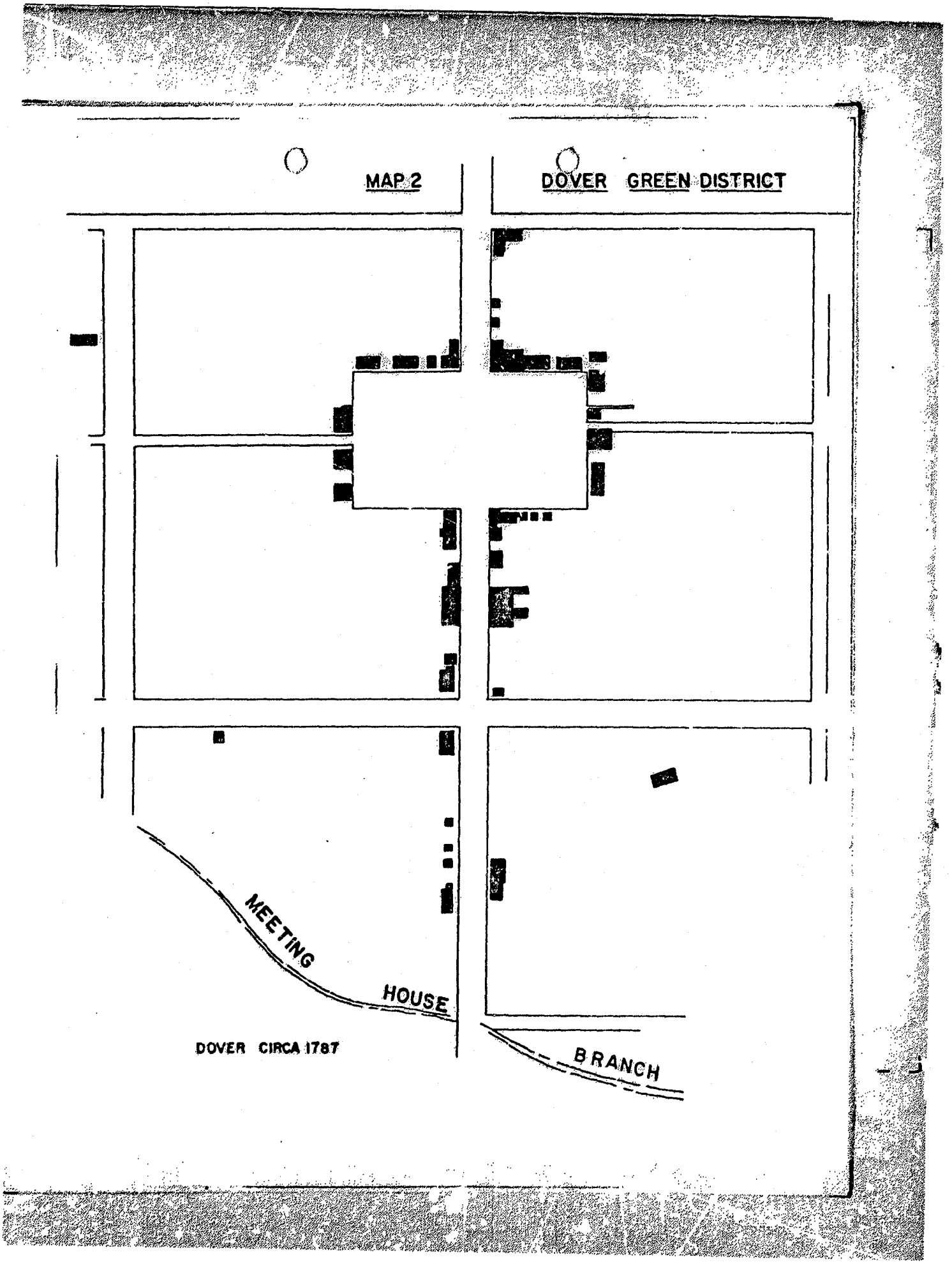

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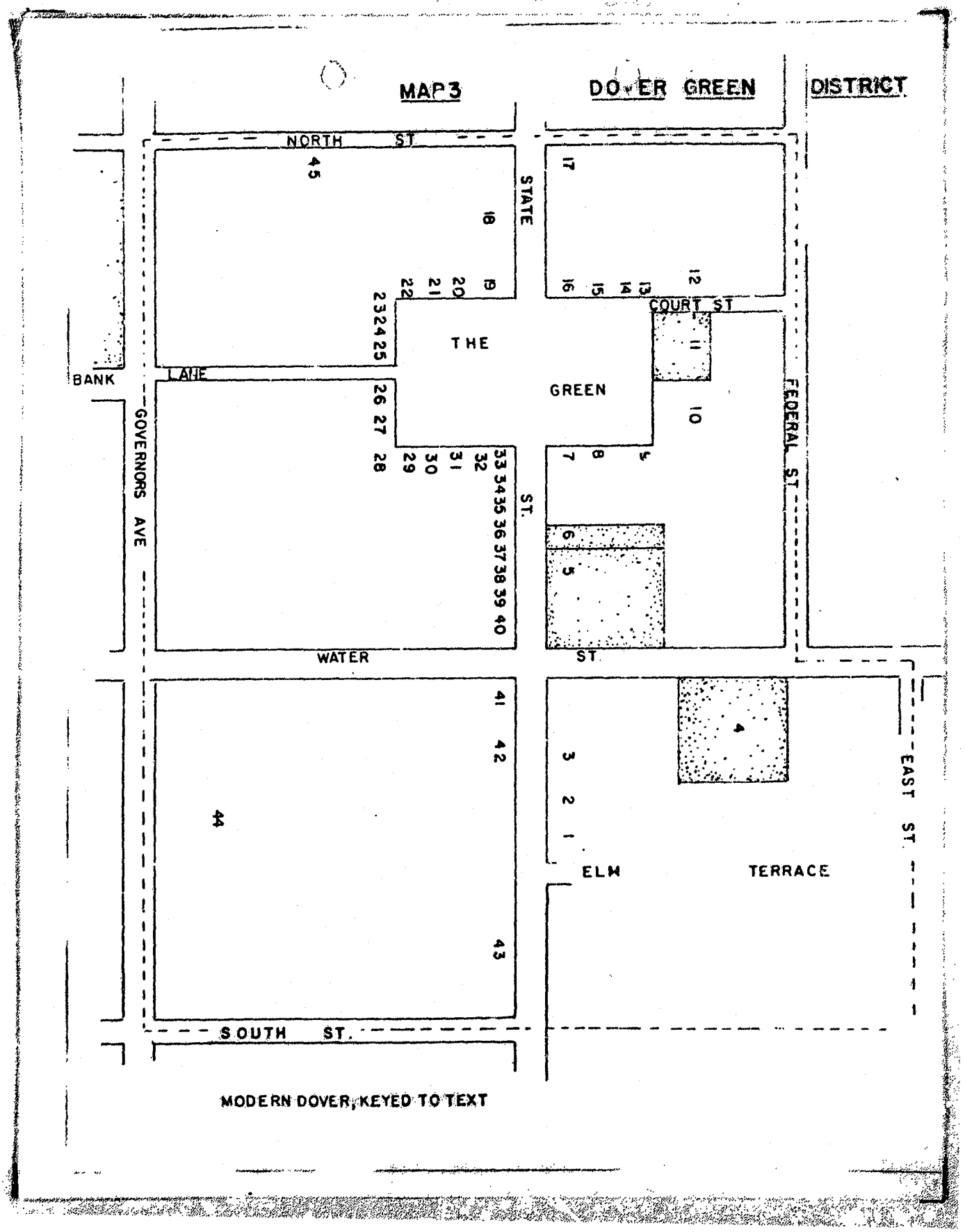

MODERN DOVER, KEYED TO TEXT

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Resource 21

Name: French Army Camp 3a

Location: near Stanton Shopping Center on DE SR 4
Newport, Delaware

Historical significance: Coming from Elkton, Maryland, the First Division of the French Army, more than 2,000 officers and men up to 1,000 horses and oxen, camped on this site on 29/30 August 1782. The Second Division camped here the following night of 30/31 August 1782.

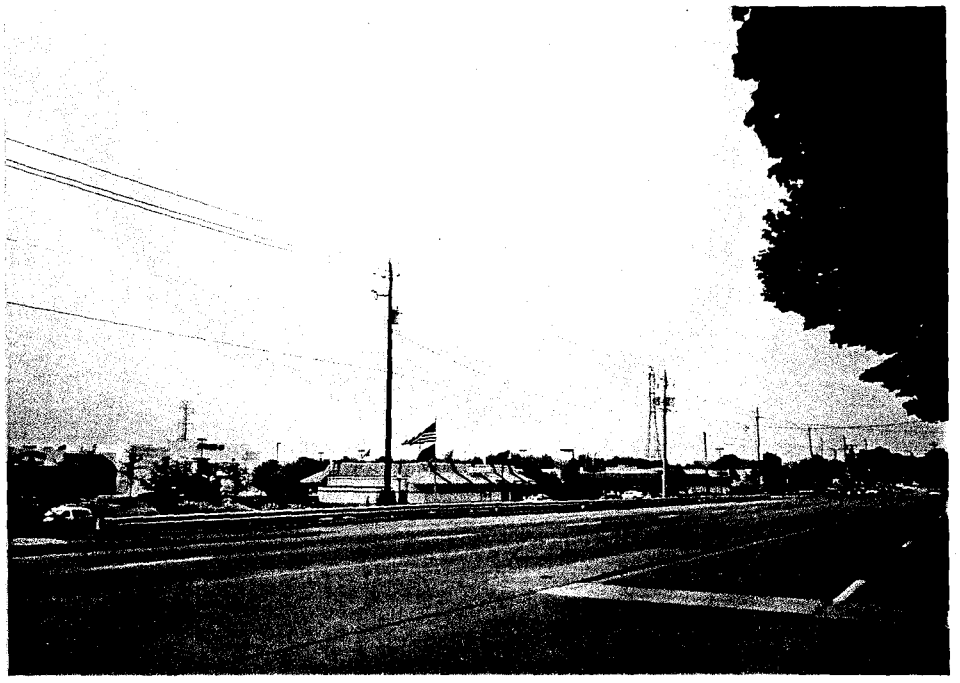
Recommendation: The site is not marked in relation to the W3R. Proper identification of the site could be undertaken by the State of Delaware, the county or a local historical society, or a fraternal community group such as the DAR, SAR, Society of the Cincinnati, or by the Souvenir Français.

Sources: The campsite is identified in the series of encampment maps drawn by Louis-Alexandre Berthier and reproduced in Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, Vol. 2, Map 135.

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

Note: see **Resource 16**.

RESOURCE 21

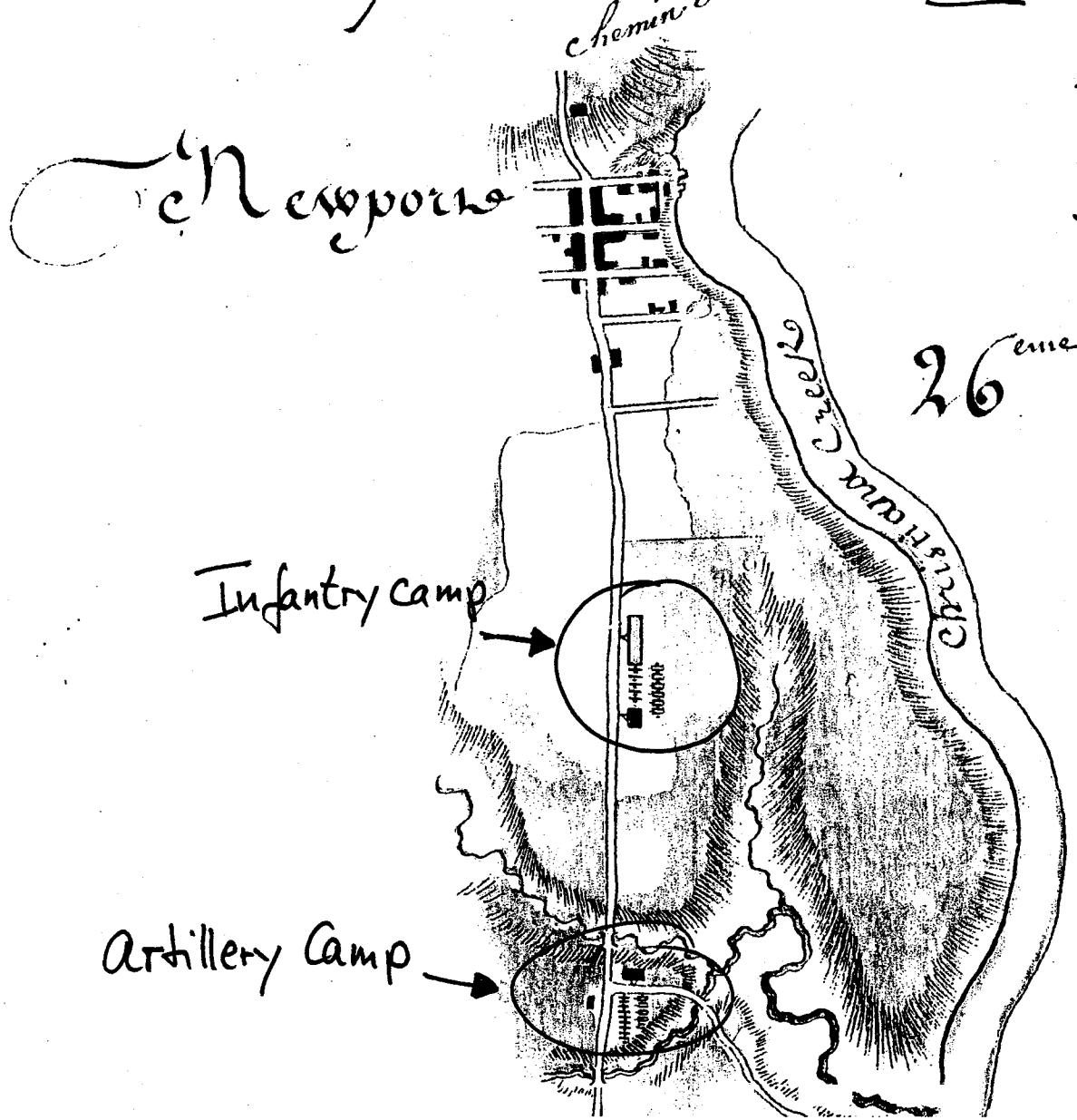


Name: French Army Camp 3a

Location: near Stanton Shopping Center on DE SR 4
Newport, Delaware

25ème Camp à Newport le 29 Aoust 16 Miles 1/2
1782
d'Head of Elk

Note: This map shows the Campsites for 1782. The campsites in the fall of 1781 were at almost the same location.



26ème Camp à Chester le 30 A
15. Miles de New

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

...in de Philadelphie

Resource 22

Name: French Army Camp 3b

Location: Vicinity of Honeysuckle Drive
Newport, Delaware

Historical significance: Coming from Elkton, Maryland, the artillery of the First Division of the French Army camped on this site on 29/30 August 1782. The artillery of the Second Division camped here the following night of 30/31 August 1782.

Recommendation: The site is not marked in relation to the W3R. Proper identification of the site could be undertaken by the State of Delaware, the county or a local historical society, or a fraternal community group such as the DAR, SAR, Society of the Cincinnati, or by the Souvenir Français.

Sources: The campsite is identified in the series of encampment maps drawn by Louis-Alexandre Berthier and reproduced in Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, Vol. 2, Map 135.

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

Note: see **Resource 17**.

RESOURCE 22

Name: French Army Camp 3b

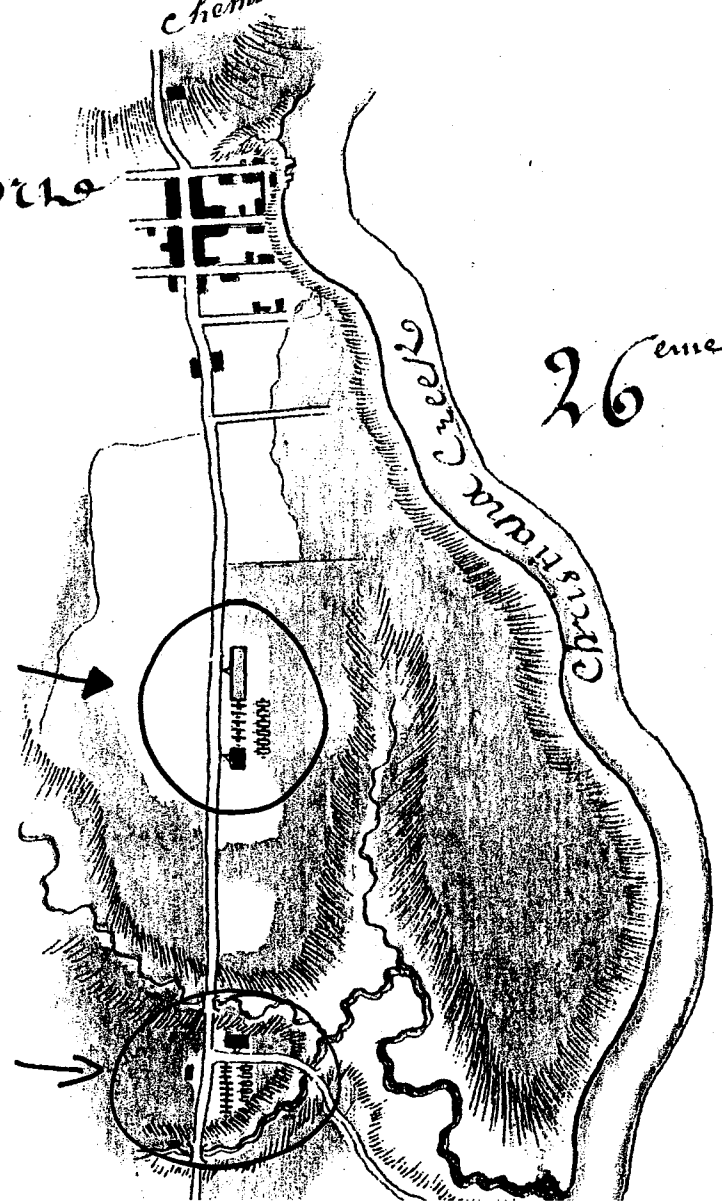
Location: Vicinity of Honeysuckle Drive
Newport, Delaware

25ème Camp à Newport le 29 Aoust 16 Miles 1/2
d'Head of Elk

1782

chemin de Chester

Newport



26ème Camp à Chester le 30 d
15 Miles de Newp

Howard C. Rice, Jr., and Anne S. K. Brown, eds.,
The American Campaigns of Rochambeau's Army, 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783
2 vols., (Princeton and Providence, 1972), vol. 2.

in de Philadelphie

Resource 23

Name: Cantwell's Bridge/Brick Tavern Site

Location: Historic Houses of Odessa
Corner of Main and Second Streets
Odessa, Delaware

Historical significance: Coming from "Duck Creek," modern-day Smyrna, where they had spent the night of 15/16 September 1782, baron de Vioménil and his party had lunch at Cantwell's Bridge, modern-day Odessa. Expenses for lunch were 90 livres.

Cantwell's Bridge had 17 households and 149 inhabitants in 1780. The town changed its name to Odessa in 1855.

Recommendation: The site is not marked in relation to the W3R. Proper identification of the site could be undertaken by the State of Delaware, the county or a local historical society, or a fraternal community group such as the DAR, SAR, Society of the Cincinnati, or by the Souvenir Français.

Source: The identification of the tavern site is based on J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Delaware 1609-1888* (Philadelphia, 1888), p. 1011:

The first hotel stood on the brink of the hill near the residence of Shoemaker. It was a one-story frame building with a hip roof, and was about forty feet square. It was last used as a hotel in 1825, and was torn down about twenty years ago. In 1797 a license for an inn in the village of Cantwell's Bridge was granted to Mary Calhoun, who had kept the hotel for some time. Some of the early proprietors were Morton Hutchinson, Capt. Wm. Brady in 1815, Wm. P. Cochran, Amelia Cooke, Daniel Hains and James Henry, the last proprietor. The house was owned by Morton Hutchinson till 1820, when he sold it to Wm. Polk.

A personal communication from Mr. Steven Pulinka of the Historic Houses of Odessa further clarifies this point"

Scharf "describes an area on the corner of Front and Main Streets, near a location where there is an incongruous 18th century smoke house and an early barn - but no inn. The Taylor house is believed to be located on the original spot and is an 1850's victorian. It was at the top of the hill, below which was the bridge and port of Cantwell's Bridge. In 1782, Cantwell's was a notable inland port of about 300 people; the Appoquinimink River was from the Delaware Bay, as far as Noxontown Pond; and could link up with the Bohemia River, in the Chesapeake by a short portage along Herman's Cartroad to Cantwell's."

RESOURCE 23

Name: Cantwell's Bridge/Brick Tavern Site

Location: Historic Homes of Odessa
Corner of Main and Second Streets
Odessa, Delaware

NPS Form 10-900
(3-82)

OMB No. 1024-0018
Exp. 10-31-84

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form

For NPS use only
received
date entered

See instructions in *How to Complete National Register Forms*
Type all entries—complete applicable sections

1. Name

historic Odessa Historic District - An Amendment

and or common

2. Location

street & number NA NA not for publication

city, town Odessa NA vicinity of

state Delaware code 10 county New Castle code 002

3. Classification

Category	Ownership	Status	Present Use	
X district	___ public	X occupied	___ agriculture	X museum
___ building(s)	___ private	X unoccupied	X commercial	X park
___ structure	X both	___ work in progress	X educational	X private residence
___ site	**Public Acquisition**	**Accessible**	___ entertainment	X religious
___ object	NA in process	___ yes: restricted	___ government	___ scientific
	___ being considered	X yes: unrestricted	___ industrial	___ transportation
		___ no	___ military	___ other:

4. Owner of Property

name Multiple (See owners list)

street & number NA

city, town NA NA vicinity of state Delaware

5. Location of Legal Description

courthouse, registry of deeds, etc. New Castle County Recorder of Deeds

street & number City/County Building 800 French Street

city, town Wilmington state Delaware

6. Representation in Existing Surveys

title Delaware Cultural Resource Survey (N-126) has this property been determined eligible? ___ yes X no

date 1981 ___ federal X state ___ county ___ local

depository for survey records Bureau of Archaeology and Historic Preservation
Old State House, The Green

city, town Dover state Delaware

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7. Description

Condition		Check one	Check one
_x_ excellent	___ deteriorated	___ unaltered	x original site
_x_ good	___ ruins	_X_ altered	___ moved date
_X_ fair	___ unexposed		

Describe the present and original (if known) physical appearance

The Odessa Historic District is situated in the southeastern portion of St. Georges Hundred, 23 miles south of Wilmington and 23 miles north of Dover on U.S. Route 13. The district as amended comprises 95 architecturally or historically significant buildings within an area totaling approximately 61 acres. The area originally nominated includes 41 buildings in a rectangularly-shaped area bounded roughly by Appoquinimink Creek on the southeast, High Street on the northeast, 4th Street on the northwest and Main Street (State Road 299) on the southwest. The newly added area includes 54 buildings located west of the original district along or immediately adjacent to Main, High, 5th and 6th (U.S. Route 13) Streets. Except for modern residential and commercial development to the south, Odessa is still largely surrounded by the open fields, meadows, wetlands and forests that characterized its nineteenth century setting. Dating from the mid-eighteenth century to the early twentieth century, the district's buildings represent varied styles including Georgian, Federal, Greek Revival, Italianate, Gothic, and Bungalow. A number of vernacular buildings are also represented. Of the 95 buildings included in the district, 80 percent are frame and 20 percent are brick. Primarily residential in character, the district contains three commercial structures, three churches, one school administration building and three house museums. Twelve non-contributing major buildings (12.6%) have been included in the district. While many of the district's buildings have been altered, particularly by the addition of rear wings and occasionally with the enclosure of a porch, they retain the essential physical features that enable them to convey their architectural character. As a group, these buildings provide a consistent image of the town during its historical development.

In the latter half of the eighteenth century, settlement was concentrated on the south side of Main Street in close proximity to the Appoquinimink Creek at the town's eastern edge. In 1821, the area north of Main Street was laid out in a simple grid pattern. Subsequent development occurred along the two principal streets - Main and High. With few exceptions, principally those facing 6th and Front Streets, most of the district's buildings face the two main streets. The majority of these buildings were constructed between 1840 and 1870, though the district itself encompasses buildings as early as 1700-25 and as late as 1925.

Examination of historical maps, particularly the 1849 Rea and Price Map of New Castle County and Beer's 1868 Atlas of the State of Delaware, reveals that the area within the historic district has changed very little since mid-nineteenth century. Two factors have caused the most significant changes to the historic area since that time. One of these, the construction of the DuPont Highway (U.S. Route 13; Fifth and Sixth Streets) through the western portion of the town in the 1920's has contributed to building deterioration, especially along Sixth Street. At the intersection of Fifth Street and Main it has resulted in the loss of building stock south of Main Street, in the vicinity of a modern State Police barracks. Another factor that has affected the character of the district is the restoration work undertaken in the 1930's and later. While this process has resulted in the preservation of a number of remarkable eighteenth and early nineteenth century buildings and inspired much of the preservation work throughout the town, it has also resulted in the removal or destruction of several buildings within the restoration areas on Main Street near the Appoquinimink Creek and on High Street at its intersection with Second Street. In 1962 an early eighteenth century, gambrel-roofed frame dwelling was moved from Taylor's Bridge and restored

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ODESSA HISTORIC DISTRICT N-126

DESCRIPTION

on a lot at the southeast corner of Second and High Streets (.60). In addition, a gambrel-roofed, brick residence (.50) was constructed in 1955 adjacent to the Brick Hotel (.49) using materials left over after restoration of other properties in Odessa. A modern post office and fire company have also provided intrusive elements within the historic district.

Odessa's architectural development includes several significant building periods expressed through various styles dating from 1700-1725 into the first three decades of the twentieth century. Contributing structures are defined as all pre-1933 buildings that possess sufficient integrity so that their scale, massing, fenestration, and detailing convey the character of their particular period of significance. Major structures possess a very high degree of integrity. Even though a number of other buildings that contribute to the district have been altered somewhat by the accumulation of rear wings, the enclosure of a porch, the replacement of windows or the addition of modern siding, they are significant in that they possess the essential form and style of their period and are important to the overall sense of time and place.

Although several of the earliest residential buildings in the Odessa Historic District are of frame construction (see .117), including examples that combine plank with more common structural systems (see .2, .8, .10, and .61), the majority of the surviving eighteenth century buildings were constructed between 1769 and 1775 and are brick (see .1, .3, .3A, .4, .5, .6 and .11). These tend to be two-and-a-half story, Georgian structures, with four or five bay facades and gable roofs. A notable exception is the hipped-roof "Corbit-Sharp House" (see .3).

Federal style buildings are brick or frame, two-and-a-half story, gable-roofed, five bay dwellings with entrances topped by a fanlight (.49) or rectangular transom (see .15 or .46).

Greek Revival residential buildings continue the essential form of the federal period. They are two-and-a-half story three or five bay, gabled-roofed, frame dwellings with moulded box cornices, transom and sidelight entrances and classical porticoes (see .37, .45, .96). A moulded hood may be substituted for a portico (.80).

Several variations of the Italianate style are encountered within the historic district. One continues the same two-and-a-half story, gabled-roofed, three or five bay dwelling type seen elsewhere in the district with Federal or Greek Revival decorative detailing. The distinctive decorative feature of the Italianate buildings is the bracketed roofline of the main block (.81) and occasionally of a portico (.71) Italianate dwellings of this type may also be constructed with brick (.17). Another variation of the frame Italianate building is an L-shaped, corner lot dwelling with gable ends facing the street and a bracketed porch covering the angle of the L (.87). Also within the district may be found the squarish, low-hipped roof, two or two-and-a-half story dwelling traditionally associated with the Italianate style.

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DESCRIPTION

Bracketed friezes, transom and sidelight door surrounds and eyebrow windows distinguish this mode. It can be constructed in frame with a minimum of architectural detailing (.57, .65) or may be built of brick and elaborately decorated with large scroll brackets to emphasize the broad overhanging eave, belt courses, stone or cast iron window lintels and sills, ornate porches sheltering transom and side light doorways with a crossetted surround or a moulded hood with carved brackets (see .47, .95). A very fine commercial adaptation of the Italianate style is the bank building at the corner of Second and Main Streets (.48). It is common throughout the district to encounter buildings combining Greek Revival and Italianate features (.95).

The Gothic Revival is represented by only a few residential examples. They are generally two-and-a-half story, gable-roofed frame dwellings that may have a central cross-gable, pointed arch attic windows, ornate porches and additional decorative detailing provided by bargeboard trim, pendants and a central finial at each gable peak (see .10, .16, .43 and .86).

The Bungalow appears in the 1920's. Examples are one or one-and-a-half story, gable-roofed or cross-gabled frame dwellings with enclosed full facade porches (see .13, .23).

The three religious buildings included within the district reflect styles indicative of the period in which they were erected. The earliest, dating from 1781, is Georgian (.25). An 1851-52 church is in the Greek Revival style (.70) and the most recent built 1881 is Gothic (.24).

By 1860, building within the area of the historic district was largely complete. Exceptions include the block bounded by Fourth Street, High Street, Fifth Street and Warren's Alley as well as the area north of Main Street, west of Sixth Street. Buildings in this area continue the vernacular tradition of a two-and-a-half story, gable-roofed, two or three bay, single-pile plan with rear addition and full-facade porch. Most were erected in the 1880's (see .22, .29, .78, .88, .89, .90, .91).

Odessa's principal street, Main Street, presents a diverse array of architectural styles and building functions. While essentially residential, building uses along this broad, tree-lined thoroughfare include all three of the district's commercial buildings, two religious buildings, a school district administration building and three house museums. A modern church, State Police barracks and volunteer fire company are not included in this discussion because of their non-contributory nature but are noted to acknowledge the effect of their varied functions on the character of the streetscape. Along Main Street are located the majority of the district's brick buildings, which also comprise a collection of the earliest buildings within the district. East of Fourth Street, in the initial settlement area and in the area most affected by the process of restoration are notable examples of eighteenth century Georgian design.

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ODESSA HISTORIC DISTRICT N-126

DESCRIPTION

These include the 1772 Corbit-Sharp House and the late eighteenth century Wilson-Warner House (.3 and .4). Also located on the south side of Main Street in this same area are three examples of plank or log construction dating from the eighteenth century or early nineteenth centuries. These are the Loven House (.2), the Starr-Lore House (.8) and the R. Metts or Ennis House (.10). Each is characterized by the elaboration of the basic plank or log core by an additive frame element. In the case of the R. Metts House, the plank component is consequently obscured by the reorientation to a center-hall plan, the application of German siding and the introduction of a cross-gable as well as other Gothic-style exterior ornamental devices.

Across Main Street, east of Fourth Street, there exists a mixture of architectural types and styles. This area was platted in 1821 with subsequent building reflective of current architectural styles. In the section between Front and Second Streets, the Federal period Brick Hotel (.49) is flanked by a non-contributing modern, Colonial Revival brick dwelling (.50). Between Second and Third Streets there are examples of the Federal style, such as the circa-1824 brick Davis House and Store (.46); an example of the transition from the Federal to Greek Revival styles as seen in the 1840, frame Odd Corners (.45); and Italianate structures like the John Zelefro Crouch House constructed in 1854 (.47) or the Samuel Sloan designed 1853, New Castle National Bank of Odessa (.48). The latter is one of only three commercial buildings included within the district.

With the exception of the 1844 Academy building on the northeast corner of Fourth and Main Streets, the five buildings on Main Street between Third and Fourth Streets are residential, though originally they may have been built for a non-residential purpose. An example is the Redmen's Hall (.42), built as a fraternal lodge. These buildings are predominately frame, though the Academy is brick and the Mrs. M. Townsend House (.41) is nogged with brick and stone. The frame buildings between Fourth and Fifth (U.S. Route 13) Streets on the north side of Main were built between 1840 and 1860 and follow a two-and-a-half story, gable-roofed, side-hall plan that occurs with some frequency in that portion of the district west of Fourth Street. Across Main Street only one dwelling, a circa 1925 bungalow, has been included within the district boundary. It is flanked by a modern church and a modern State Police barracks.

The south side of Main between Fifth and Sixth Streets (U.S. Route 13) consists of four dwellings of markedly different character constructed between 1840 and 1880. J. H. Cannon House (.15) is a circa 1840-1850 two-and-a-half story, five-bay, center-hall, gable-roofed frame dwelling with segmental arched dormers. Immediately west is the circa 1860 "W. Briscoe House" (.16), an L-shaped, frame dwelling with Gothic detailing. It is flanked on the west by the circa 1847 M. Gremminger House (.17), a two-and-a-half story, five-bay, center-hall, gable-roofed brick dwelling with an Italianate bracketed cornice. On the corner lot is a late nineteenth century, two-story, three-bay, gable-roofed frame dwelling (.18).

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DESCRIPTION

Two of the district's three commercial buildings dominate the north side of Main Street between Fifth and Sixth Streets. These are the circa 1855, brick Aspril's Blacksmith Shop (.34) and the frame Lynch's Market constructed in the late nineteenth century (.30).

West of Sixth Street on both the north and south side of Main Street there are a number of mid-to-late nineteenth century, two-and-a-half story, gable-roofed, frame dwellings. The mixture of building types and styles, that characterize much of the Main Street portion of the district is evident here as well. Forming the western terminus of the district is the Heller House (.117) a plank dwelling erected in the third quarter of the eighteenth century with a nineteenth century frame addition. Immediately east is the circa 1781 brick Appoquinimink Friends Meeting House (.25) and the brick, Gothic-style Zoar M. E. Church constructed in 1881 (.24).

The dwellings along Sixth Street between Main and Osborne Streets date between 1845 and 1900. Most are two-and-a-half story, three, four or five-bay, single-pile, frame, gable-roofed structures. An exception is the Italianate, three-bay hipped-roofed masonry dwelling on the southeast corner of Sixth and Osborne Streets (.112).

High Street, whose tree-lined five blocks parallel Main Street on the north, is almost exclusively residential. Brick construction is encountered only twice, with one of those examples being a church. The south side of High Street between Fifth and Sixth Streets is dominated by the notable Greek Revival Old St. Paul's Methodist Episcopal Church (.70), a two-story, temple form structure constructed in 1851-52. To the west is the circa 1860 Italianate Methodist Parsonage (.71).

Opposite this block are five dwellings erected in the third quarter of the nineteenth century that vary in form and style from the three-story, hipped-roof, Italianate/Greek Revival J. Appleton House (.82) to the one-and-a-half story, gable-roofed dwelling at 501 1/2 High Street (.85) and includes the elaborate, cross-gabled, two-and-a-half story dwelling with ornate veranda on the corner of High and Sixth Streets (.86). To the rear of this property is a circa 1870, board-and-batten, gable-roofed carriage shed with cupola (.110). Contributing buildings on the south side of High Street between Fourth and Fifth Streets include three, two-and-a-half story, three-bay, gable-roofed frame dwellings erected during the mid-to-late nineteenth century. A mid-nineteenth century, hipped-roof, Italianate dwelling (.65) was moved to its present location from a site on Main Street. The opposite side of the street includes five frame dwellings erected circa 1870 to 1880 and are generally characterized as two-and-a-half story, gable-roofed structures. The earliest structure on this block appears to be the circa 1850 Townsend House (.92).

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DESCRIPTION

With the exception of the early twentieth century dwelling at the northeast corner of Fourth and High Streets (.93), the dwellings located between Fourth and Third Streets are indicative of the buildings erected by the mercantile class that prospered in the first half of the nineteenth century. These include the circa 1845 Polk House (.94), the ornate circa 1850 Greek Revival/Italianate Cyrus Polk House (.95) and the 1846, Greek Revival William Polk House (.96). The Tatman House (.62), a circa 1845 Federal period dwelling on the south side of High Street is the sole structure on that block. The circa 1845 Enos House is the only structure situated on the south side of High Street between Third and Second Streets.

The north side of High Street from Third to Front Streets includes a modern, brick library and two modern dwellings that do not contribute to the district. These structures are flanked on the west by a circa 1905 frame dwelling and on the east by four mid-nineteenth century, two-and-a-half story frame dwellings. The earliest is the circa 1845 J. George House (.102). The Collins-Sharp House (.60) is an early eighteenth century plank and frame dwelling moved to this site from the Taylor's Bridge area.

The Front Street streetscape is composed of a diverse group of frame dwellings that includes the circa 1850 R. G. Hayes House (.57), a three-story, three-bay, single-pile, side-hall plan Italianate dwelling with bracketed cornice and pilasters accenting the facade. A brick barn and brick outbuilding distinguish this property.

Three buildings within the district are individually listed in the National Register:

1) Corbit-Sharp House (NR 1967) (NHL,.3)

2) Appoquinimink Friends Meeting House (NR 1977) (.25)

3) Old Saint Paul's Methodist Episcopal Church (NR 1982) (.70)

Justification of Boundaries

In 1969, the town of Odessa adopted a zoning ordinance creating a four-block historic district. The National Register Historic District created in 1971 established boundaries that coincided with these legislated district boundaries. In recent years, the town's historically zoned area was expanded to include the entire town. The new boundaries recognized the historic expansion of the town westward and northward from its eastern terminus near the Appoquinimink Creek. It was not possible to include every property in the town within the amended National Register Historic District boundaries. Whenever possible, intrusive elements, such as the modern

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DESCRIPTION

State Police barracks and a one block portion of Route 13 (Sixth Street) south of Main Street, were excluded from the district by drawing boundary lines around these properties. When doing so would have created unnecessarily awkward boundaries, especially where intrusive elements created only a slight gap in an otherwise continuous streetscape of contributing buildings, intrusive elements were included within the district boundaries. The amended boundaries generally followed property lines. These property lines, deteriorated buildings and the existing district's boundary dictated the appropriate northern boundary. The western boundary was similarly established. The southern boundary line follows rear property lines, except where diverted to avoid major intrusive elements, and the previously established district boundary. The eastern boundary is a straight line drawn to intersect the northern and southern boundary lines. In summary, district boundaries were drawn to include all eligible resources and to minimize inclusion of intrusive buildings or areas. Most standing structures located within the town limits of Odessa have been included in the amended historic district.

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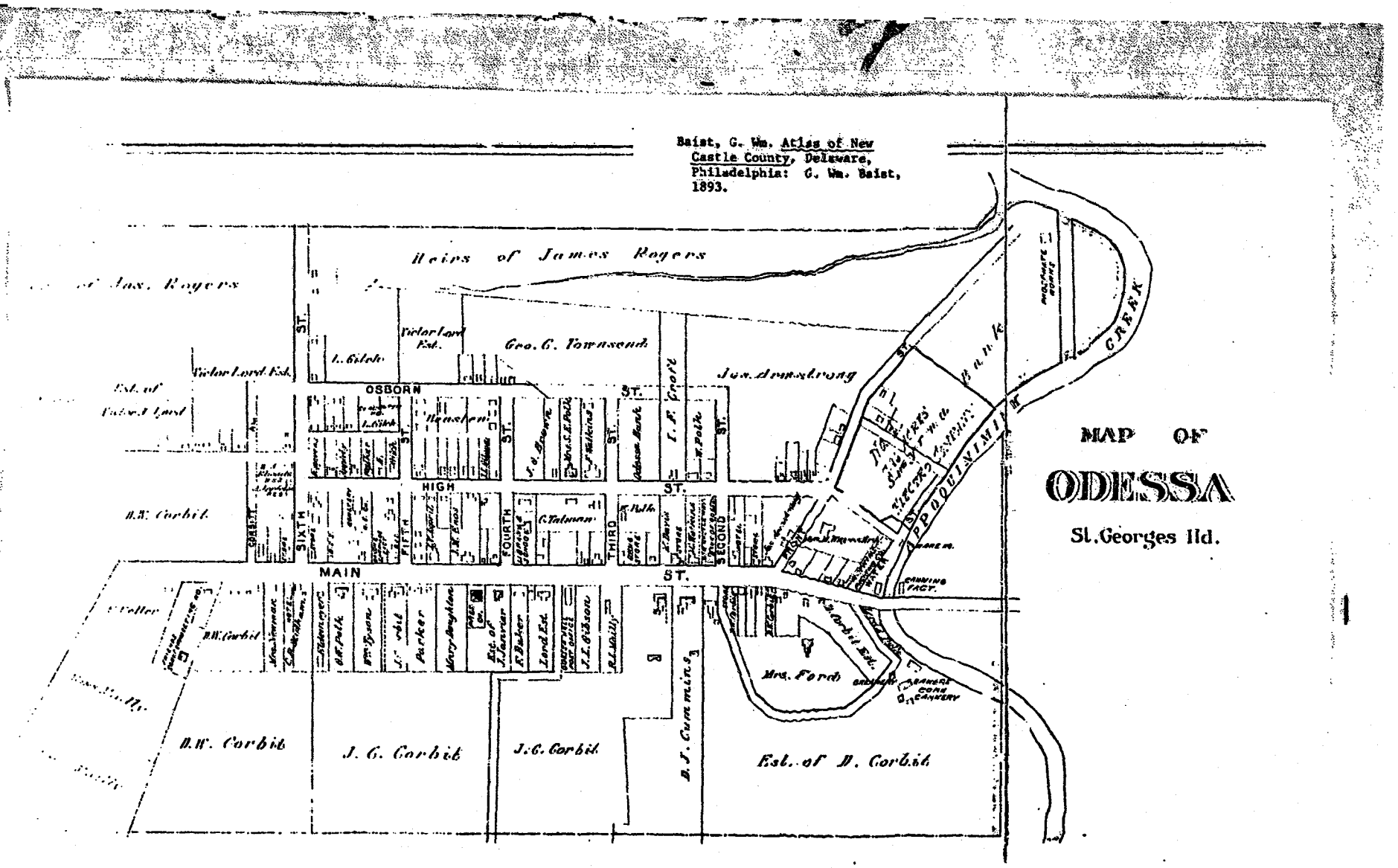
Baist, G. Wm. Atlas of New Castle County, Delaware, Philadelphia: G. Wm. Baist, 1893.



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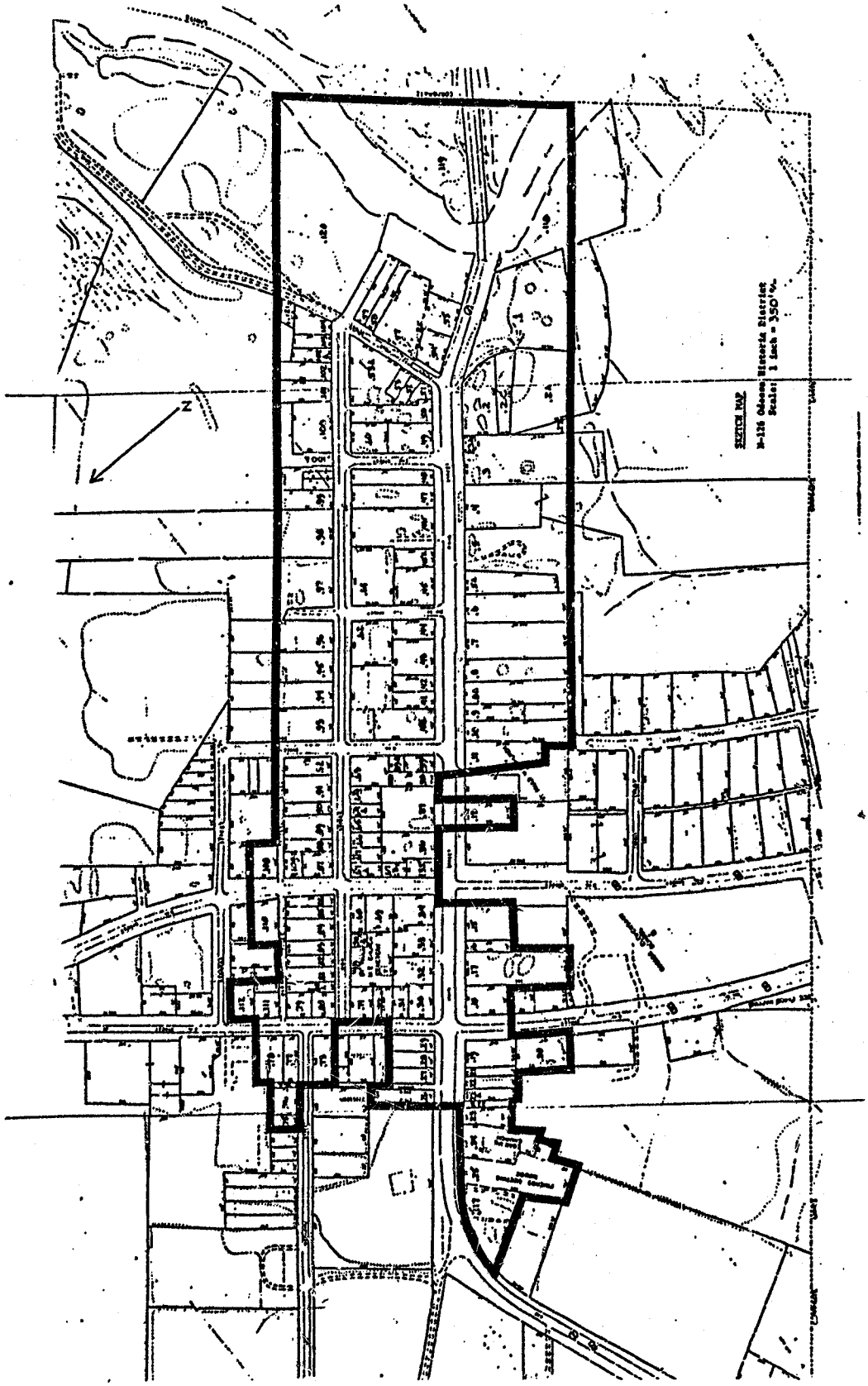


8. Significance

Period	Areas of Significance—Check and justify below			
prehistoric	archeology-prehistoric	community planning	landscape architecture	religion
1400–1499	archeology-historic	conservation	law	science
1500–1599	agriculture	economics	literature	sculpture
1600–1699	x architecture	education	military	social/
x 1700–1799	art	engineering	music	humanitarian
x 1800–1899	x commerce	exploration/settlement	philosophy	theater
x 1900–	communications	industry	politics/government	transportation
		invention		other (specify)

Specific dates N/A **Builder/Architect** N/A

Statement of Significance (in one paragraph)

The Odessa Historic District is significant to the architectural and commercial history of the State of Delaware as tangible evidence of Odessa's emergence during the course of the nineteenth century as an important shipping and trading center. Odessa's many well-preserved buildings document over two hundred years of architectural and historical development and include some of the finest extant examples of eighteenth and nineteenth century residential architecture in the state. For that reason, the Odessa Historic District is significant under Criterion C, and as the focal point of a burgeoning agricultural economy in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it is significant under Criterion A.

In 1663, Alexander DeHinijossa, Vice-Director of New Amstel, settled on a tract of land in what is now Odessa. In 1664, his estate was granted to Captain Edmund Cantwell, sheriff of New Castle County. His son, Richard, inherited his father's estate in 1698 and was granted permission to erect a toll bridge over the Appoquinimink Creek in 1731. The settlement in the vicinity of this bridge, an area originally known by its Indian name, Appoquinimie (or Appoquinimin), became known as Cantwell's Bridge. Portions of several dwellings may have been constructed during this period. The Loven House (.2), the Starr-Lore House (.8) and the Mrs. R. Metts House (.10) are each partially built of hewn planks, an uncommon construction detail.

In 1762, the "Kings Road" was laid out to pass through Cantwell's Bridge. This road provided Cantwell's Bridge was a link to the more populated north. The seventeenth century cartroad connecting Bohemia Manor in Cecil County, Maryland, with Cantwell's Bridge placed the village on a vital portage path between the Chesapeake and Delaware. Its location on the Appoquinimink Creek which flows into the Delaware, gave the village direct water access. Thus, Cantwell's Bridge was strategically located with all the elements necessary to stimulate development.

In 1765, William Corbit purchased a tract of land near the Creek and established a tannery. Corbit prospered and between 1772 and 1774 built a brick dwelling distinguished for its architecture and handsome interiors. Today known as the Corbit-Sharp House (.3), this outstanding example of Georgian architecture was restored by H. Rodney Sharp who purchased it in 1938. Another fine example of Georgian architecture is the Wilson-Warner House (.4), preserved by Mrs. Mary Corbit Warner, who acquired it in 1901. Althought built in the economic center of a busy agricultural area, these dwellings bear a remarkable resemblance to the great pre-Revolutionary houses of urban Philadelphia, They are now operated by the Henry Francis duPont Winterthur Museum. Both are evidence of the prosperity and commercial importance of Cantwell's Bridge in the latter part of the eighteenth century.

07/18/2002 DE STATE HIST PRESERVATION OFFICE

ODESSA HISTORIC DISTRICT N-126

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

By 1817, the town had grown to about 30 residences located on the south side of Main Street and in 1821 Cantwell's Bridge was surveyed and platted as a town. One of the first buildings to be constructed on the newly laid out area north of Main Street was the 1822 Federal-style Brick Hotel (.49) which was restored by Mr. Sharp in the 1950's and given to the Winterthur Museum.

Farmers from the surrounding countryside brought their produce to the granaries and docks to be shipped by shallop down the Appoquinimink to the Delaware River, and from there to coastal or foreign ports. By 1825, there were six large granaries which shipped thousands of bushels of grain annually. Cantwell's Bridge had become a trading depot of considerable importance.

In the 1830's, after a period of commercial decline brought on by the exhaustion of agricultural land in the vicinity, trade steadily increased with the application of commercial fertilizers to worn-out soil and the advent of peach culture.

Emblematic of this period of prosperity are the many fine buildings erected along tree-lined Main and High Streets. These include the late Federal-style Tatman House (.62) and Enos House (.61), both erected circa 1845. Greek Revival influenced buildings include the circa 1846 William Polk House (.96) with its denticulated porch with parapet, 1840 Odd Corners (.45) and the outstanding Old St. Paul's Methodist Episcopal Church (.70) constructed in 1851-2 from plans by Philadelphia architect, Samuel Sloan. Also attributed to Sloan is the elaborate Italianate dwelling erected by Cyrus Polk around 1850. The Cyrus Polk House is one of three important dwellings erected by the Polk family, the leading wheat merchants of the period (see .94, circa 1845). Sloan also designed the Italianate-style 1853 New Castle National Bank of Odessa (.48) which conceivably inspired the construction of the handsome 1854 Italianate John Zelefro Crouch House next to it at 203 Main Street (.47). Other fine examples of the Italianate style occur throughout the district and include the R. G. Hayes House (.57); the M. Gremminger House , circa 1847 (.17); S. M. Enos House, circa 1850 (.81); the former Methodist Parsonage (.71) and 404 High Street, circa 1850 (.65).

By the middle of the nineteenth century the town had become an important grain-shipping port and in 1855, aspiring to the fame of the Russian seaport on the Black Sea, changed its name to Odessa.

When the railroad came to Delaware, a route four miles west of Odessa through Middletown was chosen and farmers began shipping their products by rail. With less business for the shallops on the Appoquinimink and the nearby granaries, Odessa began to decline as a commercial center. By 1888, there was only one grain ship in operation. "The Yellows," a viral disease that decimated the peach crop in the 1890's, exacerbated this decline by diminishing a profitable export. With Odessa's dominance as a shipping port ended, it became largely residential.

07/18/2002 DE STATE HIST PRESERVATION OFFICE

ODESSA HISTORIC DISTRICT - N-126

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Buildings reflecting this later building period include the ornate Gothic-styled residence at the corner of Fifth and High Streets (.36) and the block of circa 1880, two-story, gable-roofed frame dwellings on High Street between Fifth and Fourth Streets (.88 through .91). The handful of early twentieth century dwellings included within the district (see .13) are final evidence of Odessa's evolution as a quiet residential community.

07/18/2002 DE STATE HIST PRESERVATION OFFICE

Resource 24

Name: Christiana Tavern

Location: Christiana Historic District
Christiana, Delaware

Historical significance: Coming from Cantwell's Bridge, baron de Viomenil and his party by dinner and lodging from 15 to 16 September in Christiana. Including drink for the militia, the bill ran to 150 livres, almost nine months wages for a common soldier.

While some officers may have slept in the Shannon Hotel (**Resource 25**), the party was too large to have stayed in one inn only and some of the officers must have stayed in the Christiana Tavern.

Recommendation: The site is not marked in relation to the W3R. Proper identification of the site could be undertaken by the State of Delaware, the county or a local historical society, or a fraternal community group such as the DAR, SAR, Society of the Cincinnati, or by the Souvenir Français.

Sources: Fonds Vioménil

Note: see **Resource 10** and **Resource 11**.

RESOURCE 24

Name: Christiana Tavern

Location: Christiana Historic District
Christiana, Delaware

Resource 25

Name: Shannon Hotel

Location: Christiana Historic District
Christiana, Delaware

Historical significance: Coming from Cantwell's Bridge, baron de Viomenil and his party by dinner and lodging from 15 to 16 September in Christiana. Including drink for the militia, the bill ran to 150 livres, almost nine months wages for a common soldier.

While some officers may have slept in the Christiana Tavern (**Resource 24**), the party was too large to have stayed in one inn only and some of the officers must have stayed in the Shannon Hotel. Contemporaries considered the Shannon Hotel the better place to stay in in Christiana.

In his "Minutes of Occurrences," Washington's private secretary Trumbull recorded that "At evening proceeds to Wilmington. 6. (September 1781) 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." Trumbull does not record in which of Christiana's taverns the group breakfasted.Washington wrote a letter to Robert Morris from Christiana on 6 September 1781. 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), p. 332.

The tavern was however most likely the Shannon Hotel.

Recommendation: The site is not marked in relation to the W3R. Proper identification of the site could be undertaken by the State of Delaware, the county or a local historical society, or a fraternal community group such as the DAR, SAR, Society of the Cincinnati, or by the Souvenir Français.

The Shannon Hotel is a most valuable resource for the history of the Revolutionary War in Delaware that is in dire need of repair, restoration, and preservation.

Sources: Fonds Vioménil.

Note: see **Resource 10** and **Resource 11**.

RESOURCE 25

Name: Shannon Hotel

Location: Christiana Historic District
Christiana, Delaware

Resource 26

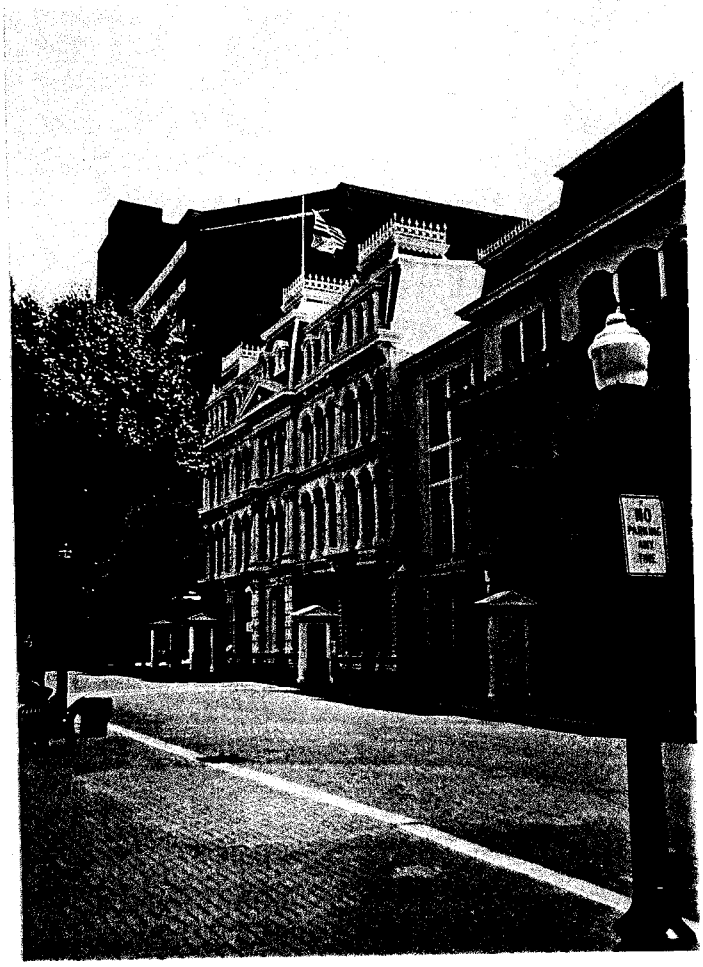
Name: Lauzun's Legion Headquarters

Location: Wilmington Academy (Wilmington Opera House)
818 North Market Street
Wilmington, Delaware

Historical significance: During its winter quarters in Wilmington 1782/83, the Wilmington Academy served as barracks for the enlisted men in Lauzun's Legion. The officers were lodged with private citizens.

Note: for all other information see **Resource 19**.

RESOURCE 26



Name: Lauzun's Legion Headquarters

Location: Wilmington Academy (Wilmington Opera House)
818 North Market Street
Wilmington, Delaware

Resource 27

Name: French Stables Site

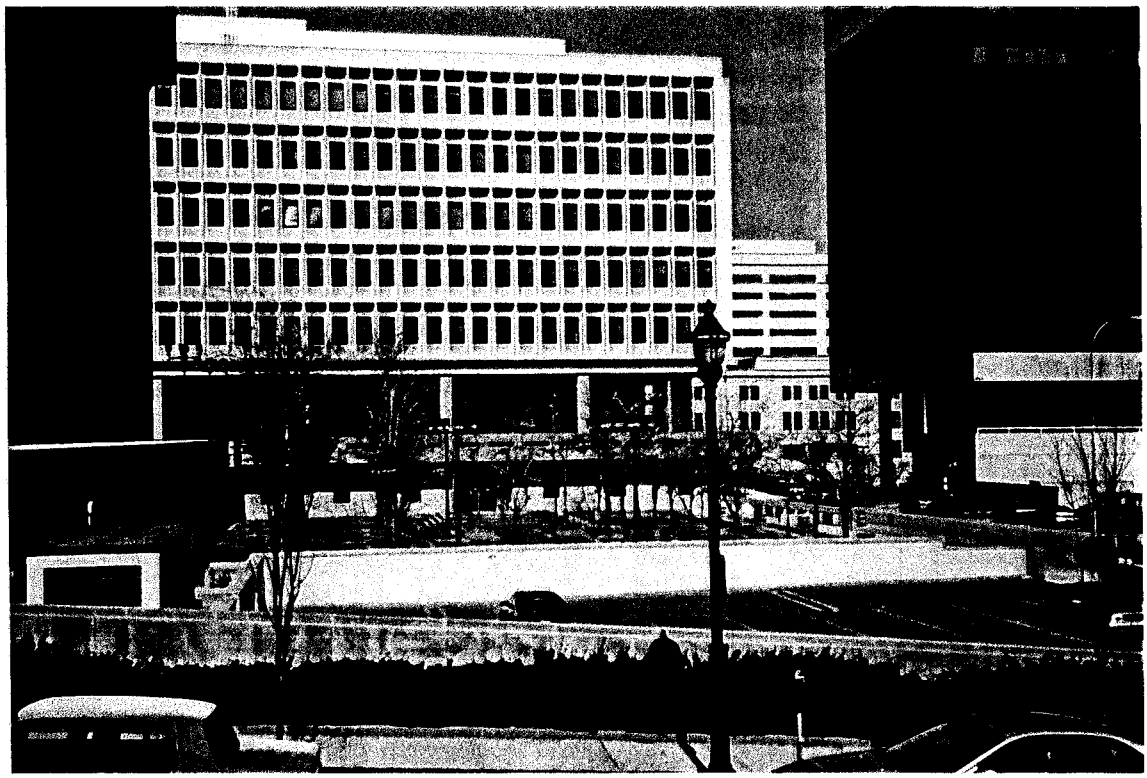
Location: between Eight and King and King and French Streets
Wilmington, Delaware

Historical significance: When Lauzun's Legion went into winter quarters in Wilmington, it brought more than 280 horses with it. For them, French Quarter Master 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." The land where they were located on was called "Grove Hill."

Recommendation: The site is not marked in relation to the W3R. Proper identification of the site could be undertaken by the State of Delaware, the county or a local historical society, or a fraternal community group such as the DAR, SAR, Society of the Cincinnati, or by the Souvenir Français.

Sources: Deposition by Collot on 16 May 1783 in Coxe Papers, Tench Coxe Section, Incoming Correspondence, Box 12, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. Historical Society of Delaware, Joshua Gilpin, Delaware Land Papers, vol. 1.

RESOURCE 27



Name: French Stables Site

Location: between Eight and King and King and French Streets
Wilmington, Delaware

Resource 28

Name: Grave of Dr. Joseph Eugene Philip Capelle

Location: Old Swedes Cemetery
South-east corner of Seventh and Church Streets
Wilmington, Delaware

Historical significance: Capelle was the assistant MD for Lauzun's Legion. He is the only officer of whom we know where he lodged and who remained behind in Wilmington when the Legion departed in May 1783.
On 24 December 1782, Samuel Canby as recorded in his diary. "We have a Doctor quartered with us (a Low Dutch Man his name Joseph Eugene Philip Capelle)." Samuel Canby's house stood at Fourteenth and Market Streets.
On 8 November 1783, Capelle married Mary Isabella Pearce at Old Swedes.
Capelle died on 5 November 1796. He is buried in Plot 1038, Old Swedes Cemetery.

Establishment of grave marker: unknown

Medium: granite with white marble insert

Dimensions of insert: 24 x 16 inches
Dimensions of granite slab: 3 x 6 feet

The text on the white insert is illegible.

Inscription in granite slab: || JOSEPH EUGENE CAPELLE M.D. || DIED NOVEMBER 5, 1796 || AGED 39 YRS. || A NATIVE OF COUTRAY FLANDERS, HE CAME || TO AMERICA, SURGEON TO THE FRENCH ARMY || COMMANDED BY LAFAYETTE || AN EMINENTLY USEFUL CITIZEN || BELOVED AND REGRETTED BY ALL ||

Recommendation: The grave site is already marked. The text on the marble gravestone should be corrected or amended by the DESSAR.

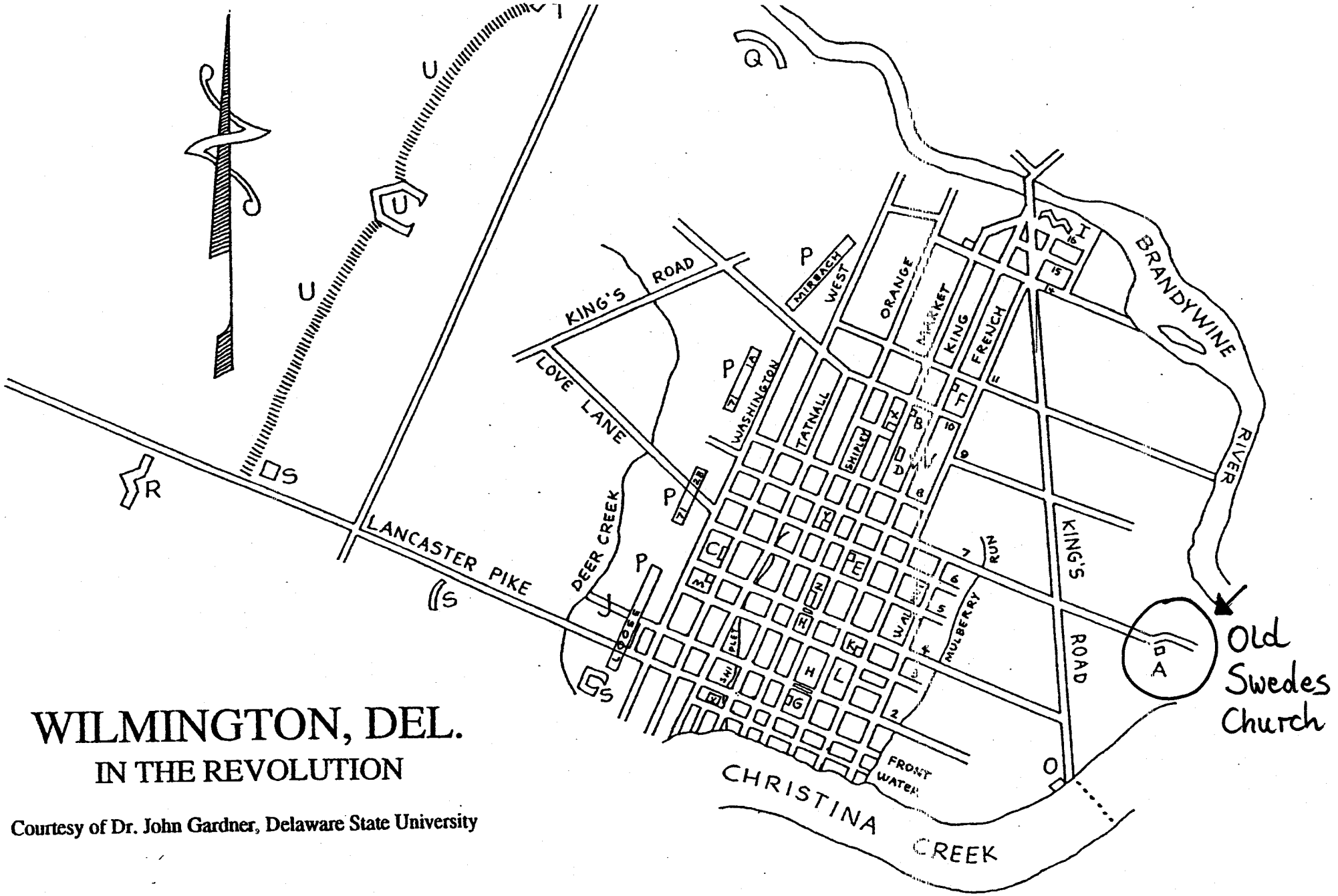
Sources: Samuel Canby Diary November 1779 to December 1796, entry for 24 December 1783. Photostat Historical Society of Delaware, from the original at Yale University.

RESOURCE 28

Name: Grave of Dr. Joseph Eugene Philip Capelle

Location: Old Swedes Cemetery
South-east corner of Seventh and Church Streets
Wilmington, Delaware

Enemy Views. The American Revolutionary War as recorded by Hessian Participants Bruce E. Burgoyne, ed., (Bowie, 1996)



WILMINGTON, DEL.
IN THE REVOLUTION

Courtesy of Dr. John Gardner, Delaware State University